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Photo of the monument at Matic Poljana
with double exposure (Arhiv fotokluba
Rijeka; photo: Zdenko Sila, 1974)

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St Maximus the Greek: On *pietas* and the Vision of Pope Gregory the Great

Neža Zajc

Neža Zajc, PhD, Institute of Cultural History, ZRC SAZU, Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana,
neza.zajc@zrc-sazu.si, ORCID ID: 0000-0001-5220-3553

Abstract

St Maximus the Greek: On *Pietas* and the Vision of Pope Gregory the Great

1.01 Original scientific article

This study examines the complex relationship between Eastern Orthodox and Western Roman Christian approaches to iconography through an unconventional textual source from the Renaissance period. The impetus for this study is a text by St. Maximus the Greek, a learned Athonite monk who, in the mid-16th century, reflected on the meaning of the iconographic term *pietas*. Through his personal exegesis, he facilitated a new reflection on the motif of *pietas*, which, in his interpretation – relating it to the liturgical vision of Pope Gregory the Great – appears as enigmatically defined and, in this instance, directly connected to the iconography of the Son of God. By distinctly diverging from conventionally established concepts in the fields of culture and art history, he has prompted a more profound examination of questions and foundational problems of Christian iconography. Using an interdisciplinary method based on philological, literary, and theological analysis, this research reconstructs the historical and political conditions that shaped different art-historical receptions. Through tracing the development of the “language of images,” the article clarifies the distinct Eastern and Western cultural-theological traditions that informed differing perceptions of Christian visual art.

Key words: St Maximus the Greek, Pope Gregory the Great, *pietas*, iconography, images of Jesus Christ, Mother of God (Theotokos), East-West, icons, Eastern councils

Izvleček

Sveti Maksim Grk: *Pietas* in videnje papeža Gregorja Velikega

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Razprava na podlagi neobičajnega besedilnega vira iz evropske renesanse osvetljuje večplastna razmerja med vzhodnim (pravoslavnim) in zahodnim (rimskim) pogledom na krščansko ikonografijo. Povod za raziskavo je besedilo Sv. Maksima Grka, atoškega meniha in učenega misleca, ki je v sredini 16. stoletja premišljeval o pomenu ikonografskega termina *pietas*. S svojo osebno eksegezo je omogočil nov razmislek o motivu *pietas*, ki se v njegovi interpretaciji – ob navezavi na liturgično vizijo papeža Gregorja Velikega – kaže kot enigmatično opredeljen in tokrat neposredno povezan z ikonografijo Božjega Sina. Z jasnim odstopanjem od uveljavljenih kulturnih in umetnostnozgodovinskih koncepcij je odprl globljo refleksijo temeljnih vprašanj krščanske ikonografije. Interdisciplinarna (filološko-literarno-teološka) rekonstrukcija izvirnega besedila ponuja vpogled v zgodovinske, kulturne in politične pogoje, ki so oblikovali ne le dve različni umetnostnozgodovinski tradiciji, temveč tudi več različnih smeri kulturnozgodovinske recepcije. Z vpogledom v zgodovinski razvoj »ikonografskega slovarja« (»jezik podob«) razprava obravnava različne vzhodne in zahodne kulturno-teološke tradicije, ki so vplivale na različna razumevanja krščanske upodobitvene umetnosti.

Ključne besede: Sv. Maksim Grk, papež Gregor Veliki, *pietas*, ikonografija, podobe Jezusa Kristusa, Mati Božja (Theotokos), Vzhod-Zahod, ikone, vzhodni koncili.

Introduction

In the Maximus' text about the meaning of *pietas* written during his period of imprisonment in a monastery cell (in Muscovite Russia) between 1525–1552, Maximus focused on the image of God the Son through the description of the Saviour's appearance during the liturgical service. The narrative is embraced by the vision of Pope Gregory the Great, who perceived it as a direct manifestation of Jesus Christ's Mercy. However, in explaining *pietas* in the relation to Jesus Christ, Maximus introduced the theologically based terms, associated specifically related to Eastern Orthodox Christianity: liturgy, icon-writing, the action of the Holy Spirit, spiritual tears, beauty and mystagogy. The present study therefore argues that Christian iconography can not be understood apart from its theological and liturgical foundations, especially the continuous interaction between Rome and Constantinople. Consequently, it encourages to precise a more nuanced comprehension of Christologically and the pneumatological content of shaping Christian iconography. Accordingly, Maximus's survey, encompassing both Eastern and Western traditions of Christianity, posits a fundamental paradigm for re-evaluating the extant historical records concerning sacred images. The reflection in the present essay leads to the exploration of the historical moment in which the indicated image was recognized, that aligned in the close timeline with the date of the first preserved icon of Jesus Christ, indeed, within or soon after the life of Pope Gregory I.

Maximus the Greek, born Mikhail Trivolis in the Greek town of Arta (c. 1469),¹ is perhaps to be considered of critical importance to the rational and philological criticism of the Russian sacred texts in the liturgical use of the time. The grounds for this assumption, however contested,² is his formative experience of collaboration with some of the most prominent characters of the early sixteenth century humanism – among them Janus Laskaris, Aldus Manutius, Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola and the colleagues of the second wave of the Greek diaspora – during his stay in Italy (1492–1503?). While he was in Italy, among many of his experiences, he also heard of the legend of Pope Gregory the Great (540–604) and his supposed vision of Christ. He wrote a text about Pope's vision during his period in Russia.³

¹ The hypothesis that Michael Trivolis and Maksim Grek are the same person was first proposed in 1943 by the French scholar Élie Denissoff (Denissoff, *Maxime le Grec*). On Maximus the Greek's period in Russia, see Sinityna, *Maksim Grek v Rossii*. For a brief biographical survey, see Zajc, "Some Notes (Part 1)."

² For corroborating this assumption, see Ihor Ševčenko's contributions, within the necessary aspect of the firm Greek basis of Maximus's literary work: Ševčenko, "On the Greek Poetic;" Ševčenko, "The Four Worlds."

³ His work in Russia resulted from a letter of invitation with a request to send a translator and editor of the "sacred books" from Athos to Moscow in 1517. However, after the intense period (1518–1525) of his activity in Moscow, in 1525 and 1531, he was accused of "heretical mistakes" and consequently imprisoned until 1552. The severe conditions (in dark and solitude) were eased in 1536, and he was at least allowed to write. He died in 1555/1556. See more in Zajc, "Some Notes (Part 1);" Zajc, "St. Maximus the Greek;" Zajc, "St. Maximus the Greek – Between;" Zajc, "The Byzantine-Poetic Path;" Zajc, "St. Maximus the Greek (Mihail Trivolis);" Zajc, "The Biographical Phenomenon."

In his short thesis *About the Holy Icon of the Jesus Christ, called Despondency*,⁴ Maximus reflects on the iconological significance of the Latin term *pietas*,⁵ a concept whose precise etymological grounding remains elusive. Specifically, he addresses its iconographic misrepresentation among Russians. His text was motivated by the legend framed in the life of Pope Gregory the Great, which he somehow became acquainted with during his Italian years: when Gregory was holding a liturgical service,⁶ he had a great vision. Christ appeared before his eyes. Upon the beautiful apparition the pontiff's eyes began to shed tears of spiritual compassion. From that time onward, he commanded the painters to depict the exact image of Christ as he appeared in his vision.

However, the anecdote follows a precise philological introduction addressing specific Slavic terms, which came to denote the meaning of *pietas*. In doing so, Maximus diverged from the art-historical reception and tradition on the iconographic motif of *pietas*, primarily due to his explicit associating it with God the Son, which, indeed, hadn't been present in the Eastern iconography, and was mostly related to the Mother of God in the West.⁷

Maximus's text *About the Holy Icon of the Jesus Christ, called Despondency*

Prolegomena⁸

The Holy image of the venerable icon of the Lord, God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, is referred to as pietas in Roman, which in Russian signifies "charity" (compassion) or "piety", but not despondency.

In the first paragraph of his text, Maximus presents his exegetical introduction to the increasingly close correlation between the term *pietas* and the depiction of Christ (fig. 1). Through this notion, he introduces into the discourse an intriguing connection between the sacred image and the icon as the ultimate representation of the Holy. He further emphasizes the significance of *pietas*

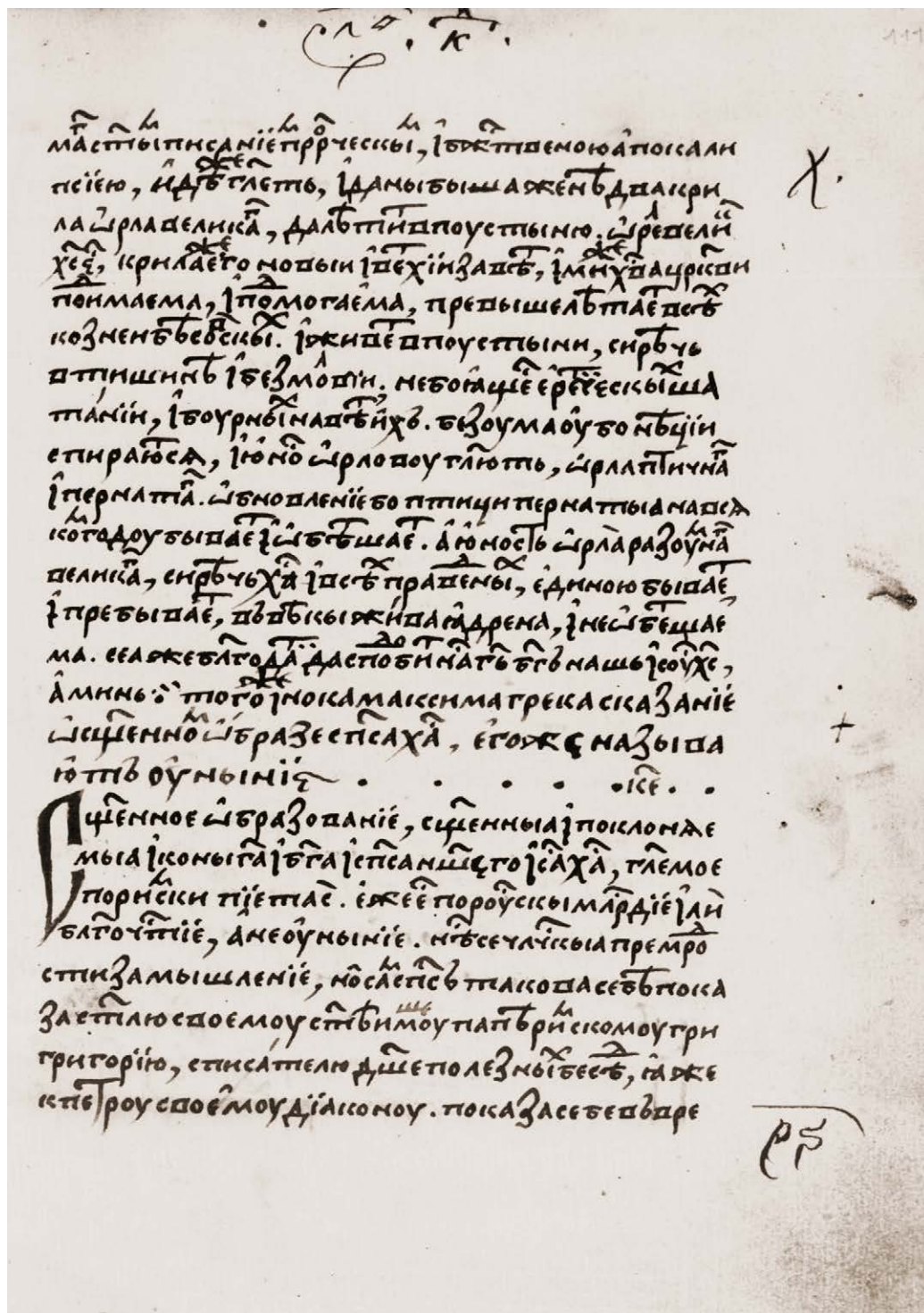
⁴ The text is not included in the two critical editions of St Maximus the Greek's texts in Russia, published in 2008 and 2014 (Grek, *Sočinenija*). However, it is included in all main manuscript collections of St Maximus the Greek in Russia. This research is also based on the manuscript from Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Département des manuscrits, Ms. Slave 123: Michel Trivolis, Opera), which contains the paths of Maximus's autographical protograph. In this context, I express my sincere gratitude to Nina V. Sinitsyna (1936–2018), who confirmed this thesis in a conversation with me (April 2013). Today Russian scholars are divided in their perspective on this issue. Undoubtedly, Ms. Slave 123 is reflected in the final collection of Khudov's manuscripts, which was improved by the hand of Maximus the Greek. See Zhurova, *Avtorskij tekst*, 1: 370–72; Zhurova, *Avtorskij tekst*, 2: 146–47; Čumičeva, "Massimo il Greco," 389–90, 393–94.

⁵ That is, *pietas* in terms of cardinal virtues, meaning duty, dutifulness, *erga deos* equalling piety. See below on the specific meaning of the term *pietas* as referred to in this article.

⁶ Gregory the Great was a deacon of Pope Benedict I (575–579). See Barmby, *Gregory the Great*, 53.

⁷ In fact, the significant expression of the co-suffering and the mourning attitude, recognized within the known motif of *pietas*, was assimilated in the image of Mary. In the East, such a motif was differentiated in the form of *Deesis*, representing the Holy Theotokos with St John the Baptist, the later type (twelfth to fourteenth century) of the Byzantine iconostas. Chatzidakis, "A Byzantine Icon," 343; Weitzmann, *The Icons*, plate 26 (see also plate 47); Beckwith, *Early Christian*, plate 290.

⁸ BnF, Département des manuscrits, Ms. Slave 123: fol. 111. All translations are by the author of this article.



1. First page of St Maximus the Greek's text on pietas, sixteenth century
 (© Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Ms. Slave 123, fol. 111)

in Old Church Slavonic⁹ by identifying two contextually and stylistically distinct meanings of the term. These are not perfect equivalents – neither exact analogues nor strict synonyms – but rather interpretative variants of the original concept.¹⁰ Adopting a philological approach that reflects his Italian training and professional practice as a translator, scribe, editor, and textual critic – particularly in the meticulous transition from manuscript to print – Maximus proposes two Slavonic terms embodying the ideas of mercy and devotion. These encompass meanings such as benevolence, forgiveness, tenderness of heart, and sincere piety. He grounds these interpretations in the Latin theological concept of *pietas*, closely associated with God’s merciful nature and expressed in human piety, charity, and boundless compassion. His treatise ultimately arose from his observation that this term, especially in relation to the icon of God the Son, was profoundly misunderstood among the Russian people.

There is a widely accepted consensus that Russian icons faithfully preserved the Orthodox iconographic tradition.¹¹ Yet Maximus nevertheless discerned a certain ambiguity in specific Russian icons, noting that he had not encountered analogous representations elsewhere in the Orthodox world and attributing their emergence to the acts of human imagination (*φαντασία*).¹² His critique¹³ thus targeted the rigorous and strict discipline required for the spiritually inspired use of inherited iconographic models warning against interpretative misleadings that might deviate from the clearly delimited conceptual framework of Orthodox theology. In contrast to this, Maximus simultaneously sought to strengthen the resolve of Russian monastic communities, urging them to persevere in the often arduous ascetic struggle intrinsic to the Orthodox faith. Within this specific text, he placed pronounced emphasis on the element of *reality*—that is, on the ontological presence of God the Son within the Holy Image itself, understood in terms of *ὑπόστασις* and *ἐνέργεια*. For Maximus, the icon is not merely a symbolic representation but a locus of divine presence that functions as an imperative for the meditative reception (*θεωρία*) of the Holy Image. This insistence on reality inadvertently but precisely touched upon the historical moment in which the iconographic depiction of Jesus Christ had only recently achieved definitive stabilization, shaped in part by the visionary narrative articulated by Pope Gregory the Great. Maximus’ intervention thus reveals an acute awareness of the fragile equilibrium between tradition and innovation at a time when Christological iconography was not yet autatoritatively established.

⁹ On Maximus’s specific language, see Zajc, “Some Notes (Part 2).”

¹⁰ The relation of a possibility or a selection (alternative choice) is shown in the conjunction ‘or’ employed by Maximus.

¹¹ Cf. Gombrich, *The History of Art*, 109. There is confident scholarship on this topic: Lasareff, *Icônes russes*; Lazarev, *Russkaja ikonopis’*; Kondakov, *Russian Icon*; Grabar, *O drevnerusskom iskusstve*; Uspenskij, *Bogoslovie ikony Pravoslavnoj cerkvi*; Kriza, *Depicting Orthodoxy*.

¹² He particularly opposed iconographic motifs such as the crucified Seraph, the depiction of God the Father through the iconography of King David, and the representation of God the Son as a young bronze Christ seated by the Cross with a lance (Uspenskij, “Moskovskie sobory XVI veka,” 338–40). Maximus regarded these images as incompatible with Orthodox theology of the icon. Note that, although the manuscript of that text (eighteenth to nineteenth century) is not from his lifetime, the specific language characteristic for Maximus confirms its originality.

¹³ He noticed specific linguistic expressions in Russian liturgical manuscripts that appeared to align with Nestorianism, particularly with regard to the heretical interpretation of the nature of the Mother of God. Grek, *Sočinenija*, 2: 53–54.

The image of Jesus Christ

The Exegesis: Part I¹⁴

This is not the creation of the human's thought or imagination, but the Saviour Himself has shown Himself to His servant,¹⁵ to the saintly Pope of Rome, Gregory, the author of the spiritual writings to his deacon Peter¹⁶ that are beneficial for the soul.

Maximus's attention was centred on his conviction that the image of *pietas* was not an artistic depiction, made by a man, but a sublime product of a deep experience of the Holy presence.

His position emerges precisely at the juncture where the Christian visual representation of Christian God,¹⁷ had not yet effected a full rupture with the pagan artistic inheritance, and where the Eastern theological vocabulary of the Church was still being forged through the ecumenical Councils.¹⁸ After the definition of orthodoxy by Nicene Creed (325), that employed the non-scriptural term Gr. *homoousios* to signify the absolute equality of the Son with the Father ("begotten" and "consubstantial") and mark Orthodox Trinitarianism,¹⁹ Eastern theologians sought to anchor the dogma of the two natures of God the Son in the Bible.²⁰ The cornerstone of the nascent Orthodox iconography in the East coincided with the use of space for initials in Greek manuscripts (particularly of the Psalter).²¹ These initials, in the form of images, gained the status of miniatures, which were, in fact, the first prototype of "icons" (also with the first Eastern depictions of the Christ on the cross).²² The Council of Ephesus (431) established the iconographical basis of the Virgin Mary as the *Theotokos Parthenos* (Θεοτόκος παρθένης),²³ who was before this date depicted as the merely

¹⁴ BnF, Département des manuscrits, Ms. Slave 123: fol. 111.

¹⁵ For Gregory, true holiness lay in humility; he called himself "the last of His servants and yours" and the "servant of the servants of God." Cf. Barmby, *Gregory the Great*, 46, 101.

¹⁶ Maximus was obviously acquainted with Gregory's writings, see Gregory's letters to the deacon Peter in Barmby, *Gregory the Great*, 62, 142, 147–48. On the deacon Peter vs. Peter the monk, see Barmby, *Gregory the Great*, 116, 125; Gregory the Great, *The Fathers of the Church*, 64. About the authenticity of the Dialogues as an edited record of Gregory's conversations with the Deacon Peter (about the saints of Italy), it is proposed in the letter that Gregory wrote to Maximian, bishop of Syracuse, in July 593; McCulloh, "The cult of relics," 150–52.

¹⁷ The only anthropological (non-inanimate) early Christian depiction of Jesus Christ as the Good Shepherd, known from the ancient models (Roman catacombs, Ravenna Byzantine heritage), was constrained by its proximity to classical models of pagan worship (Beckwith, *Early Christian*, plates 3, 21). Instead, it took the course of depicting God the Son through impersonal and symbolic forms, such as a monogram or with a cross, which is the sign(ature) of Constantine the Great and a symbol of the victory over paganism (Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 36; Golubcov, *Iz čtenij po cerkovnoj*, 217–18; Gayet, *L'art byzantin*, 34; Farioli Campanati, "Ravenna, Costantinopoli,") or a fish (Gr. ἰχθύς) as the acronym of Christ's definition (i.e., Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱός Σωτήρ – Jesus Christ, Son of God, the Saviour).

¹⁸ For example, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Justin Martyr, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, who were all reasonably familiar with Greek philosophy, especially the popular Neoplatonic movement against the Hellenists in the third century. See Baghos, "Aspects of the Byzantine Literary," 95–103; Mango, "New Religion, Old Culture," 99–101.

¹⁹ Louth, "The Introduction," n. 243.

²⁰ For example, Christ's apocalyptic vision (Rev 7:14) with the two angels could be seen in the Byzantine mosaics of the apse of San Vital in Ravenna; Gayet, *L'art byzantin*, 31.

²¹ Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 232, 237–38, 252–54.

²² Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 8–9, plate 1.

²³ Such expression was set on in 432 in the introduction that preceded the confession in the letter of John of Antioch and the Patriarch Cyrill which contained the symbol of union, confirming the Nicene doctrine (ὁμολογοῦμεν – ληφθέντα ναόν) after confrontations from Nestorius in 428 (Abramowski, "Concilium ephesenum," 78).

mother in the form, known in the type of Lat. *Orans* (praying in frontal pose) from the catacomb's ornamentation and wall-painting.²⁴ By the new variant of the latter,²⁵ now the Mother of God in a solitary pose with outstretched arms, embracing the frontally and centrally placed Son within Her, proposed the resemblance of Jesus Christ to be purposely recognized. Already in the fifth century, the half-figure Virgin with raised hands and the frontal Christ Child,²⁶ is documented in the catacombs of S. Maria Maggiore²⁷ and on lead ampullae (a reliquary medallion)²⁸ showing Christ on the top of the Cross, possibly linked to Pope Gregory the Great. The earliest icon of the Mother of God—later associated with the *Hodegetria* type—depicting Christ holding the Gospel in His left hand was likewise believed to have arrived from Crete in 590 and was personally received by Gregory the Great.

Implicitly, the foundation of such composition directed to the future native unit of the compassionate and co-suffering attitudes of the known basis of *pietas* motif. Relativizing heretical mainstreams (Arians, Eutyches, Nestorians, Macedonians) at the Council of Chalcedon (451),²⁹ the new definition of the Christological faith³⁰ (Christ as Logos) enabled a decisive break with the symbolic representation of Christ (firstly as lamb).³¹ Instead, the essence of the Incarnation by portraying the sensitive human likeness³² was suggested, adding the representation of the crucified and dead Christ,³³ which set forth the new affirmation of His two natures,³⁴ representing the triumph over

²⁴ The first example dates from the late second or third century (Beckwith, *Early Christian*, plate 4). The depiction of a nursing mother with a child in the Catacomb of Priscilla on the Via Salaria remains disputed (Beckwith, *Early Christian*, plate 5). According to Aringhi, *Roma subterranea novissima*, 59–62, 69, and Zajc, “Hagiografski vir,” 211, the portraits in the catacombs on the Via Nomentana could depict real people, such as the mother of Constantine the Great (St Helena). There is one example of this with the prophet Isaiah, embraced by St Peter and St Paul in the Catacombs of St Peter and St Marcellinus. Later this type became established as *Vergine Orante* / *Virgo Orans* in the West and in the East, see Cilento, *I Mosaici Bizantini*, 132–33, and further.

²⁵ Golubcov, *Iz čtenij po cerkovnoj*, 198; Aringhi, *Roma subterranea*, 59–62, 69; Zajc, “Hagiografski vir,” 211.

²⁶ Later examples from Saint Mary of Blachernae Church in Constantinople and from Venice, eleventh century. See Ševčenko, “Virgin Blachernitissa,” 2170; Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 24, fig. A.

²⁷ Wellen, *Theotokos*, 152, fig. 28b.

²⁸ Beckwith, *Early Christian*, 24–25; Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, plate X, no. 9a. These objects were in fact souvenirs from the Holy Land that pilgrims carried with themselves or donated to someone honoured. See Mundell Mango, “Pilgrimage.”

²⁹ Maximus often referred to Eastern councils, specifically to the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. See Grek, *Sočinenija*, 1: 191.

³⁰ Mühlenberg, “Concilium Chalcedonense,” 121; Mango, “New Religion, Old Culture,” 103.

³¹ The shift from symbolic representations (especially the lamb) to human likeness was formally articulated only later in Trullo Canon 82, and should not be treated as a simple endpoint of earlier councils. (a motif of the lamb, known from the first quarter of the fifth century from Ravenna, San Vitale as a concession to Judaism (Golubcov). It was forbidden with the words that the human likeness should replace the previous presentations in the form of lamb: “Id est Christum deum nostrum, instar hominis etiam in imaginibus dehinc pro vetere agno statui iubemus;” it was rare in the Christian East (Beckwith, *Early Christian*, plate 32; Golubcov, *Iz čtenij po cerkovnoj*, 225–26; Nedungatt and Agrestini, “Concilium Trullanum,” 210, 281; Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin*, 95–96).

³² In San Vitale, Christ is represented with a young face; the Ravenna cup with the humanlike base and the inscription in Greek as a part of everyday lifestyle at the beginning of the sixth century was preserved in the treasury of Gregory the Great. Baldini, “Ravenna Bizantina,” 64–75; Cosentino, *Prosopografia dell'Italia*, 181.

³³ Martin, “The Dead Christ,” 189–96.

³⁴ Later reaffirmed at the Second Council of Nicaea (787) by explicit approval of the veneration of images after the iconoclastic period in Byzantium, in the seventh session by Nicaea's own *horos* (Lamberz, *Die Bischofslisten*, 15–17, 33–35; Fortounatto and Cunningham, “Theology of the Icon,” 138).

the Arian heresy. Significantly, the Chalcedonian *horos* on the theology of icons by referring to the Church's tradition justified the legitimacy of sacred images.³⁵

However, in the East the future iconoclastic period (726–787; 814–842) suppressed, but also discretely encouraged the determination of the sacred iconography. St John of Damascus in the first anti-iconoclastic sermons³⁶ revealed the crucial relationship between the image and its prototype, as an effective key for the spiritually transformed reception of the icons (theology of images), which, in the close association with the liturgical program in the conjunction with the decoration of the church, were now intended to reach out “all people”.³⁷ Already stable depictions of Lat. *Orans*, dating from 7–8th c.,³⁸ by the addition of the most influential iconographical type of Christ as *Pantocrator* (a Saviour and King; Lat. *Rex regnum*, All-Ruler), probably depicted in Constantinople, expressed the worldview of the universal Church and the cosmic Orthodox economy,³⁹ within which it could spread over all parts of the Christian world (until 12th c.).⁴⁰

On the path to the Christological iconography

The reception of the Holy image through the liturgical scope

After the resolving problems with Monophysites in the years following the Chalcedon Council, the Eucharistic practise was recognized as well.

The Exegesis: Part II⁴¹

*He has shown Himself during the proceeding of the Divine Liturgy, sacredly activating a fearful, bloodless sacrifice, when holiest Gregory placed the fourth part of the Holy and sacrificed lamb⁴² in the chalice.*⁴³

Maximus utilized the terminology from Orthodox liturgical practice, possibly referring to the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, since Pope Gregory was later associated with its practice. This form

³⁵ Lamberz and Uphus, “Concilium Nicaenum II,” 299.

³⁶ St John of Damascus, while living under Muslims (c. 726–730) wrote three iconoclastic sermons addressed to the iconoclastic Emperor Leo III. See Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 18; Louth, “The Introduction,” 10; Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 206, n. 53.

³⁷ Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, 237.

³⁸ The cruciform reliquary (Gr. ἐγκόλπιον) with a Virgin and the crucified Christ (Table XII, 13, in Marazzi, *Bizantini: Luogi, simboli*, 309). From Cortona, Museo Diocesano, is the eighth-century Christ on the cross, preserved in stone, representing the anatomically naked “human” with arms, hands, and legs nailed, and with eyes open; *Christ Triumphans*, expressing a Christian victory (Table XV. 4, 17, in Marazzi, *Bizantini: Luogi, simboli*, 428).

³⁹ Gr. οἰκονομία – household management: the totality of God's activity towards his creation and its salvation; Cunningham and Theokritoff, *The Cambridge Companion*, 293.

⁴⁰ Later also in Italia-Greca (the region in which was kept the tradition of Eastern liturgical rites), in Sicily, dating from 1132–1140; Cilento, *I Mosaici Bizantini*, 77–79, 81, 110–13, 130–31, 137, 152, 184, 189.

⁴¹ BnF, Département des manuscrits, Ms. Slave 123: fol. 111.

⁴² Lat. *Agnus Dei* (Jn 1:19; 1 Cor 5–7; Rev 5:6).

⁴³ In the Orthodox liturgy, the chalice over which the aër is waved over the holy gifts while the Creed is cited, cf. Steenberg, “The Church,” 122.

of the liturgy originally had a special place in the Sanctuary of the Cross on Calvary⁴⁴ — a tradition attested in later sources, though not verifiable from sixth-century evidence. It was celebrated on Holy Wednesday and linked to the biblical event of the Passion of Jesus Christ, firstly celebrated at the beginning of the Vigil of Holy Wednesday.

The Sunday Oration at the end of the Great Canon in the Greek Divine Liturgy indicates that the rite functioned as a preparation for Eucharistic Communion, reflecting later Byzantine euchological interpretation rather than early Roman practice. This preparatory role was already emphasized in the Mass of the Presanctified Gifts,⁴⁵ although the participation of the faithful in this service developed only in the eighth to ninth century. However, the liturgical scholarship⁴⁶ has consistently denied the view that Gregory of Great was the initiator⁴⁷ (of the Roman type of Gr. *anaphora*⁴⁸) of this form of liturgy in which in prothesis the bread and the vine were served before the Divine Liturgy,⁴⁹ distinguishing the medieval attribution from what can be established on the basis of securely datable sixth-century Roman usage. Although Gregory, in his letter to John, Bishop of Syracuse (October 589), ordered the Lord's Prayer to be pronounced immediately after the consecration of the eucharistic gifts — a modification of earlier Roman practice⁵⁰ — this intervention does not constitute the establishment of the Presanctified Liturgy. Greek and Roman manuscript traditions indeed associate Gregory's name with certain liturgical elements, but these attestations represent later interpretative layers rather than evidence for Gregory's authorship of the Presanctified Liturgy. Thus, it remains only possible, though not demonstrable, that during Gregory's lifetime the Presanctified Liturgy was celebrated in Italian-Greek ecclesiastical territories, such as Salento, where Greek-oriental liturgical customs persisted,⁵¹ but this possibility must be treated cautiously, since no direct evidence links Gregory himself to these celebrations.

⁴⁴ Salaville, *Liturgies orientales*, 87.

⁴⁵ The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts could originate from Jerusalem, also attested by Severus of Antioch between 511 and 518; the oldest surviving manuscript is Vat. Codex Barberini 366. See Salaville, *Liturgies orientales*, 86–88.

⁴⁶ Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy*; Parenti and Velkovska, *L'Eucologio Barberini*; Parenti, "L'attribuzione a S. Gregorio;" Parenti, "Per la storia;" Radle, "Sinai Greek."

⁴⁷ The other initiators could be St Basil, St Athanasius, St John Chrysostom, Epiphanius of Salamis (died 403) (Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, xciii; Parenti, "L'attribuzione a S. Gregorio," 82, 85) and Severus of Antioch in 511 (Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici*, 296).

⁴⁸ The Anaphora is considered the central, most solemn prayer of the Eucharist; Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, passim.

⁴⁹ Parenti, "Attribuzione a S. Gregorio," 82–84; Parenti, "Per la storia," 244. The question of whether Pope Gregory the Great introduced this form of the liturgy into the Constantinople liturgy was rejected, see Parenti, "Attribuzione a S. Gregorio," 87.

⁵⁰ For the letter, see Wellesz, *Gregory the Great's Letter*. The Lord's Prayer is placed in the Divine Liturgy after the Eucharistic *Epiclesis* by the invocation of the Holy Spirit as comforter, also to Christ (Rom 8:26; Gal 4:6); see Bobrinskoy, "God in Trinity," 53–54. The documents are dubious: in his letter to John of Syracuse, he denied the dependence of the Rome church in having to follow Constantinople's practice of *Kyrie eleison* but to be pronounced by the priest alone after the splitting of the Holy Lamb, as was the apostolic mystery of liturgy and then repeated by all the people, as he had witnessed the liturgy in the churches of the East. Cf. Parenti, "L'attribuzione a S. Gregorio," 87; Uspenskij, *Vizantijskaja liturgija*, 308; Barmby, *Gregory the Great*, 184.

⁵¹ According to Euchologium: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Gr. 2591; Parenti, "Attribuzione a S. Gregorio," 79–80; Santo, "La Calabria greca medievale," 26.

Similar notices circulated in Slavonic manuscripts,⁵² but these cannot be assumed to have served as Maximus's source in this context.⁵³ From the Orthodox perspective, however, the mystery of the holy image's manifestation — indeed, its meditative emergence within the liturgy — lies beyond any formal ecclesiastical decree concerning the introduction or authorization of icons in worship, and therefore does not depend on the historical question of Gregory's role⁵⁴ and should not be conflated with later Western traditions (such as the *Mass of St Gregory*).

The mystagogical shifts

In Maximus's text, the structures of liturgical and iconological forms of literary depiction were closely interrelated because they derived from the Eastern (Byzantine, patristic and theological) theory of images, which required a specific preparatory stage for enhanced perception though this relationship should not be read as a direct causal line from conciliar Christology (e.g., Chalcedon) to specific iconographic types.

The Exegesis: Part III⁵⁵

When the pious Pope saw this Divine image, not created by human hands,⁵⁶ while standing in front of the chalice, he was touched because it was so beautiful, and he was moved⁵⁷ to spiritual tears,⁵⁸ marvelling⁵⁹ at the inexpressible descent⁶⁰ of the Saviour, just as he had seen with his eyes in the Holy Spirit.

⁵² The Codex Suprasliensis contains an unconventional hagiographic entry on Pope Gregory the Great, see Babič, "Cerkvenoslovanska ostalina," 48–53.

⁵³ The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts in this form became a part of Byzantine liturgy, as well as of the Slavonic liturgy from the eighth to fourteenth century. This was after the Quinisext Council, of which Canon 52 specified that the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts should be celebrated on all (fasting) days during Great Lent, except Saturdays, Sundays, and the feast of the Holy Annunciation. By the addition of Great Thursday with the Liturgy of St Basil, this was accepted in all Byzantine Churches (Orthodox Churches until modern times). In the Roman rite after the eighth century, it remained only until the ninth century, but only in very few countries, and also in these it was preserved until the fifteenth century. See Nedungatt and Agrestini, "Concilium Trullanum," 265; Salaville, *Liturgies orientales*, 86–87.

⁵⁴ See notes 46 and 49.

⁵⁵ BnF, Département des manuscrits, Ms. Slave 123: fol. 111v.

⁵⁶ Cf. Gr. ἀχειροποίητος; in the sixth century, this icon (the mandylion image) of Jesus Christ, according to his physical attributes and based on the existing image, was believed to be authentic. This was a cloth on which Christ had miraculously imprinted his features before sending it to Abgar, a king of Edessa, who had sent for it because of his healing properties. According to Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 4, 27, it spread after that in Edessa under the name of an icon "made without hands". John of Damascus also referred to this image, see Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, 1: 1233–84.

⁵⁷ Literally *ascended*.

⁵⁸ Variation: "He was moved to tears / He ascended to the tears of the Spirit." A note: the gift of tears in the Eastern Church (given by Jesus, Mt 5:4) is available as a priority, perhaps on account of the emphasis on the heart as a vessel of the Holy Spirit; see Chrysavgis, "The Spiritual Way," 153. Supposedly, this icon depicts an image that was not painted by human hands but by the Grace of God.

⁵⁹ Variation: *surprised*.

⁶⁰ Cf. St Maximus the Confessor's interpretation: "This descent of the Christ toward the man in the church /.../ is the image or visible icon." Cited after Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins*, 120.

Maximus's understanding of the image of Christ corresponds with the Orthodox understanding of mystagogic⁶¹ guidance during the (Eucharistic) liturgical experience, and it is apprehended through a deeply personal spiritual experience granted by grace, and not reducible to the visual dimension of iconographic representation. According to the fragment, the possibility of the vision of God (Gr. θεοπτία) is granted through unceasing practice of inner prayer (Gr. ἡσυχία), in which the initial initial wordless stillness through which the nous and the heart are gradually united is formed through ascetical purification (humility and humbleness, zeal of faith, the purity of consciousness). Truly, the synergy of vision and prayer (an icon of God the Son during the liturgy) not reducible to the visual dimension of iconographic representation, and distinct from later Western devotional iconography was integrated into Maximus's daily monastic discipline (as suggested by Athonite euchological tradition), when such internal practise was essential for his spiritual endurance during his time in Russia.⁶² Moreover, Maximus likens the liturgical anamnesis of Christ's salvific deeds to the iconic manifestation of Christ, revealing His full humanity and full divinity, by which he implicitly delineates the Christological and Christocentric character of the Eucharistic mystery. Analogously, when Pope Gregory, in the narrative of Maximus, performs the bloodless sacrifice and participates in the mystery of Christ's Passion within the liturgical present by the anamnetic participation in Christ's redemptive economy and eschatological promise, it indicates the transition from visible liturgical signs to their imperceptible divine reality.

Eastern thesis on "writing the icons"

The Exegesis: Part IV⁶³

And just as he had seen with his own eyes in the Holy Spirit, he instructed the iconographers / icon-writers [N. Z.] to write [N. Z.] such a Holy Image of the Saviour. And from that time on, such images of the Saviour began to be written/depicted in the churches of God.

This iconic literal approach to the liturgy in Maximus's style deploys re-articulations of the continuing Eastern discussion on the liturgical and iconographical canons, in which the simultaneous ekphrasis between the image and the word conceptualized the theology of holy images by a distinct principle of literally "writing". Unlike in Western custom, whereby the image occupied a subordinate position, the reverse perspective in Eastern Orthodox iconography enabled the icon to engage the viewer personally. Apparently, in his text on *pietas*, Maximus touched the period from the Chalcedonian Council up to the sixth century – when Pope Gregory the Great lived –, when the refinement of dogmatic Christian theology was finally improved and during which the image of Christ

⁶¹ Mystagogy as the introduction into the holy mystery was first used in the work *Mystagogy* by St Maximus the Confessor (in the mid-sixth century) in his exegesis of the Bible and of the Divine Liturgy in which the reflection of the church reality employed the concept of the image. A specific "liturgical theory" (Gr. θεωρία) by the application of the spiritually significant intellectual cognizance ("intelligence") of God the Son as Logos in His cosmological dimension was purposely introduced. Cf. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins*, 83–124, esp. 88–92, 94, 112, 118–20.

⁶² At the Vatopedi Monastery, Maximus could have experienced a distinct liturgical service associated with Constantinople, a model from the Vatopedi *Horologion* (c. 1075), commencing with the First Hour; cf. Καδός, *Τὰ σημειώματα τῶν χειρογράφων*, 226. See also Zajc, "St. Maximus the Greek (Mihail Trivolis)."

⁶³ BnF, Département des manuscrits, Ms. Slave 123: fol. 111v.

could begin to be accepted. The earliest icons are known from the middle of sixth century⁶⁴ (from the monastery of St Catherine on Mt. Sinai, which was an imperial of Justinian I until 640⁶⁵), they were created in a realistic style,⁶⁶ among which the oldest icon of Jesus Christ is preserved (fig. 2). This icon, which the eligible two natures of God the Son reflects in the Redeemer's eyes (the right is light, the left is darkened),⁶⁷ was most probably produced in Constantinople,⁶⁸ showing the continuation of the classical tradition in the more sophisticated and pure style than in any other Mediterranean centre. From the same Sinaitic Monastery,⁶⁹ the earliest icon of the crucified but dead Christ is also known— with eyes closed, known in East and West (by Ravenna mosaics).⁷⁰ In fact, already in the documents of the acts of Chalcedon Council, a letter of Pope Leo to Eutychios of Constantinople was also preserved, in which Pope expressed the protection of the coexistence of Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary by the Holy Spirit and the realness of God the Son as a mediator.⁷¹ Accordingly, the view of Pope Gregory the Great's on the presentations of the God the Son stemmed from his dispute with the Patriarch Eutychios, who at the Second Council of Constantinople (553) denied the possibility of the resurrection of the body of Christ, the issue to which Maximus the Greek also opposed.⁷²

Thus only after the restored iconodule principle after the Byzantine iconoclasm, the literary and philosophical formatting of the Eastern theological apology of iconography began, with the approval of the veneration of the sacred images within their worship.⁷³ The decree of the second council in Nicaea (787) confirmed that the images in churches, houses and in public were to be worshipped (Gr. *proskynesis*) with the distinction from the worship of God (Gr. λατρεία), known also from Old Testament wrong forms of worship, forbidden from the second commandment. Such was in the iconoclasm,⁷⁴ understood as transcending from the image to the subject it depicts.⁷⁵ By the proclamation of the veneration of icons they again become legitimately acknowledged setting for any liturgical⁷⁶ practise (namely, the Akathistos hymn).⁷⁷ Nicaea II distinguished proskynesis

⁶⁴ Cf. Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 40.

⁶⁵ Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 40.

⁶⁶ Reminiscent of the funerary portraits found in Roman-period cemeteries in Egypt. Mango, "Icons," 152; Gombrich, *The History of Art*, 106–11.

⁶⁷ Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 40, plate 1.

⁶⁸ Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 18.

⁶⁹ The typographical production of the icons appeared within such a topographical line (Constantinople – Sinai – Ravenna); cf. Weitzmann and Ševčenko, "The Moses Cross at Sinai," 389–91.

⁷⁰ Such an image during the iconoclastic controversy gained its function when, however, this monastery was beyond the reach of the Byzantine emperor. Sheperd, "Christology," 113; Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 61–64, plate 25).

⁷¹ "Mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus" (1 Tim 2:5). See Mühlenberg, "Concilium Chalcedonense," 128.

⁷² He wrote an apologetic text, in which he precisely expressed his opposition to the heretical teaching of Eutychios, titled *A Word of Reply on the Correction of the Russian Books, and in It Also on Those Who Say that the Flesh of the Lord was Indescribable after the Resurrection*, and it opens with the following words: "Let those that read it listen carefully and judge piously, together and for the goodness of humanity." See BnF, Département des manuscrits, Ms. Slave 123: fols. 123, 159–269; Grek, *Sočinenija*, 2: 136–45.

⁷³ Karlin-Hayter, "Iconoclasm," 153, 156–157.

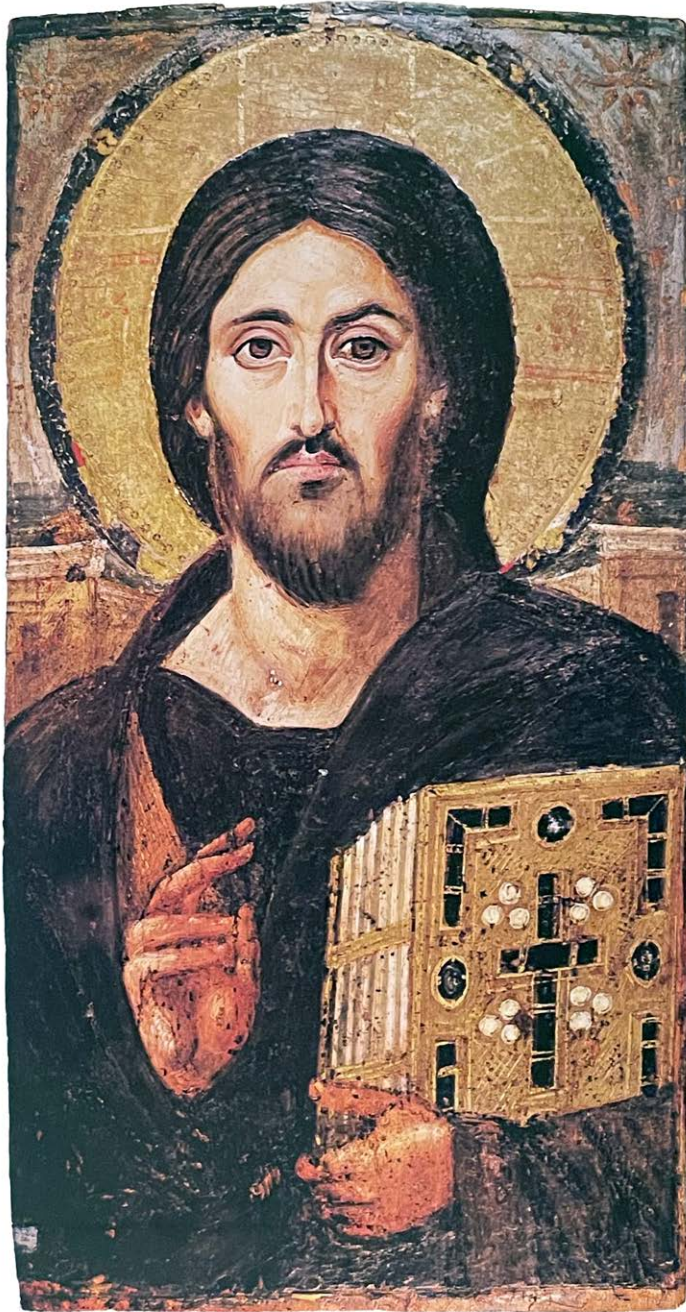
⁷⁴ See also Louth, "The Introduction," 11.

⁷⁵ Lamberz and Uphus, "Concilium Nicaenum II," 299.

⁷⁶ See the excellent essay by Nancy Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy."

⁷⁷ The correlation between the Akathistos hymn and Maximus's euchological work was proposed by Zajc, "St. Maximus the Greek (Mihail Trivolis)."

(veneration) from *latreia* (worship), a terminological precision essential for interpreting Maximus's theology of images. He had possibly witnessed such custom in his childhood in Arta, but in Moscow as well.⁷⁸



2. Encaustic icon with a bust of Christ, sixth century, Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine (source: Kurt Weitzmann. *The Icons*, 40)

⁷⁸ The image of public processions involving specific icons of the Virgin *Hodegetria* is confirmed by a thirteenth-century fresco in the Vlacherna Monastery near Arta, and also by a textile dated 1498 in Moscow; Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," 47.

By the invocation of the Holy Spirit

When Damascus in his first anti-iconoclastic treatise discussed the latter problem, he further referred to the unwritten tradition, in which he invoked a famous passage from St Basil's *On the Holy Spirit*.⁷⁹ Indeed, the respectful dedication of the entire procedure of all earthly attempts to the Holy Spirit was from the Orthodox point of view crucial to finalize the consecration of the faithful copy of the Holiest. The latter, in fact, by the discrete close bond to the higher presence, resolved the Arian heresy, the image was not depicted anymore, it was rather a product of following the commandments from the higher presence. Noticeably the important element of St Maximus the Greek's narrative presented the involvement of the Holy Spirit in the reception of the Holy Image, related to the pneumatological functioning of icons from the Eastern Christian point of view. Powered by Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ and Saints, the icons could share the "Holy shadow" from the above on the images (Mk 16; 16-18; 2 Cor: 13-14) or as precisely Damascus called for "the veneration of images of God /.../ sanctified by name and therefore overshadowed by the grace of the divine Spirit."⁸⁰ In fact, Maximus opposed exactly the miscellaneous depictions on Russian icons that differenced the Christological message of the Bible,⁸¹ which did not venerate the basis of the Incarnation and opposed the Orthodox Trinitarianism. Such was the icon with a cherub in bronze, exemplifying the worship of the Old Testament, in which acts of veneration were offered to many things, to which exactly objected also Damascus.⁸² Indeed, the attention given to the invocational call to the Holy Spirit during the liturgical practice⁸³ (Gr. *Epiclesis*)⁸⁴ was at that time culminating to the long-lasting polemic between the East and West. The Churches in the West formal inclusion Lat. *Filioque* in the Christian Creed, with disrespect of the Holy Spirit, resulted in the final division between Western and Eastern Christianity, the schism in 1054. Both mentioned issues related to the Holy Spirit, formed a significant basis of Maximus's arguments against the Latins, which he polemically discussed and theologically debated in his writings.⁸⁵ Although Gregory the Great's view on the *Epiclesis* and Lat. *Filioque* was ambiguous, in the Homily 28 on John 20: 21, he expressed the economic manifestation of the Holy Spirit by the eternal procession, personally experienced in the mysterious manner,⁸⁶ in which the Holy Spirit organizes not only the human acts but functions also as the "blessing" for all taken actions (the role of *Epiclesis* as a companion in the monastic kenotic ascend to God; Gr. *Theosis*). In Maximus's description of Gregory's vision of Jesus Christ which was during the liturgy noetically placed "in the Holy Spirit" (with "spiritual" eyes), the appearance of God the Son descended to the visual impression, which was perceived as the icon of Christ, called *pietas*.

⁷⁹ Louth, "The Introduction," 12.

⁸⁰ "Θείου Πνεύματος ἐπισκίαζόμενον χάριτι." See Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, 2: 1300; Damascus, *Three Treatises*, 71.

⁸¹ See note 11.

⁸² Louth, "The Introduction," 11.

⁸³ The Orthodox liturgical *praxis* includes the recounting of all God's benefactions (anamnesis) and the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the Eucharistic gifts (*Epiclesis*), based on the second Council of Constantinople (381). By the Creed recited upon it is expressed the sacramental communion in the person of Christ, the Son and Word of God, as was defined in two natures, and affirmed as "acknowledged, without confusion, change, division or separation" at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Cf. Steenberg, "The Church," 122; Cunningham and Theokritoff, *The Cambridge Companion*, 293–94.

⁸⁴ Zheltov, "The Moment of Eucharistic."

⁸⁵ He also opposed to the concept of purgatory and rejected introducing the elevated bread into Latin (Catholic) liturgical practice.

⁸⁶ Siecienski, *The Filioque*, 70–71.

The core of the subversive reflection

Gregory the Great and art historical tradition

It could be suggested that Gregory the Great, who probably encountered the images during liturgy or as illustrations of biblical content in ecclesiastical spaces whilst on his mission to Constantinople, when he wrote his corpus on *Divinity* and the *Moralia of Job*⁸⁷ during his intimately acquainted stay at the court of Maurice,⁸⁸ preannounced the period of iconoclasm in the East, which followed the Quinisext Council in 692. From this aspect, Pope Gregory the Great could be comprehended as the first pre-iconodules, previewing the fear of iconoclastic tendencies. Indeed, according to Western art historical tradition, Pope Gregory I (540–604) introduced the artistic practices in the field of sacred art, as follows. Firstly, he is supposed to have given the argument against the spreading opinion that the church paintings were not useful, claiming that these paintings were for the illiterate Christians similar to the illustrations in books being good for children.⁸⁹ This pronouncement, frequently cited in discourses concerning the presence of images in ecclesiastical spaces, had profound implications for art history, particularly about the depiction of Christian Divinity. In 590 Pope Gregory criticized the destruction of sacred images by Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles. In a letter to him,⁹⁰ he is believed to have expressed that when writing about the relationship to Christian images:

*It is one thing to adore a picture; another to learn what it is to be adored through the history told by the picture. What Scripture presents to readers, a picture presents to the gaze of the unlearned: for in it even the ignorant see what they ought to follow; in it the illiterate read.*⁹¹

In another letter to one educated man (to whom Pope consequently sent the images of God the Saviour, of the Holy Mother of God, and of the St Peter and St Paul), Gregory opened his discourse toward the invisible thinking of the image itself, approving the Divine dimension of the visible impression:

*We do nothing unreasonable if by the visible we show forth the invisible. /.../ I know that you do not desire the image of our Saviour that you may worship it as God, but that you may be reminded of Him, and refresh your love for Him by the sight of His image.*⁹²

Naming, personalizing (the external facts)

The evolution of the motif *pietas* is evident in the early interplay between the Virgin *Orans* and Christ *Pantocrator*, whose iconography reflects communality and maternal reciprocity shaped by the divergent Eastern and Western traditions. This development parallels the Eastern *Paraklesis* type,

⁸⁷ Beckwith, *Early Christian*, 65.

⁸⁸ Cameron, "The Theotokos," 91, 96.

⁸⁹ It is believed that Pope Gregory the Great said: "Painting can do for the illiterate what writing does for those who can read." Gombrich, *The History of Art*, 105.

⁹⁰ Davis, *The First Seven*, 292–93.

⁹¹ Cited after Barmby, *Gregory the Great*, 201–02.

⁹² Cited after Barmby, *Gregory the Great*, 202.



3. Triptych of the Pietà by Nikolaos Tzafouris, 1489–1500 (source: Mango, *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, 301)

venerated from the sixth to seventh centuries onwards⁹³ and reinforced in the eighth to ninth-century liturgical hymns and ecclesiastical writings. After Iconoclasm, two types of the Virgin Orans⁹⁴ appeared; one includes the Christ Child in a medallion on the Virgin's breast,⁹⁵ emphasizing her role as *Theotokos*. This form is well attested on Mount Athos, notably in the Vatopaidi Psalter (the head piece for the Magnificat).⁹⁶ From the fourteenth century — especially in the West but also in the East⁹⁷ — *pietas* is suddenly known named and explicitly connected the motif with the Crucifixion. A fourteenth-century Cypriot icon shows this new intimacy, while in the West the theme becomes personalized, exemplified by Giovanni da Milano's *Pietà* (1365), where Mary touches the lifeless Christ.⁹⁸ At the end of the fifteenth century, a Byzantine *pietas* type is documented in small triptychs for private devotion, flanked by St Francis and St Mary Magdalene. Archival contracts from Venice,⁹⁹ attribute this variant to the Cretan painter Nikolaos Tzafouris, executed in the Italian or *Greco maniera* characteristic of post-Byzantine workshops (fig. 3).

