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Illuminating the Soul, Glorifying the Sacred

Religious Confraternities and the Visual Arts
in Early Modern Europe

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PREFACE

CONFRATERNITIES: NETWORKS OF PATRONS, ARTISTS, AND RESEARCHERS

Barbara Murovec

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PREDGOVOR

BRATOVŠČINE: MREŽE NAROČNIKOV, UMETNIKOV IN RAZISKOVALCEV

Barbara Murovec

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTRODUCTION

Barbara Wisch

Guest co-editor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



DISSERTATIONES

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

Gegenwärtiger Ehr- und tugendhafter *Leutnant Völz* ~~Wolff~~
 ist Unserer Marianischen Versammlung ordentlich erwählt
 worden und hat sich jederzeit als ein Würdiges Mitglied derselben betragen
 da er nun aber anderstwohin zu ziehen genöthigt ist, haben Wir ihm Kraft
 des hiesigen Briefes, welcher mit unserm ausgedruckten Inhihl. und des Herrn
 Praefecten und Secretarij Namen unterzeichnet ist, aller Orten
 als anempfehlen wollen, mit Bitte, man möchte ihn als eines
 derer Mitglieder erkennen, gütwillig an und aufnehmen,
 welches Wir dazü auch nach Gebühr zuerwiedrigen Versprechen
 gegeben in München den 21. Nov. 1793.

PRÆFECTUS

*Johann Ignaz
 Schmid Buchbinder*



SECRETARIUS

*Joseph
 Kobyan
 Wagner*

Archconfraternities and the Arts

Overarching New Themes

Barbara Wisch

The English priest Gregory Martin, who sojourned in Rome from 1576 to 1578 and composed a manuscript titled *Roma Sancta* in 1581, wrote that “other Cities of Italie have the like Confraternities belonging unto these of Rome and dependant of them as of the greater and elder and more honorable and (at a word) as the lesser on the grand and mother Companies of the Mother Citie.”¹ Although Martin did not use the term “archconfraternity”, he was in fact attesting to these specially selected Roman brotherhoods, elevated by the pope himself to this prestigious rank. Archconfraternities accrued the most impressive indulgences and were also officially empowered to aggregate comparable sodalities, sharing spiritual benefits and privileges. Roman archconfraternities set the standard for an expanding global network in terms of devotional practices, rules of governance, indulgences, and even confraternal attire, such as the color of the hooded, sackcloth habit bearing the confraternal emblem.

Since the 14th century, confederations among Roman confraternities had occurred, and during the 15th and 16th centuries, affiliated groups from outside the city increased. However, the year 1520 marked a new development: the designation of the rank of “archconfraternity”. Prior to the conclusion of the Council of Trent in 1563, this was a very exclusive group comprising only five archconfraternities. But from the last quarter of the 16th century, spurred by the enthusiastic support of Pope Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585), the number of archconfraternities increased dramatically, an expansion that continued to the end of the early modern period. If all roads did indeed lead to Rome, then archconfraternities and their aggregated brotherhoods were the ideal embodiment of a devout Catholic laity united at the heart of the Eternal City. Archconfraternities were also an evangelical vehicle for spreading the “good news” of a reformed and triumphant Apostolic Roman Church across the globe.

Despite their importance, there is still no monographic study of Roman archconfraternities. Canon law scholars have addressed the juridical implications of this new rank meticulously,² but a true *history* of archconfraternities—synchronic or diachronic—is needed. This paper is, therefore,

¹ Gregory MARTIN, *Roma Sancta* (ed. George Bruner Parks), Roma 1969, p. 197. I shall use interchangeably the names confraternities called themselves in their own records: *confraternita* (confraternity), *fraternita* (brotherhood), *sodalizio* (sodality), *compagnia* (company), and “*archiconfraternità*”, today’s *arciconfraternita* (archconfraternity).

² Edmund QUINN, *Archconfraternities, Archsodalities and Primary Unions with a Supplement of the Archconfraternity of Christian Mothers*, Washington, D.C. 1962 (Canon Law Studies from the Catholic University of America, 421); Mirella MOMBELLI CASTRACANE, Ricerche sulla natura giuridica delle confraternite nell’età della controriforma, *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, 55, 1982, pp. 43–166.

a *prolegomenon* to a broader study of Roman archconfraternities, their influential cardinal protectors, and their patronage of the arts. I hope to identify new themes and pose many questions. Most significantly for this international conference, I have asked the participants—and here in this essay, ask confraternal scholars in general—to consider how these Roman regulations and patterns might have been emulated, manipulated, exploited, or ignored by confraternities across the Slovenian lands, the European continent, and the far-flung regions newly converted to Catholicism. First, I briefly examine new ecclesiastical decrees that controlled archconfraternities and/or incentivized support. Second, I look at the practical ways Roman brotherhoods served as paradigms. Next, since no definitive list exists, I begin to establish a chronology for the earliest Roman archconfraternities along with the names of their cardinal protectors. I then interpret the crucial role of the cardinal protector, elucidating his interwoven networks of jurisdiction, and underscoring confraternal expectations of his generous patronage of art and architecture.

Efforts at Control and Incentivizing Support

In the late Middle Ages, when laymen were first assembling and forming confraternities, there was no canon law specifying requirements for the institution or control of sodalities. Furthermore, it remains unclear how long after the original foundation of these pious unions they sought canonical institution (*erectio*) with episcopal approval, thereby establishing an official path for receiving spiritual privileges and indulgences.³ As late as the 1540s, attempts to place confraternities firmly under episcopal supervision and standardize devotional practices remained ineffective. Only as the Council of Trent (1545–1563) was drawing to a close, did it devote two brief chapters in Session XXII of 1562 to “pious places /.../ in the hands of laymen”, specifically placing confraternities, hospitals, colleges, and their charitable legacies under episcopal control.⁴ This included the inspection of their premises (including altarpieces and frescoes), account ledgers, and inventories of liturgical furnishings, hospital equipment, etc. The pastoral visitations necessitated accurate registers of their substantial real estate holdings, a primary source of income. Detailed survey plans were required, generating the great *Libri delle case* [*Books of the Houses*], a rich source for research that remains to be thoroughly explored.⁵ Digitizing and overlaying these plans on contemporary maps of Rome would reveal the extent of confraternal property throughout the early modern era and document the integral place of (arch)confraternities in the civic fabric.

³ Luigi FIORANI, Discussioni e ricerche sulle confraternite romane negli ultimi cento anni, *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, 6, 1985, pp. 11–105, especially pp. 55–62, where he encouraged scholars to reassess the foundation dates and number of Roman sodalities, taking into account multiple earlier aggregations, time lapses between original devotional assemblies and papal approval, as well as more informal associations without official recognition. He did not, however, look specifically at archconfraternities.

⁴ *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (trans. Henry Joseph Schroeder), St. Louis 1960, pp. 156–157 (Session XXII, Chaps. 8–9).

⁵ Angela MARINO, I “Libri delle case” di Roma. La città disegnata, *Il disegno di architettura* (eds. Paolo Carpeggiani, Luciano Patetta), Milano 1989, pp. 149–153; Roberto FREGNA, *La pietrificazione del denaro. Studi sulla proprietà urbana tra XVI e XVII secolo*, Bologna 1990; Carla KEYVANIAN, The “Books of Houses” and their Architects. Mapping the Urban Fabric of Sixteenth-Century Rome, *Thresholds*, 28, 2005, pp. 17–22; David FRIEDMAN, Visual Documents, Property Archives, and the Map of the City of Rome 1563–1712, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 71, 2012, pp. 278–305. The earliest surviving example (1563) belongs to the Compagnia della SS. Annunziata at S. Maria sopra Minerva, which was elevated to an archconfraternity in 1581.

As part of his stringent program of visitation and reform, Clement VIII issued the bull *Quaecumque* in 1604 to establish norms for erecting new confraternities, in part to prevent the rapidly growing numbers of brotherhoods from duplicating cultic and charitable imperatives. In addition, sodalities were not permitted to aggregate with more than one archconfraternity, thereby preventing unauthorized efforts to acquire a richer patrimony of indulgences, so crucial in the Catholic economy of salvation. In addition to the “prestige” accrued by association and the extraordinary wealth of indulgences made immediately available to new members, the desire to aggregate was further animated by the hospitality offered to visiting affiliated companies during Holy Year celebrations. This was significant as pilgrimages to the Eternal City and processional visits to the Principal Churches had grown in stature and splendor from 1575 onward.⁶

In 1607, Paul V reconfirmed Clement’s bull while mandating three major exemptions from the prohibitions of founding multiple sodalities with the same dedication within a diocese: Dottrina Cristiana, SS. Rosario, and SS. Sacramento. The Compagnia della Dottrina Cristiana, which had assumed responsibility for adolescent catechetical education in Rome, had been founded in 1560, although Pius V (reigned 1566–1572) only authorized their constitutions in 1566. Impressed with their success, in 1571 the pontiff exhorted bishops across Christendom to create Christian Doctrine sodalities in every parish. Paul V subsequently raised the Dottrina Cristiana to an archconfraternity in 1607, reinforcing his decree of that year.⁷

Owing to their ardent promulgation of Catholic orthodoxy and the extirpation of heresy, the same exemption was applied to the Roman confraternities of SS. Rosario (instituted in 1481) and SS. Sacramento (instituted in 1539), both having been erected under the aegis of the Observant Dominicans at their mother church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Although these confraternities were not the first in Rome (or elsewhere) to venerate the Rosary or the Holy Sacrament, the papacy conceded special archconfraternal-like status to affiliate other sodalities and share their rich indulgences, although they remained under the jurisdiction of the General of the Dominican Order.⁸ In 1573 SS. Sacramento was officially elevated to an archconfraternity; the Compagnia del SS. Rosario was not, although by the mid-17th century, texts called the Minerva sodality “archiconfraternità”.⁹

⁶ Barbara WISCH, *The Roman Church Triumphant. Pilgrimage, Penance and Processions Celebrating the Holy Year of 1575, “All the world’s a stage ...” Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque* (eds. Barbara Wisch, Susan Scott Munshower), 1, University Park 1990 (Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University, 6), pp. 82–117.

⁷ Sergio RIVABENE, *L’insegnamento catechistico dell’Archiconfraternita della Dottrina Cristiana a Roma nei secc. XVI–XVII*, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 105, 1982, pp. 295–314.

⁸ QUINN 1962 (n. 2), pp. 11–24; Gilles Gérard MEERSSEMAN, Gian Piero PACINI, *Le confraternite laicali in Italia dal Quattrocento al Seicento*, *Problemi di storia della Chiesa nei secoli XV–XVII*, Napoli 1979, pp. 109–136, especially pp. 129–132; MOMBELLI CASTRACANE 1982 (n. 2), pp. 64–67; Christopher F. BLACK, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 62–68.

⁹ When Pius V credited Mary’s intercession—invoked by Rosary prayers—for the victory at the Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571), he instituted a new feast that dramatically spurred devotion and concomitant confraternities. In 1586, Sixtus V established the norms for erecting Rosary confraternities; see MOMBELLI CASTRACANE 1982 (n. 2), p. 65: n. 49. Carlo Bartolomeo PIAZZA, *Opere pie di Roma, descritte secondo lo stato presente e dedicate alla Santità di N. S. Innocenzo XI / ... /*, Roma 1679, pp. 365–366, comments that although he placed SS. Rosario in Trattato VI on archconfraternities, it was not actually elevated to that rank; the same held true for confraternities under the jurisdiction of other religious Orders. See *Capitoli Statuti et Ordinationi della Venerabile Compagnia del Santissimo Rosario / ... /*, Roma 1585 (“Ad istanza della Compagnia del SS. Rosario” Per gli heredi d’Antonio Blado); *Il modo di dire il Santissimo Rosario a chori, come lo dice l’Archiconfraternità di quello della Minerva di Roma*, Roma 1650; *Sommario delle indulgenze concesse a Fratelli, e Sorelle del Santissimo Rosario in vita, & in morte / ... /*,

Such blurring of the terminology contributes to the difficulty (addressed below) of creating a definitive chronological list of Roman archconfraternities.¹⁰

Many archconfraternities had their own richly decorated churches, oratories, and chapels, attesting to their wealth, prominence, and independence.¹¹ In 1573, upon mandating that the newly established feast of the Madonna del Rosario be celebrated in all Roman churches and oratories, Gregory XIII added that every church should have a chapel dedicated to the Rosary, further fostering confraternal patronage.¹² By 1601, 17 Sacrament sodalities existed in Rome, many with their own private oratories, demonstrating their growing importance and affluence. Nonetheless, to ensure proper supervision and control, in 1610, the Vicar General of Rome prohibited the introduction of new altars and paintings in all Roman confraternal churches without his express permission.¹³

Despite the preeminence of the Eternal City, archconfraternities were also created beyond the ancient walls. From 1569, Cardinal-Archbishop Carlo Borromeo elevated confraternities in the Diocese of Milan as part of his comprehensive reform program.¹⁴ In 1585, Pope Sixtus V conferred archconfraternal status on S. Maria della Vita, the oldest flagellant sodality in Bologna with its prominent church and large hospital in the city center. As Nicholas Terpstra has cogently remarked, the centralized hierarchy that had created “ties of dependence between autonomous lay brotherhoods across the Italian peninsula and Roman parent bodies /.../ was now duplicated on the urban level as S. Maria della Vita became the parent over ten other Bolognese confraternities.” As early as 1583, the statutes issued to all newly instituted Bolognese sodalities had been standardized by Cardinal-Archbishop Gabriele Paleotti, who emulated Borromeo’s model in Milan.¹⁵ Questions for further investigation include: How many other cities across the Catholic world were also developing their own archconfraternal systems? Which cardinal-archbishops sponsored them? How widespread were their networks?

Venezia 1668; and *Relazione della solenne processione fatta a Roma nell'Anno Santo M.DC.LXXV dall'Archiconfraternità del Santissimo Rosario*, Roma 1675.

¹⁰ Despite apostolic efforts to organize and standardize the procedures of archconfraternities and aggregations, much dissent from below (efforts to maintain independence and less oversight) and juridical ambivalence from above remained. In 1746, Benedict XIV even tried to suppress archconfraternities owing to administrative irregularities; see Roberto RUSCONI, *Confraternite, compagnie e devozioni*, *Storia d'Italia. Annali*, 9, 1986, pp. 469–506, especially p. 501: n. 1. A decree from the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences of 1880 and Chapter 707 of the *Codex iuris canonici* [*Codex of Canon Law*] of 1917 were still needed to clarify issues; see QUINN 1962 (n. 2), pp. 29–109; MOMBELLI CASTRACANE 1982 (n. 2), p. 65.

¹¹ Matizia MARONI LUMBROSO, Antonio MARTINI, *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese*, Roma 1963.

¹² MARONI LUMBROSO, MARTINI 1963 (n. 11), pp. 346–347. For the 1573 decoration of the confraternity’s new chapel in the Minerva that conserved the body of S. Caterina da Siena, see Simona CAPELLI, Marcello Venusti e la volta della Cappella Capranica in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Roma, *Bollettino d'arte*, 87, 2002, fasc. 119, pp. 73–80.

¹³ Domenico ROCCIOLO, *Confraternite e devoti a Roma in età moderna. Fonti e problemi storiografici*, *Confréries et dévotions dans la catholicité moderne mi-XV^e-début XIX^e siècle* (eds. Bernard Dompnier, Paola Vismara), Roma 2008 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 393), pp. 61–75, especially p. 71, quoting Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, *Bandi ed editi*, 1586–1672, fol. 93.

¹⁴ BLACK 1989 (n. 8), p. 74.

¹⁵ Nicholas TERPSTRA, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 221–225.

Setting an Example

In what practical ways were Roman archconfraternities exemplary? First and foremost, their statute books served as definitive models. Their own reformed statutes had incorporated Tridentine regulations, requiring that the books add many new chapters assiduously delineating confraternal life. These now encompassed: individual and collective prayers; papal indulgences; penalty fees for transgressions; and more rules for the growing numbers of officials (including a cardinal protector) as well as accountants, lawyers, priests, chaplains, and even additional porters to transport the lavish furnishings for festivities.¹⁶ The application process and patents for aggregation were significantly detailed in several chapters. From the early 17th century onward, the majority of *guardiani* (chief officials) were required to be noblemen, reflecting the “aristocratization” of Roman society.¹⁷ In addition, foundation stories were reinvented to aggrandize confraternal origins, pious fictions that have received little scholarly attention.¹⁸

Statutes also articulated the roles of *consorelle* (female members), which reflected their exclusions in civic life. Serving as *guardiano* was out of the question, but the *priora* (prioress)—a matron of a certain age and status elected by the women—was highly respected. Although confraternal oratories were predominantly barred to women, *consorelle* participated in other devotional practices and charitable work. From the later Quattrocento, women even helped represent the public face of Roman sodalities, as dowering indigent maidens became a confraternal charity celebrated by processions in which the prioress and *consorelle* accompanied the girls.¹⁹ By the late Cinquecento, when nobility was required for the office of prioress, elite women gained prominent positions, even that of *protettrice perpetuamente* (protectress for life). These new offices, I propose, should be studied to determine the extent of female power and influence.²⁰

Aggregated sodalities soon spanned the globe, creating an integrated web of pious practices, venerated images,²¹ and indulgences that effectively collapsed devotional and spatial distances by repeatedly converging at the eternal heart of Catholicism. By 1625, for example, the venerable Gonfalone, Rome’s oldest sodality, had aggregated almost 250 societies.²² As for images, in 1603,

¹⁶ MEERSSEMAN, PACINI 1979 (n. 8), pp. 132–136. Under Pius V, the *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis ad usum confraternitatum* was developed to promote devotional conformity. For the proliferation of printed material on behalf of Roman confraternities, see Rose Marie SAN JUAN, *Rome. A City Out of Print*, Minneapolis 2001, pp. 95–128; Roberto RUSCONI, “Tesoro spirituale della compagnia.” I libri delle confraternite nell’Italia del ’500, *Confréries* 2008 (n. 13), pp. 3–38. For a discussion of the importance of confraternal texts in the Slovenian lands, see Matija OGRIN, Confraternities in the Slovenian Lands and their Significance for Baroque Slovenian Literature, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 233–243.

¹⁷ E.g. *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternita dei Santi Dodici Apostoli di Roma*, Roma 1588; *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternita della S.ma Nuntiata in Roma*, Roma 1614; *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternita della Santissima Madonna della Consolazione*, Roma 1644; *Statuti del venerabile Archiospidale di San Giacomo in Augusta nominato dell’Incurabili di Roma*, Roma 1659.

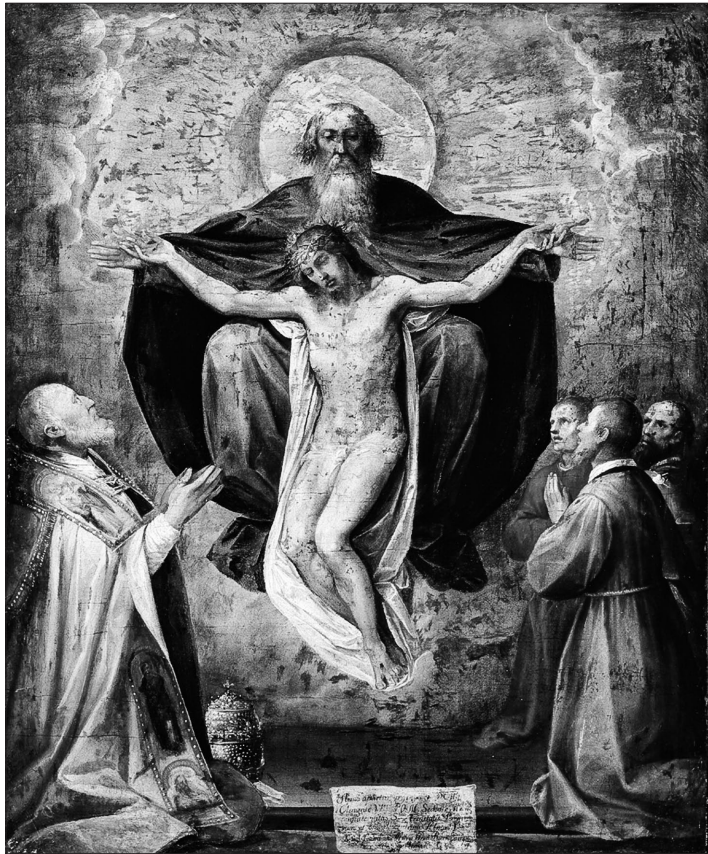
¹⁸ See Barbara WISCH, Nerida NEWBIGIN, *Acting on Faith. The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome*, Philadelphia 2013 (Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts, 7), pp. 40–41.

¹⁹ SAN JUAN 2001 (n. 16), pp. 95–109; WISCH, NEWBIGIN 2013 (n. 18), pp. 70–74.

²⁰ See n. 45 below.

²¹ For one of the earliest and most significant copies of the preeminent *Salus Populi Romani* icon of S. Maria Maggiore, see Krzysztof J. CZYŻEWSKI, Marek WALCZAK, The Archconfraternity of the Rosary in the Dominican Churches of Kraków. Piety and Patronage of the Arts, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 139–162.

²² Vincenzo PAGLIA, Contributo allo studio delle confraternite romane dei secoli XV–XVI, *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa*, 17/18, 1980, pp. 233–285, especially pp. 266–268.



1. Giuseppe Cesari,
called Il Cavalier d'Arpino:
*The Trinity Adored by Pope Clement VIII
and Confratelli*,
oil on canvas, 1602–1603,
Museo Nacional de San Carlos,
Mexico City

responding to a request from its new Mexico City affiliate and a 40 *scudi* “donation”, the archconfraternity of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti sent a painting of *The Trinity Adored by Pope Clement VIII and Confratelli* by Giuseppe Cesari, demonstrating the direct reception of an iconographic type (fig. 1).²³ By 1603, the Trinità had aggregated 314 companies.²⁴ Is this the only painting they sent abroad? How many other archconfraternities did the same?

Providing accommodation for visiting affiliates during Holy Years became a new responsibility for Roman archconfraternities, which further encouraged sodalities to join their ranks. In addition, the Jubilee of 1575 inaugurated entry processions as formalized affairs, and processional visits to the Four Principal Basilicas became the new manner of “earning” the Holy Year plenary indulgence (fig. 2). Affiliated societies responded to these new rituals by presenting their processional standards to the host company, in addition to more typical donations of wine, oil, and grain.²⁵ Because these grand, elaborate banners gained status as representational gifts, I suggest that we reassess their role in ephemeral and permanent decorative programs and attend to the prominent artists as well as artisans who created them.

²³ Marco PUPILLO, *La SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini di Roma. Artisti e committenti al tempo di Caravaggio*, Roma 2001, pp. 28–35. Clement VIII’s 1604 bull prohibited fees for affiliation.

²⁴ Luigi CAJANI, *Lungo le strade che portavano a Roma. Le confraternite aggregate all’Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti (XVI–XIX secolo), Poveri in cammino. Mobilità e assistenza tra Umbria e Roma in età moderna* (ed. Alberto Monticone), Milano 1993, pp. 339–408, including one from Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in 1593.

²⁵ WISCH 1990 (n. 6), p. 85.



2. Étienne Dupérac (attrib.): *Le sette chiese di Roma*, published by Antonio Lafreri in Rome, etching with engraving, 1575, British Museum, London

Developing a Chronology of Roman Archconfraternities

How helpful are early modern sources in establishing an accurate chronological list of Roman archconfraternities? Gregory Martin devoted Chapter 29 to “the Confraternities or Companies of Rome”, listing 24 in order of importance. He was primarily interested in their then current devotional and charitable functions. Although he took note of “the grand and mother Companies of the Mother Citie”, he provided no specific information about them.²⁶

In 1601, Camillo Fanucci, a devout *confratello* of five sodalities, provided a panoramic “eye-witness” account of the 99 active in Rome in the first published account of early modern Roman confraternities.²⁷ The volume, written not as a history, per se, but as an encomium of Rome’s “pious works”, inaugurated a new literary genre that flourished in 17th-century Rome. Fanucci did not carefully distinguish those groups elevated to archconfraternal status—perhaps unnecessary before Clement VIII’s 1604 bull.

²⁶ MARTIN 1963 (n. 1), pp. 203, 197; Martin reported a “Cardinal protector of ech Companie” of Rome (p. 204), which was not entirely correct.

²⁷ Camillo FANUCCI, *Trattato di tutte l'Opere pie dell'Alma Città di Roma. Nel quale si descrivono tutti gli spedali, confraternite, & altri luoghi pij, de quali tutti, o la maggior parte hanno facultà di comunicare i loro privilegi, & indulgenze; & si dichiara da chi sieno state instituite dette opere, di che tempo, & quello che fanno, & molte altre cose curiose da intendersi*, Roma 1601.

However, Abbot Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, in his *Opere pie di Roma* of 1679 and in the second revised edition of 1699, devoted a full section or *trattato* to them, titled “Dell’Archiconfraternità”.²⁸ The later imprint listed 41 archconfraternities in Rome, recording their dates of foundation and elevation, together with differing opinions regarding those histories.

The most comprehensive modern account of Roman confraternities and their churches—a repertory of almost 200 foundations (1264–1923)—was published by Matizia Maroni Lumbroso and Antonio Martini in *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese* in 1963. The authors of this fundamental and groundbreaking book provide a chronological list of confraternal foundations. However, they use the archconfraternal title as if it had been granted from the outset. This has caused considerable confusion in subsequent scholarship. Therefore, it is imperative to create a list of archconfraternities with their exact dates of elevation in order to initiate a synthetic analysis of this phenomenon, as I have done in Diagram 1.²⁹ In addition, the papal designation of “archiospedale” (archhospital), typically administered by confraternal brethren, increases the complexity and begs further research.³⁰

Historians now accept that the Compagnia della Carità, initiated c. 1519 by the Cardinal-Vice Chancellor Giulio de’ Medici, became Rome’s first archconfraternity. Within a year of its origin, the Carità numbered 80 brethren, comprising bishops, prelates, curial officials, and gentlemen. In his 1520 bull of approval, Giulio’s cousin, Leo X (reigned 1513–1521), simultaneously elevated the sodality to the new rank of archconfraternity. Cardinal Giulio was elected the archconfraternity’s protector and served until he assumed the papal throne as Clement VII in 1523. The Carità was renamed S. Girolamo della Carità in 1524 upon being assigned a new seat in the church dedicated to St. Jerome in the Regola district. It became one of the greatest and most influential Roman confraternal institutions, inspiring new sodalities, philanthropies, and religious Orders in its wake.³¹

Devout laymen had already been meeting at S. Girolamo for prayer and assistance to the poor by the time Filippo Neri (1515–1595), known for his deep commitment to hospital work, joined the group. Neri became a spiritual founder of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, instituted in 1548. The Trinità, which soared to fame in the Holy Year of 1550 by caring for indigent pilgrims, was elevated to archconfraternity in 1562, the fifth to be so honored. By the Holy Year of 1600, popes and the most powerful cardinals had allied themselves with SS. Trinità.³²

Increasingly, clerics played prominent leadership roles, especially in new brotherhoods that gained archconfraternal status at the time of their official foundations. The Archiconfraternità delli Orphani [*sic*] at S. Maria in Aquiro was instituted in 1540 by Cardinal Gian Domenico de Cupis, who was concurrently serving as cardinal protector of the Carità. The brethren comprised cardinals, prelates, and curial officials, including the vicar of Rome, the pope’s almoner, and the cardinal-nephew

²⁸ PIAZZA 1679 (n. 9). Carlo Bartolomeo PIAZZA, *Euseuologio romano, ovvero Delle opere pie di Roma; accresciuto, & ampliato secondo lo stato presente; con due trattati delle accademie, e librerie celebri di Roma*, Roma 1699.

²⁹ MARONI LUMBROSO, MARTINI 1963 (n. 11), pp. 441–442.

³⁰ Alessandro CANEZZA, *Gli arciospedali di Roma nella vita cittadina nella storia e nell’arte*, Roma 1933; Domenico ROTELLA, *Ospedali romani e confraternite dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, Roma 2013. The question of archhospitals cannot be addressed here.

³¹ MEERSSEMAN, PACINI 1979 (n. 8), pp. 129–132; Andrea CARLINO, L’Arciconfraternita di San Girolamo della Carità. L’origine e l’ideologia assistenziale, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 107, 1984, pp. 275–306; Daniela SOLFAROLI CAMILLOCCI, *I devoti della Carità. Le confraternite del Divino Amore nell’Italia del primo cinquecento*, Napoli 2002, pp. 157–200.

³² PUPILLO 2001 (n. 23).

Diagram 1: Towards a Chronology of Roman Archconfraternities

1. **Arciconfraternita della Carità—founded c. 1519
archconfraternity in 1520**
(founded by Cardinal-Vice Chancellor Giulio de' Medici; canonically erected in 1520 as an archconfraternity; called S. Girolamo della Carità beginning in 1524)
First Cardinal Protector: Giulio de' Medici (1520–1523), elected Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534)
2. **Arciconfraternita degli Orfani at S. Maria in Aquiro—founded 1540
archconfraternity in 1540**
(founded by Cardinal Gian Domenico de Cupis; canonically erected in 1540 as an archconfraternity)
First Cardinal Protector: Gian Domenico de Cupis (1540–1553); also Cardinal Protector of S. Girolamo della Carità (1531–1535, 1538–1553)
3. **Arciconfraternita dei SS. Rocco e Martino—founded 1499
archconfraternity in 1556, confirmed 1560**
4. **Arciconfraternita di S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte—founded 1552 at S. Lorenzo in Damaso
archconfraternity in 1560**
5. **Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti—founded 1548
archconfraternity in 1562**
6. **Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello—founded 1519
archconfraternity in 1564**
7. **Arciconfraternita del SS. Sacramento at S. Maria sopra Minerva—founded 1539
archconfraternity in 1573**
8. **Arciconfraternita dello S. Spirito dei Napoletani—founded 1572
archconfraternity in 1576**
9. **Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone—founded 1260s
archconfraternity in 1579**
10. **Arciconfraternita del SS. Sacramento at S. Maria in Trastevere—founded 1564
archconfraternity in 1579**
11. **Arciconfraternita della Pietà dei Carcerati—founded c. 1575
archconfraternity in 1579**
(founded by the French Jesuit Jean Tellier; canonically erected in 1579 as an archconfraternity)
First Cardinal Protector: Felice Peretti di Montalto (1579–1585), elected Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590)

Alessandro Farnese (to whom we shall return).³³ New companies that were founded by an ecclesiastic and filled with his peers seemed to have received papal approval and the rank of archconfraternity simultaneously.

A similar example is the Pietà dei Carcerati, founded by Jean Tellier who, with his fellow Jesuits, tended to prisoners. The Pietà was canonically erected in 1579 as an archconfraternity with Cardinal Felice Peretti di Montalto serving as protector until his election as Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590). Sixtus's 15-year-old grand-nephew Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, who had just received the red hat, took over the position and held it until his death in 1623, when his cousin Cardinal Andrea Baroni Peretti Montalto, who had been living at Cardinal Alessandro's palace, served as cardinal protector (1623–1629). The Pietà had effectively become an archconfraternal fiefdom.³⁴ In 1585, Sixtus had assigned the archconfraternity the duties of commissioner of the galleys and visitor of the prisons, offices previously united under the Apostolic Treasury—making the Pietà an official arm of the governing body of Roman prisons with Peretti-Montalto cardinals in charge for almost a half-century.³⁵

As this brief series of examples indicates, a careful analysis of the development of all of Rome's early modern archconfraternities—which groups found favor, when, and why—would offer fascinating insights into Rome's confraternal history, the development of pan-European and global networks, and the geopolitical aspects of diplomacy when national confraternities were elevated. In addition, it would provide greater insight into patterns of patronage and artistic commissions, since particular families are known to have preferred certain painters, sculptors, and architects, a point to which I shall return.

The Office of Cardinal Protector

Brethren of Roman archconfraternities were required to elect a cardinal protector for life. The cardinal protector had full jurisdiction to defend the sodality in civil and criminal disputes. A vice protector might also be elected to oversee affairs when the protector was away from Rome for an extended period. Expectations of the protector's generous patronage and influence were high, especially when he was the cardinal-nephew. Yet no study—not even a partial list—of confraternal cardinal protectors has existed until now (Diagram 2). Moreover, cardinal protectors simultaneously oversaw and financially supported many brotherhoods as well as religious Orders and nations.³⁶ As Arnold A. Witte has cogently articulated, the same cardinal might also be the prestigious archpriest of a major basilica or the titular cardinal assigned to a church in Rome and therefore responsible for the spiritual and material upkeep of the church and its parish. These jurisdictions might

³³ *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternità delli Orphani di Roma*, Roma 1584; Lance Gabriel LAZAR, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord. Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy*, Toronto 2005, p. 57.

³⁴ Edvige ALEANDRI BARLETTA, La confraternità di S. Caterina dei Funari e il suo archivio, *Rassegna degli archivi di stato*, 38, 1978, pp. 7–32, especially pp. 19–20, for the phrase “i piccoli feudi dei cardinali protettori.” See n. 45 below for Barberini control of the Sacre Stimmate di S. Francesco.

³⁵ Vincenzo PAGLIA, *La Pietà dei Carcerati. Confraternite e società a Roma nei secoli XVI–XVIII*, Roma 1980, pp. 197–198; LAZAR 2005 (n. 33), pp. 157–174. Appendix 1 supplies a selected list of papal bulls, etc. affecting Jesuit confraternities and similar initiatives, which needs to be completed and integrated into a study of the evolution of archconfraternities.

³⁶ Markus VÖLKEL, *Römische Kardinalshaushalte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Borghese, Barberini, Chigi*, Tübingen 1993, especially pp. 413–417.

**Diagram 2: Towards Establishing the Network of Cardinal Protectors
of 16th-Century Roman Archconfraternities**

Arciconfraternita degli Orfani at S. Maria in Aquiro—1540

Cardinal Protector Gian Domenico de Cupis (1540–1553)

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO FARNESE (1553?–1589)

Arciconfraternita di S. Maria dell’Orazione e Morte—1560

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO FARNESE (1560–1589)

Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti—1562

Cardinal Protector OTTO TRUCHSESS VON WALDBURG (1562–1573)

Cardinal Protector Ferdinando de’ Medici (1573–1588); Grand Duke of Tuscany (1587–1609)

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO PERETTI DI MONTALTO (1588–1623)

Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello—1564

Cardinal Protector RANUCCIO FARNESE (1561–1565)

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO FARNESE (1565–1589)

Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone—1579

Cardinal Protector Guido Ascanio Sforza (1563–1564)

Archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore (1543–1564)

Cardinal Protector Federico Cesi (1564–1565)

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO FARNESE (1565–1589)

Archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore (1537–1543)

Vice Protector [?] Cardinal OTTO TRUCHSESS VON WALDBURG (after 1564?–1573)

Vice Protector Cardinal Alessandro Sforza (1576 or earlier–1581)

Archpriest of S. Maria Maggiore (1572–1581)

Arciconfraternita della Pietà dei Carcerati—1579

Cardinal Protector FELICE PERETTI DI MONTALTO (1579–1585); Pope Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590)

Cardinal Protector ALESSANDRO PERETTI DI MONTALTO (1585–1623)

Cardinal Protector ANDREA BARONI PERETTI MONTALTO (1623–1629)

overlap happily or breed conflicts. This was especially the case with national confraternities, when the protector of the nation differed from the confraternal protector or the protector of a national college (where missionary priests were trained) and still another held the titular title.³⁷

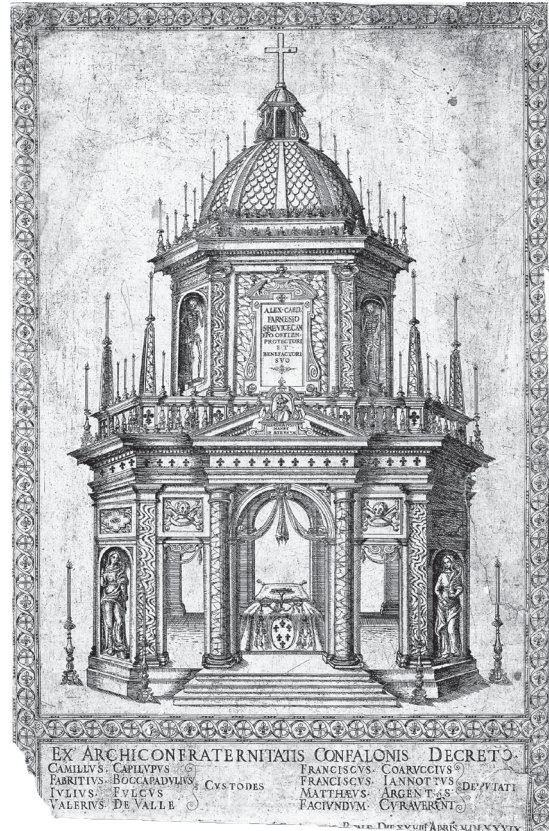
Even elaborate funerary ephemera vied to commemorate the protector and his family. For example, a grand *apparato* (temporary decorative program) with a catafalque honoring Cardinal-Vice

³⁷ I thank Professor Arnold A. Witte for sharing the unpublished text of his paper Protecting the Nation under Gregory XIII. A Potential Conflict of Interests, presented at the Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting, Chicago, 31 March 2017: “These unclear legal limits and multiple obligations meant that cardinals had to manoeuvre carefully so as not to stand in one another’s way—an aspect that was stressed in treatises on the ideal cardinal of this very period.” For national protectors, see Josef WODKA, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorate der Kardinäle an der römischen Kurie*, Innsbruck 1967; Olivier PONCET, *La France et le pouvoir pontifical 1595–1661. L’esprit des institutions*, Roma 2011.

Chancellor Alessandro Farnese was designed by the renowned architect Girolamo Rainaldi for the obsequies (22 March 1589) held in Il Gesù; although the Jesuits had no cardinal protector, Farnese had personally funded the construction of their mother church. The Archconfraternity of the Gonfalone also commissioned Rainaldi to stage obsequies for its cardinal protector in its private oratory (4 May 1589; fig. 3). An etching was printed, as was the funeral oration, both clearly identifying the venerable archconfraternity as sponsor. Although commemorative Masses were celebrated for the cardinal in churches throughout Rome, the Gonfalone was the only one of his seven confraternal protectorates to adorn its space with a sumptuous catafalque accompanied by lavish ceremonies.³⁸ Rivalry between archconfraternities was often conspicuously displayed through ephemeral artistic commissions, even on the most solemn occasions. Again, this is a subject that requires considerable research.³⁹

Even if not promoted to archconfraternity, a sodality might be assigned a cardinal protector. Such was the case with the Compagnia delle Vergini Miserabili at the church of S. Caterina della Rosa (today's S. Caterina dei Funari). With the support of Ignatius of Loyola, it was initiated in 1542/1543 to found a conservatory for the daughters of prostitutes. Upon the approval of Pope Paul III, Cardinal Federico Cesi served as the protector from 1544 until his death in 1565.⁴⁰ In the last year of his life, Cesi was also elected cardinal protector of the Gonfalone—the position having only been established the previous year. At that time the Gonfalone had not yet been elevated to archconfraternal status, which only occurred in 1579. The new Tridentine regulations of 1562 concerning the ecclesiastical oversight of “pious places” presumably motivated this development.

Early on, Ignatius himself articulated another, highly practical view of the new position, which he saw as crucial for establishing and sustaining any confraternal foundation in Rome. In Pedro de Ribadeneira's *Life of Ignatius*, first published in Latin in 1572, his strategy was described as follows:



3. Girolamo Rainaldi: *Catafalque of Cardinal Protector Alessandro Farnese in the Oratory of the Gonfalone, Rome, etching, 28 April 1589, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles*

³⁸ Minou SCHRAVEN, *Festive Funerals in Early Modern Italy. The Art and Culture of Conspicuous Commemoration*, Farnham 2014, pp. 164–174. For the seven confraternities (including five archconfraternities), see below.

³⁹ For example, competition increased decidedly in 1650, when the French backed the Gonfalone and the Spanish supported SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello in constructing elaborate Maundy Thursday *macchine* (portable shrines) for the renowned flagellant procession to St. Peter's; see Montserrat MOLI FRIGOLA, “Pietas romana”. *Le Processioni, Roma Sancta. La città delle basiliche* (eds. Marcello Fagiolo, Maria Luisa Madonna), Roma 1985, pp. 130–134.

⁴⁰ LAZAR 2005 (n. 33), pp. 71–98.

[Ignatius] would make his decision [to establish a confraternity] known to sober and wise men who were particularly inclined to works of charity. /.../ Having all discussed and examined the difficulties of the task they wanted to accomplish, they went to present it to noble, rich, and devout men, so that with their authority and alms the work could begin and be sustained. The first task was to elect some Cardinal of the Holy Church who seemed to them right for the job of Cardinal Protector. Then they set up the confraternity, wrote its statutes, put in place rules, and gave the orders by which to govern it and keep it afloat.⁴¹

The policy of Ignatius conformed seamlessly with that of the Church hierarchy. Stefano Andretta succinctly summed up the “new strategy of the Cardinal Protector /.../ [that] combined the construction of institutional power and its image with the regulation of private devotion.” He emphasized “how essential the ‘protection’ of holy places was to the successful assertion of ecclesiastical power and control in Rome [as well as] fundamental to maintaining a successful client network.”⁴² From this perspective of ecclesiastical careerism, the young Francesco de’ Medici (1594–1614), second son of Grand Duke Ferdinando, was advised to manifest his piety by becoming a cardinal protector of one of the most important sodalities—the Gonfalone, SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello, or SS. Trinità—“where all the good people of the court and of Rome gather.” He was encouraged to favor the archconfraternity not only with his presence on important occasions, but also with “noble expenses of splendor”, but he died too young to achieve these goals.⁴³ Significantly, before his father had exchanged his cardinal’s hat for the grand-ducal crown, Ferdinando had served as cardinal protector of SS. Trinità (1573–1588).

Let us turn to the 17th century and the three cardinals created by Pope Urban VIII (reigned 1623–1644). Francesco, a papal nephew, was elevated in 1623, followed by Antonio Senior, the pope’s younger brother, in 1624, and Antonio Junior, a younger nephew, in 1627. Markus Völkel, one of the few scholars who has included confraternal protectorates along with those of nations, religious Orders, monasteries, etc., discusses the various titles of the Barberini.⁴⁴ The Capuchin friar Antonio Senior was cardinal protector of the Vergini Miserabili. Antonio Junior, who served as cardinal chamberlain from 1638, headed two powerful archconfraternities, the Pietà dei Carcerati and SS. Trinità. But Francesco, vice chancellor of the Church from 1632, headed nine archconfraternities. To the four enumerated by Völkel—the Carità, Gonfalone, S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, and S. Rocco—must be added the three listed only as confraternities, which, as my research has shown, were in fact already elevated to the rank of archconfraternity: Orazione e Morte (in 1560), SS. Annunziata at the Minerva (in 1581), and the Cordiglieri del Cordone di S. Francesco at SS. Apostoli (in 1585). In addition, SS. Dodici Apostoli

⁴¹ LAZAR 2005 (n. 33), pp. 52–53.

⁴² Stefano ANDRETTA, Religious Life in Baroque Rome, *Rome–Amsterdam. Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (eds. Peter van Kessel, Elisja Schulte van Kessel), Amsterdam 1997, pp. 168–179, especially pp. 171–172 (“The Cardinal Protector”), but without mentioning confraternities.

⁴³ Irene FOSI, Immagini e poteri del cardinale nel Cinquecento fra tradizioni e censure, *Per il Cinquecento religioso italiano. Clero, cultura, società* (ed. Maurizio Sangalli), Roma 2003, pp. 625–634, especially p. 633: “dove si raccoglie tutto il buono della corte e di Roma.” Giovanni Battista DE LUCA, *Il cardinale della S.R. Chiesa pratico*, Roma 1680, pp. 168–169. In his discussion of the role of cardinal protector, Cardinal De Luca named the most powerful Roman archconfraternities: the Annunziata, Crocifisso, Trinità, Gonfalone, and Dodici Apostoli, an elite Jesuit foundation serving the *poveri vergognosi* (destitute noblemen too ashamed to beg).

⁴⁴ VÖLKELE 1993 (n. 36), pp. 414–417.



4. Guido Guidetti: *S. Caterina della Rosa* (today's *S. Caterina dei Funari*), 1560–1564, Rome

(in 1586) and the Sacre Stimmate di S. Francesco (in 1605)⁴⁵ were also under Francesco's protection. This brief discussion of the Barberini cardinals underscores the need for new, comprehensive studies of cardinal protectors, which will require intensive archival research.

Expectations of Patronage

This leads us to the symbiotic relationship of confraternal expectations of patronage. Wealthy confraternities, as we know, were major patrons of art and architecture, and although brethren of modest means could participate, the generosity of benefactors—especially cardinal protectors—was critical to the realization of these projects. The apostolic visitation of 1624 reported that 76 out of 116 lay sodalities maintained one or more autonomously controlled churches and/or oratories.⁴⁶ Some preserved older structures, while others were entirely rebuilt, inscribing new saintly and devotional dedications onto the sacred topography of the Eternal City.

⁴⁵ Six years before Francesco was elected cardinal protector in 1633, Costanza Barberini, sister-in-law of Urban VIII, was elected *priora* of the Sacre Stimmate. For her critical role in establishing Barberini hegemony in the archconfraternity, which lasted until 1704, see Alessandro SERRA, *Le "sacre stimmate de santo Francesco". Una confraternita e un culto nella Roma di Cinque-Seicento*, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 18, 2007, pp. 305–352, especially pp. 332–333.

⁴⁶ Alessandro SERRA, *Spazi sacri e sacralizzazione degli spazi nelle confraternite romane d'età moderna*, *Brotherhood and Boundaries/Fraternità e barriere* (eds. Stefania Pastore, Adriano Prosperi, Nicholas Terpstra), Pisa 2011, pp. 133–155, especially p. 139.



5. Francesco Capriani da Volterra: Interior of the hospital-church of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, begun 1590, Rome

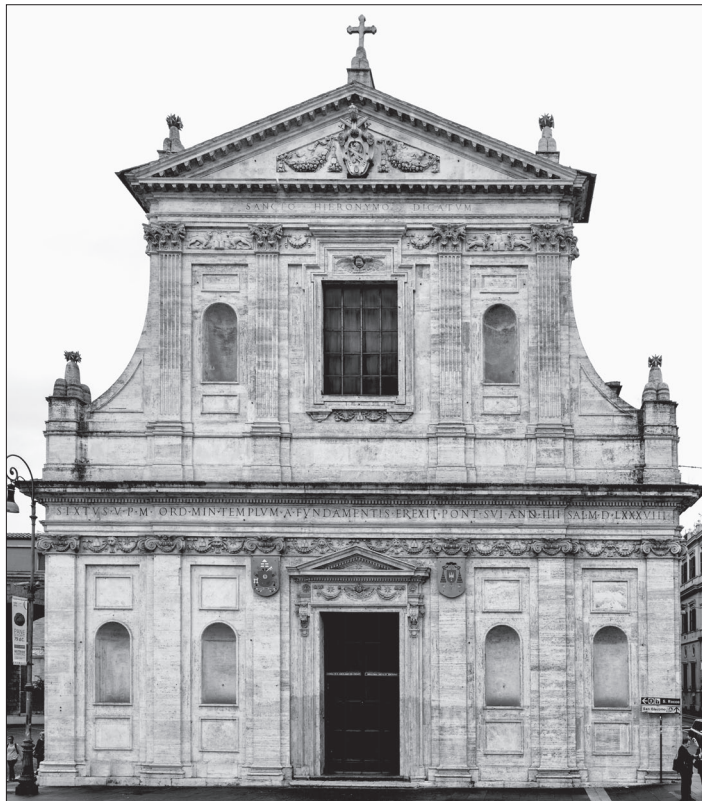
Many confraternal churches stood at the vanguard of ecclesiastical architecture, a topic still in need of comprehensive study. For example, Guido Guidetti rebuilt the medieval church of S. Caterina della Rosa (1560–1564) at the behest of Cardinal Protector Cesi (fig. 4). The innovative facade developed the two-story design with architectural elements that became regular features for the next 150 years. As John Beldon Scott has astutely pointed out: “Notwithstanding the charitable nature of the institution housed there, the design, with its fully rounded columns flanking the portal, is laden with opulent carvings, deeply sculpted niches and recessed panels, and a weighty rendition of the Cardinal’s heraldic shield that set a standard for ambitious curial patrons who followed.”⁴⁷ In 1590, Francesco Capriani da Volterra designed the hospital-church of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili (“of the Syphilitics”), administered by the Divino Amore confraternity but paid for by Cardinal Protector Antonio Maria Salviati. S. Giacomo was the first oval plan on a grandiose scale in Rome (fig. 5).⁴⁸

Let us turn briefly to the national confraternity of the Illyrians at S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni. Although the sodality was never promoted to archconfraternity, its new church, built by Martino Longhi the Elder, and fully decorated by Giovanni Guerra and his team between 1587 and 1590, was crucial in creating a visible representation of new political status (figs. 6 and 7).⁴⁹ The powerful

⁴⁷ John Beldon SCOTT, *Roman Church Architecture. The Early Modern Facade, A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492–1692* (eds. Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch, Simon Ditchfield), Leiden 2019, p. 441. See also Hermann SCHLIMME, *Die Kirchenfassade in Rom. “Reliefierte Kirchenfronten” 1475–1765*, Petersberg 1999.

⁴⁸ Francesco LUCANTONI, Historical Notes on the Architecture of Italian Confraternities, *Confraternitas*, 17/2, 2006, pp. 3–27; Ludovica SEBREGONDI, *Arte confraternale, Studi confraternali. Orientamenti, problemi, testimonianze* (ed. Marina Gazzini), Firenze 2009, pp. 337–367; Barbara WISCH, *The Architecture of Confraternities in Italy, The Cambridge Guide to the Architecture of Christianity* (ed. Richard A. Etlin), Cambridge 2019 (in press).

⁴⁹ Jasenka GUDELJ, *Architettura e diplomazia tra Roma e Dubrovnik. San Girolamo dei Croati e la cattedrale di*



6. Martino Longhi the Elder: *S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni*,
1587–1589, Rome



7. Giovanni Guerra and assistants: *Interior decoration of
S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni*, 1587–1590, Rome

Cardinal Alessandro Farnese served as protector from 1564 until his death in 1589.⁵⁰ In 1566 the Slavic national church of S. Girolamo was elevated to the rank of a titular church, and in 1570, Felice Peretti di Montalto, the future Sixtus V, was elevated to the cardinalate and named titular cardinal. He was particularly dedicated to St. Jerome, tracing his own ancestry, like that of the renowned Doctor of the Church, to Illyria.⁵¹ According to confraternal records, he seems to have done little beyond requesting a dowry for a poor Illyrian maiden; so, too, Farnese seems to have shown little interest in confraternal affairs, that is until Pope Sixtus V embarked on a grand art and architectural campaign. First, the pontiff placed his newly minted, teenage cardinal-nephew, Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, in that titular seat. The unequal clout of the young titular cardinal and the elderly, wealthy protector prevented Sixtus from carrying out his plans at once. How the pope moved his chess pieces so his ambitious project could be executed, with little interference from Farnese, is a story best told by Jasenka Gudelj in this volume.

But let us consider Cardinal Farnese as the protector of multiple confraternities before we turn to Cardinal Montalto. Farnese's own titular church was S. Lorenzo in Damaso, incorporated into the grandiose palace of the Cancelleria that he had inherited in 1535 when named vice chancellor of the Church. There were two previously established confraternities of which he became protector—SS. Sacramento and SS. Concezione di Maria—as well as a third, S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, founded in 1552. In 1560 this sodality became the fourth elevated to an archconfraternity. Its seat was then transferred to its own church, newly consecrated in 1576, on Via Giulia, behind the Farnese Palace.⁵² In addition, Farnese was protector of the Orphans' brotherhood, which administered Rome's largest orphanage for boys and girls and to which the cardinal donated 10,000 *scudi* annually.⁵³ Of utmost significance to our art historical purposes, he was elected protector of Rome's oldest sodality, the renowned Gonfalone, in 1565, and that same year he also became protector of SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello upon the death of his brother Ranuccio, who had held the position since 1561.

Starting with his artistic patronage at SS. Crocifisso, in 1566 Cardinal Farnese gave the brethren 100 *scudi* in order to buy the property in front of their oratory to create an appropriately dignified piazza. He also pressured the brethren to complete the facade quickly despite their financial difficulties. Consequently, the impressive facade by Giacomo della Porta was finished in stucco except for the large travertine plaque with the inscription recording that the oratory was erected and decorated

Dubrovnik nel secondo Seicento, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, 40, 2011/2012, pp. 179–239; Jasenka GUDELJ, San Girolamo dei Croati a Roma. Gli Schiavoni e il cantiere sistino, *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali di Roma, 1450–1650* (eds. Alexander Koller, Susanne Kubersky-Piredda), Roma 2015, pp. 297–325; Jasenka GUDELJ, The Hospital and Church of the Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternity in Early Modern Rome, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 5–25. See also Jasenka GUDELJ, Tanja TRŠKA, The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni/Illyrians in Venice and Rome. Proto-National Identity and the Visual Arts, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 103–121.

⁵⁰ In fact, the cardinal's famed miniaturist, who also served as an artistic adviser, was the Croatian Giulio Clovio, who had joined Farnese's household c. 1538 and worked almost exclusively for him until his death in 1578. Clovio's masterpiece, the *Farnese Hours* (The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.69), completed in 1546, was extolled as one of the great sights of Rome; see Clare ROBERTSON, 'Il gran cardinale'. *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts*, New Haven 1992, pp. 29–35.

⁵¹ Stephen F. OSTROW, *Art and Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome. The Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*, New York–Cambridge 1996, pp. 11–19. Even the rampant lion on his newly invented coat of arms was St. Jerome's legendary companion and attribute.

⁵² Alessandro SERRA, L'arciconfraternita di S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte nella Roma del Cinquecento, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 61, 2007, pp. 75–108.

⁵³ *Statuti* 1584 (n. 33), p. 3.



8. Giacomo della Porta: Oratory of SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello, 1561–1563, facade 1567–1568, Rome



9. Giovanni de' Vecchi: St. Helena Directs the Destruction of the Idols and Finding of the True Cross with Prophets, a Sibyl, and other Figures, fresco, 1578, SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello, Rome



10. Ambrogio Bonazzini:
Central coffers of the ceiling
of the Oratory of the Gonfalone,
Rome, with the coat of arms of
Cardinal-Archbishop of Augsburg,
Otto Truchsess von Waldburg,
the Madonna della Misericordia,
and the coat of arms of Cardinal
Protector Alessandro Farnese
(in reverse), 1568

under the auspices of Ranuccio and Alessandro Farnese, the cardinal protectors (fig. 8). When the *Crocifisso confratelli* decided in 1578 to fresco the interior, the chronicler recorded that the brethren would pay for the paintings from alms and legacies. However, when they hired “Cardinal Farnese’s painter”, i.e. Giovanni de’ Vecchi, the chronicler reported it was “with the intention that the cardinal would pay for everything” (fig. 9). Apparently, the *Crocifisso* was not entirely pleased with the first two frescoes, so they dismissed Giovanni, and with him went the full payment by the cardinal. Only then did wealthy members pay for individual frescoes to complete the project.⁵⁴

The Gonfalone had a different, more complicated outcome, but the same hopes of full patronage from Cardinal Farnese. In 1568, the elaborately carved, polychrome and gilded wood ceiling included the coat of arms of Cardinal Farnese and that of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Augsburg, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (fig. 10). Truchsess had been a member of the Gonfalone since 1564 and perhaps was an “unofficial” vice protector by 1568, when he permanently returned to Rome.⁵⁵ Both he and Farnese had just laid the cornerstone of *Il Gesù* on 26 June 1568, only four days after the contract for the wood ceiling was signed and notarized.⁵⁶ At the same time, he was serving as

⁵⁴ Josephine VON HENNEBERG, *L'oratorio dell'Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello*, Roma 1974.

⁵⁵ WISCH, NEWBIGIN 2013 (n. 18), p. 418.

⁵⁶ At that time, Truchsess resided at Farnese’s palace (as archpriest) at the Vatican. In June 1569, owing to the heat, Truchsess moved to the Cancellaria, remaining until autumn 1571; see Ferdinand SIEBERT, *Zwischen Kaiser und*



11. Jacopo Bertioia: *Entry into Jerusalem*, fresco, 1568–1569, and Livio Agresti: *Last Supper and Foot-Washing*, fresco, 1569, Oratory of the Gonfalone, Rome

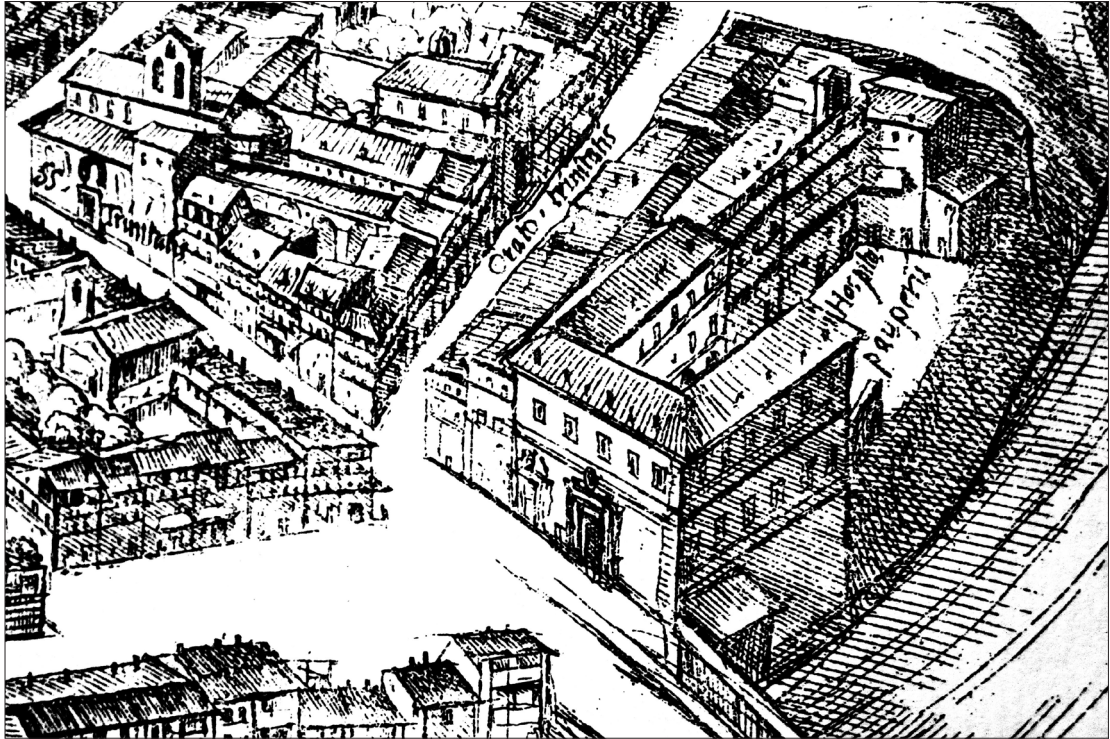
cardinal protector of that rising star in Rome's confraternal firmament, SS. Trinità, elevated to an archconfraternity in 1562, the fifth in Rome.

To design and execute the Gonfalone's fresco cycle, the Emilian Jacopo Bertioia, who had come to prominence working for Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma and brother of Cardinal Farnese, was selected. At the expense of Cardinal Protector Farnese, Bertioia had been sent "back to Rome" in March 1568. The painter remained in Rome uninterruptedly until July 1569, when he was withdrawn from the oratory to head the great enterprise of decorating the cardinal's magnificent pentagonal villa at Caprarola, planned and constructed by the renowned Giacomo da Vignola. Within this 17-month period, Bertioia designed the illusionistic decorative system of the Passion narratives and completed the entire first section of the right wall with the *Entry into Jerusalem*. Upon Cardinal Farnese's withdrawal of Bertioia from the Gonfalone project and the clear indication that he would not be permitted to return for some time, Truchsess seems to have suggested that his favorite Roman painter, Livio Agresti, should continue the decoration. In thanks for the important commission, Agresti included the cardinal's portrait in the *Last Supper*, the figure staring directly at the viewer on the far right (fig. 11).⁵⁷

Simultaneously, as cardinal protector of SS. Trinità (1562–1573), Truchsess had overseen the construction and consecration of their grand oratory (1570–1571), which was even larger than that of the Gonfalone. In Tempesta's 1593 map of Rome, the oratory towers above all the other confraternal

Papst. Kardinal Truchsess von Waldburg und die Anfänge der Gegenreformation in Deutschland, Berlin 1943, p. 367.

⁵⁷ WISCH, NEWBIGIN 2013 (n. 18), pp. 415–453.



12. Antonio Tempesta: Oratory of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, detail of Map of Rome, etching, 1593

buildings (fig. 12). Following Truchsess's death in 1573, Ferdinando de' Medici was elected cardinal protector. In that year he fully outfitted the new chapel in the confraternal church that the brethren had built for the privileged altar just granted by Gregory XIII. Nothing remains but the resplendent altarpiece by Jacopo Zucchi (1574–1575, today in the church sacristy), although inventories record the lavish liturgical furnishings and vestments he donated (fig. 13).⁵⁸ Ferdinando served until 1588, when he renounced his cardinal's hat to become grand duke of Tuscany.

Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto was then elected, serving until his death in 1623. He may have begun timidly at S. Girolamo dei Schiavoni, but in 1589 (and with Farnese's death) he became the new vice chancellor living in the Cancelleria with his titular seat at S. Lorenzo in Damaso—and soon after, one of the wealthiest and most influential cardinals in Rome. For SS. Trinità's Chapel of the Separation of Peter and Paul (destroyed) on Via Ostiense, he commissioned a now lost altarpiece from Giovanni Guerra, for which the preparatory study survives (fig. 14).⁵⁹ Guerra was a favorite Peretti-Montalto artist who had headed the team decorating S. Girolamo, exemplifying how particular families continued to commission works for a variety of purposes from preferred artists. Cardinal Montalto also served as protector of the Pietà dei Carcerati, Vergini Miserabili, and Sacre

⁵⁸ Noel O'REGAN, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome. Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550–1650*, London 1995 (Royal Musical Association Monographs, 7), pp. 9–20.

⁵⁹ Pen and brown ink with wash over traces of black chalk on paper. See Barbara WISCH, *Embracing Peter and Paul. The Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti and the Cappella della Separazione in Rome, Space, Place, and Motion. Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City* (ed. Diana Bullen Presciutti), Leiden 2017, pp. 178–216.



13. Jacopo Zucchi: *Mass of St. Gregory the Great*, oil on canvas, 1574–1575, Sacristy of the church of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, Rome



14. Giovanni Guerra: *The Holy Trinity Surrounded by Angels with Instruments of the Passion Adored by Pilgrims and Confratelli of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti with Filippo Neri*, pen and ink with wash, late 1590s, Nissman, Abromson, Ltd., Old Master Drawings, Brookline, Massachusetts

Stimmate di S. Francesco, and vice protector of the Dottrina Cristiana. These sodalities have yet to be explored in studies of the cardinal’s patronage, a major lacuna in our understanding. Moreover, I would propose that the significant role of confraternal cardinal protector needs to be documented, not just in individual cases, but correlated in databases and made interactively accessible.



From magnificent churches, chapels, and oratories adorned with lavish decoration to imposing banners held aloft at the head of grand processions, from stone plaques inscribing confraternal presence throughout the urban matrix to statute books filled with guidelines for governance, prayers, and indulgences, archconfraternities shaped the religious experience and visual culture of Rome and their vast networks of aggregate sodalities. Within this complex web of relationships, confraternal scholars need to bring new critical perspectives to assess the role of Roman archconfraternities and the influence of their patronage of the arts. Establishing an accurate chronology of archconfraternities in Rome and a comprehensive list of their cardinal protectors is primary. Only then will it be feasible to undertake analyses concerning which groups found favor, when, and why. In addition, the accumulation of cardinal protectorates that crafted archconfraternal fiefdoms and new clientage systems must be documented and explored. Although scholars have begun to investigate wealthy

archconfraternities that commissioned multiple kinds of buildings and sponsored lavish festivities—thereby integrally transforming the civic fabric and sacred topography—we also need to ascertain how much this extensive patronage depended upon the magnanimity of the cardinal protector. The incorporation of archconfraternities in studies of cardinalatial patronage is equally important.

Geopolitical diplomacy and rivalries enacted through Roman archconfraternities are significant new areas of research that require further development.⁶⁰ Looking more globally, we should also try to identify the cardinal-archbishops of dioceses across the Catholic world who initiated their own archconfraternal systems; the breadth and influence of their networks; and, finally, how closely Roman paradigms were followed. Studies might range from the reception of new devotional practices and innovative philanthropic programs to architectural styles and iconographies.

But this broad study cannot be accomplished solely from inside the ancient city walls, as I have begun to present here. The responses and initiatives beyond Rome are of equal importance. Among the essays in this volume, two engage with the specific issues raised in my paper. Krzysztof J. Czyżewski and Marek Walczak astutely elucidate the implications of the donation to Kraków's Archconfraternity of the Holy Rosary of a painted copy of the most powerful Roman Marian icon, conserved in S. Maria Maggiore—a copy blessed by Pope Clement VIII (reigned 1592–1605) and enriched with numerous indulgences. Their study convincingly demonstrates how this painting became one of the most significant miracle-working images in Poland under the stewardship of the archconfraternity.⁶¹ Sanja Cvetnić's innovative work on the Jesuit confraternities of the Bona Mors in Croatia, presented in this volume, reveals that from 1653 in Zagreb, only five years after the initial Roman establishment of the Compagnia della Buona Morte at Il Gesù, confraternities of the Good Death were instituted across the region. These sodalities advanced new practices of adoration of the Sacrament and frequent Communion in their public devotions, and dedicated more private prayers to Christ's five wounds, his agonizing death, and Mary's sorrows at the foot of the cross, all of which were considered beneficial spiritual preparations for "dying well." In 1729, the pope elevated the Roman *compagnia* to an archconfraternity and enriched all Good Death confraternities with numerous indulgences.⁶² Focusing on architecture as an expression of national identity, Jasenka Gudelj has cogently shown how choices promoted by the Illyrian sodality in Rome, the Confraternita degli Schiavoni, determined the design and reconstruction of the new Dubrovnik Cathedral in 1667.⁶³ The authority of Rome enacted by a wide range of confraternities and archconfraternities is a rich subject for future studies. Only by "aggregating," as it were, new research may we better comprehend the global reach of archconfraternities and the reception of their artistic and devotional models, thereby weaving a more resplendent tapestry of confraternal visual culture. The papers delivered at the conference and the essays in this volume constitute a major contribution to this objective.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See *Identità e rappresentazione* 2015 (n. 49).

⁶¹ CZYŻEWSKI, WALCZAK 2018 (n. 21).

⁶² Sanja CVETNIĆ, The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/2, 2018, pp. 179–193.

⁶³ See GUDELJ 2011/2012 (n. 49). See also GUDELJ, TRŠKA 2018 (n. 49).

⁶⁴ I would like to thank Professors Barbara Murovec and Mija Oter Gorenčič for their generous invitation to present the plenary lecture at the conference. I also extend my deep appreciation to the France Stele Institute of Art History for graciously hosting that distinguished gathering of confraternal scholars. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Barbara Vodopivec for her contributions to the organization of that most convivial event.

Nadbratovščine in umetnost

Opredeleitev novih tem

Povzetek

Z letom 1520 je papež povzdignil izbrane rimske bratovščine v nov prestižni rang nadbratovščin, ki so bile pooblaščene, da združijo podobne bratovščine po vsem svetu, delijo duhovne koristi in si izberejo dosmrtnega kardinala zaščitnika. Da bi stopnjevale pobožnost, so se nadbratovščine posluževale predvsem arhitekture, umetnosti in slavnostnih prireditev, s tem pa so se znotraj bratovščinske hierarhije hkrati vzpenjale proti položaju, po kakršnem so hlepele. Kot spoštovani primerki laične duhovnosti in dobrotelčnosti so utrdile Rim kot prestolnico globalnega katolištva, ob tem pa ustvarile enovito mrežo pobožnih praks, češčenih podob in odpustkov. Nadbratovščine so bile tudi evangelijsko sredstvo za širjenje pozitivnih sporočil o reformirani in zmagoslavni apostolski rimski Cerkvi po vsem svetu.

Pred zaključkom tridentinskega koncila leta 1563 je obstajalo samo pet rimskih nadbratovščin. A od zadnje četrtine 16. stoletja naprej se je, tudi zaradi vnete podpore papeža Gregorja XIII. (1572–1585), njihovo število dramatično povečalo; ta ekspanzija se je nadaljevala vse do konca zgodnjega novega veka.

Kljub njihovemu pomenu in vlogi zgleda za življenje bratovščin po celotnem katoliškem svetu o njih ne obstaja monografska študija. Pričujoči prispevek je tako *prolegomenon* v širšo raziskavo rimskih nadbratovščin, njihovih vplivnih kardinalov zaščitnikov in njihovega umetnostnega naročništva. Opredelejuje nove teme in postavlja številna vprašanja. Najpomembnejše za nadaljnje raziskave pa je, da sem sodelujoče na konferenci in druge strokovnjake, ki se ukvarjajo z bratovščinami, prosila, naj razmislijo, kako so lahko bratovščine v slovenskem prostoru, po Evropi in v daljnih deželah, ki so se šele dobro spreobrnilo v katoliško vero, posnemale rimska pravila in vzorce, z njimi manipulirale, jih izkoriščale ali tudi ignorirale.

Najprej sem na kratko pregledala nove cerkvene sklepe, s katerimi so nadzorovali rimske nadbratovščine in/ali spodbujali podporo zanje. Med vprašanji za nadaljnjo raziskavo so: koliko drugih mest v katoliškem svetu je še razvijalo svoj sistem nadbratovščin? Kateri kardinal ali nadškof jih je sponzoriral? Kako razširjene so bile njihove mreže? Nato sem pregledala, na kakšen način so rimske nadbratovščine služile kot vzorci. Kot primer: njihove knjige statotov, ki so bile preoblikovane tako, da so vanje vključili tridentinske odloke, so služile kot ustaljeni zgledi. Pomenljivo je tudi, da so bili proces prijave in dekreti o pridružitvi razloženi v več poglavjih. Poleg bogatih odpustkov so bili pridruženi člani deležni brezplačne namestitve v času svetega leta, kar je bila močna spodbuda za pridružitve. Statuti so definirali tudi vlogo članic in priorice, spoštovane matrone določene starosti in statusa, ki so jo izvolile ženske. Do poznega 16. stoletja, ko se je za to pozicijo zahteval plemiški stan, so izbrane ženske pridobile pomembne položaje, med drugim položaj »dosmrtno zaščitnice«. Te nove službe bi bilo treba preučiti, da bi lahko ugotovili, kolikšno moč in vpliv so ženske imele. Dodatne raziskave rimskih zgledov bi lahko segale vse od recepcije novih devocionalnih praks in inovativnih človekoljubnih programov do arhitekturnih slogov in ikonografije.

Temeljnega pomena za to raziskavo je ugotovitev kronologije najzgodnejših rimskih nadbratovščin in njihovih kardinalov zaščitnikov (diagram 1). V študiji razjasnujem ključno vlogo, ki jo je imel zaščitnik, pričakovanja njegovega velikodušnega mecenstva in prepleteno mrežo njegovih pristojnosti, saj je sočasno nadziral in finančno podpiral številne bratovščine (diagram 2), prav tako pa tudi cerkvene redove in države. Mogočni kardinal vicekancler Alessandro Farnese je bil na primer med letoma 1535 in 1589 zaščitnik petih nadbratovščin, medtem ko jih je vplivni kardinal vicekancler Francesco Barberini med letoma 1632 in 1679 nadziral devet. Nadalje, nekatere nadbratovščine so postale družinski »fevdi«,

na primer Pietà dei Carcerati, ki je skrbela za zapornike in imela pol stoletja kardinale zaščitnike iz družine Peretti di Montalto. Skrbna analiza razvoja rimskih nadbratovščin (katere skupine so uživale naklonjenost, kdaj in zakaj) bi dala kritičen vpogled v zgodovino rimskih bratovščin, razvoj svetovnih mrež in geopolitične vidike diplomacije v času, ko so bile povzdignjene nacionalne bratovščine. Prav tako bi zagotovila boljše razumevanje vzorcev naročništva in posebej umetnostnih naročil, saj je znano, da so posamezne družine favorizirale določene slikarje, kiparje in arhitekte.

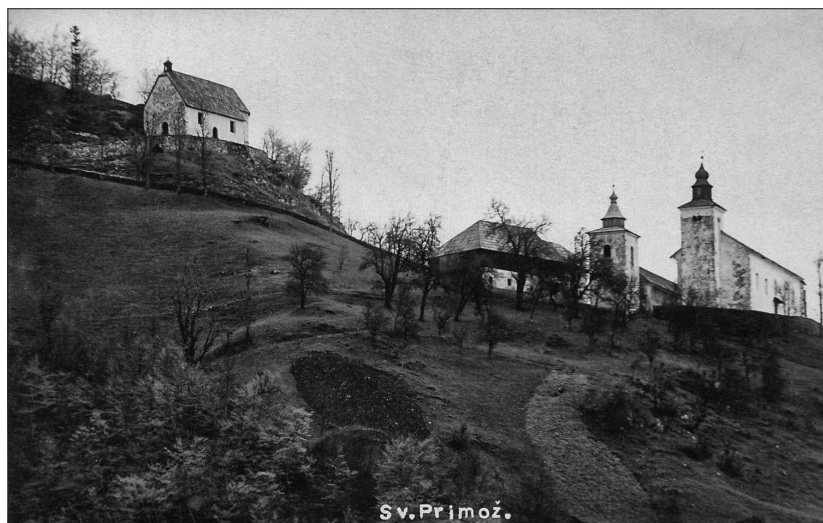
Na koncu se osredotočam na simbiotski odnos med pričakovani nadbratovščin do pokroviteljev, saj je bila velikodušnost dobrotnikov, še posebej kardinalov zaščitnikov, ključna za uresničitev velikih gradbenih projektov. Mnoge od teh cerkva so predstavljale avantgardo cerkvene arhitekture, tema, ki še čaka na celostno obravnavo. Tako so se tudi nadbratovščine, ko so načrtovale razkošno opremo svojih kapel in oratorijev, obračale na kardinale zaščitnike (npr. Alessandro Farnese za SS. Crocifisso di S. Marcello v Gonfalonu; Francesco de' Medici in kasneje Alessandro Peretti di Montalto za SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti). Treba je ugotoviti, kolikšen delež njihovih obsežnih naročil je bil odvisen od radodarnosti kardinalov zaščitnikov. Enako pomembno je vključiti nadbratovščine v raziskavo kardinalskega naročništva. Geopolitična diplomacija in rivalstvo med rimskimi nadbratovščinami sta prav tako pomembni področji, ki kličeta po nadaljnjem raziskovanju. Le z združenjem novih raziskav bomo lahko bolje razumeli globalno razsežnost nadbratovščin in recepcijo njihovih umetnostnih in devocionalnih zgledov.

Auf den Spuren der Rosenkranzbruderschaft, Albrecht Dürers und zweier Kaiser in den Fresken von St. Primus oberhalb Kamnik

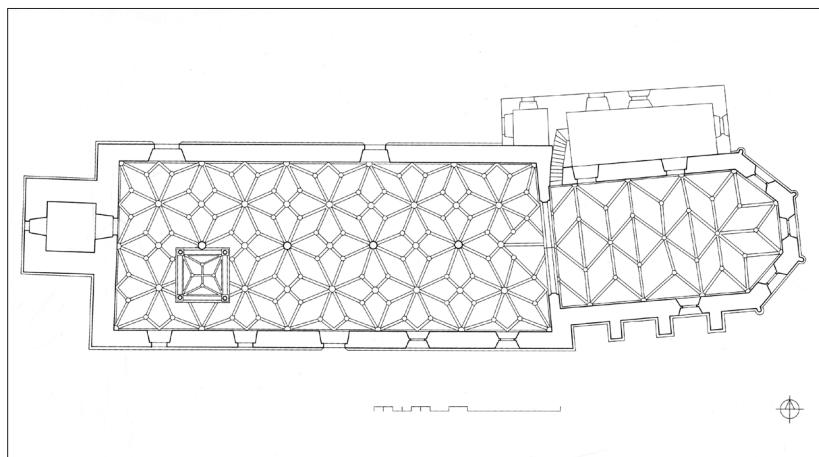
Mija Oter Gorenčič

Die Fresken in der Filiationkirche Hll. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb von Kamnik zählen zu den bedeutendsten Werken der mittelalterlichen Wandmalerei in Slowenien (Abb. 1). In der zweischiffigen Saalkirche (Abb. 2), die schon im Mittelalter ein besonders beliebtes Wallfahrtsziel war, bedeckt die Malerei, die bereits deutliche Renaissanceeinflüsse zeigt, die nördliche und südliche Wand des Schiffes. An der Nordwand (Abb. 3) breitet sich die über drei Joche konzipierte Komposition *Zug und Anbetung der Heiligen Drei Könige* aus, im nächsten Joch nach Osten folgt die Schutzmantelmadonna mit den Plagen der damaligen Zeit im Hintergrund (Pest, Hunger, Bedrohung durch die Türken, Räuber, Heuschrecken usw.). Die Darstellung ist als sog. *Pestbild* bekannt, kombiniert mit der Interzession Mariens als Mater omnium und Mediatrix, in Fürsprache für das vielseitig bedrohte Volk beim als Schmerzensmann gezeigten Christus, der wiederum vor Gottvater Fürbitte einlegt (*Patri ostendit Filius vulnera, ubera Filio mater*). Der erweiterten ikonographischen Darstellung der Schutzmantelmadonna folgt im nächsten Joch das Wandbild des hl. Erasmus in einer gemalten Renaissanceinschrift. Die Malerei an der Südwand bedeckt drei Joche (Abb. 4). Sie setzt sich aus mehreren kleineren Szenen aus dem Marienleben zusammen, beginnend mit der Geschichte von Joachim und Anna, die wir aus dem Protoevangelium des Jakobus kennen. Der Zyklus endet mit der Szene *Darstellung Christi im Tempel*.¹ An dieser Wand gibt es auch einige Abbildungen von Heiligen (unter den Fenstern: der hl. Alexius unter der Treppe, hl. Johannes der Täufer, die hl. Anna lehrt Maria Lesen, in gemalten Nischen in den Fensterlaibungen: die hl. Katharina, hl. Margareta, hl. Barbara, hl. Lucia, hl. Ursula und die hl. Dorothea), erwähnenswert sind aber auch die illusionistisch gemalten Chorbänke im unteren Teil des östlichen Jochs. Oberhalb befindet sich illusionistisch gemaltes Maßwerk, in welches auf der südlichen Wand die vier Evangelistensymbole verflochten sind. Vermutlich sind die Malereien auf der nördlichen und südlichen Seite nicht gleichzeitig entstanden. Die Nordwand ist mit der Jahreszahl 1504 datiert, die Entstehung der Fresken der Südwand, in denen auch das Werk der Gehilfen des Malers zu erkennen ist,

¹ Für die Anordnung und Beschreibung der einzelnen Szenen siehe France STELE, *Freske u crkvi sv. Primoža kod Kamnika*, *Starinar*, dritte Folge, 2, 1925, S. 122–128; France STELE, *Politični okraj Kamnik. Topografski opis*, Ljubljana 1929, S. 182, 184; France STELE, *Slikarstvo v Sloveniji od 12. do 16. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1969, S. 74–75, 78; France STELE, *Gotsko stensko slikarstvo*, Ljubljana 1972 (Ars Sloveniae), S. CXXX–CXXXIII; Ferdinand ŠERBELJ, *Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom*, Kamnik 1995, S. 59–85; Janez HÖFLER, *Srednjeveške freske v Sloveniji. 1: Gorenjska*, Ljubljana 1996, S. 175–176; Tomislav VIGNJEVIČ, *Mojster Kranjskega oltarja*, Ljubljana 1996, S. 35–55. Das letzte Buch erschien auch in deutscher Sprache: Tomislav VIGNJEVIČ, *Der Meister des Krainburger Altars*, Ljubljana 1997.



1. Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik, Ansichtskarte aus dem Jahre 1934



2. Grundriss der Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik



3. Malerei an der Nordwand, 1504, Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik



4. Malerei an der Südwand, um 1507, Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik

wird in das Jahr 1507 oder noch etwas später gelegt.² Im Jahr 1507 entstand das Presbyterium, was uns die Jahreszahl verrät, die auf dem Schriftband, welches ein auf einer der Konsolen stehender Engel hält, steht.³

Die bisherige Forschung beschäftigte sich insbesondere mit den stilistischen Einflüssen, die wir aus den Fresken erkennen können, noch mehr aber mit der Frage der Autorschaft. Einige schrieben die Fresken dem Meister des Krainburger Altars zu, einem der bedeutendsten Maler Innerösterreichs an der Schwelle zum 16. Jahrhundert.⁴ Der Altar, der aus der Pfarrkirche des hl.

² Siehe HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 173, 176, 177. Vgl. Emilijan CEVC, Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom med romaniko in pozno gotiko, *Varstvo spomenikov*, 9, 1965, S. 43; France STELE, Rezultat čiščenja fresk pri Sv. Primožu nad Kamnikom, *Varstvo spomenikov*, 9, 1965, S. 49–52; Emilijan CEVC, *Slovenska umetnost*, Ljubljana 1966, S. 37, 57, 74; Emilijan CEVC, *Poznogotska plastika na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1970, S. 256; STELE 1972 (Anm. 1), S. CXXX. Eine Übersicht älterer Datierungen bietet VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 19–23.

³ Vgl. STELE 1929 (Anm. 1), S. 161, 164; Emilijan CEVC, Poznogotsko kamnoseštvo v okolici Kamnika, *Kamniški zbornik*, 1, 1955, S. 113, 120; CEVC 1965 (Anm. 2), S. 43; CEVC 1966 (Anm. 2), S. 37; STELE 1972 (Anm. 1), S. CXXX; ŠERBELJ 1995 (Anm. 1), S. 43; Samo ŠTEFANAC, Sv. Primož oberhalb Kamnik. Filial- und Wallfahrtskirche der hll. Primus und Felician, *Gotik in Slowenien* (Hrsg. Janez Höfler), Narodna galerija, Ljubljana 1995, S. 86; HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 171, 177; Ivan STOPAR, Arhitektura je knjiga, ki jo je treba brati!, *50 let Gorenjskega muzeja. Avguštinov zbornik* (Hrsg. Beba Jenčiča, Ana Lavrič), Kranj 2003, S. 101–102; Janez HÖFLER, *Gradivo za historično topografijo predjožefinskih župnij na Slovenskem. Kranjska*, Ljubljana 2017, S. 81.

⁴ Otto BENESCH, Der Meister des Krainburger Altars, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 7, 1930, S. 134–135, passim; Otto BENESCH, Der Meister des Krainburger Altars, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 8, 1932, S. 67–68, passim; Tomislav VIGNJEVIĆ, Freske v cerkvi sv. Primoža nad Kamnikom in Mojster Kranjskega oltarja, *M'ars. Časopis Moderne galerije Ljubljana*, 1/3, 1989, S. 24–25; Tomislav VIGNJEVIĆ, Der Altar von Krainburg



5. Hl. Erasmus in einer Renaissance-nische mit dem Monogram VF und mit der Jahreszahl 1504, Filiationkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik

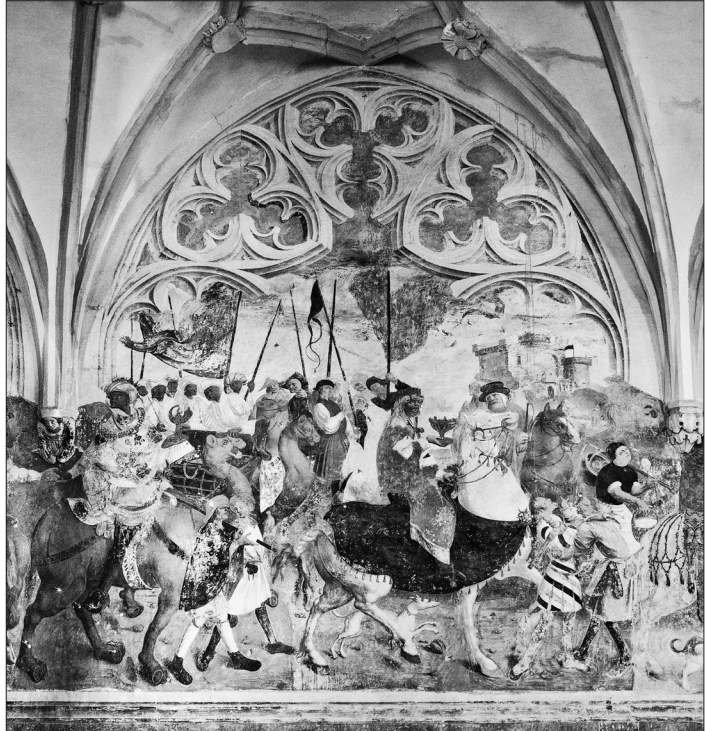
Kanzian in Kranj stammt und nach welchem der Meister den Notnamen bekam, befindet sich seit 1886 in Wien. Da in Quellen vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts dreimal (1507, 1516, um 1517) ein Veit, Maler in Kamnik, erwähnt wird,⁵ wurde infolgedessen die Vermutung aufgestellt, dass dieser Künstler mit dem Meister des Krainburger Altars identisch sei. Dem würde auch das Monogramm VF entsprechen (V für Veit und der Nachname beginnend mit F),⁶ das wir neben der Jahreszahl 1504 auf dem Rahmen der Renaissance-nische mit dem hl. Erasmus finden (Abb. 5).

Die qualitativ wertvollsten Fresken sind die der Nordwand (Abb. 6). *Der Zug und die Anbetung der Heiligen Drei Könige* binden sich ikonographisch zwar noch an die heimische Tradition, zeigen aber stilistisch, dass der Maler sowohl mit den Werken der altniederländischen Meister (erkennbar ist vor allem der Einfluss Dirc Bouts und seiner Nachfolger) als auch mit den italienischen – insbesondere der venezianischen – Malerei

(Kranj) und die Fresken in St. Primus oberhalb Kamnik. Zur künstlerischen Identität eines spätgotischen Malers, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 46, 1992, S. 113, 115; Tomislav VIGNJEVIĆ, Der Meister des Krainburger Altars (Monogramist VF, Maler Vid in Kamnik), *Gotik* 1995 (Anm. 3), S. 299, 300, 303; HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 173, 177; VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 56–62; Tomislav VIGNJEVIĆ, Potrebno bo dokazovanje s strokovno razpravo, *Delo*, 39/53, 6. 3. 1997, S. 14; Janez HÖFLER, Ne pavšalno in brez globljih utemeljitev!, *Delo*, 39/59, 13. 3. 1997, S. 14; Gašper CERKOVNIK, Gotski relief sv. Pavla. Novoodkrito delo rezbarja reliefov v Zgornjem Tuhinju in delavnice Mojstra Vida iz Kamnika, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n. F. 47, 2011, S. 173, 177; Gašper CERKOVNIK, Auf der Spur eines Kärntner Bildschnitzers der Spätgotik in Oberkrain, *Carinthia I. Mitteilungen des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten*, 202, 2012, S. 90; Matevž REMŠKAR, Poslikave v cerkvi sv. Marjete na Gradišču pri Lukovici in Mojster Kranjskega oltarja, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n. F. 53, 2017, S. 37, 54. Gegen die Zuschreibung der Fresken dem Meister des Krainburger Altars haben sich folgende Kunsthistoriker geäußert: CEVC 1966 (Anm. 2), S. 58; STELE 1969 (Anm. 1), S. 75, 278; STELE 1972 (Anm. 1), S. CXXX; ŠERBELJ 1995 (Anm. 1), S. 90; Damjan PRELOVŠEK, Mojster Kranjskega oltarja ostaja skrivnost? Ob neki študiji, *Delo*, 39/41, 20. 2. 1997, S. 15; Achim SIMON, *Österreichische Tafelmalerei der Spätgotik. Der niederländische Einfluss im 15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2002, S. 328–329; Anm. 509.

⁵ CEVC 1955 (Anm. 3), S. 123–124.

⁶ VIGNJEVIĆ 1989 (Anm. 4), S. 25–26; VIGNJEVIĆ 1992 (Anm. 4), S. 114; VIGNJEVIĆ 1995 (Anm. 4), S. 300, 301; HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 174; VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 14, 61, 84; Tomislav VIGNJEVIĆ, The Master of Krainburger Altarpiece and Painting in Central Europe in Circa 1500, *Die Länder der böhmischen Krone und ihre Nachbarn zur Zeit der Jagiellonenkönige 1471–1526* (Hrsg. Evelin Wetter), Ostfildern 2004 (Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia, 2), S. 385–391; CERKOVNIK 2011 (Anm. 4), S. 173, 177; REMŠKAR 2017 (Anm. 4), S. 37, 54. Gegen die Identifikation des Meisters Veit mit dem Maler von St. Primus oberhalb Kamnik haben sich folgende Kunsthistoriker ausgesprochen: STELE 1965 (Anm. 2), S. 50; CEVC 1970 (Anm. 2), S. 152–154, 310; Anm. 322; Emilijan CEVC, Umetnostni vzponi in upadi kamniškega mesta, *Kamnik 1229–1979. Zbornik razprav s simpozija ob 750-letnici mesta*, Kamnik 1985, S. 69; ŠERBELJ 1995 (Anm. 1), S. 91–92.



6. Zug der Heiligen Drei Könige,
Nordwand, 1504, Ferialkirche
St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb
Kamnik

vertraut war, ebenso mit der Malerei Wiens und Kölns. Immer wieder werden in der Literatur auch die Einflüsse des graphischen Werks Albrecht Dürers betont.⁷ Dürers *Anbetung der Heiligen Drei Könige*, die 1511 im Zyklus *Marienleben* erschien, entstand um 1503.⁸ Die Abhängigkeit davon ist in der Komposition und in den architektonischen Details der Anbetung tatsächlich bereits im Jahre 1504 deutlich zu erkennen, was auf jeden Fall bemerkenswert ist. Die Einflüsse von Dürers Graphiken sind im Bühnenhaften Schauplatz mit dem Turm, dem fast niedergerissenen Pfeiler und der zerstörten Wand, weiterhin in der Haltung des Kindes und der Maria, sowie in den gemalten Pferden zu beobachten, die sich durch die betonte Körperlichkeit und anatomische Präzision auszeichnen. Dürers Einfluss ist ebenfalls in der Darstellung des Raumes in der Verkündigungszene erkennbar, seinen ersten Graphiken aus dem Zyklus *Marienleben* ist allerdings auch die Architektur in der Szene *Marias Tempelgang* verwandt. Einige Verbindungen sind ersichtlich aus der Szene *Verlobung Mariens*. Dabei handelt es sich nicht um eine genaue Kopie der Graphiken von Dürer, sondern um frei übernommene Motive, die der Maler adaptierte.⁹ In diesem Zusammenhang ragt eine weibliche

⁷ Vgl. STELE 1925 (Anm. 1), S. 140–144, 148–151, 155–156; Emilijan CEVC, *Umetnostni diagram gorenjske preteklosti, Gorenjska*, 1–2, 1957, S. 22; CEVC 1966 (Anm. 2), S. 57, 74; VIGNJEVIĆ 1989 (Anm. 4), S. 19–21; VIGNJEVIĆ 1992 (Anm. 4), S. 108–111, 114–115; ŠERBELJ 1995 (Anm. 1), S. 92–94; VIGNJEVIĆ 1995 (Anm. 4), S. 299–300, 301; HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 174–175, 177; VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 14, 19, 37, 39, 55, 76–77, 79–81, 83–84; CERKOVNIK 2011 (Anm. 4), S. 174. Ältere Meinungen und Beobachtungen sind zusammengefasst bei VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 13, 19–23.

⁸ Zur Datierung des *Marienlebens* siehe *Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk. 2: Holzschnitte und Holzschnittfolgen* (Hrsg. Rainer Schoch, Matthias Mende, Anna Scherbaum), München-Berlin-London-New York 2002, S. 214–279; Anna SCHERBAUM, *Albrecht Dürers Marienleben. Form – Gehalt – Funktion und sozialhistorischer Ort*, Wiesbaden 2004, S. 103–107 (mit weiterer Literatur).

