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Visual Arts in the Habsburg Lands
between Censorship and Propaganda

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PREDGOVOR

LIKOVNA UMETNOST V HABSURŠKIH DEŽELAH MED CENZURO IN PROPAGANDO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Franci Lazarini, vodja projekta in gostujoči urednik

PREFACE

VISUAL ARTS IN THE HABSBURG LANDS BETWEEN CENSORSHIP AND PROPAGANDA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Franci Lazarini, principal investigator and guest editor



DISSERTATIONES

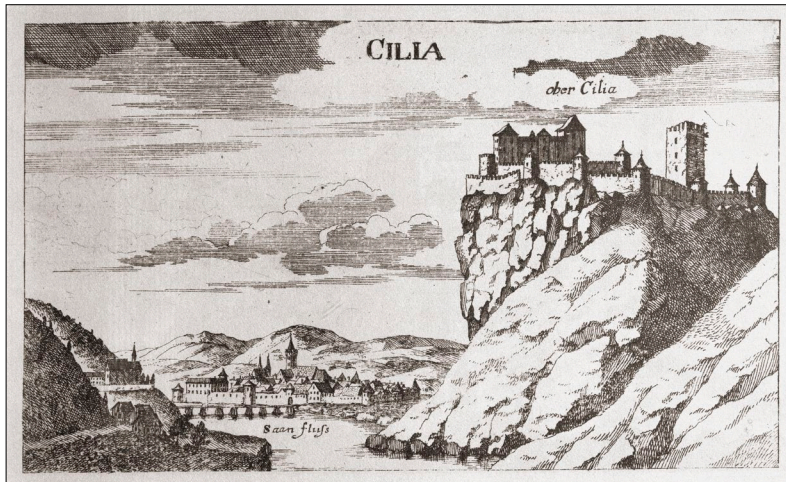
Representative Buildings of the Counts of Cilli – an Expression of Dynastic Propaganda

Miha Kosi

The Counts of Cilli were undoubtedly the most important and influential medieval noble family with a seat in present-day Slovenia. They were named after the town of Celje (Cilli) in one time Styria (fig. 1). Originally from Bavaria, we can find records of them in their new homeland from before the mid-12th century. They were of free noble status (*liberi; nobiles; Freie*), with their original seat in Žovnek Castle (Sannegg) in the Savinja Valley, west of Celje. By the 13th century, they were already influential enough to be counted upon by all the princes fighting for supremacy in the southeastern border area of the Holy Roman Empire: the Austrian Babenbergs, Bohemian King Ottokar II Přemysl and the Habsburgs from King Rudolph I onwards. Their humble beginnings are well illustrated, even at the beginning of the 14th century, when they possessed only 4 castles and two smaller towers, with which, in 1308, they became vassals of the Habsburgs as dukes of Styria. Over the next hundred years they were loyal supporters of the Habsburgs, under whose protection they gradually began their political ascent.¹

For centuries they were fortunate in terms of offspring as well as in marriage politics, which in the 14th century meant the inclusion of some of the most important families of the Eastern Alpine area among their relatives: the Counts of Heunburg, Görz, Ortenburg, Schauenberg, the Lords of Walsee and Pfannberg and also a princess of the Polish royal house (Ana, daughter of King Kasimir

¹ On the history of the Counts of Cilli in general see (selective): Hans PIRCHEGGER, Die Grafen von Cilli, ihre Grafschaft und ihre untersteirischen Herrschaften, *Ostdeutsche Wissenschaft*, 2, 1956, pp. 157–200; Janko OROŽEN, *Zgodovina Celja in okolice, 1: Od začetka do leta 1848*, Celje 1971²; Heinz DOPSCH, Die Grafen von Cilli – Ein Forschungsproblem?, *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, 17–18, 1974/75, pp. 9–49; Heinz DOPSCH, Die Freien von Sannegg als steirische Landherren und ihr Aufstieg zu Grafen von Cilli, *Celjski grofje. Stara tema – nova spoznanja* (ed. Rolanda Fugger Germadnik), Celje 1999, pp. 23–35; Peter ŠTIH, Die Grafen von Cilli, die Frage ihrer landesfürstlichen Hoheit und des Landes Cilli, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 110, 2002, pp. 67–98 (Slovene version: Celjski grofje, vprašanje njihove deželnoknežje oblasti in dežele Celjske, *Grafenauerjev zbornik* (ed. Vincenc Rajšp), Ljubljana 1996, pp. 227–256); Johannes GRABMAYER, Das Opfer war der Täter. Das Attentat von Belgrad 1456 – über Sterben und Tod Ulrichs II von Cilli, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 111, 2003, pp. 286–316; Christian DOMENIG, Die Grafen von Cilli und ihr Verhältnis zu den Habsburgern, »Und wenn schon, dann Bischof oder Abt«. *Im Gedanken an Günther Hödl (1941–2005)* (eds. Christian Domenig, Johannes Grabmayer, Reinhard Stauber), Klagenfurt 2006, pp. 73–90; Christian DOMENIG, Die Rolle der Juden im Herrschaftsaufbau der Grafen von Cilli, *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden*, 20/2, 2010, pp. 343–356; Miha KOSI, Dežela, ki je ni bilo. Posavinje med Kranjsko in Štajersko od 11. do 15. stoletja, *Studia historica Slovenica. Časopis za humanistične in družboslovne študije*, 8/2–3, 2008, pp. 527–564; Daniela DVOŘÁKOVÁ, *Barbara von Cilli. Die schwarze Königin (1392–1451)*, Frankfurt am Main-Bratislava 2017 (Spectrum Slovakia, 11); popularly Rolanda FUGGER GERMADNIK, *Grofje in knezi Celjski*, Celje 2014.



1. Celje in: Georg Matthäus Vischer, *Topographia Ducatus Stiriae*, Grätz 1681

III the Great, 1380). They outlived many of their contemporaries and on a few occasions inherited rich legacies – in 1322 from the Counts of Heunburg and 1418 from the Counts of Ortenburg, both from Carinthia. This meant the inclusion of vast rich new territories into the original Cilli domain. One of the first important successes of the family in the war for the Heunburg inheritance was the acquisition in 1331/33 of the castle and town of Celje, which became their new seat.² Celje was an important urban centre at the crossroads of trade routes between Hungary and Italy and from the north to Croatia.³ In 1341 the first milestone in the family history occurred – Emperor Louis the Bavarian elevated the hitherto Lords of Sannegg to the Counts of Cilli, which was confirmed by Emperor Charles of Luxemburg in 1372. They became ‘Reichsgrafen’.⁴

The continued rise in the importance of the family, resulting also from the active participation of some family members as mercenaries in the armies of the Habsburgs and especially of the Hungarian King Louis I of Anjou, brought the first marriage ties to the Hungarian and Polish royal courts (1361, 1380, 1402).⁵ The next milestone was the participation of Count Hermann II at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, where he – along with Burgrave John of Nürnberg – saved the life of the Hungarian King, Sigismund of Luxemburg. This was the beginning of the deep personal ties that brought opportunities in the Hungarian Kingdom and resulted in 1405 in the marriage of Hermann’s daughter Barbara to King Sigismund. The family rose to the forefront of Hungarian barons, and with Barbara becoming also the German Queen (1410/11; Empress 1433) and Bohemian

² PIRCHEGGER 1956 (n. 1), pp. 159–160; DOPSCH 1999 (n. 1), pp. 30–31; ŠTIH 2002 (n. 1), pp. 70–71; KOSI 2008 (n. 1), p. 555; Tone RAVNIKAR, *Po zvezdnih poteh. Savinjska in Šaleška dolina v visokem srednjem veku*, Velenje 2007, pp. 243–248.

³ PIRCHEGGER 1956 (n. 1), p. 159; Miha KOSI, The Beginnings of Medieval Towns in the Slovenian Lands and their »Founders«. Controversies and New Interpretations, *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Authority and Property* (eds. Irena Benyovsky Latin, Zrinka Pešorda Vardić), Zagreb 2014, pp. 121–123.

⁴ DOPSCH 1999 (n. 1), pp. 31–32; ŠTIH 2002 (n. 1), pp. 71–74; DOMENIG 2006 (n. 1), pp. 75–76, 83–84; KOSI 2008 (n. 1), pp. 556–557.

⁵ Herman I of Cilli married Katarina Kotromanić of Bosnia in 1361, sister of the Hungarian Queen Elisabeth, and therefore became brother-in-law to King Louis I of Anjou. Count William of Cilli married Ana of Poland in 1380, daughter of King Kasimir III the Great. Their daughter Ana in turn married the Polish King Wladyslaw II Jagiello in 1402. DOPSCH 1974/75 (n. 1), pp. 14–16; GRABMAYER 2003 (n. 1), p. 291; DOMENIG 2006 (n. 1), pp. 74–75, 84.

Queen (1420) – Count Hermann became father-in-law to the Emperor and triple King, and a very influential one at that. This also meant the end of the century long cooperation with the Habsburgs, with the rift widening over the decades. It finally resulted in deep antagonism with Emperor Frederick III, lasting until the Cillis died out in 1456.⁶ The most decisive moment in this development, and of the history of the family in general, was Emperor Sigismund's elevation of the Counts of Cilli to Imperial Princes in 1436. This actually meant that they and their territories were excluded from Habsburg rule; the Counts became the Emperor's direct vassals, and their counties the Emperor's fief.⁷ This resulted in a brutal feud between the two dynasties, lasting from 1437 until 1443 and ending with a compromise and a mutual inheritance agreement. The Cillis retained personal status as Imperial Princes, but had to renounce the exemption of their territories from Habsburg rule. New confrontations came to an end with the death of the last Count Ulrich II of Cilli only 13 years later – in 1456. This truly meteoric rise to the status of imperial princes and one of the most influential dynasties in Central Europe took place within only half a century and spanned three generations, until the assassination in Belgrade in 1456 when their story came to an abrupt end.

