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Confraternities in the Slovenian Lands and their Significance for Baroque Slovenian Literature

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This essay seeks to demonstrate the significance of confraternities with regard to a substantial part of early modern literature written in the Slovenian language. We shall only focus on a few of the many Slovenian literary texts from the Baroque period that would not have come into being without the activity of a confraternity. This "coming into being" was a complex cultural process that took several forms and modalities. The most preeminent was when the confraternity commissioned a text and a performance for a spectacular public event such as a Passion play, in which the brethren solemnly took part. Another vital expression of this kind of interaction was exhibited when confraternities commissioned the printing and publication of books for personal devotion and meditation, which were often presented to its members as gifts at festivities as well as on solemn occasions. On festival days—most notably, the patronal feasts—a sermon was delivered to the members by a confraternal rector or another priest. These sermons, often printed, were directed to a single confraternal community: its patrons (both celestial and terrestrial), moral imperatives, spiritual mission, etc. Another vital expression of confraternal devotional life can be observed in the texts of songs and prayers for deceased members, both for singing and recitation. Some of these poems and prayers are aesthetically outstanding.

In most cases, confraternities presented these books as gifts to their members for the New Year, as in the case of *Piae considerationes ad declinandum à malo et faciendum bonum cum iconibus viae vitae aeternae /…/ DD. Sodalibus in Diva Virgine conjunctis ſalutem Marianam, & felix Anni principium* (1712), one of many editions of this handbook for personal advancement in a Christian life by the renowned Belgian Jesuit Antoine Sucquet. This book, on the other hand, is an outstanding example of the coexistence of image and text, like an emblem. It contains 32 pages with engravings that illustrate meditations about the purpose of human life, about moral choices to be made, etc. This "book of emblems," as it is sometimes called, reveals to a larger extent the full realization of a feature that is present in the majority of confraternity books, but in a less perfect way: the combination of image and text that is the emblematic structure of Baroque culture. By "emblematic structure" we mean a characteristic feature of Baroque literature: its picturesque style, where ideas and moral instruction are not expressed solely as direct principles, but also as vivid, colorful, and abundant images. This basic, characteristic structure is the reason and source for the many comparisons between Baroque visual arts and literature.

Apart from highlighting certain examples of the correspondence between the fine arts and literary texts, this essay cannot undertake a detailed analysis of this complex subject. Rather, we shall point out some Slovenian texts, appropriate for this kind of research, with one common feature in all possible modalities—without a confraternity, the particular text would not have come

into being. It was written for a distinct purpose that arose from the needs or interests of a particular *confraternitas*. Let us draw attention to a few typical examples.

Confraternity books. *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. Virginis in coelos assumptae*

The great Latin confraternity of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Ljubljana, established by the Jesuits in 1605, was a congregation of outstanding intellectual power. During more than a century-and-a-half of its existence, the confraternity published dozens of books in Latin with texts on personal meditation and devotion for its members.[1] It brought together intellectuals from several social classes and, notably, students of the Jesuit *collegium*. This varied social structure of intellectually prominent members might be one reason for its extraordinary success.

The first book, published in 1639 by this sodality, is a manual with rules and devotional texts for the membership: *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. Virginis in coelos assumptae*.[2] The title page reveals that although the book was printed in Vienna, the confraternity in Ljubljana assumed the role of publisher. The manual was dedicated to its benefactor, Rupert Eckart, abbot of the Cistercian Abbey in Stična, and contains a complex exposition of Marian spirituality in 546 small, dense pages. The manual clearly states the main goal of the confraternity in the opening paragraph: *Finis hujus Congregationis est, Progressioni in litteris conjuncta Virtus Pietasque Christiana* (The aim of this Congregation is the union of Christian Virtue and Piety with a person's Progress in culture and knowledge). One of the key chapters, titled *De bono vitae statu eligendo & ad eum Incitatio* (pp. 490–539) takes a typically Jesuit approach to the principles of discernment and judgment in concrete circumstances in which a person must make decisions for a good life.

