

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

ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS
SLOVENICA

25|2·2020

Likovna umetnost v habsburških deželah
med cenzuro in propagando

Visual Arts in the Habsburg Lands
between Censorship and Propaganda

LJUBLJANA 2020

Acta historiae artis Slovenica, 25/2, 2020

Likovna umetnost v habsburških deželah med cenzuro in propagando
Visual Arts in the Habsburg Lands between Censorship and Propaganda

Znanstvena revija za umetnostno zgodovino / Scholarly Journal for Art History

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

ISBN: 978-961-05-0495-5

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

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Urednika številke / Edited by

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

ahas@zrc-sazu.si; <https://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/ahas>

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

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

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

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Tisk / Printed by Collegium Graphicum d.o.o., Ljubljana

Naklada / Print run: 400



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PREDGOVOR

LIKOVNA UMETNOST V HABSURŠKIH DEŽELAH MED CENZURO IN PROPAGANDO

Pričujoča tematska številka *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* prinaša trinajst znanstvenih prispevkov, nastalih v sklopu raziskovalnega projekta *Likovna umetnost med cenzuro in propagando od srednjega veka do konca prve svetovne vojne* (L7-8282), ki je v letih 2017–2020 potekal na Oddelku za umetnostno zgodovino in Oddelku za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Mariboru ter na Umetnostnozgodovinskem inštitutu Franceta Steleta in Zgodovinskem inštitutu Milka Kosa ZRC SAZU, sofinancirali pa sta ga Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti. Znanstveno izhodišče interdisciplinarno zasnovanega projekta je bilo dejstvo, da sta skozi zgodovino tako propaganda kot cenzura, dve pomembni politični sredstvi vplivanja na javno mnenje, odločilno zaznamovali in določali likovno umetnost. Pri svojih raziskavah smo se geografsko zamejili na področje habsburške monarhije, ki ji je več kot pol tisočletja pripadalo slovensko ozemlje in ki je zaradi svoje razgibane zgodovine predstavljala idealen teren za razvoj različnih oblik propagande in cenzure, med drugim tudi vizualne. Glede na siceršnje raziskovalno delo članov projektna skupine so se študije osredotočile na štiri zaključene časovne sklope: srednji vek, zgodnji novi vek, dolgo 19. stoletje in prvo svetovno vojno.

V želji, da bi dogajanje na periferiji vsaj delno osvetlili tudi z vidika središča, torej prestolnic Dunaja in v zgodnjem novem veku Gradca, ter da bi procese, ki so potekali pri nas, umestili v dogajanje v celotni monarhiji, smo k sodelovanju povabili tudi tri strokovnjake iz Avstrije in enega iz Češke, ki so s svojimi besedili pomembno prispevali k celovitosti pogleda na obravnavano tematiko.

Srednjeveški sklop začenja Martin Bele, ki spregovori o enem najstarejših ohranjenih primerov srednjeveške propagande na Štajerskem, *Štajerski rimani kroniki* Otokarja iz Geule, nastali v 13. stoletju v okviru spora med plemiškima rodbinama Ptujskih in Liechtensteinskih. Glavnina raziskav srednjega veka pa se je osredotočila na najpomembnejšo srednjeveško plemiško rodbino s področja današnje Slovenije, grofe Celjske, in njen odnos s Habsburžani. Miha Kosi je predstavil načrtno grajsko politiko Celjskih, v obdobju največjega vzpona so posedovali kar okoli 125 gradov, v čemer vidi obliko dinastične propagande. Mija Oter Gorenčič je raziskala medsebojne vplive in zglede v kartuzijanski politiki Celjskih in Habsburžanov. Avtorica ugotavlja tesno prepletenost med obema plemiškima rodbinama in kartuzijani, ki se kaže tudi na umetnostnem področju, v prvi vrsti pri kartuziji Jurklošter.

Obdobje zgodnjega novega veka pomembno zaznamujeta protireformacija in katoliška prenova, za potrebe propagande zmage Katoliške cerkve pa so se naročniki pogosto posluževali tudi različnih zvrsti likovne umetnosti. To je bilo še posebej očitno konec 16. stoletja in v 17. stoletju, ko je Gradec postal rezidenca Habsburžanov, pomembnih nosilcev katoliške prenove. Susanne König-Lein obravnava habsburški mavzolej v kolegijski cerkvi v Sekovi (Seckau) na Zgornjem Štajerskem, katerega naročnik je bil nadvojvoda Karel II. Avstrijski. Reliefi in poslikave mavzoleja poveljujejo Karla II. kot zaščitnika katoliške vere, zaradi česar lahko v habsburškem mavzoleju vidimo primer manifestacije začetka protireformacije. O arhitekturi kot pomembnem propagandnem sredstvu govori prispevek Edgarja Leina, ki obravnava cerkev sv. Katarine in mavzolej v Gradcu, zgrajena po naročilu nadvojvode Ferdinanda (kasnejšega cesarja Ferdinanda II.). Avtor predstavi rimske arhitekturne zglede in izpostavi vlogo jezuita Wilhelma Lamormainija pri preoblikovanju mavzoleja v spomenik protireformacije.

Eno od pomembnejših propagandnih sredstev je tudi portret, še zlasti vladarski. O njem z vidika umetnostnega središča spregovori Friedrich Polleroß, ki se je posvetil javni funkciji različnih tipov portretov cesarja Karla VI. s posebnim poudarkom na njihovi propagandni vlogi. Tina Košak analizira portrete dobrotnikov cistercijanskega samostana Stična, najobsežnejši ohranjeni tovrstni sklop na Slovenskem, razkriva doslej neznane likovne in pisne vire ter ponuja novo atribucijo. Nastanku stiških portretov so botrovale ilustracije v slavnih biografskih knjigah, ki so bile svojevrstna oblika propagande Habsburžanov kot tudi plemstva na dunajskem dvoru, napisani na spodnjem delu platna pa so povzeti po takrat spisani samostanski kroniki.

Da je portret igral pomembno propagando vlogo tudi v 19. stoletju, kaže članek Polone Vidmar o portretih uglednih mariborskih meščanov, naslikanih za mariborski rotovž, mestno hranilnico in prostore gledališko-kazinskega društva, na katerih so vizualizirani tudi izjemni dosežki upodobljenec, pripadnikov lokalne politične in ekonomske elite.

Drugo polovico 19. stoletja zaznamuje emancipacija različnih narodov, živečih na ozemlju monarhije, ki so za svojo propagando uporabljali različne likovne zvrsti. Dosedanje raziskave tega pojava so se osredotočale predvsem na historično slikarstvo in javne spomenike, medtem ko je propagandna vloga arhitekture ostajala v ozadju. V tem kontekstu so izjemnega pomena narodni domovi, posebna avstroogrška različica javne stavbe, ki se je najprej pojavila v čeških deželah, potem pa razširila po celotni avstrijski polovici monarhije. Narodne domove na Moravskem in v avstrijski Šleziji predstavlja Jan Galeta, ki v svojem članku spregovori tudi o njihovi raznoliki propagandni vlogi. Med značilne oblike propagande prebujajočih se narodov pa uvrščamo tudi poskuse kreiranja nacionalnega arhitekturnega sloga na prehodu iz 19. v 20. stoletje. Avtor v svojem prispevku v kontekstu propagande predstavi tako slovenski nacionalni slog kot tudi druge nacionalne sloge v slovenski arhitekturni dediščini.

Prva svetovna vojna brez dvoma pomeni vrhunec cenzure in propagande v celotnem obdobju habsburške monarhije. Trije prispevki predstavljajo kompleksen odmev teh procesov v sočasni likovni produkciji na Slovenskem. Petra Svobljak govori o odnosu avstrijskega državnega aparata do likovne umetnosti, predvsem z vidika cenzure in propagande. Predstavljeni so državni uradi (npr. Vojni tiskovni urad, Umetniška skupina), ki so izvajali nadzor nad umetniško propagando, pa tudi posamezniki, ki so jih rekrutirali za potrebe vojne propagande. O vplivu omenjenih državnih uradov na slovenski prostor piše Barbara Vodopivec, ki poleg medvojnih umetniških razstav, delovanja vojnih slikarjev in mehanizmov produkcije vsebin za množične tiske izpostavlja vlogo slikarja Ivana Vavpotiča in predstavi nekatera njegova do sedaj neznana dela. Vesna Krmelj pa z vidika cenzure in propagande obravnava pogoje za umetniško produkcijo v času vojnega absolutizma na Kranjskem, kjer je generacija slovenske moderne in impresionistov šele vzpostavljala pogoje za institucionalni razvoj slovenske umetnosti in s tem posledično tudi za uspešno propagando, izpostavlja pa med drugim tudi načine, s katerimi so umetniki spodbujali slovensko nacionalno zavest.

Zahvaljujem se uredništvu *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* za možnost objave projektnih spoznanj, sodelavcem Umetnostnozgodovinskega inštituta Franceta Steleta ZRC SAZU za vso pomoč in podporo pri nastanku pričujoče številke, prevajalcem in lektorjem ter seveda Javni agenciji za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnost, ki sta omogočili izvedbo projekta in izid revije. Upam, da bodo prispevki postali navdih in izhodišče za prihodnje raziskave te kompleksne, a zanimive in pomembne tematike.

Franci Lazarini, vodja projekta in gostujoči urednik

PREFACE

VISUAL ARTS IN THE HABSBURG LANDS BETWEEN CENSORSHIP AND PROPAGANDA

The present thematic issue of *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* comprises thirteen scientific papers as an output of the research project *Visual Arts between Censorship and Propaganda from the Middle Ages to the End of World War I* (L7-8282), which was carried out at the Department of Art History and the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor, as well as the France Stele Institute of Art History and the Milko Kos Historical Institute ZRC SAZU between 2017 and 2020, and was co-funded by the Slovenian Research Agency and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The starting point of the interdisciplinary project is the fact that throughout history, propaganda and censorship, two important political means of influencing public opinion, have decisively marked and defined art. Our research was limited to the geographical area of the Habsburg Monarchy, to which the Slovenian lands belonged for more than half a millennium, and which, owing to its diverse history, was ideal terrain for the development of various forms of propaganda and censorship in, among others, the visual arts. Based on the research interests of the project group members, the studies were focused on four historical periods: the Middle Ages, the Early Modern Period, the long 19th century, and the First World War.

In order to at least partially explain the events in the periphery through the perspective of the capitals, such as Vienna, and in the Early Modern Period Graz, and shed light on certain aspects of propaganda in a wider context, we invited three experts from Austria and one from the Czech Republic to participate. They contributed immensely to a comprehensive view of the issue at hand.

The medieval section begins with Martin Bele, who presents one of the oldest preserved examples of medieval propaganda in Styria, Ottokar aus der Gaal's *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle*, written in the 13th century as a result of a dispute between two aristocratic families, the Lords of Ptuj and the Liechtenstein family. Most of the research relating to the Middle Ages was focused on the most important medieval noble family from present-day Slovenia, the Counts of Cilli, and their relationship to the Habsburgs. Miha Kosi analyses the strategic castle politics of the Counts of Cilli, who at the time of their ascendancy possessed approximately 125 castles, which he sees as a form of dynastic propaganda. Mija Oter Gorenčič researched mutual influences and models in the Carthusian politics of the Counts of Cilli and the Habsburgs. The author points out the close ties between both noble families and the Carthusians, which were also apparent in the sphere of art, primarily in the Jurklošter charterhouse.

The Early Modern Period was significantly marked by the Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Revival, and patrons often used various forms of art to propagandise the victory of the Catholic church. This was especially evident at the end of the 16th and in the 17th century, when Graz became the residence of the Habsburgs, important supporters of the Counter-Reformation. Susanne König-Lein discusses the Habsburg mausoleum in the Seckau collegiate church in Upper Styria, the commissioner of which was Archduke Charles II. The reliefs and paintings of the mausoleum glorify Charles II as the protector of the Catholic faith, which is why it is possible to see the Habsburg mausoleum as an example of the manifestation of the beginning of the Counter-Reformation. Edgar Lein's contribution focuses on architecture as an important means of propaganda. The author examined St. Catherine's Church and Mausoleum in Graz, which were commissioned by Archduke Ferdinand (later Emperor

Ferdinand II). Lein presents Roman architectural models and points out the role of Jesuit Wilhelm Lamormaini in the transformation of the Mausoleum into a monument to Counter-Reformation.

One of the most important means of propaganda was also portraits, especially imperial portraits. Friedrich Polleroß, who focused particularly on the public function of various types of portraits of Emperor Charles VI, with emphasis on their propaganda role, writes about these works from an art centre perspective. Tina Košak analyses portraits of the benefactors of Stična Cistercian monastery, the largest surviving ensemble of this kind in Slovenia, offers a new attribution, and unravels its sources. The visual models for the series of ten oval portraits were the illustrations in glorifying biographical books, which were themselves an efficient form of propaganda for the Habsburgs as well as the nobility in the court of Vienna. The inscriptions on the lower part of the portraits were based on the newly written monastic chronicle by Paul Puzel.