Castle Politics of the Counts of Cilli

What exactly is 'castle politics'? A medieval castle was naturally a defence building, offering protection to its lord. However, it was also much more than that, a strong symbol of power and prestige, and in a way – also a propaganda tool. In the later Middle Ages castles were still built predominantly on prominent, high locations, visible from far and wide. It was a clear statement by the owner, who was the ruler of the adjoining territory. Castle politics ('Burgenpolitik') – the building or, more frequently, the acquisition of existing castles, was therefore a natural component of dynastic policies.⁸ And the counts of Cilli are an outstanding example of this. In 1308 they possessed only 6 fortified buildings. By 1329 they had 10, by 1383 the number had risen to 66 and by 1425 to 125 castles. In only three decades between 1350 and 1383 they had acquired 40 new castles.⁹

⁶ DOPSCH 1974/75 (n. 1), pp. 17–30; ŠTIH 2002 (n. 1), pp. 76–83, 87–98; GRABMAYER 2003 (n. 1), pp. 291–298; DOMENIG 2006 (n. 1), pp. 79–81, 85–90.

⁷ DOPSCH 1974/75 (n. 1), pp. 22–26; ŠTIH 2002 (n. 1), pp. 82–87; DOMENIG 2006 (n. 1), pp. 84–85; KOSI 2008 (n. 1), pp. 557–559.

⁸ See Herwig EBNER, Die Burgenpolitik und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Mittelalters, *Carinthia I*, 164, 1974, pp. 33–51. On medieval castles and castle politics in the area of present day Slovenia, see Dušan KOS, *In Burg und Stadt. Spätmittelalterlicher Adel in Krain und Untersteiermark*, Wien-München 2006 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 45), especially pp. 46–75. On the case of the Dukes of Bavaria see Pankraz FRIED, Hochadelige und landesherrlich-wittelsbachische Burgenpolitik im hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bayern, *Die Burgen im deutschen Sprachraum. Ihre rechts- und verfassungsrechtliche Bedeutung*, 2 (ed. Hans Patze), Sigmaringen 1976 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 19), pp. 331–352; on the Bishops of Salzburg see Heinz DOPSCH, Burgenbau und Burgenpolitik des Erzstiftes Salzburg, *Die Burgen* 1976 (n. 8), pp. 387–416.

⁹ In detail with all relevant sources Miha KOSI, Grajska politika – primer grofov celjskih, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 60/3, 2012, pp. 467–480. See also Christian DOMENIG, Burgen und Burgenpolitik der Grafen von Cilli, *Burgen im Alpenraum*, Petersberg 2012 (Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern, 14), pp. 53–59.

year	number of castles
1308	4 castles, 2 towers
1329	10 castles
1383	66 castles
1425	125 castles

Table 1: Dynamics of the Castle Politics of the Counts of Cilli

This was an organisational and financial offensive, without parallel in the wider Eastern Alpine area at the time. The bases for this was their hugely successful financial politics, together with ‘family discipline’ – outstanding cooperation between various members of the family. Their finances were based partly on income from their immensely profitable mercenary warfare, in large part for their feudal seniors – the Habsburgs. For this they were frequently paid off with the acquisition of castles and estates in pledge for indefinite periods of time. In this way the Counts held more than twenty Habsburg castles in their possession for 60, 70 years or more. Another strategy was the loaning of large sums to various lords with the same goal of receiving castles in return, while the third way was by paying off the debts of noble families in social decline – often to Jewish financiers – and receiving property with castles in return. This was the theory, and in practice it was actually hugely successful. By 1425, the Counts of Cilli possessed 125 castles (not including smaller buildings, known as ‘tower’ – *Turn*) (fig. 2).¹⁰ According to current research, the Counts actually built only four out of this enormous number themselves. All of the others had already been built and were merely expanded or reconstructed by them. In the following sections, some of the more important castles, either strategically exposed or built by the Cillis themselves will be discussed in more detail.

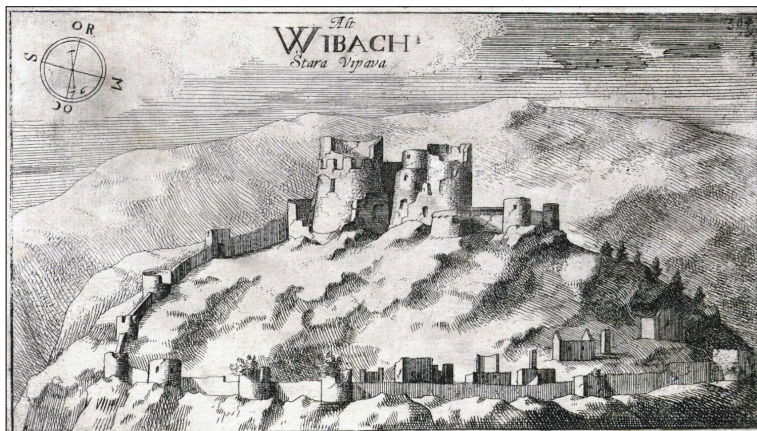
Some Representative Buildings

At the height of their might in the territories within the Empire – in the first quarter of the 15th century –, the Counts of Cilli possessed almost one half of the Duchy of Carniola and large parts of Lower Styria and Carinthia. On the western border of Carniola, two key fortresses on the main trade routes from Italy in the direction of Hungary were in their possession for more than 60 years: Vipava (Wippach, figs. 3–4) and Postojna (Adelsberg, fig. 5). The Counts received Vipava in pledge from the Dukes of Austria in 1357 for 7000 florins,¹¹ and Postojna in 1371.¹² These were outposts

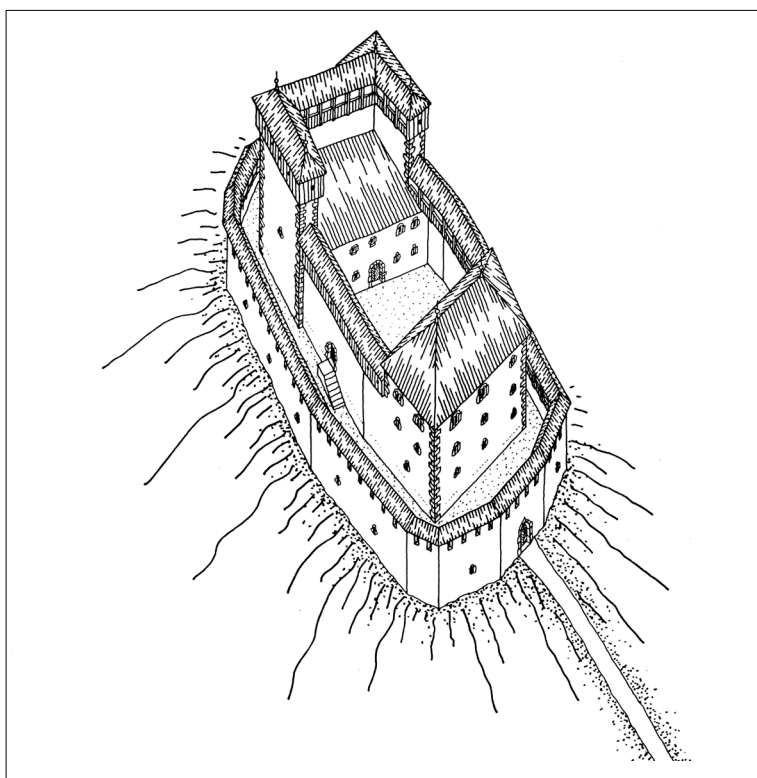
¹⁰ KOSI 2012 (n. 9), pp. 472–478. In 1485 the Italian traveller Paolo Santonino even stated that the Counts once possessed 140 castles and towns, which – after they died out in 1456 – were taken over by the Emperor: ... *post mortem omnium Comitum Cilie ad imperialem fiscum cum omnibus alijs castris et oppidis numero (ut aiunt) CXXXX.ta devolutum est*. Giuseppe VALLE, *Itinerario di Paolo Santonino in Carintia, Stiria e Carniola negli anni 1485–1487 (codice vaticano latino 3795)*, Città del Vaticano 1943 (Studi e testi, 103), p. 221.

¹¹ The first acquisition in 1357 was actually of the fortress Lower Wippach, but soon also the upper castle was in their hands, confirmed in the source of 1374. Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Ljubljana (ARS), Zbirka listin (SI AS 1063), 1357 VI 30 Vienna; 1374 IX 16 Celje; Miha KOSI, *Spopad za prehode proti Jadranu in nastanek »dežeze Kras«*. *Vojaška in politična zgodovina Krasa od 12. do 16. stoletja*, Ljubljana 2018 (Opuscula, 6), pp. 78–79, 99; KOSI 2012 (n. 9), p. 472.