⁹ VIGNJEVIĆ 1992 (Anm. 4), S. 111–112; VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 39, 51, 55. Siehe auch HÖFLER 1996



7. Kreuzregen, Nordwand, 1504,
Filialkirche St. Primus und
Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik

Person hinter Christus hervor, die auf dem Gesicht und der Kleidung winzige Kreuze hat (Abb. 7). Darin erkennen wir die Kenntnis des Geschehens wieder, das Albrecht Dürer 1503 oder 1504 als *daz grost wunderwerck* beschrieb und illustrierte. Aus seiner Notiz erfahren wir, dass im Jahre 1503, also ein Jahr vor der Fertigstellung der Fresken an der Nordwand der Kirche St. Primus und Felicianus, */.../ awff vil lewt krewcz gefallen sind, sunderlich mer awff dÿ kind den ander lewt. Vnder den allen hab jch eins gesehen /.../ vnd es was gefallen awffs Eÿrers magt, der jns Pirkamers hÿnderhaws sasz, jns hemt jnn leinnen duch /.../*¹⁰ Vom Ereignis der Kreuzfälle in Nürnberg im Jahre 1503 berichtet ebenfalls Heinrich Deichsler (1430–1506/07) in seiner Chronik.¹¹ Auch beim Amtsantritt Maximilians I. im Jahre 1493 sollen am Himmel Kometen und andere Zeichen erschienen sein, in Augsburg sollen Steine in Form von Herzen vom Himmel gefallen sein, was wir im Werk *Historia Friderici et Maximiliani* von 1514–1516 lesen.¹² Die über den Sockel reichende Draperie der hl. Barbara an der südlichen Wand mit den Malereien aus dem Jahre 1507 oder etwas später, deutet mit ihren knotigen Falten ebenso auf die Kenntnis von Dürers Graphik. Die Gestaltung des Faltenwurfs auf diese Weise hatte sich unter dem Einfluss der graphischen Blätter des Meisters und seiner Schüler nach 1505/06 verbreitet.¹³

(Anm. 1), S. 175, 177. Zur Verbreitung von Dürers *Marienleben* und seiner Plagiate siehe Karoline FEULNER, Bestseller *Marienleben*. Verkaufsstrategien, Plagiate und Copyright, *Dürer. Kunst–Künstler–Kontext* (Hrsg. Jochen Sander), Städel Museum Frankfurt am Main, München-London-New York 2013, S. 234–247.

¹⁰ Peter PARSHALL, Albrecht Dürer's *Gedenckbuch* and the Rain of Crosses, *Word & Image. A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, 22/3, 2006, S. 205. Vgl. Erwin PANOFSKY, *Albrecht Dürer*, 1, Princeton 1948, S. 90; Hans RUPPRICH, *Albrecht Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlass. 1: Autobiographische Schriften, Briefwechsel, Dichtungen, Beischriften, Notizen und Gutachten, Zeugnisse zum persönlichen Leben*, Berlin 1956, S. 36; VIGNJEVIĆ 1992 (Anm. 4), S. 62; VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 43.

¹¹ Siehe Hans RUPPRICH, *Albrecht Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlass. 3: Die Lehre von menschlicher Proportion. Entwürfe zur Vermessungsart der Exempeda und zur Bewegungslehre. Reinschriftzyklen. Der Ästhetische Exkurs. Die Unterweisung der Messung. Befestigungslehre. Verschiedenes*, Berlin 1969, S. 434. Vgl. Karl HEGEL, *Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte. Nürnberg*, 5, Leipzig 1874 (Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert, 11), S. 662.

¹² Vgl. Otto BENESCH, Erwin M. AUER, *Der Historia Friderici et Maximiliani*, Berlin 1957, S. 127, Kat. Nr. 46; VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 43, 46. Siehe auch RUPPRICH 1956 (Anm. 10), S. 38; Anm. 10.

¹³ HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 177.

Im Weiteren möchte ich mich vor allem auf die Frage konzentrieren, ob es Indizien gibt, dass der Auftrag in Verbindung mit einer Rosenkranzbruderschaft stehen könnte. Zudem möchte ich erforschen, ob einzelne Motive der Fresken in St. Primus Zusammenhänge mit den Kunstwerken, die in Verbindung mit der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft entstanden, zeigen. Letztlich ist es die Frage, wie man die frühen Kenntnisse Dürers in Krain erklären könnte, und ob nicht auch Pilgerfahrten nach Köln durch Nürnberg zusammen mit Bruderschaftsnetzungen im Hintergrund dieses Auftrags eine Rolle gespielt haben könnten.

In St. Primus wird die Bruderschaft gemeinsam mit der ersten Erwähnung der Kirche am 5. Mai 1380 genannt.¹⁴ In der Literatur werden die Heiligen Primus und Felicianus als Patrozinium angeführt,¹⁵ obwohl dies aus der Urkunde nicht eindeutig zu ersehen ist; in ihr lesen wir nämlich nur *homines fraternitatis ecclesie Sancti Primi, posite extra Stain*.¹⁶ Das Wort Bruderschaft wurde in Verbindung mit der Malerei 1996 zum ersten Mal von Janez Höfler verwendet. Er schrieb, dass die Malerei „ein kollektiver Auftrag und das Ergebnis gemeinsamer Bestrebungen des Bürgertums von Kamnik, vereint in der dortigen Bruderschaft“ ist.¹⁷ Die erste Erwähnung einer Bruderschaft in der Pfarrkirche in Kamnik stammt vom 9. Oktober 1390. Damals wird die *Unser frawn pruederschaft ze Stain* erwähnt, die ihren Sitz am seitlichen Marienaltar hatte.¹⁸ Zu ihren führenden Mitgliedern gehörten wohl Erasmus Steyrer aus einer vermögenden Handelsfamilie, auch Archidiakon von Oberkrain; der Humanist, Pfarrvikar von Kamnik, Domkanoniker von Ljubljana und ebenfalls Archidiakon von Oberkrain Lenart Seydl, der unter anderem engen Kontakt mit den Patriarchen in Udine bzw. Aquileia pflegte; und der Pfarrer von Kamnik, Jurij Hertenfesler, ehemaliger Student der Universität in Padua und Studienkollege des Pfarrers von Kranj Matija Operta, Auftraggeber des Krainburger Altars, gleichfalls Archidiakon von Oberkrain. Die Genannten spielten mit Sicherheit eine Schlüsselrolle bei der Auftragsvergabe der Fresken in der Kirche von St. Primus,¹⁹ die vom Bürgertum von Kamnik bzw. von der Stadt verwaltet wurde;²⁰ die Vogtei oblag dem Stadtrat und dem Stadtrichter.²¹ Der nächste, der die Fresken mit einer Bruderschaft in Verbindung brachte, war drei Jahre später Jure Mikuž. Er hob vor allem die Tatsache hervor, dass die Malerei, ausgenommen die Darstellung des Pestbildes, vollkommen dem Leben Mariens gewidmet ist. Szenen, die im Zyklus fehlen, seien seiner Meinung nach auf dem heute nicht mehr erhaltenen Altar dargestellt gewesen. Dem fügte er hinzu, dass bei den Fresken möglicherweise die „sehr

¹⁴ HÖFLER 2017 (Anm. 3), S. 80.

¹⁵ HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 171, schreibt, dass die Kirche zum ersten Mal im Jahre 1380 mit der Bruderschaft der hll. Primus und Felicianus erwähnt ist. Gleiche Interpretation bei ŠERBELJ 1995 (Anm. 1), S. 48.

¹⁶ Božo OTOREPEC, *Gradivo za slovensko zgodovino v arhivih in bibliotekah Vidma (Udine) 1270–1405*, Ljubljana 1995 (Viri za zgodovino Slovencev, 14), Nr. 1344.

¹⁷ HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 174.

¹⁸ Ljubljana, Nadškofjski Arhiv Listin (1140–1500) 197, auf monasterium.net, URL </mom/SI-NSAL/NSAL/1977 charter> (21.11.2018). HÖFLER 2017 (Anm. 3), S. 79, vermutet, dass es vielleicht um die Bruderschaft der Zimmermannszunft ging und dass die Bruderschaft beim seitlichen Marienaltar ihren Sitz hatte. Vgl. Johann Weichard VALVASOR, *Die Ehre deß Hertzogthums Crain*, Nürnberg 1689, 8, S. 810.

¹⁹ Vgl. ŠERBELJ 1995 (Anm. 1), S. 86; HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 174; VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 62; Ana LAVRIČ, *Kamniške bratovščine in njihova povezava s freskami pri Svetem Primožu in v župnijski cerkvi na Šutni*, *Arhivi*, 39, 2016, S. 17.

²⁰ HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 172; HÖFLER 2017 (Anm. 3), S. 80; Anm. 39.

²¹ VALVASOR 1689 (Anm. 18), 11, S. 546.

verbreitete mystische marianische Rosenkranzbruderschaft mitgewirkt hat²². Der Gründer der ersten Rosenkranzbruderschaft Alanus de Rupe führte bei einer bereits bestehenden Marienbruderschaft, in Anlehnung an die 150 Psalmen der Heiligen Schrift, das tägliche Rosenkranzgebete mit 150 Ave-Maria ein, das nach jeweils 10 Ave-Maria durch ein Vaterunser ergänzt wird. Einen Rosenkranz mit 165 wertvollen Steinen soll Alanus persönlich von Maria erhalten haben.²³ Zu den häufigsten Motiven, die sich innerhalb der Rosenkranzbruderschaften vor allem mittels Druckgraphik verbreiteten, waren die Motive *Maria stillt den hl. Bernard* und noch mehr die doppelte Interzession und die Schutzmantelmadonna als Beschützerin vor Pest und anderen Plagen. Das finden wir ebenfalls auf den Fresken von St. Primus, wo diese Szene repräsentativ betont ist, denn sie sticht sowohl durch die Größe als auch durch den exponierten Ort, an welchem sie in der Kirche dargestellt ist, hervor. Alanus de Rupe empfahl noch besonders, dass die Gläubigen während des Rosenkranzgebets in die Bilder, die ihnen bei der Meditation helfen, versinken sollen; in diesem Sinn könnte man, nach Meinung von Jure Mikuž, die Szenen auf der nördlichen Wand in St. Primus verstehen. Da zu den Gebeten, welche die Bruderschaft vorschrieb, auch *Maris Stella* mit den Worten *Monstra te esse Matrem* gehörte, schlussfolgert Mikuž, dass die Szene des sog. Pestbildes mit der Darstellung Mariens mit entblößter Brust in St. Primus mit der Rosenkranzfrömmigkeit verbunden sei. Als Beleg für diese These sieht er den in das illusionistisch gemalte Maßwerk oberhalb der *Anbetung der Heiligen Drei Könige* geflochtenen Rosenkranz (Abb. 8).²⁴ Trotz des Interesses, das der dargestellte Rosenkranz weckt, war Mikuž der

²² Jure MIKUŽ, *Kri in mleko. Sugestivnost podobe*, 1, Ljubljana 1999 (Studia humanitatis. Apes, 10), S. 35; das überarbeitete Buch erschien auch in französischer Sprache: Jure MIKUŽ, *Le sang et le lait dans l'imaginaire médiéval*, Ljubljana 2013 (Opera Instituti Artis Historiae), Online Ausgabe; ŠERBELJ 1995 (Anm. 1), vermutet, dass auf dem verlorenen Flügelalter die hl. Rade Gund und die hll. Primus und Felicianus abgebildet waren.

²³ Siehe Wolfgang KLIEM, *Die spätmittelalterliche Frankfurter Rosenkranzbruderschaft als volkstümliche Form der Gebetsverbrüderung*, Frankfurt am Main 1963 (Dissertation), S. 43–58; *500 Jahre Rosenkranz* (Hrsg. Hatto Küffner, Walter Schulten), Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Köln 1975, S. 111–112, Kat. Nr. A37; Gilles Gerard MEERSSEMAN, *Ordo fraternitatis. Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel Medioevo*, 3, Roma 1977 (Italia Sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica, 26), S. 1144–1169; Anne WINSTON-ALLEN, *Stories of the Rose. The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*, Pennsylvania 1997, S. 66–67; Andreas HEINZ, *Die Entstehung des Leben-Jesu-Rosenkranzes, Der Rosenkranz. Andacht, Geschichte, Kunst* (Hrsg. Urs-Beat Frei, Fredy Bühler), Museum Bruder Klaus Sachseln, Bern 2003, S. 28–32, 38–39, 42–43.

²⁴ MIKUŽ 1999 (Anm. 22), S. 83–85. Zur (spätmittelalterlichen) Ikonographie der Rosenkranzbruderschaften bzw. der Rosenkranzikonographie vgl. Paul PERDRIZET, *La Vierge de miséricorde. Étude d'un thème iconographique*, Paris 1908, S. 89–102; Stephan BEISSEL, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Religionswissenschaft und Kunstgeschichte*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1909, S. 540–567; Augusta von OERTZEN, *Maria die Königin des Rosenkranzes. Eine Ikonographie des Rosenkranzgebets durch 2 Jahrhunderte deutscher Kunst*, Augsburg 1925; Vera SUSSMANN, *Maria mit dem Schutzmantel, Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 5, 1929, S. 289, 312, 322–325; Frances Henriette Annemie van den OUDENDIJK PIETERSE, *Dürers Rosenkranzfest en de ikonografie der Duitse rozenkransgroepen van de XV^e en het begin der XVI^e eeuw*, Amsterdam 1939, S. 155–179, 316–320, passim; Eithne WILKINS, *Rosenkranz, Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 3, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien 1971, Sp. 568–572; *500 Jahre Rosenkranz 1975* (Anm. 23); Gertrud SCHILLER, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst. 4.2: Maria*, Gütersloh 1980, S. 195–197, 199–203; Doris GERSTL, *Rosenkranzbilder, Marienlexikon*, 5 (Hrsg. Remigius Bäumer, Leo Scheffczyk), St. Ottilien 1993, S. 559–564; Lev MENAŠE, *Marija v slovenski umetnosti. Ikonologija slovenske marijanske umetnosti od začetka do prve svetovne vojne*, Celje 1994, S. 181–186; WINSTON-ALLEN 1997 (Anm. 23), S. 32–64, 118; Henri Dominique SAFFREY, *La fondation de la Confrérie du Rosaire à Cologne en 1475. Histoire et iconographie, Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 76, 2001, S. 153–164; Ana LAVRIČ, *Bratovščine na Slovenskem pod zavetniškim plaščem Marije in svetnikov, Patriae et orbi. Essays on Central European Art and Architecture/Študije o srednjeevropski umetnosti. Festschrift in Honour of Damjan Prelovšek/Jubilejni zbornik za Damjana Prelovška* (Hrsg. Ana Lavrič, Franci Lazarini, Barbara Murovec), Ljubljana 2015 (Opera Instituti Artis Historiae), S. 476–481, 498, 506.



8. Rosenkranz im Maßwerk,
Nordwand, 1504, Ferialkirche
St. Primus und Felicianus
oberhalb Kamnik

Einzig, der ihn kommentierte.²⁵ Mit seiner These über die Verbindung der Malerei mit der Rosenkranzbruderschaft stimmt die Meinung von Marko Lesar überein, der in seinem Führer durch die Pfarrkirche von Kamnik unter den Altären auch „den mittelalterlichen Altar der bedeutenden großen Rosenkranzbruderschaft“ aufzählt, „die möglicherweise auch beim Programm der Malerei in der Kirche von St. Primus oberhalb von Kamnik mitgearbeitet hat, denn die Motive der Fresken sind fast völlig der marianischen Ikonographie gewidmet“, und fügte hinzu, dass an dieser Stelle heute der Altar mit der Statue Mariens, Königin des Rosenkranzes, steht.²⁶ Im Jahre 2016 veröffentlichte Ana Lavrič einen wichtigen Beitrag, in welchem sie die zwölf Szenen aus Marias Leben an der Südwand sowohl mit der sog. Großen, bedingt aber auch mit der sog. Kleinen Marienbruderschaft²⁷ in Verbindung bringt und sie diese als Auftraggeber sieht. Auf die Themenwahl könnte ihrer Meinung nach vor allem der damalige Pfarrer von Kamnik, Jurij Hertenfesler, der als Student der Universität in Padua sicher Giotto's berühmten Marienzyklus in der Capella dell'Arena vom Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts kannte, Einfluss genommen haben. Zug und Anbetung sowie das sog. Pestbild sollten aufgrund der exponierten Abbildung des hl. Erasmus auf einen individuellen Auftraggeber hinweisen.²⁸

Eine Rosenkranzbruderschaft wurde in Kamnik erst im Dezember 1672 gegründet,²⁹ wobei sehr wahrscheinlich ist, dass sich der Rosenkranzfrömmigkeit schon die oben erwähnte Marienbruderschaft, die eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Bemalung der Kirche in St. Primus gehabt haben

²⁵ MENAŠE 1994 (Anm. 24), S. 182, op. 344, hat ihn zwar auch erwähnt, aber mit den Worten, dass er nicht sagen kann, ob es sich tatsächlich um einen Rosenkranz handelt oder nicht. Wie aus den vielen spätmittelalterlichen Abbildungen hervorgeht, waren die Rosenkränze entweder wie einen Kranz oder wie eine Kette abgebildet. ŠERBELJ 1995 (Anm. 1). 62, 63, schreibt, dass es sich um eine dem Rosenkranz ähnliche Kette handelt, die eine symbolische Abbildung des Leidens und der Auferstehung Christi darstellt.

²⁶ Marko LESAR, *Župnijska cerkev na Šutni v Kamniku. Umetnostna in kulturnozgodovinska predstavitev*, Kamnik 2001, S. 30. Vgl. HÖFLER 2017 (Anm. 3), S. 79.

²⁷ HÖFLER 2017 (Anm. 3), S. 79, vermutet, dass die Marienbruderschaft, die beim Altar der hl. Margarete in der Pfarrkirche von Kamnik am 19. Juli 1510 erwähnt wird, die sog. Kleine Marienbruderschaft sein könnte.

²⁸ LAVRIČ 2016 (Anm. 19), S. 16–19.

²⁹ LAVRIČ 2016 (Anm. 19), S. 10 (mit weiterer Literatur).



9. Pestbild mit der
Schutzmantelmadonna,
Nordwand, 1504,
Filiakirche St. Primus und
Felicianus oberhalb Kammik

muss, gewidmet hatte. Aus Quellen erfahren wir, dass die Bruderschaft, die zum ersten Mal im Jahre 1390 erwähnt ist, am 24. August 1475, das ist im selben Jahr, in dem die berühmte Kölner Bruderschaft gegründet wurde, schon als *grossen bruderschaft vnser lieben frawn* bezeichnet wird.³⁰ Ich bin der Meinung, dass gerade die Abbildung des Rosenkranzes ein Beweis dafür ist, dass sich die Bruderschaft am Ende des Jahrhunderts insbesondere der Rosenkranzfrömmigkeit widmete. Dafür würde auch die hervorgehobene Darstellung der Schutzmantelmadonna sprechen, denn gerade mit diesem ikonographischen Motiv wurden gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts die Rosenkranzbruderschaften eng verbunden (Abb. 9).³¹

Obwohl die erste Rosenkranzbruderschaft von Alanus gegründet wurde, trug zur außerordentlichen Expansion derartiger Vereinigungen in erster Linie jene Rosenkranzbruderschaft bei, die am 8. September 1475 pompös, mit Fanfaren und in Anwesenheit des Kaisers, mit Unterstützung von Michael Francisci von Jakob Sprenger in Köln gegründet wurde. Ende des 15. und zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts war dies die weitaus populärste Bruderschaft. Zu ihrer Blüte und der massenhaften Mitgliedschaft verhalf ihr insbesondere die Tatsache, dass die Mitglieder nicht verpflichtet waren, Mitgliedsbeiträge zu zahlen, sie hatten keine regelmäßigen Ordenssitzungen und Mitglied konnte jeder werden, auch Frauen und bereits verstorbene Personen. Jedes Mitglied sollte wöchentlich drei Rosenkränze beten, jeder bestehend aus 50 Ave-Maria und fünf Vaterunsern.

³⁰ Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Ljubljana, SI AS 1063, Zbirka listin, 1475, VIII 24.

³¹ Siehe Anm. 24.

Damit verbunden war natürlich auch der Erwerb von Ablässen und die zugesicherte aktive Rolle Marias bei der Rettung der Seelen aus dem Fegefeuer als Antwort auf das Rosenkranzgebet. In das Mitgliederverzeichnis der Kölner Bruderschaft trug sich als erster Kaiser Friedrich III. ein, gleichzeitig mit ihm wurden noch sein Sohn Maximilian und seine Frau Eleonora aufgenommen. Im Jahre 1478 gewährte Papst Sixtus IV. den Bruderschaftsmitgliedern Ablässe für das Gebet des Rosenkranzes.³² Kaiser Friedrich III. zählt nach Kaiser Heinrich IV. mit 16 und Otto IV. mit 14 Aufenthalten wegen seiner 13 Köln-Besuche sogar zu den deutschen Herrschern, die sich hier am häufigsten aufhielten,³³ womit zweifellos auch die intensive Dreikönigsverehrung durch Kaiser Friedrich III. (und auch durch seinen Sohn Maximilian I.)³⁴ verbunden ist.

In Kenntnis der zentralen Rolle, die Friedrich III. bei der Gründung und frühen Entwicklung der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft spielte, öffnet sich eine interessante Verbindung zu Kamnik. Aus Urkunden erfahren wir, dass am 29. Juni 1475, im Gründungsjahr der Rosenkranzbruderschaft, bei der Heiltumsweisung – also bei der feierlichen Zeigung der Reliquien der Heiligen Drei Könige in Köln – auch Kaiser Friedrich III. anwesend war, und mit ihm viele Ungarn, Tschechen und Österreicher, unter denen – nach genauen Untersuchungen von Jože Stabej – sich auch Slowenen befanden.³⁵ Ein Jahr zuvor, 1474, erwarb Friedrich III. den Besitz eines Anteils an der Kleinen Burg in Kamnik,³⁶ am 25. Juli 1489 gestattete er den Einwohnern von Kamnik das Recht der freien Wahl des Stadtrichters.³⁷ Auf dem Schiffsgewölbe in St. Primus findet sich ein Schlussstein mit dem zweiköpfigen Adler mit Kaiserkrone (Abb. 10). Am Gewölbe steht zwar die Jahreszahl 1479,³⁸ jedoch verzögerten sich die Bauarbeiten, denn

³² Siehe Jakobus SPRENGER, *Erneuerte Rosenkranzbruderschaft*, Augspurg 1477; Marcus von WEIDA, *Der Spiegel hochloblicher Bruderschaft des Rosenkrantz Marie, der allerreinsten Jungfrauen*, Leiptzk 1515; KLIEM 1963 (Anm. 23), S. 59–81, 90–91, 116–118, 129–138; 500 Jahre 1975 (Anm. 23), S. 51 ff, 102–117; Christopher F. BLACK, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 1989, S. 38, 103–104; Franz COURTH, *Rosenkranzbruderschaften*, *Marienlexikon* 1993 (Anm. 24), S. 564–565; Klaus MILITZER, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Kölner Laienbruderschaften vom 12. Jahrhundert bis 1562/63*, 1, Düsseldorf 1997, S. 507–529; WINSTON-ALLEN 1997 (Anm. 23), S. 4–5, 24–25, 28–29, 66–69, 105, 111, 117–118, 137; SAFFREY 2001 (Anm. 24), S. 143–164; HEINZ 2003 (Anm. 23), S. 39; Stefan JÄGGI, *Rosenkranzbruderschaften. Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Konfessionalisierung*, *Der Rosenkranz* 2003 (Anm. 23), S. 92–93; Rebekka von MALLINCKRODT, *Struktur und kollektiver Eigensinn. Kölner Laienbruderschaften im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung*, Göttingen 2005 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 209), S. 67–71; Siegfried SCHMIDT, *Die Entstehung der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft von 1475*, *Der heilige Rosenkranz. Eine Ausstellung der Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln zum Rosenkranzjahr 2003 besonders zum Rosenkranzmonat Oktober und zum Jubiläum der Wahl Papst Johannes Paul II. am 16. 10. 1. Oktober 2003 bis 7. Januar 2004* (Hrsg. Heinz Finger), Köln 2018 (Online Ausgabe), S. 45–62.

³³ Hugo STEHKÄMPER, *Könige und Heilige Drei Könige*, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige. Darstellung und Verehrung* (Hrsg. Rainer Budde), Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Köln 1982, S. 41.

³⁴ Heinz FINGER, *Die Translation der Dreikönigsreliquien 1164. Ihre politischen und kirchenpolitischen Hintergründe und die mittelalterliche Dreikönigsverehrung in Köln*, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige. Die Translation ihrer Gebeine 1164 und ihre Verehrung in Köln* (Hrsg. Heinz Finger, Werner Wessel), Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Köln 2014, S. 78.

³⁵ Siehe Elisabeth THOEMMES, *Die Wallfahrten der Ungarn an den Rhein*, Aachen 1937, S. 30: Anm. 3; Jože STABEJ, *Staro božjepotništvo Slovencev v Porenje*, *Razprave/Dissertationes*, 6, 1965, S. 169.

³⁶ Siehe Božo OTOREPEC, *Doneski k zgodovini srednjeveškega Kamnika*, *Kamnik* 1985 (Anm. 6), S. 20.

³⁷ Siehe Arnold LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH, *Ein Protokoll der Stadt Stein in Krain aus den Jahren 1502/03*, *Mitteilungen des Musealvereins für Krain*, 18, 1905, S. 44; OTOREPEC 1985 (Anm. 36), S. 20.

³⁸ Zur Jahreszahl 1479 (die auch als 1459 gelesen werden kann), vgl. Anton JELLOUSCHEK, *Die Filial- und Wallfahrtskirche St. Primus und Feliciani bei Stein*, *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereines für Krain*, 11/2, 1856, S. 12; Johann GRAUS, *St. Primus und Felicianus bei Stein*, *Der Kirchen-Schmuck*, 16/2, 1885, S. 23; Viktor STESKA, *Cerkev sv. Primoža nad Kamnikom*, *Carniola*, 7, 1916, S. 16: Anm. 38; Ivan FRANKE, *O naših zgodovinsko-umetniških*



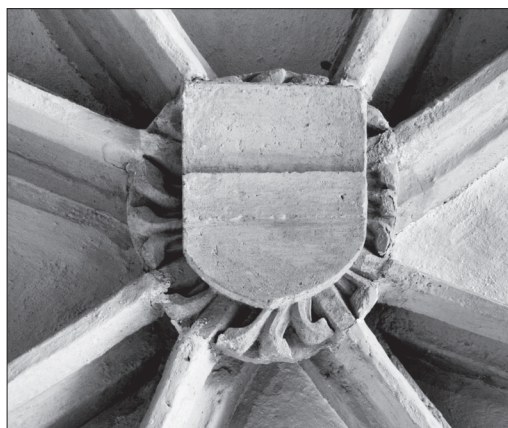
10. Schlussstein mit dem Kaiserwappen am Schiffsgewölbe, 1479, Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik



11. Schlussstein mit dem Landeswappen von Krain am Schiffsgewölbe, 1479, Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik



12. Schlussstein mit dem Stadtwappen von Kamnik am Schiffsgewölbe, 1479, Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik



13. Schlussstein mit dem österreichischen Wappen am Schiffsgewölbe, 1479, Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik

die Kirche wurde erst im Jahre 1492 geweiht.³⁹ Eine weitreichendere politische Rolle der Kirche bezeugen vielleicht auch die Schlusssteine mit dem Landeswappen von Krain mit Adler mit dreizackiger

spominkih, *Dom in svet*, 23, 1919, S. 264; STELE 1925 (Anm. 1), S. 121; France STELE, Epigrafične drobtine, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 5, 1925, S. 43–47; STELE 1929 (Anm. 1), S. 161, 176; France STELE, Gotske dvoranske cerkve v Sloveniji, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 15, 1938, S. 21, 26; CEVC 1955 (Anm. 3), S. 114–117; Emilijan CEVC, *Srednjeveška plastika na Slovenskem od začetkov do zadnje četrtine 15. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1963, S. 274, 278; CEVC 1965 (Anm. 2), S. 36, 42; CEVC 1966 (Anm. 2), S. 37; CEVC 1970 (Anm. 2), S. 272; STELE 1972 (Anm. 1), S. CXXX; CEVC 1985 (Anm. 6), S. 69; ŠERBELJ 1995 (Anm. 1), S. 37–38; ŠTEFANAC 1995 (Anm. 3), S. 86; HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 171; Tatjana ADAMIČ, Rekonstrukcija poznogotskih oken s krogovičji v prezbitariju p. c. sv. Primoža in Felicijana pri Svetem Primožu nad Kamnikom, *Vita artis perennis. Ob osemdesetletnici akademika Emilijana Cevca/Festschrift Emilijan Cevc* (Hrsg. Alenka Klemenc), Ljubljana 2000, S. 235: Anm. 4; STOPAR 2003 (Anm. 3), S. 101; Anže SLANA, Ponovno o cerkvi svetega Primoža in Felicijana pri Svetem Primožu nad Kamnikom. Problem datacije oboka, *Kamniški zbornik*, 23, 2016, S. 138–139; HÖFLER 2017 (Anm. 3), S. 81.

³⁹ Nadškofijski arhiv Ljubljana, 101, 1492 IX 9., Sv. Primož nad Kamnikom.



14. Gewölbe mit dem österreichischen Wappen am Baldachinaltar, Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts, Fialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik

Krone auf dem Kopf (Abb. 11), mit dem Stadtwappen von Kamnik (Abb. 12) und mit dem österreichischen Wappen mit hervortretendem waagrechtem Band (Abb. 13).⁴⁰ Das letztere finden wir auch auf dem Schlussstein des Baldachinaltars im westlichen Teil des südlichen Schiffes, wo sich ursprünglich die Reliquien befanden (Abb. 14). Dabei ist besonders hervorzuheben, dass sich die Schlusssteine mit den Wappen von Österreich, Krain und dem Wappen des Kaisers im Nordschiff befinden, wobei das Wappen des Kaisers genau oberhalb der Darstellung von Maria, Jesus und dem Rosenkranz über ihnen ist. Anton Jellouschek, Historiker, der sich vor allem mit der Erforschung der Geschichte von Krain befasste, berichtet im Jahr 1856 sogar, dass er in der Kirche in St. Primus am Gewölbe über dem Hochaltar zur linken Seite die Devise Kaiser Friedrichs III. AEIOV fand.⁴¹ Drei Jahrzehnte später lesen wir bei Johann Graus, dass die Devise Kaiser Friedrichs III. im linken Seitenschiff sichtbar ist.⁴² Für die These zu einer bestimmten Verbindung oder zumindest Zuneigung des Kaisers zum gotischen (Um-) Bau der Kirche spricht auch die Darstellung von Maximilian I., den wir auf der rechten Seite, direkt neben der Schutzmantelmadonna, sehen. Außerdem finden wir in der Kirche noch ein kaiserliches Wappen mit zweiköpfigem Adler: es ist neben dem Landeswappen von Krain in das Maßwerk über der Malerei mit Szenen aus dem Marienleben eingebunden (Abb. 15). Natürlich können die Wappen auch anders interpretiert werden, und zwar als visueller Ausdruck der Stadt Kamnik, dem Kaiser ihre Loyalität zu versichern. Maximilians persönlicher Besuch in Kamnik ist für das Jahr 1514 belegt, bereits im Jahre 1501 aber stiftete Maximilian in Kamnik eine Jahresmesse am Tag der hll. Primus und Felicianus, also den Heiligen, denen die Kirche St. Primus und Felicianus geweiht ist.⁴³ Bezugnehmend darauf, dass in der Literatur schon mehrfach die Frage gestellt wurde, woher Dürer, der Maximilian zwei Jahre später (1506) zeichnete, die Gesichtszüge des Kaisers kannte, denn er war ihm bis dahin

⁴⁰ Alle vier Wappen finden wir auch auf einer steinernen Platte an der sog. alten Schule in der Stadt von Kamnik. Siehe STELE 1929 (Anm. 1), S. 106; CEVC 1955 (Anm. 3), S. 119–120.

⁴¹ JELLOUSCHEK 1856 (Anm. 38), S. 13.

⁴² GRAUS 1885 (Anm. 38), S. 22.

⁴³ Siehe LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH 1905 (Anm. 37), S. 45; Ivan ZIKA, *750 let mesta Kamnika. Iz kamniške zgodovine*, Kamnik 2001, S. 170.



15. Kaiserliches Wappen und Landeswappen von Krain im Maßwerk, Südwand, um 1507, Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik

persönlich nicht begegnet, ist es sinnvoll, die gleiche Frage auch bei der Abbildung in Kamnik zu stellen. Die Antwort könnte auch in den Münzen mit dem Porträt des Kaisers gesucht werden,⁴⁴ hinzuweisen gilt es ebenso auf die zahlreichen Studenten aus Kamnik, die am Übergang vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert an der Universität in Wien studierten⁴⁵ und von dort Medaillen mit dem Porträt Maximilians, eine Porträtskizze oder Zeichnung mitgebracht haben könnten. Johannes Juras aus Kamnik hat in den Jahren von 1508 bis 1528 an der Wiener Universität sogar Vorlesungen gehalten.⁴⁶ Darüber hinaus ist zu erwähnen, dass die Bürger von Kamnik zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts sogar unter den Vertretern der Stände von Krain auf den Versammlungen der Habsburger Länder waren. Aus wirtschaftlicher Sicht ist auch keinesfalls zu vernachlässigen, dass Kamnik im 15. und noch den größten Teil des 16. Jahrhunderts eine der blühendsten Städte von Krain war, mit einer hohen Anzahl reicher, auch adliger Händler. In dieser Hinsicht kam Kamnik gleich nach Ljubljana, was die Menschen, die vor allem nach Italien reisten, auf besondere Art anzog. Zahlreiche Händler aus Kamnik werden auch in Piran, Triest, Rijeka und in Venedig erwähnt.⁴⁷

Die Darstellung Kaiser Maximilians in St. Primus wurde bisher immer als Zeichen der Unterstützung der Politik des Kaisers interpretiert. Mit seinem Porträt sollen die Bewohner von Kamnik

⁴⁴ Vgl. Albrecht Dürer. *The Feast of the Rose Garlands* (Hrsg. Olga Kotková), Národní galerie Praha, Prag 2006, S. 73–74.

⁴⁵ Vgl. Alojz CINDRIČ, Študenti iz nekdanjega sodnega okraja Kamnik na dunajski univerzi 1365–1917, *Kamniški zbornik*, 22, 2014, S. 118–119, 123–125, 127–130. Zu den Abbildungen Maximilians I. siehe Friedrich POLLE-ROSS, Tradition and Innovation. Kaiser Maximilian I im Porträt, *Kaiser Maximilian I. und die Kunst der Dürerzeit* (Hrsg. Eva Michel, Maria Luise Stermath, Manfred Holleger), Albertina, Wien, München-London-New York 2012, S. 100–115.

⁴⁶ CEVC 1985 (Anm. 6), S. 68.

⁴⁷ Darüber siehe Ferdo GESTRIN, Trgovsko prometni položaj Kamnika do 17. stoletja, *Kamnik* 1985 (Anm. 6), S. 47–49 (mit weiterer Literatur).



16. Meister von Sankt Severin: Schutzmantel-Triptychon über dem Altar der Rosenkranzbruderschaft, um 1500, Dominikanerkirche St. Andreas, Köln

die Befürwortung seines Plans zur Abwendung der türkischen Gefahr ausgedrückt haben, die militärische Begleitung der Heiligen Drei Könige würde auf die Bedeutung der damaligen Landsknechte, der Söldnerarmee, die Maximilian gegen die Türken rekrutierte, hinweisen.⁴⁸ Meiner Meinung nach muss seine Darstellung vor allem (oder wenigstens auch) in Verbindung mit der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft und mit den Abbildungen, die mit ihr verbunden sind, verstanden werden. Auf dem Altarbild der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft war nämlich Friedrich III. dargestellt, neben ihm Maximilian und Eleonora von Portugal, an der anderen Seite Mariens aber Papst Sixtus IV., der päpstliche Legat Alexander und weitere Personen, alle unter dem Mantel der Schutzmantelmadonna, was uns neben den schriftlichen Quellen⁴⁹ auch die Tafelmalerei vom Meister von St. Severin aus der Dominikanerkirche St. Andreas in Köln, entstanden um 1500, verrät (Abb. 16). Heute ist diese zwar etwas überarbeitet, ahmt aber das ursprüngliche (nicht erhaltene) Altarbild der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft aus dem Jahre 1475 nach.⁵⁰ Auf der erwähnten Tafelmalerei treten in unserem Kontext auch der hl. Dominikus und der Dominikaner Petrus von Verona hervor, die Maria den Mantel auf ähnliche Art ausbreiten, wie dies die hll. Primus und Felicianus in Kamnik tun. Auch in St. Primus finden wir Maximilian unter Marias Mantel, die markant hervorgehobene Person im purpurnen Mantel hinter ihm könnte sogar Friedrich III. sein (Abb. 17). Damit würde die Schutzmantelmadonna von Kamnik sogar direkt an das Altarbild der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft

⁴⁸ Tomislav VIGNJEVIĆ, Freska kombinirane intercesije na Sv. Primožu nad Kamnikom, *M'ars. Časopis Moderne galerije Ljubljana*, 4/2–4, 1992, S. 62; VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 46.

⁴⁹ Ægidius GELENIO, *De admiranda, sacra, et civili magnitudine Cloniæ Claudiæ Agrippinensis Augustæ, Coloniae Agrippinæ* 1645, S. 467–468.

⁵⁰ Vgl. OUDENDIJK PIETERSE 1939 (Anm. 24), S. 285; *500 Jahre* 1975 (Anm. 23), Kat. Nr. A5; Hartmut BOOCKMANN, *Die Stadt im späten Mittelalter*, München 1994, S. 304; Doris KUTSCHBACH, *Albrecht Dürer. Die Altäre*, Stuttgart-Zürich 1995, S. 109.



17. Gruppe mit Maximilian I. an der linken Seite Mariens, Nordwand, 1504, Fialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik



18. Holzschnitt in Jakob Sprengers Buch Erneuerte Rosenkranzbruderschaft, 1477

anknüpfen. Auch auf dem Holzschnitt, den Jakob Sprenger seinem Gebetsbuch hinzufügte, sind sowohl Friedrich als auch Maximilian abgebildet (Abb. 18). Diesem Vorbild folgten auch einige andere Abbildungen, die in Anlehnung an die Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft und deren Altarbild entstanden, bzw. verschiedene Abbildungen der Marienverehrung und des Rosenkranzes.⁵¹ Auf einigen trägt der Kaiser eine Kopfbedeckung, ähnlich jener, die der Dargestellte auf dem Fresko von St. Primus trägt.⁵² Auf einigen dieser Abbildungen hat Friedrich, wie der den Kaiser darstellende Mann in St. Primus, meistens einen Bart und etwas längere Haare. Dass in diesem Kontext auch die Darstellung schon verstorbener Personen möglich war, beweist bereits der ursprüngliche Holzschnitt, den Jakob Sprenger seinem Gebetsbuch hinzufügte. Auf diesem sind Jakob Sprenger selbst und hinter ihm der päpstliche Legat Kardinal Alexander, Bischof von Forlí, der am 10 März 1476 die Kölner Bruderschaft auf ausdrückliche Bitte des Kaisers Friedrich III. bestätigt hatte,⁵³ und auf der

⁵¹ Siehe z. B. WINSTON-ALLEN 1997 (Anm. 23), Abb. auf S. 56. Vgl. Fedja ANZELEWSKY, *Albrecht Dürer. Das malerische Werk*, Berlin 1991, S. 66–67; Adam WIENAND, *Der Mariensalter von Zinna, Die Cistercienser. Geschichte, Geist, Kunst*, Köln 1986, S. 171.

⁵² Siehe z. B. Isolde LÜBBEKE, *Dürer's Visualization of an Imagined Community*, *Albrecht Dürer 2006* (Anm. 44), Abb. auf S. 19. Mit einer ähnlichen Kopfbedeckung ist z. B. auch Kaiser Sigismund I. auf seinem Porträt aus den Jahren zwischen 1452 und 1457 dargestellt. Die Reproduktion ist zu sehen auf http://www.liechtensteincollections.at/de/pages/artbase_main.asp?module=browse&action=m_work&lang=de&sid=87564&oid=W-3112006201131823 (8.12.2018).

⁵³ Siehe SPRENGER 1477 (Anm. 32), fol. 3r–4v; MILITZER 1997 (Anm. 32), S. 515–516, 521–522, 524: Dok. 35.4, 529: Dok. 35.20.



19. Gruppe mit einem Papst und einem Kardinal an der rechten Seite Mariens mit dem Schutzmantel, Nordwand, 1504, Ferialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik

anderer Seite neben Kaiser Friedrich III. und seinem Sohn Maximilian auch die acht Jahre zuvor verstorbene Frau Friedrichs, Eleonore von Portugal, abgebildet.⁵⁴ Etwas Ähnliches können wir für den erwähnten Altar aus der Gründungszeit der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft feststellen, wo ebenfalls die bereits verstorbene Eleonore von Portugal zu sehen war. Und auch auf dem Altar aus der Zeit um 1500 sind neben dem gekrönten Maximilian der damals bereits verstorbene Friedrich III. und Papst Sixtus IV. abgebildet, die sich beide für die Blüte der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft am verdientesten gemacht hatten. Auf dem Fresko in St. Primus tritt auf der linken Seite unter Marias Mantel nur noch eine Frau besonders hervor, dargestellt zwischen Maximilian und (vermutlich) Friedrich. Aufgrund des Vergleichs mit den angeführten Werken und vor allem mit dem Kölner Altar als dem Prototyp künstlerischer Werke, die von den Rosenkranzbruderschaften in Auftrag gegeben wurden, drängt sich natürlich der Gedanke auf, dass es sich um eine Darstellung Eleonores von Portugal handelt. Dieser These widerspricht einzig und allein ihre Kopfbedeckung, die jener Maximilians sehr ähnlich ist, was zu der Überlegung führt, dass die Dargestellte möglicherweise die damalige Frau des Königs, Bianca Maria Sforza, Tochter des Herzogs von Mailand, ist, falls natürlich überhaupt eine konkrete Person mit dieser hervorgehobenen Abbildung gemeint war. Auch in der Kirche St. Primus und Felicianus ist ein papstlicher Legat neben dem Papst abgebildet (Abb. 19) – eine Erinnerung an Legat Alexander, Bischof von Forlì? Auf dem Fresko in der Kirche in St. Primus fällt die Haltung von Maximilians Händen, leicht nach unten gedreht, auf. In einer solchen Pose würde man, gemäß der Analogie mit zahlreichen ähnlichen Beispielen, erwarten, dass er in den Händen einen Rosenkranz hält. Leider lässt sich dies aus dem heutigen Zustand des Bildes, das in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten mehrmals restauriert und teilweise übermalt wurde,⁵⁵ nicht erkennen. Besonders möchte ich noch hervorheben, dass Maria überraschenderweise mit der freien Hand nicht ihren Mantel fasst bzw. ihn nicht über die Dargestellten hebt oder die Hände ins Gebet legt, sondern die rechte Hand auf die Schulter des neben ihr knienden Papstes legt. Welcher Papst

⁵⁴ Vgl. MEERSSEMAN 1977 (Anm. 23), S. 1172–1173.

⁵⁵ Über die Restaurierungen siehe Tätigkeitsbericht, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der kunst- und historischen Denkmale*, dritte Folge, 10, 1911, S. 150, 242; Tätigkeitsbericht, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*, dritte Folge, 11, 1912, S. 182; Tätigkeitsbericht, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentral-Kommission für Denkmalpflege*, dritte Folge, 12, 1913, S. 73, 144; STELE 1925 (Anm. 1), S. 128–129; Izidor MOLE, O restavriranju fresk v cerkvi sv. Primoža nad Kamnikom, *Varstvo spomenikov*, 9, 1965, S. 53–60; VIGNJEVIĆ 1995 (Anm. 4), S. 301; HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 172–173; Ivo NEMEC, Pigmenti in materiali poslikav v cerkvi Sv. Primoža nad Kamnikom, *Varstvo spomenikov*, 36, 1996, S. 41–45; VIGNJEVIĆ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 36.

hier mit dieser besonderen Geste ausgezeichnet wird, ist nicht eindeutig. So kann auch die Frage nicht zweifelsfrei beantwortet werden, ob wir in dieser Person – falls es sich natürlich um eine konkrete und nicht „universelle“ Darstellung des Papstes handelt – Sixtus IV. wiedererkennen dürften. In diesem Fall könnte die Geste Marias ein Zeichen der Dankbarkeit für die päpstliche Bestätigung der Rosenkranzbruderschaft und damit für die Erfüllung ihrer Wünsche sein.⁵⁶ Papst Sixtus IV. war auch ein eifriger Fürsprecher der unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariens.

Obwohl Rosenkränze am Ende des Mittelalters ein beliebtes Abbildungs- und sogar Modeobjekt waren,⁵⁷ zeigt die Schutzmantelmadonna in der Kirche St. Primus und Felicianus eine engere Verbindung der Auftraggeber und/oder des Malers mit der Kölner Bruderschaft bzw. ihren Kunstwerken. Neben den bereits erwähnten Indizien sprechen auch die Wallfahrten nach Köln dafür, was ein tieferes Verständnis des Zugs und der Anbetung von St. Primus ermöglicht. Zug und Anbetungen waren in der slowenischen mittelalterlichen Wandmalerei eines der am häufigsten dargestellten Motive, die Beliebtheit verstärkten zusätzlich die Wallfahrten nach Köln, wo gerade die Reliquien der Heiligen Drei Könige zentrales Objekt der Verehrung waren. Nur in der Kirche St. Primus und Felicianus ist direkt über der Anbetung ein Rosenkranz dargestellt, den die Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft besonders propagierte (Abb. 20).

Die Wallfahrer pilgerten alle sieben Jahre nach Köln.⁵⁸ Sie kamen im frühen Frühling und kehrten am 1. Juli zurück; viele blieben sogar sechs Wochen in Köln. Diese Angabe ist vor allem deshalb aufschlussreich, weil in Köln zur Verehrung der Heiligen Drei Könige bereits ein Tag, höchstens aber drei Tage ausreichten. Die Masse der Wallfahrer, die mehrere Wochen in Köln weilten, sind deshalb in der Geschichte der slowenischen Wallfahrten ein eigenartiges Phänomen. Die Pilger wurden in Köln fürstlich empfangen; beim Eintreten in die Stadt wurden sie von Gesandten des Stadtrats, beim Betreten der Kirche von geistlichen Würdenträgern willkommen geheißen.⁵⁹ Am Feiertag der hll. Petrus und Paulus am 29. Juni wurden die Pilger am Tisch vom Bürgermeister der Stadt, von städtischen Beamten und anderen städtischen, hoch angesehenen Herren bedient, die dies als besondere Ehre ansahen.⁶⁰ Die Pilger erwiesen in Köln neben den Reliquien der Heiligen Drei

⁵⁶ JELLOUSCHEK 1856 (Anm. 38), S. 13; GRAUS 1885 (Anm. 38), S. 37, haben die Hauptpersonen unter dem Mantel Mariens als Maximilian I., Friedrich IV., Sixtus IV. und Sigismund von Lamberg, den (ersten) Laibacher Bischof, erkannt. Vgl. auch Eduard STRAHL, *Die Kunstzustände Krains in den vorigen Jahrhunderten*, Graz 1884, S. 9.

⁵⁷ Vgl. ANZELEWSKY 1991 (Anm. 51), S. 66; KUTSCHBACH 1995 (Anm. 50), S. 110–111; WINSTON-ALLEN 1997 (Anm. 23), S. 111–118; Harry OELKE, „Da klappern die Steinn ... und das Maul plappert“. Der Rosenkranz im Zeitalter der Reformation, *Der Rosenkranz* 2003 (Anm. 23), S. 108, 110.

⁵⁸ Zu den Wallfahrten der Bevölkerung auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Sloweniens nach Köln und Aachen siehe Arnold LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH, Windische Wallfahrer am Niederrhein, *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte Westdeutschlands*, 4, 1878, S. 436–466; Die windische Wallfahrt an den Niederrhein, *Laibacher Wochenblatt*, 133, 3. 3. 1883, S. 1–3; BENESCH 1932 (Anm. 4), S. 52–53; STABEJ 1965 (Anm. 35), S. 141–213; Jože STABEJ, Die alten Wallfahrten der Slowenen an den Rhein, *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 78, 1967, S. 97–160; Hans HOFMANN, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige. Zur Heiligenverehrung im kirchlichen, gesellschaftlichen und politischen Leben des Mittelalters*, Bonn 1975 (Rheinisches Archiv, 94), S. 136–137, 300; Miha KOSI, Potujoči srednji vek, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 45, 1997, S. 21; Miha KOSI, *Potujoči srednji vek. Cesta, popotnik in promet na Slovenskem med antiko in 16. stoletjem*, Ljubljana 1998, S. 110–113; Vincenc RAJŠP, Pilgrimages in Slovenia and Their Political Significance, *Pilgrims and Politics. Rediscovering the Power of the Pilgrimage* (Hrsg. Antón M. Pazos), Farnham 2012 (Compostela International Studies in Pilgrimage History and Culture), S. 161–162; Konrad GROSS, Verehrung der Heiligen Drei Könige durch Einzelpersonen, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige* 2014 (Anm. 34), S. 169–170.

⁵⁹ STABEJ 1965 (Anm. 35), S. 186–187. Siehe auch THOEMMES 1937 (Anm. 35), S. 68–70, 76–80.

⁶⁰ THOEMMES 1937 (Anm. 35), S. 70–71; STABEJ 1965 (Anm. 35), S. 188. Vgl. LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH 1878 (Anm. 58), S. 447.



20. Rosenkranz über der Anbetung der Heiligen Drei Könige, Nordwand, 1504, Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus oberhalb Kamnik

Könige noch anderen kostbaren Reliquien die Ehre.⁶¹ Den Gastgeberinnen schenkten sie als Gegenleistung für die Gastfreundschaft schwere Wachskerzen, die gewöhnlich rundum mit Geld besteckt waren.⁶² Neben Köln war auch Aachen das Ziel der Pilger, wo die Slowenen in der dortigen Marienkirche ein Benefizium beim Altar der vier Kirchenlehrer gründeten und dort einen Slowenisch sprechenden Kaplan anstellten. Für die Gründung des Benefiziums am 26. Juni 1495 sorgten die Städte Ljubljana und Kranj,⁶³ wobei die Tatsache hervorgehoben werden muss, dass in der Urkunde erwähnt wird, dass die slowenischen Wallfahrer den Altar auf eigene Kosten schon vor langer Zeit errichtet hätten, vermutlich schon am Ende des 14. oder Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts.⁶⁴ Der bereits erwähnte Lenart Seydl, der zweifelsfrei einer der bedeutendsten Initiatoren der Malerei von St. Primus war, war

⁶¹ Über die Kölner Heilumsschau Anton LEGNER, *Kölner Heilige und Heiligtümer. Ein Jahrtausend europäischer Reliquienkultur*, Köln 2003, S. 91 ff.

⁶² Siehe LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH 1878 (Anm. 58), S. 442; Stephan BEISSEL, *Die Aachenfahrt. Verehrung der Aachener Heiligtümer seit den Tagen Karls des Großen bis ins unsere Zeit*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1902, S. 91–92, 126; THOEMMES 1937 (Anm. 35), S. 82; STABEJ 1965 (Anm. 35), S. 189.

⁶³ LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH 1878 (Anm. 58), S. 441, 442, 452; STABEJ 1965 (Anm. 35), S. 154–160. Vgl. THOEMMES 1937 (Anm. 35), S. 52; Josip ŽONTAR, *Zgodovina mesta Kranja*, Ljubljana 1939, S. 64–65.

⁶⁴ Siehe STABEJ 1965 (Anm. 35), S. 154. Vgl. KOSI 1998 (Anm. 58), S. 111: Anm. 202 und 203.

sowohl Archidiakon von Oberkrain als auch Kanoniker/Domherr von Ljubljana. Das bedeutet, dass er auch mit Aachen beziehungsweise den slowenischen Wallfahrten dorthin am engsten verbunden gewesen sein muss. Es ist beachtenswert, dass an der Südwand der Filialkirche St. Primus und Felicianus auch eine Abbildung des hl. Alexius, des Schutzpatrons der Pilger, zu finden ist.

Bei alledem ist die Tatsache zu betonen, dass die Pilger von Süden über Nürnberg, der Stadt Albrecht Dürers, nach Köln reisten.⁶⁵ In der Chronik der Stadt Nürnberg für das Jahr 1489 ist beschrieben, dass während der Wallfahrten nach Aachen, wo in jenem Jahr die Weihefeier der Kirche des hl. Erzengels Michael (Engelweihe) stattfand, durch Nürnberg am Pfingstfreitag, dem 5. Juni, eine Schar von 600 Ungarn und Slowenen (*Winden*) reiste. Am darauffolgenden Freitag, dem 12. Juni, reiste ebenso ein neuer Schwarm von 800 Pilgern durch Nürnberg und man zeigte den beiden Gruppen von Wallfahrern durch die Fenster in der großen Kirche die dortigen Reliquien, deren Bedeutung die Geistlichen vor Ort auf Latein und Deutsch erläuterten und die zwei weitere Geistliche ins Ungarische und Slowenische (*Windische*) übersetzten.⁶⁶ Die Wallfahrten nach Köln bzw. ins Rheinland sind im slowenischen Bewusstsein tief verwurzelt.

In diesem Zusammenhang steht die enge Verbundenheit Albrecht Dürers zu Rosenkranzbruderschaften, die keinesfalls übergangen werden darf. In Nürnberg lenkte und leitete er für die dortige Rosenkranzbruderschaft die Ausgabe des umfangreichen Kompendiums *Der beschlossn gart des rosenkrantz Marie* mit mehr als 1000 Holzschnitten mit marianischer und Rosenkranzikonographie, deren Autoren Dürers Werkstatt bzw. seine Schüler waren, gesammelt und herausgegeben wurden sie jedoch im Jahre 1505 von Ulrich Pinder. Das Werk gilt als ein besonderes Zeugnis der Marienverehrung um 1500 in Nürnberg.⁶⁷ Auch auf seiner Reise nach Venedig machte Dürer sich vermutlich wegen des vielleicht schon im Voraus angenommenen Auftrags an ein Bild, das zum Schlüsselwerk seines Aufenthalts in Venedig wurde. Es handelt sich um das Bild, welches wir seit dem 19. Jahrhundert unter dem (unzutreffenden) Namen *Rosenkranzfest* kennen und das Dürer im Auftrag der Rosenkranzbruderschaft von Venedig bzw. der deutschen Händler, Kaufleute oder Handwerker in Venedig oder eines Stifters, der möglicherweise auch dieser Bruderschaft angehörte,

⁶⁵ Siehe KOSI 1998 (Anm. 58), S. 111, 112. Vgl. THOEMMES 1937 (Anm. 35), S. 53–54; STABEJ 1965 (Anm. 35), S. 23.

⁶⁶ BEISSEL 1902 (Anm. 62), S. 89; THOEMMES 1937 (Anm. 35), S. 42, 52, 53; Anm. 3; STABEJ 1965 (Anm. 35), S. 169–170. Vgl. KOSI 1998 (Anm. 58), S. 112. Wen die obengenannte urkundliche Ausdrücke in den Archivquellen über Pilgerreisen nach Rheinland bezeichnen, hat STABEJ 1965 (Anm. 35), S. 143–144, 149–154, 160–161, gründlich erforscht. Auf jeden Fall muss betont werden, dass man bei der Interpretation von den Wörtern windisch, Winden u. Ä. äußerst vorsichtig sein sollte. Was diese Bezeichnung tatsächlich bedeutet, ist von Quelle bis Quelle separat zu beurteilen und auszuwerten. Darüber siehe LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH 1878 (Anm. 58), S. 439, 449–451; THOEMMES 1937 (Anm. 35), S. 52; Janez HÖFLER, *Trubarjevi »Lubi Slovinci« ali Slovenija pred 650 leti v Strasbourgu. O pojmu Slovenije v srednjem veku*, Ljubljana 2009, S. 37–41, 44–45, passim. Vgl. Janez ROTAR, *Die Nationwerdung der Slowenen und die Reformation. Trubars Benennungen von Ländern und Völkern*, München 1991, S. 15–26, 79 ff; KOSI 1998 (Anm. 58), S. 112; Anm. 207; Henri Dominique SAFFREY, Albrecht Dürer, Jean Cuno, O.P., et la confrérie du Rosarie à Venise, in: Henri Dominique Saffrey, *L'héritage des anciens au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, Paris 2002, S. 259; LEGNER 2003 (Anm. 61), S. 86.

⁶⁷ Siehe Hans VOLLMER, Die Illustratoren des »Beschlossen gart des rosenkranz Mariae, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 31, 1908, S. 18–36, 144–158; OERTZEN 1925 (Anm. 24), S. 56; *500 Jahre* 1975 (Anm. 23), Kat. Nr. A55; Georg DRESCHER, Vom Schatzbehalter zu Dürers Büchern. Buchdruck, Buchillustration und Andachtsliteratur in Nürnberg um 1500, *Andachtsliteratur als Künstlerbuch. Dürers Marienleben. Eine Ausstellung der Bibliothek Otto Schäfer zu einem Buchprojekt des Nürnberger Humanismus* (Hrsg. Georg Drescher, Claudia Wiener), Bibliothek Otto Schäfer, Schweinfurt, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Schweinfurt 2005, S. 16–18; Georg DRESCHER, Illustration und Andachtsliteratur in Nürnberg um 1500, *Andachtsliteratur* 2005 (Anm. 67), S. 71, 76–77; Stefan BARTILLA, The Brotherhood of the Rosary from Its Origins to Dürer's Time, *Albrecht Dürer* 2006 (Anm. 44), S. 36; LÜBBEKE 2006 (Anm. 52), S. 22.

malte.⁶⁸ Die erste Rosenkranzbruderschaft in Venedig gründete zwar Johannes von Erfurt im Jahre 1480, aber Sitz der Bruderschaft war in S. Domenico di Castello. Der Bruderschaft, deren Mitglieder zunächst nur in Venedig ansässige Deutsche waren, traten kurz darauf auch angesehene Bürger von Venedig bei, wie der Doge, der Patriarch von Venedig und weitere venezianische Adlige und Geistliche. Am 22. März 1504 wurde die Genehmigung zur Gründung einer Rosenkranzbruderschaft für die in Venedig lebenden Deutschen erlassen. Die Gemeinschaft wurde endgültig im Jahre 1506 gegründet, jenem Jahr, in welchem Dürer das erwähnte Bild malte. Bedingung für die endgültige Gründung war vermutlich gerade das Altarbild, mit dessen Ausführung Dürer beauftragt wurde und das in der Kirche in San Bartolomeo, in der die Bruderschaft ihren Altar hatte, hing.⁶⁹ Als Vorlage diente Dürer in erster Linie der Holzschnitt mit der Abbildung Marias mit den Mitgliedern beziehungsweise den Gründern der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft, den Jakob Sprenger in seiner Schrift über den Rosenkranz anlegte. Bei seiner Darstellung lehnte er sich noch an einige andere (u. a. auch Kölner und Nürnberger) Kunstwerke mit Marien- bzw. Rosenkranzikonographie an.⁷⁰ Auf Dürers Tafel können wir unter den dargestellten Personen, für die es bisher in der Literatur schon viele Identifikationsversuche gab, mit Sicherheit nur Maximilian, der auf der rechten Seite Marias kniet, und Dürer selbst erkennen.⁷¹ Auf jeden Fall ist bemerkenswert, dass im Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig noch 1508 der Händler Marko Stettner aus Ljubljana und höchstwahrscheinlich auch sein Bruder Jernej Stettner aus Kamnik ihren Sitz hatten.⁷² Ob diese Tatsache eine Rolle bei der Künstlervermittlung nach Kamnik spielen könnte, gilt es in Zukunft zu erforschen.

Dass der Maler, der die Kirche St. Primus und Felicianus bemalte, Richtung Norden reiste, wurde in der Literatur schon mehrmals betont. Mehr noch, explizit wurde geschrieben, dass der Maler in seinen Lehrjahren ins Rheinland bzw. nach Köln und in die Niederlande reiste, einige Zeit soll er

⁶⁸ Zur Frage der Auftraggeber siehe OUDENDIJK PIETERSE 1939 (Anm. 24), S. 23–68; ANZELEWSKY 1991 (Anm. 51), S. 192–193; KUTSCHBACH 1995 (Anm. 50), S. 106–107; SAFFREY 2002 (Anm. 66), S. 273, 277–278; *Albrecht Dürer* 2006 (Anm. 44), S. 82; LÜBBEKE 2006 (Anm. 52), S. 15, 22–23. Alle mit weiterer Literatur.

⁶⁹ Vgl. KLIEM 1963 (Anm. 23), S. 82–85, 88; Gilles Gerard MEERSSEMAN, *Le Origini della confraternita del Rosario e della sua iconografia in Italia. 1: A proposito di un quadro veneziane del Dürer, Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. 3: Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti*, 76, 1964, S. 223–256, 301–328; Antonio NIERO, *Ancora sull'origine del Rosario a Venezia e sulla sua iconografia, Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 28, 1974, S. 465–478; MEERSSEMAN 1977 (Anm. 23), S. 1170–1185, 1215–1230. Siehe auch BLACK 1989 (Anm. 32), S. 103–104; Peter HUMPHREY, *Dürer's Feast of the Rosegarlands. A Venetian Altarpiece, Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague*, 1, 1991, S. 21–33; WINSTON-ALLEN 1997 (Anm. 23), S. 69–70; BARTILLA 2006 (Anm. 67), S. 36–38. Ob Albrecht Dürer schon 1494/95 in Italien gewesen war, ist umstritten. Katherine CRAWFORD LUBER, *Albrecht Dürer and the Venetian Renaissance*, Cambridge 2005, S. 40–76, führt Argumente gegen Dürers ersten Italienreise an. Georg Ulrich GROSSMANN, *Albrecht Dürer in Innsbruck. Zur Datierung der ersten italienischen Reise, Das Dürer-Haus. Neue Ergebnisse der Forschung* (Hrsg. Georg Ulrich Großmann, Franz Sonnenberger), Nürnberg 2007 (Dürer-Forschungen, 1), S. 227–249, setzt die erste Italienreise zwei Jahre später an als 1494/95.

⁷⁰ Vgl. OUDENDIJK PIETERSE 1939 (Anm. 24), S. 129–154; ANZELEWSKY 1991 (Anm. 51), S. 67–68, 195–196; KUTSCHBACH 1995 (Anm. 50), S. 108–110; CRAWFORD LUBER 2005 (Anm. 69), S. 110–118; BARTILLA 2006 (Anm. 67), S. 36; LÜBBEKE 2006 (Anm. 52), S. 20, 30. Alle mit weiterer Literatur.

⁷¹ Vgl. OUDENDIJK PIETERSE 1939 (Anm. 24), S. 92–103; MEERSSEMAN 1977 (Anm. 23), S. 1174–1175; ANZELEWSKY 1991 (Anm. 51), S. 196–201; KUTSCHBACH 1995 (Anm. 50), S. 107–108; SAFFREY 2002 (Anm. 66), S. 279–287; Olga KOTKOVÁ, *The Feast of the Rose Garlands, Albrecht Dürer* 2006 (Anm. 44), S. 82–83, 86–87. Alle mit weiterer Literatur.

⁷² Siehe GESTRIN 1985 (Anm. 47), S. 48. Zur Fondaco dei Tedeschi siehe Philippe BRAUNSTEIN, *Les Allemands à Venise 1380–1520*, Rome 2016 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 372), mit weiterer Literatur.

sogar in einer der Kölner Malerwerkstätten gearbeitet und sich auf dem Weg höchstwahrscheinlich in Nürnberg aufgehalten haben.⁷³ Das entsprach genau dem Weg, den die slowenischen Pilger nahmen. Der Maler, der auch mit der venezianischen Kunst vertraut war, musste die Vorlagen (oder Umzeichnungen) der Graphiken auf seiner Reise von Albrecht Dürer selbst bekommen haben, was seine gründliche Kenntnis von Dürer Stils beweist. Es ist hingegen bemerkenswert, dass gerade die Rosenkranzbruderschaft(en) eine wichtige Rolle u. a. sowohl in Köln, Nürnberg und Venedig als auch beim Auftrag der Fresken von St. Primus sowie nicht zuletzt auch bei Dürer gespielt haben und somit der gemeinsame Nenner sind. Der Kern der Bruderschaft von Kamnik bestand aus ausgebildeten Humanisten mit vielen Kontakten sowohl nach Italien als auch in den Norden, was die Bruderschaftsnetze noch verstärkte. Jedenfalls scheint es möglich, dass die Auftraggeber der Fresken in St. Primus, die, wie schon Janez Höfler bemerkt hat, in der Kamniker Bruderschaft vereint waren, dem Maler ermöglichten, durch Rosenkranzbruderschaftsnetzwerke eine Verbindung sowohl mit Nürnberg als auch mit Köln zu schaffen. Es wäre durchaus auch möglich, dass die Auftraggeber, falls der Maler nicht in Kamnik „zu Hause war“, wie wir in der Literatur lesen,⁷⁴ mit diesem eben gerade durch bruderschaftliche Vernetzungen in Kontakt gekommen waren.⁷⁵

⁷³ Siehe VIGNJEVIČ 1995 (Anm. 4), S. 300; HÖFLER 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 174; VIGNJEVIČ 1996 (Anm. 1), S. 80–81, 83.

⁷⁴ VIGNJEVIČ 1992 (Anm. 4), S. 114.

⁷⁵ Der Aufsatz entstand im Rahmen des Forschungsprojekts *Artwork as a Reflection of Knowledge and Networking. The Role of Education and Social Connectedness of Artists and Patrons in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* (Nr. J6-9439) und im Rahmen des Forschungsprogramms *Slovenian Artistic Identity in European Context* (Nr. P6-0061). Beide werden von der Öffentlichen Agentur der Republik Slowenien für Forschung kofinanziert.

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

Povzetek

Članek obravnava kompleksno ozadje nastanka poslikave v podružnični cerkvi sv. Primoža in Felicijana nad Kamnikom z začetka 16. stoletja. Osredotoča se zlasti na analizo upodobitve Marije Zavetnice s plaščem ter Pohoda in poklona svetih treh kraljev z dolgim rožnim vencem nad Marijo z Jezusom. Prav rožni venec, naslikan na izpostavljenem mestu nad prizorom s svetimi tremi kralji, nakazuje, da se je kamniška Marijina bratovščina, ki ji že starejša literatura pripisuje naročilo poslikave, konec 15. stoletja usmerila v rožnovensko pobožnost. Tej tezi v prid govori tudi poudarjeni prizor Marije Zavetnice s plaščem, v tem času osrednji ikonografski motiv rožnovenskih bratovščin. Primerjalna analiza del, nastalih po naročilu ali v tesni navezavi na znamenito kölnsko rožnovensko bratovščino, razkriva več ikonografskih sorodnosti z upodobitvijo Marije Zavetnice s plaščem v cerkvi pri Sv. Primožu nad Kamnikom. Pri tem izstopa troje umetnostnih del. Prvo je danes neohranjeni prvotni oltar kölnske rožnovenske bratovščine, drugo je lesorez, ki ga je v svoj molitvenik priložil Jakob Sprenger, ustanovitelj kölnske bratovščine sv. rožnega venca, tretje pa je tabelna slika Marije Zavetnice s plaščem iz dominikanske cerkve sv. Andreja v Kölnu, ki je nastala po zgledu prvotnega kölnskega rožnovenskega oltarja. Na slednjem je bila prav podoba Marije Zavetnice, pod njenim plaščem pa so bili mdr. upodobljeni Friderik III., Maksimilijan I. ter Eleonora Portugalska na eni in papež Sikst IV. ter papeški legat kardinal Aleksander, škof Forlija, na drugi strani. Na danes ohranjeni oltarni sliki iz Kölna Mariji plašč razgrinjata sv. Dominik in dominikanec Peter Veronski na soroden način, kot to počneta sv. Primož in Felicijan na svetoprimoški freski. Na slednji poleg cesarja Maksimilijana I. izstopa markantna moška oseba, ki jo morda lahko interpretiramo prav v navezavi z omenjenimi kölnskimi deli kot Friderika III. Tudi na lesorezu v Sprengerjevem molitveniku sta upodobljena tako Friderik III. kot tudi Maksimilijan I., na strani cerkvenih dostojanstvenikov pa izstopa papeški legat, ki je bil upodobljen tudi na prvotnem oltarju. Najdemo ga tudi na svetoprimoški različici, na kateri Marija svojo desnico presenetljivo polaga okoli ramen poleg nje kleččega papeža. Ker je rožni venec naslikan ravno nad prizorom Poklona svetih treh kraljev, katerih relikvije so bile prav tako v Kölnu osrednji objekt češčenja, je v besedilu izpostavljena tudi vloga znamenitih kölnskih romanj Slovencev že od srednjega veka dalje. Pomenljivo je, da je na južni steni cerkve sv. Primoža in Felicijana tudi ena od redkih srednjeveških upodobitev sv. Aleša, zavetnika romarjev, v slovenskem prostoru. Romanja so v Porenje vodila skozi Nürnberg, mesto Albrechta Dürerja, čigar presenetljivo zgodnja recepcija je poleg italijanskih in nizozemskih vplivov razvidna s svetoprimoške poslikave. Ker je bil Albrecht Dürer povezan z več rožnovenskimi bratovščinami v nemškem in italijanskem okolju, se odpira vprašanje prepletenosti rožnovenskih bratovščin v širšem srednjeevropskem prostoru in njihove kompleksne vloge pri posredovanju in širjenju umetnostnih vplivov.

The Portuguese Confraternities of Mercy and Material Culture

Commissioning Art and Architecture to Promote Institutional Identity

Joana Balsa de Pinho

The Confraternities of Mercy (*confrarias da Misericórdia*), also known as Holy Houses of Mercy (*Santas Casas da Misericórdia*), or simply Mercies (*Misericórdias*), were associations of devout laymen who organized themselves under the invocation of Our Lady of Mercy to provide charitable assistance. These brotherhoods, founded in 1498 in Lisbon, spread rapidly throughout the country and the overseas Portuguese territories. They embodied the most institutionalized, organized, and systematic form of social welfare that existed in Portugal in the early modern era.¹

The *Misericórdias*, although founded in the 16th century, were framed within a late medieval religious context. In Portugal, as in the rest of Europe, professional confraternities for the protection of their members and families proliferated as did devotional ones, particularly confraternities of the Holy Spirit. However, the *Misericórdias* differed from other confraternities by offering assistance to those in need, even those outside the confraternity. Later, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the *Misericórdias* coexisted alongside the popular confraternities of the Holy Sacrament and Souls in Purgatory, and were integrated into the contexts of the directives promoted by the Catholic Reformation.²

It is estimated that in just one century, about 250 *Misericórdia* brotherhoods were established throughout the country, and still exist today, owing to their essential social, religious, and philanthropic activities (fig. 1). This rapid diffusion is related to two crucial factors. First, the *Misericórdias* constituted a confraternal experience that responded in new ways to the real social needs of the period.³ Second was the financial support of the Portuguese monarch in terms of privileges, exemptions, and donations. These privileges, which were fundamental to the creation and development, and

¹ On the foundation and diffusion of Confraternities of Mercy, see Ivo Carneiro de SOUSA, *V Centenário das Misericórdias Portuguesas 1498–1998*, Lisboa 1998; Isabel dos GUIMARÃES SÁ, *As Misericórdias portuguesas de D. Manuel I a Pombal*, Lisboa 2001; *Portugaliae Monumenta Misericordiarum* (ed. José Pedro Paiva), 1–3, Lisboa 2002–2004.

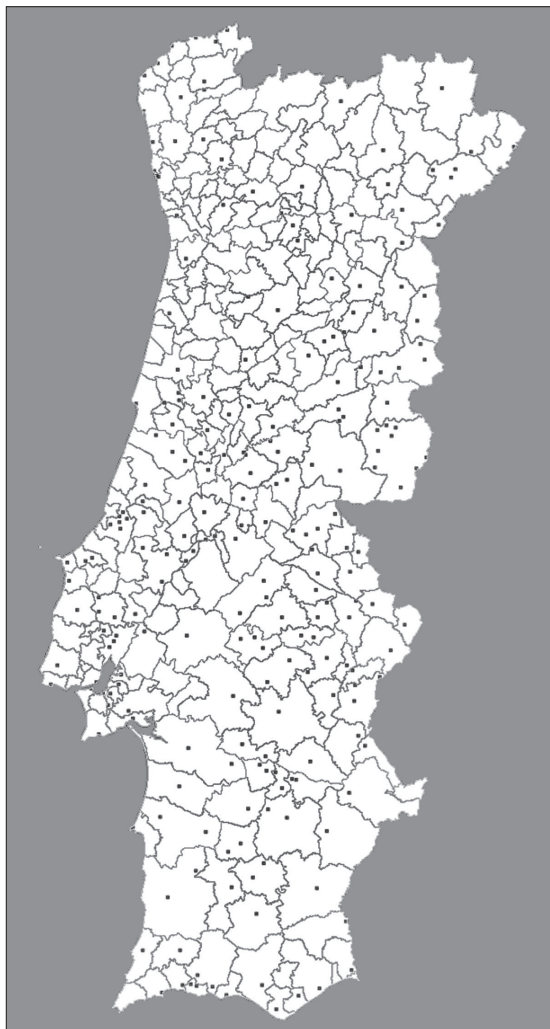
² For the religious and confraternal ambience in which the *Misericórdias* were founded, see Maria Ângela BEIRANTE, *Confrarias Medievais Portuguesas*, Lisboa 1990; Maria Helena da Cruz COELHO, *As confrarias medievais portuguesas. Espaços de solidariedade na vida e na morte, Cofradias, gremios, solidariedades en la Europa medieval. XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales Estella, 20 a 24 de Julio de 1992*, Navarra 1993; SOUSA 1998 (n. 1); Ivo Carneiro de SOUSA, *A Rainha D. Leonor 1458–1525. Poder, Misericórdia, Religiosidade e Espiritualidade no Portugal do Renascimento*, Lisboa 2002.

³ SOUSA 2002 (n. 2), pp. 62, 114–115.

in fact, to the very existence of these confraternities, were granted annually,⁴ both to the brothers who served the Misericórdias and to the institution itself in order to carry out its activities.⁵

The Misericórdias were established and managed by laymen in order to fulfil the Fourteen Works of Mercy.⁶ In a field of action delimited by the village or town where they were located and welcomed, they took care of the most disadvantaged: the poor, prisoners, and the sick. From the start, the brotherhoods were effective social welfare organizations that responded to contemporary social needs, particularly those triggered by the discoveries and maritime expansion by the Portuguese during the 15th and 16th centuries. With the advent of these discoveries, the social situation became more complex: urban populations increased, and living conditions worsened; social asymmetries widened, and the number of the indigent grew significantly. Likewise, new forms of poverty emerged, such as the “shameful” poverty of women who suddenly had to fend for themselves when their husbands left to go overseas, and of Portuguese captives, newly rescued from Africa, who returned home with no resources. These particular social problems, often ignored by existing social institutions, inspired and shaped the priorities of the Misericórdias, which developed more efficient modes of assisting women and ransoming captives.⁷

In addition to the royal protection that allowed them to spread rapidly and widely, the significant social impact of these brotherhoods was enhanced by the involvement of local elites in their foundation and maintenance. Moreover, the confraternal response to social needs was particularly



1. Map with the geographical distribution of the Misericórdias founded in the 16th century in Portugal

⁴ See SOUSA 2002 (n. 2), p. 12.

⁵ See Fernando Silva CORREIA, *Origens e formação das Misericórdias Portuguesas*, Lisboa 1999, pp. 558–560; GUIMARÃES SÁ 2001 (n. 1), pp. 40–44.

⁶ The Seven Spiritual Works include: instructing the ignorant; counseling the doubtful; admonishing sinners; bearing with patience those who wrong us; forgiving offenses; comforting the afflicted; and praying for the living and the dead. The Seven Corporal Works comprise: feeding the hungry; giving water to the thirsty; clothing the naked; sheltering the homeless; visiting the sick; visiting the imprisoned, or ransoming the captive; and burying the dead.

⁷ Regarding this complex social context, see Isabel dos GUIMARÃES SÁ, *Quando o rico se faz pobre. Misericórdias, caridade e pobreza no império português 1500–1800*, Lisboa 1997; GUIMARÃES SÁ 2001 (n. 1).



2. Portal with the sculpted relief of Our Lady of Mercy, 1548, House of Mercy, Abrantes

well-organized, especially in comparison to other organizations of medieval origin, such as guilds, small hospices, and hospitals that cared for the sick and travelers and were strictly bound by local regulations—but that is the subject of a different paper. The brotherhoods further distinguished themselves from other religious and secular institutions by developing a unique corporate identity in their buildings, which were prominently located in the center of cities and towns, and conspicuously displayed inscriptions, insignia, and imagery particular to the *Misericórdias* (fig. 2). Their art and architecture—the architecture will be analyzed in detail below—reveal a precise morphology and iconography that relate to the philanthropic programs and specific devotions of these confraternities. In these ways, the Confraternities of Mercy became important promoters of a new form of social healthcare that was directly associated with the pious practices and dynamic agency of the brotherhoods themselves.

Artistic Mission: Action, Devotion, and Art

Since the Confraternities of Mercy were created to fulfil the Works of Mercy, their eminently practical vocation needed a set of spaces, objects, and even works of art, thereby crafting a unique relationship between the *Misericórdias* and the art and architecture they commissioned. Throughout the history of these brotherhoods, from the late 15th century to the present day, these works spanned the realms of architecture, painting, sculpture, woodcarving, ceramic tile, etc., of which I can provide only a brief overview here. But having studied numerous works of art conserved in the Houses of Mercy, I posit that they reflect the caretaking and devotional orientation of the brotherhoods. Moreover, their distinct artistic characteristics, namely morphology and iconography—their thematic, symbolic, and evangelizing character—indicate their centrality in the construction, individualization, and affirmation of an institutional identity, decidedly different from other religious and secular institutions.

Whether displayed or used in private or public places and events, these diverse works afforded widespread access to the fundamental tenets of the *Misericórdias*' program; that is, the art was (and is) a material expression of that program, thus the objects present ideologies and symbols with a



3. Bier, 19th-20th century, House of Mercy, Estombar



4. Table and benches of the brothers,
18th century, House of Mercy, Abrantes



5. Royal flag, 17th century, House of Mercy, Lisboa

clear propagandistic function. A few paradigmatic examples will have to suffice. Proper Christian burial was an essential confraternal practice, so biers for transporting the deceased to the place of burial were necessary (fig. 3). An exquisitely carved set of round table and benches, used in meetings by the brethren who administered the confraternity, demonstrated utmost respect for their weighty responsibilities (fig. 4). In some cases, such as the Misericórdia de Abrantes, the room in which the table and benches were located was decorated with 17th-century tiles, each lavish panel representing one of the Works of Mercy. The royal flag and flags depicting events surrounding the Crucifixion were prominently displayed in public processions held during the Holy Week in each village with a confraternity of Mercy (fig. 5).⁸

Iconographically, the main themes of the representations are those of the charitable actions and devotions promoted by the brotherhoods. These include representations of *Our Lady of Mercy*, the *Visitation*, and the *Works of Mercy*. Equally important are episodes of Christ's Passion, since the *imitatio Christi* of the spiritual program was strongly influenced by the *Devotio Moderna*.⁹

The House of Mercy: A Specific Architectural Archetype

The architecture promoted by the Confraternities of Mercy has traditionally been viewed as a general example of religious architecture, in which the church, called “of Mercy,” was the most exceptional element, to the extent of lending its name to designate the entire building complex. However, my doctoral thesis, which systematically examines approximately 200 16th-century examples and is complemented by unpublished archival data, offers a new interpretative approach to this architectural heritage. By respecting the architectural specificity promoted by the Misericórdias of the 16th century, I refocus the issue on a fundamental aspect: the relationship that the Misericórdias established with architecture, how it was characterized and how it was manifested.

Soon after their formation, Confraternities of Mercy were in need of a space that afforded the implementation of both its charitable and devotional goals. Rarely did the institution of a Misericórdia coincide with building such an edifice, since the quick pace of the confraternities' initial activities did not allow sufficient funds or ample time for new construction. Many Misericórdias were initially installed in chapels in cathedral cloisters and Franciscan convents, in private chapels, in buildings belonging to other confraternities, and even in private homes. Judging from the approximately 260 Misericórdias founded in the 16th century, 66 (i.e., around 26%) initially occupied a pre-existing building.¹⁰ Only later, in the mid-16th century, did they initiate construction *ex novo* or, in the final decades of the 17th and in the 18th century, undertake extensive remodelling of the buildings they were using to serve their specific needs. Thus, this process of taking over older buildings highlights the importance of having access to their own space for achieving their goals. Moreover, strong mobilization forces—institutional and private, religious and civil—that surrounded the confraternity made possible the appropriation of buildings of different kinds and functions.¹¹

⁸ See Joana Balsa de PINHO, *A Casa da Misericórdia. As confrarias da Misericórdia e a arquitectura portuguesa quinhentista*, Lisboa 2012 (unpublished doctoral dissertation), pp. 117–133, 140–144, with full bibliography.

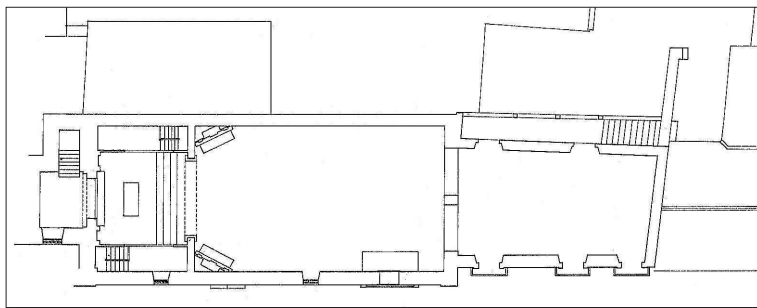
⁹ See PINHO 2012 (n. 5), pp. 133–140.

¹⁰ See “Annex I” in PINHO 2012 (n. 5), where, in the field designated the “initial place of operation” one can see, when the information exists, the place where the Misericórdias worked following their institution.

¹¹ For example, Misericórdias that were initially installed in chapels in the cloisters of cathedrals: Lisbon (Chapel



6. Portal, 1558–1562,
House of Mercy, Braga



7. Plan of the House of Mercy
in the 2nd half of the 16th century,
Benavente

All were decisive factors in the rapid dissemination and implementation of Houses of Mercy (fig. 6).

Owing to the multi-function of the brotherhoods of Mercy, they needed buildings with particular characteristics. Thus, the design of a House of Mercy centered on spaces for providing different kinds of charitable and religious assistance (fig. 7). The House of Mercy became differentiated from other contemporary buildings, both civil and religious, in two distinct ways: the architectural configuration and its important impact on the urban fabric.¹²

Let us highlight three aspects of the architectural configuration. First, Houses of Mercy were always constructed as a group of buildings that brought together different spaces for various confraternal activities. The church was the primary religious space where daily liturgical celebrations and the required Masses were performed (fig. 8). Another necessity was the meeting room of the

of Mercy), Porto (Chapel of Santiago), Braga (Chapel of Our Lady of Mercy), Coimbra (second chapel of the eastern part – Chapel of St. Cecilia); Misericórdias that were initially installed in Franciscan convents: Évora, Lamego, Tavira; Misericórdias that were installed in private houses: Montijo; Misericórdias that were installed in private chapels: Murça; and Misericórdias that were initially installed in buildings belonging to other confraternities: Coruche (house of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Purification), Montemor-o-Novo (Hermitage of St. Anthony of the Confraternity of the Faithful of God), Tentúgal (Hermitage of St. Peter of the Confraternity of St. Peter and St. Dominic).

¹² For the concept of House of Mercy, see PINHO 2012 (n. 5), pp. 186–226.



8. Church interior, 2nd half of the 16th century, House of Mercy, Buarcos



9. Meeting room of the brothers, 17th century, House of Mercy, Alcácer do Sal



10. Cemetery, 17th century, House of Mercy, Viana do Castelo

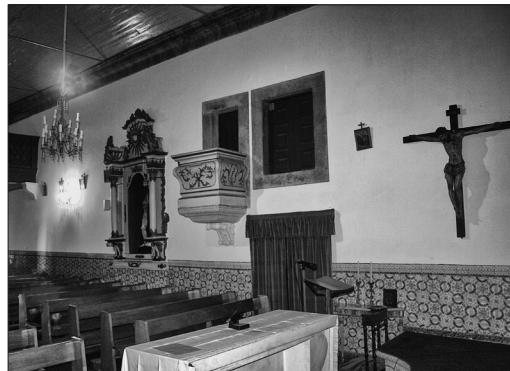
brothers responsible for managing the confraternity (*Casa do Despacho*) (fig. 9). The hospital or infirmary served the sick and the travelers. A House of Mercy could also include other areas that were used for newer activities that emerged as each confraternity grew and sometimes consolidated, such as an archive for documents, or the Home of the Tombs (*Casa das Tumbas*), where the funerary biers were stored, and finally, an enclosed cemetery, like a backyard or courtyard, where the poor could be buried (fig. 10).¹³

The House of Mercy evolved as a crucial setting for the most important and diverse activities of the brotherhood—assistance, celebration, and cultic rituals—encompassing and displaying the

¹³ For a detailed description of the different spaces that make up the “Casa da Misericórdias,” including its characteristics and functions, see PINHO 2012 (n. 5), pp. 186–224.



11. Interior of the church and tribune, 2nd half of the 16th century, House of Mercy, Melo



12. Tribune, 2nd half of the 16th century, House of Mercy, Fundão

whole dynamic life of the brotherhoods and the characteristic elements of the confraternal experience. Each space was considered an essential part of the whole. In 16th-century documents, the most common term used to describe a building occupied by the Brotherhood of Mercy is “House of Mercy”. This terminology also best defines the current architectural reality of these brotherhoods.¹⁴

It should be mentioned that the Houses of Mercy could be more or less complex, depending on many factors related to how each local brotherhood solved the problem of needing a dedicated space. The issue of scale is equally important, since most areas within the Houses of Mercy were small, including the hospital wards. Thus the buildings, although consisting of several areas, were not monumental structures. Another important factor that contributed to variations in the Houses of Mercy was that many had attached themselves to existing hospitals, thus relieving themselves of the necessity to build a new ward for the sick and the poor.¹⁵

Moreover, the architecture had to provide specific links between administrative, religious, and assistance areas (fig. 11). For example, connections between the meeting room and the church were imperative, since the statutes stipulated that the brothers would participate in Mass just prior to the weekly meetings in a privileged space called the “tribune” (fig. 12). Sometimes the church and the office were contiguous, or separated by an opening, or an exterior corridor was created if the buildings were at a certain distance. In the case of the Misericórdia de Melo, rows of pews made the connection.¹⁶

Third, the House of Mercy lacks specific architectural elements that identify the building in a concrete typological framework, particularly as a religious building, although the whole integrates a church (fig. 13). The logic in the organization of the space and the exterior façades is that of secular architecture. There are no major religious symbols such as crosses or bell towers (fig. 14). This is why the best typological classification for these buildings is “welfare architecture”, not religious architecture, the term generally used in literature.

¹⁴ See PINHO 2012 (n. 5), pp. 190–191.

¹⁵ In contrast, in some cases the Misericórdias chose to be installed in pre-existing hospitals and shelters, such as Barcelos, Serpa and other examples related to the confraternities of the Holy Spirit. However, it is important to highlight an existing relationship, in some cases relevant, that conditions the fact that the hospital/infirmarium did not belong to the House of Mercy.

¹⁶ For more about the tribune of the brothers and its morphologic and symbolic characteristics, see PINHO 2012 (n. 5), pp. 410–436.



13. Principal facade,
2nd half of the 16th century,
House of Mercy, Benavente



14. Principal facade,
c. 1540, House of Mercy,
Torre de Moncorvo

Because “House of Mercy” is a contemporary 16th-century term with a consistent meaning found in the documentation of countless *Misericórdias* throughout Portugal, this title best designates the architectural reality of early modern Confraternities of Mercy. It not only respects the patrimonial identity, but also defines the welfare function together with the confraternal experience, whether built *ex novo* or adapted.

The second key aspect in understanding Houses of Mercy is that they are urban phenomena, with their buildings integrated in the housing clusters where the brotherhoods were established. However, two crucial facets must be distinguished: urban location and urban impact, both central criteria for choosing the most privileged and socially relevant place to establish a House of Mercy. In the case of newly constructed buildings, documents report that the brothers discussed the best



15. Exterior facades, 1548,
House of Mercy, Abrantes



16. Exterior facades,
2nd half of the 16th century,
House of Mercy, Proença-a-Velha

placement opportunities; in other cases, records show plans for changing to a different locale, revealing dissatisfaction with the current location.¹⁷

In large cities, Houses of Mercy began to settle within the perimeter of the cathedrals or principal churches. Later they moved into separate buildings situated in the main squares of urban areas, oscillating between the center of religious power, represented by the cathedral, and the civic center, represented by the town hall, clock tower, and pillory. In small towns with a large monastery, the House of Mercy was situated nearby, rather than close to the parish headquarters, because

¹⁷ For the cases of Coimbra and Évora, see PINHO 2012 (n. 5), pp. 252–253.

the Misericórdias always tried to be geographically closer to the most prominent local institutions, which were sometimes monastic rather than parochial.

In addition, Houses of Mercy were also positioned in relation to the urban space and its elements, such as notable buildings and streets.¹⁸ This dimension, rather than location alone, had architectural implications, i.e. in the logic of the buildings' design and features. Centrality is the topographical connection that characterizes the House of Mercy in relation to other important buildings, such as the cathedral, town hall, pillory, castle, and clock tower.¹⁹ Moreover, its proximity to the town square reveals the desire for the institutional identity that the building itself expresses. The main entrance opens onto the square as well as onto a main road, and boasts richer decoration and ornamentation in relation to the House of Mercy's other façades. On the other hand, when the street was narrow, the building itself included a small forecourt, usually at the entrance to the church, to gain more space in comparison to the neighboring buildings. Another solution in relation to the street layout was positioning the main entrance of the House of Mercy on the central axis in order to achieve a greater impact along major urban arteries.²⁰

That impact was reinforced by embellishing the outer façades of the buildings of the Houses, particularly the portals, with groups of sculpture and/or inscriptions directly related to the institution or its goals (fig. 15).²¹ Thus, we find inscriptions such as: "This building is a place of Mercy"; "Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy"; "House of Mercy" and "Mercy"; and reliefs with representations of *Our Lady of Mercy* and the *Visitation* (fig. 16).²² Together these reveal a cogent strategy of embedding an institutional identity in the building as the public and visible face of the brotherhood.

Final Considerations

The "Casa da Misericórdia", or House of Mercy, is the most significant expression of the art and architectural patronage of the Brotherhoods of Mercy. In addition to the buildings' pragmatic functions, such as caring for the sick and the poor, Houses of Mercy were central venues for the brethren to assemble, both to administer the brotherhood and celebrate the divine offices. The Houses also had an important symbolic function.

As the public face of the Portuguese brotherhoods, the Houses of Mercy provided a vehicle for the transmission and affirmation of their institutional identity that was clearly differentiated from other philanthropic institutions. The importance of this institutional visibility was underscored by the carefully selected central urban locations as well as by the characteristic features and decorative elements of the buildings.

¹⁸ See PINHO 2012 (n. 5), pp. 254–257.

¹⁹ See "Annex I" in PINHO 2012 (n. 5), where, in the field designated as the "urban context", "context of other buildings" and "map" are recorded, when information exists, regarding the place where the Misericórdias worked following their institution.

²⁰ See PINHO 2012 (n. 5), pp. 257–258.

²¹ For an exhaustive survey of these inscriptions and sculptural compositions, see PINHO 2012 (n. 5), pp. 319–328.

²² For the most relevant examples (Abrantes, Braga, Proença-a-Velha, Silves, Torres Novas and Vila Viçosa), see the corresponding building entries in "Annex I" in PINHO 2012 (n. 5).

In addition, the Brotherhoods of Mercy were noteworthy for the vast number of works of art they commissioned and for bringing together a wide range of objects within their premises. Found in their remarkable art and architectural patronage is a rich manifestation of their impact on Portuguese art and material culture during the early modern era and beyond.