This is the earliest example among dozens of confraternity books, published mostly in Ljubljana, from the period of the Catholic renewal of the 17th and 18th centuries. Significantly, the confraternity of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and other sodalities published the first editions of classical authors in the Slovenian lands, such as Boethius (*De consolatione philosophiae*), as well as St. Bernard of Clairvaux (*Sermones de Beata*) and Thomas à Kempis (*Imitatio Christi*). In addition, they published editions of books by highly renowned recent and even contemporary authors of the Catholic renewal, such as Francis de Sales (1567–1622; canonized 1665), and Jesuits Paolo Segneri (1624–1694), Jeremias Drexel (1581–1638) and Gabriel Havenesi (1656–1715), among others.

It must be noted that the majority of this corpus was in Latin, the official language of the Jesuits who had established and led the most productive confraternities. Only a small number of these books were published in German, and even fewer in Slovenian (which is another reason for the prolonged, enduring life of manuscript culture in the Slovenian language). Nevertheless, in addition to the value and meaning of these Latin publications for subsequent Slovenian literature, something else should be stressed. From the first printed publication on record—the *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. V.* of 1639—confraternities provided three crucial agents: first, they selected the authors of the texts or translations; second, they commissioned a printer to publish the texts while providing an economic guarantee by buying the entire print-run; and finally, as the books were presented to the

[1] See Matija OGRIN, Bratovščinske iskre. Duhovna besedila baročnih bratovščin na Slovenskem, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica,* 21/2, 2016, pp. 55–88.

[2] *Manuale Sodalitatis B. M. Virginis in coelos assumptae, Labaci in Archiducali Societatis Iesu Collegio Erectae & confirmatae*, Labaci 1639.



1. Frontispiece of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary in Kranj, c. 1650, Archdiocesan Archive Ljubljana



2. Janez Mihael Reinwaldt: The Growth of the Rosary Tree, c. 1729, Parish Church of the Virgin of the Holy Rosary, Tomišelj

membership, they provided the audience and the reception. Therefore, confraternities often successfully combined all the vital roles needed for a congruent literary system, that of an author, a publisher and reader.[3]

Matija Kastelec and the Rosebush of the Holy Rosary

Other confraternities, especially those with fewer intellectually prominent members, published mostly in the modern regional languages of German and Slovenian. Groundbreaking work of this kind was undertaken by Matija Kastelec (1620–1688), "Matthias Castellez, Canonicus Rudolphsbertenſis, Beneficiatus & Praeſes Confr[aternitatis] SS. Roſarii ac Fundator Beneficii S. Barbarae" (the canon in Novo mesto, beneficiary and rector of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary /…/). He wrote a manual for the membership titled *Bratovske bvqvice S. Roshenkranza* (The Confraternity Book of the Holy Rosary) in 1678.[4] This innovative volume was probably used widely

[3] With more examples in OGRIN 2016 (n. 1), p. 88.

[4] Matija KASTELEC, *Bratovske buqvice s. roshenkranza: v' katerih je ukúp sloshena visha ta psalter, ali roshenkranz s' témi petnaistimi skriunostmi moliti, inu kokú se more enimu bolniku k' isvelizhanîu pomagati; sravèn samerkanih odpustkou zhés ceilu lejtu,* Gradez 1678.

across the regions in which Slovenian was spoken. The collection contains the earliest Slovenian form of the complete Holy Rosary with explanations of the 15 mysteries and related contemplative prayers for each. Although the prayers were part of an older Marian tradition, the book demonstrates Kastelec's role as one of the pioneers of Slovenian Baroque literature as well as his importance in the continuity of late medieval traditions. This initial part of the book is followed by Marian hymns, among them the Slovenian translation of *Stabat mater dolorosa,* again a medieval element, as well as many other prayers, meditations, and hymns, especially devoted to the Passion of Christ. Some are written in a vivid literary style, with picturesque rhetorical devices. The introduction is particularly important in our context because Kastelec presented the Holy Rosary by means of an allegorical image of a rosebush—first planted by St. Dominic, then flourishing with beautiful and mysterious flowers in Carniola. One could recall images of rosebushes and even rose-trees as allegories of the Holy Rosary, e.g. in contemporary confraternity books (fig. 1), which might have inspired this affecting and well-styled passage, or in somewhat later paintings, which reflect the spirit of this widespread Marian devotion (fig. 2).