¹² ARS, SI AS 1063, 1371 XII 2 Vienna. Dukes Albert III and Leopold III bought Adelsberg in 1371 for the enormous



3. Vipava, upper castle, in: Johann Weichart Valvasor, *Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae modernae*, Wagensperg in Crain 1679

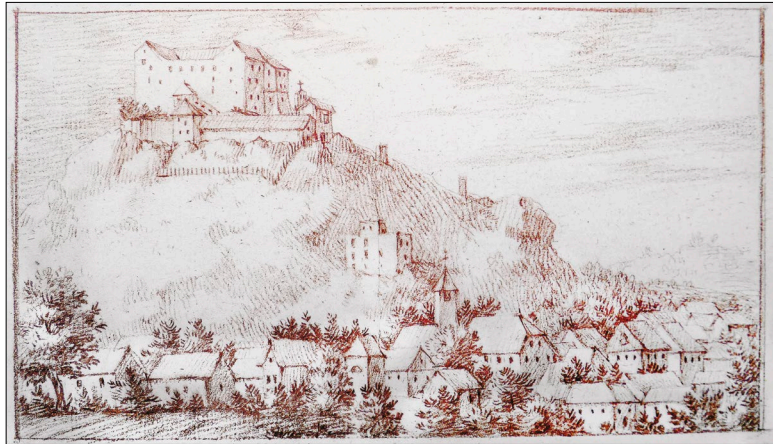


4. Vipava, upper castle in the 14th century (reconstruction by Igor Sapač)

of enormous importance in both strategic and economic terms. Every trader, soldier or diplomat approaching from Italy first encountered the banners of the Counts of Cilli. First-rate propaganda. And Count Hermann II of Cilli – leader of the dynasty between 1385 and 1435 – was indeed a feared and respected adversary of the Republic of Venice. During the war of King Sigismund of

sum of 28.000 florins (the highest known value of a medieval estate in the area of present-day Slovenia). A large part of the sum was paid by the Counts of Cilli, who received the castle and estate in pledge in December of the same year. It included also toll stations on the main trade roads from Italy and the coast towards Hungary which, in the next decades, brought the Cillis a considerable income. KOSI 2018 (n. 11), p. 86.

5. Postojna, a sketch for
Johann Weichart Valvasor,
*Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae
modernae*



6. Mokrice in:
Johann Weichart Valvasor,
*Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae
modernae, Wagensperg in Crain*
1679



Hungary with Venice in 1412 it was Hermann who, in the name of the king, discussed truce terms with the Venetian ambassadors in his castle in Postojna. At that time he was also the lord of the three main Carst passes on the trade roads from the Northern Adriatic into Carniola and in 1419 was able to efficiently execute Sigismund's economic blockade of Venice.¹³

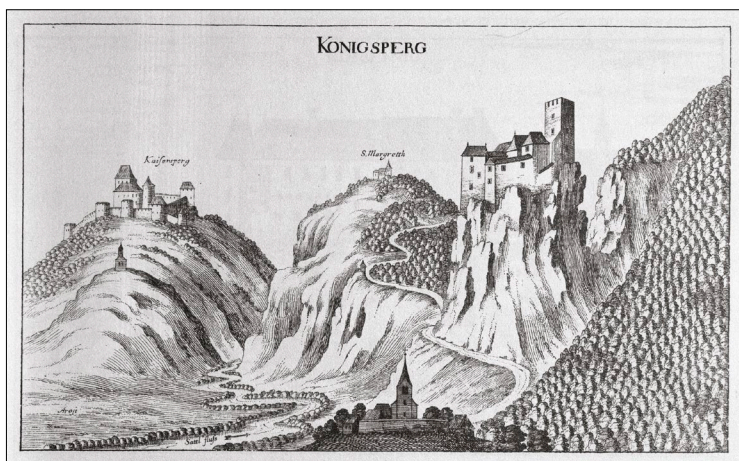
On the other side of Carniola, a huge swathe of the imperial border towards Croatia and Hungary, with castles, was in the hands of the Counts of Cilli. There seems to have been a plan behind their acquisition, as there is a logic underpinning it – from the end of the 14th century, the Counts also held extensive possessions in Slavonia, on the other side of the imperial border, and were therefore highly interested in control of the border crossings. On one of the most important of them – on the main trade route from Zagreb into the Empire and towards Italy – there still stands one of the four castles built by the Counts themselves: Mokrice (Mokritz, fig. 6). Mentioned for the first time in 1447, it was built on the estate of the old Gratschan border fortress, which the Habsburgs had pledged to the Counts in 1356.¹⁴ The appearance of it today is mainly the result of the renaissance

¹³ Miha KOSI, »Prometna politika« celjskih grofov, *Celjski grofje* 1999 (n. 1), pp. 169–170 (with a map); KOSI 2018 (n. 11), pp. 116–118.

¹⁴ ARS, SI AS 1063, 1447 IX 3; KOSI 2012 (n. 9), pp. 470–471, 483, 488.



7. Mokrice castle with medieval core in the middle



8. Kunšperk and Cesargrad in: Georg Matthäus Vischer, *Topographia Ducatus Stiriae*, Grätz 1681

fortification against the Ottomans from the second half of the 16th century on. Although it has not yet been thoroughly researched in terms of architectural history, a smaller medieval core can still be clearly discerned behind later additions (fig. 7).¹⁵ Its construction was an obvious act of propaganda. The geographical location was chosen very deliberately – on a hill just short of the imperial border, so the castle could be seen from far and wide on both sides of it. In a way with a similar purpose, although much less exposed, was Kunšperk (Königsberg), another Cilli castle, acquired in 1395 by donation from the last lord of the extinct Königsberg family.¹⁶ This time it was an older border structure, originally from the 12th century, with a real commanding position and a clear

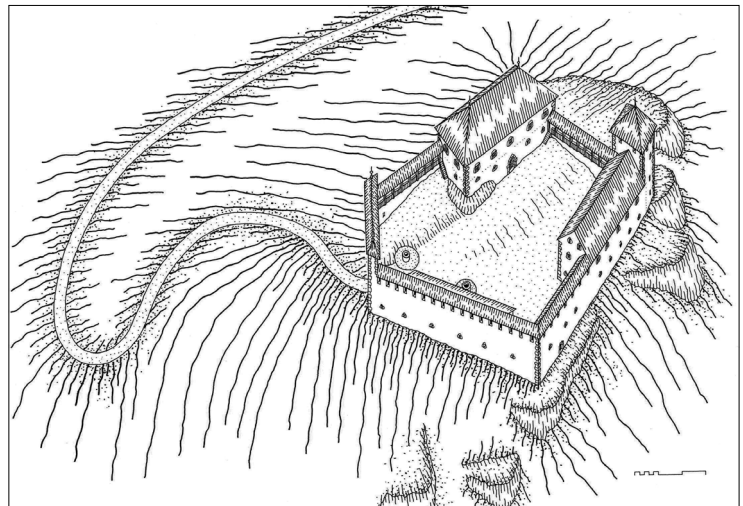
¹⁵ Ivan STOPAR, *Grajske stavbe v osrednji Sloveniji. 2: Dolenjska. 2: Med Bogenšperkom in Mokricami*, Ljubljana 2001 (Grajske stavbe, 13), pp. 86–104; Igor SAPAČ, Grad Bela Peč/Weissenfels in njegov arhitekturnozgodovinski pomen, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 64/3, 2016, p. 381, n. 153.

¹⁶ KOSI 2012 (n. 9), p. 478.

9. Weissenfels in Val Romana, in the illustrated chronicle of the Khevenhüller family, around 1620, detail



10. Weissenfels in Val Romana in the 15th century (reconstruction by Igor Sapač)



propaganda name.¹⁷ Interestingly, its counterpart on the Hungarian side of the border, eventually also acquired by the Counts of Cilli (in 1399), was named Cesargrad (Kaisersberg, fig. 8).

In the far north-western corner of Carniola, on the border towards the territory of the Bishop of Bamberg in Carinthia and close to Venetian border, lay the second castle built by the Cillis themselves – Weissenfels (Bela Peč, Fusine in Valromana). The area – the upper Sava river basin – was colonised late, in the 14th century, on a site with no previous fortifications. Its construction, began around 1431 in a commanding position – on a high hill above the valley, with extensive views in both directions (fig. 9)¹⁸ – caused quite a stir. In 1433 Duke Frederick V, as territorial prince, vehemently – but eventually unsuccessfully – protested against the new building, and the Venetians even

¹⁷ Ivan STOPAR, *Grajske stavbe v vzhodni Sloveniji. 5: Med Kozjanskim in porečjem Save*, Ljubljana 2001 (Grajske stavbe, 5), pp. 46–50.

¹⁸ Franz KRONES, *Die Freien von Saneck und ihre Chronik als Grafen von Cilli*, 2, Graz 1883, p. 81.



11. Markus Pernhart: *Landskron*, around 1860

sent a detachment, supposedly some 1000 men strong, to destroy the building site, but in vain.¹⁹ The altitude of the structure is considerable, almost 1100 metres, and it is one of the highest standing castles in the European Alps. Its initial layout was quite simple, clearly not meant as a residence but simply as a symbol of power (fig. 10). Viewed in the wider landscape, its impact must have been considerable, as testified also by the Italian Paolo Santonono, who saw it in 1486²⁰ It was clearly a propaganda building on the border, on one of the approaches to the very heart of the Cilli territory.²¹

Speaking of propaganda, there is hardly a castle in the wider area which better fits this category than Landskron in the middle of Carinthia (fig. 11). Built by the Habsburg dukes in the mid 14th century, already with a propaganda name – ‘crown of the territory’ – it displays its primal function as a symbol of power and rulership.²² There is one fact in particular that makes the motive behind it even clearer. It was perched on a hill high above the town of Villach, the main urban and trade center of Carinthia, which was not in the possession of the territorial princes – the Habsburgs –, but of the bishop of Bamberg. Little known, but even this representative building of princely power came into the possession of the counts of Cilli. The dukes, ever in need of finance, gave it in 1372 in pledge to the Cillis for a large loan and it remained in their possession for whole 55 years (until

¹⁹ Karl KOVAČ, Beiträge zur Geschichte Krains, *Carniola*, 2, 1911, pp. 164–165; Alphons LHOTSKY, Eine unbeachtete Chronik Österreichs aus der Zeit Kaiser Friedrichs III., *Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestandes des Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, 1 (ed. Leo Santifaller), Wien 1949 (Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband 2), p. 543.

