DOI: https://doi.org/10.3986/ahas.v23i2.7337 ACTA HISTORIAE ARTIS SLOVENICA 23|2 · 2018, 217–232

The Baroque Artistic Legacy of Confraternities in the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius

Mirjana Repanić-Braun

The presence of confraternities as voluntary associations based on the principle of professional, national, historical, or religious affiliation, similar to communities of the same type in Austria and Germany, can be observed in northern Croatia from the Middle Ages. Among the first to appear were those founded at Gradec in Zagreb. Archival sources mention them in the second half of the 14th century: the Croatian Fraternity in 1355, the German Fraternity in 1357, and the Latin Fraternity in 1384. There are also early records of professional fraternities of cobblers (1377), butchers (1387), wagon-makers (1444), and belt-makers (1462), as well as religious confraternities, e.g., the Confraternity of Blessed Death, which Pavao Horvat (1379–1386), bishop of Zagreb, founded in 1380.[1] The intensified activities of religious confraternities in northern Croatia corresponded to the overall endeavors in the Counter-Reformation period to strengthen the position of the Roman Catholic Church and to encourage intense devotion and piety after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). In the wake of the decisions announced at Session XXII of the Council in 1562, the confraternities became involved in public life, visible, as it is has been noted, "in the conquest of public space through processions, ceremonies, funeral practices, flags and clothing, which contributed significantly to theatricality in liturgical and paraliturgical rituals."[2] The confraternities' practice of commissioning and maintaining altars in parish, monastic, and conventual churches may be perceived in terms of using public space for the purpose of self-promotion and the visual manifestation of particular devotions or values.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, confraternities in continental Croatia acted as commissioners of art—altar sculpture, paintings, and liturgical furnishings—but their overall contribution to the visual and cultural identity of this area has been less thoroughly researched than the confraternities' legacy in Adriatic Croatia.[3] Thus, the aim of this essay is to offer insight into the significant

[1] Krešimir FILIĆ, *Varaždinski mesarski ceh. Zapisnici 1589.–1708.*, Varaždin 1968; Lelja DOBRONIĆ, Pavao iz Horvata, *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi* (ed. Franko Mirošević), Zagreb 1995, pp. 141–142; Dragutin FELETAR, Cehovi i bratovštine u Podravini krajem srednjega i početkom novoga vijeka, *Podravina*, 2/3, 2003, pp. 173–194.

[2] Sanja CVETNIĆ, Dominikanci u hrvatskim krajevima i ikonografija nakon Tridentskoga sabora (1545–1563), *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 34/66, 2010, p. 6. On the subject of confraternities, Cvetnić quotes Christopher F. BLACK, The Public Face of Post-Tridentine Italian Confraternities, *The Journal of Religious History*, 28/1, 2004, pp. 87–101.

[3] An important contribution to our understanding of confraternal commissioning activities in early modern Dalmatia is Ivana PRIJATELJ-PAVIČIĆ, Kiparska i slikarska umjetnička baština bratovština u Dalmaciji između 14.

heritage of lay confraternities in the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, founded in 1900 mostly by uniting the Croatian parts of the former provinces into a coherent whole: those of the Holy Cross, of St. Ladislas, and of St. John of Capistrano. As did other patrons, the Franciscan confraternities depended on artists from Styria, Carniola,[4] and Tyrol, but only to a certain extent. They also engaged artisans, such as Joseph Weinacht, Ivan Adam Rosemberger, and Paulus Antonius Senser, working for a time in Zagreb, Varaždin, Osijek, and Pécs, or Franciscan lay brothers—woodcarvers, sculptors, and painters active in friaries of the above-mentioned provinces—i.e., Dionizije Hoffer, Ivo Schwaiger, and Izaija Gasser. The iconography of the commissioned works of art was unpretentious, except for a few examples based on themes related to the most elite patrons of the three confraternities: the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular, and the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua.

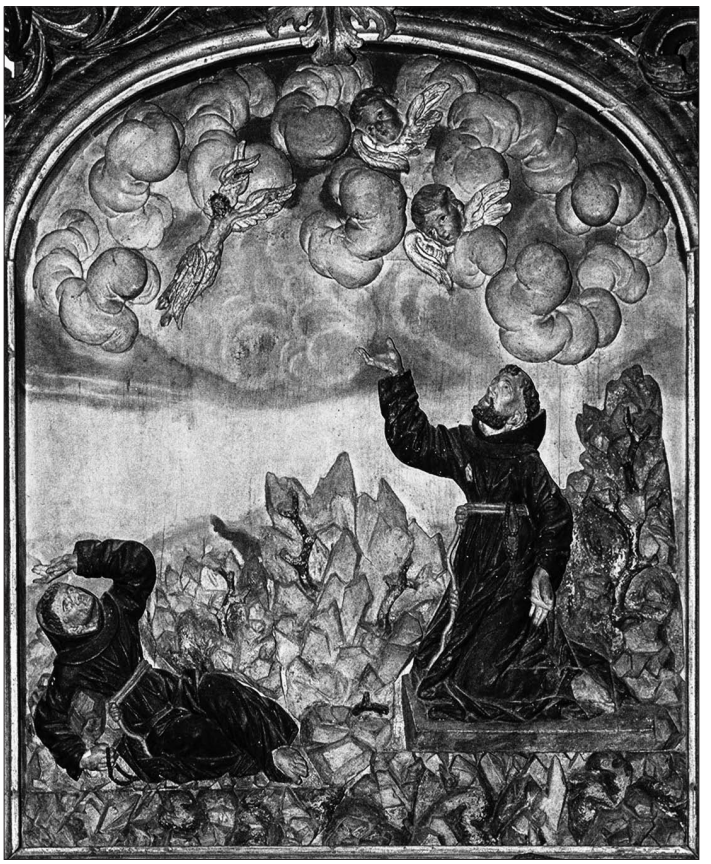
Ample insight into the activities of the Franciscan confraternities may be gained by summing up the important information provided by a series of publications on the cultural heritage of the Croatian Franciscan Province of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, published by the Franciscan friar Paškal Cvekan. Based partially on his study of archives in Franciscan conventual houses from Trsat and Zagreb to Bač and Subotica, this essay offers a topographic overview of the confraternities' achievements in art patronage in the Province, complemented by my own research into this significant aspect of the religious heritage of Croatia.