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

Povzetek

Družbe usmiljenja ali svete hiše usmiljenja, prva je bila osnovana leta 1498 v Lizboni, so bratovščine, posebej posvečene Usmiljeni Materi božji, s prepletenima ciljema karitativne pomoči in pospeševanja duhovnosti. Zaradi hitrega širjenja so postale te bratovščine najpomembnejša portugalska združenja v zgodnjem novem veku; v poznem 16. stoletju je bilo na Portugalskem in v portugalskih prekomorskih kolonijah okoli 250 bratovščin usmiljenja. Za doseganje svojih ciljev so naročale zelo raznovrstne predmete – nekatere bolj umetniške, druge bolj uporabne – in stavbe. Ena njihovih glavnih skrbi je bila oblikovanje lastne javne podobe oziroma korporativne identitete. Njihova umetnost in arhitektura razkrivata precizno morfologijo in ikonografijo, ki se navezujeta na človekoljubne programe in specifične pobožnosti teh bratovščin.

Razprava govori o sistematizaciji razmerja med arhitekturo, umetnostjo in materialno kulturo bratovščin usmiljenja. Osredotoča se na pomembno vlogo naročnikov in porabnikov umetnosti na portugalskih ozemljih v zgodnjem novem veku. Razprava temelji na izsledkih avtoričine doktorske raziskave o 190 hišah usmiljenja – njihove zgodovine in materialne kulture ter njihovih prostorov – in ponuja nov pristop do bratovščinske arhitekturne dediščine.

The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni and Albanians in the Marche Region

The Promotion of the “National” Saints in Pesaro

Giuseppe Capriotti

Introduction

The aim of this essay is to examine the artistic patronage of the confraternities of Schiavoni and Albanians in the Marche region in Italy, promoting the cult of specific national saints who came from the Balkan coast.¹ This objective will be pursued through the analysis of a “micro” case, that is, the promotion of St. Jerome and St. Veneranda in the city of Pesaro.²

During the 15th century many Schiavoni and Albanians escaped to the western Adriatic coast, especially (but not only) to the Marche region, for three main reasons: the Ottomans’ advance, the threat of the plague and financial needs.³ The presence of Schiavoni and Albanians in many towns of the Marche, from Pesaro to Ascoli Piceno, is well documented.⁴ These new immigrants often

¹ By Albanians we mean the inhabitants of the Balkan region that corresponds roughly to present-day Albania. Although Schiavonia or Slavonia is a historic region of eastern Croatia, the Schiavoni, who reached the Marche in the 15th century, came mostly from the Dalmatian coast. Between the 16th and the 17th centuries, the term “Illyrian” was used to generally define the Balkan territory. The Illyrian colleges of Loreto and Fermo, founded to educate priests who would have to evangelize and heal the souls of Christians in the Balkan areas conquered by the Turks, in fact, indiscriminately housed students from Croatia and Albania (as well as from Serbia, Bosnia and Macedonia). See Carlo VERDUCCI, *Il collegio illirico di Fermo, Le Marche e l’Adriatico orientale. Economia, società, cultura dal XIII secolo al primo Ottocento. Atti del convegno. Senigallia, 10–11 gennaio 1976*, Ancona 1978, pp. 175–196; Marco MORONI, *I collegi illirici delle Marche e la penisola balcanica in età moderna, Adriatico. Un mare di storia, arte, cultura* (ed. Bonita Cleri), Ripatransone 2000, pp. 183–202.

² I have already studied the case of the migration of Balkan cults to Ascoli Piceno and Ancona; see Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, *The Cauldron of St. Venera and the Comb of St. Blaise. Cult and Iconography in the Confraternities of Albanians and Schiavoni in Fifteenth-Century Ascoli Piceno*, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 30–45; Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, *Ricordare le origini schiavone nel Settecento. La chiesa e la confraternita di San Biagio ad Ancona*, *Giornale di storia*, 25, 2017, pp. 1–28; Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, *The Painting Owned by the Schiavoni Confraternity of Ancona and the Wooden Compartments with Stories of St. Blaise by Giovanni Antonio da Pesaro, Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country. Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Early Modern Italy in Comparative Perspective* (eds. Giuseppe Capriotti, Francesca Coltrinari, Jasenka Gudelj), Macerata 2018 (= *Il Capitale Culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*. Supplementi, 7), pp. 187–209.

³ Sergio ANSELMINI, *Schiavoni e Albanesi nell’agricoltura marchigiana dei secoli XIV e XV, Le Marche e l’Adriatico* 1978 (n. 1), pp. 141–173.

⁴ Francesco BONASERA, *La presenza storica degli albanesi nelle Marche*, Palermo 1981; *Italia felix. Migrazioni slave e albanesi in Occidente. Romagna, Marche, Abruzzi, secoli XIV–XVI* (ed. Sergio Anselmi), Urbino 1988.

had humble jobs, sometimes even humiliating ones, such as working as executioners.⁵ In many cases their stay was strictly supervised, and on some occasions they were even expelled, as they were believed to be the carriers of the plague they had brought from the opposite coast.⁶ In order to fight suspicion and prejudice, Schiavoni and Albanians would frequently group themselves into confraternities that fostered their members' integration into the civic and religious life of the new country.⁷ Studies on the "unwanted minorities" in the Papal State in the 15th century have shown how, both in central and peripheral areas, the phenomenon of associations, especially confraternities, was one of the first and most effective integration strategies used by "foreigners" of the Catholic faith to amalgamate into their host society.⁸ The presence of the confraternities of Albanians and Schiavoni in the Marche is well documented from Pesaro to Ascoli Piceno: in some cities we find either a confraternity of Albanians or Schiavoni, but in others (such as Fermo, Loreto, Recanati and Ascoli Piceno) we find confraternities of both Albanians and Schiavoni. While the confraternities of Albanians are usually dedicated to St. Venera or Veneranda, the Schiavoni brotherhoods have various dedications—to St. Blaise (patron saint of Dubrovnik), documented in Ancona and Ascoli Piceno, and to St. Jerome (national saint of the Illyrian people) in Loreto and Jesi.⁹ The case of Pesaro is particularly noteworthy.

The Schiavoni Confraternity, the Chapel of St. Peter and the New Oratory of St. Jerome

The dramatic situation of these ethnic minorities living in Pesaro during the plague epidemics of the 15th century is attested by the City Council records. To address the emergency, on 29 May 1462 the Council decided to expel all the Albanians and Schiavoni who did not own property in the city.¹⁰ Again, because of the plague, on 14 January 1464 it was mandated that anyone who had been renting a house to Albanians or Schiavoni during the previous two months had to alert the Custody Office within two days or be sentenced to a 10 ducat fine and two months in jail. Furthermore,

⁵ This occurred in many towns in the Marche, such as in Ancona. An act of the Council, dated 25 July 1439 and recorded in the city charter, states that "no Illyrian or Slav from whatever parts of Slavonia" (quod nullus Inliricus seu Sclavus de quibuscunque partibus Sclavoniae) could be forced to carry out the work of an executioner; see Archivio di Stato di Ancona, Archivio storico comunale di Ancona, Statuta Civitatis Anconae, 1394, in copia del 1426 circa, con successivi al 1501, fol. 51. The act was transcribed by Camillo Albertini (Biblioteca Benincasa di Ancona, Camillo Albertini, Storia di Ancona. 10/1: Additiones, fol. 10v) and mentioned by Mario NATALUCCI, Insediamenti di dalmati, slavi e albanesi in Ancona, *Le Marche e l'Adriatico* 1978 (n. 1), pp. 93–111, in particular p. 99.

⁶ See, for instance, the events that occurred repeatedly in Macerata in the 15th century: Romano RUFFINI, Medici e guaritori forestieri nella Marca anconitana, in particolare nella città di Macerata, nei secoli XIV–XVI, *Studi maceratesi*, 30, 1996, pp. 233–480, in particular pp. 313–315.

⁷ Mario SENSI, Fraternalità di slavi nelle Marche. Il secolo XV, *Le Marche e l'Adriatico* 1978 (n. 1), pp. 53–84; Mario SENSI, Slavi nelle Marche tra pietà e devozione, *Studi maceratesi*, 30, 1996, pp. 481–506.

⁸ Anna ESPOSITO, Le minoranze indesiderate (corsi, slavi e albanesi) e il processo di integrazione della società romana nel corso del Quattrocento, *Cittadinanza e mestieri. Radicamento urbano e integrazione nelle città basso-medievali secc. XIII–XVI* (ed. Beatrice Del Bo), Roma 2014, pp. 283–297.

⁹ See the clarification by Francesca COLTRINARI, Some notes on Confraternities, Immigrants and Artistic Production of the "Illyrians" in the Marche. The Unknown Master Piero di Giorgio da Sebenico in Fermo (1462), *Visualizing Past* 2018 (n. 2), pp. 165–185.

¹⁰ Biblioteca Oliveriana di Pesaro (BOP), Ms. 937, Squarci Almerici, vol. XII, BC, cc. 7r–8v; Marcello LUCHETTI, *Le confraternite a Pesaro dal XIII al XVII secolo*, Ancona 2013, p. 50.

every Albanian and Slav who had arrived in Pesaro during the previous two months was obliged to leave within two days or undergo the same sentence.¹¹ To confront this situation, as happened in many towns in the Marche, some of the immigrants began to form confraternities. While we do not have any archival proof about the foundation of a confraternity of Albanians, we know that a confraternity of Schiavoni in Pesaro definitively already existed in 1463, when Slav Pietro della Lia made his final testament, leaving his entire fortune to the confraternity.¹² According to Francesco Fabbri, an erudite scholar of the 17th century, that same year “*mercanti schiavoni*” founded an altar dedicated to St. Peter in the Pesaro Cathedral, which was privileged by Pope Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585); in the now lost epigraph (transcribed by Fabbri), the altar was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Jerome, but the confraternity was dedicated solely to St. Peter (*Societas Sancti Petri*).¹³ Between 1476 and 1477, Niccolò di Antonio from Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Slavic barber Giovanni di Giovanni from Busano, and a poor beggar, Giorgio di Giovanni from Zagreb, bequeathed funds for the decoration of a *cappella illiricorum* dedicated to St. Peter, owned by the confraternity and located in the cathedral.¹⁴ In 1483 Nicola di Priamo from Ragusa *elegit eius sepulturam in cappella Sancti Petri episcopatus Pisauri* (chose to be buried in the chapel of St. Peter in the Diocese of Pesaro), but also left 6 florins *congregationi Sancti Ieronimi pro fabrica et constructione oratorii construendi* (to the confraternity of St. Jerome for the building of the oratory that is already under construction).¹⁵ By that date, the Schiavoni had already started to build an oratory distinct from the chapel, attested by the will of Paolo Radi, who had served as a tailor to Costanzo Sforza, the lord of Pesaro. In 1485, Radi left 200 florins *pro fabrica et aedificio unius oratorii seu ecclesie construende et fundande ad honorem omnipotentis Dei, sub vocabolo S. Hieronimi, que ecclesia seu oratorium sit et esse debeat oratorium et congregario scoriatorum sclavorum* (for the building of an oratory, or church, that is already under construction and founded in honor of the Omnipotent God with a dedication to St. Jerome, that this church, or oratory, is and ought to be the oratory and gathering place of the Flagellant Slavs).¹⁶ This oratory, dedicated to St. Jerome, became the new residence of the confraternity upon its consecration (the precise date is unknown). The late 15th-century statutes, preserved in a copy dated 1611, are titled *Capitoli della Fraternita di S. Pietro Apostolo et di San Girolamo Dottore di Santa Chiesa nella città di Pesaro*,¹⁷ and unify the dedications of the first confraternal altar in the cathedral and the newer one in the oratory.

¹¹ LUCHETTI 2013 (n. 10), p. 50.

¹² LUCHETTI 2013 (n. 10), p. 51.

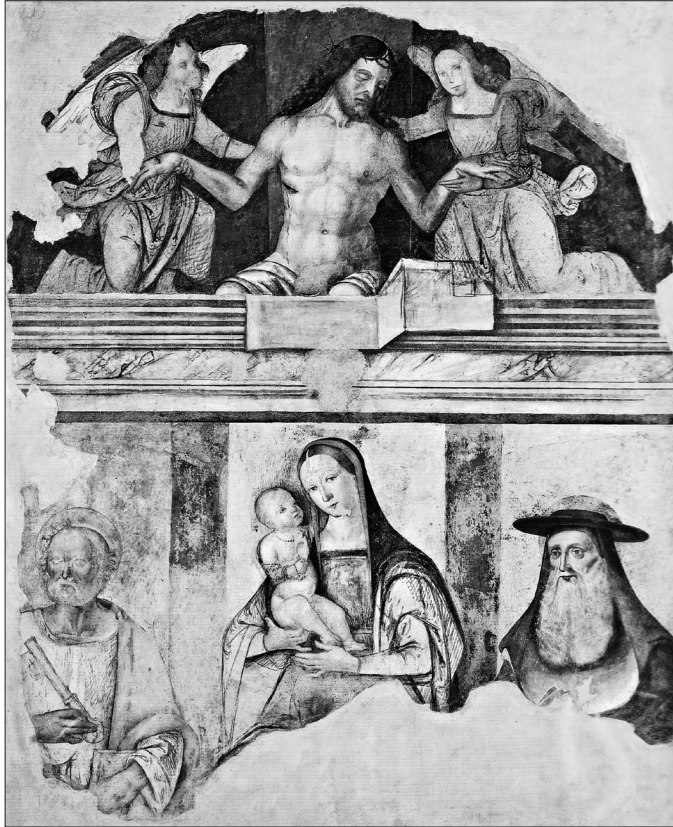
¹³ BOP, Ms. 320, Francesco Fabbri, Storia di Pesaro, c. 37r. The same data is reported by the scholar in another work, where 1469 is erroneously considered the foundation date; see BOP, Ms. 204, Francesco Fabbri, Historia della vita et morte del glorioso S. Terentio martire titolare della cattedrale e protettore della città di Pesaro, c. 81r.

¹⁴ LUCHETTI 2013 (n. 10), p. 51. For the document regarding Giorgio di Giovanni from Zagreb, see BOP, Spogli d'Archivi, Ms. 376, vol. II, c. 631v.

¹⁵ Oreste DELUCCA, Gli slavi a Pesaro, *Santa Veneranda degli schiavoni* (ed. Girolamo Allegretti), Pesaro 1990 (Costellazioni, 5), pp. 12–18, in particular p. 18, where the author mentions many documents without citing archival references.

¹⁶ Paolo M. ERTLER, *La Madonna delle Grazie di Pesaro. Origine e primi sviluppi del santuario 1469–1687*, 2, Roma 1991, p. 627; LUCHETTI 2013 (n. 10), pp. 51–52.

¹⁷ BOP, Ms 463, cc. 208r–221v.



1. School of Giovanni Santi: Lunette with Christ as the Man of Sorrows; Virgin and Child with St. Peter and St. Jerome, Duomo, Pesaro

Because of the bombing by Cesare Borgia in 1503¹⁸ and a substantial 19th-century restoration of the church by architect Giovan Battista Carducci,¹⁹ only a detached fresco from the Schiavoni chapel remains as a testament to the confraternity's patronage. Preserved in the Pesaro Cathedral, it is attributed to the school of Giovanni Santi (fig. 1).²⁰ The painting in the lunette depicts Christ as the Man of Sorrows supported by two angels, while below, the Virgin and Child are enthroned between St. Peter and St. Jerome, the two patrons of the brotherhood. The presence of Jerome, the Church Father who translated the Bible into the Vulgate, is especially meaningful. Born in Stridone, in Istria (part of Illyria), he had become the saintly representative of the Illyrian

¹⁸ According to a document published by Paride Berardi, in 1505, because of the bombing by Cesare Borgia, the main chapel of the cathedral of Pesaro and the chapel of St. Peter were to be rebuilt by Agostino di maestro Cecco da Fabriano, following the model made by Andrea di Girolamo della Ciacca; see *Arte e artisti a Pesaro. Regesti di documenti di età malatestiana e di età sforzesca. Scultori e architetti. Parte terza* (ed. Paride Berardi), Pesaro 2002 (= *Pesaro. Città e contà*, 16, 2002), pp. 158, 162–164.

¹⁹ Virginia TEODORI, *Giovan Battista Carducci architetto fermano 1806–1878*, Fermo 2001, pp. 168–178.

²⁰ Grazia CALEGARI, La pala di Pesaro e la città in quegli anni, *Adriatico. Un mare di storia, arte, cultura. 2: Atti del convegno, Ancona, 20–22 maggio 1999* (ed. Bonita Cleri), Ripatransone (AP) 2000, pp. 129–147, in particular pp. 144–145; Grazia CALEGARI, L'affresco restaurato nel Duomo di Pesaro. Raffaello adolescente?, *Le cento città*, 15, 2000, pp. 42–44; Grazia CALEGARI, Madonna col Bambino fra i santi Pietro e Girolamo. Cristo depresso, *Raffaello e Urbino. La formazione giovanile e i rapporti con la città natale* (ed. Lorenza Mochi Onori), Milan 2009, pp. 154–155. Before the restoration of 1999, the fresco was attributed to an unknown follower of Barocci (Giuliano VANZOLINI, *Guida di Pesaro*, Pesaro 1864, p. 136) or to an unknown artist from the Marche (Ciro CONTINI, *Pesaro. Guida storica ed artistica illustrata*, Pesaro 1962, p. 84).

nation as early as the 15th century.²¹ In fact, the church of the Illyrian nation in Rome is dedicated to St. Jerome, and is currently known as St. Jerome of the Croatians.²² Although the confraternal members had emphasized their Illyrian origin through St. Jerome, over the centuries the memory of their Slavic origins was lost. A pastoral visit in 1778 recorded that the group was of uncertain foundation and only bore the name of St. Peter.²³

The Confraternity of St. Veneranda and its Church

The presence of Albanians in Pesaro is even harder to trace, even though a peripheral suburb of the municipality is named St. Veneranda, the saint of Albanians *par excellence* in the Marche. In this hamlet there is a church also dedicated to the saint, where the patronage of the confraternity of St. Veneranda in the first half of the 17th century is still recognizable. In 1990 the town of Pesaro published a volume edited by Girolamo Allegretti attributing Slavic origins to both the confraternity and the village, as its title indicates: *Santa Veneranda degli Schiavoni*.²⁴ In fact, among the archival documents concerning the church and its confraternity from the 17th to the 19th century, which I discovered in the diocesan archives of Pesaro, there are no references to Slavic or Albanian origins of the brotherhood. Nevertheless, I believe that the origins of both the confraternity and the village are indeed Albanian because throughout the Marche, without exception, confraternities dedicated to St. Veneranda all have documented Albanian origins. In fact, St. Veneranda is a Balkan saint, highly venerated in Albania. She arrived in the Marche thanks to the migration of Albanians, where she also acquired the attribute of a cauldron, originally the attribute of the homonymous St. Veneranda of Rome.²⁵ Despite the problematic origins of the confraternity, in the 17th century its patronage was unmistakably aimed at promoting the saint's cult.

In 1616 the decorative structure of the confraternal church was remodeled, and the new layout incorporated a fresco from the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century²⁶ (fig. 2). The enthroned Virgin and Child are accompanied by St. Sebastian on the left and St. Veneranda on the right. Seated on the Virgin's lap, Jesus holds an unidentifiable bird, a traditional symbol of the sinner's soul saved by him,²⁷ and grasps his mother's mantle, anticipating his shroud. The deep red coral necklace is another symbol of his Passion, although coral was contemporaneously used

²¹ Daniel RUSSO, *Saint Jérôme en Italie. Étude d'iconographie et de spiritualité XIIIe–XVe siècle*, Paris 1987; Eugene Franklin RICE, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, Baltimore 1988; Ines IVIĆ, *The Cult of Saint Jerome in Dalmatia in the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries*, Budapest 2016 (MA Thesis).

²² Jasenka GUDELJ, San Girolamo dei Croati a Roma. Gli Schiavoni e il cantiere sistino, *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma 1450–1650* (eds. Alexander Koller, Susanne Kubersky-Piredda), Roma 2015, pp. 297–325.

²³ *La visita pastorale del cardinale Gennaro Antonio de Simone alla diocesi di Pesaro 1776–78* (ed. Giulio F. Allegretti), Pesaro 2007, p. 832.

²⁴ *Santa Veneranda* 1990 (n. 15).

²⁵ CAPRIOTTI 2016 (n. 2).

²⁶ The painting was mentioned by Manuela MARINI, I temi pittorici della tradizione popolare, *Santa Veneranda* 1990 (n. 15), pp. 23–27, and CALEGARI 2000 (n. 20), p. 145.

²⁷ On the symbolism of the birds, see Francesco SORCE, La *Madonna del passero* di Guercino. Problemi di esegesi visiva e simbolismo degli uccelli, *Il Capitale Culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, 18, 2018, pp. 85–117.

as an amulet for children.²⁸ In the foreground a footed bowl overflows with fruit—cherries, apples, a fig or a pear. Although possibly alluding to the fruits' symbolic meanings,²⁹ it seems more likely a votive offering to the Virgin. Graffiti inscriptions left by devotees throughout the centuries demonstrate the affective powers of the Virgin and this image.

On the right, St. Veneranda suffers martyrdom inside a searing cauldron, while praying with joined palms and holding a *circulum precatorium*, a forebear of the Franciscan *corona* (crown).³⁰ According to legend, because of her Christian faith, Emperor Antoninus Pius had her placed in a cauldron of boiling oil and tar, but this method of execution proved to be ineffective. When accused of practicing magic, Veneranda splashed the hot tar into the emperor's eyes and blinded him. Thanks to her fervent prayers, the emperor converted and regained his sight.³¹ St. Sebastian is portrayed tied to a column with arrows piercing his body. Since antiquity, arrows have symbolized the vehicle through which an enraged divinity sends plague to punish humankind. St. Sebastian, having survived this martyrdom, was venerated as a powerful protector against plague.³² In this case, it must be underscored that Albanians from Pesaro, along with the Schiavoni, had been accused several times of being carriers of the contagion. In the fresco, therefore, the two saints could represent both the ethnic identity of the confraternity and the fraught indictment most often used against them.

In the upper zone, two angels crown the Virgin with a garland of roses, complementing the circlet of pearls held by Veneranda. Stylistically, the angels and the lush green curtains are early 17th-century additions, when the original altar was modified. The fresco was transformed into the



2. *Virgin and Child with St. Sebastian and St. Veneranda*, old church of St. Veneranda, Santa Veneranda (Pesaro)

²⁸ On these symbols, see Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, *Ce sta picto. Simboli e figure nella pittura di Vittore Crivelli e del suo tempo*, *Vittore Crivelli da Venezia alle Marche. Maestri del Rinascimento in Appennino* (eds. Francesca Coltrani, Alessandro Delpriori), Padova 2011, pp. 73–85.

²⁹ See in general Mirella LEVI D'ANCONA, *The Garden of the Renaissance. Botanical Symbolism in Italian Painting*, Firenze 1977.

³⁰ In effect, seven decades of beads can be counted, as the early modern Franciscan *corona* (crown). On the contrary, the Dominican rosary counts 15 decades (corresponding to the 15 mysteries). On the Franciscan tradition, see Leone BRACALONI, *Origine, evoluzione ed affermazione della Corona francescana mariana*, *Studi francescani*, 29, 1932, pp. 257–295.

³¹ For a revision of the data on the saint, see CAPRIOTTI 2016 (n. 2), pp. 33–34.

³² On the “culture of plague”, see Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, *San Sebastiano nei luoghi della paura. Sculture lignee dipinte nelle Marche centrali del Quattrocento*, *Giovani studiosi a confronto. Ricerche di storia dell'arte* (ed. Alessia Fiabane), Roma 2004, pp. 23–37; Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, *Un dipinto contra pestem di Paolo da Visso. “Crisi della presenza” e simbologia della freccia nella pittura italiana del XV secolo*, *Iconographica*, 9, 2010, pp. 75–88.



3. Altar wall, old church of St. Veneranda, Santa Veneranda (Pesaro)

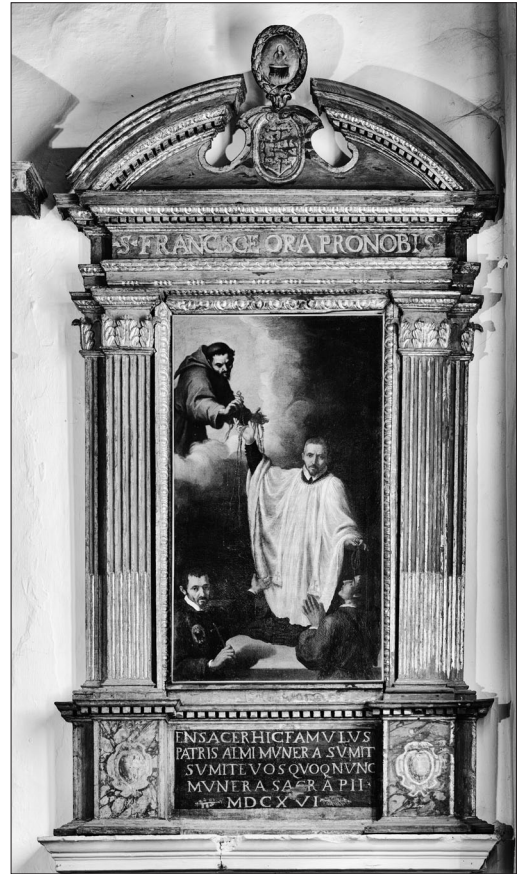
center of what could be considered a detached triptych occupying the entire altar wall (fig. 3). A classicizing painted and gilded wooden frame is articulated with two attached composite columns on its sides, a decorated architrave, and a curved, broken pediment. A small aedicule at the top contains the dedication: *DEI GE / NITRICI / ET B(EATAE) / VENE / RANDAE / D(EDICATUM)*. Below, a small plaque on the architrave is inscribed *PII HOMINES*, memorializing the devout men who commissioned the new altar consecrated to both the Virgin and Veneranda.

Above the doors to the sacristy, on either side of the altar, is a pair of paintings portraying St. Carlo Borromeo and St. Francis. The date 1616 on both frames records when the entire altar wall was remodeled. Even without specific documentation about the cult of these two saints in the Santa Veneranda confraternity, it is significant that when renovating the altar, the medieval St. Francis was juxtaposed with Carlo Borromeo, newly canonized in 1610. Kneeling in prayer before a crucifix, with a gesture of revelation as the heavens open to reveal the Holy Spirit (fig. 4), St. Carlo is asked to “Pray for us” (*S. CAROLE ORA PRO NOBIS*), and the following is invoked on the base of the frame: *TV NOSTROS ANIMOS / TV FER SVSPYRIA NOSTRA / DEFER VOTA, PRECES / THVRAQ(VE) NOSTRA DEO / MDCXVI* (You lead our souls, guide our sighs and carry our vows, prayers and incense to God. 1616). St. Francis is beseeched in the same way: *S. FRANCISCE ORA PRO NOBIS* (fig. 5). In the case of St. Carlo, the painter followed a rather traditional hagiographic iconography with the saint kneeling in front of a crucifix.³³ However, the image of St. Francis does not seem to have any iconographic precedents. The saint delivers his cinctures, knotted ropes signifying the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, to a clergyman, who, in turn, passes it to a

³³ See Angelo Maria RAGGI, Carlo Borromeo. 4: Iconografia, *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 3, Roma 1962, coll. 846–850.



4. Giovan Giacomo Pandolfi: *St. Charles Borromeo*, old church of *St. Veneranda*, *Santa Veneranda* (Pesaro)



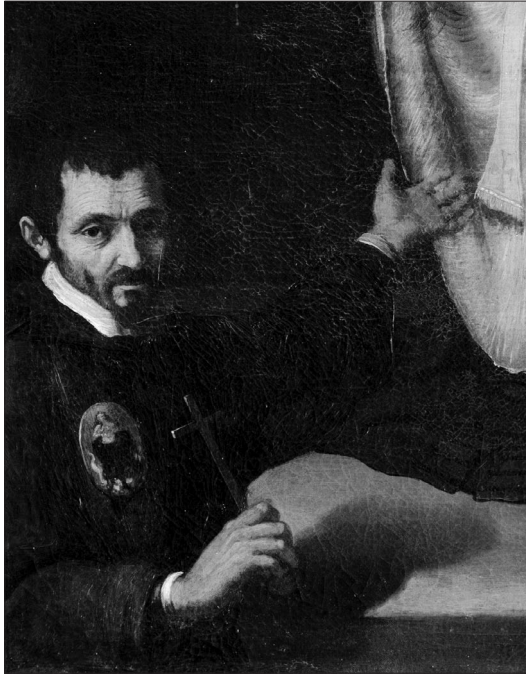
5. Giovan Giacomo Pandolfi: *St. Francis Delivers the Cinctures*, old church of *St. Veneranda*, *Santa Veneranda* (Pesaro)

confraternal member, portrayed in prayer at the bottom right. On the left, another brother looks toward the viewer while holding a cross in one hand and with the other directing attention to the miraculous event that transpires above. In this case, perhaps thanks to the suggestion of a cultured cleric, the painter has depicted a new iconography, reworking a specific type of image in which the Virgin is the protagonist, such as: the Virgin who bestows her sash (*cintola*) upon St. Thomas during her Assumption;³⁴ the Madonna who gives the rosary to St. Dominic;³⁵ and the Virgin who appears to St. Simon Stock and gives him the scapular.³⁶ In particular, the latter two subjects became widespread during the Counter-Reformation era. Moreover, on the image of St. Francis, another element underscores Counter-Reformation precepts, that is, the central role played by the clergyman who acts as a mediator between the saint and the brothers, like the Church between God and

³⁴ On this iconography and on its literary sources, see Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, *Lo scorpione sul petto. Iconografia antiebraica tra XV e XVI secolo alla periferia dello Stato pontificio*, Roma 2014, pp. 41–57.

³⁵ See Ivana ČAPETA RAKIĆ, Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, Two Marian Iconographic Themes in the Face of Islam on the Adriatic Coast in the Early Modern Period, *IKON. Journal of Iconographic Studies*, 10, 2017, pp. 169–186.

³⁶ See Ludovico SAGGI, Claudio MOCCHEGIANI CARPANO, Simone Stock, *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 11, Roma 1968, coll. 1188–1192.



6. Giovan Giacomo Pandolfi: A brother of the confraternity, detail of *St. Francis Delivers the Cinctures*, old church of *St. Veneranda*, *Santa Veneranda* (Pesaro)



7. Giovan Giacomo Pandolfi: Confraternal insignia of *St. Veneranda*, upper part of the frame of *St. Francis Delivers the Cinctures*, old church of *St. Veneranda*, *Santa Veneranda* (Pesaro)

the faithful. The words written at the bottom appear to be uttered by the brother gazing intently at the observer: *EN SACER HIC FAMVLVS / PATRIS ALMI MVNERA SVMIT / SVMITE VOS QVOQ(VE) NVNC / MUNERA SACRA A PII / MDCXVI* (Here is this sacred servant of the benevolent Father receiving the gifts. You too are now taking the sacred gifts of the pious man. 1616). Reinforcing Catholic tenets of belief and practice, the brother invites the devout to recognize the essential role played by the clergyman. Because such specific facial features were used, he might portray the priest who participated in the devotional practices of the confraternity and helped to develop the innovative image. The brother standing on the left, with the oval confraternal badge of *St. Veneranda* in the cauldron clearly recognizable on his chest, might well be a portrait of the patron (fig. 6).

The same emblem crowns the frames of both side panels (fig. 7), is sculpted on the architrave of the sacristy doors and is painted at the center of the choir on the counter-façade (fig. 8). It is also depicted in a relief on the two holy water fountains, moved to the new church of *St. Veneranda*, which was built near the first church in the 1950s (fig. 9).³⁷ *St. Veneranda* is, therefore, the epicenter of the cult of the brotherhood, which also possessed a relic of the saint, documented in their inventories

³⁷ Although the two holy water fountains are currently located in the new church on each side of the portal, I believe they were originally placed in the old church. One seems to have been made at the beginning of the 16th century and could be contemporary with the fresco. The other seems to be a cruder 17th-century copy, perhaps to create a pendant when the church was renovated, but neither is stylistically of high quality. I thank Graziano Alfredo Vergani for enlightening discussions about these objects.



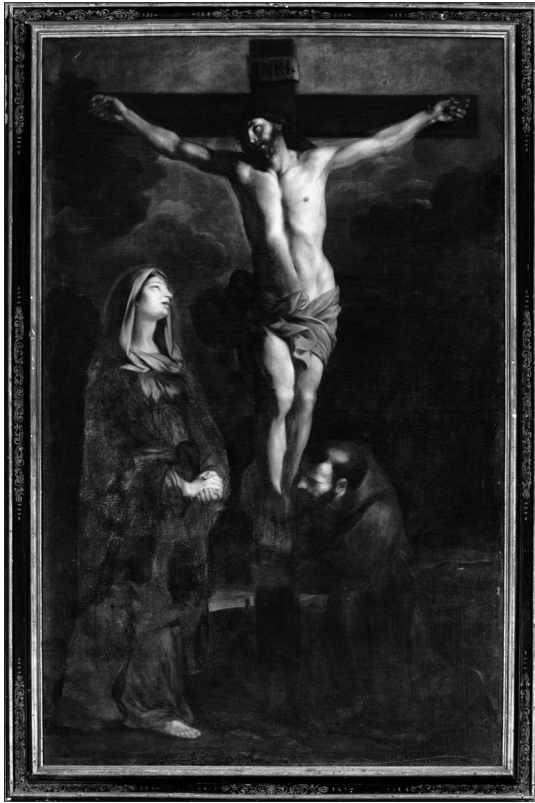
8. Choir, old church of St. Veneranda, Santa Veneranda (Pesaro)



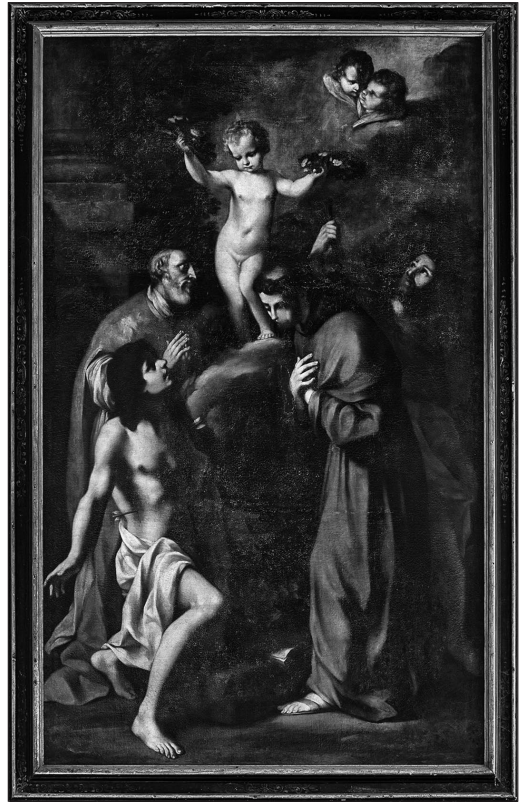
9. Holy Water Font, new church of St. Veneranda, Santa Veneranda (Pesaro)



10. Reliquary of St. Veneranda, new church of St. Veneranda, Santa Veneranda (Pesaro)



11. *Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. Francis*, new church of St. Veneranda, Santa Veneranda (Pesaro)



12. *Child Jesus Crowning St. Sebastian and St. Anthony of Padua with St. Filippo Neri and an Unidentified Saint*, new church of St. Veneranda, Santa Veneranda (Pesaro)

from the 18th century and still extant.³⁸ The fragment of the saint's body is now preserved in an 18th-century reliquary in the new church of St. Veneranda (fig. 10).³⁹

Originally, the decoration included two additional paintings, currently located in the new church: the *Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. Francis* (fig. 11) and the *Child Jesus Crowning St. Sebastian and St. Anthony of Padua with St. Filippo Neri and an Unidentified Saint* (fig. 12). These had been placed on the lateral walls of the old church, where their hooks may still be seen, allowing a virtual reconstruction of the church (fig. 13). In the *Stato della chiesa di Santa Veneranda* (State of the Church of St. Veneranda), drawn up in 1850 during a pastoral visit, all the 17th-century paintings were

³⁸ An undated inventory of the church of St. Veneranda states: "Nella suddetta chiesa si conserva un pezzo di reliquia del corpo di S.ta Veneranda colla sua autentica confermata dal fu Monsignor Radicati, già vescovo di Pesaro" (Archivio Storico Diocesano di Pesaro (ASDP), Atti della parrocchia di S. Pietro in Calibano, n. 47). Because Umberto Luigi Radicati was bishop between 1739 and 1773, we can document the existence of the relics from the 18th century. In the pastoral visit between 1776 and 1778, made by Gennaro Antonio de Simone, the relics of St. Veneranda are mentioned again: "Nella chiesa di Santa Veneranda si venera quella di detta santa e stanno custodite nel loro armadio sotto chiave; si espongono poi alla pubblica venerazione con quattro lumi e sua incensazione, secondo dice la rubrica"; see *La visita pastorale* 2007 (n. 23), p. 286.

³⁹ Because the style of the reliquary is Late Baroque in the upper part, but Neoclassical in the lower, with two lions on the base, we surmise that the object was conceived at the end of the 18th century, when Bishop Radicati approved the authenticity of the relics. Again, I thank Graziano Alfredo Vergani for his insightful observations.



13. Hypothetical reconstruction of the position of the paintings inside the old church of St. Veneranda, Santa Veneranda (Pesaro)

attributed to “a certain Cantarini” or Pandolfi, both from Pesaro.⁴⁰ The attribution to Simone Cantarini (1612–1648) must be excluded for all the paintings preserved in the old church, not only on stylistic evidence, but because of the painter’s age.⁴¹ In my opinion, the four paintings were conceived in two distinct decorative campaigns. Those on the altar wall are dated 1616, and have been convincingly attributed to Giovan Giacomo Pandolfi (and his workshop).⁴² The other two were added later, certainly

⁴⁰ “Altari n. 3. Il maggiore sotto l’invocazione della B.M.V. dell’Apinta, S. Sebastiano, e S. Veneranda. Il Secondo del SS.mo Crocefisso, quale è di Celebre Autore, cioè o di un Certo Cantarini o vero di Pandolfi, e come pure la Madonna Addolorata di eguale celebrità. Il terzo sotto l’invocazione di S. Sebastiano, e S. Antonio. Et altri due quadri, che stanno sopra le porte della Sagrestia, cioè S. Carlo, e S. Francesco, si dice, che siano di eguali autori del SS.mo Crocefisso. Tutti 3 questi altari sono relativamente privilegiati in perpetuo per i fratelli, e sorelle della Compagnia di S. Veneranda soltanto, come risulta dal Breve della S. Memoria di Clemente XIV datato il dì 18 settembre 1772” (ASDP, Santa Veneranda, 50/3, n. 1).

⁴¹ See in general *Simone Cantarini detto il Pesarese 1612–1648* (ed. Andrea Emiliani), Milano 1997; *Simone Cantarini nelle Marche* (eds. Andrea Emiliani, Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari), Venezia 1997; Mario MANCIGOTTI, *Il Pesarese ed i suoi capolavori. Simone Cantarini 1612–1648*, Pesaro 2006; *Pesaro per Simone Cantarini. Genio ribelle 1612–2012* (ed. Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari), Ancona 2012.

⁴² On Pandolfi, in addition to the bibliography mentioned in the following note, see in general Stefano DE MIERI, Pandolfi, Giovan Giacomo, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 80, Roma 2014, *ad vocem*.

after 1622, when Filippo Neri was canonized. They seem to have been made in the mid-17th century by a painter who was very familiar with Emilian art, in particular Guido Reni and Guercino, but who had also learned from the example of Caravaggio and his followers.⁴³

It is difficult to make a general statement about the evolution of the confraternity's devotional practices owing to a total absence of documentation. However, the images preserved in the church show us that between the 15th and 16th centuries the confraternity was exclusively devoted to St. Veneranda and St. Sebastian, who are represented in the oldest painting, together with the Virgin and Child. In the 17th century, St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua, two medieval Franciscan saints, and St. Carlo Borromeo and St. Filippo Neri, both canonized in the first quarter of the 17th century, were added when the new decoration of the church was underway. The presence of St. Francis and St. Anthony suggests that the confraternity was linked to the Franciscan order and that the latter guided the devotional practices of the brothers. On the other hand, the presence of the two new saints might express the desire to incorporate post-Tridentine religious models as well, perhaps required by the bishop or other officials of the diocese.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is possible to observe how in the case of the confraternity of Schiavoni of Pesaro, the strong Illyrian identity, documented by sources and reinforced through the image of St. Jerome, had been lost over the centuries. By the time of the pastoral visit of 1778, there was neither mention of the old oratory dedicated to St. Jerome nor the Slavic origin of the confraternity—only that the divine patron of the brotherhood was St. Peter alone. Whereas in the case of the confraternity of St. Veneranda, an Albanian origin seems to be the only reasonable hypothesis, for which, as of now, there is no documentary support. However, the decorative complex of the church of St. Veneranda bears witness that even in the 17th century the confraternity promoted the cult of the “national” saint of the Albanians living in the Marche.*

⁴³ I would like to thank Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari for having discussed with me the problems of attributing these paintings. Without reference to documentation, the paintings in the old church of St. Veneranda have been attributed to Giovan Giacomo Pandolfi, and the other works, currently in the new church, to Simone Cantarini by Grazia CALEGARI, *I nuovi temi della pittura colta, Santa Veneranda* 1999 (n. 15), pp. 28–35. See also Grazia CALEGARI, Giovan Giacomo Pandolfi, *i Della Rovere e la corte di Spagna, I Della Rovere nell'Italia delle corti. 2: Luoghi e opere d'arte* (eds. Bonita Cleri, Gian Carlo Bojani), Urbino 2002, pp. 205–222 (where the confraternal brother's face in the *St. Francis* is considered the painter's self-portrait); Grazia CALEGARI, Giovan Giacomo Pandolfi, *Nel segno di Barocci. Allievi e seguaci tra Marche, Umbria, Siena* (eds. Anna Maria Ambrosini Massari, Marina Cellini), Milano 2005, pp. 220–223, and in particular p. 233 (where the works in St. Veneranda are mentioned). See also Antaldo ANTALDI, *Notizie di alcuni architetti, pittori, scultori di Urbino, Pesaro e de' luoghi circconvicini* (ed. Anna Cerboni Baiardi), Pesaro 1996, pp. 76–77 (where the *Crucifixion* in the new church of St. Veneranda is attributed to Pandolfi).

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

Povzetek

Skupine Slovanov (*Schiavonov*) in Albancev so se od 15. stoletja naprej preseljevale z vzhodne obale Jadrana v Marke v glavnem iz treh razlogov: zaradi otomanskega napredovanja, nevarnosti kuge in finančnih stisk. Da bi premagale nezaupanje in predsodke, so se te »nezaželene« manjšine pogosto združevale v bratovščine, ki so spodbujale vključevanje svojih članov v civilno in versko življenje nove domovine. Prisotnost slovanskih in albanskih bratovščin v Markah je dobro dokumentirana vse od Pesara do Ascoli Picena.

Cilj prispevka je preučiti umetnostno naročništvo teh bratovščin, ki so spodbujale kult specifičnih svetnikov, pri čemer se osredotoča na primer Pesara. Tu je slovanska bratovščina dokumentirana od leta 1463, ko je *Schiavone* Pietro della Lia v oporoki zapustil vse svoje premoženje bratovščini. Potem je leta 1477 Giorgio di Giovanni iz Zagreba (med drugimi) zapustil 10 dukatov za okras sv. Petru posvečene *cappelle illiricorum* v pesarski stolnici. Leta 1483 je bratovščina gradila oratorij, posvečen sv. Hieronimu, ki ni bil identičen s kapelo. Z združitvijo patrocinijev prvotnega oltarja v stolnici in novega v oratoriju je bratovščina dobila dva zavetnika, sv. Petra in sv. Hieronima. Oba sta upodobljena tudi na freski, ki je prvotno krasila kapelo in jo je mogoče pripisati šoli Giovannija Santija. Sneta freska, danes hranjena v pesarski stolnici, je edini dokaz o obstoju kapele in oratorija slovanske bratovščine v Pesaru. Slikarija v luneti kaže Kristusa kot Moža bolečin, ki ga podpirata angela; spodaj je Marija z otrokom na prestolu med obema bratovščinskima svetnikoma. Prisotnost sv. Hieronima, cerkvenega očeta, ki je prevedel Sveto pismo v latinščino, ima poseben pomen. Sv. Hieronim, rojen v Stridonu v Istri (del Ilirije), je že v 15. stoletju postal svetniški predstavnik ilirskega naroda. Tudi ilirska nacionalna cerkev v Rimu je posvečena sv. Hieronimu. Čeprav so člani bratovščine s sv. Hieronimom poudarili svoje ilirsko poreklo, se je spomin na njihov slovanski izvor skozi stoletja izgubil; ob pastoralni vizitaciji leta 1778 je bilo zabeleženo, da je bratovščina posvečena zgolj sv. Petru.

Edina priča o kolektivni albanski identiteti v Pesaru pa je freska sv. Venerande iz 15. stoletja, ohranjena v cerkvi v sosednji vasi Santa Veneranda. Sv. Veneranda je v resnici balkanska svetnica, zelo češčena v Albaniji. V Marke je prišla z migracijo Albancev in tu privzela atribut kotla, ki je bil prvotno atribut istoimenske svetnice iz Rima. Freska kaže Marijo z otrokom, ki jo spremljata sv. Boštjan na levi in sv. Veneranda na desni strani. Sv. Veneranda je upodobljena med mučeništvom v vrelem kotlu, v molitvi in z rožnim vencem v rokah. Sv. Boštjan je privezan na steber, njegovo telo prebadajo puščice. Od antike dalje so bile puščice vizualizacija sredstva, s katerim je jezno božanstvo za kazen poslalo nad človeštvo kugo. Ker je sv. Boštjan to mučenje preživel, so ga obhajali kot mogočnega zavetnika proti kugi. Poudariti je treba, da so bili Albanci iz Pesara skupaj s Slovani večkrat obtoženi, da prenašajo bolezen. Na freski bi lahko svetnika predstavljala etnično identiteto bratovščine in hkrati obtožbe, ki so bile najpogosteje uperjene proti njim.

Leta 1616 je bila freska spremenjena v osrednji del triptiha, ki zaseda celotno oltarno steno. Na vsaki strani je nad vrati, ki vodijo v zakristijo, uokvirjena slika z letnico 1616; ena kaže novokanoniziranega sv. Karla Boromejskega, druga sv. Frančiška; na obeh je napis *Ora pro nobis*. Sv. Karel kleči v molitvi pred Križanim z drugim napisom, ki se v prevodu glasi: *Usmerjaj naše duše, vodi naše vzdihljaje in nosi naše zaobljube, molitve in kadila Bogu 1616*. Če je slikar pri sv. Karlu Boromejskem sledil precej tradicionalni ikonografiji, ko ga je upodobil klečečega pred križem, pa se zdi, da podoba sv. Frančiška nima ikonografskih predhodnic. Svetnik izroča svoje pasove, vrvi z vozli, ki ponazarjajo zaobljubo revščini,

čistosti in poslušnosti, duhovniku, ta pa jih nato predaja članu bratovščine, upodobljenemu v molitvi spodaj na desni. Na levi se v gledalca ozira drug član bratovščine, v eni roki drži križ, z drugo usmerja pozornost na pomembni dogodek, ki se odvija zgoraj. Verjetno s pomočjo nekega izobraženega klerika je slikar v tem primeru iznašel novo ikonografsko rešitev, tako da je predelal specifičen tip podobe, v kateri je protagonistka Marija: npr. Marija, ki med vnebovzetjem izroča svoj pas sv. Tomažu; Marija, ki daje svoj rožni venec sv. Dominiku; Marija, ki se prikaže sv. Simonu Stocku in mu da svoj škapulir. Predvsem zadnja motiva sta postala zelo razširjena v času protireformacije. Na podobi se na protireformacijsko kulturo nanaša še en element, osrednja vloga duhovnika, ki deluje kot posrednik med svetnikom in člani bratovščine, kakor Cerkev posreduje med Bogom in verniki. Na dnu podobe so napisane besede, ki jih dozdevno izgovarja član, obrnjen proti gledalcu, in se v prevodu glasio: *Glejte, tukaj prejema sveti služabnik darove dobrohotnega očeta. Sprejmite zdaj tudi vi svete darove pobožnega moža*. Utrjujoč načela katoliške vere in prakse član bratovščine vabi vernike, da prepoznajo ključno vlogo, ki jo ima duhovnik. Ker je ta upodobljen s specifičnimi obraznimi potezami, gre prav mogoče za portret duhovnika, ki je v času naročila slike vodil bratovščino in je kot naročnik pomagal slikarju izdelati tako inovativno podobo. Emblem bratovščine se pojavlja v cerkvi na številnih mestih in poudarja sv. Venerando kot žarišče kulta bratovščine, ki je imela v lasti tudi relikvijo svetnice.

Okras je prvotno vključeval še dve sliki, ki sta danes v novi cerkvi sv. Venerande: *Križani z Marijo in sv. Frančiškom* ter *Jezus otrok s sv. Antonom Padovanskim, sv. Filipom Nerijem, sv. Boštjanom in neprepoznanim svetnikom*. Sliki sta sprva viseli na stranskih stenah stare cerkve; tu so še vidni kavlji, ki omogočajo virtualno rekonstrukcijo cerkve. Staro atribucijo slik Simoneju Cantariniju je treba ovreči. Menim, da so bile slike narejene v dveh različnih okrasnih akcijah. Tisti na oltarni steni sta datirani 1616 in sta prepričljivo pripisani Giovanu Giacomu Pandolfiju (in delavnici). Preostali dve sta bili dodani kasneje, vsekakor po kanonizaciji Filipa Nerija leta 1622. Zdi se, da ju je sredi 17. stoletja naredil slikar, ki je dobro poznal umetnost Emilije, še posebej Guida Renija in Guercina, učil pa se je tudi od Caravaggia in njegovih naslednikov.

Vidimo lahko, kako se je v primeru slovanske bratovščine v Pesaru močna ilirska identiteta, ki jo dokumentirajo viri in ki jo je okreplila podoba sv. Hieronima, skozi stoletja izgubila. Ob pastoralni vizitaciji leta 1778 se sv. Hieronimu posvečeni stari oratorij ali slovansko poreklo bratovščine ne omenjata več, kot zavetnik bratovščine se omenja le sv. Peter. Pri bratovščini sv. Venerande pa se zdi edina sprejemljiva hipoteza, da je albanskega izvora, vendar tega doslej ni bilo mogoče potrditi z dokumenti. Kljub temu pa okras cerkve sv. Venerande priča, da je bratovščina v 17. stoletju še vedno spodbujala kult »nacionalne« svetnice v Markah živečih Albancev.

The Artistic Patronage of the Confraternities of Schiavoni/Illyrians in Venice and Rome

Proto-National Identity and the Visual Arts

Jasenka Gudelj, Tanja Trška

Early modern immigrant communities across Europe often organized themselves in confraternities, creating durable institutions based on the criteria of common origin, faith, and language. These “national” confraternities became a reference point for immigrants, pilgrims, or students of the same origin. The churches, chapels, hospices, and houses these foreigners maintained embedded them into the host society and urban space.¹ At the same time, the shape and embellishment of their buildings were expected to reflect both the “otherness” of the group and their intention to be recognized by local observers, thus creating a particular visual identity. Moreover, these groups were also used as more or less formal diplomatic networks, highlighting tendencies in European politics.

Given its proximity and the importance of its trading centers, universities, and pilgrimage sites, as well as its relative safety from Ottoman invasion, Italy was a destination for numerous men and women arriving from what are now the territories of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro.² They formed confraternities with the appellative “Schiavoni” or “Illirici”. *Schiavoni*

¹ A large-scale comparative study of national confraternities and their patronage in Europe is still lacking. Confraternal grouping and patronage of churches has been identified as one of the key aspects of foreigners’ lives in early modern European cities: see *Comunità forestiere e “nationes” nell’Europa dei secoli XIII–XVI* (ed. Giovanna Petti Balbi), Pisa-Napoli 2001; Claudia CONFORTI, Maria SANCHEZ DE MADARIAGA, Churches and Confraternities, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. 2: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700* (eds. Donatella Calabi, Stephen Turk Christiansen), Cambridge 2007, pp. 349–363. The phenomenon of national confraternities in Italy had already been mentioned by Christopher F. BLACK, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 43–45. Recent anthologies, such as *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma 1450–1650* (eds. Alexander Koller, Susanne Kubersky-Piredda), Roma 2015, and *Chiese e “nationes” a Roma. Dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani (secoli XV–XVIII)* (eds. Antal Molnár, Giovanni Pizzorusso, Matteo Sanfilippo), Roma 2017 (Bibliotheca Academia Hungariae – Roma. Studia, 6), concentrate on the proto-national question in Rome and include some essays on confraternities. Other edited collections concentrate more on all types of confraternities, their patronage and ritual, see, for example, *Confraternities in the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy. Ritual, Spectacle, Image* (eds. Barbara Wisch, Diane Cole Ahl), Cambridge-New York 2000; *Brotherhood and Boundaries/Fraternità e barriere* (eds. Stefania Pastore, Adriano Prosperi, Nicholas Terpstra), Pisa 2011; *Space, Place, and Motion. Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City* (ed. Diana Bullen Presciutti), Leiden 2017, with bibliography.

² On Schiavoni/Illyrian migrations to Italy and their institutions, see Lovorka ČORALIĆ, *Hrvatska prekomorska iseljavanja i kolonije na zapadnoj jadranskoj obali, Hrvatska/Italija. Stoljetne veze. Povijest, književnost, likovne umjetnosti* (ed. Natka Badurina), Zagreb 1997, pp. 41–63; Ratko PERIĆ, *Les Instituts Croates et Illyriens en Europe,*

derives from the Latin *sclavus* and maintains a derogatory nuance, while *Illirici* stems from the humanist use of the name of the pre-Roman inhabitants of the Eastern Adriatic coast, and served to ennoble the reputation of the area and its peoples. These Slavic brotherhoods are documented from the mid-15th century in Rome, Venice, Udine, and in the smaller centers of the Marche region. Despite their significance, a comparative study of their patronage—most importantly, in terms of the construction of self-defining visual narratives—has escaped the attention of scholars.³

Two particularly important and long-lived Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities were located in Venice and in Rome, with their residences adorned with magnificent painted cycles. The Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone in Venice⁴ is mainly known for Vittore Carpaccio's narrative cycle (1502–1507), relocated from the first floor of the Hospice of St. Catherine, the Scuola's first provisory seat, to the newly reconstructed mid-16th-century meetinghouse, which continued to be embellished in the following centuries (fig. 1).⁵ The Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternity in Rome maintained the hospital and the church now known as San Girolamo dei Croati, rebuilt between 1586 and 1591 and decorated with a fresco cycle executed by a team of painters led by Giovanni Guerra (fig. 2).⁶ As in Venice, the confraternity continued



1. Interior of the lower hall, Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone, Venice

Croatie. Le temps du baroque et des lumières. Trésors d'art et de culture XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles (eds. Ivan Golub, Ivan Supičić), Rennes 2011, pp. 149–154; *Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country. Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Early Modern Italy in Comparative Perspective* (eds. Giuseppe Capriotti, Francesca Coltrinari, Jasenka Gudelj), Macerata 2018 (*Il Capitale Culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, Supplementi, 7).

³ On Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities in the Marche and their patronage, see Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, Defining the Boundaries of the Lawful Cult. History of an Adriatic Icon, *IKON*, 9, 2016, pp. 243–252; Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, The Cauldron of St. Venera and the Comb of St. Blaise. Cult and Iconography in the Confraternities of Albanians and Schiavoni in Fifteenth-Century Ascoli Piceno, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 30–45; Francesca COLTRINARI, Loreto as an Illyrian Shrine. The Artistic Heritage of the Illyrian Confraternities and College in Loreto and Recanati, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 46–61; Francesca COLTRINARI, Gli schiavoni e la Santa Casa di Loreto fra '400 e '500. La confraternita, gli architetti, le maestranze e i materiali fra tradizioni storiografiche e verifiche documentarie, *Ars Adriatica*, 7, 2017, pp. 181–194; Giuseppe CAPRIOTTI, The Painting Owned by the Schiavoni Confraternity of Ancona and the Wooden Compartments with Stories of St Blaise by Giovanni Antonio da Pesaro, *Visualizing Past* 2018 (n. 2), pp. 187–209; Francesca COLTRINARI, Some Notes on Confraternities, Immigrants and Artistic Production of the “Illyrians” in the Marche. The Unknown Master Piero di Giorgio da Sebenico in Fermo (1462), *Visualizing Past* 2018 (n. 2), pp. 165–185; and the essay by Giuseppe Capriotti in the present volume.

⁴ “Scuola” is the Venetian term for a confraternity, although the city's systematic regulation of these brotherhoods was very different from the Roman model. The official name of the confraternity as it exists today is Scuola Dalmata dei Santi Giorgio e Trifone, although it was founded under the name Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone. In literature it has been given diverse names: Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone, Scuola degli Schiavoni, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Illirici.

⁵ For a survey of the artistic heritage of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, see *Le Scuole di Venezia* (ed. Terisio Pignatti), Milano 1984, pp. 99–118, with relevant bibliography.

⁶ On San Girolamo dei Croati, see Giovanni BIASOTTI, Josip BUTKOVIĆ, *San Girolamo degli Schiavoni in Roma*, Roma 1925; Giorgio MAGJEREC, *Istituto di S. Girolamo degli Illirici 1453–1953*, Rome 1953; Giorgio KOKŠA, *S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni (chiesa nazionale croata)*, Roma 1971; Maurizio CAPERNA, *Influssi lombardi a Roma*.



2. Interior, *San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome*

to adorn the church and its many chapels as well as the hospital.⁷ These visual testimonies of programs promoted by the two most prominent early modern Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities in Italy have never been thoroughly compared, mostly owing to the obvious differences in their urban, political, and artistic contexts. Nevertheless, the shared origin of their members does provide a critical platform on which to base a discussion and comparison of Schiavoni visual strategies to differentiate themselves in the highly competitive environments of cosmopolitan and artistic centers, such as Venice and Rome.

The Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternity in Rome

Originally, the Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternity in the Eternal City was situated in the Borgo, but in 1453, Pope Nicholas V conceded permission to certain members of the Slavic community to found a hospice for national pilgrims at Ripetta, next to the derelict church of Santa Marina, enabling them to transform it into their national church dedicated to St. Jerome.⁸ Soon after, a national confraternity was mentioned in documents as the responsible body for the hospital's maintenance, sealing the connection of the Schiavoni with the Ripetta area near the Tiber. The papal concession, issued shortly after the successful Jubilee of 1450, coincided with the siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453, and can be understood in two ways. First, as a symbolic act of foreign policy directed towards the inhabitants of the region directly endangered by the Ottoman invasions. The confraternity's connections with the Bosnian court in exile after the Ottoman conquest of the regime in 1463 are significant in this sense.⁹ In addition, the concession was part of an urban policy to gentrify a

La chiesa di S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, opera di Martino Longhi, il Vecchio, *Atti del XXIII Congresso di storia dell'architettura. L'architettura a Roma e in Italia 1580–1621*, 1 (ed. Gianfranco Spagnesi), Roma 1989 (Atti del Congresso Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura, 23/1), pp. 219–225; *Chiesa Sistina*, 1–2 (ed. Ratko Perić), Roma 1989–1990; Maurizio CAPERNA, La Chiesa di San Girolamo dei Croati (già 'degli Schiavoni' o 'degli Illirici'), *Storia architettura*, 1, 1992, pp. 255–285; Rosanna BARBELLINI AMIDEI, San Girolamo dei Croati, *Roma sacra*, 2/6, 1996, pp. 43–48; Milan IVANIŠEVIĆ, Hrvatska crkva Svetoga Jeronima u Rimu, *U križu je spas. Zbornik u čast nadbiskupa-metropolita mons. Ante Jurića* (eds. Marin Škarica, Ante Mateljan), Split 1997, pp. 407–446; Zvonimir SERŠIĆ, *San Girolamo dei Croati. Viaggio nell'arte*, Roma 2011; Jasenka GUDELJ, San Girolamo dei Croati a Roma. Gli Schiavoni e il cantiere sistino, *Identità* 2015 (n. 1), pp. 297–325; Jasenka GUDELJ, The Hospital and Church of the Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternity in Early Modern Rome, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 5–29, with bibliography.

⁷ GUDELJ 2016 (n. 6).

⁸ On the origins of the confraternity, see Jure BOGDAN, 550 godina hrvatskih ustanova svetog Jeronima u Rimu, *Obnovljeni život*, 58/4, 2003, pp. 479–489; Jadranka NERALIĆ, Il ruolo delle istituzioni illiriche di Roma nella formazione della nazione croata, *Chiese* 2017 (n. 1), pp. 133–160; Jasenka GUDELJ, San Girolamo degli Schiavoni/Illyrians/Croats in *Roma communis patria*. Constructing National Identity Through Papal Interventions, *RIHA Journal*, in press, with bibliography.

⁹ The Bosnian queen dowager, Katarina Kotromanović Kosača (1424–1478), came to Rome in 1467 and lived with

degraded area around the Mausoleum of Augustus that would serve pilgrims from South-Slavic historical lands.¹⁰ Therefore, the immigrants in the Papal States from the extensive territories of the Republic of Venice, the lands of the Hungarian and/or Habsburg Crown, the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), and parts of the Ottoman empire, now organized as the Schiavoni confraternity, primarily hosted pilgrims of the *natio*, who also represented a permanent, albeit fluid, tie with the homeland. Moreover, the brotherhood, presided over by a president, two guardians, and two syndics, helped the sick, the impoverished, students, poor marriageable girls, and single or widowed women of the nation.¹¹

One of the facets of their increasingly public identity was to change the titular saint of what was fast becoming a Schiavoni “national” church. The cult of St. Jerome had become widespread in Rome after the arrival of the Church Father’s relics in Santa Maria Maggiore at the end of the 13th century, but it seems that no church was dedicated to him before Pope Nicholas’s donation to the Schiavoni.¹² The cult of Jerome as the national saint of the Schiavoni/Illyrians was based on his much-discussed birthplace of Stridon, on the border of Dalmatia. For example, Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370–1444) and Biondo Flavio (1392–1463) placed Stridon in Istria, while Dalmatian humanists Marko Marulić (1450–1524) and Vinko Pribojević (?–after 1532) recognized it in Skradin, near Šibenik.¹³ The two opinions, although concurring that Jerome was born on the Eastern coast of the Adriatic, were not without wider political implications. Biondo, writing in 1453, the year of the endowment to the Schiavoni in Rome, included Istria among the regions of his *Italia illustrata*, but he also confirmed the attribution of the Glagolitic alphabet and the translation of the Holy Scriptures to Jerome, thus triggering centuries-long discussions on the ethnicity of the saint. Nevertheless,

her court under the protection of Pope Sixtus IV. She left a relic of the Holy Cross and some liturgical books and objects to the church of St. Jerome. One of her ladies in waiting, Paola Mirković, was buried in that church while the other, Marija Mišljenović, bequeathed a house for the poor women of the nation, see NERALIĆ 2017 (n. 8), pp. 139–140. The importance of the last Slavic ruler in the region and the papal support of the exiled court for the church of St. Jerome cannot be overestimated.

¹⁰ GUDELJ 2016 (n. 6), pp. 6–9.

¹¹ The Italian terms are *presidente*, *guardiani*, and *sindici*; see Josip BURIĆ, *Iz prošlosti hrvatske kolonije u Rimu*, Roma 1966, pp. 17–20; GUDELJ 2016 (n. 6), pp. 5–29; NERALIĆ 2017 (n. 8), p. 150. The organization of Venetian *scuole piccole* was somewhat different (see Francesca ORTALLI, «Per salute delle anime e delli corpi». *Scuole piccole a Venezia nel tardo Medioevo*, Venezia 2001, pp. 17–28); the Schiavoni confraternity was governed by a Guardian Grande (governor, in other confraternities called the *gastaldo*) aided by a Vicario (assistant and deputy to the Guardian Grande), Guardian da Matin (supervisor of ceremonies), Scrivano (bookkeeper), ten Decani (executive officers) and a varying number of Sindaci (officers), appointed for specific tasks, such as the supervision of construction sites, legal matters, etc. See Guido PEROCCO, *Carpaccio nella Scuola di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, Venezia 1964, pp. 20–21.

¹² GUDELJ (n. 8), in press.

¹³ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Giovanni d’Andrea, Hierononymianus, Ottob. Lat. 480, 16: *locus, quo sepulti sunt parentes Hieronymi, hodie vocatur Sdregna in diocesi Triestina et ibi est ecclesia Beati Hieronymi tamen pauperima et dicitur quod olim vocabatur Strido*; published in John M. McMANAMON, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome*, Tempe, Arizona 1999, p. 199: n. 1. See also Darko NOVAKOVIĆ, Novi Marulić. Vita divi Hieronimi, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 3, 1994, pp. 5–24; *Blondo Flavio’s Italia Illustrata. 1: Northern Italy* (ed. Catherine Jones Castner), Binghamton, New York 2005, pp. 224, 226; Vinko GRUBIŠIĆ, Trojica humanista o rodnome mjestu svetog Jeronima. Flavio Biondo, Marko Marulić i José De Espinoza De Sigüenza, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 17, 2008, pp. 227–298; Julia VERKHOLANTSEV, *The Slavic Letters of St. Jerome. The History of the Legend and its Legacy, or How the Translator of the Vulgate became an Apostle of the Slavs*, DeKalb, Illinois 2014; Ines IVIĆ, Jerome Comes Home. The Cult of St. Jerome in Late Medieval Dalmatia, *Hungarian Historical Review*, 5/3, 2016, pp. 618–644; Ines IVIĆ, The Making of a National Saint. Reflections on the Formation of the Cult of Saint Jerome in the Eastern Adriatic, *Visualizing Past* 2018 (n. 2), pp. 247–278.

Biondo clearly embraced the idea of the Church Father as author of the alphabet and the translation, much promoted by the Eastern Adriatic priests who supported liturgy in the Slavonic language and wanted to upgrade the status of the script.¹⁴ This attribution, concomitant with the popularization of the image of St. Jerome as scholar-saint in the late 14th and early 15th centuries,¹⁵ was dear to the humanist Pope Nicholas, and was certainly an important element in the self-image of the immigrant community in question. Therefore, the papal endowment became an official response of the Curia to strategies promoting Jerome as a “national” saint of the Schiavoni, although this never became the sole identity of the Church Father throughout Italy.

The Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice

On the other hand, the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni was founded in 1451 in the church of St. John the Baptist (San Giovanni Battista del Tempio), when it was still held by the Venetian branch of the Knights Hospitaller. The Scuola gathered immigrants from the Dalmatian territories under Venetian rule and provided charitable support to “Dalmati, et altri Schiavoni”¹⁶ residing in Venice. The choice of the Scuola’s patron saints, as one would expect, was motivated by the original hometowns of the confraternity members, many of them from Antivari (Bar) and Cattaro (Kotor), towns that sought heavenly protection from Sts. George and Tryphon, respectively. Both saints had special significance for immigrants from Cattaro, whose numbers increased drastically in the years around the foundation of the Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone.¹⁷ Tryphon was venerated as the official patron saint of Cattaro, who replaced the town’s earlier patron St. George, following the translation of his relics from Asia Minor to Cattaro in 809,¹⁸ while devotion to St. George remained embedded in local ceremonial practices related to celebrations dedicated to St. Tryphon.¹⁹ Far from Venetian Dalmatia, but still within the same state, St. George assumed special, even political significance appropriate to the Scuola’s adopted home. As one of the most renowned warrior saints, George shared the iconographic features of an armor-clad warrior slaying a dragon with Theodore, whose veneration in Venice was second only to that of St Mark. The importance of St. George and

¹⁴ The Glagolitic script was invented by the 9th-century Salonico brothers, Sts. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius. The pair gained popularity in the Orthodox lands, but was not entirely accepted by the Catholic Church; see VERKHOLANSTEV 2014 (n. 13).

¹⁵ Bernhards RIDDERBOS, *Saint and Symbol. Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art*, Groningen 1984; Eugene Franklin RICE, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, Baltimore-London 1985; Daniel RUSSO, *Saint Jerome en Italie*, Paris-Roma 1987; Christiane WIEBEL, *Askese und Endlichkeitsdemut in der italienischen Renaissance*, Weinheim 1988; Nicholas TERPSTRA, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna*, Cambridge 2002, pp. 19–23.

¹⁶ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Provveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole-Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fol. 582v. Key contributions to the history of the Scuola remain: Rodolfo PALLUCCHINI, *I teleri del Carpaccio in San Giorgio degli Schiavoni*, Milano 1961 (with an Appendix by Guido Perocco); PEROCCO 1964 (n. 11), and numerous studies by Lovorka ČORALIĆ, collected and reprinted in *U gradu svetoga Marka. Povijest hrvatske zajednice u Mlecima*, Zagreb 2001, and Lovorka ČORALIĆ, *Hrvatski pri-nosi mletačkoj kulturi. Odabrane teme*, Zagreb 2003.

¹⁷ Lovorka ČORALIĆ, *Iseljenici iz grada Kotora u Mlecima XV.–XVIII. st.*, *Povijesni prilozi*, 17, 1998, p. 134.

¹⁸ On the veneration of St. Tryphon, see Ivanka PETROVIĆ, *Hagiografska tradicija sv. Trifuna i bokeljskih svetaca, Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Katorske biskupije. Povodom 1200 obljetnice prijenesa moći svetoga Tripuna u Kotor* (ed. Radoslav Tomić), Galerija Klovičevi dvori, Zagreb 2009, pp. 38–46.

¹⁹ Valentina ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Religioznost i umetnost u Kotoru. XIV–XVI vek*, Beograd 2010, pp. 147–148.

his association with St. Theodore is attested by the mosaics of St. Mark's Basilica, where the two saints appear side by side in three scenes, even though George's popularity and the longevity of his cult did not earn him official recognition comparable to that of Theodore.²⁰ In addition to locally flavored, Cattaro-related reasons and his obvious suitability in the context of Venetian religious life, the choice of George as patron saint of the Dalmatian community, comprising predominantly sailors and maritime soldiers, must have seemed appropriate in light of the saint's image of a prototypical ideal Christian knight and protector against misfortunes at sea. Almost as a confirmation of that choice and a contribution to the visibility of the recently founded Scuola, in December 1462, the veneration of George in Venice was reinvigorated with the arrival of the relic of the saint's head from the island of Aegina, which was deposited in the church of San Giorgio Maggiore.²¹ Four decades later, the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni obtained a precious relic of its own. In 1502, Paolo (Polo) Valaresso, the Venetian nobleman and military commander of Corone in Peloponnese, presented the Dalmatian confraternity with a relic of St. George that had belonged to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had died in Corone.²² The relic's donation has long been associated with Carpaccio's narrative cycle, either as the occasion that prompted its commission,²³ or as the event that marked the end of the artist-patron relationship between Carpaccio and commissioner Paolo Valaresso, as proposed by Augusto Gentili, who argued that the *teleri* (paintings on canvas) dedicated to St. George were already in place at the time of the relic's arrival.²⁴ Associating the relic with such a high-ranking church official as the Patriarch of Jerusalem (although unnamed) might well have been perceived as both authenticating and enhancing the status of the donation, allowing both the noble Venetian donor and confraternal recipients to augment the importance and public image of their Scuola in Venetian society.

In Carpaccio's cycle, scenes from the lives of the locally venerated George and Tryphon were complemented by two episodes from the life of St. Jerome and another representing St. Augustine in his study. Augustine had held Jerome in special reverence, as reported in the written sources proposed for the scene's inclusion: the *Golden Legend*, *Catalogus sanctorum*, and *Hieronymus vita et transitus* (fig. 3, 4, 5). St. Jerome introduced a palpable connection with the confraternal members' homeland, since by the early 16th century, the recognition of Jerome's Dalmatian origin had been firmly established in scholarly work produced in the second half of the 15th century, which resulted in the growing veneration of Jerome as patron saint of Dalmatia.²⁵ This suggests a significant shift away from the distinctly local cults of the two saints, to which the confraternity was dedicated,

²⁰ Edward MUIR, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton 1981, pp. 95–96.

²¹ Kenneth Meyer SETTON, St George's Head, *Speculum*, 48, 1973, pp. 9–10; MUIR 1981 (n. 20), p. 96.

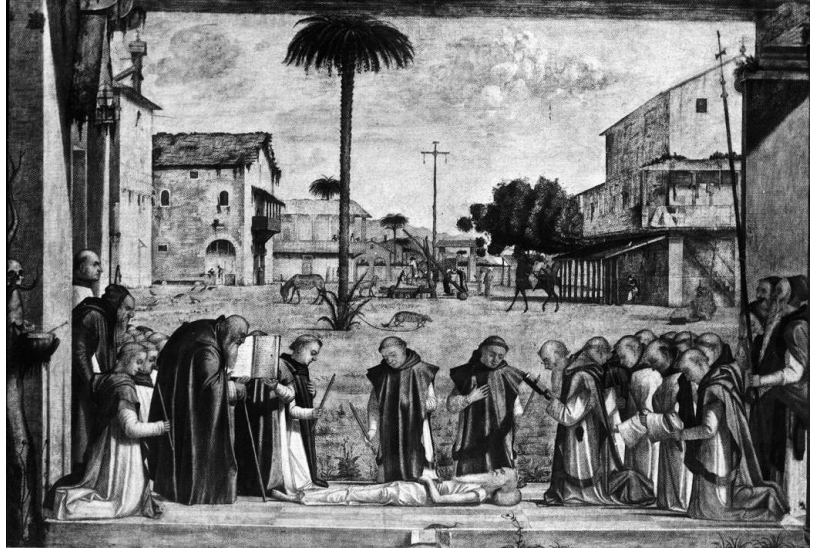
²² ASV, Proveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole–Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fols. 595v–596. See also the transcription from the original *mariegola* in PEROCCO 1964 (n. 11), pp. 215–216. The identity of the Patriarch of Jerusalem is not given in the document, which begins with: *Vegnando a morte el Patriarca de Gierusalemme in Coron uomo de buona vita, e fama, ed era vecchissimo, ed al ponto della sua morte manifestò havere appresso de lui una Reliquia de San Zorzi /.../*. ASV, Proveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole–Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fol. 595v.

²³ PEROCCO 1964 (n. 11), p. 9; Patricia Fortini BROWN, Carpaccio's St. Augustine in His Study. A Portrait Within a Portrait, *Augustine in Iconography. History and Legend* (eds. Joseph Cletus Schnaubelt, Frederick Van Fleteren), New York 1999, p. 510.

²⁴ Augusto GENTILI, *Le storie di Carpaccio. Venezia, i Turchi, gli Ebrei*, Venezia 2006³, p. 77. On relics owned by the Scuola, see Ana MARINKOVIĆ, Saints' Relics in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni. An Anti-Ottoman Pantheon, *Visualizing Past* 2018 (n. 2), pp. 25–44.

²⁵ IVIĆ 2016 (n. 13); see also IVIĆ 2018 (n. 13).

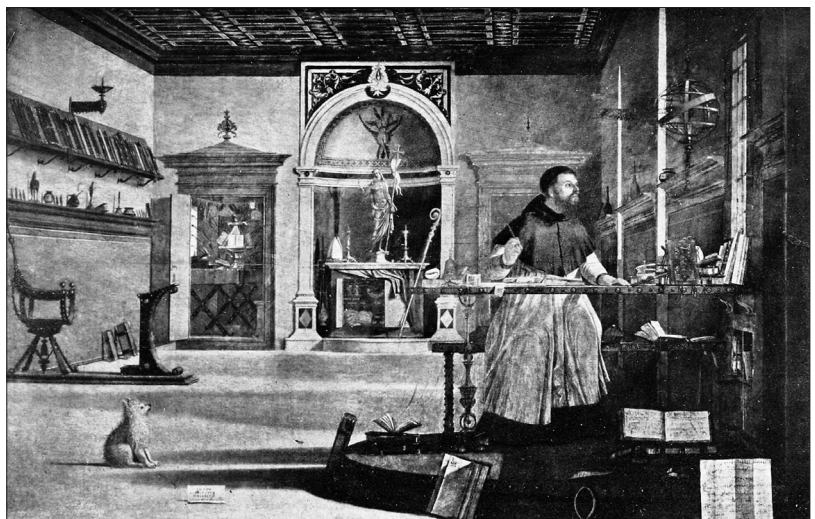
3. Vittore Carpaccio:
Funeral of St. Jerome,
1502, Scuola di San Giorgio
e Trifone, Venice



4. Vittore Carpaccio:
St. Jerome and the Lion,
1502, Scuola di San Giorgio
e Trifone, Venice



5. Vittore Carpaccio:
Vision of St. Augustine,
1502, Scuola di San Giorgio
e Trifone, Venice



towards a more universally venerated saint whose divine protection encompassed the entire territory of Venetian Dalmatia. An image of St. Jerome was included in the 15th-century polyptych that probably adorned the Scuola's first altar in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio,²⁶ although the saint's presence in the daily life of the Dalmatian confraternity was not as pronounced in its earliest decades. Instead, devotion to Jerome remained restricted to extraordinary events that were later recognized as the most important in the Scuola's history.

Jerome was first mentioned alongside George and Tryphon in 1464 in the 100-day indulgence granted to the members by Cardinal Bessarion, which included the feast days of George (23 April), Jerome (30 September), Tryphon (3 February), Corpus Domini, and the first Sunday of the Ascension.²⁷ In ordinary religious devotions prescribed by the confraternity's statutes, approved in 1455, Jerome was overshadowed throughout the second half of the 15th century by George and Tryphon to whom, after all, the Scuola was originally dedicated. Several reasons might explain Jerome's exclusion from the initial choice of saints at the time of the Dalmatian confraternity's foundation. First, a confraternity dedicated to San Girolamo in the *sestiere* of Cannaregio (founded in 1367) already existed among Venetian *scuole piccole*, and a 1440 deliberation of the Council of Ten prohibited confraternal foundations dedicated to the same saint, although this rule seems not to have been strictly enforced.²⁸ This gradually changed at the end of the 15th century. The patron saint of Dalmatia was first mentioned in the statutes in early 1498, when confraternity members devoted to assisting the poor of the "Dalmatian nation" asked for their prayers to be directed towards the intercession of the Lord and Sts. George, Jerome, and Tryphon.²⁹ Furthermore, in 1502—when devotion to Jerome found its artistic expression in Carpaccio's famous *teleri*—the Scuola was given a concession by the apostolic legate to perform religious services in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio on Jerome's feast day.³⁰

Selecting Events from the Life of St. Jerome: Venice

The choice of events from the life of St. Jerome in Carpaccio's cycle seem particularly significant in the context of the Scuola's charitable functions and its position in Venetian society. The *Funeral of St. Jerome* and *St. Jerome and the Lion* suggest a firm connection with the ritual practices of the Scuola, since one of their fundamental missions was to provide a proper funeral and burial for

²⁶ The two panels, one with St. Jerome and the other with St. Tryphon, are now preserved in the *sala superiore* of the Scuola's meetinghouse, see *Le Scuole di Venezia* 1984 (n. 5), p. 118.

²⁷ PEROCCO 1964 (n. 11), pp. 214–215.

²⁸ ORTALLI 2001 (n. 11), pp. 14, 45–46; see also Lia SBRIZIOLO, Per la storia delle confraternite veneziane. Dalle deliberazioni miste (1310–1476) del Consiglio dei Dieci. *Scolae communes*, artigiane e nazionali, *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti*, 126, 1968, p. 432.

²⁹ ASV, Provveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole—Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fols. 594v–595: *Siando questa Scuola fatta, e dedicata in beneficio della Nanzion [sic] Nostra dalmatina, e per accrescer la devotion delle persone, ed augmentar questa nostra Scuola, vedendo, che molti, e molti poveri de questa nostra benedetta Scuola sono impotenti, ed in estrema necessit  /.../ et acci  che le oration loro et per loro prieghi Missier domenedio, San Zorzi, e San Gierolimo, e San Trifon mantegna, ed augmenti sempre questa nostra Scuola, e fraternitade.*

³⁰ *In sancti Georgij, sancti Ioannis Baptistae, sancti Triphonis, et sancti Hieronymi festivitibus, ac omnibus, et singulis secundis Diebus Dominicis Cuiuslibet Mensis   primis Vesperis usq. ad secundas vespas inclusive.* Archivio della Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, Venice (ASD), Catastico, fol. 12v.

“Dalmati, et altri Schiavoni” residing in Venice, an act of mercy typically performed by confraternities (fig. 3, 4). Neither religious nor literary sources provide elaborate descriptions of Jerome’s funeral. Jacopo de Voragine states that “./../ Jerome arranged a tomb for himself at the mouth of the cave where the Lord had lain, and after living for ninety-eight years and six months, he died and was buried there.”³¹ Pietro de Natalibus’s *Catalogus Sanctorum* (first published in 1493) provides a somewhat more detailed version of the saint’s death, describing him as dying while prone on the ground with arms crossed at his chest in the form of a cross.³² In Carpaccio’s interpretation, Jerome’s funeral is represented as a collective event, perhaps alluding to the rites held for members buried in the Scuola’s tombs in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio. The choice of subject reflects the charitable character of *scuole piccole*, and finds its precedent in Lazzaro Bastiani’s canvas for the Scuola di San Girolamo, which must have influenced Carpaccio’s rendering of the scene.³³

The same is true of *St. Jerome and the Lion*, which finds a possible model in Alvise Vivarini’s canvas of the same subject for the Scuola di San Girolamo, now lost but known from an engraving of a later date.³⁴ Both Vivarini and Carpaccio emphasize the dramatic moment of the monks fleeing from the wild beast that Jerome had brought to the monastery, but the detail that stands out in Carpaccio’s painting is the lion’s position. In the frieze-like narrative, the lion entering from the left bears a striking resemblance to the lion of St. Mark, symbol of the *Serenissima* and well known throughout the Venetian dominion (including Dalmatia). The similarity here was perhaps a subtle visual reminder of the confraternity’s loyalty to the Republic of Venice, explicated in their statutes that mandated the expulsion of any member who committed an act against the state, the Doge, or the city of Venice.³⁵ As Dalmatians, members of the Scuola di San Giorgio e Trifone sought celestial protection from the region’s patron saint Jerome, but at the same time they strongly supported the Venetian state, hoping that the Signoria would be “revered by foreigners, feared by enemies and dreaded by rebels.”³⁶

Scholars have traditionally insisted on there being an anti-Ottoman sentiment present in the Venetian cycle, understandable considering the history of the Schiavoni/Illyrians’ native lands. Figures attired in eastern garb appear throughout Carpaccio’s paintings, not only in the scenes dedicated to the victorious St. George, but also in the background of the stories illustrating Jerome’s life. The appearance of turban-wearing, presumably Muslim figures in situations where they do not belong—for obvious reasons of chronology and geography—seems to broaden the targeted audience of Carpaccio’s Dalmatian patrons. The subtle anti-Ottoman message contained in the presence of these figures entering a Catholic church and conversing with the monks—and therefore

³¹ Jacobus de VORAGINE, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints* (transl. William Granger Ryan), 2, Princeton 1995, p. 215.

³² Pietro de NATALIBUS, *Catalogus sanctorum et gestorum eorum ex diuersis voluminibus collectus*, Venetiis 1506, p. 197v.

³³ Peter HUMFREY, The Life of St. Jerome Cycle from the Scuola di San Gerolamo in Cannaregio, *Arte Veneta*, 39, 1985, p. 45; Patricia Fortini BROWN, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio*, New Haven-London 1988, pp. 270–271.

³⁴ HUMFREY 1985 (n. 33), p. 41.

³⁵ ASV, Provveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole–Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fols. 584–584v.

³⁶ ./../ *eccetto per commandamento della nostra Serenissima Signoria, a cui piovano mai sempre dal Cielo le celesti benedizione [sic], e sia riverita dagli Stranieri, temuta da Nemicj, e paveritata da ribelli*. ASV, Provveditori di comun, Reg. P, Matricole delle scuole–Castello, Matricola della Scuola dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone, fol. 590.

accepting a different faith—reveals the intent of the Dalmatian community to further accentuate their participation in the Ottoman wars and reassert their shared destiny with the Venetian dominions. Although tempting, these posited connections must be considered with caution, given Carpaccio's ability and inclination to create imaginary pictorial spaces filled with exotic figures that cannot be associated with particular places, but remain products of his vivid imagination as "the last interpreter of the dream of Mediterranean power".³⁷

Nevertheless, the historical moment that marked the emergence of Schiavoni confraternities both in Rome and in Venice is highly suggestive. As mentioned, the Roman hospice was founded during the siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453, and in the following decades its institutions bore strong connections—unfortunately without any significant, extant visual testimonies—with the Bosnian court in exile, which represented the last Slavic rulers from the region before the Ottoman conquest.³⁸ The visibility of the Slavic *natio* within the galaxy of Roman and Venetian national institutions reminded the host society of the dangerous situation on what had become the border of Catholicism.

Visual Celebrations of St. Jerome in Late Cinquecento Rome

Some 80 years after the completion of Carpaccio's paintings for the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, the visual celebration of Jerome became a central theme of the frescoes adorning the saint's new Roman church promoted by Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590), who had previously been the titular cardinal. The grand edifice, designed in 1586 by Martino Longhi the Elder, was paid for entirely by the Curia. The Sistine painters—Antonio Viviani, Andrea Lilli, Paris Nogari, Avanzino Nucci, and Paolo Guidotti Borghese—coordinated by Giovanni Guerra were commissioned to execute the decoration.³⁹ As the iconographic program for the paintings was being developed, a national chapter of priests of Illyrian origin and speaking the Illyrian language was also established. It is probable that Aleksandar Komulović (1548–1608) from the Split diocese, the first archpriest of the chapter and president of the confraternity in 1590, took part in creating the program.⁴⁰

The scenes related to St. Jerome are concentrated in the new rectangular presbytery of the church, with three large compositions explained by the Latin inscriptions below: *The Dalmatian saint explains difficult passages of the Holy Scriptures*; *The priestly ordination of St. Jerome in Antioch by Bishop Paolino*; *St. Jerome disputes with two Doctors of the Orthodox Church, St. Basil the Great and St. Gregory Nazianzeno* (fig. 6, 7, 8).⁴¹ While the first scene, praised by Claudio Strinati for its fresh naturalism,⁴² is an interesting interpretation of the more canonical iconography of Jerome in

³⁷ PALLUCCHINI 1961 (n. 16), p. 37.

³⁸ NERALIĆ 2017 (n. 8), pp. 139–143.

³⁹ GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), pp. 297–325.

⁴⁰ GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), p. 316.

⁴¹ The scenes are explained with Latin inscriptions: *CONSULTUS A DOCTORIBUS LEGIS SCRIPTURARUM ARCANA RESERAT DIFFICULTATES EXPLANAT* (north wall); *ANTIOCHIAE PER PAULLINUM ANTISTITEM SACERDOTIO INITIATUR / ROMAM VENIT PRO CONPONENDIS EPISCOPORUM CONTROVERSIS / DAMASO PONTIFICI MAXIMO IN SCRIBENDIS EPISTOLIS ADIUTOR FUIT* (east wall); *DE SACRIS LITTERIS DISSERIT CUM GREGORIO NAZIANZENO ET BASILIO MAGNO* (south wall). See IVANIŠEVIĆ 1997 (n. 6), p. 435.

⁴² Claudio STRINATI, Girolamo Nanni e il Naturalismo, *La festa delle arti. Scritti in onore di Marcello Fagiolo per cinquant'anni di studi* (eds. Vincenzo Cazzato, Sebastiano Roberto, Mario Bevilacqua), 1, Rome 2014, pp. 282–285.

6. Giovanni Guerra
and other painters:
*St. Jerome Explains Difficult
Passages in the Holy Scriptures,*
fresco, 1589–1591,
San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome



7. Giovanni Guerra
and other painters:
*Priestly Ordination of St. Jerome
in Antioch by Bishop Paolino,*
fresco, 1589–1591,
San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome



8. Giovanni Guerra
and other painters:
*St. Jerome Disputes with Two
Doctors of the Orthodox Church,
St. Basil the Great and
St. Gregory Nazianziano,*
fresco, 1589–1591,
San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome



the cave, the central one is a post-Tridentine visual explanation of the rite of priestly ordination and the role of the bishop, who was extremely important in the establishment of the national chapter. The third scene represents the dialogue with Orthodoxy, a crucial part of the discussions of the Council of Trent, resulting in the recognition of the Four Church Fathers (or Doctors) of the Eastern Church by the papacy.⁴³ St. Jerome, holding two books and with a lion at his feet, floats over the presbytery, and is further identified by the inscription: “S. Hieronymo Illyricorum”. The books, particularly numerous throughout the cycle, accentuate the significance of the new edition of the Vulgate, published in 1590, the result of Pope Sixtus’s personal efforts. The pontiff also had Jerome depicted by the same painters as the inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet in the Vatican Library.⁴⁴

Two other national saints represented in the Sistine program were the medieval Dalmatian popes, Gaius and John, situated in the lunette above the *Ordination of the Priests*. Sts. Doimus and Rainerius, particularly venerated in the Split diocese, are depicted in the lunette of the transept, thus promoting the civic cults of the Dalmatian archbishopric, whose bishop held the title of *primas Dalmatiae totiusque Croatiae*. The strong influence of the Split clerics in the chapter, who were also members of the confraternity, put a substantial accent on the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The iconography of St. Jerome at the Schiavoni national church was specially devised for the papal investment in the visibility of the confraternity and the chapter, whose members originated from the border between Catholicism, Orthodoxy, and Islam. The figures to whom Jerome speaks, standing before the cave wearing Turkish robes and turbans (but not exclusively), turn their backs to the viewer and gesticulate dramatically; some indicate stages of acceptance while others seem to disagree vehemently. They may prefigure the role of the Schiavoni in disseminating Holy Scripture. The emphasis is not on military conflict, but on Jerome’s reconciliatory actions that transmit a delicately expressed message of superiority, which had few parallels in the contemporary world of adamant confessional strife. The same feeling pervades the scene of the *disputa* with the Orthodox. Here, this superiority is demonstrated by a man wearing a Greek hat (on the far right): his pointing finger clearly indicates Jerome as the winner of the learned disputation. The language spoken (and written) by Catholic Schiavoni was understood throughout Southeastern Europe and, therefore, used in missions, following the example of the other saintly pair represented, the interconfessional saints Cyril and Methodius. The Slavic apostles, though very popular among both the South-Slavic Orthodox and in Bohemia, were still disputed in Rome and in Dalmatia. Their placement in the Schiavoni church is another innovative element, consecrating their role in post-Tridentine Rome.⁴⁵

⁴³ The Doctors of the Eastern Church—John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Athanasius of Alexandria—were officially recognized by the Latin Church in 1568. The Schiavoni confraternity’s new protector, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori, was previously responsible for the Greek church and college in Rome, Sant’Atanasio dei Greci, promoted by Pope Gregory XIII, see GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), p. 308.

⁴⁴ On the cycles, see GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), pp. 306–316.

⁴⁵ GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), pp. 310–312. For the hagiography of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, see Franciscus GRIVEC, Franciscus TOMŠIČ, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes*, Zagreb 1960 (Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta, 4). On the Salonico brothers in the visual arts in the Slovakian, Czech, and Slovenian lands, see CM 863. *Svatí Cyril a Metoděj. Dějiny, tradice, úcta. Průvodce výstavou* (ed. Štěpánka Chlumská), Praga 2013; Katarína BEŇOVÁ, Cyril a Metod vo výtvarnom umení 19. storočia na Slovensku, *Studia Academica Slovaca*, 42, 2013, pp. 39–58 (with previous bibliography for Slovakia); *Mezi Východem a Západem. Svatí Cyril a Metoděj v kultuře českých zemí* (ed. Simona Jemelková), Olomouc 2013; Ana LAVRIČ, Sv. Ciril in Metod v slovenski umetnosti, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/1, 2016, pp. 93–120, with bibliography for Slovenia.