⁹³ Cameron, "The Theotokos."

⁹⁴ Etzeoglou, "The Virgin Zoodochos," 246, plate 20.2.

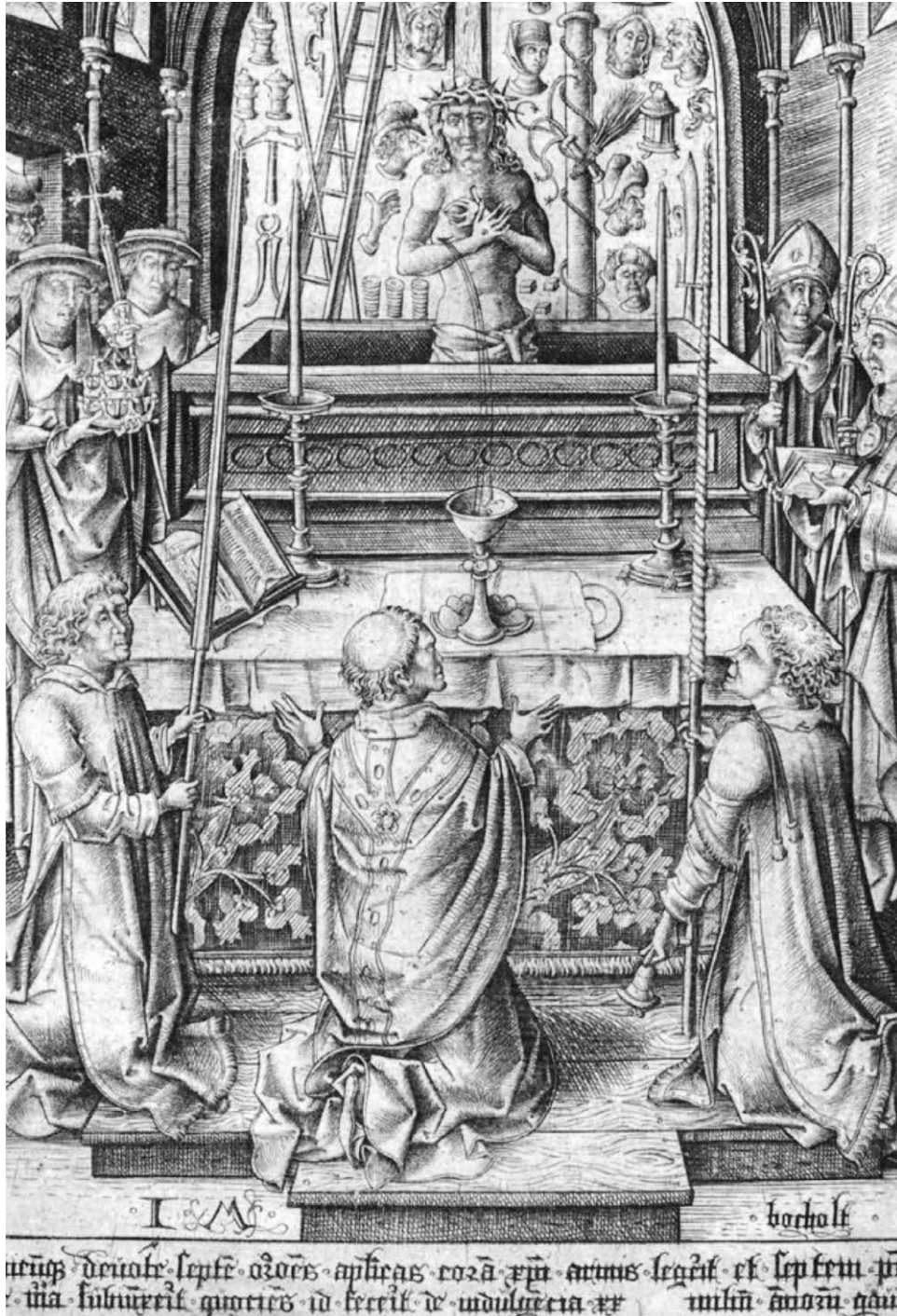
⁹⁵ Both types are known from Theotokos of Blachernae Church in Constantinople; Ševčenko, "Virgin Blachernitissa."

⁹⁶ Cod. 851, fol. 190; see Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, 31. From the Monastery of Hilandar: the two jasper liturgical cups, related to *Orthros*, Eucharistic service with a *panagiaron* (a portable object) decorated with an image of the Virgin Orans with a medallion of the Christ child; see Teteriatnikov, "The Image of the Virgin," 229–31.

⁹⁷ Bacci, "The Legacy of the Hodegetria," 325.

⁹⁸ Carr, "Thoughts on Mary," 285, figs. 23.7, 23.8.

⁹⁹ Mango, *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, fig. 303.



4. Israhel van Meckenem: *Imago Pietatis* of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, engraving, c. 1495–1500
(© Berlin State Museums, Museum of Prints and Drawings).

Maximus concluded the exegetical survey with the information about the exact time and place of the narrated story, which resulted from the narrative he had encountered during his period in Italy.

The Exegesis: Part V¹⁰⁰

This is the story I received from pious Italian people. I lived with them a quite a long time when I was quite young and when I still lived a secular life. Just as I have heard it, now I am telling it to your Holiness.

In this passage Maximus claimed that this story had belonged to the local Italian tradition. When he resided in Florence, among Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici's estate¹⁰¹ existed ecclesiastical objects depicting Pope Gregory the Great during the liturgy and before the altar with the image of Christ underneath him.¹⁰² Such relics, to which Maximus possibly had access,¹⁰³ were also a part of the Renaissance decoration of the Duomo in Florence.¹⁰⁴ From the visual effect of the above-mentioned monuments the basis of the storytelling legend of the vision of Pope Gregory I. could have arisen, according to which the specific image of Christ was named as *pietas* (fig. 4).

Yet there are no confirmed documents that support the thesis that Maximus could have seen the mentioned sacred objects in the Renaissance Italy. However, his contemplated memorial view of the image of Christ could only scarcely be related to two Italo-Cretan icons and triptychs, found in Ethiopian heritage of Amhara, which reveal insights into fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cross-cultural art exchanges after the 1453 fall of Constantinople, when Crete emerged as a key centre of icon production under Venetian rule.¹⁰⁵ This unique synthesis of Eastern Orthodox and Western European artistic elements could be the subject of additional reflection on Maximus's observation on *pietas*. The first responds to *Imago Pietatis*, following the style of mentioned Cretan artist Nikolaos Tzafouris,¹⁰⁶ but this time in the framework of the iconography of *Deposition*, particularly with Christ's arms crossed in front of his sarcophagus and not extended (fig. 5), witnessing that this central panel was imported from Italy.¹⁰⁷ The second icon displays the conventional motif of

¹⁰⁰ BnF, Département des manuscrits, Ms. Slave 123: fol. 111v.

¹⁰¹ The relics were part of the "Libretto" of King Charles V of France for his brother Louis, who may have brought them to Italy in 1382, or that King Louis XI of France donated to Piero de' Medici, among whose inventory they appeared in 1465. Freiberg, "The *Imago Pietatis*," 66.

¹⁰² The *Imago Pietatis*, depicting "the Man of the Sorrows", was connected with the international atmosphere of papal Rome in the Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and the Church of San Pietro in Montorio with the reliquary triptych which contains images of Christ and the relics. From the thirteenth to fifteenth century, this legend about Pope Gregory I gained popularity due to the intensified Eucharistic devotion. In the Renaissance, the German printmaker Israhel van Meckenem made an icon and an engraving of the *Imago Pietatis* (c. 1495–1500) with the claim that it was a copy of the aforementioned image from Rome, depicting the Mass of Gregory the Great with the pope kneeling before an altar, with Christ appearing above the altar table. Freiberg, "The *Imago Pietatis*," 63–64, 72–73, 76–77. For the engraving, see also Martens, "Die Gregorsmesse der Niklauskirche." On the legend of the story about the image of Christ and Pope Gregory I, see Bynum, "Seeing and Seeing Beyond."

¹⁰³ Together with Janus Laskaris, Trivolis was involved in the project of shaping the Medici library. Speranzi, "Michele Trivoli e Giano," 264–66; Denissoff, *Maxime le Grec*, 128.

¹⁰⁴ Salini, "La formazione del Tesoro," 34.

¹⁰⁵ Semoglou, "Italo-Cretan Triptychs."

¹⁰⁶ Semoglou, "Italo-Cretan Triptychs," 89; Vocotopoulos, "Iconographie et style," 39, fig. 11.

¹⁰⁷ Chatzidakis, "Aspects de la peinture," 184.



5. *The Kwer'ata re'esu triptych*, No. 527-03, Ethiopia, Amhara
(source: Semoglou, "Italo-Cretan Triptychs," 89)



6. *The Pieta of the Martula Maryam Monastery*, No. 525-50, Ethiopia, Amhara
(source: Semoglou, "Italo-Cretan Triptychs," 91)

pietas (fig. 6), which was not present in Byzantine iconography, thus demonstrating the fidelity to the Greek-Venetian style.¹⁰⁸ Within this paradigm, the narrative of St Maximus the Greek is positioned to be contextualised within the broader framework of this “Italo-Greca”, specifically the Venetian-Cretan art and cultural-historical milieu.

Hence, if we are to reflect this discourse with veracity, the enigma surrounding the image of Christ as delineated by Maximus in his exegetical treatment cannot be resolved as the sole product of the oral Italian legend. Certainly, he did not rely on any human interpretation, nor his interpretation was not referred to any human creation. We know only that he accepted this Roman legend about the image of *pietas* as a valid Christian tradition, by the insight into which he intriguingly opened new perspectives on the traditionally well-known iconographic type.

The original exegesis of Maximus the Greek within inter- and intra-textuality

From the perspective of the Maximus’s literary republic of letters, the text on *pietas* is considered to be one from the cycle of his writings on discouragement¹⁰⁹ (and similarly deprived feelings and low tones in the souls of Orthodox believers, such as depression, doubt, confusion, apathy, resignation), which visually culminates his final opposition against despondency (melancholy, dejection) and stagnation on the path to spiritual redemption.¹¹⁰

Nevertheless, his message primarily focuses on two meanings, disclosing the iconographic motif of *pietas*, where he felt obliged to give his confident philological explanation on what was, according to his linguistic comprehension, derived from the Latin linguistic context. The first meaning (Stcsl. мѡрдїє), specified by Maximus in Old Church Slavonic, is God’s Grace, reflected in His nature (the merciful, philanthropic God, Gr. φιλανθρωπία; Christ’s visceral and kind response throughout His ministry, Gr. εὐσπλαγχνος),¹¹¹ and His depth of compassion toward those who suffer. In the context of the reception of the latter the first meaning is therein reflected in the compassionate (Gr. συμπάθεια) inclinations of humans, expressed in pitifulness, mercifulness, charity (Gr. εὐσπλαγχνία),¹¹² following Christ’s example. Such understanding is very close to the ancient Latin (Roman) context of *pietas*, by which the Christ’s image acts in the sense of a moral duty, gaining the respect of the cardinal virtue.

The second meaning of *pietas*, proposed by Maximus, is the sequence of the first one as it analogously denotes a deep piety (Stcsl. бѡгостѣїє), the fear of God, piousness, devotion, “godly

¹⁰⁸ Semoglou, “Italo-Cretan Triptychs,” 92.

¹⁰⁹ The Russian Church Slavonic term *малоудушие* is of later date than the Old Church Slavonic term for a despondency (*уныние*), about which Maximus wrote only in this text.

¹¹⁰ In many of his works, Maximus warned against erroneous Russian interpretations, which he identified as dangerous for their potentially harmful effects on other Christians, resulting in devastating mental disinclination, complete despondency, and the erosion of faith (akin to the Latin term *acedia*), which, according to the Gospel teachings of Jesus Christ, is categorized as one of the gravest sins, alongside other grave moral transgressions (Mat 5:27–30).

¹¹¹ Cf. Mt 9:36, 14:4, 15:32.

¹¹² Ceitlin et al., *Staroslavjanskij slovar'*, 326.

heart-response”¹¹³ (Gr. εὐσέβεια),¹¹⁴ related to the recipient who favourably answers to Christ’s call.¹¹⁵ Indeed, both mentioned meanings are encompassing the ancient Latin term of *pietas*,¹¹⁶ of which we only know that Maximus had been referring to. Additionally, it is possible that he somehow remembered related semantics of *pietas* (and *pious*) in the context of expressed honour of the blood related person, especially in the relationship of son to father and father to son (known from Homer and Sophocles, f. e. *Antigone*’s apology of the burial of Polynices), but also to the destiny of Rome (as a social obligation) within which the aim is to internalize.

In the context of personal meditation through spiritual metamorphosis, such an understanding is suddenly transformed into a human quality which, even in the context of non-blood ties (for example, in someone’s relationship with a friend’s wife), makes him capable of responding respectfully and responsibly; it is, in fact, his cardinal virtue, as is known to be preserved in the folksong about the bridge of Arta, his birth town.¹¹⁷

Truthfully, the motif of *pietas* is most often eligible as the basis of holiness in the essence of the Mother of God and conceptualized in the iconographic types of the mother and the child in the touching, moving unity (not maternal affection, but slight melancholy, as if she foresees the Passion of her son),¹¹⁸ where the type of *Eleousa*¹¹⁹ (the merciful or compassionate; Rus. *Umilenye*) and *Paramythia* (gr. παραμυθία, compassion, consolation) should be stressed.¹²⁰ Both types could be closely associated with Maximus the Greek. The first icon, painted in Constantinople ca 1131,¹²¹ had already been in Moscow, when Maximus was there; the second is highly venerated in the Monastery

¹¹³ Ceitlin et al., *Staroslavjanskij slovar*, 90.

¹¹⁴ In Orthodox theology, the “heart” is not understood as a physical organ, but as a spiritual heart that represents the centre of the body in the person, who obeys God the Son, Jesus Christ, through prayer. The “Jesus Christ’s prayer” is also placed in the heart; cf. Hesychast, *Letters and Poems*, 136.

¹¹⁵ In Orthodox historical and biblical theology: 1. the indwelling of Christ Himself as the mystery of godliness realized in the believer; 2. Godliness as the Holy Spirit’s fruit by His Mercy, available through Scripture (Deut. 6:5; Micah 6:8 – in the embrace of “the fear of the Lord”, covenant faithfulness, whole-hearted love for God); 3. eschatologically: anticipating future glory as the humble preparation for His return in the coming Kingdom; 4. as the motivation or Provision (2 Pet 3:11, 2 Pet 1:3), leading to the truth of God (Tit 1:1); 5. Early Church Fathers interpreted as: spiritual training (cf. 2 Tim 4:7–8) and the duty of moral purity, preaching, and constant prayer.

¹¹⁶ That is, *pietas* as one of the cardinal virtues (constituting the full spectrum of *virtus* together with *constantia*, *gravitas*, and *fides*). On the aspects of *virtus*, see McDonnell, *Roman Manliness*. See also Pobežin, *Rimski zgodovinar*, 80–88; Pobežin, “Dihotomija človeškega in živalskega.”

¹¹⁷ Kakridis, *Homeric Researches*, 156.

¹¹⁸ Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 80.

¹¹⁹ *Eleousa* (Gr. ἐλεούσα, loving kindness), the image of the Mother and the Child tenderly touching heads, never exchanging intimate regards that would exclude the beholder, yet their embrace, which is a reminder of motherhood, does not glorify maternity, but Jesus Christ; according to orally transmitted post-biblical reality, it was exactly this image that was approved by Mary when St Luke depicted her. Ouspensky and Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons*, 92–93; Fortounatto and Cunningham, “Theology of the Icon,” 145.

¹²⁰ Some other examples are *Glykophilousa* (Gr. Γλυκοφιλούσα – sweet piety or a kiss; Lat. *Mater Amabilis*) – mother most lovable in the West in the late thirteenth century and *Hodegetria* (Gr. Ὁδηγήτρια – guide), which literally signifies “the one who points the way to Christ; theologically, it reminds us of the role of the holy Virgin at Cana” (Jn 2:5). The mutual meaning of such depictions is comparable with Pope Gregory the Great’s reflection on the call for kindness and humanity: “The word of doctrine fails to penetrate the mind of the needy, unless commended by the hand of compassion.” See Fortounatto and Cunningham, “Theology of the Icon,” 145; Barmby, *Gregory the Great*, 168.

¹²¹ Weitzmann, *The Icons*, 80.

of Vatopaidi (fig. 7).¹²² Although Maximus is known to have offered his philological explanation of the inscription related to Mother of God (about the Greek inscription of Her name),¹²³ and to Jesus Christ (about the garland around His head, the roll in His hands and about the sign of the waning crescent above Him etc.), he revealed the meaning of the image of Christ exclusively in the text on *pietas*.

Moreover, the spiritual dimension of the writing could be observed also on the level of Maximus following a specific personally shaped model of rhythmic structure of the text, secularizing it by comma(s), possibly based on the pneumatological figure of a colon, measured out by the supply of breath of the individual speaker, known to him from *Hermogenes* corpus,¹²⁴ the manuscript he transcribed during the Italian period.¹²⁵ This Maximus's text likewise bears the marks of his poetological-theological stylistic idiom, evident in the stemmatologically repeated but morphologically varied words that generate a constitutive rhythm—familiar from paraliturgical poetry¹²⁶—through a re-evaluated semantic content. While reminiscent of inorganic paronomasia¹²⁷ the device here approaches *annominatio*, respecting both the meaning of the words and their phonetic affinity (Mt 16:18).¹²⁸



7. Diptych of St Maximus the Greek and the Virgin Paramithia, 2014, the Holy Monastery of Vatopaidi (personal archive of Neža Zajc)

¹²² *A Pilgrim's Guide*, 75–79. In 2014 the diptych of St Maximus the Greek and Theotokos, Panagia Paramithia, was made in the icon-craft making cell of the Athonite Monastery of Vatopaidi where Maximus the Greek spent ten monastic years (1506–1516).

¹²³ BnF, Département des manuscrits, Ms. Slave 123: fol. 655v.

¹²⁴ Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm in Byzantium*, 132.

¹²⁵ Speranzi, "Michele Trivoli e Giano," 296.

¹²⁶ Hartung, "The Collection and Transmission," 427.

¹²⁷ As the semantic trope of adjectival parallelism; a type of simile (7. f.). See Filonov Gove, *The Slavic Akathistos*, 165, 168.

¹²⁸ Blass, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 298.

Specifically, in this text it seems that Maximus pointed to a different use of the word repetition, precisely, the chaining of pairs with underlined key meaning, that spreads through all the textual material, is tenured in eight lexically exact parallels, and four times paired. By repeated word “sacred” such device, occurring not only as a refrain but likely the leitmotif, the message of the text is centrally divided into twice paired and repeated sentence of “sacred image”, once singularly placed in the paradigmatically acting semantic occasion as “Divine image, not made by human hands”, and secondly offering the variants (“sacred Gregory/sacred chalice”). Moreover, there are two uniquely repeated Christologically created formulas (“He has shown Himself”) by the addition of the powerful respectful addressing apostrophe (“the Saviour”). The climax of the text is in the literary creation of the argument on the spiritual reliance on the non-aesthetically anticipation (“it was so beautiful /.../ spiritual tears /.../ as he saw in the Holy Spirit”). It was the depth of the personal experience, similarly to the “touching,”¹²⁹ which inspired the future procedure of Gregory the Great. From another aspect the repetition, understood as the epigrammatic and epitaphic device, known from Maximus’s Athonite period¹³⁰ as well as from his facing¹³¹ with the texts of Gregory Nazianzus,¹³² could be comprehended as the monastic (anchorite) writing exercise.¹³³ By synthesis of a poetic-rhetorical device (Gr. γύμνασμα) and practice of short prayers both could enable the deepening of the stage of the ascesis.¹³⁴

Lastly, in the narrative of Maximus the principle of the icon was revealed, namely the cardinal Latin signification of *pietas*. The high respect as a personal sense of duty seemingly resulted from the address of the origin, from Jesus Christ, who mercifully shed light on a humble, silent, vigilant believer. All perceptible is the result of the Highest Who acts like the ultimate directive to the enhancement (conversion into) of the man’s ascetic attitude.¹³⁵ If we accept that Maximus expressed the idea that the icon *pietas* precisely denotes the image of Jesus Christ that He himself approved, then the associated personal qualities, such as mercy and piety, represent a state or feeling, experienced within the presence of God the Son, placed in the inner prayer (known as Jesus Christ’s – circular – noetic prayer).¹³⁶ These virtues are intended to inspire a human being to serve God to the most of his ability. Hence, this does not refer to the conventional understanding of personal asceticism or strict monastic discipline, but rather to the demonstration of inner fortitude, generosity, calmness which can train the individual in the undisturbed spiritual service to the Most High (as it is the essential aim of the praxis of ascetics, Gr. ἄσκησις), without external physical obstacles. Such practise was precisely described by Maximus.¹³⁷ Finally, it is known that such (monastic) state of mind should facilitate the internalization of a mystical experiencing God’s will (His Mercy, Providence with a

¹²⁹ Cf. St Thomas touching Christ’s wounds, in Louth, “From Roman Melodist,” 202–03, 206.

¹³⁰ Grek, *Sočinenija*, 1: 77–89; Γραικού, *Λόγοι*, 297–99.

¹³¹ Bulanin, *Perevody i poslania*, 30–53.

¹³² Simelidis, “Gregory of Nazianzus,” 636.

¹³³ In the *Novels of Justinian* (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*, *Novella 5*, *cap. 3*) three forms of monasticism were indicated: an anchorite, Hesychast and common (life in the communion). Cf. Justinian, “Concerning Monks.”

¹³⁴ Βερτουδάκης, *To όγδοο βιβλίο*, 80–81.

¹³⁵ Prayer, humility, cultivating of inner being in solitude and silence, abstinence (not only from physical pleasures) from external effects (of the senses, but), ability also to perform deep purifying suffering.

¹³⁶ Cf. Hesychast, *Letters and Poems*, 440.

¹³⁷ See Zajc, “U istokov monašeskogo.”



8. The Wisdom of God, icon, fourteenth century, Thessaloniki (?) (personal archive of Neža Zajc)

Fear and Love). This is the reason why Maximus sublimely addressed the issue of disappeared man's love toward God and the lost trust in His words:

And if Christ is not in us, then woe to us, for we have laboured in vain and toiled in abstinence from food and long prayers and vigils, hoping to be saved. /.../ For the kingdom of God is not food and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit¹³⁸ /.../ love, holiness, mercy, and generosity toward everyone who lives in misery and poverty.¹³⁹

Furthermore, narrowing the context of Christ's message on the Bible content could propose even more close relation to the concrete image of Christ, holding the Gospel of Matthew in his left hand. It is attested on the specific Greek (Balkan)¹⁴⁰ variant of the type of *Pantocrator*, the icon named "the Wisdom of God", to be open on a precise page (Mt 9:13), (fig. 8), – by which Christ's central message to humanity presents his words: "I desire mercy not sacrifice," expressing in fact the circumstances, relevant to present research, namely, the opposition to the Old Testament ritualistic worship. But above all, this is the exact message that also Maximus constantly expressed in his literary writings,¹⁴¹ in both theological and autobiographical contexts. The mercy should be named as the moral duty and responsibility, experienced as the Christian cardinal virtue as the image of Christ's *pietas*, as described by Maximus's texts on Pope Gregory the Great's vision.

Concluding remarks

Maximus's philological exegesis highlights the nuances of the term *pietas*, whose semantic field encompasses piety and compassion. These virtues are preserved as uniquely, not only emphatically but prayerfully perceived dispositions, familiar from early images of the Mother of God, although ultimately initially grounded in and powered by her Son. Though Maximus does not elucidate the specific expression traditionally associated with the co-suffering of the Mother with her Son — the term that later entered the art-historical tradition as *pietas*.

Nevertheless, through the present examination it is possible to trace, at least scarcely and sporadically, the development of this iconographic type. Its earliest prototype appears to emerge in the third century in the figure of the *Orans/Orante*: a solitary mother-figure without explicit Christian context. At this time the representation of Christ was still obscured in symbolic forms — the acronym of the fish (*Ichthys*) or the Good Shepherd — before being depicted with the signs of the cross or the lamb, which gradually introduced connotations of suffering.

During the fifth and sixth centuries, the first image of the Son of God emerged. Alongside the development of Christian iconography, its theological foundations were simultaneously articulated

¹³⁸ Cf. Mk 12:30–31; Jn 14:21, 24; Rom 14:17.

¹³⁹ Grek, *Sočinenija*, 2: 310. Cf. Gregory the Great: "It is an enemy of the Saviour who, through the good works which he does, desires to be loved in the Church instead of God." Cited after Barmby, *Gregory the Great*, 168.

¹⁴⁰ Possibly attributed to Palaiologan's style (associated with Andronikos II), known, specifically from the territory of Thessaloniki, the Athonite Vatopedi, Arta; it was also identified as regional Greek-Balkan variant, recognised at Athos, Ohrid, Dečani, Studenica. Cf. Corrie, "The Kahn and Mellon," 298; Fittipaldi, "L'icona della." All mentioned localities were crucially associated with St Maximus the Greek.

¹⁴¹ Grek, *Sočinenija*, 2: 217.

at the Church councils. The supposed to be earliest image of Jesus Christ appeared after the Second Council of Constantinople, following the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, which refuted major heretical teachings and affirm the irrefutable unity of the Son with God the Father, the double nature of Christ, and the nature of the Mother of God (the Holy Theotokos). This early image expresses both His divine and human nature and depicts His serene, watchful, providential will. These characteristics may be understood as cardinal virtues — grace, mercy, compassion, piety, justice, goodness, respect, and reverence — yet they do not include any explicit indication of His suffering. Following the seventh and eighth centuries, and especially after the Council of Trullo, which prohibited symbolic representations of Christ (explicitly in the form of the lamb), a more stable iconographic tradition develops between the seventh and eleventh centuries. The Eastern type of the Virgin *Orans* becomes prominent, depicting the Son while avoiding properties associated with the complex motions of sacrificial custom, since the Son of God within is not imaged as a mature person. The theme of the Cross is introduced prudently and discreetly only later. Nevertheless, the ancient form of the *Orans* implicitly directs toward the co-suffering essence of what would later be expressed in the motif *pieta(s)*.

From the first image of Jesus Christ, the *Pantocrator* type develops, emphasizing His power, omnipotence, and authority. In Greece, an analogous variant entitled “the Wisdom of God” emerges, expressing equal but more modest characteristics. Between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, as veneration of Mary grows, the “Mother within Her Son” type begins to appear in the West (though it can also be traced in the East), emphasizing the Mother’s shared suffering during her Son’s crucifixion. This variant becomes known as the *pietà* motif, depicting not the child but the signs of pathos perceived on the Virgin Mary.

In incorporating the narrative about Pope Gregory the Great into his exegetical survey, St Maximus did not attempt to combine Western and Orthodox perspectives; rather, he used it as an illustration of the divine and spiritual origin of the subsequent image of Christ — an image not different from the dogmatical Christological confession of Nicaea I,¹⁴² later iconographically affirmed at Nicaea II and ratified in the Nicene Creed, which affirms the irrefutable unity of the Son with the Father and the Trinitarian foundation of Christological doctrine. Maximus does not refer to any other known interpretation; instead, he understands the core of *pietas* as possessing significant theological, philological, and ethical (moral, intellectual, spiritual) value for every human being.

For Maximus, *pietas* is bestowed upon those who attain a state of intense humility, through which the mystery of Christ’s appearance *can* be humbly received. The mutual effect of Christ’s living presence and the spiritual experience of the beholder — through the reception of the image of Christ precisely as *pietas* — should thereby deepen mindful and *watchful* observation, for it constitutes the core of the Orthodox practice of constant (noetic) remembrance (thinking) of God the Son, which forms the very basis of one’s asceticism.

¹⁴² Colish, *Medieval Foundations*, 72.

APPENDIX A

*Transcription of the original manuscript of the text***Original text**

Того же инока Максима Грека сказаніе ѿ сѣенно ѡбразѣ Спсаха, єго же называ//ютъ
оуныніе¹

Сѣенное ѡбразованіе, сѣенныа і поклоняемыа // іконы Га і Бга і Спса ншого Саха, глаголю
// пориски піетас. Эже є по роускы мѣрдїе іли // бл҃гоутїе, а не оуныніе. нѣ се члѣкыа
премѣр//сти замышленіе, нѣ сѣ Спсз таково себѣ показа // ст҃лю своему стѣ*ше*²моу
папѣ римскому // Григорію, списателю дѣшеполезны вѣсѣ, яже // к Петру своему
дїаконоу, пока//за себе въ вре//³ма сѣенныа литѣргїи сѣенодѣиствѣющоу // страшноу
і бескровноу жѣтвѣ стѣшмоу // Григорію внеѣа влагаше в прѣвертоу • чѣстѣ//ст҃го
і покланяема агнца. Сицево нероукоТво//реніе бж҃твеное ѡбразованіе. видѣв сѣенны
Григоріе, стоѣще провоу сѣенна пѣра // оумилї іакѡ лѣпо бѣ, і въ слѣзы дх҃овныа снесѣ бѣ,
// преоудививса Спсовоу неизреченному схожѣю // і іакѡ видѣ ѡчима в дѣстѣ стѣ, тако сказа
іконо//писцѣ писѣ прочее таковое Спсово сѣенное // ѡбразованіе. і ѡтолѣ на чѣ сице сѣенное
ѡбрѣ//зованіе Спсово въ стѣхъ храмѣ писѣса. Сице // азъ таковоу повѣ прїахъ ѡдостоверныхъ
// моужей Італїанѣ. оуны живы время доводно // юнѣ еце сы и * держѣ *⁴ мѣскаго жїа. іакѡ
оубо а прїахъ // сице і повѣствою твоѣмоу стѣльствоу. єго стѣми мѣтвами, да ма сподобї
Гѣ каати іскренѣ моихъ прегѣшенїи, аминь.

¹ Paris, BnF, Ms. Slave 123, 111r.

² Ins.

³ Paris, BnF, Ms. Slave 123, 111v.

⁴ Marg.

APPENDIX B
Translation of the text (in English)

Rules for submission of the manuscript text

The division of the text into five parts serves a philological purpose, allowing analytical examination of each segment, which aids in interpreting textual themes, stylistic features, and the use of linguistic devices. Line breaks in the transcription of the original manuscript are preserved. In the adaptation of the manuscript transcription, capital letters are maintained for names in accordance with traditional orthographic and theological conventions (Jesus Christ, Lord, Saviour, Gregory), which these retain as a mark of respect, hierarchical status, or theological significance within the text.

Prolegomena

The Holy image of the venerable icon of the Lord, God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, is referred to as *pietas* in Roman, which in Russian signifies ‘charity (compassion)’ or ‘piety’, but not despondency.

The Exegesis: Part I

This is not the creation of the human’s thought or imagination, but the Saviour Himself has shown Himself to His servant, to the saintly Pope of Rome, Gregory, the author of the spiritual writings to his deacon Peter that are beneficial for the soul.

The Exegesis: Part II

He has shown Himself during the proceeding of the Divine Liturgy, sacredly activating a fearful, bloodless sacrifice, when holiest Gregory placed the fourth part of the Holy and sacrificed lamb in the chalice.

Exegesis: Part III

When the pious Pope saw this Divine image, not created by human hands, while standing in front of the chalice, he was touched because it was so beautiful, and he was moved to spiritual tears, marveling at the inexpressible descent of the Saviour, just as he had seen with (his) eyes in the Holy Spirit.

Part IV:

And just as he had seen with his own eyes in the Holy Spirit, he instructed the iconographers/icon-writers [N. Z.] to write [N. Z.] such a Holy Image of the Saviour. And from that time on, such images of the Saviour began to be written/depicted in the churches of God.

Part V

This is the story I received from pious Italian people. I lived with them a quite a long time when I was quite young and when I still lived a secular life. Just as I have heard it, now I am telling it to your Holiness.

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Sveti Maksim Grk: *Pietas* in videnje papeža Gregorja Velikega

Povzetek

Pričujoča razprava obravnava kompleksno temo ozadja vzpostavljanja ikonografskega motiva *pietas*. Povod za to in osrednje mesto v študiji predstavlja nekoliko neobičajna in razmeroma neznana interpretacija omenjene krščanske upodobitve, kot jo je zapisal v prvi polovici 16. stoletja sv. Maksim Grk. V svojem besedilu je sv. Maksim zapisal natančno filološko-teološko eksegezo te ikonografske upodobitve, znane pod imenom *pietas*, ob kateri se je tudi kritično dotaknil neustreznega razumevanja, kot ga je opazil v Rusiji, in sicer ga je zmotilo približevanje pomenu resignacije oziroma duhovne stagnacije. Vendar pa Maksim nadaljuje svojo interpretacijo z navezavo na legendo, ki jo je slišal med svojim bivanjem v severni Italiji in ki govori o liturgični izkušnji papeža Gregorja Velikega. Prek opisa papeževega videnja Maksim razkriva edinstveno razsežnost ikonografije Jezusa Kristusa.

Besedilo Maksima Grka pomembno uvaja prepoznavno vzhodnokrščansko terminologijo, s čimer se vzpostavi primerjalna možnost kulturno-zgodovinske refleksije. Izvirno besedilo je v tokratni študiji pogojno razdeljeno na pet delov, ki so podrobno in večplastno predstavljeni. Filološko analizo dopolnjujejo teološke vzporednice razumevanja in nazorske korelacije. Prispevek na večdimenzionalni ravni raziskuje zgodovino nastanka omenjenega besedila. S tem poseže v globlje plasti doumevanja vsebine obravnavanega ikonografskega motiva in omogoča nove možnosti interpretacije. Pregledno in strnjeno osvetljuje teološke premise (tudi prek vzhodnih koncilov) v težavnih obdobjih določanja temeljev in pravil krščanske ikonografije na vzhodu in na zahodu.

Osrednja tema, opazovana skozi zgodovinski metodološki vpogled, kliče k možnemu ponovnemu ovrednotenju sprejetih (tradicionalnih, konvencionalnih) umetnostnozgodovinskih in kulturnozgodovinskih paradigem ter odpira diskutabilno refleksijo o temeljnih vprašanjih zahodne in vzhodne kulture. Zdi se, da taka študija vodi stran od osnove *pietas*, kot smo jo poznali doslej. Vendar pa se na koncu zazdi, da morda nikdar še nismo bili tako blizu razumevanja bistva *pietas*. Kratka zgodovina ikonografskega pomena *pietas* je tako predstavljena zgolj kot ena od ugank humanistične percepcije umetnosti in zgodovine. Prav izvirno besedilo sv. Maksima Grka pa je tisto, ki bralcu ponudi novo razsežnost razumevanja srži upodabljanja in interpretacije podob Sina Božjega.

Perception of Management of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Slovenia and the Role of (New) Localism

Matjaž Uršič

Prof. Matjaž Uršič, PhD, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Kardeljeva ploščad 5,
SI-1000 Ljubljana, matjaz.ursic@fdv.uni-lj.si, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3792-9310

Barbara Neža Brečko

Barbara Neža Brečko, PhD, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Kardeljeva ploščad 5,
SI-1000 Ljubljana, barbara.brecko@fdv.uni-lj.si, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4914-7412

Abstract

Perception of Management of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Slovenia and the Role of (New) Localism

1.01 Original scientific article

Public opinion on management of immovable cultural heritage is shaped by a complex interplay of desires from different population groups that simultaneously aspire to implement localism, participation, and economic development. This article elaborates how the information obtained during public opinion surveys gives rise to many opposing opinions and positions on ways to manage immovable cultural heritage. These often-opposing stances within Slovenian communities can sometimes lead to confusion, exclusivity, resistance to change, passivation, or even open conflict with broader social and developmental consequences. Based on an analysis of data from a 2024 panel survey that included 1,150 respondents in Slovenia, the article suggests orientations for potential changes in heritage policies to provide greater balance between local stakeholders, public authorities, and economic actors.

Keywords: HEI-TRANSFORM project, immovable cultural heritage, localism, new localism, locality, panel survey, public opinion, participation, economic development, heritage management

Izveček

Percepcija upravljanja nepremične kulturne dediščine v Sloveniji in vloga (novega) lokalizma

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Javno mnenje o upravljanju nepremične kulturne dediščine se oblikuje na podlagi kompleksne interakcije med različnimi skupinami prebivalstva, ki si hkrati prizadevajo za uveljavljanje lokalizmov, večjo participacijo in gospodarski razvoj. V članku je podrobno opisano, kako informacije, pridobljene prek javnomnenjskih raziskav, razkrivajo številna paradoksalna mnenja in stališča o načinih upravljanja nepremične kulturne dediščine. Ta pogosto nasprotujoča si stališča znotraj lokalnih skupnosti lahko včasih vodijo v zmedo, ekskluzivnost, odpor do sprememb, pasivnost ali celo odprt konflikt s širšimi družbenimi in razvojnimi posledicami. Na podlagi analize podatkov iz panelne ankete iz leta 2024, ki je vključevala 1150 anketirancev v Sloveniji, so v članku oblikovane usmeritve za morebitne spremembe politik upravljanja z nepremično kulturno dediščino z namenom vzpostavljanja večjega ravnovesja med lokalnimi deležniki, javnimi organi in gospodarskimi akterji.

Ključne besede: projekt HEI-TRANSFORM, nepremična kulturna dediščina, lokalizem, novi lokalizem, lokalnost, panelna anketa, javno mnenje, participacija, gospodarski razvoj, upravljanje dediščine

Introduction

Changes in the management, use, and control of immovable cultural heritage often trigger intense debates among different stakeholders within local communities. This highlights the important role and value that heritage has in society and why it contributes so much to the general quality of life. This impact is especially visible in locations where immovable cultural heritage is deeply embedded within the spatial context of the local environment, which evokes close ties with identity, cultural significance, and historical value. From this perspective, immovable cultural heritage serves as a source of pride, a connection to the past, and a key element for shaping local identity. Consequently, decisions about its management in the future inevitably arouse strong emotions and diverse viewpoints from various stakeholders. Due to sensitivity of the processes that seek to balance the interests of different groups in relation to the management of immovable cultural heritage, any unclear approach or radical change can have a strong impact on local development and significantly influence the community's quality of life. For example, decisions that prioritize economic gain over the preservation of immovable cultural heritage can lead to the degradation of historical landmarks, thereby diminishing a place's character and uniqueness. On the other hand, excessively rigid protection policies may hinder necessary development and adaptation of immovable cultural heritage to contemporary needs, which also leads to dissatisfaction among residents and stakeholders.¹ Achieving a balance between conservation and sustainable management of heritage thus remains a challenge requiring a refined approach.²

For these reasons, when it comes to management of heritage, any supposed change must be thoroughly assessed by various stakeholders and supported by appropriate data and contextual analyses. Particularly important stakeholders in this context are the diverse groups of residents living in proximity of locations with different forms of immovable cultural heritage. Local engagement and participation in decision-making processes are therefore crucial for ensuring that cultural heritage remains relevant and beneficial to the community. Public discussions, surveys, and participatory planning are typical tools that can integrate local voices into heritage management.³ The involvement of local residents not only fosters a sense of belonging, connection, and responsibility, but also strengthens the role and significance of heritage projects in ensuring the development of community.⁴ Without public support and consensus, even beneficial initiatives can face resistance and fail.⁵ Although data gathered through public opinion surveys often reveal rather straightforward views and opinions about the management of immovable cultural heritage, they also expose seemingly paradoxical situations in which respondents simultaneously support and reject certain positions regarding the development of cultural heritage.⁶ This contradiction reflects the complexity of heritage management, in which individuals simultaneously value the preservation of historical memory while also desiring modernization and economic growth.⁷ For example, communities may advocate for the

¹ Fischel, "Why Are There;" Barthel-Bouchier, *Cultural Heritage*.

² Kiefer, *The Social Functions*; Leifeste and Stiefel, *Sustainable Heritage*; Wang et al., "How to Achieve."

³ Müller and Stotten, *Public Participation Manual*; Uršič, "Immovable Cultural Heritage."

⁴ Madgin and Lesh, *People-Centred Methodologies*.

⁵ Vecco and Srakar, "The Unbearable Sustainability."

⁶ Soini and Birkeland, "Exploring the Scientific Discourse."

⁷ Uršič, "Immovable Cultural Heritage."

preservation of historic buildings while at the same time supporting large infrastructural projects that could radically alter or endanger those same structures. Such conflicting positions emphasize the need for a careful, context-sensitive, and deeply informed approach to decision-making regarding the use, management, and transformation of immovable cultural heritage.

This article addresses immovable cultural heritage as a general field of analysis that primarily includes material cultural elements such as buildings, monuments, landscapes, and accompanying material cultural heritage (e.g., archival materials, works of art, or artefacts). As such, it refers to immovable cultural heritage as culturally significant, physically fixed assets, whether in architectural, archaeological, or industrial form, whose value is tied to their location and cannot be moved without losing essential meaning. Based on data collected within the HEI-TRANSFORM research project,⁸ the article explores how the perspectives of different population groups toward immovable cultural heritage influence both heritage preservation and community well-being. More specifically, the main research question is based on the presumption that the public perception on how to manage immovable cultural heritage in Slovenia is still too fixated on local issues and relations, which obstructs more progressive use of heritage. From this perspective, the article examines the presence of elements of localism and new localism⁹ among different population groups, and how these may affect the future development, use, and management of immovable cultural heritage in Slovenia. In the context of heritage management, local initiatives are often assumed to be linked to hierarchical, static, and rigid local networks, whereas conceptualizations of new localism suggest a more flexible use of local elements in ways that benefit both the local and broader (global) society. Analyzing this complex dialectical relationship between (traditional, autarkic) localism and new localism in the context of heritage management is therefore particularly important for Slovenia's potential future development—one that incorporates local interests while ensuring balanced progress in conditions of global interconnectedness and increasing exposure to external cultural influences. This raises an additional research question related to the study of the conditions under which an excessively affirmative evaluation of the local environment is established. This local stance potentially encourages autarky and reduces the possibilities for better use of resources and opportunities provided by immovable cultural heritage. The additional research question is therefore aimed at identifying the deficit in elements of new localism that can be observed through opinions of individual groups of the Slovenian population. In addition, by comparing different views on heritage management possibilities, the study highlights key opportunities, obstacles, and challenges that policymakers and heritage experts must address to enhance the effectiveness of policies and measures concerning the development and preservation of immovable cultural heritage in Slovenia.

It is important to emphasize that this article makes an original contribution by addressing a relatively new and under-researched area by empirically combining heritage value analysis with a large-scale survey in a way not previously developed in comparable studies.¹⁰ The article provides first-of-a-kind insight into questions of public heritage interpretation, evaluation, and protection regimes in Slovenia, thereby substantially enhancing its relevance for art historians dealing with immovable cultural heritage. The article has four sections. First, it sets out the conceptual framework by

⁸ *Heritage for Inclusive Sustainable Transformation* (HEI-TRANSFORM), funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS code: J7-4641), see "Heritage for Inclusive Sustainable."

⁹ Strassoldo and Tessarin, *Le radici del localismo*, 287.

¹⁰ European Commission, *Special Eurobarometer* 466.

linking debates on localism / new localism to management of immovable cultural heritage. Second, it explains the methodology and data (the HEI-TRANSFORM panel survey plus supporting secondary sources). The third section presents the empirical findings (key dimensions of heritage value, perceived benefits, and burdens on management of immovable cultural heritage). The fourth section (conclusions) closes by interpreting these patterns in terms of ambivalence and implementation gaps, followed by implications for more participatory, balanced heritage management.

The influence of localism and new localism on shaping public policies

Heritage management is inevitably mediated through local meanings. This makes research on attitudes toward immovable cultural heritage of crucial importance. Timely discovery of public support, resistance, identity characteristics, belonging, perceived benefits, and burdens often determines what kind of heritage protection regimes are politically feasible and how they are implemented on the ground. From a local perspective, heritage is often treated as a place-bound public good tied to identity and community continuity, whereas newer, more global-oriented approaches highlight more flexible, outward-looking uses of local assets linking heritage to tourism, entrepreneurship, and wider economic networks. Attitudes in this regard help explain when people support conservation, adaptive reuse, or development-oriented strategies. Understanding these orientations is directly relevant for policy because it clarifies potential points of conflict and indicates which heritage management arrangements are likely to be trusted. At the same time, studying attitudes provides clues on how to produce more balanced, participatory approaches that can reconcile preservation goals with locally acceptable forms of change. In other words, it helps clarify who the heritage is for and what counts as legitimate change.¹¹

Before analyzing attitudes toward immovable cultural heritage from the perspective of various actors, it is necessary to first more precisely define the differences between localism and new localism to provide sufficient details to detect the special features that are connected to their presence in various local environments. Localism can best be described as the relationship between a place (understood as a relatively small and bounded space) and the social phenomena occurring within it. From the perspective of an observer or actor, this relation is thoroughly evaluated (ideologized) and becomes part of its consciousness.¹² In this way, locality (and space more generally) becomes an essential component in the construction of identity, which contradicts the theories of disappearing territorial determinism by emphasizing the significance of the local in everyday life. Traditionally, localism and rootedness were regarded as backward and part of a conservative value spectrum. Modernization processes appeared to move toward cosmopolitanism, universalism, and increased residential mobility. Territorial attachment—which Tönnies described as part of *Gemeinschaft*—seemed to be dissolving under the influence of the more globally oriented *Gesellschaft*.¹³ Strassoldo explains that, although the disintegration of *Gemeinschaft* has indeed taken place to some degree, it was not fully completed; it did not reach a level that would transform the fundamental building blocks

¹¹ Harvey, *From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism*.

¹² Strassoldo and Tessarin, *Le radici del localismo*, 287.

¹³ Tönnies, *Skupnost in družba*, 31.

of its content.¹⁴ As Strassoldo notes, the process “found its internal limits in some basic human needs and dialectically created its own self-limiting contradictions and self-opposing forces.”¹⁵ The outcome of these processes was the formation of new localism trends in which elements of the old localism combined with globalization processes that introduced new aspects into the local sphere. From this perspective, Mlinar distinguishes old localism from new localism through the analytical dimensions of “connectedness” and “internal characteristics.”¹⁶ On the one hand, connectedness can be analyzed in terms of autonomy—as independence or choice in relation to the external world—whereas internal characteristics are defined by the degree of exclusion or integration of external particularities. Old localism can thus be seen as more closed and less connected compared to the new localism, which is oriented toward choice and openness. Similarly, the two differ in how they exclude or integrate external features; whereas new localism integrates specific externalities, old localism tends to exclude them indiscriminately, even when they could improve the performance of a system.

According to Strassoldo, two additional differences distinguish new from old localism.¹⁷ First, whereas old localism was primordial and less reflective, new localism results from a more conscious and deliberate choice of opportunities offered by the external environment that may benefit the local community. Old localism seemed “necessary and natural,” whereas new localism appears more “voluntary (in terms of choice) and intentional, rational (in terms of benefits for the community).”¹⁸ Second, “old localism sought to reduce contact with the outside world to preserve a closed boundary (area), whereas new localism is highly aware of the rest of the world and open to interaction with it.”¹⁹ In general, new localism can be seen as more open than old localism while still emphasizing the need for certain values to remain present within the local environment.

The concept of new localism introduces fresh perspectives into the debate on heritage management in Slovenia. The first question is the extent to which new localism is present in the use, management, and transformation of immovable cultural heritage within Slovenian local communities. Because local communities must integrate innovations into their environments, this process immediately initiates a dialogue between the forces of old (preserving) and new (adapting) localism. Second, this confrontation between the two forms of localism is nested within the broader question of whether heritage management in Slovenia leans more toward developing heritage that reflects post-materialist values,²⁰ such as sustainability, cooperation, and participation, or whether it tends to preserve rigid, hierarchical approaches and maintain the status quo regardless of external change. If the latter prevails and people tend to pretend that there are no external influences, then this orientation reinforces beliefs related to old localism while neglecting the potential advantages of new localism, in which potentially progressive beneficial (global) effects merge with local values. It is important to note that although this “glocalization process”²¹ is probably already taking place in Slovenia in some form—because the country is part of the economically developed and globalized territory

¹⁴ Strassoldo, “The Meaning of Localism.”

¹⁵ Strassoldo, “The Meaning of Localism,” 7.

¹⁶ Mlinar, “Krepitev in slabitev moči.”

¹⁷ Strassoldo, “The Meaning of Localism.”

¹⁸ Strassoldo, “The Meaning of Localism,” 7.

¹⁹ Strassoldo and Tessarin, *Le radici del localismo*, 46–47.

²⁰ Schwartz, *Universals in the Content; Inglehart, Modernization and Postmodernization*.

²¹ Robertson, *Glocalization: Time-Space*, 173.

north—the extent of these influences remains relatively underexplored. The data presented in this exploratory study provide, for the first time in Slovenia, an analysis of the scope and characteristics of new localism and related values in the context of the development, management, and use of immovable cultural heritage.

Methodology of the study

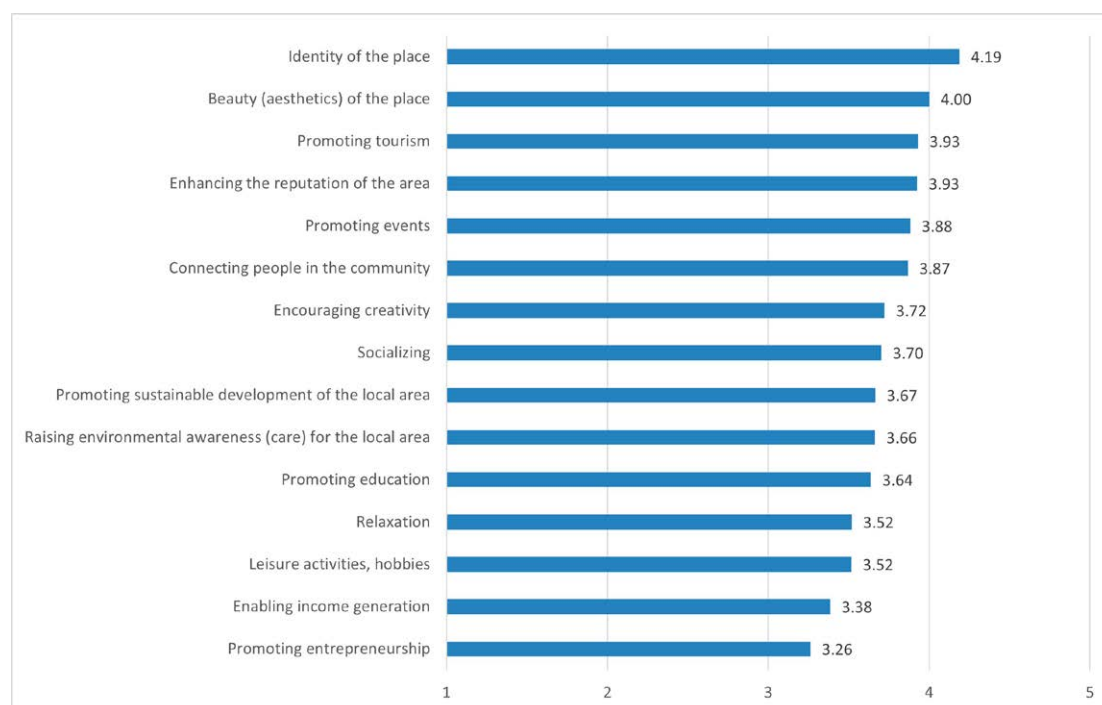
The methodology of study is based on the analysis of a large panel survey conducted as part of the HEI-TRANSFORM research project in Slovenia.²² The key element of the research was a questionnaire addressing the role of immovable cultural heritage within local communities. Respondents were asked about their opinions and views on the current state and future of immovable cultural heritage—including buildings (e.g., castles, manors, and town centers), artefacts, archaeological remains, and other physical heritage objects—both at specific locations and in Slovenia in general. The goal of the research was to obtain data on what respondents perceive as the most appropriate modes of organization and use of immovable cultural heritage, as well as to gain insights into public opinion regarding the potential advantages or disadvantages of recent changes and heritage modernization efforts. The questionnaire was prepared through a series of brainstorming sessions with researchers from various disciplines. First, the basic version of the questionnaire was formed by a group of researchers from the social sciences. This group was comprised of sociologists and social informatics experts. Second, a number of experts from other disciplinary fields were invited to provide comments and calibrate specific parts of the questionnaire. This group involved architects, art historians, ethnographers, cultural anthropologists, geographers, historians, and others. After the calibration, the final version of the questionnaire was prepared by the team at the Faculty of Social Sciences of University of Ljubljana and tested before the field phase. Data were collected through an online survey administered within the JazVem.si web panel, targeting active members of the panel. A quota sampling approach was applied, with prior stratification at the regional level and based on a combination of sex, education, and age groups to ensure balanced representation across key demographic characteristics. The study employed a non-probability quota sample. A higher level of representativeness was achieved through post-stratification weighting of the data. Online data collection took place between January and February 2024. The total number of respondents was 1,150. The data collected were further interpreted using secondary research and sources covering themes on transformation of architectural heritage, archaeological sites, and other prominent forms of immovable cultural heritage. These secondary data provided additional insights and explanatory information allowing the formulation of recommendations on future strategies for heritage management at the local, regional, and national levels.

²² Uršič et al., *Vloga nepremične kulturne dediščine*.