The Škofja Loka Passion Play

The critical importance of confraternities for Slovenian literature becomes even more apparent when shifting from printed books to the realm of manuscripts. Only a small portion of literary endeavors found their way from manuscript into print. One of the notable reasons was the negative, rationalist attitude of the "enlightened" authorities, civic as well as ecclesiastical, towards works by monastic writers who were inspired by strong elements of the spiritual and even mystical sources from the medieval Christian tradition. Therefore, many important Slovenian literary texts from the 17th and 18th centuries could only exist within the framework of manuscript culture and, unfortunately, did not survive.

The most exquisite example of a Slovenian manuscript in literary terms is the *Škofja Loka Passion Play,* considered to be the oldest extant, entirely preserved Slovenian dramatic text. Written by the Capuchin friar Romualdus a St. Andrea (1676–1748) in the early 18th century, it was based on an earlier 17th century textual tradition.[5] Originally a penitential devotion held every Good Friday, the Passion play was intended as a solemn preparation for the celebration of Easter. Harking back to late medieval presentations of the Passion across Europe, the *Škofja Loka Passion Play* was conceived not as a performance on stage, but as a procession: the actors and scenes, borne on parade wagons or floats, moved through the town from one square to another, while the spectators remained in place. The text comprises 13 *tableaux vivants* (called *figurae*), commencing with Adam and Eve in Paradise and the consequent Triumph of Death, which introduces the Passion of Jesus Christ—the Last Supper, Mount Olivet, the Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns, etc.—and concludes with the Crucifixion. The play contains 842 rhymed verses of distinguished literary quality and is considered a prominent piece of early modern Slovenian literature.

[5] All the headings and introductory sections with rules and measures for the performance are in Latin; all the stage directions (*didascalia*) are in German as a supplementary meta-language instead of Latin; the entire literary text, spoken by the *dramatis personae*, is in Slovenian. See the critical edition: Oče ROMUALD, *Škofjeloški pasijon. Znanstvenokritična izdaja* (ed. Matija Ogrin), Ljubljana 2009.