Venerating Jerome in Seicento Venice

The veneration of Dalmatia's patron saint in Venice seems to have increased still more in the first decades of the 17th century, when the Scuola's altar in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio was adorned with a new altarpiece by Matteo Ponzone, with Jerome depicted equal in importance to George and Tryphon.⁴⁶ In this context it seems significant that less than two decades later, in 1633, on the occasion of the donation of relics of a number of saints, including those of Jerome, the donor Count Giovanni Angelo Andrea Flavio Comneno referred to himself as the "Guardian Grande della Veneranda Scola delli santi Georgio Triffon et Gieronimo", even though there is no evidence to suggest that the confraternity had officially altered its name.⁴⁷ By that time, the iconographic choices for representing Jerome in the meetinghouse of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni had shifted from the highly narrative, suggesting connections to the confraternity's status and mission, to the more learned, universal iconography of St. Jerome as cardinal and author of the Vulgate, similar to the depictions desired by the Illyrians in Rome. Seicento paintings in the *sala superiore* of the Scuola's meetinghouse depict Jerome as a penitential hermit, kneeling before a crucifix and beating his chest with a rock, with an open book and a lion below (in an oval compartment of the wooden ceiling, attributed to Andrea Vicentino⁴⁸), and as a dignified cardinal (*St. George Fighting the Dragon with Sts. Jerome and Tryphon*, attributed to Gaspar Rem⁴⁹). For the Schiavoni, St. Jerome was all that and more: a Church Father who legitimized and elevated their origin, language, and alphabet.

The question of language was central to both confraternities discussed here, and can be considered one of the key elements that defined their identities. Liturgical services in both Latin and the "Dalmatian" language seem to have been performed in the church of San Giovanni del Tempio since the confraternity's foundation.⁵⁰ This was so idiosyncratic that in 1505 the Prior of the church of San Giovanni Battista complained to the Venetian Patriarch that the Scuola was administering religious services "alla lingua schiavona" without his previous consent.⁵¹ In 1514, the Dalmatian confraternity obtained a license from the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller Fabrizio del Carretto to celebrate mass in the "lingua Dalmata", since the confraternity members were inexpert in Latin.⁵² The

⁴⁶ On the altarpiece, see Tanja TRŠKA, Marco Boschini, Matteo Ponzone, and the Altar of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice, *Confraternitas*, 27/1–2, 2016, pp. 62–78, with bibliography.

⁴⁷ ASD, Catastico, fol. 224.

⁴⁸ PEROCCO 1964 (n. 11), p. 204.

⁴⁹ Alberto RIZZI, Le tele parietali dell'«albergo» di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, *Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone*, 16, 1983, pp. 23–24.

⁵⁰ Gastone VIO, *Le Scuole Piccole nella Venezia dei Dogi. Note d'archivio per la storia delle confraternite veneziane*, Costabissara 2004, p. 133.

⁵¹ ASD, Catastico, fol. 25v. *Per el tenor della presente significamo à Vui gastaldo, et compagni della schuola di schiavoni appresso san Zuane dal Tempio come habbiamo inteso à querimonia del Reverendo missier lo Prior de ditta Giesia, che da certo tempo in qua senza sua licentia, ne altra legitima auctorità fatta cantar messa, et offitij alla lingua schiavona, In quella scuolla, dove etiam se administra sacramenti, come è confessar et comunicar, et altri etiam riti, al tutto prohibiti sel non Intervien el consentimento di superiori in spiritual.*

⁵² ASD, Catastico, fols. 26–26v. *Noi havemo receputo vostre lettere, et visto quanto scrivette sopra il celebrare della messa in lingua Dalmata in la scola sive compagnia vostra situata in le case del nostro Priorato del Templo de Venetia quale dicete essere stata Instituta ad spirituale consolatione della Nation Dalmata Inexperta della lingua latina circa la qualle dal venerando Priore del ditto nostro Priorato è facta alcuna Difficultate. Noi stimando, che sia Il Dalmato, et Latino uno medesimo rito, et approbato dalla santta Matre Ecclesia Romana, et che solumodo Distet in Idiomate*

same issue was accentuated almost three centuries later, in 1806, when the Dalmatian confraternity strived to prevent suppression of their sodality: liturgical services in the Illyrian language, like those performed in their national languages by the Greek and Armenian communities, guaranteed the continuity of religious observance.⁵³

The possible role of the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in the production of printed work in their native language in Venice is yet to be determined,⁵⁴ but a suggestion of likely connections is given by Fra Matija Divković's bestowal of letterpress letters used for printing his work *Nauk karstianski (Christian Doctrine)*, published in Venice in 1616, to members of the Scuola "who are of our language".⁵⁵ In Rome, the language of their native land was a requirement of members of both the confraternity and chapter, and Aleksandar Komulović even managed to get them to finance the printing of his Croatian catechism in 1582.⁵⁶

Interestingly enough, both the Venetian and Roman seats of the Schiavoni confraternities were decorated with scenes of saints in their book-filled studies, surprised by inspirational visions while writing. Moreover, none of these scenes depicts Jerome, the saint most commonly represented in a *studiolo*. Venetian scenes in which the Dalmatian saint appears feature him curing the lion or supine in death. In Rome, he is shown more intellectually active. His cave is furnished with a small desk and books, and he energetically disputes, takes holy orders, and finally ascends while holding two volumes.

However, the Venetian *Vision of St. Augustine* has attracted considerable scholarly attention with its sophisticated program of naturalistic perception of the divine,⁵⁷ while also suggesting that the confraternity understood and supported intellectual work and the dissemination of knowledge and Holy Scripture. This is not surprising given the donations of Bessarion and Valaresso (fig. 5). Moreover, an interesting, but as yet unacknowledged, aspect of the scene's iconography is the connection with St. John the Baptist, who is also a protagonist of St. Augustine's visions and appears to Augustine alongside Jerome.⁵⁸ Given that the old Hospice of St. Catherine housed both

scrivemo al detto vener.do Priore la alligata per la quale ordinamo, che lassa à voi fare le vostre Devotione, in lo Gremio, et Unione della ditta Santta Matre Ecclesia accio di quella ne resultino le bone opere quale à Noi scrivete, valete.

⁵³ ASD, Catastico, fol. 248. *Siccome però è di costante pramatica di que' Popoli non istrutti nella lingua lattina di officiare il Sacro Culto nell'Idioma Illirico al pari dei Greci, e degli Armeni, cosi per poter soggiornare in Venezia, ed abbinare colle viste di comercio le pie osservanze di Religione tradussero alcuni loro Ministri del Culto li quali celebrar potessero li Sacri Uffizj ed amministrare li Sacramenti. /.../ Al pari dei Greci, e degli Armeni che col nativo Idioma celebrano in Chiese aposite i Divini Misterj, anco li Slavi nella sola Dalmata Scuola antidedta assistono alle Predicazioni, ed a tutte l'Ecclesiastiche solennità, che appunto si funzionano soltanto nella lingua Illirica.* See also Luka ŠPOLJARIĆ, Vecijanski Skjavoni i povijesno-liturgijska knjižica u čast sv. Jeronima Ilira iz 1498. godine, *Colloquia Maruliana*, 27, 2018, pp. 43–74.

⁵⁴ An interesting case in this context is the activity of the Venetian printer Bartolo Occhi, "Libraro a la Riva de Schiavoni", active in the first half of the 18th century, whose printing house published various titles in "lingua illirica", see Ambroz TUDOR, Bartol Occhi—Kgnighar hervatskih kgnigh, *Mogućnosti*, 43/7–9, 1996, pp. 97–104.

⁵⁵ Vine MIHALJEVIĆ, Fra Mate Divković i hrvatska bratovština u Mlecima, *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 38, 1996, pp. 176–180.

⁵⁶ It was the first catechism in Croatian: *Nauch Charstianschiza Slovignschi Narod v vlaasti iazich [Christian Doctrine for the Slavic People in Their Own Language]*, Roma 1582. On role of the language, see Stjepan KRASIĆ, *Počelo je u Rimu. Katolička obnova i normiranje hrvatskog jezika u XVII. stoljeću*, Dubrovnik 2009.

⁵⁷ Among more recent studies, see Victor STOICHITA, De quelques dispositifs télépathiques. Vittore Carpaccio à la Scuola degli Schiavoni de Venise, *Voir l'au-delà. L'expérience visionnaire et sa représentation dans l'art italien de la Renaissance. Actes du colloque international Paris, 3–5 juin 2013* (eds. Andreas Beyer, Philippe Morel, Alessandro Nova), Turnhout 2017, pp. 153–171, with bibliography.

⁵⁸ IVIĆ 2018 (n. 13), p. 265; for visual representations of St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome appearing to St. August-

the confraternity of St. John the Baptist and that of San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Carpaccio's *Vision of St. Augustine*, although part of the Jerome cycle—and described as the most “intellectual” composition of the entire narrative cycle—could be interpreted as an ideal visual reminder of the connection between Jerome and the Baptist, and even as a conciliatory element in the often fraught coexistence of the two *scuole piccole*.⁵⁹ As we will see, St. Augustine's “auditory” scene of his vision is quite different from the dramatic apparition revealed to St. Thomas Aquinas in the late Cinquecento fresco in San Girolamo.

A Dominican Decorative Program in San Girolamo, Rome

Much less attention has been given to the lunettes in the Chapel of the Pietà at San Girolamo in Rome, painted by Andrea Lilli (or Lillio) at the same time as the Sistine campaign. The chapel is not mentioned in the payments to Giovanni Guerra for the rest of the cycles, nor are the frescoes mentioned in the confraternity registers, so the two lunettes and the vault scenes with landscapes and the Holy Trinity should be considered a separate, private commission.⁶⁰ The lunettes were recently recognized as two episodes in the life of St. Thomas Aquinas: the *Miracle of Healing the Hemorrhagic Woman* and the *Vision of St. Thomas*.⁶¹ The introduction of the Dominican saint, proclaimed a Doctor of the Church in 1567, into the visual program of the chapel may be seen as a certain counterbalance to the presence of the two Eastern Doctors in the presbytery frescoes, whose status was recognized by the Latin Church in 1568.⁶² Moreover, the post-Tridentine interest in the Angelic Doctor was also fueled by the Piana edition of his work, published in Rome in 1570, which also contains his *Vita*.⁶³

The *Miracle of Healing the Hemorrhagic Woman* represents St. Thomas on the steps of a church in Rome after giving a fervent Easter sermon;⁶⁴ in the center of the composition a woman with a pained expression crawls toward him and grasps the hem of his white habit. Her miraculous cure is witnessed by another friar, three women, and a seated, bare-chested man, all of whom gesticulate towards the marvelous event. It is possible that this miracle was chosen because the hagiographic

tine, see RICE 1985 (n. 15).

⁵⁹ For disputes between the two confraternities, see VIO 2004 (n. 50), p. 130; Emanuela ZUCCHETTA, La facciata della Scuola dei santi Giorgio e Trifone. Considerazioni e appunti in margine al restauro, *Florilegium artium. Scritti in memoria di Renato Polacco* (ed. Giordana Trovabene), Padova 2006, pp. 263–273.

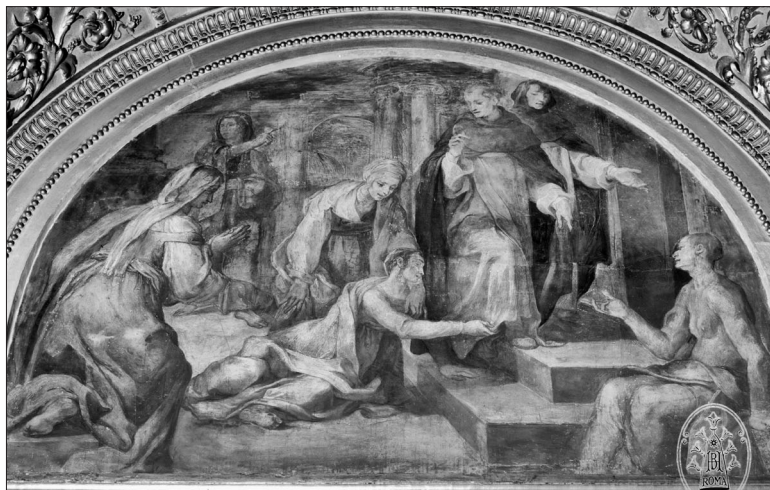
⁶⁰ KOKŠA 1971 (n. 6); GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), p. 317.

⁶¹ IVANIŠEVIĆ 1997 (n. 6), pp. 443–444; SERŠIĆ 2011 (n. 6), pp. 46–47. Massimo PULLINI, *Andrea Lilio*, Milano 2003, p. 146, identifies the saint as B. Augustin Kažotić, a medieval Dalmatian Dominican and bishop of Zagreb and Lucera, but no hagiographical or visual source has been identified to corroborate this reading.

⁶² On the iconography of St. Thomas Aquinas, especially after the Council of Trent, see Aliénor CAMBOURNAC, *L'iconographie de saint Thomas d'Aquin après le concile de Trente (1567–1700)*, Paris 2009.

⁶³ On the role of Aquinas's *Summa* in the 16th century, see Jacob SCHMUTZ, *From Theology to Philosophy. The Changing Status of the Summa Theologiae 1500–2000, Aquinas's Summa theologiae. A Critical Guide* (ed. Jeffrey Hause), Cambridge 2018, pp. 221–241. For the 1570 edition of Thomas's life, see *D. Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici complectens. Vitam ipsius beati Thomae ex diuersis authoribus collectam*, 1, Romae 1570.

⁶⁴ This particular miracle, regularly recorded among Aquinas's miracles, is the first cited in the 1570 edition of the *Vita*, see *D. Thomae Aquinatis* 1570 (n. 63). The church is identified as St. Peter's by Guglielmo DA TOCCO, *Storia di san Tommaso d'Aquino* (ed. Davide Riserbato), Milano 2015, p. 203: n. 369, while the Neapolitan *Processus canonizationis S. Thomae* suggests Santa Maria Maggiore.



9. Andrea Lilli:
Miracle of Healing the Hemorrhagic Woman,
fresco, c. 1590–1591,
San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome



10. Andrea Lilli:
Vision of St. Thomas Aquinas,
fresco, c. 1590–1591,
San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome

narrative occurred in Rome, while St. Thomas was living at the mother church of the Dominicans in Rome, Santa Sabina,⁶⁵ originally built by Pietro from Illyria in the 5th century.⁶⁶ Moreover, the strong female presence may also be connected with the charity towards women of the *natio* practiced by the confraternity.

The image in the opposite lunette is somewhat enigmatic. While praying at an altar with a small crucifix, St. Thomas dramatically turns towards the vision above his desk. The large bookshelf and writing table with open book, sheet of paper, pen, and inkwell indicate that the friar had been writing before he began to pray. The setting thus encompasses two of Thomas's visions related

⁶⁵ See n. 64.

⁶⁶ On Pietro (Petrus) from Illyria as the commissioner of the basilica of Santa Sabina, see Ivan FOLETTI, Manuela GIAN-ANDREA, *Zona liminare. Il narcece di Santa Sabina a Roma, la sua porta e l'iniziazione cristiana*, Roma-Bрно 2015, pp. 81–83. Given that he lived before the arrival of the Slavic Croatian tribes to Illyria, his ethnicity could not be Slavic, but he fits into the Illyrian narrative and the contribution of the people from Illyria to the Roman religious horizon.

to his interpretation of Holy Scripture.⁶⁷ However, the figures within the red nebula of the vision are still open to interpretation; two figures wrestle in the center with the defeated one wearing a (Roman?) helmet, while more soldiers are climbing a ladder in the background.⁶⁸

This iconography exalting Thomas's vision does not correspond to earlier depictions.⁶⁹ Lilli's lunette is highly descriptive and gives almost equal space to *oratio*, *studium*, and *contemplatio*, the saint's main activities, leaving little to the imagination.⁷⁰ This is also true of Giovanni Guerra's other narrative compositions in the church. Like the grand Sistine cycle in San Girolamo, the iconography of the Dominican Church Father is innovative, but remains an isolated attempt at transforming the theme visually.⁷¹

The line connecting St. Jerome—St. Augustine—St. Thomas Aquinas was much favored by the Dominicans, but does not appear in scenes commissioned by the Franciscan Sixtus V. However, two influential Dominicans appear in the Roman confraternal documents at the same time that the presbytery frescoes were underway, and suggest their possible involvement in designing the program: Agostino Quinzio (1541–1611), Korčula bishop and expert in oriental languages; and Giovanni Domenico Marcot Foconio (1541–1602), Split archbishop and founder of a short-lived seminary in his see.⁷² This connection needs further assessment, but it should be noted that they were responsible for higher education in Dalmatia and were never replaced by the Jesuits in the

⁶⁷ According to the saint's hagiography, two visions take place in a setting comparable to what is represented in the lunette, the so-called Parisian vision and the Neapolitan vision, the latter better known as *Bene scripsisti Thoma*. Both visions are important confirmations of Thomas's correct interpretation of the Eucharist, one of the central tenets of the Council of Trent. *D. Thomae Aquinatis* 1570 (n. 63); CAMBOURNAC 2009 (n. 62), pp. 47–55; DA TOCCO 2015 (n. 64), p. 203.

⁶⁸ The figure on the right, possibly also wearing Roman military clothing, remains unclear against the dark background. The present state of research does not allow us to precisely identify the actions represented within the vision in the hagiographic narratives. The fight and the ladder are elements of the iconography of Jacob, to whom St. Thomas is compared by his biographer Guglielmo da Tocco, see DA TOCCO 2015 (n. 64), p. 126, although the figures represented here are not angels. The scene might also be interpreted in a more abstract manner, given Thomas's interest in *Aristotle's scala naturae*, but the issue requires further investigation. An interesting visual version of the *Ascension of St. Thomas Aquinas*, attributed to the Genoese painter Giacchino Assereto (1600–1649) and now in Palais des Beaux-Arts in Lille, depicts the Angelic Doctor climbing a ladder towards the Holy Trinity, see CAMBOURNAC 2009 (n. 62), pp. 66–70.

⁶⁹ See Diana NORMAN, *In Imitation of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Art, Patronage and Liturgy Within a Renaissance Chapel*, *Renaissance Studies*, 7, 1993, pp. 1–42; David GANZ, *Bild und Buch als Pforten des Auges. Exklusive Sichtbarkeit in Filippino Lippis Cappella Carafa, Ästhetik des Unsichtbaren. Bildtheorie und Bildgebrauch in der Vormoderne* (ed. David Ganz, Thomas Lentz), Berlin 2004 (KultBild. Visualität und Religion in der Vormoderne, 1), pp. 260–290; Adriano OLIVIA, *Theologica depicta. La rappresentazione e l'esaltazione della teologia di san Tommaso in una lunetta della cappella Carafa alla Minerva. Nuove proposte interpretative sulla base di alcune fonti letterarie*, *Memorie domenicane*, 42, 2011, pp. 223–241.

⁷⁰ Personifications of the three activities depicted in the chapel are also present in the frontispiece of Otto van Veen's book, see Ralph DEKONINCK, *Visual Representation as Real Presence. Otto van Veen's Naples Vision of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, *The Secret Lives of Art Works. Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life* (eds. Caroline van Eck, Joris van Gastel, Elsje van Kessel), Leiden 2014, pp. 179–199.

⁷¹ The most studied example is Santi di Tito's Florentine depiction of 1593, but that painting concentrates on the relationship between the Crucified Christ and the Angelic Doctor, see Ralph DEKONINCK, *Visio intellectualis vel sensualis. La vision napolitaine/parisienne de saint Thomas d'Aquin d'après Santi di Tito*, *Voir l'au-delà* 2017 (n. 57), pp. 131–148. For the highly influential print by Otto van Veen of 1610, see CAMBOURNAC 2009 (n. 61), pp. 47–55; DEKONINCK 2014 (n. 70), p. 180.

⁷² GUDELJ 2015 (n. 6), p. 317.

coastal towns, apart from Dubrovnik.⁷³ Another possible commissioner for the St. Thomas frescoes is the titular-cardinal, the Spaniard Pedro de Deza Manuel (1520–1600), nephew of the respected Thomist Diego de Deza (1443–1523). Moreover, the cardinal was instrumental in the construction of San Girolamo, and the same architect was building his palace nearby.⁷⁴

Concluding Comparisons

Books, language, translation, and the alphabet were important parts of the life of both confraternities. The Roman confraternity financed the translations by Aleksandar Komulović, the ideator of the grand pictorial program of the Schiavoni/Illyrian national church, while Matija Divković entrusted the Venetian confraternity with Illyrian letters for printing books in 1616, a reminder of the importance of Venice as a center for publishing. Celebrating mass in Illyrian was also essential for both confraternities. Although the Venetian confraternity was granted permission to recite the liturgy in “lingua Illirica” shortly after its foundation, the *scuola* still had to argue for its use in the early 16th century. In Rome, knowledge and use of the native language was written into the statutes of both the brotherhood and the chapter. Therefore, it is not surprising to find images of intellectual effort as they creatively adorned their spaces, since those themes were deeply embedded in the Catholic culture they so proudly defended.

Moreover, during the 16th century, the two largest Schiavoni/Illyrian confraternities in Italy commissioned or created programs for works of art that represented their social standing within the urban matrix and political systems of Rome and Venice. The interplay of the collective character of confraternities as commissioners of art and the importance of large investments and donations from powerful individuals are also apparent in their visual expressions, although the process was not linear. To be sure, the highly different contexts of a ducal and a papal metropolis produced very different narratives, but there are a number of points in common. These support Zrinka Blažević’s idea of an Illyrian *ideologeme* consisting of different *topoi*,⁷⁵ including, as we have demonstrated, national saints, anti-Ottoman sentiment, and scholarship on language, the alphabet, translations, and books, which were among the most important during the early modern period.*

⁷³ On the Dominicans in Croatia, see *Dominikanci u Hrvatskoj* (ed. Igor Fisković), Zagreb 2011, with previous bibliography.

⁷⁴ Diego de Deza, archbishop of Seville and inquisitor, wrote *Novarum defensionum doctrinae Angelici doctoris beati Thomae de Aquino*, Sevilla 1517.

⁷⁵ Zrinka BLAŽEVIĆ, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma*, Zagreb 2008.

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Umetnostno mecenstvo slovanskih/ilirskih bratovščin v Benetkah in Rimu

Protonacionalna identiteta in likovna umetnost

Povzetek

Zgodnjenovoveške imigrantske skupnosti po Evropi so se pogosto združevale v bratovščine, s čimer so ustvarile trdne institucije, temelječe na skupnem izvoru, veri in jeziku. Te t. i. nacionalne bratovščine so postale referenca za poznejše imigrante, romarje ali študente istega porekla. Kapele ali cerkve, hospici in hiše, za katere so ti tujci skrbeli, so jih usidrale v družbo, katere gostje so bili, in v urbani prostor. Oblika in okrasje teh stavb naj bi zato odražali tako »drugačnost« teh skupin kot tudi željo, da bi jih lokalni gledalci razumeli, s čimer so ustvarjale posebno vizualno identiteto. Te skupine so uporabljali tudi kot bolj ali manj formalne diplomatske mreže, ki so poudarjale tendence v evropski politiki.

Italija je bila zaradi svoje bližine ter pomembnosti svojih trgovskih središč, univerz in romarskih krajev pa tudi zaradi sorazmerne varnosti pred otomanskimi vpadi cilj številnih emigrantov, ki so prihajali z območja današnje Slovenije, Hrvaške, Bosne in Hercegovine in Črne gore. Osnovali so bratovščine, poimenovane slovanske (*Schiavoni*) ali ilirske; dokumentirane so od sredine 15. stoletja dalje v Rimu, Benetkah, Vidmu in po manjših središčih Mark, njihovo naročništvo pa z vidika oblikovanja samoopredeljujočih vizualnih pripovedi še ni bilo predmet primerjalnih znanstvenih raziskav.

Posebno pomembni in dolgoživi slovanski/ilirski bratovščini sta bili v Benetkah in Rimu; njuna sedeža se odlikujeta tudi s pomembnima slikarskima cikloma. Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone v Benetkah je v glavnem poznana po pripovednem ciklu (1502–1507) Vittoreja Carpaccia. Slovanska/ilirska bratovščina v Rimu je upravljala bolnišnico in cerkev, ki je danes poznana kot San Girolamo dei Croati; na novo je bila zgrajena med letoma 1586 in 1591 in takoj okrašena s ciklom fresk, ki ga je izvršila skupina slikarjev pod vodstvom Giovannija Guerre. Ti dve vizualni priči programov, ki so jih propagirali člani obeh najvidnejših zgodnjenovoveških slovanskih/ilirskih bratovščin v Italiji, še nista bili deležni podrobne primerjave, predvsem zaradi očitnih razlik v njunem urbanem, političnem in umetniškem kontekstu. Vendarle pa predstavlja skupni izvor članov teh bratovščin dobro izhodišče za razpravo in za analizo slovanskih vizualnih strategij, s katerimi so se v tekmovalnih okoljih svetovljanskih in umetniških središč, kot sta Benetke in Rim, razločevali od drugih.

Bistveno različna konteksta dožve in papeške prestolnice sta porodila zelo različne narative, vendar obstajajo skupne točke, ki podpirajo idejo Zrinke Blažević o ilirskem »ideologemu«, sestavljenem iz različnih motivov, med katerimi so najpomembnejši nacionalni svetniki, antiotomanski nazor ter delo na jeziku, abecedi, prevodih in knjigah.

The *Casse Processionali* of Genoese and Ligurian Brotherhoods

Patronage, Preeminence, and Preservation of Anton Maria Maragliano's Multi-Figured Processional Sculptures

Valentina Fiore

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

In a previous study that analyzed the relationship between the patrons and artist-pupils of Anton Maria Maragliano, I cast new light on the role of the brotherhoods as commissioners of processional sculpture.¹ This essay introduces new reflections on that theme, not only on the artistic but also on the anthropological role of the confraternities and small communities that kept the processional *casse* “alive” over time. Thus, the importance of confraternities for these works of art is explored in a number of ways that deepen our understanding. For example, the relationship between the 18th-century small red wax model and the 20th-century processional *cassa* in the Oratory of Holy Trinity in Fegino is established for the first time from this perspective. In particular, I emphasize how the historical moment of the expansion of the brotherhoods coincided with the artistic path of Maragliano, who marks a turning point in the production of processional *casse*. Moreover, I highlight how the political and religious changes that occurred in the Genoese Republic at the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries dramatically affected the conservation and transmission of these splendid artistic objects. First, a chronological art historical analysis of the development of the processional *casse* brings together studies conducted for more than 20 years, but then this essay proceeds to shed new light on the relationship between territory and works of art. In other words, the intermediate and final locations of the *casse*, distinct from their place of origin, demonstrates the importance of the outlying areas as sites of human memory, highlighting that in these peripheries the continuity of processions was essential for the very survival of the *casse*.

¹ Valentina FIORE, *Dalla bottega alla scuola. Fortuna dei modelli e diffusione nel circuito della committenza, Maraglianeschi. La grande scuola di Anton Maria Maragliano* (ed. Daniele Sanguineti), Torino 2018, pp. 58–69.

The origin of confraternities in Liguria is linked to the movement of the *Disciplinati*. Two events in particular led to the diffusion of these lay associations: the processions of Flagellants in 1260, who reached the region from Umbria; and later, the extensive devotional movement of the *Bianchi*, who arrived in Genoa from Provence in 1399. As modern historiography has shown,² brotherhoods played a central role in pre-industrial society. Their aims to favor and foster the cult of a particular saint or devotion, as well as their charitable work and function as mutual aid societies, had considerable social and political clout through the creation of networks, called “*conserve*”, which regulated relationships among them.³ These aggregate networks, which often met in a communal seat called an oratory, gave birth to the *casacce*—formed by three or four brotherhoods—which were markedly Ligurian associations,⁴ with a strong sense of unity among the members. The “*casaccia spirit*” became an element of identity proudly asserted to the external community, especially during religious processions. Simultaneously, the *casacce* developed an important symbiotic relationship with the oligarchic ruling class.⁵ The fragile balance between the Church’s authority, local political power, and the people united in devotion would fade with the advent of the Ligurian Republic in 1797.

Until the late 18th century, the Genoese and Ligurian brotherhoods were social gathering centers that provided real support to the life of the community as well as playing a central role in art patronage.⁶ The same artists commissioned by them also worked for the city’s aristocracy, so high-level aesthetic models and artistic languages were spread across a wide variety of socio-cultural contexts. Moreover, the most prominent public face of the brotherhoods was the procession, where the cohesive communal identities and local peculiarities of the *casacce* found their greatest means of expression. This was in large part due to the monumental *cassa processionale*, or processional sculptural group, commissioned by each brotherhood that made the miracle of divine presence perceivable and credible.

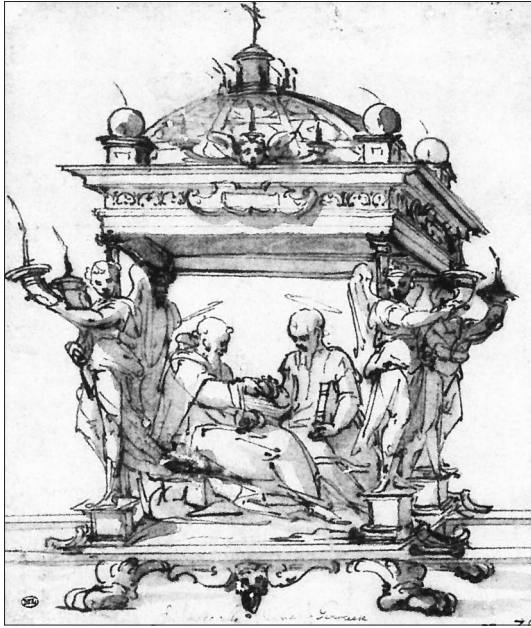
² Edoardo Grendi underlined the complex social, cultural, and devotional reality of secular religious associations in the modern age. See Edoardo GRENDI, *Morfologia e dinamica della vita associativa urbana. Le confraternite a Genova fra i secoli XVI e XVIII*, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, n.s. 5/2, 1965, pp. 239–311; Edoardo GRENDI, *Confraternite e mestieri nella Genova settecentesca*, *Miscellanea di storia ligure*, 4, 1966, pp. 239–265. Subsequently, Fausta Franchini Guelfi studied in depth the historical/artistic side of the brotherhoods, which has greatly enhanced our knowledge of the heritage of the sculptures, furnishings, and processional objects. See Fausta FRANCHINI GUELF, *Le casacce. Arte e tradizione*, Genova 1973; *La Liguria delle Casacce. Devozione, arte, storia delle confraternite liguri* (ed. Fausta Franchini Guelfi), Genova 1982; Fausta FRANCHINI GUELF, *Le casse processionali. Immagine devozionale e sacra rappresentazione, La scultura a Genova e in Liguria dal Seicento al primo Novecento*, Genova 1988, pp. 265–270; Fausta FRANCHINI GUELF, *Gli oratori delle confraternite liguri. Le vicende del patrimonio artistico fra conservazione e dispersione, Confraternite, Chiesa e società. Aspetti e problemi dell’associazionismo laicale europeo in età moderna e contemporanea* (ed. Liana Bertoldi Lenoci), Fasano 1994, pp. 503–527; Fausta FRANCHINI GUELF, *La diversità culturale delle confraternite fra devozione popolare, autonomia laicale e autorità ecclesiastica*, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, n.s. 44/1, 2004, pp. 401–436.

³ Biblioteca Civica Berio, ms.C. III.8, Francesco Accinelli, *Dissertazioni sopra l’origine delle confraternite et oratori, dell’istituzione delle Casacce in Genova*, sec. XVIII.

⁴ FRANCHINI GUELF 2004 (n. 2), pp. 416–418.

⁵ It is essentially a problem of political control: the political decline of the Genoese oligarchy from the second half of the 17th century was accompanied by the growth of popular religiosity. The “*casaccia spirit*” and their processions were also seen as a threat to the public order, even if the oligarchy of the *Magnifici* (old and new noble ruling families) had become aware of the particular character of the processions and the important role of the *casacce*. See GRENDI 1966 (n. 2), p. 246; FRANCHINI GUELF 2004 (n. 2), p. 421.

⁶ See FRANCHINI GUELF 2004 (n. 2), pp. 420–427.



1. Luca Cambiaso: Drawing for a “cassa” with St. Antony Abbot and St. Paul the Hermit, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

In Genoa and Liguria, between the 17th and 18th centuries, following the apostolic visitation of Monsignor Bossio in 1582⁷ and as a direct result of the activity of Archbishop Stefano Durazzo (1594–1667) in the territory,⁸ oratories were renewed, restored, and redecorated, and became home to the wooden sculptural masterpieces carried in processions. These renovations coincided with the explosion of the processional rite, in which the character of the *cassa processionale*, first and foremost, aimed to captivate, move, amaze, and thus create a direct emotional connection to the object, itself linked to a particular devotion or cult.⁹ As the sculptural groups were borne aloft, moving in concert with the processional ranks, the works took on an almost salvific role with the strength of a totem—which helps to explain why the Genoese brotherhoods became the exclusive commissioners of these wooden *casse*. Today, the works designed and executed by Anton Maria Maragliano and his

workshop exemplify the expressive and communicative power of such artefacts.¹⁰ In fact, at the very moment that the *casacce* reached their height of power and influence, Maragliano was making major breakthroughs in his creations that led to dramatic changes in wooden sculpture.

Few 16th- and 17th-century *casse processionali* are extant because in the 18th century most were replaced by new sculptural groups that communicated the emotions of religious beliefs far more effectively. In 1568, Luca Cambiaso made a drawing for a processional group, perhaps for the brotherhood of Sant’Antonio Abate at the harbor front in the center of Genoa. In this drawing, now conserved at the Louvre, the saint is not portrayed standing, but immersed in conversation with St. Paul the Hermit below a 16th-century architectural structure (fig. 1).¹¹ The project shows Cambiaso’s innovative concept of space with the figures placed within a cube, like a reliquary casket, that was designed to be viewed from multiple directions. We do not know whether Cambiaso actually carried out this

⁷ See Lauro MAGNANI, *Committenza e arte sacra a Genova dopo il Concilio di Trento. Materiali di ricerca, Studi di storia delle arti*, 5, 1983–1985 (1985), pp. 133–184.

⁸ See GRENDI 1965 (n. 2), p. 262.

⁹ FRANCHINI GUELF 1973 (n. 2), p. 69.

¹⁰ See, with previous bibliography: Daniele SANGUINETI, *Anton Maria Maragliano*, Genova 1998; Daniele SANGUINETI, *Le sculture da processione di Anton Maria Maragliano per le confraternite di Genova, Confraternite genovesi all'alba del terzo millennio* (ed. Luciano Venzano), Genova 2004, pp. 58–69; Daniele SANGUINETI, *Il Paradiso secondo Maragliano in cinque macchine processionali, Han tutta l'aria di Paradiso. Gruppi processionali di Anton Maria Maragliano tra Genova e Ovada* (eds. Fulvio Cervini, Daniele Sanguineti), Ovada-Torino 2005, pp. 11–32; Daniele SANGUINETI, *Anton Maria Maragliano 1664–1738. “Insignis Sculptor Genue”*, Genova 2012; Daniele SANGUINETI, *Scultura genovese in legno policromo dal secondo Cinquecento al Settecento*, Torino 2013.

¹¹ The drawing is conserved in the Louvre Museum (I.N. 9298); see also FRANCHINI GUELF 1973 (n. 2), p. 31.



2. Filippo Santacroce:
*St. Ambrose's Victory over
 the Heretics, 1594,*
St. Ambrose Oratory,
Genova Voltri

project, or if the brotherhood opted for a more traditional solution when assigning the work to Gaspare Forlani da Lucca, as documents seem to indicate.¹² In any case, this drawing demonstrates that the processional *cassa* was so essential to the brotherhood that the members contacted one of the greatest painters of 16th-century Genoa, who would soon be called by Philip II to work at El Escorial.¹³

The oldest extant Ligurian *cassa* was carved in 1594 by Filippo Santacroce for the St. Ambrose Oratory in Voltri, just to the west of Genoa (fig. 2).¹⁴ Here, the narrative momentum of the representation creates a certain amount of spontaneity. However, for all its colorful narrative complexity, the composition is entirely constructed on horizontal planes and the action remains static, frozen in the central moment of St. Ambrose's victory over the heretics. Even the *casse processionali* by Girolamo del Canto,¹⁵ made a few decades later, such as the one depicting the *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew*, now conserved in Genoa Quarto (to the southeast of the city), in the oratory of the same name, still bears 16th-century stylistic characteristics with a symmetrical central group and four figures in the corners.¹⁶

¹² See Federico ALIZERI, *Notizie dei Professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI*, 6, Genova 1880, pp. 100–110; SANGUINETI 2013 (n. 10), pp. 459–460. Giulio Nepi hypothesized a work by Cambiaso, in agreement with Soprani's words (1674), which stated that Cambiaso had designed a statue of the saint in the round (*tondo rilievo*); see *Luca Cambiaso. Un maestro del Cinquecento europeo* (eds. Piero Boccardo, Franco Boggero), Palazzo Ducale, Galleria di Palazzo Rosso, Genova, Milano 2007, pp. 384–385. In my opinion, the role of Cambiaso was more important, as the innovative design shows, and the work was only entrusted to Forlani as a secondary measure.

¹³ See the studies conducted by Lauro Magnani with previous bibliography: Lauro MAGNANI, *Luca Cambiaso. Da Genova all'Escorial*, Genova 1995; Lauro MAGNANI, *Luca Cambiaso. Idea, pratica, ideologia*, *Luca Cambiaso* 2007 (n. 12), pp. 21–61.

¹⁴ Gianluca ZANELLI, *Tra Ponente e Levante genovese. Sculture in legno sul territorio, Scultura in legno policromo d'età barocca. La produzione di carattere religioso a Genova e nel circuito dei centri italiani* (eds. Lauro Magnani, Daniele Sanguineti), Genova 2017, pp. 99, 125.

¹⁵ Carmelina SCANDURRA, *Documenti per lo scultore Girolamo del Canto*, *Studi di Storia delle Arti*, 9, 1997/1999, pp. 323–327; SANGUINETI 2013 (n. 10), pp. 150–152.

¹⁶ FRANCHINI GUELFY 1973 (n. 2), p. 52.



3. Marcantonio Poggio: *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, 1670–1675, *Mortis et Orationis Oratory*, Genova Sestri Ponente

Developments in Ligurian wood sculpture occurred mainly through the changes in processional *casse*. The most important example, *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist*¹⁷ by Marcantonio Poggio (fig. 3), currently located in the *Mortis et Orationis Oratory*, Genoa Sestri Ponente, represents a real turning point and affords an understanding of the Genoese reception of the most up-to-date 17th-century Roman devotional expressions.¹⁸ This complex work, dating to the 1660s, stands out for its dramatic visual impact: many figures scaled in depth are connected with each other through visible relationships, including eye contact and cascading gestures. The dramatic tension of the moment when the executioner is about to deliver the fatal blow is strong and highly perceptible. Our eyes are directed towards the Baptist, the centerpiece of the whole, which was modelled on Bernini's *Daniel*, made in 1657 for the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo.¹⁹ This work marked a new direction in the figurative language of Genoese wooden sculpture and sets the groundwork for later production.

Anton Maria Maragliano's work and production coincides with the fervent and sensational success of processions, which culminated in the second half of the 18th century when they achieved their greatest splendor.²⁰ Festivals with processions realized the full experience of belonging to a *casaccia*, the expression of a deep sentiment of community. Visually designed to enhance the most spectacular effects, the brotherhoods conveyed their identity and ability to create social cohesion with great immediacy. The exciting, often uproarious processions were the perfect settings for the liveliest and most exuberant forms of penitential devotion.²¹ In this context, the processional *casse*, together with the large processional crucifixes also commissioned by the brotherhoods, were transformed into extraordinary stage machinery—brilliant set designs with representations of emotive, gesticulating figures that were

¹⁷ For the importance of the Baptist, patron saint of Genoa, see Lauro MAGNANI, "Nuovo e vero Giano". Il ruolo del Battista tra spazio della comunicazione devota e funzione politica. L'esempio genovese tra XVI e XVII secolo, *Vox clamantis in deserto. San Giovanni Battista tra arte, storia e fede* (eds. Manlio Sodi, Arianna Antoniutti, Bert Treffers), Roma 2013, pp. 269–296.

¹⁸ *La Decollazione del Battista di Marco Antonio Poggio. Storia e Restauro* (eds. Daniele Sanguineti, Gianluca Zanelli), Genova 2013.

¹⁹ SANGUINETI 2013 (n. 10), p. 161.

²⁰ FRANCHINI GUELFI 1973 (n. 2), p. 154.

²¹ Fausta FRANCHINI GUELFI, *Dalla Compagnia di Misericordia alla Compagnia della Morte di San Donato. L'arredo liturgico e le immagini di devozione nella storia del patrimonio artistico, La Veneranda Compagnia di Misericordia dal medioevo al terzo millennio* (ed. Claudio Paolucci), Genova 2008 (Quaderni franzoniani, 14), p. 177.



4. Anton Maria Maragliano: *St. Michael the Archangel Defeating Lucifer*, 1694, Celle Ligure



5. Anton Maria Maragliano: *St. Sebastian*, 1700, Oratory of the Holy Trinity, Rapallo

proudly paraded through city streets. Each brotherhood and each *casaccia* competed with the others for the most extraordinary sculptural groups, capable of relating to the emotions of the faithful and the public at large, and, of course, exceeding all the others in pomp and magnificence during major feast days and religious celebrations. The theatrical character of Maragliano's art appealed (and appeals) to the emotional faith of the pious and is, therefore, most appropriate for depicting a miraculous feat with which the devout can empathize, and, thereby, hope for divine intercession on their own behalf as well as that of the city. In addition, the very place where the procession is held, together with the dramatic processional group itself, lends credibility to the divine presence, which becomes almost materially palpable.²²

Analysis of the relationship between the center and periphery, primary in the study of art historical dynamics, offers new interpretations about the presence and survival of the processional *casce* after Napoleon's suppression of the confraternities. Significantly, today only the *casce* commissioned by "suburban" brotherhoods outside Genoa remain in their original locations and still play a role in processions, whereas the most extraordinary and splendid groups, that is, those made for the *casacce* of the city center, were disposed of following the suppression of the brotherhoods by Napoleon,²³ and are now dispersed and conserved in outlying areas. This was the case, for instance, of *St. Michael the Archangel Defeating Lucifer* of Celle Ligure, on the western Riviera, completed

²² Lauro MAGNANI, *Mimesis e compassione. La scultura lignea come immagine agente tra tecnica e "miracolo"*, *Scultura in legno* 2017 (n. 14), pp. 145–171.

²³ Maddalena VAZZOLER, *Genova tra rivoluzione e impero. Patrimonio artistico, mercato dell'arte, progetti museografici*, Firenze 2013, pp. 61–62.



6. Anton Maria Maragliano: *Agony in the Garden*, 1727–1728, Oratory of Sts. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Petronilla, Savona

in 1694,²⁴ the first known and documented work by Maragliano (fig. 4). Sculpted on a vertical axis with the triumphant Archangel gracefully wielding his lance, the screaming Lucifer spirals downward into the hellfire. Maragliano vividly contrasts the facial expressions of the softly smiling angel with the demon's wildly distorted open mouth. The same vertical organization applies to the *St. Sebastian* at the Holy Trinity Oratory in Rapallo (fig. 5). Created at the turn of the century, the pathos of the martyr's exquisite agony places the sculpture in close relationship with the Baroque statuary of Bernini and Puget.

Subsequently, more complex groups comprising several figures posed to clearly enact the sacred drama have remained in their original locations. Examples include the group of the *Annunciation* in the Oratory of San Domenico and the Santissima Annunziata of Savona (1722), the same subject in the Spotorno Oratory of the Santissima

Annunziata (1722–1730), and the *Agony in the Garden* (fig. 6) also in Savona in the Oratory of Sts. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Petronilla (1727–1728).²⁵ These works are in the possession of the brotherhoods that commissioned them and are still carried in procession. In Savona, for instance, every two years the *casse* are borne through the city streets in the Good Friday procession. However, the fact that all these grand sculptural groups are in peripheral areas, not in Genoa, demonstrates that the political and cultural powers that opposed these associations were strongest in the center of the Genoese Republic.

Apart from the political events related to the Ligurian Republic (1797–1815), the Jansenists within that government contributed most to the crisis of the brotherhoods. Whereas in the first half of the 18th century, Genoa was on the margin of the great international religious debates owing to the absence of representatives of the new Catholic Enlightenment principles, in the second half of the century the Genoese Church was drawn into the French Revolution and the religious disputes over Jansenism with its overt Calvinist tenets.²⁶ The Jansenist movement took a public stand starting in the revolutionary period: the events of 1797, linked to the revolt in which the notoriously rebellious peasants of Val Polcevera (to the west of the city) took part with cries of “*Viva Maria!*” and then spread to the entire Genoese territory, indicate the gulf between the new republican elites,

²⁴ SANGUINETI 2012 (n. 10), pp. 226–227.

²⁵ SANGUINETI 2012 (n. 10), pp. 302–303, 320–321, 348.

²⁶ Paolo FONTANA, Tra illuminismo e giansenismo. Il Settecento, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, n.s. 39/2, 1999, p. 367.

including the highest ranking clergy, and the populace.²⁷ Indeed, one of the strongest and most characteristic themes of the Jansenist controversy, following the model of Napoleon's French occupation and administration of this *département*, was controlling the excessive number of religious festivals, including processions, and the way in which they were to be celebrated.²⁸ The processions of the *casacce*, the confraternities' most important means of contact with the outside world, were forbidden as early as 1797, following the democratic revolution and military events. After nine years, these processions were restored in 1806,²⁹ only to be banned again when the *casacce* were suppressed in 1811.

Moreover, in 1811 a decree ordered that all movable and immovable property had to be turned over to the local parish churches. The purpose was to eliminate these lay associations that were so deeply rooted at the very heart of pre-industrial society—and in Genoa, with the noble families and the Republic of 1528—and considered very dangerous by the revolutionary French government.³⁰ When the French occupation ended in 1814, many brotherhoods regained their independence, but by then were experiencing great financial difficulties. Even worse for their survival, traditional piety and devotional practices were dying out as bourgeois society became increasingly secular and industrialization took its toll, soon causing many oratories and brotherhoods to disappear forever.

A remarkably high number of processional *casce* by Anton Maria Maragliano and his workshop, particularly those belonging to the wealthiest Genoese *casacce* confraternities that had been carried in a precise order in the Corpus Domini procession,³¹ were transferred to parish churches or oratories during the years following the dramatic events of 1811.³² In Genoa, where the conflict between these lay associations and the Church had been sharper, the 1811 decree led to the full suppression of brotherhoods, whereas in the countryside, they survived by maintaining good relationships with parish priests.³³ In the midst of the political turmoil, the suburbs and outskirts of Genoa came into possession of many remarkable works of art that ensured their preservation. At the end of the 18th century, suburban districts were content with dismantled processional groups, and although stylistically outmoded, these acquisitions were nonetheless considered a great communal feat. A significant example is the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* by Giovanni Bissone of 1666. While being transported to an oratory named for the saint in Genoa Rivarolo, in the Polcevera Valley to the northwest of Genoa, in 1748, the *cassa* itself was celebrated by a solemn procession in which throngs of people participated.³⁴

²⁷ Anita GINELLA, *Le confraternite della Valbisagno tra Rivoluzione e Impero (1797–1811)*, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, n.s. 23/2, 1983, pp. 193–320; FONTANA 1999 (n. 26), pp. 384ff.

²⁸ Paolo FONTANA, *Pranzi e processioni. La polemica del giansenismo ligure contro le Confraternite (1781–1824)*, *Ricerche Teologiche*, 4/2, 1993, pp. 305–322.

²⁹ GINELLA 1983 (n. 27), p. 223. See also *Gazzetta di Genova*, 35, 30 aprile 1806, p. 137; 36, 3 maggio 1806, p. 141; 37, 7 maggio 1806, p. 145.

³⁰ See Arrêté relatif aux biens des confréries, *Gazzetta di Genova*, 54, 6 marzo 1811, p. 148.

³¹ SANGUINETI 2004 (n. 10), pp. 58–69.

³² Daniele SANGUINETI, *Il patrimonio artistico di Portoria. Tracce per una ricerca, Genova 1746. Una città di antico regime tra guerra e rivolta* (eds. Carlo Bitossi, Claudio Paolocci), Genova 1998 (*Quaderni Franzoniani*, 11/2), pp. 329–367.

³³ GINELLA 1983 (n. 29), p. 301.

³⁴ Fausta FRANCHINI GUELF, *Le casse processionali delle confraternite liguri. Immagine devozionale e sacra rappresentazione, Musica popolare sacra e patrimonio storico artistico etnografico delle confraternite nel ponente ligure* (ed. Giorgio De Moro), Imperia 1986, pp. 123–127.



7. Anton Maria Maragliano:
*St. Antony Abbot Contemplating
 the Death of St. Paul the Hermit,*
 1709–1710, Oratory of St. Antony,
 Mele

From the second decade of the 19th century, these outlying communities secured the most extraordinary artefacts created by Maragliano's workshop and became up-to-date art centers. While the brotherhoods had a clear and important role as art patrons, their strength also lay in their action to preserve the *casse processionali*, which they held in the highest reverence and respect and guarded with watchful eyes. In the city center, where the confraternities no longer exist, processional *macchine* (stage machines or parade floats) have lost their *raison d'être*; while in more remote communities, on the other hand, confraternities often identify with the whole village and are still vital, allowing them to rescue at least part of the processional apparatus.³⁵ In more peripheral areas these extraordinary *casse processionali* live a new life, such as the *Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew*. This highly dramatic work originally belonged to the important oratory on the Fucine hill in Genoa, but was acquired by the St. Bartholomew brotherhood in Varazze, on the coast west of Genoa, as early as 1816, where it remains today. Remarkably, under the *cassa* base is still a slip of paper with the number indicating its position in the great Corpus Domini procession in early June. Likewise, *St. John's Vision on Patmos* had been made around the end of the 17th century for the Oratory of St. John the Evangelist in Prè, located in the magnificent Hierosolymitan complex of San Giovanni di Prè, to replace an older 17th-century *cassa* by Marcantonio Poggio. After the oratory was closed, *St. John* was transferred to the parish church. Later bought by the upholsterer Filippo

³⁵ Giorgio PASSERINI, *Elite confraternale e stratificazione sociale in una comunità rurale dell'entroterra genovese tra '600 e '700*, *Confraternite* 1994 (n. 2), pp. 145–158; FRANCHINI GUELFI 2004 (n. 2), p. 431.



8. Anton Maria Maragliano:
Beheading of St. John the Baptist,
1720–1730, Oratory of Sts. John
the Baptist and Catherine
the Martyr, Ovada

Rusca in exchange for wallpaper, in 1835 it was sold to the Oratory of San Giovanni in Ponzone d'Acqui in the south Piemonte region.³⁶

Even the most famous among Maragliano's works, acclaimed by his contemporaries as well as by art historical sources, was sold by the *Birri* (Policemen) brotherhoods of Via Giulia (later Via XX Settembre) for financial reasons (fig. 7). The *cassa*, today in the Oratory of St. Anthony Abbot in Mele, a small village west of Genoa, portrays *St. Antony Abbot Witnessing the Death of St. Paul the Hermit*. The group is dominated by the towering figure of St. Paul's soul, carved and painted with spectacular visual effects that enhance the natural and mimetic aspects, comparable in quality to the figurative solutions of Domenico Piola, Genoa's leading Baroque painter of the second half of the 17th century.³⁷ Bought for 1800 *lire* by the oratory in 1874³⁸ to replace the Renaissance standing statue of the saint, now in the nearby church of St. Antony Abbot, this magnificent group was the subject of a bitter dispute in the following years, an indication of its importance to the brotherhood that had commissioned it. The sale was challenged in 1903, and the civil legal case only ended in 1910 with a final verdict requiring an additional payment of 4000 *lire*—a very substantial sum—as compensation.³⁹

In other words, the transferals and sales sparked a heated debate, an indication that the community felt impoverished by the loss of these important assets and elements of their identity. The sale of Maragliano's *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* (fig. 8), commissioned by the brotherhood of St. John the Baptist and Catherine the Martyr, aroused great interest. Originally in the Aquasola oratory in Genoa, just above Prè inside the western entrance gate to Genoa, the work had been bought and since 1826 relocated to Ovada, a small town north of Genoa and on the way to Asti.⁴⁰ The Ovada community had raised funds to secure this emotionally powerful work, but

³⁶ *Han tutta l'aria* 2005 (n. 10), pp. 98–100, cat. no. 2; SANGUINETI 2012 (n. 10), pp. 231–232.

³⁷ SANGUINETI 2012 (n. 10), pp. 258–259.

³⁸ SANGUINETI 2012 (n. 10), pp. 258–259.

³⁹ Giovanni PIERUCCI, La cassa di Sant'Antonio Abate capolavoro del Maragliano, *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria*, 3, 1940, pp. 123–128; 4, 1940, pp. 180–187.

⁴⁰ *Han tutta l'aria* 2005 (n. 10), pp. 102–106, cat. no. 4.



9. Anton Maria Maragliano: *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, 1708–1709, Church of the Santissima Concezione e Padre Santo, Genova

other potential buyers complained about the possibility, even the real risk, that it would be forgotten and, therefore, wasted in Ovada.⁴¹ At the beginning of the 19th century, moving these processional groups to the most peripheral areas was seen as a sort of “death sentence,” but history has shown that the complete opposite was the case. Far from being locked behind a church door and forgotten, Maragliano’s *casse* are still “alive,” ardently carried in procession through the city streets.

However, many of the *casse* by Anton Maria Maragliano for oratories and brotherhoods today in Genoa were bought from neighboring churches and often adapted as altarpieces, having totally lost their processional function. *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* by Maragliano and assistants, dating from 1708 to 1709, is emblematic of this situation. Once part of the liturgical furnishings of the Oratory of St. Francis in Piccapietra, the eastern working class district of

Genoa, it was brought into Genoa between the fourth and the fifth decades of the 19th century following the suppression of the Piccapietra *casaccia* (fig. 9).⁴² Owing to the new location in the church of the Holy Father, the group had to be modified for the chapel’s space. The sculpture, designed to be contemplated in motion and from various perspectives, was remodeled to be viewed frontally by reducing the height of the column on which the seraphic Crucified Christ rises and by turning the body of the enraptured saint towards the faithful.⁴³ Documents show similar vicissitudes for the group of the same subject as well as *The Temptations of St. Anthony Abbot*, which arrived at the basilica of Our Lady of the Garden in Chiavari in 1799.⁴⁴ Once again, the new placement in the large niches of the basilica’s chapel required reworking the complex structure, whose figures have been moved to the foreground. The 19th-century conversion of processional *casce*, no longer immersed in real space but secured on the plane of the chapel’s floor, shows how the liturgical purpose for which they had been conceived was essential for the full understanding and accurate interpretation of these magnificent works of art.

The sculptures of Anton Maria Maragliano and his workshop were conceived and created to make a strong impression on the public, emotionally involved and engaged through the intense and dramatic expressions on the faces of the sculpted figures in the sacred spaces. This expressive feature lay behind the success and good fortune of the relevant iconographic models and behind

⁴¹ *Il gruppo ligneo del Maragliano nella chiesa della Confraternita di S. Giovanni Battista in Ovada. Notizie artistiche e storiche*, Ovada 1968 (Quaderni a cura dell’associazione pro loco di Ovada, 1).

⁴² SANGUINETI 2012 (n. 10), pp. 254–255.

⁴³ For the remodeling of *casce processionali*, see Valentina FIORE, Sculture e “casce” processionali nello spazio dell’altare. Confronti, modelli e relazioni, *Scultura in legno* 2017 (n. 14), pp. 63–77.

⁴⁴ SANGUINETI 2012 (n. 10), pp. 300–301.



10. Pasquale Navone:
St. James the Moor-slayer,
1770–1775, Oratory of
St. Anthony, Genova

Maragliano's long-lasting influence, well beyond his death in 1739, into the early 19th century.⁴⁵ As previous studies have pointed out,⁴⁶ over the course of the 18th century, and especially after 1760, the momentum of confraternal engagement gradually faded away, although brotherhoods were still significant in the first decade of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the production of processional *casse* for the confraternities was the common thread connecting the fully Baroque production of Maragliano with the work of his pupils and later with those of Pasquale Navone (1746–1791), an artist already moving towards the Neoclassical taste influenced by the standards of Neoclassical Academic art.⁴⁷

Among Maragliano's pupils, Pietro Galleano (1687–1761) "stood out in the Master's Profession."⁴⁸ He had fruitful relationships with the most important Genoese *casacce*, for which he provided four processional *casse*, although only two survive:⁴⁹ the *Madonna del Carmine* for the homonymous oratory near the bridge spanning the Bisagno stream at the eastern edge of the city; and the impressive *St. George and the Dragon*, made for the oratory dedicated to the saint in Via Giulia, now in the church of San Giorgio in Moneglia.⁵⁰ This magnificent sculptural group, which may be dated to the mid-18th century, was made to be seen in motion, in the expanded, ever-changing space of the procession, with St. George running, the horse powerfully rearing, and the horrific dragon evoking terror. The group testifies to the importance that the processional *casse* still had for brotherhoods on the eve of the Age of Enlightenment.

⁴⁵ SANGUINETI 2013 (n. 10), p. 218.

⁴⁶ GRENDI 1965 (n. 2), pp. 298–302.

⁴⁷ Fausta FRANCHINI GUELF, Pasquale Navone dal *Theatrum sacrum tardo barocco* all'Accademia, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, n.s. 36/2, 1996, pp. 539–556.

⁴⁸ Carlo Giuseppe RATTI, *Delle vite de' pittori, scultori, architetti genovesi. Tomo secondo scritto da Carlo Giuseppe Ratti Pittore, e socio delle Accademiche Ligustiche e Parmense in continuazione dell'opera di Raffaello Soprani*, Genova 1769, p. 173.

⁴⁹ SANGUINETI 2013 (n. 10), p. 221.

⁵⁰ FRANCHINI GUELF 1973 (n. 2), p. 143.

Agostino Storace (early 1700–post-1784), an exponent of the second generation of the *maraglianeschi*, followers of Maragliano,⁵¹ employed the same style, so highly appreciated by his patrons. In the mid-18th century, he created extraordinary groups and processional *casse*, such as the spectacular *Jesus Appearing to St. Martin as St. Giles Gives his Cloak to the Poor*, located in the western suburb of Genoa Pegli since 1740.⁵² The *cassa* was presented as if it were a live performance, and its design is dependent on the verticality of Christ's apparition and on the movement of the white horse, confirming that the commissioners were still closely tied to tradition. Among the last great processional *macchine*, *St. James the Moor-slayer* (fig. 10) was created in 1770 by Pasquale Navone for one of the most important *casacce* in the city, San Giacomo delle Fucine⁵³ (today in the Oratory of Sant'Antonio Abate on the harbor front). This stunning work bears no relation to the new Neoclassical Academic taste, to which Navone was attracted. Rather, it follows Late

Baroque standards and styles, exemplified by the flaring nostrils and wildly protruding eyes of the rearing horse. The group drew inspiration from the great painting of Giovanni Battista Castiglione, called *Grechetto* (1609–1664), in the nearby Oratory of San Giacomo della Marina, but is so close in style to Maragliano's, that 19th-century historians regarded it as one of his best works.⁵⁴

Brotherhoods as patrons maintained a central role in the creation of these spectacular and colorful processional *macchine*, well beyond the 17th and 18th centuries. Sculpted groups and *casse processionali* in polychrome wood were then commissioned predominantly by the communities in outlying districts, which still considered Maragliano's work models of excellence and outstanding quality throughout the 19th century.⁵⁵ The brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, based in the oratory of the same name in Fegino, a small rural village not far from the center of Genoa, next to Rivarolo in the Polcevera Valley, is an example of this continuity by its commission of a splendid *cassa* at the beginning of the 20th century, to enhance the community's vibrant religious life and prestige.⁵⁶



11. Agostino Storace: *St. Ambrose Adoring the Holy Trinity*, 18th century, Oratory of the Holy Trinity, Genova Fegino

⁵¹ SANGUINETI 2013 (n. 10), p. 227, determined this definition.

⁵² FRANCHINI GUELFU 1973 (n. 2), p. 141.

⁵³ SANGUINETI 2013 (n. 10), p. 236.

⁵⁴ *Descrizione della città di Genova da un anonimo del 1818* (eds. Ennio and Fiorella Poleggi), Genova 1969, p. 291.

⁵⁵ VAZZOLER 2013 (n. 23), p. 61.

⁵⁶ Giorgio PASSERINI, *Relazioni tra confraternite nel genovesato tra XVII e XVIII secolo. Il caso di Fegino in Val Polcevera*, *Confraternitas*, 3/1, 1992, pp. 3–8; PASSERINI 1994 (n. 35), pp. 145–158.



12. *St. Ambrose Adoring the Holy Trinity*, early 20th century, Oratory of the Holy Trinity, Genova Fegino

In fact, at the beginning of the 20th century, a small model was discovered in an oratory attic, near the parish church of Sant’Ambrogio in Genoa Fegino. Made of red wax with wax cloth used for the sumptuous drapery, it represents *St. Ambrose Adoring the Holy Trinity* (fig. 11). It was probably a preparatory model—a common practice of Maragliano—for a majestic processional *cassa*.⁵⁷ The work, initially attributed to the master himself,⁵⁸ has now been recognized as belonging to the hand of Agostino Storace.⁵⁹ The attribution caused quite a stir in the local community, even leading the brotherhood, hundreds of years later, in the early 20th century, to raise money from its members to have the full-scale sculptural group executed. As there were no longer woodcarvers equal to the task in Genoa and Liguria, the work was entrusted to the famous sculptors of Val Gardena, in the Dolomites, who made a magnificent Maragliano-style piece (fig. 12). The continuity of this commission across the centuries is but another confirmation that the anthropological, art historical, and religious functions of *casse processionali* are a unique and much-needed engine for the preservation of this remarkable legacy.

⁵⁷ See Anton Maria Maragliano. *Bozzetti e piccole sculture* (ed. Daniele Sanguineti), Genova 2010. Daniele SANGUINETI, *La progettazione, Maragliano 1664–1739, Lo spettacolo della scultura in legno a Genova* (ed. Daniele Sanguineti), Genova 2018, pp. 139–145.

⁵⁸ *Le casacce e la scultura lignea sacra genovese del Seicento e del Settecento* (ed. Orlando Grosso), Genova 1939, pp. 42, 56.

⁵⁹ SANGUINETI 2012 (n. 10), pp. 81, 379–380.

Procesijske nosilnice (*casse processionali*) genovskih in ligurskih bratovščin

Umetnostno naročništvo, veličina in ohranjenost mnogofiguralnih procesijskih skulptur Antona Marie Maragliana

Povzetek

Kot je pokazalo moderno zgodovinopisje, so imele bratovščine eno osrednjih vlog v predindustrijski družbi. Njihova podpora in spodbuda kultu posameznega svetnika ali pobožnosti pa tudi njihova karitativna dejavnost in funkcija družbe za vzajemno pomoč so prišle do upoštevanja vrednega družbenega in političnega vpliva, tako da so ustvarile mreže, t. i. *conservé*. Te so urejale njihove medsebojne odnose. Krhko ravnovesje med cerkvenimi oblastmi, lokalnimi političnimi silami in ljudmi, združenimi v pobožnosti, značilno za predindustrijsko dobo, sta porušila nastop Ligurske republike leta 1797 in revolucija. Do poznega 18. stoletja so bile genovske in ligurske bratovščine, imenovane *casacce*, družbena zbirališča; nudile so stvarno podporo življenju skupnosti in imele vodilno vlogo v umetnostnem naročništvu. Isti umetniki, ki so jih najele bratovščine, so delali tudi za mestno aristokracijo, tako da so bili estetski zgledi in umetniški jezik na visoki ravni razširjeni preko vseh različnih družbeno-kulturnih kontekstov.

Najpomembnejši javni izraz *casaccie* je bila procesija, pri kateri so prišle kohezivne skupne identitete najbolj do izraza. V veliki meri je bila to zasluga monumentalne *cassa processionale*, procesijske kiparske skupine, ki jo je naročila vsaka bratovščina in zaradi katere je bil čudež božje navzočnosti razumljiv in verodostojen. V Genovi in Liguriji so v 17. in 18. stoletju obnovili, restavrirali in na novo okrasili oratorije in tako ustvarili dom za lesene kiparske mojstrovine, ki so jih nosili v procesijah. Te obnove so sovpadale z razcvetom procesijskega obredja, pri katerem je značaj procesijske nosilnice skušal v prvi vrsti očarati, ganiti in presuniti ter tako ustvariti neposredno čustveno vez s predmetom, ki je bil sam po sebi vezan na določeno pobožnost ali kult. Ker so kiparske skupine nosili visoko dvignjene in ker so se premikale v skladu s procesijskim redom, so prevzele nase skoraj odrešilno vlogo z močjo totema. To nam pomaga pojasniti, zakaj so postale genovske bratovščine množični naročniki teh lesenih nosilnic. Dela, ki sta jih zasnovala in izvršila Anton Maria Maragliano (1664–1739) in njegova delavnica, ponazarjajo ekspresivno in komunikativno moč takih artefaktov. Prav v času, ko so bile bratovščine na vrhuncu moči in vpliva, je Maragliano v svojih stvaritvah dosegel pomemben napredek, ki je privedel do dramatičnih sprememb v leseni plastiki.

Delo Antona Marie Maragliana sovпада z navdušujočim razcvetom procesij v drugi polovici 18. stoletja, ko so doživele svoj največji blišč. Praznovanja s procesijami so udeležila popolno izkušnjo pripadnosti bratovščini in globokega občutenja skupnosti. S procesijami, ki so bile vizualno zasnovane tako, da so poudarjale najspektakularnejše učinke, so bratovščine neposredno izražale svojo identiteto in zmožnost ustvarjanja družbene kohezije. Teatralni značaj Maraglianove umetnosti je igral (in še vedno igra) na čustva vernikov in je tako posebej primeren za upodabljanje čudežnih junaštev, v katera se verniki lahko vživijo. Poleg tega daje prostor, na katerem se procesija odvija, skupaj z dramatično procesijsko skupino kredibilnost božji prisotnosti, ki postane skoraj otipljiva.

Pomenljivo je, da so ostale na prvotni lokaciji in imajo še vedno vlogo v procesijah samo tiste nosilnice, ki so jih naročile »predmestne« bratovščine, medtem ko so bile najizjemnejše in najčudovitejše skupine, tiste, ki so bile narejene za *casacce* v središču mesta, po Napoleonovem zatrtju bratovščin odstranjene in so danes ohranjene na odročnih krajih. Da so vse te imenitne kiparske skupine na perifernih območjih in ne v Genovi, dokazuje, da so bile politične in kulturne sile, ki so tem združenjem nasprotovale, najmočnejše v središču Genovske republike. Poleg političnih dogodkov, povezanih z revolucijo, so največ prispevali h krizi bratovščin janzenisti v njeni vladi.

Posebno številne procesijske nosilnice Antona Marie Maragliana in njegove delavnice, zlasti tiste, ki so pripadale najbogatejšim genovskim bratovščinam in so jih nosili v natančnem zaporedju v procesiji sv. Rešnjega telesa, so prenesli iz mesta v času po dramatičnih dogodkih leta 1811. V Genovi, kjer je bil konflikt med laičnimi združenji in cerkvijo ostrejši, je odlok iz leta 1811 privedel do popolnega zatrtja bratovščin, medtem ko so na podeželju preživele, ker so ohranjale dobre odnose z župnijskimi duhovniki.

Od drugega desetletja 19. stoletja naprej so te odmaknjene skupnosti varovale najbolj izjemne artefakte, ki jih je ustvarila Maraglianova delavnica, in postale izredno sodobni umetnostni centri. Poleg tega, da so imele bratovščine pomembno vlogo kot meceni umetnosti, so se trudile ohraniti procesijske nosilnice, ki so jih visoko cenile in spoštovale ter budno varovale. V središču mesta, kjer bratovščine ne obstajajo več, so procesijske *macchine* izgubile svoj smisel, bratovščine v bolj odmaknjenih skupnostih pa se pogosto identificirajo s celotno vasjo in so še vedno žive, zaradi česar se je obvaroval vsaj del procesijske opreme.

Številne nosilnice Antona Marie Maragliana, ki so danes po genovskih oratorijih in bratovščinah, so bile kupljene v sosednjih cerkvah in pogosto prilagojene kot oltarne plastike, s čimer so v celoti izgubile svojo procesijsko funkcijo. Skulpture Antona Marie Maragliana in njegove delavnice so bile zasnovane in izdelane tako, da so imele močan vtis na publiko, ki so jo intenzivni in dramatični izrazi na obrazih izrezljanih figur v svetih prizorih čustveno pritegnili in vpletli. Prav ta odlika je bila v ozadju uspeha, ki so ga bili deležni uporabljeni ikonografski modeli, prav tako pa tudi v ozadju Maraglianovega vpliva, ki je trajal še dolgo po njegovi smrti leta 1739, vse do zgodnjega 19. stoletja.

Bratovščine kot naročniki so ohranile osrednjo vlogo pri ustvarjanju teh spektakularnih in barvitih procesijskih naprav daleč preko 17. in 18. stoletja. Kiparske skupine in procesijske nosilnice iz polihromiranega lesa so pozneje večinoma naročale skupnosti v zunanjih okrožjih, ki jim je bilo Maraglianovo delo vzor odličnosti in neprekosljive kvalitete še vse 19. stoletje.

The Archconfraternity of the Rosary in the Dominican Churches of Kraków

Piety and Patronage of the Arts

Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, Marek Walczak

By virtue of a large number of churches, monasteries, friaries and chapels, the Tri-City of Kraków – Kazimierz – Kleparz (Florence), as formed in the 14th century, constituted one of the largest centers of religious life not only within the confines of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but also throughout Central Europe.¹ The cult of saints' relics was widely practiced as was the veneration of famous miracle-working paintings and sculptures. Particular churches attracted the faithful through the worship of Christ (most of all, his Passion) and with an ardent devotion to the Virgin Mary and certain saints. In addition, visits to sacred sites specially designated by ecclesiastical authorities earned partial or plenary indulgences. Particularly rich indulgences were available from monastic and conventual communities, especially the Dominicans and the Franciscans, whose main task was preaching to the urban populace. At that time, organizations of a professional nature (guilds), whose members also gathered in their own chapels or around their own altars, held an important place in society, while numerous religious confraternities—more or less democratic in character—played a unifying role.² They were established at both parish and conventual churches (excluding female nunneries). In Kraków, in the early modern period, there were about 40 such brotherhoods.³ The oldest was the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament at the Church of Corpus Christi in Kazimierz, for which Pope Clement VI issued a bull on 15 April 1347 in the city of Avignon.⁴ Other confraternities with medieval origins included the following: the Confraternity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the parish church of St. Mary

¹ Andrzej NIEWIŃSKI, *Przestrzeń kościelna w topografii średniowiecznego Krakowa*, Lublin 2004.

² Bolesław KUMOR, Kościelne stowarzyszenia świeckich na ziemiach polskich w okresie przedrozbiorowym, *Prawo Kanoniczne*, 10, 1967, pp. 289–356; Eugeniusz WIŚNIEWSKI, Bractwa religijne na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu, *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 17/2, 1969, pp. 51–81; Stanisław LITAK, Bractwa religijne w Polsce przedrozbiorowej XIII–XVIII wiek. Rozwój i problematyka, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 88, 1997, pp. 499–523.

³ Andrzej BRUŹDZIŃSKI, Bractwa religijne w siedemnastowiecznym Krakowie. Zarys problematyki, *Historia świadectwem czasów. Księdzu profesorowi Markowi Tomaszowi Zahajkiewiczowi* (eds. Włodzimierz Bielak, Stanisław Tylus), Lublin 2006, p. 28. See also Andrzej BRUŹDZIŃSKI, Forms of Piety Among Members of Religious Confraternities in Krakow in the Early Modern Period, *Folia Historica Cracoviensia*, 21, 2015, pp. 103–146.

⁴ Zbigniew JAKUBOWSKI, Początki bractwa Najświętszego Sakramentu przy kościele Bożego Ciała w Krakowie, *Nasza Przeszłość*, 36, 1971, pp. 163–170; Hanna ZAREMSKA, *Bractwa w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, Wrocław 1977, p. 174; BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 2–3.

(before 1383),⁵ the Confraternity of St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins at the church of St. Stephen (1395),⁶ the Confraternity of Poles of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the Augustinian church of St. Catherine in Kazimierz (14th/15th centuries),⁷ the Literati Confraternity of St. Barbara at St. Mary's Cemetery (1404)—since 1583, affiliated with the church of St. Adalbert at the Market Square,⁸ St. Sophia's Confraternity at the church of St. Mark (1410),⁹ the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit at the church of the Holy Cross (before 1456),¹⁰ the Confraternity of the Poor at the church of St. Jacob in Kazimierz (1484),¹¹ and the Confraternity of the Poor of Christ at the church of St. Florian in Kleparz (1501).¹² After the Council of Trent (1545–1563), more confraternities were formed,¹³ among which the Archconfraternity of the Passion of Christ at the Franciscan Church (1595)¹⁴ and the Archconfraternity of Mercy (1584)¹⁵ were preeminent.

This essay will focus on the largest and most important confraternity in Kraków dedicated to the Rosary, which, like all confraternities of the Rosary, welcomed both men and women. A lack of documents prevents pinpointing the precise date of its emergence.¹⁶ We do know, however, that the Dominicans were zealous promoters of the Rosary, and many confraternities devoted to the Rosary were established, typically affiliated with Dominican churches.¹⁷ It seems almost certain that as early as in 15th-century Kraków, the Dominican Order of Preachers encouraged the formation of such a confraternity. Indirect evidence is preserved in the Archive of the Dominican Province in Kraków within documents concerning the Dominican Confraternities of the Rosary, issued by Pope Innocent VIII in 1484, and by Augustine Recuperati, the General of the Order, in 1539.¹⁸ Nevertheless, in 1600, the

⁵ Józef MITKOWSKI, Księga zmarłych bractwa kościoła Panny Marii w Krakowie (wiek XIV–XVIII), *Studia Historyczne*, 11, 1968, pp. 71–81; BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 3–4; Jerzy RAJMAN, “Unsere liebe Fraue”. Wspólnota miasta i kościoła w Krakowie w XIV wieku, *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne*, 8/4, 2012, pp. 174, 181–189; Jerzy RAJMAN, Żebak, sługa i rzemieślnik w elitarnym bractwie Najświętszej Marii Panny w Krakowie (XIV–pierwsza połowa XVI wieku), *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne*, 10/6, 2014, pp. 140–157.

⁶ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 4–5.

⁷ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), p. 6.

⁸ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 6–7.

⁹ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 7–8; *Bractwo św. Zofii. 600 lat istnienia* (eds. Magdalena Łuzna, Jan Machniak), Kraków 2010, pp. 17–35; on the iconography of St. Sophia in medieval Poland, see Helena MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA, O późnośredniowiecznej ikonografii św. Zofii z trzema córkami w Małopolsce, *Folia Historiae Artium*, 26, 1990, pp. 27–70.

¹⁰ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), p. 9.

¹¹ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), p. 89.

¹² BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), p. 12.

¹³ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 12–28.

¹⁴ Antoni ZWIERCAN, Bractwo Męki Pańskiej w Krakowie (1595–1795), *Prawo Kanoniczne*, 26/1–2, 1983, pp. 83–201; BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 17–19; Marcin FABIĄŃSKI, Przesławne miasto i Drugi Rzym. Kraków i jego sztuka w oczach współczesnych w czasach największej świętności, *Urbs celeberrima. Księga pamiątkowa na 750-lecie lokacji Krakowa* (eds. Andrzej Grzybowski, Zdzisław Żygulski Jr., Teresa Grzybowska), Kraków 2008, pp. 141, 143–147.

¹⁵ *Książka pamiątkowa Arcybractwa Miłosierdzia i Banku Pobożnego w Krakowie od roku 1584 do 1884*, Kraków 1884; BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 12–14.

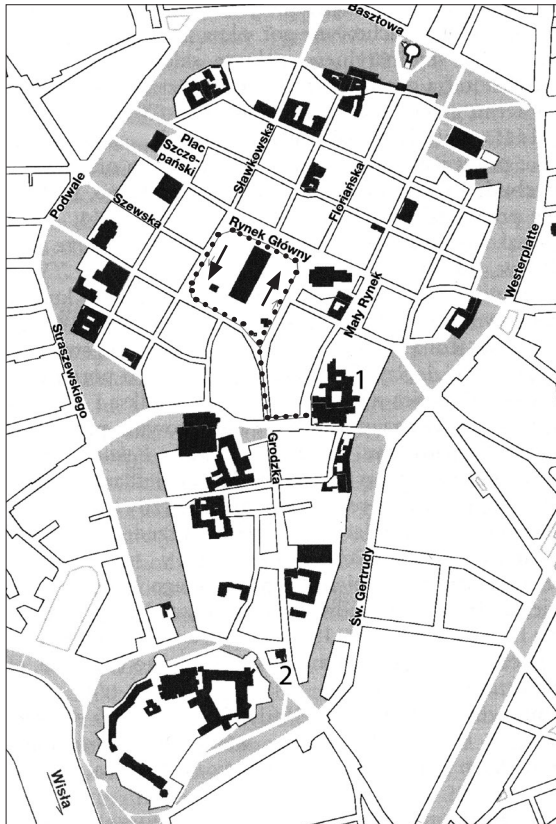
¹⁶ On the Rosary confraternity: BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 9–12; BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2015 (n. 3), pp. 119–120.

¹⁷ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 9–10; Tomasz GAŁUSZKA, Dominikanie w Krakowie czy w Opatowcu? W poszukiwaniu pierwszego Bractwa Różańcowego w średniowiecznej Małopolsce, *Nasza Przeszłość*, 113, 2010, pp. 281–296.

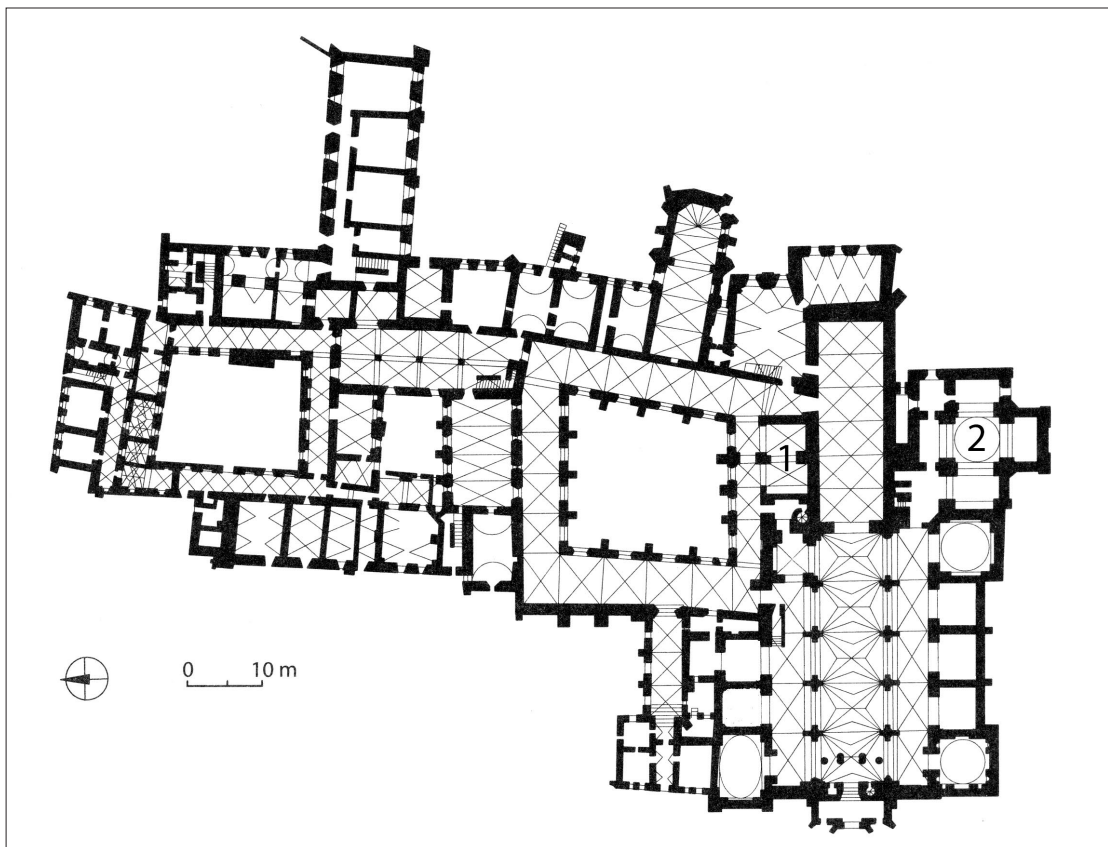
¹⁸ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), p. 10.



1. Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, interior view towards the east, Kraków



Drawing 1.
Plan of Kraków with the Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity (no. 1), Church of St. Giles (no. 2) and the route of solemn processions with the painting of Our Lady of the Rosary to Market Square



Drawing 2. Plan of the Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków, with the Magi Chapel (no. 1) and the new Oratory of Our Lady of the Rosary (no. 2)



2. *Virgin Mary and Child Presenting Rosaries to St. Dominic and St. Catherine of Siena, detail of the Rosary Archconfraternity altarpiece, before 1600, St. Giles' church, Kraków*

Kraków-based confraternity—at that time already existing “ab immemorabilis tempore”—was reformed by Fr. Abraham Bzowski, who, on this occasion, elaborated what he had accomplished and published a 309-page tome: *Różaniec Panny Maryey. teraz na nowo w Krakowie u św. Trójcy reformowany* [*The Rosary of the Virgin Mary, now reformed anew in Kraków at the Holy Trinity*] (Kraków 1600 and 1606). At that time, the society was referred to as an archconfraternity.¹⁹

The Earlier Chapel of the Rosary at the Church of the Holy Trinity

The seat of the Confraternity of the Rose Wreath (*Wianka Różanego*) was located at one of the most important religious sites in Kraków: the first town parish church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, which Bishop Iwo Odrowąż granted to the first Dominicans who had arrived from Italy in 1221.²⁰ The most famous of the friars was Jacek [Hyacinth], who was so highly venerated after his death in 1257 that he was eventually canonized in Rome in 1594.²¹ Moreover, the extensive activity of the confraternity brought extraordinary renown to the conventual church, a great three-nave basilica with an elongated rectangular enclosed choir, constructed over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries (fig. 1). However, owing to a lack of sources and preserved monuments, the presence of the Confraternity of the Rosary can only be substantially reconstructed through material remains from the beginning of the 17th century to the present day.²² The reforms leading up to the Holy Year of 1600 certainly gave a significant impetus to artistic projects for enhancing Rosary devotion.

¹⁹ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), p. 10.

²⁰ Marcin SZYMA, *Kościół i klasztor Dominikanów w Krakowie. Architektura zespołu klasztornego do lat dwudziestych XIV wieku*, Kraków 2004 (Ars vetus et nova, 15); *Sztuka w kręgu krakowskich dominikanów* (eds. Anna Markiewicz, Marcin Szyma, Marek Walczak), Kraków 2013 (Studia i źródła Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie, 13).

²¹ *Święty Jacek Odrowąż studia i źródła. Skarby dominikański Święty Jacek Odrowąż studia i źródła. Skarby dominikańskie* (ed. Maciej Zdanek), Kraków 2007 (Studia i źródła Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie).

²² Housed in the Kraków Friary is a panel painting of unknown origin representing the Rosary as a Wheel with secular and ecclesiastical devotees as well as anonymous donors (first quarter of the 16th century), *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce. 4: Miasto Kraków. 3: Kościoły i klasztory Śródmieścia. 2: Tekst* (eds. Adam Bochnak, Jan Samek), Warszawa 1978, p. 159, fig. 333.



3. Inscription with supplications to the Virgin Mary, detail of the Rosary Archconfraternity altarpiece, St. Giles' church, Kraków

The primary location of the confraternity was the Gothic chapel of the Magi, connected to the southern arm of the cloister (drawing 2, no. 1) by a pair of arcades.²³ Nothing is known about the original medieval altar or the image around which members of the confraternity gathered. However, Fr. Bzowski described the iconography of the confraternal altar in 1600 as follows: the Mother of God and the Christ Child sitting amidst the clouds and presenting a Rosary to St. Dominic and to St. Catherine of Siena, kneeling below (fig. 2). Beneath the main field of the altarpiece, he continued, a prayer to the Virgin Mary was inscribed, composed of ten supplications, beginning with the laudatory *Salve* (fig. 3).²⁴ The inscription “Altare SS. Rosarii”, together with the painting and its supplication that correspond precisely to Bzowski’s description, are found in the altarpiece in the chancel of the Dominican church of St. Giles at the foot of Wawel hill (drawing 1; fig. 4). The painting was most likely relocated there after 1688, when the Rosary Chapel was erected at the Holy Trinity Church as a votive offering for the victory over the Turks at the gates of Vienna in 1683.

However, a 1647 guide to Kraków’s churches by Piotr Hiacynt Pruszcz described the confraternal chapel at the Holy Trinity as being distinguished by a beautiful altar housing a “Picture of the Virgin of the Blessed Wonder, of strange magnificence and unspoilt beauty.”²⁵ This image was undoubtedly the 17th-century painting that is still celebrated today, known as *Our Lady of the Rosary* (fig. 5). A description of church paintings, dating to the last quarter of the 17th century, reads: “Basilica Sanctissimae Trinitatis Cracoviae sita omni ex parte cum loquatum magnificentiam, etiam ex sacris imaginibus fulgore corruscat glorioso.”²⁶ The pride of the place belonged to *Our Lady of the Rosary*, which—according to tradition was preserved from the first half of the 17th century—had been blessed by Pope Clement VIII (reigned 1592–1605) in Rome as an official replica of the famous miracle-working icon, called the *Salus Populi Romani*, at the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore.²⁷ The icon was also known as *Our Lady of the Snows*, since according to the legend Mary herself revealed her choice for the site and the ground plan of her Roman basilica through a miraculous snowfall on 5 August 354, which was (and is) celebrated annually as the feast of St. Mary of the Snows. The Roman copy was

²³ Today, the small sacristy, *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 127 (c. second half of the 17th century).

²⁴ *Salve praesidium Maria nostrum, / Salve gradis honos medela virtutis, / Salve Christiady anchora aura portus, / Salve aplissima supplicum patrona, / Salve o veste diss virum piorum, / Salve lux hominumo luxo divum: / Salve commiserationis o fons: / Salve delicum viriuso mundi: / Salve uno inferior tonante tantu / Salve omnes simus antesressa laudes.*

²⁵ Piotr Hiacynt PRUSZCZ, *Stołecznego Miasta Krakowa kościoły y kleynoty, co w nich iest widzenia godnego y zacnego*, Kraków 1647, p. 40; Piotr Hiacynt PRUSZCZ, *Kleynoty Stołecznego Miasta Krakowa, abo kościoły y co w nich iest widzenia godnego y znacznego krotko opisane*, Kraków 1650, p. 40.

²⁶ Archive of the Dominican Province in Kraków (ADPK), Kr 2 (*Conventus Cracoviensis Sanctissimae Trinitatis Ordinis Praedicatorum Plantatio, Erectio, Ratificatio, Pietas quorundam patrim, honores, merita ac preclara gesta memoriam digna annotantur, et in hoc manuscripto conticentur*), fol. 70r.

²⁷ *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 129, fig. 361; Gerhard WOLF, *Salus Populi Romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter*, Weinheim 1990.



4. Altarpiece of the Rosary Archconfraternity, relocated after 1688 to the chancel of St. Giles' church, Kraków



5. *Our Lady of the Rosary*, oil on canvas, 1600 or early 17th century, Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary at the Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków

endowed with indulgences and presented to the Kraków Archconfraternity of the Rosary by Bernard Maciejowski, then Bishop of Łuck, later of Kraków, and ultimately Primate.²⁸ As Pruszcz notes “in the chapel of that Rosary, ’twas within the altar set.”²⁹ This essential history of the icon was subsequently expanded to include further legendary themes, such as connecting the image to St. Stanisław Kostka, S.J., and the prophetic dreams that guided Maciejowski to donate it to the Kraków convent.³⁰

The Kraków image has not been studied adequately—neither in terms of its facture nor its historical and artistic contexts. Current cataloguing and conservation provide important opportunities for the technical examination and photographic documentation of the painting without its metal revetment. Conservator Marcin Ciba notes that it is a well-preserved work of oil on canvas stretched onto board, allowing a stylistic analysis of the original features that may well suggest an attribution to a particular workshop. This painting is one of the earliest and most important copies of the *Salus Populi Romani* in the former Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. The extraordinary

²⁸ ADPK, Kr 2, fol. 70r: *Inter huius sacrae aedis sacras imagines przeminet Beatissimae Virginis Mariae imago ex prototypo Sanctae Mariae Maioris Romanae delineata, et Rosariana, et ex S.D.N. Clementem VIII consecrata, indulgentiis locupletata, Ac eminentissimo Bernardo Macieiwski donata a quo deinde Rosarianae Archiconfraternitati est oblata.*

²⁹ Piotr Hiacynt PRUSZCZ, *Morze Łaski Bożey*, Kraków 1662, p. 30.

³⁰ Józef MACZYŃSKI, *Wiadomość historyczna o cudownym obrazie N. Maryi P. Różańca Śgo w kościele OO. Dominikanów w Krakowie*, Kraków 1863.

popularity of this iconographic type in the post-Tridentine period was remarked upon decades ago by Marian Kornecki, who went so far as to hail the image as the “Polish Mother of God”.³¹ The Dominican picture and other copies of the Roman icon of *Our Lady of the Snows* in Poland deserve a monographic study, especially because miraculous images were so crucial in post-Tridentine religiosity, especially in response to Protestant iconoclasm.³²

Celebrating the Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary

Each year on the first Sunday in October, the painting was celebrated in a solemn procession to the Market Square (drawing 1).³³ This custom honored the great victory of the Christian fleet over the Turks near Lepanto in 1571, after which Pope Pius V instituted a liturgical commemoration on 7 October.³⁴ With the papal bull *Monet Apostolus*, issued on 1 April 1573, Pope Gregory XIII established the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary and ordered its celebration on the first Sunday in October.³⁵ For example, a large painting depicting the Battle of Lepanto (305 x 651 cm) with a grand procession, bearing the *Salus Populi Romani*, simultaneously marching through Rome once hung in the chapel of the Confraternity of the Rosary in the Dominican church in Poznań. Painted by Tommaso Dolabella (1570–1650), today it remains in storage at the Wawel Royal Castle (nr dep. 426).³⁶ In Poland, the traditional celebration of the Feast of the Rosary gained a new dimension owing to the successful defense of the Chocim Fortress against the Turks in 1621.³⁷ This military triumph was attributed to the divine intervention of the Blessed Virgin Mary via the image in the confraternal Rosary Chapel in Kraków. As Piotr Hiacynt Pruszczyński wrote: “On account of the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on that day with disgrace he had surrendered, almost all of his army perished, which also our Polish Crown did accomplish, when in the Year 1621 the Turk Bisurman, named the Ottoman, with seven hundred thousand armed men, and more, on the octave of that ceremonial procession, which as I mentioned accompany this Image, and due to the Virgin Mary, he had lost the majority of his army to a small number of Poles under Chocim, and with disgrace he had

³¹ Marian KORNECKI, *Matka Boska Polska. Adaptacja i rozpowszechnienie typu ikonograficznego obrazu Matki Boskiej Śnieżnej do XVI do XVIII wieku, Między Wschodem a Zachodem. 3: Kultura artystyczna* (ed. Tadeusz Chrzanowski), Lublin 1992 (Dzieje Lubelszczyzny, 6), pp. 365–398.

³² A study was published recently by Andrzej Paweł BIEŚ, Ludwik GRZEBIEŃ, *Obrazy Matki Bożej Śnieżnej (Salus Populi Romani) w Polsce na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku. Legendy i fakty*, Kraków 2016, which aimed to analyze the introduction of the cult of the Roman icon to Poland, determine the chronology of the oldest copies, and establish the links between them. Unfortunately, these attributions are unproven, and no supporting source material has been provided.

³³ ADPK, Kr 2, fol. 70r: *Dominica Prima Octobris Processionaliter per Forum Cracouiense defferri sollemnissime, totamque Urbem ad Rosarianam aggregare deuotione*; ADPK, R 792, fol. 188; PRUSZCZYŃSKI 1647 (n. 25), p. 40. For a description of the procession, see Justin MIECHOVIENSIS, *Discursus Praedicabiles super Litanias Lauretanas Beatissimae Virginis Mariae*, 2, Dillingae 1735, p. 42.

³⁴ A description of the battle was included in Walerian LITWANIDES, *Ogród Różany*, Kraków 1627, pp. 34–36.

³⁵ LITWANIDES 1627 (n. 34), p. 33.