Analysis of perception on the use and management of immovable cultural heritage in Slovenia

The data from the HEI-TRANSFORM panel survey show that at the local level Slovenia is characterized by an exceptionally strong attachment to immovable cultural heritage.²³ Respondents particularly emphasized the importance of heritage as the basic building block of local or place identity. They identify with cultural heritage because of its symbolic, cultural, architectural, and urban features that represent the core of what defines the place, locality, and local community. This pronounced attachment to immovable cultural heritage underscores its vital role in shaping development strategies for towns, cities and spatial planning in general, as illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.

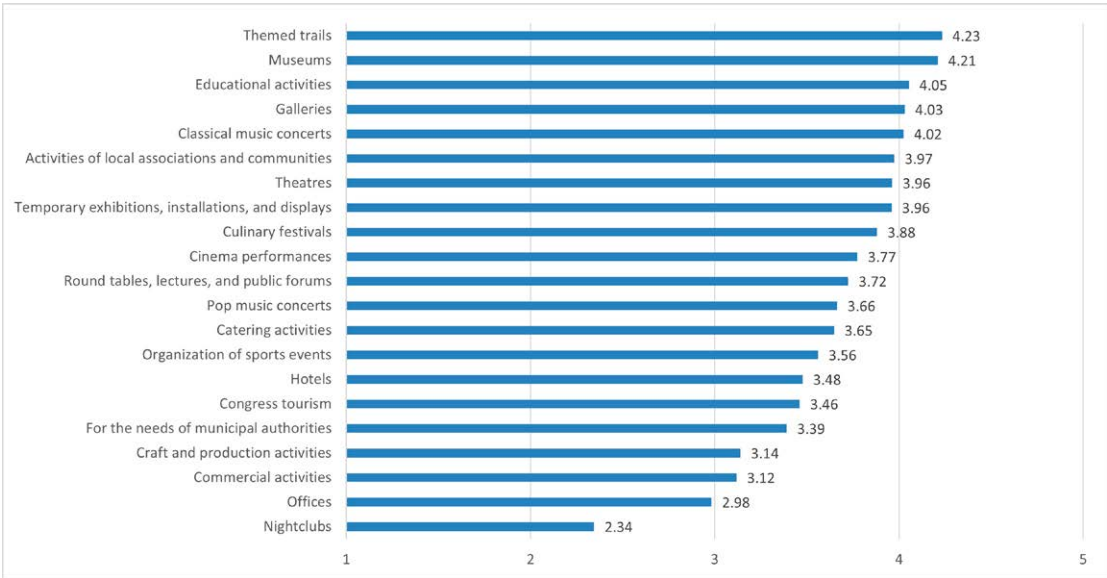
The most important dimension of immovable cultural heritage is therefore the identity of place, followed by the beauty (aesthetic value) of the place and other dimensions. The presence of multiple dimensions, many of which are also related to economic activities (e.g., promoting tourism, generating income, and encouraging entrepreneurship), indicates that, in addition to its symbolic, cultural value (i.e., “cultural capital”),²⁴ immovable cultural heritage is also a form of economic capital. As a symbolic value, cultural capital forms the basis for further networking of leisure activities (e.g., promoting events, connecting people within the locality, encouraging creativity, socializing, raising environmental awareness, and other leisure activities or hobbies), whereas economic capital complements the role of immovable cultural heritage by supporting development of localities (e.g., promoting tourism, making income generation possible, stimulating entrepreneurship, etc.). It is precisely



1. The importance of immovable cultural heritage for various social and community dimensions (Question: How important is immovable cultural heritage in relation to individual dimensions?)

²³ Uršič et al., *Vloga nepremične kulturne dediščine*.

²⁴ Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” 241.

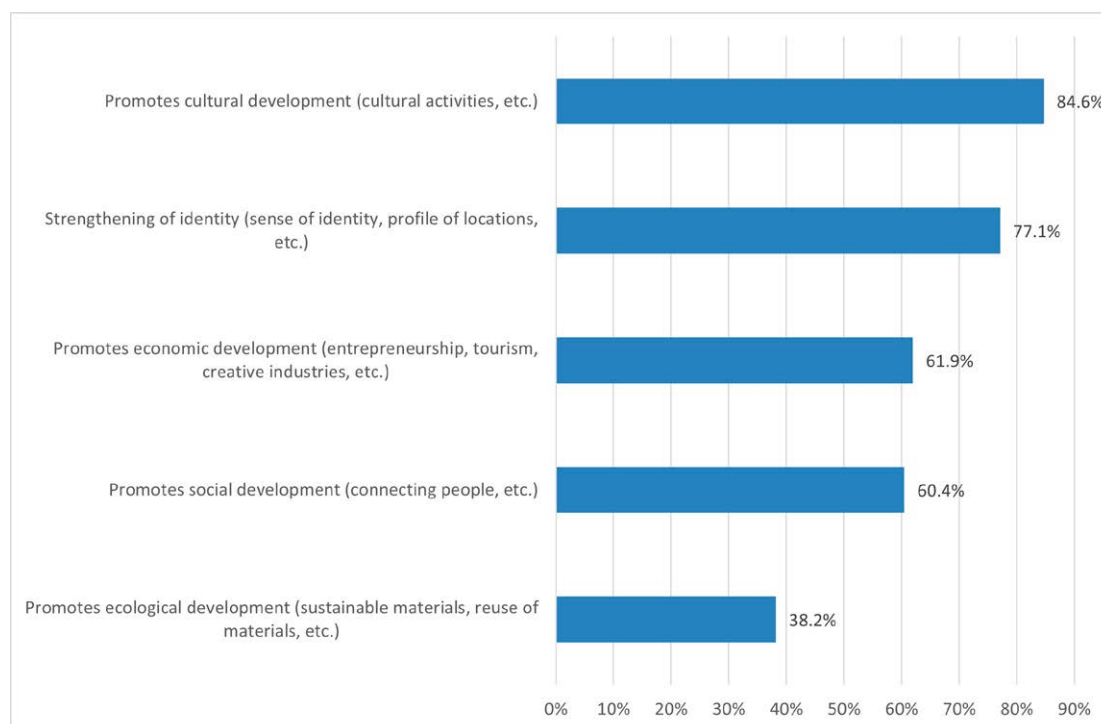


2. Support for the use of immovable cultural heritage for various activities (Question: Buildings of immovable cultural heritage can serve various purposes: they can host exhibitions or galleries, or, for example, offer hotel accommodations. To what extent do you support the use of immovable cultural heritage in your locality for the following activities?)

this dual role of immovable cultural heritage that often causes tensions regarding appropriate future development strategies of places as different interest groups seek different kinds of benefits from the use and management of cultural heritage. This is also evident from a more detailed analysis of respondents’ attitudes toward possible ways of using immovable cultural heritage in their immediate surroundings (see Figure 3).

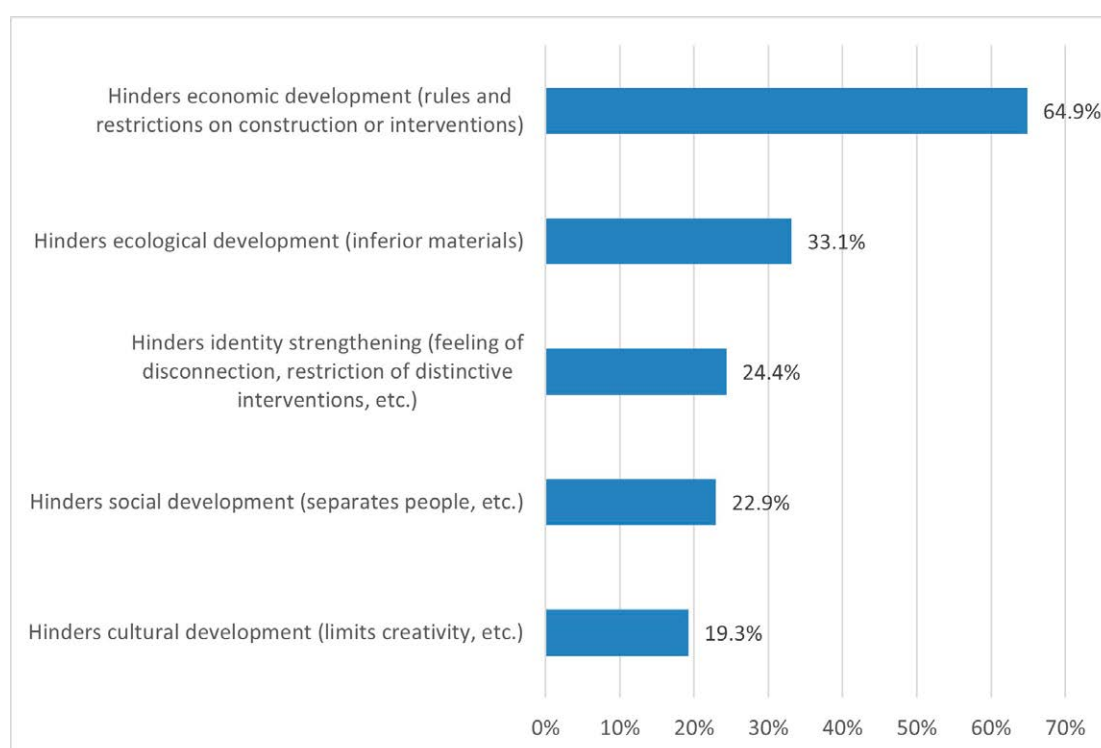
The analysis reveals how respondents perceive the development of their localities and how they evaluate the significance of immovable cultural heritage and its role in local development. The data show what they consider an appropriate way of use, management, and transformation of immovable cultural heritage. Indirectly, these stances reflect their views on the potential development of their locality, including the pace of development and their visions for promoting different types of employment, services, and economic activities related to immovable cultural heritage. Although public and semi-public services dominate the top of the list (e.g., education, local associations, museums, thematic routes, etc.), it is important to note that there is also a strong emphasis on profit-oriented activities linked to local economic development (e.g., hotels, hospitality, conference tourism, etc.). Good insight into how respondents perceive the potential development of their locality and the resulting changes in immovable cultural heritage is provided by responses to the question on the opportunities and burdens that immovable cultural heritage represents for a locality, as illustrated in Figures 3 and 4.

The combination of both questions (Figures 3 and 4) reveals certain characteristics of immovable cultural heritage that respondents sometimes hide by emphasizing or idealizing other characteristics of heritage. When the questions about the opportunities and burdens of immovable cultural heritage are combined, the component of economic development stands out most clearly. Although respondents primarily emphasize the cultural and identity-related aspects of immovable cultural heritage, secondarily they also strongly acknowledge that it can significantly hinder economic development and represent a financial burden. For example, in this context, they point out that



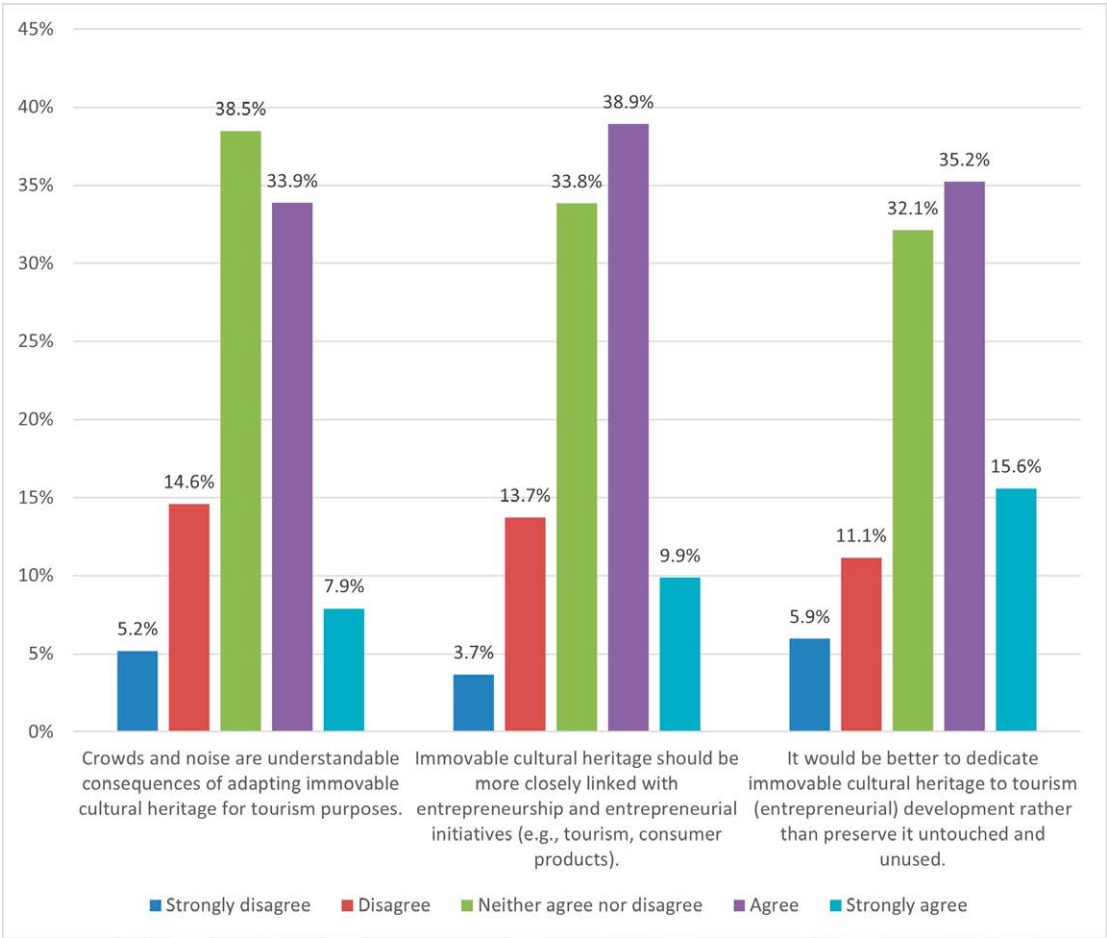
3. Immovable cultural heritage as an opportunity

(Question: Why can immovable cultural heritage be considered an opportunity?)



4. Immovable cultural heritage as a burden

(Question: Why can immovable cultural heritage be considered a burden?)



5. Economic use of immovable cultural heritage
(Prompt: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.)

ecological development is being hampered by the excessive use of certain materials that may not be part of modern construction processes and methods. This statement, from the perspective of the respondents, is complementary with the problematic aspects they observe in relation to economic development. Despite the strong influence that immovable cultural heritage has on shaping the cultural and identity image of individuals and places, it can be confirmed that economic development related to heritage is the second most important component in the structure of the Slovenian value system when it comes to heritage management. Depending on the specific characteristics and local contexts in which individual heritage sites are located, the economic component may even prevail over the needs of the wider community, meaning that the economic interests of certain local actors can potentially outweigh those of less influential or less empowered stakeholders. This is clearly reflected in individual statements expressing a relatively high level of tolerance toward the provision of economic services related to the use of immovable cultural heritage, as illustrated in Figure 5.

As can be seen from Figure 5, the data reveal ambivalence among respondents regarding the economic use of immovable cultural heritage. The largest share of respondents selected the middle option (“neither agree nor disagree”), which indicates caution and restraint in taking a clear position. Nevertheless, it is evident that the proportion of those that agree or strongly agree with the statements is relatively high and ranges from about one-third to almost half of all responses for individual statements. This suggests that there is a considerable level of tolerance within the Slovenian public toward

	House in a secluded area or small village with up to 500 inhabitants	Village, small town, or market town with over 500 to 2,000 inhabitants	Town with over 2,000 to 4,000 inhabitants	Town with over 4,000 to 10,000 inhabitants	Town with over 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants	Town with over 50,000 inhabitants (Ljubljana, Maribor)
State (ministries, national institutes, other state bodies)	↑ 26.2%	↑ 28.8%	→ 24.1%	→ 23.0%	→ 21.5%	↑ 36.3%
Municipal (city) authorities	↑ 32.9%	↑ 26.3%	↑ 35.2%	↑ 33.8%	↑ 32.6%	→ 22.2%
Interested residents, civil initiatives	↓ 11.0%	→ 13.7%	↓ 9.0%	↓ 12.2%	↓ 7.6%	↓ 9.9%
Neutral intermediary or mediator	↓ 9.8%	↓ 10.7%	↓ 9.0%	→ 14.2%	→ 13.2%	↓ 10.5%
Non-governmental organizations	↓ 1.8%	↓ 1.5%	↓ 1.4%	↓ 3.4%	↓ 2.1%	↓ 1.8%
Experts, scientists	→ 18.3%	→ 19.0%	→ 21.4%	→ 13.5%	→ 22.9%	→ 19.3%

Table 1. Economic use of immovable cultural heritage according to the type of settlement (Prompt: Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements (according to the type of settlement).)

the economic exploitation of immovable cultural heritage, particularly in connection with tourism and entrepreneurship. At the same time, however, a non-negligible share of respondents remain skeptical or opposed to such interventions. The strongest support was expressed for the statement that crowding and noise are understandable consequences of adapting heritage for tourism, which indicates a pragmatic attitude toward development, meaning that respondents are willing to accept certain negative effects if they lead to greater economic benefits. For the statement indicating that it would be better to dedicate heritage to tourism development rather than preserve it untouched, the share of those that agreed was somewhat lower, suggesting that complete commercialization of heritage is not generally accepted. This is further confirmed by the high level of neutrality, reflecting the complexity of the issue and possible internal conflicts between valuing heritage as cultural capital and the desire for its economic development. Further cross-tabulation of data revealed differences in opinions among respondents from different types of settlements in Slovenia, concerning both the commercialization of immovable cultural heritage (Table 1) and its use in local areas for various types of activities (Table 2).

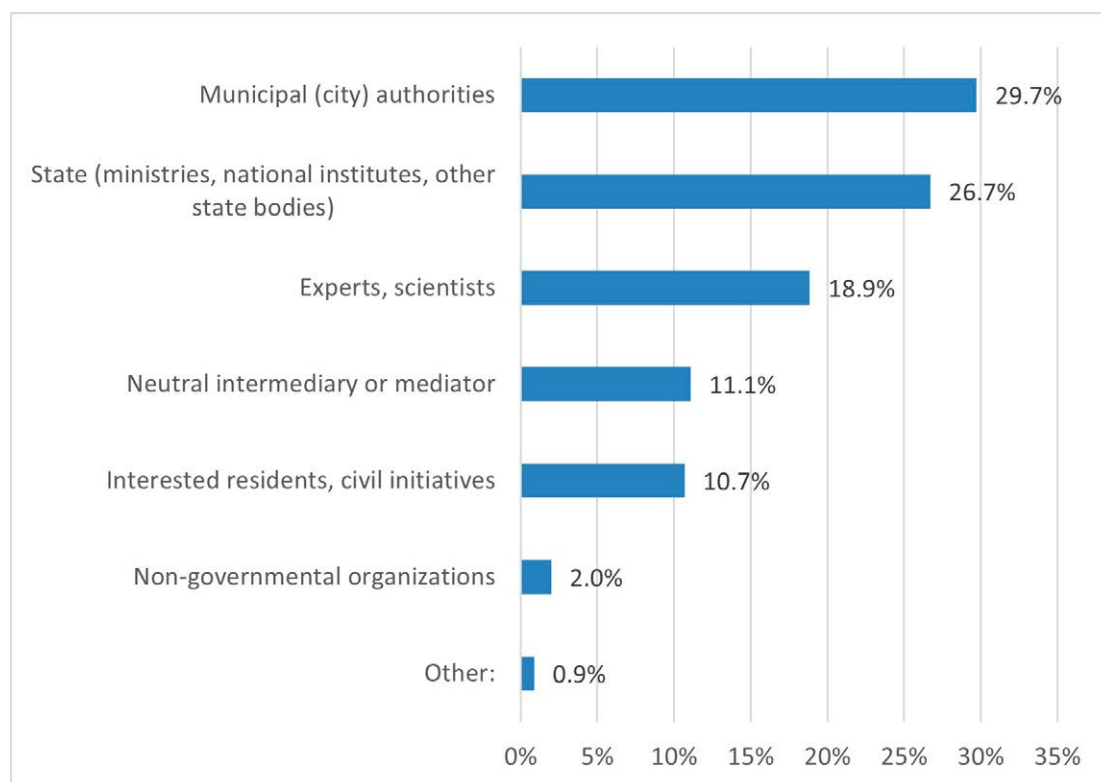
At the general level, the data in Table 1 indicate that attitudes toward the commercialization and involvement of entrepreneurial initiatives in the management of immovable cultural heritage vary according to the type of settlement. Residents of less densely populated areas (isolated houses, hamlets, and small villages) are more inclined toward the integration of public-private partnerships (PPPs) and the inclusion of economic activities such as tourism, hospitality, and entrepreneurship in heritage maintenance and use. These respondents expect that greater integration of heritage management with entrepreneurial activities will help optimize the maintenance of immovable cultural heritage and increase financial benefits for local communities. They primarily view heritage as an opportunity for economic development, job creation, and additional income. In contrast, residents of larger towns and cities (e.g., settlements with more than 50,000 inhabitants) tend to be more cautious and often express reservations toward intensive commercialization of heritage because they give priority to its cultural, symbolic, and identity-related roles. This difference also reflects diverging development priorities: in smaller localities, heritage is a key source of local vitality, whereas in

	House in a secluded area or small village with up to 500 inhabitants	Village, small town, or market town with over 500 to 2,000 inhabitants	Town with over 2,000 to 4,000 inhabitants	Town with over 4,000 to 10,000 inhabitants	Town with over 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants	Town with over 50,000 inhabitants (Ljubljana, Maribor)
Galleries	3.82	3.88	4.09	4.05	4.10	4.25
Museums	4.10	4.12	4.18	4.22	4.22	4.40
Cinema performances	3.65	3.70	3.89	3.95	3.73	3.70
Catering activities	3.70	3.61	3.72	3.76	3.63	3.44
Hotels	3.49	3.40	3.63	3.66	3.46	3.28
Commercial activities	3.18	3.17	3.24	3.28	2.97	2.85
Offices	3.16	2.94	3.06	3.11	2.98	2.68
Craft and production activities	3.26	3.14	3.33	3.25	3.03	2.89
Theatres	3.83	3.77	4.11	3.99	3.99	4.10
Educational activities	4.06	3.95	4.15	4.14	3.96	4.09
Themed trails	4.23	4.19	4.30	4.26	4.12	4.30
Classical music concerts	3.85	3.97	4.13	4.04	4.03	4.13
Pop music concerts	3.64	3.67	3.81	3.78	3.54	3.49
Organization of sports events	3.71	3.56	3.75	3.76	3.32	3.25
Culinary festivals	3.86	3.91	3.97	4.06	3.79	3.66
Activities of local associations and communities	4.05	4.10	4.12	3.94	3.75	3.79
For the needs of municipal authorities	3.58	3.45	3.57	3.47	3.24	3.07
Congress tourism	3.40	3.41	3.66	3.67	3.42	3.28
Temporary exhibitions, installations, and displays	3.92	3.93	4.06	4.00	3.85	4.02
Round tables, lectures, and public forums	3.72	3.65	3.79	3.80	3.66	3.70
Nightclubs	2.34	2.40	2.32	2.38	2.41	2.19

Table 2. Use of immovable cultural heritage according to the type of settlement (Question: To what extent do you support the use of immovable cultural heritage in your locality for the following activities (according to the type of settlement)?)

urban environments it is mainly seen as a space for heritage protection and support for sustainable use. It is important to note that a certain degree of ambivalence prevails across all types of settlements because many respondents adopt neutral positions, indicating the complexity and sensitivity of heritage commercialization.

Table 2 complements other data, in which respondents from less densely populated areas (e.g., isolated houses, hamlets, or small villages) more frequently emphasize the need for further involvement and cooperation between the economic (private) sector and the management of immovable cultural heritage (e.g., various hospitality activities, hotels, commercial activities, offices, and craft and production activities) than respondents from more densely populated areas (settlements with over 50,000 inhabitants). This reinforces the view that, when examining the relationship between the commercialization (commodification) of immovable cultural heritage and its preservation or use for the development of cultural activities and the improvement of quality of life, one is dealing with a highly sensitive issue. The topic raises numerous questions concerning future development, which



6. Decision-making in cases of potential management disputes (Question: In your opinion, who should be responsible for decision-making in the event of potential disputes in the management or inappropriate treatment of immovable cultural heritage?)

can easily affect the expectations of specific groups within local communities and can potentially lead to conflicts (see, e.g., the numerous NIMBY, or “not in my backyard,” cases in Slovenia).²⁵ Because of these problematic aspects, most respondents prefer to take a neutral stance (a kind of status quo), which results in a contradictory position of ambivalent statements: a situation characterized by simultaneous support for (financial) dependence on the state and aspirations for greater financial benefits from commercialization, and at the same time aspirations for independence from the state in terms of decision-making on the management, use, modification and development of immovable cultural heritage. Further data from Table 2 support these interpretations because they place municipal and state authorities in a central position regarding judgements on potential disputes in the management or inappropriate treatment of immovable cultural heritage.

Unlike other public opinion surveys,²⁶ which focus on broader developmental areas (e.g., mobility, infrastructure development, sustainable development, etc.) and place experts and scientists in key decision-making positions, in the case of the panel survey on management and use of immovable cultural heritage, the municipality and the state are perceived as the most important actors.²⁷ These data can be interpreted as a result of the strong connection between local identity and heritage,

²⁵ Dvornik Perhavec and Kamnik, “From Resistance to Acceptance.”

²⁶ Uršič et al., *Končno poročilo o rezultatih*; Hočevar et al., *Prostorske in okoljske vrednote*.

²⁷ Uršič et al., *Vloga nepremične kulturne dediščine*.

which manifests in a particular form at the local level following the idea that every place has its own distinctive features that make it recognizable and unique in relation to other places, local communities, or the state. The consequence of this strong sense of uniqueness of place is also exceptionally strong support for localness (localism) and a high level of local aspiration for empowerment in potential heritage management. This stance aligns well with the position of the state, which acts in the background as the key financial supporter and therefore holds substantial power in adjudicating disputes related to the management or inappropriate handling of immovable cultural heritage. In contrast to more general national development issues, which tend to appear relatively abstract and distant (i.e., “out of sight, out of mind”), the issue of immovable cultural heritage, through its physical presence and embeddedness in place, is perceived as an explicitly local matter—one about which the local community desires to have the decisive voice.

How civil society sees the role of formal authorities in the management of immovable cultural heritage is an important element of governance models, which can be either more vertical (hierarchical) or horizontal in terms of distribution of power. The character of the relationship between civil society and formal authorities largely affects how heritage is managed and reflects the value system concerning the use and development of immovable cultural heritage in specific places. In terms of this relationship between the public and formal authorities, it should be emphasized that, in the case of Slovenia, most respondents understand it as a threefold structure—as a cross-relation between the local community, municipality, and state. At the local level, the municipality is regarded as part of formal authority, whereas, in the relationship between the state and the municipality, the municipality is viewed as part of the local community and thus representing local interests. This threefold structure highlights the strong significance of localism and new localism in Slovenia, in which the state is often perceived as an external element and the municipality as an element in between, depending on the given situation. In such unclear, chaotic circumstances, local interests have the edge and sometimes prevail over the needs of broader society. This tendency is also visible in Table 3, in which respondents’ answers regarding decision-making in cases of disputes are presented according to the type of settlement.

	House in a secluded area or small village with up to 500 inhabitants	Village, small town, or market town with over 500 to 2,000 inhabitants	Town with over 2,000 to 4,000 inhabitants	Town with over 4,000 to 10,000 inhabitants	Town with over 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants	Town with over 50,000 inhabitants (Ljubljana, Maribor)
State (ministries, national institutes, other state bodies)	↑ 26,2%	↑ 28,8%	→ 24,1%	→ 23,0%	→ 21,5%	↑ 36,3%
Municipal (city) authorities	↑ 32,9%	↑ 26,3%	↑ 35,2%	↑ 33,8%	↑ 32,6%	→ 22,2%
Interested residents, civil initiatives	↓ 11,0%	→ 13,7%	↓ 9,0%	↓ 12,2%	↓ 7,6%	↓ 9,9%
Neutral intermediary or mediator	↓ 9,8%	↓ 10,7%	↓ 9,0%	→ 14,2%	→ 13,2%	↓ 10,5%
Non-governmental organizations	↓ 1,8%	↓ 1,5%	↓ 1,4%	↓ 3,4%	↓ 2,1%	↓ 1,8%
Experts, scientists	→ 18,3%	→ 19,0%	→ 21,4%	→ 13,5%	→ 22,9%	→ 19,3%

Table 3. Decision-making in cases of potential management disputes according to the type of settlement (Question: In your opinion, who should be responsible for decision-making in the event of potential disputes in the management or inappropriate treatment of immovable cultural heritage, according to the type of settlement?)

Table 3 shows how respondents from various settlement types voice differences in opinions regarding who should have the key role in adjudicating disputes over heritage management. In smaller settlements (e.g., isolated houses, hamlets, or small villages), the greatest support is given to the municipality because residents perceive the local government to be the closest representative of their interests and an actor that best understands local circumstances. The data also indicate that more densely populated areas tend to support a stronger role of the state, whereas less densely populated areas show greater support for the role of municipalities in dispute resolution. Unlike the findings that showed that rural areas are more associated with the approval of commercialization (i.e., introduction of economic activities in heritage management), in the case of decision-making the situation is reversed, with rural areas leaning more toward the effects of local protection and prevention of interference in internal local matters.

Based on the data presented, with regard to decision-making processes, less densely populated areas can be more strongly associated with the effects of old localism, whereas more densely populated areas can be linked with the tendencies of new localism. Similar can be said in relation to views on commodification or commercialization of heritage management, in which the situation is reversed, with rural and less densely populated areas turning toward new localism trends and urban areas turning towards localism. This divide and contradictory position in terms of different themes associated with heritage management reflects the tension between local particularistic values and universalistic global orientations present in Slovenian society, which is characterized by a general low-density of population and a dispersed settlement system with a small number of large cities and a large number of minor settlements.²⁸ In smaller settlements, social spaces are more often shaped by parochial values, based on close social ties among individuals (e.g., acquaintances and neighbors). These bonds are formed and renewed through everyday interactions and shared belonging.²⁹ Such values tend to protect local communities from external influences, which often leads to resistance to universal approaches that are characterized by the loosening of local hierarchical structures and a greater emphasis on individualization.³⁰

Despite the occasional presence of elements of new localism in both less and more densely populated areas, the common foundation in both contexts is a shared ambivalence toward the management of immovable cultural heritage. Each group of stakeholders seeks or advocates for particular advantages in heritage governance that bring quick benefits in terms of a potentially improved nearby area, sociopolitical standing, or financial gain. This is not about pursuing broader social or developmental traits, but rather about incrementalist approaches aimed at achieving short-term beneficial effects. For example, in the context of developing entrepreneurship in relation to immovable cultural heritage, areas with lower population density may seem to advocate for elements of new localism, but detailed data also show weaker links with high culture and sustainable development orientations. Similar ambivalences can be observed in more densely populated areas, indicating a strong presence of localisms with occasional elements of new localism. This mixing of both tendencies, without clear differentiation between rural and urban areas, corresponds to the structure of the Slovenian urban system, characterized by a high degree of settlement dispersion, a small number of

²⁸ Mlinar, *Individuacija in globalizacija*; Uršič and Hočevar, *Protiurbanost kot način življenja*; Uršič, "Urbanisation History of Slovenia," Uršič, "Immovable Cultural Heritage."

²⁹ Lofland, *The Public Realm*, 10–11.

³⁰ Uršič and Hočevar, *Protiurbanost kot način življenja*.

larger towns, and the absence of strong urban cores (million-plus cities) typical of other countries. These spatial structures in Slovenia partially overlap with specific value systems, which have been described in greater detail in the literature.³¹

Conclusions

This article analyses the perceptions of different groups of stakeholders regarding the use, management, and development of immovable cultural heritage in Slovenia. The data show that, within the Slovenian context, there are significant discrepancies between the wishes of individual stakeholder groups and the possibilities for their practical implementation from the perspective of municipal and state structures. Moreover, discrepancies also exist within individual stakeholder groups, where ambivalent situations arise and support may shift toward certain measures while their practical implementation is simultaneously rejected.

These inconsistencies are closely linked to specific elements of (new) localism, which both hinder and promote the realization of a more balanced preservation and development of immovable cultural heritage in Slovenia. At the micro (local) level, certain elements of localism actually obstruct actions that could lead to the faster development of local cultural, social, and economic capacities related to heritage management. At the macro level, the formal system of cooperation in heritage management either does not allow or fails to successfully establish mechanisms for adequate stakeholder inclusion in heritage governance processes. It is important to emphasize that the problem of obstruction or the inhibition of optimization in heritage management within local communities is not intentional, but rather contextually triggered (*sui generis*). From this perspective, it is a consequence of a deficient systemic institutional structure, which, given its capacities, deals with heritage management at the local level mostly sporadically and incrementally, and does not support long-term, recurring consultative processes among various local stakeholders. In this regard, the Slovenian case is a typical example of a still “immature sociopolitical system”³² that in principle may advocate public development and stakeholder cooperation, yet lacks adequate support mechanisms and financial structures for detailed implementation.³³ Within this constellation, local communities employ forms of old localism as a “weapon” (materialized in the form of NIMBY initiatives) to prevent undesired consequences for their current lifestyles or overall quality of life. Elements of new localism (e.g., recognizing and implementing global economic potentials of immovable cultural heritage, emphasizing content creation within heritage sites through cooperation, participation while integrating principles of sustainable development, etc.) are indeed present, but, due to systemic shortcomings and obstructions, they fail to evolve further and thus do not possess sufficient transformative capacity to activate or force progress and implement a more sustainable heritage developmental agenda at the local level. These shortcomings include the inability of the political and institutional system to recognize and create a trustworthy environment that makes it possible to achieve more balanced outcomes that would satisfy all stakeholders. These problematic aspects suggest that local actors are not sufficiently equipped with information and know-how or

³¹ Uršič and Hočevar, *Protiurbanost kot način življenja*.

³² Kos, *Praktična sociologija*, 21.

³³ Coombe and Weiss, “Neoliberalism, Heritage Regimes;” Cantillon and Baker, “Career Volunteering.”

do not have the financial, institutional, and human resource capacities to understand and address the challenges they face.

Based on the findings presented, it is possible to formulate some general public policy recommendations for cultural heritage management in Slovenia:

1. Institutionalization of continuous participatory governance. To counteract the impact of one-off consultations, a new, repeatable consultation cycle for immovable-heritage decisions should be standardized. It should provide clear rules on who is included (e.g., residents, owners, NGOs, entrepreneurs, and experts) and how the input produced is used.
2. Adopting a more values-based management framework in municipal and state practice. Before major interventions, a thorough preemptive accumulation of data and analysis on heritage values (e.g., identity, aesthetics, everyday use, social cohesion, economic potential, and perceived burdens) should be collected and translated into management objectives and indicators. This would directly link public perceptions to evaluation of protection regimes and help prevent policies that over-privilege either market logic (over-commodification) or rigid protection (development lock-in).
3. Accelerating maturation of the sociopolitical system in heritage management. Due to an immature sociopolitical system in which division of responsibilities between municipalities and the state allows “blame shifting” and stalled decisions, it is necessary to formulate empowered third-party (e.g., regional) mediators. These mediators should have the capacity to both build municipal capacity and provide support for implementation of specific state projects involving immovable cultural heritage.
4. Creating a balanced heritage-use strategic policy that is not only based on adaptive reuse but also protects livability in local environments. In cases of strong pressures for commercialization of immovable cultural heritage, a clear set of criteria regarding binding mitigation and benefit-sharing measures should be established (such as monitoring/enforcement plans and reinvestment of a portion of revenues into local services and heritage maintenance) so that local communities experience tangible gains rather than only costs.

To conclude, this research has identified some key factors and influences that guide the use, management, and governance of immovable cultural heritage. However, there is clear evidence that more in-depth studies are needed to explore how the necessary changes can be implemented—through a combined analysis of the legislative system, the functioning of institutions, analysis of social and cultural capital, and analysis of the value system in Slovenia in relation to heritage studies. The findings contribute to a broader understanding of how immovable cultural heritage is perceived and valued in various social, cultural, political, and economic contexts. It also provides detailed information on relations between various stakeholders at the local, regional, and state levels, which opens opportunities to produce more informed decisions on how to improve existing practices in pursuit of more balanced heritage management. The research thus emphasizes the importance of a holistic and participatory approach to heritage governance. The interplay between historical preservation, economic development, and social well-being requires careful guidance, and the insights from the study can inform future spatial planning strategies for managing immovable cultural heritage in ways that respect both the past and the future. By establishing inclusive dialogue and integrating diverse perspectives, communities can ensure that their cultural heritage remains a source of pride, identity, and inspiration for future generations.

Limitations of the study

Several methodological limitations should be acknowledged. The study was based on a non-probability quota sample drawn from active members of the JazVem.si online panel. Although stratification by region, sex, age, and education and subsequent RIM weighting were applied to improve demographic balance, the absence of random selection means that full population representativeness cannot be guaranteed.

In addition, the use of an online panel may introduce self-selection bias because individuals that participate in web surveys may differ systematically from the general population, particularly in terms of digital access, civic engagement, and interest in public issues. Finally, the cross-sectional design and reliance on self-reported attitudes limit causal interpretation and may be influenced by social desirability effects.

These limitations do not invalidate the findings, but they suggest caution in generalizing the results and highlight the need for complementary methodological approaches, including qualitative case studies, longitudinal research, and probability-based sampling designs in future studies.

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Percepcija upravljanja nepremične kulturne dediščine v Sloveniji in vloga (novega) lokalizma

Povzetek

Vsaka sprememba pri upravljanju, uporabi in urejanju nepremične kulturne dediščine vodi do ostrih razprav med različnimi deležniki v lokalnih skupnostih. To kaže na izjemno vlogo in pomen nepremične kulturne dediščine za družbo in kakovost življenja na splošno. Pomen dediščine se močno odraža v lokalnih okoljih, ki so zaradi tesne družbene povezanosti še posebej občutljiva in vezana na identiteto, kulturne in zgodovinske značilnosti nepremične dediščine. Zaradi občutljivosti procesov, ki si prizadevajo uravnovežiti interese različnih skupin v zvezi z nepremično kulturno dediščino, lahko vsako morebitno napačno dejanje vpliva na lokalni razvoj in znatno zmanjša socialno kohezijo v skupnosti. Zaradi tega se mora vsako načrtovano spremembo v upravljanju kulturne dediščine temeljito preučiti z vidika različnih družbenih skupin. Čeprav informacije, pridobljene z raziskavami javnega mnenja, razkrivajo številna mnenja in stališča o upravljanju nepremične kulturne dediščine, razkrivajo tudi nekatere na videz paradoksalne situacije, ko respondenti hkrati sprejemajo in zavračajo določene razvojne smeri. Te teme so v članku ponazorjene prek analize podatkov iz projekta HEI-TRANSFORM, ki je bil izveden v obdobju od 2022 do 2026. Metodologija temelji na analizi velike panelne ankete (velikost vzorca (N) = 1150 oseb) izvedene na območju Slovenije v letu 2024. Podatki iz panelne raziskave so dopolnjeni s sekundarnimi podatki iz obstoječe literature ter informacijami iz različnih raziskav, ki zajemajo arhitekturno dediščino, arheološka najdišča in drugo reprezentativno nepremično kulturno dediščino v Sloveniji. Pomembno je tudi poudariti pomen analize specifičnih posebnosti upravljanja nepremične kulturne dediščine v Sloveniji. V zvezi s tem se v članku domneva, da so pobude upravljanja nepremične kulturne dediščine v Sloveniji pogosto povezane s pojavom »lokalizma«, ki ga pogosto opisujejo kot rezultat hierarhičnih, statičnih in togih lokalnih omrežij.

Lokalizme v Sloveniji izzivajo trendi »novega lokalizma«, ki nakazujejo bolj fleksibilno uporabo lokalnih elementov na načine, ki koristijo tako lokalni kot širši (globalni) družbi. Analiza kompleksnega dialektičnega odnosa med (tradicionalnim, avtarkičnim) lokalizmom in novim lokalizmom v kontekstu upravljanja dediščine je še posebej pomembna za potencialni razvoj Slovenije zaradi teritorialno-političnih posebnosti. Z preseganjem lokalizmov oziroma integracijo novega lokalizma se skuša obstoječi razvoj nadgraditi na način, ki vključuje lokalne interese, hkrati pa zagotavlja uravnotežen napredek v pogojih globalne medsebojne povezanosti in vse večje izpostavljenosti zunanjim kulturnim vplivom. S primerjavo različnih pogledov na možnosti upravljanja dediščine avtorja v članku izpostavljata ključne elemente, priložnosti, ovire in izzive, ki bi jih oblikovalci politik in strokovnjaki za dediščino lahko obravnavali, da bi povečali učinkovitost politik in ukrepov v zvezi z razvojem in ohranjanjem nepremične kulturne dediščine v Sloveniji.

Hospital Architecture and Modernization Processes in Lithuania in the 1930s

Evaldas Vilkončius

Evaldas Vilkončius, PhD, Institute of Architecture and Construction, Kaunas University of Technology, Tunelio st. 60, LT-44405 Kaunas, Lithuania, evaldas.vilkoncius@ktu.lt, ORCID ID: 0009-0007-9492-5328

Abstract

Hospital Architecture and Modernization Processes in Lithuania in the 1930s

1.01 Original scientific article

This article analyses the development of Lithuania's hospital infrastructure and network during the 1930s. The focus is on the factors that drove the increased rate of hospital construction, the overall architectural modernization, and the influence and the adaptation of western European ideas of hospital modernization to the local context. The study shows that in the 1930s, under the influence of hospital modernization concepts, a typology of such buildings was formed in Lithuania. This typology was characterized by a compact and multifunctional layout; simplified but modern architectural forms; and the integration of advanced medical and engineering systems. This was shaped by the prevailing view at the time that hospital architecture was one of the key components of healthcare system progress and therefore had to correspond closely to its purpose. Accordingly, special attention was also paid to ensuring hygienic, well-ventilated, and efficiently laid-out spaces adapted to the needs of patients and medical staff. As a result, the modernization of Lithuanian hospital architecture in the 1930s demonstrates a close relationship between architecture and the changing requirements of the healthcare system.

Keywords: hospital architecture, Lithuanian architecture, hospitals, 1930s architecture, Lithuania, interwar architecture, healthcare architecture

Izvleček

Arhitektura bolnišnic in procesi modernizacije v Litvi v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V članku je analiziran razvoj litovske bolnišnične infrastrukture in mreže v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja. Poudarek je na dejavnikih, ki so spodbudili pospešeno gradnjo bolnišnic, splošno arhitekturno modernizacijo ter vpliv in prilagajanje zahodnoevropskih idej o modernizaciji bolnišnic lokalnemu kontekstu. Študija kaže, da se je v tridesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja pod vplivom konceptov modernizacije bolnišnic v Litvi oblikovala tipologija takšnih stavb. Zanje so bili značilni kompaktna in večnamenska tlorisna ureditev, poenostavljene, a sodobne arhitekturne oblike ter vključevanje naprednih medicinskih in inženirskih sistemov. To je oblikovalo takrat prevladujoče mnenje, da je bolnišnična arhitektura ena ključnih sestavin napredka zdravstvenega sistema in da mora zato povsem ustrezati svojemu namenu. V skladu s tem je bila posebna pozornost namenjena tudi zagotavljanju higienskih, dobro prezračenih in učinkovito razporejenih prostorov, prilagojenih potrebam bolnikov in zdravstvenega osebja. Posledično modernizacija litovske bolnišnične arhitekture v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja kaže na tesno povezavo med arhitekturo in spreminjajočimi se zahtevami zdravstvenega sistema.

Ključne besede: bolnišnična arhitektura, litovska arhitektura, bolnišnice, arhitektura tridesetih let 20. stoletja, Litva, medvojna arhitektura, arhitektura zdravstvenih ustanov

Introduction

At the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, when Lithuania became an independent state, public healthcare emerged as one of the key concerns in building a modern state. The aim was to increase the accessibility of healthcare services in the country, and, to achieve this, it was necessary to have a network of modern hospitals. However, at that time, the network of such institutions was limited, consisting of about twenty hospitals with approximately 1,300 beds.¹ Most hospitals were housed in unsuitable buildings, often wooden barracks, because only a few special facilities for healthcare institutions had been built during the Tsarist period. Consequently, hospitals were often “fifty to ninety kilometres or more apart and therefore difficult to reach for some citizens.”² This situation was further exacerbated by the post-war context, when many people suffered from chronic and infectious diseases that had gone untreated for long periods, placing an additional burden on the already limited healthcare system. Therefore, as the national press stressed at the time, “all state and municipal hospitals are so cramped that they cannot accommodate even those in need of urgent care. Their space is so limited that they already house more than double the intended number of patients.”³

To address this problem, in the early 1920s the need for new hospital buildings was acknowledged, and ambitious plans were proposed, such as building “twenty-five county hospitals with one hundred beds each and forty rural hospitals with twenty-five beds each, amounting to 3,500 beds in total.”⁴ However, due to limited financial resources, such ambitions were not realized at the time, and “the construction of new hospitals was an exception.”⁵ Therefore, during the 1920s, only a few unremarkable hospital buildings were built, the construction of which was primarily driven by practical necessity, rather than the desire to create modern healthcare architecture.

Consequently, even into the early 1930s hospitals continued to operate in unsuitable premises. This, for instance, was particularly evident at the State Hospital in Kaunas, the temporary capital of Lithuania at the time. One contemporary source noted that within the hospital the principles of hygiene, functional zoning, and even basic cleanliness were ignored:

*Dark, gloomy corridors. Kitchen fumes waft down the corridors. /.../ No ventilators can ventilate the stale old floors and walls of such an old building. The wards are extremely cramped. /.../ Patients simply suffer from bad air. Medical staff get nervous and tired. As a result, mistakes and unpleasant surprises are sometimes inevitable. /.../ This leads to distrust of the hospital; people are afraid of it. Things are not much better in the provinces.*⁶

Such assessments demonstrate that by the early 1930s the need for new, modern hospital buildings had become urgent in Lithuania, prompting their construction on a larger scale.

The need for modern hospitals of the time was also relevant abroad. The development of hospital architecture in western countries was intricately linked to rapidly changing medical practice and

¹ “Sveikatos reikalai.”

² “Sveikatos reikalai.”

³ Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (LCVA), fond 380, series 1, file 616, item 27.

⁴ “Sveikatos reikalai.”

⁵ Petrulis, “Architektūriniai miestų,” 293.

⁶ “Kada turėsime geras.”

technical construction capabilities. At that time, hospital modernization meant not only the construction of new buildings, but also a fundamental reorganization of internal spaces and layouts following the evolving needs of treatment and diagnosis of various diseases.⁷

Along with functional changes, the architectural expression of hospitals also evolved. The exterior of hospital buildings began to be modernized, focusing on functionality and simplicity. Therefore, “from the mid-1920s, architects designed hospitals that not only played a significant role in the treatment and comfort of patients but also embodied in their aesthetics the ideas and look of hygiene, efficiency and functionalism.”⁸ No less important was the selection of a plot for the construction of a hospital, for it to be spacious enough for future expansion, located further away from main streets, and abundantly planted with greenery to shield against noise, dust, and wind.⁹ The application of these principles at that time influenced the changing architecture of such buildings: “The buildings were a reflection of the functional needs of the hospital, oriented to catch the sun and work with the topography, their aesthetic reflecting the desire for clean and efficient spaces focused on patient needs.”¹⁰

In the 1930s, developments in hospital modernization abroad were accessible in Lithuania; for example, through foreign literature.¹¹ In addition, the country’s medicine, architecture, and engineering specialists visited exhibitions abroad dedicated to the contemporary achievements of healthcare modernization.¹² Thus, a prevailing view began to form in the country that, before designing and constructing a new hospital building, “it is necessary to consider every detail, consider the capacity of the hospital, select a suitable plot for it, and plan the general arrangement and layout of the hospital.”¹³

The modernization of hospitals as a public building type in Lithuania was one of the key factors that determined the development of these institutions in the 1930s. This article examines this process by analysing the context of the modernization of Lithuanian hospital architecture during this decade. The article presents the main aspects of this development: the shifting ideals in hospital architecture and changes in building plans and internal spaces, determined by the need for functionality. The general development of interwar Lithuanian hospital architecture has been examined in the author’s previous study.¹⁴ Building upon those findings, the present article focuses specifically on the modernization of hospital architecture during the 1930s, analysing the context of the construction and necessity of this type of building, changing architectural ideals, planning principles, and functional solutions.

⁷ Kisacky, *Rise of the Modern Hospital*, 242.

⁸ Willis et al., *Architecture and the Modern Hospital*, 214.

⁹ Willis et al., *Architecture and the Modern Hospital*, 197.

¹⁰ Willis et al., *Architecture and the Modern Hospital*, 169.

¹¹ “Ligoninių statybos,” 30.

¹² Laurinavičius, “Iš tarptautinės 1930.”

¹³ Tallat-Kelpša, “Ligoninės statyba,” 5: 26.

¹⁴ Vilkončius, “Evolution of Public.”

The context of hospital construction in Lithuania in the 1930s

The 1930s in Lithuania marked a consistent stage in the formation of healthcare infrastructure, when the construction of hospitals became a purposeful planning process of the state, municipalities, and charity organizations. Principles of hospital network development were articulated that sought not only to expand the number of medical institutions but also to enhance their technical and functional quality through the construction of new buildings. For example, in 1931, there were sixty-three hospitals in Lithuania, which had a total of about three thousand beds.¹⁵ By the end of the decade, in 1938, the country had seventy-one hospitals with more than four thousand beds.¹⁶

The increase in the number of hospitals was perceived as one of the indicators of the progress of the country's healthcare system. As contemporaries noted, "it is difficult to compare what the network of hospitals and medical personnel was like in the first years of independence. Every county now has a municipal hospital, which provides medical care accessible to everyone. There are also private hospitals in cities. Municipal hospitals are constantly being improved and expanded, and new ones are being built."¹⁷

Most new buildings were built for municipal hospitals, which were among the largest in Lithuania, with bed capacities ranging from around twenty-five to one hundred or more. With more resources being invested in the construction of these structures, one or more new buildings for municipal hospitals were built every year. Thus, from 1930 to 1938, twelve municipal hospital buildings were built or were expanded in the country's largest cities and provincial towns. These buildings had more than eight hundred beds in total. In addition, by the summer of 1940, when Lithuania lost its independence and was occupied by the Soviet Union, the construction of seven more new hospitals had begun or was planned to begin in several other cities and towns.¹⁸ Thus, during the 1930s, the majority of the twenty-three Lithuanian county municipalities of that time had started construction of new hospital buildings.¹⁹ As discussed in the author's previous study of interwar Lithuanian hospital architecture, the 1930s witnessed the most intensive phase of municipal hospital construction, which forms the broader context for the present analysis.²⁰

In addition to municipalities, new hospital buildings were built by the Lithuanian Red Cross Society and by Jewish and Catholic charity organizations. Construction also began on the largest healthcare facility in Lithuania at that time, the Kaunas Clinics complex, which was to house around seven hundred patients. Moreover, small private hospital buildings were built in larger cities as well.²¹ The intensive construction of new hospital buildings of varying sizes and capacities reflected the emergence of ideas in the early 1930s that sought to set up a uniform network of modern hospitals across Lithuania.²²

¹⁵ *Lietuvos statistikos metraštis*, 4: 76.

¹⁶ *Lietuvos statistikos metraštis*, 11: 59.

¹⁷ "Lietuvos sveikatingumas."

¹⁸ Sniegulis, "Savivaldybių ligoninių statyba," 1938: 6.

¹⁹ "Kur statomos savivaldybių."

²⁰ Vilkončius, "Evolution of Public," 156.

²¹ Brazaitis, "Ligoninės."

²² Skučas, "Plėskime ligonines," 18.

However, despite intensive construction, Lithuania at that time still significantly lagged behind the other Baltic countries, Latvia and Estonia, in terms of hospital bed numbers. For example, by the end of the 1930s, Latvian hospitals had about twenty thousand beds, and Estonian hospitals had approximately ten thousand.²³ This situation reflected Lithuania's long-term approach to hospital construction and expansion, which was planned to be completed only by the end of the 1940s, with a projected total of around thirteen thousand beds.²⁴

According to recommendations formulated by Lithuanian medical professionals at the time, new municipal hospitals were to be planned in relation to the population of a specific city or county, with a ratio of no fewer than one hospital bed per one thousand to 1,500 inhabitants.²⁵ Therefore, small counties with up to one hundred thousand inhabitants needed hospitals with about forty to fifty beds.²⁶ Meanwhile, in counties with one hundred thousand inhabitants and more, it was recommended to have hospitals with one hundred or more beds. On this basis, municipalities were advised to avoid constructing buildings with fewer than forty beds, arguing that such hospitals "are costly and, after a short period of time, inevitably require expansion or the construction of new buildings."²⁷ However, the practical implementation of these recommendations was not legally binding.²⁸ Consequently, the number of beds and the functional capacity of hospital buildings often depended on the financial capabilities of their builders. This resulted in the construction of small to medium-sized hospitals, particularly in provincial municipalities, with capacities of twenty-five to fifty beds, which soon proved to be insufficient and required expansion. For example, a hospital building completed in 1938 in Šakiai was soon described by contemporaries to be "very cramped because only thirty beds were provided for patients, whereas sixty of them are currently treated here".²⁹ In Lithuania at that time there were other similar cases in which newly completed hospital buildings were unable to accommodate patient numbers almost immediately after opening.³⁰ Such problems were avoided only in larger hospitals with sixty or more beds. In the early 1930s, the larger buildings were constructed in the country's major cities and towns, and from the mid-1930s onward they increasingly began to appear in provincial towns as well.