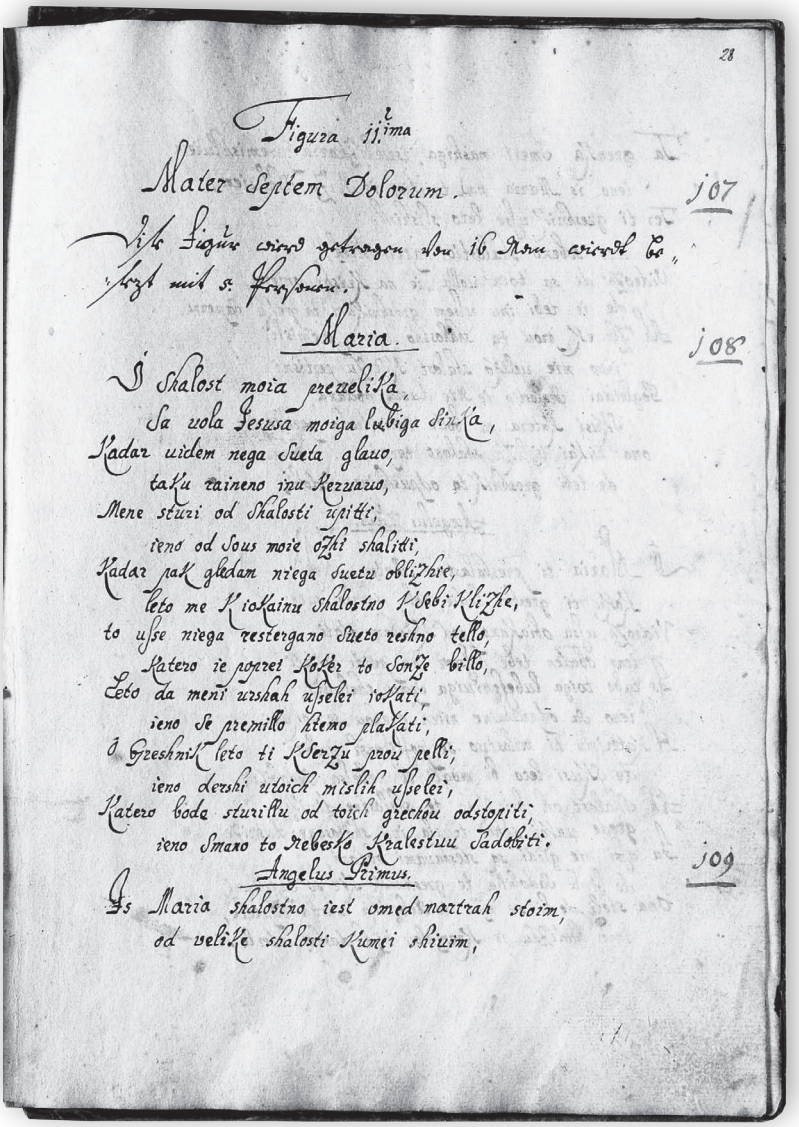

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Figura 11ma

Mater Septem Dolorum. 107

Vsta Figura ozraq gotouogou dou 16 Mou ozraq bo
Jezt mit s. Krajsnou.

Maria. 108

O shalost moia prezelika,
Sa vola Jesusa moiga lubiga Sinka,
Kadar videm nega Sueta glauo,
taku tajneno inu kerzuano,
Mene stuzi od shalosti vpitti,
ieno od sous moie ozhi shalidi,
Kadar pak gledam nega Sueto oblizhie,
leto me Kiokainu shalostno k sebi klizhe,
to vsse niega testergano Sueto reshno telllo,
katero ie pozrei koker to Sonze billo,
Leto da meni vzshah vselei iokati,
ieno se premillo kteno plakati,
O Greshnik leto ti k Serzu prou pelli,
ieno derzhi vtoich mislih vselei,
Katero boda sturillu od toich grechou odstopiti,
ieno Smano to nebesko Kralestuu Sadobiti.

Angelus Primus. 109

Jes Maria shalostno iesl omed martrah stoim,
od velike shalosti Kumei shiuim,

3. The Škofja Loka Passion Play, fol. 28r: Figura 11ma, Mater septem dolorum

The grand performance with dozens of actors, soldiers, and guild-members was organized annually by the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of Škofja Loka, which evidently also provided the initial impetus for the creation of the dramatic text. The confraternity funded the entire performance, and in accordance with the local Capuchin friars, the members were obliged to ask the Capuchins to take responsibility for the procession each year *statim post novum*. Although the Capuchins functioned as the organizers, with one of them serving as the chief *magister processionis,* they maintained a certain distance by having the confraternity make the formal request annually. This tradition normally took place every year, at least from 1715 until harsh Enlightenment measures prohibited it in 1768 and several times later.

We can imagine a multitude of possible influences of such a large-scale spectacle on contemporary works of art in a local context, but even more *vice versa*: the original performance using *tableaux vivants* was probably strongly indebted to Baroque visual arts. In this context, we might reconsider the fresco depicting the *Deposition of Christ*, or the *Mater Dolorosa*, painted by Giulio Quaglio the Younger (1668–1751) in 1706 for the Chapel in Puštal, a locality near Škofja Loka (fig. 4). It is notable that a document from 1713, related to the earlier tradition of the Passion play before



4. Giulio Quaglio: Deposition of Christ, 1706, Chapel in Puštal Castle, Škofja Loka

Father Romualdus's intervention, records that the performance of the scene with the Mater Dolorosa was assigned to the actors from Puštal.[6] This coincidence might be an accident, but it can also be understood as a possible consequence of the earlier, only scarcely documented Passion play tradition in Škofja Loka.

The Passion Play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla

Another prominent Baroque Passion play organized by a confraternity is the *Passion Play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla*. The play was discovered and published only recently.[7] The extant manuscript was written shortly before 1800 or even in that year. The text, however, is older. At least some passages and scenes are derived from an earlier textual transmission from the 17th century, based on the Jesuit drama in Slovenian. However, this earlier Jesuit tradition existed only in manuscripts and did not survive. The greater part of the text is probably from around 1740, but some alterations were made in the era of Josephinism at the end of the 18th century in order to avoid prohibition.