The article by Polona Vidmar on the portraits of renowned Maribor townspeople painted for the Maribor town hall, the town savings bank, and the rooms of the theatre and casino society, which also visualize the exceptional achievements of the depicted representatives of the local political and economic elite, demonstrates that portrait also played an important propaganda role in the 19th century.

The second half of the 19th century was characterised by the emancipation of the various nations living in the monarchy, who utilised a variety of art genres for the purpose of propaganda. So far, research of this phenomenon mostly focused on history painting and public monuments, while architecture's role in propaganda remained in the background. In this context, national houses, a special Austro-Hungarian type of public building, which first appeared in the Czech lands and then spread across the entire Austrian part of the monarchy, are of immense importance. National houses in Moravia and Austrian Silesia are presented by Jan Galeta, who also discusses their diverse propaganda role. Moreover, we place the attempts to establish a national architectural style at the turn of the 20th century among the characteristic forms of propaganda in the awakening nations. In my article, the Slovenian national style, as well as other national styles in Slovenian architectural heritage, are presented and explained in the context of propaganda.

During World War I, censorship and propaganda undoubtedly reached their peaks, when considering the era of the Habsburg Monarchy. Three contributions reveal the complex nature of these processes on the example of the art production in the territory of Slovenia. Petra Svoljšak discusses the attitude of the Austrian state apparatus towards art, especially from the point of view of censorship and propaganda. She presents the state offices (e.g. War Press Office (Kriegspressequartier, KPQ) and the Art department (Kunstgruppe)) that exercised control over art propaganda and the individuals who were recruited for the needs of war propaganda. Barbara Vodopivec explains the influence of the above-mentioned state offices in the Slovenian context. In addition to wartime art exhibitions, war artists' activities, and mechanisms of mass press production, she highlights the role of Ivan Vavpotič and presents some of his previously unknown works of art. Vesna Krmelj discusses the circumstances in art production from the point of view of censorship and propaganda during the period of war absolutism in Carniola, where the generation of the Slovenian *moderna* and the impressionists had only begun to establish the conditions for the institutional development of Slovenian art, and consequently for successful propaganda. Furthermore, she also emphasizes the ways in which artists encouraged Slovenian national consciousness.

I thank the editorial board of the *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* for the opportunity to publish the project findings, my co-workers at the France Stele Institute of Art History ZRC SAZU for all their help and support in the creation of the present issue, the translators and language editors, and the Slovenian Research Agency and Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, who enabled the execution of the project and the publication of this journal. I hope that the contributions will inspire future research in this complex but interesting and important topic.

Franci Lazarini, principal investigator and guest editor



DISSERTATIONES

Did he Really Do it? Frederick V of Ptuj – Coward or Victim?

Martin Bele

General political circumstances

The second half of the 13th century was – at least for the Eastern Alpine region of Europe – a rather turbulent time. Old ruling noble families were dying out, there were numerous competitors for the vacant lands and titles, and new rulers were coming and going. For the reader to better understand the whole context of the disagreements, the feud and propaganda war between the two noble families which we are about to address, we will firstly go through the general political course of important events.

After the political takeover in the duchy of Styria (1192), the ducal dynasty of Babenberg ruled it (with Austria) until 1246,¹ when the last male member of the ducal family passed away. The most important ruler of the Babenbergs was without a doubt duke Leopold VI the Glorious, who jointly ruled Styria and Austria for more than three decades (1194/1198–1230). After the death of Leopold's quarrelsome son Frederick II (who ruled 1230–1246) the so-called Babenberg territories (the duchies of Austria and Styria, part of Carniola and other territories) were plunged into three decades of intermittent fighting between numerous new competitors from various parts of Central Europe.² These three decades – with shorter or longer periods of peace – finally ended with the overall victory of the Habsburgs. In the beginning, the most successful of the competitors were Kings Ottokar II of Bohemia³ and Béla IV of Hungary.⁴ After years of fluctuating fortunes both monarchs agreed to a peace treaty in Budim (April 1254).⁵ The duchy of Austria was now in the hands of the King of Bohemia while Styria became the property of the Hungarian monarch.⁶ This situation was not to last very long. Ottokar II wanted the entire Babenberg patrimony and much more.

Over the ensuing years, the Styrian nobles grew tired of the pretentious Hungarian king and his rule in Styria. Consequently, they rose in rebellion at the end of the 1250s. Ottokar II of Bohemia

¹ Heinz DOPSCH, Karl BRUNNER, Maximilian WELTIN, *Die Länder und das Reich. Der Ostalpenraum im Hochmittelalter*, Wien 1999 (Österreichische Geschichte, 1122–1278), pp. 194–202.

² Karl LECHNER, *Die Babenberger. Markgrafen und Herzoge von Österreich 976–1246*, Wien-Köln-Weimar 1996 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 23), pp. 46–54, 296–298.

³ Jörg K. HOENSCH, *Přemysl Otakar II. von Böhmen. Der goldene König*, Graz-Wien-Köln 1989, pp. 80–89.

⁴ Béla IV, King of Hungary, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Bela-IV> (8. 4. 2020).

⁵ Gerhard HARTMANN, Das Ende des Staufischen Hauses, *Die Kaiser. 1200 Jahre europäische Geschichte* (eds. Gerhard Hartmann, Karl Rudolf Schnith), Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 352–353.

⁶ Peter ŠTIH, Vasko SIMONITI, *Na stičišču svetov. Slovenska zgodovina od prazgodovinskih kultur do konca 18. stoletja*, Ljubljana 2009, pp. 103, 111, 115–117.

took advantage of the situation, backed the rebellious Styrian nobles and – in July 1260 – vanquished the Hungarian king at the battle of Groißenbrunn.⁷ After that event, King Ottokar II ruled both duchies until 1276.⁸ During this period, there was no universally accepted ruler in the Holy Roman Empire, which meant that Ottokar II could (by force) expand his territories unsupervised. He took full advantage of the situation. In the fall of 1273, Count Rudolph of Habsburg was finally elected the new ruler of the Empire.⁹ The new king, Rudolph, started making hostile moves against the Bohemian king immediately after his own coronation. Under immense pressure from Rudolph, Ottokar II of Bohemia had to give up rule over Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Windischmarch, Cheb and Pordenone. This happened in late 1276.¹⁰ The dispute between the two princes escalated at the battle on the Marchfeld in August 1278.¹¹ Ottokar lost the battle as well as his life. In December 1282, King Rudolph bestowed the duchies of Austria and Styria on his sons Albert I¹² and Rudolph II.¹³

The death of King Rudolph I in 1291 triggered a wave of change throughout the Empire. Albert I's succession to the imperial throne was by no means self-evident. Several princes of the Empire had noted the rapid rise of the Habsburg power with annoyance, anger and fear. In 1291 and 1292 Albert I also had to tackle the rebellion of the majority of Styrian and Carinthian nobles.¹⁴ In May 1292 Count Adolf of Nassau¹⁵ was elected the new king. Albert wanted the throne for himself but was wise enough not to start a head-on confrontation with Adolf – as Ottokar had once done with his father. Over the following years, Adolf experienced increasing political difficulties, while Albert I managed to strengthen his position. Finally, Albert I managed to bring about Adolf's disposition (June 1298) and elected himself ruler. In July of the same year the two competitors fought a decisive battle at Göllheim¹⁶ in the vicinity of Worms. Adolf lost his life and Albrecht was able to manipulate the princes to elect him ruler once again.¹⁷

After the Přemyslid line died out in 1306, the dynasties of Habsburgs and those of Gorizia-Tyrol started a war for the Bohemian throne. After a few years of fighting and a peace treaty in

⁷ Gerhard PFERSCHY, König Ottokar II., Herrscher der Steiermark und Graz, *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, 94, 2003, pp. 11–13.

⁸ Gerhard PFERSCHY, Ottokar II Přemysl, Ungarn und die Steiermark, *Ottokar-Forschungen* (eds. Andreas Kusternig, Max Weltin), Wien 1978–1979 (= *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, n. s. 44–45), pp. 73–91; Alfred OGRIS, Der Kampf König Ottokars II. von Böhmen um das Herzogtum Kärnten, *Ottokar-Forschungen* 1978–1979 (n. 8), pp. 92–141; Knut GÖRICH, *Die Staufer. Herrscher und Reich*, München 2006, pp. 117–118.

⁹ Richard REIFENSCHIED, König Rudolf I., *Die Kaiser* 2006 (n. 5), p. 367.

¹⁰ Birgit WIEDL, Der Salzburger Erzbischof Friedrich II. von Walchen und seine Beziehung zu Premysl Otakar II. und Rudolf I. von Habsburg, *Böhmisch-österreichische Beziehungen im 13. Jahrhundert. Österreich (einschließlich Steiermark, Kärnten und Krain) im Großreichprojekt Ottokars II. Přemysl, König von Böhmen* (eds. Marie Bláhová, Ivan Hlaváček), Prag 1998, pp. 140–144.

¹¹ Andreas KUSTERNIG, Probleme um die Kämpfe zwischen Rudolf und Ottokar und die Schlacht bei Dürnkrut und Jedenspeigen am 26. August 1278, *Ottokar-Forschungen* 1978–1979 (n. 8), pp. 226–311; Andreas KUSTERNIG, Die Schlacht bei Dürnkrut und Jedenspeigen am 26. August 1278, *Böhmisch-österreichische Beziehungen* 1998 (n. 10), pp. 185–215.

¹² Richard REIFENSCHIED, König Albrecht I., *Die Kaiser* 2006 (n. 5), pp. 385–386.

¹³ Rudolph II was forced to relinquish power over Austria and Styria the following year. Alois NIEDERSTÄTTER, *Die Herrschaft Österreich. Fürst und Land im Spätmittelalter*, Wien 2001 (Österreichische Geschichte, 1278–1411), pp. 81–84.

¹⁴ NIEDERSTÄTTER 2001 (n. 13), pp. 101–102.

¹⁵ Gerhard HARTMANN, König Adolf von Nassau, *Die Kaiser* 2006 (n. 5), p. 379.

¹⁶ Alois GERLICH, Göllheim, Schlacht bei (1298), *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 4, München-Zürich 1989, p. 1554.

¹⁷ Frank REXROTH, *Deutsche Geschichte im Mittelalter*, München 2005, pp. 89–91; HARTMANN 2006 (n. 15), pp. 380–381.

1311,¹⁸ the Carinthian duke Henry of Gorizia-Tyrol was forced to relinquish his grasp over the territory of Savinja¹⁹ – which up until then had been in his hands – into the hands of the Habsburgs. Savinja thus permanently became the southernmost part of Styria. After Henry's death in 1335, the Habsburgs began direct rule over both Carinthia and Carniola.

The Styrian Rhyme Chronicle and its author

The author of the most important narrative source for our topic was a man by the name of Ottokar aus der Gaal (Gaal, northwest of Knittelfeld in today's Austrian Styria). Ottokar (*Otacher ouz der Geul, Gævl, Geula*) was born around 1265 into a family of Strettweg ministerials, who held the possessions of the bishops of Seckau and the nobles of Liechtenstein in fief. Ottokar's wife *domina Elisabeth* was possibly from the family of the Styrian knights *von Kainach*, in the vicinity of Voitsberg. The couple had at least three sons and one daughter.²⁰ Sometime just before 1300, Ottokar was likely present at the coronation of Wenceslaus II (son of Ottokar II) as King of Bohemia. A few years later, he was possibly again in Bohemia, this time with the Habsburg forces. In 1313 he likely travelled to Spain as a member of the delegation of Duke Frederick III the Fair of Habsburg and probably returned home sometime in May of 1317.²¹ Ottokar must have died at some point before the beginning of 1322. On January 15th of that year he was already deceased.²²

Ottokar aus der Gaal was most probably a layman and wrote in Middle High German (Mittelhochdeutsch) – the spoken language of the day, which sometime after 1350 developed into Early New High German. Ottokar must have remembered the famous minnesänger Ulrich I of Liechtenstein from his early childhood and was, as a grown man, closely connected with Ulrich's son Otto II; he may even have been educated at Otto's court (there are indications that he mastered Latin – at least to a certain degree). It is even possible that Ottokar is actually the Styrian man of the same name, who was registered in 1291 in the matrixes of the university in Bologna.²³

The work for which Ottokar aus der Gaal is known is written in verse and entitled the *Austrian Rhyme Chronicle* (*Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*). Regarding the timeframe, it covers the period between the death of Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen in 1250 and the year 1309, when – in the middle of the description of the rebellion of Austrian nobles against Frederick III of Habsburg –, it abruptly ends. We can guess Ottokar met a sudden death and was unable to finish his masterpiece.²⁴ His work is primarily concerned with the history of various princes and nobility. Ottokar managed to raise his native German language to such a high level that it was possible

¹⁸ Miha KOSI, Visoki in pozni srednji vek (10.–15. stoletje), *Slovenski zgodovinski atlas*, Ljubljana 2011, p. 72.