At that time, the design of hospital buildings in Lithuania was not explicitly distinguished as a specialized field of architectural practice. Most healthcare institutions were designed by local architects and civil engineers employed in the construction departments of county and city municipalities. These departments were mainly staffed by young specialists that had completed their studies at Lithuanian or foreign schools in the 1920s and early 1930s. They were well acquainted with the latest architectural trends of the time and functional requirements of buildings. Because municipal architects and engineers also designed other public buildings, such as administrative, cultural, or educational facilities, which were all constructed by the municipalities, the design of

²³ "Kaip bus tvarkomi."

²⁴ "Apskričių ir sveikatos."

²⁵ Tallat-Kelpša, "Dėl str.," 14.

²⁶ Tallat-Kelpša, "Nauja Tauragės," 22.

²⁷ Sniegulis, "Savivaldybių ligoninių statyba," 1937: 374.

²⁸ "Ligoninių įstatymas."

²⁹ "Šakiai."

³⁰ "Antros ligoninės reikalas."

hospital buildings constituted only one aspect of their professional activities.³¹ The only exception was the Lithuanian Red Cross Society, which at the time maintained a dedicated construction department within its organizational structure. The architects employed there were solely responsible for designing the society's healthcare facilities.³²

During the 1930s, it became an established practice in the country to send specialists responsible for the design of large and technically complex buildings on official trips abroad prior to construction to examine foreign examples and gain the needed experience. This practice was also applied in the case of hospital design because at the beginning of that decade the limited extent of hospital construction meant that Lithuanian architects and engineers were described as "not yet having demonstrated sufficient expertise in hospital design".³³ Consequently, through the course of the 1930s, several delegations of the country's architects and engineers travelled to Germany, where they examined the latest hospital buildings.³⁴ During one such visit, for example, the latest healthcare facilities in Dresden were studied, which had been designed by the architect Paul Wolf.³⁵ Hospital architecture was also studied in Scandinavian countries, particularly in Sweden, which was visited in the mid-1930s by the architect Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, who at the time was working for the Lithuanian Red Cross Society. During this visit, he met with the architect Gustaf Birch-Lindgren and toured several healthcare facilities designed by him.³⁶ International exhibitions related to health protection were also visited, such as the Dresden Hygiene Expo, where, among other exhibits, the latest models of healthcare facilities were presented, which Lithuanian architectural specialists later described as having broadened their "horizons in the world of construction and technology in general".³⁷

Familiarity with contemporary foreign hospital architecture was also developed at a theoretical level. Specialists in municipal construction departments were supplied with the latest foreign, primarily German, architectural journals, such as *Der Baumeister*, *Die Bautechnik*, and *Moderne Bauformen*.³⁸ In hospital design, they also had access to specialized Belgian, English, French, and German literature, including books and periodicals such as *Nosokomeio*, which provided extensive material on European hospital architecture.³⁹ The knowledge acquired in this way had a significant influence on the professional outlook of Lithuanian architects and engineers, encouraging the adoption and application of advanced hospital design principles in local practice. Moreover, the dissemination of modern hospital architecture occurred not only through the transfer of foreign experience, but also at the local level because hospital buildings designed in one part of Lithuania often served as references for similar projects in other municipalities.⁴⁰

³¹ Novickis, "Techniškojo personalo klausimas," 27.

³² LCVA, fond 1734, series 1, file 355, item 1.

³³ LCVA, fond 862, series 1, file 2649, item 98.

³⁴ LCVA, fond 862, series 1, file 2649, item 13.

³⁵ LCVA, fond 377, series 8, file 136, item 70.

³⁶ Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, *Iš atminties ekrano*, 258–59.

³⁷ Kauno regioninis valstybės archyvas (KRVA), fond 110, series 2, file 319, item 4.

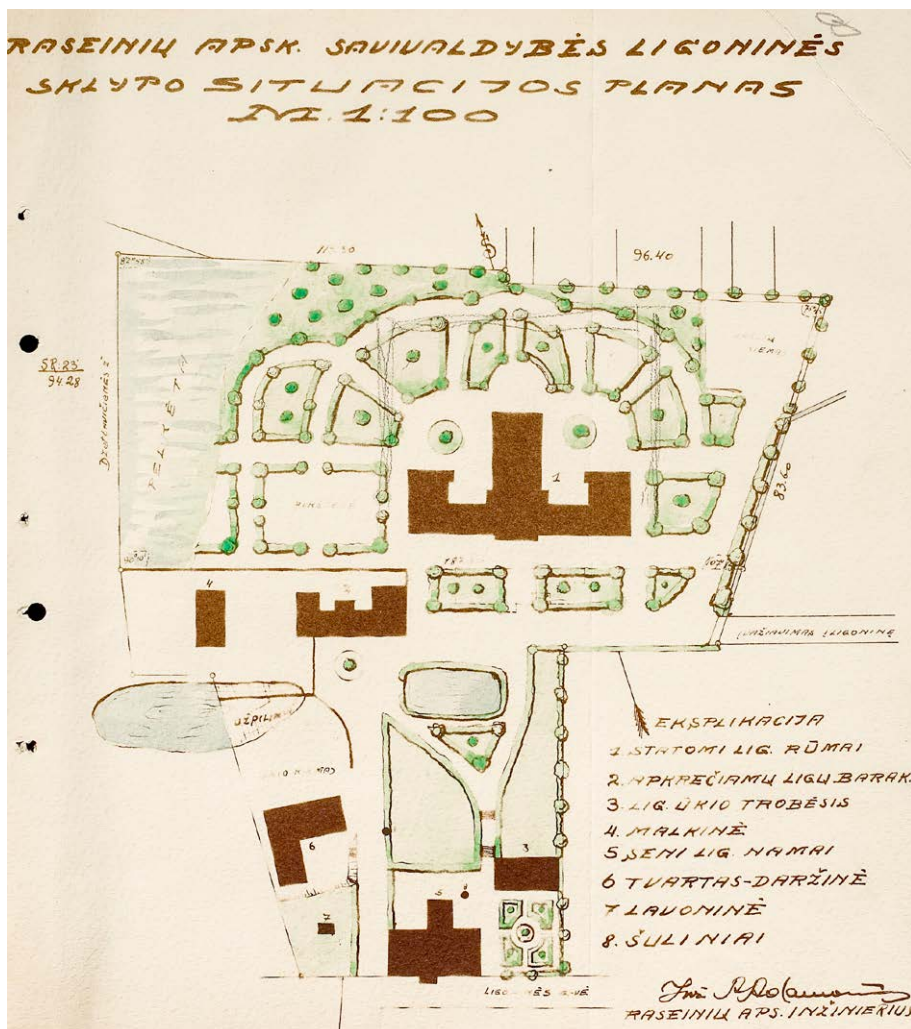
³⁸ Vilniaus regioninis valstybės archyvas (VRVA), fond 1171, series 1, file 25, item 96.

³⁹ LCVA, fond 1264, series 1, file 568, item 96–97.

⁴⁰ LCVA, fond 1567, series 3, file 582, item 288.

Hospital site selection in the urban context

At the beginning of the twentieth century, great attention was paid to the choice of the site and the assessment of urban conditions in the construction of hospitals, perceiving the environment as an important part of the treatment process. It was emphasized that a suitable site can have a significant impact not only on sanitary conditions, but also on the well-being and psychological state of patients. For this reason, it was recommended that hospitals be designed on sufficiently large, well-accessible, and landscaped sites, separated from the intensive movement of the city.⁴¹ Attention began to be paid to the orientation of buildings on the site and their distances from each other to ensure natural insolation and protection from adverse environmental factors. This principle was considered to have a positive effect on health because when “sunlight was proven to be germicidal, solar orientation and awareness became a critical aspect of the design of any hospital building of any type”.⁴²



1. Site plan of Raseiniai County Hospital in the 1930s (Central State Archives of Lithuania)

⁴¹ Brunfaut, “Principes de l’architecture,” 390–91.

⁴² Kisacky, *Rise of the Modern Hospital*, 181.

Similar provisions, based on the example of foreign countries, were formulated in Lithuania at that time. Here, specific requirements were imposed on hospital plots regarding their location in the urban structure, position on the plot, and protection from adverse environmental factors, arguing that “the plot of land must be further from the city centre, traffic noise; it is important that the characteristics of the plot allow for the orientation of patient rooms toward the south. /.../ The hospital needs sunlight.”⁴³ The size of the plot was associated with the hospital’s capacity. The provision was that one patient should have about one hundred to two hundred square metres of plot area; therefore, for example, a land area of about one hectare was recommended for a fifty-bed hospital, and about two hectares for a hundred-bed hospital.⁴⁴

Consequently, in the 1930s in Lithuania, when constructing new hospital buildings, sites for them were usually selected in less urbanized parts of cities and towns. As demonstrated in the author’s previous study of interwar Lithuanian hospital architecture, careful site selection formed one of the fundamental principles of hospital modernization during this period.⁴⁵ On such sites, the main hospital buildings were usually oriented along a north–south axis, with the main facades facing south, southwest, or southeast. This made it possible to make maximum use of natural sunlight and heat, to improve the lighting of the patient wards, treatment rooms, and public areas, and to ensure conditions for natural ventilation. Green and recreational areas were also often formed on the sites: parks, gardens, and walking paths, which were an integral part of the hospital environment and had a positive effect on the psychological state of patients, creating conditions for relaxation and more rapid convalescence (fig. 1).

Changing stylistic ideals in hospital architecture

An equally important indicator of the progress of Lithuanian hospitals was their architectural expression. This development was shaped both by broader stylistic changes in the country’s architecture, which created the conditions for the emergence of a new architectural language oriented toward a European character, and by a changing perception of hospital architecture itself.⁴⁶

Theoretical texts on hospital modernization published in Lithuania during the 1930s emphasized that the architecture of a modern hospital should be based on logic, a simple volumetric structure, and the rejection of excessive decorativeness, conceiving the building as a structure serving the treatment process.⁴⁷ At the same time, it was argued that the external architectural form could also contribute to healing: the aesthetically harmonious appearance of a simple-looking building was thought to have a positive effect on patients’ emotional state. As one contemporary source noted, “the building itself, with its clean aesthetic lines, beautiful, cozy, harmonious appearance /.../, should have a calming effect on the patient’s mood.”⁴⁸ It was further emphasized that hospital buildings should incorporate large windows and open spaces to ensure well-lit interiors.⁴⁹ These principles

⁴³ Tallat-Kelpša, “Ko nereikia pamiršti.”

⁴⁴ Tallat-Kelpša, “Ko nereikia pamiršti.”

⁴⁵ Vilkončius, “Evolution of Public,” 157.

⁴⁶ Petrulis, “Modernizacija, kaip europietiškos,” 89.

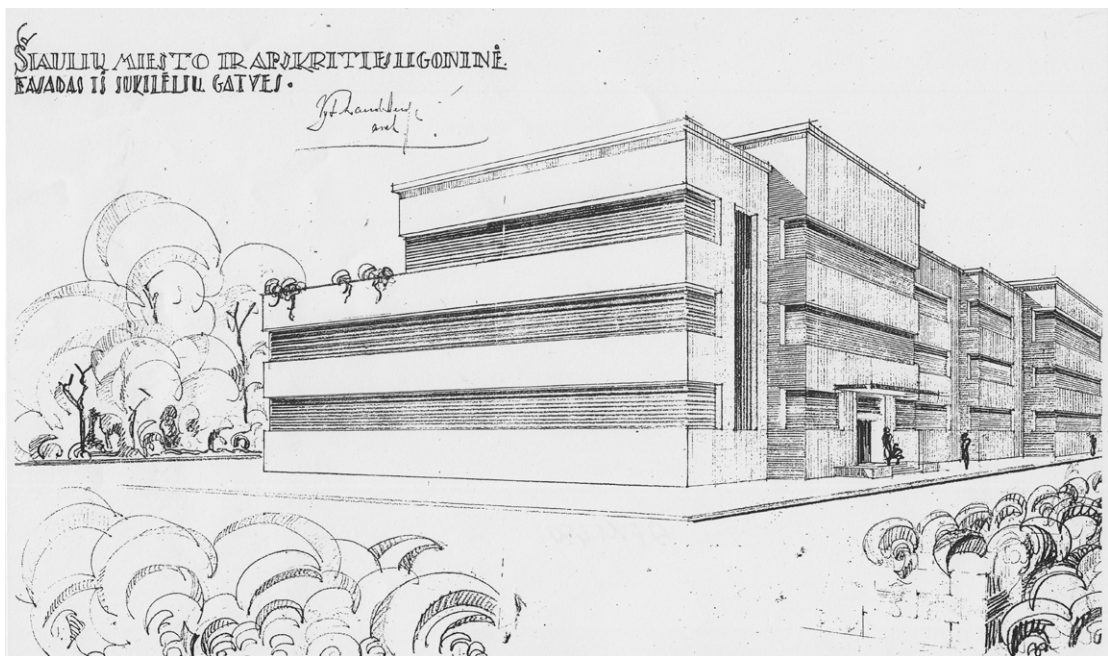
⁴⁷ Tallat-Kelpša, “Ligoninės statyba,” 5.

⁴⁸ Tallat-Kelpša, “Ligoninės statyba,” 5: 27.

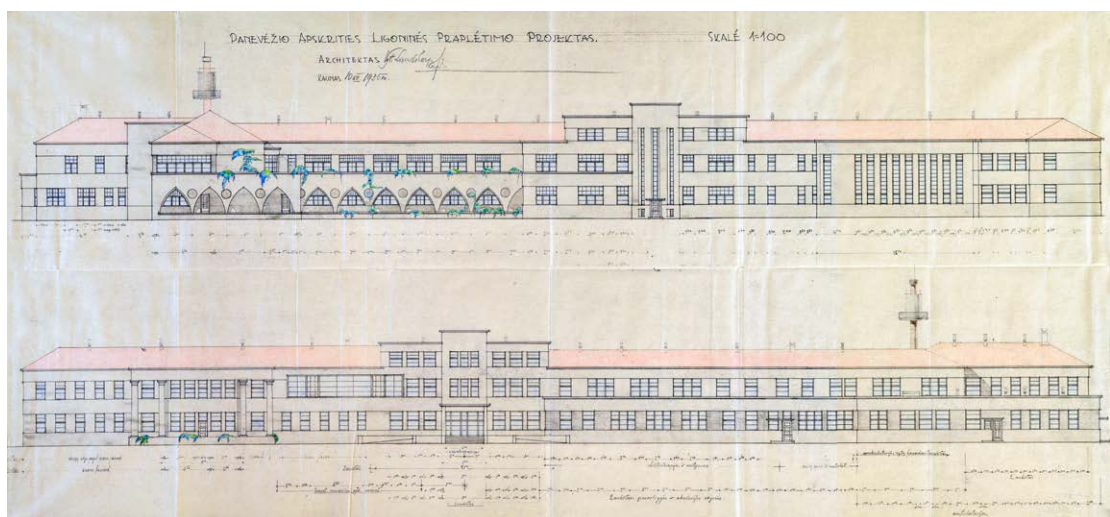
⁴⁹ Laurinavičius, “Iš tarptautinės 1930,” 122–23.

were already either attempted or partially realized in the architecture of several Lithuanian hospitals in the early 1930s.

For example, in 1931, when it was decided to build a new 120-bed city and county hospital in Šiauliai, one of the largest cities in Lithuania at that time, several projects were prepared for the building. Among them were distinctly modern ones, reflecting the influence of modernism that had already taken hold in Europe at that time and was still emerging in Lithuania. For instance, in one of the proposed projects, the building was designed with an elongated rectangular shape and terraced volume (fig. 2). The design emphasized modern building methods and functionality. Namely, its



2. Unrealized project for Šiauliai City and County Hospital, by the architect Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, 1931 (Vilnius Regional State Archives)



3. Unrealized expansion project for Panevėžys County Hospital, by Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, 1934 (Central State Archives of Lithuania)

architect, Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, suggested using a reinforced concrete framing structure (for the first time in Lithuanian hospital architecture).⁵⁰ Such a structure would have allowed for continuous ribboned windows to run along the entire length of the building's main façade, where the patient wards were planned. Open spaces, including terraces intended for therapeutic use and recreation, were also incorporated into the design. However, the project was regarded as overly progressive and expensive, and it did not progress beyond the design stage. A similar, although larger, project prepared in 1934 for Panevėžys County Hospital likewise remained unbuilt for the same reasons (fig. 3).⁵¹

Gradually, modern-looking hospital projects began to be implemented in practice. A typical example of this is the hundred-bed Lithuanian Red Cross Society's hospital built in 1933 in Klaipėda (fig. 4), which illustrates the shift in Lithuanian hospital architecture during the early 1930s. The building was designed by Romanas Steikūnas, who was the principal designer of the society's health-care facilities in Lithuania from the late 1920s to the early 1930s.⁵²

The Klaipėda hospital building was characterized by a simple-looking horizontal volume, divided by wide and rhythmically arranged rectangular windows. The building's modern expression was also emphasized by open spaces, loggias, and a flat roof of part of the volume, synonymous with the modernist style. These elements were functionally based: they allowed for more light to enter the interior and enhanced the healing environment. Such an approach contributed to the emergence of a new hospital type in Lithuania: a modern, hygienic, well-lit, and logically organized medical institution, in which architecture was a component of its functionality. The Klaipėda hospital was regarded as one of the most advanced healthcare facilities constructed in the country at that time.⁵³ Moreover, its design subsequently served as a reference for smaller, yet externally similar, sixty-bed municipal hospitals built in Alytus and Kėdainiai (fig. 5).⁵⁴

However, other hospital buildings constructed in the early 1930s were more restrained in their architectural expression, which relied on the simplification of historical architectural forms. This approach was particularly characteristic of buildings built for smaller provincial hospitals; for instance, in Tauragė and Zarasai. Their otherwise simple façades were articulated with tall pilasters placed between wide windows, and the main entrances were accentuated by stepped pediments (fig. 6). A similar aesthetic approach was applied in the reconstruction of hospitals originally built during the 1900s, for which new extensions were designed to visually align with the older parts of the buildings.⁵⁵ These, however, were more exceptional examples.

During the 1930s, as discussed in the author's previous research, historical forms and elements in hospital architecture gradually gave way to the pursuit of stylistic modernity.⁵⁶ A typical example of this was the design projects of a small hospital in Šakiai County. The first project of the building, prepared in 1933 by the municipal engineer Alfredas Aleksandravičius, was characterized by aesthetics typical of historicism. However, when the project was sent to the State Construction Inspection for

⁵⁰ LCVA, fond 862, series 1, file 2649, item 79.

⁵¹ "Perbrangus projektas."

⁵² "Plečiamas Lietuvoje ligoninių."

⁵³ "Atidaryta Raudonojo kryžiaus."

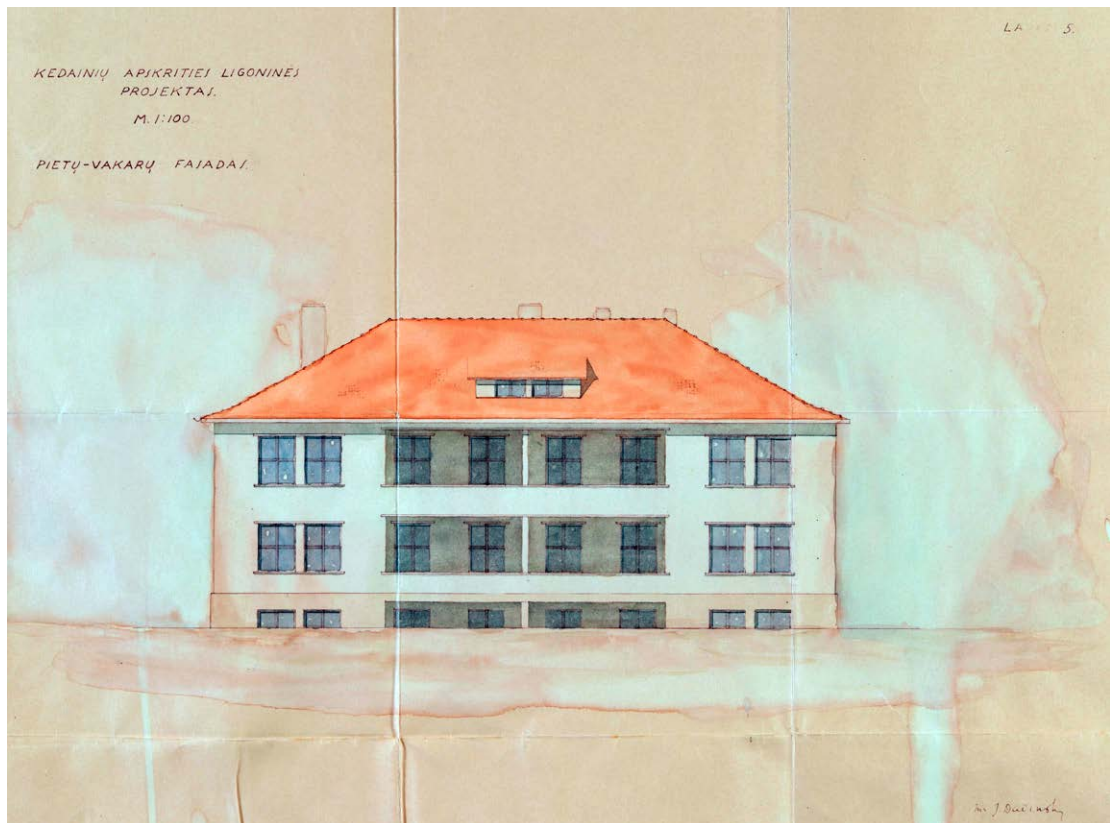
⁵⁴ LCVA, fond 1567, series 3, file 582, item 288.

⁵⁵ LCVA, fond 1622, series 4, file 171, item 3.

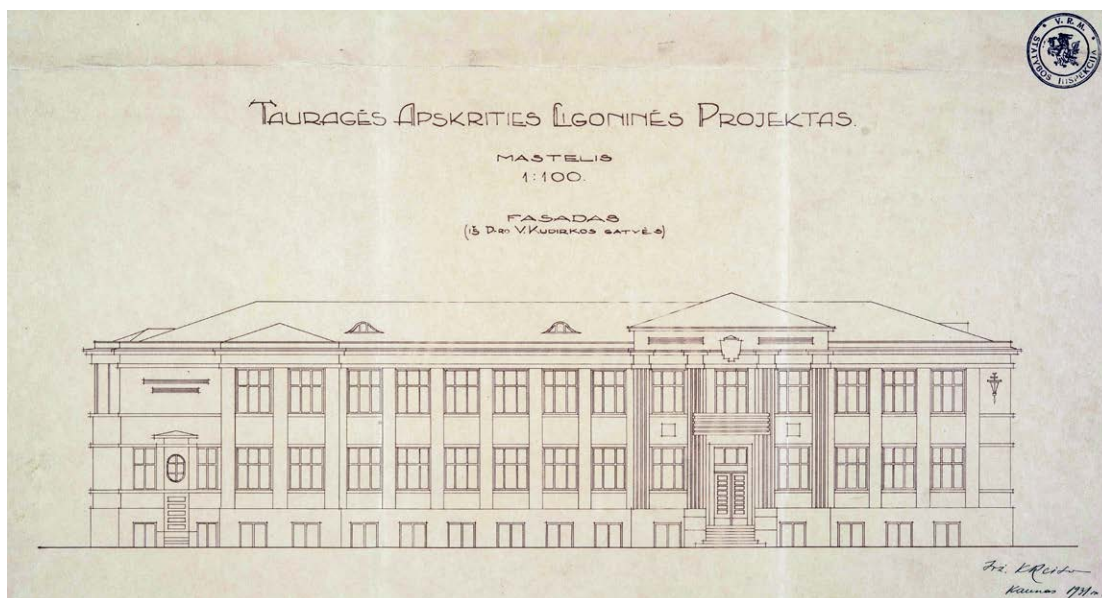
⁵⁶ Vilkončius, "Evolution of Public," 156–57.



4. Southeast façade of the Lithuanian Red Cross Society's hospital in Klaipėda, photographed in the 1930s, by the engineer and architect Romanas Steikūnas, 1932 (author's personal collection)



5. Southwest façade of Kėdainiai County Hospital, by the civil engineer Juozas Dačinskas, 1935
(Central State Archives of Lithuania)



6. Main façade of Tauragė County Hospital, by the engineer and architect Karolis Reisonas, 1931
(Central State Archives of Lithuania)

approval, it was rejected, and in 1934 it was redesigned by one of its architects, Nikolajus Mačiulskis.⁵⁷ The new project was characterized by a more modern-looking and simplified architectural character. Light-coloured wall surfaces, wide regularly spaced windows, restrained façade articulation, and a simple volumetric composition reflected the influence of contemporary architectural ideas. The auxiliary building constructed alongside the hospital shared a similar aesthetic (Fig. 7).

In the second half of the 1930s, as increasing resources were distributed to construction and expansion, hospital buildings became larger in scale and were increasingly designed to accommodate one hundred or more patients. Such buildings, as previously established, were constructed not only in the country's temporary capital, Kaunas, but also in smaller towns such as Marijampolė, Raseiniai, and Šiauliai.⁵⁸ Like earlier examples, these buildings were built of brick; however, reinforced concrete also began to be used, particularly in floor structures, a practice that had previously been uncommon in the country's hospitals.

Compared to earlier hospitals, the external composition of these buildings changed slightly because the façades were mostly designed symmetrically with the main centrally positioned entrances emphasizing central axes, as can be seen in the project for Marijampolė County Hospital, which was designed by Adolfas Lukošaitis (fig. 8). Such an approach did not demonstrate a return to historical monumentality, but rather an expression of internal organization because the central parts of the buildings often performed the function of separating flows and connecting different wings. These hospital designs retained a clear and logical architectural structure, emphasized horizontality through rhythmically arranged rows of narrow vertical or wide horizontal windows, and they employed restrained, almost utilitarian façade treatments (fig. 9). Aesthetic modernity and functionality were further enhanced by long balconies extending along the main or rear façades – an

⁵⁷ LCVA, fond 1622, series 4, file 325, item 2.

⁵⁸ Vilkončius, "Evolution of Public," 154.



7. Šakiai County Hospital on the left, by the engineer and architect Nikolajus Mačiulskis, 1934, and the auxiliary building on the right, by the civil technician Vincas Puskunigis, 1935, photographed in the 1950s (author's personal collection)



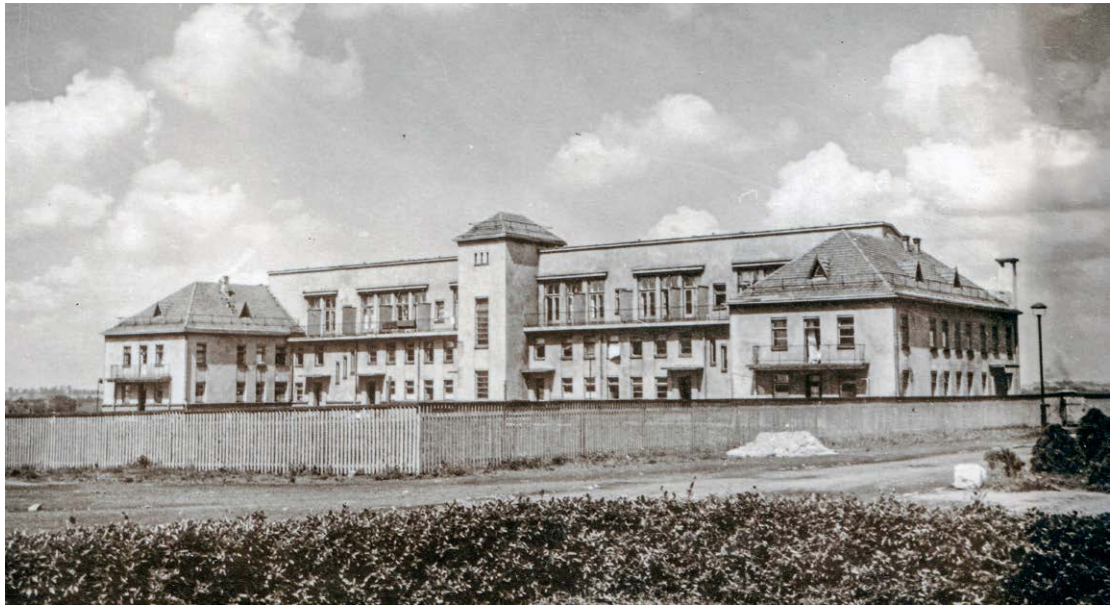
8. Main façade of Marijampolė County Hospital, by the civil engineer Adolfas Lukošaitis, 1936
(Central State Archives of Lithuania)

element previously identified in the author's earlier research as characteristic of most large Lithuanian hospital buildings of the late 1930s.⁵⁹ A representative example is the Lithuanian Red Cross Society's hospital in Šiauliai, designed by Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis; this was the second design proposal prepared by the architect for this building (fig. 10). Overall, projecting balconies contributed to the buildings' simple and functional appearance and reflected international standards in hospital architecture, where, along with loggias and terraces, they became "a defining element of the progressive aesthetics of the modern hospital".⁶⁰ They were also important for patients' well-being because they could be used for "sunbathing and general relaxation".⁶¹

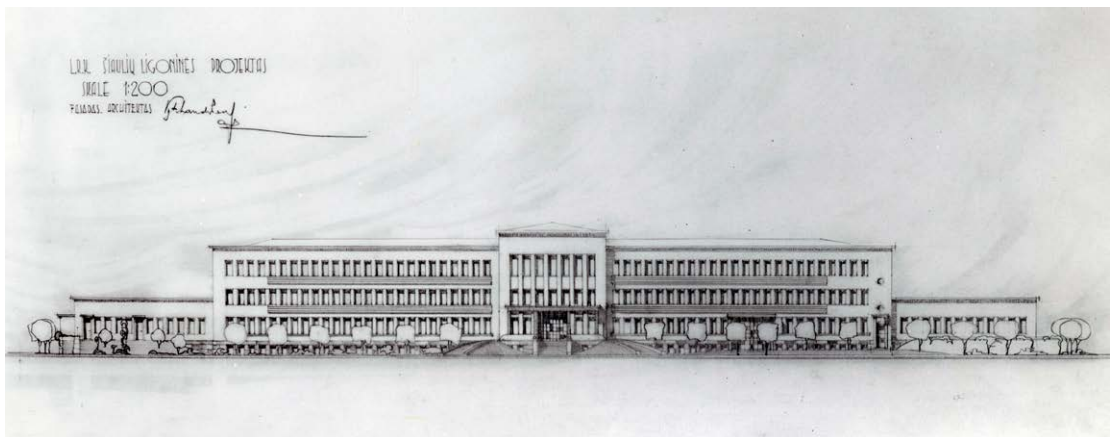
⁵⁹ Vilkončius, "Evolution of Public," 162.

⁶⁰ Willis et al., *Architecture and the Modern Hospital*, 178.

⁶¹ Dačinskas, "Nauja Kėdainių apskritys," 378.



9. Building of the Department of Infectious Diseases of the Kaunas Clinics complex by the architect Urbain Cassan et al., 1937, photographed in the 1940s (author's personal collection)



10. Main façade of the Lithuanian Red Cross Society's hospital in Šiauliai, by Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, 1938 (Lithuanian Archives of Literature and Art)

The layout and functional convenience of hospital buildings

In the first half of the twentieth century, as the concept of a modern hospital was taking shape in Europe, its design began to be based on clear functional and hygienic principles. The orientation of patient wards, natural insolation, and logical grouping of rooms, separating the principal areas from auxiliary ones, were of fundamental importance. Hospital planning aimed to standardize the principles of internal layout, limit the size of wards, and ensure the efficient operation of internal functions and the circulation of flows.⁶²

⁶² Brunfaut, "Hôpitaux modernes."

These principles led to significant changes in hospital building plans. Architects gradually moved away from the pavilion system that had developed in the nineteenth century, in which individual functions were distributed across separate one- or two-storey buildings. Instead, hospitals increasingly took the form of large, autonomous buildings in which most functions were concentrated within a single volume. Such buildings adopted a variety of layouts – *L*-, *T*-, *Y*-, *X*-shaped, or irregular – and were compactly organized to improve internal efficiency.⁶³ At the same time, advances in medicine and the emergence of new treatment methods expanded the range of functions accommodated within hospitals: “On one site, there might be hospital beds, operating theatres, radiology and pathology departments, hospital records, laboratories, and teaching and research spaces. The hospital had become not only a place for healing, but also a scientific institution. These diagnostic and therapeutic spaces and techniques were markers of the expanded role of the hospital.”⁶⁴ In addition, the importance of technical systems – modern treatment devices, heating, ventilation, plumbing, and electricity – had also increased. The internal modernization of hospitals proceeded in parallel with general architectural developments of the early twentieth century, which emphasized the close relationship between architecture and technological progress, arguing that “the practical factors of architecture – with the exception of its purpose – are all subject to the progress of our technical development.”⁶⁵

These internationally established principles of hospital planning and functional organization were also relevant in the Lithuanian context to improve the condition of the country’s hospitals. Through the course of the 1930s, the hospital in the country began to be understood as a complex institution because contemporaries emphasized that “a hospital is at the same time a residential building, a hotel, a school, and a research, advisory, treatment, and examination institution.”⁶⁶ Therefore, the hospital increasingly began to be perceived as a functional, logically organized space that directly affected the treatment process and the patient’s well-being. Professional discourse further emphasized that hospitals should be designed “not only to look good, but also to meet all requirements specific to hospital buildings”.⁶⁷

Architectural solutions in hospital buildings thus began to be associated with hygiene, technical, and psychological criteria. Considerable attention was devoted to logical internal planning and functional zoning, appropriate ward sizes, access to natural light and ventilation, the orientation of rooms, and the quality of internal fittings. These principles were emphasized as directly affecting hospital efficiency, patient mood, emotional state, and recovery. On this basis, an ideal of the modern hospital emerged in which architecture, technology, and medicine were expected to operate as a single system.⁶⁸

One of the earliest hospital buildings in Lithuania to implement such advanced internal solutions was the sixty-bed Tauragė County Hospital, built in 1932.⁶⁹ Economic and logical considerations determined that a compact *L*-shaped plan with a convenient two-sided corridor system was applied to the building (fig. 11). All hospital functions – including the reception desk, X-ray and

⁶³ Zarhy, *Health Facilities in Israel*, 28–29.

⁶⁴ Willis et al., *Architecture and the Modern Hospital*, 128.

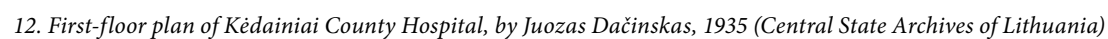
⁶⁵ Oud, *Dutch Architecture: Bauhausbücher* 10, 50.

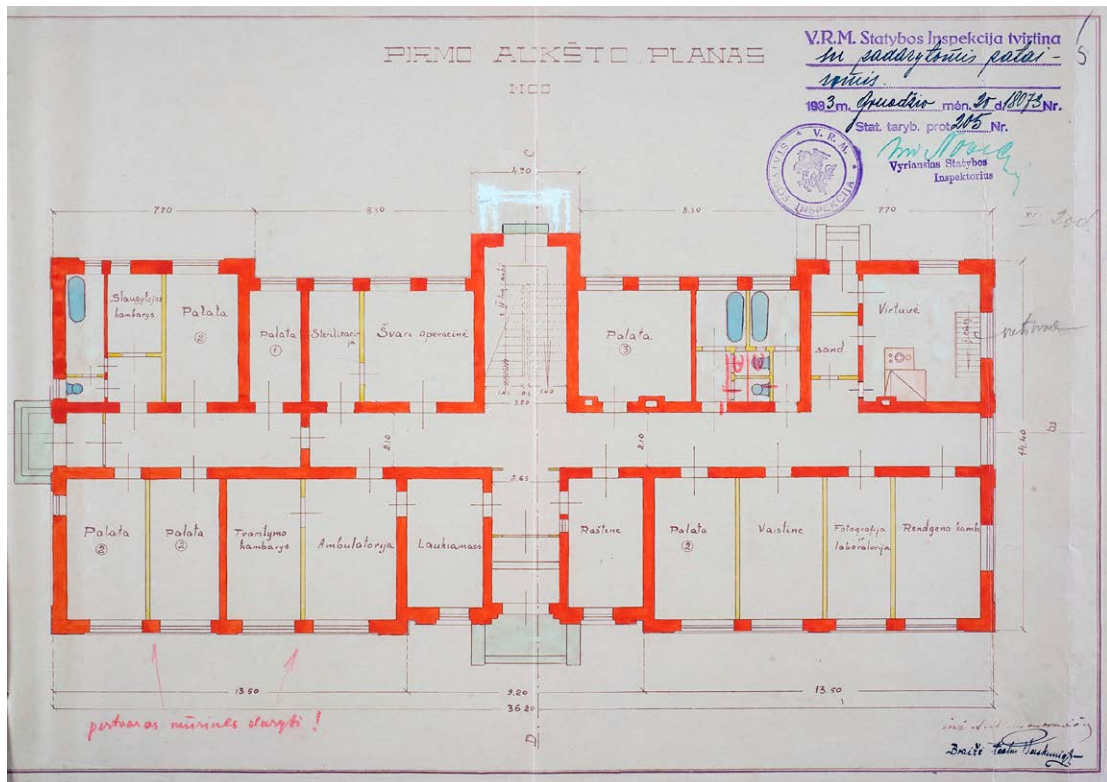
⁶⁶ Tallat-Kelpša, “Ligoninės statyba,” 5: 27.

⁶⁷ Tallat-Kelpša, “Ligoninės statyba,” 5: 27.

⁶⁸ Tallat-Kelpša, “Ligoninės statyba,” 6.

⁶⁹ Vilkončius, “Evolution of Public,” 157.





13. Ground-floor plan of Šakiai County Hospital, by Alfredas Aleksandravičius, 1933
(Central State Archives of Lithuania)

operating rooms, patient wards, isolation units, kitchen, laundry, morgue, and storage areas – were accommodated within a single building. Auxiliary spaces were placed in the basement, general and outpatient facilities on the ground floor, and long-term treatment areas, including patient and maternity wards, and operating rooms on the first floor. The hospital was equipped with central heating, plumbing, sewage, and ventilation systems, features that were still relatively uncommon in Lithuanian hospitals. To prevent the spread of diseases and improve patient well-being, wards were limited to a maximum of six beds and, due to the building's north–south orientation, were placed toward the south for better insolation. Nevertheless, patient rooms remained small, with approximately six square metres allocated per bed.⁷⁰

The spatial organization and technical solutions implemented in the Tauragė hospital influenced later county hospital buildings in smaller Lithuanian towns. In the second half of the 1930s, *L*-shaped plans were adopted for buildings of comparable size built in the towns of Alytus and Kėdainiai (fig. 12), as well as smaller ones, such as in the provincial towns of Lazdijai and Švėkšna.⁷¹ Following the example of the Tauragė hospital, all functions in these buildings were also housed within a single volume and organized vertically by floors and horizontally by wings, reflecting the prevailing view that separating departments into individual buildings was economically inefficient.⁷² Compactly planned layouts improved operational efficiency and allowed greater attention to patient comfort.

⁷⁰ Tallat-Kelpša, “Nauja Tauragės,” 22–23.

⁷¹ Vilkončius, “Evolution of Public,” 159–60.

⁷² Dačinskas, “Nauja Kėdainių apskritys,” 377.

In these later hospitals, wards had from two to four beds and were larger in size, ranging from thirteen to twenty-eight square metres. Their interiors were finished in light, warm colours intended to promote an “optimistic mood” among patients.⁷³ The technical equipment was also more advanced. For example, the hospital building in Alytus was designed to include an automatic telephone exchange, radios with headphones at each bed, washbasins in every ward, and a patient call-bell system.⁷⁴ For better internal mobility, one of the first elevators in the Lithuanian hospital building was installed here.

Small county hospital buildings with up to thirty beds – built, for example, in the provincial towns of Šakiai and Zarasai – had a simpler planned structure: elongated rectangular volumes, divided internally by a two-sided corridor (fig. 13). These buildings had more basic medical equipment: the main accents of their modernization were X-ray machines and quartz lamps, as well as the installation of basic amenities; namely, plumbing, heating, and electrical systems.⁷⁵

More complex plan forms were applied to larger hospital buildings. For example, the Lithuanian Red Cross Hospital in Klaipėda had an *H*-shaped plan, which allowed for better separation of functional zones and at the same time ensured good insolation of the premises. Furthermore, the building’s functionality was intricately linked to its technical infrastructure, which included modern operating theatres, a laboratory, one of the most advanced X-ray machines in Lithuania, and centralized kitchen and laundry facilities.⁷⁶ As noted in previous research, equipment manufactured in western Europe, was regarded as essential for effective medical treatment.⁷⁷ Such an equipment reinforced the perception of the modern hospital as both a purpose-built structure and a technologically advanced institution (fig. 14).

To modernize existing and future hospitals, in 1936 the Lithuanian government approved the Hospital Organization Rules. They established the principles of modern hospital operations and sought to standardize the internal organization of hospitals throughout the country. The document, for instance, regulated hygiene and sanitation requirements, minimum ward sizes (with one patient being allocated at least 7.5 square metres of area), mandatory ventilation and lighting of premises, patient isolation, and infection control procedures, as well as the functional separation of treatment, general, and auxiliary premises.⁷⁸

Thus, in the second half of the 1930s, attitudes toward the modern functional organization of hospital buildings were established in Lithuania. It was increasingly recognized that effective hospital operation depended on the careful and high-quality equipping of diagnostic, treatment, and patient-care areas with the most advanced available technologies, many of which were foreign-made.⁷⁹ In addition, integrated telephone and radio systems, call bells, and elevators for peoples and supplies became standard features. The number of beds per ward remained comparable to earlier buildings, but updated standards increased the minimum floor area per bed to approximately eight square metres in later hospitals.

⁷³ Dačinskas, “Nauja Kėdainių apskritys,” 378.

⁷⁴ “Ligoninės statyba sparčiai.”

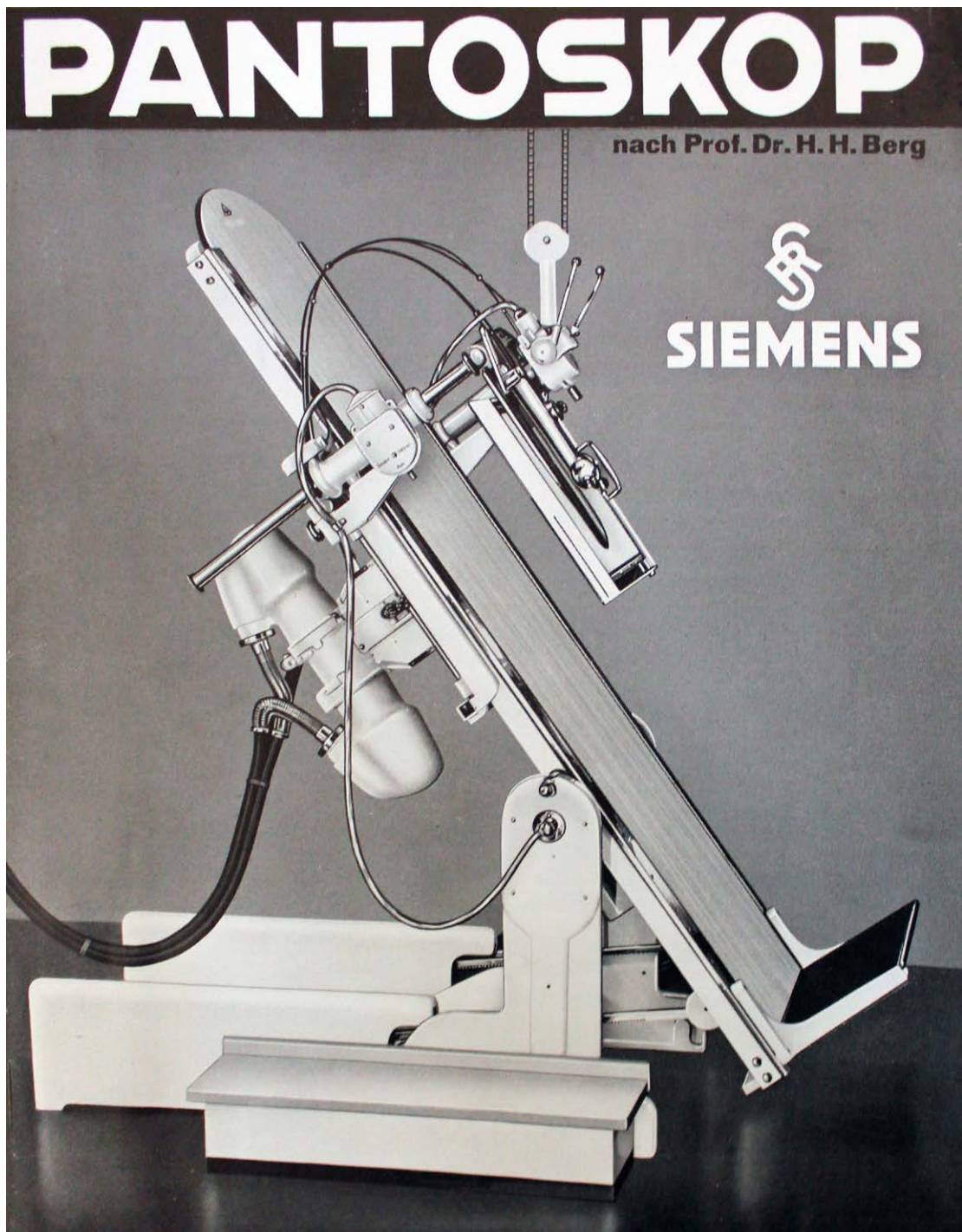
⁷⁵ “Kaip atrodys Šakių.”

⁷⁶ “Atidaryta Raudonojo kryžiaus.”

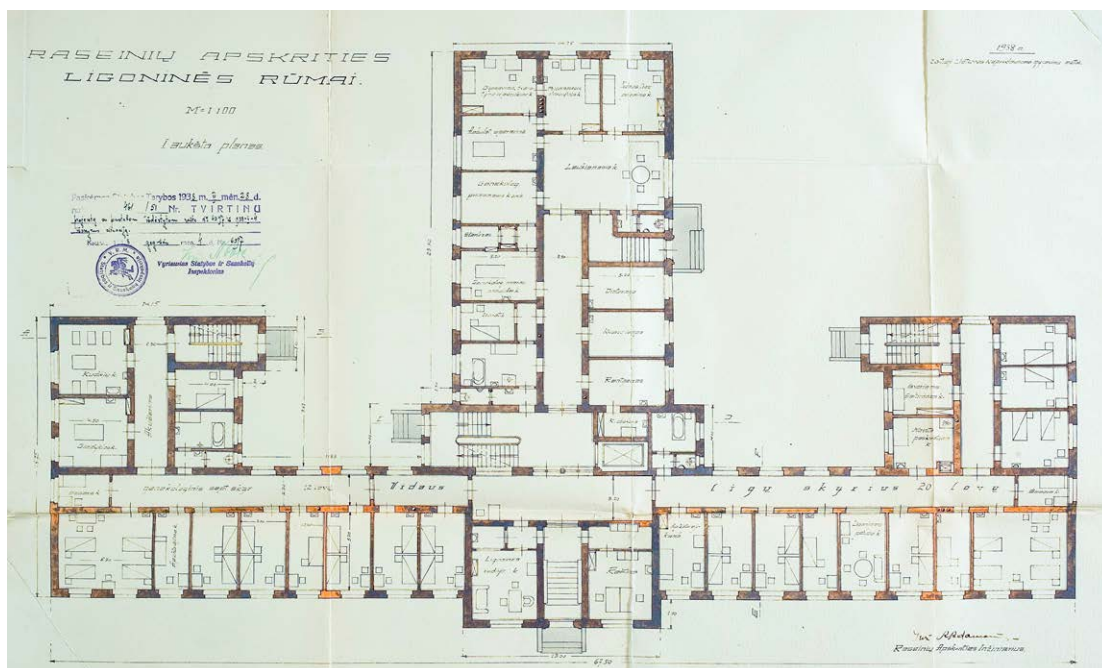
⁷⁷ Vilkončius, “Evolution of Public,” 158.

⁷⁸ “Ligoninių santvarkos taisyklės.”

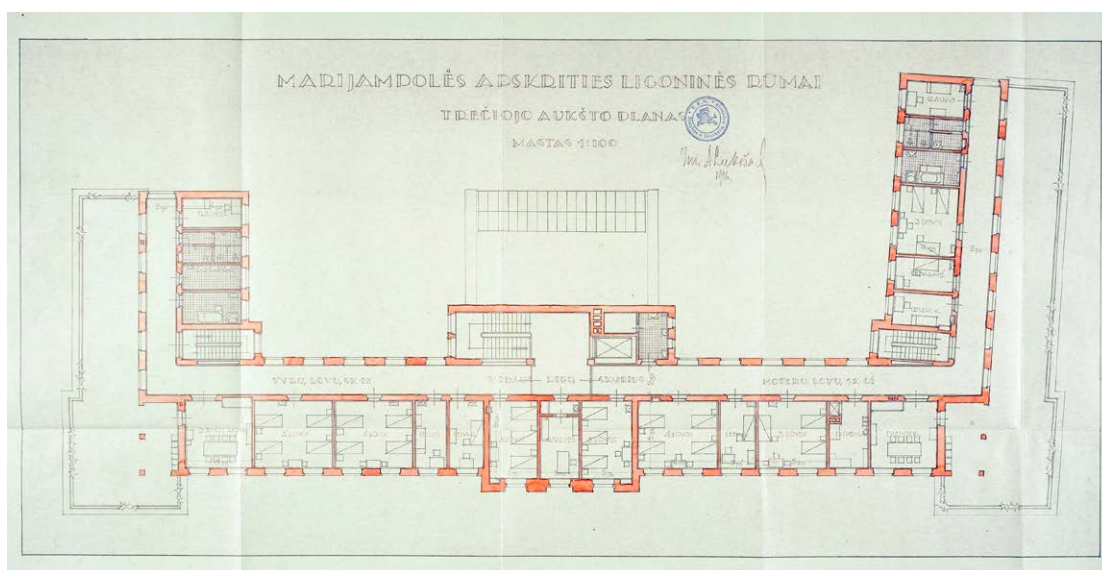
⁷⁹ Dačinskas, “Nauja Kėdainių apskritys,” 378.



14. The installation of modern equipment, such as a foreign-made Siemens X-ray machine, was an important part of the modernization of Lithuanian hospitals in the 1930s (Central State Archives of Lithuania)



15. Ground-floor plan of Raseiniai County Hospital, by the civil engineer Antanas Adomonis, 1938
(Central State Archives of Lithuania)



16. Second-floor plan of Marijampolė County Hospital, by Adolfas Lukošaitis, 1936
(Central State Archives of Lithuania)

At the same time, the layout of the buildings changed. Facilities designed for around one hundred or more beds commonly adopted E- and T-shaped plans, as seen in the hospitals in Marijampolė, Mažeikiai, Raseiniai, and Šiauliai (figs. 15–16). Their larger volume made it possible to accommodate a broader range of medical functions, including separate departments for men and women, infectious and internal disease units, maternity wards, diagnostic and outpatient areas, and waiting rooms. Effective internal organization was necessary for such functional distinction. Thus, these buildings were designed with one-sided corridors, which allowed most treatment and public areas to receive direct sunlight. In addition, the buildings' planning compositions ensured clear functional zoning.

Different wings of the plans were assigned to house separate hospital functions and departments, maintaining their connection through a common corridor, staircases, and elevators. The one-sided corridor system also facilitated the movement of personnel, allowed for more logical organization of the flows of patients, visitors, and medical personnel, and reduced their mutual interactions.

In the case of complex medical institutions – most notably the Kaunas Clinics, construction of which began at the end of the decade – the accommodation of all required functions within a single low-rise building proved impractical. In other countries this was solved by starting to build multi-storey hospital buildings.⁸⁰ However, local conditions in Lithuania led to the use of a pavilion-based system for the clinics, which were designed by French architects in collaboration with Lithuanian engineers. The resulting complex consisted of functionally differentiated three- to five-storey buildings dedicated to radiology, laboratories, clinical departments, and administration. This arrangement allowed a logical organization of medical work while accommodating advanced technical infrastructure, including independent water supply, sewage, heating, and electricity systems, as well as modern diagnostic and laboratory equipment, all considered essential for effective treatment.⁸¹

Conclusions

In the 1930s in Lithuania, the concept of a modern hospital materialized in a purposeful process of modernization. During this period, hospitals began to be planned and designed as complex medical institutions whose spatial organization and architectural solutions directly affected treatment practices, patient comfort, and everyday operation. As a result, modernization involved more than the construction of new buildings; it also brought changes in hospital siting within the urban fabric, architectural form, and internal planning. Thus, by the middle of the decade, a characteristic hospital building type had emerged, which was defined by several commonly used features.

Most newly constructed hospitals were south-oriented two- or three-storey brick buildings, compact in form to accommodate modern medical functions. The planned structure of the buildings was based on the principles of logical functional zoning, hygiene, and efficient flow circulation. Hospital buildings were also characterized by moderate but modern architectural expression. This was reflected in the rejection of superfluous decorative elements, the use of lightly coloured facades, simple-looking volumes, horizontal banding, and an overall minimalist approach to the design, synonymous with the modernist style. The aesthetics of the buildings were complemented using functionally based large windows, elongated balconies, loggias, and terraces.