The *Passion Play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla* is a comprehensive dramatic text. It consists of three performances: on Maundy Thursday during the day; on the same day but in the evening; and on Easter Monday, which presented the crucial themes of Easter—the Resurrection, Christ's appearance to the Virgin Mary, the hallelujah of the Angels, the Three Maries visiting the empty tomb, the incredulous Apostles, etc. The entire text comprises 122 paragraphs and 2758 verses. Originally, all of them were rhymed, but due to corruption during the transmission from one manuscript to

6 ROMUALD 2009 (n. 5), pp. 270, 300, 372–375.

7 See the critical edition: *Kapelski pasijon. Komedija od Kristusoviga trplinja, katiro so nekidej na te veliki četrtək inu na te velikonočni pondelək v Kapli špilali. Znanstvenokritična izdaja* (ed. Erich Prunč, Matija Ogrin), Ljubljana 2016. Available also in a digital edition: http://nl.ijs.si/e-zrc/kapelski.

another for more than 150 years, several verse rhymes were damaged. As was the case in the *Škofja Loka Passion Play*, the same use of languages is found in the Eisenkappel text: German for stage directions, Slovenian for dramatic speech. Other than two small pieces of information, we have no data about the actual performance. The first is in a stage direction in the first part of the play, after Mount Olivet and before Jesus is brought to Annas and Caiaphas: "Die Juden gechen mit Christo auf das große Teater /…/"[8] (The Jews go with Jesus on to the grand stage /…/), which clearly indicates a shift in the imaginary dramatic space. This minor stage direction reveals, however, that the performance of the play was quite complex: some scenes obviously took place on some smaller or lateral stage, while other parts of the dramatic action took place "auf das große Teater," on the great stage. In addition, we should note that this stage direction is given incidentally, which means that the user of this manuscript was supposed to understand it from experience, i.e. from the continuity of performances each year. The other piece of information is provided by Stefan Singer who recalls that the main stage was set in the lower part of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla where even as late as c. 1900 parts of the scenery could be seen.[9]

In the case of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla, the original role of the confraternity in its Passion play is not recorded. The only document is a later inscription from 1860 written on the original manuscript that says the manuscript is to be donated "to the confraternity in Kapla."[10] The year 1860 signals the period in the mid-19th century when religious confraternities were restored to some extent after their complete suppression under Joseph II in 1783. Most probably, the document refers to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, which had existed in Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla from at least 1590. As in Škofja Loka, a Blessed Sacrament confraternity was the creative force behind the production and performance of the Passion play.

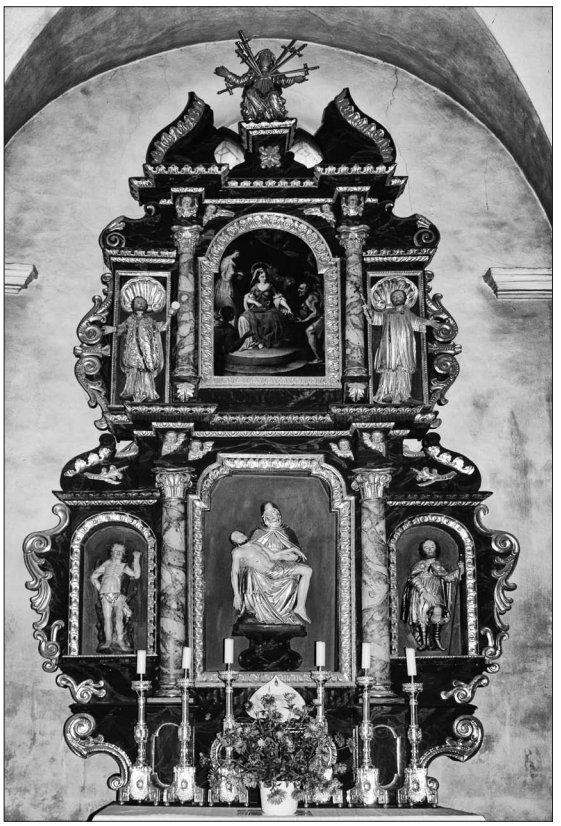
There are many themes that were commonplace in the Passion tradition in both textual and artistic representations. Nonetheless, we might again consider the Mater Dolorosa, since one of the oldest parts of the play is the interpolated mystery play of the Sorrowful Mother with the dead Jesus in her lap and the repentant Sinner who asks for remission of his sins. In the parish church of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla, a beautiful black altar in the side chapel from c. 1680 is dedicated to the Mater Dolorosa and adorned with two imposing sculptures: the *Pietà* in the center and the *Mater Dolorosa with Seven Swords Piercing her Heart* in the uppermost part. At the sides of the *Pietà* are the plague saints *Sebastian* and *Roch*, above are *Sts. Ignatius*, *Elisabeth*, and *Francis Xavier*, and at the top is the *Mater Dolorosa*. The Jesuit saints are related to the Jesuit property of Eberndorf/Doberla ves and Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla (fig. 5). The presence of two simultaneous motives of the Sorrowful Virgin Mary in a single altar is unusual. It is assumed that the *Pietà* was added later, while the *Mater Dolorosa* at the summit is in its original position.[11] However, the very fact that an earlier sculpture of an unknown subject occupied the center, and was replaced by the *Pietà*, albeit with a dramatic figure of the *Mater Dolorosa*, is significant and needs some explanation. The