Two confraternities were founded in the 17th century at the sanctuary of Our Lady of Trsat: the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, shortly before 1647, and the Confraternity of Our Lady of Trsat, established in 1692 by Petar Francetić (1642–1725) and confirmed by Sebastian Glavinić, bishop of Senj and Modruš (1632–1697). However, there is no explicit mention of their commissioning any of the numerous high quality sculptures and paintings in the church and friary of the Trsat Franciscans. Writing about the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis in his *History of Trsat* (*Historia Tersattana*, 1648), Glavinić only mentioned the date of its foundation and the fact that its activity was linked to the chapel of St. Francis, established for that occasion in one of the rooms in the eastern tract of the friary.[5] Likewise, Vigilije Greiderer stated in his *Germania Franciscana* (1777) that this confraternity was active in the 18th century, yet there is only one Baroque work of art in the chapel, namely the altar of St. Francis, commissioned in 1724 by Petar Francetić. The wooden retable, an example of the *Bilderrahmen Altar* type with a relief showing the *Stigmatization of St. Francis* surrounded by acanthus foliage inhabited by half-naked putti, all modelled on classical motifs, is the

i 15. stoljeća, *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 21/40, 1997, pp. 39–54. Croatian literature on medieval Dalmatian confraternities offers diverse perspectives, generating an extensive list of sources and literature on this topic; see, for example, Josip BRATULIĆ, Srednjovjekovne bratovštine i crkvena prikazanja, *Dani Hvarskoga kazališta. Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu*, 2/1, 1985, pp. 452–457; Lovorka ČORALIĆ, Izvori i literatura o bratovštinama u Dalmaciji od srednjeg vijeka do pada Mletačke Republike, *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 15/27, 1991, pp. 88–96; Vilma PEZELJ, Žene u bratovštinama srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih gradova, *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Splitu*, 47/1, 2010, pp. 155–173. For a comprehensive analysis of the manifold roles of confraternities in medieval Dalmatian cities, considering their interactions with the social, political, cultural, and economic life of society, see also Irena BENYOVSKY, Bratovštine u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima, *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 22/41, 1998, pp. 137–160.

4 See Ana LAVRIČ, Zgodovinska in umetnostna dediščina frančiškanskih bratovščin, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 19/2, 2014, pp. 95–122.

5 Paškal CVEKAN, *Trsatsko svetište Majke Milosti i franjevci njeni čuvari*, Trsat 1985, pp. 164, 177, 178; Danijel PATAFTA, Franjevački svjetovni red na Trsatu. Obnova i poslanje u 19. stoljeću, *Franjevački svjetovni red Trsat. Spomenica 1861.–2011.*, Trsat 2011, p. 39.



1. Dionizije Hoffer and Ivo Schwaiger: Stigmatization of St. Francis, 1724, St. Francis Chapel, Friary of Our Lady of Trsat, Trsat (Rijeka), before restoration

work of two lay Franciscan sculptors, Dionizije Hoffer and Ivo Schwaiger (fig. 1).[6]

Vibrant confraternity and guild activity took place during the 18th century at the church of the Holy Trinity in Karlovac: in 1734, the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary was founded there; around 1740 the Confraternity of St. Nicholas, patron of the Karlovac shippers; in 1743 the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua; and in 1770 the Confraternity of the Third Order. Since Karlovac was an important center of trade, much like Varaždin, professional associations were established there as well, some of them linked to the Franciscans of Karlovac, either by erecting altars in honor of their patron saints or by performing their religious devotions at the confraternities' altars. Despite often scarce information in the annals of Franciscan friaries when it comes to the acquisition of church furnishings, the *Liber Memorabilium I* of the Karlovac friary mentions the specific donations of the Confraternity of Ship-Owners and the Corpus Christi confraternity for commissioning altars

[6] CVEKAN 1985 (n. 5), p. 164; Radmila MATEJČIĆ, *Crkva Gospe Trsatske i franjevački samostan*, Rijeka 1991, p. 75. Matejčić presents a detailed description of the altar of St. Francis, but offers no data or suggestions about the possible author or donor; see Marijan BRADANOVIĆ, Emanuel HOŠKO, *Marijin Trsat*, Zagreb 2011, n. p. The chapel of St. Francis of Assisi is mentioned in cat. no. 15 as "/…/ conceived and executed in 1647, as part of a grandiose architectural venture at the end of the first half of the 17th century. It was donated by Matija Rakamarić. /…/ The present Baroque altar retable, built in 1724, is the work of a Franciscan carving workshop, located at that time in Trsat /…/." For more on the activities of the Franciscan sculpture workshop, see Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Prilog problematici franjevačkog kiparstva prve polovice 18. st. u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj, *Peristil. Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti*, 29, 1986, pp. 97–118.



2. Valentin Metzinger: Apotheosis of St. Nicholas, c. 1740, Friary of the Holy Trinity, Collection of Religious Art, Karlovac



3. Valentin Metzinger: St. George Fighting the Dragon, c. 1740, Friary of the Holy Trinity, Collection of Religious Art, Karlovac

dedicated to their respective patron saints, Nicholas of Myra and St. George[7] (1739/1740). Decorated with *The Apotheosis of St. Nicholas* (fig. 2) and *St. George Fighting the Dragon* (fig. 3), both altarpieces were painted by the Slovenian Valentin Metzinger.[8] The altar of St. George was originally located to the right, below the triumphal arch. In 1739, anonymous woodcarvers obtained 100 gold pieces for its production from the Confraternity of Corpus Christi.[9] The altar of St. Nicholas was erected

[7] Franciscan friar Vigilije (Vigilius) Greiderer in his *Germania Franciscana* names the Confraternity of the Body of Christ as the commissioner of the St. George altar, an *Altare privilegiatum* for their pious practices on Mondays, which was assigned as well to the Karlovac guild of potters: *[Ara] S. Georgii M. aere Confraternitatis SS. Corporis Chrifti erecta, pro ejus membris feria 2. privilegiata, & figulorum tribui consignata* [Altar of St. George, erected with the money from the Confraternity of the Body of Christ, privileged on Mondays for its members, and assigned to the potters]. See Vigilije GREIDERER, *Germania Franciscana, Seu Chronicon Geographo-Historicum Ordinis S.P. Francisci in Germania* /.../, Innsbruck 1777, p. 134.