No less important to hospital modernization was the transformation of internal spaces and technical infrastructure. Smaller to medium-sized hospitals with thirty to sixty beds were designed with simple rectangular or *L*-shaped plans and double-sided corridors. The larger buildings could accommodate one hundred or more beds and adopted more complex *E*- and *T*-shaped layouts with one-sided corridors. The country's medical professionals widely emphasized that disease prevention and patients' psychological well-being required spacious yet small wards, typically accommodating from two to six beds and oriented toward the side receiving the most natural light. In addition, the approach was taken that a modern hospital must be equipped with advanced technical systems

⁸⁰ Cohen, *France: Modern Architectures*, 124.

⁸¹ "Pastatai, į kuriuos kreipiamą."

and medical equipment: central heating, plumbing, ventilation, electrical networks, elevators, X-ray machines, operating rooms, laboratories, and call-bell systems. All this was necessary for the hospital to be a comprehensively advanced medical institution, in which each composite element had a clear purpose: to contribute directly or indirectly to more effective disease prevention and treatment.

The data underlying this article will be shared on reasonable request by the corresponding author.

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Arhitektura bolnišnic in procesi modernizacije v Litvi v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja

Povzetek

V članku je analiziran razvoj litovske bolnišnične arhitekture v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja. V študiji je proučen in predstavljen okvir gradnje bolnišnic, vključno z modernizacijo zdravstvenega sistema, širitvi-jo bolnišnične mreže ter vloge države, občin in javnih organizacij pri razvoju tega področja. Do začetka tridesetih let 20. stoletja so številne bolnišnice v državi delovale v neprimernih stavbah, ki pogosto niso izpolnjevale nujnih medicinskih in higienskih zahtev. Zato je bila arhitekturna modernizacija novih objektov percipirana kot nujen del napredka zdravstvenega sistema. V članku so obravnavana načela izbire lokacije bolnišnic in njihova povezava z urbanističnim kontekstom. Poudarjeno je, da so bile značilnosti parcele – zadostna površina, možnost usmeritve oddelkov proti jugu, dobro prezračevanje ter oddaljenost od mestnega hrupa in prometa – upoštevane kot bistvena higienska merila.

Hkrati so se začela spreminjati stališča in estetski ideali glede arhitekture bolnišničnih stavb, saj se je vpliv modernizma začel kazati v arhitekturi mnogih litovskih bolnišnic. Nove stavbe so zaznamovale minimalistična zunanja kompozicija, prevlada preprostih vodoravnih oblik, ritmično razporejene vrste širokih oken ter uporaba odprtih prostorov, kot so balkoni in lože, ki so postali standardni elementi. Te arhitekturne značilnosti niso temeljile le na estetskih idejah tridesetih let 20. stoletja, temveč tudi na funkcionalnih in higienskih zahtevah bolnišnic – zagotavljale so boljše naravno osvetlitev, prezračevanje in povezavo bolnikov z zunanjim svetom. Hkrati so nekatere manjše pokrajinske bolnišnice ohranile zmernejši arhitekturni izraz, včasih pa so uporabljale modernizirane interpretacije zgodovinskih oblik. Modernizacija je tako potekala neenakomerno, odvisno od obsega, finančnih zmožnosti in lokalnega konteksta.

V članku je analizirana tudi načrtovana struktura bolnišnic in organizacija funkcionalnih območij. S povečanjem obsega stavb so se v njih začele koncentrirati različne zdravstvene funkcije: bolniški oddelki, oddelki za nalezljive bolezni, porodništvo, oddelki za interno medicino, diagnostični in ambulantni prostori. Na podlagi sodobnih zamisli o ureditvi moderne bolnišnice so si prizadevali ločiti različne funkcije, ki so jih te ustanove gostile, najpogosteje tako, da so jih umestili v različna krila. Zato se je poleg arhitekture tudi ustrezno urejena tlorsna razporeditev stavbe vse bolj dojemala kot del zdravstvenega procesa.

Če povzamemo, lahko rečemo, da je v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja bolnišnična arhitektura v Litvi postala pomemben del modernizacije zdravstvenega sistema. Gradnja bolnišnic in njihova arhitekturna podoba sta bili obravnavani kot pokazatelja napredka zdravstvenega sistema, sodobna, higienska in funkcionalno organizirana bolnišnična stavba pa je veljala za temeljni pogoj za učinkovito zdravstveno dejavnost in javno blaginjo.

The Iași Art Gallery: The Making of a Romanian Public Museum (1860–1865)

Silvia Marin Barutcieff

Assoc. Prof. Silvia Marin Barutcieff, PhD, University of Bucharest, Faculty of Letters,
Strada Edgar Quinet 5–7, Bucharest, silvia.barutcieff@litere.unibuc.ro, ORCID ID: 0009-0008-7752-5274

Abstract

The Iași Art Gallery: The Making of a Romanian Public Museum (1860–1865)

1.01 Original scientific article

This study explores the beginnings of the art museum in Iași, the first public art gallery in Romanian territory. Based on documents preserved in the National Archives of Romania, the article analyses the strategies used to launch this major cultural project in the historical context of the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. It examines the museum's mission, as it was crystallizing in the 1860s, the ways that the public art collection was established, and several types of activities that contributed to the organization of the art gallery during its early years of existence.

Keywords: Iași, United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, nineteenth century, painting gallery, art collection, modernization, public space, cultural project

Izveček

Umetnostna galerija v Iašiju: Nastajanje romunskega javnega muzeja (1860–1865)

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V študiji so raziskani začetki umetnostnega muzeja v Iašiju, prve javne umetnostne galerije na romunskem ozemlju. V članku so na podlagi dokumentov, ki jih hranijo v Romunskem državnem arhivu, analizirane strategije, uporabljene za zagon tega pomembnega kulturnega projekta v zgodovinskem kontekstu Združenih kneževin Moldavije in Vlaške. Obravnavani so poslanstvo muzeja, kakor se je izoblikovalo v šestdesetih letih 19. stoletja, načini, na katere je bila vzpostavljena javna umetnostna zbirka, ter več vrst dejavnosti, ki so prispevale k organizaciji umetnostne galerije v prvih letih njenega obstoja.

Ključne besede: Iași, Združeni kneževini Moldavija in Vlaška, 19. stoletje, slikarska galerija, umetnostna zbirka, modernizacija, javni prostor, kulturni projekt

Introduction: Historical transformations, cultural initiatives

The Iași Art Gallery was the first public art gallery in the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Opened in 1860, shortly after the union of Moldavia with Wallachia, it was created to meet the institutional and educational needs of a state undergoing modernization at a time when the necessity of such institutions was being asserted in public discourse across Europe.

Part of the Moldova National Museum Complex in Iași, the Art Museum – the name by which the gallery is known today – houses approximately ten thousand works of art (paintings, sculptures, and prints). The three galleries currently in operation – the Gallery of Modern Romanian Art, the Gallery of Contemporary Romanian Art, and the European Art Gallery – preserve heritage of national and European value, accumulated over 165 years of continuous activity. The example it set for other similar institutions, as well as the involvement of intellectuals, artists, and donors in the formation of the collections, justify an analysis of the role played by the Iași Art Gallery in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, this study examines the strategies used in building the gallery's art collections, as well as the actors involved in establishing the importance of the new institution within the Romanian cultural landscape of the time.

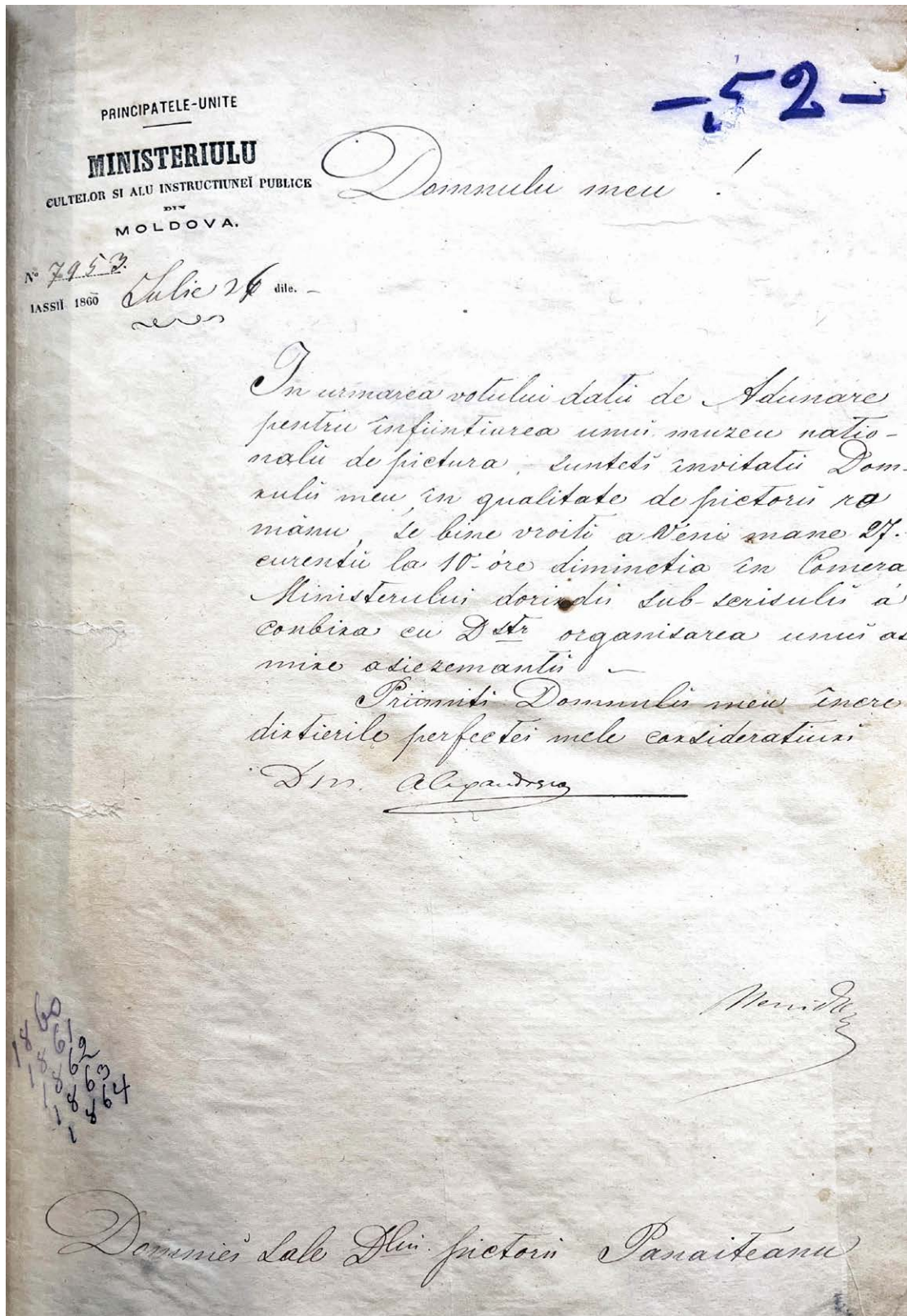
On 26 July 1860, Gheorghe Panaiteanu Bardasare (1816–1900) received notice that he was to report the following day to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Instruction of Moldavia (fig. 1). The purpose of the summons was to establish an art museum in Iași (historically known as *Jassy*).¹ His appointment as the director of the Painting Gallery – one of the names by which the institution was later known – was not accidental. A graduate of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Bavaria, Panaiteanu had returned to Iași after eighteen years of study and artistic activity in Munich and Berlin.² Impressed by the German art museums,³ the Romanian painter dreamed of opening a public painting gallery in his hometown.⁴ The return to his country at a moment favourable to reforms, a few months before the union of Moldavia with Wallachia in 1859, gave Panaiteanu the opportunity

¹ National Archives of Romania, Fine Arts Academy Fund, the County Service of the National Archives in Iași (ANSJI-AAFI), file 1/1859, fol. 52. In its current form, file 1/1859 contains documents not only from the year indicated on the cover, but from several years. The modern Romanian toponym *Iași* is used in this article for consistency.

² In the nineteenth century, Munich was an important destination for many young Romanians seeking an artistic education. According to his own statements preserved in ANSJI-AAFI, after studying at the Michael Academy (*Academia Mihăileană*) in Iași, in 1840, Panaiteanu left for Munich to study painting and lithography. From his return to Moldavia (1858) until his appointment as director of the Painting Gallery (1860), the artist practiced photography and pannotype production. See ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.2/1864, fol. 34; file 1/1866, fol. 146. Studies on the biography and activity of the Romanian painter can be found in Atanasiu, "Gheorghe Bardasare Panaiteanu;" Pohonțu, *Începuturile vieții artistice*; Paradaiser, "Gheorghe Panaiteanu Bardasare;" Paradaiser, "Anii de ucenicie;" Paradaiser, and Maria Paradaiser, "Gheorghe Panaiteanu-Bardasare, student;" Ionescu, "Viața studenților români;" Ionescu, "Călătoria ca artă."

³ At the time of Panaiteanu's arrival in Munich, the Glyptothek had already been open for a decade, just like the Old Museum (*Altes Museum*) in Berlin. In 1842, the Old Art Gallery (*Alte Pinakothek*) was inaugurated, and in 1853 the New Art Gallery (*Neue Pinakothek*). An overview of the beginnings of Munich's museums can be found in Sheehan, *Museums in the German*, esp. 62–70, 93–104.

⁴ In 1846, Panaiteanu suggested to Scarlat Vârnav that he should open a museum with the paintings he had purchased in Paris; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.2/1864, fol. 34. A student at the Sorbonne in the 1830s, Scarlat Vârnav was a member of the Society for the Education of the Romanian People in Paris, where several young men would meet weekly to exchange ideas about modernizing Romanian culture. On his cultural contribution, see Cervatiuc, "Viața și activitatea;" Paradaiser, *Un ctitor uitat*.



1. Invitation received by Panaiteanu to report to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Instruction of Moldavia to participate in the foundation of a new museum, dated 26 July 1860 (National Archives of Romania, Fine Arts Academy fond, County Service of the National Archives in Iași, file 1/1859, fol. 52)

to join other intellectuals that wanted to contribute to the creation of the institutions of a modern state.⁵ The establishment of the first Romanian art gallery in Iași came after the union of Moldavia with Wallachia, a historic event following which Bucharest became the capital. The founding and expansion of public institutions with educational and cultural purposes, a priority objective in nineteenth-century Europe,⁶ was not only a way for the elites of Iași to foster collective solidarity, but also an opportunity to maintain the prestige acquired by the city as the capital of Moldavia.⁷ However, the 1860 inauguration of the art gallery, the university,⁸ and the school of fine arts – the first institutions of this kind in the Romanian Principalities – also carried a further stake for the Moldavians. Some intellectuals were of the opinion that positioning Iași as a citadel of education would mitigate the effects of losing its status as the capital in favour of Bucharest and the consequences of the political and administrative centralism cultivated after the union.⁹

Taking into account the historical context of the mid-nineteenth century, this article explores several episodes from the early days of the Iași Art Gallery.¹⁰ Based on documents preserved in the Fine Arts Academy fond and the County Service of the National Archives in Iași, as well as some information retrieved from the publications of the time, it examines the activities and strategies used by cultural actors between 1860 and 1865 to establish and promote the first public Romanian painting gallery.¹¹

⁵ The union of Moldavia with Wallachia took place on 24 January 1859, and it was recognized by the Ottoman Empire, the suzerain power at the time, on 7 September 1859. See Ivănescu, “Costache Negri și unirea,” 78.

⁶ On the role of museums in shaping nation-states and educating the populations of those states, see Sheehan, *Museums in the German*; Beck and Strunck, *Spaces for Shaping the Nations*; Rampley et al., *The Museum Age in Austria-Hungary*.

⁷ On the reservations expressed by the inhabitants of Iași regarding the unionist project, see Rados, “Unirea Principatelor în interpretarea.”

⁸ A history of the first Romanian university can be found in Iacob and Platon, *Istoria Universității din Iași*.

⁹ Rados, “Unirea Principatelor în interpretarea,” 86. On centralism, separatism, and nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century, see Cioflâncă, “Political Debates before,” and Chipșer, “«Valahii ne-au înșelat».” For anti-centralist positions on heritage, see Mihalache, *Idem et ipse*, especially the chapter “Paradoxul moldav,” 141–68.

¹⁰ Research dedicated to the Iași Art Gallery in the nineteenth century includes the following: Atanasiu, “Gheorghe Bardasare Panaiteanu;” Pohonțu, *Începuturile vieții artistice*; Docman, “Date despre Pinacoteca;” Paradais and Paradaiser, “120 de ani de la înființarea;” Ichim, “Constituirea patrimoniului Pinacotecii.”

¹¹ The documents regarding the genesis and evolution of the Iași Art Gallery are located in the fond of the Academy of Fine Arts in Iași, preserved at the National Archives of Romania, Iași County Service (ANSJI-AAFI). The documents focused on here consist, on the one hand, of requests and directives issued by the Ministry, and, on the other hand, copies of the responses sent by the museum to the institution it was subordinate to. In most cases, the files examined contain records concerning the museum’s activity carried out over several years. I am grateful to the Iași County Service and, in particular, to Ina Chirilă, who supported this study throughout the research in these archives.

On stage: A public art collection with a national mission

The files containing documents related to the National Painting Museum in Iași¹² include information about the museum, as well as about the first Romanian school of fine arts.¹³ On 15 September 1860, the first issue of the periodical *Ateneul român* announced the birth of the gallery, housed in the building of the newly established university.¹⁴ Alongside it, a school of painting and sculpture was to be established to train a new generation of artists. The decree of 12 August concerning the founding of the institution, signed by Mihail Kogălniceanu,¹⁵ the interim minister of religious affairs and public instruction of Moldavia, revealed the name and annual salary of the director appointed by princely decree,¹⁶ as well as his obligation to oversee the restoration of the paintings they had received.¹⁷ Over the following three decades, up until 1892, the museum and the school was run by Panaiteanu until his retirement.¹⁸

In the excitement caused by the inauguration of the project, the first actions focused on taking over the paintings that would form the core of the gallery from the Schools' Library, as noted in a document issued by the ministry on 17 September 1860 (fig. 2).¹⁹ The history of donations predates the founding of the museum by several years. Several paintings that had belonged to Marques Alejandro María Aguado de las Marismas had been purchased by Scarlat Vârnav, the son of a Romanian boyar studying in Paris.²⁰ Of the works auctioned in 1845, following the death of the renowned art collector,²¹ the pieces, donated in 1847, reached Iași three years later

¹² The official correspondence between the director of the art gallery, Panaiteanu, and the representatives of other public institutions at the time attests to the use, between 1860 and 1870, of names literally meaning 'Museum of Painting' (ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fols. 19, 28, 34, 54, 59, 60 etc.; file 1/1860, fol. 1), 'National Museum' (file 1/1859, fols. 35, 45, 133), 'National Museum of Painting' (file 1/1859, fols. 29, 37, 52, 66, 71), 'Museum of Paintings' (file 1/1859, fols. 69, 122, 131), 'National Museum of Paintings' (file 1/1859, fol. 50; file 2/1865, fol. 20), 'Gallery of Paintings' (file 1/1859, fol. 93), and 'Painting Gallery' (file 1/1859, fol. 104). Starting in 1861, the institution's letterheads indicated a preference for the name 'National Museum of Painting'. The name *Pinacotecă* is attested in documents from 1864 onward (ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.1/1864, fol. 16), see Paradais and Paradaiser, "120 de ani de la înființarea," 721. Today the name of the institution is *Muzeul de Artă* (Art Museum), part of the Iași National Museum Complex.

¹³ The historiography of the subject has highlighted the long-standing joint existence of the two institutions, which became separate entities only in 1955; Paradaiser, "Gheorghe Panaiteanu Bardasare," 167–68.

¹⁴ ANSJI-AAFI, file 2/1863–1870, fol. 5; "Acte oficiale," 1: 13; Negruzzi, "Galeria de tablouri," 9.

¹⁵ Mihail Kogălniceanu was a Romanian statesman, the prime minister of the Romanian United Principalities (1863–1865), a historian, an orator, a mentor of cultural life, the president of the Romanian Academy (1887–1890), and a passionate collector. Interested in art since he was a student in Berlin, he supported Panaiteanu in founding the museum in Iași; Badea-Păun, "În căutarea unei colecții," 95.

¹⁶ A document dated 25 September 1860 informed Panaiteanu that, by order of the ruling prince, he had been appointed director of the art gallery; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 55.

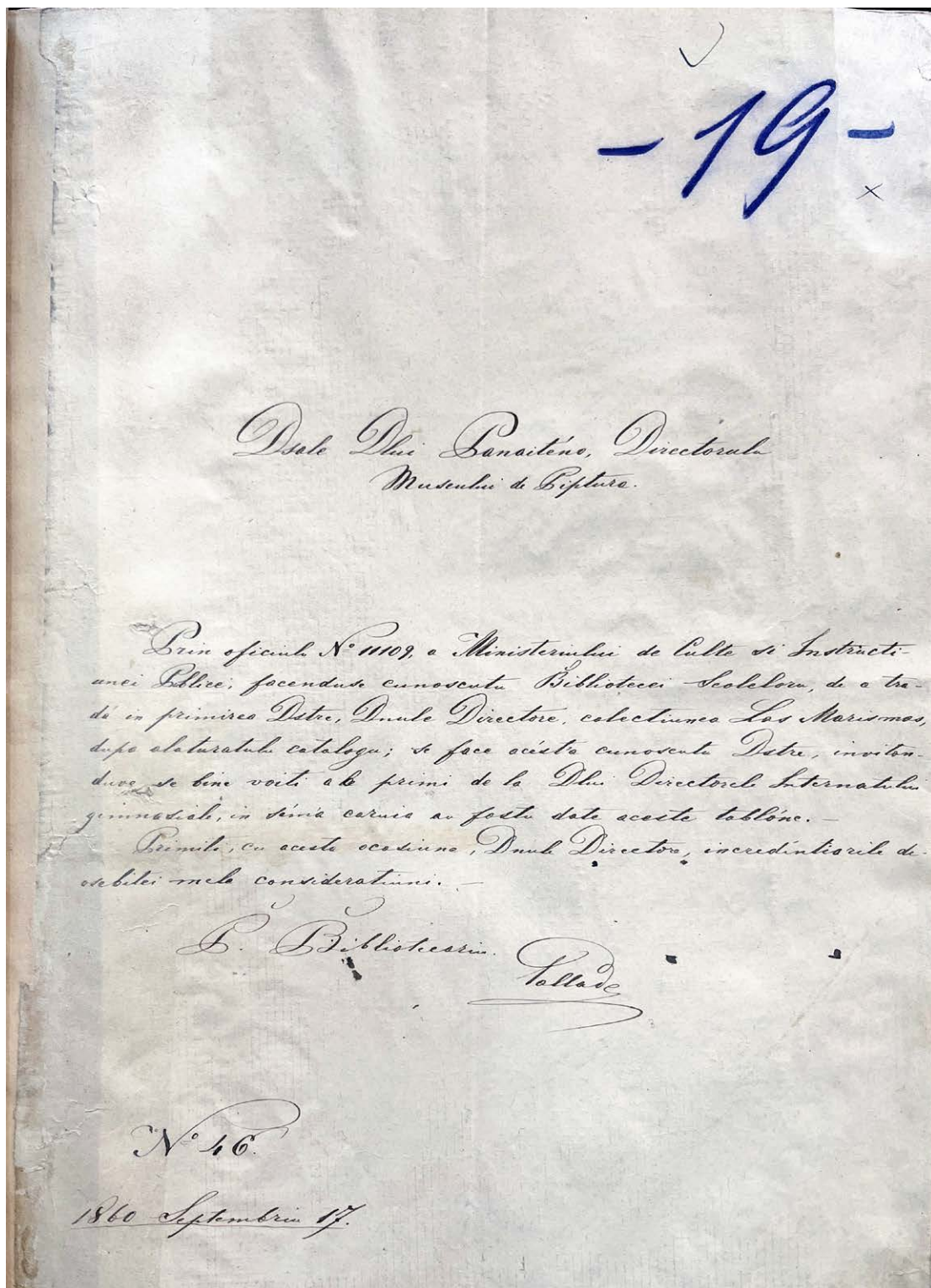
¹⁷ "Acte oficiale," 1: 13. Panaiteanu's recommendation as being suitable for the position of director of the museum and art school, made by Mihail Kogălniceanu to Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, was published in issue no. 3 of the same periodical; "Acte oficiale," 3: 32–33.

¹⁸ Paradaiser, "Gheorghe Panaiteanu Bardasare," 172.

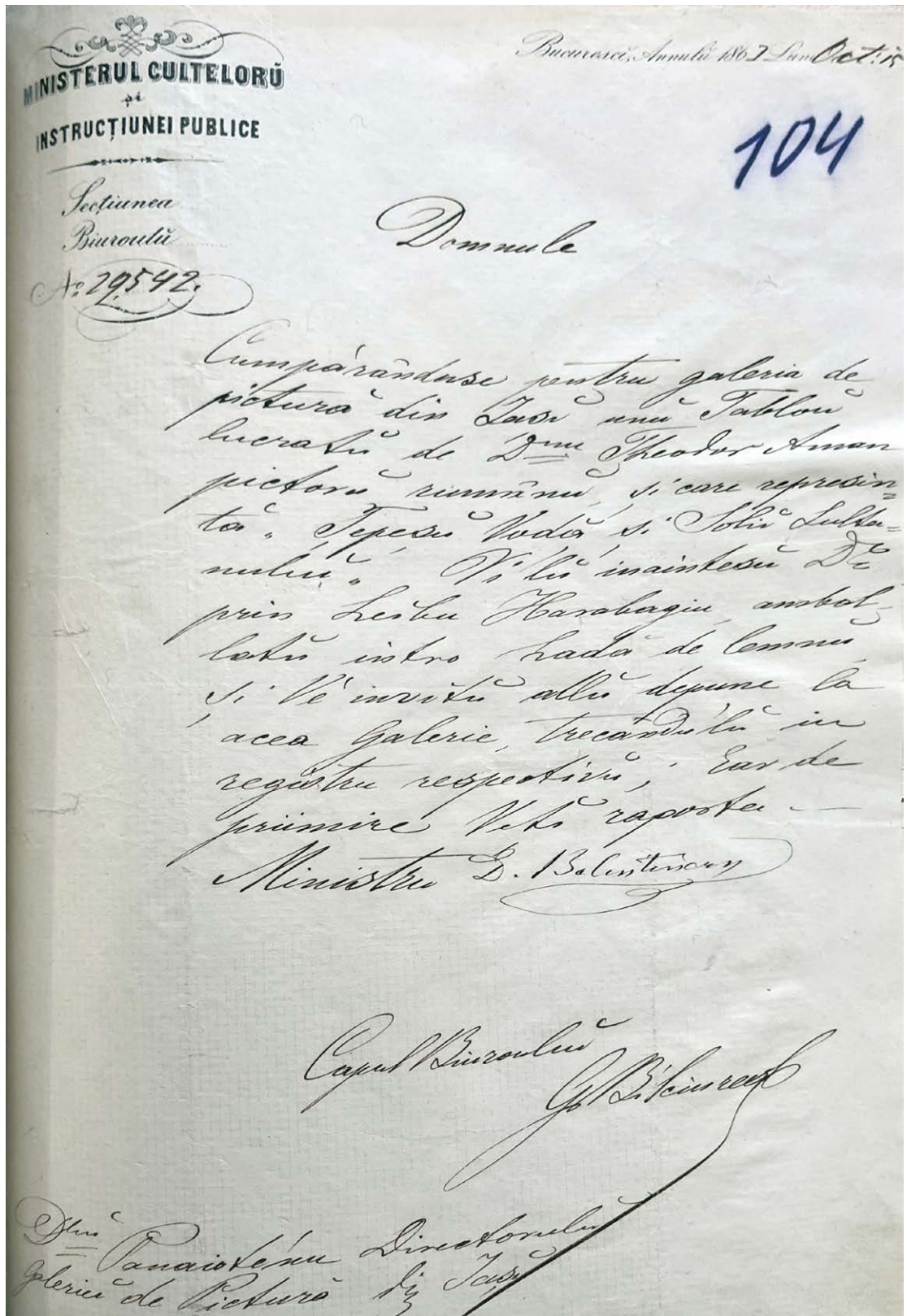
¹⁹ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, document dated 17 September 1860, fol. 19.

²⁰ Cervatiuc, "Viața și activitatea," 70–71; Paradais, *Un ctitor uitat*, 17–18.

²¹ Alejandro María Aguado y Remírez de Estenoz, marquess of Marismas del Guadalquivir (1784–1842), was a Spanish banker and art collector that became a naturalized French citizen. His collection, which included works by Spanish masters (Velázquez, Murillo, Zurbarán, and Ribera), Italian artists (Raphael and Canova), and Flemish and Dutch painters (Rubens and Rembrandt), was recommended as a cultural attraction by the Parisian press of the time; see "Galérie Aguado." The catalogue of the collection, comprising eighty-nine paintings, was published in 1845 under the title *Catalogue d'une collection de tableaux anciens, des écoles flamande, hollandaise, française, italienne et espagnole*.



2. Document sent by the Schools' Library concerning the transfer of the paintings acquired from the former Marismas collection by Scarlat Vârnav, dated 17 September 1861 (National Archives of Romania, Fine Arts Academy fond, County Service of the National Archives in Iași, file 1/1859, fol. 19)



3. Document sent from the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Instruction regarding the acquisition of Vlad the Impaler and the Turkish Envoys, oil painting by Theodor Aman, dated 15 October 1863 (National Archives of Romania, Fine Arts Academy fond, County Service of the National Archives in Iași, file 1/1859, fol. 104)

after several adventures.²² Alongside other paintings, lithographs, engravings, and plaster casts, the pieces brought from the capital of France were inventoried in 1860, at the authorities' request, by Panaiteanu, assisted by Gheorghe Șiller, an artist that had studied architecture, painting, and restoration in Italy.²³ Archival documents record the names and positions of the first employees: "director of the museum of paintings, the school of painting, and teacher" (Panaiteanu), "assistant caretaker" and "assistant at the school" (Șiller), and "servant of the museum and the school" (Ion Popovici).²⁴ In 1861, shortly after the art gallery opened, Șiller was assigned the task of restoring the paintings and instructing elementary-level students in drawing – responsibilities he continued to carry out in the years that followed.²⁵

The activities that followed the inauguration of the institution in Iași reflect the functions assigned to museums in the nineteenth century: building and expanding the heritage, conservation, and educating the public.²⁶ Inventorying existing objects and identifying new donors were among the fundamental objectives that Panaiteanu pursued throughout his career.²⁷ To support the efforts of establishing the collection, the authorities took steps to acquire works by contemporary Romanian artists. Such was the case of the historical work *Vlad the Impaler and the Turkish Envoys* (*Vlad Țepeș și solii turci*), an oil painting by Theodor Aman created in 1862/63 and sent from Bucharest to Iași shortly after its completion (figs. 3–4).²⁸ His studies in Paris under the guidance of two painters specializing in the historical genre, along with his professional experience in France, established

²² Cervatiuc, "Viața și activitatea," 76. For a description of the journey of the paintings from Paris to Iași – with a three-year stay (1847–1850) in the customs warehouse in Galați harbour – and their fate before the establishment of the gallery, see Paradais, *Un ctitor uitat*, 49–51. As the scholarly literature has already shown, the donation made by Scarlat Vârnăv consisted of sixteen artworks. See also Paradais, *Un ctitor uitat*, 58. Twelve of those pieces were purchased in 1845 from the Marismas collection. The first assessment regarding their authorship was performed in 1860 by Panaiteanu. The works mentioned with their attribution are recorded in ANSJI-AAFI, file 4/1865, fol. 1r–v: *Cesar Receiving Pompey's Head* (attributed to Caravaggio), *Judith and Holofernes* (Pietro Liberi), *Phaeton* (Eustache Le Sueur), *Tavern Interior with Peasants Playing Cards* (Egbert van Heemskerck the Younger), *An Old Man* (School of Rembrandt, today lost), *Three Peasants around a Table* (David Teniers the Younger, today lost), *The Holy Family* (François Stella, today lost), *The Holy Family* (School of Murillo), *The Virgin Mary in Ecstasy* (School of Murillo), *Descent from the Cross* (School of Murillo), *John the Baptist on a Rock* (Francisco Antolínez Y Sarabia), and *The Head of Saint John* (unattributed). The other works – *The Battle of Berezina* (painting, Henri Félix Philippoteaux), *Portrait of a Man* (unattributed), *Portrait of Cardinal Richelieu*, and *The Marshal Villars* (textile, Goblin manufacture) – were purchased by the collector from unknown sources. On more recent attributions, see Paradais, *Muzeul de artă*, 19–73.

²³ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, document dated 12 September 1860, fol. 53 and a copy of a document, fol. 54. Information about Gheorghe Șiller's studies together with Natale Schiavoni and Felice Schiavoni, as well as notice of his employment at the Iași Art Gallery, can be found in file 1/1866, fol. 146.

²⁴ These three positions were maintained in the following years, with some changes regarding the identity of the employees. In December 1866, the gallery staff was made up of Panaiteanu (director), Ștefan Alessandrescu (curator), and Neculae Celencu (guide). See the staff register of the Ministry, ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1866, fol. 176.

²⁵ Information regarding the employment of Gheorghe Șiller can be found in the same record, file 1/1866, fol. 146. His fundamental role in the restoration of the paintings is highlighted in a document dated 10 August 1861 (ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 78). He is also attested later as a restorer and professor at the School of Fine Arts. See file 1.1/1864, fol. 31; file 2/1865, fol. 20; file 2/1871, fols. 17, 32, 119.

²⁶ Paradais, "Aspecte ale cercetării muzeistice," 9–10.

²⁷ In the inventory handed over on 20 October 1893 to Constantin D. Stahi, the new director of the School of Fine Arts and of the Iași Art Gallery, Panaiteanu specified that he had held this position uninterruptedly for thirty-two years; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1860, fol. 1.

²⁸ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 104. Today the painting *Vlad the Impaler and the Turkish Envoys* is housed by the Romanian National Museum of Art in Bucharest.



4. Theodor Aman: *Vlad the Impaler and the Turkish Envoys*, between 1862 and 1863, National Museum of Art of Romania (© Wikimedia Commons; photo: Yelkrokoyade)

Aman from the very beginning of his career as skilled at executing works with historical subjects.²⁹ The commission for *Vlad the Impaler and the Turkish Envoys*, a painting that entered the collection of the art gallery, signals not only the recognition Aman enjoyed a few years after returning to the country, but also his desire to participate in the project of building a national culture. Other local institutions also contributed to this project, which included the identification of objects of historical and/or artistic importance.

In June 1862, the Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior for the Department of Moldavia sent a silver hammer and a trowel – objects used by Prince Grigore Alexandru Ghica at the inauguration ceremony of the Copou Barracks (1849–1856).³⁰ Two years later, the Municipal Council of Iași donated to the gallery the caftan worn by the boyars at the investiture ceremonies performed by the princes of Moldavia before 1831.³¹ The correspondence records several contemporary

²⁹ Theodor Aman (1831–1891), one of the best-known Romanian artists of the nineteenth century, studied in France with Michel Martin Drolling (1786–1851) and François Édouard Picot (1786–1868). The artist's self-portrait was accepted at the Paris Salon in 1853, and in 1854 the work *The Battle of Oltenița between the Turks and Russians* (*Lupta de la Oltenița între turci și ruși*) was exhibited at the Goupil Gallery; Oprescu, "Locul lui Theodor Aman," 94–95.

³⁰ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, dated 19 June 1862, fol. 35.

³¹ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 45, document dated 3 June 1864, fol. 45.

contributions to the development of the gallery. For example, in an exchange of letters between the ministry and Panaiteanu, mention is made of the drawings created by the architect and professor Ștefan Emilian (1819–1899).³² The author's statement regarding the pieces handed over to the museum, accompanied by their list (a lithograph, several drawings, metal engravings, architectural profiles, and perspective studies), sheds light on the techniques used to establish a new public collection in the Romanian Principalities in the mid-nineteenth century.³³ In another document, the intervention of the ministry was requested to save the portraits of the principality's former princes and metropolitans, which were stored in the Cathedral Palace in Iași. Because they were "in an abandoned state, close to complete deterioration", Panaiteanu insisted that they be brought to the gallery because "the National Museum of Painting is meant to gather and preserve within itself all the historical souvenirs that are still to be found throughout the country."³⁴ Only there, the director added, could they be cleaned, exhibited under proper conditions, and adequately supervised. The text reiterates the function of preservation and the role of museums in building a modern national identity.³⁵ It also highlights the strategy of building a public artistic heritage through the collection of objects of aesthetic value, as well as artifacts of historical importance for the cultural group they represent.

Artists such as Panaiteanu – advocates for the opening of museums and for the formation of an audience for art – were joined by other public figures that believed in intellectual elevation through aesthetic beauty. One of them, the writer and politician Costache Negri, lent the gallery thirty-nine paintings in April 1861³⁶ "with the noble purpose that both the public and the students of the School of Fine Arts in Iași might benefit from them".³⁷ The comment on this generous gesture belongs to Panaiteanu, who, ten years later, taken by surprise by the collector's request to reclaim the paintings, took steps to have the Romanian state purchase them. The correspondence between 1871 and 1874 with representatives of the art gallery and the ministry reveals the negotiations conducted by Panaiteanu and intellectuals holding public duties to secure a budget for the acquisition

³² After attending architecture courses at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (1841–1845) and studying at the Polytechnic Institute in the Austrian capital (1845–1848), Ștefan Emilian was a professor of mathematics and drawing at Andrei Șaguna High School in Brașov (1849–1851), the director of the School of Arts and Crafts in Iași (1859–1860), and a professor of mathematics at the University of Iași (1860–1862). He was the author of several civil, industrial, and religious architectural projects in Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, as well as of a manual on linear perspective; Pop, "Ștefan Emilian," 680–81; Ispir, "Ștefan Emilian și prezența," 37–38; Botoșineanu, "Filaret Scriban, Ioan Strat," 54. Information about the architect can be found in file 1/1859, fol. 88r–v. The Archive of the School of Fine Arts in Iași attests to his position as a professor at this institution. ANSJI-AAFI, file 2/1871, fol. 119.

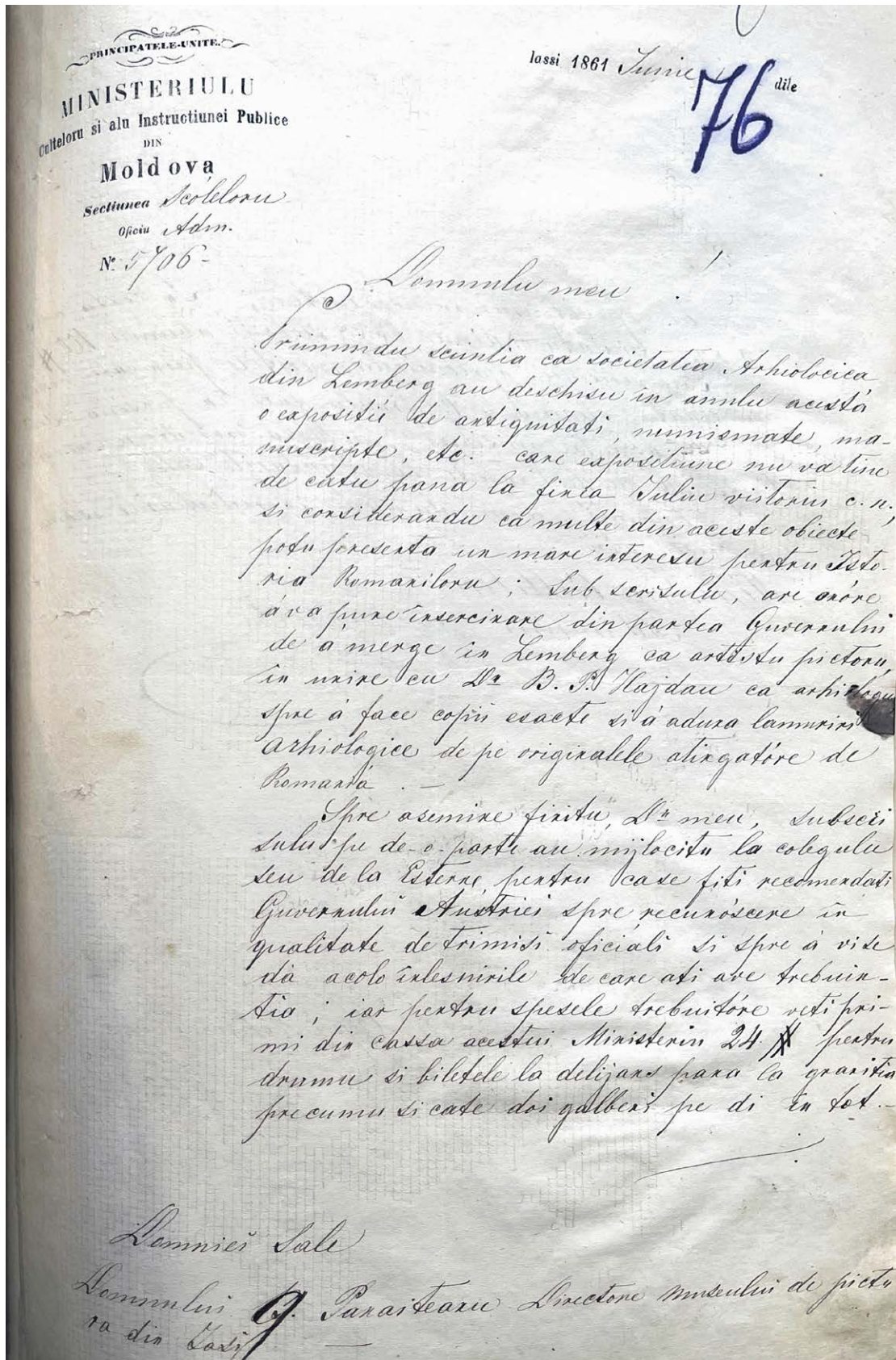
³³ The list of Ștefan Emilian's drawings includes the note that, in 1862, he was also the architect of the town of Turnu Măgurele; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 70.

³⁴ Request from 20 January 1861; see ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.1/1864, fol. 28.

³⁵ Rampley, "Introduction," 2.

³⁶ Costache Negri (1812–1876) was a Romanian writer, politician, and art collector. Educated in Italy and France and an art enthusiast, he collected paintings, some of which became part of the Iași Art Gallery. Among the Italian works made available to the gallery were *Venus, Mars, and Cupid* attributed to Veronese, *Venus Sitting* attributed to Giulio Romano, *Dying Women* attributed to Francesco Furini, *Grape Harvest* attributed to Leandro Bassano da Ponte, and *Landscape with Horseman* by Salvator Rosa. From the Flemish School, the collector offered *The Holy Family* ascribed to Anthonis Van Dyck, and *The Venison Smuggler* and *The Wine Counterfeiter* attributed to Jan Joseph Horemans the Elder. See Paradais, *Muzeul de artă*, 19–73.

³⁷ On the collection of Costache Negri, as reflected in his correspondence with Panaiteanu, see Atanasiu, "Colecția Costache Negri," 119–20.



5. Document informing Panaiteanu about his mission to the Archaeological Society in Lemberg, dated June 1861 (National Archives of Romania, Fine Arts Academy fond, County Service of the National Archives in Iași, file 1/1859, fol. 76)

of the works. At the collector's request, Şiller and Panaiteanu carried out a financial evaluation of each painting received. Although dissatisfied with the undervaluation of the works, Costache Negri ultimately decided to sell them for only half of their appraised value, on the condition that they not be transferred and that they remain permanently in the possession of the museum in Iaşi.³⁸

However, before Costache Negri's works entered the art gallery, thirty paintings donated by Costache Dasiade made their way to the museum. The friendship between the lawyer-cum-collector and Panaiteanu led him to make this donation as a contribution to the public good.³⁹ To Dasiade's paintings were added six sent by the ministry and thirteen from the Michael Academy (*Academia Mihăileană*), which were in a poor state of preservation.⁴⁰

On 26 October 1860, the guests attending the museum's official inauguration had the opportunity to admire 103 paintings displayed in the three gallery rooms of the university building.⁴¹ In his later notes, Panaiteanu mentioned that Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the ruler of the two united principalities (1859–1866), and other ministers took part in the opening ceremony.⁴² The attendance of Cuza highlighted the importance attributed to the new cultural institution and the mission it pledged to undertake in the public sphere. Its fundamental objectives were to cultivate citizens' aesthetic taste, to encourage artistic education, and, at the same time, to foster awareness of the shared history of the inhabitants of both Moldavia and Wallachia. Aiming to create bridges between past and present, the museum and its staff took on additional responsibilities. In 1861, Panaiteanu was sent to the exhibition of the Archaeological Society in Lviv (then Lemberg) to copy items important for the Romanians' history (fig. 5).⁴³ This activity was recorded among Panaiteanu's *extraordinary services* – a representative intellectual figure of the post-union period. It reveals the responsibility assumed by the first public museums to collect testimonies produced by the communities that had founded them and the role of the cultural sphere in disseminating values capable of “building the nation from within”.⁴⁴ As in other European cultures, the aims of nineteenth-century Romanian public institutions included fostering national sentiment and shaping the collective imagination. It is in the spirit of implementing this political and cultural project that one may interpret the authorities' request to the art gallery to explain the delay of the exhibition featuring the archaeological research at Lviv.⁴⁵ Displaying drawings based on objects of historical value for the Romanians – resulting

³⁸ Atanasiu, “Gheorghe Bardasare Panaiteanu,” 55; Atanasiu, “Colecția Costache Negri,” 120.

³⁹ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.2/1864, fol. 34. In the nineteenth century, the term *donation* covered a different semantic reality compared to its current meaning. The process included the sale of certain objects through negotiation, sometimes at prices lower than expert estimates, as was the case with Costache Negri. For information about collectors and donors, see Mihalache, *Contribuții la istoria*, in particular 151–56.

⁴⁰ According to Panaiteanu, they had to be immediately restored; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.2/1864, fol. 34.

⁴¹ A description of the arrangement of the collection in the building of the University of Iaşi in 1867 can be found in Negruzzi, “Galeria de tablouri,” 9. The author specified that, at that date, 122 paintings had entered the art gallery. In the inventory drawn up by Panaiteanu in 1865, 119 are indicated; ANSJI-AAFI, file 4/1865, fol. 4v.

⁴² ANSJI-AAFI, file 4/1865, fol. 4v.

⁴³ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 76; file 1/1866, fol. 146.

⁴⁴ Beck and Strunck, *Spaces for Shaping the Nations*, 14; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

⁴⁵ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, document dated 13 November 1861, fol. 81. The ministry requested justification for the expenses incurred in Lviv and, having received no reply in the autumn of 1861, it followed up with another request in February of the following year; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, document dated 21 February 1862, fol. 85.

from the journey undertaken by Panaiteanu and Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu⁴⁶ – would have provided citizens of the new state with an opportunity to establish a connection with their past and to become aware of its importance for the present.⁴⁷

Behind the scenes: The unseen life of the museum in its early years

The opening of the Iași Art Gallery in the autumn of 1860 led to a series of measures aimed at preserving the artworks and promoting the activity of the new institution. These measures also had an impact on the School of Fine Arts, which was opened adjacent to the gallery and was run by the same director.⁴⁸ On 1 November, Panaiteanu requested financial support from the ministry to frame seventy-five lithographs and to replace the worn frames of the others.⁴⁹ The carpenter that had carried out the work and was awaiting payment had to be paid for the replacement of the glass of thirteen paintings. Furniture was lacking, and therefore the state authorities were asked to contribute to fix the situation as soon as possible. Initially, the following items were requested: a large table with a drawer in which valuable objects (papers, documents, and seals) could be locked; a red or green tablecloth; two inkwells; a large notebook with blank pages in which gallery visitors could be registered; twelve round chairs upholstered in red or green, with backrests to provide comfort for those that came to see the paintings; and three spittoons (one for each gallery room). The request also included a piece of green textile material to cover the windows, which would have created a good light “to enhance the effect of the paintings”.⁵⁰ In addition to the aforementioned objects, other items were needed to begin, as soon as possible, two practical drawing courses, in which “Romanian youth passionate about art” were encouraged to enrol.⁵¹ Panaiteanu recommended that the furniture be made at the School of Arts and Crafts in Iași, whereas the teaching material – of good quality but not expensive – would be purchased abroad.⁵² A month later, on 10 December, a reply arrived from the ministry stating that, from the list submitted, only twelve three-legged chairs, six maulsticks, six stretchers, two inkwells, and three spittoons had been commissioned; the remaining items were

⁴⁶ Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu (1838–1907) was a Romanian intellectual known for his encyclopaedic scholarly pursuits. Born in southern Bessarabia, he lived in Iași between 1857 and 1863, where, starting in the autumn of 1859, he served as the librarian for the Library of the Moldavian Schools; see ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 7. Animated by the same desire to provide the Romanian state with strong cultural institutions, he put forward a proposal for establishing a national library; Ilin, “B. P. Hașdeu,” 357–62. In the summer of 1862, Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, recommended by Panaiteanu to the ministry, accompanied the Romanian painter to Lemberg in his capacity as an archaeologist. The recommendation and the preparation of the research internship the following year are found in ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, document dated June 1861, fol. 76.

⁴⁷ Sheehan, *Museums in the German*, 84.

⁴⁸ The School of Fine Arts in Iași opened at the end of 1860. Because the furniture had not been completed in time, classes began on 15 January 1861. The institution of art education functioned under the name *Școala de Arte Frumoase* until 9 December 1865, when the title *Școala de Belle Arte* began to be used. See ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1860, fol. 1 of the inventory.

⁴⁹ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 31v.

⁵⁰ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 31v.

⁵¹ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 30.

⁵² The list of necessary items sent by Panaiteanu included two-legged drawing tables, round three-legged chairs without backrests, easels, stretchers, wooden pedestals for plaster casts, charcoal, white, black, and coloured chalk, sponges, natural and white paper, pencils of all kinds, etc.; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 31.

left under the responsibility of the museum, which was required to record all expenses.⁵³ On 15 December, Panaiteanu wrote again to the supervising institution, informing it that he had decided to order the remaining items from the same School of Arts and Crafts, convinced of “the quality and solidity of the work done there” and “trusting in the promise given”; namely, that the pieces would be delivered within a week.⁵⁴ This collaboration would continue, as evidenced by the receipt dated 6 April 1862, signed by Ștefan Emilian, the former director of the institution. It listed the number, description, and costs of the furniture pieces produced and was sent to the ministry, through the museum, for reimbursement.⁵⁵

The efforts to organize and operate the art gallery in 1860 and 1861 continued in the following years. On 19 January 1861, a notice from the ministry announced that, after repeated auctions, no candidate had presented himself for the competition held to frame the lithographs, and, thus, the museum was tasked with resolving this issue as well.⁵⁶ In this context, Panaiteanu’s attempts to obtain a reduced price for the frames put him in touch with Wilhelm Wilke, a resident of Iași, originally from Hanover, as evidenced by director’s letter addressed to the ministry on 6 February 1861.⁵⁷

The estimated cost of the frames amounted to 21 *lei* and 20 *parale* per item, of which 9 *lei* and 20 *parale* were for the gilded frame and 12 *lei* for the glass, which the German carpenter promised to be “white and clear”. To demonstrate the quality of his work, Wilke agreed to make a sample piece and send it to the ministry. There it would have been decided whether the craftsmanship met the expected standards and whether it fit within the allocated budget. If so, a contract for the seventy-five pieces could have been signed.⁵⁸ As a “master carpenter in Iași”, Wilhelm Witke appears in other documents a few years later, such as one dated 17 September 1865. His name figures in the auction held by the museum, accompanying an offer to manufacture the pedestals needed for six busts and statues at the School of Fine Arts. For both commissions, in 1861 and 1865, Witke appears to have been in competition with another carpenter, Carl Klein.⁵⁹ The museum’s cooperation with German craftsmen, some of them settled in Moldavia, was not accidental. Archival documents consistently attest to it both in the years preceding and following the unification of Germany (1871).⁶⁰ The continuity of these professional relations can be explained, on the one hand, by Panaiteanu’s study and work experiences in Munich and Berlin. The years spent in these two cities became a source of inspiration for the decisions the Romanian painter made after his return to Iași, during his administrative and teaching career. Gratitude for the environment in which he himself had been trained encouraged him to consciously adopt the German model of artistic institutional life for his

⁵³ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 61.

⁵⁴ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 9v.

⁵⁵ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 88v.