[8] See *Kapelski pasijon* 2016 (n. 7), the stage direction after speech No. 43 in the diplomatic transcription (i.e. after speech No. 79 in the critical edition), p. 39.

[9] "Die Bühne stand beim vulgo Dunej im Unterort, wo noch am Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts die Kulissenteile vorhanden waren; die Kreuzigungsszene fand auf der Berglehne von Maria Dorn statt." See Stefan SINGER, *Kultur- und Kirchengeschichte des Jauntales. 3: Dekanat Eberndorf*, Kappel 1938, p. 255.

[10] See *Kapelski pasijon* 2016 (n. 7), p. 170.

[11] See *Kärnten*, Wien 2001 (Dehio-Handbuch. Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs), p. 34. See also Jože TILL, *Bad Eisenkappel und seine Kirchen entdecken/Spoznavanje Železne Kaple in njenih cerkva*, Klagenfurt/Celovec 2013, pp. 94–95.



5. Side altar of the Mater Dolorosa, early 18th century, Parish Church of St. Michael in Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla

important role of the Mater Dolorosa as an interpolated mystery play within the Passion play of Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla could provide some reasonable grounds for such an intervention.

In addition to the canonical iconography of the Via Crucis, there is the rich thematic complex of non-canonical, apocryphal and oral folk traditions, which penetrated this Passion text. These pertain to the Secret Passion of Christ, i.e. a series of motives, deriving from the visions of St. Bridget of Sweden, St. Gertrude the Great (Gertrude of Helfta), and other mystical writings, and later transmitted by related accounts, such as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* by Johannes de Caulibus, in numerous manuscripts and early prints.[12] One of these motives is the farewell of Jesus and his Mother after the Last Supper. A widespread subject in the Baroque Passion tradition, it probably became especially beloved because of the natural emotional ties between Mother and Son. This narrative was depicted in several murals, most frequently at the *Scala Sancta* sanctuaries, where each of the 28 steps had its own text for prayer and meditation of the Passion, e.g. at St. Roch in Šmarje by Jelše.[13] So, too, the legendary Longinus plays an important role in the *Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla Passion*. The centurion Longinus was blind in one eye or visually impaired when he pierced Jesus' side at the Crucifixion. Then a drop of the holy blood fell into his eye(s), and he was miraculously cured. His eyesight was restored just as his mind or soul was regenerated by faith in Jesus the Savior. The theme of miraculous healing of the whole human person, both body and soul, might be a folk expression of the medieval idea of the substantial unity of body and soul—an idea, contrary to the contemporary dualistic and Gnostic beliefs of the Cathars and Manicheans. We suggest that the relationship of this Passion text to local depictions of Longinus should be studied.

The original title of this Passion play starts with the words "Komödia od Kristusouiga Terplinja" (The Comedy of the Passion of Christ). Here "comedy" is used in the medieval sense of *commedia*, as Dante used it, which is a hint towards the probably long textual tradition of this play. Numerous archaic elements such as this and the motives of the Secret Passion of Christ, discussed

[12] See Elfride GRABNER, *Verborgene Volksfrömmigkeit. Frühe und volksbarocke Christusapokryphen in Wort- und Bildzeugnissen*, Wien 1997. Highly relevant for our topic is the chapter Die „Passio Domini" in der apokryphen Überlieferung des Volksbarock, pp. 67–129.