³⁶ Stanisław KOZAK, *Bitwa pod Lepanto, Odsiecz Wiedeńska 1683. Wystawa jubileuszowa w Zamku Królewskim na Wawelu w trzechsetlecie bitwy. Tło historyczne i materiały źródłowe*, 1 (ed. Jerzy Szablowski), Kraków 1990, pp. 89–90, cat. 13, fig. 8–9.

³⁷ Stanisław SOKOŁOWSKI, *Officia propria patronorum Regni Poloniae, Antverpiae 1643*, pp. 47–58; Michał ROŻEK, *Uroczystości w barokowym Krakowie*, Kraków 1976, pp. 230–231; Marta MICHAŁOWSKA, *Palladium polskie. Militarne aspekty ikonografii maryjnej XVII–XVIII w.*, *Studia Claromontana*, 6, 1985, pp. 29–31.



6. *Propitiatory Procession of Pope Gregory the Great in 590 with the Salus Populi Romani*, oil on canvas, early 17th century, Dominican Friary, Kraków

surrendered.”³⁸ Since then, the image in the Kraków Dominican church has been treated as a palladium, protecting the faithful against danger in times of both war and peace. The special role played by its Roman prototype was also remembered on that occasion. It is no coincidence that in Kraków’s Dominican friary we find a magnificent early 17th-century painting depicting the propitiatory procession with the *Salus Populi Romani*, undertaken in 590 by Pope St. Gregory the Great in order to halt the plague (fig. 6).³⁹ In 1627 Fr. Walerian Litwanides also cited this event to demonstrate the legitimacy and efficacy of carrying of sacred images in procession.⁴⁰ It was believed that these practices were particularly effective against epidemics, and such processions were organized in 1632, 1831, and 1857, among others.⁴¹ Let us quote from the description of one celebration:

In the year 1831, on 24 July, a propitiatory procession took place in the Kraków Market with the miraculous painting of Our Lady of the Rosary from the church of the Dominican Fathers, to beseech the Almighty to cease the fierce chastisement of the mighty air and numerous plagues. On 23 July at four in the afternoon, in a solemn arrival, the image was taken to the center of the church, after which the Vespers were sung with the presentation of the Holy Sacrament, followed by supplications, and at seven, the singing of the Rosary by the people, and in the evening, listening to confession. On 24 July at half-past-eight, after the votive prayer with the presentation of the Holy Sacrament, the procession went to Kraków Square in the customary order. Behind the Confraternity and the Clergy, the image of St. Vincent Ferrer the miracle worker was also carried by the priests, and in addition they were carrying the head of St. Hyacinth, patron of the Polish Kingdom; those carrying the relic were dressed

³⁸ PRUSZCZ 1662 (n. 29), pp. 30–31.

³⁹ *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 160, fig. 417 (first quarter of the 17th century).

⁴⁰ LITWANIDES 1627 (n. 34), pp. 83–84.

⁴¹ ADPK, R 792, fol. 235.

in ecclesiastical regalia; at the end of the procession priests carried the image of Our Lady of the Rosary under the baldachin; surrounding it [were] the guilds with their torches and banners; then the celebrant Bishop, Fr. Skórkowski. In the course of the procession, before the church of Our Lady in the Market Square, Holy Mass was celebrated in front of this painting, which had been placed on a prepared mensa, and next to it, the pulpit, whence an appropriate sermon was read by Canon-Priest Działowski, and upon the return to our church, a short speech was delivered by our Fr. Wincent Plebankiewicz, a Student of our Order. During the procession, besides the Rosary, the prayer “Forgive, O Lord, forgive your people, and give not your inheritance to shame” was sung. During the Holy Mass, penitential prayers were sung, and after the elevation, the Trisagion /.../. In the afternoon of that same day, in the church, the Vespers, sermons, supplications and return of the Holy Sacrament [to its tabernacle] ended [with] the ceremonial re-entry of the miraculous image of Our Lady into the Chapel of the Rosary, to the accompaniment of “Hail Mary the Virgin” being sung.⁴²

Designated members of the confraternity bore identifying signs of the confreres during the procession. A crucifix with Christ Crucified was carried at the fore—“a great wooden Passion, with a wooden figure of Christ also used in the procession, with a cover, red cloth of demi-damask with a white pattern.”⁴³ The choristers carried standards that functioned as signs identifying the confraternity. They were dressed in special clothing, including red cloth capes (13 pieces), white and red linen capes (8 pieces each), and 8 velvet-covered leather belts and 20 rope belts.⁴⁴ The standards were stored in a special cabinet.⁴⁵ Three red banners were recorded in 1820, presenting the most important aspects of the confraternity’s devotion: one of velvet with the image of Our Lady of the Rosary,⁴⁶ another of velvet with the Name of Jesus,⁴⁷ and a damask banner depicting the Dominican St. Vincent Ferrer.⁴⁸ There were also standards with images of Our Lady of Sorrows, St. Dominic, Pius V, and Sts. Hyacinth, Thomas Aquinas, Catherine, and Barbara, and at the conclusion, a small mourning banner. None has survived. In their place were new banners painted on red damask, one portraying the Virgin Mary (1869),⁴⁹ the other with the Name of Jesus (1863).⁵⁰ For processions held outdoors, the Confraternity of the Rosary gathered around two floats that have survived;⁵¹ these were kept in special wall niches in the confraternal oratory.⁵² On both sides of the first float was the

⁴² ADPK, R 792, fol. 235.

⁴³ ADPK, K r41, fol. 185.

⁴⁴ ADPK, Kr 41, fol. 183.

⁴⁵ ADPK, Kr 41, fol. 183.

⁴⁶ ADPK, Kr 41, fol. 184.

⁴⁷ ADPK, K r41, fol. 184.

⁴⁸ ADPK, Kr 41, fol. 184.

⁴⁹ On the reverse was the Annunciation, and at the bottom the hierogram of Mary and the coats of arms of the Dominican Order as well as St. Hyacinth Odrowąż.

⁵⁰ On the reverse was Jesus with Mary and Joseph, and at the bottom a hierogram composed of the letters J-M-J, the Apocalyptic Lamb, and the coats of arms of the Dominican Order and St. Hyacinth.

⁵¹ *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 130 (canvas painting of the Virgin Mary, c. second half of the 17th century, with the silver “robe” made by Jan Ceypler in 1692; altar from the late 18th century); see also Michał ROŻEK, *Mecenat artystyczny mieszczaństwa krakowskiego w XVII wieku*, Kraków 1977 (Biblioteka Krakowska, 118), pp. 105, 243.

⁵² ADPK, Kr 41, fol. 171.



7. Processional float with the image of the Virgin Mary, second half of the 17th century, Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary, Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków



8. Processional float with the image of the Name of Jesus, second half of the 17th century, Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary, Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków

image of Mary holding the Blessing Christ Child, now surrounded by votives (fig. 7);⁵³ the second depicted the Name of Jesus (IHS) and the Blessing Infant being crowned by angels (fig. 8), with St. Adalbert on the reverse.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the platforms on which the images were mounted no longer survive, but two rods inserted into the holes at the base would have allowed the float to be hoisted onto the confreres' shoulders. In the Lublin Dominican convent, a similar confraternity processional float has survived, also with the images of the Virgin Mary and the Name of Jesus.

Rosary Devotion In and Beyond the Church of the Holy Trinity

Pious devotion to the Rosary was cultivated not only in the confraternity's chapel, but also in the convent church where, by the mid-17th century, an "excessively decorative" altar of the Holy Rosary stood to the left of the entrance to the choir.⁵⁵ It was replaced by a Late Baroque altarpiece, which survived until the fire in 1850. Within the altar was a painting on canvas of Our Lady of the Rosary, "with a dress and other insignia made of silver upon it; and as a screen was pulled over it, another painting on canvas [appeared] with the image of Virgin Mary holding the Infant, to whom Saint Joseph is giving flowers."⁵⁶

⁵³ ADPK, Kr 41, fol. 171.

⁵⁴ ADPK, Kr 41, fol. 171.

⁵⁵ PRUSZCZ 1647 (n. 25), p. 41.

⁵⁶ Anna DETTLOFF, *Rzeźba krakowska drugiej połowy XVIII w. Twórcy, nurty i tendencje*, Kraków 2013, p. 285.

In addition to the Confraternity of the Rosary at Kraków's Holy Trinity church, the Confraternity of the Most Holy Name of Jesus (*Societas Nominis Dei*) was founded there in 1585 by Fr. Bartłomiej from Przemyśl, with the goal of eradicating the sinful habit of unnecessary oath taking. Since it was closely associated with the Confraternity of the Rosary, it was sometimes called the Archconfraternity of the Rosary of the Most Holy Name of Jesus.⁵⁷ The altars of the two confraternities were located on either side of the rood arch, as corroborated by Teodor Baltazar Stachowicz's painting (c. 1850) (fig. 9) and a description from the 1820 inventory.⁵⁸ This pattern was followed in many Dominican churches throughout the lands of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, as witnessed by those institutions in Lublin and in Vilnius.⁵⁹

Rosary services were not only celebrated in the confraternal chapel or at the altar in the nave of the Dominican church. On 8 September 1621, the feast of the Birth of the Virgin, the Rector of the University, Jakub Najmanowicz, inaugurated the academic activity of the Confraternity of the Rosary, or the Rosary Oratory, as it was known. The latter was designed to prevent students from entering the Marian confraternity run by the Jesuits at the church of St. Barbara. What was unusual about this Rosary confraternity was the admission of laymen, on the appointed day, to the novitiate in the enclosed part of the friary, where the Rosary prayer was celebrated at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In 1631, however, the Rosary Oratory moved to the Discalced Carmelite church of Sts. Michael and Joseph.⁶⁰

The Order of Preachers further propagated Rosary devotion beyond the walls of their church. In this respect, the church of St. Giles, taken over by the Dominicans in 1588, played a special role (drawing 1, no. 2).⁶¹ "In this their Church, every day, pious devotees come to recite the Rosary and praise the Blessed Mother, and listen to Holy Mass, for which they receive the Plenary Indulgence from the Most Holy Pastor of the Church of St. [sic] Paul III. In these Rosary prayers, the Dominican Fathers offer salutary teachings through their Sermons and Exhortations on solemn occasions, giving lessons on the Mysteries of the Life of the Lord Jesus, the Blessed Virgin Mary to the people who listen. /.../ This Church also gives Indulgences for the recited Rosary, the same as other Dominican Churches, and those where the Holy Rosary is recited, and in addition to these Indulgences, for the feast of Saint Giles it is celebrated."⁶²

As mentioned above, the altarpiece of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary at Holy Trinity was moved to the church of St. Giles, probably after 1688.⁶³ St. Giles also has a "small image of the miracle-giving Virgin Mary in the Altar, by which a certain Burgher was endowed with grace." This painting of *Our Lady of the Rosary* is yet another copy of the S. Maria Maggiore icon (fig. 10). In the upper part of the side altar on the left side of the rood arch, dating to the second quarter of the 17th century, was placed a canvas painting depicting the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven

⁵⁷ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), pp. 16–17.

⁵⁸ DETTLOFF 2013 (n. 56), pp. 285–286.

⁵⁹ Danuta SZEWCZYK-PROKURAT, *Klasztor w sercu miasta. Dzieje i skarby lubelskich dominikanów*, Lublin 2012, pp. 42, 70, 90.

⁶⁰ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 3), p. 23; BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2015 (n. 3) pp. 115–116.

⁶¹ Zygmunt HENDEL, Feliks KOPERA, *Kościół Św. Idziego w Krakowie*, Kraków 1905 (Biblioteka Krakowska, 28), pp. 16–17.

⁶² Piotr Hiacynt PRUSZCZ, *Kleynoty Stołecznego Miasta Krakowa, albo kościoły y co w nich iest widzenia godnego y znacznego*, Kraków 1745, pp. 120–121.

⁶³ PRUSZCZ 1745 (n. 62), p. 121.



9. Teodor Baltazar Stachowicz: *Interior view of the Holy Trinity Church before the great fire in 1850, c. 1850, Dominican Friary, Kraków*



10. *Our Lady of the Rosary, oil on canvas, 17th century, St. Giles' church, Kraków*

adored by a group of clergymen and well-dressed laymen, all crowned with laurels (fig. 11). Located to the right of the rood arch is a representation of the Child Jesus standing on the IHS hierogram (fig. 12), found in the crowning element of the altarpiece; the altar painting depicts Christ Flagellated. The placement of these altars on both sides of the arcade that leads to the chancel references the topography of the conventual church.

Another center for Rosary devotion was in a domed chapel in the nearby district of Prądnik Biały: “On the Promnik in the grange owned by the Holy Father, there is a Chapel under the founding title of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, in its altar having the image of the Virgin Mary Full of Grace, to which image, every year on the day of Saint John the Baptist, the Archconfraternity of the Holy Rosary celebrates a solemn procession.”⁶⁴

The New Oratory for the Archconfraternity of the Rosary

An important milestone in the history of the Kraków Archconfraternity of the Rosary was its move to a large new oratory on the south side of the presbytery of the Holy Trinity church, constructed on the site of the medieval Polakowski Family Chapel (drawing 2, no. 2; fig. 13). The oratory was funded with the efforts of Fathers Wawrzyniec Sadowski and Atanazy Ciężkiewicz (Ciężkiewicz) and the alms

⁶⁴ PRUSZCZ 1745 (n. 62), p. 107.



11. *The Virgin Mary Adored by Clergy and Laymen*, second quarter of the 17th century, St. Giles' church, Kraków



12. *The Child Jesus Standing on the IHS Hierogram*, second quarter of the 17th century, St. Giles' church, Kraków

they gathered.⁶⁵ Perhaps one reason for this commission was to commemorate King John III Sobieski's victory over the Turks at Vienna on 12 September 1683.⁶⁶ The cost of the project amounted to 60,000 złoty, a very large sum.⁶⁷ The year of the oratory's completion, 1688, was inscribed in the marble lintel (destroyed) of the south portal.⁶⁸ On 21 September of that year, a solemn entry procession carried the painting, famed for its miracles, to its new home.⁶⁹ The earlier oratory (i.e. the Magi Chapel; drawing 2, no. 1) was later converted into a house of worship honoring Pope St. Pius V (canonized in 1713), a great promoter of the Rosary.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ PRUSZCZ 1745 (n. 62), pp. 82–84; *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 128 (c. 1685–1688).

⁶⁶ *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 128; Maria BOROWIEJSKA-BIRKENMAJEROWA, *Król Jan III w Krakowie w r. 1683*, *Krzysztofory*, 9, 1982, p. 17 (c. 1685–1688).

⁶⁷ *Nostres temporibus pro hac Sacra Imagine erexit Capellam ad Sexaginta Milia expensarum ex Eleemosinis Collectarum Admodum Reuerendus Pater Vincentius Saskiewicz Sc: Theol: Magister quam post piam eius mortem RP Lector Sebastianus Cieskowic Altaribus, Imaginibus, Sedilibus caeterisque ad Splendorem non iterum (?) ad necessitatem Spectantibus exornavit exemplens Rosarianae deuotionis Promotor.*

⁶⁸ ADPK, Kr 2, fol. 70r; ADPK, Kr 41, fol. 167; PRUSZCZ 1745 (n. 62), p. 83. The portal of black marble, endowed with a semicircular closed entrance arcade and covered by a cornice with extensions and a pair of pinnacles, was depicted by Teodor Baltazar Stachowicz before the fire in 1850; see Waldemar KOMOROWSKI, Iwona KĘDER, *Ikongrafia kościoła Dominikanów i ulicy Grodzkiej w Krakowie*, Kraków 2005, pp. 123–124.

⁶⁹ The altars and the stalls were made by the carpenter Mikołaj Rozowidło and woodcarvers Wawrzyniec and Jędrzej; the organs were built in 1690 (organ master Bartłomiej Juszkowicz, woodcarver Jędrzej, and gilder Kantor). Textile upholsteries were also purchased; see BOROWIEJSKA-BIRKENMAJEROWA 1982 (n. 66), p. 18.

⁷⁰ The canvas painting, made in 1713 on the occasion of the canonization of Pius V, has survived; see *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 137, fig. 454.



13. Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary, Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków

The new oratory was designed as an isosceles (or Greek) cross.⁷¹ The walls were clad with pilasters that supported the vaults. In the center, a dome with a windowed lantern rested on pendentives; the barrel-vaulted arms became chapels with hemispherical apses. Preliminary studies in the attic revealed that the dome, now almost completely “sunken” under the gable roofs, was supported on a low blind tholobate that could originally be seen on the exterior. The chapel deserves a full art historical study.⁷²

The original décor, dating to 1680–1689, has not survived.⁷³ As can be gathered from the description in the 1745 guide, the image of the Virgin Mary and Child was located in the gilded altar setting that included “various persons of the [Dominican] Order and a smaller low Altar with Saint Joseph the Husband of the Virgin Mary.”⁷⁴ This small triptych survives in the friary. Iconographically, the group of images honors Joseph as Guardian of the Holy Family, an increasingly important theme in the 17th century.⁷⁵

Today, the aesthetic effect of the interior is a combination of 17th-century architecture with elements introduced in the third-quarter of the 18th century, as well as transformations made in the 19th century. The latter especially influenced the color arrangement, dominated by illusionistic marbling on the pilasters and the dark, intense figural compositions within the vaults, painted by the Bąkowski brothers around 1875 (fig. 14).⁷⁶ Earlier paintings, probably from the second half of the 18th century, most likely used a lighter color palette.⁷⁷ The angels flying among the clouds inside the dome seem to be the remains of these older paintings.

There are three altars in the oratory today, the high altar and a pair of side altars; until 1820 there was also a fourth altar dedicated to St. Onofrio. All the architectural elements framing the altarpieces

⁷¹ BOROWIEJSKA-BIRKENMAJEROWA 1982 (n. 66), p. 18: “The architectural composition of the Rosary Chapel reflects the ideological content of the foundation, commemorating the victory of Christian arms over the pagan invaders—in hoc signo vinces. The sign of the cross in the plan of the chapel is a sign of victory.”

⁷² BOROWIEJSKA-BIRKENMAJEROWA 1982 (n. 66), pp. 18–19, hypothesized that the chapel was designed by the Dutch architect Tylman van Gameren, who was active at the royal court in Poland.

⁷³ BOROWIEJSKA-BIRKENMAJEROWA 1982 (n. 66), p. 18.

⁷⁴ PRUSZCZ 1745 (n. 62), p. 83.

⁷⁵ *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 150, fig. 450–451 (early 18th century).

⁷⁶ ADPK, Kr 43, fol. 139.

⁷⁷ The inventory of 1820 mentions them: ADPK, Kr 43, fol. 168.

were made of black marble combined with stucco and wood. The marbling decoration, as well as the ornamental and figural sculptures, was completed around 1768 in the Kraków workshop of Wojciech Rojowski.⁷⁸ The benefactor was Roman Sierakowski, the Kraków Ensign.⁷⁹ In the 1880s, four angels gracing the high altar were replaced with statues of St. Pius V and the Blessed Benedict IX.⁸⁰ In 1886, a shutter painted by Władysław Bąkowski was mounted on the miraculous image depicting the *Virgin Mary Presenting the Rosary to Sts. Dominic and Catherine*, following the well-known Sassoferrata composition (1643) in the Dominican mother church of S. Sabina in Rome.⁸¹ In the left (northern) arm of the chapel, the altar of St. Vincent Ferrer is crowned with a painting brought from Rome by Fr. Benedykt Burzyński, which had been blessed by Benedict XIII.⁸² On the opposite (southern) side stands an altar with an image of Christ as the Man of Sorrows by Józef Krasieński.⁸³ At one time, all the altar stones were covered with antependia decorated with silver-plated brass repoussage,⁸⁴ one of which is now located in the church of St. Giles (showing the *Virgin Mary Presenting the Rosary to Sts. Dominic and Catherine*), and another in the altar of the convent atrium. The oratory also has an organ in the music choir,⁸⁵ suspended in the western arm, opposite the high altar.⁸⁶

A significant object among the oratory's furnishings is embedded in a pilaster near the entrance—an inscription with gilded letters announcing indulgences granted by Benedict XIII in recognition of the efforts of Fr. Atanazy Ciężkiewicz on behalf of the confraternity (fig. 15).⁸⁷ Nearby there was also an “Indult for 100 Men and 100 Matrons remaining in the Holy Rosary, named the Centuria Confraternity, sanctioned by Innocent XII and affirmed in the year 1694, then reaffirmed in the year 1724 by Benedict XIII, *Congregatio centum Virorum & centum Mulierum sub Titulo BVM. de Rosario*. This Centuria was founded for the salvation of the souls in Purgatory, with a



14. Bąkowski brothers: *Dome of the Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary*, c. 1875, Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków

⁷⁸ DETTLOFF 2013 (n. 56), pp. 120–124, fig. 184–189.

⁷⁹ *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 129, fig. 215, 754–755; DETTLOFF 2013 (n. 56), p. 121.

⁸⁰ DETTLOFF 2013 (n. 56), p. 121.

⁸¹ ADPK, Kr 43, fol. 278; *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 129 (without naming the artist).

⁸² PRUSZCZ 1745 (n. 62), p. 84; *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), pp. 129–130.

⁸³ PRUSZCZ 1745 (n. 62), p. 84; *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 130, fig. 216.

⁸⁴ ADPK, Kr 43, fol. 177.

⁸⁵ *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 130 (the choir, although dated 1689, was probably rebuilt in the late 19th century).

⁸⁶ ADPK, Kr 43, fols. 172–173.

⁸⁷ ADPK, Kr 43, fol. 174.



15. Inscription proclaiming the indulgences granted by Benedict XIII (1724), in recognition of the efforts of Father Atanazy Cięszkiewicz, Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary, Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków

plenary indulgence for those who joined the Confraternity, in accord with certain conditions set forth in the Book of the Centuria in the papal Bull. The number of Men entered into the Centuria *ab* A. 1694 is *n.* 364, while the number of Matrons, *n.* 349 *usq. ad* A. 1742.⁸⁸ It seems likely that the painting from this period, conserved at the Kraków friary, belonged to this sub-group of the Rosary confraternity since it illustrates the Virgin Mary (as the Mother of Mercy with outspread mantle) handing the Rosary to St. Dominic and St. Catherine, both surrounded by friars and nuns. Below are members of the Centuria, some rescuing the poor souls in purgatory by pulling them out of the sulphurous fires with Rosaries. The three registers are encircled by a beautiful garland of white roses intertwined with depictions of the Fifteen Mysteries of the Virgin, the Rosary itself (fig. 16).

Under the floor, large crypts occupy the entire space of the cross-shaped building.⁸⁹ These were probably intended for members of the confraternity and its benefactors. Owing to special merits, some of them, among others the Sierakowski family, were commemorated with gravestones and epitaphs.

⁸⁸ PRUSZCZ 1745 (n. 62), p. 83.

⁸⁹ ADPK, Kr 43, fol.173.



16. *Members of the Centuria Rescuing the Souls in Purgatory, first half of the 17th century, Dominican Friary, Kraków*



17. *Illuminated book of the Rosary Archconfraternity, 1694, Archives of the Dominican Province, Kraków*

The Oratory of the Rosary has a sacristy for liturgical vessels and vestments, located in the corner between the north and the east arms (now closed).⁹⁰ Important items were also stored in the vault, including the silver reliquary of St. Vincent Ferrer.⁹¹ In 1740 his relics were ceremonially translated from the collegiate church of St. Anne.⁹² The inventory also records: a cross from the second half of the 17th century, with an enameled rosette near the relic casket;⁹³ a silver-plated reliquary;⁹⁴ and a chalice from 1760 with an inscription commemorating the 1751 foundation by the fervent promoter of the confraternity, Fr. Jacek Kliszewski.⁹⁵ In the 19th century, an impressive monstrance was commissioned, with roses around the *reservaculum* and the foot. Before the high altar was a lamp that remained lit in honor of the miraculous image of the Virgin; in 1820 that lamp was made of copper⁹⁶ (today there are two metal-plated lamps instead). Priests serving the oratory

⁹⁰ The state of the sacristy in 1820 was described in: ADPK, Kr 43, fols. 171–172. There were paneling with pilasters and a cornice, a wooden floor, and an underlay.

⁹¹ ADPK, Kr 43, fol. 176.

⁹² PRUSZCZ 1745 (n. 62), p. 84.

⁹³ ADPK, Kr 43, fol. 176.

⁹⁴ ADPK, Kr 43, fol. 177.

⁹⁵ ADPK, Kr 43, fol. 176.

⁹⁶ ADPK, Kr 43, fol. 177.

also had their own liturgical vestments. In 1820 six white missal sets were listed as well as two single chasubles and two copes, one red chasuble set and four single red chasubles, two chasubles (one in green and the other in violet), a black chasuble set and a single chasuble in black, for use in different liturgical seasons.⁹⁷ An illuminated confraternity book dated 1694 is preserved in the Archive of the Dominican Province, which includes a confraternity member *in extremis* and a funeral mass celebrated in the oratory itself (fig. 17).⁹⁸

Our Lady of the Rosary / Our Lady of the Snows: The “Polish Mother of God”

In conclusion, let us return to the image of the Virgin Mary, *Our Lady of the Snows*, the miracle-working copy of the Roman original that remained at the heart of the Kraków Archconfraternity of the Rosary. It seems likely that soon after the image arrived from Rome, and certainly from the 17th century onward, it was permanently covered with a “robe” of gilt silver (fig. 18). Although no complete list of “robes” intended for the Virgin Mary and Christ Child exists, inventories suggest that there have been several. The oldest element decorating the painting at present is the silver revetment of the background that uses the motif of a diagonal grid with quadrilateral rosettes (fig. 19). It is now possible, preliminarily, to date it to the 17th century. When the image was installed in the Late Baroque altarpiece, a profiled frame with shell decorations was added. These all bear many marks of the Kraków mint at the time of the 1806–1807 silver requisition during the Napoleonic wars. Beginning in the 17th century, the bestowing of crowns on sacred images of Mary and the Christ Child was officially promoted by the Vatican.⁹⁹ The present-day golden, bejeweled crowns and accompanying angels that exalt the holy personages date to the interwar period. A second set, made by Kraków goldsmith Franciszek Kopaczyński after a design by Zygmunt Hendel, was prepared for the official papal coronation of the image in 1921 (fig. 20, 21).¹⁰⁰ The insignia were made of silver, the names of Mary and Jesus of gold, and the crowns were further enriched with high quality precious stones, including diamonds. Probably at the same time, a silver and partly gilded “robe” was installed. The design, drafted in two versions, is preserved in the Archive of the Dominican Province (fig. 22, 23). The version that was realized provided a place for the image of St. Dominic on the lower part of Mary’s mantle, a choice probably related to the 700th anniversary of the death of the founder of the Order of Preachers, celebrated in 1921. The second “robe”, also silver and mostly gilded, was decorated with a fleur-de-lis motif, and currently adorns the picture. Goldsmith marks certify that Feliks Woźniak of Kraków created this exquisite revetment (after 1931) (fig. 24).

Nineteenth-century inventories record earlier “robes” that used the technique of fabric appliqué, mainly velvet. They were covered with embroidery, metal appliqué and various votives, including jewelry, medals, and plaques. The image, adorned with two such costumes, is shown in archival photographs. One of these robes was superimposed on a copy of the Rosary image, and is displayed in the upper cloister of the Holy Trinity church. Although the wooden background imitates the

⁹⁷ ADPK, Kr 43, fols. 178–181.

⁹⁸ *Katalog* 1978 (n. 22), p. 200, fig. 597–599.

⁹⁹ Pietro BOMBELLI, *Raccolta delle Immagini della B[eatissi]ma Vergine Ornate della Corona d’Oro dal R[everendissi]mo Capitolo di S. Pietro*, 1–2, Roma 1792.

¹⁰⁰ Konstancy Maria ŻUKIEWICZ, *Cudowny obraz Matki Boskiej Różańcowej w kościele krakowskich dominikanów*, Kraków 1921, p. 205.



18. *Our Lady of the Rosary with silver and gilt revetment, 17th century with later additions, Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary, Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków*



19. *Silver revetment of the background of Our Lady of the Rosary, 17th century, Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary, Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków*



20. *Franciszek Kopaczyński after the design by Zygmunt Hendel: Crown of Our Lady of the Rosary for the coronation in 1921, Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary, Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków*



21. *Franciszek Kopaczyński after the design by Zygmunt Hendel: Crown of the Christ Child for the coronation in 1921, Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary, Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków*



22. Design for a silver and partly gilded "robe" for Our Lady of the Rosary, pre-1921, Dominican Friary's Archive, Kraków



23. Design for a silver and partly gilded "robe" for Our Lady of the Rosary, pre-1921, Dominican Friary's Archive, Kraków



24. Feliks Woźniak: Gilt silver revetment of Our Lady of the Rosary, after 1931, Oratory of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary, Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, Kraków

silver decoration of the original, Mary and Christ bear the brass crowns used before 1921. However, the faces and hands of the holy figures were cut out of a much earlier painting, probably dating to the 17th century. The circumstances surrounding the picture's creation remain unknown. We surmise that it was about documenting the image cult before its coronation with papal crowns.



The institutional history and the art and architectural patronage of the Archconfraternity of the Rosary in Kraków—as we have demonstrated—are extremely rich and deserve a monographic study. The Archconfraternity's significant contributions to the visual and material culture of the Polish lands have yet to be assessed. In addition, the history of the local confraternity should also be embedded into a wider European context, which will undoubtedly offer broader perspectives and new avenues of inquiry in the histories of piety and the patronage of the arts.*

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Nadbratovščina sv. rožnega venca v krakovskih dominikanskih cerkvah

Pobožnost in umetnostno naročništvo

Povzetek

Zaradi velikega števila cerkva, samostanov in kapel je bilo tromestje Kraków-Kazimierz-Kleparz, kot je bilo ustanovljeno v 14. stoletju, eno največjih središč religioznega življenja ne le znotraj meja poljskega kraljestva in velikega vojvodstva Litve, ampak tudi v vsej srednji Evropi. Datuma nastanka ene največjih in najpomembnejših tovrstnih združb, kot je opisana v pričujočem prispevku, zaradi pomanjkanja dokumentov ni mogoče natančno določiti. Vemo pa, da so dominikanci goreče spodbujali pobožnost rožnega venca in da so bile ustanovljene številne rožnovenske bratovščine, običajno povezane z dominikanskimi cerkvami. Skoraj gotovo je dominikanski pridigarški red spodbudil ustanovitev takšne bratovščine v Krakovu že v 15. stoletju. Posredni dokazi za to so ohranjeni v samostanskem arhivu v Krakovu med dokumenti, ki se nanašajo na dominikanske rožnovenske bratovščine in sta jih izdala papež Inocenc VIII. leta 1484 in general reda Avguštin Recuperati leta 1539. Vsekakor je leta 1600 bratovščino s sedežem v Krakovu, ki je takrat obstajala *ab immemorabilis tempore*, Abraham Bzowski reformiral; ob tej priložnosti je izšla obsežna knjiga z naslovom, ki se v prevodu glasi *Rožni venec Device Marije, sedaj na novo reformiran v Krakovu pri Sv. Trojici* (Kraków 1600 in 1606). Že takrat se družba omenja kot nadbratovščina.

Rožnovenska bratovščina je imela sedež v enem najpomembnejših religioznih prostorov v Krakovu, v mestni župnijski cerkvi sv. Trojice; cerkev je škof Iwo Odrowąż podaril prvim dominikancem, ki so leta 1221 prišli iz Italije. Najbolj znan med temi brati je bil Jacek (Hyacinth) Odrowąż, ki so ga po smrti leta 1257 visoko častili in je bil leta 1594 kanoniziran. Obsežna dejavnost bratovščine je samostanski cerkvi prinesla izjemen sloves. Zaradi pomanjkanja virov in ohranjenih spomenikov je mogoče prisotnost bratovščine rožnega venca rekonstruirati večinoma samo skozi materialne ostanke od začetka 17. stoletja do današnjih dni. Vsekakor so dale reforme, ki so privedle do svetega leta 1600, pomembno spodbudo umetnostnim projektom, ki so pospeševali češčenje rožnega venca. Prvotno je bratovščina domovala v gotski kapeli sv. Treh kraljev, ki jo par arkad povezuje z južnim traktom križnega hodnika. Njen oltar je v vodniku po krakovskih cerkvah iz leta 1647 opisan kot čudovit, v njem da je »slika Device blaženega Čudeža izjemne veličastnosti in neokrnjene lepote«. Zgodnejša oltarna slika je bila, verjetno po letu 1688, prenesena v kor dominikanske cerkve sv. Egidija ob vznožju hriba Wawel. Marijina podoba, opisana leta 1647, je nedvomno slika, ki se časti še danes, poznana kot *Rožnovenska Mati božja*. Je ena najzgodnejših in najpomembnejših kopij Marije Snežne, čudodelne podobe v rimski baziliki Santa Maria Maggiore, ki so jo imeli za pribežališče Večnega mesta, v nekdanji poljski republiki. Ikona in njene kopije so postale v potridentskem času izjemno priljubljene zaradi povezave z veliko krščansko zmago nad Turki v bitki pri Lepantu leta 1571, po kateri je papež Pij V. vpeljal liturgično spominsko slovesnost 7. oktobra, papež Gregor XIII. pa je ustanovil praznik Rožnovenske Matere božje in ga ukazal obhajati na prvo nedeljo v oktobru.

Rožnovensko Mater božjo so vsako prvo oktobrsko nedeljo počastili s slavnostno procesijo na krakovski glavni trg. Na Poljskem je tradicionalno obhajanje rožnovenskega praznika dobilo novo dimenzijo zaradi uspešne obrambe trdnjave Khotyn pred Turki leta 1621. Ta vojaški triumf so pripisali božanskemu posredovanju blažene Device Marije preko podobe v bratovščinski rožnovenski kapeli. Od takrat naprej je ikona v cerkvi sv. Trojice obveljala za paladij, ki varuje vernike pred nevarnostjo tako v vojni kot v miru.

Z rožnovensko bratovščino je bila tesno povezana bratovščina Najsvetejšega imena Jezusovega (*Societas Nominis Dei*), ki jo je pri istoimenski cerkvi ustanovil p. Bartłomiej iz Przemysła leta 1585. Njen

cilj je bil izkoreniniti grešno navado dajanja nepotrebnih zaobljub. Postavitev oltarjev obeh bratovščin v paru na obeh straneh slavoloka je postala vzorec, ki so mu sledile mnoge dominikanske cerkve po deželah poljsko-litovske zveze. Rožnovenski obredi pa niso potekali samo v bratovščinski kapeli ali pri oltarju v ladji dominikanske cerkve. Leta 1621 je rektor krakovske univerze inavguriral akademsko dejavnost rožnovenske bratovščine ali rožnovenski oratorij. Vpeljan je bil zato, da študentje ne bi vstopali v Marijine bratovščine, ki so jih vodili jezuiti v cerkvi sv. Barbare. Pri tej rožnovenski bratovščini je bilo nenavadno, da so na določen dan spuščali laike v noviciat v zaprtem delu samostana, kjer so pri Marijinem oltarju molili rožni venec. Pridigarski red je spodbujal rožnovensko pobožnost tudi zunaj svoje cerkve. V tem pogledu je igrala posebno vlogo cerkev sv. Egidija, ki so jo dominikanci prevzeli leta 1588; tja so, verjetno po letu 1688, prenesli pomembno oltarno sliko iz rožnovenske kapele v cerkvi sv. Trojice. Tudi cerkev sv. Egidija je imela kopijo Rožnovenske Matere božje, ki jo je podaril neki njen častilec.

Pomemben mejnik v zgodovini krakovske nadbratovščine sv. rožnega venca je bila njena selitev leta 1688 iz cerkve sv. Trojice v nov, velik oratorij, postavljen s prizadevanjem p. Wawrzynieca Sadowskega in p. Atanazyja Cięszkiewicza (Ciężkiewiczza) iz miloščine, ki sta jo zbrala. Morda je bil eden od razlogov za to naročilo komemoracija zmage kralja Jana III. Sobieskega nad Turki pri Dunaju 12. septembra 1683. V slavnostni procesiji so sliko prenesli v njen novi dom. Novi oratorij je bil zasnovan kot enakokrak (grški) križ. Prvotni program njegovega okrasja se ni ohranil, vendar ga poznamo po vodniku iz leta 1745. Danes je estetski učinek notranjščine kombinacija arhitekture 17. stoletja in elementov, ki so bili dodani v tretji četrtini 18. stoletja, pa tudi predelav v 19. stoletju. V inventarjih je za beleženo impresivno število liturgičnih posod in oblačil. Napis pri vhodu navaja odpustke, ki jih je podelil Benedikt XIII. Tam je tudi napis, ki se v prevodu glasi: »Odpustek za 100 mož in 100 žena, ki ostajajo v rožnem vencu, imenovanem bratovščina Centuria – *Congregatio centum Virorum & centum Mulierum sub Titulo BVM. de Rosario* –, ki ga je odobril Inocenc XII. in je bi potrjen leta 1694, nato pa ga je leta 1724 ponovno potrdil Benedikt XIII. Ta Centuria je bila ustanovljena za rešitev duš v vicah, s popolnim odpustkom za tiste, ki so se pridružili bratovščini /.../« Celotni prostor pod tlemi križno oblikovane stavbe zasedajo velike kripte, ki so bile verjetno namenjene za člane bratovščine in njene dobrotnike. Oratorij je bil kasneje spremenjen v cerkev sv. papeža Pija V. (kanoniziran leta 1713), velikega privrženca rožnega venca.

Vendar je *Rožnovenska Mati božja*, imenovana tudi *Marija Snežna*, čudodelna kopija rimskega originala, ostala v osrčju krakovske rožnovenske nadbratovščine. Verjetno je bila kmalu po prihodu iz Rima, zagotovo pa od 17. stoletja naprej, stalno pokrita z »obleko« iz pozlačenega srebra. Kronanje svetih podob Marije z Jezuščkom je Vatikan od 17. stoletja dalje tudi uradno spodbujal, a današnji zlati kroni z dragimi kamni in spremljajoči angeli izvirajo iz medvojnega časa. Druga garnitura, ki jo je naredil krakovski zlatar Franciszek Kopaczyński po načrtu Zygmunta Hendla, je nastala za papeško kronanje leta 1921.

Zgodovina številnih nadbratovščin sv. rožnega venca v Krakovu ter njihovo umetnostno in arhitekturno naročništvo so izjemno bogati in si zaslužijo monografsko študijo. Njihov pomembni prispevek k poljski vizualni in materialni kulturi dežel še čaka na ovrednotenje. Zgodovina lokalne bratovščine bi morala biti poleg tega vključena v širši evropski kontekst, kar bo nedvomno ponudilo širše perspektive in nove poti za raziskovanje zgodovine pobožnosti in umetnostnega mecenstva.

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

Wojciech Sowała

Despite the historical significance of the collegiate church of St. John the Baptist (today the parish church) in Skalbmierz, only a handful of short studies consider its architecture and furnishings as well as its community of canons and confraternities.¹ The first is an article by Fr. Stanisław Kotarbiński, titled *Historical Information about the Collegiate Church at Skalbmierz* (1850) and dedicated to the history, furnishings, and treasury of the church.² The extraordinary value of this publication lies in the fact it is based on Kotarbiński's research in the local archives. The next is a short description of the monuments and the city of Skalbmierz by Kazimierz Stronczyński in his *Descriptions and Views of the Monuments in the Kingdom of Poland* (1844–1855), containing the first known depiction of the collegiate church.³ In 1908 Stanisław Tomkowicz, one of the most prominent Kraków art historians of that period, issued a short study on the architecture of the church, focusing on its Romanesque origins.⁴ A chapter in Fr. Jan Wiśniewski's book *A Historical Description of Churches, Towns, Monuments and Memorabilia in the Pińczów, Skalbmierz and Wiślica Regions* (1927)⁵ examined in detail not only the history and the furnishings of Skalbmierz's collegiate church, but also how the canonry functioned. Unfortunately, Wiśniewski limited his discussion of the confraternities to their date of foundation. A description of the church was included in the *Catalogue of Art Monuments in Poland* (1961).⁶ In a valuable article from 1965, Stanisław Romanowski explored the history and social structures of Skalbmierz from the Middle Ages to

¹ For support and advice I am grateful to Krzysztof J. Czyżewski, Parish Priest-Deacon Marian Fatyga, Danuta Kozieł CSFN, Michał Kurzej, and Karola Lidia Zaborska SINSJ.

² Stanisław KOTARBIŃSKI, Historyczna wiadomość o kolegiaci skalbmierskiej, *Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny*, 18, 1850, pp. 405–437.

³ *Kazimierza Stronczyńskiego opisy i widoki zabytków w Królestwie Polskim 1844–1855*, 2 (ed. Karol Guttmejer), Warszawa 2010, pp. 58–59. The lithographic image was made specifically for the publication and was based on a drawing by the author.

⁴ Stanisław TOMKOWICZ, *Kolegiata św. Jana Chrzciciela w Skalbmierzu. Reszty romańskiej budowy*, Kraków 1908.

⁵ Jan WIŚNIEWSKI, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek wpińczowskiem, skalbmierskiem i wiślickiem*, Marjówka 1927, pp. 381–407.

⁶ *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce. 3: Województwo kieleckie. 9: Powiat Pińczowski* (ed. Maria Kałamajska-Saeed), Warszawa 1961, pp. 82–87.



1. St. John the Baptist
Collegiate Church, Skalbierz

his own time.⁷ In 2000, two very important publications appeared: *The Parish of Skalbierz. An Outline of the History*, co-authored by Stanisław Olczak and Daniel Olszewski,⁸ and a monumental history of the Kraków diocese by Bolesław Kumor.⁹ Both present information based on sources that were not consulted by Kotarbiński or Wiśniewski and significantly broaden our knowledge about how the collegiate church functioned. Moreover, Kumor provided a broad context for how churches in the Kraków diocese functioned, which can serve as a starting point for further comparative study. Unfortunately, the two works contain little direct information about confraternities.

Nevertheless, all of the above-mentioned texts, together with preserved artefacts and unpublished written sources, allow for a fresh analysis of the religious furnishings of the Skalbierz confraternities. The Kraków confraternities inspired and deeply influenced those with similar devotions in Skalbierz, whether founded by the Observant Franciscans, Dominicans, or canons closely allied with the theological faculty at the Kraków University. So, too, Kraków's artists set the standards for work in all mediums.

As Romanowski pointed out, Skalbierz—now a small provincial town located 50 km north-east of Kraków—in the Middle Ages and early modern era was an important trade and craft center on the route connecting Kraków with eastern cities, such as Sandomierz in Lesser Poland and Kiev in Rus. The city evolved from the 13th century as property of the bishop. The first records from 1217 mention the provost of Skalbierz, Gubertus, as a witness, as reported by Leszek the White, High Duke of Poland.¹⁰ On 20 February 1342, the town obtained rights from Casimir III the Great, king of Poland, to become an independent borough.¹¹ Owing to its location on the trade route, its fertile surroundings, and its numerous royal and episcopal privileges, during the next two centuries Skalbierz grew to become comparable to centers like Lublin, Gniezno, Radom,

⁷ Stanisław ROMANOWSKI, *Dzieje miasta Skalbierza*, *Rocznik Muzeum Świętokrzyskiego*, 3, 1965, pp. 211–304.

⁸ Stanisław Kazimiers OLCZAK, Daniel OLSZEWSKI, *Parafia Skalbierz. Zarys dziejów*, Kielce 2000.

⁹ Bolesław KUMOR, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, 3, Kraków 2000, pp. 173–194.

¹⁰ ROMANOWSKI 1965 (n. 7), p. 215.

¹¹ ROMANOWSKI 1965 (n. 7), p. 225.



2. Interior, St. John the Baptist Collegiate Church, Skalbierz

or Sandomierz. The city had both a collegiate church and an excellent school system; in fact, numerous students attending the Kraków University came from Skalbierz. Furthermore, many of its citizens owned houses and parcels of land in Kraków.¹² In the following centuries, its close relationship with the main city of the Polish kingdom shaped Skalbierz in terms of economic, intellectual, and religious life. However, the great fire of 1618 that almost completely destroyed the city, the periodic recurrences of plague epidemics (the most lethal waves occurred in 1652–1653), the plundering of Skalbierz by Swedish troops during the Polish-Swedish war (known as the Deluge), and changing trade routes contributed to the dwindling of the town's importance.¹³

The collegiate church of St. John the Baptist ranked high in the hierarchical structure of the Diocese of Kraków as a one of the oldest foundations and rich in benefices. Jan Długosz (1415–1480) named the collegiate church as the fifth most important in his *Liber Beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis*.¹⁴ Among the 16 collegiate churches in the diocese, according to a

report from 1529, Skalbierz's had the third largest annual income, after those in Kleparz and Sandomierz.¹⁵ The church's status was reflected in its architecture as well as its furnishings (fig. 1, 2). The church was built of stone and brick in the late 12th or early 13th century, and was rebuilt in the 15th century in the Gothic style, with new vaulting over the nave and side aisles and an extension of the chancel. According to a visitation report from 1610, there were 14 altars and numerous silver liturgical objects, such as chalices and reliquaries, as well as costly vestments.¹⁶ Consequently, it is not surprising that in the 17th century, when religious confraternities emerged on a wide scale in Europe and in Poland,¹⁷ six brotherhoods were established at the prominent collegiate church in Skalbierz.

¹² ROMANOWSKI 1965 (n. 7), p. 294.

¹³ ROMANOWSKI 1965 (n. 7), p. 241.

¹⁴ Jan DŁUGOSZ, *Joannis Długosz senioris canonici cracoviensis Liber Beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis nunc primum e codice autographo editus, Tomus I, Ecclesia cathedralis – ecclesiae collegiatarum*, Kraków 1863, p. 515. Długosz described the building as beautiful (*pulcherrimo muro novo /.../ fabricata*).

¹⁵ KUMOR 2000 (n. 9), p. 181.

¹⁶ Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie, Kraków (AKMK), Acta visitationis exterioris decanatus Witoviensis, Opatovecensis, Skavinensis, Zatoriensis, Kiiensis, Oswencimensis, Wolbromensis, Skalensis, Pacanoviensis et Sokoliensis autoritate Petri Tylicki ep. Crac. etc. per R. D. Rochum Zardecki praepositum et officialem Tarnoviensem et Sebastianum Nuceriunm s. Theologiae doctorem, canonicum Scarbimiriensem a. D. 1610 facta, AVCap. 28, fol. 351r, 351v.

¹⁷ Andrzej BRUŹDZIŃSKI, *Forms of Piety Among Members of Religious Confraternities in Krakow in the Early*

The first religious confraternity recorded in Skalbmierz was the *Confraternitas Litteratorum seu Beatae Virginis Mariae*. This kind of association had been present in Lesser Poland since the 15th century, gathering literate men and women whose main goals were education, charity, and singing during mass.¹⁸ The *Confraternitas Litteratorum* in Skalbmierz was mentioned for the first time in a 1562 document issued by Philip Padniewski, bishop of Kraków, in which the brethren were lauded as an example for others to follow.¹⁹ In the collegiate church, the confraternity had an altar with an image of the Virgin Mary. The canons' session of 1607 reported the presentation of a black funeral pall to the brethren by Canon Sebastian Nucerinus.²⁰ The *Confraternitas Litteratorum* was last mentioned in a 1616 inventory, where two copper candlesticks and a silver heart-shaped votive were listed at the confraternal altar.²¹

The Confraternity of the Passion of Jesus Christ

Much more is known about the Confraternity of the Passion of Jesus Christ. Although first mentioned in Skalbmierz in 1607,²² its precise date of foundation is unknown. A year or two earlier seems likely because the confraternity is recorded as “new” in the canons' report.²³ The establishment of a Passion Confraternity in Skalbmierz was probably motivated by the influential *Confraternitas Compassionis Iesu Christi et Beatissimae Virginis Mariae* of Kraków, founded in 1595 at the Franciscan Friary by Bishop Marcin Szyszkowski and approved by the papal bull *Illorum votis* in 1598. In 1605 it was elevated to the rank of archconfraternity with exclusive rights to institute new brotherhoods according to Paul V's bull *Salvatoris Domini Nostri*.²⁴ It seems likely that the Skalbmierz confraternity was an affiliate. The cult of the Passion—centered on the acute suffering and torturous death of Jesus Christ—was popularized by the confraternity's elaborately staged devotions. Every Friday—as the Kraków confraternal constitutions mandated—the brothers were obligated to meet for a two-part mass in the morning and in the evening, celebrated without the elevation of the Host. At the time, even the large Franciscan church and the Chapel of the Passion of Christ could not accommodate the large congregation. In the morning, the brethren participated in the mass and afterwards listened to the text of the Passion chanted by the Franciscans. After eight in the evening, the confraternity would meet again to meditate, then dine. Images and sculptures, such as the *Veronica*, the *Pietà*, and *Our Lady of Sorrows* (all lost), located in the confraternity's chapel and illuminated by candles, played an important role in the daily practice, focusing the worshippers' attention. Another important confraternal ritual was the Jerusalem Procession, organized every Friday of Lent in the

Modern Period, *Folia Historica Cracoviensia*, 21, 2015, p. 104.

¹⁸ Piotr GACH, Literackie Bractwa, *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, 10, Lublin 2004, p. 1175; Szymon TRACZ, *Bractwa religijne w dekanacie żywieckim 1598–1772*, Kraków 2005, p. 27.

¹⁹ Archiwum Diecezjalne w Kielcach, Kielce (ADK), Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS 2, fol. 6v. Within a single cover are two copies of the report from the canons' sessions with independent pagination. All citations are drawn from the second copy.

²⁰ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS 2, fol. 22v.

²¹ Archiwum Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, Kraków (AKKK), INV. E. 33, fol. 3v.

²² ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS 2, fol. 22r.

²³ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS 2, fol. 22r.

²⁴ Bartłomiej WOŁYNYEC, Słowo i obraz w pobożności krakowskiego Arcybractwa Męki Pańskiej, *Zeszyty Naukowe Towarzystwa Doktorantów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Nauki Społeczne*, 3, 2016, p. 138.



3. Holy Cross Altar, St. John the Baptist Collegiate Church, Skalbierz

Franciscan church. Its order was precisely described in Bishop Szyszkowski's constitutions. From the confraternal chapel, the brethren marched to the nine altars dedicated to Christ's Passion, stopping at each to sing the corresponding hymns. The Good Friday procession was particularly solemn and dramatic. It followed the same order but the stops were placed at Holy Sepulchres, altars with special decoration prepared by the brothers, in nine churches throughout Kraków. Each altar was marked with a sign indicating a particular meditation or devotion. For example, a sign depicting Christ's flagellation was placed at the Holy Sepulchre in St. Stephen's Church, where the brethren self-flagellated.²⁵ The brothers wore black capes embellished with motifs of skull and bones and the inscription "Remember that you will die."²⁶ The Confraternity of the Passion of Jesus Christ was very popular in Kraków and grew rapidly, since it was open to both men and women. Among its most elite members were several kings of Poland—Sigismund III Vasa, Ladislaus IV Vasa, John II Casimir Vasa, John III Sobieski—as well as many cardinals and bishops.²⁷

The brothers of the Skalbierz Confraternity of the Passion were also actively engaged in their devotional practices, but there are no written sources reporting whether or not they copied the rituals performed in Kraków, although at least a partial repetition seems likely. However, the canons did take note of the confraternity's processions and numerous masses. During those rituals, the brethren donned the most precious copes borrowed from the church treasury.²⁸ They probably gathered at the altar of the Holy Cross, located on the south wall of the south nave, as recorded on the occasion of the bishop's visitation of 1617 (fig. 3; 6, no. 13). The document states that it was quite damaged, so the visiting bishop forbade mass to be celebrated there.²⁹ However, the altar must have been repaired shortly thereafter, since the following visitations did not record any problems. In the mid-18th century, the altar was reconstructed once again thanks to Provost Anthony Stancliewicz.³⁰ It was renovated, perhaps using older elements, as a simple but monumental structure painted black with resplendent gilded elements. A large, naturalistically polychromed, sculpted figure of the Crucified Christ

²⁵ WOŁYNIEC 2016 (n. 24), pp. 142–143.

²⁶ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2015 (n. 17), p. 117.

²⁷ Jolanta KOZIEJ, Męka Pańska, *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, 12, Lublin 2008, pp. 720–721.

²⁸ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbierz, II KS 2, fol. 5r; ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbierz, II KS 4, p. 17.

²⁹ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbierz, II KS 2, fol. 52v.

³⁰ *Corpus Inscriptionum Poloniae. 1: Województwo kieleckie. 4: Miechów i Pińczów wraz z regionem* (eds. Barbara Trelńska, Józef Szymański), Kielce 1983, p. 187.



4. Chalice of the Confraternity of the Passion, 1630/1640, St. John the Baptist Collegiate Church, Skalmierz



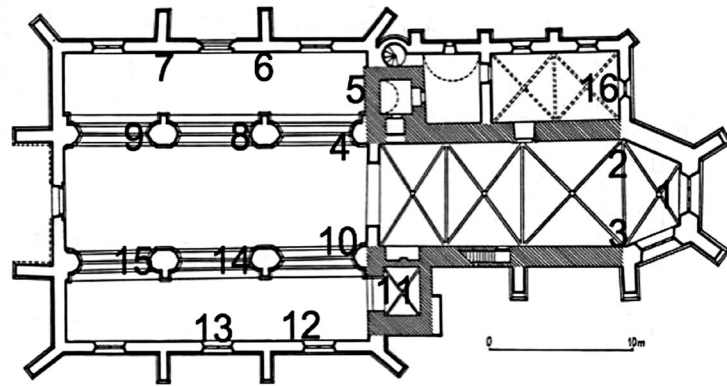
5. Chalice of the Confraternity of the Passion, detail of the foot, St. John the Baptist Collegiate Church, Skalmierz

dominated the center, flanked by gilded statues of the Virgin Mary and St. John. The cornice is supported on each side by a pair of splayed and gilded Corinthian columns. Crowning the elaborate frame is the Holy Spirit in a burst of light surrounded by seraphim. The entire altar is richly adorned with rocaille ornament. The upper structure of the altar and ornaments are gilded, while the depiction of Jerusalem behind the figure of Christ is silver. The composition was probably inspired by the renovated altar (1734–1735) of the Holy Cross in St. Mary's church in Kraków.³¹ The positioning of the great external columns, which enclose the whole and focus the viewer's attention on the Crucified Christ, is particularly similar.

In contrast to the *Confraternitas Litteratorum*, the Skalmierz Passion Confraternity owned few silver liturgical instruments. A silver chalice, most likely made in 1630 or 1640 for the confraternity, is preserved in the church (fig. 4). While the vessel was damaged by later electroplated gilding, it is important material evidence of the brotherhood's existence. This chalice must be the vessel known from inventories, identified by the inscription *HIC CALIX COMPARATUS EST A CONFRATERNITATE COMPASSIONIS DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI PER DUDIC CIVEM SCARBIMIRIENSIS SUB N 170*, and described as having been made in 1630. In spite of a modern restoration causing partial damage to the text, the surviving words *HIC CALIX /.../ CONFRAT COMPASSION /.../ DUDIC CIVE*

³¹ *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce. 4: Miasto Kraków. 2: Kościoły i klasztory Śródmieścia. 1: Tekst* (ed. Maria Kałamajska-Saeed), Warszawa 1971, p. 23.

6. Ground plan of St. John the Baptist Collegiate Church, Skalbmierz: no. 4 = Holy Rosary Altar; no. 7 = St. Barbara Altar; no. 10 = St. Anne Altar; no. 13 = Holy Cross Altar



SCARB are sufficient to identify the objects as one and the same. The chalice was donated by Dudic, a Skalbmierz citizen, to the Confraternity of the Passion. Its proportions, ornaments, and quality indicate its creation in the Kraków region. For us, its most significant element is the cartouche with a cross and three nails on the vessel's foot, no doubt referring to the confraternity's dedication (fig. 5). Unfortunately, a second work in silver is known only from the canons' report of 1628: a "silver cross, partially gilded, weight near 5 marks [c. 600 g] with a small image of the Crucifixion on the foot, to be used by the Confraternity of the Passion."³² In addition, a processional banner, known only from written sources, was commissioned and paid for by the brethren in 1759.³³

The Confraternity of St. Anne

Skalbmierz's Confraternity of St. Anne was founded on 10 February 1605, around the same time as the Passion Confraternity, and grew rapidly.³⁴ The first Polish confraternity dedicated to St. Anne was founded in 1578 at the Franciscan Observant's church in Warsaw by Fr. John Dymitr Solikowski with the support of Queen Anna Jagiellon. Another confraternity with the same dedication appeared at St. Anne's church in Kraków as early as 1590.³⁵ The choice of this church—closely linked with the university—was by no means random, since the confraternity's main goal was to defend Catholic doctrine. In this context, collaboration with the theological faculty played a significant role.

Before 1617, the new Skalbmierz confraternity had taken over a chapel previously belonging to the guild of weavers (fig. 6, no. 10).³⁶ It is difficult to ascertain when the brethren moved their altar to its current location at the right of the chancel arch: perhaps during the first half of the 18th

³² ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS 2, fol. 39r.

³³ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS 3, p. 317.

³⁴ OLCZAK, OLSZEWSKI 2000 (n. 8), p. 88.

³⁵ Andrzej BRUŹDZIŃSKI, Bractwa religijne w siedemnastowiecznym Krakowie. Zarys problematyki, *Historia świadectwem czasów. Księdzu profesorowi Markowi Tomaszowi Zachajkiewiczowi* (eds. Włodzimierz Bielak, Stanisław Tylus), Lublin 2006, p. 16.

³⁶ AKMK, Acta visitationis exterioris decanatus Skavinensis, Novi Montis, Oswencimensis, Zatoriensis, ad archidiaconatum Cracoviensem pertinentium per R. D. Joannem Foxium /.../ die 9 mensis Decembris anni 1617 /.../, AVCap 33, fol. 110v.

century, while work proceeded on the south tower where the chapel was originally located; or in the third-quarter of the century when the altars at the chancel arch were renovated.³⁷ Its current placement is documented in records from 1785.³⁸ The altarpiece painting of *St. Anne* (fig. 7)³⁹ was probably made in Kraków, since it is a copy of the painting at the high altar of Kraków's university church, executed by George Szymonowicz Siemiginowski, one of Poland's most prominent artists at the beginning of the 18th century.⁴⁰ As Michał Kurzej pointed out, the image—sometimes called the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*—depicts St. Anne teaching the Virgin Mary or, more precisely, a momentary pause in the lesson, when the grandmother turns her attention from the book to kiss Jesus' hand.⁴¹ This was the quintessential theme of the iconographic program of St. Anne's collegiate church, which focused on teaching Catholic doctrine and theology. The Skalmierz copy strictly follows its prototype, with the same composition and details; it is unclear why Mary's robes differ in color. In light of the fact that many Skalmierz canons, especially the scholastic canons, were professors at the Kraków University, this particular source seems an apposite choice for the brethren's altar.



7. *St. Anne Altarpiece*, *St. John the Baptist Collegiate Church*, Skalmierz

The Confraternities of the Holy Rosary and of the Most Holy Name of Jesus

Confraternities initiated by the Dominican Order appeared in Kraków at the same time as those encouraged by the Franciscans. At the end of the 16th century, the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary and the Confraternity of the Most Holy Name of Jesus were founded at their Church of the Holy Trinity by the Dominican Bartłomiej Marcinkowicz from Przemyśl.⁴² The Holy Rosary Confraternity's devotion was focused on the image of the Virgin Mary and Christ Child, called *Our Lady of the Snows*.

³⁷ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalmierzu, II KS-3, pp. 234, 238.

³⁸ AKMK, Akta wizyty generalnej z woli i rozkazu J(aśnie) Ośw(ieconego) Michała Jerzego Ciołka Poniatowskiego /.../ od dnia 15 stycznia do 28 tegoż miesiąca w roku niniejszym 1785 odprawionej, AV 57, fol. 100r.

³⁹ *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Sztuka sakralna diecezji kieleckiej* (ed. Kszysztof Myśliński), Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach, Kielce 2000, p. 63, cat. 30.

⁴⁰ *Katalog* 1971 (n. 31), p. 79.

⁴¹ Michał KURZEJ, Świątynia Mądrości. Program treściowy wystroju kościoła św. Anny w Krakowie, *Folia Historiae Artium*, 13, 2015, p. 123.

⁴² BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 35), p. 11; BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2015 (n. 17), p. 115.

This official copy of Rome's miracle-working *Salus Populi Romani* icon was supposedly blessed by the pope, then carried back to Poland from the Eternal City by Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski in 1600. Just as the Roman icon was the city's palladium, the Kraków replica soon became a miraculous defender of the city and the kingdom. In 1620, during the Polish-Turkish war, Chocim, one of Poland's strategic fortresses, remained under siege. After "Hetman"⁴³ Jan Karol Chodkiewicz's death, the situation seemed hopeless, but the Turkish leaders, exhausted from the long war, agreed to negotiate a settlement. Three days before the armistice, a solemn propitiatory procession carried *Our Lady of the Snows* through the streets of Kraków. Consequently, the citizens attributed their rescue to the power of the holy image.⁴⁴ This belief aroused not only ardent devotion, but also a wave of reproductions of the icon. This type of Marian image was often called *Our Lady of the Rosary* and was intimately connected with Rosary confraternities.

Precisely when and who brought a copy to Skalbmierz is uncertain, but in 1677, the replica was credited with the miraculous salvation of the citizens from the plague. A Skalbmierz vicar reported: "A great fear fell upon the people but thanks to the intercession of the Virgin Mary of the Rosary the pestilence did not strike the city."⁴⁵ Consequently, on 26 October 1682, the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary was formally confirmed in Kraków's Consistory, although efforts to establish the confraternity in Skalbmierz had begun in 1675.⁴⁶ In 1679, the mayor of Skalbmierz, Kaspar Ostroszewicz, had commissioned a silver chalice for the new brotherhood (fig. 8). This simple, yet carefully made vessel carries a significant inscription at the bottom: *GASPAR USTROSZOWIC ADVOCATUS SCARBIM CONFRATER SS. ROSARY CALIX /.../ A 1679.*⁴⁷ Two years later, Ostroszewicz bequeathed 4000 złoty, a considerable sum equal in value to two tenement houses, to the brethren in his last will.⁴⁸

Both the confraternity and the miraculous image of Mary at its altar (fig. 6, no. 4) rapidly gained popularity and inspired many donations.⁴⁹ The most important was the elaborate silver revetment (fig. 9).⁵⁰ As recorded in sources, prior to 1720, a pious woman with the surname Bogdańska gave money to make a silver "robe" for the picture and a silver lamp for the altar.⁵¹ This gift was the result, the document states, "ex devotione speciali erga rosariana confraternitate" (of her special devotion to the Rosary Confraternity). The intricately worked "robe" that covers the figures and the background was made by a skilled silversmith, probably in Kraków. The rich floral and acanthus ornament suggests its creation around the beginning of the 18th century. The brethren's altar, placed to the left of the chancel arch, was registered in that location in 1785, but was probably located there even earlier.⁵²

⁴³ "Hetman" is a title used for the second highest military commanders in Poland and Lithuania (15th–18th centuries). There is no specific translation of this term in English.

⁴⁴ Krystyna MOISAN, Beata SZAFRANIEC, *Maryja orędowniczka wiernych*, Warszawa 1987, p. 86.

⁴⁵ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS-4, p. 21.

⁴⁶ KUMOR 2000 (n. 9), p. 192.

⁴⁷ *Corpus* 1983 (n. 30), p. 184.

⁴⁸ ROMANOWSKI 1965 (n. 7), pp. 229, 291.

⁴⁹ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS-3, pp. 176, 177, 234.

⁵⁰ The altar was first mentioned in 1716, ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS-3, p. 91.

⁵¹ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS-3, p. 112.

⁵² AKMK, Akta wizyty generalnej z woli i rozkazu J(aśnie) Ośw(ieconego) Michała Jerzego Ciołka Poniatowskiego /.../ od dnia 15 stycznia do 28 tegoż miesiąca w roku niniejszym 1785 odprawionej, AV 57, fol. 100r.



8. Chalice of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, 1679, St. John the Baptist Collegiate Church, Skalbmierz



9. Holy Rosary Altar, Our Lady of the Snows, St. John the Baptist Collegiate Church, Skalbmierz

An inventory from 1791 mentions another painting that belonged to this altar;⁵³ an image of the Holy Name of Jesus, adorned with the IHS, crown, globe, and robes of Jesus, all in silver and mounted on a sliding panel that temporarily covered the sacred icon of Our Lady. This image was undoubtedly related to the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus, founded at the collegiate church on 19 December 1708 and modeled after Kraków's Holy Name confraternity, recently established at the Dominican church of the Holy Trinity.⁵⁴ In fact, these two Dominican Holy Name confraternities had a close relationship: both were described as Rosary confraternities, and many worshippers were members of both. The paired confraternal altars at the Holy Trinity church were located at the sides of the chancel arch with the Virgin Mary's on the left and the Holy Name of Jesus on the right. This scheme was duplicated in many Dominican churches across the Polish province, for example in Lublin⁵⁵ and Gidle, a large Marian pilgrimage center.⁵⁶ In Skalbmierz, this close relationship was demonstrated by a common altar, called the Rosary Altar in sources.⁵⁷ Among the objects preserved

⁵³ AKMK, Opisane stanu kościoła Kolegiaty Skalbmierskiej, APB 169, p. 6.

⁵⁴ AKMK, Akta wizyty generalnej z woli i rozkazu J(aśnie) Ośw(ieconego) Michała Jerzego Ciołka Poniatowskiego /.../ od dnia 15 stycznia do 28 tegoż miesiąca w roku niniejszym 1785 odprawionej, AV 57, fol. 100v.

⁵⁵ Danuta SZEWCZYK-PROKURAT, *Klasztor w sercu miasta. Dzieje i skarby lubelskich dominikanów*, Lublin 2012, p. 42.

⁵⁶ Anna DETTLOFF, Paweł DETTLOFF, *Domus Aurea. Architektura i sztuka dominikańskiego sanktuarium Matki Bożej w Gidlach*, Warszawa 2016, p. 210.

⁵⁷ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbmierzu, II KS-3, p. 91.



10. Processional float, St. John the Baptist Collegiate Church, Skalbmierz

in the collegiate church is a processional float, c. 130 cm high, with an image of the Holy Trinity on one side and the Eye of Providence and three angels on the other, together with the Latin phrase “ne dicas coram angelo non est providentia” (fig. 10). This verse from Ecclesiastes 5,5 refers to fulfilling a promise: “If thou hast vowed any thing to God, defer not to pay it: for an unfaithful and foolish promise displeaseth him: but whatsoever thou hast vowed, pay it. And it is much better not to vow, than after a vow not to perform the things promised. Give not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin: and say not before the angel: There is no providence: lest God be angry at thy words, and destroy all the works of thy hands” (Eccles 5,3–5). Since the main goal of the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus was to fight against the sinful habit of making useless vows,⁵⁸ it seems probable that the object belonged to the brotherhood. However, from 1773, Skalbmierz was also home to the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity who might have owned the float. Never-

theless, the unusual citation together with the depiction and the suggested earlier date of the paintings renders the Holy Name confraternity a more likely owner.

Religious Confraternities of the Skalbmierz Guilds

Let us also address the religious confraternities of the guilds and the furnishings of their liturgical spaces. As many scholars have pointed out—most recently Birute Vitkauskienė in her book on Vilnius’s goldsmiths and Katarzyna Moskal’s article on Kraków’s guilds, among others—public worship played an important role in these institutions.⁵⁹ Guilds had their own altars, and in some cases chapels; expenses for the furnishings were traditionally paid from the brethren’s own funds. Members were obliged to participate in Catholic mass even if they belonged to a different religious denomination. While Skalbmierz was an important center of craft and trade, we have little information about local guilds. The first known record concerns the tailors’ guild, which in 1455 obtained 140 days of

⁵⁸ BRUŹDZIŃSKI 2006 (n. 35), p. 15.

⁵⁹ Birutė Rūta VITKAUSKIENĖ, *Złotnictwo wileńskie. Ludzie i dzieła XV–XVIII wiek*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 106–108; Katarzyna MOSKAL, *Cechy jako bractwa religijne. Zabytki w zbiorach Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa związane z życiem religijnym cechów (XV–XVIII wiek)*, *Bractwa religijne w średniowieczu i w okresie nowożytnym do końca XVIII wieku* (eds. Dominika Burdzy, Beata Wojciechowska), Kielce 2014, p. 353.



11. Sts. Crispin and Crispinian, St. Barbara Altar, St. John the Baptist Collegiate Church, Skalmierz

indulgence.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, who issued the privilege, did not specify its requirements. The weavers' confraternity had lost their chapel to the St. Anne confraternity before 1617, as mentioned above. The third and last guild noted in written sources was that of the shoemakers.⁶¹ Although the records date from the 1630s, we posit that the guild continued to function and that one of the altars in the collegiate church was related to it. The altar dedicated to St. Barbara (fig. 6, no. 7) is located at the north wall of the northern nave. On either side of the altarpiece depicting the saint is a pair of images identified as the patrons of shoemakers, Sts. Crispin and Crispinian (fig. 11).⁶² According to legend, these brothers came from a noble Roman Christian family. Around 250, they fled persecution by going to Gaul and became famous for making shoes, which they gave away to the poor, before being martyred in 285 or 286 at Soissons. Each painting depicts a richly attired man holding a sword, with shoemaker's tools at his feet. Although some guilds were wealthy enough to own free-standing oratories, the situation in Skalmierz was quite different. This single altar, in addition to images of Crispin and Crispinian and St. Barbara, included Anne, Elizabeth, Agnes, Peter, Paul, Florian, Wenceslaus and probably Casimir. Seemingly without a coherent iconographic program, the altar might best be considered the common property of various confraternities and individual worshippers.

⁶⁰ Wiktor SZYMBORSKI, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Kraków 2011, p. 437.

⁶¹ ROMANOWSKI 1965 (n. 7), p. 230.

⁶² WIŚNIEWSKI 1927 (n. 5), p. 387.



In conclusion, we can analyze the confraternities in Skalbierz in two ways. On the one hand, these brotherhoods and their artefacts played a significant role within the local congregation. The permanent presence of the altars and images connected with the brethren, as well as the public rituals organized by the confraternities, actively contributed to shaping forms of piety. Expensive donations, such as Dudic's chalice or Bogdańska's gift of the resplendent "robe" for the Virgin Mary, enhanced the salvific power of the Skalbierz icon. The confraternities' role in the economy of the church was also highly significant. For example, in the 18th century, confraternities financed one-third of all clerical expenses and commissioned many of the liturgical paraments (unfortunately, known only from written sources).⁶³ On the other hand, the kinds of confraternities active in Skalbierz, as well as the objects related to them, were clearly inspired by similar brotherhoods in Kraków. The formal and ideological elements that reference or, in some cases, copy Kraków's art, demonstrate this process. Furthermore, the overall scale and artistic quality of the furnishings found in St. John the Baptist's church in Skalbierz compare favorably with those in Kraków. The impressive main altar of the collegiate church was modeled on that of Kraków's Corpus Christi church, one of the largest and most notable in that city. Moreover, the excellence of the canons' stalls and the monumental, elaborate chancel arch speak volumes about the ambitions of the citizens and canons of Skalbierz. So, too, the city's confraternities dedicated to the Virgin, the Rosary, Christ's Passion, and Holy Name, among others, all shared these ambitions while encouraging devotion to sacred and miraculous images set in splendid chapels and staging processions that sacralized the urban fabric.

⁶³ ADK, Akta kolegiaty w Skalbierzu, II KS-3, p. 77.

Umetnost v službi potridentinskih verskih bratovščin v kolegiatni cerkvi sv. Janeza Krstnika v Skalbmierzu v krakovski škofiji

Povzetek

Skalbmierz, zdaj majhno provincialno mesto, je bil v srednjem in zgodnjem novem veku pomembno obrtno in trgovsko središče na poti, ki je povezovala Krakov z vzhodnimi mesti, kot sta Sandomierz v Mali Poljski in Kijev v Rusiji. Poljski kralj Kazimir III. Veliki je 20. februarja 1342 mestu podelil pravice samostojnega okraja. V naslednjih stoletjih je gospodarsko, intelektualno in religiozno življenje v Skalbmierzu oblikoval tesen odnos s Krakovom, prestolnico poljskega kraljestva. Leta 1618 je mesto skoraj povsem uničil požar in zaradi ponavljajočih se epidemij kuge, plenjenja švedskih čet med poljsko-švedsko vojno pa tudi spreminjajočih se trgovskih poti je pomen mesta upadal. Kljub temu je bilo v 17. in 18. stoletju v kolegiatni cerkvi sv. Janeza Krstnika v središču mesta ustanovljenih šest verskih bratovščin.

Najstarejša je bila Confraternitas Litteratorum seu Beatae Virginis Mariae; prvič je omenjena v dokumentu, ki ga je leta 1562 izdal krakovski škof Philip Padniewski. Bratovščina je imela oltar s podobo Device Marije. Bratovščina Kristusovega trpljenja se v Skalbmierzu omenja leta 1607, ni pa mogoče ugotoviti natančnega datuma njene ustanovitve. Člani so se verjetno zbirali pri oltarju sv. Križa, ki stoji ob steni južne ladje. Znanih je le nekaj srebrnih liturgičnih predmetov, ki so bili narejeni za to bratovščino. V cerkvi je ohranjen srebrn kelih, ki je bil najverjetneje narejen za bratovščino leta 1630, iz kanonikovega poročila iz leta 1628 pa izvemo še za »srebrn križ, delno pozlačen /.../, z majhno podobo Križanja na nogi«.

Bratovščina sv. Ane je bila ustanovljena 10. februarja 1605 in se je hitro razvijala, podobno kot bratovščina Kristusovega trpljenja. Člani so že pred letom 1617 prevzeli kapelo, ki je prej pripadala tkalskemu cehu. Domnevno v 18. stoletju so preselili svoj oltar na današnje mesto desno od slavoloka. Oltarna podoba, ki kaže sv. Ano z Marijo in Jezuškom, je bila verjetno narejena v Krakovu, saj gre za kopijo slike v velikem oltarju krakovske univerzitetne cerkve.

Bratovščina sv. rožnega venca je bila uradno ustanovljena 26. oktobra 1682, čeprav so prizadevanja za njeno ustanovitev tekla že od leta 1675. Leta 1679 je župan Skalbmierza Kaspar Ostroszewicz za bratovščino naročil srebrn kelih. Iz virov izhaja, da je pred letom 1720 neka pobožna Bogdańska darovala denar za izdelavo srebrne obleke za sliko Marije Snežne in za srebrno svetilko za bratovščinski oltar, ki je stal levo od slavoloka. Inventar iz leta 1791 omenja še eno sliko, povezano z oltarjem, in sicer sliko Imena Jezusovega, pritrjeno na drsno ploščo, s katero so občasno prekrivali Marijino podobo. Ta slika je bila nedvomno povezana z bratovščino Presvetega imena Jezusovega, ki je bila v kolegiatni cerkvi ustanovljena 19. decembra 1708. Tesno zvezo med obema bratovščinama dokazuje skupen oltar, čeprav se ta v pisnih virih navaja kot rožnovenski. Glavni namen bratovščine Presvetega imena Jezusovega je bil boj proti grešni navadi dajanja praznih zaobljub. Zato je morala tudi ohranjena procesijska nosilnica, okrašena s sv. Trojico na eni in Božjim ocesom in tremi angeli na drugi strani ter verzom *Ne govori pred angelom, da je bila pomota* (Prd 5,5), pripadati tej bratovščini.

Tukaj ima svojo vlogo tudi vprašanje cehov kot verskih bratovščin in njihove liturgične opreme. Zdi se, da je bil eden od oltarjev v kolegiatni cerkvi povezan s čevljarskim cehom: oltar sv. Barbare, ki stoji ob steni severne ladje, ima podobi, ki sta bili prepoznani kot zavetnika čevljarjev, svetih Krispina in Krispinijana.

Bratovščine v Skalbmierzu lahko analiziramo na dva načina. Po eni strani so imele te bratovščine in njihovi artefakti pomembno vlogo v lokalni cerkveni skupnosti. Stalna prisotnost oltarjev in podob, povezanih z bratovščino, kot tudi javni obredi, ki so jih organizirale, so tvorno prispevali k razvoju oblik lokalne pobožnosti, kar še posebej dokazujejo denarni in materialni darovi. V resnici so imele

bratovščine zelo pomembno vlogo v cerkveni ekonomiji. V 18. stoletju so na primer financirale tretjino vseh duhovniških izdatkov in naročale številne liturgične paramente. Po drugi strani pa kažejo zvrsti bratovščin, ki so delovale v Skalbmierzu, in z njimi povezani predmeti očitno zgledovanje po podobnih bratovščinah v Krakovu. Ta proces dokazujejo formalni in ideološki elementi, ki se navezujejo na krakovsko umetnost ali jo, v nekaterih primerih, celo kopirajo.

The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia

Sanja Cvetnić

*In honorable memory of
Elizabeta Martinović-Liza (1966–2017)*

The Jesuit approach to the *ars moriendi*—as it was developed by Fathers Bellarmino, Carafa and Manni¹—was implemented in the program of the newly founded Congregazione del Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo moribondo sopra la Croce e della Santissima Vergine Maria sua Madre Addolorata (Confraternity of Our Lord Jesus Christ Dying on the Cross and of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, His Sorrowful Mother), also called the Bona Mors Confraternity, in the Jesuit Casa Professa and the adjacent church of Il Gesù in Rome (1648).² The Confraternity aimed to promote the Tridentine concept of *bonæ vitæ*, a life based on the Sacraments, especially frequent Communion, so that a good death—and salvation—would inevitably follow. The Bona Mors became an exceptionally efficient apparatus for the Jesuit missionaries to promote Tridentine spirituality to large numbers of people wherever they settled, such as in Croatia. Fundamental studies on the history of the Jesuits in Croatia, written by the preeminent Father Miroslav Vanino, S.J., include groundbreaking research on the Bona Mors confraternities in Zagreb (1653), Rijeka (1656), Varaždin (1662), Dubrovnik (1670 or earlier), Požega (1704), Osijek (1703) and Belgrade (1726),³ while the Bona Mors in Petrovaradin (1713) was studied by Father Josip Predragović, S.J.⁴ Citing crucial archival sources,

¹ Roberto BELARMINO, *De arte bene moriendi libri duo /.../*, Romae 1620; Luigi SIDEREO [= Vincenzo CARAFA], *Il peregrino della terra, ovvero apparecchio per la buona morte /.../*, Napoli 1646 (republished: Roma 1650); Giovanni Battista MANNI, *Breve ragguaglio, e pratica instrvttione degli esercitii di pieta Cristiana, che si fanno nel Giesu di Roma ogni venerdi mattina, e ser, per la diuotione della buona morte da ottenersi per li meriti della passione, agonie di Cristo in croce. E de' dolori della sua Madre santiss. sotto la croce*, Roma 1649.

² Carlo Bartolomeo PIAZZA, *Opere pie di Roma /.../*, Roma 1679, p. 685.

³ Miroslav VANINO, *Isusovci u Beogradu u XVII. i XVIII. stoljeću*. De Societatis Iesu opera Belgradi saeculis XVII et XVIII, *Vrela i prinosi. Zbornik za povijest isusovačkoga reda u Hrvatskim krajevima/Fontes et studia historiae Societatis Iesu in finibus Croatorum*, 4, 1934, pp. 1–47, esp. pp. 27–28; Miroslav VANINO, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod. 1: Rad u XVI stoljeću. Zagrebački kolegij*, Zagreb 1969, p. 390 (for the whole chapter on the confraternity in Zagreb, see pp. 390–412); Miroslav VANINO, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod. 2: Kolegiji dubrovački, riječki, varaždinski i požeški*, Zagreb 1987, pp. 93–95 (Dubrovnik), pp. 225–238 (Rijeka), pp. 447–468 (Varaždin), pp. 617–629 (Požega); Miroslav VANINO, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod. 3: Pučke misije, prekomorske misije, rezidencija Osijek, književni rad*, Zagreb 2005, pp. 357–359.

⁴ Josip PREDRAGOVIĆ, *Isusovci u Petrovaradinu 1693–1773*. De opera Soc. Iesu Petrovaradini 1693–1773, *Vrela i prinosi. Zbornik za povijest isusovačkoga reda u Hrvatskim krajevima/Fontes et studia historiae Societatis Iesu in finibus Croatorum*, 9, 1939, pp. 1–49, esp. pp. 11–14.

these historians refer to the lavish treasures of Bona Mors confraternities in Croatia. Unfortunately, most of these liturgical furnishings and works of art are lost or fragmented, in large part owing to the suppression of the Jesuit Order (1773) and the subsequent Josephine and Napoleonic reforms in the last decades of the 18th and the first decade of the 19th century. Nonetheless, what remains deserves a fresh analysis. In this paper I would like to connect the piety promoted by the Bona Mors confraternities to their art historical heritage in Croatia, as well as to evaluate these works of art and their iconography more closely as tools for implementing Tridentine Catholicism.

Croatian Jesuits were divided into two provinces, neither of them Croatian. Dubrovnik was part of the Roman Province, and all the other colleges and residences were part of the Austrian Province. Nonetheless, they shared specific devotional goals. Although the Bona Mors were not the only confraternities founded by the Jesuits, they—together with diocesan priests and other religious orders—provided invaluable support in their efforts to re-Christianize Slavonia, Srijem, and all parts of the region, including Požega, Osijek, Petrovaradin, and Beograd, that remained under Ottoman rule until the late 17th century. In addition, the Jesuits aimed to renew Catholic faith in communities exposed to Protestant ideology (e.g., the surroundings of Varaždin) or those that needed a reinvigoration of their devotion to the Sacraments (Zagreb) and discipline (Rijeka). As might be expected, Bona Mors confraternities were founded earlier in the parts of Croatia under Catholic rule, and later in the areas that were taken over by military intervention. Even though their artistic legacy has many similarities, it also reflects differences congruent with the mentioned division. For example, in the large rural areas surrounding Varaždin that were exposed to Protestantism, the decorations acquired for the confraternal celebrations were incredibly lavish, exploiting to the utmost all possibilities of enhancing the drama of Christ's Passion and vividly demonstrating the diametric opposition of Catholic sacral scenography to the purity of Protestant liturgical spaces. Wherever possible, existing devotions and iconographies were resuscitated in post-Tridentine fervor as the visual identity of local Bona Mors confraternities (St. Barbara in Zagreb, *Miraculous Crucifix* in Rijeka). However, in communities that had been long *in partibus infidelium*, Bona Mors confraternities primarily promoted Tridentine discipline and the reunion with Rome.

In the manuscript *Historia Collegii Societatis Jesu in monte Graeco Zagrabiaë*, the foundation of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Zagreb, with permission of Pope Innocent X, is noted in December 1653.⁵ In 1658 there were 1200 confreres; in 1665 the number had tripled to 3680, and the dynamic growth continued, so Miroslav Vanino calculated that by 1773 the total number of registered confreres was almost 50,000.⁶

The high altar of the Jesuit church of St. Catherine⁷ and the side altar of St. Barbara (1675–1677)⁸ were particularly important for the liturgies and devotions of the Bona Mors, although neither was

⁵ Franjo FANCEV, *Građa za povijest školskog i književnog rada isusovačkoga kolegija u Zagrebu (1606–1772)*, *Starine*, 37, 1934, pp. 1–176, esp. p. 81.

⁶ VANINO 1969 (n. 3), pp. 369, 397.

⁷ The high altar was erected twice within the span of a century (1684–1686/1687; 1762), see Franjo FANCEV, *Građa za povijest školskog i književnog rada isusovačkoga kolegija u Zagrebu (1606–1772)*, *Starine*, 38, 1937, pp. 181–308, esp. pp. 267–268.

⁸ The altar, which is situated at the Epistle side, first by the entrance, was constructed by Thomas Derwant with sculptural decoration by Ioannes Jacobus Altenbach and the painting of St. Barbara by Hans Georg Geiger (von Geigerfeld), see Katarina HORVAT-LEVAJ, Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Akademski crkva sv. Katarine u Zagrebu*, Zagreb 2011, pp. 143, 148–149, 208, 215–216, 220, 222. The altar was dismantled in 1875 and restored in 1992 (pp. 345–346).

originally commissioned by or for the confraternity, according to Father Vanino.⁹ However, the feast of St. Barbara (4 December) was the second most important in the liturgical year of the Bona Mors in Zagreb,¹⁰ and judging from its iconography as well as its central placement, an unattributed painting of the *Pietà with Angels* (c.1700) crowning the altar of St. Barbara might well have been commissioned, if not by, then for the confraternity. Photographs taken in 1937 document the original painting (fig. 1),¹¹ displaced or lost at some point, and now represented on the altar by a copy.¹²

The *Historia Collegii* in Zagreb reveals the Jesuits' recognition of images as an effective means in the pastoral promotion of new devotions: tens, even hundreds of *imagines* were distributed,¹³ mainly to new confreres who enrolled in ever greater numbers during the main feast of the confraternity in the Austrian Province on Passion Sunday (the fifth Sunday of Lent).¹⁴ The only preserved copperplate of a Bona Mors enrolment certificate in Croatia belonged to the Zagreb Confraternity



1. *Pietà with Angels* (displaced or lost), photographed in 1937 by Ljudevit Griesbach in the ex-Jesuit church of St. Catherine in Zagreb

⁹ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 470.

¹⁰ Father Juraj Muliš in *Hrana nebeszka* (1748) repeats the *regulae* of the confraternity written by Father Baltazar Milovac (1657)—its first principal and probable founder—and among them are the instructions to choose the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Barbara for their particular patrons and to frequently invoke the Holy Names of Jesus, Mary, Joseph, Barbara, a Patron Saint, Guardian Angel, St. Michael and other saints, since they can help, see Juraj MULIŠ, *Hrana nebeszka /.../*, Zagreb 1779, p. 415: *Da Szvéta Imena Jesussa, Marie, Josefa, Barbare, Kerztnoga Patrona, Angela Chuvàra, Sz. Mihalya, y oztàleh Szvéteh gusztokrat naj imenuje, y na pomoch zazàva; ar ovi mogu pomochi.*

¹¹ Artur SCHNEIDER, *Popisivanje i fotografsko snimanje umjetničkih spomenika zagrebačkih g. 1937*, *Ljetopis JAZU*, 50, 1938, pp. 148–155 (photography by Ljudevit Griesbach).

¹² The copyist Zvonimir Šepat transformed the figure of an angel with wings (visible in the 1937 photograph) into a kneeling figure of a donor (a Jesuit?), probably encouraged by the shadow on the angel's face in the photo that could be interpreted as a beard, but the wings are clearly visible, see HORVAT-LEVAJ, BARIČEVIĆ, REPANIĆ-BRAUN 2011 (n. 8), p. 356.

¹³ In the *Historia Collegii Societatis Jesu in monte Graeco Zagrabiae*, the distribution of the images is expressly mentioned several times, see FANCEV 1934 (n. 5), pp. 122–123; FANCEV 1937 (n. 7), p. 230.

¹⁴ The affluence of the confreres during the preparations for the main celebration was such that the Jesuits were assisted in taking confession by the Franciscans in Kaptol and the neighboring Capuchin friars in their churches, see VANINO 1969 (n. 3), pp. 395–396.



2. Copperplate for the Enrolment Certificate of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Zagreb, after 1700, Croatian History Museum, Zagreb



3. Bernard Johann Hermann: Enrolment Certificate of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Zagreb, engraving, 1751

(fig. 2).¹⁵ It depicts Christ Crucified and His Sorrowful Mother kneeling before Him while the souls in Purgatory invoke mercy. A more elaborate enrolment certificate image was engraved in 1751 by Bernard Johann Hermann (fig. 3).¹⁶ In addition to the motif of a confrere on his deathbed, comforted by Christ Crucified, the Virgin Mary and St. Joseph, and an angel offering a rosary to the souls in Purgatory, it includes the figure of St. Barbara kneeling in the foreground. With eyes raised heavenward, she presents a chalice to the spectator with the Holy Eucharist levitating above it within a radiant crown of light (a halo) with the inscription: *Communio generalis*. According to the *Golden Legend*, St. Barbara received Communion on her deathbed from an angel, so that miracle gave her the special authority to advocate for frequent Communion by the confreres as the basis for *bonam vitam*.¹⁷ Devotion to St. Barbara (in particular among miners) was deeply rooted in the Diocese of Zagreb well before the foundation of the Jesuits and the Tridentine reforms, so she had traditionally encouraged frequent reception of the Sacrament.¹⁸

The Bona Mors devotions celebrated at the high altar of St. Catherine's church—in particular when the Holy Eucharist or the reliquary of the Holy Cross was exhibited—were embellished with furnishings the confraternity had commissioned during the 119 years of its existence: banners and a catafalque (1680), tabernacles (1707), *altariolum* (1718–1719), silver sculptures of *Christ Crucified* (1717) and *The Sorrowful Mother* (1711), silver pyramidal-shaped ornaments for the altar with the images of St. Barbara and Mary Magdalene (1713), a huge painting of *Christ Crucified* (1729, maybe earlier), five paintings with scenes from the Passion (“restored” in 1731), a bell for the confraternity (1732, repaired in 1739), an embroidered Passion parament (1738), a gilded sculpture of the *Pietà* (1757), several chalices, monstrances, silver crucifixes, reliquaries, albs, chasubles, pluvials, dalmatics and other liturgical vestments and vessels.¹⁹

¹⁵ The copperplate in the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb for the enrolment certificate measures 138 × 183 mm. The inscriptions read: *Bratouscina Muke i szmert i IEISSUSSE-VE; za szrechnu szmert vu Zagrebu Podigniena; IESUS Raszpeti Smiluiamsze [sic]; Vu ouu Bratouscinupoddaiesze / Letta 17 – Meszeczca – Dan*. See Marina BREGOVAC-PISK, Bakrorezna ploča Bratovštine Muke i smrti Isusove, *Isusovačka baština u Hrvata u povodu 450-te obljetnice osnutka Družbe Isusove i 500-te obljetnice rođenja Ignacija Loyole*, Muzejsko-galerijski centar, Zagreb 1992, p. 268; no. 462.

¹⁶ Enrolment certificate, engraving, 293 × 188 mm; signed bottom right: *Hermann Sc. Græcy*; above: *KIp bratoVChIne za SzreChnU SzMert prI PatrIh ToVarUstVa IesUsa VU ZagrebU poDIgnyene 1657*. [1751], of which two examples exist: Croatian History Museum, Zagreb; Archive of the journal *Vrela i prinosi* in the Jesuit Monastery (Lašćinska street), Zagreb. See Miroslav VANINO, Dvije rijetke slike bratovštine Muke i Smrti Isusove (1751. i 1755.), *Vrela i prinosi. Zbornik za povijest isusovačkoga reda u Hrvatskim krajevima/Fontes et studia historiae Societatis Iesu in finibus Croatorum*, 3, 1933, pp. 148–153; Marina BREGOVAC-PISK, Upisnica u Bratovštinu Muke i smrti Isusove, *Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), p. 268; no. 463; Ivy LENTIĆ-KUGLI, Upisnica zagrebačke isusovačke Bratovštine Muke i smrti Isusove, *Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), p. 309; no. 110. Neither certificate from the Bona Mors in Zagreb is filled out, unlike those preserved in Varaždin and Požega.

¹⁷ Émile MÂLE, *L'art religieux de la fin du XVI^e siècle, du XVII^e siècle et du XVIII^e siècle. Étude sur l'iconographie après le Concile de Trente. Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres*, Paris 1951 (1st ed. 1932), p. 373: “Cela signifiait que sainte Barbe n'oubliait jamais ses fidèles et leur assurait le privilège de ne pas mourir sans le sacrements.”

¹⁸ Michael W. MAHER, How the Jesuits Used Their Congregations to Promote Frequent Communion, *Confraternities & Catholic Reform in Italy, France, & Spain* (eds. John Patrick Donnelly, Michael W. Maher), Kirksville 1999, pp. 75–95, esp. p. 81.

¹⁹ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 397–399. None of the objects mentioned is preserved or could be identified in the church, see Ivo LENTIĆ, Sakralno zlatarstvo hrvatskih isusovaca, *Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), pp. 333–347; HORVAT-LEVAJ, BARIČEVIĆ, REPANIĆ-BRAUN 2011 (n. 8), pp. 356–372.