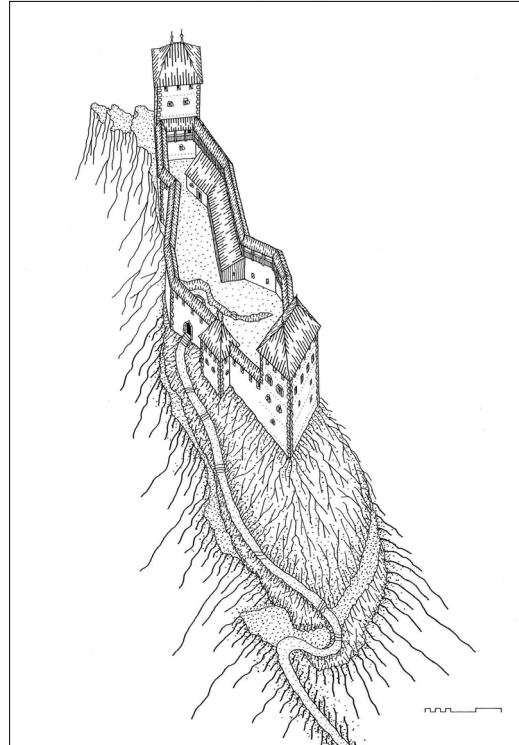
²⁰ VALLE 1943 (n. 10), p. 221: */.../ castrum Veisenfels alias per Comitem da Cilia in altissimo conditum monte, quod altius est omnibus a me visis /.../ Habeat castrum ipsum circumdatos montes asperos et mire magnitudinis, in quibus omni fere anni tempore durant nives.*

²¹ SAPAČ 2016 (n. 15), pp. 353–374.

²² The castle was most likely built by Duke Albert II and is first mentioned indirectly in 1351. Herman WIESSNER, *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae. 10: Die Kärntner Geschichtsquellen 1335–1414*, Klagenfurt 1968, p. 127, no. 356; KOSI 2012 (n. 9), p. 474.



12. Friedrichstein in: Johann Weichart Valvasor, *Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae modernae*, Wagensperg in Crain 1679, detail



13. Friedrichstein in the 15th century (reconstruction by Igor Sapač)

1427).²³ The Counts could from here occasionally harrass the bishop's citizens of Villach and, during the feud in 1425, even unsuccessfully besieged the town.²⁴

If the aforementioned examples were clearly representations of power with no residential function, the following are more suited to this category. One very interesting example is Friedrichstein in southern Carniola, built by Count Frederick II of Cilli around 1422–25 in the center of an extensive estate, colonised in the mid-14th century with a German peasant population.²⁵ As the name suggests, it served a propoganda purpose – named after the owner –, but there is also clear evidence that the Count occasionally used it as a residence. After a deep rift developed with his father in 1425, it was razed by Count Herman II, but Frederick later rebuilt it. Given its limited scale and location high on a mountain above Kočevje (Gotchee), among vast forests at an altitude of almost 1000 metres, it most likely fulfilled the function of a sort of retreat, possibly a hunting lodge (figs. 12–13).²⁶

A clear residential function, however, can be seen in the seats of the Counts of Cilli in urban environments. Considering the prestigious position of the family in the first half of the 15th century,

²³ Božo OTOREPEC, *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane. 1: Listine 1246–1397*, Ljubljana 1965, no. 77; KOSI 2012 (n. 9), p. 474.

²⁴ Walter FRESACHER, Die Verteidigung von Villach im Mittelalter, *Neues aus Alt-Villach*, 3, 1966, pp. 42–43; Tomaž LAZAR, *Vitezi, najemniki in smodnik. Vojskovanje na Slovenskem v poznem srednjem veku*, Ljubljana 2012, pp. 133–136.

²⁵ KRONES 1883 (n. 18), p. 79; SAPAČ 2016 (n. 15), p. 381.

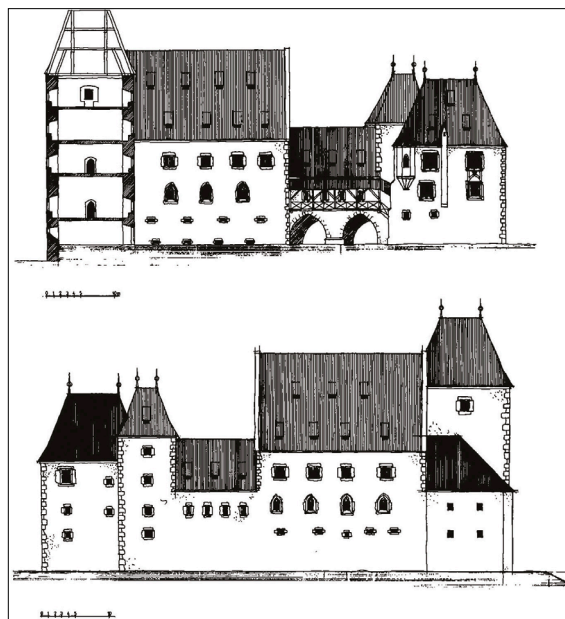
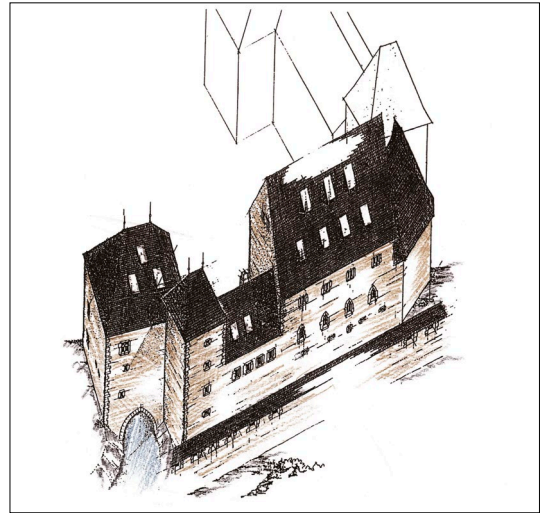
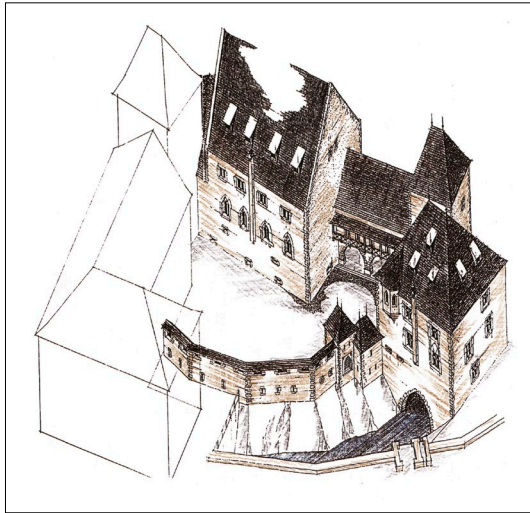
²⁶ Ivan STOPAR, *Grajske stavbe v osrednji Sloveniji. 2: Dolenjska. 4: Med Igom, Ribnico in Kočevjem*, Ljubljana 2003 (*Grajske stavbe*, 15), pp. 48–55; SAPAČ 2016 (n. 15), pp. 381–382.



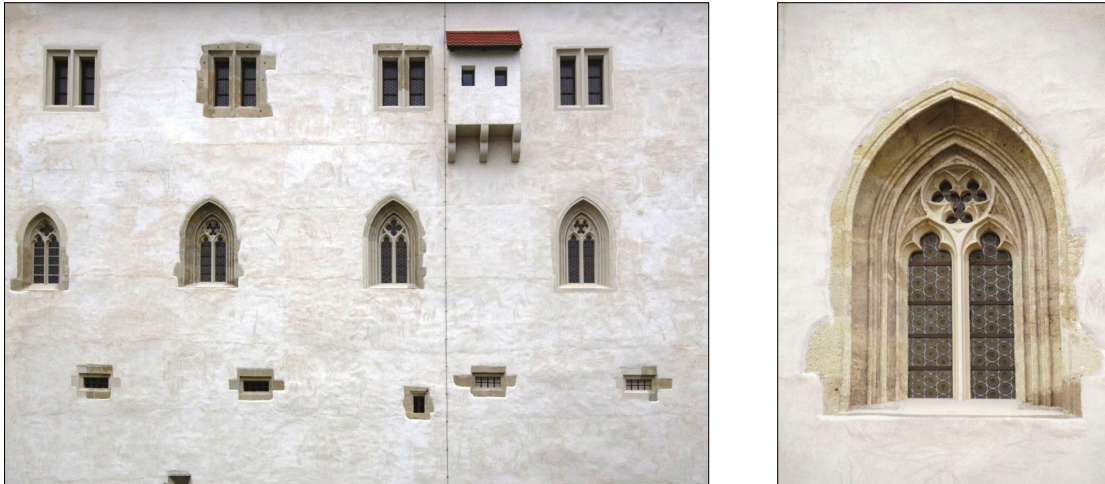
14. Johannes Clobucciarich: palace of the Counts of Cilli in Celje, around 1603, Styrian State Archives, Graz



15. Palace of the Counts of Cilli in Celje, oil painting of St Florian, around 1780, Church of St Daniel in Celje, detail



16–18. Palace of the Counts of Cilli in Celje in the 15th century (reconstruction by Ivo Gričar)