[8] The paintings are conserved in the Art Collection of the Karlovac friary. See Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Barokno slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj franjevačkoj provinciji sv. Ćirila i Metoda*, Zagreb 2004, pp. 85, 86.

[9] Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Karlovcu*, Karlovac 1979, p. 60. In 1777, the altar was transferred to the church nave; in 1896, it was replaced by one dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

in 1740 as its counterpart, on the left next to the triumphal arch, and the shippers' Confraternity of St. Nicholas donated 100 gold pieces for its production.[10] The Confraternity of Ship-Owners is credited with erecting the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary as well. According to Greiderer, that occurred in 1761, although the *Liber Memorabilium* reported 1764, but it was only in 1788 that Andreas Herrlein painted its altarpiece.[11] Although the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary was founded by the Dominican Louis Stadler in 1734, archival sources and the literature do not connect it with a specific altar. Finding this typically Dominican devotion in a Franciscan church is by no means remarkable. Rosary iconography appeared almost regularly in most Franciscan and parish churches of Northern Croatia, owing in large part to its widespread popularity as one of the most prominent devotions of Catholic spirituality.



4. Altar of Our Lady of the Scapular, c. 1754, Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Jastrebarsko

In the former Franciscan church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Jastrebarsko, the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular, a Carmelite devotion, was active from 1719. The confraternity commissioned a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Scapular, annexed to the northern side of the nave. Archival sources record this as the first newly erected altar in 1743, decorated in stucco, and directly linked to the confraternity (fig. 4).[12] As for the existing one, made in 1754, no such information exists, but there is none indicating a different donor.[13] The side statues of St. Emeric and St. Barbara on the altar have been attributed to Marx Schokotnigg (1661–1731), together with the argument that they were originally placed on the old high altar of 1712 and erected thanks to the legacy of Barbara Sidonija Delišimunović Peranski. This hypothesis is supported by the choice of Barbara, the countess's patron saint, and St. Emeric, the patron of Count Mirko Erdődy (1620–1690), a member of the Croatian branch of the family with its seat in Jastrebarsko and a sponsor of the Franciscan friary. When the Franciscans obtained the new marble altar in 1733/34—the work

[10] CVEKAN 1979 (n. 9), p. 60. The altar was removed from the church in 1896 and replaced by a new altar of the Sacred Heart of Mary.

[11] GREIDERER 1777 (n. 7), p. 135; CVEKAN 1979 (n. 9), p. 64.

[12] *Anno 1743 facta fuit ad Capellam Scapularisticam expensis confraternitatis nova Ara ex Gypso.* See Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Jaski*, Slavonski Brod 1982, p. 68.

[13] CVEKAN 1982 (n. 12), pp. 88, 89. Despite the existence of written approval by the Carmelite General Carlo Cornaccioli to the guardian and his successors in Jaska "that they can bless and give the Holy Scapular to all believers, with all the indulgences and spiritual graces, and enter them into the book of members of the legally established confraternity, there have been doubts about its existence because the foundation charter has been lost."

of Giovanni de Rossi, a sculptor active in Gorica during the first half of the 18th century[14]—the two statues were relocated to the altar in the side chapel.[15]

The artistic legacy of the confraternities founded at the Franciscan friary of Zagreb (in Kaptol) is modest, mainly owing to the fact that its fate was sealed not only by the Great Fire of 1645, but also by the earthquake that struck on 9 November 1880 and caused heavy damage to the cathedral. Due to these disasters, as well as to the fact that the Kaptol friary never had a parish, which would have ensured continuous documentation of its contents through canonical visitations, its archival records are far from systematic or rich in information. Thus, little is known about the altars installed in the church during the 17th and 18th centuries. However, a description of the church by Mladen Barbarić, written before the earthquake, reveals that the altar of the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, built after 1669, was located in the first chapel on the north side of the nave, and a painting of the confraternity members adorned it until the late 18th century. The legacy of the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua in that church is likewise missing, but there is an extant painting of the *Confraternity of Chastity and Penance* from the former altar of the Confraternity of St. Peter of Alcantara, founded in 1745 (fig. 5).[16] The chronogram inscription ***CZIM**ER BRATOV**S**-**CH**INE KREPOSZT**I** POKORE – Z**D**RAVO **L**EP**I**, **I** SZVET**I** KR**I**S* on the cross held by an angel in the upper section of the composition establishes that the painting was made in 1772, which allows us to conclude that it replaced a painting portraying its previous patron on the altar when it was renovated in 1746.[17]



5. Confraternity of Chastity and Penance, 1772, Friary of St. Francis of Assisi, Zagreb

In the Franciscan friary and church of Mary's Ascension in Samobor, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, founded in 1700, is attested to only in a book listing its members and a painting of insignificant artistic value, a symbolic depiction of the hierarchy of intercession—Mary with the Christ Child at the top offering the knotted rope belt to Sts. Francis and Bernardino of Siena, who lower it to the representatives of various social classes.[18] Related to the Confraternity of the

[14] For more on the friary, see Đurđica CVITANOVIĆ, Franjevački samostan u Jastrebarskom, *Peristil. Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti*, 12–13/1, 1970, pp. 117–131.

[15] Doris BARIČEVIĆ, *Barokno kiparstvo sjeverne Hrvatske*, Zagreb 2008, p. 212.

[16] Paškal CVEKAN, *Kaptolski franjevci*, Zagreb 1990, pp. 133–135.

[17] CVEKAN 1990 (n. 16), p. 99.

[18] Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Samoboru*, Samobor 1982, p. 97; Mato BATOROVIĆ, Treći red sv. Franje i bratovštine u Virovitici, *725 godina franjevaca u Virovitici. Proceedings of an International Conference* (ed. Julijo Martinčić), Zagreb-Osijek 2006, pp. 233–257, 240.