4. *Miraculous Crucifix*, 13th century, wood, in the center of the high altar, 1711–1712; 1717 by Pasqualin Lazzarini, marble, ex-Jesuit church of St. Vitus, Rijeka

Almost contemporaneous with the founding of the Zagreb Confraternity, a *Bona Mors* was established in Rijeka in 1656,²⁰ the year the *ALBVM SODALITATIS AGONIAE CRUCIFIXI IESV CHRISTI* began to register confreres.²¹ As a new order, the Jesuits consciously allied their pastoral activities with deeply rooted local devotions in Rijeka, as they had in Zagreb with St. Barbara. From the small church of St. Vitus given to the Jesuits upon their arrival, they inherited a Gothic crucifix celebrated as miraculous (fig. 4).²² Therefore, the confraternity in Rijeka was called both *Congregatio Sanctae Crucis* (Braščina Svetoga Križa) and *Congregatio Agoniae*, and sometimes even *Congregatio Crucifixi Agoniae*.²³ According to a popular legend dated 1296, the crucifix (then in the vestibule of the old church) started to bleed when the local gambler Petar Lončarić—exploding with rage over a gambling loss—threw a stone at it.²⁴ Venerated through centuries, the *Miraculous Crucifix* was eventually incorporated into the Baroque high altar by Pasqualin Lazzarini (1711–1712; 1717) of the new Jesuit church of St. Vitus,²⁵ which also served as the main altar of the confraternity.²⁶

²⁰ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 225.

²¹ The modest miniature painting on parchment (300 × 240 mm) of the frontispiece illustrates the *Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and St. John with a Female Martyr and St. Francis Xavier; Souls in Purgatory*, Sacral collection, Cathedral of St. Vitus, Rijeka. See Ivy LENTIĆ-KUGLI, *Album Bratovštine Muke i smrti Isusove, Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), pp. 308–309; no. 107.

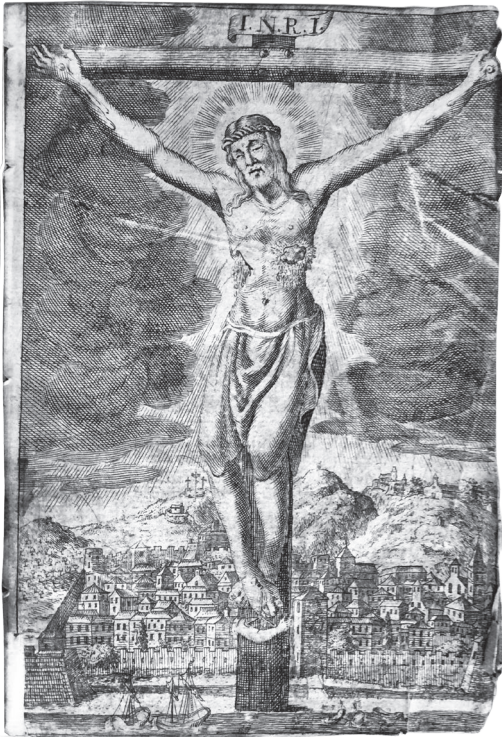
²² Wood, 230 × 150 cm; Christ 168 × 32 cm (span of the hands, 130 cm). See Vanda EKL, *Ranogotičko raspelo u Rijeci, Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3/8–9, 1963, pp. 221–231. The Jesuit efforts were recognized by Giovanni KOBLER, *Memorie per la storia della liburnica città di Fiume*, Fiume 1896, p. 112: “I Gesuiti rianimarono la devozione al vetusto Crocifisso di San Vito, che era divenuta languida, e ne accesero il fervore coll’istituire nel 1656 una confraternita pia, che dicevasi dell’Agonia /.../”. Giuseppe VIEZZOLI, *La Compagna di Gesù a Fiume, Fiume. Rivista semestrale della Società di studi fiumani*, 9, 1931, pp. 200, 223–224, mentions a donation from Empress Maria Theresia to the crucifix: “La chiesa s’andava intanto arricchendo di arredi sacri donati da benefattori: /.../ imperatrice Maria Teresia gli ornati d’argento per il crocifisso” as well as a relic of the Holy Cross in a reliquary shaped like a tree, donated by “P. Provinciale Stefano Dinarich” in 1718. The reliquary was later attributed to Leopold Vogtner, a goldsmith from Graz. See Ivo LENTIĆ, *Sakralno zlatarstvo hrvatskih isusovaca, Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), p. 336; no. 27, p. 337; no. 33.

²³ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 225.

²⁴ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 225–226.

²⁵ Danko ŠOUREK, *Altarističke radionice na granici. Barokni mramorni oltari u Rijeci i Hrvatskom primorju*, Zagreb 2015, pp. 50–60.

²⁶ In its first three years, the confraternity was located at the church of St. Roch, and since 1659 in the new, although not yet completed church, where the painting of *Christ Dying on the Cross* was exhibited for the devotions of the confraternity, see VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 232.



5. Georgius Subaric: *Miraculous Crucifix in Rijeka*, engraving in *Brascno dvhovno*, 1693



6. Suor Isabella Piccini after Georgius Subaric: *Miraculous Crucifix in Rijeka*, engraving, 1696 (?)

Narrative motifs, such as the stone hurled by Lončarić and a small bronze hand, were incorporated into the altar and particularly accentuated on both preserved engravings representing the Miraculous Crucifix, under the feet of the Crucified. One was included as an illustration in the confraternity's prayer book *Brascno duhovno* by Father Nikola Hermon (1693), engraved by Georgius Subarich, active in Vienna (fig. 5);²⁷ the other, engraved after it by a Poor Clare nun, Isabella Piccini in Venice, was issued as a single leaf (fig. 6).²⁸ Significantly, they both show the most prominent contribution of the confraternity to the cityscape of Rijeka: the monumental Calvary with three crosses on the top of the Goljak hill. From 1676—when the main cross was carried there by 24 men

²⁷ Georgius Subaric, *Miraculous Crucifix in Rijeka*, engraving, 150 × 90 mm, in: Nicola HERMON, *Brascno dvhovno s' molituami i s' prexuhkom myke Isvsove rasmisgliuanyem dopernesceno, i sloxeno suakemu, ki se nahaya pridruzen Braschine svetoga Krixa vduighnenoy, i nereyenyoy v Reke, poli otac Druxbe Isusoue /.../*, Lubyane 1693. On the date of Subaric's engraving, see Milan PELC, Georgius Subarich sculpsit Vienaë – bakrorezac Juraj Šubarić u Beču oko 1650. godine. Djela i naručitelji, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 39, 2015, pp. 55–74, esp. pp. 56–57.

²⁸ Suor Isabella Piccini, *Miraculous Crucifix in Rijeka*, engraving, 175 × 110 mm; inscriptions: *Suor Isabella Piccini F. // Vero Ritratto del Miracoloso Crocifisso, che percosso da un Gio= / cator L'Anno 1296. sparse copioso Sangue e questo s' adora nella Città di Fiume, nella Chiesa di S. Vito della Compagnia di Giesu* (1696?), Scientific Library, Dubrovnik. I thank Marinka Ulaga for helping me with the research. See Juraj LOKMER, Zagubljeni riječki primjerak Misala hruackoga i nepoznata riječka grafika Isabelle Piccini iz XVII. stoljeća, *Zbornik Sv. Vid*, 8, 2003, pp. 83–106. The iconography of the unattributed painting in the sacristy of the church of St. Vitus, above the intarsia cabinet, reveals the spirituality of the Bona Mors: it shows the Miraculous Crucifix flanked by St. Ignatius and the Mater Dolorosa on the left, St. Joseph and St. Barbara on the right, while the souls in Purgatory and a panorama of Rijeka are shown below.



7. *Christ Crucified with the Mater Dolorosa and the Souls in Purgatory*, engraving in *Brasno dvhovno*, 1693

in a solemn procession organized by the confraternity for the feast of the Exaltation of the True Cross (Lat. *Exaltatio sanctæ crucis*; 14 September)—the processions became one of the most popular annual public devotions in the city.²⁹ The Calvary was abandoned after the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773 and is preserved only in engravings and rare old photographs.³⁰

Vanino emphasized that all the confraternities (as we have seen in Rijeka) distributed images to the confreres from the outset, but the earliest ones are not preserved or at least are not known.³¹ In Nikola Hermon's prayer book there are, in addition to the *Miraculous Crucifix*, two more engravings: the *Pietà* signed by Subarich; and (another) *Christ Crucified with the Mater Dolorosa and Souls in Purgatory* (fig. 7)³² by an unknown engraver. Again, the prints correspond closely to the imagery of the altarpieces and the monumental Calvary, creating highly recognizable "identifiers" of Bona Mors devotions and patronage.

From 1662, the Jesuit church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Varaždin housed what might be considered the most outstanding Bona Mors Confraternity in Croatia.³³ Its impact on the spiritual life not only in the city, but throughout the whole region, was striking: "The Varaždin Confraternity has been, for more than a hundred years, a powerful lever of vigorous Christian life in the city of Varaždin and a significant part of the surrounding area /.../."³⁴ Whole villages, even from the other side of the

²⁹ The date(s) of the procession are diversely reported as 8 or 18 April and 18 November, none of which are connected to major feasts in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. See VIEZZOLI 1931 (n. 22), p. 224; VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 229–230.

³⁰ The chapels with the Stations of the Cross, erected from 1696 to 1768, on the way to the monumental Calvary are preserved to some extent. See VIEZZOLI 1931 (n. 22), pp. 223–224; VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 230–231.

³¹ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 232–233.

³² Engraving, 150 × 90 mm in: HERMON 1693 (n. 27).

³³ Although established a few years after the Bona Mors in Zagreb, the confraternity in Varaždin had the same total number of confreres, approximately 45,000–50,000. See VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 448. For the commissions, see VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 452, 453; Danko ŠOUREK, Pogled u inventar varaždinskoga isusovačkoga kolegija. Prilog rekonstrukciji izgubljenoga konteksta, *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU Varaždin*, 24, 2013, pp. 201–228, esp. pp. 205, 208.

³⁴ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 447: "Varaždinska bratovština je bila kroz više od sto godina snažna poluga djelotvornog kršćanskog življenja u gradu Varaždinu i znatnom dijelu okolice /.../"

Drava river, enrolled on the occasion of the main feast: in 1757, for example, confreres from 37 parishes gathered in Varaždin on Passion Sunday.³⁵ The Bona Mors in Varaždin was enriched with so many donations that the members acquired not only lavish furnishings for their own needs, but also participated in maintaining the church itself, such as repairing the sacristy or commissioning (and later mending) the church bell.³⁶ The liturgical paraphernalia ranged from huge black silk draperies and black carpets that covered the entire church floor, transforming the interior into a most dramatic scenographic stage for the Lenten liturgies, as well as rich vessels, covers, banners and reliquaries.³⁷ However, the most significant confraternal commission was the new altar of the Holy Cross (1762), executed by Philipp Jakob Straub (fig. 8).³⁸ Doris Baričević valued it highly: “one of the finest altar retables with Rococo characteristics in our churches, belonging to the best traditions of the Central European sculpture of the period.”³⁹ The dynamic gilded polychrome wood sculptures by Straub—St. Veronica, the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, John the Evangelist and St. Barbara—enact their grief below the anonymous altar painting of *Christ Crucified*, after Rubens,⁴⁰ now encased behind glass. God the Father, the Holy Ghost and angels, all in swirling gilded drapery, command the radiant heaven above, while in the antependium, the agonized souls in Purgatory beg for mercy. The dramatic, life-like figures unite to create a devout and powerfully visual *meditatio Crucis*.

The iconography of the altar and the preserved enrolment certificates—one by Viennese engravers Andreas and Joseph Schmu[t]zer (fig. 9) from 1737,⁴¹ the other probably made after it (fig.



8. Philipp Jakob Straub: Altar of the Holy Cross, 1762, ex-Jesuit Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Varaždin

³⁵ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 447, 448.

³⁶ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 452, 453.

³⁷ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 448, 449, 452–454.

³⁸ The former altar had been privileged in 1733 for seven years, see VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 450.

³⁹ Doris BARIČEVIĆ, *Barokno kiparstvo sjeverne Hrvatske*, Zagreb 2008, p. 362: “Riječ je o jednom od najboljih retabla s obilježjima rokokoa u našim crkvama u duhu najviših tradicija onodobnog srednjoeuropskog kiparstva.”

⁴⁰ The copy (except for the head) is after Rubens’s painting in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. Christ’s out-stretched, athletic body was inspired by Rubens’s invention, and was widely known through the “official” engraving by Paulus Pontius (1631), made in Rubens’s studio-factory.

⁴¹ Enrolment certificate for the Bona Mors in Varaždin, engraving, 290 × 185 mm. Varaždin, City Museum. Signatures: *Ios. et And. Schmuzer sc. Wien., Fr. C. Kalfirst del. Varasdini*; inscription below: *AgonIà ChrIstI IIVVantVr agonIzantes, aC DeIn Manes In IgnIbVs pVrgatorII patIens* [1736]. The certificate was filled out: Mariana Simochiczka had enrolled on the feast day of St. Joseph (19 March) 1752. The text under the image recalls that Pope Benedict



9. Andreas and Joseph Schmu[t]zer:
Enrolment Certificate of the Bona Mors
Confraternity in Varaždin, engraving



10. Copy after Andreas and Joseph Schmu[t]zer:
Enrolment Certificate of the Bona Mors
Confraternity in Varaždin, engraving

10)⁴²—as well as themes expounded in sermons during confraternal feasts, are clearly related. Apart from the expected subjects concerning the mystery of the Eucharist and Salvation, Christ's Passion and Sacrifice, and the Sorrows of the Virgin (as depicted by her statue), on Passion Sunday in 1706, "eager listeners" (*avidissimo auditori*, says the chronicler)⁴³ heard the preacher explicate episodes from the Old Testament that announced Salvation and Resurrection. The inscription on the large banderole held aloft by the angel on the enrolment engraving is from the Book of Ruth: *Faciat vobiscum Dominis misericordiam / sicut fecistis cum mortuis. Ruth c. I v. 8*. The quotation from Job, written in Croatian among the suffering souls in Purgatory depicted in the antependium, reads: *Have mercy on me, my friends* (Job 19,21). Both served as potent and permanent visual reminders of the obligation to pray for deceased confreres, a mandate the preacher surely alluded to often.

A Bona Mors Confraternity was founded in 1704 in Požega, where Jesuit fathers had a college, and another in Osijek, where they set up a residence. Unfortunately, almost no visual artefacts remain. The happy exception is an enrolment certificate by Viennese engraver Franz Leopold Schmit[t]ner,

XIII had elevated the Roman Bona Mors to the rank of archconfraternity (1729) and enriched it—together with its affiliates—with numerous indulgences. See VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 450, 451; Ivy LENTIĆ-KUGLI, *Upisnica u Bratovštinu Muke i smrti Isusove, Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), p. 309: no. 109.

⁴² Enrolment certificate for the Bona Mors in Varaždin, engraving, 290 × 185 mm, City Museum, Varaždin. I thank Ljerka Šimunić for the photography. See LENTIĆ-KUGLI 1992 (n. 15), p. 268: no. 464.

⁴³ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 448.



11. Franz Leopold Schmit[t]ner: Enrolment Certificate of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Požega, engraving, yellow silk, 1755

printed on yellow silk (1755) and preserved in Požega (fig. 11).⁴⁴ The certificate was filled out, so we learn that a new confrere, Genoveva Strisich, enrolled on 19 September 1773, two months after the Jesuits' suppression by the papal bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*, issued by Clement XIV (21 July 1773).⁴⁵

The foundation of the Confraternity in Osijek (1703)—a military fortress-city—was inspired by an officer, Jakob von Eggendorf, although most probably the local Jesuits encouraged him to do so.⁴⁶ In addition to a manuscript enrolment certificate with added rules and a prayer for the Bona Mors, dated *Lita 1710. 21. Miseca Juni*,⁴⁷ Miroslav Vanino published a printed holy card with God the Father, Christ Crucified and Mary Magdalene with biblical verses invoking mercy for the confreres.⁴⁸

In 1713, two decades after the Jesuits arrived in Petrovaradin (1693), the *Congregatio Agoniae Domini* or *Bonae Mortis* was founded in the newly erected church of St. George:⁴⁹ “Already in the first year over 600 members enrolled. /.../ Devotions of the Confraternity were held in Croatian on Mondays and in German on Fridays.”⁵⁰ In addition to the main feast on Passion Sunday and the general Communion on “pertaining Sunday” (*Dominica Angariae, Domenica angarialis*), as well as on Ember

⁴⁴ Enrolment certificate for the Bona Mors in Požega, 1755, engraving, yellow silk, 350 × 210 mm, Museum of the Požega Valley, Požega. See LENTIĆ-KUGLI 1992 (n. 15), p. 309: no. 111.

⁴⁵ VANINO 1933 (n. 3), pp. 150–151.

⁴⁶ VANINO 2005 (n. 3), p. 358. The same year Jakob von Eggendorf donated a monstrance luna holder (made of two wedding rings) and two pendant candleholders. See VANINO 2005 (n. 3), p. 343. They might have been intended for the adoration of the Most Holy Eucharist, one of the central devotional practices of the Bona Mors.

⁴⁷ VANINO 2005 (n. 3), pp. 357–358. The manuscript is preserved in the Archive of the journal *Vrela i prinosi* in the Jesuit Monastery (Laščinska street), Zagreb, but unavailable.

⁴⁸ VANINO 2005 (n. 3), fig. 54. Quotations are from the Vulgate: *Animam meam pono pro ovibus meis.* (John 10,15); *Abyssus abyssum invocavit in voce cataractarum tuarum.* (Ps. 42) // *Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea.* (Ps. 50) Psalm 50 (*Miserere mei, Deus*) was introduced into the Office of the Dead in Urban VIII's redaction of the Roman Breviary (before 1644). The location of the holy card is not indicated.

⁴⁹ “Consacrata est Ecclesia Anno 1714. 20. Maji.” from the *Diarium Missionis Petrovaradiensis Societatis Iesu*, 1729, p. 4, Petrovaradin, St. George, parish archive. The manuscript was preserved in the parish archive of the Exaltation of the Cross in Petrovaradin and later transferred to the parish archive of St. George, as indicated by Lubomir Vujaklija. See PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), pp. 2, 9; Ljubomir VUJAKLIJA, Riznica crkve sv. Jurja u Petrovaradinu. Sredina prve polovine 18. veka, *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*, 24–25, 1980/1981, pp. 87–103, esp. pp. 87–88; Dubravka ĐUKANOVIĆ, Origin of Architectural Forms of the Petrovaradin St. George's Former Jesuit Church, *Prostor*, 2/48, 2014, pp. 238–251.

⁵⁰ “U crkvi sv. Jurja osnovana je g. 1713. Bratovština muke i smrti Isusove (Congregatio Agoniae Domini iliti Bonae Mortis). Već prve goine upisalo se je preko 600 članova. /.../ Pobožnost bratovštine držala se je ponedjeljkom na hrvatskom jeziku, petkom na njemačkom.” See PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), p. 11.

Fridays and Sundays (*Dominica 4 Temporum, quam peculiarem habet Congregatio Agoniæ*), the confreres participated in particular devotions, including the Holy Mass, offered to all confraternal members (dead and alive), the Litany of the Passion of Christ and the adoration of the Most Holy Eucharist.⁵¹

During the reconquest of Ottoman occupied territories (1683–1699), the Holy Sacrament of Extreme Unction had become neglected among Catholics in Petrovaradin, and thus, many soldiers and others were buried without receiving it.⁵² Therefore, the confraternity introduced an additional major devotion on the first Friday after All Saints' (Lat. *Solemnitas omnium sanctorum*; 1 November),⁵³ that included prayers and thoughts addressed to all those who had passed away. A new chapel dedicated to the Crucified Savior was erected in the cemetery in 1713—the same year as the foundation of the confraternity.⁵⁴ It became the destination of processions starting from the church of St. George on the feast of the Finding of the True Cross (Lat. *Inventio sanctæ crucis*; 3 May) and the feast of the Exaltation of the True Cross (as in Rijeka). From 1732, the confreres were preceded by a priest holding a reliquary of the True Cross, donated to the church of St. George by a noblewoman of the Pejačević family from Ruma.⁵⁵ The early 18th-century reliquary—as it is preserved now—is composed of different parts, executed by various goldsmiths.⁵⁶ The side altar of Christ Crucified (*altare Crucifixi*) existed as the principal altar of the confraternity even before the confreres erected a new one in 1773 (finished in 1774), preserved on the Gospel side of the church (fig. 12).⁵⁷



12. Altar of the Holy Cross, 1773,
ex-Jesuit church of St. George, Petrovaradin

⁵¹ PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), p. 11. Quotes are from *Diarium* 1729 (n. 49), p. 186.

⁵² *Litteræ Annuæ* noted that the change in that sacramental negligence occurred in 1699. See PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), p. 6.

⁵³ The feast of All Saints is followed by All Souls Day (Day of the Dead; Lat. *Commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum*).

⁵⁴ The chapel (donated by Christophor Nitl, a city magistrate) became the parish church of the newly established parish of the Exaltation of the Cross in 1812. See *Opći šematizam Katoličke crkve u Jugoslaviji*, Zagreb 1974, p. 165.

⁵⁵ Both Predragović and Vujaklija quote the *Diarium* 1729 (n. 49), but the former transcribed 1732 as the year of the donation and the latter 1733. See PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), p. 12; VUJAKLIJA 1980/1981 (n. 49), p. 91; Ljubomir VUJAKLIJA, Riznica crkve sv. Jurja u Petrovaradinu. II deo, *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*, 26–27, 1982/1983, pp. 119–132.

⁵⁶ VUJAKLIJA 1982/1983 (n. 55), pp. 89–91. Attributed to an unknown Hungarian goldsmith by LENTIĆ 1992 (n. 19), p. 345: no. 64.

⁵⁷ Anonymous artist[s], *Altar of the Holy Cross*, former Jesuit (now parish) church of St. George, Petrovaradin. I

When it was founded (1726), the Bona Mors Confraternity in Belgrade already had a privileged altar, which must have been a fixed, immovable structure,⁵⁸ even though the Jesuit church at that time was an abandoned mosque(!).⁵⁹ Donations to the confraternity quickly created a lavish treasury, including silk vestments with golden embroidery, a silver heart attached near the crucifix as an *ex voto*, and banners. The confraternity had also printed an image of the Crucified Christ (1729) with a list of the deceased confreres, which it handed out to ensure that all would be properly prayed for.⁶⁰ In 1730, the confraternity in Belgrade was united with the Roman Bona Mors (as were the other affiliates), but its activities did not last long—nine years later (1739), Belgrade was again under Ottoman rule.

The Bona Mors Confraternity in Dubrovnik was founded “before 1670”, as Vanino concluded upon reading a notice from the *Annuaire*: that year a bull issued by Pope Clement X (30 June 1670) granted a plenary indulgence every month to the confreres who sacramentally confessed their sins, received the Holy Eucharist in the Jesuit church in Dubrovnik and prayed for the “intentions” of the Supreme Pontiff.⁶¹ Additional graces might be obtained by confreres who attended Bona Mors devotions on Sunday afternoons.⁶² Two paintings in the church of St. Ignatius in Dubrovnik—*Death of St. Joseph* (1725)⁶³ by Bertolomeo Litterini and the anonymous *Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary, St. Mary Magdalene and St. John the Evangelist*,⁶⁴ which echoed Pietro da Cortona’s dramatically animated *Crucifixion* (1661) for the high altar of the church of St. Thomas of Villanova in Castel Gandolfo—visually interpret the spirituality of the Bona Mors.⁶⁵ They could have also served as excellent visual companions to the sermons preached before the confraternity, which were published, and so remain the most prominent legacy of the Bona Mors in Dubrovnik. The success of various

thank Nada Sudarević (photographer) and Ivana Petrekanić Sič (journalist of *Hrvatska riječ*) for the photography. See PREDRAGOVIĆ 1939 (n. 4), p. 11; Jerko MATOŠ, Samostan sv. Franje u Petrovaradinu, *Peristil*, 30, 1987, p. 112. Franz Josef Schams (1720) mentioned the former altar in connection with a commemorative plate of Ferdinand Laurenz Kolowrat-Liebseinsky (†1694), as being “Links unter dem Kreuzaltare”; see Franz Josef SCHAMS, *Topographische Beschreibung von Peterwardein und seinen Umgebungen*, Pesth 1820, p. 37.

⁵⁸ The foundation stone dated 21 Julij 1732 for a new Jesuit church was retrieved in the Belgrade district of Dorćol (Dordol) in 1887. See Mihovil VALTROVIĆ, s. t., *Starinar srpskog arheološkog društva*, 4/4, 1887, p. 123; VANINO 1934 (n. 3), p. 33.

⁵⁹ “The Confraternity of the Passion and Death of Christ (*Congragatio Agoniæ Domini, Congregatio Bonæ Mortis*) was founded in 1726 by a papal bull that granted it indulgences and mentioned the privileged altar” (“*Bratovština Muke i Smrti Isusove* (*Congregatio Agoniæ Domini, Congregatio Bonæ Mortis*) osnovana je g. 1726. papinom bulom, s kojom su dani bratovštini oprosti i povlastica privilegiranog oltara.”), see VANINO 1934 (n. 3), pp. 27–28. In the recovered territories, mosques were often converted into churches and consecrated to saints because they provided the only available spaces large enough for Catholic liturgical ceremonies. Three of them still exist: St. Vitus in Knin, St. Anthony in Drniš and All Saints in Đakovo. Their reuse in this manner further underscored the Church’s victory over the “infidel” and the renewal of Catholicism in Croatia.

⁶⁰ No printed holy card from the Bona Mors in Belgrade is known to be preserved. See VANINO 1934 (n. 3), p. 28.

⁶¹ VANINO 1987 (n. 3), pp. 93–94. “Intentions” are prayer objectives proclaimed by the pope for a certain period (months or years).

⁶² VANINO 1987 (n. 3), p. 94.

⁶³ Radoslav TOMIĆ, Djela Bertolomea Litterinija u Dalmaciji, *Peristil*, 47, 2004, pp. 43–66, esp. pp. 50, 51, 54. The painting is in the first altar on the Gospel side.

⁶⁴ Ivy LENTIĆ-KUGLI, Raspeće s Madonnom, Sv. Marijom Magdalenom i sv. Ivanom, *Isusovačka baština* 1992 (n. 15), p. 309; no. 32. In 1992 the painting was in the sacristy, but is now exhibited in the church on the Epistle side near the entrance.

⁶⁵ There is no confirmation of these paintings being commissioned by or for the confraternity.

esercizi della buona morte by Italian Jesuits⁶⁶ inspired the orators of the Bona Mors Confraternity in Dubrovnik, such as Father Bernard Zuzzeri, who was already preparing his sermons—*Besjedde duhovne*—to be published in March 1754,⁶⁷ and Father Đuro Bašić, who published his *Bessjede kærstjanske* in 1765.⁶⁸



The Bona Mors Confraternities played an important role in shaping Tridentine Catholicism in Croatia. They bear witness to the local traditions and different contexts, but even more they reveal the Jesuits' ability to promote them by unifying devotions and using strategies of fidelity to the Supreme Pontiff and Rome, of frequent Communion and encouraging the Tridentine sacramental *bonam vitam* in general. Unfortunately, the artistic legacy of the Bona Mors has come down to us in a very fragmented form, since these confraternities suffered not only the suppression of the Jesuit Order, but the subsequent Josephine and Napoleonic reforms of confraternities which severed their tight connections to Rome and transformed them—if their activity continued at all, and then only briefly—into pious societies approved by the reigning sovereign.⁶⁹ The artistic legacy of Bona Mors confraternities in Croatia—including altars, paintings, prints, reliquaries, liturgical vestments and vessels—became the property of local dioceses, which over time blurred the Bona Mors origin and identity. The aim of this contribution is to reconnect the precious Bona Mors heritage to the ideas and beliefs that inspired this rich artistic production in order to ensure better appreciation, preservation and presentation.*

⁶⁶ For example, Father Carlo Ambrogio CATTANEO, *Esercizio della buona morte*, Milano 1711, and later editions of 1719, 1724, 1734; and in particular Father Giuseppe Antonio BORDONI, *Discorsi per l'esercizio della buona morte*, Venezia 1749–1751, and later edition of 1753.

⁶⁷ As indicated in the foreword of the second edition: Bernard ZUZZERI, *Besjede duhovne /.../ rečene pred skuptinom dobre smrti u crkvi sv. Ignacija u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb 1872, p. VIII. They were published for the first time in 1793, well after his death (†1762) and after the suppression of the Jesuits: Bernard ZUZZERI, *Besjedde duhovne /.../ recene prid Skupscinom Dobre Smaerti u Zaerkvi S. Ignazia u Dubrovniku*, Dubrovnik 1793.

⁶⁸ Giuro BASSICH, *Bessjede kærstjanske sa nedjeglnijeh i blasieh danaa od godiscta na koris puka pravovjernoga Pastjerom Duhovnijem slovinzijeh dærsciava, Kojjemse pristavgljaju sabave zærkovgnakom podobne, i dva dratka vjyegbana sa spravit se podobno na parvu Ispovjes, i na parvo Pricestjenje sloscena odjednog a Redovnika posvetjena Boggu u Redu*, U Mlezijeh 1765.

⁶⁹ Vjekoslav ŠTEFANIĆ, Vladimir FRANOLIĆ, Josip BUTURAC, Bratovštine, *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, 3, Zagreb 1942, pp. 247–252.

* I would like to thank in particular Dr. Barbara Murovec and Dr. Barbara Wisch: without them not only would this essay not have appeared in this revised form, but it would not have been written at all.

Jezuitske bratovščine za srečno smrt na Hrvaškem

Povzetek

Ponovni razcvet teme *ars moriendi* v zgodnjem 17. stoletju je imel za cilj pospeševanje tridentinske *bona vita*, tj. zakramentalnega življenja, še posebej množičnega prejemanja svete evharistije. Pravila in program bratovščine na križu umirajočega Kristusa in njegove Žalostne Matere Device Marije oz. bratovščine *Bona Mors*, ustanovljene 1648 v Rimu, so se kmalu razširili po njenih podružnicah povsod, kjer so se jezuiti naselili. Po jezuitskih kolegijih in rezidencah je bilo ustanovljenih osem bratovščin za srečno smrt, in sicer v Zagrebu (1653), na Reki (1656), v Varaždinu (1662), Dubrovniku (1670 ali prej), Osijeku (1703), Požegi (1704), Petrovaradinu (1713) in Beogradu (1726). Hrvaški jezuiti so bili razdeljeni v dve provinci: Dubrovnik je spadal pod rimsko provinco, medtem ko so bili vsi ostali kolegiji in rezidence del avstrijske province.

Duhovnost bratovščin za srečno smrt je postala izjemno učinkovito sredstvo jezuitskih pastoralnih prizadevanj in je globoko zaznamovala duhovno življenje in umetnostno dediščino verskih skupnosti in regij. Bratovščine za srečno smrt niso bile edine, ki so jih jezuiti ustanovili, so pa predstavljale najučinkovitejšo podporo njihovemu trudu (skupaj s škofijskimi duhovniki in drugimi redovi) za ponovno pokristjanjenje Slavonije, Srema in drugih predelov, ki so bili do poznega 17. stoletja pod otomansko vladavino (Požega, Osijek, Petrovaradin, Beograd), prav tako pa tudi pri rekatolicizaciji skupnosti, ki so bile izpostavljene vplivu protestantizma (npr. okolica Varaždina), ali so potrebovale okrepitev zakramentalnega življenja (Zagreb) in discipline (Reka).

Arhivski viri in zgodovinarji jezuitskega reda, še posebej najpomembnejši med njimi, Miroslav Vanino, omenjajo umetniško lastnino hrvaških bratovščin za srečno smrt, vendar je ta danes zelo fragmentarna, večinoma je propadla ob zatrtju jezuitskega reda (1773) in v poznejših jožefinskih in napoleonskih reformah. Ohranjena sta oltarja sv. Križa, ki sta stala v Varaždinu (1762) in Petrovaradinu (1773), in čudodelni križ (13. stol.) na velikem oltarju Pasqualina Lazzarinija na Reki pa tudi potrdila o vpisu (Zagreb, Varaždin, Požega, Osijek) in druge grafične podobe (Reka), ki so jih množično delili med člane.

Bratovščine za srečno smrt so imele pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju tridentinskega katolištva na Hrvaškem. Pričajo o lokalnih tradicijah in različnih kontekstih ter, kar je še pomembnejše, razkrivajo, kako je jezuitom uspelo z njimi spodbuditi enotno pobožnost, zvestobo rimskemu vrhovnemu poglavarju, pogosto obhajilo in tridentinsko zakramentalno *bona vita* na splošno.

Bruderschaftsbriefe Marianischer Kongregationen im 18. Jahrhundert

Zeugnis und korporative Repräsentation

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

Marianische Kongregationen der Societas Jesu

Die Gesellschaft Jesu adaptierte bekanntlich ältere katechetische Strukturen, wenn sie ihren eigenen Zielen gemäß waren. Dies galt unter anderem für die Marianischen Kongregationen, die der Einübung und Förderung einer geistlichen Lebensweise in verschiedenen Bevölkerungsschichten dienten.¹ In der Studienordnung von 1599 wurde es allen Rektoren zur Pflicht gemacht, in ihren Kollegien Kongregationen einzurichten.² Ihren Ursprung hatte diese Initiative in der 1584 päpstlich approbierten *Congregatio prima primaria* in Rom, die P. Johannes (Jean) Leunis SJ³ 1563 als Bruderschaft für Gymnasiasten gegründet und ein Jahr später unter den Schutz Mariens gestellt hatte. Von ihr leitet sich das Patrozinium „Mariä Verkündigung“ ab, das sowohl lateinische als auch volkssprachliche Kongregationen der Jesuiten weltweit übernahmen.⁴ Diese wurden sukzessiv der römischen Mutterorganisation assoziiert, wodurch sie deren 1574/87 fixierten Statuten unterworfen waren, aber auch entsprechende Privilegien und Ablässe erhielten. Die Kongregationen wurden jeweils von einem Jesuitenpater als Präses geleitet; die Verwaltung übernahm der von den Mitgliedern (Sodalen) gewählte, aus einer unterschiedlich großen Anzahl von Konsultoren bestehende Magistrat, den der Präfekt mit einem oder zwei Assistenten und dem Sekretär anführte.⁵

¹ Bernhard DUHR, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVI. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1907 (Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge, 1), S. 357–371, 478–481; zusammenfassend: Julius OSWALD, Frömmigkeit und Bildung. Die Marianische Kongregation in München 1578–1773, *Serenissimi Gymnasium. 450 Jahre bayerische Bildungspolitik. Vom Jesuitenkolleg zum Wilhelmsgymnasium München* (Hrsg. Julius Oswald, Rolf Selbmann, Claudia Wiener), Regensburg 2010 (Jesuitica, 15; Bibliotheca Institutii Societatis Jesu, 71), S. 69–89.

² Bernhard DUHR, *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1896 (Bibliothek der katholischen Pädagogik, 9), S. 193 (Regeln für den Rektor, 23).

³ George MEESEN, Leunis (Léon), Jean, *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, 3, Rom-Madrid 2001, S. 2342.

⁴ Zusammenfassend: Marianische Kongregation, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marianische_Kongregation (Zugriff 25.12.2017).

⁵ Bernhard DUHR, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVII. Jahrhundert*, 2, Freiburg im Breisgau 1913 (Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge, 2/2), S. 81–122; Bernhard DUHR, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge in der zweiten Hälfte des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 3, München-Regensburg 1921 (Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge, 3), S. 642–656; Bernhard DUHR, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVIII. Jahrhundert*, 2, Freiburg im Breisgau 1928

Zu den Aufgaben der Sodalen gehörten religiöse Übungen, die das Leben des Einzelnen wie der Gemeinschaft prägten, soziale Dienste wie die Krankenpflege und die Gebetsfürsorge für Verstorbene.⁶ Über Prozessionen, eucharistische Andachten und Theateraufführungen bezog man die Bevölkerung ein und sorgte für die weitere Verbreitung religiöser Inhalte.⁷

Die Ausstattung der Versammlungsräume (Aulae Marianae) und Bruderschaftsaltäre nahm in der Regel auf das Marienpatrozinium Bezug, ebenso wie bildlich dekorierte Objekte, die im Auftrag der Kongregation entstanden oder ihr gestiftet wurden: Vasa sacra, Paramente, Standarten und Wahlurnen. Auch Druckgraphiken spielten eine wichtige Rolle im Bruderschaftsleben; sie schmückten Statuten und Andachtsbücher oder dienten als Einzelblätter unterschiedlichen Funktionen.⁸

Ein solcher Funktionstyp, der Bruderschaftsbrief, soll im Folgenden untersucht werden. Der Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf einer Sammlung von 24 Blättern im Archiv der Österreichischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu in Wien (Archivum Provinciae Austriae Societatis Iesu = AASI).⁹ Diese stammen bis auf ein Salzburger und ein Bozener Blatt aus von Jesuiten gegründeten Kongregationen in der ehemaligen Oberdeutschen und der Österreichischen Provinz. Zum großen Teil überlebten die Bruderschaften die Aufhebung des Ordens im Jahr 1773 – teilweise bis in die Gegenwart –, so dass die vorgestellte Gruppe auch Exemplare aus dem frühen 19. Jahrhundert umfasst.

Zum Begriff des Bruderschaftsbriefes und dessen Funktionen

Bruderschaftsbriefe sind im ausgefüllten Zustand Urkunden, denn die Kupferstich-Formulare wurden ad personam ausgestellt, mit einem Papiersiegel versehen und von zwei Würdenträgern der Kongregation unterschrieben, in der Regel von Präfekt und Sekretär. In der Sammlung des AASI werden sie entsprechend als „Kongregationsdiplome“ geführt. Zeitgenössische Begriffe, die auf den Blättern selbst Verwendung fanden, sind „Zeugnuß“ bzw. „Testimonium“ oder „Urkund“. Bernhard Duhr schrieb von „Patenten“, die für reisende Sodalen ausgegeben wurden.¹⁰ Der in der Literatur gebrauchte Begriff „Bruderschaftszettel“ wird ihrer Bedeutung hingegen kaum gerecht,¹¹ und der Ausdruck „Aufnahmebrief“ bezeichnet nur eine ihrer Funktionen, den Nachweis über

(Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge, 4/2), S. 272–282; OSWALD 2010 (Anm. 1), S. 75–78.

⁶ Placidus BRAUN, *Geschichte des Kollegiums der Jesuiten in Augsburg*, München 1822, S. 125; DUHR 1907 (Anm. 1); zur Rolle der Kongregationen für die religiöse Erziehung der Sodalen siehe auch Marianne SAMMER, *Die Fastenmeditation. Gattungstheoretische Grundlegung und kulturgeschichtlicher Kontext*, München 1996 (Kulturgeschichtliche Forschungen, 22), S. 39–48.

⁷ OSWALD 2010 (Anm. 1), S. 82–89.

⁸ Zu den üblichen Bildchen mit den „Monatsheiligen“ siehe DUHR 1913 (Anm. 4), S. 98–100; zu der graphisch gestalteten Weiheformel von Mannheim: Karl WEICH, *Mannheim – das neue Jerusalem. Die Jesuiten in Mannheim 1720–1773*, Mannheim 1997, S. 111 (mit Abb.); weitere Beispiele bei OSWALD 2010 (Anm. 1).

⁹ Für die Bereitstellung der Sammlung im Mai 2017 und professionelle Scans wird herzlich der Archivleiterin, Frau Dr. Martina Lehner, gedankt.

¹⁰ DUHR 1913 (Anm. 5), S. 98.

¹¹ Hans HOCHENEGG, Meraner Bruderschaftszettel, *Der Schlern*, 53, 1979, S. 607–609. Der Begriff findet sich jedoch u. a. auf einem Brief der Sebastians-Bruderschaft in Rosenheim, 1758 (Gerhard STALLA, Bruderschaftsbriefe für Rosenheim und Umgebung in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, *Das Bayerische Inn-Oberland*, 41, 1977, S. 68, Nr. 4).

die bloße Aufnahme in eine Bruderschaft.¹² Die Urkunden wurden aber vor allem dann relevant, wenn wandernde Sodalen sie an fremden Orten als „Pässe“ verwendeten; sie wiesen ihre Besitzer als verlässliche Katholiken aus und verschafften ihnen Eingang in entsprechende Kreise.¹³ Besonders wichtig waren die Briefe offenbar für wandernde Gesellen, die einen Vertrauensvorschuss brauchten, um in der Fremde Arbeit zu finden – die Wiener Sammlung verzeichnet Schneider, Schreiner, Schuh- und Handschuhmacher, Buchbinder, Weber, Färber und Seifensieder. Bruderschaftsbriefe sind damit Parallelscheinungen zu den Handwerkskundschaften, die bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert von den Zünften ausgestellt und danach durch Wanderbücher bzw. Pässe ersetzt wurden.¹⁴ Diese wurden jedoch konfessionell übergreifend verwendet, während Bruderschaftsbriefe nur für die katholischen Sodalen der Marianischen Kongregationen galten. Sie dürften damit deren Zunftpapiere ergänzt haben.

Typischer Aufbau der Formulare und deren Stecher

Bruderschaftsbriefe auf graphisch gestalteten Formularen scheint es seit der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts gegeben zu haben, also etwa ein halbes Jahrhundert nach der Hauptphase der Gründung Marianischer Kongregationen nördlich der Alpen. In Bezug auf Menge und künstlerische Qualität liegt der Schwerpunkt jedoch im 18. Jahrhundert. Wie auf vielen Gebieten der Druckgraphik war Augsburg das wichtigste Produktionszentrum für den süddeutsch-österreichischen Raum. Ab 1740 stach und verlegte vor allem der Verlag der *Klauber Catholici*.¹⁵ Formulare für die Marianischen Kongregationen dieser Region. Die Graphiken enthalten nun stets ein in die Platte eingestochenes, normiertes „Führungszeugnis“ mit Leerstellen für die Namen des Sodalens und der Würdenträger sowie das Papiersiegel der Kongregation. Die Produkte von Kupferstechern an anderen Orten wiesen – mit Ausnahme von Köln¹⁶ und Wien – in der Regel nicht die gleiche inventarische Qualität und technische Subtilität auf wie die ihrer schwäbischen Kollegen. Dennoch bestellte man nicht durchweg in Augsburg, sondern bevorzugte gelegentlich ortsansässige Graphiker – unter anderem in München und Passau. Es wäre denkbar, dass gerade Gesellen-Bruderschaften sich für einen Auftrag an lokale Kollegen stark machten.

¹² *Alte Straubinger Ansichten. Druckgraphische Blätter aus der Sammlung Erwin Böhm* (Hrsg. Stefan Maier), Gäubodenmuseum Straubing, Straubing 1995, S. 141, 143, Kat. 55. Zum Aufnahmeeritus siehe OSWALD 2010 (Anm. 1), S. 78f.

¹³ Trotz des normierten Zeugnistextes wurden die Urkunden nicht automatisch an alle Sodalen vergeben; in Koblenz erhielten 1603 nur sechzehn abreisende Mitglieder ein solches Zeugnis, acht Sodalen wurde es verweigert (DUHR 1913 (Anm. 5), S. 93).

¹⁴ Klaus STOPP, *Die Handwerkskundschaften mit Ortsansichten. Beschreibender Katalog der Arbeitsattestate wandernder Handwerksesellen (1731–1830). 1: Allgemeiner Teil*, Stuttgart 1982, S. 50.

¹⁵ Joseph Sebastian (Augsburg 1710–1768) und Johann Baptist Klauber (Augsburg 1712 – um 1787). Ulrich KIRSTEIN, Gode KRÄMER, Klauber, *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, Augsburg 1998²; vgl. auch <http://www.stadtlexikon-augsburg.de> (Zugriff 10.1.2018); Germaid RUCK, Julija ŠAPČENKO, Klauber, *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, 80, Berlin-Boston 2014, S. 390–393.

¹⁶ Siehe z. B. Stadtmuseum Köln, Inv. HM 1928/218: Bruderschaftsbrief für Johann Sebastian Göller, ausgestellt von der Dreikönigsbruderschaft für ledige Männer, 16. September 1776; Kupferstich mit Radierung, 43,3 x 35,6–36,5 cm (Platte), abgebildet bei Bernadette SCHÖLLER, *Religiöse Drucke aus Kölner Produktion. Flugblätter und Wandbilder des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts aus den Beständen des Kölnischen Stadtmuseums*, Köln 1995, S. 90–92, Kat. 73.



1. Verlag der Brüder Klauber, gestochen nach Vorzeichnung von Johann Michael Franz: Bruderschaftsbrief der Größeren Marianischen Kongregation in Eichstätt, Augsburg, Kupferstich und Radierung, 1768

Entsprechend zu den illustrierten Handwerkskundschaften¹⁷ enthalten Bruderschaftsbriefe oft Veduten des Standortes der Kongregation, entweder Stadtansichten oder – kunsthistorisch von besonderem Interesse – Innenansichten der Oratorien bzw. ihrer Altäre. Hinzu kommen Szenen oder figurale Rahmen, die den Titulus der Kongregation verbildlichen, etwa die Verkündigung an Maria. Auch eine Idealdarstellung des Sodalens wurde gelegentlich eingefügt. Ein typisches Beispiel ist ein unbenutztes Formular aus dem Jesuitenkolleg Eichstätt (Abb. 1).¹⁸ Der 1768 vom Verlag Klauber nach Entwurf des Eichstätter Hofmalers Johann Michael Franz (1715–1793)¹⁹ gefertigte hochformatige Kupferstich mit Radierung zeigt im oberen Drittel unter einem Baldachin die Statue der Himmelskönigin mit Kind, die durch die Mondsichel und die Schlange zu ihren Füßen als

¹⁷ STOPP 1982 (Anm. 14).

¹⁸ Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt, GS(5)11.2.2. Abgebildet in: *Die Schutzengelkirche und das ehemalige Jesuitenkolleg in Eichstätt* (Hrsg. Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke, Julius Oswald, Claudia Wiener), Regensburg 2011 (Jesuitica, 16), S. 72, Abb. 16; S. 325, Abb. 171. Zu der noch bestehenden Eichstätter Kongregation: Josef GEHR, Die Marianische Männerkongregation „Mariä Verkündigung“ zu Eichstätt, *Die Schutzengelkirche* (Anm. 18), S. 73–83.

¹⁹ Edgar BAUMGARTL, Franz, Johann Michael, *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, 44, München-Leipzig 2005, S. 153.

Apokalyptische Frau gekennzeichnet ist. Es handelt sich um die anscheinend einzige Abbildung der verschollenen Silbermadonna aus der Aula Mariana im Jesuitengymnasium, die 1706 von dem Augsburger Goldschmied Johann Butz geschaffen worden war; das Postament war 1748 erneuert worden.²⁰ Beiderseits der Sockelstufen beziehen sich kniend ein Sodale und sein Schutzengel (*Ich begleite dich*) auf das Standbild. Der erstere spricht seine „Verlobung“ an Maria aus: *Ich erwähle dich*.²¹ Seine Kleidung und sein Degen erweisen ihn ebenso wie die deutschen Inschriften als Mitglied der Größeren Marianischen Kongregation, die seit 1621 Laien und Kleriker umfasste, jedoch von der lateinischen Sodalität der Studenten und Schüler getrennt war.²² Ein Reisekoffer hinter ihm deutet an, dass er im Begriff ist, Eichstätt zu verlassen. Unter einem auf Maria bezogenen Psalmvers (Ps 90,13) steht der eigentliche Urkundentext.²³ Eine Ansicht des Jesuitenkollegs²⁴ mit dem Namen Jesu in Flammengloriole schließt das Blatt nach unten ab. Leer geblieben sind die Kartuschen für die Namen des Präfekten und des Sekretärs sowie für das Kongregationssiegel mit einem Motto aus dem Hohelied.²⁵ Das Formular erläutert also die Beziehung des Urkundeneigners zu seinem Herkunftsort und seiner spirituellen Patronin. Es ist neben dem urkundlichen Führungszeugnis auch Motivbild und Werbung für das Eichstätter Kolleg.

Die Wiener Sammlung enthält Urkunden, deren Formulare in Augsburg, München, Passau und Salzburg gestochen wurden. Im Folgenden sollen nur einige der anspruchsvollen Graphiken in etwa chronologischer Reihenfolge der Platten-Herstellung vorgestellt werden; die typographischen oder nur mit kleinen, eingesetzten Kupferstichen dekorierten Urkunden bleiben hier unberücksichtigt.

Passau

Wohl das älteste der hier besprochenen Beispiele ist ein Brief der Bruderschaft „Mariae Verkündigung“ in Passau (Abb. 2), der von dem niederländischen Kupferstecher Matthias van Someren

²⁰ Christina GRIMMINGER, Die Aula Mariana des Jesuitenkollegs in Eichstätt, *Die Schutzengelkirche* 2011 (Anm. 18), S. 323.

²¹ Es handelt sich um ein Kondensat der Verlobungsformel; siehe GEHR 2011 (Anm. 16), S. 78.

²² GEHR 2011 (Anm. 18), S. 77.

²³ *Die Hochlöbl[iche] Congregation | Unser Lieben Frau Verkündigung | Zu der Hochf[ürst]l[lichen] Bischoffl[ichen] Haupt u[nd] Residenz Statt Aychstädt | Bey denen Vättern der Gesellschaft Jesu | Wünschet allen, so dises lesen werden, Gnad und Seegen Christi. || Auf geziemendes Ansuchen des /.../ | haben wir durch diese offene Schrift bezeugen wollen, daß er Unserer Hochlöbl[ichen] Congregation | gewöhnlicher und ordentlicher Weiß einverleibet, folglich aller davon abhängenden Ablässe, und | Privilegien theilhaftig sey. Weyl er noch darzu, so vil Uns bewust ist, sich den Marianischen | Satzungen gemäß allezeit auserbaulich betragen hat, so ist er würdig geworden, bey allen Mit | Unserer, oder sonst mit der Römischen verbundenen Congregationen als ein rechtmässiges Mit-[glied] erkennt, und angenommen zu werden. Zu dessen Bestätigung wir unser Marianisches | Insigel beygesetzt haben. Aychstädt im Jahr /.../ den /.../ Tag des Monats /.../. || Herr Präfect /.../ || Herr Secretarius /.../.*

²⁴ Siehe hierzu Claudia GRUND, Templum honoris. Zur Baugeschichte von Kirche und Kolleg der Jesuiten zu Eichstätt im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert, *Die Schutzengelkirche* 2011 (Anm. 18), S. 196–217, besonders S. 212–214, Abb. 65.

²⁵ *Setze mich als ein Sigill auf dein Herz* (Cant 8,6).



2. Matthias van Someren
nach Georg Urtlmayr:
Bruderschaftsbrief der
Passauer Kongregation
„Mariae Verkündigung“,
Passau, Kupferstich, vor 1672

(Sommeren, Somer)²⁶ nach Entwurf von Georg Urtlmayr (Urtlmayr)²⁷ vor 1672 gestochen worden ist.²⁸ Die Druckplatte der erst 1777 für den Schuhmachergesellen Georg Schinagel²⁹ ausgestelltten Urkunde muss bei ihrer Verwendung also mehr als hundert Jahre alt gewesen sein. Tatsächlich gibt sie einen Entwurf wieder, der in seiner formalen Strenge und der barocken Leidenschaft für Bild-Text-Kombinationen typisch für eine Invention des 17. Jahrhunderts ist. Die idealtypische Beziehung von Pictura und Motto im Emblem war dem Inventor allerdings kaum geläufig; die Motti sind teilweise schlichte Bildbeschriftungen.

²⁶ Der Stecher war angeblich zwischen 1649 und 1672 in Passau tätig. Siehe *Die Jesuiten in Passau. Schule und Bibliothek 1612–1773. 375 Jahre Gymnasium Leopoldinum und Staatliche Bibliothek Passau*, Passau 1987, S. 276, Kat. 23; vgl. Max Ditmar HENKEL, Somer, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 31, Leipzig 1937, S. 263–264.

²⁷ Urtlmayr ist zwischen 1660 und 1677 in Passau bezeugt; vgl. Urtlmayer, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 34, Leipzig 1940, S. 5; *Die Jesuiten in Passau* 1987 (Anm. 26), S. 276, Kat. 23.

²⁸ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 20 (ausgestellt am 16. September 1777). Ein weiteres Exemplar vom 24. Mai 1779 ist in der Staatlichen Bibliothek Passau, Graph. 52, erhalten (*Die Jesuiten in Passau* 1987 (Anm. 26), S. 275f., Kat. 23).

²⁹ Die Matrikel der Marianischen Bürgerkongregation von 1650–1852 ist im Archiv des Bistums Passau, Bestand Marianische Bürgerkongregation, erhalten (*Die Jesuiten in Passau* 1987 (Anm. 26), S. 263–265, Kat. 12).

Vor einer Vedute von Passau, die offenbar von der Wallfahrtskirche Mariahilf oberhalb der Innstadt aufgenommen worden ist, stehen zwei mit Emblemschilden besetzte Säulen, vor deren Sockeln Kartuschen für die handschriftlich hinzugesetzten Namen des Rektors und des Sekretärs angebracht sind. Auf den korinthisierenden Kapitellen, die im Sinne einer „marianischen Ordnung“ statt Akanthusblättern Lilien tragen, knien Maria und Gabriel. Dass es sich um den Moment der Verkündigung handelt, erklärt nicht nur der Gestus des Engels mit der Lilie, sondern auch die Heiliggeist-Taube in Engelsglorie, von der ein Gnadenstahl auf Marias Leib fällt. Die vier Embleme steuern typologische Bilder für die Jungfräulichkeit der Gottesmutter bei, die von begleitenden Putti mit deutschsprachigen Motti auf Schriftbändern versehen werden: die sich im Meer spiegelnde Sonne (*Jedoch unversert*), den brennenden Dornbusch des Mose (*Der unverbrandte Busch*), die durch Himmelstau in der Muschel gezeugte Perle (*Von dem himmels tau*) und das betaute Vlies Gideons, das diesem als Beweis für Gottes Auftrag diente (*das fell Gedeons. Jud. 6*).³⁰ Diese Merkbilder gaben Argumentationshilfe für den Eigner der Urkunde, der mit ihnen möglichen Zweifeln an der Immaculata Conceptio begegnen konnte. Den deutschsprachigen Text mit der Empfehlung des Sodalen weisen redende³¹ Engel zwischen den Säulen vor; ein weiterer Engel hält das Papiersiegel der Kongregation. Der Schwerpunkt der Komposition ist also ganz marianisch.

Burghausen

Eine ebenfalls Jahrzehnte lang andauernde Verwendung belegt ein von Gabriel Ehinger (1652–1736)³² in Augsburg gestochenes Blatt, das 1773, im Jahr der Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens, in Burghausen benutzt wurde (Abb. 3).³³ Anders als die Mehrzahl der Bruderschaftsbriefe ist dieses querformatig. Um ein von Engeln gehaltenes Velum mit dem Urkundentext, hinter dem schemenhaft das Salzachtal mit dem Jesuitenkolleg Burghausen sichtbar wird, sind beiderseits je drei Heilige versammelt: im Vordergrund Ignatius mit einem Bild der Mater dolorosa, gegenüber Franz Xaver mit Lilie, Kreuz und einer Darstellung der Immaculata mit der Beischrift *INDIAE TVTELA*, möglicherweise dem Altarbild der Aula Mariana von Goa. Hinter ihnen stehen links die Studentenpatrone Aloysius Gonzaga und Stanislaus Kostka, rechts der als heiligmäÙig verehrte P. Jakob Rem (1546–1618) mit dem Gnadenbild der *Mater ter admirabilis* in Ingolstadt, einer Kopie der römischen Ikone *Salus Populi Romani* (Maria Schnee) in S. Maria Maggiore.³⁴ Rem hatte 1574 in Dillingen die erste süddeutsche Marianische Kongregation gegründet, so dass er in diesem Kontext auch für Burghausen wichtig war.³⁵ Neben ihm erscheint der Nährvater Joseph mit seiner Lilie. Die

³⁰ Sigrid EPP, Sibylle APPUHN-RADTKE, Gideon, <http://www.rdklabor.de/wiki/Gideon> (Zugriff 4.1.2018).

³¹ Im Zentrum: „Gedenke an dein Ghemain. Ps. 73“ (Ps 73,2), zu seiner Rechten: „und ich will mich erzeigen dein Mutter“, zu seiner Linken: „Erzeige dich einem Sohn“.

³² Matthias KUNZE, Ehinger, Gabriel, *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, 32, München-Leipzig 2002, S. 422.

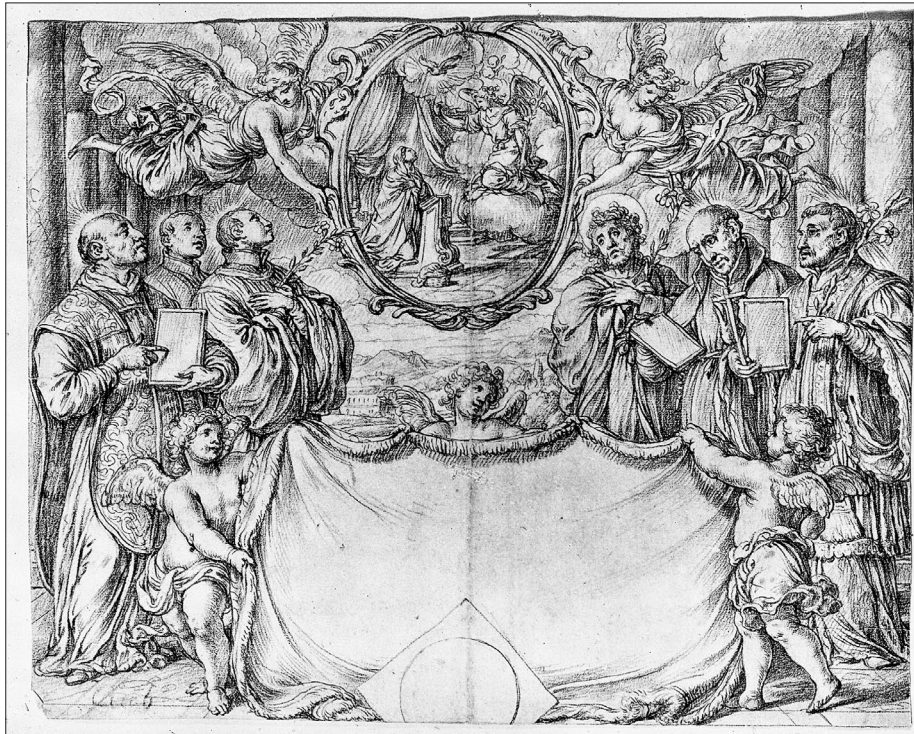
³³ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 15, Kupferstich auf Papier, 28,5 x 35,8 cm (Plattenrand). Zur Burghausener Kongregation siehe Julius OSWALD, *Die Marianische Kongregation von Burghausen 1629–1773, Das Kurfürst-Maximilian-Gymnasium zu Burghausen. Vom Kolleg der Societas Jesu zur Königlich Bayerischen Studien-Anstalt* (Hrsg. Dietmar Grypa, Wolfgang Gutfleisch), Würzburg 1997, S. 80–87.

³⁴ Rudolf Karl HÖFER, Emmeram H. RITTER, Schnee, *Marienlexikon*, 6 (Hrsg. Remigius Bäumer, Leo Scheffczyk), St. Ottilien 1994, S. 40–42.

³⁵ Anton HÖSS, *P. Jakob Rem SJ, Kündler der wunderbaren Mutter*, München 1953, S. 44, 109–120, 159–172; Friede-



3. Gabriel Ehinger nach Jonas Umbach: Bruderschaftsbrief der Burghausener Kongregation „Immaculata Conceptio“, Augsburg, Kupferstich, vor 1693



4. Jonas Umbach: Vorzeichnung für den Burghausener Bruderschaftsbrief der Kongregation „Immaculata Conceptio“, Augsburg, Rötelzeichnung, vor 1693, Städtische Kunstsammlungen Augsburg

Heiligen beziehen sich auf ein von Engeln getragenes Medaillon, das als Bild im Bild die Verkündigungsszene zeigt. Deren Komposition ist unabhängig von dem um 1655 entstandenen Altarbild mit dem gleichen Thema aus der großen Kongregationsaula in Burghausen.³⁶ Der Schwerpunkt der Ikonographie dieses Blattes liegt auf der Auswahl der Heiligen, die Exempla für die Verehrung Mariens bilden und den Sodalen als Vorbilder für marianische Frömmigkeit und Keuschheit dienen konnten.

Da die (in Augsburg erhaltene) Vorzeichnung des Kupferstiches (Abb. 4)³⁷ von Jonas Umbach (Augsburg um 1624–1693)³⁸ stammt, muss sie vor dessen Tod im Frühjahr 1693 entstanden sein. Das Formular war also mindestens achtzig Jahre alt, als es unterschrieben und gesiegelt wurde. Da der Druck frisch erscheint und keine Spuren einer erschöpften Platte oder aufgestochene Konturen zeigt, ließ die Kongregation wohl schon im 17. Jahrhundert einen größeren Stapel der Formulare drucken, die sorgfältig aufbewahrt und innerhalb der nächsten Jahrzehnte nach und nach Verwendung fanden. Offenbar hatte Umbach noch nicht viel Erfahrung mit derartigen Formularen, denn er sah nur die Position des Siegels vor, nicht aber gesonderte Felder für die Unterschriften der Würdenträger, wie sie im 18. Jahrhundert gängig wurden. So unterzeichnete der Präses P. Sebastian Heim SJ (1729–1798)³⁹ den Bruderschaftsbrief für den Webergesellen Johannes Ziegler außerhalb des Plattenrandes auf dem Papierträger.

Neben diesem relativ aufwendigen Urkundenformular, das für den benannten Webergesellen als Ausweis von Interesse war, gab es in Burghausen parallel ein schlichteres Aufnahmeformular ohne Illustration in Letterndruck, das vermutlich jedem Sodalen überreicht wurde, ohne als „Reisedokument“ gemeint zu sein.⁴⁰

Die Struktur von Ehingers Formular kopierte wohl Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts ein ungenannter, wenig professionell arbeitender Stecher in Bamberg: Er baute neben den Jesuitenheiligen Ignatius und Franz Xaver die Domstifter Heinrich und Kunigunde ein. An die Stelle der Verkündigungsszene im Medaillon trat eine Erscheinung der Immaculata, unter deren Patronat die Bamberger Kongregation stand. Das in Wien erhaltene Exemplar wurde 1785 ausgestellt.⁴¹

rich WULF, Rem, Jakob, *Diccionario* 2001 (Anm. 3), 4, S. 3330. Die Kopfneigung des Heiligen mag auf dessen verwachsene Wirbelsäule Bezug nehmen (vgl. dessen Porträtfigur in Ingolstadt, um 1630: Karl BATZ, Frömmigkeit und religiöses Brauchtum, *Die Jesuiten in Ingolstadt 1549–1773* (Hrsg. Beatrix Ettelt), Ingolstadt 1991, S. 224–228, Abb. S. 228). Das Gnadenbild war im 17. Jahrhundert als Altarbild in die kleine Kapelle des „Colloquiums“ im Ingolstädter Konvikt eingelassen. Darstellung auf einem Thesenblatt von 1664: Siegfried HOFMANN, Ingolstädter Kirchenbauten, *Die Jesuiten* 1991 (Anm. 35), S. 60–79, besonders S. 78, Kat. 52.

³⁶ Vgl. Josef SCHNEIDER, Die Bildprogramme der Großen und der Kleinen Aula, *Das Kurfürst-Maximilian-Gymnasium* 1997 (Anm. 33), S. 88–109, besonders S. 94–96, Abb. 39f.

³⁷ Städtische Kunstsammlungen Augsburg, G.14061, Rötel auf Papier, 27,7 x 35,7 cm.

³⁸ Friedrich THÖNE, Umbach, Jonas, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 33, Leipzig 1939, S. 564–566.

³⁹ Helmut FLACHENECKER, Burghauser Jesuiten – Anmerkungen zu Ordenskarrieren und zum literarischen Schaffen, *Das Kurfürst-Maximilian-Gymnasium* 1997 (Anm. 33), S. 133–145, besonders S. 140.

⁴⁰ OSWALD 1997 (Anm. 33), S. 84, Abb. 31.

⁴¹ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 14.

Straubing

Ein Straubinger Bruderschaftsbrief aus der Werkstatt des Augsburger Stechers Johann [Jacob] Andreas Fri[e]drich des Älteren (1684–1751)⁴² wurde von der 1646 gegründeten Kongregation zur „Gnadenreichen Verkündigung Mariae“⁴³ ausgestellt und mindestens bis 1803 benutzt.⁴⁴ Er enthält zwei Veduten, die wohl zusammen mit der ganzen Komposition von Stephan Widenberger (1697–1737)⁴⁵ vorgezeichnet wurden (Abb. 5). Im Sockel der Komposition erscheint eine Vogelschau des Stadtplatzes mit der Jesuitenkirche (Liebfrauenkirche)⁴⁶ am linken Bildrand, von der eine den Platz umrundende Prozession ausgeht. Sie findet noch heute jährlich am Fest der Verkündigung an Maria statt. Auf den Straubinger Handwerkskundschaften gibt es keine entsprechende Vedute, sondern Stadtsilhouetten⁴⁷ – die Wiedergabe des Stadtplatzes mit der Prozession wurde offenbar speziell für die Nutzung durch die Kongregationen angefertigt.

Über dem Urkundentext ist ein Interieur aus der ehemaligen Jesuitenkirche zu sehen: In deren an der Südseite auskragenden Marien- bzw. Schutzengelkapelle findet die „Verlobung“ eines Sodalen statt – hier (wie in Eichstätt) in allegorischer Einkleidung; der kniende junge Mann wird von seinem Schutzengel zum Altar geleitet. Da der Engel auf seinem Brustpanzer das Marienmonogramm trägt, ist wohl eher der Verkündigungsendel Gabriel als Raphael, das alttestamentliche Vorbild eines Schutzengels, gemeint.⁴⁸ Er reicht seinem Schützling einen Brief mit der Aufschrift *Testimonium* – gemeint ist also die Urkunde selbst.

Der 1707 gestiftete⁴⁹ und 1719 modernisierte⁵⁰ Bruderschaftsalter zeigt im Hauptgeschoss ein Altarblatt mit der Verkündigungsszene, ist also auf das Patrozinium der Kongregation bezogen. In seiner Predella stehen drei plastische Figuren; die Marienfigur in der Mitte bildet – wenn auch stark vergrößert – die verehrte Madonna von Foy (Foya) aus Eichenholz ab, die seit 1651 in Straubing vorhanden war und 1682 auf den Marienaltar übertragen wurde.⁵¹ Der Auszug des von gedrehten

⁴² Claudia DÄUBLER-HAUSCHKE, Fridrich, Jakob Andreas (I), *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, 45, München-Leipzig 2005, S. 73–74.

⁴³ *Historia Collegii Straubingani*, 3 (Hrsg. Alfons Huber), Straubing 1984 (= *Straubinger Hefte*, 34), S. 34f.

⁴⁴ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 21–22, Kupferstich auf 53,3 x 37 cm (Platte). Im Straubinger Gäubodenmuseum ist ein 1787 benutztes Exemplar erhalten; siehe *Alte Straubinger Ansichten* 1995 (Anm. 12), S. 141, Kat. 55, S. 143. Die Platte ist hier „um 1730“ datiert. Für seinen Hinweis auf diesen Katalog danke ich Alfons Huber, Straubing. Siehe auch: Elisabeth VAVRA, Aufnahmebrief der Marianischen Männerkongregation, <http://wwwg.uni-klu.ac.at/kultdoku/kataloge/57/html/3977.htm> (Zugriff 1.1.2018).

⁴⁵ *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Bio-Bibliographischer Index*, 10, München-Leipzig 2000, S. 524.

⁴⁶ Felix MADER, *Stadt Straubing*, München 1921 (Die Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern, 6), S. 180–196; Alfons HUBER, Hermann REIDEL, *Ehemalige Jesuitenkirche Straubing*, Regensburg 2002² (Kleine Kunstführer, 1197); Horst NISING, „in keiner Weise prächtig“. *Die Jesuitenkollegien der süddeutschen Provinz des Ordens und ihre städtebauliche Lage im 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, Petersberg 2004, S. 68f.

⁴⁷ Vgl. Klaus STOPP, *Die Handwerkskundschaften mit Ortsansichten*, 4, Stuttgart 1983, S. 1100–1111.

⁴⁸ Sibylle APPUHN-RADTKE, Zur Ikonographie des Schutzengels. Facetten der Bildtradition und deren Ausprägung in Eichstätt, *Die Schutzengelkirche* 2011 (Anm. 18), S. 172–195.

⁴⁹ *Historia Collegii Straubingani*, 2 (Hrsg. Alfons Huber), Straubing 1978 (= *Straubinger Hefte*, 28), S. 52f.

⁵⁰ *Historia* 1978 (Anm. 49), S. 58f., 64f.; *Historia Collegii Straubingani*, 1 (Hrsg. Alfons Huber), Straubing 1977 (= *Straubinger Hefte*, 27), S. 52–57.

⁵¹ Sibylle APPUHN-RADTKE, Kultförderung im 17. Jahrhundert. Die Verbreitung der „Madonna von Foy“ in der Oberdeutschen Provinz, *Jesuiten in Ellwangen. Oberdeutsche Provinz, Wallfahrt, Weltmission* (Hrsg. Franz Brendle, Fabian Fechner, Anselm Grupp), Stuttgart 2012 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg. Reihe B, 189), S. 135–164, besonders S. 149f. (mit älterer Literatur).



5. Johann Jacob Andreas Fridrich der Ältere: Bruderschaftsbrief der Straubinger Kongregation zur „Gnadenreichen Verkündigung Mariae“, Augsburg, Kupferstich, nach 1719

und glatten Säulenpaaren gerahmten Ädikula-Retabels wird von der Heiliggeisttaube überstrahlt. Über ihr leuchtet das Trinitätssymbol. Obwohl diese Altarikonographie real noch vorhanden ist, bildet der Kupferstich die Gloriolen anschaulicher ab, als es die plastische Ausführung am Retabel ermöglichte.⁵² Realitätsgetreu wirken die vergitterte Emporenöffnung rechts neben dem Altar und das aufwendig gerahmte Wandbild mit einer Darstellung der Immaculata. Letzteres vertritt die Silberfigur des Augsburger Silberschmieds Franz Keßler, die seit 1700 im Besitz der Marianischen Kongregation war und heute am Altar des hl. Francisco de Borja steht.⁵³ Das gesamte Interieur scheint den Zustand ab 1719 wiederzugeben – die bisher genannte Datierung der Druckplatte „um 1730“ kann daher in „nach 1719“ modifiziert werden. Das Blatt erinnerte den Eigner vorrangig an sein eigenes Bruderschaftsgelöbnis und verlieh diesem anschaulich Dauer.

⁵² Vgl. HUBER, REIDEL 2002 (Anm. 46), S. 7.

⁵³ MADER 1921 (Anm. 46), S. 194, Abb. 162; Vgl. HUBER, REIDEL 2002 (Anm. 46), S. 11. Das dargestellte Gemälde scheint nicht erhalten zu sein (freundliche Auskunft von Alfons Huber, 2018). Ob es ursprünglich den Zweck hatte, die nur an Festtagen gezeigte Silberfigur zu vertreten, ist nicht überliefert.

Augsburg

Einige der erhaltenen Bruderschaftsbriefe wurden von ihren Besitzern nachweislich auf Reisen vorgezeigt, denn auf den Rückseiten der gefaltet mitgeführten Stiche finden sich entsprechende Vermerke. Dies gilt u. a. für ein 1759 ausgestelltes Exemplar aus Leoben,⁵⁴ ein weiteres aus Hall in Tirol von 1770,⁵⁵ und eines aus Augsburg von 1769 (Abb. 6).⁵⁶ Der letztere Brief scheint in einem Moment ausgestellt worden zu sein, als der Buchbindergeselle Peter Hoinig unmittelbar vor seiner Abreise nach München stand: Am 5. März 1769 wurde die Urkunde gesiegelt, am 12. März stellte Hoinig sich in München vor, war jedoch schon am 30. April wieder in Augsburg, das er erst knapp zwei Jahre später, am 1. April 1771 mit unbekanntem Ziel verließ (Abb. 7).

Das von dem Nachfolger der *Klauber Catholici*, Joseph [Wolfgang] Xaver Klauber (um 1740–1813),⁵⁷ gestochene Blatt ist in vier horizontale Abschnitte unterteilt, in denen Texte und Darstellungen abwechseln: Zuunterst begleiten die Personifikationen von Lech und Wertach eine querformatige Kartusche für das Papiersiegel der Kongregation und die Unterschriften von Präfekt und Sekretär. Darüber folgt eine Stadtvedute Augsburgs von Nordosten, die den auf Handwerkerkundschaften verwandten Silhouetten ähnlich, aber nicht gleich ist.⁵⁸ Sie bildet eine vergrößerte Version einer der Stadtansichten nach Vorzeichnung von Friedrich Bernhard Werner, etwa dem Stich aus dem Verlag Jeremias Wolffs Erben.⁵⁹ Links und rechts der Vedute sieht man Stellvertreter für Eigner solcher Urkunden: links einen eintreffenden jungen Mann, der seinen gefalteten Brief vorweist (Abb. 8), rechts verlässt ein Sodale mit Reisebündel am geschulterten Degen die Stadt, während er ein offenes Blatt, wohl das mit dem Sichtvermerk versehene Dokument, betrachtet (Abb. 9). Die dritte Zone enthält den eingedruckten Zeugnistext mit dem handschriftlich hinzugesetzten Namen des Eigners. Die oberste, größte Zone öffnet den Blick durch einen gerafften Vorhang auf eine Kastenbühne: Man sieht die Altarwand des Oratoriums der ledigen Gesellen unter dem Patrozinium Mariae Reinigung, die 1623 gegründet worden war.⁶⁰ Wie üblich steht der Altar zentral an einer Schmalseite, beiderseits führen Türen zur Sakristei bzw. in den angrenzenden Gang. Das Altarblatt zeigt passend zum Patrozinium Maria Immaculata auf Wolken, von Engeln begleitet. Im Auszug des von Doppelsäulen gerahmten Retabels erscheint das gekrönte Marienmonogramm in Gloriole. Ein ovales Aufsatzbild auf der Mensa gibt vermutlich den hl. Aloysius Gonzaga als Inbegriff des keuschen jungen Mannes wieder. Hochformatige Supraporten über den Türen zeigen Maria und Joseph, jeweils mit dem Jesusknaben auf dem Arm. Große Wandleuchter erhellten diese Bilder. Von der sonstigen Ausstattung sind nur symmetrisch angeordnete Gestühle sichtbar, wohl für die Würdenträger der Kongregation.

⁵⁴ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 6 (erhaltenes Exemplar: am 21. Jenner 1759 ausgestellt).

⁵⁵ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 9 (erhaltenes Exemplar: am 30. August 1770 ausgestellt).

⁵⁶ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 13 (erhaltenes Exemplar: am 5. März 1769 ausgestellt). Weiteres Exemplar von derselben Platte ausgestellt an den Schuhmacher Anton Bernauer, 1791, angeboten im Antiquariat Peter Bierl, Eurasburg, Januar 2018 (freundlicher Hinweis von Dr. Helmut Zäh, Augsburg).

⁵⁷ RUCK, ŠAPČENKO 2014 (Anm. 15), S. 392f.

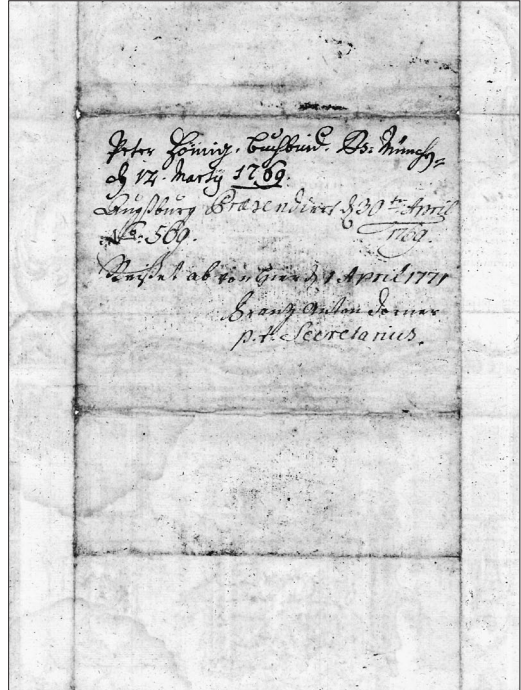
⁵⁸ Vgl. Klaus STOPP, *Die Handwerkskundschaften mit Ortsansichten*, 2, Stuttgart 1982, S. 68–85.

⁵⁹ Anja SCHMIDT, *Augsburger Ansichten. Die Darstellung der Stadt in der Druckgraphik des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Augsburg 2000 (Schwäbische Geschichtsquellen und Forschungen, 19), S. 58f., Abb. 40–43.

⁶⁰ Theodor ROLLE, *Die Anfänge der Marianischen Kongregationen in Augsburg, Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte*, 23, 1989, S. 27–68, besonders S. 44–47, Abb. 5. Die Matrikeln der Sodalität existieren nicht mehr. Zum Kolleg: *Augsburger Stadtlexikon* (Anm. 15), S. 563, 772f.



6. Joseph Wolfgang Xaver Klauber: Bruderschaftsbrief der Augsburger Gesellen-Kongregation „Maria Reinigung“, Augsburg, Kupferstich mit Radierung, vor 1769



7. Sichtvermerke von 1769 und 1771 auf der Rückseite des Augsburger Kongregationsdiploms, Detail der Abb. 6



8. Eintreffender Sodale, Detail der Abb. 6



9. Abreisender Sodale, Detail der Abb. 6

Doch welcher Saal ist hier abgebildet? Trotz der sehr ähnlichen Struktur kann nicht der noch existente sog. Kleine Goldene Saal gemeint sein, das ehemalige Oratorium der Großen Lateinischen Kongregation unter dem Patrozinium Verkündigung an Maria.⁶¹ Placidus Braun berichtet 1822, dass dieser 1715 in den dritten Stock des Lyzeums verlegte Saal 1763 durch einen Durchbruch ins „Bingische Haus“ wesentlich erweitert worden sei, so dass er nun 96 Schuh lang und 48 Schuh breit sei. Seine Decke habe Matthäus Günther ausgemalt⁶² – damit ist die Identifikation sicher, obwohl der ursprünglich vorhandene Altar mit einem Bild der Verkündigung im heute säkularisierten Kleinen Goldenen Saal fehlt.

Jedoch auch die 1613 gegründete Bürgerkongregation modernisierte ihre Räumlichkeiten: 1658 zog sie aus ihrem Saal im Gymnasium, dem sog. Studentensaal, aus und überließ ihn der 1622 gegründeten, zwischen 1638 und 1649 bei St. Anna tagenden Gesellenkongregation.⁶³ Dieser Raum muss hier gemeint sein, wenn auch in einer zur Zeit des Rokoko adaptierten Form. Wahrscheinlich bietet die vorliegende Graphik die einzige Innenansicht dieses zerstörten Saals.

Steyr

Ein Bruderschaftsbrief der 1647 gegründeten Bürgerkongregation zur Unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariae in Steyr (Abb. 10)⁶⁴ folgt im Aufbau erkennbar dem Augsburger Typus: Die Struktur von Bild- und Textanteilen ist gleich; auch hier werden ein ankommender und ein abreisender junger Mann gezeigt. Zusätzlich ist jedoch der „Verlobungsakt“ eines Sodalens an Maria zu sehen. Über dem Altar der Aula Mariana erscheint auf dem plastischen, mit Kerzen bestückten Tabernakel in Form des Marienmonogramms eine Silber(?)-Figur der Immaculata, über ihr thront die Trinität auf Wolken. Diese Szene der Aufnahme Marias in den Himmel wird von einem Baldachin überwölbt. Der Votant kniet auf den Altarstufen und hält sein Herz zu Maria empor.

Die hohen Maßwerkfenster in dem rechteckigen Saal sprechen dafür, dass es sich hier um eine Wiedergabe der spätgotischen Bürgerspitalskirche handelt, in der die Bürgerkongregation 1724 einen neuen Altar errichten ließ.⁶⁵ Die langen Tische und leeren Sessel beiderseits des Altars dürften für den Magistrat der Kongregation bestimmt gewesen sein. Auch dieses Ensemble ist aufgrund der Profanierung der Kirche nicht erhalten.

In der im 17. Jahrhundert noch überwiegend protestantischen Stadt⁶⁶ trugen die Marianischen Kongregationen wesentlich zur Rekatholisierung der Bevölkerung bei. Auch wenn dieses Problem im 18. Jahrhundert auf Grund der rigorosen Vertreibung „Unbekehrbarer“ wohl nicht mehr existierte, hatten die Kongregationen in Oberösterreich eine politisch wesentlich größere Sprengkraft als beispielsweise in Altbayern.

⁶¹ *Augsburger Stadtleikon* (Anm. 15), S. 563.

⁶² BRAUN 1822 (Anm. 6), S. 127–129.

⁶³ BRAUN 1822 (Anm. 6), S. 133–136. Der Saal hatte schon 1621 eine Orgel erhalten, die ihn besonders geeignet für musikalisch gestaltete Feiern machte (S. 48).

⁶⁴ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 7 (erhaltenes Exemplar am 18. März 1770 für den Schuhmachergesellen Christian Reckheisen [?] ausgestellt). Kupferstich auf Papier, 46,6 x 31 cm (Plattenrand). Die Vedute wurde zu unbekanntem Zeitpunkt ausgeschnitten; auf Papier aufgeklebt wird sie im Stadtmuseum Steyr aufbewahrt (freundliche Auskunft von Mag. Wilhelm Remes, Linz).

⁶⁵ Freundliche Auskunft (nach Angabe in den *Litterae Annuae* des Kollegs) von Mag. Wilhelm Remes.

⁶⁶ Wilhelm REMES, Die Jesuiten in der Zeit der Gegenreformation. Ihr Wirken in der „Eisenstadt“ Steyr von 1632 bis 1773, in: Wilhelm Remes, *Die Jesuiten in Steyr. 150 Jahre geistliches Wirken an der Marienkirche*, Linz 2015, S. 1–23.



10. Verlag der Brüder Klauber:
Bruderschaftsbrief
der Steyrer Kongregation
„Unbefleckte Empfängnis
Mariae“, Augsburg, Kupferstich,
um 1760/70

Bozen

Selten sind anscheinend szenische Darstellungen auf Bruderschaftsbriefen. Das einzige Beispiel im Wiener Bestand entstammt wieder dem Augsburger Verlag der Brüder Klauber, die hier ungewöhnlicherweise nicht nur als *Catholici*, sondern als Stecher des Bischofs von Augsburg bzw. des Landgrafen von Hessen firmieren.⁶⁷ Diese Angabe grenzt die Herstellung der Druckplatte auf die Amtszeit des Augsburger Bischofs Joseph Ignaz Philipp von Hessen-Darmstadt (1740–1768) ein.⁶⁸ Die Urkunde wurde jedoch erst am 19. Mai 1793 für den Schuhmachergesellen Franz Schönthaller ausgestellt (Abb. 11).⁶⁹ Dieser war Mitglied der Junggesellen-Kongregation „Mariae Opferung ... in

⁶⁷ *Joseph et Joan[nes] Klauber Cath[olici] Ser[enissi]mi S[acri] R[omani] I[mperii] Princ[ipis] et Episc[opi] August[ani] Landgr[avii] Hassiae Chalcogr[aphi] sculp[serunt] Aug[ustae] Vind[elicorum].*

⁶⁸ Liste der Bischöfe von Augsburg, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Bisch%C3%B6fe_von_Augsburg (Zugriff 5.1.2018).

⁶⁹ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 12, Kupferstich mit Radierung auf Papier, 47,5 x 35,7 cm (Blattrand). Ein anderes Exemplar, das ebenfalls 1793 für Benedict Martin ausgestellt wurde, ist im Bozener Stadtmuseum



11. Verlag der Brüder Klauber: Bruderschaftsbrief der Bozener Junggesellen-Kongregation „Mariae Opferung“, Augsburg, Kupferstich mit Radierung, um 1760

der Silbernen Gnaden Capelle der Ehrwürdigen auf Ewigen Welt-Zeiten Infulirten Collegiat- und Pfarrkirche in der Stadt Botzen“ – also einer Bruderschaft, die nicht unter der Regie der Gesellschaft Jesu stand. Da die Gnadenkapelle erst 1743–1745 an den Chor der gotischen Kollegiatskirche Mariae Himmelfahrt (heute Dom) angebaut worden ist,⁷⁰ verschiebt sich die Datierung in die Jahre nach 1745. Dies passt zum stilistischen Befund, denn der elegante, in Rocaillen aufgebaute Bildrahmen kann frühestens um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein. Hans Hochenegg publizierte ein weiteres Exemplar von derselben Platte, das 1761 gesiegelt wurde, und dokumentierte damit die älteste bisher bekannte Verwendung.⁷¹

(Inv.nr. 1013/h. 236) erhalten; siehe Silvia SPADA-PINTARELLI, *Bolzano, Museo civico. Sezione Storico-Artistica*, Bologna 1995 (Musei d'Italia. Meraviglie d'Italia, 31), S. 196f.; *Bozen 1700 – 1800. Eine Stadt und ihre Kunst* (Hrsg. Maria Paola Romeo), Mailand-Bozen 2004, S. 118f., Kat. 14; freundlicher Hinweis von Frau Mag. Sieglind Hinterhuber, Bruneck/Innsbruck.

⁷⁰ *Denkmalpflege in Südtirol*, 2011, S. 30.

⁷¹ Hans HOCHENEGG, Bruderschaftszettel als Dokumente eines Rangstreits zwischen Bozen und Hall, *Der Schlern*, 54, 1980, S. 282f.

Unterhalb der Rocaille-Kartuschen für die Namen von Präfekt und Sekretär sowie das Papiersiegel der Kongregation erscheint eine Vedute Bozens von Nordosten.⁷² Darüber spannen Putti ein Velum mit dem Urkundentext auf. Sie leiten zu einer Bühne über, auf der Marias Aufnahme in den Tempel gezeigt ist: Anna führt ihre Tochter dem Hohepriester zu, der Maria mit der Rechten segnet, während er in der aufgeschlagenen Bibel blättert. Die Gesetzestafeln des Mose neben ihm verweisen auf den Alten Bund. Die Räumlichkeit des Tempels ist nur durch Architekturversatzstücke angegeben und ornamental in Rocailles aufgelöst. Zwei Engel mit Weihrauchgefäß, Kerzen und Wasserkanne deuten die sakrale Handlung an (ebenso wie die Verkündigung auf dem Blatt aus Hall) und verfestigen die Komposition zu beiden Seiten.

Der gleiche Rahmen wurde von dem Augsburger Stecher Joseph Erasmus Belling (gest. 1780)⁷³ für die Bürgerkongregation von Hall in Tirol verwendet.⁷⁴ Am oberen Rand erscheint jedoch anstatt des Tempelgangs die Verkündigung an Maria, das Patrozinium der Haller Bruderschaft, am unteren eine Vedute von Hall. Diese Wiederholung des Rahmentyps als Ausdruck einer Konkurrenzsituation der Bürger von Hall und Bozen zu deuten, wie Hochenegg es tat, erscheint überzogen. Möglicherweise standen beide Kongregationen sogar in einer Gebetsverbrüderung und dokumentierten diese durch weitgehend gleiche Formulare. Wenn dies nicht zutrifft, kann Belling die Klaubersche Vorlage aus eigenem Antrieb für den neuen Auftraggeber angepasst haben. Durch den Austausch der Kopfszene und der Vedute konnte man nicht mehr von einem Plagiat sprechen, sondern Belling bediente sich – wie es oft geschah – aus dem Fundus vorliegender Inventionen.

München

Das wohl späteste Beispiel der hier beschriebenen Auswahl aus der Wiener Sammlung stammt von dem in München tätigen, aber kaum fassbaren Graphiker (Franz) Xaver Scherer.⁷⁵ Trotz seiner mäßigen Stichqualität ist es deshalb interessant, weil es durch die Zerstörung oder Überbauung vieler Münchner Kirchen zwischen dem 18. und 20. Jahrhundert zu einem Rätselbild geworden ist. Es handelt sich um eine Urkunde der „Marianischen Versammlung Der Ledigen Mannspersonen under dem Titl der Unbefleckten Empfängnis Mariae“, die noch lange nach der Aufhebung der alten Gesellschaft Jesu (1773) existierte; das vorliegende Blatt wurde erst am 21. Dezember 1793 ausgestellt (Abb. 12).⁷⁶

Im Sockel der Komposition befindet sich eine Vedute Münchens, die eine Datierung post quem für den Erstzustand des Kupferstichs ergibt, denn sie beruht auf Canalettos Ansicht der Stadt von

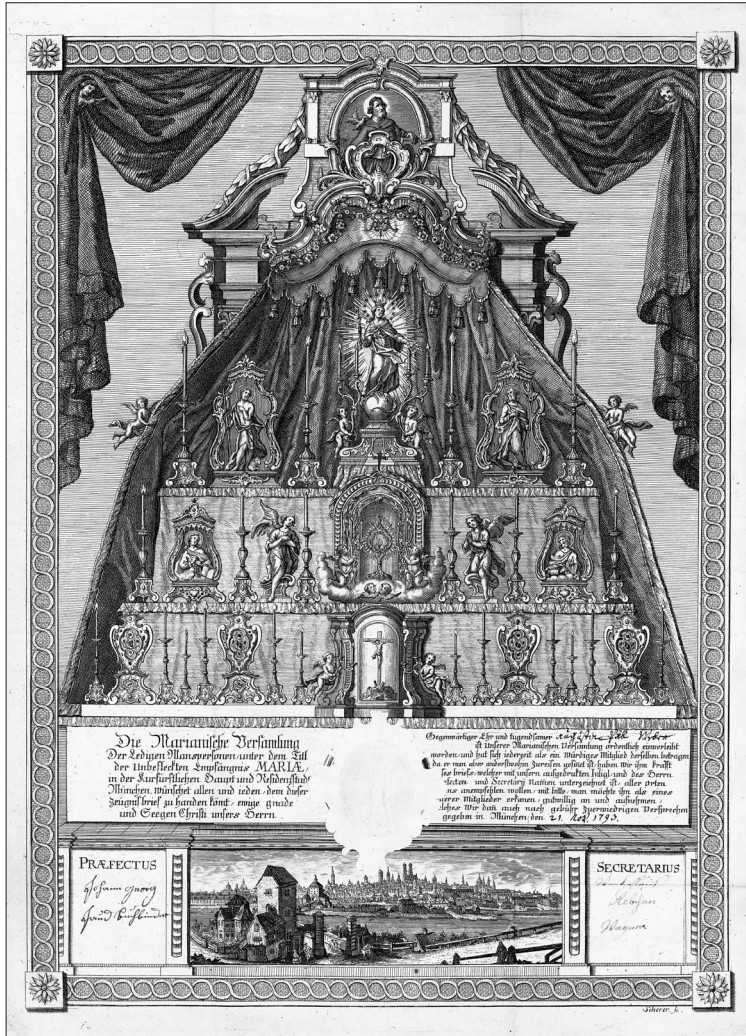
⁷² Der Vedute dürfte ein um 1750 geschaffener Kupferstich von Benedikt Auer (1722–1792) zu Grunde liegen, der mehrfach kopiert wurde, u. a. um 1760/70 in einer großen gemalten Stadtansicht mit Heiligenshimmel, 1774 in einer Zeichnung; siehe *Bozen 2004* (Anm. 69), S. 118–120, Kat. 13, 15.

⁷³ Claudia DÄUBLER, Belling, Josef Erasmus, *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, 8, München-Leipzig 1994, S. 481.

⁷⁴ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 9 (erhaltenes Exemplar: am 30. August 1770 ausgestellt). Exemplar für den Gürtler Antonius Martin, ausgestellt am 8. August 1771, publiziert von HOCHENEKG 1980 (Anm. 71).

⁷⁵ Einzelne Stiche von dessen Hand, jedoch nicht das vorliegende Blatt, sind verzeichnet bei Joseph MAILLINGER, *Bilder-Chronik der Königlichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt München /.../*, 1, München 1876.

⁷⁶ AASI, Wien, Kongregationsdiplome, Nr. 19. Zur Kongregation: Maximilian Vinzenz SATTLER, *Geschichte der Marianischen Kongregationen in Bayern*, München 1864, S. 115f.; OSWALD 2010 (Anm. 1), S. 79.