¹⁹ Miha KOSI, Dežela, ki je ni bilo. Posavinje med Kranjsko in Štajersko od 11. do 15. stoletja, *Studia Historica Slovenica*, 8/2–3, 2008, pp. 543–544.

²⁰ Maja LOEHR, Der steirische Reimchronist: her Otacher ouz der Geul, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 51, 1937, pp. 90, 94, 100–103, 106–109, 111–112, 123–124.

²¹ *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* (ed. Joseph Seemüller), 1, Hannover 1890 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken, 5/1), pp. LXXXVIII–XC; Janez MLINAR, *Podoba Celjskih grofov v narativnih virih*, Ljubljana 2005, pp. 27–28; ŠTIH, SIMONITI 2009 (n. 6), p. 187.

²² LOEHR 1937 (n. 20), p. 95.

²³ ŠTIH, SIMONITI 2009 (n. 6), p. 187.

²⁴ Winfried STELZER, Ottokar aus der Gaal (Otacher ouz der Geul), *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 19, Berlin 1999, pp. 716–717.

to start using it also in historiography in Styria and Austria. His *Chronicle* (with precisely 98,598 verses) was created over a longer period. Most likely this happened during the middle of the first decade of the 14th century, and perhaps the work was finished only at the end of the second decade of the same century. Ottokar must have started writing his *Chronicle* probably shortly after the year 1300 when his memory was still fresh and some major political figures from the past decades were still alive.²⁵ Due to the extensive amount of information at his disposal, as a young nobleman with good connections and education, he is virtually an indispensable resource for the history of the territory of Eastern Alps in the 13th century.²⁶ Given that the collection of large amounts of data was definitely associated with significant funding, it is not unlikely that he was supported by various donors (highly probable by Otto II von Liechtenstein).²⁷

A loyal, intelligent, highly-educated and well-travelled man such as Ottokar aus der Gaal must have seemed like a godsend to Otto II of Liechtenstein.²⁸ In writing the *Chronicle*, Ottokar's primary mission was, of course, to produce a historical report, but it was also possible for him to incorporate his opinion into the story. As someone who ate at Otto II of Liechtenstein's table and depended on his continued goodwill for financial means, Ottokar aus der Gaal probably had no other realistic option than to express his own thoughts, lest he angered his lord. In light of that, we must consider Ottokar's words in the *Chronicle* in regard to Frederick V of Ptuj mainly as lord of Liechtenstein's opinions; Ottokar's view in this respect might not have differed from Otto's at all. As far as the details go, we can only guess.

The Noble Families of Ptuj (Pettau) and Styrian Liechtenstein

The lords of Ptuj were of Bavarian origin and ministerials of the archdiocese of Salzburg. They controlled the castle at Ptuj from the first half of the 12th century and over time proved to be excessively aggressive, not only towards their neighbours on the Hungarian side of the border but also against their own lords – the archbishops of Salzburg. From the end of the 12th century they – more or less – disregarded the archbishop's orders on multiple occasions. They refused to marry the way archbishops ordered, they were no longer part of the archbishops' entourage and started accumulating their own estates (which meant political and military power) without permission from them.²⁹

The first member of the noble family of Ptuj to really enter the political scene on a grand scale was Frederick V's father, Hartnid I. In 1239 he – as an important ally of the emperor Frederick II –

²⁵ Karin HOFBAUER, Die Protagonisten der steirischen Politik an der Wende vom 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert. In der Darstellung der Steirischen Reimchronik Ottokars von der Gaal, *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, 77, 1986, pp. 67–89.

²⁶ *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* 1890 (n. 21), p. CXXIII.

²⁷ MLINAR 2005 (n. 21), pp. 27–29.

²⁸ LOEHR 1937 (n. 20), pp. 110–114, 120

²⁹ Hans PIRCHEGGER, Die Herren von Pettau, *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, 42, 1951, pp. 3–36; John B. FREED, Rudolf of Habsburg, the Dominicans, and the Pettaus, *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte*, 22, 1993, pp. 73–103; Boris HAJDINJAK, Gospe Ptujске. Ženske v prvih treh generacijah gospodov Ptujskih, *Ženske skozi zgodovino. Zbornik referatov 32. zborovanja slovenskih zgodovinarjev* (ur. Aleksander Žižek), Ljubljana 2004, pp. 69–81; Polona VIDMAR, Boris HAJDINJAK, *Gospodje Ptujski – srednjeveški vitezi, graditelji in meceni*, Ptuj 2008, pp. 5–19; Martin BELE, Friderik V. Ptujski, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 64/2, 2016, pp. 135–138.



1. The Vurberk (Wurmberg) coat of arms, after 1246



2. The Borl (Ankenstein) coat of arms, after 1294

visited him in Pavia. At the beginning of 1240s, Hartnid also stayed close to the abovementioned duke Frederick II of Austria and Styria.³⁰ After the duke's death (in 1246) Hartnid most likely became an ally of the Hungarian king Bela IV – even though the nobles of Ptuj had been – up to that point – hereditary enemies of the Hungarians.³¹ His son Frederick V was just as cunning, slick and unscrupulous as his father. He was also a Hungarian ally – at least until the late 1250s.³² After that it was no longer convenient. He even ended up playing a pivotal role in driving the Hungarian forces out of Styria.³³ After 1260 he was firmly in the camp of the new Styrian duke – King Ottokar II of Bohemia.³⁴ During the early 1260s, Frederick of Ptuj was – without a doubt – one of the most powerful Styrian nobles in the whole duchy. Among other things, he bought houses in different cities and even accompanied King Ottokar on at least one of his travels through Bohemia.³⁵

At some point Frederick V of Ptuj decided it would be best for his political advancement to denounce some of his fellow noble Styrians to the King. During the second half of the 1260s, relations between King Ottokar and his Styrian ministerials were becoming increasingly tense, and Frederick

³⁰ Franc KOS, *Gradivo za zgodovino Slovencev v srednjem veku*, 5 (ed. Milko Kos), Ljubljana 1928, no. 707.

³¹ Karl SPREITZHOFER, *Georgenberger Handfeste. Entstehung und Folgen der ersten Verfassungsurkunde der Steiermark*, Graz-Wien-Köln 1986, pp. 77–79, 89–91; *Gradivo za slovensko zgodovino v srednjem veku*. 6/1: *Listine 1246–1255* (ed. France Baraga), Ljubljana 2002 (Thesaurus memoriae. Fontes, 2), no. 84.

³² *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* 1890 (n. 21), p. 28 (verses 2044–2123); BELE 2016 (n. 29), pp. 137–138.

³³ *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* 1890 (n. 21), pp. 75–77 (verses 5655–5854); *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* (ed. Joseph Seemüller), 2, Hannover 1893 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Deutsche Chroniken, 5/2), p. 1418; Gerhard PFERSCHY, *Zur Beurteilung Siegfrieds von Mahrenberg*, *Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann* (ed. Herwig Ebner), Graz 1977, pp. 372–373.

³⁴ *Urkundenbuch des Herzogtums Steiermark. 4: 1260–1276* (ed. Gerhard Pferschy), Wien 1975, no. 42–43, 86, 94, 162–163, 166, 179, 352, 390, 395–397; Roman ZEHETMAYER, *Zu den steirischen Landtaidungen und zur rechtlichen Stellung der Salzburger Ministerialen im Land Steiermark bis etwa 1300*, *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, 94, 2003, p. 103.

³⁵ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, 5/4 (eds. Sáša Dušková, Vladimír Vašků), Praha 1993, no. 386–387; cf. BELE 2016 (n. 29), p. 139.

obviously decided to capitalize on the situation.³⁶ As early as 1261 (!) the Styrian Capitan Wok of Rosenberg³⁷ sent a message to King Ottokar. The message contained information that the *lords of Ptuj and Stadeck* reported on those from *Lichtenstein and Wildon* complaining about the monarch.³⁸ After returning from a crusade against the Prussians and Lithuanians during the winter of 1267/1268, King Ottokar finally decided to put an end to the problems he attributed to the grumbling Styrians. From his camp in Wrocław he called for the troublemakers, by which he obviously meant Ulrich of Liechtenstein, Herrand II of Wildon, count Bernhard of Pfannberg (and most likely also his brother Henry) and lastly Wulfing of Stubenberg. From the sources, it seems to be obvious that the king was convinced that the abovementioned nobles were part of the conspiracy (or maybe they were just trying to build new castles without his permission) precisely because Frederick V of Ptuj was whispering into his ear.³⁹ Consequently they were – alongside their informant Frederick V of Ptuj – locked up. Most of them were probably released in about six months, while the Bohemian king demolished some of their castles. As far as we can see, Frederick V (temporarily) lost two of his castles, but probably got them both back a few years later – even though one of them was damaged.⁴⁰

As far as Frederick V's political movements after these events go, we must assume he pretty much stayed out of the spotlight, especially because many of his neighbouring Styrian and Carinthian nobles must have heartily disliked him. This must have been especially true for the members of the Styrian Liechtenstein family. Here we have Ulrich I and his son Otto II in mind. Ulrich I, originating from the lineage of an allegedly free nobility rank, was born sometime in the early 13th century and was named after his seat at the castle Liechtenstein,⁴¹ located in the upper flow of the river Mur in Judenburg.⁴² He was mentioned in the sources between 1227 and 1274, when he was relatively active politically and militarily, and was among the most influential Styrian noblemen of his time.⁴³ Ulrich, who in his own words could neither read nor write, created two large-scale epic poems titled *Service of the Lady (Vrouwen dienst)* and the *Book of the Lady (Der vrouwen puoch)*.⁴⁴ Today he is mostly remembered as a minnesänger, not a politician. Ulrich I of Liechtenstein and Frederick V of

³⁶ BELE 2016 (n. 29), p. 140.

³⁷ Wok of Rosenberg (Czech Vok I. z Rožmberka) was from the Bohemian noble family of the Vítkovci. He held the title of the Styrian Capitan (*capitaneus Styrie*) between December 1260 and June 1262 (when he died in Graz). He was succeeded by Bishop Bruno of Olomouc as Styrian Capitan. See: HOENSCH 1989 (n. 3), pp. 59–61, 133, 156–157; Martin BELE, *Pogumni vojaki in zviti politiki. Boji in spletke spodnještajerskih plemičev v 13. stoletju*, Maribor 2018 (*Studia Historica Slovenica*, 13), pp. 80–81.

³⁸ *Urkundenbuch* 1975 (n. 34), no. 43; cf. DOPSCH, BRUNNER, WELTIN 1999 (n. 1), p. 457.

³⁹ *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* 1890 (n. 21), p. 130 (verses 9847–9850): *!...! zuo dem Pettouwær er sprach: / „Friderich Pettouwære, / nû sag mir offentlich diu mære, / diu dû mir heimlich hâst geseit!“* Cf. *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* 1893 (n. 33), p. 1419.

⁴⁰ *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* 1890 (n. 21), pp. 129–132 (verses 9778–10007, 10021–10024); VIDMAR, HAJDINJAK 2008 (n. 29), p. 20.

⁴¹ Franz Viktor SPECHTLER, *Liechtenstein, Ulrich von, Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 14, Berlin 1985, pp. 522–523.

⁴² There was another castle called Liechtenstein in the duchy of Austria, not to be confused with the one in Styria, which is where Ulrich and his son Otto II were from. The nobleman from Austrian Liechtenstein was named Heinrich. He is not important for our story. See: Gustav WILHELM, *Stammtafel des fürstlichen Hauses von und zu Liechtenstein*, Vaduz 1980, Tab. 1; Heinz DOPSCH, *Liechtenstein – Herkunft und Aufstieg eines Fürstenhauses. Aus der Arbeit an einem Forschungsprojekt, Bausteine zur liechtensteinischen Geschichte. 2: Neuzeit. Land und Leute* (ed. Arthur Brunhart), Zürich 1999, pp. 7–67.

⁴³ LOEHR 1937 (n. 20), p. 109.

⁴⁴ Heinz DOPSCH, *Der Dichter Ulrich von Liechtenstein und die Herkunft seiner Familie, Festschrift Friedrich Hausmann* 1977 (n. 33), p. 111.