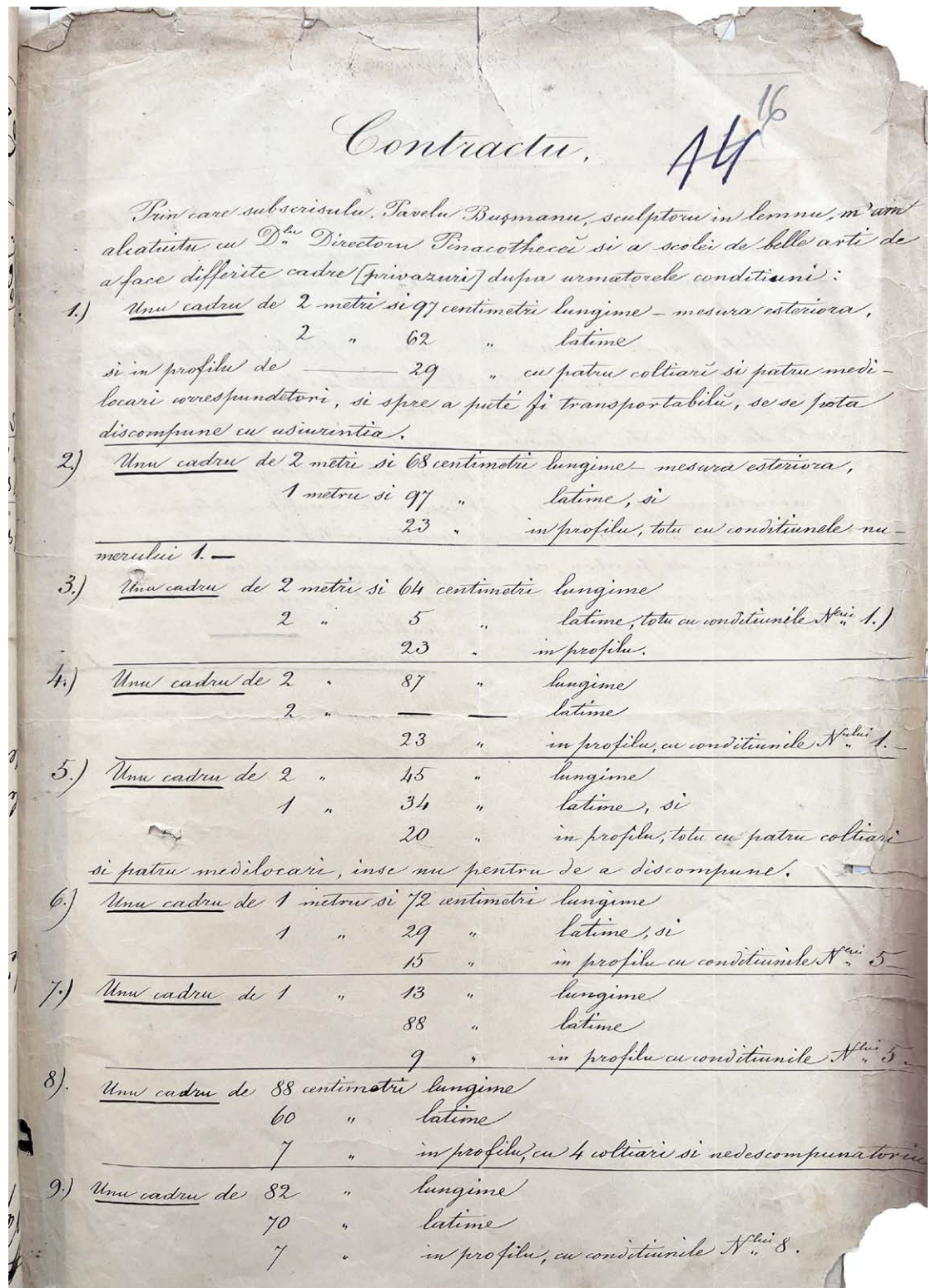
⁵⁶ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 65.

⁵⁷ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 66.

⁵⁸ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 66.

⁵⁹ See the copies of the receipt dated 14 July 1865, issued to Carl Klein, and Wilhelm Wilke’s receipt of 17 September 1865, as well as the letter from the director of the art gallery to the ministry; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.1/1864, fols. 12–12v and 24–24v. The names of the two also appear in the document on fol. 49–49v.

⁶⁰ Collaboration with German institutions and societies appears in several files of the Academy of Fine Arts in Iași. File 1/1860, fol. 10, contains a note added in 1892 by Panaiteanu regarding the purchase of eight plaster busts from the Royal Museum in Berlin in 1867. Mentions of professional relations with people of German origin can be found in file 1.1/1864, fols. 13–14, 48, 69, 70, 74, etc.



6.-7. Contract concluded in 1863 with Pavel Bușmanu concerning the frames of ten paintings, dated June 1863 (National Archives of Romania, Fine Arts Academy fond, County Service of the National Archives in Iași, file 1.1/1864, fols. 16-16v)

10.) Unu cadru de 42 centimetri lungime
 29 " latime
 6 " in profilu, cu condițiunile A^{lei} 8.

Toți acești cadri me îndătoresc a-i construi din lemn bun și uscat, și icoțari și medilocari a-i sculpta elegant, totu din lemn în stolu corespunzătoru la desennulu tablourilor, și auriti (poli) cu aur bun. —

Pentru aceste lucrări are a mi se plăti prețu alcătuitu de una sută cinciseci și șase galbeni zimți, și la depunerea garanției cerute în manile D^{nei} Panaitcanu, Directorele Pinacothecii școlare de belle arti, și tradarea acestui contractu, mi se va da avona 78#, și restulu de 78#, îndata după definitivă finirea a cadruilor, pe care me obligu a le construi întocma după specificarea de mai sus și pentru satisfacerea Domnului Directore, — și pentru ca voi fi următoru cu executarea condițiunilor arătate în totu și în totu, am întăritu acestu contractu cu propria mea iscălitura. —

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public mission.⁶¹ On the other hand, the connection of Romanian culture with the German world (including individuals, public institutions, commercial companies, and so on) reflected a tradition helped by commercial exchanges and educational journeys by the Romanian political elite during the early modern period.⁶²

Alongside the aforementioned commissions, documents from the National Archives indicate numerous collaborations for framing the lithographs and paintings of the art gallery. From the pages of a contract concluded in June 1863 with Pavel Bușmanu, one can see the conditions the craftsman promised to observe when creating the commissioned objects (figs. 6–7). The ten pieces were to be carved from good, well-dried wood, gilded with high-quality gold, elegantly profiled, and in harmony with the style of the paintings they were meant to frame.⁶³ Identifying the right individuals for each task – capable of contributing to the establishment of a solid institution, as Panaiteanu had seen abroad – remained a constant in his activity.

Parallel to the efforts to expand the museum's collection and to prepare the display of paintings and lithographs, the harsh winter that struck Iași in 1861 led to additional expenses. Melted snow from the roof seeped into the ceiling of the newly repaired building, causing dampness and, consequently, endangering the paintings. Panaiteanu feared that the situation might worsen – that at any moment the ceiling could collapse and the works would suffer damage. In addition to the destruction of artworks, the resulting harm would also include the suspension of classes at the School of Fine Arts, which, at that time, were being held in one of the museum's three rooms.⁶⁴ To reassure the authorities, the director specified that he had already taken the necessary measures, purchasing firewood with his own money, but that additional supplies would be needed to accelerate the drying process and prevent the ceiling from caving in (fig. 8).⁶⁵

Maintaining an optimal conservation environment for the objects in the collection constantly overlapped with academic life during the period when the museum was housed in the Calimachi Palace, where the courses of the University of Iași were held.⁶⁶ The interventions on the building carried out at the beginning of the 1860s also affected the art gallery. On 19 June 1863, a request from the prefecture of police in Iași demanded that the museum's three rooms be vacated so that repairs in that wing of the building could be completed. A few days later, Panaiteanu wrote to the police requesting that, in view of the relocation, the contractor responsible for the restoration speed up the process so that the painting museum could regain its halls as soon as possible.⁶⁷ These operations, undoubtedly necessary, created difficulties for the three employees, who found themselves having to cope with multiple duties and sometimes insufficient funds. The gallery's correspondence

⁶¹ In a short description concerning his professional activity, Panaiteanu mentioned the German source of inspiration for the School of Fine Arts in Iași. See ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.2/1864, fol. 34v.

⁶² A historiography of Romanian–German relations can be found in Docea, *Relații româno-germane*; Docea, *Străinii de-alături*.

⁶³ For each frame, the length, width, and profile are indicated; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.1/1864, fols. 16–16v.

⁶⁴ Letter from 6 February 1861; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 72.

⁶⁵ The message specifies that “three armfuls of firewood” were needed; ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 72.

⁶⁶ The Calimachi Palace served as the headquarters of the University of Iași between 1860 and 1897. The building, erected at the end of the eighteenth century, became a princely palace during the reign of Alexandru Calimachi (1795–1799). It was purchased by the state from Ruxandra Roznovanu in 1860. On the repair works carried out during the early years of the University of Iași, see Ivănescu, “Baza materială a Universității,” 245.

⁶⁷ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fols. 36–37.

Iași 1861 Februarie în 6 zile
 Conform comunicărilor mele vorbim
 înainte despre largirea și picarea Tinelor plaf
 nului cauzate prin tapirea metalului depe lăcă, adu
 la Hristu Onorab. (M. la adăogire și prin
 neglijabilă în pregătire înpregnându-se deja plafon
 de abia reparată la apă, produce în galerie murmur
 și umiditate, care este foarte jignitoare pentru Publican
 dar închi me cantându-se de vreme la sa se usce
 prin facerea focului pot să pică josu la totalu
 și să întrepunză în fine și să continue
 sceler de Desemna care să găsească totema în
 un odaie, ~~bagă dar pe Onorab. M. la să~~
~~doar~~ Spre liniștea On. M. amintesc
 și cu prevederea periculu se pot să se întâ
 ple amu încăldetă și în onorab. lenele mele
~~proprie~~ ce amu lămpurată pentru onorab. M.
 țigă, ~~no 8 zile~~ car. servitori de aici
 nu dau nici oblocatua de lemn.
 Bagă dar pe onorab. M. la să dea ordin
 de aslată. Câte 3. leatua de lemn pe di
 pentru încăldirea mai departe a celora tr
 odai întru ase usca plafonul și ase dep
 ta prin această umiditatea răspândită. —
 On

8. Letter about the additional supplies requested for the art gallery sent to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Instruction by Panaiteanu, dated 6 February 1861 (National Archives of Romania, Fine Arts Academy fond, County Service of the National Archives in Iași, file 1/1859, fol. 72)

shows that, at times, the efforts made in the early days of the art institution in Iași also involved personal financial contributions. Having to pay various bills, on 23 June 1862, the director asked the ministry to grant him 20 to 25 *lei* for “small expenses” that were routinely made at the museum and the school.⁶⁸ Payments from this supplementary budget, recorded in detail each quarter, would have helped cover those minor expenses for which individual reimbursement could not be asked. In the petition submitted to his superiors, Panaiteanu admitted that he had often been forced to dip into his salary to cover unexpected financial needs.⁶⁹

The same year, one week after the request from the police, Titu Maiorescu, then the director of the High School and Boarding School in Iași,⁷⁰ asked for three portraits to be sent by the museum: two of the former rulers of Moldavia and one of the reigning prince. The reason for this temporary loan of the paintings was the preparation of secondary school examinations, held annually at the end of June.⁷¹ The use of portraits of high-ranking state officials in rooms intended for teaching evaluation entailed a transfer of symbolic authority from object to space, legitimizing the pedagogical approach. Equally, the close collaboration between two institutions with a mission in education corresponded to an objective assumed by the new political leadership: encouraging access to public education, an important recommendation made by the report on the Romanian Principalities at the Paris Convention of 1858.⁷²

Conclusions

The inauguration of the Iași Art Gallery in the autumn of 1860 was an unprecedented cultural event: the founding of the first public art gallery in Romanian territory. Proposed by the painter Gheorghe Panaiteanu Bardasare and supported by several intellectuals of the time, the project was initiated at a favourable historical moment, shortly after the unification of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859. The unification of the Romanian Principalities, an event prepared both domestically and abroad in the decade following the Revolution of 1848, had laid the foundations for the establishment of the institutions necessary for a modern state. Culturally, this meant organizing secondary and higher education according to European models, but also founding institutions through which knowledge could be disseminated to the general public (libraries, museums, theatres, and the literary and artistic press). The objectives of the Romanian intellectual elite, mainly educated abroad, proved to coincide with those expressed in the public sphere of other cultures. After the French Revolution and other socio-political events in the first half of the nineteenth century in Europe, the idea of reconnecting

⁶⁸ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.1/1864, fol. 29.

⁶⁹ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1.1/1864, fol. 29.

⁷⁰ Titu Maiorescu (1840–1917) was one of the most important Romanian intellectuals of the second half of the nineteenth century. After studying philosophy in Gießen (1859) and literature, philosophy, and law in Paris (1861), he returned to the country and taught as a professor in Craiova. Together with other Romanian intellectuals, he founded the literary society *Junimea* (1863) and the journal *Convorbiri literare* (1867). He held the positions of director of the Central High School and Boarding School in Iași (1862–1863), rector of the University of Iași (18 September 1863–1867), and minister of public instruction (1874–1876, 1888–1889, 1890–1891), among others. On his election as rector of the University of Iași, see Botoșineanu, “Filaret Scriban, Ioan Strat,” 51–56.

⁷¹ ANSJI-AAFI, file 1/1859, fol. 38.

⁷² Drace-Francis, *The Making of Modern Romanian*, 146.

the present with the past became increasingly prominent. The public discourse of the institutions that were just taking shape in the Romanian Principalities was no exception. The use of history as a source of inspiration for artistic creation – a means of making the public aware of the value of what had once happened – was reflected in the inclusion in the collection of several historically themed objects, some of them older, others created by contemporary artists. Archival documents from 1860 to 1865 reflect the concern of the employees of the painting gallery in Iași, primarily its director, Gheorghe Panaiteanu Bardasare, to demonstrate to the fellow citizens the importance of collecting testimonies of the past. The shared life of the two institutions – the art gallery and the art school – unfolded from the beginning under the auspices of a dual mission: to cultivate an audience interested in history and art, and to train artists that would build sites of national memory. The idea of a common good extending to other social groups than the elites, as expressed in the discourse of nineteenth-century central European museums, is also present in the records of the painting gallery in Iași. This can be seen both in the efforts to identify and persuade collectors to donate works for the benefit of the local (Moldovan) and national (Romanian) communities, and in the behind-the-scenes activities required to operate and maintain such an institution – in all the efforts undertaken to collect, conserve, and display the works in its possession. To achieve this goal, all the strengths of the museum's employees and collaborators at that moment of historical transition were called upon: their studies in countries with strong artistic traditions and older heritage institutions than those existing in Romania, their experience as artists and restorers, their ability to persuade local and central administrative authorities, their ingenuity in identifying solutions to compensate for financial limitations, and even the use of personal funds. Despite the small number of objects collected by 1865, the beginnings of the Iași Art Gallery reflect, more than anything, the devotion to an ideal, the passion of its founders, and their belief in the transformative virtues of art – its power to shape and intellectually refine all those that allow themselves to be captivated by it.

The data underlying this article are available in the article and in its online supplementary material.

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Umetnostna galerija v Iașiju: Nastajanje romunskega javnega muzeja (1860–1865)

Povzetek

V študiji avtorica proučuje vlogo prve javne umetnostne galerije, ustanovljene v romunskih kneževinah, Pinakoteke v Iașiju. Galerija, ki je bila ustanovljena leta 1860, eno leto po združitvi Moldavije in Vlaške, je služila kot zgled poznejšim umetnostnim muzejem v Romuniji. Na podlagi dokumentov, ohranjenih v zbirki Šole (Akademije) lepih umetnosti v Državnem arhivu v Iașiju, analizira zgodovinski kontekst odprtja pinakoteke, akterje, vključene v razvoj in promocijo tega kulturnega projekta, ter strategije, uporabljene med letoma 1860 in 1865 za pridobivanje umetniških del in oblikovanje zbirke.

V prvem delu so raziskana prizadevanja Gheorgheja Panaiteanuja Bardasareja, romunskega slikarja, ki se je izobraževal v Münchnu in Berlinu, za ustanovitev pinakoteke v Iașiju. Projekt, ki ga je podpiralo več intelektualcev in politikov, je potekal v ugodnem političnem kontekstu: ob združitvi obeh romunskih kneževin in potrebi po ustanovitvi javnih institucij, sposobnih podpirati delovanje moderne države. Ustanovitev in organizacijo pinakoteke, ki predstavlja primer kulturnega prenosa, pri katerem so ideje in prakse prevzete iz ene kulture in prilagojene v drugi, so oblikovale nemške izkušnje in povezave njenega prvega direktorja Gheorgheja Panaiteanuja Bardasareja. Analiza korespondence z nadzorno ustanovo (Ministrstvom za javno šolstvo) in drugimi akterji v javni sferi

razkriva temeljne cilje in vzroke, zaradi katerih je bil muzej ustanovljen. Šlo je za neposreden odgovor na potrebo po javnem izobraževanju, krepitvi kolektivne solidarnosti in razvoju romunske narodne zavesti s pomočjo umetnosti. S temi cilji so bile usklajene taktike, ki so bile uporabljene za oblikovanje in promocijo umetnostne zbirke na lokalni in nacionalni ravni. V skladu z romantičnimi ideali 19. stoletja so romunske umetnike in zbiratelje spodbujali, naj svojo velikodušnost, predanost in zvestobo nacionalnim projektom izkažejo tako, da Pinakoteki v Iașiju podarijo dela, ki so jih ustvarili ali jih imeli v lasti. Posledično so med letoma 1860 in 1865 muzejske zbirke pridobile številna dela romunske in evropske umetnosti od 16. do 19. stoletja (slikarstvo, grafika in kiparstvo), tako izvirna kot kopije.

V drugem delu članka se avtorica osredotoča na prizadevanja direktorja in osebja pinakoteke za organizacijo ustanove. Analiza muzejske korespondence, ohranjene v Državnem arhivu v Iașiju, osvetljuje poskuse zagotovitve primernih prostorov za hrambo predmetov, prejetih od javnih ustanov in zasebnih zbirateljev, pa tudi prizadevanja za zagotovitev optimalnih razmer za razstavljanje umetniških del v korist širše javnosti. Tako v začetkih muzeja in njegovem poslanstvu odmeva tudi v diskurzu srednjeevropskih muzejev 19. stoletja izražena zamisel o skupnem dobrem, ki se ne omejuje le na elite, temveč zajema tudi druge družbene skupine.

Zdenko Sila and His Monument at Matić Poljana in Croatia

Emil Jurcan

Emil Jurcan, PhD, Institute of Art History, Ulica grada Vukovara 68, 10000 Zagreb,
ejurcan@ipu.hr, ORCID ID: 0009-0002-3137-4227

Abstract

Zdenko Sila and His Monument at Matić Poljana in Croatia

1.01 Original scientific article

This article examines the monument at Matić Poljana (the Matić Meadow) in Gorski Kotar, Croatia, designed by the architect Zdenko Sila and dedicated in 1969 as one of socialist Yugoslavia's most distinctive examples of memorial culture. Tracing Sila's formal development from early collaborations with Zdenko Kolacio through decades of work with raw, minimally worked stone, and situating it within the traditions of the Slovenian *znamenje*, a postwar self-built memorial practice theorized by Marjan Tepina and Edvard Ravnikar, and the broader European trajectory, this article argues that Sila's key contribution was the replacement of monumental centrality with a memorial flow. By setting the visitor in motion through a sequence of nearly identical objects, and by having the protected zone defined in 1976 as the full three kilometres of trail rather than the monument alone, Sila transformed walking itself into an act of commemoration, advancing the thesis that movement is the essential human act in the experience of space.

Key words: Zdenko Sila, People's Revolution Monument, Matić Poljana, menhir, Katica Brusić

Izvleček

Zdenko Sila in njegov spomenik na Matić poljani na Hrvaškem

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

V članku je obravnavan spomenik na Matić poljani (Matičev travnik) v Gorskem kotarju na Hrvaškem, ki ga je zasnoval arhitekt Zdenko Sila in je bil leta 1969 odkrit kot eden najizrazitejših primerov spominske kulture socialistične Jugoslavije. V članku je predstavljen Silov formalni razvoj od začetkov sodelovanja z Zdenkom Kolaciem do več desetletij trajajočega ustvarjanja s surovim, minimalno obdelanim kamnom. Njegovo delo avtor umešča v tradicijo slovenskega obpotebnega znamenja, povojno samograditeljsko spominsko prakso, ki sta jo teoretsko obravnavala Marjan Tepina in Edvard Ravnikar, in širše evropske razvojne tokove. Pri tem zagovarja tezo, da je bil Silov ključni prispevek nadomestitev monumentalnega osrednjega elementa s spominskim tokom. S tem, da je Sila obiskovalca spodbudil h gibanju v smeri skoraj identičnih zaporedno postavljenih objektov in da je zavarovano območje leta 1976 opredelil tako, da je poleg spomenika obsegalo celotne tri kilometre poti, ne le spomenika samega, je hojo samo spremenil v dejanje spominjanja in s tem uveljavil idejo, da je gibanje temeljna človeška aktivnost pri doživljanju prostora.

Ključne besede: Zdenko Sila, spomenik narodni revoluciji, Matić poljana, menhir, Katica Brusić

Introduction

According to the historian Heika Karge, the Fourth Congress of the League of Veterans of Yugoslavia in 1961 was a turning point after which care for the wartime generation and its losses shifted toward concern for future generations: for those that were to inherit and carry forward the achievements of the People's Revolution. As a result, "from the 1960s onward, the League of Veterans attempted to implement various measures directed primarily at younger generations, measures intended to transform the official contents of war memory into a truly collective – that is, cultural – memory."¹ Prompted by this paradigm shift just a year later, a group of mountaineers, in cooperation with the League of Veterans, held an event that was perhaps one of the most extreme examples of memory evocation in Yugoslavia: a memorial winter march approximately 30 kilometres long across Matić Poljana (the Matić Meadow) in Gorski Kotar, Croatia, staged in commemoration of members of the Partisans' 13th Primorje–Gorski Kotar Division that, on the stormy night of 19 February 1944, froze to death "in their own world of hallucinatory visions."² To inscribe this memory into the bodies of new generations as compellingly as possible, the event did not merely replicate the march along a demanding mountain trail. It also took place at the same time of year, in February, when Gorski Kotar lies under snow. Given the nature of this memorial culture event, only around twenty participants attended in the early years because the extreme march "took place in conditions of deep snow, low temperatures, and snowfall, when all participants are required to be in good physical condition, technically prepared, and equipped with adequate gear."³

However, this annual ritual of a group of mountaineers marching along a historic Partisan trail through the mountains soon gave rise to the idea of creating a monument along that route. Prompted by this initiative, Neda Andrić (1927–2010), the president of the assembly of the Rijeka district, brought the architect Zdenko (Zdeněk) Sila (1915–1997) to Matić Poljana in October 1966. Sila was the director of the Rijeka Urban Planning Institute, by then an already renowned creator of various monuments to the People's Revolution, and – no less importantly – a passionate mountaineer that had gained experience building in inaccessible mountain terrain as early as the beginning of the 1950s, when he designed mountain lodges on Snježnik and Platak above Rijeka, carrying the building materials up on his own shoulders together with members of the mountaineering society.⁴

"Matić Poljana was bathed in autumn sunlight and smelled of fir forest," Sila begins his diary entry of this encounter with the mountain.

¹ Karge, *Sećanje u kamenu*, 32.

² Brusić, "Matić poljana ledeni put." "Among the exhausted, starving, tired, and frozen fighters, hallucinations were a frequent occurrence. This unforeseen situation completely confused the weary fighters because they did not know how to apply the necessary treatment." This statement was recorded by Katica Brusić from a participant in the march, Slavko Pleše; see Državni arhiv u Rijeci (HR DARI), fond Katica Brusić HR-DARI-1300-5-6-5-13. For the organization of the event, see Židan, "Memorijalni skijaški pohod."

³ Škerl, "Tragom boraca II brigade."

⁴ Smokvina, "Dom na 1.111 metara." See also "Planinarski dom na Snježniku;" "Planinarski dom na Plaku." Zdeněk Sila was born in Prague in 1927 in the family of a Slovenian father and a Czech mother, with whom he moved to Maribor under the Nazi invasion, where he attended high school. He studied architecture in Ljubljana under Jože Plečnik, and in 1941 moved to Rijeka and began his long professional career. Then he changed his name to Zdenko, and after World War II he established himself in creating urban plans for the wider area of Rijeka, Istria, and the Kvarner Gulf. In 1990, he received the Vladimir Nazor award from the Croatian Ministry of Culture for his life's work.

A perfect silence reigned over the entire expanse of the pasture. We were accompanied by several comrades, former fighters and participants in the tragic event. The living survivors evoked the events on the very spot to such a degree that I was able to immerse myself in the movement of the column of exhausted and frozen fighters through ice and blizzard. In that moment I was confronted with the task of how to transform the vision of a column of fighters from the imagination into a lasting message expressed in matter. In the next instant, naive as a child, the idea came to me to turn the imagined column of fighters into a real column – a column composed of natural stones from the mountain, resembling the menhirs of the distant past.⁵

A year later, during the summer, Sila returned to Matić Poljana, this time with a group of forest rangers and workers from the local forestry service.⁶ There, on a clearing 1,033 metres above sea level, he arranged twenty-six people into a long column, adjusting their positions and the distances between them until he had achieved the desired spatial relationship between the elongated meadow on its gentle slope, the contour of the dense and impenetrable forest, and the open mountain sky. “Instead of producing the customary project documentation in the domain of landscape architecture, I approached the creation of the column in space directly, by placing living people into a real and lifelike column that we could plastically model and observe in actual space,”⁷ Sila wrote, describing this unusual event. Once the positioned human bodies had achieved the desired effect, each person carefully marked his or her position, whereupon at those spots they themselves erected previously selected unworked pieces of rock face brought to the clearing from Žilavi Dolci on Mount Bitoraj. Through this act, the imagined human column was petrified in space, and the result of this collective action was dedicated the following summer, on 27 July 1969, the Day of the People’s Uprising in Croatia. Thus Sila, together with his comrades from the Mrkopalj Forestry Service, completed his vision in which “the menhirs at Matić Poljana, united with the mountain, recognizable as an abstraction of human figures, wander forever through the murmurs of summer and through the silences of snow.”⁸

⁵ Sila, “Kako je stvoren spomenik.”

⁶ HR DARI, HR-DARI-1300-5-6-4-3. The engineer Stjepan Varga of the Mrkopalj Forestry Service described the location during a field inspection on 14 July 1976: “The area is typically karst in character, with many small sinkholes, largely filled with material from the surrounding mountains. The sinkholes frequently renew themselves or new ones form, into which rainwater drains. There has never been a watercourse, nor is there one today, despite the large catchment area. The geological substrate is sedimentary limestone. The pasture itself is covered by a shallower or deeper layer of sand, clay, and loam.”

⁷ Sila, “Kako je stvoren spomenik.”

⁸ Sila, “Kako je stvoren spomenik.” According to the same article, the first on-site meeting related to the placement of the monument took place on 8 October 1966; on 1 July 1967 the selection, extraction, and transport of the stone pieces, organized by the Mrkopalj Forestry Service, began; on 12 August 1967 the living column was staged in the pasture and the locations for the placement of the stones were marked; the actual placement took place from the end of September until 20 November 1968, when the monument was completed. Given the harsh mountain conditions, the dedication did not take place until the following summer.

Menhirs and wandering

The very elements of the composition – twenty-six stone verticals – are not, strictly speaking, menhirs. To express their morphological resemblance to human figures, Sila approached the resolution of form by assembling each one from two pieces of stone joined together by a metal rod, thereby achieving slender silhouettes standing between 2.0 and 2.3 m tall, with a base diameter of 80 to 100 cm tapering toward the top by 10 to 20 cm.⁹ He then placed the stone figures at unequal intervals along the meadow, creating a rhythmic line that traces a gentle curve almost 300 m long. In this way, raw and unworked stone matter detached from the mountain was used to produce an abstract geometric form that is unmistakably a human creation, “both the work of the blind force of nature and the fruit of the logic of thoughtful experience”,¹⁰ in the words of the art historian Vanda Ekl (1920–1993), who astutely observes that this monument has neither beginning nor end, its extension capable of continuing indefinitely. The conservator Katica Brusić (1934–2016) described the same operation some years later, while compiling documentation for the inscription of this site in the register of cultural monuments: “The stone elements are strung rhythmically along a gentle curve. We experience them as the slow trudge of frozen human figures. Their creator, Sila, succeeded with these verticals, which have merged into the Gorski Kotar landscape, in uniting man and nature.”¹¹ Through this multiplication of solitary stones into a rhythmic series, Sila created a singular monument that, as Luka Skansi observes, has no centre but “just a ‘memorial flow’: we experience the monument spatially through time, walking from stone to stone, discovering step by step the diversity of the single upright stones, their spatial relationships, and learning about invisible incidents through time (crossing a ditch, hiding behind a tree), until the column takes us out into the woods, where it disappears.”¹²

By placing a hypothetically infinite monument that has no centre but simply extends along the path into the memorial flow described above, the winter marches through Gorski Kotar gained not only a symbolic superstructure but also legitimization. Sila’s work at Matić Poljana was literally created as a monument to human walking – that primary act that anthropomorphized wild nature. It is therefore unsurprising that he made use of elements resembling menhirs, given that their very appearance was closely bound up with the primary actions of humankind. According to the interpretation of the architect Francesco Careri:

*[W]e can view the menhir as the first inorganic sculpture, a symbolic, non-mimetic form that carries inside it the home and the image of God, the column that was to give rise to architecture, and the statue that was to give rise to sculpture. But the menhir is also the first symbolic construction of the Earth’s surface that transforms the landscape from a natural to an artificial state. Therefore, the menhir contains architecture, sculpture, and landscape.*¹³

⁹ HR DARI, HR-DARI-1300-5-6-4-3. “The base of the stone plinth measures 110 cm, tapering toward the top to 1 m, with a height of 90 cm. Each individual marble slab is 140 cm wide.” Alongside the stone column, Sila placed at the very crossroads a three-sided stone prism made of marble slabs, set on a concrete base clad in unworked stone, on which texts are inscribed. In early autumn 1968, pupils at the primary school in Mrkopalj were assigned the task of writing a composition on the subject of the events, and from the works submitted the texts of Gordana Rupa and Jadranka Matković, two seventh-year pupils, and Dubravko Došen, a fifth-year pupil, were selected.

¹⁰ Ekl, “Memorijal dvadeset šest,” 30.

¹¹ HR DARI, HR-DARI-1300-5-6-5-13.

¹² Skansi, “Space, Magic and Remembrance,” 148.

¹³ Careri, *Walkscapes*, 134–36.



1. Bogdan Bogdanović:
Slobodište Memorial
Complex on Bagdala
Hill in Kruševac, Serbia,
1960–1965 (source: Bajić,
Jugoslavija, 202; photo:
Miodrag Đorđević)

One of the earliest examples of modern aptness in the application of menhirs in landscape design was the monumental ensemble by the sculptor Constantin Brâncuși (1878–1957) in Târgu Jiu in 1937, and in local contexts this expression is certainly most closely associated with the Belgrade architect Bogdan Bogdanović (1922–2010) and his monuments to the revolution in socialist Yugoslavia (fig. 1).¹⁴

Beyond its temporal ubiquity that reaches back to the Neolithic, the menhir was also well suited to establishing unifying relational bonds on account of its ambiguous, or rather multi-evocative, symbolic meaning. It could represent the human figure, as in the case of Sila's monument; it could mark the place where certain heroes had died; but it could equally be employed in the service of a fertility cult, of the Earth Goddess, or of the Sun God. Chthonic energy could likewise be attributed to it, just as it was used to mark the location of a source of fresh water or the boundaries of a given territory. To all of these interpretations, Careri adds a semantic one, in which the menhir takes on certain properties of a medium – more precisely, of a record:

This reference to writing can, in fact, explain at least three different uses of the monoliths: surfaces on which to inscribe symbolic figures, elements with which to write on the territory, and signals with which to describe the territory. The first interpretation of the term littera-das simply refers to the fact that on the main face of some of the stones different symbols

¹⁴ For a phenomenological reading of Bogdanović's monuments, see Shear, "Martin Heidegger."

are placed, as on the Egyptian obelisks. The second indicates that these stones were used to architecturally construct the landscape as a sort of geometry – seen in the etymological sense of “measurement of the earth” – with which to design abstract figures to oppose natural chaos: the point (the isolated menhir); the line (the rhythmical alignment of multiple stones); the surface (the cromlech, or the portion of space enclosed by menhirs placed in a circle). The third interpretation indicates that the stones, beyond geometry, also revealed the geography of the place, serving to describe its physical structure and its productive and/or mystical-religious utilization. In other words, they were signals placed along the major routes of crossing.¹⁵

Careri emphasizes precisely this last significance of menhirs – especially those arranged in a series, along the wandering paths of former Palaeolithic nomads – where they serve as waymarkers, indicating the direction of movement, the crossing of multiple routes, and as orientation points of a primary human geography. This interpretation, as shall be seen later, can also be applied to the example of the line of menhirs placed at Matić Poljana. However, before that, it is necessary to establish more precisely the formal path that Sila took in arriving at the menhir as an object.

Zdenko Kolacio's path to the menhirs

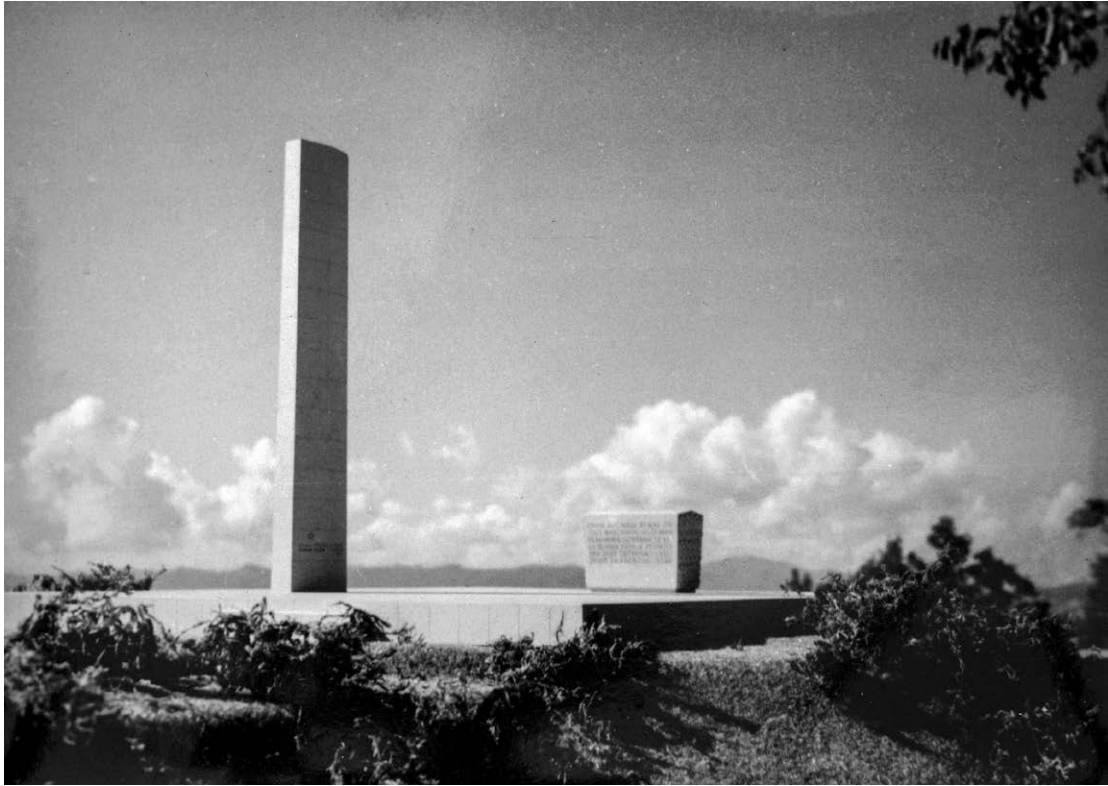
Sila made his first monuments to the People's Revolution in the early 1950s in collaboration with architect Zdenko Kolacio (1912–1987). Already in their first joint work – Vladimir Gortan's tomb below the village of Beram in Istria, built in 1953 – the feature of a geometrically rigid hexagonal obelisk clad in stone slabs is present, placed alongside a horizontal *stećak* (a medieval tombstone present in the central part of the former Yugoslavia) on a shared raised plinth (fig. 2). After the conclusion of their fruitful collaboration in the second half of the 1950s, Kolacio continued to engage with the question of memorial sculpture design far more intensively than his colleague Sila. Yet, in almost all of his later works, one can trace the formal echo of that first, shared Istrian piece, with its applied composition of a freestanding vertical and horizontal object in space. This compositional principle, according to the art historian Darko Venturini, is the one “with which Kolacio's first great and undeniable success in monument construction is associated – a success that (one could hardly doubt it) largely predestined and mapped out his path. From it, as from a compositional base, the majority of his other compositional routes branch out.”¹⁶ Although Venturini attributes this point of origin exclusively to Kolacio, omitting his co-author Sila, an analysis of Kolacio's subsequent monumental works makes it possible to more clearly perceive the similarities and differences that Sila developed in this area during his later phase.

The first significant work that Kolacio carried out independently in monument design was a memorial at the site of the founding Congress of the Communist Party of Croatia, built in 1959 in Anindol near Samobor. As with Vladimir Gortan's tomb, here the vertical and horizontal elements of the composition are placed on a shared shallow plinth but not as separate objects. Rather, they are tectonically joined as a cubic vertical pier supporting a horizontal rounded beam.¹⁷ A year later,

¹⁵ Careri, *Walkscapes*, 51–52.

¹⁶ Venturini, “Memorijalni opus arhitekta,” 41.

¹⁷ Kolacio, “Spomen blok u Samoboru.”



2. Photo of the model of Vladimir Gortan's tomb, sent in Sila's letter to Plečnik, 1952
(© Muzej in galerija mesta Ljubljane, Plečnikova zbirka)

Kolacio participated in the conception and creation of a series of monuments across Slavonia, when he was entrusted – together with the architect Grozdan Knežević (1928–2008) and the landscape architect Silvana Seissel (1912–2010) – with marking sites in Komletinci near Vinkovci, Vrbik near Vukovar, Soboština, and Kamenski Vučjak near Slavonska Požega. In addition, Kolacio was charged with designing monuments at the Bulgarian cemetery not far from Ilok and at cemeteries in Ilok and Šarengrad.¹⁸ This entire series of monuments was conceived in geometrically abstract terms, once again by means of vertical and horizontal stone elements that mutually explore the relationships of dynamic equilibrium and tectonic principles of division into load-bearing and supported parts. In Vrbik, Kolacio placed a freestanding obelisk with a raised horizontal block before it; at the Bulgarian cemetery, he placed a horizontal beam on a vertical pier; and at the cemetery in Šarengrad he created a tall pier carrying a broken horizontal architrave. Within this formal play, Kolacio repeated a minimalist, cold, and rigid object reduced to a sign. However, the purpose of these formal operations was precisely to shift the focus away from the monument itself toward the landscape in which it is positioned. Its height determines distance; the horizontal and vertical establish the coordinate system of the ground. The apparatus thus conceived appropriates the surrounding space, marks it, and directs viewers to participate in the experience of space in a collective sensory and kinetic engagement.

¹⁸ Kolacio, "Spomenici narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi."

Such an approach led Kolacio ever deeper into the exploration of spatial relationships in the environment, imagining monuments that erase the boundaries between architecture, sculpture, and landscape – three media that in the years to come were moving ever more rapidly toward a common synthesis. After completing the Slavonian monument series, in 1961, together with the architect Knežević, Kolacio installed a memorial in Zagreb's Vrapče neighbourhood, repeating the pattern of the horizontal on the vertical with the addition of a further separate vertical; and the following year he independently created a memorial in Ferdinandovac near Đurđevac, where the formal sequence of joined horizontal and vertical reached its culmination. As with all the monuments enumerated above, Kolacio here too took his departure from the environment. "The chosen site, surrounded by tall old trees, influenced both the dimensions and the conception of the monument. A massive stone base grows from the earth and supports an elongated block with an incised inscription."¹⁹ The element of the stone vertical growing directly from the earth had already been applied at Komletinci, which for Venturini represents a specific solution within Kolacio's oeuvre because it is realized by means of a single monolithic stone element that, contrary to expectation, is shaped in sharp and geometricized planes. "Among all the menhirs designed, that is the only one conceived as a smoothly dressed stone. Not by chance, of course, for in the broad Slavonian plain there was no other way. In the Slavonian mud, an undressed stone monolith rising from a completely flat surface would appear not only artificial and unnatural but also out of place. On the contrary, with its dressed planes, the monument is deliberately estranged from the landscape and appears as a decidedly artificial, geometrically condensed, and Euclidean form amid the indifference and near-amorphousness of that landscape."²⁰

While independently creating all the monuments enumerated above, Kolacio was simultaneously participating in the design of several significant works with the sculptor Kosta Angeli Radovani (1916–2002), who was himself at that time engaged in carrying out a series of formal operations by which he had gradually moved from the human figure to the shape of the menhir. Although Radovani and Kolacio were given the opportunity to build a joint synthesis in 1961 in Šibenik, their other collaborative works from that period were nonetheless never realized. Specifically, at the same time as Šubićevac Memorial Park in Šibenik was being constructed, Radovani and Kolacio participated in the competition for a monument to commemorate the establishment of workers' self-management at the Zenica ironworks, where they won first prize. Alongside a clear and comprehensive urban planning solution for the entrance to that largest Yugoslav factory, in the authors' own words the central sculpture was to be placed vertically in a shallow basin "like an upright palm before the eyes of those approaching."²¹ This monument was conceived as a concrete block seven metres wide, three metres thick, and nearly ten metres tall, cast in a single piece, into the front face of which ten reliefs produced in a stainless alloy would be impressed, bearing images from the life of the working collective. Although not designed in stone, for Venturini this concrete monolith with its metal reliefs represented a continuation of the exploration of the menhir theme, one that here "constitutes an abandonment of the geometric, strict, and Euclidean artificial expression and an acceptance of the

¹⁹ "Spomenik u Ferdinandovcu." That base reminded Nikolaus Pevsner "of the gift offered by the fingers of a hand;" see Pevsner, "Kolacio Memorials," 222.

²⁰ Venturini, "Memorijalni opus arhitekta," 40.

²¹ Radovani and Kolacio, "Spomenik u čast radničkog," 25.

opposing, organically conceived approach.”²² In other words, in the Zenica monument one can observe a formal withdrawal from the sphere of the geometrically abstract obelisk toward the organic qualities of Neolithic menhirs. A similar gesture was repeated in 1963 in their competition entry for a monument in Podgarić, consisting of an atrium enclosed by recessed walls, outside which stands a cubic vertical bearing a shaped relief and text, intertwined in such a way as to form an organic surface of the monument.

A step further in such treatment of mass was taken by Radovani and Kolacio in the same year, in their proposal for a vertical element in the monument to the victims of the Podhum massacre at Grobničko Polje above Rijeka, which the architect Igor Emili (1927–1987) had already begun to make earlier. According to his idea, two tall rounded walls were created at that location, assembled in the traditional manner of dry-stone walling, enclosing the site of the atrocity.²³ These two walls form a near-circular shape in the landscape of the field, but they do not meet. Instead, their offset creates narrow passages through which the monument is approached. Within this zone, one larger and one smaller field of orthogonal stone grave markers are arranged in a square grid. Although Emili designed his work as horizontal and absorbed into the broad expanse of Grobničko Polje, the need arose for the placement of a vertical element within the given complex, and so Kolacio and Radovani proposed the insertion of a spatial accent to be sculpturally shaped as a monumental menhir. Here the sculpture abandons any analogy both with geometric and architectural bodies and with figurative human ones, and passes into an autonomous reference to a freestanding stone mass in space – such as any piece of rock. The sculptural mass, in this phase of Radovani and Kolacio’s formal inquiry, became an artificial menhir.²⁴

Slovenian wayside shrines

Although Sila and Kolacio began their activity in the design of monuments to the People’s Revolution together, and they retained a certain shared sensibility toward the environment in their works thereafter, Sila’s path to the menhir differs in essential respects from that of Kolacio. Whereas Kolacio was engaged in the reduction of the formal elements of Vladimir Gortan’s tomb and their geometric rearrangement with the aim of achieving a minimal and singular sign of spatial presence, Sila set out from the same tomb along his own path of inquiry into the presence of the sheer materiality of a given spatial element – a theme inseparable from his Ljubljana education under Jože Plečnik (1872–1957) between 1934 and 1941. The Slovenian context, with which Sila remained connected throughout his entire life, offered an interesting phenomenon immediately after the end of the Second World War in the form of the large-scale erection of memorials at sites of specific wartime events, carried out by the protagonists themselves – former Partisans and local inhabitants. In the opinion of Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993), this phenomenon resulted in Slovenia having more monuments erected than probably all other parts of Yugoslavia combined. “This particularity undoubtedly stems from typical

²² Venturini, “Memorijalni opus arhitekta,” 40.

²³ Kolacio, “Spomen - groblje u Podhumu.”

²⁴ Pauletto and Maroević, *Kosta Angeli Radovani*, 76–77.

Slovenian conditions. Especially with regard to numbers, we must take into account the very broad response of the people to the organized impulse for their construction,”²⁵ Ravnikar stated.

Sculptors, architects, and visual artists were not in a position to produce such a quantity of memorials and were often not even consulted by local inhabitants, and so the architect Marjan Tepina (1913–2004), also a student of Plečnik and a school contemporary of Sila that had gained experience working with Le Corbusier and Ravnikar, decided to influence the shaping of monuments through a series of professional guidelines addressed to local communities, published in several articles in the Slovenian journal of the League of Veterans. Tepina thus advised builders to “find a strong rock in a beautiful natural setting that can itself become a monument after minimal working, perhaps even with nothing more than the carving of an inscription plaque.”²⁶ Such a monument should be made from a single piece of stone, worked as little as possible, and retained in a simple form; all the more important, then, to select as large a piece of rock as possible, one whose very appearance would give the impression of a monument. In addition to this self-build formula, Tepina offered the same advice with an eye to the difficult accessibility of the sites of the People’s Revolution, as well as to the harsh climatic conditions prevailing in those predominantly mountain locations:

*One must take into account that our natural stones – the semi-marbles and limestones most commonly used – do not weather our harsh climate well, and that small monument forms and their details are not durable, and sculptural works made from such stone even less so. / . . . / The durability of a monument is secured above all by a construction technique that uses individual pieces of material that are as large as possible. There is no doubt that a large monolith – that is, a single large standing stone – worked into a regular geometric form, in terms of durability as well as beauty and grandeur, and finally – which is often decisive – in terms of cost, is the most suitable and most accessible form of monument to the National Liberation Struggle.*²⁷

Although it is unknown how far Tepina’s advice influenced the erection of standing stones in the Slovenian mountains, or how many such markers exist in total, there are known examples of monuments by various architects that were inspired by such local practices, among which those of Marjan Šorli (1915–1975) stand out in particular (fig. 3).²⁸

In this mass phenomenon of the self-initiated erection of monuments across Slovenia, Ravnikar sought the possibility of establishing a genesis of formal development. “The first thing that came to our people’s minds was the wayside shrine (*znamenje*) – as a landscape marker that, in the broader region where Slovenians also live, had for centuries and millennia been the principal form of commemorating fateful events. Perhaps we are not far from the truth in thinking that this is a general regional archetype.”²⁹ The wayside shrine had in fact been used in his own monuments by Plečnik himself, and, according to the art historian Peter Krečič, the teacher transmitted this approach to his

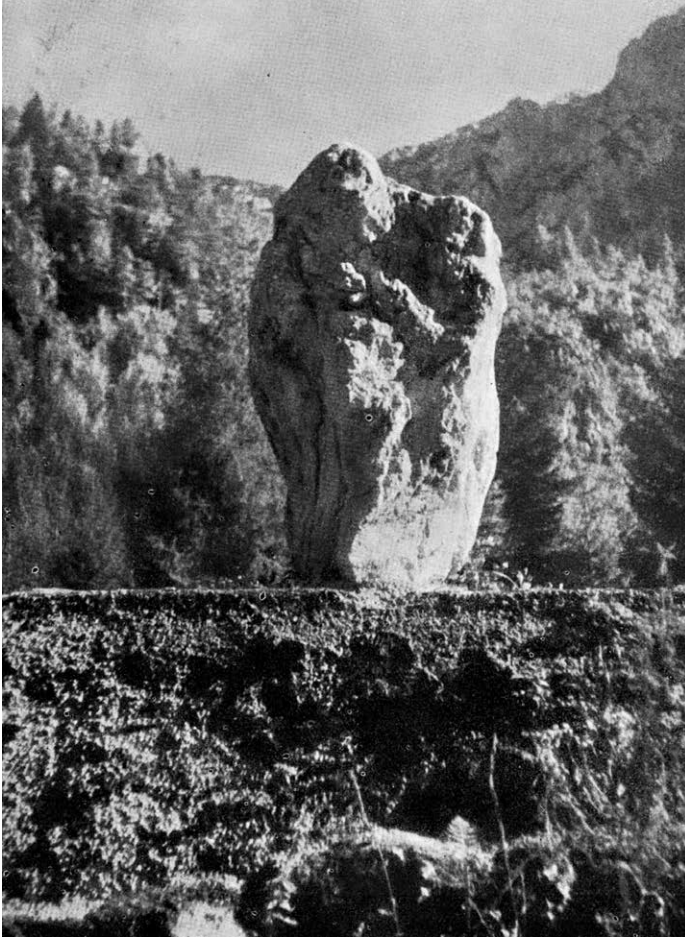
²⁵ Ravnikar, “Če se ozremo nazaj,” 31.

²⁶ Tepina, “O arhitekturi spomenikov,” 103.

²⁷ Tepina, “O trajnosti spomenikov,” 86.

²⁸ For Šorli’s monument below Storžič, see Šorli, “Spomeniki NOB na prizoriščih.”

²⁹ Ravnikar, “Če se ozremo nazaj,” 31.



3. Marjan Šorli: *The monument to the People's Liberation War below Mount Storžič, 1952* (source: *Arhitekt 16* (1955): 18).

students as well.³⁰ Although such traditional shrines across Slovenia differ in size, dimensions, form, stylistic character, and in the purpose for which they were erected, what they share in common – argues the art historian and conservator Marijan Zadnikar (1921–2005) – is an objecthood situated somewhere between architecture and sculpture, as well as their pronounced connectedness with the landscape in which they are placed. In his description, wayside shrines are “religious objects, standing freely in nature, picturesquely connected with groups of trees or with mountain landscapes, which may also stand in the middle of urban areas or at the centre of rural settlements. In their design they imitate architectural elements – aediculas or columns – and therefore do not enclose their own interior volume in the manner of an aedicula, but merely condense the exterior, infinite space around them, similarly to trees in a landscape or to public monuments, obelisks, triumphal arches, fountains, and so on in urban areas.”³¹ Among all the possible settings for wayside shrines described above, those that seem to Zadnikar the most interesting are the ones not bound to any particular urban or rural space but standing amid a natural landscape with which they achieve close connection. “In the middle of fields and meadows they stand as a reliable waymarker for the

³⁰ Krečić, *Spomeniki NOB Jožeta Plečnika*. For a more detailed analysis of Plečnik’s monuments, see Prelovšek, “Monuments by the Architect.” See also Hrausky, “Plečnik’s Monuments.”

³¹ Zadnikar, “Slovenska znamenja,” 39.

traveller, and in the middle of a forest they surprise the hiker where two paths fork and only one is the right one; elsewhere they follow mountain passes between two valleys or preserve the memory of abandoned trails that people today have avoided in choosing the flatter road. Very often, wayside shrines have chosen trees for their companions, especially when they stand in an isolated spot or on a dominant hill from which they offer a view of the surroundings.”³²

However, the art historian Christian Fuhrmeister argues that what Ravnikar imagines as a general regional archetype in fact has a very clearly identifiable point of origin in German war memorials of the nineteenth century, when glacial erratic boulders began to symbolize a heroic national past. At that time, the German national cult was being transferred into what Fuhrmeister calls the nationalization of material – that is, the naturalization of the political concept of the nation in the geological and natural characteristics of the land. “By the end of the First World War, the meaning of erratic boulders was firmly established. They had become a standard element in the national-conservative cult of the dead and were understood as signs of Germanic tradition, of German pride. Their use for war memorials signified war as a *natural* catastrophe.”³³ This approach, according to Fuhrmeister, was further radicalized after the First World War during the National Socialist terror, when the boulders were interpreted as relics of a high culture that allegedly proved the early superiority of the German race. In the 1930s, this approach led to the phenomenon of the *Findlingsseuche* – the “boulder plague” – when the Third Reich was inundated with war memorials making use of glacial rock.³⁴ Yet, despite this, what Fuhrmeister finds interesting about the use of standing stones for memorial and artistic purposes is that it did not cease with the defeat of Nazism but continued after the Second World War as well.

*Since the 1950s, erratic boulders have been employed for monuments of virtually all kinds, dedicated to the memory of individuals and groups. / . . . / As a result of this strange inflation, the relationship between the material and the message – the signifier and the signified – rarely manifests the closeness that governed the use of boulders in the public sphere before 1945.*³⁵

Fuhrmeister thus draws attention to the sculptor Bernhardt Bylandt-Rheydt (1905–1998), who likewise connects the use of monoliths in his work to prehistoric times, but also to the contemporary sculpture of biomorphic abstraction by Hans Arp, Barbara Hepworth, Henry Moore, and others. One might add here the Austrian sculptor Karl Prantl (1923–2010), initiator of the international sculpture symposium in the Burgenland quarry of Sankt Margarethen in 1959, whose aim was to bring together sculptors from western and eastern Europe in the era of Cold War division. This initiative attracted the Slovenian sculptor Janez Lenassi (1927–2008), as did Jakob Savinšek (1922–1961) a year later, prompting them in 1961 to launch a similar symposium in Seča near Portorož for sculpture

³² Zadnikar, “Znamenja – spomeniki,” 7.

³³ Fuhrmeister, “The Advantages of Abstract Art,” 114.

