

## FRESKE NA BRDINJAH NAD KOTLJAMI IN NJIHOV UMETNOSTNOZGODOVINSKI POLOŽAJ

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Slikarije v podružnični cerkvi sv. Neže na Brdinjah nad Kotljami\* oziroma na Vrheh pri Slovenjem Gradcu<sup>1</sup> so odkrili v začetku osemdesetih let. Prvič so omenjene ob restavraciji leta 1984,<sup>2</sup> podrobneje obravnavane pa so bile dve leti kasneje v diplomski nalogi Tatjane Špitalar, ki jih je uvrstila v furlansko skupino.<sup>3</sup> Na gradnjo cerkve se nanaša dokument iz leta 1367, v katerem oglejski patriarh Markvard dovoljuje župniku Parthamerju v Šmartnem pri Slovenjem Gradcu, da postavi kapelo, posvečeno sv. Neži ter mučencema sv. Primožu in Felicijanu v Kotljah.<sup>4</sup> Omenjeni župnik je glede na stil fresk po vsej verjetnosti tudi naročnik

\* Na novoodkrite in še nepublicirane freske me je opozoril prof. dr. Janez Höfler, ki se mu zahvaljujem za ljubeznivost, da mi je dal na voljo svoje arhivsko gradivo, nove izsledke o slovenskem srednjeveškem slikarstvu in me spodbujal pri delu. Prav tako se zahvaljujem kustosu Deželnega muzeja v Celovcu mag. Robertu Wlattnigu, ki mi je prijazno priskrbel delne fotokopije doktorskih disertacij v zvezi s slikarstvom 14. stoletja.

<sup>1</sup> *Krajevni leksikon Slovenije, IV: Podravske in Pomurje*, Ljubljana 1980, p. 519. Cerkev sv. Neže na Brdinah(!) se omenja kot poznogotska stavba iz leta 1554 v okviru kraja Vrhe pri Slovenjem Gradcu.

<sup>2</sup> Bine Kovačič, *Varstvo spomenikov*, XXVI, 1984 (od tod citirano Kovačič), p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> Tatjana Špitalar: *Novoodkrite gotske freske na slovenskem Štajerskem: na področju Zavoda za spomeniško varstvo Maribor*, Ljubljana 1986 (od tod citirano Špitalar), pp. 9-12 [diplomska naloga, tipkopis].

<sup>4</sup> *Notizenblatt: Beilage zum Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, 8, Wien 1858, p. 489. 1367, 25/X ("Marquardus Dei gratia S. Sedia Aquilegensis Patriarcha dilecto nobis in Christo Marquardo dicto Parthamer Plebano Plebis S. Martini in valle de Windisgratz nostre Aquilegensis Diocesis salutem in Domino. Sicut nobis tua exposuit devotio tu diligere decorum domus Domini, Capellam unam sub vocabulo S. Agnetis et Sanctorum Martyrum Primi et Feliciani cum subsidio populi tue cure subjecti, pro hujusmodi felici opere intercedentis, proposuisti construere in Plebe et cura tuis, in loco qui dicitur Chotelach dicte nostre Diocesis, et eandem capellam dotare mediante subsidio antedicto bonis quibus unus Capellanus celebrans divina officina in aedem, congrue poterit sustentari, super quibus nostrum postulasti assensum. Quia igitur debemus et volumus prompti in talibus et favorabiles inveniri, tuis dignis desideriiis annuentes in hiis cum grato concurrentes affectu, construendi et edificandi Capellam modis statem: nolentes ex hoc matricis ecclesie juribus in aliquo derogare; imo quod eadem Capella sine cimiterio existens, subjecta existat Plebi predictae, prout alie Capelle in Aquilegensis Diocesis subjecte existunt. Datum harum sub nostri sigilli impressione litterarum, Aquillie die XXV. Octobris anno Domini MCCCLXVII. Indictione quinta."). Na doku-

poslikave, ki je morala nastati sočasno z gradnjo cerkve okoli leta 1370. Za nastanek v 14. stoletju govori tudi sama enoladijska arhitektura z redkim dvošestinsko zaključenim prezbiterijem<sup>5</sup> s tremi širokimi, preprostimi oporniki. Na obeh poševnicah in južni steni so tri sorazmerno velika, kasneje povečana, šilasto zaključena okna. Ladja je prekrita z ravnim lesenim stropom, značilnim za koroške cerkve, prezbiterij pa je obokan. Pet reber z globokim žlebastim profilom<sup>6</sup> se stika v okroglem, ploščatem sklepniku in končuje brez konzol s postopnim prehajanjem v steno. Obok je tako razdeljen na pet polj, pri čemer sta vzhodni dve zaradi statičnih zahtev oblikovani kot obočni kapi. Na severni steni prezbiterija so bila kasneje prebita vrata, ki so danes ponovno zazidana. Na zahodu je cerkvi prizidan zvonik s stožčasto streho, ki zaradi treh polkrožno prebitih odprtih spodaj učinkuje kot vhodna lopa.