19–20. Palace of the Counts of Cilli in Celje, façade and a gothic window

it is no wonder they had urban mansions in all the important centers of power. Besides Celje, they had palaces in Ljubljana (Laibach),²⁷ Graz,²⁸ Vienna, Zagreb, Varaždin,²⁹ Buda and Belgrade. Their town castle/palace in Celje (figs. 14–15) – their principal residence throughout this period until 1456 – is still largely preserved. This late medieval gothic building is undoubtedly one of the most important structures of its kind in present-day Slovenia. Today it is known as ‘Knežji dvor’. On the location of the older castle of their predecessors, the Counts of Heunburg, in a corner of the town directly above the remains of the Roman town gate, the Cillis erected a new building over several decades in the second half of the 14th century (figs. 16–18). It was vividly described by the Italian Paolo Santonino, visiting Celje in 1487, as “the most beautiful palace, high, with towers and ramparts, surrounded with a wide ditch from three sides and a river and town walls on the fourth /.../. The distinguished lords Counts used to live there when they were in the town”.³⁰ With luxurious architecture details – beautiful gothic windows, a chapel with frescoes – and with two representative halls, it was clearly a ‘showpiece’ of the aspiring noble family (figs. 19–20).³¹ On the front of the

²⁷ A house with a *hof* in Ljubljana was donated to Frederick of Sannegg in 1339 by Duke Albert II. Frederick was at that time captain of Carniola. In 1406 Count Hermann II gave it in fief to Carniola’s *Vizedom* with the explicit instruction that he was obliged to offer it to the count whenever he came to the town. With the Ortenburg inheritance in 1418, another house in Ljubljana was acquired. In 1422 it was given in fief to the Carinthian nobleman Ulrich Schenk of Osterwitz. ARS, SI AS 1063, 1339 VII 6 Vienna; 1406 XII 2 Celje; Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (ÖStA/HHStA), Vienna, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe, 1422 VIII 31 Celje.

²⁸ A house in Graz, the capital of Styria, was bought in 1379 by Count Hermann I of Cilli. It was located next to the house of the Archbishop of Salzburg. ARS, SI AS 1063, 1379 VII 29.

²⁹ The town of Varaždin in Slavonia was acquired by Count Hermann II from King Sigismund in 1399. In the existing town castle at the beginning of the 15th century, the Counts built a new entrance tower, decorated with their painted coat of arms (recently discovered). Diana VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA, *Das künstlerische Erbe der Grafen von Cilli in Croatia*, in: *Celjski grofje* 1999 (n. 1), p. 368; *SAPAČ* 2016 (n. 15), pp. 380–381.

³⁰ VALLE 1943 (n. 10), p. 265: *Habetur insuper in ipso oppido paulo supra domum residentis ipsius domini capitanei pallatium pulcherrimum alte admodum structum cum turribus et propugnaculis, cui alta et lata fossa adiacet a tribus partibus, et a quarta flumen et muri celeiani. Habitabant in eo Illustres domini comites dum erant inferius in oppido /.../.*

³¹ *Gotik in Slowenien* (ed. Janez Höfler), Narodna galerija, Ljubljana 1995, pp. 395–396, cat. nr. 231; Ivan STOPAR, *Ostra kopja, bridki meči*, Ljubljana 2007 (*Življenje na srednjeveških gradovih na Slovenskem*), pp. 77–80.

residential tower, as a part of a gothic window, a propaganda piece left no doubt as to who was the master: the coat of arms of the Counts of Cilli (fig. 21).

It is astounding to know that as early as 1356 the Counts were in possession of a palace in the capital of Vienna, a mere 100 metres from Hofburg, the residence of the Habsburg princes (fig. 22). This is in a way understandable given that the Cillis were for the whole of the 14th century their loyal and very close supporters. Their first house in Vienna was actually bought in 1341, within months of their promotion to the status of Counts.³² The new palace, bought in 1356, was in the hands of the Counts for a whole century, until they died out in 1456. The initial sum of the purchase shows it was quite extensive, the size of two to three normal house plots and with two upper storeys.³³ A recent survey has confirmed that at the beginning of the 15th century the palace was reconstructed, the remains from this time still nowadays reaching the second floor. The Cilli palace is today hidden inside the structure of the so called Amalienburg, which has recently undergone systematic architectural historical research.³⁴

In connection with the Cilli palace in Vienna it is worth noting that there was another representative building in their possession in the immediate vicinity, the no less imposing castle Liechtenstein (fig. 23). Counts Herman I and William received it in 1384 in pledge for a large loan from Hans of Stadeck, the last of his line.³⁵ After his death it remained in the hands of the Counts, for which there is ample written evidence.³⁶ With a direct view from its towers down to the Imperial city, it was surely a show of the Counts' considerable prestige. Its role as such was even further augmented by the last Count Ulrich II, who in 1454 – with the famous preacher John of Capistran – founded the Franciscan monastery Maria Enzersdorf below its walls, the last of four monastic establishments founded by the dynasty (fig. 24).³⁷

The Counts also possessed a residence in the capital of Slavonia – Zagreb, where, in the last three decades of the dynasty especially, they were heavily politically invested. Count Hermann II (in 1406–8 and 1423–35) as well as his grandson Ulrich II (in 1445–56) held the position of a ban of Slavonia – a deputy to the Hungarian king, with the highest judicial and military authority. During the power struggle in Hungary in the spring of 1441, Counts Frederick and Ulrich besieged Zagreb and consequently took hold of Gradec – *civitas montis Grecensis* (the royal part of Zagreb).

³² In 1341 Count Frederick I of Cilli bought a house close to the parish church of St Michael, within reach of Habsburg *Hofburg*. ARS, SI AS 1063, 1341 VIII 15 Vienna; Günther BUCHINGER, Doris SCHÖN, Städtebauliche Entwicklung des Burgviertels – Die Niederlassung der Parteigänger der Habsburger, *Die Wiener Hofburg im Mittelalter. Von der Kastellburg bis zu den Anfängen der Kaiserresidenz* (ed. Mario Schwarz), Wien 2015 (Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse, 443; Veröffentlichungen zur Kunstgeschichte, 12; Veröffentlichungen zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Wiener Hofburg, 1), p. 148.

³³ The palace was sold in 1356 by Johann, the last Count of Pfannberg, to his uncle Frederick I of Cilli, with the consensus of Duke Albert II. ARS, SI AS 1063, 1356 V 24; BUCHINGER, SCHÖN 2015 (n. 32), pp. 147–148.

³⁴ BUCHINGER, SCHÖN 2015 (n. 32), p. 148.

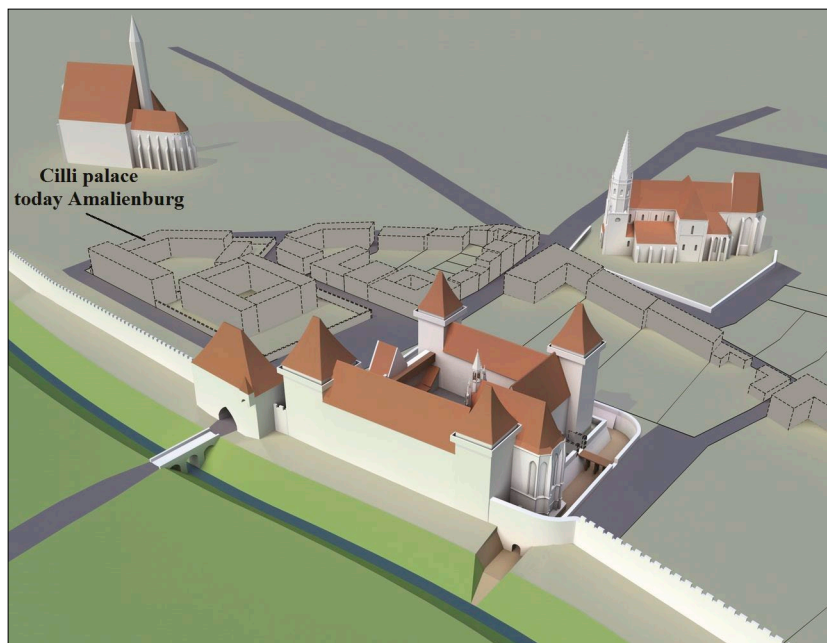
³⁵ ARS, SI AS 1063, 1384 II 10.

³⁶ A number of deeds, preserved in the archive in Ljubljana, testify to the Counts' ownership of Liechtenstein castle. They pertain primarily to the property in the vicinity of the castle and the tithes, which were mostly fiefs from the abbey of Melk. ARS, SI AS 1063, 1404 V 7 Vienna; 1412 VIII 13 Melk; 1425 I 20 Vienna; 1425 II 14 Ebenfurt; 1427 IX 5 Melk; 1436 XI 27 Vienna.

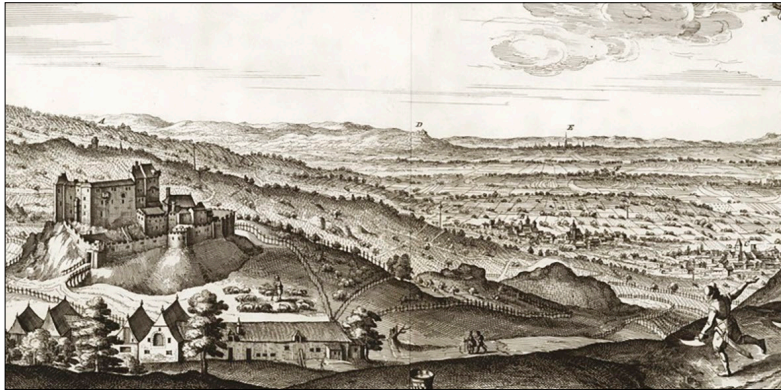
³⁷ Johannes HOFER, *Johannes Kapistran. Ein leben im Kampf um die Reform der Kirche*, 2, Heidelberg 1965 (Bibliotheca Franciscana, 2), pp. 325–326. In a letter to Kapistran, dated 1455 III 31, Count Ulrich explicitly mentions his *erectio monasterii novi, quam sub castro nostro Liechtenstein, videlicet in Enzerstorff, fieri affectavimus /.../*; cited after Placidus HERZOG, *Cosmographia austriaco-franciscana, seu Exacta descriptio provinciae Austriae Ordinis Minorum strictioris observantiae*, 1, Köln 1740, pp. 552–553. The monastery was totally devastated during two wars with the Ottomans in 1529 and 1689 and was later rebuilt in baroque stile.