12. Franz Xaver Scherer:
Bruderschaftsbrief der Münchner
Junggesellen-Kongregation
„Unbefleckte Empfängnis Mariae“,
Kupferstich, nach 1772

Osten (1761).⁷⁷ Man blickt vom Gasteig aus auf den (nicht mehr existenten) Wasserturm in der Au, dann über die Isar auf die Silhouette der von der Frauenkirche dominierten Stadt. Diese Ansicht wurde mehrfach nachgestochen, am prestigeträchtigsten war wohl der großformatige Stich von Franz Xaver Jungwirth (1772). Die Vedute fand auch Eingang in Handwerkskundschaften, für die Scherer 1792 ebenfalls tätig wurde.⁷⁸ In seiner Platte für den Bruderschaftsbrief beschnitt er das Format der Ansicht, um ein passendes Querformat zu erhalten. Eine Datierung dieser Platte in die Jahre nach 1772 ist wahrscheinlich.

Über dem Sockel und einer Schriftleiste mit dem Kongregationssiegel erhebt sich der Altar der Junggesellenbruderschaft; in der Mittelachse ist über dem Tabernakel die Monstranz mit dem Allerheiligsten ausgesetzt. Darüber erscheint eine plastische Figur der Maria als Himmelskönigin,

⁷⁷ Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, München, Inv. 111. Siehe dazu *Canaletto. Bernardo Bellotto malt Europa* (Hrsg. Andreas Schumacher), Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, München 2014, S. 250–255, Kat. 51 (Andreas SCHUMACHER); Wolfgang WIEDEMANN, Geodätische Analyse der Ansicht von München, *Canaletto* 2014 (Anm. 77), S. 294–301.

⁷⁸ STOPP 1983 (Anm. 47), S. 842f., D 341.1, S. 869f., D 344.1 (Scherer), S. 871, D 344.2–346.2, S. 878f., D 348.1.

auf der Weltkugel mit Schlange stehend, zweifellos das Marienbild bzw. die Prozessionsfigur der Kongregation. Beiderseits davon sind auf einem doppelstufigen, mit Stoffen bekleideten Podest freistehende Rokoko-Reliefs mit Johannes dem Täufer und dem Evangelisten in Ganzfiguren, Maria und Joseph in Halbfiguren, anbetenden Engeln, Reliquientafeln im Ohrmuschelstil und Leuchtern aufgebaut. Die gesamte Installation wird von einem textilen Baldachin überfangen, der das eigentliche Altarretabel vom Typus eines Ädikularetabels mit Sprenggiebel und Auszug fast völlig verdeckt. Im Auszug ist ein vom Heiligen Geist inspirierter Autor zu sehen. Es handelt sich offenbar um eine Präsentation der kongregationseigenen Schätze⁷⁹ zu festlichem Anlass, wahrscheinlich zum Fest der Unbefleckten Empfängnis.

Wenn man davon ausgeht, dass es sich um eine ebenso präzise Wiedergabe wie im Falle der Straubinger Marienkapelle handelt, stellt sich die Frage, in welchem Gebäude die dargestellte Präsentation stattgefunden hat. Da das Blatt von der 1643 gegründeten Junggesellenbruderschaft ausgegeben wurde, kann es sich nicht um eine Installation im Bürgersaal der noch existenten Männerkongregation handeln, die der Verkündigung an Maria geweiht war,⁸⁰ obwohl hier ähnliche Altaraufsätze vorhanden waren; zwei Paare der 1767/68 nach Entwurf von Ignaz Günther gefertigten Silberfiguren sind erhalten.⁸¹ Noch weniger kommen die Aulen der beiden lateinischen Kongregationen in Betracht, die beide 1944 zerstört wurden: weder der Saal der Großen Lateinischen Kongregation mit dem Patrozinium „Beata Virgo Maria ab angelo salutata“ im Jesuitenkolleg – obwohl hier ähnliche Aufbauten stattfanden, wie eine um 1752 entstandene Zeichnung des Altars mit Schauerverkleidung zeigt,⁸² – noch das Oratorium der „Congregatio latina minor“, der lateinischen Schülerbruderschaft im ehemaligen „Gymnasium minus“ an der Neuhauserstraße.⁸³

Wie Maximilian Vinzenz Sattler überliefert, war die Kongregation der jungen Gesellen anfangs im Kirchlein St. Anna beheimatet, das 1667 auf Betreiben der Kurfürstin Henriette Adelaide von Salesianerinnen übernommen wurde. Dieses verschwand im 18. Jahrhundert durch deren Klosterbau und die neue Kirche (nach der Übersiedlung der Salesianerinnen nach Indersdorf ab 1785 Damenstiftskirche).⁸⁴ Bereits ab 1646 sollen die Gesellen aber in der 1806 abgebrochenen Kirche

⁷⁹ Staatsarchiv München, Albertinum B 61, Inventar des Silberschatzes von Maria Schnee aus dem 1. Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts.

⁸⁰ Zuletzt Dagmar DIETRICH, „/.../“ unter der direction Unseres hofmahlers Andreassen Wolf /.../“. Zu Wolffs Entwürfen für sakrale Architektur, Raumausstattungen und Bildhauerarbeiten, *Johann Andreas Wolff 1652–1716. Universalkünstler für Hof und Kirche*, Starnberg 2016 (Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte, 37), S. 38–78, besonders S. 49–56.

⁸¹ Diözesanmuseum Freising; siehe *Mit Leib und Seele. Münchner Rokoko-Bildhauer von Asam bis Günther* (Hrsg. Christoph Kürzeder), Kunsthalle der Hypo-Kulturstiftung München, München 2014, S. 346–351, Kat. 105f. Vgl. dazu Lothar ALTMANN, Wieder in einer Ausstellung vertreten ... diesmal mit den Silberbüsten des Hochaltars, *Sodalen-Brücke*, 1/2015, S. 38f.

⁸² *Freistaat Bayern. Regierungsbezirk Oberbayern. Stadt und Landkreis München. 1: Sakralbauten*, München 1987 (Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei, 3), S. 239.

⁸³ Herbert SCHADE, Die Berufung der Jesuiten nach München und der Bau von St. Michael, *Der Mönch im Wappen. Aus Geschichte und Gegenwart des katholischen München* (Hrsg. Michael Schattenhofer, Romuald Bauerreiss, Klemens Stadler), München 1960, S. 209–257, besonders S. 227.

⁸⁴ *Die Kunstdenkmale des Königreiches Bayern vom elften bis zum Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. 1: Die Kunstdenkmale des Regierungsbezirkes Oberbayern. Teil 2: Stadt München. Bezirksämter Erdling, Ebersberg, Miesbach, Rosenheim, Traunstein, Wasserburg* (Hrsg. Gustav von Bezold, Berthold Riehl), München 1902, S. 948–950; Susanne STADL, *Die Kunsttätigkeit der Salesianerinnen im deutschsprachigen Raum. Wien – München – Amberg, Lindenberg* 2005; Karin HÖSCH, *Katholische Filiationkirche St. Anna, ehem. Kloster- und Damenstiftskirche*, Passau 2010 (PEDA-Kunsthilfe, 809/2011).

St. Gregor bzw. Maria Schnee in der Neuhauserstraße getagt haben, die zur *Domus Gregoriana*, einem vom Jesuitenkolleg betreuten Konvikt für arme Schüler,⁸⁵ gehörte. Dies war offenbar noch 1782 der Fall.⁸⁶ Wohl 1785, nach dem Auszug der Salesianerinnen, kehrte die Handwerkerbruderschaft nach St. Anna zurück, bevor sie im 19. Jahrhundert in der (ebenfalls zerstörten) Herzogspitalkirche angesiedelt wurde.⁸⁷ Ein Indiz für die zeitweilige Anwesenheit der Gesellen in St. Anna ist deren heute am nördlichen Seitenaltar aufgestellte Silbermadonna,⁸⁸ die der Bruderschaftsbrief im Zentrum der Installation abbildet. Hingegen ist das hinter dem Baldachin sichtbare Altarretabel, das der Zeit um 1700/1720 angehört haben muss, keineswegs in der 1735 geweihten, nach der Zerstörung im Zweiten Weltkrieg rekonstruierten Kirche St. Anna zu finden. Damit kommt eher die Kirche der *Domus Gregoriana* in Betracht, die zum Zeitpunkt von Scherers Plattenanfertigung noch Standort der Kongregationsversammlungen gewesen sein kann. Einen weiteren Hinweis könnte das auf dem Stich sichtbare Auszugsbild geben, das die Inspiration eines Heiligen durch die Heiliggeisttaube zeigt. Auch wenn keine päpstlichen Insignien sichtbar sind, mag hier Papst Gregor der Große als Hauspatron gemeint sein. Für das (verschollene) Hauptblatt dieses Altars ist ein von Joachim von Sandrart gemaltes und von Jacob Balde in einer Ode verherrlichtes Bild der Madonna mit Kind im Strahlenkranz überliefert.⁸⁹

Bei der Münchner Urkunde überwiegt zweifellos der Aspekt der Repräsentation der Bruderschaft, die selbstbewusst ihren Schatz an silbernem Altargerät und Reliquien wiedergeben ließ.

Anhand der behandelten Beispiele aus dem Wiener Bestand ist ein Wechsel der Darstellungsschwerpunkte feststellbar: Während bei manchen Graphiken die marianische Prägung bzw. die Heiligenverehrung der Societas Jesu im Zentrum stehen, sind auf anderen der Ort und der Reichtum der Kongregation in den Vordergrund gerückt. Ob diese Aspektverschiebungen regional oder zeitlich bedingt waren, kann erst dann entschieden werden, wenn ein größerer Überblick über die Bildgattung vorliegt. Eine übergreifende Erfassung wäre wünschenswert, denn sie würde manche Auskunft über das Selbstverständnis der Auftrag gebenden Organisationen sowie deren Gebäude und Besitztümer liefern.

⁸⁵ Hannelore PUTZ, *Die Domus Gregoriana zu München. Erziehung und Ausbildung im Umkreis des Jesuitenkollegs St. Michael bis 1773*, München 2003. Zu der 1646 unter dem Titel „Maria ad nives“ geweihten Seminarkapelle siehe S. 63. Die Kirche besaß Reliquien der hll. Maximus und Victorinus sowie laut Inventar aus dem 1. Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts Silberfiguren der hll. Gregor, Joseph und Barbara (S. 63f.). Eine Nutzung durch die Gesellenkongregation wird nicht erwähnt. Zusammenfassend: Hannelore PUTZ, *Elitenbildung im frühneuzeitlichen München – die „Domus Gregoriana“, Serenissimi Gymnasium 2010* (Anm. 1), S. 61–67.

⁸⁶ Lorenz von WESTENRIEDER, *Beschreibung der Haupt- und Residenzstadt München (im gegenwärtigen Zustande)*, München 1782, Nachdruck München 2012, S. 173f.

⁸⁷ SATTLER 1864 (Anm. 76), S. 115f.

⁸⁸ Ein Abbild dieser von Johann Georg Herkommer in Augsburg gefertigten Figur stach angeblich Johann David Kuriger; siehe MAILLINGER 1876 (Anm. 75), S. 88, Anm. 855.

⁸⁹ Christian KLEMM, *Joachim von Sandrart. Kunstwerke und Lebenslauf*, Berlin 1986, S. 147–149, Kat. 62; PUTZ 2003 (Anm. 85), S. 64. In Baldes Ode ist das Oberbild nicht erwähnt.

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

Povzetek

V dunajskem jezuitskem arhivu je ohranjen fond baročnih tiskov, ki so označeni kot »kongregacijske diplome« ali »bratovščinska pisma«. Izvirajo z Bavarske, iz Avstrije in z Južne Tirolske, torej iz nekdanjih zgornjenemške in avstrijske jezuitske province. Gre za dokumente na vnaprej natisnjenih formularjih, ki so bili izdani članom marijanskih kongregacij. Uporabljali so jih kot »potne liste«, ko so – kot je bilo pri obrtniških pomočnikih običajno – odhajali na popotovanja po Evropi. Bratovščinska pisma so bila od kraja do kraja drugače oblikovana, zmeraj pa so vsebovala imena imetnika ter predsednika in tajnika kongregacije, poleg tega pa še žig bratovščine. Vnaprej natisnjeni tekst je potrjeval, da imetnik pisma pripada kongregaciji, poleg tega pa tudi njegovo moralno in konfesionalno zanesljivost. To mu je lahko v tujini bistveno pripomoglo do zaupanja. Na hrbtni strani pisma so pogosto zabeležke o tem, kdaj je pomočnik prišel v neki kraj in kdaj ga je zapustil – torej sociološko zanimivi podatki.

Čeprav so bili na Dunaju ohranjeni dokumenti izdani in žigosani večinoma šele v drugi polovici 18. stoletja, je raziskava pokazala, da so uporabljeni bakrorezni formularji bistveno starejši; deloma segajo nazaj do tretje četrtine 17. stoletja. Večina jih je bila naročena v »tiskarskem mestu« Augsburg. Prispevek obravnava primerke v približnem časovnem zaporedju nastanka posameznega tipa. Reproducirana in opisana so bratovščinska pisma marijanskih kongregacij v Eichstättu, Passauu, Burghausnu, Straubingu, Augsburgu, Steyru, Bolzanu in Münchnu. Razen bolzanske bratovščine so imele vse te družbe spiritalne iz tamkajšnjih jezuitskih kolegijev, medtem ko so imeli siceršnjo upravo v rokah laiki.

Ikonografsko so bratovščinska pisma dragoceni viri, saj kažejo mestne vedute in velikokrat ne več obstoječe interierje, oltarje in kulturne predmete (npr. v mnogih krajih hranjene srebrne Madone). Primera iz Augsburga in Münchna kažeta, kako težavna je lahko identifikacija interierjev, primer iz Straubinga pa dokazuje, da risarji nikakor niso ustvarjali nekakšnih poljubnih mašil, ampak detajlne predstavitev konkretnih bratovščinskih oltarjev. Potujoče člane bratovščine, ki se priložnostno pojavljajo na slikah, moramo nasprotno razumeti kot *pars pro toto* – ne gre za portrete posameznih članov, ampak za idealnotipične, premožno oblečene mladce s potovalnimi potrebščinami, kot so kovčki ali popotne vreče, kar naj bi spet spodbujalo zaupanje.

Bogati slikovni svet bratovščinskih pisem implicitno kaže še drugo funkcijo: niso le služila kot potni list imetniku dokumenta, ampak so bila tudi propagandno gradivo, z vedutami so doprinesla k slikovni reprezentaciji kraja izvora; upodobljeni bogati oltarni nastavki s srebrnino v lasti kongregacij so govorili o razcvetu dotične bratovščine. Doslej skorajda nepoznana slikovna zvrst je tako zavzela središčno vlogo v likovni javni podobi kongregacij.

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

Mirjana Repanić-Braun

The presence of confraternities as voluntary associations based on the principle of professional, national, historical, or religious affiliation, similar to communities of the same type in Austria and Germany, can be observed in northern Croatia from the Middle Ages. Among the first to appear were those founded at Gradec in Zagreb. Archival sources mention them in the second half of the 14th century: the Croatian Fraternity in 1355, the German Fraternity in 1357, and the Latin Fraternity in 1384. There are also early records of professional fraternities of cobblers (1377), butchers (1387), wagon-makers (1444), and belt-makers (1462), as well as religious confraternities, e.g., the Confraternity of Blessed Death, which Pavao Horvat (1379–1386), bishop of Zagreb, founded in 1380.¹ The intensified activities of religious confraternities in northern Croatia corresponded to the overall endeavors in the Counter-Reformation period to strengthen the position of the Roman Catholic Church and to encourage intense devotion and piety after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). In the wake of the decisions announced at Session XXII of the Council in 1562, the confraternities became involved in public life, visible, as it is has been noted, “in the conquest of public space through processions, ceremonies, funeral practices, flags and clothing, which contributed significantly to theatricality in liturgical and paraliturgical rituals.”² The confraternities’ practice of commissioning and maintaining altars in parish, monastic, and conventual churches may be perceived in terms of using public space for the purpose of self-promotion and the visual manifestation of particular devotions or values.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, confraternities in continental Croatia acted as commissioners of art—altar sculpture, paintings, and liturgical furnishings—but their overall contribution to the visual and cultural identity of this area has been less thoroughly researched than the confraternities’ legacy in Adriatic Croatia.³ Thus, the aim of this essay is to offer insight into the significant

¹ Krešimir FILIĆ, *Varaždinski mesarski ceh. Zapisnici 1589.–1708.*, Varaždin 1968; Lelja DOBRONIĆ, Pavao iz Horvata, *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi* (ed. Franko Mirošević), Zagreb 1995, pp. 141–142; Dragutin FELETAR, Cehovi i bratovštine u Podravini krajem srednjega i početkom novoga vijeka, *Podravina*, 2/3, 2003, pp. 173–194.

² Sanja CVETNIĆ, Dominikanci u hrvatskim krajevima i ikonografija nakon Tridentskoga sabora (1545–1563), *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 34/66, 2010, p. 6. On the subject of confraternities, Cvetnić quotes Christopher F. BLACK, The Public Face of Post-Tridentine Italian Confraternities, *The Journal of Religious History*, 28/1, 2004, pp. 87–101.

³ An important contribution to our understanding of confraternal commissioning activities in early modern Dalmatia is Ivana PRIJATELJ-PAVIČIĆ, Kiparska i slikarska umjetnička baština bratovština u Dalmaciji između 14.

heritage of lay confraternities in the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, founded in 1900 mostly by uniting the Croatian parts of the former provinces into a coherent whole: those of the Holy Cross, of St. Ladislav, and of St. John of Capistrano. As did other patrons, the Franciscan confraternities depended on artists from Styria, Carniola,⁴ and Tyrol, but only to a certain extent. They also engaged artisans, such as Joseph Weinacht, Ivan Adam Rosemberger, and Paulus Antonius Senser, working for a time in Zagreb, Varaždin, Osijek, and Pécs, or Franciscan lay brothers—woodcarvers, sculptors, and painters active in friaries of the above-mentioned provinces—i.e., Dionizije Hoffer, Ivo Schwaiger, and Izaija Gasser. The iconography of the commissioned works of art was unpretentious, except for a few examples based on themes related to the most elite patrons of the three confraternities: the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular, and the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua.

Ample insight into the activities of the Franciscan confraternities may be gained by summing up the important information provided by a series of publications on the cultural heritage of the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, published by the Franciscan friar Paškal Cvekan. Based partially on his study of archives in Franciscan conventual houses from Trsat and Zagreb to Bač and Subotica, this essay offers a topographic overview of the confraternities' achievements in art patronage in the Province, complemented by my own research into this significant aspect of the religious heritage of Croatia.

Two confraternities were founded in the 17th century at the sanctuary of Our Lady of Trsat: the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, shortly before 1647, and the Confraternity of Our Lady of Trsat, established in 1692 by Petar Francetić (1642–1725) and confirmed by Sebastian Glavinić, bishop of Senj and Modruš (1632–1697). However, there is no explicit mention of their commissioning any of the numerous high quality sculptures and paintings in the church and friary of the Trsat Franciscans. Writing about the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis in his *History of Trsat (Historia Tersattana, 1648)*, Glavinić only mentioned the date of its foundation and the fact that its activity was linked to the chapel of St. Francis, established for that occasion in one of the rooms in the eastern tract of the friary.⁵ Likewise, Vigilije Greiderer stated in his *Germania Franciscana (1777)* that this confraternity was active in the 18th century, yet there is only one Baroque work of art in the chapel, namely the altar of St. Francis, commissioned in 1724 by Petar Francetić. The wooden retable, an example of the *Bilderrahmen Altar* type with a relief showing the *Stigmatization of St. Francis* surrounded by acanthus foliage inhabited by half-naked putti, all modelled on classical motifs, is the

i 15. stoljeća, *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 21/40, 1997, pp. 39–54. Croatian literature on medieval Dalmatian confraternities offers diverse perspectives, generating an extensive list of sources and literature on this topic; see, for example, Josip BRATULIĆ, *Srednjovjekovne bratovštine i crkvena prikazanja, Dani Hvarškoga kazališta. Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu*, 2/1, 1985, pp. 452–457; Lovorka ČORALIĆ, *Izvori i literatura o bratovštinama u Dalmaciji od srednjeg vijeka do pada Mletačke Republike*, *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 15/27, 1991, pp. 88–96; Vilma PEZELJ, *Žene u bratovštinama srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih gradova, Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Splitu*, 47/1, 2010, pp. 155–173. For a comprehensive analysis of the manifold roles of confraternities in medieval Dalmatian cities, considering their interactions with the social, political, cultural, and economic life of society, see also Irena BENYOVSKY, *Bratovštine u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima*, *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 22/41, 1998, pp. 137–160.

⁴ See Ana LAVRIČ, *Zgodovinska in umetnostna dediščina frančiškanskih bratovščin*, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 19/2, 2014, pp. 95–122.

⁵ Paškal CVEKAN, *Trsatsko svetišče Majke Milosti i franjevci njeni čuvari*, Trsat 1985, pp. 164, 177, 178; Danijel PATAFTA, *Franjevački svjetovni red na Trsatu. Obnova i poslanje u 19. stoljeću, Franjevački svjetovni red Trsat. Spomenica 1861.–2011.*, Trsat 2011, p. 39.



1. Dionizije Hoffer and Ivo Schwaiger:
Stigmatization of St. Francis, 1724,
St. Francis Chapel, Friary of Our Lady
of Trsat, Trsat (Rijeka),
before restoration

work of two lay Franciscan sculptors, Dionizije Hoffer and Ivo Schwaiger (fig. 1).⁶

Vibrant confraternity and guild activity took place during the 18th century at the church of the Holy Trinity in Karlovac: in 1734, the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary was founded there; around 1740 the Confraternity of St. Nicholas, patron of the Karlovac shippers; in 1743 the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua; and in 1770 the Confraternity of the Third Order. Since Karlovac was an important center of trade, much like Varaždin, professional associations were established there as well, some of them linked to the Franciscans of Karlovac, either by erecting altars in honor of their patron saints or by performing their religious devotions at the confraternities' altars. Despite often scarce information in the annals of Franciscan friaries when it comes to the acquisition of church furnishings, the *Liber Memorabilium I* of the Karlovac friary mentions the specific donations of the Confraternity of Ship-Owners and the Corpus Christi confraternity for commissioning altars

⁶ CVEKAN 1985 (n. 5), p. 164; Radmila MATEJČIĆ, *Crkva Gospe Trsatske i franjevački samostan*, Rijeka 1991, p. 75. Matejčić presents a detailed description of the altar of St. Francis, but offers no data or suggestions about the possible author or donor; see Marijan BRADANOVIĆ, Emanuel HOŠKO, *Marijin Trsat*, Zagreb 2011, n. p. The chapel of St. Francis of Assisi is mentioned in cat. no. 15 as “/.../ conceived and executed in 1647, as part of a grandiose architectural venture at the end of the first half of the 17th century. It was donated by Matija Rakamarić. /.../ The present Baroque altar retable, built in 1724, is the work of a Franciscan carving workshop, located at that time in Trsat /.../” For more on the activities of the Franciscan sculpture workshop, see Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Prilog problematici franjevačkog kiparstva prve polovice 18. st. u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj, *Peristil. Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti*, 29, 1986, pp. 97–118.



2. Valentin Metzinger: *Apotheosis of St. Nicholas*, c. 1740, Friary of the Holy Trinity, Collection of Religious Art, Karlovac



3. Valentin Metzinger: *St. George Fighting the Dragon*, c. 1740, Friary of the Holy Trinity, Collection of Religious Art, Karlovac

dedicated to their respective patron saints, Nicholas of Myra and St. George⁷ (1739/1740). Decorated with *The Apotheosis of St. Nicholas* (fig. 2) and *St. George Fighting the Dragon* (fig. 3), both altarpieces were painted by the Slovenian Valentin Metzinger.⁸ The altar of St. George was originally located to the right, below the triumphal arch. In 1739, anonymous woodcarvers obtained 100 gold pieces for its production from the Confraternity of Corpus Christi.⁹ The altar of St. Nicholas was erected

⁷ Franciscan friar Vigilije (Vigilius) Greiderer in his *Germania Franciscana* names the Confraternity of the Body of Christ as the commissioner of the St. George altar, an *Altare privilegiatum* for their pious practices on Mondays, which was assigned as well to the Karlovac guild of potters: [Ara] S. Georgii M. aere Confraternitatis SS. Corporis Christi erecta, pro ejus membris feria 2. privilegiata, & figulorum tribui consignata [Altar of St. George, erected with the money from the Confraternity of the Body of Christ, privileged on Mondays for its members, and assigned to the potters]. See Vigilije GREIDERER, *Germania Franciscana, Seu Chronicon Geographo-Historicum Ordinis S.P. Francisci in Germania [...]*, Innsbruck 1777, p. 134.

⁸ The paintings are conserved in the Art Collection of the Karlovac friary. See Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Barokno slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj franjevačkoj provinciji sv. Ćirila i Metoda*, Zagreb 2004, pp. 85, 86.

⁹ Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Karlovcu*, Karlovac 1979, p. 60. In 1777, the altar was transferred to the church nave; in 1896, it was replaced by one dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

in 1740 as its counterpart, on the left next to the triumphal arch, and the shippers' Confraternity of St. Nicholas donated 100 gold pieces for its production.¹⁰ The Confraternity of Ship-Owners is credited with erecting the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary as well. According to Greiderer, that occurred in 1761, although the *Liber Memorabilium* reported 1764, but it was only in 1788 that Andreas Herrlein painted its altarpiece.¹¹ Although the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary was founded by the Dominican Louis Stadler in 1734, archival sources and the literature do not connect it with a specific altar. Finding this typically Dominican devotion in a Franciscan church is by no means remarkable. Rosary iconography appeared almost regularly in most Franciscan and parish churches of Northern Croatia, owing in large part to its widespread popularity as one of the most prominent devotions of Catholic spirituality.

In the former Franciscan church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Jastrebarsko, the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular, a Carmelite devotion, was active from 1719. The confraternity commissioned a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Scapular, annexed to the northern side of the nave. Archival sources record this as the first newly erected altar in 1743, decorated in stucco, and directly linked to the confraternity (fig. 4).¹² As for the existing one, made in 1754, no such information exists, but there is none indicating a different donor.¹³ The side statues of St. Emeric and St. Barbara on the altar have been attributed to Marx Schokotnigg (1661–1731), together with the argument that they were originally placed on the old high altar of 1712 and erected thanks to the legacy of Barbara Sidonija Delišimunović Peranski. This hypothesis is supported by the choice of Barbara, the countess's patron saint, and St. Emeric, the patron of Count Mirko Erdődy (1620–1690), a member of the Croatian branch of the family with its seat in Jastrebarsko and a sponsor of the Franciscan friary. When the Franciscans obtained the new marble altar in 1733/34—the work



4. Altar of Our Lady of the Scapular, c. 1754, Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Jastrebarsko

¹⁰ CVEKAN 1979 (n. 9), p. 60. The altar was removed from the church in 1896 and replaced by a new altar of the Sacred Heart of Mary.

¹¹ GREIDERER 1777 (n. 7), p. 135; CVEKAN 1979 (n. 9), p. 64.

¹² *Anno 1743 facta fuit ad Capellam Scapularisticam expensis confraternitatis nova Ara ex Gypso*. See Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Jaski*, Slavonski Brod 1982, p. 68.

¹³ CVEKAN 1982 (n. 12), pp. 88, 89. Despite the existence of written approval by the Carmelite General Carlo Cornaccioli to the guardian and his successors in Jaska “that they can bless and give the Holy Scapular to all believers, with all the indulgences and spiritual graces, and enter them into the book of members of the legally established confraternity, there have been doubts about its existence because the foundation charter has been lost.”

of Giovanni de Rossi, a sculptor active in Gorica during the first half of the 18th century¹⁴—the two statues were relocated to the altar in the side chapel.¹⁵

The artistic legacy of the confraternities founded at the Franciscan friary of Zagreb (in Kaptol) is modest, mainly owing to the fact that its fate was sealed not only by the Great Fire of 1645, but also by the earthquake that struck on 9 November 1880 and caused heavy damage to the cathedral. Due to these disasters, as well as to the fact that the Kaptol friary never had a parish, which would have ensured continuous documentation of its contents through canonical visitations, its archival records are far from systematic or rich in information. Thus, little is known about the altars installed in the church during the 17th and 18th centuries. However, a description of the church by Mladen Barbarić, written before the earthquake, reveals that the altar of the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, built after 1669, was located in the first chapel on the north side of the nave, and



5. *Confraternity of Chastity and Penance*, 1772, Friary of St. Francis of Assisi, Zagreb

a painting of the confraternity members adorned it until the late 18th century. The legacy of the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua in that church is likewise missing, but there is an extant painting of the *Confraternity of Chastity and Penance* from the former altar of the Confraternity of St. Peter of Alcantara, founded in 1745 (fig. 5).¹⁶ The chronogram inscription **CZIMER BRATOVSKINE KREPOSZTI POKORE – ZDRAVO LEPI, I SZVETI KRIS** on the cross held by an angel in the upper section of the composition establishes that the painting was made in 1772, which allows us to conclude that it replaced a painting portraying its previous patron on the altar when it was renovated in 1746.¹⁷

In the Franciscan friary and church of Mary's Ascension in Samobor, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, founded in 1700, is attested to only in a book listing its members and a painting of insignificant artistic value, a symbolic depiction of the hierarchy of intercession—Mary with the Christ Child at the top offering the knotted rope belt to Sts. Francis and Bernardino of Siena, who lower it to the representatives of various social classes.¹⁸ Related to the Confraternity of the

¹⁴ For more on the friary, see Đurđica CVITANOVIĆ, *Franjevački samostan u Jastrebarskom*, *Peristil. Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti*, 12–13/1, 1970, pp. 117–131.

¹⁵ Doris BARIČEVIĆ, *Barokno kiparstvo sjeverne Hrvatske*, Zagreb 2008, p. 212.

¹⁶ Paškal CVEKAN, *Kaptolski franjevci*, Zagreb 1990, pp. 133–135.

¹⁷ CVEKAN 1990 (n. 16), p. 99.

¹⁸ Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Samoboru*, Samobor 1982, p. 97; Mato BATOROVIĆ, *Treći red sv. Franje i bratovštine u Virovitici, 725 godina franjevaca u Virovitici. Proceedings of an International Conference* (ed. Julijo Martinčić), Zagreb-Osijek 2006, pp. 233–257, 240.



6. *Throne of Our Lady of the Rosary, 1748, Church of St. John the Baptist, Kloštar Ivanić*

Holy Scapular, founded in 1752, a “Throne of Our Lady of the Scapular” is mentioned in the chronicle of the same friary, made for the confraternal processions that first paraded through the whole city and later, after 1772, took place within the friary’s premises.¹⁹

The Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, founded in 1748 by Karlo Murner, a Dominican from Ptuj, likewise had a “Throne of Our Lady” in its original, later devastated Franciscan church of St. John the Baptist in Kloštar Ivanić. Today, it can only be seen in photographs taken by Đuro Griesbach in 1939 (fig. 6). The altar of the Holy Rosary in that church, once on the north side of the triumphal arch, was also associated with the confraternity’s religious activities. However, archival sources do not mention its important commission of an altarpiece, the work of the lay friar Izaija Gasser (1709–1751). The altar, made in 1744/45 by Joseph Weinacht (active c. 1740–1750), one of the most accomplished Zagreb sculptors of the first half of the

18th century, was paid for from the legacy of Friar Alexander Reiner.²⁰

The Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua, established by Count Emeric Erdődy in October 1664 at the Franciscan church of the Annunciation at Klanjec and confirmed by Pope Alexander VII, is one of the oldest confraternities of that dedication in the Province.²¹ Even though it is not directly stated in the archival sources, we know that Erdődy also commissioned the altar and altarpiece depicting *St. Anthony with the Christ Child* by Hans Georg Geiger (?–1681), whose workshop was very popular at the time with the Erdődy family, who commissioned paintings for their altars in several churches in northwestern Croatia and Slovenia (fig. 7).²² Emeric himself ordered

¹⁹ CVEKAN 1982 (n. 18), p. 98.

²⁰ Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Ivaniću*, Kloštar Ivanić 1979, pp. 48–49. On Schneider’s photographs in the former Franciscan church of Kloštar Ivanić, see Krasanka MAJER JURIŠIĆ, Schneiderov fotografski arhiv – svjedok izgubljenog izgleda crkve sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Kloštru Ivaniću, *Hrvatski povjesničari umjetnosti. Artur Schneider 1879–1946* (ed. Ljerka Dulibić), Zagreb 2016, pp. 225–240; Digitalna zbirka Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (DIZBI), <http://dizbi.hazu.hr/object/26955> (accessed 25 May 2016).

²¹ With the bull of foundation of the Confraternity of St. Anthony in Klanjec, issued on 30 June 1664, the Pope approved a privileged Mass for the deceased members of the confraternity to be celebrated on “all days of the octave of the feast of St. Anthony and every Tuesday throughout the year.” See Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevački samostan u Klanjcu*, Klanjec 1983, pp. 114.

²² Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Prilog opusu slikara Hansa Georga Geigerfelda i njegove radionice, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 4, 1999, pp. 59–72; Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Blaženka FIRST, Majstor HGG. *Slikar plastične monumentalnosti/The Master of HGG. A Painter of Sculptural Monumentality* (eds. Andrej Smrekar, Mateja Breščak, Anđelka Gaić), Narodna galerija, Ljubljana, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb, Ljubljana-Zagreb 2005, p. 121; Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Katarina HORVAT LEVAJ, Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Akademski crkva sv. Katarine*, Zagreb 2010, pp. 205–223.



7. Altar of St. Anthony of Padua, 1762, with the altarpiece by Hans Georg Geiger, 1664, Parish Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Klanjec



8. St. Francis as the Fountain of Life, 1732, Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Remetinec

another painting from Geiger in 1666/67, a *St. Lucy* for the cemetery chapel near the church of the Annunciation. His distant relative Anthony I (Antun) Erdődy, general and royal chamberlain and the “great mayor” of the Hungarian county of Arva (from c. 1751) and the Varaždin County (1760–1767), had the old altar replaced in 1762, but preserved Geiger’s painting of St. Anthony in the central section, between sculptures of St. Stephen and St. Emeric of Hungary. The altarpiece of St. Anthony is sometimes covered by a Late Baroque movable painting portraying the same saint.

Confraternities dedicated to the Cord of St. Francis were founded at all the friaries of the Province, yet their activities or the individual engagement of their members did not necessarily include commissioning art or liturgical objects, at least as far as the present stage of research indicates. The altars dedicated to St. Francis in the churches of Our Lady in Remetinec, the church of St. Nicholas in Čakovec, and the church of St. Catherine in Krapina are likewise unattested directly as commissions of the confraternities of the Cord of St. Francis instituted in those places. The side altar in the parish church of Our Lady of the Rosary in Remetinec is linked to the Franciscan confraternity, yet without mentioning its role in commissioning the altar. The central image of St. Francis (1732) is a variant of the allegory of Christ as the *Fons Vitae* (fig. 8), alluding to the interpretation of the charismatic saint as *alter Christus*.

The painting of the *Confraternity Receiving the Cord from St. Francis* (before 1750) on the left side altar of St. Francis in Čakovec visually relates it to the confraternity, but archival sources do not directly mention its role in commissioning the altar (fig. 9). The statues of Sts. John of Capistrano and Bernardino of Siena (1735), which Doris Baričević has attributed to the Bavarian sculptor and



9. Altar of St. Francis, before 1750, with sculptures by Pavao Rehle, 1735, St. Nicholas Church, Čakovec

Franciscan lay friar Paulus Rehle,²³ originally stood on the altar of St. Anthony of Padua in the side chapel of the same church.

Much more information on the confraternities' activity can be found in the archives and the scholarly literature on the Franciscan friary and church of St. John the Baptist in Varaždin, where four confraternities were active. In 1642, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis in Varaždin was confirmed by Pope Urban VIII, and in 1673 two more confraternities were established with dedications to the Holy Scapular and to Corpus Christi, confirmed by Martin Borković, bishop of Zagreb, and authorized by Pope Clement X. The Franciscan chronicle *Pro Memoria* also mentions a Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua, established in 1677 and confirmed by Pope Benedict XI. Referring to the founding of Franciscan confraternities in Varaždin, Krešimir Filić wrote: "It is obvious that the Franciscans sought to keep the believers for themselves. They founded confraternities because the Varaždin Jesuits were serious competitors with their own confraternities of the Passion and the Death of Jesus, the Congregation of *B.*

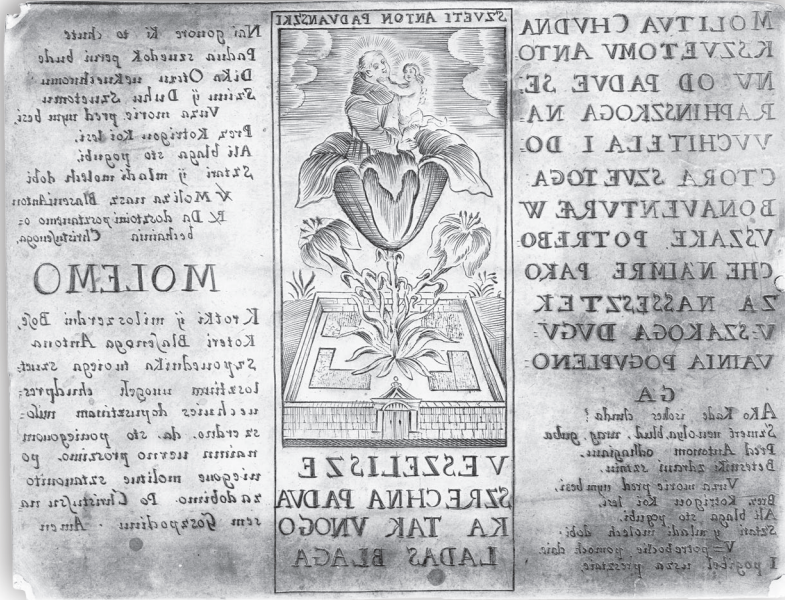
V Maria Maria ab Angelo salutata, and the German Marian confraternity founded in 1732."²⁴ No archival records have been found regarding the activity of the confraternities of Corpus Christi and St. Anthony of Padua, although an engraver's plate has been preserved with the effigy of St. Anthony and a poem dedicated to him, most likely evidence of the confraternity's veneration (fig. 10).

In addition to the chronicle, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis is attested to in a book containing the bull of Pope Urban VIII, a membership list (1651–1784), and a list of the deceased up to the confraternity's dissolution in 1783. The book is conserved in the Collection of Paintings, Prints and Miniatures of the Department of Cultural History at the Municipal Museum of Varaždin [Gradski muzej Varaždin] (fig. 11).²⁵ The book connects the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis to the higher strata of society by the coat of arms of the Counts of Drašković, a parchment with the arms of Baroness Josipa Patačić née Miseroni, patroness of the confraternity

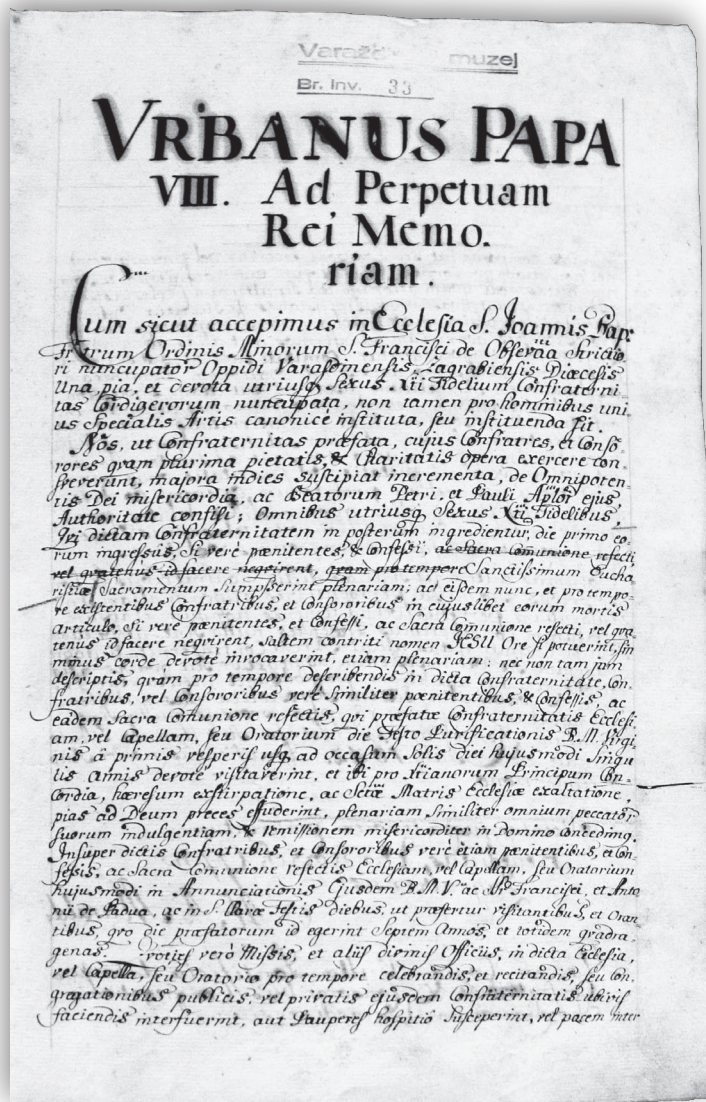
²³ BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), p. 178.

²⁴ Krešimir FILIĆ, *Franjevci u Varaždinu. Poviest franjevačke crkve i samostana. O 700-godišnjici dolaska franjevacu u Varaždin*, Varaždin 1944, pp. 41, 42; Paškal CVEKAN, *Djelovanje franjevacu u Varaždinu*, Varaždin 1978, pp. 112–114. Cvekan also mentions a Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, founded in 1603 with the approval of Pope Clement VIII.

²⁵ I would like to thank Jelena Rančić for having granted me access to the Cultural-Historical Department of the Collection of Paintings, Prints and Miniatures at the Municipal Museum of Varaždin.



10. Engraving matrix with the effigy of St. Anthony and a poem dedicated to the saint, Franciscan Friar of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin



11. Bull of Pope Urban VIII, 1642, Varaždin City Museum



12. Johann Veit Kauperz: Matrix from the 18th century, made for the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, Franciscan Friary of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin

in 1767, and the heraldry and names of various other distinguished individuals, such as Countess Carolina Breuner Pflug, patroness of the confraternity from 1761 to 1766. Confraternity members included municipal judges, artisans, Ursuline nuns, diocesan priests, and even Ivan Adam Rosemberger (Ioannes Adamus Rosemperger, ?–1758), a leading master among Varaždin's sculptors during the first half of the 18th century.

Membership was confirmed by issuing matriculation certificates, with the plates probably ordered from engraving designers in Graz. A preserved example from the 18th century, the work of Johann Veit Kauperz (1741–1816), was made for the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis (fig. 12). It illustrates the saint surrounded by cherubs and lowering the cord to the souls in Purgatory and the confraternity members in the lower segment of the composition.²⁶ The confraternity is represented by several male and female figures, predominantly from the higher social strata, which is evident from their garments and jewelry. Two years after its foundation, the *Historia Domus*

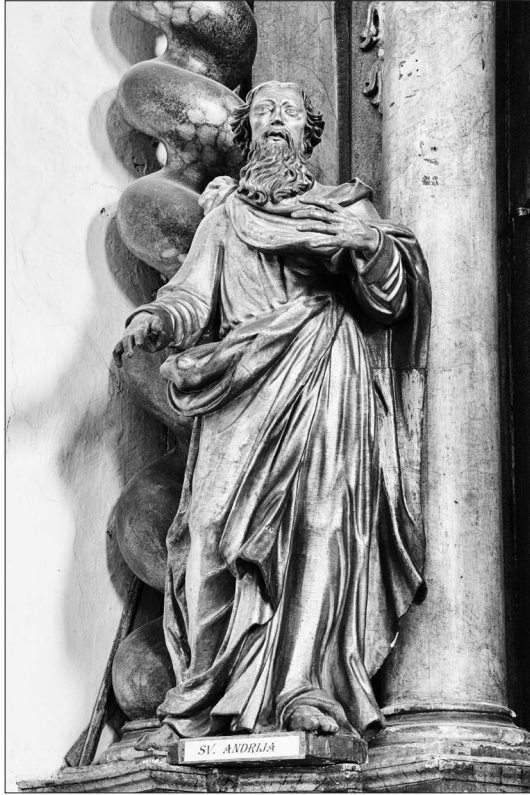
of the Franciscan friary in Kloštar Ivanić mentions the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis as the donor of the altar (later destroyed) of the Holy Rosary, which contained the following inscription: *Altare hoc erexit confraternitas Liberae civitatis Varazdiniensis Cordigerorum Francisci, Anno Dni 1646* [This altar was erected by the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis of the Free City of Varaždin].²⁷

After the fire of 1665, which destroyed most of the Early Baroque works of art in the Franciscan church, the first of six new altars in the side chapels was commissioned and installed in 1725 by the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis.²⁸ The altar thus created a model for the subsequent wooden retables of St. Anthony of Padua, St. Ladislaus, St. Barbara, Our Lady of the Scapular, and St. Clare, made between 1739 and 1748. All of them have high predellas, central niches with sculptures or paintings, pilasters, round and twisted columns framing each side, accentuated cornices, and spacious attics intended for figurative sculpture. Although these retables may seem identical at first glance, there are noticeable differences between them in the complexity and delicacy of the

²⁶ Below the image on the matrix there is the author's signature, *Kauperz Sc. Graecij*, and the inscription of the "form": *Prijet je Vu Sz Bratovschinu Vu Czirke P:P: Franciskanov. Letto.. Dan.. Mesz.. Vu..* (Admitted to the Confraternity in the Franciscan Church. Year.. Day.. Month.. In..).

²⁷ CVEKAN 1978 (n. 24), p. 114.

²⁸ Arhiv franjevačkog samostana u Varaždinu, Eugen Klmpacher, *Pro Memoria*, 1796/1797, p. 40; FILIĆ 1944 (n. 24), p. 102.



13. Ivan Adam Rosemberger (?): *St. Andrew*, Altar of *St. Francis*, 1725, Church of *St. John the Baptist*, Varaždin



14. Johann Matthias Leitner (?): *St. John of Nepomuk*, Altar of *St. Anthony of Padua*, 1739, Church of *St. John the Baptist*, Varaždin

carved motifs—reticulated ornaments and foliage, palmettes, and decorative vases on the broken volutes of the attic. The sculpture, too, shows differences in style and quality, as noted by Doris Baričević, who attributed most of them to Ivan Adam Rosemberger and his workshop.²⁹ Without questioning this attribution, I would like to add that the sculptures on the *St. Francis* altar are the finest examples of male saintly figures considered to be by Rosemberger's hand, not only in the Franciscan church of Varaždin, but in his entire oeuvre (fig. 13).

Another presumed confraternity commission is the altar of *St. Anthony of Padua* in the chapel at the northern nave wall. Nevertheless, the note of Eugen Klimpacher in the *Pro memoria* stating that it was “acquired and installed in 1739 owing to the gifts of donors and the efforts of pater Kajetan Zangerer, lector of theology in Varaždin” does not confirm it explicitly. The statues of *St. John of Nepomuk* (fig. 14) and *St. Francis Xavier* flanking the altar painting of *St. Anthony with the Christ Child and Angels* have been attributed by Baričević to the Austrian sculptor Johann Matthias Leitner. Baričević singled out the statues on the *St. Anthony* altar as his most exquisite work, for which she found analogies in Malečnik and Graz, primarily in the extraordinary figure of the *Archangel Michael* on the baldachin of the pulpit in the church of the Brethren of Mercy (1739).³⁰ The lavish

²⁹ Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Barokno kiparstvo kod varaždinskih franjevaca, *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU*, 6–7, 1994, pp. 27–36.

³⁰ BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), p. 218.



15. Altar of Our Lady of the Scapular, c. 1739, Church of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin

decoration of the chapel—medallions with frescoes by Johann Baptist Ranger (Ivan Krstitelj Ranger, 1700–1753) and the surrounding stuccowork—has been attributed to Joseph Anton Quadrio,³¹ but there is no specific information about the donors. Since the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua existed at the Franciscan church of Varaždin from 15 July 1677, we cannot dismiss its influence and possible role in commissioning the chapel's complete furnishings.

Baričević has also observed some features similar to Leitner's work in the statue of *Our Lady of the Scapular* on the altar of that confraternity as well (fig. 15), stating that "it certainly reveals the sophisticated personal style of a master who is most likely to be sought in Graz, in the circle of Johann Matthias Leitner."³² While the statue has been dated by Baričević to c. 1739, the altar and other statues were made sometime before 1747, the year marked by the chronogram "on the occasion of the restoration of Mary's throne" in the entrance arch. The activities of the Holy Scapular Confraternity in the chapel are recorded from 1690 until the 1880s and 1890s, when they paid for the renovation of the Virgin's statue and the altar. It is unknown whether or not Countess Anna Patačić of Zajezda (married Vragović), donor

of the chapel's stucco decoration, was a confraternal member. The stuccowork in the form of lush florals with angels in high relief is by Joseph Anton Quadrio from 1716/17, as the contract records.³³

At the Franciscan friary of St. Roch in Virovitica, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis was established in 1738 and confirmed by Juraj Branjug, bishop of Zagreb, while that of the Holy Scapular was founded in 1753. With its donations, the latter confraternity financed an altar of Our Lady in the sanctuary in 1761, today dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes.³⁴

Writing on the confraternities of Virovitica, Mato Batorović has sought to correct certain incongruities in the important studies by Paškal Cvekan and Emanuel Hoško, in which the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis was mistaken for the Franciscan Third Order. Thus, concerning the altar of St. Francis in the church of St. Roch in Virovitica (fig. 16), Cvekan argued that it belonged to the Confraternity of St. Francis of Assisi, founded in 1738, while elsewhere he stated that the St. Francis altar was commissioned in 1762 in Ptuj and paid for with the donations of members of the

³¹ Cf. Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Prilog istraživanju opusa štukatera Antona Josepha Quadrija, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 33, 2009, pp. 145–162.

³² BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), p. 218.

³³ CVEKAN 1978, p. 86; REPANIĆ-BRAUN 2009 (n. 31), p. 148.

³⁴ BATOROVIĆ 2006 (n. 18), pp. 233–257, 233.

Third Order, which had been in existence in Virovitica since 1738.³⁵ However, despite this inconsistency, we must underscore the significance of the fact, too often ignored by scholars, that the altar of St. Francis of Assisi was financed by the confraternity.

The altar is an extraordinary ensemble, comprising various works of art by Styrian and Tyrolean masters, a well-composed iconographic whole suited to the commissioner's profile. Marija Mirković has observed that the altarpiece painting of the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, flanked by statues of St. Louis and St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, patrons of the Franciscan Third Order, also depicts the *Souls in Purgatory* as sculptures of naked male and female torsos engulfed in flames. The whole is a powerful visual reminder of the intercessory powers of Franciscan saints.³⁶ Concerning the authorship of the exquisite statues of Sts. Louis and Elizabeth, Baričević argued that they show “numerous parallels with Holzinger’s work from the 1750s and 1760s.”³⁷ The *Stigmatization of St. Francis* (1777/78) has been attributed to the South-Tyrolean painter Josef Anton Cusetti (1750–1793), owing to the striking stylistic analogies with his earlier, firmly attributed work, which reveals a peculiar fusion of Late Baroque pathos, Rococo, and Early Classicism. That description particularly fits the painting from 1784, situated on the main altar of the parish church of St. Egidius in Klagenfurt, and the altar paintings in the parish church of Treffen, dated between 1784 and 1786.³⁸

A confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis was also instituted at the Franciscan church of the Holy Cross in Osijek (1712). The church had an altar dedicated to St. Francis administered by the confraternity members, who, as stated in the chronicle, “adorned it with flowers and acquired candles for it, made contributions for the holy masses for their deceased and living brethren, participated in all public liturgical celebrations, carrying the Franciscan cross, and were a significant support of the friary of Osijek.”³⁹ Nevertheless, there is no mention of their involvement in the acquisition either of the altar of St. Francis, which is first mentioned in the friary’s annals in 1770, or



16. Altar of St. Francis, 1762,
Church of St. Roch, Virovitica

³⁵ BATOROVIĆ 2006 (n. 18), p. 238.

³⁶ Marija MIRKOVIĆ, *Bratovština franjevačkog pojasa*, *Brat Franjo*, 24, 1999, pp. 18–19.

³⁷ BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), 339.

³⁸ REPANIĆ-BRAUN 2004 (n. 8), pp. 130–135.

³⁹ Paškal CVEKAN, *Osječki Franjevci*, Osijek 1987, p. 78. The presence of a Franciscan confraternity in Osijek before the liberation of the city from the Ottoman Turks is attested in a document from 1731, translated and published by Marin SRAKIĆ, *Franjevačke bratovštine u Osijeku*, *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 8/56, 1990, pp. 90–93, with special emphasis on the first paragraph of the text, in which he quotes the testimony of the citizens of Osijek: “We know that the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis under the banner of the Holy Wounds has always flourished admirably for the comfort of Christians in these parts, even while we were under the Turkish yoke /.../” (p. 90).



17. Paulus Antonius Senser: *St. Francis in Prayer*, c. 1756, Church of the Holy Trinity, Slavonski Brod

the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, recently attributed to Matija Šeravić by Zsuzsanna Korhecz Papp.⁴⁰

Information on the commissioners of altars dedicated to St. Francis in the Franciscan churches of Požega, Vukovar, and Slavonski Brod is also missing, so one can only speculate about the role of the confraternities in their acquisition. The St. Francis altar at the Holy Trinity church in Slavonski Brod, for example, is first mentioned in the friary's chronicle in 1767. At that time Franjo Velikanović, administrator of the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis founded at that church, issued a decision to establish the "feast day of the Stigmatization of our holy father Francis (17 November) as their patron saint."⁴¹ The choice of Sts. Louis and Elizabeth of Hungary (Thuringia) for the statues flanking the central painting of *St. Francis in Prayer* (fig. 17), by Paulus Antonius Senser (1716–1758), supports the hypothesis that the altar owes its existence entirely to the confraternity's involvement.

The 17th and 18th centuries' artistic heritage of confraternities in continental Croatia requires additional field and archival research, which would contribute significantly to a more complete understanding of confraternal contributions to the panorama of Croatian Baroque art and culture.

As in Adriatic Croatia, the most influential members of these sodalities were also distinguished members of society, to whom affiliation with a confraternity was an additional form of intensifying their influence. Further research would enable a turn from the more general concepts of confraternity, fraternity, or congregation to the individuals who, as the contracting authorities, influenced the formation of the semantic and visual identity of sacred space in post-Tridentine and Central European continental Croatia.⁴²

⁴⁰ Zsuzsanna KORHECZ PAPP, Mathias Xeravich (†1771.) pictor Budensis, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 40, 2016, pp. 117–128.

⁴¹ Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Brodu*, Slavonski Brod 1984, pp. 108, 109; Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Baču*, Virovitica 1985, p. 119; on Paulus Antonius Senser, see Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Paulus Antonius Senser (1716.–1758.). Prvi barokni slikar u Osijeku* (ed. Jasminka Najcer Sabljak), Galerija likovnih umjetnosti, Osijek 2008, especially p. 68.

⁴² Research for this paper has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation's funding of the project 6827 *The Visual Arts and the Communication of Power in the Early Modern Period (1450–1800): Historical Croatian Regions at the Crossroads of Central Europe and the Mediterranean*.

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

Povzetek

Čeprav delež bratovščin pri nastanku sakralne umetnostne dediščine na območju severozahodne Hrvaške v umetnostnozgodovinskih znanstvenih in strokovnih objavah ni spregledan, pa naročniška vloga bratovščin v obdobju zgodnjega novega veka nikoli ni bila predmet sistematičnih raziskav hrvaških umetnostnih zgodovinarjev. Najpopolnejši vpogled v zgodovino nastajanja in delovanja redovnih bratovščin na kontinentalnem Hrvaškem dobimo iz podatkov, ki jih je v vrsti svojih publikacij o samostanih in cerkvah hrvaške frančiškanske province sv. Cirila in Metoda na podlagi študija arhivskega gradiva v samostanskih hišah od Trsata in Zagreba do Bača in Subotice objavil br. Paškal Cvekan.

Ker loči v kulturni in umetnostni zgodovini 15. stoletja na kontinentalnem Hrvaškem pozni srednji vek od zgodnjega novega veka le »tanka črta«, nam lahko služi kot uvod v to temo besedilo Dragutina Feletarja o poznosrednjeveških bratovščinah in cehih v Podravini. Tako obliko specifičnega gospodarskega, verskega in družbenega življenja ter organiziranja je spodbudila, kakor piše Feletar, velika koncentracija prebivalstva in neagrarnih dejavnosti – obrti, trgovine, uprave, vojske, cerkve – v večjih mestih. V duhovnem pogledu so se meščani v skoraj vseh večjih mestih povezovali v verske skupnosti pri župnijah in samostanih, da bi strukturirano delovali na moralnem, izobraževalnem in karitativnem področju, v strokovnem pogledu pa so se združevali obrtniki in trgovci, da bi zavarovali pridobljene svoboščine, privilegije in položaje v družbi, saj na severozahodnem Hrvaškem vse do druge polovice 15. stoletja niso bili organizirani v cehe in niso imeli niti kraljevskih privilegijev niti pravil, ki bi jih odobrili mestni sodniki. Najstarejše bratovščine, temelječe na načelih strokovne, nacionalne, stanovske in verske pripadnosti, so nastajale na območju severozahodne Hrvaške po vzoru sorodnih skupnosti v Avstriji in Nemčiji od 14. stoletja dalje, prve med njimi na zagrebškem Gradcu; hrvaška bratovščina se omenja v arhivskih virih leta 1355, nemška bratovščina 1357, bratovščina Latincev pa leta 1384. V koraku z njimi so nastajale poklicne bratovščine mizarjev (1377), mesarjev (1387), kolarjev (1444) in jermenarjev (1462), pa tudi verske, kakršna je bratovščina za srečno smrt (sv. Hieronima), ki jo je leta 1380 ustanovil zagrebški škof Pavel Horvat (1379–1386).

Čeprav so na območju kontinentalne Hrvaške posamezne bratovščine brez dvoma delovale tudi kot naročniki umetniških del v cerkvah, v prvi vrsti »svojih« oltarjev ter pripadajoče kiparske in slikarske opreme, njihov prispevek k oblikovanju identitete skupne sakralne dediščine zgodnjega novega veka ni bil tako pomemben kakor v mestih jadranske Hrvaške. Vendarle pa so bile nekatere od njih zaslužne za nastanek in ohranitev določenega števila sakralnih spomenikov, zlasti ko govorimo o delih, nastalih tekom 17. in 18. stoletja v frančiškanskih in jezuitskih cerkvah. Ta dela, sicer z nekaj izjemami, glede najetih umetnikov in obrtnikov ne prinašajo ničesar novega in vznemirljivega; kot naročniki so bratovščine sledile »uhojenim potem« drugih donatorjev in se najpogosteje oprle na delavnice v Novem mestu, Mariboru, Ljubljani, Gradcu in Pécsu, redkeje pa na domače moči, predvsem na rezbarje in kiparje, ki so delovali v sklopu frančiškanskih samostanov in v večjih mestih – Zagrebu in Varaždinu. Ikonografija naročenih del, posebno frančiškanska, je preprosta in zaradi številčnosti bratovščin, posvečenih frančiškanskima »prvakoma«, variira nekaj tem iz izročila o sv. Antonu Padovanskem in sv. Frančišku Asiškem. Pridružujejo se jima upodobitve Škapulirske Matere božje, manjše število bratovščinskih slik in grafik z njihovimi zavetniki ter posebno presunljiva ikonografija Jezusovega trpljenja in smrti, kakršno najdemo na oltarju sv. Križa v nekdanji jezuitski cerkvi Marijinega vnebovzeta v Varaždinu.

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

Matija Ogrin

This essay seeks to demonstrate the significance of confraternities with regard to a substantial part of early modern literature written in the Slovenian language. We shall only focus on a few of the many Slovenian literary texts from the Baroque period that would not have come into being without the activity of a confraternity. This “coming into being” was a complex cultural process that took several forms and modalities. The most preeminent was when the confraternity commissioned a text and a performance for a spectacular public event such as a Passion play, in which the brethren solemnly took part. Another vital expression of this kind of interaction was exhibited when confraternities commissioned the printing and publication of books for personal devotion and meditation, which were often presented to its members as gifts at festivities as well as on solemn occasions. On festival days—most notably, the patronal feasts—a sermon was delivered to the members by a confraternal rector or another priest. These sermons, often printed, were directed to a single confraternal community: its patrons (both celestial and terrestrial), moral imperatives, spiritual mission, etc. Another vital expression of confraternal devotional life can be observed in the texts of songs and prayers for deceased members, both for singing and recitation. Some of these poems and prayers are aesthetically outstanding.

In most cases, confraternities presented these books as gifts to their members for the New Year, as in the case of *Piae considerationes ad declinandum à malo et faciendum bonum cum iconibus viae vitae aeternae /.../ DD. Sodalibus in Diva Virgine conjunctis salutem Marianam, & felix Anni principium* (1712), one of many editions of this handbook for personal advancement in a Christian life by the renowned Belgian Jesuit Antoine Sucquet. This book, on the other hand, is an outstanding example of the coexistence of image and text, like an emblem. It contains 32 pages with engravings that illustrate meditations about the purpose of human life, about moral choices to be made, etc. This “book of emblems,” as it is sometimes called, reveals to a larger extent the full realization of a feature that is present in the majority of confraternity books, but in a less perfect way: the combination of image and text that is the emblematic structure of Baroque culture. By “emblematic structure” we mean a characteristic feature of Baroque literature: its picturesque style, where ideas and moral instruction are not expressed solely as direct principles, but also as vivid, colorful, and abundant images. This basic, characteristic structure is the reason and source for the many comparisons between Baroque visual arts and literature.

Apart from highlighting certain examples of the correspondence between the fine arts and literary texts, this essay cannot undertake a detailed analysis of this complex subject. Rather, we shall point out some Slovenian texts, appropriate for this kind of research, with one common feature in all possible modalities—without a confraternity, the particular text would not have come

into being. It was written for a distinct purpose that arose from the needs or interests of a particular *confraternitas*. Let us draw attention to a few typical examples.

Confraternity books. *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. Virginis in coelos assumptae*

The great Latin confraternity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Ljubljana, established by the Jesuits in 1605, was a congregation of outstanding intellectual power. During more than a century-and-a-half of its existence, the confraternity published dozens of books in Latin with texts on personal meditation and devotion for its members.¹ It brought together intellectuals from several social classes and, notably, students of the Jesuit *collegium*. This varied social structure of intellectually prominent members might be one reason for its extraordinary success.

The first book, published in 1639 by this sodality, is a manual with rules and devotional texts for the membership: *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. Virginis in coelos assumptae*.² The title page reveals that although the book was printed in Vienna, the confraternity in Ljubljana assumed the role of publisher. The manual was dedicated to its benefactor, Rupert Eckart, abbot of the Cistercian Abbey in Stična, and contains a complex exposition of Marian spirituality in 546 small, dense pages. The manual clearly states the main goal of the confraternity in the opening paragraph: *Finis hujus Congregationis est, Progressioni in litteris conjuncta Virtus Pietasque Christiana* (The aim of this Congregation is the union of Christian Virtue and Piety with a person's Progress in culture and knowledge). One of the key chapters, titled *De bono vitae statu eligendo & ad eum Incitatio* (pp. 490–539) takes a typically Jesuit approach to the principles of discernment and judgment in concrete circumstances in which a person must make decisions for a good life.

This is the earliest example among dozens of confraternity books, published mostly in Ljubljana, from the period of the Catholic renewal of the 17th and 18th centuries. Significantly, the confraternity of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and other sodalities published the first editions of classical authors in the Slovenian lands, such as Boethius (*De consolatione philosophiae*), as well as St. Bernard of Clairvaux (*Sermones de Beata*) and Thomas à Kempis (*Imitatio Christi*). In addition, they published editions of books by highly renowned recent and even contemporary authors of the Catholic renewal, such as Francis de Sales (1567–1622; canonized 1665), and Jesuits Paolo Segneri (1624–1694), Jeremias Drexel (1581–1638) and Gabriel Havenesi (1656–1715), among others.

It must be noted that the majority of this corpus was in Latin, the official language of the Jesuits who had established and led the most productive confraternities. Only a small number of these books were published in German, and even fewer in Slovenian (which is another reason for the prolonged, enduring life of manuscript culture in the Slovenian language). Nevertheless, in addition to the value and meaning of these Latin publications for subsequent Slovenian literature, something else should be stressed. From the first printed publication on record—the *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. V.* of 1639—confraternities provided three crucial agents: first, they selected the authors of the texts or translations; second, they commissioned a printer to publish the texts while providing an economic guarantee by buying the entire print-run; and finally, as the books were presented to the

¹ See Matija OGRIN, *Bratovščinske iskre. Duhovna besedila baročnih bratovščin na Slovenskem*, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 21/2, 2016, pp. 55–88.

² *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. Virginis in coelos assumptae*, *Labaci in Archiducali Societatis Iesu Collegio Erectae & confirmatae*, Labaci 1639.



1. Frontispiece of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary in Kranj, c. 1650, Archdiocesan Archive Ljubljana



2. Janez Mihael Reinwaldt: *The Growth of the Rosary Tree*, c. 1729, Parish Church of the Virgin of the Holy Rosary, Tomišelj

membership, they provided the audience and the reception. Therefore, confraternities often successfully combined all the vital roles needed for a congruent literary system, that of an author, a publisher and reader.³

Matija Kastelec and the Rosebush of the Holy Rosary

Other confraternities, especially those with fewer intellectually prominent members, published mostly in the modern regional languages of German and Slovenian. Groundbreaking work of this kind was undertaken by Matija Kastelec (1620–1688), “Matthias Castellez, Canonicus Rudolphsbertenfis, Beneficiatus & Praefes Confr[aternitatis] SS. Rofarii ac Fundator Beneficii S. Barbarae” (the canon in Novo mesto, beneficiary and rector of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary /.../). He wrote a manual for the membership titled *Bratovske buqvice S. Roshenkranza* (The Confraternity Book of the Holy Rosary) in 1678.⁴ This innovative volume was probably used widely

³ With more examples in OGRIN 2016 (n. 1), p. 88.

⁴ Matija KASTELEC, *Bratovske buqvice s. roshenkranza: v' katerih je ukúp sloshena visha ta psalter, ali roshenkranz s' témi petnaistimi skriunostmi moliti, inu kokú se more enimu bolniku k' isvelizhanju pomagati; sravèn samerkanih odpustkou zhés ceilu lejtu*, Gradec 1678.

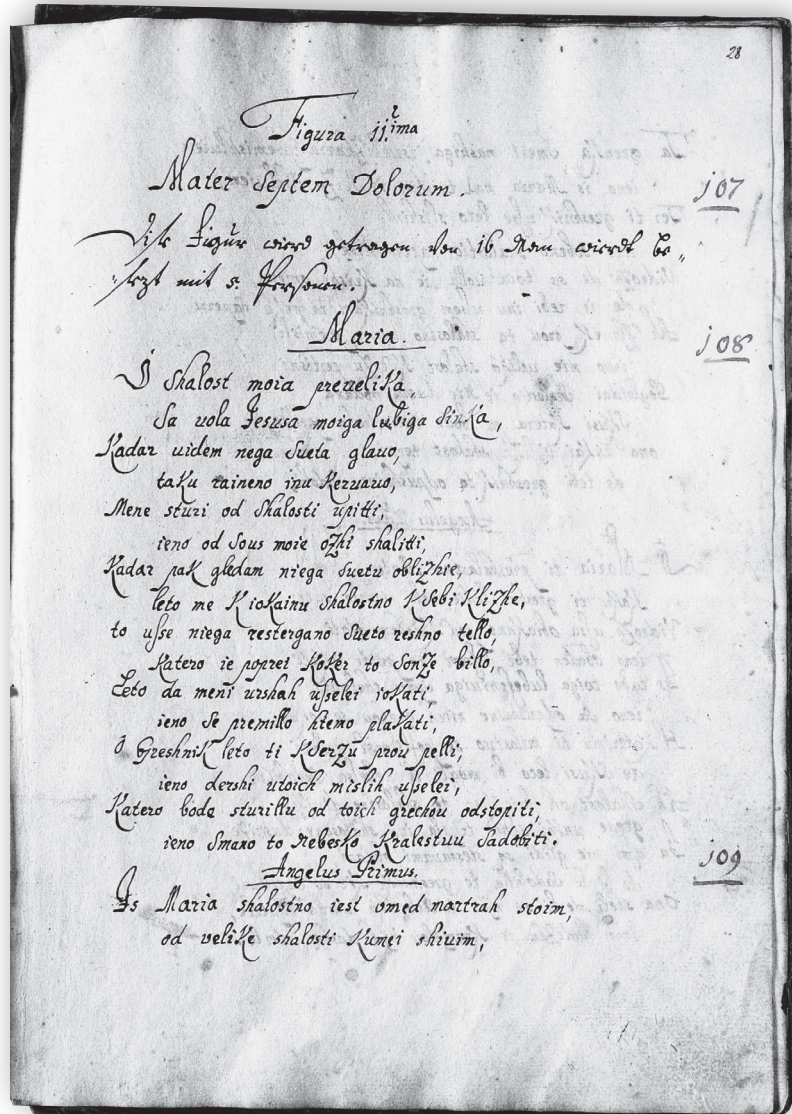
across the regions in which Slovenian was spoken. The collection contains the earliest Slovenian form of the complete Holy Rosary with explanations of the 15 mysteries and related contemplative prayers for each. Although the prayers were part of an older Marian tradition, the book demonstrates Kastelec's role as one of the pioneers of Slovenian Baroque literature as well as his importance in the continuity of late medieval traditions. This initial part of the book is followed by Marian hymns, among them the Slovenian translation of *Stabat mater dolorosa*, again a medieval element, as well as many other prayers, meditations, and hymns, especially devoted to the Passion of Christ. Some are written in a vivid literary style, with picturesque rhetorical devices. The introduction is particularly important in our context because Kastelec presented the Holy Rosary by means of an allegorical image of a rosebush—first planted by St. Dominic, then flourishing with beautiful and mysterious flowers in Carniola. One could recall images of rosebushes and even rose-trees as allegories of the Holy Rosary, e.g. in contemporary confraternity books (fig. 1), which might have inspired this affecting and well-styled passage, or in somewhat later paintings, which reflect the spirit of this widespread Marian devotion (fig. 2).

The Škofja Loka Passion Play

The critical importance of confraternities for Slovenian literature becomes even more apparent when shifting from printed books to the realm of manuscripts. Only a small portion of literary endeavors found their way from manuscript into print. One of the notable reasons was the negative, rationalist attitude of the “enlightened” authorities, civic as well as ecclesiastical, towards works by monastic writers who were inspired by strong elements of the spiritual and even mystical sources from the medieval Christian tradition. Therefore, many important Slovenian literary texts from the 17th and 18th centuries could only exist within the framework of manuscript culture and, unfortunately, did not survive.

The most exquisite example of a Slovenian manuscript in literary terms is the *Škofja Loka Passion Play*, considered to be the oldest extant, entirely preserved Slovenian dramatic text. Written by the Capuchin friar Romualdus a St. Andrea (1676–1748) in the early 18th century, it was based on an earlier 17th century textual tradition.⁵ Originally a penitential devotion held every Good Friday, the Passion play was intended as a solemn preparation for the celebration of Easter. Harking back to late medieval presentations of the Passion across Europe, the *Škofja Loka Passion Play* was conceived not as a performance on stage, but as a procession: the actors and scenes, borne on parade wagons or floats, moved through the town from one square to another, while the spectators remained in place. The text comprises 13 *tableaux vivants* (called *figurae*), commencing with Adam and Eve in Paradise and the consequent Triumph of Death, which introduces the Passion of Jesus Christ—the Last Supper, Mount Olivet, the Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns, etc.—and concludes with the Crucifixion. The play contains 842 rhymed verses of distinguished literary quality and is considered a prominent piece of early modern Slovenian literature.

⁵ All the headings and introductory sections with rules and measures for the performance are in Latin; all the stage directions (*didascalia*) are in German as a supplementary meta-language instead of Latin; the entire literary text, spoken by the *dramatis personae*, is in Slovenian. See the critical edition: Oče ROMUALD, *Škofjeloški pasijon. Znanstvenokritična izdaja* (ed. Matija Ogrin), Ljubljana 2009.



3. The Škofja Loka
 Passion Play, fol. 28r:
 Figura 11ma, Mater
 septem dolorum

The grand performance with dozens of actors, soldiers, and guild-members was organized annually by the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of Škofja Loka, which evidently also provided the initial impetus for the creation of the dramatic text. The confraternity funded the entire performance, and in accordance with the local Capuchin friars, the members were obliged to ask the Capuchins to take responsibility for the procession each year *statim post novum*. Although the Capuchins functioned as the organizers, with one of them serving as the chief *magister processionis*, they maintained a certain distance by having the confraternity make the formal request annually. This tradition normally took place every year, at least from 1715 until harsh Enlightenment measures prohibited it in 1768 and several times later.

We can imagine a multitude of possible influences of such a large-scale spectacle on contemporary works of art in a local context, but even more *vice versa*: the original performance using *tableaux vivants* was probably strongly indebted to Baroque visual arts. In this context, we might reconsider the fresco depicting the *Deposition of Christ*, or the *Mater Dolorosa*, painted by Giulio Quaglio the Younger (1668–1751) in 1706 for the Chapel in Puštal, a locality near Škofja Loka (fig. 4). It is notable that a document from 1713, related to the earlier tradition of the Passion play before



4. Giulio Quaglio:
Deposition of Christ, 1706,
 Chapel in Puštal Castle,
 Škofja Loka

Father Romualdus's intervention, records that the performance of the scene with the Mater Dolorosa was assigned to the actors from Puštal.⁶ This coincidence might be an accident, but it can also be understood as a possible consequence of the earlier, only scarcely documented Passion play tradition in Škofja Loka.

The Passion Play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla

Another prominent Baroque Passion play organized by a confraternity is the *Passion Play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla*. The play was discovered and published only recently.⁷ The extant manuscript was written shortly before 1800 or even in that year. The text, however, is older. At least some passages and scenes are derived from an earlier textual transmission from the 17th century, based on the Jesuit drama in Slovenian. However, this earlier Jesuit tradition existed only in manuscripts and did not survive. The greater part of the text is probably from around 1740, but some alterations were made in the era of Josephinism at the end of the 18th century in order to avoid prohibition.

The *Passion Play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla* is a comprehensive dramatic text. It consists of three performances: on Maundy Thursday during the day; on the same day but in the evening; and on Easter Monday, which presented the crucial themes of Easter—the Resurrection, Christ's appearance to the Virgin Mary, the hallelujah of the Angels, the Three Maries visiting the empty tomb, the incredulous Apostles, etc. The entire text comprises 122 paragraphs and 2758 verses. Originally, all of them were rhymed, but due to corruption during the transmission from one manuscript to

⁶ ROMUALD 2009 (n. 5), pp. 270, 300, 372–375.

⁷ See the critical edition: *Kapelski pasijon. Komedija od Kristusoviga trplinja, katiro so nekidej na te veliki četrtak inu na te velikonočni ponedeläk v Kapli špilali. Znanstvenokritična izdaja* (ed. Erich Prunč, Matija Ogrin), Ljubljana 2016. Available also in a digital edition: <http://nl.ijs.si/e-zrc/kapelski>.

another for more than 150 years, several verse rhymes were damaged. As was the case in the *Škofja Loka Passion Play*, the same use of languages is found in the Eisenkappel text: German for stage directions, Slovenian for dramatic speech. Other than two small pieces of information, we have no data about the actual performance. The first is in a stage direction in the first part of the play, after Mount Olivet and before Jesus is brought to Annas and Caiaphas: “Die Juden gehen mit Christo auf das große Teater /.../”⁸ (The Jews go with Jesus on to the grand stage /.../), which clearly indicates a shift in the imaginary dramatic space. This minor stage direction reveals, however, that the performance of the play was quite complex: some scenes obviously took place on some smaller or lateral stage, while other parts of the dramatic action took place “auf das große Teater;” on the great stage. In addition, we should note that this stage direction is given incidentally, which means that the user of this manuscript was supposed to understand it from experience, i.e. from the continuity of performances each year. The other piece of information is provided by Stefan Singer who recalls that the main stage was set in the lower part of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla where even as late as c. 1900 parts of the scenery could be seen.⁹

In the case of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla, the original role of the confraternity in its Passion play is not recorded. The only document is a later inscription from 1860 written on the original manuscript that says the manuscript is to be donated “to the confraternity in Kapla.”¹⁰ The year 1860 signals the period in the mid-19th century when religious confraternities were restored to some extent after their complete suppression under Joseph II in 1783. Most probably, the document refers to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, which had existed in Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla from at least 1590. As in Škofja Loka, a Blessed Sacrament confraternity was the creative force behind the production and performance of the Passion play.

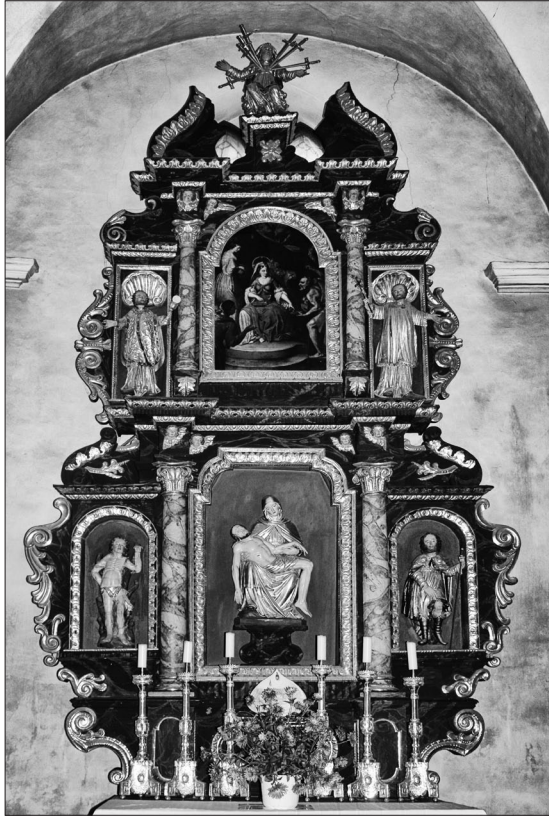
There are many themes that were commonplace in the Passion tradition in both textual and artistic representations. Nonetheless, we might again consider the Mater Dolorosa, since one of the oldest parts of the play is the interpolated mystery play of the Sorrowful Mother with the dead Jesus in her lap and the repentant Sinner who asks for remission of his sins. In the parish church of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla, a beautiful black altar in the side chapel from c. 1680 is dedicated to the Mater Dolorosa and adorned with two imposing sculptures: the *Pietà* in the center and the *Mater Dolorosa with Seven Swords Piercing her Heart* in the uppermost part. At the sides of the *Pietà* are the plague saints *Sebastian* and *Roch*, above are *Sts. Ignatius, Elisabeth, and Francis Xavier*, and at the top is the *Mater Dolorosa*. The Jesuit saints are related to the Jesuit property of Eberndorf/Doberla ves and Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla (fig. 5). The presence of two simultaneous motives of the Sorrowful Virgin Mary in a single altar is unusual. It is assumed that the *Pietà* was added later, while the *Mater Dolorosa* at the summit is in its original position.¹¹ However, the very fact that an earlier sculpture of an unknown subject occupied the center, and was replaced by the *Pietà*, albeit with a dramatic figure of the *Mater Dolorosa*, is significant and needs some explanation. The

⁸ See *Kapelski pasijon* 2016 (n. 7), the stage direction after speech No. 43 in the diplomatic transcription (i.e. after speech No. 79 in the critical edition), p. 39.

⁹ “Die Bühne stand beim vulgo Dunej im Unterort, wo noch am Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts die Kulissenteile vorhanden waren; die Kreuzigungsszene fand auf der Berglehne von Maria Dorn statt.” See Stefan SINGER, *Kultur- und Kirchengeschichte des Jauntales. 3: Dekanat Eberndorf, Kappel* 1938, p. 255.

¹⁰ See *Kapelski pasijon* 2016 (n. 7), p. 170.

¹¹ See *Kärnten*, Wien 2001 (Dehio-Handbuch. Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs), p. 34. See also Jože TILL, *Bad Eisenkappel und seine Kirchen entdecken/Spoznavanje Železne Kaple in njenih cerkva*, Klagenfurt/Celovec 2013, pp. 94–95.



5. Side altar of the Mater Dolorosa, early 18th century, Parish Church of St. Michael in Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla

important role of the Mater Dolorosa as an interpolated mystery play within the Passion play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla could provide some reasonable grounds for such an intervention.

In addition to the canonical iconography of the Via Crucis, there is the rich thematic complex of non-canonical, apocryphal and oral folk traditions, which penetrated this Passion text. These pertain to the Secret Passion of Christ, i.e. a series of motives, deriving from the visions of St. Bridget of Sweden, St. Gertrude the Great (Gertrude of Helfta), and other mystical writings, and later transmitted by related accounts, such as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* by Johannes de Caulibus, in numerous manuscripts and early prints.¹² One of these motives is the farewell of Jesus and his Mother after the Last Supper. A widespread subject in the Baroque Passion tradition, it probably became especially beloved because of the natural emotional ties between Mother and Son. This narrative was depicted in several murals, most frequently at the *Scala Sancta* sanctuaries, where each of the 28 steps had its own text for prayer and

meditation of the Passion, e.g. at St. Roch in Šmarje by Jelše.¹³ So, too, the legendary Longinus plays an important role in the *Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla Passion*. The centurion Longinus was blind in one eye or visually impaired when he pierced Jesus' side at the Crucifixion. Then a drop of the holy blood fell into his eye(s), and he was miraculously cured. His eyesight was restored just as his mind or soul was regenerated by faith in Jesus the Savior. The theme of miraculous healing of the whole human person, both body and soul, might be a folk expression of the medieval idea of the substantial unity of body and soul—an idea, contrary to the contemporary dualistic and Gnostic beliefs of the Cathars and Manicheans. We suggest that the relationship of this Passion text to local depictions of Longinus should be studied.

The original title of this Passion play starts with the words “Komödia od Kristusouiga Terplinja” (The Comedy of the Passion of Christ). Here “comedy” is used in the medieval sense of *commedia*, as Dante used it, which is a hint towards the probably long textual tradition of this play. Numerous archaic elements such as this and the motives of the Secret Passion of Christ, discussed

¹² See Elfride GRABNER, *Verborgene Volksfrömmigkeit. Frühe und volksbarocke Christuspokryphen in Wort- und Bildzeugnissen*, Wien 1997. Highly relevant for our topic is the chapter Die „Passio Domini“ in der apokryphen Überlieferung des Volksbarock, pp. 67–129.

¹³ See Avguštin STEGENŠEK, *Zgodovina pobožnosti sv. križevega pota*, Maribor 1912, pp. 24ff. There are seven *Scala Sancta* sanctuaries in Slovenia.

above, were retained and transmitted by a text that was copied in manuscript form as late as c. 1800. They provide the emotive power and resonance of this Baroque Passion play that makes it particularly persuasive and exciting.

Cantilenaes et sermones

In addition to major literary works, there is a large, varied field of texts, mostly transmitted in manuscript, but also via printed small booklets and leaflets. For gatherings and festivals, confraternities needed particular prayers and songs. Several Late Baroque manuscript hymnals in Slovenian contain a multitude of church songs: hymns for festivals of the saints and the Virgin Mary as well as for liturgical feasts throughout the year. From Advent and Christmas to Lent, Easter, Pentecost, Ascension, and notably, for Corpus Christi, a number of these hymns belong to the confraternities, especially to the Marian sodalities, as Marian devotion was so popular among Slovenians.

An example is the poem (or song) for *Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows* by Franc Mihael Paglovec (1679–1759), a vicar in Tuhinj in Carniola who significantly increased the corpus of 18th-century Slovenian religious literature with a manuscript hymnal and several books on biblical topics. In his *Cantilene variae*, which probably served not only as a private notebook but also as a kind of manuscript publication, Paglovec collected hymns with loftier aesthetic and literary ambitions. Even though they were intended for singing, the texts can also be read as high quality Baroque poetry on their own. *Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows* is a hymn that comprises 15 octaves with a remarkable metrical structure: the first and all the odd-numbered verses are in the iambic meter, while the even-numbered verses are trochaic.¹⁴ This extraordinary poem was composed for the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, but it could also be sung with no relation to that confraternity, as demonstrated by the Latin notes about which strophe to exclude if the confraternity was absent. The congregation, presided over by Paglovec, is little known today, and this poetic meditation on Our Lady's Seven Sorrows remains its unique literary document.

Another genre with numerous traces and relations to confraternities is the sermon, or so-called rhetorical prose. Several sermons directed to a particular confraternity exist in printed books by leading authors of the Slovenian Baroque. For example, the Capuchin friar Janez Svetokriški (1647–1714) published his sermons for several confraternities: the Holy Rosary, Holy Scapular, Holy Trinity, and Most Blessed Sacrament.¹⁵ There are also numerous homilies of the period in manuscript. One prominent example is a sermon delivered to the confraternal members, which explains much about their spirituality and inner devotional life. On 12 June 1774, the Franciscan father Adactus Nikel (1740–1788) gave a solemn oration in the Franciscan church of Ljubljana for the conclusion of the novena, i.e. probably on the vigil of the feast of St. Anthony of Padua, a saint highly venerated in Slovenian lands.¹⁶ The sermon was preached to the Confraternity of St. Anthony, which was established there in 1660.¹⁷ The first part is devoted to the *vita* and deeds of St. Anthony, while

¹⁴ Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana, R 0 75843/adl. 1, pp. 25–31.

¹⁵ Janez SVETOKRIŠKI, *Sacrum promptuarium diversos pro diversis occurrentibus casis /.../ sermons*, 4, Labaci 1700, pp. 298–340.

¹⁶ Arhiv Frančiškanskega samostana, Novo mesto, Adactus Niggel, *Concio Panegyrico-Moralis Pro Conclusionem Novenae S: Antonij Patavini /.../*, Labaci 1774.

¹⁷ Ana LAVRIČ, Blaž RESMAN, *Slike pri sv. Antonu na Pohorju. Najobsežnejši cikel zgodb o sv. Antonu Padovanskem*

the second part opens with the fraught controversy about the actual disregard and even contempt for the saints, a growing trend at the time. Here, Father Adauctus begins a polemic against the rationalism of the contemporary ecclesiastical authorities in Ljubljana—de facto against Bishop Karel Johann Herberstein (1719–1789), the fervent proponent of Josephinism, who put into practice several measures against the monastic orders. As Father Adauctus narrates the life and miracles of St. Anthony, he also develops the doctrine of the mediation of Divine Grace through the saints. The rationalists and proponents of the Enlightenment, such as the high diocesan clergy of Ljubljana, denied the ability of saints to perform miracles as the embodiment of the mediated Divine Grace that comes from God and penetrates saints' lives. The Enlightenment contempt for the veneration of saints was sharply criticized by Father Adauctus as Lutheran, apostate, and even heretical. To this adamant theological argumentation, Father Adauctus, most surprisingly, connected another, very sensible, yet astonishing line of discussion: he initiated the issue of social difference between the noble diocesan clergy on the one hand and the mendicant Franciscan saints and poor members of the confraternity on the other. This is probably the first rudiment of social critique and polemic in the Slovenian language, and it is highly significant that social difference—as a characteristic phenomenon of modern times—was actually addressed for the first time within a Baroque confraternity in 1774, just a few years before the dissolution of all confraternities in the Habsburg lands in 1783.



The confraternities of the 17th and 18th centuries created an environment with constant cultural initiatives and needs. In order to meet them, Slovenian literary and religious texts of nearly all genres were produced: poems and hymns in the area of poetry; sermons, meditations, and prayers in the sphere of prose; and finally, several Passion plays in the realm of dramatic literature, among which, regrettably, only the plays from Škofja Loka and Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla have survived. Even with the specific limitations imposed by the historical socio-cultural context, these works represent an integral system of literature, rich not only in terms of rhetorical devices and literary quality in many cases, but also in terms of content. Quite remarkably, these works range from purely theological matters to questions of moral choice in daily life, from personal penitence to cathartic relief in the Passion of Jesus Christ, and from the veneration of saints directly into the question of difference among social classes. Even in this brief overview, we hope to have shed new light on some of the most expressive literary contributions of Slovenian confraternities and their significant resonance in a context where there was not as yet any split between religion and culture, between devotion, art, and literature. On the contrary, intensified devotional activities of the confraternities resulted in an abundance of literary themes and motives in lyric, prose, and dramatic forms.

Bratovščine na Slovenskem in njihov pomen za baročno slovensko književnost

Povzetek

Bratovščine 17. in 18. stoletja na Slovenskem so iz svojega verskega poslanstva porajale številne kulturne pobude, med njimi tudi literarne. Že zgodaj v 17. stoletju so jezuitske bratovščine, še zlasti Marije Vnebovzete, postale založnice številnih knjig, od bratovščinskih priročnikov za duhovno življenje do prvih izdaj klasikov latinske krščanske kulture, kot so Boetij, sv. Bernard in Tomaž Kempčan. Ob takšni latinski književnosti so v bratovščinah ali za njih nastajala tudi slovenska slovstvena besedila, nekatera med njimi trajne vrednosti. Članek orisno predstavi nekaj baročnih tekstov, ki bi brez pobude konkretne bratovščine ne bili nikoli napisani. Orisana sta *Škofjeloški in Kapelski pasijon* ter vloga, ki jo je pri njunem uprizarjanju imela bratovščina sv. Rešnjega telesa. Kot primera drugih slovstvenih zvrsti sta prikazana mdr. pesem Franca Mihaela Paglovca o Mariji sedem žalosti iz rokopisa *Cantilenae variae* in pridiga, ki jo je za člane bratovščine sv. Antona Padovanskega imel frančiškanski pater Adavkt Nikl pred svetnikovim godom leta 1774. Pridiga je zanimiv primer, v katerem pater polemiko proti tedanjemu racionalizmu in jožefinizmu višjega škofijskega klera presenetljivo poveže s temo socialne razlike med premožnim plemiškim škofijskim klerom na eni strani in revno redovniško ter bratovščinsko kongregacijo na drugi. Literarna besedila baročnih bratovščin na Slovenskem so bogata po estetski in literarni vrednosti izbranih primerov, vendar tudi po vsebinski raznolikosti, saj segajo od poglobljenih teoloških tem do vprašanj moralnega odločanja v konkretni človeški situaciji, od premišljevanja o lastni grešnosti do katarzičnega očiščenja v trpljenju Jezusa Kristusa in od češčenja svetnikov do vprašanj o pomenu razlik med socialnimi razredi. Po literarni plati kaže poudariti, da je s književnostjo, ki je nastajala zaradi bratovščin, nastal, četudi mestoma nepopolno, celoten sistem vseh poglobljenih literarnih vrst s poezijo (pesmi, himnika), prozo (pridiga in meditacije) in dramo (pasijonske igre), kar je odličen dosežek slovenske baročne kulture.

Bruderschaften in Visitationsprotokollen und im *Wiener Diarium*

Quellen zu einer Geschichte der frühneuzeitlichen Bruderschaften in Österreich

Martin Scheutz

Nach einem gängigen Phasenmodell der mitteleuropäischen Bruderschaftsforschung lässt sich die Geschichte des mitteleuropäischen Bruderschaftswesens in ein mittelalterliches, Handwerk und Konfession vermischendes Hoch, in ein reformationsbedingtes Tief und in eine dynamische Aufschwungphase im 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhundert einteilen, bevor die josephinischen Kirchenreformen dem florierenden Bruderschaftswesen einen Todesstoß versetzt haben. Quellenmäßige Grundlage dieses Phasenmodells sind einerseits die bruderschaftsinternen Akten und Bücher, andererseits die weltlichen und kirchlichen Normvorgaben. Dennoch erscheint die bislang untersuchte Quellenbasis zum Bruderschaftswesen vergleichsweise schmal, deshalb wurde schon 1980 vom späteren Stadtarchivar der nordwestdeutschen Stadt Lingen Ludwig Remling dezidiert eine Ausweitung der Quellenbasis als „vorrangige Aufgabe der [Bruderschafts-]Forschung“¹ apostrophiert. Die bislang für die Bruderschaftsforschung meist nur am Rand ausgewerteten Visitationsakten² – hier exemplarisch untersucht – erlauben dann auch überraschend detaillierte Einblicke in die Dynamik des spätmittelalterlich-frühneuzeitlichen Bruderschaftswesens.