3. Ulrich of Liechtenstein, *Codex Manesse*, around 1304, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 848

Ptuj were roughly contemporaries, Ulrich probably being slightly older than Frederick. Even so, they were both active during the same turbulent era of the 13th century, when it was often not particularly clear who the Styrian duke was. As we have already seen, Frederick V proved himself to be a backstabbing politician, a fact that Ulrich I surely did not appreciate.

Ulrich I's son Otto II was himself also an important Styrian politician. Mentioned in various documents between 1252 and 1311, he presided over Styrian territorial assemblies in the 1280s, temporarily served as one of Styrian Captains during the 1270s, held the title of a territorial judge (*iudex terre*) of Styria after 1279 and a chamberlain of Styria after 1286.⁴⁵ Judging from these appointments alone, Otto II was much more important than Frederick. On the other hand, Frederick was probably much richer in land and property than Otto, not to mention his excellent connections with King Ottokar of Bohemia. Here we also must take into account that Frederick must have been highly distrusted by his fellow Styrian and Carinthian nobles, who had seen him switch sides once already. He received

benefits from the Hungarian king, but then abandoned him as soon as it was convenient. Who was to say he wasn't going to do the same with King Ottokar if the situation changed? And if kings and commanders were not safe from Frederick's betrayal, minor local nobles must have been all the more in fear.

Over the years King Ottokar II of Bohemia was becoming progressively less popular in the so-called former Babenberg territories. The local nobles found him to be strict, almost tyrannical. Also, he was conquering more and more territories and trying to bid for the throne of the Empire itself.⁴⁶ This all changed after the ambitious Rudolph of Habsburg became king instead. After the political turnaround of 1273, the nobles of Austria and Styria started hoping for Ottokar's downfall. The archbishop of Salzburg started allying themselves with Rudolph and quickly became the object of Ottokar's wrath. The archbishop desperately started calling for Rudolph's help.⁴⁷ This is when

⁴⁵ BELE 2018 (n. 37), pp. 82, 86, 94.

⁴⁶ Next to his ancestral territories, as well as Austria and Styria, King Ottokar II was able to come to power in Carinthia, Carniola and parts of Friuli. His power reached its peak in the early 1270s which was the main reason Rudolph of Habsburg – as well as many other princes throughout the Empire – were afraid of him. See: Gerhard PFERSCHY, *Zur Geschichte des Reiner Schwures von 1276*, *Blätter für Heimatkunde*, 50/4, 1976, pp. 168–173; DOPSCH, BRUNNER, WELTIN 1999 (n. 1), p. 463; Peter ŠTIH, *Rodbina koroških Spanheimov, Vekov tek. Kostanjevica na Krki 1252–2002. Zbornik ob 750. obletnici prve listinske omembe mesta* (ed. Andrej Smrekar), *Kostanjevica na Krki* 2003, pp. 71–72.

⁴⁷ Hans PIRCHEGGER, *Geschichte der Steiermark bis 1282*, Graz-Wien-Leipzig 1936, p. 244; Hans WAGNER, *Vom Interregnum bis Pilgrim von Puchheim, Geschichte Salzburgs. Stadt und Land*, 1/2 (eds. Heinz Dopsch, Hans Spatzenegger), Salzburg 1983, pp. 447–448.

Frederick V of Ptuj and Otto II of Liechtenstein both decided to openly switch sides and declare with as much vigour as they could, that they were now Rudolph's vassals rather than Ottokar's. This was an entirely pragmatic move. Ottokar's hegemony was by now unbearable and if the nobles of Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola wanted to be successful in the future (or even to survive this ongoing civil war), then now was the time to put their cards on the table. So, they did.

In mid-September 1276 there was a large gathering of Styrian and Carinthian nobles (two were known to be also from Carniola) at the Cistercian Abbey of Rein about 15 kilometres northwest from Graz. There the gathered nobles declared they would help each other and serve King Rudolph, which was a clear declaration of war against King Ottokar.⁴⁸ Among those present was Frederick V of Ptuj, listed third among the nobles. The only two people above him (Ulrich II of Heunburg and Henry of Pfannberg) held the title of count (!).⁴⁹ He himself was (strictly legally speaking) only a ministerial of the archbishop in Salzburg and yet in practice he was one of the most influential nobles in all of Styria. Otto II of Liechtenstein was also present at the gathering but listed seventh (among the seventeen mentioned by name). Obviously, Frederick had a higher status among the nobles and in the months to come he even received the position of territorial judge of Styria from King Rudolph.⁵⁰ Of course the number of people gathered at Rein was much higher than seventeen, as all of the nobles (especially the two counts) must have travelled with large entourages. The names of the lesser nobility and soldiers also present are lost to us.

Also unknown is the way Frederick V and Otto II treated each other at the time. It would have been impossible for them to completely avoid each other at the gathering. They may have avoided speaking to each other or perhaps Otto pretended that the accusations voiced against his recently deceased father at Wrocław (and before) were all but forgotten. Considering the political circumstances, Otto must have been well aware that now was not the right moment for revenge. Going against someone as strong and militarily skilled as Frederick of Ptuj was dangerous even in peaceful times and so Otto had to bide his time. His chance for payback would come, but not in the form of a military victory.

Frederick of Ptuj Accused of Cowardice

At the end of August 1278, the decisive battle on the Marchfeld (about 55 kilometres northeast of Vienna) between Rudolph and Ottokar occurred. Many nobles from today's Slovenia and Austria participated in this decisive event. For them it was a moment to prove decisively to King Rudolph that they were not only his loyal supporters but also brave men. The information on Frederick of Ptuj is provided by the *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle*. Its author reports that two unnamed nobles – obviously before or immediately after the beginning of the decisive battle – cowardly fled the scene. The second man mentioned was Styrian, strong and big, in his coat of arms he had a black worm (snake, lindworm)

⁴⁸ Reiner Schwur, <https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=236915> (13. 3. 2020).

⁴⁹ *Urkundenbuch* 1975 (n. 34), no. 600. *Nos igitur Vlricus de Hevnburgh, Hainricus de Phannenberk comites, Friderichs de Bettowe, Wulf(ingus) de Stubenberch, Herrandus de Wildonia, Hertnidus de Stadekke, Otto de Liechtenst(ein), Gotschalculus de Nytperch, Hertnidus et Vlricus pincerne de Ramenstein, Offo de Teuffenpach, Cholo de Saeldenhoven, Willehalmus et Hainricus de Scharfenberk, Godfridus de Truchsen, Cholo de Marchpurch, Hertnidus de Leibenz ceterique ministeriales Stirie ac Karinthie meliores tenore presentium...* Cf. NIEDERSTÄTTER 2001 (n. 13), p. 75.

⁵⁰ Anton MELL, *Grundriß der Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte des Landes Steiermark*, Graz-Wien-Leipzig 1929, p. 171.

on a yellow field.⁵¹ According to the description – especially his coat of arms – he was obviously meant to be Frederick V of Ptuj.⁵² Ottokar aus der Gaal most likely did not want to be directly accused of backbiting and thus made his description just vague enough to be able to claim ignorance later. On the other hand, the description was all too clear to every noble. It was definitely negative propaganda, a slander campaign. It was also a gross insult. It most certainly did not go unnoticed by any noble in the wider Eastern Alpine region. The members of the noble family of Ptuj must have been furious. If we are to understand the full scale of the scandal, we must keep in mind that this was a period in which personal bravery and honour were defended with life itself. A man (especially a nobleman) considered a coward in battle was virtually worthless.

Of course, we must admit that Frederick's coat of arms is no portrait in the strict sense of the word. In Europe of the early and high Middle Ages, visual representations of individuals were – if they existed at all – mostly generalized. We find them – for example – in illuminated manuscripts.⁵³ Actual portraits of the outward appearance of specific persons – already well known in classical antiquity – re-emerged only in the late Middle Ages.⁵⁴ On the other hand, during the second half of the 13th century, a representation by means of a coat of arms was an actual portrait of the day. Frederick's coat of arms was thus the only (but still perfectly sufficient) visual artform Ottokar aus der Gaal had at his disposal.

In spite of the accusations, we must say it is highly unlikely that Frederick V of Ptuj ran away from battle. If this were the case, it would undoubtedly have shown in his later political life. He would definitely have lost his position of territorial judge of Styria and some of his estates, or perhaps he would even have been tried for high treason by the new Habsburg ruler. But we see none of that. In the years after the battle of Marchfeld, Frederick of Ptuj was still ranked high in the Styrian (as well as Carinthian and Austrian) political circles. Furthermore, King Rudolph I (around 1278) allowed him to construct a new castle at Ormož (named Friedau after himself).⁵⁵ He obviously didn't resent Frederick in any way and was even grateful for his service during past times of need.

As mentioned earlier, the *Rhyme Chronicle* was (most probably) written decades after these events, when the supposed coward was already deceased. But still – Ottokar aus der Gaal felt compelled to write down his accusation. Since Frederick of Ptuj's descendants – not as strong, capable and unscrupulous as he – were not unhappy about it, they obviously set out to erase and censor any mention of those damning lines. Maybe they simply weren't powerful enough to do anything against Ottokar directly, or maybe they didn't even try. As the Austrian historian Hans Pirchegger writes, they attempted (probably with the help of the poet Heinrich of Mügeln) to erase the negative parts of the *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle* and substitute them with praise. In the opinion of Boris

⁵¹ Ottokars *Österreichische Reimchronik* 1890 (n. 21), p. 211 (verses 15971–15984). [...] *der fuort in einem gelben velde / einen wurm, der was swarz, / als ein geliutert harz; / der was ûf von unden / umb einander gewunden. / bi dem wârzeichen / mugt ir wol erreichen, / wer der selbe wære: / er was ein Stîrære / und was dienstmans genôz; / michel was er unde grôz, / zden freidigen man in zelt. / nû verstêt iuch, ob ir welt.* Cf. Ottokars *Österreichische Reimchronik* 1893 (n. 33), p. 1421.

⁵² The coat of arms itself originates from the castle of Vurberk (Wurmberg, about 16 kilometers southeast of Maribor) which the family of Ptuj held at the time. See: VIDMAR, HAJDINJAK 2008 (n. 29), pp. 12, 14–15, 20, 22.

⁵³ Liana DE GIROLAMI CHENEY, Alicia Craig FAXON, Kathleen Lucey RUSSO, *Self-Portraits by Women Painters*, Aldershot 2000, p. 20.

⁵⁴ Jeremy TANNER, *The Invention of Art History in Ancient Greece. Religion, Society and Artistic Rationalisation*, Cambridge 2006 (Cambridge Classical Studies), pp. 97–104.

⁵⁵ PIRCHEGGER 1936 (n. 47), p. 256, n. 26; VIDMAR, HAJDINJAK 2008 (n. 29), p. 20.

Hajdinjak, it is also probable that the person behind the erasing (in some of the versions of the *Chronicle*) was Herdegen I of Ptuj (1319–1353), Frederick's grandson, a very educated (possibly at university) and worldly man, a successful politician, a hereditary marshall of Styria and provincial captain of Carniola in the years 1340–1350.⁵⁶ Joseph Seemüller, an Austrian linguist and scholar who in 1890 (1893), wrote a critical edition of the *Chronicle* was obviously of the opinion (his words don't seem to be entirely clear) that the forger was Hartnid (IV or V) of Ptuj.⁵⁷ It seems most likely that the person Seemüller had in mind was Hartnid V of Ptuj-Ormož (1354–1385), who was also Herdegen's only (surviving) son.⁵⁸

Whatever the case may be, after the battle of Marchfeld, Frederick's public life did not come to a halt: he obviously was close to King Rudolph (just like before) and he was still a territorial judge of Styria.⁵⁹ After 1279 and with the help of the Habsburgs, he even attempted to shake off the feudal ties that bonded him to the Archbishop of Salzburg. Frederick's specific goal was to forcefully claim the town and castle of Ptuj as his own possession – which eventually proved to be unsuccessful.⁶⁰ Thus – we must once again conclude that Frederick most likely did not act in a cowardly fashion at the battle of Marchfeld. He didn't run away, he didn't show excessive fear and consequently remained in King Rudolph's good graces. If there really were people running away in fear just before the battle, Frederick V was not one of them.⁶¹

How the Rivals Became In-laws

After the events at the decisive battle of Marchfeld, whatever they may have been – a peace-making epilogue followed. There's no reason to believe that either of the sides involved in the conflict in question had an interest in keeping the quarrel alive for generations. It was bad for successful politics. After 1278 the political situation was completely different than in the 1260s and being able to adapt to it was now of key importance. The backstabbing that happened during the rule of the Bohemian king was now increasingly irrelevant, the turbulent times were over, and a new Habsburg dynasty achieved peace in the wider region. Besides, the noble family of Ptuj was growing stronger by the decade. It was the pragmatic schemer Frederick V († 1288) who laid the foundations for the power of his children and grandchildren in the 14th century. During that period, the nobles of Ptuj were one of the strongest and wealthiest noble families in the whole of today's Slovenia, second only

⁵⁶ PIRCHEGGER 1936 (n. 47), p. 256, n. 26; VIDMAR, HAJDINJAK 2008 (n. 29), p. 22.