6. Throne of Our Lady of the Rosary, 1748, Church of St. John the Baptist, Kloštar Ivanić

Holy Scapular, founded in 1752, a "Throne of Our Lady of the Scapular" is mentioned in the chronicle of the same friary, made for the confraternal processions that first paraded through the whole city and later, after 1772, took place within the friary's premises.[19]

The Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, founded in 1748 by Karlo Murner, a Dominican from Ptuj, likewise had a "Throne of Our Lady" in its original, later devastated Franciscan church of St. John the Baptist in Kloštar Ivanić. Today, it can only be seen in photographs taken by Đuro Griesbach in 1939 (fig. 6). The altar of the Holy Rosary in that church, once on the north side of the triumphal arch, was also associated with the confraternity's religious activities. However, archival sources do not mention its important commission of an altarpiece, the work of the lay friar Izaija Gasser (1709–1751). The altar, made in 1744/45 by Joseph Weinacht (active c. 1740–1750), one of the most accomplished Zagreb sculptors of the first half of the 18th century, was paid for from the legacy of Friar Alexander Reiner.[20]

The Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua, established by Count Emeric Erdődy in October 1664 at the Franciscan church of the Annunciation at Klanjec and confirmed by Pope Alexander VII, is one of the oldest confraternities of that dedication in the Province.[21] Even though it is not directly stated in the archival sources, we know that Erdődy also commissioned the altar and altarpiece depicting *St. Anthony with the Christ Child* by Hans Georg Geiger (?–1681), whose workshop was very popular at the time with the Erdődy family, who commissioned paintings for their altars in several churches in northwestern Croatia and Slovenia (fig. 7).[22] Emeric himself ordered

[19] CVEKAN 1982 (n. 18), p. 98.

[20] Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Ivaniću*, Kloštar Ivanić 1979, pp. 48–49. On Schneider's photographs in the former Franciscan church of Kloštar Ivanić, see Krasanka MAJER JURIŠIĆ, Schneiderov fotografijski arhiv – svjedok izgubljenog izgleda crkve sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Kloštru Ivaniću, *Hrvatski povjesničari umjetnosti. Artur Schneider 1879–1946* (ed. Ljerka Dulibić), Zagreb 2016, pp. 225–240; Digitalna zbirka Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (DIZBI), http://dizbi.hazu.hr/object/26955 (accessed 25 May 2016).

[21] With the bull of foundation of the Confraternity of St. Anthony in Klanjec, issued on 30 June 1664, the Pope approved a privileged Mass for the deceased members of the confraternity to be celebrated on "all days of the octave of the feast of St. Anthony and every Tuesday throughout the year." See Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevački samostan u Klanjcu*, Klanjec 1983, pp. 114.

[22] Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Prilog opusu slikara Hansa Georga Geigerfelda i njegove radionice, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 4, 1999, pp. 59–72; Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Blaženka FIRST, *Majstor HGG. Slikar plastične monumentalnosti/The Master of HGG. A Painter of Sculptural Monumentality* (eds. Andrej Smrekar, Mateja Breščak, Anđelka Gaić), Narodna galerija, Ljubljana, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb, Ljubljana-Zagreb 2005, p. 121; Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Katarina HORVAT LEVAJ, Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Akademska crkva sv. Katarine,* Zagreb 2010, pp. 205–223.



7. Altar of St. Anthony of Padua, 1762, with the altarpiece by Hans Georg Geiger, 1664, Parish Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Klanjec



8. St. Francis as the Fountain of Life, 1732, Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Remetinec

another painting from Geiger in 1666/67, a *St. Lucy* for the cemetery chapel near the church of the Annunciation. His distant relative Anthony I (Antun) Erdődy, general and royal chamberlain and the "great mayor" of the Hungarian county of Arva (from c. 1751) and the Varaždin County (1760–1767), had the old altar replaced in 1762, but preserved Geiger's painting of St. Anthony in the central section, between sculptures of St. Stephen and St. Emeric of Hungary. The altarpiece of St. Anthony is sometimes covered by a Late Baroque movable painting portraying the same saint.

Confraternities dedicated to the Cord of St. Francis were founded at all the friaries of the Province, yet their activities or the individual engagement of their members did not necessarily include commissioning art or liturgical objects, at least as far as the present stage of research indicates. The altars dedicated to St. Francis in the churches of Our Lady in Remetinec, the church of St. Nicholas in Čakovec, and the church of St. Catherine in Krapina are likewise unattested directly as commissions of the confraternities of the Cord of St. Francis instituted in those places. The side altar in the parish church of Our Lady of the Rosary in Remetinec is linked to the Franciscan confraternity, yet without mentioning its role in commissioning the altar. The central image of St. Francis (1732) is a variant of the allegory of Christ as the *Fons Vitae* (fig. 8), alluding to the interpretation of the charismatic saint as *alter Christus*.

The painting of the *Confraternity Receiving the Cord from St. Francis* (before 1750) on the left side altar of St. Francis in Čakovec visually relates it to the confraternity, but archival sources do not directly mention its role in commissioning the altar (fig. 9). The statues of Sts. John of Capistrano and Bernardino of Siena (1735), which Doris Baričević has attributed to the Bavarian sculptor and



9. Altar of St. Francis, before 1750, with sculptures by Pavao Rehle, 1735, St. Nicholas Church, Čakovec

Franciscan lay friar Paulus Rehle,[23] originally stood on the altar of St. Anthony of Padua in the side chapel of the same church.