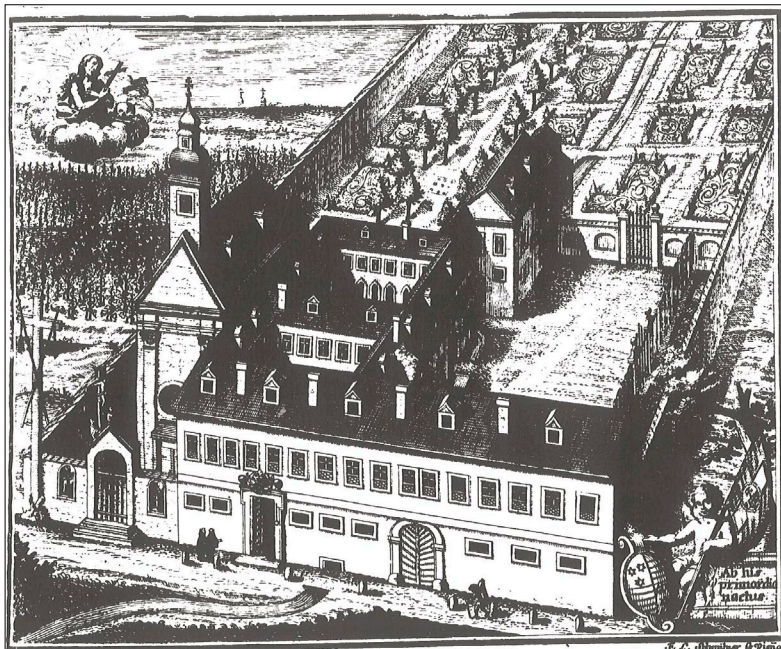
21. Coat of arms of the Counts of Cilli, once the upper part of a gothic window on the residential tower, late 14th century, Celje Regional Museum



22. Hofburg district in Vienna in 1440, a reconstruction, with Habsburg palace, the parish church of St Michael (right) and the church of Friars Minor (left); marked is the location of Cilli palace, today Amalienburg



23. Joannes Janssonius van Waesberghe: Castle Liechtenstein, Enzersdorf (left) and Vienna in the distance, around 1680

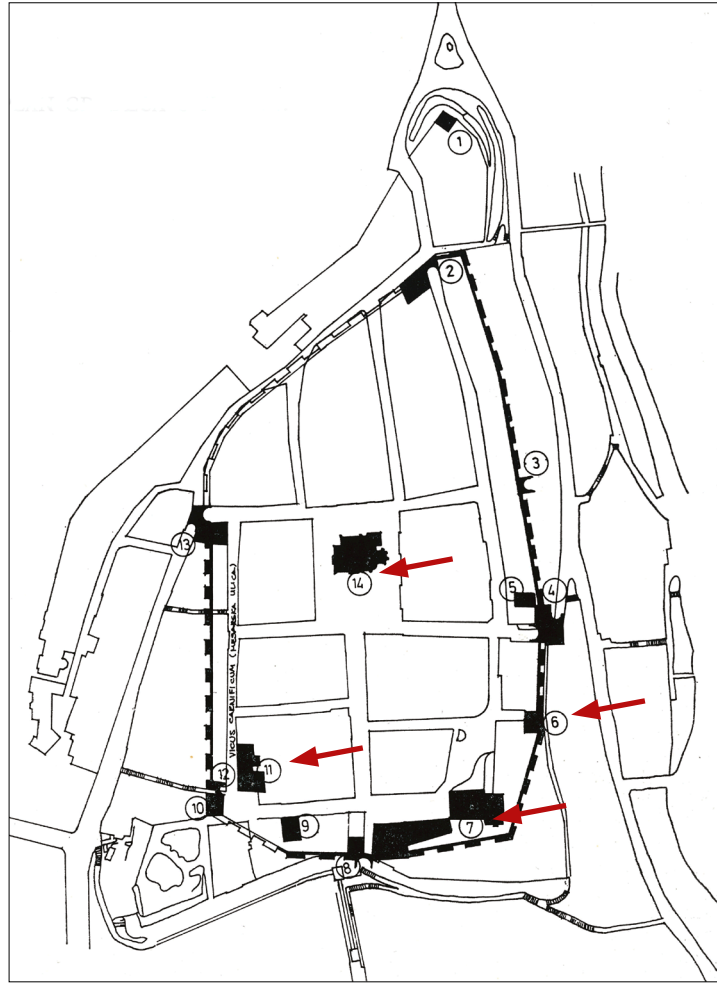


24. Franciscan monastery Maria Enzersdorf, with the coat of arms of the founder, in: Placidus Herzog, *Cosmographia austriaco-franciscana*, Köln 1740

Count Ulrich II therefore became lord of the city for a decade and a half. He had a castle here (*castellum*), installed his captain and received the usual income of a prosperous capital.³⁸ It seems that the Count's wife, Katarina Branković of Serbia, frequently resided in Zagreb, and she was in possession of the town as well as the castle even some years after Ulrich's death (until 1461).³⁹ The

³⁸ Already in June 1442 the Counts were called by the citizens *domini nostri graciosi*. Ivan Krst. TKALČIĆ, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae. 2: Diplomata: 1400–1499*, Zagreb 1894, pp. 183–184, 270, 295–296; Ivan Krst. TKALČIĆ, *Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae. 6: Libri citationum et sententiarum (ann. 1412–1448)*, Zagreb 1900, pp. 363–364; Ivan KAMPUŠ, *Odnosi grofova Celjskih i zagrebačkog Gradeca*, *Historijski zbornik*, 29–30, 1976/77, pp. 162–166; Nada KLAJIĆ, *Povijest Zagreba. 1: Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb 1982, pp. 147–156.

³⁹ In July 1445 Katarina was *domina nostra graciosa* of Zagreb. In 1453 she received 40 marks of yearly tax from her town judge in Zagreb. Young King Ladislav in september 1457 demanded restitution of *castellum illud, quod in civitate nostra montis Grecensis edificatum existit, cum gubernacionem eiusdem civitatis nostre* from her. In May 1461 she sold all her possessions in Slavonia, including *civitatem montis Grecensis juxta Zagrabiam*, for 62.000 florins. TKALČIĆ 1894 (n. 38), pp. 230, 252–253, 279; TKALČIĆ 1900 (n. 38), p. 421.



25. Plan of Zagreb (Gradec) in the 15th century with the Cilli 'castellum' (nr. 6), Church of St Catherine (nr. 7), royal palace (nr. 11) and Church of St Mark (nr. 14)

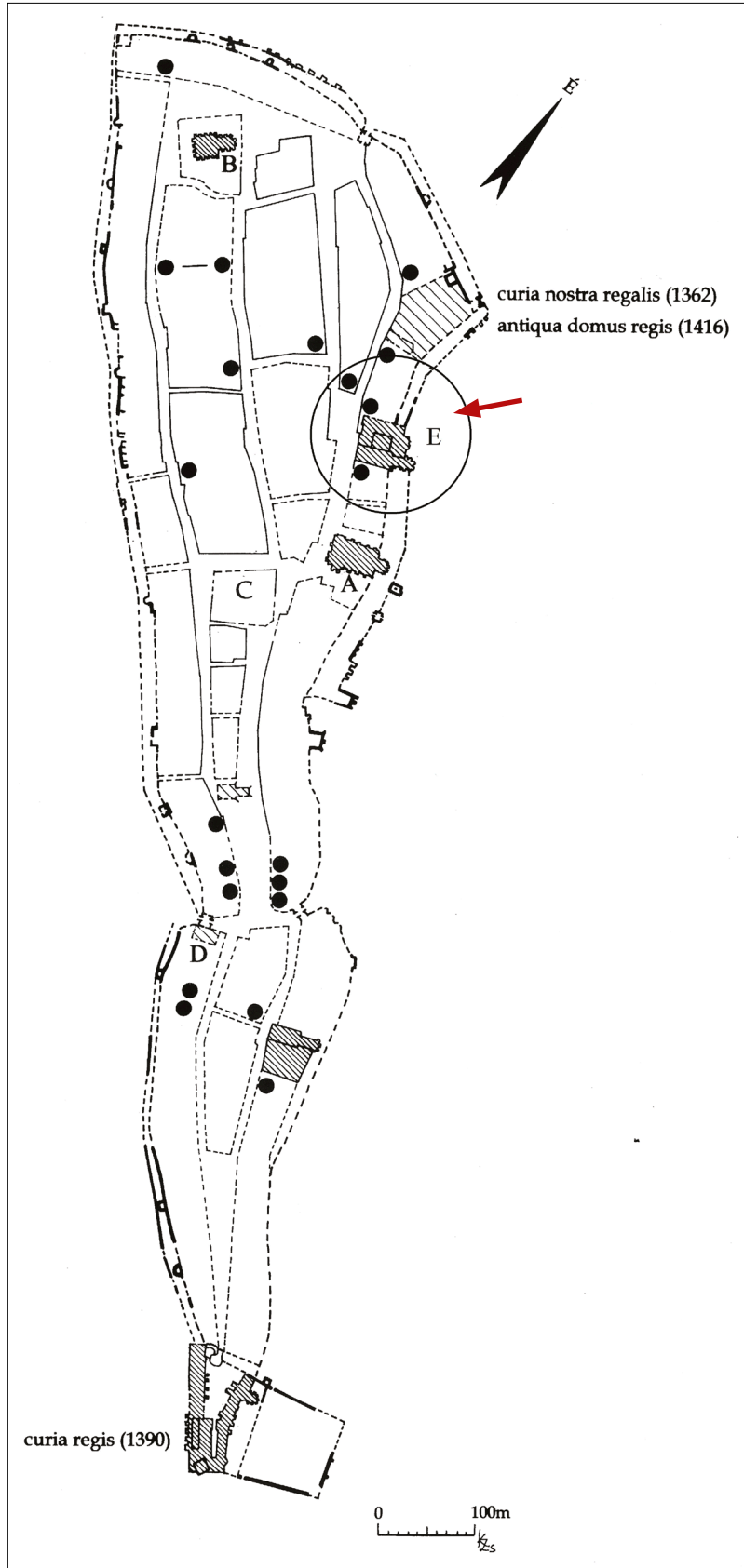
building on the site of the old Arpad royal castle, beside the town walls and close to the church of St Catherine (fig. 25), was thoroughly reconstructed by Count Ulrich (enclosed with a wall and ditch). After 1606 it was incorporated into the new Jesuit monastery and its remains are today almost indiscernible.⁴⁰