[13] See Avguštin STEGENŠEK, *Zgodovina pobožnosti sv. križevega pota*, Maribor 1912, pp. 24ff. There are seven *Scala Sancta* sanctuaries in Slovenia.

above, were retained and transmitted by a text that was copied in manuscript form as late as c. 1800. They provide the emotive power and resonance of this Baroque Passion play that makes it particularly persuasive and exciting.

Cantilenae et sermones

In addition to major literary works, there is a large, varied field of texts, mostly transmitted in manuscript, but also via printed small booklets and leaflets. For gatherings and festivals, confraternities needed particular prayers and songs. Several Late Baroque manuscript hymnals in Slovenian contain a multitude of church songs: hymns for festivals of the saints and the Virgin Mary as well as for liturgical feasts throughout the year. From Advent and Christmas to Lent, Easter, Pentecost, Ascension, and notably, for Corpus Christi, a number of these hymns belong to the confraternities, especially to the Marian sodalities, as Marian devotion was so popular among Slovenians.

An example is the poem (or song) for *Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows* by Franc Mihael Paglovec (1679–1759), a vicar in Tuhinj in Carniola who significantly increased the corpus of 18th-century Slovenian religious literature with a manuscript hymnal and several books on biblical topics. In his *Cantilene variae,* which probably served not only as a private notebook but also as a kind of manuscript publication, Paglovec collected hymns with loftier aesthetic and literary ambitions. Even though they were intended for singing, the texts can also be read as high quality Baroque poetry on their own. *Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows* is a hymn that comprises 15 octaves with a remarkable metrical structure: the first and all the odd-numbered verses are in the iambic meter, while the even-numbered verses are trochaic.[14] This extraordinary poem was composed for the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows, but it could also be sung with no relation to that confraternity, as demonstrated by the Latin notes about which strophe to exclude if the confraternity was absent. The congregation, presided over by Paglovec, is little known today, and this poetic meditation on Our Lady's Seven Sorrows remains its unique literary document.

Another genre with numerous traces and relations to confraternities is the sermon, or so-called rhetorical prose. Several sermons directed to a particular confraternity exist in printed books by leading authors of the Slovenian Baroque. For example, the Capuchin friar Janez Svetokriški (1647–1714) published his sermons for several confraternities: the Holy Rosary, Holy Scapular, Holy Trinity, and Most Blessed Sacrament.[15] There are also numerous homilies of the period in manuscript. One prominent example is a sermon delivered to the confraternal members, which explains much about their spirituality and inner devotional life. On 12 June 1774, the Franciscan father Adauctus Nikel (1740–1788) gave a solemn oration in the Franciscan church of Ljubljana for the conclusion of the novena, i.e. probably on the vigil of the feast of St. Anthony of Padua, a saint highly venerated in Slovenian lands.[16] The sermon was preached to the Confraternity of St. Anthony, which was established there in 1660.[17] The first part is devoted to the *vita* and deeds of St. Anthony, while

[14] Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana, R 0 75843/adl. 1, pp. 25–31.

[15] Janez SVETOKRIŠKI, *Sacrum promptuarium diversos pro diversis occurentibus casis /…/ sermons*, 4, Labaci 1700, pp. 298–340.

[16] Arhiv Frančiškanskega samostana, Novo mesto, Adaucto Niggl, Concio Panegyrico-Moralis Pro Conclusione Novenae S: Antonij Patavini /…/, Labaci 1774.

[17] Ana LAVRIČ, Blaž RESMAN, Slike pri sv. Antonu na Pohorju. Najobsežnejši cikel zgodb o sv. Antonu Padovanskem

the second part opens with the fraught controversy about the actual disregard and even contempt for the saints, a growing trend at the time. Here, Father Adauctus begins a polemic against the rationalism of the contemporary ecclesiastical authorities in Ljubljana—de facto against Bishop Karel Johann Herberstein (1719–1789), the fervent proponent of Josephinism, who put into practice several measures against the monastic orders. As Father Adauctus narrates the life and miracles of St. Anthony, he also develops the doctrine of the mediation of Divine Grace through the saints. The rationalists and proponents of the Enlightenment, such as the high diocesan clergy of Ljubljana, denied the ability of saints to perform miracles as the embodiment of the mediated Divine Grace that comes from God and penetrates saints' lives. The Enlightenment contempt for the veneration of saints was sharply criticized by Father Adauctus as Lutheran, apostate, and even heretical. To this adamant theological argumentation, Father Adauctus, most surprisingly, connected another, very sensible, yet astonishing line of discussion: he initiated the issue of social difference between the noble diocesan clergy on the one hand and the mendicant Franciscan saints and poor members of the confraternity on the other. This is probably the first rudiment of social critique and polemic in the Slovenian language, and it is highly significant that social difference—as a characteristic phenomenon of modern times—was actually addressed for the first time within a Baroque confraternity in 1774, just a few years before the dissolution of all confraternities in the Habsburg lands in 1783.