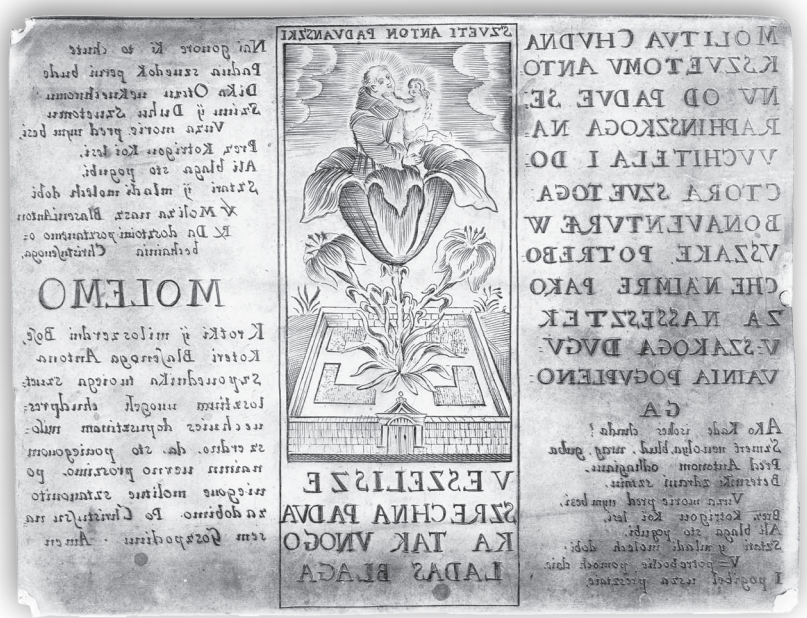
Much more information on the confraternities' activity can be found in the archives and the scholarly literature on the Franciscan friary and church of St. John the Baptist in Varaždin, where four confraternities were active. In 1642, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis in Varaždin was confirmed by Pope Urban VIII, and in 1673 two more confraternities were established with dedications to the Holy Scapular and to Corpus Christi, confirmed by Martin Borković, bishop of Zagreb, and authorized by Pope Clement X. The Franciscan chronicle *Pro Memoria* also mentions a Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua, established in 1677 and confirmed by Pope Benedict XI. Referring to the founding of Franciscan confraternities in Varaždin, Krešimir Filić wrote: "It is obvious that the Franciscans sought to keep the believers for themselves. They founded confraternities because the Varaždin Jesuits were serious competitors with their own confraternities of the Passion and the Death of Jesus, the Congregation of *B. V Maria Maria ab Angelo salutata*, and the German Marian confraternity founded in 1732."[24] No archival records have been found regarding the activity of the confraternities of Corpus Christi and St. Anthony of Padua, although an engraver's plate has been preserved with the effigy of St. Anthony and a poem dedicated to him, most likely evidence of the confraternity's veneration (fig. 10).

In addition to the chronicle, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis is attested to in a book containing the bull of Pope Urban VIII, a membership list (1651–1784), and a list of the deceased up to the confraternity's dissolution in 1783. The book is conserved in the Collection of Paintings, Prints and Miniatures of the Department of Cultural History at the Municipal Museum of Varaždin [Gradski muzej Varaždin] (fig. 11).[25] The book connects the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis to the higher strata of society by the coat of arms of the Counts of Drašković, a parchment with the arms of Baroness Josipa Patačić née Miseroni, patroness of the confraternity

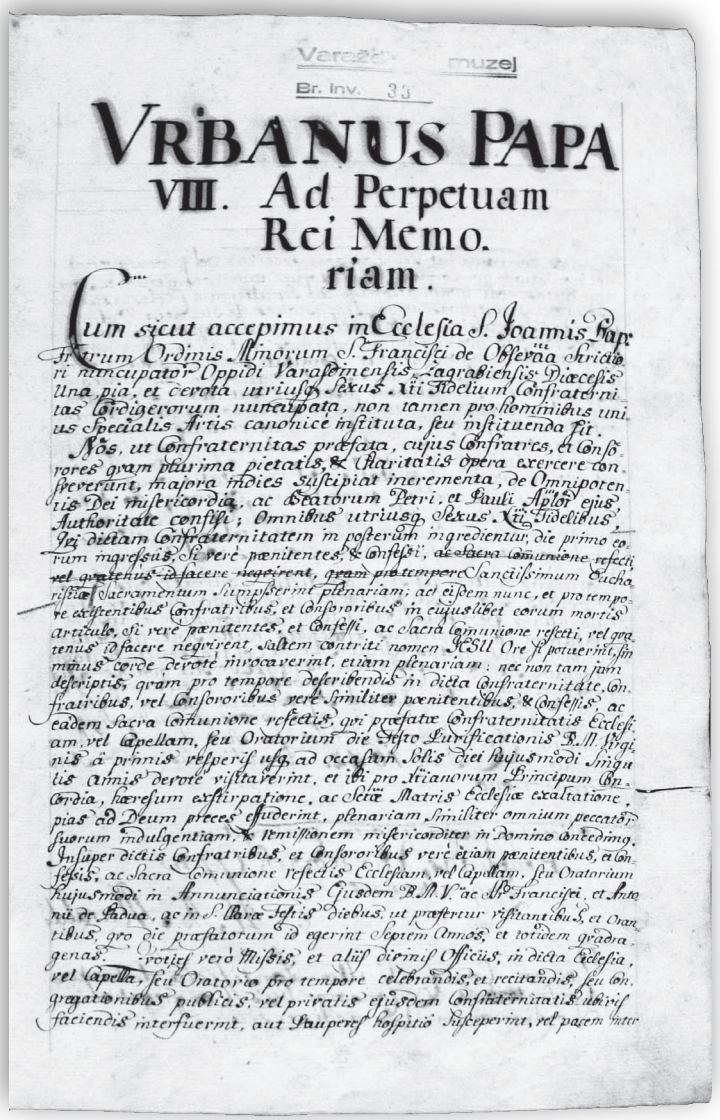
[23] BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), p. 178.

[24] Krešimir FILIĆ, *Franjevci u Varaždinu. Poviest franjevačke crkve i samostana. O 700-godišnjici dolaska franjevaca u Varaždin*, Varaždin 1944, pp. 41, 42; Paškal CVEKAN, *Djelovanje franjevaca u Varaždinu*, Varaždin 1978, pp. 112–114. Cvekan also mentions a Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, founded in 1603 with the approval of Pope Clement VIII.

[25] I would like to thank Jelena Rančić for having granted me access to the Cultural-Historical Department of the Collection of Paintings, Prints and Miniatures at the Municipal Museum of Varaždin.