Considering the fact that count Hermann II of Cilli was a confidant, the closest ally and soon to be father-in-law of the Hungarian King Sigismund, it was only natural that he would possess a residence also in the Hungarian capital of Buda, where he was a frequent visitor.⁴¹ In April 1397, within days of his return from the Nicopolis campaign, the King bestowed upon him a mansion on castle hill in Buda (*domum seu fundum curie in castro civitatis Budensis*), which had been confiscated from the rebellious, subsequently executed, Baron Stephen Lackfy. It lay close to the Dominican convent of St Nicholas and (later) the house of Stephen, deceased physician of the King (fig. 26).⁴² A beautiful glazed tile with the Cilli coat of arms and the sign of the King's Order of the

⁴⁰ KLAJČ 1982 (n. 38), pp. 198–200; VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA 1999 (n. 29), p. 368; SAPAČ 2016 (n. 15), p. 383, n. 158.

⁴¹ See DVOŘÁKOVÁ 2017 (n. 1), *passim*.

⁴² Elemér MÁLYUSZ, *Zsigmondkori okléveltár. 1: 1387–1399*, Budapest 1951, nr. 4701, p. 519: */.../ domum seu fundum curie in castro civitatis Budensis prope claustrum beati Nicolai confessoris in vicinitate domorum Nicolai de*



26. Plan of Buda castle district at the beginning of the 15th century, with the Dominican convent of St Nicholas (E)

Dragon (Hermann was original member from 1408), found by archaeologists inside the Castle District of Buda, could plausibly be connected with this Cilli palace (fig. 27).

Speaking of tiles with the Cilli emblem, we cannot avoid also mentioning the old fortress of Belgrade (once »the upper town«), where such fragments were also found.⁴³ Belgrade – an enormously important Hungarian border fortress-town 'Nándorfehérvár' – was where the last Count Ulrich II was assassinated in a plot on 9 November 1456.⁴⁴ Given that Ulrich was a leading Hungarian baron at the time – recently having become *gubernator regni* –, and married to Katarina, daughter of the Serbian despot George Branković from 1434, the mentioned archaeological finds should not be a surprise. The tiles were obviously part of a stove from the Cilli palace

in the upper town of Belgrade, which still stood even sixty-five years after the counts died out in 1456, and was then still known by their name. It is explicitly mentioned as the palace of the *Conte di Cilia* in the report of the Venetian ambassador from Buda during the Ottoman siege of Belgrade in 1521, when it collapsed on the attackers digging under it. The ambassador even noted that the palace was built by the Count in 1455.⁴⁵ It was mentioned as *domus* or *palacium* also in a number of accounts of the fateful events of November 1456, accompanied by the assertion that it was a possession of Count Ulrich II, who often stayed there.⁴⁶ It is highly possible that Ulrich spent the last night of his life in November 1456 in this palace, as indirectly suggested by a reliable *Chronicon Austriacum*,⁴⁷



27. Glazed tile with the coat of arms of the Counts of Cilli and the emblem of the King's Order of the Dragon, first half of the 15th century, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest

*Agria civis Budensis a plaga septemtrionali, ab inferiori vero parte domus honorabilis viri prepositi ecclesie Westprimiensis sitam /.../. Hermann was engaged in decades long litigation over this mansion with the widow of the executed palatine Lackfy, who donated it to the Church. See *Monumenta diplomatica civitatis Budapest. Tomus tertius: 1382–1439* (ed. Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz), Budapest 1987, p. 103, no. 875 (1425 VII 13).*

⁴³ On the finds see Marija BAJALović-HADŽI-PEŠIĆ, Ugarski pečnjaci u beogradskom srednjovekovnom gradu, *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, 23, 1976, pp. 25, 31.

⁴⁴ In detail GRABMAYER 2003 (n. 1), pp. 302–309.

⁴⁵ /.../ *Turchi fe una fossa, la qual andaua subteranea fino in dita rocha in uno palazo fece il Conte di Cilia dil 1455 al tempo dil padre di Re Mathias /.../*. Letter was preserved in the diaries of Marino Sanuto and published by Gusztáv WENZEL, Marino Sanuto világkrónikájának Magyarországot III, *Magyar történelmi tár*, 25, 1878, p. 239; Ignacij VOJE, Balkanska politika celjskih grofov, *Celjski grofje* 1999 (n. 1), p. 112.

⁴⁶ Different accounts by Thuroczy, Bonfini, Ranzano and Đorđe Sremac were published in: *Grada za istoriju Beograda u srednjem veku* (ed. Mihailo J. Dinić), 1, Beograd 1951, pp. 28, 39, 63.

⁴⁷ According to the chronicle, when they arrived with ships on the Danube, Count Ulrich and King Ladislas were escorted in *das hauss* that stand in *dem schloss* (upper town). The Count spent the night in his room (*in seinem zimmer*) and in the morning heard the mass (possibly in his private chapel), before leaving to meet his fate. The *Chronicon Austriacum 1454–1467* was published in: Heinrich Christian SENCKENBERG, *Selecta juris et historiarum tum anecdota tum jam edita, sed rariora*, Frankfurt am Main 1739, pp. 17–23; GRABMAYER 2003 (n. 1), pp. 303–305.



28. Territories of the Counts of Cilli in 1456

and possibly even died in it. His body was brought back to his hometown in Celje and solemnly put to rest in the monastery of the Friars Minor, with the other members of his dynasty.⁴⁸

Conclusion

The Counts of Cilli are an outstanding example of the ‘international’ high nobility of the 15th century who conducted their politics virtually unobstructed by state or territorial borders, and who between 1400 and 1456 exerted a strong impact on the whole of Central Europe. In accordance with their importance and prestige, their representative buildings – castles and palaces – were

⁴⁸ GRABMAYER 2003 (n. 1), pp. 309–316.

undoubtedly also a strong instrument of dynastic propaganda. Even though they built only a handful completely anew, their architectural legacy in general is highly diverse and genuinely immense. As yet still not thoroughly researched, it ranges from endowed small country churches to pilgrim centers (as Ptujška Gora/Maria Neustift), monastic institutions and castles/palaces.⁴⁹ We should not fail to mention that between 1400 and 1456 they also founded four new monasteries – Lepoglavica (around 1400, Pauline), Pleterje/Pletriach (between 1403 and 1407, Chartusian), Novi Klošter/Neukloster (between 1449 and 1453, Dominican) and Maria Enzersdorf (1454, Franciscan), where their *memoria* (and propaganda) would have been kept alive appropriately, and eternally.⁵⁰ Perhaps it is high time to give them proper historical credit for what they were also in regard to their architectural/artistic legacy, which was also the aim of this modest contribution.⁵¹

⁴⁹ See articles in *Celjski grofje* 1999 (n. 1), especially Jože MLINARIČ, Celjani in njihov odnos do samostanov, pp. 125–142; Zdenko BALOG, Majstorska radionica u službi Hermana Celjskog, pp. 325–336; Ivan SRŠA, Međimursko graditeljstvo u doba celjskih grofova, pp. 349–362; VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA 1999 (n. 29), pp. 363–374.

⁵⁰ On their relation to Chartusian order see Mija Oter Gorenčič, Die Kartäuserpolitik der Grafen von Cilli – ein Vorbild für die Habsburger?, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 25/2, 2020, pp. 49–65.