⁵⁷ *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik* 1890 (n. 21) p. XLII: *Welcher Pettauer jenes interesse an der Rchr. nahm, dass er sie abschreiben ließ kann freilich nur erraten werden: ich denke an Hertnit von Pettau, dem 1369 Heinrich von Mügeln seine übersetzung des Valerius Maximus widmete.* Cf. VIDMAR, HAJDINJAK 2008 (n. 29), p. 25.

⁵⁸ Tone RAVNIKAR, *Po zvezdnih poteh. Savinjska in Šaleška dolina v visokem srednjem veku*, Velenje 2007, p. 79; VIDMAR, HAJDINJAK 2008 (n. 29), pp. 6–7.

⁵⁹ *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae. 5: Die Kärntner Geschichtsquellen 1269–1286* (ed. Hermann Wießner), Klagenfurt 1956, no. 253–254, 263, 349, 400, 406; MELL 1929 (n. 50), p. 171, n. 56.

⁶⁰ *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe und des Domkapitels von Salzburg 1247–1343. 1/2: 1270–1290 (Friedrich II. und Rudolph)* (ed. Franz Martin), Salzburg 1928, no. 1219, 1221, 1248–1250; Friedrich HAUSMANN, *Der Streit Friedrichs von Pettau mit den Erzbischöfen Friedrich II. und Rudolf I. von Salzburg, Recht und Geschichte. Festschrift Hermann Baltl zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Helfried Valentinitzsch), Graz 1988, pp. 263–285; Peter ŠTIH, *Salzburg na spodnještajerski Dravi in Savi v srednjem veku, Varia* (ur. Peter Štih), Ljubljana 2014 (Razprave I. razreda SAZU, 28), p. 188.

⁶¹ VIDMAR, HAJDINJAK, 2008 (n. 29), p. 20. Cf. PIRCHEGGER 1936 (n. 47), p. 256.

to the growing power and influence of the mighty lords of Žovnek, from 1341 known as the counts of Celje (Cilli).⁶² Their years as just ministerials of the Salzburg archbishops were now already in the very distant past. A war against them would have proven very costly indeed.

Frederick V of Ptuj and Otto II of Liechtenstein solved the problem in a typical medieval fashion. In the medieval era, many previously mortal enemies ended their hostilities (which sometimes included years of brutal fighting) by contracting a marriage. The examples are numerous all over Europe (and beyond) and actually go back to classical antiquity. In some cases, one previous enemy married the other one's daughter and in other cases the enemies decided to marry their children.⁶³ This was the way obviously chosen by Frederick of Ptuj and Otto of Liechtenstein as well. The details are lost to us once again. What we can say with certainty is that during the early years of the 14th century Frederick V's son Hartnid III of Ptuj-Ormož (1285–1316) and Otto II's daughter Cunigunde were husband and wife. When the marriage was contracted, we cannot tell, but it must have happened sometime before the summer of 1299.⁶⁴ Cunigunde obviously died sometime before early February 1307. After that Hartnid III was married to the unidentified sister of Hugh VI of Taufers.⁶⁵ Speaking of Hartnid III's children, we do not know which one of his wives was their mother – but given the first mention of Herdegen I, we can conclude his mother was Cunigunde.

As far as Ottokar aus der Gaal's opinions on the union of Hartnid and Cunigunde are concerned, we again do not know. In his *Chronicle* we find no hint of his feelings towards it. From the information we have, we are able to conclude that he was still slightly bitter about the affair. With his accusatory words against Frederick of Ptuj he also may have tried to console his aging Lord Otto II (†1311), who probably died while his ever loyal vassal and friend Ottokar was still writing.⁶⁶ Otto II also must have had regrets about not being able to avenge his father's humiliation at Wrocław and tried to get back at Frederick V (or at least his family) as best as he could. Even though the accusation of cowardice is very likely untrue, we can say with the utmost certainty that Frederick V of Ptuj was – if not a coward – a ruthless man that made himself many enemies.⁶⁷ As far as this last statement goes, we have more than enough proof.⁶⁸

⁶² BELE 2018 (n. 37), p. 109.

⁶³ As the best example of this kind of peace-making, we should mention the marriage between the Habsburgs and Přemyslids. In the course of the reconciliation process with the Bohemian Přemyslid dynasty, Rudolph II of Habsburg in March 1289 married Agnes of Bohemia (1269–1296), daughter of the late King Ottokar II. They had one son. Rudolph and Agnes must have had mixed feelings about each other's families since Rudolph II's father defeated Agnes' father in battle and indirectly contributed to his death. The marriage between Rudolph II and Agnes did not last long. A little more than a year after the wedding Rudolph died suddenly in Prague, where he was staying at the court of his brother-in-law, King Wenceslaus II of Bohemia – husband of his sister Judith of Habsburg since January 1285. Considering all these moves towards reconciliation, we must conclude that after 1278 King Rudolph I obviously wanted to ensure the surviving Přemyslids didn't go after him. Also, he must have wanted to place his descendants on the Bohemian throne. See: REIFENSCHIED 2006 (n. 12), pp. 374–375.

⁶⁴ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (AT-OeStA/HHStA), Allgemeine Urkunden Reihe (AUR), no. 2926.

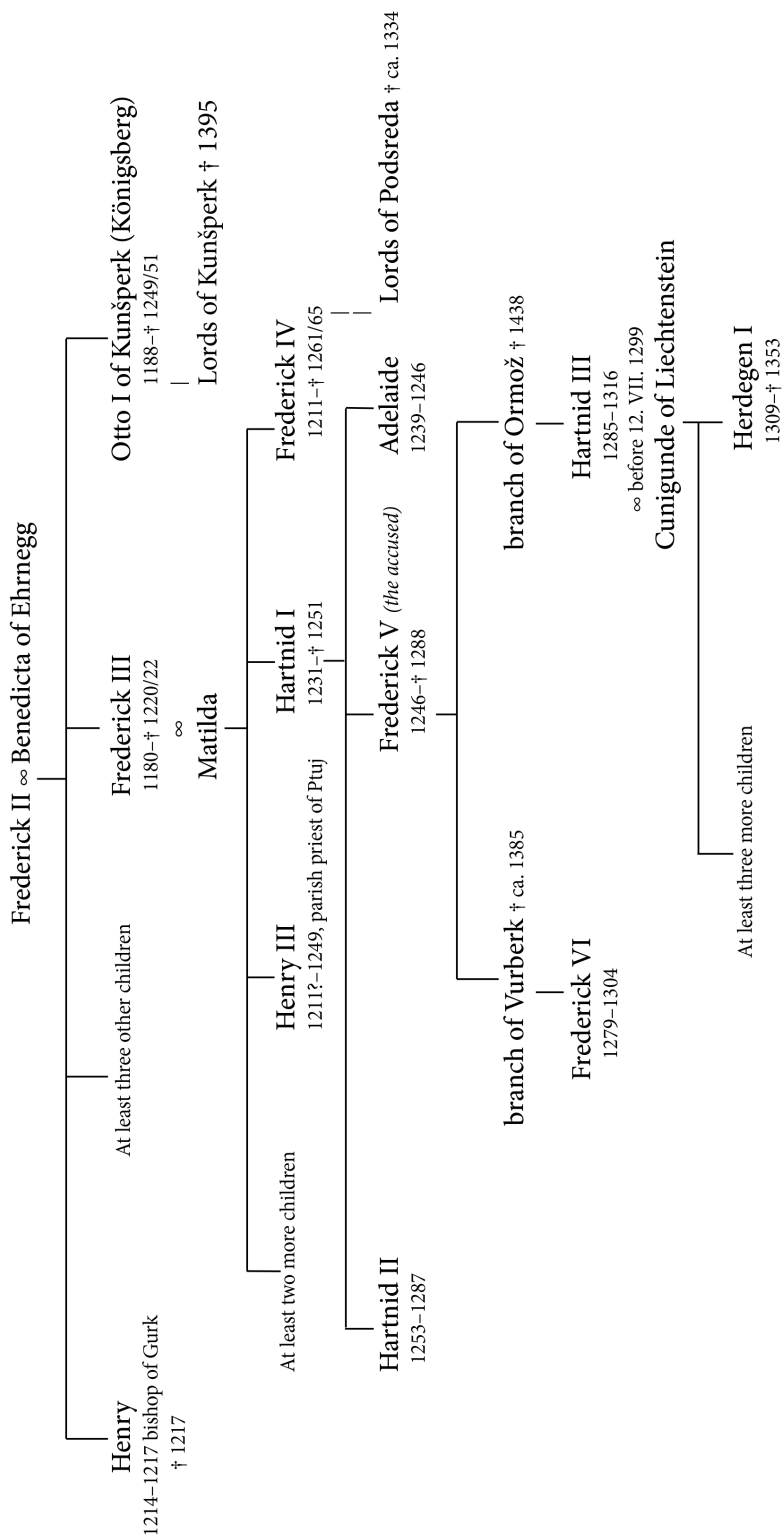
⁶⁵ VIDMAR, HAJDINJAK 2008 (n. 29), pp. 6–7. Cf. DOPSCH 1977 (n. 44), p. 113.

⁶⁶ DOPSCH 1977 (n. 44), pp. 108, 113.

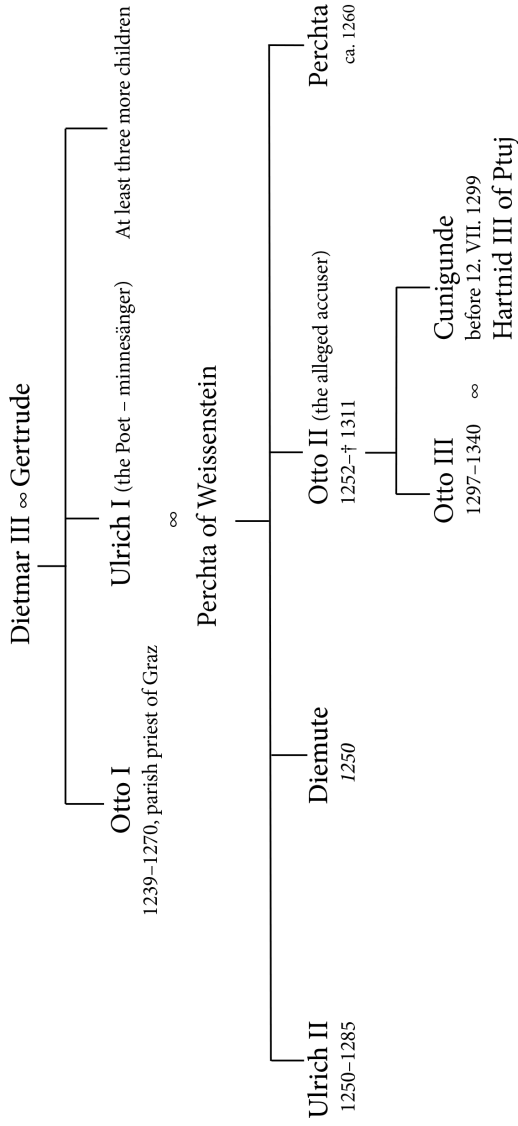
⁶⁷ VIDMAR, HAJDINJAK 2008 (n. 29), p. 20; BELE 2016 (n. 29), pp. 138–142.

⁶⁸ Research for this article was conducted at the University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, within the research project *Visual Arts between Censorship and Propaganda from the Middle Ages to the End of World War I (L7-8282)*, funded by the Slovenian Research Agency and Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Part of the family tree of the Lords of Ptuj (Pettau)



Part of the family tree of the Lords of Liechtenstein



Je res to storil? Friderik V. Ptujski – strahopetec ali žrtev?

Povzetek

Druga polovica 13. stoletja je bila v prostoru Vzhodnih Alp izredno turbulentno obdobje. Stara vojvodska rodbina Babenberžanov, ki je vladala Avstriji, Štajerski in velikemu delu Kranjske, je leta 1246 izumrla. Za njeno dediščino so se začeli bojevati različni tekmeci iz vse Srednje Evrope. Vojvodini Štajerski je do leta 1260 vladal ogrski kralj Bela IV., zatem pa češki kralj Otokar II. Přemysl. Slednji se je leta 1276 – zaradi pritiska kralja Rudolfa I. Habsburškega – moral obema vojvodinama odpovedati, dve leti kasneje pa je v boju z Rudolfom izgubil tudi življenje. Od leta 1282 je bila Štajerska trdno v rokah Rudolfovih potomcev.