10. Engraving matrix with the effigy of St. Anthony and a poem dedicated to the saint, Franciscan Friary of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin



11. Bull of Pope Urban VIII, 1642, Varaždin City Museum



12. Johann Veit Kauperz: Matrix from the 18th century, made for the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis, Franciscan Friary of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin

in 1767, and the heraldry and names of various other distinguished individuals, such as Countess Carolina Breuner Pflug, patroness of the confraternity from 1761 to 1766. Confraternity members included municipal judges, artisans, Ursuline nuns, diocesan priests, and even Ivan Adam Rosemberger (Ioannes Adamus Rosemperger, ?–1758), a leading master among Varaždin's sculptors during the first half of the 18th century.

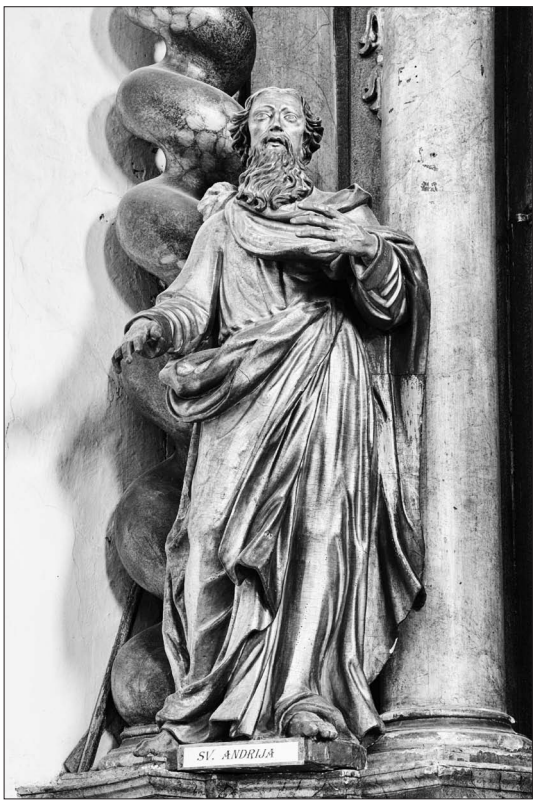
Membership was confirmed by issuing matriculation certificates, with the plates probably ordered from engraving designers in Graz. A preserved example from the 18th century, the work of Johann Veit Kauperz (1741–1816), was made for the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis (fig. 12). It illustrates the saint surrounded by cherubs and lowering the cord to the souls in Purgatory and the confraternity members in the lower segment of the composition.[26] The confraternity is represented by several male and female figures, predominantly from the higher social strata, which is evident from their garments and jewelry. Two years after its foundation, the *Historia Domus* of the Franciscan friary in Kloštar Ivanić mentions the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis as the donor of the altar (later destroyed) of the Holy Rosary, which contained the following inscription: *Altare hoc erexit confraternitas Liberae civitatis Varazdiniensis Cordigerorums Francisci, Anno Dni 1646* [This altar was erected by the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis of the Free City of Varaždin].[27]

After the fire of 1665, which destroyed most of the Early Baroque works of art in the Franciscan church, the first of six new altars in the side chapels was commissioned and installed in 1725 by the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis.[28] The altar thus created a model for the subsequent wooden retables of St. Anthony of Padua, St. Ladislaus, St. Barbara, Our Lady of the Scapular, and St. Clare, made between 1739 and 1748. All of them have high predellas, central niches with sculptures or paintings, pilasters, round and twisted columns framing each side, accentuated cornices, and spacious attics intended for figurative sculpture. Although these retables may seem identical at first glance, there are noticeable differences between them in the complexity and delicacy of the

[26] Below the image on the matrix there is the author's signature, *Kaupercz Sc. Graecij*, and the inscription of the "form": *Prijet je Vu Sz Bratovschinu Vu Czirkve P:P: Franciskanov. Letto.. Dan.. Mesz.. Vu..* (Admitted to the Confraternity in the Franciscan Church. Year.. Day.. Month.. In..).

[27] CVEKAN 1978 (n. 24), p. 114.

[28] Arhiv franjevačkog samostana u Varaždinu, Eugen Klimpacher, Pro Memoria, 1796/1797, p. 40; FILIĆ 1944 (n. 24), p. 102.



13. Ivan Adam Rosemberger (?): St. Andrew, Altar of St. Francis, 1725, Church of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin



14. Johann Matthias Leitner (?): St. John of Nepomuk, Altar of St. Anthony of Padua, 1739, Church of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin

carved motifs—reticulated ornaments and foliage, palmettes, and decorative vases on the broken volutes of the attic. The sculpture, too, shows differences in style and quality, as noted by Doris Baričević, who attributed most of them to Ivan Adam Rosemberger and his workshop.[29] Without questioning this attribution, I would like to add that the sculptures on the St. Francis altar are the finest examples of male saintly figures considered to be by Rosemberger's hand, not only in the Franciscan church of Varaždin, but in his entire oeuvre (fig. 13).

Another presumed confraternity commission is the altar of St. Anthony of Padua in the chapel at the northern nave wall. Nevertheless, the note of Eugen Klimpacher in the *Pro memoria* stating that it was "acquired and installed in 1739 owing to the gifts of donors and the efforts of pater Kajetan Zangerer, lector of theology in Varaždin" does not confirm it explicitly. The statues of St. John of Nepomuk (fig. 14) and St. Francis Xavier flanking the altar painting of *St. Anthony with the Christ Child and Angels* have been attributed by Baričević to the Austrian sculptor Johann Matthias Leitner. Baričević singled out the statues on the St. Anthony altar as his most exquisite work, for which she found analogies in Malečnik and Graz, primarily in the extraordinary figure of the *Archangel Michael* on the baldachin of the pulpit in the church of the Brethren of Mercy (1739).[30] The lavish

[29] Doris BARIČEVIĆ, Barokno kiparstvo kod varaždinskih franjevaca, *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad* HAZU, 6–7, 1994, pp. 27–36.

[30] BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), p. 218.



15. Altar of Our Lady of the Scapular, c. 1739, Church of St. John the Baptist, Varaždin

decoration of the chapel—medallions with frescoes by Johann Baptist Ranger (Ivan Krstitelj Ranger, 1700–1753) and the surrounding stuccowork—has been attributed to Joseph Anton Quadrio,[31] but there is no specific information about the donors. Since the Confraternity of St. Anthony of Padua existed at the Franciscan church of Varaždin from 15 July 1677, we cannot dismiss its influence and possible role in commissioning the chapel's complete furnishings.