³⁴ According to the design of the landscape architect Wilhelm Hübotter (1895–1976), in 1934 some 4,500 monoliths were collected at Verden near Bremen to commemorate 4,500 Saxons that had supposedly been beheaded by Charlemagne because they had refused to convert to Christianity. In Hösseringen, two years later, an arrangement of menhirs similar to that of Carnac was installed for use in newly established “celebrations of the summer and winter solstice in the tradition of blood and soil.” See Fuhrmeister, “The Advantages of Abstract Art,” 114–16.

³⁵ Fuhrmeister, “The Advantages of Abstract Art,” 110.

in stone, and in Kostanjevica na Krki for ones in wood, under the name *Forma Viva*.³⁶ Thus the reworked types of nationalized matter gradually crossed the Alps – first through local self-initiative, then through the progressive and popular activity of Slovenian architects, and then through the international activity of sculptors – eventually reaching the Kvarner Gulf in the work of Sila.

Zdenko Sila's monuments

The use of found and unworked stone matter was not foreign to Sila from the very beginning of his creative activity. As early as the early 1950s he placed a piece of raw rock in Pula that he used for a fountain in a park designed in collaboration with Kolacio.³⁷ However, returning to their first monumental work – Vladimir Gortan's tomb below Beram – it can be seen how, unlike Kolacio, who continued from that experience to move in geometric compositions of materially homogeneous signs, Sila chose a different path. Although both were responsible for conceiving the abstract composition of this monument, Sila was far more involved in the actual construction of the work, in which the three geometric elements mentioned above were carefully created such that each element is made from stone of a different origin and with a different finish – from the broken elements of the horizontal plinth, through the hand-tooled slabs of the obelisk, to the smoothly polished surfaces of the monolithic *stećak*.³⁸

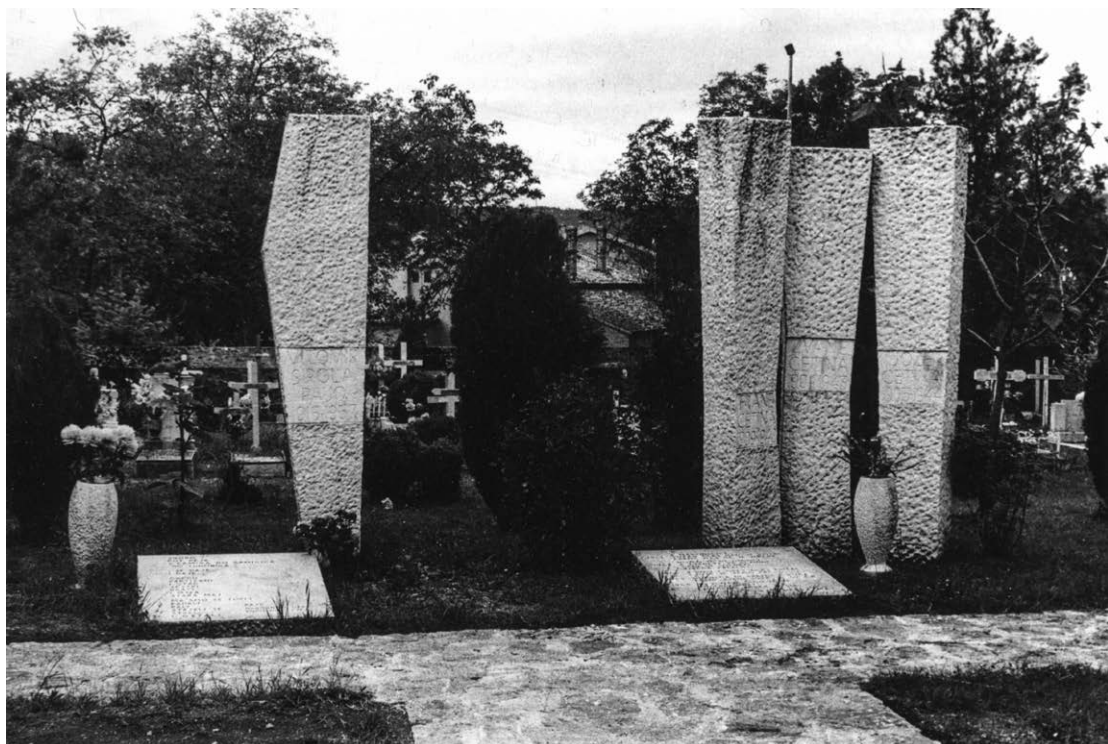
Sila retained this relationship to the tactile effect of the monument and further developed it in his independent works, in a manner similar to his Slovenian colleagues. Thus in 1954 he erected a monument in Orehovica near Rijeka using two minimally worked massive stone slabs pressed close together. The slabs are likewise placed on a raised plinth, as in Vladimir Gortan's tomb; their visible faces are minimally finished by grinding, and the lateral edges are roughly broken. A year later, on Mount Platak, beside the mountain lodge he had previously designed, he assembled a monument from five roughly hewn stone blocks arranged in an asymmetric vertical. The same treatment was applied in the wall at the cemetery in Bakar in 1957, where a memorial plaque was placed to the victims of the sunken ship *Ljubljana*. Unlike the monument on Mount Platak, which develops vertically, here the rough tectonics are emphasized by a horizontal composition of projecting rectangular stone blocks – a formal detail that Kolacio and Kosta Angeli Radovani repeated and accentuated in Šubićevac Memorial Park in Šibenik five years later.

However, beyond the refined sensibility for texture through which matter speaks in his monumental works, Sila also frequently returned in his pieces to the composition of Vladimir Gortan's tomb, repeating its structure of three autonomous elements. Thus, at Viškovo Cemetery in 1959 he placed three roughly hewn vertical stone monoliths for the graves of the Cetina brothers, along with a further one for the grave of Vitomir Širola (nom de guerre Pajo; fig. 4). Each vertical is individualized by its own geometric form, while simultaneously unified into a spatial composition by a shared material and texture. A year earlier, at Banderovo in Rijeka, he had placed three inverted trapezoidal stone slabs that he had not even roughly worked but retained with the sawn surfaces

³⁶ See Čopič, "Forma viva." For a contemporary approach to the topic, see Ciglencečki, "Forma viva Maribor."

³⁷ Arhiv Odsjeka graditeljskog nasljeđa Pula (GNP), folder 7: Zdenko Sila; Zdenko Kolacio, Design for a Park between Yugoslav Army Street and A. Gramsci Street in Pula, Scale 1:200, 1950.

³⁸ Jurcan, "Spomenik Vladimirju Gortanu."



4. Graves of Vitomir Širola and the Cetina brothers at Viškovo Cemetery. (HR-DARI 1300-5-6-8-7-48-1; photo: Vinko Malinarić, 1972)



5. Monument at Tićan in Istria (personal archive of Danilo Vadanjel; photo: Danilo Vadanjel, 1966)



6. Model of the monument on the island of Ist (source: *Arhitektura* 19, no. 155 (1975): 11)

as they came from the quarry, leaning them together only at their upper points to form a porous inverted pyramid. Here Sila had already approached the aesthetics of the ready-made object, further reducing the degree of working applied to the stone surface.

Through the multiplication of elements in composition, Sila explored their interrelationship – the space between objects that on one hand creates a defined open space, and on the other encourages visitors to move through and interact with the artefact itself. A further step forward in this approach was taken in 1965 in Istria near the village of Tićan, where he placed seven monolithic stone blocks at a crossroads – also roughly hewn, as at Platak and Viškovo Cemetery – into which he carved his familiar images of peasant tools, just as at Vladimir Gortan's tomb (fig. 5). This monument too is conceived without a centre, in a free disposition of vertical elements in space, through whose arrangement the composition inevitably changes with movement, and the relationships between elements shift depending on one's position. "When we look at the monument from a distance, we see that the seven standing blocks are perfectly arranged (as a collective, in a kind of almost military formation, facing the Nazis). However, as we approach them, we realize that they are far from being geometrically disposed: walking toward them, they begin to move, to change their mutual relationship,"³⁹ as Luka Skansi describes the experience, concluding that it is precisely movement that determines the different levels of memory the monument evokes – from the general and abstract at a distance to the intimate and concrete up close; in other words, from the optical level of perception to the haptic one.

³⁹ Skansi, "Space, Magic and Remembrance," 153. The same principle was applied by Sila in his competition entry for the monument on the island of Ist (fig. 6). See Kolacio, "O prostora, spomenicima," 11.

It is certainly impossible to approach the theme of movement and interaction with the space of a monument without reference to the memorial cemeteries of Ravnikar – the originator of the idea of urban monuments in Yugoslavia – for whose project in the village of Kampo on the island of Rab William J. R. Curtis asserted that “movement is central to the concept and the project is masterly in the way that it draws the visitor from one point to the next, establishing an ever-changing dialogue between natural and artificial worlds.”⁴⁰ Skansi therefore rightly connects the work of Sila with that of Ravnikar, and in particular with Draga Cemetery, completed in 1953. Beyond their shared formation within the Ljubljana milieu, as well as their personal acquaintance, Ravnikar and Sila shared a special sensibility toward the natural environment, its organicism, and capacity for growth and development. Yet one essential difference between Ravnikar’s memorial cemeteries and Sila’s monuments is that the cemetery is a finite landscape with clear boundaries – so that, in both the Kampo and Draga examples, the walls that delimit the space and control movement within it are a compositional element equally important as the objects within the field that stimulate movement. Sila, in contrast, operated in mountains and open, potentially limitless landscapes, without artificial boundaries. Within these circumstances, the placement of a group of homogeneous elements in a found space approaches the experience of landscape park design – or even the shaping of larger territorial expanses – which Sila was most deeply devoted to in his work.⁴¹

After his first works, in which he planned and created urban parks in Rijeka and Pula together with Kolacio as one of the strategies for the immediate humanization and rehabilitation of cities devastated by war, in 1955 Sila was one of the initiators and founders of the Horticultural Association of Croatia, and two years earlier he had participated in the so-called horticultural excursion along the eastern Adriatic, from Pula to Ulcinj – the first of its kind in Yugoslavia – where he observed the inexhaustible possibilities offered by the nature of the Mediterranean belt, both in terms of the application of indigenous plants for new plantings and in terms of the design of new parks. Sila’s desire was to replace existing horticultural park solutions with ones that drew inspiration from such non-artificial plantings “shaped by nature through the grouping of healthy, freely developed trees, their undergrowth and shrubs, or created by a skilful human hand as close to nature as possible”.⁴² The theme of vital and free growth and development of landscape spaces as natural as possible was the core of his approach to landscape design both in the functional sense of more practical greenery maintenance and in the symbolic sense of imagining human existence under socialism. The green surfaces in his parks thus became progressively less bounded. He removed fences, hedges, flower beds, and even kerbs, as well as geometricized tree avenues, while grouping new tree plantings in free non-orthogonal compositions.⁴³

The space of the monument near Tićan was shaped in a similar manner. The stone monoliths are placed like trees, freely grouped, and the absence of any base or plinth suggests these rocks are growing directly from the soil. Although their mutual relationship does indeed encourage visitor movement, no specific path is laid out along which visitors are meant to move, nor is the space itself bounded by any clear perimeter. The site of the monument is part of a broader landscape where

⁴⁰ Curtis, “Abstraction and Representation,” 23.

⁴¹ Petar Matković mentions “over eighty-seven architectural-urbanistic and garden-design works” by Sila. See Matković, *Parkovi i nasadi u Rijeci*, 26.

⁴² Sila, “Suvremeni način obrađivanja.”

⁴³ For some examples, see Kolacio and Sila, “Novi parkovi u Rijeci.”

meadows and arable fields alternate with groups of oak groves, forming a continuous and uninterrupted space. The group of cubic menhirs is placed within it just as Sila grouped his saplings of holm oak – his favourite species to use – healthy and free, in his own words. He experienced both trees and menhirs animistically, as personifications of equally free human figures.

The human path as cultural artefact

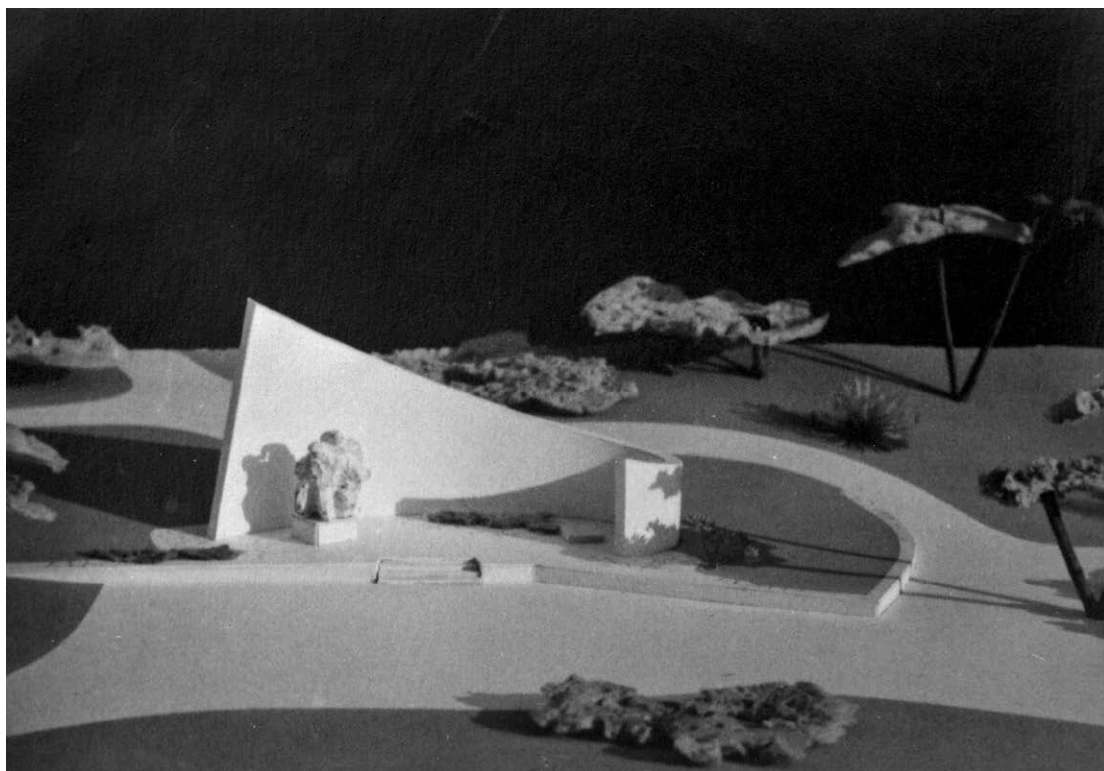
Ravnikar began his genealogy of the development of monuments to the People's Revolution with the first freestanding memorials placed at naturally prominent sites. The next step in his account was the placement of memorials in designed landscape settings, followed by a more complex plastic intervention extending into the natural environment, with the culmination reached in a monumental project as an integral part of the landscape.⁴⁴ The architect Sila moves along this path, all the way to the culmination of his own synthesis in the monument at Matić Poljana (fig. 7). It is here that – intuitively, as he himself claims – the rational mind of the regional planner that understands the broader geographic territory was united with the sensibility of an experienced landscape architect; an expert command of the material qualities of stone structures with the wandering spirit of a mountaineer.

The minimal gesture of twenty-six two-metre verticals in a clearing more than three kilometres long, bounded by mountain peaks several hundred metres high, could not have achieved its effect without an impressive reading of the existing givens and context: both the natural and spatial, and the cultural and historical. Sila carried out this reading with great precision and in layers. At the



7. Monument at Matić Poljana in snow (Arhiv fotokluba Rijeka; photo: Zdenko Sila, 1974)

⁴⁴ Ravnikar, "Če se ozremo nazaj," 33. For the specific relationship between People's Revolution monuments and the landscape in Slovenia, see Šumi, *Pogledi na slovensko umetnost*, 177–83.



8. Photo of the model of the memorial ossuary at Trsat, sent in Sila's letter to Plečnik, 1952
(© Muzej in galerija mesta Ljubljane, Plečnikova zbirka)

first level, the landscape itself was read – its natural boundaries, contours, directions of extension, enclosure, and opening. Thus the mountain pasture was experienced as extending east to west across the aforementioned length of three kilometres, bounded to the north by the beech forest of the Samari Ridge and to the south by Maj Peak (Maj vrh) with its forest of fir and spruce. This linear space gradually widens from east to west, up to the point where the path forks toward Mrkopalj and the village of Begovo Razdolje, where the width reaches 300 m. Further to the west, beyond this junction, the meadow narrows again, this time abruptly and over a short distance. Reflecting on this disposition, Sila decided to place the menhirs precisely in the section where the clearing is widest, but not at its centre – rather closer to the northern Samari rocks, so that the verticals would be visible from as great a distance as possible.

However, beyond its spatial and visual composition, this location is also distinctive for the most powerful blasts of the bora wind, which proved fatal on that night in 1944, when “a strong north wind was blowing with snow and finished off those exhausted fighters completely.”⁴⁵ Placing the monument in such a location was not merely the straightforward marking of the site where the event took place. The intention behind this decision was to affect visitors to Matić Poljana by making use of the specific climatic conditions to create a feeling of exposure and discomfort that might conjure up the event itself. This reading of the topographic and climatic situation and its use to create a specific human experience is a hallmark of Sila's creative work from the very beginning of his career, both

⁴⁵ HR DARI, HR-DARI-1300-5-6-4-3.



9. Photo of the monument at Matić Poljana with double exposure (Arhiv fotokluba Rijeka; photo: Zdenko Sila, 1974)

in the design of monuments and in the practice of landscape architecture. Just as in his earlier work – the memorial ossuary at Trsat in Rijeka, designed together with Kolacio in 1957 (fig. 8), where he had placed a tall stone wall to shelter visitors from the onrush of wind, creating a place of gathering by means of a windbreak – here at Matić Poljana he consciously exposed passers-by to the buffeting of the wind to make them aware of the danger and inhospitality of the mountain terrain.

Beyond the topographic, landscape, and climatic reading of the site, Sila also applied a geological one to the project, understanding the importance of stone in shaping the mountain environment. The menhirs were therefore obtained on the spot, from the mountain itself. “The idea and conception of this memorial is simple, wrested from the mountain – that immense, primordial source of form,”⁴⁶ wrote Vanda Ekl, recognizing the explicit reading of a matter as part of a larger human environment in shaping the monument at Matić Poljana. For such an experience of belonging to something far greater than ourselves to be as powerful as possible, it was necessary to intervene as little as possible in the stone found at the site. Thus, Sila completed his decades-long search for a degree-zero of form-making – the search for a skilful human hand that, in his own words, shapes as close to nature as possible.

However, it was the next layer of reading – the cultural and social one – that completed the synthesis of this memorial landscape. At the outset it was described how the erection of the monument was preceded by memorial marches along a thirty-kilometre trail through Gorski Kotar, of which Matić Poljana was only a tenth. Sila was aware of the fact that memorial practices preceded the

⁴⁶ Ekl, “Memorijal dvadeset šest,” 30.

memorial itself, and he not only respected this order of things but imagined a spatial composition that would further underscore it. The monument was therefore placed along the path, in a column that can potentially extend indefinitely – just as Sila himself evoked this in his multiple-exposure photo of the monument at Matić Poljana, in which the verticals of the menhirs multiply along the entire length of the meadow (fig. 9). This intervention is therefore equally a monument to the handful of enthusiasts that once a year traversed this icy trail as it is to the original event of the People's Revolution. The monument at Matić Poljana is a monument to human walking – vertical, upright, and free.

Such was the thinking of the art historian and Rijeka conservator Katica Brusić, who, seven years after the dedication of Sila's menhirs, initiated the procedure for adding Matić Poljana to the register of cultural monuments. During a site visit in the summer of 1976, Brusić walked and documented the entire trail that the Partisans had moved along from Drežnica to Mrkopalj, accompanied by a group of conservators, foresters, geographers, and photographers:⁴⁷

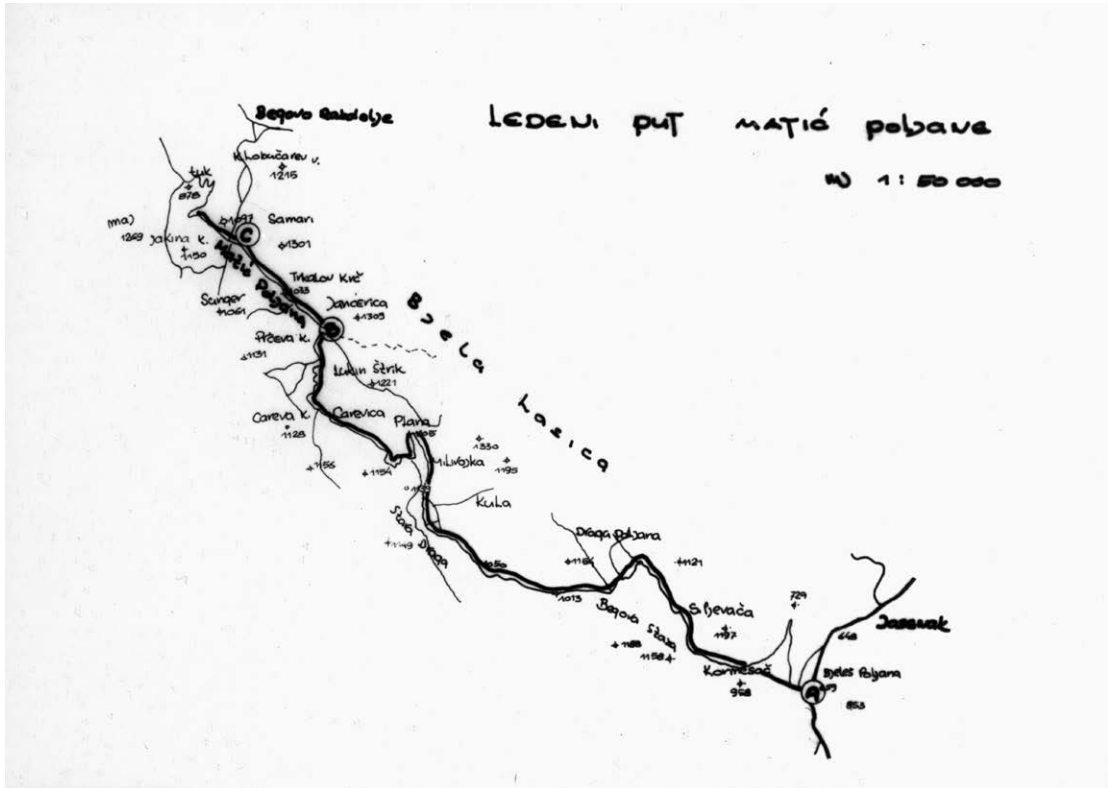
*When presenting the events that took place at Matić Poljana, the sites along the walking trail from Drežnica to Jasenak, and then from Jasenak to Mrkopalj via Matić Poljana, must be presented. On the trail from Jasenak to Matić Poljana, as the fighters were hungry, tired, and exhausted from the cold, the drama gradually unfolded, reaching its culmination when the completely exhausted fighters arrived at Matić Poljana, where the cold north wind with snow finished them off.*⁴⁸

The document thus proposes the marking and protection of the entire thirty-kilometre route along which ten significant locations were identified, three of which lie on the section of the trail passing through Matić Poljana (fig. 10). Nonetheless, after a detailed analysis of the complete trail, it was decided that the proposal for addition to the register of cultural monuments should cover neither the full thirty kilometres nor the three hundred metres of the section with the menhirs, but rather the three-kilometre stretch of path running along the entire length of Matić Poljana (fig. 11). This memorial flow – initiated by the rituals of the winter marches and amplified by the placement of Sila's monument – was added to the register of cultural monuments on 2 December 1976.⁴⁹

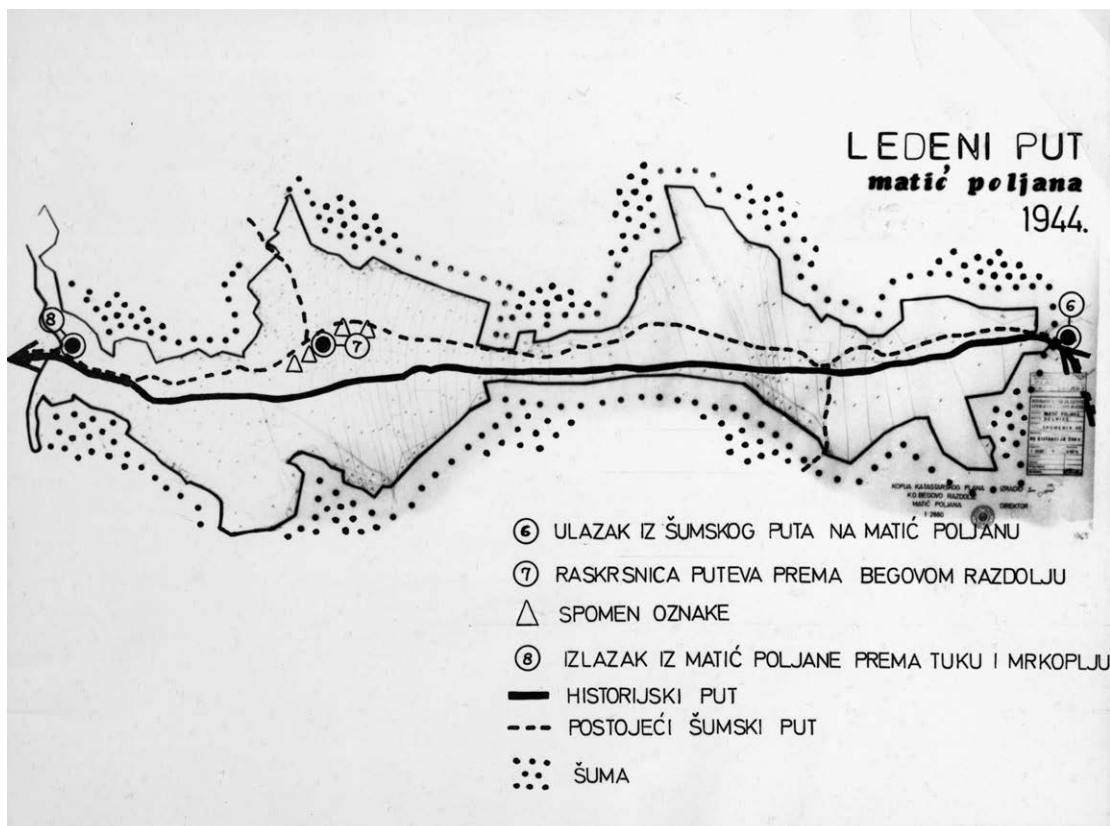
⁴⁷ Alongside Katica Brusić, the terrain from Jasenak to Mrkopalj was surveyed on 14 July 1976 by Slavko Pleše, the topographer Simo Vujović, the secretary of the Delnice municipal war veterans' organization Ivan Majnarić, the photographer Joža Mažić, the Mrkopalj Forestry Service warden Slavko Vujnović, the driver Nikola Damjanić, and the engineer Stjepan Varga from the Mrkopalj Forestry Service, "who together with comrade Simo Vujović identified the meadow zone on the cadastral map and described the configuration of the terrain of Matić Poljana." HR DARI, HR-DARI-1300-5-6-4-3.

⁴⁸ HR DARI, HR-DARI-1300-5-6-4-3. Several years later, Katica Brusić further extended the idea of marking this path from three to five stages, bringing the total length of the route to 60 km: "From Škalić to Drežnica, from Drežnica to Bjeleš Poljana, location 1 where the road junction for Drežnica, Jasenak, and Mrkopalj is situated, then from Bjeleš Poljana to the entrance of Matić Poljana, where the 'ice path' passed beneath the mountain area of Bjelolasica with marked locations 1 to 6, followed by the Matić Poljana area itself with marked locations 6, 7, and 8, and from Matić Poljana to the villages of Tuk and Mrkopalj. During the preparation of the conservation documentation for justifying the registration of Matić Poljana, which was declared a cultural monument, the stretch of the 'path' from Bjeleš Poljana to the end of Matić Poljana was recorded, and at the most significant landscape situations the configuration of the terrain with plant communities was described;" HR DARI, HR-DARI-1300-5-6-5-13.

⁴⁹ HR DARI, HR-DARI-1300-5-6-4-3.



10. Ice Path map by Katica Brusić, 1976 (HR-DARI 1300-5-6-4-3-18-1)



11. Matić Poljana map by Katica Brusić, 1976 (HR-DARI 1300-5-6-4-3-18-2)

12. Illustration for the memorial ski tour In the Footsteps of the 26 Frozen Partisans, Jasenak-Tuk, 1970 (source: *Naše planine* 5-6 (1970): 177)



13. Monument at Matić Poljana (cover of the magazine *Arhitektura* 19, no. 155 (1975)).



With the proclamation of the path as a cultural artefact, it gained further popularity, and by the late 1970s the number of visitors to the memorial marches through Gorski Kotar had grown to several hundred (fig. 12). This sequence of events developed the thesis of the aforementioned memorial flow – a trail created by the physical act of human walking that had acquired the status of a cultural monument primarily on account of its historical significance, but also thanks to its artistic interpretation in Sila's work (fig. 13). Human walking thus, as in the first activity of nomadic wandering, gave rise to the need for the symbolic construction of the landscape by means of paths. "The only architecture in the Palaeolithic world was the path, the first anthropic sign capable of imposing an artificial order on the territories of natural chaos,"⁵⁰ Francesco Careri argues, and the experience of the monument at Matić Poljana is driven by exactly the same impulse.

It is therefore evident that the particular innovation Sila introduced to designing objects dedicated to the People's Revolution is precisely that the classic definition of a monument – as a symbolically charged object of pronounced centrality – is replaced by sequences composed of nearly identical objects whose mutual relationships encourage visitor movement, setting the visitor in a nomadic state. In his desire to redirect the contemplation of singular monuments toward a more general experience of nature and the human environment, Sila approached the act of walking as a gesture within which the element of the path itself begins to be experienced as a monumental work. Matić Poljana therefore advances the thesis that walking is the essential human act in the experience of space, and it is for that very reason the point of origin of its design.

The research data underlying this article will be shared on reasonable request by the corresponding author.

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⁵⁰ Careri, *Walkscapes*, 49.

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Zdenko Sila in njegov spomenik na Matić poljani na Hrvaškem

Povzetek

Spomenik na Matičevi poljani v Gorskem kotarju, ki ga je zasnoval arhitekt Zdenko Sila in je bil odkrit leta 1969, je eden najznačilnejših primerov spominske kulture v socialistični Jugoslaviji. Njegovi začetki segajo v vsakoletne zimske pohode v spomin na borce 13. partizanske divizije Primorje-Gorski kotar, ki so v noči z 19. na 20. februar 1944 med pohodom zmrznili. Pohodi, od leta 1962 naprej organizirani v sodelovanju z Zvezo veteranov, so potekali po prvotni tridesetkilometrski poti v snegu in vetru, spomin na dogodek se je tako »vtisnil« v telesa udeležencev.

Ko je bila sprejeta odločitev o postavitvi trajnega spomenika, je Sila – strasten gornik, izkušen krajinski arhitekt in učenec Jožeta Plečnika – našel rešitev, ki jo odlikuje redka formalna in konceptualna skladnost. Namesto običajnega osrednjega spomenika je na najširšem delu travnika v nežni krivulji, dolgi skoraj 300 metrov, razporedil 26 navpično postavljenih visokih kosov surovega kamna. Kamni, prineseni z bližnjega Bitoraja in minimalno obdelani, niso bili razporejeni po vnaprej pripravljenem narisanim načrtu, temveč tako, da so na travnik postavili žive ljudi in označili mesta, na katerih so stali.

Spomenik črpa iz več tradicij: iz slovenskih obpotlin znamenj in samostojnih spominskih kamnov, ki so jih v povojni Sloveniji postavili ljudje sami, o čemer sta razmišljala arhitekta Tepina in Ravnikar, iz formalnega raziskovanja menhirja kot zreduciranega znaka v krajini, kar je izvajal Silov sodelavec Zdenko Kolacio, ter iz širših evropskih tokov, ki jih je spremljal Christian Fuhrmeister, od nacionaliziranih ledeniških balvanov na nemških vojnih spomenikih do biomorfne abstrakcije Moora, Hepworthove in simpozijev Forma Viva. Silova lastna pot do menhirja je potekala več desetletij, ko je delal z neobdelanim oziroma minimalno obdelanim kamnom: od Gortanove grobnice v Beramu do spomenikov v Orehovici, na Plataku, v Bakru, Viškovu in Tičanu, vodila pa ga je filozofija krajine, ki je dajala prednost svobodnim, organskim, neomejenim kompozicijam pred geometriziranimi oblikami.

Spomenik na Matičevi poljani nenazadnje odlikuje nadomestitev tradicionalne osrednjosti spomenika s spominskim tokom: zaporedjem skoraj identičnih objektov, ki obiskovalca spodbudi h gibanju in samo hojo spremeni v dejanje spominjanja. Ko je konservatorica Katica Brusić leta 1976 sprožila postopek vpisa v register kulturnih spomenikov, so bili kot zaščiteno območje opredeljeni celotni trije kilometri poti, ki prečka Matičevo poljano – s priznanjem, da je spomenik pot, ne pa objekt. Kot je razumel Sila, so ti navpični menhirji spomenik človekovi hoji – pokončni in svobodni.

Art Patronage, Collecting, and Dynastic Memory in the House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg: New Perspectives

Renata Komić Marn

Dr. Renata Komić Marn, ZRC SAZU, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta, Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana, renata.komic@zrc-sazu.si, ORCID ID: 0000-0003-0504-6916

Art Patronage, Collecting, and Dynastic Memory in the House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg: New Perspectives

Abstract

1.01 Original scientific article

This article examines the lives, art patronage, and collecting activities of Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, his wife Maria Elisabeth, née Princess of Liechtenstein, and their four daughters. Drawing on previously unexplored archival sources, it reassesses their importance as patrons of the arts and attempts to reconstruct the formation and transmission of the celebrated painting gallery at Frischau Manor. Contrary to the prevailing view, Maria Elisabeth probably did not inherit the gallery from father, Johann Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein. The available evidence instead identifies her first husband, Maximilian Jakob Moritz of Liechtenstein, as a key figure in its formation. The study also demonstrates how marriage, inheritance, estate management, and religious patronage distributed the family's property and cultural legacy among several Central European princely houses. By bringing to light new evidence concerning the family's genealogy, residences, marriages, and inheritances, the article also highlights the active role of aristocratic women in collecting, patronage, and the preservation of dynastic memory during the eighteenth century.

Keywords: House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, House of Liechtenstein, art patronage, art collecting, biography, Břežany (Frischau)

Umetnostno naročništvo, zbirateljstvo in dinastični spomin v rodbini Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg: Nove perspektive

Izveček

Izvirni znanstveni članek

V članku avtorica obravnava življenje, umetnostno naročništvo in zbirateljske dejavnosti Leopolda, vojvode Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburga, njegove žene Marije Elizabete, rojene princeze Liechtenstein, ter njunih štirih hčera. Na podlagi doslej neupoštevanih arhivskih virov na novo ovrednoti Leopoldovo vlogo umetnostnega naročnika, v novo perspektivo pa postavlja tudi nastanek in dedovanje slikarske galerije v dvorcu Frischau (Břežany). V nasprotju s prevladujočim mnenjem Mariji Elizabeti slavne zbirke slik verjetno ni zapustil njen oče Janez Adam knez Liechtenstein, temveč njen prvi mož Maksimilijan Jakob Moritz knez Liechtenstein. V članku je prikazano, kako sta se prek porok, dedovanja, upravljanja s posestmi in verskega pokroviteljstva družinsko premoženje in umetnostna zapuščina razdelila med več srednjeevropskih knežjih rodov. S predstavitvijo novih podatkov o družinski genealogiji, rezidencah, porokah in dedovanjih je poudarjena tudi aktivna vloga predstavnic visokega plemstva pri zbiranju, naročništvu in ohranjanju dinastičnega spomina v 18. stoletju.

Ključne besede: rodbina Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, rodbina Liechtenstein, umetnostno naročništvo, zbirateljstvo, biografije, Břežany (Frischau)

Introduction

The National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana houses approximately forty portraits and some other paintings originating from the Baron Wambolt collection, once displayed at Hopfenbach (Hmeljnik) Castle in Lower Carniola in Slovenia. Among them are seven portraits depicting Duke Leopold of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1674–1744), his wife, their adult daughters, and one of their sons-in-law.¹ Until the late 1920s, the portraits were kept at Frischau Manor (Břežany) in southern Moravia (Fig. 1), from which another twenty-five or so portraits in the Wambolt collection also originate.² These paintings bear witness to the dynamic movements of the nobility and aristocratic cultural heritage during the interwar period. Research into their provenance was made possible through the identification of the individual sitters and the study of Frischau Manor's ownership history. Two of the sitters could be directly linked to Frischau Manor: Leopold's wife, Maria Elisabeth, née Princess of Liechtenstein (1683–1744), owned it from 1704 until her death in 1744, and their daughter Maria Gabriela Felicitas, Princess of Fürstenberg-Möskirch (1716–1798), inherited it and remained its owner until her own death.³

The portraits have not yet received scholarly attention, and the sitters remain virtually unknown in Slovenian scholarship. This study therefore introduces the individuals and presents them in greater detail. The biographies and activities of the family members reveal some of them to have been important and influential figures in Central European cultural history, whose remarkable lives and careers have, for the most part, not yet been thoroughly investigated. The only scholarly study devoted to Leopold (and his family) was published in 2010 by the Polish historian Małgorzata Kaganiec.⁴ His daughter Maria Gabriela Felicitas was recognized as an important art commissioner in late eighteenth-century Moravia by Tomáš Valeš, and her role in Germany was partially investigated by Maria Magdalena Zunker.⁵ Some pieces of information on other daughters and subsequent heirs have been provided by Marie Františka Süsenbeková and Věra Sedláková.⁶

In presenting new findings concerning the members of Duke Leopold of Schleswig-Holstein's family, special emphasis is placed on the family's artistic patronage, collecting activities, and dynastic relationships. A comparative analysis of the family portraits kept in the National Museum of Slovenia and elsewhere in Europe will be presented in a separate study.

¹ Portraits are presented in Horvat and Kos, *Zbirka slik*, 149, 150, 172, 173 (cat. nos. 459, 461, 463, 464, 588, 589, 597).

² Komić Marn, "Oprema gradu Hmeljnik," Komić Marn, "Nationalized and 'Socialized'." Although it has long been known that some of the furnishings at Hopfenbach Castle were transferred there from Frischau Manor (see "Naši gradovi," 336–37; Potočnik, *Hmeljnik*, 14, 39), until recently, no attempt has been made to investigate the circumstances of their transfer or their earlier provenance.

³ Komić Marn, "Nationalized and 'Socialized,'" 109.

⁴ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński."

⁵ Valeš, *Příběhy slávy a zapomnění*, 132–46; Zunker, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Walburg*, 154, 156, 666, 782.

⁶ Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky."

Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1674–1744)

Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (Fig. 2), was a member of the important and ancient family of the counts of Oldenburg-Delmenhorst, which was closely related to the Danish royal family. On his mother's side, he was related to the Silesian Piasts from the line of the dukes of Liegnitz-Brieg-Wohlau-Ohlau. He was born on 12 January 1674 in the town of Brieg (Brzeg) in Lower Silesia, as the first and only son of Frederick, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1651–1724), and Charlotte, née Princess of Liegnitz-Brieg-Wohlau (1652–1707).⁷ His parents married secretly in 1672 and solemnized the marriage publicly the following year.⁸

During his early childhood, Leopold lived in Brieg and Ohlau (Oława) with his mother and grandmother Louise, Princess of Anhalt-Dessau (1631–1680),⁹ and apparently he also spent some time with his father in Saxony.¹⁰ In 1675, his maternal uncle and the last male representative of the family, Georg Wilhelm IV, died, with Charlotte remaining the last Silesian Piast.¹¹ Following his parents' official separation in 1680, Leopold was taken into his father's custody.¹² Frederick—who was a



1. Břežany (Frischau) Manor (© ZRC SAZU, UIFS; photo: Renata Komić Marn)

⁷ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 83 (n. 5), provides a transcription of the baptismal register of Saint Hedwig's parish in Brieg, which records the date of birth as 13 January and the date of baptism as 18 January. On Frederick, see O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 10–12. Charlotte and Frederick were the subject of considerable scholarly attention; see, among others, four articles by Gotthard Münch (Münch, "Charlotte von Liegnitz").

⁸ There is no shortage of information on the marriage, which has often been presented in romanticized terms; see, among others, Schück, "Die heimliche Vermählung."

⁹ In her will, Duchess Luisa, who died in 1680, left her considerable fortune to her only surviving daughter and her six-year-old grandson, Leopold, for whom she appointed a guardian to preserve his inheritance; Münch, "Charlotte von Liegnitz," 12: 158.

¹⁰ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 84.

¹¹ Münch, "Charlotte von Liegnitz," 11: 150–64.

¹² Münch, "Charlotte von Liegnitz," 13: 177.



2. Portrait of Leopold,
Duke of Schleswig-
Holstein-Sonderburg-
Wiesenburg (1674–1744),
Ljubljana, National
Museum of Slovenia (©
Narodni muzej Slovenije;
photo: Tomaž Lauko)

knight of Denmark with the highest order of chivalry, the Order of the Elephant (*Elefantordenen*), as well as a royal-imperial general field marshal and commander of a cuirassier regiment¹³—was far more devoted to his military career than to family life. He left his six-year-old son in Vienna in the care of his sister Eleonora Margareta, Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg and Princess of Liechtenstein by marriage (1655–1702).¹⁴

After the separation and the death of her mother in 1680, Leopold's mother Charlotte left Silesia and lived in Dessau, Berlin, and Dresden. In 1684, she moved to Breslau (Wrocław) and

¹³ For his titles, see "Lista derer Getaufften": "Herr Friderich / Erbe zu Norwegen / Herzog zu Schließwig/Holstein / Stormaren und der Dietmarschen / Graf zu Oldenburg und Delmenhorst / des Königlich Dännischen Elephanten Ordens Ritter / Ihrer Röm. Kaiserl. Majest. General = Feld = Marschall und Obrist über ein Regiment Kürassier." Cf. also Hausarchiv der Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein (AT FLHA), FA 521, Maria Elisabeth 1683–1744, Familiensachen, marriage contract from 1713; Tietz, *Johann Winckler*, 69; Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 81 (n. 3).

¹⁴ The information reported by Małgorzata Kaganiec without reference to a source (Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 84) is indirectly corroborated by one of the bequests in Eleonora Margareta's will, under which she left Leopold one thousand ducats. For the will, see Moravský zemský archiv v Brně (MZA), C 2, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 98, sign. L 20 (15 August 1702), fol. 31v. Münch, "Charlotte von Liegnitz," 13: 177, mentions only that Frederick gave him away to his relatives in Vienna.



3. *Epitaph of Charlotte, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, in Trzebnica* (© ZRC SAZU, UIFS; photo: Renata Komić Marn)

devoted herself to charitable work.¹⁵ She spent her final years in Saint Hedwig's Convent at Trebnitz (Trzebnica), where she died in 1707. Charlotte expressed in her last will the wish to be buried in the convent in Trebnitz.¹⁶ According to earlier authors, shortly before her death she summoned her only son to her bedside, although no reliable information survives concerning such a meeting.¹⁷ The surviving dedicatory inscription, or epitaph, in the former Poor Clares' convent (now occupied by the Ursulines) in Wrocław indicates that Leopold commissioned a silver urn to preserve his mother's heart.¹⁸ Many years later, in 1739, Leopold referred to his mother's heart, preserved in the Poor Clares' convent, in a codicil to his will.¹⁹ He also commissioned a marble-and-alabaster epitaph for her grave from the Viennese workshop of Peter Strudel.²⁰ The monument bears Charlotte's portrait together

¹⁵ Schück, "Die heimliche Vermählung," 341.

¹⁶ Schück, "Die heimliche Vermählung," 341–42.

¹⁷ Schück, "Die heimliche Vermählung," 342.

¹⁸ See a transcription of the epitaph, published in Schück, "Die heimliche Vermählung," 343. For a translation into Polish, see Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 84 (n. 13).

¹⁹ MZA, Tribunal - pozüstalosti, karton 60, sign. H 100 (20 August 1739), fol. 93v.

²⁰ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 84–86.

with the coats of arms of the Houses of Liegnitz-Brieg and Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, and it still stands at the foot of the magnificent tomb of Saint Hedwig in the convent church in Trzebnica (Fig. 3). An analysis of the sources shows that as late as 1725 Leopold was still commissioning masses for his mother at the Cistercian nuns' convent in Trebnitz, and now also for his father Frederick at the Poor Clares' convent in Pressburg (Bratislava).²¹

The Polish scholar Małgorzata Kaganiec has argued that after his mother's death Leopold severed all ties with Silesia by selling the Piast palace in Wrocław (today 49 Szewska Street) to the Ursuline nuns in 1709.²² The text of the dedicatory inscription on the cartouche beneath the urn containing his mother's heart nevertheless indicates that Leopold was keenly aware of the significance of the illustrious dynasty of which she was the last representative. Furthermore, it has been established that Charlotte must have bequeathed to Leopold the portrait gallery of Silesian Piasts that is now preserved in Slovenia.²³ At the beginning of the twentieth century, these portraits were kept at Frischau Manor. This suggests that, despite disposing of other Silesian possessions, the duke consciously preserved an important part of his mother's family inheritance. It indicates that his connection with his native Silesia and with the Silesian Piast dynasty remained a significant element of both his personal and dynastic identity.

Charlotte left her son not only the portrait gallery but also a substantial fortune. This inheritance became the subject of a prolonged legal dispute with Leopold's father Frederick, who considered himself entitled to a portion of his former wife's estate.²⁴ These lengthy conflicts distanced Leopold from his father's court and from the land of Saxony. He therefore decided to establish himself in Austria, where—reportedly on the advice of his cousin Cardinal Christian August of Saxony-Weitz (1666–1725)—he converted to Catholicism.²⁵ The cardinal is also said to have acted as intermediary in finding a suitable bride for the duke, then thirty-nine years old.²⁶

On 28 February 1713, Leopold married Maria Elisabeth, née Princess of Liechtenstein and widow of Prince Maximilian Jakob Moritz of Liechtenstein, at Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna.²⁷ The marriage further aggravated his dispute with his father.²⁸ After their wedding, the ducal couple appears to have divided their time between Moravia and Vienna, although they primarily resided in Vienna, where all five of their daughters were born,²⁹ and where Leopold served as an imperial privy councilor from 1721 onward.³⁰ Research into their residences in Vienna shows that during 1720

²¹ Süßenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 18.

²² Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 86. The sale of the house is also mentioned in Grünhagen, *Geschichte Schlesiens*, 333. The building dates from the fifteenth century and was a residence of the princes of Liegnitz and Brieg until 1709. It has since been completely remodeled; for an illustration of its Baroque appearance, see Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 87, repr. 6.

²³ Komić Marn, "Nationalized and 'Socialized,'" 110; Komić Marn, "Plemiški portreti iz gradu Hmeljnik."

²⁴ O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 12.

²⁵ O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 12; Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 348; Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 273. His mother, Charlotte, also converted to Catholicism in the late seventeenth century.

²⁶ O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 12.

²⁷ AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Trauungsbuch, 02-039, pag. 435.

²⁸ O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 12.

²⁹ The relevant archival sources are cited below.

³⁰ Michaelis, *Einleitung zu einer vollständigen*, 586. O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 16, states that Leopold received "*die wirkliche geheimratswürde*" in 1727.

and 1721 the ducal couple regularly resided in the Rothal House near Saint Stephen's Cathedral.³¹ However, in 1728 they jointly purchased a house at 7 Sankt Joannesgasse (now Johannesgasse), where both eventually died sixteen years later.³²

In 1721, Leopold inherited Wetzdorf Castle in Lower Austria following the death of his aunt Magdalena Sophia Eleonora, née Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein (1664–1720), Abbess of Quedlinburg.³³ After a lengthy legal struggle, he finally secured recognition in 1723 as heir to Wiesenburg Castle, which his father had acquired in 1675 from his own father, Duke Philip Louis of Schleswig-Holstein.³⁴ Leopold's chief concern, however, was not the lordship itself but the hereditary privileges attached to it. Because the remote property did not suit the needs of his family, he relinquished Wiesenburg to August II the Strong, the elector of Saxony and Polish king, only one year after his father's death in exchange for repayment of the mortgage debt.³⁵

Leopold was also an active patron of architecture and religious art. In 1723, he purchased additional estates and incorporated them into Wetzdorf.³⁶ Between 1726 and 1728 he transformed the residence inherited from his aunt into a Baroque château and created an elegant French-style park.³⁷ In 1735 he purchased the lordship of Groß-Meseritsch (Velké Meziříčí) in Moravia for 623,800 guilders,



4. View of Gross Meseritsch Castle (Velké Meziříčí), 1909 (© Wikimedia Commons)

³¹ See *Wienerisches Diarium* for reports of their residence in Vienna in 1720 and 1721.

³² Details of this purchase are documented in Leopold's will; MZA, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 60, sign. H 100 (7 September 1738), fols. 65–65v.

³³ On the manor, see *Niederösterreich nördlich der Donau*, 525–28. On his unmarried aunt, Sophia Magdalena, see Tietz, *Johann Winckler*, 70.

³⁴ He paid 110,000 thalers for it in the autumn of 1675. Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 81, states that Frederick received Wiesenburg as a gift from his father. Leopold's grandfather, Duke Philipp Ludwig, had purchased Wiesenburg from Elector Johann Georg II of Saxony in 1663 and established the family's Wiesenburg line there. On the acquisition of Wiesenburg and the business and family affairs of Duke Philipp Ludwig, see O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 2–8; Tietz, *Johann Winckler*, 68–73.

³⁵ Haymann, *Neue europäische Staats- und Reisegeographie*, 1335; Michaelis, *Einleitung zu einer vollständigen*, 586; O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 13–14.

³⁶ On 23 January 1723, he purchased Großwetzdorf, Kleinwetzdorf, and Rohrbach (Hollabrunn District) from the four heiresses of Countess Christina von Rogendorf. The purchase agreement was offered for sale in an online auction held by the Dorotheum in June 2025. See "Autografy, rukopisy, dokumenty."

³⁷ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 89.

located approximately eighty kilometers from Frischau (Fig. 4).³⁸ Between 1739 and 1741, he financed the Baroque rebuilding of the parish church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary at nearby Netín (Netín), strengthening its Gothic chancel, commissioning the high altar, and ordering the principal altarpiece from the local painter Karl František Topper (1682–1738).³⁹ Leopold is also credited with commissioning the Holy Trinity Column, which was erected in the park in front of the manor house in 1714 and which bears the coats of arms of the Schleswig-Holstein and Liechtenstein families (Fig. 5).⁴⁰ His wife's testament further reveals that the ducal couple also contributed financially to the construction, restoration, and maintenance of ancient Saint Bartholomew's Church near Frischau Manor.⁴¹

In 1731, ten years after receiving the Order of the Golden Fleece, the fifty-seven-year-old Leopold was granted the prestigious style of serene highness (*Durchlauchtig*).⁴² That same year his daughter Maria Eleonora Charlotte married at the age of sixteen. After the death of the youngest daughter, Maria Antonia Hedwig, in March 1735 at only fourteen years of age,⁴³ the remaining three unmarried daughters all married within a remarkably short period. The eldest, Maria Theresia Anna, and the third-born, Maria Gabriela Felicitas, married in May of the same year in the chapel of the recently renovated château at Wetzdorf,⁴⁴ and Maria Charlotte Antonia married by proxy in Vienna that July.

Three years later Leopold drew up his will, dividing his entire estate among his four daughters, whom he named universal heiresses. His wife was to receive his share of their Viennese residence on Joannesgasse, together with all its furnishings, as well as all *Mobilien* located in Leopold's Austrian and Moravian estates.⁴⁵ After a prolonged illness, Leopold died in Vienna on 4 March 1744, age seventy.⁴⁶ He was buried three days later with great ceremony in the Liechtenstein family chapel in Saint Stephen's Cathedral, where the Prinz-Eugen-Epitaph was later commissioned by Maria Elisabeth's younger sister Maria Theresia, Duchess of Savoy (1694–1772).⁴⁷

³⁸ Details of this purchase are documented in Leopold's will; MZA, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 60, sign. H 100 (7 September 1738), fol. 78. See also Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 86; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 10.

³⁹ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 89; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 12, with references to the relevant literature. On Tepper, see Uhlíř, "Západomoravský barokní;" Uhlíř, *Karel František Tepper*.

⁴⁰ The Holy Trinity Column was made by the Viennese sculptor Rochus Marhoffer and bears his signature; see Samek, *Umělecké památky Moravy*, 292–93.

⁴¹ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 30v–31. According to Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 3: 216, the church once stood on the site now occupied by Břežany Cemetery.

⁴² AT-OeStA/AVA Adel HAA AR 859.12, Schleswig-Holstein (Hollstein), Leopold, Herzog zu, Verleihung des Ehrenwortes „Durchlauchtig“ (28 July 1731). See also O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 16.

⁴³ Baptized on 17 January 1721 at Saint Stephen's in Vienna, see AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Taufbuch, 01-060, fol. 337v.

⁴⁴ AT DAW, Rohrbach, Tauf-, Trauungs-, Sterbebuch, 01,2,3-02, pag. 254. Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 86, and Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 12, claim that three—or, according to some accounts, two—of the daughters were married at Saint Nicholas's Parish Church in Groß-Meseritsch. O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 16, states that Maria Gabriela was married in Frischau. The same incorrect information is recorded in the 1735 marriage entries for two of his daughters; see *Des Neu-eröffneter Historischer*, 141.