V tem času je na današnjem avstrijskem Štajerskem živel Otokar iz Geule, ki je v prvih letih 14. stoletja napisal izredno obsežno *Štajersko rimano kroniko* (ponekod imenovana *Avstrijska rimana kronika*). Ta izobraženi pisec je bil najverjetneje vazal gospodov Liechtensteinskih, katerih istoimenski grad je stal v bližini Judenburga. Ker je Otokar najbrž jedel za njihovo mizo oz. bil od njih tudi finančno odvisen, je danes težko reči, koliko politične interpretacije v njegovi kroniki je resnično njegove. Umestno je domnevati, da je marsikatera interpretacija dogodkov v besedilu v resnici mnenje Liechtensteinskih – najverjetneje tedanjega Otokarjevega gospoda Otona II. Liechtensteinskega (1252–1311). Tako Oton kot njegov oče, slavni viteški pesnik Ulrik I., v času druge polovice 13. stoletja nista bila v najboljših odnosih z gospodi Ptujskimi oz. konkretno s Friderikom V. Ptujskim. Friderik je bil – kolikor je mogoče sklepati iz virov – ambiciozen in občasno skrajno brezobziren politik, ki je svoje politične zaveznike bliskovito zapuščal, če se mu je le ponudila boljša priložnost. Najprej je bil zaveznik ogrskega kralja, nato pa je postal velik privrženec češkega kralja, ki mu je očitno ovajal druge plemiče – tudi Ulrika Liechtensteinskega. Nazadnje je postal zaveznik novega nemškega kralja Rudolfa Habsburškega. Kakor ga je v svoji kroniki obtožil Otokar iz Geule, naj bi leta 1278 strahopetno zbežal iz odločilne bitke med Otokarjem II. in Rudolfom, do katere je prišlo na Moravskem polju. Šlo je za očitno propagando proti gospodom Ptujskim.

Glede obtožbe je namreč treba reči, da Friderik V. Ptujski gotovo ni strahopetno zbežal iz bitke. To bi namreč politično uničilo tako njega kot vso njegovo rodbino. Dokazov za kaj takega ni. Nasprotno, Friderik je bil po letu 1278 še vedno v zelo dobrih odnosih tako s kraljem Rudolfom kot njegovimi sinovi. Po Friderikovi smrti njegovi potomci žaljive omembe v kroniki seveda niso bili veseli. Kakor navaja Hans Pirchegger, so zato njeno besedilo – morda s pomočjo pesnika Henrika iz Mügeln – dali predelati. Odstranili so vse dele, ki so jih bremenili, in jih nadomestili s pohvalami. Nenazadnje sta se Oton in Friderik spravila še tako, da sta poročila svoja otroka. Iz virov izvemo, da je bil Friderikov sin Hartnid III. poročen z Otonovo hčerjo Kunigundo. Spora je bilo v prvih letih 14. stoletja očitno konec.

*Facies
orientalis.*

*Mausoleum
et
crypta sepulcralis
FERDINANDI II IMP.
Gracii prope Collegium
Soc. Jesu.*

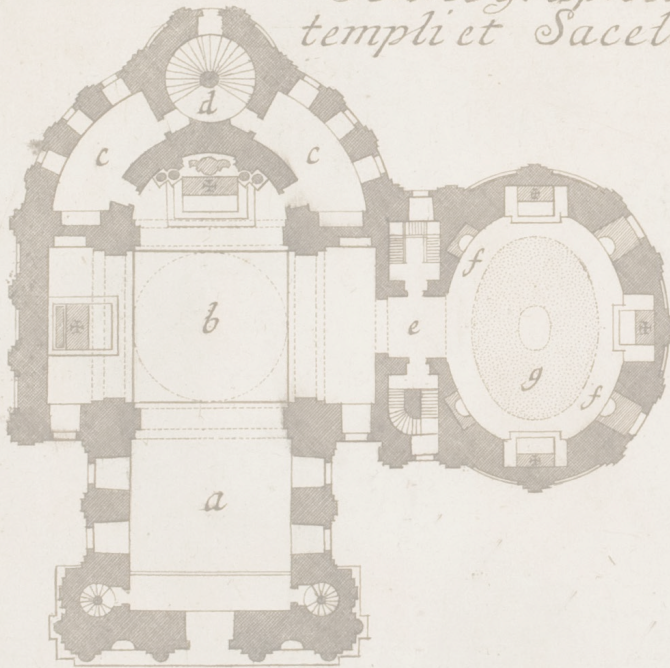
*Conspectus
exterior
lateralis.*



APPARATUS

*Tehnographia
templi et Sacelli.*

*Sectio quasi per medium
a templo a, sacello f, et Crypta g.*



Literarum explicatio.

- a. Templum.*
- b. Tholus.*
- c. Sacristia.*
- d. Turris.*
- e. Oratorium.*
- f. Sacellum.*
- g. Crypta.*



IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

Martin Bele

Je res to storil? Friderik V. Ptujski – strahopetec ali žrtev?

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek obravnava spor med štajerskima plemiškima rodbinama s sedežema na Ptuju in Liechtensteinu, ki se je kratek čas odvijal v 13. stoletju. Nekatere spise, ki so nastali v kontekstu tega spora, imamo lahko za prve ohranjene primerke srednjeveške propagande ene štajerske rodbine proti drugi. Namen članka je obravnavati najpomembnejši narativni vir tistega časa, t. i. *Štajersko rimano kroniko* Otokarja iz Geule, ki je bil v službi liechtensteinske rodbine. Eden od ciljev kronike je bil predstaviti Friderika V. Ptujskega kot strahopetca, ki naj bi bil pobegnul iz bitke na Moravskem polju. Članek predstavlja razloge za spor in njegov potek, dejansko obtožbo strahopetnosti, presojo resnice za obtožbo ter epilog celotnega spora med rodbinama. Obema štajerskima plemičema – Otonu II. Liechtensteinskemu in Frideriku V. Ptujskemu – se je v začetku osemdesetih let 13. stoletja uspelo pobotati, kar sta poudarila tudi v medsebojno poroko svojih otrok.

Ključne besede: srednjeveški spor, vojvodina Štajerska, 13. stoletje, *Štajerska rimana kronika*, Otokar iz Geule, Oton II. Liechtensteinski, Friderik V. Ptujski, bitka na Moravskem polju, propaganda

Jan Galeta

Narodni domovi na Moravskem in v avstrijski Šleziji pred letom 1914. Arhitektura in likovna umetnost kot priložnost za manifestacijo nacionalne pripadnosti

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Tako imenovani narodni domovi so ena izmed posebnosti ne le arhitekture temveč tudi narodnega prepoveda na območju habsburškega cesarstva v obdobju od ok.

Martin Bele

Did he Really Do it? Frederick V of Ptuj – Coward or Victim?

1.01 Original scientific article

The article addresses the brief 13th century dispute between the Styrian noble families of Ptuj (German: Pettau) and Liechtenstein. The related texts should be considered as some of the earliest still preserved examples of medieval propaganda of one Styrian family against another. The paper's purpose is to highlight the most important narrative source of the time, Ottokar aus der Gaal's *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle*. This Chronicle was written by a Liechtenstein vassal, and was meant to portray Frederick V of Ptuj as a coward – specifically during the battle on the Marchfeld. The article discusses the reason behind and the course of the feud, the actual accusation of cowardice, the validity of the accusation and lastly the epilogue of the whole dispute between the parties. Both of the Styrian nobles involved – Otto II of Liechtenstein and Frederick V of Ptuj – obviously came to an agreement sometime in the early 1280s and sealed hostilities with a marriage of their children.

Keywords: medieval dispute, duchy of Styria, 13th century, *Styrian Rhyme Chronicle*, Ottokar aus der Gaal, Otto II of Liechtenstein, Frederick V of Ptuj, battle on the Marchfeld, propaganda

Jan Galeta

National Houses in Moravia and Austrian Silesia before 1914. Architecture and Fine Arts as an Opportunity for the Manifestation of National Allegiance

1.01 Original scientific article

National Houses are one of the phenomena not only of the architecture but also of the national revivals in the territory of the Habsburg Empire in ca. 1850–1914. These

leta 1850 do leta 1914. Ta središča družabnega življenja so gradila društva in združenja, ne samo za svoje sedeže, temveč tudi z namenom privabiti čim širše občinstvo in s svojimi gledališkimi igrami, plesi, proslavami, predavanji ali restavracijami spodbuditi narodno zavest. Na Moravskem in v Šleziji so tovrstne objekte gradili Čehi, Nemci in Poljaki.

Stavbe s tako jasno opredeljeno nacionalno funkcijo so ponujale tudi priložnost z nacionalno propagando nagovoriti tako svojo okolico kot tudi obiskovalce. To je bilo mogoče doseči z različnimi sredstvi: z izbiro arhitekturnega sloga, ikonografijo arhitekturne dekoracije in umetniških del, prireditvami ob slavnostnih otvoritvah narodnih domov in govori na teh dogodkih, kampanjami v časopisu, katerih namen je bil očrtni narodne domove nasprotnega naroda in njihove obiskovalce ter tudi t. i. »odpadnike«. Članek na konkretnih primerih in v širšem kontekstu predstavlja povezavo med arhitekturo in nacionalno propagando.

Ključne besede: narodni domovi, zgodovina arhitekture, nacionalizem, Moravska, Šlezija, nemška hiša

Susanne König-Lein

Habsburški mavzolej v sekovski samostanski cerkvi

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

S tem ko je nadvojvoda Karel II. Avstrijski kot prostor za svoj pokop in pokop svoje družine izbral samostansko cerkev v Sekovi (Seckau), je poudaril njen status stolne cerkve sekovske škofije, ki je bil s širjenjem protestantizma v drugi polovici 16. stoletja ogrožen. Gradnjo in opremljanje mavzoleja v letih 1587–1612 so v glavnem izvedli severnoitalijanski stavbarji, slikarji in štukaterji. Po eni strani so bili sposobnejši, po drugi strani pa so bili, drugače kot štajerski umetniki, katoliške vere. Delo in izbrani materiali so predstavljali velik strošek. Po smrti nadvojvode sta si njegova vdova, nadvojvodinja Marija, in kasneje njegov sin, nadvojvoda Ferdinand, kljub finančnim težavam prizadevala mavzolej dokončati. Kompleksna ikonografija reliefov na epitafu in slopih ter na stropnih in stenskih poslikavah aludira na nadvojvodo Karla II in njegovo družino v smislu glorifikacije predstavnikov in zaščitnikov katoliške vere. Habsburški mavzolej je kot celostna umetnina sijajna manifestacija začetka protireformacije.

Ključne besede: Habsburžani, Notranja Avstrija, protireformacija, mavzolej, nadvojvoda Karel II. Avstrijski, nadvojvodinja Marija, Alexander de Verda, Teodoro Ghisi, Sebastiano Carlone

centres of social life were built by clubs and associations, not just as their private seats, but to attract a greater audience and boost national enthusiasm through theatre plays, balls, fests, lectures, or welcoming restaurants. In the case of Moravia and Silesia, these houses were built by Czechs, Germans, and Poles.

It is evident that buildings with such clearly nationally orientated functions allowed for national propaganda to reach out to their surroundings as well as their visitors. This was accomplished by several means: the architectural style itself; the iconography of architectural decoration and works of art; the festivities accompanying the ceremonial openings of national houses and the speeches given at these events; the campaigns led by the press to defame opposing national houses and their visitors, as well as so-called 'renegades'. Thus, the paper presents a connection between architecture and national propaganda and demonstrates it through specific examples in a broad period context.

Keywords: National Houses, history of architecture, nationalism, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, Deutsches Haus

Susanne König-Lein

The Habsburg Mausoleum in Seckau Monastery Church

1.01 Original scientific article

With the choice of the Seckau collegiate church as a burial place for himself and his family, Archduke Karl II emphasized its status as the cathedral church of the diocese of Seckau, which was endangered by the spread of Protestantism in the second half of the 16th century. The construction and furnishing of the mausoleum in the years 1587 to 1612 were mainly carried out by northern Italian builders, painters, and plasterers who, on the one hand had special abilities, and on the other hand – in contrast to the Styrian artists – were Catholics. Large funds had to be raised for their fees and for the selected material. After the Archduke's death, his widow, Archduchess Maria, and later his son, Archduke Ferdinand, were very keen on completing the mausoleum despite difficulties in funding. The complex iconography of the reliefs on the epitaph and on the pillars, as well as the ceiling and wall paintings, refers several times to Archduke Karl and his family in order to glorify the regent as representative and protector of the Catholic faith. As a "Gesamtkunstwerk", the Habsburg Mausoleum is a splendid manifestation of the beginning of the Counter-Reformation.