Baričević has also observed some features similar to Leitner's work in the statue of *Our Lady of the Scapular* on the altar of that confraternity as well (fig. 15), stating that "it certainly reveals the sophisticated personal style of a master who is most likely to be sought in Graz, in the circle of Johann Matthias Leitner."[32] While the statue has been dated by Baričević to c. 1739, the altar and other statues were made sometime before 1747, the year marked by the chronogram "on the occasion of the restoration of Mary's throne" in the entrance arch. The activities of the Holy Scapular Confraternity in the chapel are recorded from 1690 until the 1880s and 1890s, when they paid for the renovation of the Virgin's statue and the altar. It is unknown whether or not Countess Anna Patačić of Zajezda (married Vragović), donor of the chapel's stucco decoration, was a confraternal member. The stuccowork in the form of lush florals with angels in high relief is by Joseph Anton Quadrio from 1716/17, as the contract records.[33]

At the Franciscan friary of St. Roch in Virovitica, the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis was established in 1738 and confirmed by Juraj Branjug, bishop of Zagreb, while that of the Holy Scapular was founded in 1753. With its donations, the latter confraternity financed an altar of Our Lady in the sanctuary in 1761, today dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes.[34]

Writing on the confraternities of Virovitica, Mato Batorović has sought to correct certain incongruities in the important studies by Paškal Cvekan and Emanuel Hoško, in which the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis was mistaken for the Franciscan Third Order. Thus, concerning the altar of St. Francis in the church of St. Roch in Virovitica (fig. 16), Cvekan argued that it belonged to the Confraternity of St. Francis of Assisi, founded in 1738, while elsewhere he stated that the St. Francis altar was commissioned in 1762 in Ptuj and paid for with the donations of members of the

[31] Cf. Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Prilog istraživanju opusa štukatera Antona Josepha Quadrija, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 33, 2009, pp. 145–162.

[32] BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), p. 218.

[33] CVEKAN 1978, p. 86; REPANIĆ-BRAUN 2009 (n. 31), p. 148.

[34] BATOROVIĆ 2006 (n. 18), pp. 233–257, 233.

Third Order, which had been in existence in Virovitica since 1738.[35] However, despite this inconsistency, we must underscore the significance of the fact, too often ignored by scholars, that the altar of St. Francis of Assisi was financed by the confraternity.

The altar is an extraordinary ensemble, comprising various works of art by Styrian and Tyrolean masters, a well-composed iconographic whole suited to the commissioner's profile. Marija Mirković has observed that the altarpiece painting of the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, flanked by statues of St. Louis and St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, patrons of the Franciscan Third Order, also depicts the *Souls in Purgatory* as sculptures of naked male and female torsos engulfed in flames. The whole is a powerful visual reminder of the intercessary powers of Franciscan saints.[36] Concerning the authorship of the exquisite statues of Sts. Louis and Elizabeth, Baričević argued that they show "numerous parallels with Holzinger's work from the 1750s and 1760s."[37] The *Stigmatization of St Francis* (1777/78) has been attributed to the South-Tyrolean painter Josef Anton Cusetti (1750–1793), owing to the striking stylistic analogies with his earlier, firmly attributed work, which reveals a peculiar fusion of Late Baroque pathos, Rococo, and Early Classicism. That description particularly fits the painting from 1784, situated on the main altar of the parish church of St. Egidius in Klagenfurt, and the altar paintings in the parish church of Treffen, dated between 1784 and 1786.[38]



16. Altar of St. Francis, 1762, Church of St. Roch, Virovitica

A confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis was also instituted at the Franciscan church of the Holy Cross in Osijek (1712). The church had an altar dedicated to St. Francis administered by the confraternity members, who, as stated in the chronicle, "adorned it with flowers and acquired candles for it, made contributions for the holy masses for their deceased and living brethren, participated in all public liturgical celebrations, carrying the Franciscan cross, and were a significant support of the friary of Osijek."[39] Nevertheless, there is no mention of their involvement in the acquisition either of the altar of St. Francis, which is first mentioned in the friary's annals in 1770, or

[35] BATOROVIĆ 2006 (n. 18), p. 238.

[36] Marija MIRKOVIĆ, Bratovština franjevačkog pojasa, *Brat Franjo*, 24, 1999, pp. 18–19.

[37] BARIČEVIĆ 2008 (n. 15), 339.

[38] REPANIĆ-BRAUN 2004 (n. 8), pp. 130–135.

[39] Paškal CVEKAN, *Osječki Franjevci*, Osijek 1987, p. 78. The presence of a Franciscan confraternity in Osijek before the liberation of the city from the Ottoman Turks is attested in a document from 1731, translated and published by Marin SRAKIĆ, Franjevačke bratovštine u Osijeku, *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 8/56, 1990, pp. 90–93, with special emphasis on the first paragraph of the text, in which he quotes the testimony of the citizens of Osijek: "We know that the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis under the banner of the Holy Wounds has always flourished admirably for the comfort of Christians in these parts, even while we were under the Turkish yoke /.../" (p. 90).



17. Paulus Antonius Senser: St. Francis in Prayer, c. 1756, Church of the Holy Trinity, Slavonski Brod

the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, recently attributed to Matija Šeravić by Zsuzsanna Korhecz Papp.[40]

Information on the commissioners of altars dedicated to St. Francis in the Franciscan churches of Požega, Vukovar, and Slavonski Brod is also missing, so one can only speculate about the role of the confraternities in their acquisition. The St. Francis altar at the Holy Trinity church in Slavonski Brod, for example, is first mentioned in the friary's chronicle in 1767. At that time Franjo Velikanović, administrator of the Confraternity of the Cord of St. Francis founded at that church, issued a decision to establish the "feast day of the Stigmatization of our holy father Francis (17 November) as their patron saint."[41] The choice of Sts. Louis and Elizabeth of Hungary (Thuringia) for the statues flanking the central painting of *St. Francis in Prayer* (fig. 17), by Paulus Antonius Senser (1716–1758), supports the hypothesis that the altar owes its existence entirely to the confraternity's involvement.