⁴⁵ MZA, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 60, sign. H 100 (7 September 1738), fols. 65v–66.

⁴⁶ AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Sterbebuch, 03-24, pag. 20.

⁴⁷ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 89. According to Donin, *Der Wiener Stephansdom*, 67, the chapel was maintained from 1717 to 1744 by Prince Johann Adam of Liechtenstein. Because he had already died in 1712, however, it is more likely that responsibility for the chapel passed to his daughters, including Maria Elisabeth, who lived with her husband in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral. For the commission by her younger sister Maria Theresia, see Mayer, "Zur erstaunlichen Kunstpatronage," 206–09; Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 281–82.



5. Rochus Marhoffer: *The Holy Trinity Column in Břežany*, 1714 (© ZRC SAZU, UIFS; photo: Renata Komić Marn)

Leopold attracted some scholarly attention only fifteen years ago, mainly because of his close relationship to the Silesian Piasts.⁴⁸ Yet he deserves broader recognition, especially as an important patron of the arts and the husband of the daughter of Johann Adam, Prince of Liechtenstein, one of the foremost art collectors of the Habsburg Empire. Moreover, some earlier authors have even credited Leopold with commissioning the construction of the new eastern, southern, and western wings of Frischau Manor, although the lordship itself belonged to his wife.⁴⁹

Maria Elisabeth, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, née Princess of Liechtenstein, widowed Princess of Liechtenstein (1683–1744)

Maria Elisabeth, Princess of Liechtenstein (Fig. 6), was born on 3 May 1683 at Sternberg Castle (Šternberk) in Moravia.⁵⁰ She was the eldest daughter of Johann Adam, Prince of Liechtenstein, and Erdmunda, née Countess of Dietrichstein (1662–1737). Only a few details are known about her life before her first marriage. From the age of eight to sixteen, she was educated under the supervision of her governess Elisabeth Kastner, and after 1694 she received instruction in French from Mademoiselle Anna Maria Hendrica Spournaux.⁵¹ Known affectionately within the family as *Maria Lisl*, she spent her childhood mainly at her father's estate of Feldsberg (Valtice). Around 1700, she and her younger sister, Maria Antonia, were portrayed together in a double portrait by an unidentified artist (Fig. 8).⁵² On 21 April 1703, at the age of twenty, she married Maximilian Jakob Moritz, Prince of Liechtenstein, who was sixty-two years old.⁵³ Maximilian was already twice widowed and, moreover, a close relative, being the widower of Maria Elisabeth's paternal aunt Johanna Beatrix, Princess of Liechtenstein. Because of their close kinship, the marriage required a papal dispensation.⁵⁴ During their seven-year marriage they had four children, although only one daughter, Maria Charlotte Felicitas (1704–1754), survived to adulthood and later married Count Gilleis.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński."

⁴⁹ Wisnar, *Heimatskunde*, 14. For more information about the manor in Břežany, see the entry by Tomáš Valeš in Konečný, *Vitruvius Moravicus*, 200–06. Most authors (e.g., Peřinka, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 132; Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 3: 215) claim that the entire manor was built in 1713 at the behest of Elisabeth's father, Johann Adam. This assertion, however, is unsupported by the available sources; moreover, Johann Adam had already died in 1712. The unresolved questions concerning the patronage and architectural history of Frischau Manor lie beyond the scope of this article and can be addressed only through further in-depth research.

⁵⁰ Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 271.

⁵¹ Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 271–72.

⁵² The portrait is tentatively attributed to Jan Kupetzky, although this was already rejected in 1928; see "The Princesses Maria Elisabeth."

⁵³ The information concerning her childhood, as well as the date and place of her marriage, follows Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 62, and Haupt, *Ein Liebhaber der gemähl*, 1063 n. 1458. Elsewhere, however, the same author identifies the princess's native Šternberk as the place of the wedding (Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 272). An examination of the relevant parish registers for this period yielded no results, and Jakob von Falke, the historian of the Liechtenstein family, likewise provided no reliable information.

⁵⁴ Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 384. Maximilian's grandfather Gundakar was the brother of Karl, Elisabeth's great-grandfather; a dispensation was also required because Maximilian's first marriage to Elisabeth's aunt, Johanna Beatrix, had made him her uncle by marriage.

⁵⁵ Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 384; Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 272.

Four years after Maximilian's death in 1709, the thirty-year-old Maria Elisabeth married Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, who was nine years her senior. The two almost certainly became acquainted through her first husband.⁵⁶ Maximilian's second wife, Eleonora Margareta, whom he had married in 1674, was Leopold's paternal aunt and had served as his guardian after about 1680. It is therefore highly likely that Leopold continued visiting his uncle Maximilian even after Eleonora Margareta's death in 1702 and Maximilian's marriage to Maria Elisabeth in 1703.

Following their marriage, Leopold and Maria Elisabeth mainly resided in Vienna. Almost nothing is known about Maria Elisabeth's later life, except that she was a dame of the Order of the Starry Cross (*Sternkreuzordendame*).⁵⁷ She died on 8 May 1744, only two months after her husband, at the family's residence at Joannesgasse 7 in Vienna.⁵⁸ Like her husband, she was buried in the Liechtenstein family chapel in Saint Stephen's Cathedral.⁵⁹

Until her death, Maria Elisabeth remained the sole owner of the estates of Frischau, Bonitz (Bohunice), and Gaiwitz (Kyjovice). She purchased them on 27 May 1704 from her first husband Maximilian for two hundred thousand guilders.⁶⁰ Maximilian himself had inherited these estates two years earlier from his second wife, Eleonora Margareta, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein, through her will.⁶¹ The succession of owners is important not only because of the numerous portraits that later reached Hopfenbach Castle, but also because in 1798 Frischau housed one of the most celebrated private painting collections in Moravia, consisting of around 270 paintings, displayed in three interconnected gallery rooms.⁶² In 1801, this collection was sold by the owner, Prince Moritz Joseph of Liechtenstein, to a prominent collector.⁶³ Detailed and comprehensive studies of the collection have been published by Lubomír Slavíček.⁶⁴ The less significant part of the collection appears to have remained at Frischau, where the new owner donated some seventy-five paintings of lesser value to the district head's wife (*frau oberamtmannin*) and some other locals; the rest of the paintings,

⁵⁶ Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 273.

⁵⁷ Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 17.

⁵⁸ The place of death is recorded in the probate documents; see MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14.

⁵⁹ Access to the chapel is restricted, and the available sources contain no information regarding tombs or commemorative slabs for the ducal couple. They may have been removed during the chapel's Gothic Revival restoration of 1851–1852.

⁶⁰ Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 3: 209; Peřinka, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 136. Wisnar, *Heimatskunde*, 14, states that, for the sum specified above and in addition to the three estates, Maximilian sold his third wife a house in Znojmo.

⁶¹ Maximilian's second wife, whom he had married in 1674, acquired these estates in 1692 and 1699. The couple's only two children died in early childhood. See Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 3: 208–09; Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 384; Peřinka, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 136; Hořák, *Historický místopis*, 112; Wisnar, *Heimatskunde*, 14. For the will drawn up by Eleonora Margareta one day before her death, see MZA, C 2, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 98, sign. L 20 (15 August 1702).

⁶² Evident from the probate inventory of her daughter Maria Gabriela Felicitas from 1798; see MZA, Moravskoslezské zemské právo, C9, karton 40, sign. 13, spis č. 511 (12 October 1798), fols. 35v–40v. See also Valeš, *Příběhy slávy a zapomnění*, 131–32.

⁶³ Slavíček, "Katalog der liechtensteinischen." Interestingly, the sale of the collection was in fact overseen by his mother, the aforementioned Princess Lori: Maria Eleonora Princess of Liechtenstein, née Princess of Oettingen-Spielberg.

⁶⁴ Slavíček, "... und ist die grösste;" Slavíček, "Zámecká obrazárna;" Slavíček, "Katalog der liechtensteinischen."

however, he later sold, principally at auctions held in London.⁶⁵ Slaviček successfully identified several of the paintings in modern collections, but the fate and present whereabouts of most of the Frischau collection remain unknown.

The literature most frequently states that the Frischau painting collection formed part of what Maria Elisabeth inherited from her father Johann Adam, Prince of Liechtenstein.⁶⁶ A careful analysis of the prince's last will contradicts this assertion. Princes Joseph Wenzel and Emanuel, the sons of Johann Adam Andreas's cousin, inherited all his paintings and other works of art, including the bronze sculptures housed in his residence on Vienna's Herrengasse, the Gartenpalais in the Roßau, and his various castles and estates.⁶⁷ A list survives of 136 paintings earmarked in 1720 for Johann Adam Andreas's allodial heiresses, presumably his five daughters and perhaps also his wife.⁶⁸ Maria Elisabeth, however, could have received at most one-fifth of this small collection, amounting to approximately twenty-seven paintings. Furthermore, a preliminary comparison of the works and their attributions as described in the list with the inventory of the gallery at Frischau Manor lends no support to the hypothesis that any of these paintings subsequently entered its collection. Furthermore, the Frischau collection chiefly consisted of works by seventeenth-century Dutch painters, which does not correspond well to Johann Adam's collecting preferences; he mainly collected large-format works by Flemish and Italian masters.⁶⁹ Lubomír Slaviček suggested that the Frischau paintings once formed part of prince Karl Eusebius's collection, which actually included a substantial number of works by Dutch old masters.⁷⁰ This possibility can neither be conclusively confirmed nor ruled out because no comprehensive inventory of Karl Eusebius's painting collection is known.⁷¹ Furthermore, the sculptor and historiographer Andreas Schweigel stated that the collection had been assembled by a prince of Liechtenstein in the preceding (i.e., the seventeenth) century,⁷² a reference that most plausibly points to Maximilian Jakob, Elisabeth's first husband. This possibility is further strengthened by Lubomír Slaviček's observation that several of the painters employed by Prince Karl Eusebius of Liechtenstein also worked for his cousin, Maximilian.⁷³ In light of this evidence, Maximilian Jakob must be regarded as a potential key figure in the formation of the painting collection housed at Frischau Manor in the late eighteenth century.⁷⁴

⁶⁵ Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 130–33; Slaviček, "Zámecká obrazárna," 133.

⁶⁶ Peřinka, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 132; Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 19, 21; Wisnar, *Heimatskunde*, 17; Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 128, 136–37; Slaviček, "Zámecká obrazárna," 157, 162; Slaviček, "Katalog der liechtensteinischen," 134, 137.

⁶⁷ See AT FLHA, FA 358, Testament des Fürsten Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein vom 17. Juli 1711. See also Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 262.

⁶⁸ Haupt, *Ein Liebhaber der gemähl*, 1120–24.

⁶⁹ Wilhelm, "Die Fürsten von Liechtenstein," 63; Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 205. See also Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 137.

⁷⁰ Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 137.

⁷¹ See, for example, Wilhelm, "Die Fürsten von Liechtenstein," 57.

⁷² "Die Bildersammlung ist von denen Fürsten des Hauses Liechtenstein schon im vorigem Seculo kostbar eingesammelt und allda in drei Zimmern ordentlich eingeteilt worden." Quoted in Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 127.

⁷³ Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 136.

⁷⁴ Komić Marn, "Nationalized and 'Socialized,'" 113. For a brief description of Maximilian's art patronage and collecting practices, see Fleischer, *Fürst Karl Eusebius*, 64–65; Wilhelm, "Die Fürsten von Liechtenstein," 103. See also Slaviček, "Katalog der liechtensteinischen," 137.



6. Portrait of Maria Elisabeth, Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, née Princess of Liechtenstein (1683–1744), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

This hypothesis is further supported by the documented presence at Frischau in 1713 of landscapes painted by Maximilian's grandfather, Prince Gundaker of Liechtenstein,⁷⁵ as well as by a preliminary examination of Maximilian's collecting practices. He appears to have acquired several paintings and other objects through the Forchondt family, Antwerp-based art dealers that maintained a branch in Vienna.⁷⁶ He also discussed the acquisition of paintings and other objects with other dealers, artists, friends, and relatives.⁷⁷ Further research should investigate any acquisitions of paintings the young prince Maximilian Jakob may have made during his four-year grand tour through France, the Netherlands, England, and Italy,⁷⁸ and compare them with the descriptions of paintings from the Frischau Gallery. The evidence examined thus far indicates that Maximilian Jakob's role as a collector and patron was more significant than previously recognized.

⁷⁵ Wilhelm, "Die Fürsten von Liechtenstein," 38, without reference. See also Slaviček, "... und ist die grösste," 137.

⁷⁶ AT FLHA, FA 471, Ms 528, Ms 529, Ms 540: Protokollbücher der Hofkanzlei des Fürsten Maximilian Jakob Moritz 1687, 1688, 1689. Marcus Forchondt's correspondence likewise reveals that the dealer was in contact with Prince Maximilian; cf. Denucé, *Kunstuitvoer in de 17e eeuw*, 216, 237.

⁷⁷ This is evident from his correspondence of the 1680s: AT FLHA, FA 471, Ms 528, Ms 529, Ms 540: Protokollbücher der Hofkanzlei des Fürsten Maximilian Jakob Moritz 1687, 1688, 1689.

⁷⁸ The essential details of the journey are presented in Kubeš, *Národné dospívání urozených*, 377–78.

However, several other important questions remain unresolved, including the identity and quantity of the paintings displayed at Frischau before Maria Elisabeth's second marriage in 1713 and the extent of her involvement in the reconstruction and furnishing of the château. It is likewise unclear how she obtained the considerable funds required to purchase the lordship in 1704, although it may reasonably be assumed that her wealthy father provided substantial financial support.⁷⁹

Maria Elisabeth's own activities as a collector also merit further investigation. Evidence of her interest in works of art can already be found in her marriage contract with Maximilian, concluded at Feldsberg on 30 November 1702.⁸⁰ The document indicates that the young bride took a particular interest in the valuable artworks in Maximilian's possession. Under the terms of the contract, following Maximilian's death she was to receive his three finest tapestries, the complete "decoration" (*ornat*) of three rooms, and all the household silver. A document written by Maximilian in 1708 further records that he presented his wife with six Netherlandish tapestries for her name day and gave her a small silver service following the birth of their first child.⁸¹ The reference in the marriage contract to the "decoration of three rooms" raises the intriguing possibility that the phrase denoted not merely furnishings in general but the paintings that later constituted the celebrated gallery displayed across three rooms at Frischau. This possibility can be confirmed or rejected once Maximilian's probate inventory is located; its present whereabouts remain unknown.⁸² Nevertheless, it can be concluded that the famous Frischau painting collection was mainly created by Maximilian Jakob and that, in accordance with the provisions of the couple's marriage contract and the prince's will, it passed to his third wife, Maria Elisabeth, after his death in 1709.⁸³

In her will, Maria Elisabeth bequeathed to her daughter, Maria Gabriela Felicitas, not only the lordship of Frischau and its château, but also all the paintings and other movable property housed there, in return for the payment of twelve thousand guilders into the estate by the heiress.⁸⁴ This is the only explicit reference to paintings in the duchess's will, indicating that the renowned gallery was already housed in the manor by 1744. Because it seems that no inventories of the furnishings of the ducal couple's individual residences were compiled following their deaths, it is impossible to determine with certainty whether the paintings had already been arranged across three gallery rooms, as documented in 1798. Furthermore, the inventory from 1798 remains the only known

⁷⁹ On his legendary wealth, see Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 288.

⁸⁰ AT FLHA, FA 566, Maximilian Jacob Moriz. Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 384, gives the incorrect date of 30 October 1702 for the marriage contract.

⁸¹ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 140, inv. č. 1680 (26 August 1708).

⁸² That an inventory was compiled is suggested by a provision in the prince's will stipulating that all his allodial property was to pass to his male heir and that, should the heir be a minor, his guardian was to arrange for an inventory to be drawn up. At the time of the prince's death in 1709, his only surviving son, Max Anton, was barely a week old. Following the child's premature death in 1711, Maria Elisabeth inherited the prince's allodial property in accordance with the provisions of his will. See AT FLHA, FA 566, Maximilian Jacob Moriz. On the birth of the last heir to Gundakar's *fideicommissum*, see "Lista deren Getaufften." See also Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 384.

⁸³ The prince's will, drawn up in early 1705, stipulated that, should he leave no male heir, his entire allodial estate was to pass to his widow, Maria Elisabeth. The princely *fideicommissum*, meanwhile, devolved upon the line of her father, Johann Adam. This arrangement proved short-lived, however, because Johann Adam died only three years after Maximilian, who had been both his brother-in-law and his son-in-law. See AT FLHA, FA 566, Maximilian Jacob Moriz.

⁸⁴ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fol. 48v.

comprehensive record of the manor's furnishings—a circumstance that both complicates the present investigation and underscores the need for a more detailed analysis of this important source.

The evidence presented so far demonstrates that Maria Elisabeth was a devoted art lover. In this respect she clearly continued the cultural traditions cultivated by both her first husband, Maximilian Jakob, Prince of Liechtenstein, and her father, Johann Adam, as well as her grandfather, Karl Eusebius, one of the great collectors and artistic patrons of the seventeenth century. Maria Elisabeth therefore merits greater scholarly attention as an art patron and commissioner, alongside her mother Erdmunda, and her younger sister Maria Theresia of Savoy, both of whom have already been recognized in the literature for their activities in these roles.⁸⁵

Theresia Maria Anna, Princess of Oettingen-Spielberg, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1713–1745)

The eldest daughter of the ducal couple (Fig. 7) was baptized at Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna as *Theresia Maria Anna* on 19 December 1713, scarcely ten months after her parents' marriage.⁸⁶ Nothing is known of her childhood. She married on 23 May 1735 in the chapel of her father's château at Wetzdorf, on the same day and in the same place as her younger sister Maria Gabriela.⁸⁷ Her bridegroom, Johann Aloys, Prince of Oettingen-Spielberg (Fig. 8), was the son of Prince Franz Albrecht I of Oettingen-Spielberg (1663–1737) and his wife Maria Johanna Margaretha, née Baroness von Schwendi (1672–1727). In 1737 Johann Aloys succeeded his father as the reigning prince. The marriage of Johann Aloys and Theresia Maria was recorded as a happy one. Their first daughter, Maria Leopoldina, was not born until the end of 1741; less than a year and a half later another daughter, Charlotte, followed, but she died immediately after birth.⁸⁸ On 14 July 1745, however, only one week after giving birth to her third daughter, Maria Eleonora, Theresia Maria died at the age of just thirty-two. She was buried in Saint Sebastian's Church in Oettingen.⁸⁹

Johann Aloys never remarried after Theresia Maria's death. He ensured the education and social position of their two daughters, who, after having spent nine years in a French convent in Strasbourg (1749–1758), became ladies-in-waiting to Empress Maria Theresa in 1760.⁹⁰ The elder daughter, Leopoldina (1741–1795), married Ernst Christoph, Prince of Kaunitz-Rietberg (1737–1797), and the younger, Maria Eleonora (1745–1812), married Karl Borromäus, Prince of Liechtenstein (1730–1789). In May 1761, both sisters were appointed palace ladies (*Palastdamen*) and members of the Order of the Starry Cross (*Sternkreuzorden*).⁹¹ Princess Liechtenstein, known in intimate circles as “Princess Lori” (Fig. 11), became an influential figure—politically as well as socially—at the court of Emperor

⁸⁵ See, for example, Mayer, “Zur erstaunlichen Kunstpatronage,” Vokáčová, *Příběhy o hrdé pokoře*, 288–367; Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 268–69, 282–86.

⁸⁶ AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Taufbuch, 01-056, fol. 178v.

⁸⁷ AT DAW, Rohrbach, Tauf-, Trauungs-, Sterbebuch, 01,2,3-02, pag. 254.

⁸⁸ Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*, 8.

⁸⁹ Sedláková, “Významné majitelky,” 11.

⁹⁰ Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*, 9–10.

⁹¹ Sedláková, “Významné majitelky,” 17.



7. Portrait of Theresia Maria Anna, Princess of Oettingen-Spielberg, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1713–1745), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

Joseph II, who held her in particularly high esteem.⁹² Much has been written about her public activities, her artistic patronage, and the so-called circle of five princesses over which she presided, and her correspondence was already published at the end of the nineteenth century.⁹³ Eleonora's sister Maria Leopoldina also belonged to this circle. A few months after Leopoldina's death, her only daughter, Maria Eleonora (1775–1825), married Prince Klemens von Metternich-Winneburg (1773–1859), who built his political and diplomatic career largely thanks to the support and influence of Maria Eleonora, Princess of Liechtenstein, the maternal aunt of his first wife.

After the death of her parents in 1744, Theresia Maria, Princess of Oettingen-Spielberg, inherited one-quarter of the house on Joannesgasse in Vienna, one-fifth of her mother's silver, most of her mother's jewelry, the estates of Kojetin (Kojetín) with the associated manor of Witzomierzitz

⁹² See Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*, 111–56; Falke, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Hauses*, 266–74.

⁹³ Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*. See also Gates-Coon, *The Charmed Circle*.



8. Portrait of Johann Alois, Prince of Oettingen-Spielberg (1707–1780), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

(Víceměřice), and shares in Dieditz (Dědice) and Bojanowitz Hof (Bojanovice) in Moravia, as well as two hundred thousand guilders, among other property.⁹⁴ From this rich inheritance, her daughter Leopoldina inherited Kogetein together with its associated estates in entirety (these later passed into the hands of the Metternich family). Moreover, Theresia Maria's younger sister Maria Eleonora, Duchess of Guastalla, named her sister's daughters her universal heiresses. Leopoldina inherited her aunt's estates in Lombardy and Eleonora inherited her aunt's estates in Moravia.⁹⁵ Consequently,

⁹⁴ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 44v–47v. According to the duchess's will, Franz Ferdinand von Kuenburg, Archbishop of Prague, sold the lordship of Kogetein to Maria Elisabeth on 23 January 1726 for two hundred thousand guilders. She subsequently enlarged the estate by acquiring Witzomierzitz and the associated share of Dieditz. See also Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 5: 492–512.

⁹⁵ MZA, C 2, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 177, sign. Q 7 (22 November 1759), fol. 84. See also Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*, 9.



9. Maria Eleonora, Princess of Liechtenstein (1745–1812), Velké Meziříčí Castle (Courtesy of Count Jan Podstatzky-Lichtenstein; photo: David Michlíček)

in 1763 (or 1764) young Maria Eleonora became the sole owner of the lordship of Groß-Meseritsch, together with Radostin (Radostín) and Zhorz (Zhoř). Shortly before the end of the century, her son Moritz Joseph, as the heir of his maternal great-aunt Maria Gabriela, became the owner of the lordship of Frischau, and after his mother's death he also inherited Groß-Meseritsch, Radostin, and Zhorz. Although Theresia Maria Anna died prematurely, she was the only one of Leopold's daughters to leave descendants, thereby ensuring that at least most of her parents' Moravian estates⁹⁶ remained in the hands of their blood heirs.

⁹⁶ Together with her sister, Maria Elisabeth also inherited from their father the extensive and profitable lordship of Göding (Hodonín), which subsequently passed into her sister's sole possession. Maria Elisabeth, in turn, retained the inherited estates in Lower Austria in their entirety; see Smutný, "Die liechtensteinischen Wirtschaftsmassnahmen," 334. According to other accounts, however, she purchased her sister's half-share in the Austrian estates; see Haupt, *Ein Herr von Stand*, 269, 271.

Maria Eleonora Charlotte Gonzaga, Duchess of Guastalla, Princess of Sabbioneta and Bozzolo, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1715–1760)

The record of the baptism of the ducal couple's second daughter (Fig. 10) has not yet been found in the registers of Saint Stephen's Cathedral or of any other Viennese church. Some online genealogical databases and occasional references in the literature give her date of birth as 18 December 1715.⁹⁷ This information is incorrect because the news of the birth and baptism of Leopold's second daughter was reported in the contemporary Viennese press: she was born on 18 February 1715 and baptized the following day as *Maria Eleonora Charlotta*.⁹⁸

At the age of sixteen, in 1731, she married Giuseppe Maria Gonzaga, Duke of Guastalla (1690–1746).⁹⁹ Twenty-five years her senior, he was the second son of Vincenzo, Duke of Guastalla (1634–1714), and Maria Vittoria (1659–1707), the daughter of Ferrante III Gonzaga.¹⁰⁰ The literature frequently states that they were not married until 1735,¹⁰¹ but this is incorrect because the marriage was directly connected with the death of Giuseppe's elder brother in 1729 and his succession to the ducal title.

Contemporary chronicles describe young Giuseppe as a handsome man who, surrounded by a circle of companions, devoted many years chiefly to whimsical artistic, musical, and theatrical pursuits—an eccentricity that some regarded as a sign of the severe mental illness from which he increasingly suffered later in life.¹⁰² However, after his elder brother Antonio Ferrante, who had succeeded their father as the duke of Guastalla and Sabbioneta, died unexpectedly in 1729, the ailing Giuseppe Maria was obliged to assume his position. The duke's poor physical and mental condition was exploited above all by Count Pomponio di Spilimbergo, who had exercised power in Guastalla for many years.¹⁰³ Acting as the duke's representative, Count Spilimbergo married Maria Eleonora, Princess of Schleswig-Holstein, on 28 April 1731, and also succeeded in preventing the bride's parents from accompanying her to Guastalla, where they might have discovered the true state of the bridegroom's health.¹⁰⁴

Between 1733 and 1736, Guastalla was involved in the bloody War of the Polish Succession, and Maria Eleonora and Giuseppe Maria sought refuge in Venice, from which they returned only in November 1736.¹⁰⁵ In the following years, by imperial decree, the administration of the duchy passed into Maria Eleonora's hands, and Count Spilimbergo was forced to leave Guastalla permanently in 1739.¹⁰⁶ The ducal couple had no children. When Giuseppe Maria died of a stroke on 15 August 1746, the two-hundred-year rule of the Gonzaga family in Guastalla came to an end.

⁹⁷ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 90; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 13; "Eleonora von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg."

⁹⁸ See "Wien vom 16. bis 19."

⁹⁹ O'Byrn, "Die Herzöge von Holstein-Wiesenburg," 15. She was engaged on 10 December 1730, "with the awareness and approval" (*mit vorbewusst und genehmigung*) of His Imperial Majesty.

¹⁰⁰ See "Wien 7. Martii 1744."

¹⁰¹ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 90; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 13.

¹⁰² Tamalio, "Gonzaga, Giuseppe Maria."

¹⁰³ Tamalio, "Gonzaga, Giuseppe Maria."

¹⁰⁴ Tamalio, "Gonzaga, Giuseppe Maria."

¹⁰⁵ Tamalio, "Gonzaga, Giuseppe Maria."

¹⁰⁶ Tamalio, "Gonzaga, Giuseppe Maria."



10. Portrait of Maria Eleonora Charlotte Gonzaga, Duchess of Guastalla, Princess of Sabbioneta and Bozzolo, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1715–1760), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

Under the Treaty of Aachen in 1748, Guastalla, together with the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, finally passed to Philip of Bourbon.

Two years before her husband's death, Maria Eleonora inherited from her father the lordship of Groß-Meseritsch, valued at 492,000 guilders, together with its dependent estates and seventy-five thousand guilders in cash.¹⁰⁷ From her mother she inherited one-quarter of the house on Joannesgasse in Vienna, approximately one-fifth of the silver, somewhat less than one-quarter of her mother's jewelry, and two hundred thousand guilders.¹⁰⁸ As already mentioned, in her own will, she left her entire estate, including the estates in Lombardy, to her eldest sister's daughters.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ *Velké Meziříčí v zrcadle*, 214; Süsenbeková, *Stříčky z dějin*, 18.

¹⁰⁸ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 44v–45v, 47v–48.

¹⁰⁹ MZA, C 2, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 177, sign. Q 7 (22 November 1759), fol. 84. See also Wolf, *Fürstin Eleonore Liechtenstein*, 9.

According to the literature, Maria Eleonora was her father's favorite daughter,¹¹⁰ perhaps because through her marriage she became a duchess. It is worth noting that Leopold drew up his will, in which he granted her and his eldest daughter Theresia Maria a more substantial inheritance than his other two daughters, in 1738—that is, approximately around the period of her independent rule in Guastalla.

It is unclear when Maria Eleonora returned to Moravia after her husband's death. Scholars frequently assert that she rarely resided on her inherited estates.¹¹¹ However, the 1760 inventory of Groß-Meseritsch Castle records several objects attesting to her presence there. These include a silk chalice veil embroidered by Her Highness in the chapel, "*Neue Mährische Landtkarten*" dated 1755 in the billiard room, a *Gnadenbild* from Guastalla, and two portraits of the late duke of Guastalla.¹¹²

Maria Eleonora died in Brno on 18 April 1760 and was buried in Assumption Church in Netín.¹¹³

Maria Gabriela Felicitas, Princess of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1716–1798)

Maria Gabriela Felicitas, Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (Fig. 11), was baptized at Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna on 21 October 1716 as the third daughter of Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and his wife Maria Elisabeth.¹¹⁴ Nothing is known about her childhood. She became engaged to Karl Friedrich Nikolaus, Prince of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch (1714–1744), on 18 April 1735 in Vienna, and married him on 23 May of the same year in the chapel of her father's château at Wetzdorf, where her eldest sister Theresia Maria was also married on the same day.¹¹⁵ Karl Friedrich was the only son of Froben Ferdinand, Prince of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch (1664–1741), and his wife Maria Theresia, née Countess of Sulz (1671–1743). He was an exceptionally gifted child, and his parents placed great expectations upon him, especially after his marriage to the princess of Schleswig-Holstein.¹¹⁶

News of the double marriage of members of the high nobility was reported, with several inaccuracies, in the contemporary press.¹¹⁷ Particular attention was given to the marriage contract of

¹¹⁰ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 90.

¹¹¹ *Velké Meziříčí v zrcadle*, 214; Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 14.

¹¹² MZA, C 2, Tribunál - pozůstalosti, karton 177, sign. Q 7 (19 July 1760), fols. 2–2v, 11.

¹¹³ Her death resulted from injuries sustained in a fall from her horse; see Kotík, *Velké Meziříčí*, 79. According to some sources, she died on 28 February 1760; see *Velké Meziříčí v zrcadle*, 214. As late as the early twentieth century, the inscription on her tombstone was still legible and began with the words *AD hoc SepVLChrVM / IstIG IaCere pro DIIVM Leges*; see Kratochvíl, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 320.

¹¹⁴ AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan, Taufbuch, 01-057, fol. 365v. Genealogical works and the secondary literature give date of her birth as 22 October (e.g., Süsenbeková, *Stříčky z dějin*, 29). She could have been born no later than 21 October (as stated in Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 91), the date of her baptism.

¹¹⁵ AT DAW, Rohrbach, Tauf-, Trauungs-, Sterbebuch, 01,2,3-02, pag. 254. The dates of 25 and 30 May, occasionally cited in the literature for the marriage (Münch, *Geschichte des Hauses*, 205; Valeš, *Příběhy slávy a zapomnění*, 132; Süsenbeková, *Stříčky z dějin*, 29), are incorrect.

¹¹⁶ Münch, *Geschichte des Hauses*, 203–05.

¹¹⁷ *Des Neu-eröffneter Historischer*, 141. The writer mixed up the brides and wrote that Prince Fürstenberg's wedding took place at Frischau Manor.

the young Fürstenberg couple because it was apparently already known at the time that, after the death of her father Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, the princess would inherit one-quarter of his entire estate. She undertook to bring this inheritance into the marriage and to incorporate it into her husband's fideicommissum.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, Karl Friedrich enjoyed his wife's considerable inheritance only for a short time. After succeeding his father in 1741 as the prince of the Fürstenberg-Mößkirch line, commissioning the construction of Saint Fidelis's Chapel at Meßkirch in 1743 (demolished in 1827), and merging the library from his castle at Heiligenberg with the court library, he died unexpectedly of pneumonia on 7 September 1744,¹¹⁹ only a few months after the deaths of his wife's parents.

The marriage, which had lasted nine years, remained childless,¹²⁰ and with Karl Friedrich the Fürstenberg-Mößkirch line became extinct. Maria Gabriela thus became the last princess of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch. This particular distinction is frequently encountered in the literature and also reflected in the inscription on the reverse of one of the Ljubljana portraits. Already at the end of 1744 the princess concluded an agreement with Joseph Wilhelm Ernst, Prince of Fürstenberg-Stühlingen (1699–1762) of Donaueschingen, who inherited the possessions of the extinct Fürstenberg-Mößkirch line.¹²¹ Under the terms of the agreement, she renounced the fideicommissary rights arising from her marriage contract. In return she retained not only Heiligenberg, assigned to her as her widow's residence, and all the gifts she had received from her husband during their nine years of marriage, but also all the property she had brought into the marriage after the deaths of her parents.

According to the provisions of her mother's will, in 1744 the princess inherited from her parents one-quarter of the house on Joannesgasse in Vienna, one-fifth of her mother's silver, approximately one-quarter of her mother's jewelry, the Moravian estates of Frischau, Gaiwitz, and Bonitz, and, among other property, two hundred thousand guilders.¹²² At the end of 1744, Maria Gabriela was therefore an extremely wealthy widow at the age of only twenty-eight. Although she had every opportunity to marry again, during the following years she gradually withdrew from social life.

From 1750 onward, she regularly visited the Benedictine convent at Eichstätt, where she venerated Saint Walburga. Finally, she approached the convent with a request to move into the convent full time as a sort of benefice holder and to be permitted, for this purpose, to carry out extensive building work—for herself and her entourage—in the convent guest house and on the top floor of the abbey wing.¹²³ During 1758 and 1759, with the permission of the abbess Willibalda, she had relatively luxurious apartments built by the master mason to the prince-bishop's court, Giovanni Domenico Barbieri (1704–1764), on the second floor of the southeastern wing of the convent, and on 13 September 1760 she settled there permanently.¹²⁴ For the lease of this residence, together with the accommodation she had arranged—also at her own expense—for her servants within the

¹¹⁸ *Des Neu-eröffneter Historischer*, 141. See also Münch, *Geschichte des Hauses*, 205.

¹¹⁹ Münch, *Geschichte des Hauses*, 206; Heim, "Das Ende der Meßkircher."

¹²⁰ Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 11, mentions three children, but this information cannot be confirmed.

¹²¹ Münch, *Geschichte des Hauses*, 206.

¹²² MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 44v–45v, 47v–49.

¹²³ Zunker, "Friedhof der Pfarrei St. Walburg," 15.

¹²⁴ Zunker, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Walburg*, 85–86, 152, 666, 782. Barbieri himself also mentions the conversion of the rooms into princely apartments in his autobiography; see Margadant and Braun, *Giovanni Domenico Barbieri*, 137.



11. Portrait of Maria Gabriela Felicitas, Princess of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1716–1798), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

convent, she paid the exceptionally high annual sum of six hundred guilders.¹²⁵ Little has survived of the apartments known as the *Fürstenzimmer* following the secularization of the convent and the dispersal of its furnishings in 1806, apart from a Baroque stove, a small chair, and several late Rococo stucco decorations by Johann Jakob Berg (1727–1787).¹²⁶

In addition, the princess generously endowed the convent and other ecclesiastical institutions in the town. Her great charity toward all those in need soon became well known throughout Eichstätt.¹²⁷ Already in 1757 she had donated funds for the restoration of the altars in the Capuchin church at Znojmo.¹²⁸ She also took care of her Moravian estates, where, in 1765–1771, at her own expense, she built and furnished the Church of the Annunciation at Frischau, providing it with altarpieces brought from Eichstätt.¹²⁹ The church was later incorporated into the English landscape park surrounding the château after its reconstruction in the Neoclassical style (Fig. 12).

¹²⁵ Zunker, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Walburg*, 85; Zunker, “Friedhof der Pfarrei St. Walburg,” 16.

¹²⁶ Kaganiec, “Leopold Holsztyński,” 91; Zunker, “Friedhof der Pfarrei St. Walburg,” 15–17.

¹²⁷ Zunker, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Walburg*, 154, 782.

¹²⁸ Süsenbeková, *Stříčky z dějin*, 30; Valeš, *Příběhy slávy a zapomnění*, 137, 141.

¹²⁹ Valeš, *Příběhy slávy a zapomnění*, 141–46. On her charitable activities, donations, and commissions, see also Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 3: 216; Peřinka, *Vlastivěda moravská*, 130; Wisnar, *Heimatkunde*, 15–16;



12. Church of the Annunciation in Břežany, 1765–1771 (© ZRC SAZU, UIFS; photo: Renata Komić Marn)

After 1760 the wealthy princess lived a secluded but comfortable monastic life. According to an older source, which corresponds to the date of her entrance into the convent enclosure, Maria Gabriela resided at Frischau Manor only from her husband's untimely death in 1744 until 4 August 1760, and she never returned thereafter.¹³⁰ In the will she drew up in 1785, she bequeathed Frischau, Bonitz, and Gaiwitz, together with all their furnishings and the picture gallery, to Moritz Joseph, Prince of Liechtenstein, the grandson of her eldest sister Maria Theresia, who was her *favorite petit-neveu*.¹³¹

She died in the convent at Eichstätt on 13 June 1798. According to some accounts she is buried at Mößkirch, and according to others at Eichstätt, where there is a commemorative epitaph erected by the Benedictine nuns in gratitude for her generosity,¹³² while still others maintain that the present location of her grave is unknown.¹³³ In her will the princess expressed the wish to be buried in the *Klosterfrauengruft* at Eichstätt.¹³⁴ She also bequeathed an exceptionally large sum of money to the

Zunker, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei St. Walburg*, 154, 156, 666, 782; Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 91–92; Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 31–32.

¹³⁰ Wisnar *Heimatskunde*, 15.

¹³¹ Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 92, states that she bequeathed her entire estate to the convent in Eichstätt.

¹³² Kaganiec, "Leopold Holsztyński," 92.

¹³³ Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 11; Süsenbeková, *Střípky z dějin*, 32.

¹³⁴ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 138, inv. č. 1643, sign. 21 (17 September 1785), paragraph 1.

convent and its church (fourteen thousand guilders in total), together with all her relics. It may therefore be assumed that she was indeed initially buried in the convent, and that her remains were later transferred, perhaps to Saint Martin's Church in Meßkirch, where her husband Prince Karl Friedrich had already been laid to rest in 1744 and where a magnificent tomb epitaph was erected in his memory in 1776.¹³⁵

Maria Charlotte Antonia, Princess of Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1718–1765)

Maria Charlotte Antonia, Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (Fig. 15), was baptized on 18 February 1718 at Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna.¹³⁶ Nothing is known about her childhood. She was the last of the sisters to marry: first by proxy in Vienna on 7 July 1735, and personally a year later, on 25 July 1736, at St. Veit. Her marriage to the young Karl Thomas, Prince of Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort (1714–1789), who had been declared of age prematurely on 24 May 1735 to be able to succeed his father as the reigning prince,¹³⁷ was not a happy one. The couple, who initially established their married life in Bavaria, separated in 1739, shortly after the birth of their only daughter, Leopoldina Charlotte (1739–1765).¹³⁸ Thereafter they lived apart, although they never dissolved their marriage.

Prince Karl Thomas, who had studied in Prague and Paris and took a keen interest in art and science, was admitted in 1754 to the Leopoldina (*Nationale Akademie der Wissenschaften*) under the academic name Apollo Soter as member no. 584.¹³⁹ From 1765 onward, he was also a corresponding member of the French Academy, and over the course of his life he assembled an extensive library.¹⁴⁰ He devoted himself to public representation, military service, and the administration of his Bavarian estates.¹⁴¹

Following the death of her parents in 1744, Maria Charlotte inherited the Lower Austrian estates of Wetzdorf, Rohrbach, Weissenburg, Kirchberg an der Pielach, Mainburg, and Tradigist,¹⁴² one-quarter of the house on Joannesgasse in Vienna, most of her mother's silver, somewhat less than one-quarter of her mother's jewelry, and, among other property, two hundred thousand guilders.¹⁴³

¹³⁵ For the magnificent epitaph, see Rädle, "Das Grabmal des Fürsten."

¹³⁶ AT DAW, Wien – Dom- und Metropolitanpfarre St. Stephan Taufbuch | 01-058, fol. 272.

¹³⁷ Keweloh et al., "Hafenpläne und Jachtschiffe," 26.

¹³⁸ Keweloh et al., "Hafenpläne und Jachtschiffe," 75 (n. 33).

¹³⁹ Stockert, *Adel im Übergang*, 20.

¹⁴⁰ Stockert, *Adel im Übergang*, 20.

¹⁴¹ He was appointed a lieutenant general in the service of the Electoral Palatinate on 4 May 1758 and an imperial-royal lieutenant colonel on 31 December 1769; cf. Schmidt-Brentano, *Kaiserliche und k.k. Generale*, 59. On his self-representation and patronage, see Keweloh et al., "Hafenpläne und Jachtschiffe."

¹⁴² MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 44v–45v, 49–51v. Following the death of her mother, Erdmunda, in 1737, Maria Elisabeth inherited half of the estates of Weissenburg, Kirchberg an der Pielach, Mainburg, and Tradigist; she probably acquired the remaining half by purchase; see note 96.

¹⁴³ MZA, G 393, Rodinný archiv Harrachů Velké Meziříčí, karton 137, inv. č. 1637, sign. 14 (22 April 1744), fols. 44v–45v.



13. Portrait of Maria Charlotte Antonia, Princess of Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort, née Princess of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg (1718–1765), Ljubljana, National Museum of Slovenia (© Narodni muzej Slovenije; photo: Tomaž Lauko)

As is evident from the 1798 inventory of Frischau Manor, before 1760 Maria Charlotte was a frequent guest at her sister Maria Gabriela's Moravian residence, where she had her own room on the upper floor, referred to as "the princess of Löwenstein's room" (*das Fürstlich Löwensteinsche Frauen Zimmer*).¹⁴⁴ Together with her daughter she mainly resided on the estate of Horaschdowitz (Horažďovice) in Bohemia, which she had purchased herself in 1755 from the Princes of Mannsfeld-Fondi. It seems that in nearby Groß Bor (Velký Bor) she had a building erected on the medieval fortified castle's foundations, in which an almshouse for twelve poor women and men together with a chapel dedicated to Saints John and Paul was established in 1765.¹⁴⁵ She died in Horaschdowitz in 1765 at the age of forty-seven. Two weeks later her daughter, who married the prince of Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingsfürst in 1761, also died. Both were buried in Saint Michael's Church (today Saint Mary's Church) at Horažďovice.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ MZA, Moravskoslezské zemské právo, C9, karton 40, sign. 13, spis č. 511 (12 October 1798), fol. 31v.

¹⁴⁵ "Velký Bor."

¹⁴⁶ Sedláková, "Významné majitelky," 12.

The estate that the princess had bequeathed to her daughter ultimately passed to her widower, the prince of Löwenstein-Wertheim. In this way all the estates that Maria Charlotte had inherited from her parents became the property of his family. As far as is known, after taking possession of Wetzdorf the prince continued to invest in the furnishing and renovation of the Baroque château, but in 1783 he sold the lordship to Count Leopold Wilhelm Kolowrat-Krakowsky.¹⁴⁷ Thereafter the ownership of the château changed several more times, and it was extensively remodeled, with the result that none of its eighteenth-century furnishings have survived.¹⁴⁸

Conclusions

The archival and visual evidence examined in this study substantially expands the understanding of the patronage and collecting activities of Leopold, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, his wife Maria Elisabeth, née Princess of Liechtenstein, and her first husband, Maximilian Jakob, Prince of Liechtenstein, who emerge as significant yet hitherto underestimated participants in Central European aristocratic art patronage and collecting.

Maria Elisabeth, together with her daughter Maria Gabriela, Princess of Fürstenberg-Mößkirch, played a central role in preserving the celebrated painting gallery at Frischau, which comprised approximately 270 works in 1798. New findings call for a reassessment of the gallery's origins. Contrary to the prevailing view, Maria Elisabeth probably did not inherit the collection from her father, Johann Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein. Neither his will nor the surviving list of paintings designated for his allodial heiresses supports this assumption, and the gallery's predominantly Dutch character differs markedly from Johann Adam's collecting preferences. The available evidence instead points to Maria Elisabeth's first husband Maximilian Jakob as a key figure in the collection's formation. His documented contacts with the Antwerp-based Forchondt family and with other dealers, artists, relatives, and associates reveal a collecting network that extended well beyond the Liechtenstein court. Paintings acquired during his grand tour may also have contributed to the collection, although this possibility requires further investigation.

Maria Elisabeth's marriage contract, the artworks and luxury objects she received from Maximilian, and her testamentary arrangements demonstrate her sustained interest in paintings, tapestries, silver, and interior decoration. By 1744, the Frischau gallery formed part of the property she bequeathed to her daughter, Maria Gabriela Felicitas, in return for the payment of twelve thousand guilders into the estate by the heiress. The collection should therefore be understood not simply as an inherited ensemble, but as the product of successive acts of acquisition, transfer, preservation, and dynastic commemoration in the eighteenth century.

The lives of Leopold and Maria Elisabeth's four daughters reveal the extent to which marriage, inheritance, religious patronage, and estate management shaped the transmission of property and dynastic memory across eighteenth-century Central Europe. Through their marriages, the princesses connected the House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg with the princely houses of Oettingen-Spielberg, Gonzaga of Guastalla, Fürstenberg-Mößkirch, and Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort. Their substantial inheritances—including estates in Moravia and Lower Austria, shares in

¹⁴⁷ Felgel, "Kolowrat-Krakowski," 457.

¹⁴⁸ See "Schloss Wetzdorf." See also "Wetzdorf (Kleinwetzdorf)."

the family residence in Vienna, jewelry, silver, and large sums of money—were subsequently redistributed among several aristocratic families.

Theresia Maria Anna was the only one of the sisters to leave descendants, thereby ensuring that a significant proportion of her parents' Moravian possessions remained in the hands of their biological heirs. Through her daughters, these estates and the associated family legacy passed into the Liechtenstein, Kaunitz, and eventually Metternich families. Maria Eleonora Charlotte, Duchess of Guastalla, assumed an important political role during her husband's illness and temporarily governed the duchy. The objects recorded at Groß-Meseritsch in 1760 challenge the claim that she rarely visited her Moravian estates and attest to her continued attachment to Guastalla and to her active presence at the castle.

Maria Gabriela Felicitas emerges as the most consequential of the sisters in terms of artistic patronage and the preservation of the family collections. After withdrawing to the Benedictine convent at Eichstätt, she financed the creation of luxurious apartments, supported religious institutions, and commissioned the construction and furnishing of Assumption Church at Frischau. Crucially, she preserved the Frischau picture gallery and bequeathed it, together with the manor and its furnishings, to her great-nephew Moritz Joseph of Liechtenstein. Maria Charlotte Antonia likewise maintained close ties with Frischau, where she had her own apartments, whereas her charitable foundation at Velký Bor and the continued renovation of Wetzdorf, financed by her husband, reflect the broader architectural and philanthropic activities associated with her inheritance.

Taken together, the sisters' biographies demonstrate that they were not merely passive recipients of dynastic wealth. Through the management, transfer, preservation, and patronage of estates, buildings, furnishings, and works of art, they actively shaped the material and cultural legacy of their family. The archival findings also correct several long-established errors concerning their births, marriages, residences, and inheritances, while opening new avenues for research into aristocratic women's agency, collecting practices, and transregional networks. A detailed analysis of the surviving family portraits and the formation of the family portrait gallery—as well as further findings on family art patronage and collecting—will be presented in a separate study.

Research for this paper has been conducted at ZRC SAZU (Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, France Stele Institute of Art History), within the research projects Nationalisation and Musealisation of Art Collections in Slovenia in the Light of Provenance Research (J6-60106) and Art Collections of the Central-European Aristocracy, 1795-1939: A Comparative Study (N6-0382), and within the core funding programme Art in Slovenia at a Cultural Crossroads (P6-0061), all funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency. The data underlying this article are available in the article and in its online supplementary material.

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Umetnostno naročništvo, zbirateljstvo in dinastični spomin v rodbini Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg: Nove perspektive

Povzetek

Arhivski in likovni viri, obravnavani v tej študiji, bistveno poglobljajo naše razumevanje življenja ter umetnostnega naročništva in zbirateljske dejavnosti Leopolda, vojvode Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburga, in njegove žene Marije Elizabete, rojene kneginje Liechtenstein. Leopold se kaže kot pomemben umetnostni naročnik, Marija Elizabeta in njuna hči Marija Gabriela kneginja Fürstenberg-Mölskirch pa sta imeli osrednjo vlogo pri ohranjanju znamenite galerije slik v dvorcu Frischau (Břežany), ki je leta 1798 obsegala približno 270 del, kmalu zatem pa je bila razprodana.

Nove ugotovitve zahtevajo ponovni razmislek o izvoru oziroma nastanku te galerije. V nasprotju s prevladujočim mnenjem Marija Elizabeta zbirke verjetno ni podedovala po očetu, Janezu Adamu Andreju knezu Liechtensteinu. Te domneve ne podpirata niti njegova oporoka niti ohranjeni seznam slik, namenjenih njegovim alodialnim dedinjam. Poleg tega se značaj galerije ne ujema z Janezovimi zbirateljskimi preferencami. Razpoložljivi viri namesto tega kažejo na prvega moža Marije Elizabete, Maksimilijana Jakoba, kot ključno osebnost pri oblikovanju zbirke. Njegovi dokumentirani stiki z antverpensko trgovsko družino Forchondt ter z drugimi trgovci, umetniki, sorodniki in znanci razkrivajo obsežno zbirateljsko mrežo. V zbirko so morda prišle tudi slike, ki jih je pridobil na svojem kavalirskem potovanju.

Prva poročna pogodba Marije Elizabete, umetnine in dragoceni predmeti, ki jih je prejela od Maksimilijana, ter njena oporočna določila pričajo o njenem trajnem zanimanju za slike, tapiserije, srebrnino in notranjo opremo. Galerija v Frischauu je bila leta 1744 del premoženja, ki ga je zapustila hčeri Mariji Gabrieli Felicitas v zameno za plačilo 12.000 goldinarjev v zapuščinsko maso. Zbirke zato ne smemo razumeti zgolj kot podedovano celoto, temveč kot rezultat zaporednih procesov pridobivanja, prenašanja, ohranjanja in dinastične komemoracije v 18. stoletju. Leopold, Maksimilijan

Jakob in Marija Elizabeta se tako kažejo kot pomembni, vendar doslej premalo raziskani udeleženci aristokratskega umetnostnega naročništva in zbirateljstva v srednji Evropi.

Življenjske poti štirih hčera Leopolda in Marije Elizabete nadalje kažejo, kako so poroke, dedovanje, cerkveno naročništvo in upravljanje posesti oblikovali prenos premoženja in dinastičnega spomina po srednji Evropi 18. stoletja. Kneginje so s porokami povezale rodbino Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg z vojvodino Guastalla ter knežjimi rodbinami Oettingen-Spielberg, Gonzaga, Fürstenberg-Mößkirch in Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort. Njihova obsežna dediščina, ki je vključevala posesti na Moravskem in v Spodnji Avstriji, deleže družinske hiše na Dunaju, nakit, srebrnino in visoke denarne zneske, je bila pozneje razdeljena med več plemiških rodbin.

Marija Terezija Ana je bila edina izmed sester, ki je zapustila potomce, s čimer je zagotovila, da je pomemben del moravskih posesti njenih staršev ostal v rokah njihovih neposrednih dedičev. Po njenih hčerah so te posesti in z njimi povezana družinska dediščina prešle v rodbini Liechtenstein in Kaunitz ter tudi v rodbino Metternich. Marija Eleonora Karolina, vojvodinja Guastalle, je med moževo boleznijo prevzela pomembno politično vlogo in začasno upravljala vojvodino. Predmeti, popisani leta 1760 v gradu Groß Meseritsch (Velké Meziříčí), postavljajo pod vprašaj trditev, da je le redko obiskovala svoje moravske posesti, ter pričajo tako o njeni trajni povezanosti z Guastallo kot o njeni navzočnosti na podedovanem gradu.

Marija Gabriela Felicitas se med sestrami kaže kot najvidnejša na področju umetnostnega naročništva in ohranjanja družinskih zbirk. Po umiku v benediktinski samostan v Eichstättu je financirala ureditev razkošnega stanovanja v samostanskem kompleksu, podpirala cerkvene ustanove ter naročila gradnjo in opremo cerkve Marijinega vnebovzeta v Frischauu. Najpomembneje pa je, da je ohranila tamkajšnjo galerijo slik ter jo skupaj z dvorcem in njegovo opremo zapustila pranečaku Moricu Jožefu knezu Liechtensteinu. Tudi Marija Karolina Antonija je ohranjala tesne stike s Frischauom, kjer je imela lastne prostore. Njena dobrodelna ustanova v Velkem Boru in nadaljnja prenova Wetzdorfa, ki jo je izvedel njen mož, odražata širše arhitekturne in dobrodelne dejavnosti, ki jih je omogočila njena dediščina.

Biografije sester kot celota kažejo, da niso bile zgolj pasivne prejemnice dinastičnega premoženja. Z upravljanjem, prenašanjem in ohranjanjem posesti, stavb, opreme in umetnin ter z umetnostnim naročništvom so dejavno oblikovale materialno in kulturno dediščino svoje rodbine. Arhivske ugotovitve obenem popravljajo nekaj dolgo uveljavljenih zmot o njihovih rojstvih, porokah, bivališčih in dediščinah ter odpirajo nove možnosti za raziskovanje delovanja plemkinj, zbirateljskih praks in nadregionalnih povezav. Podrobna analiza ohranjenih družinskih portretov in oblikovanja družinske portretne galerije bo predstavljena v ločeni študiji.



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