Keywords: Habsburgs, Inner Austria, Counter-Reformation, Mausoleum, Archduke Charles II., Archduchess Mary, Alexander de Verda, Teodoro Ghisi, Sebastiano Carlone

Miha Kosi

Reprezentativne zgradbe grofov Celjskih – izraz dinastične propagande

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Grofje Celjski so bili nedvomno najpomembnejša plemiška rodbina z izvorom na današnjem slovenskem ozemlju. Njihov meteorski vzpon je dosegel zenit s povišanjem v državne kneze leta 1436, vendar so že leta 1456 izumrli. Na višku moči so posedovali okrog 125 gradov, kar je bil rezultat več kot stoletja dolge načrtne grajske politike. Eden od načinov izražanja moči in prestiža so bile tudi reprezentativne zgradbe, obenem oblika dinastične propagande. Članek prikazuje nekatere prestižne zgradbe Celjskih: mestni grad v Celju, njihovo glavno rezidenco, dva strateška gradova na dostopih iz Italije (Vipava, Postojna), tri nove, ki so jih grofje zgradili v 15. stoletju (Bela Peč, Fridrihštajn, Mokrice), dva na prestižnih lokacijah na Koroškem (Landskron) oziroma pri Dunaju (Liechtenstein) in njihove mestne rezidence na Dunaju, v Zagrebu, Budimu in Beogradu.

Ključne besede: grofje Celjski, gradovi, grajska politika, srednji vek, palača, Celje, Dunaj, Zagreb, Budim, Beograd

Tina Košak

Med uniformnim in edinstvenim. Upodobitve dobrotnikov cistercijskega samostana Stična

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek obravnava najboljše ohranjeni sklop upodobitev dobrotnikov iz slovenskih samostanov, tj. portrete dobrotnikov in deželnih knezov iz cistercijskega samostana Stična. Osredotoča se na tipologijo, pomen in slogovne značilnosti z ozirom na sorodne ohranjene cikle iz (notranje)avstrijskih samostanov in z ozirom na njihove likovne in pisne vire. Celopostavni portretni upodobitvi vojvode Leopolda III. in njegove soproge Viride (Narodna galerija, Slovenija), doslej pripisani Ferdinandu Stainerju, razkrivata izrazite sorodnosti s serijo šestih celopostavnih upodobitev dobrotnikov cistercijskega samostana Vetrinj Ferdinanda Fromillerja. Atribucijo Fromillerju omogoča tudi Fromillerjeva risba dobrotnika, identičnega Leopoldu III., v Koroškem deželni arhivu. Tudi primerjalna analiza desetih ovalnih portretov stiških dobrotnikov in deželnih knezov omogoča tezo, da so dela nastala v Fromillerjevi delavnici. Portreti so nastali v naslonu na ilustracije v knjigah portretov, kot vir napisov na spodnjem delu

Miha Kosi

Representative Buildings of the Counts of Cilli – an Expression of Dynastic Propaganda

1.01 Original scientific article

The Counts of Cilli (Celje) were undoubtedly the most important noble family to originate from the area of present-day Slovenia. Their meteoric rise reached its peak with their elevation to the rank of imperial princes in 1436, although the dynasty died out in 1456. At the height of their might they possessed more than 125 castles, the result of a century-long deliberate castle politics. One distinct way to express might and prestige was through representative buildings, in itself also a dynastic propaganda. This article presents some of the Cilli's more prestigious buildings: The town palace in Celje, their main residence, two strategic castles on the approaches from Italy (Wipach/Vipava, Adelsberg/Postojna), three new fortifications built by the counts themselves in the 15th century (Weißenfels, Friedrichstein, Mokrice), two on prestigious locations in Carinthia (Landskronn) and above Vienna (Liechtenstein), and their residences in the urban environments of Vienna, Zagreb, Buda and Belgrade.

Keywords: Counts of Cilli, castles, castle politics, Middle Ages, palace, Celje, Vienna, Zagreb, Buda, Belgrade

Tina Košak

Between Uniformity and Uniqueness. Depictions of Benefactors of Stična Cistercian Abbey

1.01 Original scientific article

The article focuses on the largest surviving ensemble of portraits of lay dignitaries from Slovenian monasteries, i.e. depictions of the benefactors from Stična abbey. It draws particular attention to their typology, comparisons with similar surviving works from (Inner) Austrian monasteries as well as their models and written sources. Full-figure life-size depictions of Leopold III, Duke of Austria and his wife Viridis (National Gallery of Slovenia, Ljubljana), hitherto ascribed to Ferdinand Stainer, reveal strong parallels with a series of six benefactors of Viktring abbey by Josef Ferdinand Fromiller, now in the Carinthian State Museum in Klagenfurt, and can be based on Fromiller's benefactor drawing, which is identical to Leopold III, attributed to Fromiller. Similarly, comparative analysis of ten oval portraits of the provincial princes and benefactors of Stična (in the National Gallery and the National Museum of Slovenia) reveals that they were also most probably made in Fromiller's workshop, closely following illustrations in portrait books, which

ovalov pa je bila identificirana leta 1719 dokončana *Idiographia* Pavla Puclja.

Ključne besede: upodobitve dobrotnikov, portret, knjige portretov, Stična, Josef Ferdinand Fromiller, Ferdinand Stainer, Leopold III. Avstrijski, Virida Visconti

Vesna Krmelj

Narodi gredo svojo silno pot. Položaj in ustvarjalnost likovnih umetnikov med prvo svetovno vojno na Kranjskem med cenzuro in propagando

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Prispevek z vidika cenzure in propagande obravnava pogoje za umetniško produkcijo v času vojnega absolutizma na Kranjskem, kjer je generacija slovenske moderne in impresionistov šele vzpostavljala pogoje za institucionalni razvoj slovenske umetnosti in s tem posledično tudi za uspešno propagando. Številni umetniki zato v vojni propagandi niso našli le možnosti za preživetje, temveč so v povečanem obtoku in pomenu vizualnih sporočil hkrati prepoznali tudi priložnost za uveljavitev tako osebnih kot narodnih idealov. Kljub prevladujočim avstrijsko-germanskim vzorcem so skozi likovno tradicijo narodne pokrajine, ljudsko umetnost in slovensko poezijo našli načine za spodbujanje slovenske nacionalne zavesti.

Ključne besede: umetnost med prvo svetovno vojno, produkcijski pogoji, Kranjska, cenzura in propaganda, nacionalna pokrajina, Josip Mantuani, Ivan Vavpotič, križani vojak, Jakopičev paviljon, recepcija

Franci Lazarini

Nacionalni slogi kot propagandno sredstvo prebujajočih se narodov. Slovenski in drugi nacionalni slogi v arhitekturi okoli leta 1900

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Prispevek obravnava različne nacionalne arhitekturne sloge, značilne za arhitekturo zadnjih desetletij Habsburške monarhije, na območju Slovenije, jih umešča v sočasno avstro-ogrsko arhitekturno produkcijo in skuša opredeliti njihovo propagandno vlogo. Predstavljeni so poskusi Ivana Jagera, Cirila Metoda Kocha in Ivana Vurnika za oblikovanje slovenskega nacionalnega sloga, obravnavani pa so tudi primeri češkega in nemškega

are identified here. Moreover, the chronicle of Stična abbey by Paolo Puzel dating to 1719, has been identified as the source of the inscriptions on the lower part of the oval portraits.

Keywords: depictions of benefactors, portraiture, portrait books, Stična (Sittich) abbey, Josef Ferdinand Fromiller, Ferdinand Stainer, Leopold III, Viridis Visconti

Vesna Krmelj

The Nations Go Their Own Way. The Position and Creativity of Artists in Carniola between Censorship and Propaganda during the First World War

1.01 Original scientific article

The article discusses the conditions for art production at the time of war absolutism in Carniola from the point of view of censorship and propaganda. In Carniola, the generation of the Slovene moderna and the impressionists had only begun to establish the conditions for an institutional development of Slovene art and, consequently, for successful propaganda. This is the reason why numerous artists found in war propaganda not only possibilities for survival, but they also recognised in the increased circulation and meaning of visual messages an opportunity to establish personal and national ideals. Despite prevalent Austrian and German models, they found ways to encourage Slovene national awareness through the art tradition of national landscape, folk art, and Slovene poetry.

Keywords: art during the First World War, production circumstances, Carniola, censorship and propaganda, national landscape, Josip Mantuani, Ivan Vavpotič, crucified soldier, Jakopič Pavilion, reception

Franci Lazarini

National Styles as a Means of Propaganda of the Awakening Nations. Slovenian and Other National Styles in Architecture around 1900

1.01 Original scientific article

The article addresses various national architectural styles characteristic of architecture of the last decades of the Habsburg Monarchy on the territory of Slovenia. It places them within concurrent Austro-Hungarian architectural production and tries to determine their propaganda role. It presents Ivan Jager, Ciril Metod Koch and Ivan Vurnik's efforts for designing Slovenian national style, while it also discusses examples of Czech and German national

nacionalnega sloga (nemške neorenesanse). V zaključnem delu avtor ovrže opredelitev opusa Lászla Takátsa v Murski Soboti za primer madžarskega nacionalnega sloga.

Ključne besede: arhitektura, Slovenija, Avstro-Ogrska, pozni historizem, secesija, slovenski nacionalni slog, češki nacionalni slog, nemška neorenesansa, madžarski nacionalni slog, propaganda

Edgar Lein

Gradec in Rim – bazilika sv. Petra kot vzor za cerkev sv. Katarine in mavzolej

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Mavzolej v Gradcu so gradili od leta 1614 dalje po načrtih Giovannijske Pietra de Pomisa, njegov naročnik pa je bil nadvojvoda Ferdinand (od leta 1619 cesar Ferdinand II.). Prvotna zasnova fasade je nastala pod vplivom cerkvenih pročelij Andrea Palladia. Po letu 1621 je bila fasada povišana z nadstropjem atike, ki poteka okoli celotne zgradbe, in zaključena s trikotnim čelom, nad katerim se pne mogočen segmentni lok. Ta motiv, ki ga je prvi uporabil Michelangelo, najdemo tudi nad portali stolnice v Reggio Emilii in cerkve Il Gesu v Rimu. Tudi arhitekturna členitev zunanjsčine sega vse do Michelangelovega osnutka zunanjsčine bazilike sv. Petra. Bogate dekorativne oblike imajo milanski ali lombardski značaj. Posrednik rimskih arhitekturnih oblik je bil jezuit Wilhelm Lamormaini, ki je v Gradcu deloval kot svetovalec in spovednik nadvojvode Ferdinanda in njegove družine in je verjetno imel odločilno vlogo pri preoblikovanju mavzoleja v spomenik protireformacije.

Ključne besede: cerkev sv. Katarine in mavzolej v Gradcu, Giovanni Pietro de Pomis, cesar Ferdinand II., Wilhelm Lamormaini, jezuiti, Il Gesù, bazilika sv. Petra, pročelja Palladijevih cerkva, milanska in lombardska arhitektura, Michelangelo

Mija Oter Gorenčič

Kartuzijanska politika grofov celjskih – zgled za Habsburžane?

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V prispevku je raziskano, ali je mogoče prepoznati medsebojne vplive in zglede v kartuzijanski politiki Habsburžanov in grofov Celjskih. Da bi našli odgovor na to vprašanje, so bile pregledane listine, ki izpričujejo hkratno

styles (the German Neo-Renaissance). In the concluding part, the author disproves the definition of Lászlo Takáts' oeuvre in Murska Sobota as an example of Hungarian national style.

Keywords: architecture, Slovenia, Austria-Hungary, Late Historicism, Art Nouveau, Slovenian National Style, Czech National Style, German Neo-Renaissance, Hungarian National Style, propaganda

Edgar Lein

Graz and Rome – St. Peter's Basilica as a Model for St. Catherine's Church and Mausoleum

1.01 Original scientific article

The Mausoleum in Graz was built after 1614 by Giovanni Pietro de Pomis on commission of Archduke Ferdinand (since 1619 Emperor Ferdinand II). The first design of the façade was influenced by Andrea Palladio's church façades. After 1621 the façade was raised by an attic storey, which runs around the entire building, and crowned with a triangular pediment, which is vaulted by a mighty segmental arch. This motif, first used by Michelangelo, can also be found above the entrance portals of the Cathedral of Reggio Emilia and Il Gesù in Rome. The structure of the outer walls of the building can also be traced back to Michelangelo's design of the outer walls of St. Peter's. The rich decorative forms are of Milanese or Lombard character. Jesuit Wilhelm Lamormaini was the mediator of the Roman architectural forms. Active in Graz as an advisor and confessor to Ferdinand and the archducal family he likely held a decisive role in the transformation of the Mausoleum into a Monument of the Counter-Reformation.