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The confraternities of the 17th and 18th centuries created an environment with constant cultural initiatives and needs. In order to meet them, Slovenian literary and religious texts of nearly all genres were produced: poems and hymns in the area of poetry; sermons, meditations, and prayers in the sphere of prose; and finally, several Passion plays in the realm of dramatic literature, among which, regrettably, only the plays from Škofja Loka and Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla have survived. Even with the specific limitations imposed by the historical socio-cultural context, these works represent an integral system of literature, rich not only in terms of rhetorical devices and literary quality in many cases, but also in terms of content. Quite remarkably, these works range from purely theological matters to questions of moral choice in daily life, from personal penitence to cathartic relief in the Passion of Jesus Christ, and from the veneration of saints directly into the question of difference among social classes. Even in this brief overview, we hope to have shed new light on some of the most expressive literary contributions of Slovenian confraternities and their significant resonance in a context where there was not as yet any split between religion and culture, between devotion, art, and literature. On the contrary, intensified devotional activities of the confraternities resulted in an abundance of literary themes and motives in lyric, prose, and dramatic forms.

na Slovenskem, *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, 45, 1997, p. 7.

Bratovščine na Slovenskem in njihov pomen za baročno slovensko književnost

Povzetek

Bratovščine 17. in 18. stoletja na Slovenskem so iz svojega verskega poslanstva porajale številne kulturne pobude, med njimi tudi literarne. Že zgodaj v 17. stoletju so jezuitske bratovščine, še zlasti Marije Vnebovzete, postale založnice številnih knjig, od bratovščinskih priročnikov za duhovno življenje do prvih izdaj klasikov latinske krščanske kulture, kot so Boetij, sv. Bernard in Tomaž Kempčan. Ob takšni latinski književnosti so v bratovščinah ali za njih nastajala tudi slovenska slovstvena besedila, nekatera med njimi trajne vrednosti. Članek orisno predstavi nekaj baročnih tekstov, ki bi brez pobude konkretne bratovščine ne bili nikoli napisani. Orisana sta *Škofjeloški* in *Kapelski pasijon* ter vloga, ki jo je pri njunem uprizarjanju imela bratovščina sv. Rešnjega telesa. Kot primera drugih slovstvenih zvrsti sta prikazana mdr. pesem Franca Mihaela Paglovca o Mariji sedem žalosti iz rokopisa *Cantilenae variae* in pridiga, ki jo je za člane bratovščine sv. Antona Padovanskega imel frančiškanski pater Adavkt Nikl pred svetnikovim godom leta 1774. Pridiga je zanimiv primer, v katerem pater polemiko proti tedanjemu racionalizmu in jožefinizmu višjega škofijskega klera presenetljivo poveže s temo socialne razlike med premožnim plemiškim škofijskim klerom na eni strani in revno redovniško ter bratovščinsko kongregacijo na drugi. Literarna besedila baročnih bratovščin na Slovenskem so bogata po estetski in literarni vrednosti izbranih primerov, vendar tudi po vsebinski raznolikosti, saj segajo od poglobljenih teoloških tem do vprašanj moralnega odločanja v konkretni človeški situaciji, od premišljevanja o lastni grešnosti do katarzičnega očiščenja v trpljenju Jezusa Kristusa in od češčenja svetnikov do vprašanj o pomenu razlik med socialnimi razredi. Po literarni plati kaže poudariti, da je s književnostjo, ki je nastajala zaradi bratovščin, nastal, četudi mestoma nepopolno, celoten sistem vseh poglavitnih literarnih vrst s poezijo (pesmi, himnika), prozo (pridiga in meditacije) in dramo (pasijonske igre), kar je odličen dosežek slovenske baročne kulture.