Zwischen dem 2. Juli 1617 und dem 10. Juni 1619 wurden in der Steiermark von Bischof Jakob Eberlein von Seckau (1575–1633, reg. ab 1615) die Salzburger Pfarren des Herzogtums Steiermark – insgesamt 279 Kirchen (darunter 95 Pfarr-, 50 Vikariats und 134 Filialkirchen) – eingehend visitiert. Die Visitationen des 16. Jahrhunderts fokussierten cum grano salis ihr hauptsächliches Erkenntnisinteresse einerseits auf den gefährdeten Besitzstand der kirchlichen Einrichtungen und andererseits auf den Lebenswandel der Geistlichkeit und auf die Amtsführung des Klerus.³ Erst im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert⁴ gerieten die Visitationsakten zu einem riesigen, in seiner Komplexität

¹ Ludwig REMLING, Bruderschaften als Forschungsgegenstand, *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 3, 1980, S. 107.

² Vereinzelt verwendete Rupert KLIEBER, *Bruderschaften und Liebesbünde nach Trient. Ihr Totendienst, Zuspruch und Stellenwert im kirchlichen und gesellschaftlichen Leben am Beispiel Salzburg 1600–1950*, Frankfurt am Main-Berlin-Bern-New York-Paris-Wien 1999 (Schriftenreihe des Erzbischof-Rohracher-Studienfonds, 4), Visitationsakten.

³ Siehe etwa das Schaubild bei Peter Thaddäus LANG, Reform im Wandel. Die katholischen Visitationsinterrogatorien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, *Kirche und Visitation. Beiträge zur Erforschung des frühneuzeitlichen Visitationswesens in Europa* (Hrsg. Ernst Walter Zeeden, Peter Thaddäus Lang), Stuttgart 1984 (Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit. Tübinger Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, 134), S. 147.

⁴ Peter Thaddäus LANG, Die katholischen Kirchenvisitationen des 18. Jahrhunderts. Der Wandel vom Disziplinierungs- zum Datensammlungsinstrument, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 83, 1988, S. 265–295.

faszinierenden „Datenfriedhof“, weil die Visitatoren mit breitem Erkenntnisinteresse kirchliche Praktiken und Materien wie Friedhöfe, Kirchengebäude oder das Dachgebälk kirchlicher Einrichtungen genau in Augenschein nahmen.⁵

Bei rund 57 Kirchen finden sich im Visitationsprotokoll 1617 bis 1619 Angabe zu noch bestehenden oder schon untergegangenen Bruderschaften (insgesamt 57 Bruderschaften).⁶ Meist waren dies Marien-,⁷ Fronleichnams- und Sebastiansbruderschaften (Grafik 1)⁸ – ähnlich wie Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts (Grafik 2) –, die Mitglieder mussten meist zwischen zwei und sechs Kreuzer Mitgliedsbeitrag, meist jährlich oder seltener vierteljährlich erlegen.⁹ Die Einnahmen aus den Mitgliedsbeiträgen wurden unter anderem für Wachskäufe (Gasen, Ratten)¹⁰ oder explizit für das Ewige Licht (Gleisdorf)¹¹ verwendet. Die Fronleichnamsbruderschaft von Neumarkt in der Steiermark verlangte dagegen nicht nur zwölf Kreuzer Mitgliedsbeitrag, sondern auch ein Pfund Wachs von jedem Neueintretenden. Die visitierten Bruderschaften besaßen Äcker (Fronleichnamsbruderschaft in Übelbach oder Neumarkt in der Steiermark),¹² Weingärten (Fronleichnamsbruderschaft in

⁵ Visitationsprotokolle halten überraschende Befunde bereit, etwa eine Aufstellung der Grabdenkmäler und Grabmalereien an einer Kirchenwand im Jahre 1695; siehe Werner FUCHS, Ein Visitationsbericht über die Pfarrkirche von Sterzing aus dem Jahre 1695, *Der Schlern*, 71, 1997, S. 299–306.

⁶ Hannes P. NASCHENWENG, *Die kirchliche Visitation des Bischofs Jakob Eberlein von Seckau in den Salzburger Pfarren des Herzogtums Steiermark 1617–1619. Edition der Texte und kurzer Kommentar zu den Berichten über die kirchlichen Zuständen*, Graz 2013 (Quellen zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde der Steiermark, 26), S. 722. Elektronische Publikation nur via www.hlkstmk.at (Zugriff: 16.1.2018).

⁷ Auch um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts waren die Marienbruderschaften am häufigsten; siehe Rudolf Karl HÖFER, *Die landesfürstliche Visitation der Pfarren und Klöster in der Steiermark in den Jahren 1544/1545. Edition der Texte und Darstellung zu Nachrichten über das kirchliche Leben*, Graz 1992 (Quellen zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde der Steiermark, 14), S. 99: 37 Marienbruderschaften, 18 Fronleichnams-, 9 Allerseelen- und Sebastiansbruderschaften, gefolgt von 9 Nikolausbruderschaften. Vereinzelt vertreten als Bruderschaftpatroninnen waren Andreas, Anna, die zwölf Apostel, Barbara, Hl. Blut, Dreifaltigkeit, Florian, Hl. Geist, Georg, Johannes, Katharina, Hl. Kreuz, Laurentius, Leonhard, Margaretha, Maria Magdalena, Martin, Michael, die vierzehn Nothelfer, Wolfgang.

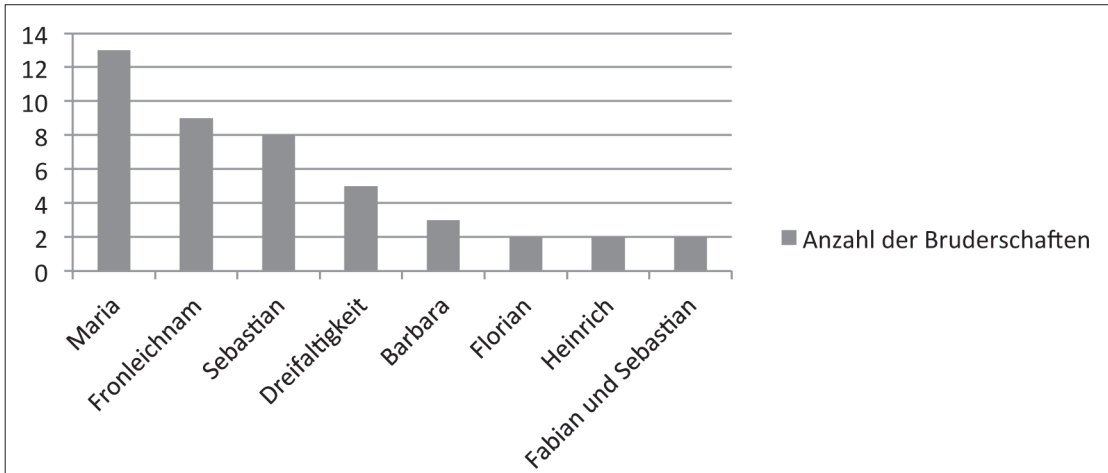
⁸ Nach NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 762–764: Marienbruderschaft (13): Breitenau/St. Eberhard, Bruck/Mur, Deutschfeistritz, Eibiswald, Gleisdorf, Irdning, Pichelsdorf, St. Bartholomä, St. Katharein an der Laming, St. Lorenzen am Wechsel, St. Oswald bei Plankenwarth, Übelbach, Weiz (Maria Empfängnis); Fronleichnam (9): Bruck/Mur, Feldbach, Gnas, Graz, Leibnitz, Murau, Neumarkt in der Steiermark, Übelbach, Weiz; Sebastian (8): Graz/St. Leonhard; Ratten, St. Georgen am Gasenbach, St. Jakob im Walde, St. Nikolai im Sausal, St. Pankrazen, St. Ruprecht an der Raab, Wenigzell; Dreifaltigkeit (4): Irdning, Judenburg, Mureck, Weiz; Barbara (3): Gasen, Judenburg, St. Peter ob Judenburg; Florian (2): Mönichwald, Waldbach; Heiliger Heinrich (2): St. Margarethen an der Raab, St. Pankrazen; Fabian und Sebastian (2): Oberzeiring, Semriach; einzelne Bruderschaften: Allerseelen: Judenburg; Anna: Judenburg; Drei-Königsbruderschaft: Judenburg; Geist, Heiliger: Feldbach; Martin und Florian: Judenburg; Michael: Oberwölz; Nikolaus: Lobming; Handwerksbruderschaften (3): Bäcker: Judenburg; Schiffsleute: Bruck; Fischer: Judenburg; erloschene Bruderschaft (4): Gratkorn, Leutschach, Übelbach (Bergknappen), Feldkirchen (Katharina und Sebastian).

⁹ NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 762.

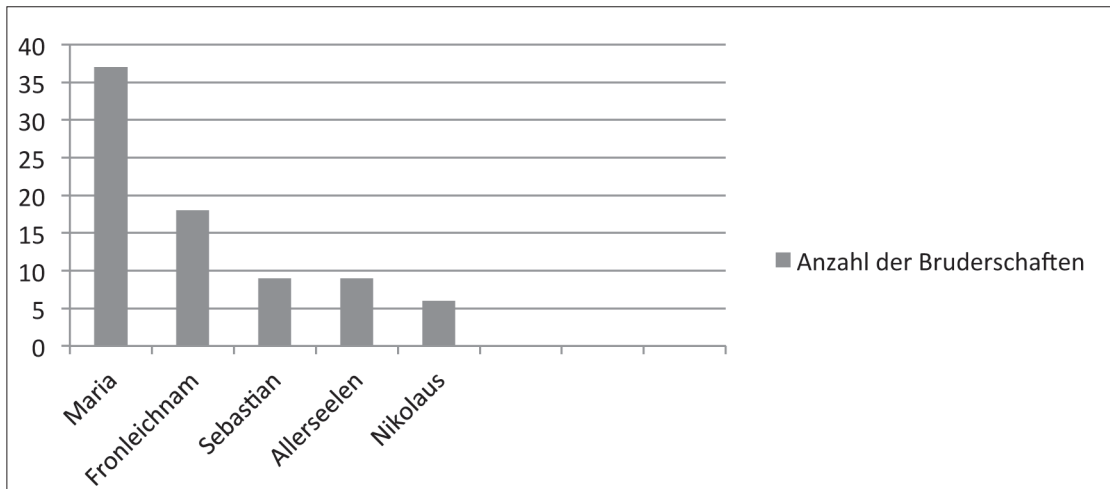
¹⁰ NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 155 (fol. 176v): Gasen: *Proventus confraternitas habet nullos, praeter quod unusquisque confratrum tres crucigeros solvit annuos, pro quibus nummis cereos emunt*; S. 160 (fol. 180v): Ratten: *Confratrum sunt circiter centum, unusquisque tres crucigeros angariales solvit, qui in cereos comparandos impenduntur*.

¹¹ NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 87 (fol. 80v): Gleisdorf: *Proventus vero nullos, sed pro alendo perpetuo lumine quilibet pro posse ex devotione contribuit*.

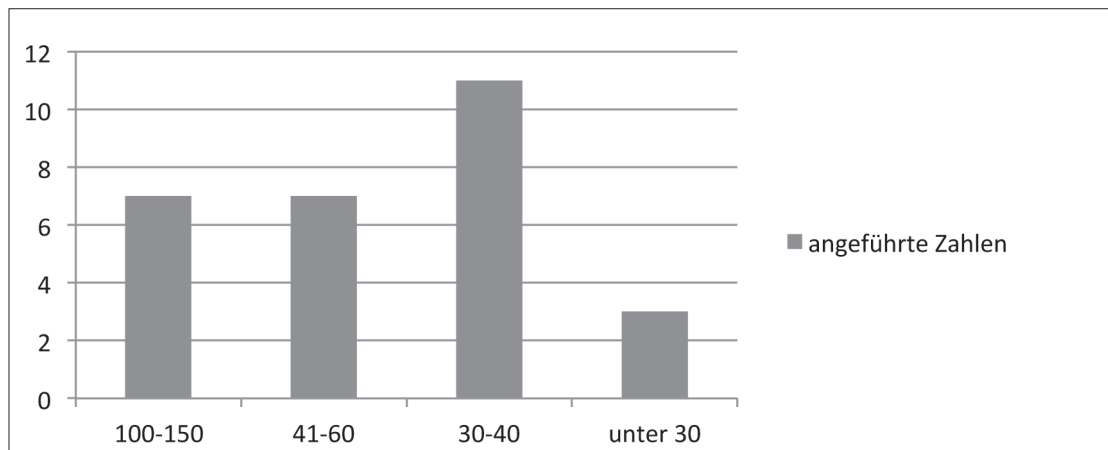
¹² NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 481 (fol. 589r): Übelbach (Fronleichnamsbruderschaft): *proventus sunt ex agello tantum exiguo et contributione*; S. 581 (fol. 758r f.): Neumarkt in Steiermark: *Proventus illorum sunt duo agelli, ex quibus dantur 5 fl et contributio*.



Grafik 1: Bruderschaften 1617–1619 in den Salzburger Pfarren des Herzogtum Steierm
 Quelle: CWIENK 1966 (Anm. 16), S. 181–186; NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6).



Grafik 2: Bruderschaften 1544–1545 in den Pfarren des Herzogtum Steiermark
 Quelle: HÖFER 1992 (Anm. 7), S. 99.



Grafik 3: Mitgliederzahlen steirischer Bruderschaften 1617–1619
 Quelle: CWIENK 1966 (Anm. 16), S. 181–186.

Weiz);¹³ der Weingarten der Weizer Mariä-Empfängnisbruderschaft war der Erhaltung des Ewigen Lichtes in der Pfarrkirche gewidmet. Die Zechleute der Bruderschaften eröffneten den Visitatoren mitunter einiges an Besitztümern und Geldmitteln in den Bruderschaftstruhen: Die Marienbruderschaft in Eibiswald verfügte über 40 Kühe und acht Ochsen,¹⁴ die gleichnamige Bruderschaft in Breitenau/St. Erhard besaß 93 Gulden an Bargeld.¹⁵ Die Visitatoren interessierten sich auch dafür, ob die Bruderschaft Bücher führte, ob man Fahnen besaß und Kerzen anschaffte, ob Prozessionen gehalten wurden oder ob es Patronats- und Quatembermessen gab.¹⁶

Die Mitgliedszahlen der Bruderschaften erscheinen insgesamt als bescheiden (28 Angaben, Grafik 3): Mitunter wurden von den Visitatoren lapidar „multi“¹⁷ oder „Fratrum non sunt adeo multi“¹⁸ vermerkt, aber auch ungefähre Zahlen finden sich. Lediglich die Marienbruderschaft von Gleisdorf und die Fronleichnamsbruderschaft von Graz wiesen 150 Mitglieder auf. Mehrere Sebastiansbruderschaften verzeichneten mit 100 Mitgliedern vergleichsweise regen Zulauf (Ratten, St. Georg bei Birkfeld, St. Jakob im Wald, Wenigzell), auch die Dreifaltigkeitsbruderschaft von Weiz war ähnlich stark besetzt. Im Regelfall listen die Visitatoren für die „durchschnittliche“ Fronleichnams- und Marienbruderschaften zwischen 30 und 50 Mitglieder auf. Am unteren Ende rangieren die Floriansbruderschaft von Mönichwald mit 25, die Marienbruderschaft von St. Katharein an der Laming mit 20 und die überhaupt nur aus vier Mitgliedern bestehende Fronleichnamsbruderschaft von Murau – darunter auch die im Stadtschloss residierende Protestantin Anna Gräfin Schwarzenberg (1535–1623) (geb. Neumann von Wasserleonburg).¹⁹

Die Bruderschaften des 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts hielten meist alle Quatember Messen im Sinne einer periodischen und kollektiven Totenmemoria für die Bruderschaftsmitglieder ab, nur vereinzelt wurde die Bruderschaft anlassbezogen beim Tod eines Mitgliedes als Mitorganisator der Leichenfeier²⁰ tätig. Die regelmäßigen, mitunter höchst aufwändig gestalteten Zusammenkünfte²¹ der Bruderschaften und fallweise die Organisationsstruktur (Zechmeister) wurden von den Visitatoren erhoben. Bei den vier Judenburg Bruderschaften vermerkt das Protokoll, dass um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts noch jede Bruderschaft einen eigenen Kaplan gehalten hätte, aber dieser kapitalintensive Standard konnte infolge des Verlustes der Benefizien

¹³ NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 99 (fol. 98r): Weiz: *proventuum loco habent vineam, ratione cuius lumen alitur.*

¹⁴ NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 311 (fol. 387r): Eibiswald: *Proventus huius confraternitatis sunt vaccae 40, boves 8 et a quolibet fratre cum uxore 4 kr.*

¹⁵ NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 386 (fol. 480v): Breitenau/St. Eberhard: *Qua contributione in tantum accrevit, ut ad 93 fl. in paratis habeant.*

¹⁶ Dieter CWIENK, *Kirchliche Zustände in den Salzburger Pfarren der Steiermark in der Gegenreformation nach dem Visitationsprotokoll des Seckauer Bischofs Jakob Eberlein aus den Jahren 1617–1619. Mit einer Zusammenfassung*, Graz 1966 (Dissertation), S. 181.

¹⁷ Marienbruderschaft Braitenau; siehe NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 386 (fol. 480v).

¹⁸ Fronleichnamsbruderschaft; siehe NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 481 (fol. 589r).

¹⁹ CWIENK 1966 (Anm. 16), S. 184; NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 556 (fol. 721v): *Frates sunt quatuor d. Wilhelmus Monatschein, Michael Gall, Georgius Leobnegger, et dna. comittissa ipsamet.*

²⁰ Die Sebastiansbruderschaft von Ligist (1544/45): *Hat khain einkhomben, allain was die brueder selbst unterainander zusamenlegen, davon haltten sy, so ainer auß ihrer bruederschafft stirbt, ain begengkhnus mit beleichtung und andern;* siehe HÖFER 1992 (Anm. 7), S. 390.

²¹ Etwa die Wolfgangbruderschaft von Ligist: *Mehr so haltten die bruederschafft jehrlich ain begengnus mit 8 pries-tern, so sy es gehalten mügen, gehet drauff 1 tal. den.;* siehe HÖFER 1992 (Anm. 7), S. 390.

nicht gehalten werden.²² Der Einfluss der Reformation wird textlich in den Visitationsprotokollen spürbar.²³ Mitunter zeigt die Visitation 1617/19 aber auch zarte Triebe der katholischen Reform. Die Sebastiansbruderschaft von St. Ruprecht war mit der Reformation aufgelöst worden, aber um 1600 begründete der lokale Pfarrer die Bruderschaft erneut.²⁴

Die Visitation der Salzburger Pfarren im Herzogtum Steiermark zwischen 1617 und 1619 fördert janusköpfig zwei Befunde zu Tage: Einerseits eine Reihe über die Reformation hinweg bestehender, erstaunlich resistenter Bruderschaften, die Bedürfnisse der lokalen Bevölkerung abdeckten, verschiedene Besitzungen (etwa Grundstücke, Abgaben, Vieh) verwalteten und parallel neben oder mit dem lokalen Pfarrer als religiöse Dienstleister agierten. Gerade die institutionelle Verwaltung von Bruderschaftsbesitz war ein starker Beweggrund für den „protestantischen“ Fortbestand von spätmittelalterlichen Bruderschaften. In Krems verwaltete beispielsweise Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts die protestantische Fronleichnambruderschaft die Grabstellen am Friedhof, verlieh Bahrtücher und sagte Begräbnisse in der Öffentlichkeit an.²⁵ Andererseits zeichnet sich eine Neugründungswelle des nachtridentinisch, stark kontrollierten Bruderschaftswesens ab, indem Pfarrer aufgefordert wurden, Bruderschaften zu gründen, um das Pfarrvolk an die favorisierten Praktiken der katholischen Reform (wie Letzte Ölung, Beichte, österliche Kommunion, Prozessionen) zu gewöhnen. Der Geistlichkeit vor Ort wurde die Gründung von Bruderschaften aufgetragen: „confraternitas hic est nulla. ad cuius tamen institutionem parochus parochianos commovebit, ut aut Corporis Christi aut B. V. M. confraternitatem instruant, quam illi regulis aliquot convenientibus confirmabit.“²⁶ Die hier vorgestellte oberflächliche Auswertung von Visitationsprotokollen des 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert²⁷ hinterfragt doch deutlich das gängige Phasenmodell eines starken, die Grundfesten des Bruderschaftswesens erschütternden Einbruchs in der Reformationszeit. Gleichzeitig unterstreichen die untersuchten Visitationsprotokolle, dass es selbst für kirchenrechtlich geschulte Zeitgenossen schwierig war, „Handwerks-“ und religiöse Bruderschaften stringent auseinander zu halten.

²² CWIENK 1966 (Anm. 16), S. 183.

²³ Siehe etwa die landesfürstliche Visitation von 1528 in der Steiermark, am Beispiel von Kainach: *Hab dy Zwelffpoten bruederschafft abgeschafft. So sy nit gestift ist, soll nit gehalltn werden*; vgl. Anton ALBRECHER, *Die landesfürstliche Visitation und Inquisition von 1528 in der Steiermark*, Graz 1997 (Quellen zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde der Steiermark, 13), S. 224 (fol. 37r), siehe auch 234 (fol. 48r), 274 (fol. 68v).

²⁴ CWIENK 1966 (Anm. 16), S. 185.

²⁵ Franz SCHÖNFELLNER, *Krems zwischen Reformation und Gegenreformation*, Horn 1985 (Forschungen zur Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, 24), S. 172, 270–274. In Judenburg kam es zur Wiederrichtung der Martinsbruderschaft „wie die zuvor allda auch gewesen, aber jetzt christlich, unter Hintansetzung aller päpstlichen Mißbräuche“; vgl. Paul DEDIC, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Judenburg mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des evangelischen Kirchen- und Schulwesens in den Jahren 1572–1598*, Graz 1932, S. 42 f.

²⁶ NASCHENWENG 2013 (Anm. 6), S. 573 (fol. 747r).

²⁷ Die Visitationsprotokolle bieten Hinweise für Bruderschaften; siehe etwa Albert FORER, *Die nachtridentinischen kirchlichen Verhältnisse in der Diözese Brixen von 1570–1613 im Spiegel der Visitationsprotokolle*, Innsbruck 1970 (Dissertation), S. 146; Josef SILBERNAGL, *Die nachtridentinischen kirchlichen Verhältnisse in der Diözese Brixen von 1614–1662 im Spiegel der Visitationsprotokolle*, Innsbruck 1973 (Dissertation), S. 336–338; Rosa MAIR, *Brixener Visitationsberichte 1663–1685*, Innsbruck 1978 (Dissertation), S. 203–206.

Bruderschaften im Forschungsüberblick

Die neuzeitlichen Bruderschaften gelten der neueren Forschung als „Rückgrat des sozialen, religiösen und staatlichen Lebens“, aber auch als eine „Manifestation der Macht der Laien“²⁸ innerhalb der Kirche. Die weltlichen, sozialen Funktionen des Bruderschaftswesens gelangen erst in den letzten Jahrzehnten stärker in den Blick der Forschung. Neuere Definitionsversuche der neuzeitlichen Organisationsform Bruderschaft sehen diese Einung „als freiwillige, auf Dauer angelegte Personenvereinigung mit primär religiös/caritativen Aktivitäten, die als kirchliche Sondergruppen innerhalb oder neben der Pfarrei bestehen“.²⁹ Vielfach werden die Bruderschaften als prototypische Vereine angesehen. „Bruderschaften heißen [...] – abgesehen von den Gesellenbruderschaften, für die jedoch ebenfalls die religiöse Orientierung wichtig war – Personenvereinigungen, die freiwillig eingegangen und auf Dauer angelegt wurden und vorrangig religiöse, oft auch karitative Zwecke verfolgten. Sie waren in der Regel an eine Kirche oder Kapelle gebunden, entwickelten eine gewisse Selbständigkeit auf der Grundlage eigener Statuten und verknüpften den religiösen mit geselligen und sozialen Zwecken“.³⁰ Charakteristische Bündelung der Bruderschaften erweisen sich mitunter als einfacher als schwierige Definitionen: Bruderschaften scheinen durch den „Verbandscharakter, durch eine Vereinigung mit einer gewissen Festigkeit und Identität, Anbindung an eine Kirche oder Kapelle, religiöse und gesellschaftliche Funktionen, eine gewisse Eigenständigkeit mit bestimmten Statuten und eigenen Organen“³¹ gekennzeichnet.

Verschiedene Bruderschaftstypen lassen sich zwar idealtypisch scheiden, aber in der fließenden Praxis kaum trennen: etwa in stärker beruflich orientierte Zunftbruderschaften, in Andachtsbruderschaften (darunter Wallfahrtsbruderschaften, Katechismusbruderschaften), in sozialkaritative

²⁸ Ana María SABE ANDREU, *Las cofradías de Ávila en la Edad moderna*, Ávila 2000, S. 331, zitiert nach Peter HERSCHE, *Muße und Verschwendung. Europäische Gesellschaft und Kultur im Barockzeitalter*, 1, Freiburg im Breisgau-Basel-Wien 2006, S. 396.

²⁹ Ludwig REMLING, Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte des spätmittelalterlichen Bruderschaftswesens in Franken, *Einungen und Bruderschaften in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt* (Hrsg. Peter Johanek), Köln 1993 (Städteforschung, A/32), S. 151. Ludwig REMLING, *Bruderschaften in Franken. Kirchen- und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Bruderschaftswesen*, Würzburg 1986, S. 49 f.: Bruderschaften als „freiwillige, auf Dauer angelegte Personenvereinigungen mit primär religiösen, oft auch caritativen Aktivitäten, bestehend innerhalb und neben der Pfarrei, wobei durch die Mitgliedschaften weder der kirchenrechtliche Status des Einzelnen tangiert wird, noch sich im privaten Lebensbereich Veränderungen ergeben müssen“; als Überblick Wolfgang SCHIEDER, *Brüderlichkeit, Bruderschaft, Bruderschaft, Verbrüderung, Bruderliebe, Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Hrsg. Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, Reinhart Koselleck), 1, Stuttgart 1972, S. 552–563; siehe auch den Beitrag Bruderschaft, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2, 1994³, Sp. 718–721.

³⁰ Wolfgang HARDTWIG, *Genossenschaft, Sekte, Verein in Deutschland. 1: Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Französischen Revolution*, München 1997, S. 70–97; Wolfgang HARDTWIG, *Christliche Bruderschaften, Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, 2, 2005, Sp. 460. Siehe den Definitionsversuch in: Josef Ritter VON BAUER, *Das Bruderschaftswesen in Niederösterreich. Ein Beitrag zur Rechts- und Culturgeschichte Niederösterreichs, Blätter für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, 19, 1885, S. 205. Er spricht von Bruderschaften „als einer Verbrüderung von Laien unter einem geistlichen Vorstande zu rein religiösen und frommen Zwecken. Sie unterliegen der päpstlichen oder bischöflichen Approbation, beziehungsweise bischöflichen Visitation, eine Anordnung des canonischen Rechtes, welche durch das tridentinische Concil zur Beseitigung der bis dahin bestandenen Unklarheiten des Begriffes und der Subordination der Bruderschaften aufgestellt wurde. [...] Der überwiegende Teil verfolgte lediglich kirchliche Zwecke, Veranstaltung von Processionen, Wallfahrten und anderen öffentlichen Aufzügen in besonderer Kleidungen, Ausschmückung von Kirchen und Kapellen, Veranstaltung von feierlichen oder pompösen Leichenbegängnissen, Veranstaltung von beschaulichen Zusammenkünften oder frommen Gastmahlen“.

³¹ Bernhard SCHNEIDER, *Bruderschaften im Trierer Land. Ihre Geschichte und ihr Gottesdienst zwischen Tridentinum und Säkularisation*, Trier 1989 (Trierer Theologische Studien, 48), S. 83.

Bruderschaften (Spital-, Elendenbruderschaften), in ständische Bruderschaften (etwa Adel, Priester) und in „Schützen-Bruderschaften“. Begrifflich lassen sich – nicht ganz unumstritten – zudem Bruderschaften von jesuitischen „Sodalitäten“ und von marianischen, durch die Jesuiten geführte „Kongregationen“ differenzieren. Engere Definitionsansätze sehen Bruderschaften „als ein vormodern-loses Organisationsmodell auf totendienstlichem Fundament“.³² Die neuzeitlichen, nur mehr entfernt an die mittelalterlichen Handwerkseinigungen erinnernden Bruderschaften waren „körperchaftlich verfaßte Vereine, die neben Werken der Frömmigkeit und Nächstenliebe auch zur Mehrung des amtlichen Gottesdienstes beitragen sollen, z. B. durch Andachten, Messen, Wallfahrten und Prozessionen“. Als Wesensmerkmal der neuzeitlichen Bruderschaften werden „das Fundament ‚Totenkult‘, die geringe Verbindlichkeit, der niedrige Organisationsgrad und die grundsätzliche Offenheit für Männer und Frauen“³³ genannt.

Die österreichische Forschung zu Bruderschaften kämpfte lange mit dem (scheinbaren?) Gegensatz von stärker berufsorientierten mittelalterlichen und stärker kirchlich orientierten neuzeitlichen Bruderschaften und arbeitete sich – insgesamt wenig überzeugend – an Differenzierungsmerkmalen ab.³⁴ Die vor allem in den Städten gegründete „Handwerker-Bruderschaft“ des Spätmittelalters wurde als Typ von der „religiösen Bruderschaft“ geschieden.³⁵ Terminologisch lassen sich die kultisch-religiösen, gemeinschaftsstiftenden Bruderschaften in Europa angesichts von tausenden oder vielleicht sogar zehntausenden Bruderschaften kaum einheitlich fassen. Trennungen „zwischen wirtschaftlichen, sozial-karitativen, ständischen, asketischen oder devotionalen Gemeinschaften“³⁶ gehen an der Funktionsvielfalt und -einheitlichkeit der Bruderschaften in

³² Rupert KLIEBER, *Neuzeitliche Bruderschaften und Liebesbünde. Entwicklungsphasen eines versunkenen religiösen Dienstleistungssektors am Beispiel Salzburg 1600–1950*, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 108, 2000, S. 320. KLIEBER 1999 (Anm. 2), S. 28, sieht in Fraternitäten „alle mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen ‚Organisationen‘ (= freiwillige, zielgerichtete Zusammenschlüsse) mit eindeutig totenkultischem Schwer[k]punkt“.

³³ Rupert KLIEBER, *Basisbewegung oder Instrument kirchlicher Domestizierung? Charakteristika und Dimensionen des neuzeitlichen Bruderschaftswesens im süddeutschen Raum*, *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil. Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Hrsg. Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claudine Pils, Thomas Winkelbauer), Wien 2007 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 47), S. 162.

³⁴ Nach einem Definitionsvorschlag in: Alfred HAVERKAMP, *Bruderschaften und Gemeinden im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, *Ordnungskonfigurationen im hohen Mittelalter* (Hrsg. Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter), Stuttgart 2006 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 64), S. 163 f., sind Bruderschaften „alle auf Dauer zielenden Vereinigungen von prinzipiell gleichberechtigt partizipierenden Männern und/oder Frauen, die sich selbst Satzungen gaben, was Einflüsse von außen nicht ausschloss, und ihre Amtsträger für befristete Zeiten wählten. Sie verpflichteten sich zu gemeinsamen religiös-kultischen Handlungen in Versammlungen, die in der Regel mit Messen und Mahlen verknüpft waren, und des öfteren auch zu individuellen Gebeten. Sie intendierten auf diese Weise, aber auch in anderen Verhaltensweisen mit unterschiedlichen Akzenten die Förderung des irdischen Wohlergehens und des Seelenheils ihrer lebenden und verstorbenen Mitglieder. Sie bildeten auf religiöser Grundlage eine in Riten und Symbolen Ausdruck findende Kult-, Memorial- oder auch Seelsorgegemeinschaft und zugleich eine Fürsorgegemeinschaft, die in umfassenden Sinne das *bonum commune* respektive die *communis utilitas* ihrer Bruderschaft und deren Mitglieder anstrebte“.

³⁵ Als Beispiel etwa Lieselotte JONTES, *Die steirischen Bruderschaften im Mittelalter*, Graz 1970 (Dissertation), S. 10–16. Als Beispiel für einen modernen Differenzierungsversuch, finden sich etwa Unterscheidungen von „rein kirchlichen Bruderschaften“ und „berufsbezogenen Bruderschaften“; siehe Hans Jürgen BRANDT, Karl HENGST, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Paderborn. 2: Das Bistum Paderborn von der Reformation bis zur Säkularisation 1532–1802/21*, Paderborn 2007, S. 349–361.

³⁶ Monika ESCHER-APSNER, *Mittelalterliche Bruderschaften in europäischen Städten. Funktionen, Formen, Akteure/Medieval Confraternities in European Towns. Functions, Forms, Protagonists*, *Mittelalterliche Bruderschaften in europäischen Städten. Funktionen, Formen, Akteure/Medieval Confraternities in European Towns. Functions,*

der Praxis vorbei. Handwerksbruderschaften entstanden häufig ab dem 14. Jahrhundert vor geänderten ökonomischen und demographischen Hintergrund, als vor allem die Handwerksgesellen „größeren eigenen Handlungsspielraum gewannen, das Wandern [...] obligatorisch wurde und die Bruderschaft als religiöse Laienorganisation über ihre Bindungen an Zunft und Gilde die Arbeits- und Sozialverfassung des Handwerks wesentlich beeinflusste. Die Gesellen übertrugen das Modell des gildehaften Zusammenschlusses von Menschen mit gleichen beruflichen Interessen und Lebensverhältnissen auf ihre eigenen Bedürfnisse“.³⁷ Berufliche Bruderschaften übernahmen neben religiösen Funktionen auch Dienstleistungsfunktionen wie Arbeitsvermittlung, Krankenversorgung, Strategien der Konfliktlösung mit den Handwerksmeistern und mit den lokalen Obrigkeiten. Diese berufsbezogenen Bruderschaften entwickelten aber auch gemeinschaftsstiftende Formen der Vergesellschaftung wie die regelmäßigen Treffen und Jahresmähler, die Teilnahme an Prozessionen, die gemeinsame Bestattung von Verstorbenen und kollektive Kirchenbesuche, gemeinsame Ehrvorstellungen und umfassende memoriale Handlungen.

Mit der Reformation – etwa dem 1519 erschienenen „Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament und von den Bruderschaften“³⁸ Martin Luthers – kam nicht nur das auf Kauftransaktionen beruhende Ablass-, sondern auch das Bruderschaftswesen unter Kritik. Luther monierte die üppigen Saufgelage der Bruderschaften, deren Streben nach Geldbesitz und die Separierung der Bruderschaft von der Gemeinschaft aller Christen, lobte aber die Bruderschaften umgekehrt für deren karitative Bestrebungen. Insgesamt gesehen entzog aber die reformatorische Kritik an der Fegefeuerlehre, am Ablasswesen, an der Heiligenverehrung, an den „guten Werken“ und am altkirchlichen Gnadenverständnis den Bruderschaften nahezu völlig den Boden unter den Füßen – und dies zum Zeitpunkt einer Konjunktur des Bruderschaftswesens. Die im 14. Jahrhundert gegründete und 1497 mit der Tischlerbruderschaft bei den Wiener Dominikanern unierte Wiener Gottsleichnambruderschaft bei St. Stephan, deren Aufgabe in der Abhaltung des Passionsspiels und der Verehrung des Altarsakraments (etwa Sakramentsprozession jeden Donnerstag) bestand,³⁹ florierte um die Zeitenwende. Zwischen 1505 und 1530 traten dort zumindest 1.880 Personen in die Bruderschaften ein, ab 1513 gingen die Eintritte allmählich, ab 1520 rapide zurück; parallel dazu fielen nach 1524 auch die Spenden und Legate der Wiener Gottsleichnambruderschaft ab. Das im 15. Jahrhundert florierende mittelalterliche Bruderschaftswesen (meist in Form von Fronleichnam- und Liebfrauenzechen)⁴⁰ – die Wallfahrtskirche von St. Leonhard oberhalb von Tamsweg

Forms, Protagonists (Hrsg. Monika Escher-Apsner), Frankfurt am Main 2009 (Inklusion/Exklusion, 12), S. 13.

³⁷ Wolfgang HARDTWIG, Bruderschaft der Gesellen, *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, 2, 2005, Sp. 457.

³⁸ Bernhard SCHNEIDER, Kirchenpolitik und Volksfrömmigkeit. Die wechselhafte Entwicklung der Bruderschaften in Deutschland vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, *Saeculum*, 47, 1996, S. 92.

³⁹ Johannes WEISSENSTEINER, Zwischen Luther und Canisius. Wiener Bischöfe und Wiener Pfarren in der Reformationszeit, *Brennen für den Glauben. Wien nach Luther* (Hrsg. Rudolf Leeb, Walter Öhlinger, Karl Vocelka), Wien 2017 (Sonderausstellung des Wien Museums, 413), S. 220–223.

⁴⁰ Am Beispiel der Liebfrauenzechen (ältester Nachweis 1373, letzter Nachweis 1488): Gebhard RATH, Das Bruderschaftsbuch der Liebfrauenzeche zu St. Stephan in Wien, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 7, 1954, S. 336–372. Belege für Wien zu Gottsleichnam- und Unser-Lieben-Frauen-Bruderschaften bei Johann STÜRZER, *Der soziale Gedanke im Mittelalter und sein Niederschlag in den christlichen Bruderschaften Wiens*, Wien 1961 (Dissertation), S. 41–45: u. a. Bruderschaft zu Ehren des Allerheiligsten Sakraments 1357 erwähnt, Liebfrauenzeche bei St. Peter 1335, Sebastianibruderschaft bei den Schotten, Sigmundsbruderschaft bei den Karmelitern am Hof, Stephansbruderschaft bei St. Stephan. Siehe die Geschichte der aus dem 14. Jahrhundert stammenden Fronleichnamzeche in Wiener Neustadt bei Elfriede DREXLER, *Beiträge zum Bruderschaftswesen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Fronleichnambruderschaft zu Wiener Neustadt*, Wien 1955 (Dissertation), S. 37–125.

wies in der zweiten Jahrhunderthälfte 4.766 Mitglieder aus der Umgebung, aber auch aus Gegenden vom Rhein, vom Main, aus Friaul und Krain auf⁴¹ – klang sanft, aber doch ab den 1520er und 1530er Jahren aus, auch Neugründungen von Bruderschaften zeigten sich kaum mehr.⁴² So überlebte einzig die 1471 gegründete, religiös, aber auch karitativ ausgerichtete Sebastianibruderschaft an der Wiener Schottenkirche den Einbruch der Reformation und erfuhr 1616 die Approbation neuer Statuten durch Papst Clemens VIII.⁴³ Als Beispiel für den Niedergang kann die exklusive Nonnberger Bruderschaft in Salzburg dienen, deren weltliche und geistliche, männliche und weibliche Mitglieder anführendes Bruderschaftsbuch 1496 angelegt und 1515 beendet wurde.⁴⁴ Manche der altkirchlichen Bruderschaften wurden nicht aufgelöst, sondern als eine geistliche Einung, ohne Lesen von Seelenmessen, aber mit Ehrerweisungen gegenüber den alteingeführten Heiligen, von den evangelischen Gemeinden auf dem geistigen Boden des Luthertums weitergeführt, wie dies auch die einleitenden Visitationsprotokolle belegen.

Das neuzeitliche Bruderschaftswesen interpretierte sich einerseits als Nachlassverwalter des „mittelalterliche[n] Bruderschaftserbe[s]“,⁴⁵ sah sich aber andererseits stärker in die nachkonziliare päpstliche Gesetzgebung (etwa durch Förderung von Erzbruderschaften) eingepasst, indem man sich nachtridentinisch als „kirchlich genehmigte und reglementierte Einrichtungen im Dienst der Seelsorge“⁴⁶ zu verstehen hatte. Neuzeitlich stand im Kern der bruderschaftlichen, von vielen weltlichen, religiösen, materiellen, spirituellen, persönlichen und kommunikativen Faktoren bestimmten Soziabilität der frei gewählte Zusammenschluss von Gleichgesinnten, in dessen genossenschaftlichem Zentrum sich die sieben Werke der Barmherzigkeit, aber vor allem Totengedenken, Totendienst und der Erwerb von Ablässen im Sinne des Seelenheils befanden. Im Unterschied zur vorreformatorischen Zeit musste der Ablass nicht mehr erkauft werden, sondern jedes Mitglied einer Bruderschaft erstand nach Entrichtung der geringen Eintrittsgebühr bzw. des fallweise zu entrichtenden Mitgliedsbeitrages⁴⁷ „Anteilscheine“ am Ausstattungsschatz der Bruderschaft mit päpstlichen Ablässen, welche die zeitlichen Sündenstrafen im Fegefeuer wesentlich zu verkürzen vermochten. Das Autonomieverlangen der Laien in den Bruderschaften stieß nach dem Tridentinum (Reformdekret 22. Sitzung, 17. September 1562) auf bischöflich-kirchliche Kontrollvorstellungen, so sicherte die Bulle Clemens' VIII. „Quaecumque“ (1604) bischöfliche Kontrolle über die nahezu bei allen Bruderschaften gleich oder ähnlich lautenden Statuten, weiters bischöfliche Visitationsrechte und umgehende Kontrolle der

⁴¹ Georg SCHEIBELREITER, *Das Christentum in Spätantike und Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis in die Zeit Friedrichs III., Geschichte des Christentums in Österreich. Von der Spätantike bis zur Gegenwart* (Hrsg. Georg Scheibelreiter, Rudolf Leeb, Peter Tropper, Maximilian Liebmann), Wien 2003 (Österreichische Geschichte), S. 141. Für Wien als Überblick etwa Ferdinand OPLL, *Leben im mittelalterlichen Wien*, Wien 1998.

⁴² Als Vergleichsbeispiel in rund 950 Pfarreien des Bistums Würzburg gab es im Spätmittelalter 240 Bruderschaften, davon ein Drittel in dörflichen Kirchen und Kapellen ansässig; siehe REMLING 1986 (Anm. 29), S. 154.

⁴³ Albert HÜBL, *Die Bruderschaften an der Schottenkirche in Wien, Berichte und Mitteilungen des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien*, 50, 1918, S. 1–11.

⁴⁴ E. Maria VON RICKHOFEN, *Die Nonnberger Bruderschaft 1496–1515, Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 56, 1916, S. 30 (Liste der Mitglieder S. 39–41); zur 1390 gegründeten Maria-Himmelfahrts-Bruderschaft und ihrem Einbruch im 16. Jahrhundert siehe: Fritz STEINEGGER, *Die Anfänge der Maria-Himmelfahrts-Bruderschaft (vnnser lieben Frauen grosse Bruderschaft) zu St. Jakob in Innsbruck und ihr ältestes Bruderschaftsbuch [1452–1508], Beiträge zur Innsbrucker Kirchengeschichte. Zum 70. Geburtstag Propst Dr. Jos. Weingartner*, Innsbruck 1954 (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Innsbruck, 8), S. 23 f.

⁴⁵ KLIEBER 2000 (Anm. 32), S. 320.

⁴⁶ SCHNEIDER 1996 (Anm. 38), S. 93.

⁴⁷ STEINEGGER 1954 (Anm. 44), S. 20.

Rechnungslegung zu.⁴⁸ Die tausenden im katholischen Europa verstreuten, in größeren Städten oft dutzendfach bestehenden Bruderschaften als zentrale Einrichtungen der Vergesellschaftung und als Manifestation der Bedeutung der Laien in der Kirche galten als „Rückgrat des sozialen, religiösen und staatlichen Lebens“⁴⁹ in der Vormoderne. Stände- und geschlechtsübergreifend angelegt kannten mitteleuropäische Bruderschaften in der Regel kein Ausschließlichkeitsprinzip, sondern männliche und weibliche Untertanen konnten in mehreren Bruderschaften gleichzeitig Mitglied sein, was die Spezifika von bestimmten Bruderschaftstypen (wie die dominikanischen Rosenkranzbruderschaften, die Sakramentsbruderschaften etc.) in der Praxis verwischte. Die geistlichen Verpflichtungen der Bruderschaften ergaben sich oft schon im Namen, Arme-Seelen-Bruderschaften widmeten sich etwa einer angemessenen Beerdigung der Toten.

Quellen zur Bruderschaftsgeschichte

Als grundlegende Quellengattung der Bruderschaftsgeschichte müssen vor allem die gedruckten/handschriftlichen Statuten, die jährlichen Rechnungslegungen, die in verschiedenen Quellenkontexten überlieferten Mitgliederlisten, die Errichtungsurkunden der Bruderschaften, die Bruderschaftsbücher wie -zettel und mitunter die Briefschaften der Bruderschaften zwischen den verschiedenen geistlichen und weltlichen Behörden angesehen werden. Mehrere grundlegende, interne Verschriftlichungsebenen lassen sich bei Bruderschaften nachweisen:⁵⁰ (1) das ein Verzeichnis der lebenden und toten Mitglieder bietende Bruderschaftsbuch, (2) das die Bruderschaftskonvente/-versammlungen verschriftlichende Protokollbuch und schließlich (3) die jährlich geführten Rechnungen (Rapulare und Reinschriften) und die Inventare der Bruderschaften. Mitunter fallen diese Quellentypen in ein Buch zusammen.

Der Versuch, eine kleine Quellenkunde des Bruderschaftswesens zu erstellen, muss vor allem bei der zentralen Quellengattung der Bruderschaftsbücher ansetzen. Diese mitunter prächtig ausgestatteten Bruderschaftsbücher⁵¹ listen am Beginn die Regeln der Bruderschaft, die „Satzungen und Ordnungen“ der Bruderschaft und eine Abschrift der Ablässe auf⁵² – eine Vielzahl an Bruderschaftsbüchern scheint

⁴⁸ Zu kirchlichen Disziplinierungsversuchen der Bruderschaften durch legislative Bestimmungen: Rudolf REINHARDT, Die barocke Bruderschaft – Träger „kirchlich“ verwalteten Kirchengutes?, *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte kanonistische Abteilung*, 101, 1984, S. 349–355; Rebekka VON MALLINCKRODT, *Struktur und kollektiver Eigensinn. Kölner Laienbruderschaft im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung*, Göttingen 2005 (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 209), S. 74–83.

⁴⁹ HERSCHE 2006 (Anm. 28), S. 396, für den europäischen Überblick zu Bruderschaften siehe S. 396–439.

⁵⁰ Die Bruderschaftsbücher weisen große Ähnlichkeiten auf, bei der Gründung der Steiner Nepomukbruderschaft 1724 legte man in der Ratssitzung ein Bruderschaftsbuch vor, nach dessen Vorbild dann das neue Bruderschaftsbuch angelegt wurde; siehe Heinrich RAUSCHER, Die Johann Nepomukbruderschaft in Stein an der Donau, *Unsere Heimat*, 7, 1934, S. 228; zu den Nepomukbruderschaften siehe: Walpurga OPPEKER, Johannes von Nepomuk-Bruderschaften in Österreich unter der Enns im Bereich der Bistümer Passau und Wien, *Unsere Heimat*, 83, 2001, S. 151–198.

⁵¹ Am Beispiel des „Einschreibbuches“ der Sebastianibruderschaft Franz BERGER, Zwei Bruderschaftsbücher der Stadt Ried, *Oberösterreichische Heimatblätter*, 1, 1947, S. 132 f.

⁵² Am Beispiel des 1637 angelegten, vom Herzogenburger Propst an die Bruderschaft geschenkten Bruderschaftsbuch der Herzogenburger Barbarabruderschaft siehe: Martin SCHEUTZ, Bruderschaften als multifunktionale Dienstleister der Frühen Neuzeit. Das Beispiel der vereinigten Barbara- und Christenlehrbruderschaft Herzogenburg (1637/1677–1784), *900 Jahre Stift Herzogenburg. Aufbrüche – Umbrüche – Kontinuität. Tagungsband zum wissenschaftlichen Symposium vom 22.–24. September 2011* (Hrsg. Günter Katzler, Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl),

aber die josephinische Aufhebung nicht überstanden zu haben. An diese Eckdaten der Bruderschaft schlossen sich mitunter ein Verzeichnis der Inhaber von Bruderschaftsämtern (wie Rektoren, Assistenten, Sekretäre, Consultoren) und dann ein meist nach Brüdern und Schwestern geteiltes, gelegentlich auch Stand und Herkunftsort verbuchendes Mitgliederverzeichnis.⁵³ Diese auch „Einschreibbücher“ genannten Bruderschaftsbücher machten aus Männer und Frauen durch eigenhändigen Eintrag⁵⁴ oder durch Verbuchung des Sekretärs Mitglieder einer Bruderschaft und verzeichneten bei manchen Bruderschaften entweder die Eintrittsgebühr⁵⁵ und/oder die geleisteten Jahresbeiträge.⁵⁶ Verstorbene Mitglieder wurden mit einem Kreuz oder einem „obiit“-Vermerk gekennzeichnet; manche Bruderschaften führten auch eigene „Toten Register“, aus denen während der jährlichen Bruderschaftstreffen die verstorbenen Mitglieder zur Memoria verlesen wurden. Als Dokumentation der Mitgliedschaft verteilten die Bruderschaften sogenannte Bruderschaftszettel oder -briefe als Aufnahmebescheinigung an die Mitglieder.⁵⁷ Diese häufig mit einem Holzschnitt oder Kupferstich gezierten Bruderschaftszettel enthielten eine Nachricht über die Art und die offizielle Genehmigung der Bruderschaften, über die Pflichten und Rechte der Mitglieder und vor allem über die Ausstattung der Bruderschaft mittels verliehener Ablässe. Der geistliche und weltliche Leiter unterschrieb diese Aufnahmebescheinigung, die als Beleg für die Eintragung ins Bruderschaftsbuch galt – diese Zettel wurden im Fall des Todes an die Bruderschaftsverwaltung zurückgeschickt, um die gewünschte Totenmesse zu erlangen und dürften dann oft vernichtet worden sein.⁵⁸ Eigene gedruckte Nekrologe der verstorbenen Bruderschaftsmitglieder kursierten vor allem in elitären Bruderschaften jährlich.⁵⁹

Neben den Bruderschaftsbüchern finden sich vereinzelt Protokollbücher, welche die regelmäßigen Zusammenkünfte des Bruderschaftsvorstandes oder auch die Wahlvorgänge dokumentieren.⁶⁰ Die jährlichen Rechnungen der Bruderschaften bieten Informationen über die Geschäfte der

Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen 2013, S. 297; ähnlich Roswitha STIPPERGER, *Die Bruderschaften in der Pfarre Haus im Ennstal. Religiöses Gemeinschaftsleben in der Barockzeit und seine Einflüsse auf kirchliche Vereine des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Graz 1981 (Dissertation), S. 9.

⁵³ RATH 1954 (Anm. 40), S. 340–342.

⁵⁴ Walter HUMMEL, Das Bruderschaftsbüchl der Hl. Kreuz-Bruderschaft an der Bürgerspitalskirche in Salzburg, *Salzburger Museum Carolo Augusteum Jahresschrift*, 5, 1959, S. 208.

⁵⁵ Am Beispiel von Innsbruck: STEINEGGER 1954 (Anm. 44), S. 19.

⁵⁶ Maria HABACHER, Die St. Sebastiansbruderschaft zu Klosterneuburg 1624–1783, *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, N. F. 15, 1994, S. 129. Am Beispiel von drei Bruderschaftsbüchern aus dem Spätmittelalter und der beginnenden Neuzeit: Friederike ZAISBERGER, Das Bruderschaftsbuch von St. Leonhard ob Tamsweg (1465–1482). Salzburgs Wallfahrten in Kult und Brauch, *Salzburgs Wallfahrten in Kult und Brauch* (Hrsg. Johannes Neuhardt), Dommuseum, Salzburg 1986 (Sonderschau des Dommuseums zu Salzburg, 11), S. 75–80.

⁵⁷ Bernhard MAZEGGER, *Bruderschaftsbildwerke im Tiroler Anteil der Erzdiözese Salzburg*, Innsbruck 2003 (Diplomarbeit), S. 20 f.: Die Bruderschaftszettel hatten im Regelfall folgenden formalen Aufbau: Überschrift mit Bezeichnung der Bruderschaft, Genehmigung der kirchlichen Stelle, Pflichten der Mitglieder, Rechte der Mitglieder (vor allem Ablässe), Bruderschaftsformel (Gelübde-Erneuerung und allgemeines Gebet), Bestätigung mit Datum der Aufnahme und Unterschrift des Vorstandes. Der Begriff Bruderschaftsbrief ist eine weitere Bezeichnung für Aufnahmedokumente, vgl. Irene RABL, „Ite ad Joseph“. *Chrysostomus Wieser und die Lilienfelder Erzbruderschaft des Hl. Joseph*, St. Pölten 2015 (Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, 18. Geschichtliche Beilage zum St. Pöltener Diözesanblatt, 45), S. 165–169.

⁵⁸ Edgar KRAUSEN, Die Bruderschaftsbriefe der Sammlung Dr. Anton Rot, *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 3, 1980, S. 137–155; Hans HOCHENEGG, *Bruderschaften und ähnliche religiöse Vereinigungen in Deutschirol bis zum Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, Innsbruck 1984 (Schlern-Schriften, 272), S. 7 f.

⁵⁹ Geraldine ROHLING, *Exequial and Votive Practices of the Viennese Bruderschaften. A Study of Music and Liturgical Piety*, Washington, D.C. 1996 (Dissertation), S. 136.

⁶⁰ SCHEUTZ 2013 (Anm. 52), S. 297 f.

Bruderschaften, die Kreditvergabe, die getätigten Anschaffungen und die Ausgaben für Musik, Prozessionen und Totenmessen.⁶¹ Diese Rechnungen wurden von den weltlichen und geistlichen Behörden kontrolliert und lassen die Geschäftsstrategien der Bruderschaften erahnen. Eine vergleichende Auswertung von Inventaren der Bruderschaften ließe die Spezifika der Bruderschaften deutlicher hervortreten,⁶² fehlt aber bislang.

Eine Mediengeschichte des Bruderschaftswesens ist bislang noch nicht geschrieben, obwohl das lange unterschätzte kirchliche Schriftgut eine wesentliche Einnahmequelle für die lokalen Druckereien geboten haben muss.⁶³ Bezüglich der von den Bruderschaften gedruckten Publikationen ist eine Übersicht zwar äußerst schwierig,⁶⁴ aber Bruderschaften waren wichtige „player“ der frühneuzeitlichen Mediengeschichte. Mehrere gedruckte Publikationsformen lassen sich nachweisen: (1) die oft auch Lieder enthaltenden und mitunter in Leder gebundenen Andachts- und Regelbücher, (2) jährliche Rundschreiben mit Predigten, Nekrologien (vor allem bei größeren Bruderschaften) und bruderschaftsspezifischen Informationen, (3) Festtags- und Jubiläumsschriften (etwa zum hundertsten Jahrestag der Gründung) und (4) Wallfahrts- und Prozessionsbücher (für die jährliche Prozession, Bittgänge) finden sich. Die mitunter handschriftlich, meist gedruckt erhaltenen Statuten⁶⁵ und Ordnungen verzeichnen in unterschiedlicher Ausführlichkeit den Pflichtenkatalog der Bruderschaftsmitglieder und der Bruderschaftsfunktionäre. Die Abhaltung der Messen und die Bruderschaftslade als Aufbewahrungsort der Archivalien schrieb man dort fest.⁶⁶ Neben den Statuten gab es noch bei größeren Bruderschaften eigene gedruckte Andachtsbücher (oft mit Gesangstexten)⁶⁷ und jährliche, mit dem Namen des Rektors und des Sekretärs gezeichnete Rundschreiben,⁶⁸ die einerseits eine Predigt und andererseits ein Nekrologium der Bruderschaftsmitglieder enthalten konnten. Die Lilienfelder Josephsbruderschaft verschickte jährlich 1.500

⁶¹ Zur Kirchenkapitalien-Sicherstellung als Beispiel Patent vom 8. Dezember 1759: *Codex Austriacus VI*, Wien 1770, S. 985–987 (Reskript an NÖ Regierung 25. April 1767); Maria CAPRA, Aus den Rechnungsbüchern der Gottsleichnambruderschaft bei St. Stephan in Wien, *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 4, 1949, S. 8 f.; Heinrich PURKARTHOFER, Eine Stiftung an die St. Nikolaus-Bruderschaft zu Bruck und deren Rechnungslegung im Jahre 1673, *Mitteilungen des Steiermärkischen Landesarchivs*, 34, 1984, S. 105–112; Elisabeth LOBENWEIN, Die Erzbruderschaft des hl. Rosenkranzes zu Lambach, *Stift Lambach in der Frühen Neuzeit. Frömmigkeit, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Verwaltung am Fluss* (Hrsg. Klaus Landa, Christoph Stöttinger, Jakob Wührer), Linz 2012, S. 459–465; SCHEUTZ 2013 (Anm. 52), S. 301–310.

⁶² Zum Inventar von 1782 mit einer großen Anzahl von kirchlichem Gerät siehe: Gerald PERFLER, *Transkription dreier Inventare der Maria Hilf Bruderschaft im Dom zu St. Jakob in Innsbruck aus den Jahren 1741, 1758 und 1782*, Innsbruck 2004 (Diplomarbeit), S. 62–90 (1782). Die St. Jakobsbruderschaft der Pfarre St. Leonhard besaß etwa zwei Kühe, die sie „vermietete“, vgl. Florian ÖTTL, *Die Pfarrei St. Leonhard. Ihre Bruderschaften und religiösen Vereinigungen*, Innsbruck 1997 (Diplomarbeit), S. 148.

⁶³ Gerald HIRTNER, *Netzwerk der Tugendhaften. Totenroteln als historische Quelle*, St. Ottilien 2014 (Studien und Mitteilungen des Benediktinerordens, Ergbd. 48).

⁶⁴ ROHLING 1996 (Anm. 59), S. 108–146.

⁶⁵ Siehe Statuten bei Peter SCHLOR, Bruderschaft der Allerseligsten Jungfrau zur Erlangung einer guten Sterbestunde in Neunkirchen, *Beiträge zur Wiener Diözesangeschichte*, 7, 1966, S. 46 f.

⁶⁶ Thomas FRANK, Rechtsgeschichtliche Anmerkungen zu spätmittelalterlichen Bruderschaftsstatuten in Deutschland und Italien, *Von der Ordnung zur Norm. Statuten in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Hrsg. Gisela Drossbach), Paderborn-München-Wien-Zürich-Schöningh 2010, S. 317 f. Frank unterscheidet drei Formen von Bruderschaftsregeln: (1) die selbstständig überlieferte Minimalform, (2) die ausführlich begründete, von der Bruderschaft verfasste Form und (3) die obrigkeitliche Edition. Am Beispiel der Barbarabruderschaft in Herzogenburg: SCHEUTZ 2013 (Anm. 52), S. 313–315.

⁶⁷ Als Beispiel etwa RABL 2015 (Anm. 57), S. 152–156.

⁶⁸ RABL 2015 (Anm. 57), S. 157–165.

Exemplare dieser Rundschreiben. Daneben findet sich noch eine Fülle an Gelegenheitsschriftgut der Bruderschaften, etwa Jubiläumsschriften, Broschüren für glückliche Sterbestunden, Heiligenviten der namensgebenden Patrone der Bruderschaften etc. Die Vielzahl der Bruderschaftsdrucke ist unübersichtlich und schwer zu bibliographieren, so versenkten etwa die bestellten Ansager der Wiener Bruderschaften am Beginn des Jahres Kupferstiche mit den Bruderschaftsheiligen als Neujahrs- bzw. Gnadenbilder,⁶⁹ um Trinkgelder zu heischen. Noch kaum systematisch sind Visitationsberichte als Grundlage für Bruderschaften generell herangezogen worden, wobei diese Quellengattung einiges an Aufschluss über die Organisation des Bruderschaftswesens versprechen würde.

Bruderschaften im Licht der höfisch-bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit – das Beispiel des *Wiener Diarium*

Die Bruderschaften waren ein Teil des öffentlichen Lebens in der Vormoderne, wie ein Blick in das seit 1703 erscheinende *Wiener Diarium*,⁷⁰ die älteste heute noch erscheinende Tageszeitung, verdeutlicht – Bruderschaften waren visuell im Stadtbild allgegenwärtig, aber auch in der Wiener „Stadtzeitung“ findet man ihre Spuren allerorts. Eine Durchsicht der in die Hunderte gehenden Belege unterstreicht die repräsentative Funktion der Bruderschaften bei den Feiern von zeremoniell ausgeschmückten Totenmessen. Für die Leserschaft des *Wiener Diarium* scheinen die Bruderschaften deutlich mit romanisierten Formen der Frömmigkeitspraxis verbunden gewesen zu sein. Vor allem beim Konklave nach dem Tod des für das Erzbistum Wien so wichtigen Papstes Innozenz XIII. (reg. 16. Juni 1721–7. März 1724) und nach dem Tod von Benedikt XIII. (4. Juni 1724–21. Februar 1730)⁷¹ hatten die römischen Bruderschaften ihre großen Auftritte. Aber auch das „Concilio Romano“ von 1725, eine Provinzialsynode für die Kirchenprovinz Rom, an der auch Papst Benedikt XIII. teilnahm, war ein internationale Bühne, die auch intensiv von den italienischen Bruderschaften bespielt wurde.⁷² Bruderschaften verschiedener italienischer Städte zogen damals in den römischen Kirchen feierlich ein und aus.⁷³ Besonders päpstliche Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten – nach dem Tod von Clemens XII. am 6. Februar 1740 – wurden von den römischen Bruderschaften mit großer Opulenz ausgestaltet. „Sonntag den 5. Junii in der Tischler-Kirchen bey St. Joseph / vor-Mittag die Bruderschaft von S. Anastasia,

⁶⁹ Albert HÜBL, Neujahrsbilder der Bruderschaft an der Schottenkirche in Wien, *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 1, 1920, S. 81–86.

⁷⁰ Als Überblick zum „Wiener Diarium“ Andrea REISNER, Alfred SCHIEMER, Das Wien(n)erische Diarium und die Entstehung der periodischen Presse, *Österreichische Mediengeschichte* (Hrsg. Matthias Karmasin, Christian Oggolder), Wiesbaden 2016, S. 87–112.

⁷¹ Exemplarisch: *Wiener Diarium*, 40, 20. Mai 1730, S. 10: *Diesen Tage begabe sich die Ertz Bruderschaft von S. Maria del Pianto des Morgens / und die Bruderschaft von S. Rosa, und Rosalia des Abends Processions-Weise nach der Kirche von S. Joann derer Florentiner vor dem daselbst ausgesetzten Hochwürdigsten Gut zu betten; Wiener Diarium*, 44, 3. Juni 1730, S. 9.

⁷² Bernward SCHMIDT, *Das Concilio Romano 1725. Anspruch und Symbolik einer päpstlichen Provinzialsynode*, Münster 2012 (Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme. Schriftenreihe des Sonderforschungsbereichs, 496/39).

⁷³ Exemplarisch etwa: *Wiener Diarium*, 41, 23. Mai 1725, S. 9–12; *Wiener Diarium*, 43, 30. Mai 1725, S. 9: *Samstag den 28. April / nach-Mittag empfieng die hiesige Löbl. Ertz-Bruderschaft von Confalone, auf dem Capitolio, die Bruderschaft aus dem Flecken Rocca Monsina, aus dem Bistum Teano, in dem Königreich Neapolis gelegen; Wiener Diarium*, 45, 16. Juni 1725, S. 9–11; *Wiener Diarium*, 50, 23. Juni 1725, S. 9, eine venezianische Bruderschaft in Rom.

nach-Mittag die Rosenkrantz-Bruderschaft bey Minerva“.⁷⁴ Römische Bruderschaften vermittelten publikumswirksam verarmten Mädchen am Tag Maria-Verkündigung eine Heiratsausstattung und machten damit für die armen ledigen Frauen eine Verehelichung überhaupt erst möglich. In der römischen Hauptkirche Maria Maggiore verteilte die Erzbruderschaft Maria-Verkündigung 1748 in Anwesenheit des Papstes an insgesamt 575 „arme Mägdlein“ „theils Heyrat- theils Kloster-Steuren mittelst des gewöhnlichen Almosens“.⁷⁵ Andere römische Bruderschaften sammelten Geld, um zu Ostern Verschuldete von ihrer drückenden Schuldenlast zu befreien.⁷⁶

In der Wiener Öffentlichkeit spielten die Spanische Bruderschaft in der Michaelerkirche, die Totenbruderschaft bei den Augustinern und die für die Prozession nach Hernals zuständige Bruderschaft der 72 Jünger des Herrn eine größere Rolle. Ausschlaggebendes Moment für eine Berichterstattung im *Wiener Diarium* war meist die Anwesenheit des Wiener Hofes bei einer Bruderschaftsprozession oder einem Titularfest. Die in der Kirche Am Hof beheimatete „Bruderschaft der 72 Jünger und der immerwährenden Anbetung des Altarsakraments“ veranstaltete Jahr für Jahr unter Teilnahme des Kaiserpaares eine Fußprozession nach Hernals.⁷⁷ An der Finanzierung und Grundsteinlegung des Hernalser Kalvarienberges (samt Heiligem Grab) wirkte diese Bruderschaft im September 1709 entscheidend mit.⁷⁸ Die in St. Michael beheimatete Spanische Bruderschaft wurde wiederholt durch die Anwesenheit des Hofes zu Fronleichnam ausgezeichnet. Karl VI. wohnte bei den Barnabiten „dem Gottes-dienst / und dem umgang der Kaiserl. Königl. Spanischen Bruderschaft mit dem Hochwürdigsten Altars-Sacrament andächtigst“⁷⁹ bei. Die Kapelle der Totenbruderschaft (1638–1783)⁸⁰ in der Augustiner-Hofkirche wurde immer wieder für höfische Trauerfeierlichkeiten – etwa nach dem Tod Leopolds I. 1705 – genutzt. In der Totenkapelle feierte im Juli 1705 „eine Löbl. Todten-Bruderschafft bey einem zierlich auffgerichten Castro Doloris, mit Erleuchtung einer grossen Anzahl Wachs-Liechtern und Fackeln / wie auch schwarzer Außspallirung der Capellen und in Menge angemachter Kayserl. Wappen die Exequien vor Ihre Kayserl. Majest. LEOPOLD den Ersten“.⁸¹ Mitunter besuchte der Hof auch Trauerfeierlichkeit für Hofmitglieder in anderen Wiener Kirchen.⁸² Auch bei Heiligsprechungen erhielten die Bruderschaften große Aufmerksamkeit. Als 1726 die beiden jünglinghaften Jesuitennovizen Aloysius von Gonzaga (1568–1591) und Stanislaus

⁷⁴ *Wiener Diarium*, 55, 9. Juli 1740, S. 643; davor etwa *Wiener Diarium*, 52, 29. Juni 1740, S. 603.

⁷⁵ *Wiener Diarium*, 32, 20. April 1748, S. 2; exemplarisch für 296 Mädchen: *Wiener Diarium*, 34, 28. April 1728, S. 2; für 383 Mädchen *Wiener Diarium*, 32, 20. April 1743, S. 2.

⁷⁶ *Wiener Diarium*, 31, 19. April 1741, S. 333: *Besagten vor-Mittag hielte die vornehme Ertz Bruderschaft von der Barmhertzigkeit deren Gefangenen bey St. Johann della Pigna in dem Heil. Apostol. Pallast eine General-Versammlung / die wegen gemachten Civil-Schulden arme Gefangene zufolge ihrer Regul / und zu Ehren der Auferstehung Christi los zu machen.*

⁷⁷ Als Beispiel *Wiener Diarium*, 501, 19. Mai 1708, S. 2.

⁷⁸ *Wiener Diarium*, 640, 21. September 1709, S. 3.

⁷⁹ *Wiener Diarium*, 53, 3. Juli 1734, S. 7; exemplarisch weitere Belege: *Wiener Diarium*, 51, 25. Juni 1729, S. 7; *Wiener Diarium*, 45, 6. Juni 1739, S. 6–7; *Wiener Diarium*, 48, 13. Juni 1744, S. 6; *Wiener Diarium*, 48, 15. Juni 1765, S. 4.

⁸⁰ Claudia RESCH, Die Totenbruderschaft von St. Augustin und ihre Totenkapelle(n) – geziert, gemalt und gedruckt für die Ewigkeit, *Multifunktionale Dienstleister. Frühneuzeitliche Bruderschaften der Frühen Neuzeit in Zentraleuropa* (Hrsg. Elisabeth Lobenwein, Martin Scheutz, Alfred Stefan Weiß), Wien 2018, S. 373–393.

⁸¹ *Wiener Diarium*, 201, 4. Juli 1705, S. 3. Siehe auch *Wiener Diarium*, 807, 25. April 1711, S. 3 (Gedenkmesse Leopold I.); *Wiener Diarium*, 828, 8. Juli 1711, S. 1 (Gedenkmesse für Sternkreuzordensdame).

⁸² *Wiener Diarium*, 1734, 13. März 1720, S. 2 (Trauerfeierlichkeit für Kaiserin Eleonora Magdalena von Pfalz-Neuburg durch die Rosenkranzbruderschaft der Wiener Dominikaner).

Kostka (1550–1568) heiliggesprochen wurden,⁸³ erfolgten auch in Wien „herrliche“ Prozessionen, die von den Bruderschaften entscheidend mitgestaltet wurden. Auch nach der Seligsprechung des Gründers der Piaristen Josef Calasanz (1556–1648) gab es 1748 in Wien Bruderschaftsprozessionen.⁸⁴

Immer wieder finden sich im Sinne von besonderen Ereignissen Säkular- oder Gründungsfeiern von Bruderschaften im *Wiener Diarium* angezeigt. Im Jahr 1726 wurde in der Stadt Stein (bei Krems) eine Nepomukbruderschaft gegründet,⁸⁵ im Jahr 1730 beging man das Säkulum der jesuitischen Bürgersodalität im steirischen Leoben.⁸⁶ Zwei Jahre später, 1732, wurde die Säkularfeier der Marienbruderschaft bei den Wiener Schotten gefeiert⁸⁷ und am 14. September 1746 gedachten beispielsweise die Augustiner auf der Landstraße der hundertjährigen Wiederkehr der Gründung der „Bruderschaft der schwarz-lederner Gürtel St. Augustini, und Monica“.⁸⁸ Im Jahr 1645 wurde angesichts der Bedrohung Wiens durch die Schweden das alte Gnadenbild des Schottenklosters in einer feierlichen Bittprozession acht Tage lang im Stephansdom ausgestellt – hundert Jahre später erinnerte eine von den Bruderschaften des Schottenstiftes und anderen Wiener Bruderschaften mitgestaltete Dankprozession an dieses besondere Ereignis.⁸⁹ Gelegentlich zeigte man im *Wiener Diarium* auch nur gewöhnliche Bruderschaftsfeiern an. Die Nothelferbruderschaft von Lichtenthal beging etwa im November 1766 das Kirchenfest und lud dazu einen besonderen Bruderschaftsprediger ein.⁹⁰ Selten, aber politisch sicherlich intendiert, druckte man ganze Bruderschaftsstatuten im *Wiener Diarium* ab.⁹¹ Im Jahr 1775 ließen die Trinitarier der Alservorstadt die Statuten der Fünf-Wunden-Christi-Bruderschaft als Beilage einrücken, darin fand sich auch ein Verzeichnis der bruderschaftlichen Funktionsträger und der verstorbenen Bruderschaftsmitglieder.

Die Wiener Bruderschaften gestalteten aber nicht nur höfische und bürgerliche Trauerfeiern festlich aus, sondern Bruderschaften fungierten auch als „kleine Banken“, indem sie Kredite vergaben, Kapital anlegten und Besitztitel verwalten mussten. Deutlich wird diese lange unterschätzte Funktion der Bruderschaften auch im *Wiener Diarium*. Doch scheint es um die Buch- und Aktenführung der Bruderschaften nicht immer zum Besten gestanden zu sein. Mitunter garieten Schuldobligationen und Satzbriefe „in Verstoß“, weshalb die Öffentlichkeit im Sinne einer „Bekanntmachung“ aufgerufen wurde, allfällige Ansprüche zu äußern.⁹² Aber auch die Bruderschaft als Arbeitgeber wird durch die in den Totenlisten aufgeführten Berufsbezeichnungen deutlich. Zahlreich sind die Belege im *Wiener Diarium* für die häufig vor der Stadt wohnenden

⁸³ *Wiener Diarium*, 64, 9. August 1727, S. 9.

⁸⁴ *Wiener Diarium*, 56, 12. Juli 1749, S. 9–12.

⁸⁵ *Wiener Diarium*, 42, 25. Mai 1726, S. 5: *Von der Kaiserl. und Landsfürstl. Stadt Stain hatte man folgende Beschreibung der Solennität / welche bey Introducirung der in St. Nicolai Pfarr-Kirchen alda unter den Titul der Unbefleckten Empfängnuß Mariä aufgerichten Bruderschaft des wunderthätigen Ehren-Schützers / und Blut-Zeugen Christi St. Joannis Nepomuceni, den 16. May.*

⁸⁶ *Wiener Diarium*, 28, 8. April 1730, S. 9–10 (ausführlicher Bericht).

⁸⁷ *Wiener Diarium*, 81, 8. Oktober 1732, S. 3–4.

⁸⁸ *Wiener Diarium*, 74, 14. September 1746, S. 9.

⁸⁹ *Wiener Diarium*, 68, 25. August 1745, S. 7.

⁹⁰ *Wiener Diarium*, 95, 26. November 1766, S. 7.

⁹¹ *Wiener Diarium*, 2, 7. Jänner 1775, S. 17: *Fünf-Wunden-Christi-Bruderschaft, Ordnung aller respective Herren, Herren Vorstehern der Hochlöblichen bey dem wunderthätigen heiligen Kreutze in dem Gotteshause der [...] Trinitarier zu Wien in der Alservorstadt.*

⁹² *Wiener Diarium*, 104, 27. Dezember 1766, S. 12; *Wiener Diarium*, 21, 14. März 1767, S. 14; *Wiener Diarium*, 23, 21. März 1767, S. 8; *Wiener Diarium*, 57, 18. Juli 1767, S. 15; *Wiener Diarium*, 65, 13. August 1768, S. 13.

Bruderschafts-Ansager (oder Konduktansager) – also für Personen, welche die Einladungen zu bruderschaftlichen Veranstaltungen (Gottesdiensten, Begräbnissen) austrugen und etwa auch zu Neujahr dienstfertig religiöse grundierte Stiche an die Bruderschaftsmitglieder verteilten, um damit ihre Einnahmen zu steigern.⁹³

Die Aufhebung der in der Aufklärung als entbehrlich empfundenen, „veranstalteten Bruderschaften“ wurde nicht nur über Patente öffentlich gemacht, sondern auch am 3. September 1783 findet man die „Nachricht, so die Aufhebung der Bruderschaften und Umstaltung derselben in eine einzige Liebesversammlung, die thätige Liebe des Nächsten, betrifft“,⁹⁴ auch in das *Wiener Diarium* eingerückt. Die Aufhebung der Bruderschaften bewirkte die Auflösung des materiellen Besitzes der Bruderschaften. Fahnen, Kutten und Prozessionsstäbe und Bahrtücher mussten veräußert werden, Bruderschaftsdrucke wurden abgestoßen. Schon bald findet sich die Auflösung des barocken Bruderschaftswesens auch im *Wiener Diarium* abgebildet. Die Versteigerung von ursprünglich Bruderschaften gehörigen Grundstücken war nach 1783 ein häufiger inserierter Vorgang im *Wiener Diarium*. Die Liegenschaften der Andreasbruderschaft von Obersievering wurden noch in diesem Jahr versteigert.⁹⁵ Die „Bruderschaft der immerwährenden Anbetung des allerheiligsten Sakraments“ in der Kirche Am Hof veräußerte 1785 eine ihr gehörige Markthütte.⁹⁶ Noch 1789 versteigerte die Staatsgüteradministration verschiedene Grundstücke der ehemaligen Fronleichnambruderschaft und der Maria-Himmelfahrt-Bruderschaft von Weitra.⁹⁷ Lange unterschätzt, erweisen sich Bruderschaften nicht nur als wichtige Auftraggeber der lokalen Druckereien und Offizine, sondern auch als Gegenstand der Berichterstattung in den Zeitungen. Wie stark aber die Bruderschaften im öffentlichen Interesse standen, wird an der fortgesetzten Berichterstattung des offiziellen *Wiener Diarium* über dieses Thema deutlich. Joseph II. schien es offenbar auch wichtig, die „Abwicklung“ der Bruderschaften auch in aller publizistischen Öffentlichkeit zu zelebrieren.

⁹³ Zahlreiche Bruderschaftsansager im „Diarium“: *Wiener Diarium*, 597, 20. April 1709, S. 9; *Wiener Diarium*, 634, 31. August 1709, S. 8; *Wiener Diarium*, 793, 7. März 1711, S. 9; *Wiener Diarium*, 8, 28. Jänner 1722, S. 8; *Wiener Diarium*, 94, 24. November 1723, S. 15; *Wiener Diarium*, 31, 21. März 1731, S. 9; *Wiener Diarium*, 31, 18. April 1731, S. 7; *Wiener Diarium*, 101, 19. Dezember 1731, S. 7; *Wiener Diarium*, 28, 5. April 1732, S. 7; *Wiener Diarium*, 83, 17. Oktober 1739, S. 905; *Wiener Diarium*, 92, 15. November 1760, S. 6; *Wiener Diarium*, 94, 24. November 1764, S. 5; *Wiener Diarium*, 33, 24. April 1765, S. 5; HÜBL 1920 (Anm. 69).

⁹⁴ *Wiener Diarium*, 71, 3. September 1783, S. 9 (Anhang); *Wiener Diarium*, 72, 6. September 1783, S. 9 (Anhang).

⁹⁵ *Wiener Diarium*, 91, 12. November 1783, S. 22: *Licit[ation] Realitäten der St. Andreas Bruderschaft* von Obersievering; *Wiener Diarium*, 93, 19. November 1783, S. 18.

⁹⁶ *Wiener Diarium*, 4, 12. Jänner 1785, S. 108.

⁹⁷ *Wiener Diarium*, 57, 18. Juli 1789, S. 1850; *Wiener Diarium*, 58, 22. Juli 1789, S. 1882 (Republikation).

Bratovščine v vizitacijskih protokolih in v časniku *Wiener Diarium*

Viri za zgodovino zgodnjenovoveških bratovščin v Avstriji

Povzetek

Fascinantno, pa vendar podcenjeno raziskovalno polje bratovščin v Avstriji – drugače kot denimo v Italiji, Franciji ali Nemčiji – doslej ni bilo prav intenzivno obdelano. Nekaj redkim preglednim študijam – med njimi sta monografija o salzburških bratovščinah in širša raziskava o bratovščinah v briksenski škofiji – stoji nasproti množica posamičnih raziskav, ki imajo različno široko obzorje zastavljenih vprašanj in so glede na različne strokovne usmeritve tudi različno vpete v raziskovalne kontekste. Interpretacije bratovščin pri oceni njihovega delovanja močno nihajo: nekatere jih razumejo kot nedolžno, nezahtevno in neobvezujočo društveno dejavnost, druge kot močno disciplinirajočo, od elit usmerjan poseg v podeželsko in mestno življenjsko okolje predmodernega časa. Medtem ko obravnavajo pregledne študije organizacijske sheme bratovščin precej izenačujoče, kažejo posamične študije komaj pregleden vsebinski spekter življenja bratovščin: dela usmiljenja in družbeno-karitativna dejavnost so stali ob boku pobožnim praksam in »prijaznosti« do mrtvih.

Mnoga področja delovanja bratovščin so bila doslej v raziskavah komajda širše obdelana: ne obstajajo niti finančne in zgodovinske raziskave niti primerjalne študije o karitativni dejavnosti bratovščin ali o njihovih medijskih dosežkih, tudi specifična posameznih tipov bratovščin, intenziteta njihove razširjenosti in vzroki za različno izoblikovanje bratovščinske »pokrajine« so neobdelani. Prav tako doslej ni bila izdelana viroslovna in tipološka klasifikacija bogatih, četudi različno ohranjenih bratovščinskih arhivalij. Pričujoča študija virov o delovanju bratovščin je zato tudi prispevek k poenotenju znanstvene nomenklature zvrsti virov o bratovščinah.

Natančen pregled vizitacijskih spisov z ozirom na delovanje bratovščin prinese na dan pomembne informacije: po eni strani je videti, da je bil upad, ki ga je povzročila reformacija, sicer opazen, ne pa uničujoč. Po drugi strani se v raziskanih vizitacijskih dokumentih iz zgodnjega 17. stoletja razločno odraža tudi že katoliška reforma. Vizitatorji so vedno znova zahtevali ustanovitev bratovščin, župniki so morali ponovno uvesti bratovščine, ki so ugasnile. Poleg tega so vizitatorji temeljiteje preverjali število članov, opremo bratovščin (procesijska znamenja, bandera, kute) pa tudi vodenje knjig in ali obstajajo zapisana pravila. Poleg števila članov so ugotavljali tudi višino njihovih prispevkov in pogostnost shodov. Kako močno so bile bratovščine prisotne kot del dvorno-meščanske javnosti, postane očitno ob pogledu v *Wiener Diarium* – najstarejši časnik na svetu, ki še danes redno izhaja (*Wiener Zeitung*). Žalne slovesnosti, vsakovrstne procesije pa tudi slovesno obhajanje jubilejev se tam redno omenjajo. Bratovščine so se močno povezovalе z rimskimi oblikami pobožnosti – v kontekstu konklava ali večjih cerkvenih prireditev v Rimu se bratovščine skoraj obvezno pojavljajo kot praznični *decorum*. Tudi konec delovanja srednjeevropskih bratovščin leta 1783 odseva v *Wiener Diariumu* – bralci in bralke tega dunajskega mestnega časnika so bili obveščeni o »likvidaciji« bratovščin v obliki dražb njihovega imetja.

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

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

Angelika Dreyer

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

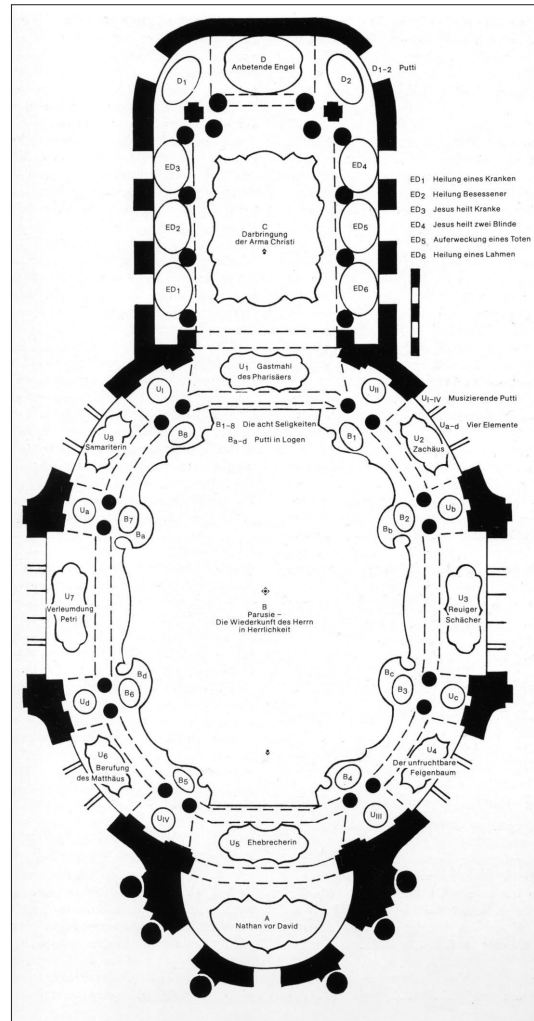
⁹ Angelika DREYER, *Die Fresken von Joseph Mages (1728–1769). Zwischen barocker Frömmigkeit und katholischer Aufklärung*, Regensburg 2017 (Studien zur christlichen Kunst, 12), pp. 49–74, 184–193; MÜLLER 2017 (n. 7).

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

²⁴ BAUER-WILD 1976 (n. 23).



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

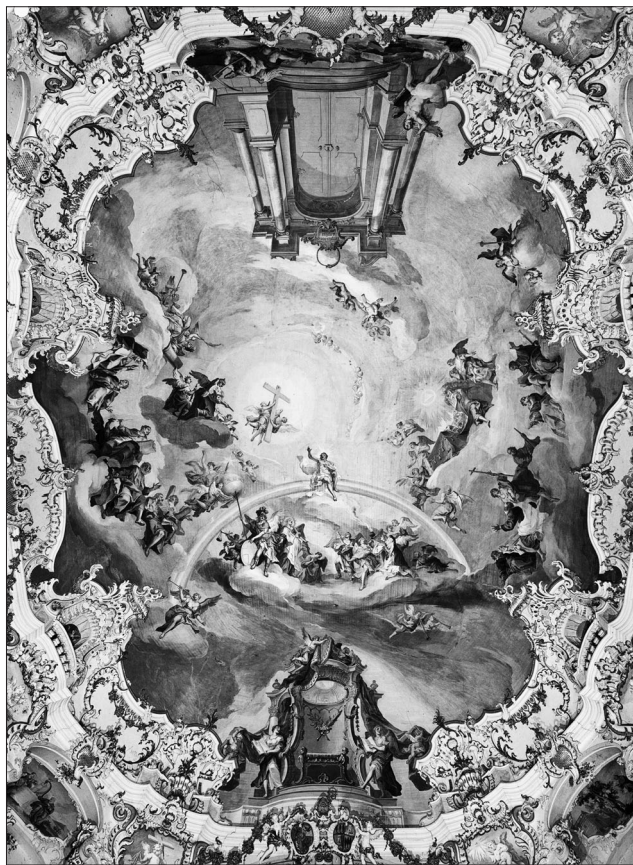
palsy; and he healed them.”²⁵ Not only was the expectation of the pilgrim to be healed from his/her infirmities crucial for the representation of the healing miracles, but also the wish that s/he turn to Christ. The Jesuit Cornelius a Lapide used these words: “Christ did all that in order to strengthen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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

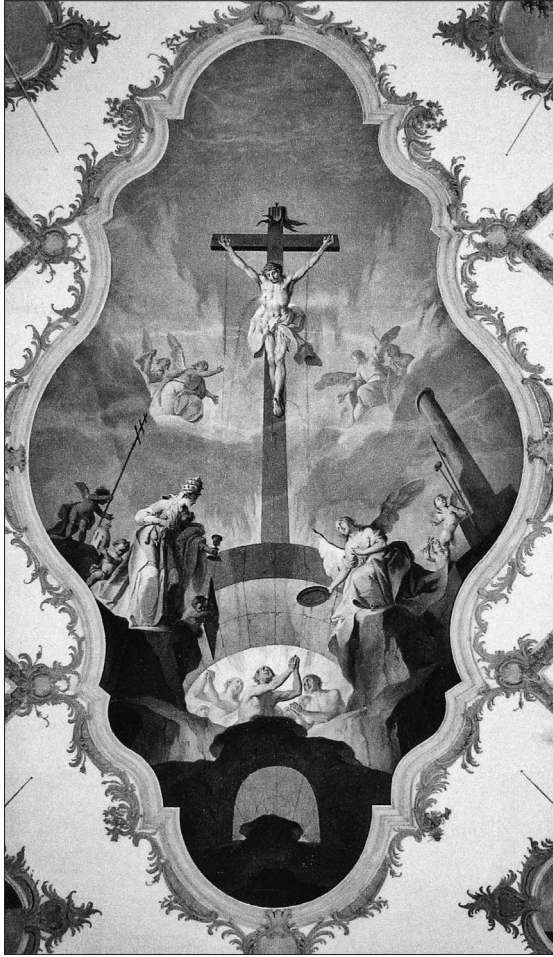
We can document the fundamental turn toward the (new) Christological devotion and the striving toward simple narrative structure under the influence of the Catholic Enlightenment with more fresco decorations commissioned by confraternities. Johann Joseph Anton Huber's fresco from 1774 in the parochial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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

³⁶ DREYER 2017 (n. 9), pp. 153–193.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰ HEILMAIER 1925 (n. 39), pp. 449f.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁸ MURATORI 1751 (n. 31), pp. 292f.

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

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

Od skrbi za onostranstvo do pomoči v tostranstvu

Stropne poslikave za južnonemške bratovščine v času katoliškega razsvetljenstva

Povzetek

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figura jima

Mater Septem Dolorum.

Vih figur wird getragen von 16 Mann wieviel es
sitzt mit 8 Frauen.

Maria.

O Šhalost moja prevelika,
Sa vola Jesusa moiga ljubiga sinja,
Kadar videm nega sveta glava,
taku raineno inu kezuaru,
Mene sturi od šhalosti upitti,
ieno od sous moie ožhi šhalitti,
Kadar jak gledam niega suetu obližhe,
leto me Kiočainu šhalostno Ksebi Kličhe,
to usse niega restergano sueto restno tello,
Katero ie poprei Koker to sonže villo,
Leto da meni urshah usselei iokati,
ieno se premillo ktemo plakati,
O Greshnik leto ti Kseržu prou jelli,
ieno dershi utoich mislih usselei,
Katero boda sturillu od toich grechou odstopiti,

ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Giuseppe Capriotti

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Giuseppe Capriotti

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Sanja Cvetnić

The Jesuit Bona Mors Confraternities in Croatia

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

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

Sanja Cvetnić

Jezuitske bratovščine za srečno smrt na Hrvaškem

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Angelika Dreyer

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Angelika Dreyer

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Valentina Fiore

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

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

Valentina Fiore

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Matija Ogrin

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Jasenska Gudelj, Tanja Trška

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Matija Ogrin

Bratovščine na Slovenskem in njihov pomen za baročno slovensko književnost

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Mija Oter Gorenčič

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Mirjana Repanic-Braun

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

Mija Oter Gorenčič

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Mirjana Repanic-Braun

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Joana Balsa de Pinho

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Martin Scheutz

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

Joana Balsa de Pinho

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Martin Scheutz

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Wojciech Sowała

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

Keywords: Skalbmierz, confraternity, rosary, St. Anne, Passion

Barbara Wisch

Archconfraternities and the Arts. Overarching New Themes

1.01 Original scientific article

Beginning in 1520, select Roman confraternities were elevated by the pope to the new prestigious rank of archconfraternity, empowered to aggregate comparable sodalities worldwide, share spiritual benefits, and elect a cardinal protector for life. Archconfraternities privileged architecture, art, and festive displays to enhance devotion while augmenting their coveted place in the confraternal hierarchy. As esteemed exemplars of lay spirituality and charity, they reinforced Rome as the

le naročniki tiskanih del, ampak vedno znova tudi predmet poročanja tiska, kot ponazarja primer časnika *Wiener Diarium*.

Ključne besede: bratovščine v Avstriji, vizitacijski akti, viri o delovanju bratovščin, *Wiener Diarium/Wiener Zeitung*, bratovščine

Wojciech Sowała

Umetnost v službi potridentinskih verskih bratovščin v kolegiatni cerkvi sv. Janeza Krstnika v Skalbmierzu v krakovski škofiji

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

Danes majhno provincialno mesto Skalbmierz je bilo do 18. stoletja eno najpomembnejših mest v Mali Poljski. V središču mesta je od 13. stoletja dalje stala kolegiatna cerkev sv. Janeza Krstnika, ki je danes župnijska cerkev. V 17. in 18. stoletju je bilo tam dokumentiranih šest bratovščin, in sicer *Litteratorum seu Beatae Virginis Mariae*, bratovščina Kristusovega trpljenja, bratovščina sv. Ane, dve rožnovenski bratovščini in bratovščina sv. Trojice. Članek preučuje obliko, ikonografijo in funkcijo ohranjene in dokumentirane opreme in liturgičnih paramentov, ki so jih omenjene bratovščine naročale za svoje obrede. Te podobe, oltarne slike in predmeti iz plemenitih kovin so obravnavani v kontekstu podobnih izdelkov, ki so jih naročale bratovščine v krakovski škofiji. V prispevku je zatem analiziran vpliv krakovskih bratovščin na ustanavljanje bratovščin v Skalbmierzu in na njihovo umetnostno mecenstvo.

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

Barbara Wisch

Nadbratovščine in umetnost. Opredelitev novih tem

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

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

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

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Mija Oter Gorenčič

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

Mirjana Repanić-Braun

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

Joana Balsa de Pinho

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

Wojciech Sowała

1–11: Wojciech Sowała

Barbara Wisch

Diagrams 1–2: Barbara Wisch

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2: Trustees of the British Museum

3: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

4: John Beldon Scott

5, 10: Barbara Wisch

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

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

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

13: Tanner Nash

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

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