Keywords: St. Catherine's Church and Mausoleum in Graz, Giovanni Pietro de Pomis, emperor Ferdinand II, Wilhelm Lamormaini, Jesuits, Il Gesù, St. Peter's Basilica, façades of Palladio's churches, milanese and lombard architecture, Michelangelo

Mija Oter Gorenčič

The Carthusian Policy of the Counts of Cilli – a Model for the Habsburgs?

1.01 Original scientific article

The paper discusses whether it is possible to discern mutual influences in the Carthusian policy of the Habsburgs and the Counts of Cilli. The documents that attest to the simultaneous connection between the Carthusians, the

povezavo med kartuzijani, Habsburžani in Celjani. Ugotovljena je bila tesna prepletenost, ki se kaže tudi na umetnostnem področju. Najbolj reprezentativen umetnostni spomenik te povezanosti je strešni stolpič kartuzije Jurklošter, ki je v članku na novo časovno umeščen, in sicer v sredino 14. stoletja. Kartuzijanska politika grofov Celjskih, ki so imeli svoj sedež na južnem Štajerskem v bližini kartuzij Žiče in Jurklošter, in tesni medsebojni kontakti so bili zagotovo ena od najpomembnejših vzpodbud za Habsburžane pri njihovi odločitvi za naselitev kartuzijanov v okolici Dunaja in v Spodnji Avstriji in za pokop v kartuzijanskih cerkvah.

Ključne besede: srednji vek, grofje Celjski, Habsburžani, kartuzijani, kartuzijanski samostani, Jurklošter (Gairach), Gaming

Friedrich Polleroß

Portrait in propaganda na primeru cesarja Karla VI.

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek podaja pregled javnih funkcij cesarskih portretov na primeru portretov Karla VI., iz čigar časa je ohranjenih veliko pisnih in slikovnih virov. Ena od glavnih tem je uporaba portretov v procesu iskanja vladarjeve soproge in pri zaročnih slovesnostih. Po nekaj Karlovih otroških portretih je v času španske nasledstvene vojne nastala množica vladarjevih portretov, zaradi katerih je prišlo celo do »portretne vojne«. Podeljevanje portretnih miniatur in častnih medalj ter uporaba državnih portretov sta imela pomembno politično vlogo pri dednih poklonitvah deželnih stanov. Tudi pri drugih praznovanjih so bile vladarjeve slikarske in kiparske portretne upodobitve predstavljene v javnosti. Samostojne portrete ali serije pa so zbirali v »cesarskih« ali »avstrijskih« dvoranah mestnih hiš (Dunaj, Bruselj, Maribor), samostanov (Salem, Ottobeuren, St. Florian, Osoje) in rezidenc cerkvenih knezov (Bamberg, Salzburg). Nekatere primere je mogoče najti tudi v plemiških dvorcih (Forchtenstein, Znojmo) ali uradnih vladnih in univerzitetnih stavbah.

Ključne besede: cesar Karl VI., funkcije portretov, državni potreti, ceremonial

Habsburgs, and the Counts of Cilli were analysed to answer this question. A close interconnectedness was discovered, which is also visible in the field of art. The most representational monument of this connection is a ridged turret of the Jurklošter charterhouse. The article establishes a new chronological placement of the turret, the middle of the 14th century. The Carthusian policy of the Counts of Celje with their seat in southern Styria and therefore very close to the Charterhouses Žiče and Jurklošter and the tight mutual contacts were surely one of the most important encouragements for the Habsburg family in their decision to settle this elite monastic order near Vienna and in Lower Austria and to be buried in Carthusian churches.

Keywords: Middle Ages, Counts of Cilli (Celje), Habsburg Family, Carthusians, Carthusian monasteries, Jurklošter (Gairach), Gaming

Friedrich Polleroß

Portrait and Propaganda at the Example of Emperor Charles VI

1.01 Original scientific article

The paper discusses the public functions of the imperial portrait exemplary with the portraits of Charles VI, where we have many texts and images as sources. The main themes are: the use of portraits during the search for princely spouses and the ceremonies of engagement. After a few child portraits of Charles there was a flood and even a war of portraits during the Spanish War of Succession. The distribution of portrait miniatures and medals of grace and the use of state portraits during ceremonies played an important political role in the recognition of the new ruler by his different states. Also, in other festivities, paintings or sculptures of the monarch were presented in public. Single portraits or series with the portrait of Charles were collected in the "Imperial or Austrian halls" of town halls (Vienna, Brussels, Maribor), abbeys (Salem, Ottobeuren, St. Florian or Ossiach), and in the residences of church princes (Bamberg and Salzburg). Some examples can also be found in the castles of aristocrats (Forchtenstein, Znojmo) or official government and university buildings.

Keywords: Emperor Charles VI, use of portraits, state portraits, ceremonial

Petra Svoljšak*Umetnost med cenzuro in propagando v prvi svetovni vojni*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Članek analizira odnos avstrijskega državnega aparata do umetnosti med prvo svetovno vojno. Zelo pomembno vlogo je imela cenzura, ki ji je uspelo nadzirati vsa področja javnega in zasebnega življenja v avstrijski polovici monarhije, medtem ko je bilo upravljanje javnega mnenja v domeni Vojnega tiskovnega urada. Urad je izvajal nadzor nad umetniško propagando in tiskom, knjigami, razglednicami in drugimi javnimi mediji. V članku so analizirana področja dela urada in dejavnost umetniške skupine (Kunstgruppe), v katero so bili vključeni umetniki, ki so na svoj način spodbujali delo vojske; med njimi sta bila iz slovensko govorečih dežel Ivan Vavpotič in Luigi Kasimir. Seznam mobiliziranih umetnikov vsebuje tudi nekatera slavna imena svetovne umetnosti, na primer Oskarja Kokoschko in Egon Schieleja.

Ključne besede: prva svetovna vojna, Avstro-Ogrska, cenzura, propaganda, umetnost, Vojni tiskovni urad

Polona Vidmar*Portreti kot vizualizirani spomin na dosežke zaslužnih mariborskih meščanov*

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V prispevku je analiziranih dvanajst portretov uglednih mariborskih meščanov, ki so bili ob koncu 19. in v začetku 20. stoletja naslikani za mariborski rotovž, občinsko hranilnico in prostore gledališko-kazinskega društva. Avtorica je analizirala upodobljene rekvizite glede na funkcijo portretirancev, ugotovila prvotno nahajališče portretov in na podlagi sočasnih časopisnih člankov in jubilejnih besedil navedla nagibe naročnikov ter portrete prvič predstavila v okviru sorodnih portretnih serij v prestolnicah (Dunaj, Gradec, Ljubljana, Zagreb) in bližnjih štajerskih mestih (Ptuj, Radgona). S portretnimi serijami županov, predstojnikov direkcije občinske hranilnice in gledališko-kazinskega društva so člani mariborske lokalnopolitične in finančne elite vizualizirali izjemne dosežke upodobljencev, da bi jim zagotovili trajen spomin in spodbujali bodoče kandidate. V kontekstu primerljivih srednjeevropskih portretnih galerij je pri mariborskih serijah manj pomembno kontinuirano upodabljanje nosilcev funkcije, poudarjena je propagandna vloga portreta kot nagrade za posameznikove izjemne dosežke.

Petra Svoljšak*Art between Censorship and Propaganda during the First World War*

1.01 Original scientific article

The essay deals with the relationship of the Austrian state apparatus to art during the First World War. A very important role was attributed to censorship, which succeeded in controlling all areas of public and private life in the Austrian half of the Monarchy, while public opinion lay in the domain of the War Press Office. The War Press Office exercised its control over artistic propaganda in the press, in books, in postcards and in other public media products. The article, therefore, discusses the office's fields of work and also sheds light on the activities of the art group (Kunstgruppe), which also 'recruited' artists for the war effort: Ivan Vavpotič and Luigi Kasimir from the Slovenian-speaking area. The list of mobilized artists contained a few famous names in the art world, such as Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele.

Keywords: First World War, Austria-Hungary, censorship, propaganda, Art, War Press Office

Polona Vidmar*Portraits as a Visualised Memory of Meritorious Achievements of Maribor's Townspeople*

1.01 Original scientific article

The article analyses 12 portraits of renowned Maribor townspeople, which were painted for Maribor Town Hall, Maribor Savings Bank, and the rooms of the Town Theatre and Casino Society at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The author analysed the painted requisites based on the function of the portrayed, discovered the original location of the portraits, and based on the concurrent newspaper articles and celebratory texts, identified the motives of the patrons, while she also presented the portraits in the scope of similar portrait series in the capital cities (Vienna, Graz, Ljubljana, Zagreb) and nearby Styrian towns (Ptuj, Bad Radkersburg) for the first time. The members of Maribor's local political and financial elite used the portrait series of mayors, representatives of the Town Savings Bank Directorate and the Theatre and Casino Society to visualize exceptional achievements of the portrayed to ensure their lasting memory and to encourage future candidates. In the context of comparable Central European portrait galleries, the Maribor series places less importance on the continuous portrayal of the function holders and emphasises the propaganda role of the portrait as a reward for an individual's exceptional achievements.

Ključne besede: portretno slikarstvo, portretna galerija, Maribor, mariborski župani, Alois Graf, Eduard Lind

Keywords: portraiture, portrait gallery, Maribor, mayors of Maribor, Alois Graf, Eduard Lind

Barbara Vodopivec

Vizualna propaganda med prvo svetovno vojno na ozemlju Slovenije: vplivi in posebnosti

Barbara Vodopivec

Visual Propaganda in the Slovenian Territory during the First World War: Influences and Specifics

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

1.01 Original scientific article

Prispevek se osredotoča na vprašanja, kakšna je bila podoba vizualne propagande na slovenskih tleh v času prve svetovne vojne, od kod so prihajali vplivi in ali ta podoba odslkava določene regionalne posebnosti. Avtorica analizira delovanje osrednjega avstroogrškega vojnega tiskovnega urada (*Kriegspressequartier, KPQ*) ter njemu podrejenih umetniške (*Kunstgruppe*) in propagandne skupine (*Propagandagruppe*). V osredje postavlja njihov vpliv na slovenski prostor, kot se kaže na podlagi medvojnih umetniških razstav, delovanja vojnih slikarjev in mehanizmov produkcije vsebin za množične tiske. Na podlagi arhivskega gradiva razkriva nekatere še neznane podrobnosti delovanja kiparja Friedricha Gornika (1877–1943) in slikarja Ivana Vavpotiča (1877–1943) kot vojnih umetnikov in predstavlja del Vavpotičevega do sedaj pri nas neznanega vojnega opusa, ki ga hrani Vojni muzej na Dunaju. V nadaljevanju so analizirani likovni motivi in tematike zbirke razglednic *Vojska v slikah*, ki je izhajala na Slovenskem, pri čemer avtorica posebno pozornost posveča iskanju vplivov in opredelitvi posebnosti, ki jih lahko vezemo na slovenski prostor.

The contribution focuses on the issues related to the image of visual propaganda in the Slovenian territory during the First World War; on the origins of its influences; and on the question whether this image reflected any regional characteristics. First, it presents the results of analysing the activities of the central Austro-Hungarian War Press Office (*Kriegspressequartier, KPQ*) and its Art Department (*Kunstgruppe*) and Propaganda Department (*Propagandagruppe*). It underlines the influence of these institutions in the Slovenian territory based on the wartime art exhibitions, activities of war artists, and mechanisms of producing the mass press contents. Based on the archival materials, it also reveals certain previously unknown details regarding the activities of sculptor Friedrich Gornik (1877–1943) and painter Ivan Vavpotič (1877–1943) as war artists and presents Vavpotič's wartime opus, kept in the Museum of Military History in Vienna, which has, to date, not received scientific attention. In the continuation, the article reveals the results of the analysis that focused on the topics and art motifs of the postcard collection *War in Pictures*, published in the territory of Slovenia, and pays special attention to identifying the influences and defining the peculiarities that can be associated with the Slovenian territory.

Ključne besede: vizualna propaganda, vojni tiskovni urad, KPQ, umetniška skupina, Ivan Vavpotič, Friederich Gornik, zbirka *Vojska v slikah*, vojne razglednice

Keywords: visual propaganda, War Press Office, KPQ, Art Department, Ivan Vavpotič, Friederich Gornik, War in Pictures, war postcards

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CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
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7.074(436+439)(082)

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ISBN 978-961-05-0495-5
1. Vzp. stv. nasl. 2. Lazarini, Franci
COBISS.SI-ID 38441219



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