⁵¹ Research for this paper has been conducted within the core funding programme *Basic Research of Slovene Cultural Past* (P6-0052 (A)) funded by the Slovenian Research Agency, and the research project *Visual Arts between Censorship and Propaganda from the Middle Ages to the End of World War I* (L7-8282) funded by the Slovenian Research Agency and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Reprezentativne zgradbe grofov Celjskih – izraz dinastične propagande

Povzetek

Grofje Celjski so bili nedvomno najpomembnejša srednjeveška plemiška rodbina z izvorom na današnjem slovenskem ozemlju. Od začetka 14. stoletja lahko sledimo njihovemu kontinuiranemu vzponu, ki je dosegel višek s povzdigom v državne kneze Svetega rimskega cesarstva leta 1436. Kot elitna evropska visokoplemiška dinastija so skrbeli za temu primerno izražanje prestiža in moči, del česar so bile tudi reprezentativne zgradbe. V okvir dinastične politike je sodila »grajska politika« – gradnja oziroma pridobivanje gradov v posest. Celjski so glede tega edinstven primer, ki nima vzporednice v Srednji Evropi. V dobrem stoletju so do leta 1425 v svoje roke pridobili več kot 125 gradov od Zgornje Koroške preko Kranjske in Štajerske globoko v Slavonijo ter do meja Bosne. Od te izjemne količine zgradb so jih sami popolnoma na novo zgradili le štiri ali pet, sicer so le dograjevali, širili in modernizirali obstoječe. Njihova izjemno obsežna gradbena dediščina, ki zajema razpon od malih podružničnih kapel preko mestnih in romarskih cerkva (opatijska cerkev v Celju, Ptujška Gora), samostanov (Pleterje, Lepoglava, Novi Klošter, Maria Enzersdorf) pa vse do gradov in mestnih palač, še ni celovito proučena.

Celjska grajska politika je temeljila na izjemno učinkovitem finančnem poslovanju, ki je, poleg nakupov, omogočalo prevzemanje gradov v zastavo za finančna posojila, vojno službo ali odplačevanje dolgov zadolženega plemstva. Na tak način so imeli zgolj od deželnih knezov – Habsburžanov – 60 do 70 let v zastavi več kot 20 pomembnih gradov. V članku so podrobneje obravnavani nekateri strateško pomembni, prestižnejši gradovi, gradovi, ki so jih zgradili Celjski sami, in njihove mestne palače v urbanih središčih.

Vipava in Postojna – zastavljeni habsburški posesti – sta Celjskim omogočali strateški nadzor nad prometnimi dostopi iz Italije preko kraških prelazov na Kranjsko in dalje proti Ogrski (v celjskih rokah sta bili od leta 1357 oziroma 1372 do leta 1427). Na južni in severozahodni meji Kranjske (in celjskih teritorijev) so grofje v zadnjih desetletjih pred izumrtjem sami zgradili dva nova gradova: Mokrice in Belo Peč/Weissenfels. Prvi je bil reprezentativna zgradba neposredno na državni meji cesarstva, tik nad mejnim prehodom pri Bregani (prvič omenjen v virih leta 1447). Drugi, na meji Kranjske proti koroškemu gospostvu bamberskega škofa (v Kanalski dolini), pa je bil grajen od leta 1431 kot izraz celjske oblasti na enem od dostopov s Koroške.

Na samem Koroškem so imeli grofje med letoma 1372 in 1427 v rokah tudi enega najprestižnejših habsburških gradov, ki je že s samim imenom simbolno predstavljal knežjo oblast – Landskron. Z lego neposredno nad bamberskim Beljakom je grofom omogočal strateško premoč (leta 1425 fajda z Bambergom in obleganje Beljaka). Podobno prestižno vlogo je imel tudi celjski grad Liechtenstein južno od Dunaja, celjska last (s krajšo prekinitvijo) med letoma 1384 in 1456. Omenjeni gradovi so imeli bolj strateško/symbolno kot pa rezidenčno vlogo. Grad Fridrihštajn nad Kočevjem, ki ga je med letoma 1422 in 1425 zgradil grof Friderik II., pa je združeval obe funkciji. Poleg propagandnega učinka (ime) je imel – glede na položaj sredi obsežnih gozdov – nedvomno sporadično tudi rezidenčno vlogo kot kraj oddiha.

Najprestižnejše celjske zgradbe so bile gotovo palače v urbanih okoljih. Poleg palače v Celju (Knežji dvor, zgrajen v drugi polovici 14. stoletja) so imeli v svoji lasti rezidence v Ljubljani (od 1339), Gradcu (1379), na Dunaju (1341), v Zagrebu (1441), Budimu (1397) in Beogradu (ok. 1455). Najpomembnejša je bila nedvomno rezidenca na Dunaju v neposredni bližini habsburškega Hofburga. Prvo hišo v mestu so Celjski kupili že nekaj mesecev po povzdigu v grofe leta 1341, leta 1356 pa je sledil nakup elitne pala-

če, ki je ostala v njihovi lasti celo stoletje, do izumrtja leta 1456, in je v zadnjih letih deležna intenzivnih raziskav (današnji Amalienburg).

Zaradi tesne povezave grofa Hermana II. z ogrskim kraljem Sigismundom po bitki pri Nikopolju (1396) je že naslednje leto sledila pridobitev palače na grajskem griču v Budimu (dar samega kralja). Rezidenca je stala poleg dominikanskega samostana sv. Nikolaja. Lepe glazirane pečnice s celjskim grbom, najdene na arealu budimskega kastruma, so bile nedvomno del te elitne celjske zgradbe.

Rezidenca (kastel) v Zagrebu je bila povezana s celjskim prevzemom oblasti nad mestom po obleganju leta 1441 (in ne šele 1445, kot je običajno mnenje). Stala je na lokaciji starega arpadovskega kastruma v bližini cerkve sv. Katarine (danes je v sklopu leta 1606 zgrajenega jezuitskega kolegija). Celjski kastel je še do leta 1461 imela v posesti vdova Ulrika II. Katarina Branković, ki ga je leta 1461 prodala skupaj z ostalimi slavonskimi posestmi.

Najmanj poznana je palača grofa Ulrika II. v Beogradu – v nekdanjem Zgornjem mestu (na Kalemegdanu). Beograd je bil sredi 15. stoletja izjemno pomembno ogrsko trdnjavsko mesto na meji proti Turkom. Arheologi so že pred desetletji odkrili ostanke pečnic s celjskim grbom, ki so bile očitno nekoč del celjske palače. Njen obstoj še 65 let po smrti grofa Ulrika II. potrjuje pismo beneškega ambasadorja, ki omenja razrušitev »palače grofa Celjskega« v teku turškega obleganja Beograda leta 1521. Palača naj bi bila po njegovem poročilu zgrajena leta 1455. Ulrik II. je najverjetneje v njej preživel tudi zadnjo noč svojega življenja pred atentatom 9. novembra 1456.

Celjski grofje so bili izjemen primer »internacionalnega« visokega plemstva poznega srednjega veka, ki je vodilo svojo ambiciozno politiko ne oziraje se na deželne ali državne meje. Njihova dediščina – tudi arhitekturna – je enormna in prisotna v vrsti srednjeevropskih držav. Čas je, da dobijo tudi v tem pogledu zgodovinsko priznanje, njihova dediščina pa temu primerno znanstveno obravnavo.

*Facies
orientalis.*

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

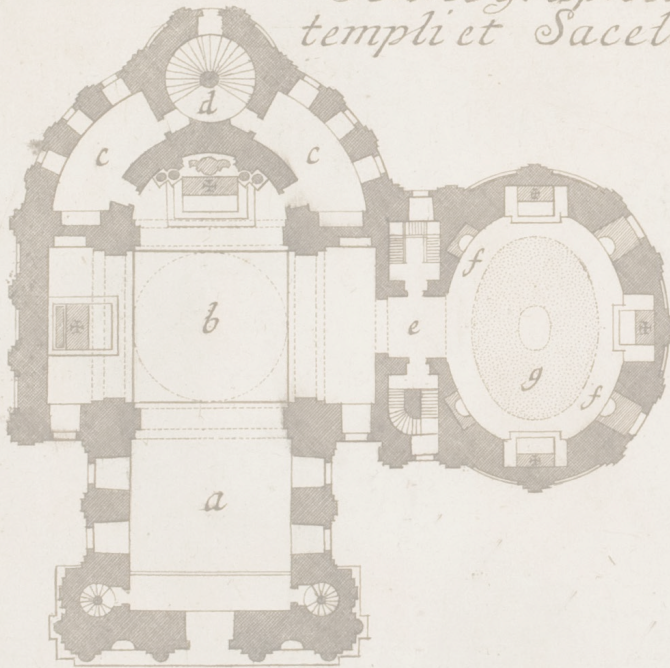
*Conspectus
exterior
lateralis.*



APPARATUS

*Tehnographia
templi et Sacelli.*

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



Literarum explicatio.

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



IZVLEČKI IN KLJUČNE BESEDE

ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

Martin Bele

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Jan Galeta

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

Martin Bele

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Jan Galeta

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

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

Susanne König-Lein

Habsburški mavzolej v sekovski samostanski cerkvi

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

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

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

Susanne König-Lein

The Habsburg Mausoleum in Seckau Monastery Church

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Miha Kosi

Reprezentativne zgradbe grofov Celjskih – izraz dinastične propagande

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Tina Košak

Med uniformnim in edinstvenim. Upodobitve dobrotnikov cistercijskega samostana Stična

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

Miha Kosi

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Tina Košak

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

Vesna Krmelj

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Franci Lazarini

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Vesna Krmelj

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Franci Lazarini

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

Edgar Lein

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

Mija Oter Gorenčič

Kartuzijanska politika grofov celjskih – zgled za Habsburžane?

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

Edgar Lein

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

Mija Oter Gorenčič

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

Friedrich Polleroß

Portrait in propaganda na primeru cesarja Karla VI.

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

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

Friedrich Polleroß

Portrait and Propaganda at the Example of Emperor Charles VI

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

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

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

Barbara Vodopivec

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

Barbara Vodopivec

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

1.01 Izvirni znanstveni članek

1.01 Original scientific article

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

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

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

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

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