The 17th and 18th centuries' artistic heritage of confraternities in continental Croatia requires additional field and archival research, which would contribute significantly to a more complete understanding of confraternal contributions to the panorama of Croatian Baroque art and culture. As in Adriatic Croatia, the most influential members of these sodalities were also distinguished members of society, to whom affiliation with a confraternity was an additional form of intensifying their influence. Further research would enable a turn from the more general concepts of confraternity, fraternity, or congregation to the individuals who, as the contracting authorities, influenced the formation of the semantic and visual identity of sacred space in post-Tridentine and Central European continental Croatia.[42]

[40] Zsuzsanna KORHECZ PAPP, Mathias Xeravich (†1771.) pictor Budensis, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 40, 2016, pp. 117–128.

[41] Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Brodu*, Slavonski Brod 1984, pp. 108, 109; Paškal CVEKAN, *Franjevci u Baču*, Virovitica 1985, p. 119; on Paulus Antonius Senser, see Mirjana REPANIĆ-BRAUN, *Paulus Antonius Senser (1716.–1758.). Prvi barokni slikar u Osijeku* (ed. Jasminka Najcer Sabljak), Galerija likovnih umjetnosti, Osijek 2008, especially p. 68.

[42] Research for this paper has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation's funding of the project 6827 *The Visual Arts and the Communication of Power in the Early Modern Period (1450–1800): Historical Croatian Regions at the Crossroads of Central Europe and the Mediterranean*.

Baročna umetnostna dediščina bratovščin v hrvaški frančiškanski provinci sv. Cirila in Metoda

Povzetek

Čeprav delež bratovščin pri nastanku sakralne umetnostne dediščine na območju severozahodne Hrvaške v umetnostnozgodovinskih znanstvenih in strokovnih objavah ni spregledan, pa naročniška vloga bratovščin v obdobju zgodnjega novega veka nikoli ni bila predmet sistematičnih raziskav hrvaških umetnostnih zgodovinarjev. Najpopolnejši vpogled v zgodovino nastajanja in delovanja redovnih bratovščin na kontinentalnem Hrvaškem dobimo iz podatkov, ki jih je v vrsti svojih publikacij o samostanih in cerkvah hrvaške frančiškanske province sv. Cirila in Metoda na podlagi študija arhivskega gradiva v samostanskih hišah od Trsata in Zagreba do Bača in Subotice objavil br. Paškal Cvekan.

Ker loči v kulturni in umetnostni zgodovini 15. stoletja na kontinentalnem Hrvaškem pozni srednji vek od zgodnjega novega veka le »tanka črta«, nam lahko služi kot uvod v to temo besedilo Dragutina Feletarja o poznosrednjeveških bratovščinah in cehih v Podravini. Tako obliko specifičnega gospodarskega, verskega in družbenega življenja ter organiziranja je spodbudila, kakor piše Feletar, velika koncentracija prebivalstva in neagrarnih dejavnosti – obrti, trgovine, uprave, vojske, cerkve – v večjih mestih. V duhovnem pogledu so se meščani v skoraj vseh večjih mestih povezovali v verske skupnosti pri župnijah in samostanih, da bi strukturirano delovali na moralnem, izobraževalnem in karitativnem področju, v strokovnem pogledu pa so se združevali obrtniki in trgovci, da bi zavarovali pridobljene svoboščine, privilegije in položaje v družbi, saj na severozahodnem Hrvaškem vse do druge polovice 15. stoletja niso bili organizirani v cehe in niso imeli niti kraljevskih privilegijev niti pravil, ki bi jih odobrili mestni sodniki. Najstarejše bratovščine, temelječe na načelih strokovne, nacionalne, stanovske in verske pripadnosti, so nastajale na območju severozahodne Hrvaške po vzoru sorodnih skupnosti v Avstriji in Nemčiji od 14. stoletja dalje, prve med njimi na zagrebškem Gradcu; hrvaška bratovščina se omenja v arhivskih virih leta 1355, nemška bratovščina 1357, bratovščina Latincev pa leta 1384. V koraku z njimi so nastajale poklicne bratovščine mizarjev (1377), mesarjev (1387), kolarjev (1444) in jermenarjev (1462), pa tudi verske, kakršna je bratovščina za srečno smrt (sv. Hieronima), ki jo je leta 1380 ustanovil zagrebški škof Pavel Horvat (1379–1386).

Čeprav so na območju kontinentalne Hrvaške posamezne bratovščine brez dvoma delovale tudi kot naročniki umetniških del v cerkvah, v prvi vrsti »svojih« oltarjev ter pripadajoče kiparske in slikarske opreme, njihov prispevek k oblikovanju identitete skupne sakralne dediščine zgodnjega novega veka ni bil tako pomemben kakor v mestih jadranske Hrvaške. Vendarle pa so bile nekatere od njih zaslužne za nastanek in ohranitev določenega števila sakralnih spomenikov, zlasti ko govorimo o delih, nastalih tekom 17. in 18. stoletja v frančiškanskih in jezuitskih cerkvah. Ta dela, sicer z nekaj izjemami, glede najetih umetnikov in obrtnikov ne prinašajo ničesar novega in vznemirljivega; kot naročniki so bratovščine sledile »uhojenim potem« drugih donatorjev in se najpogosteje oprle na delavnice v Novem mestu, Mariboru, Ljubljani, Gradcu in Pécsu, redkeje pa na domače moči, predvsem na rezbarje in kiparje, ki so delovali v sklopu frančiškanskih samostanov in v večjih mestih – Zagrebu in Varaždinu. Ikonografija naročenih del, posebno frančiškanska, je preprosta in zaradi številčnosti bratovščin, posvečenih frančiškanskima »prvakoma«, variira nekaj tem iz izročila o sv. Antonu Padovanskem in sv. Frančišku Asiškem. Pridružujejo se jima upodobitve Škapulirske Matere božje, manjše število bratovščinskih slik in grafik z njihovimi zavetniki ter posebno presunljiva ikonografija Jezusovega trpljenja in smrti, kakršno najdemo na oltarju sv. Križa v nekdaj jezuitski cerkvi Marijinega vnebovzetja v Varaždinu.