Poslikava zajema obok in stene prezbiterija ter slavoločno steno. Kljub slabši ohranjenosti na nekaterih mestih se dajo razbrati vsi prizori. Na oboku so naslikani *Kristus Pantokrator* in *simboli evangelistov*, na severni steni *Marijina smrt*, na južni *Marija zaščitnica* s plaščem ter na poševnicah *sv. Marjeta* in *sv. Neža*. Na notranji strani slavoločne stene proti prezbiteriju so *Veronikin prt*, *Kajnova in Abelova daritev*, na spodnji strani loka pa *štirje preroki*.

Restavrador Bine Kovačič<sup>7</sup> ugotavlja, da je bolje ohranjena poslikava sten izvedena v *fresco* tehniki, precej poškodovana poslikava oboka, brez gornje barvne plasti v kombinirani *fresco-secco* tehniki, poslikava reber pa zgolj v *secco* tehniki. Posebno škodo je utrpela Marijina smrt zaradi kasneje prebitih vrat in Marija zaščitnica s plaščem zaradi povečanega okna.

*Marijina smrt*<sup>8</sup> na severni steni pripada bolj redkemu ikonografskemu tipu, za katerega bi težko trdili, da povsem enopomensko pripada severnemu ali italijanskemu umetnostnemu prostoru,<sup>9</sup> vendar pa se zdi po razpoloženju vseeno bliže

ment me je opozoril prof. dr. Janez Höfler; Janez Höfler: *Gradivo za historično topografijo predjožefinskih župnij na Slovenskem*, vol. VI/1, računalniški izpis na Filozofski fakulteti; Franc Kovačič: *Zgodovina Lavantinske škofije (1228 - 1928)*, Maribor 1928, pp. 108-109, pod istim datumom napačno navaja, da gre za cerkev sv. Fortunata in Felicijana ter jo identificira s sedanjo cerkvijo sv. Marjete v Kotljah; Anton Ožinger: *Carlo M d'Attems: Vizitacije savinjskega arhidiaconata goriške nadškofije 1751 - 1773*, Ljubljana 1991, pp. 237, 290, 640. Ob vizitacijskem popisu 4. VII. 1751 in 28. VI. 1756 je imela podružnična cerkev sv. Neže tri oltarje - sv. Neže, sv. Jerneja (prenosen, neposvečen) in sv. Agate (neprenosen, neposvečen).

<sup>5</sup> Na Koroškem ga najdemo še na samostanski cerkvi klaris v Št. Vidu na Glini (St. Veit a.d. Glan), ki sta ga leta 1323 ustanovila Konrad von Auenstein in njegova tretja žena Diemut (cf. *Dehio-Handbuch: Kärnten*, Wien 1981<sup>2</sup>, p. 625).

<sup>6</sup> Ivan Komelj: *Gotska arhitektura na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1973, p. 113, sl. I/d.

<sup>7</sup> Kovačič, p. 307.

<sup>8</sup> Kovačič, p. 307. Prizor razlaga kot Marijin pogreb, čeprav gre nedvomno za Marijino smrt, saj so apostoli zbrani okoli ležišča in ne nosijo nosil.

<sup>9</sup> Tako v severnem kakor tudi italijanskem slikarstvu je v 14. stoletju najbolj razširjen tip Marijine smrti v nasledstvu bizantinske tradicije s Kristusom ob ležišču z Marijino dušo v rokah. Oba umetnostna pola pa sta poznala tudi drugačno, redkejšo upodobitev Kristusa z Marijino dušo, ki se je že dvignil v nebo. Taka prizora imamo v kapeli dell' Arena v Padovi okrog 1320, delu giottovske padovanske delavnice (*Arte veneta*, XXIV, 1970, p. 11, sl. 5), in na nemški miniaturi nekega lekcionarja z začetka 13. stoletja v Münchnu

trecentističnemu slikarstvu. Tričetrinsko upodobljen Kristus v mandorli, ki jo v razprtih rokah držita dva klečeča angela, se dvigne v nebo in zapusti centralno mesto med žalujočimi apostoli, ki ga običajno zavzema v prvi polovici 14. stoletja v nasledstvu bizantinske tradicije. Z desnico blagoslavlja, v levici pa drži Marijino dušo, ki moli. Spodaj ob lesenem ležišču z Marijo so v vrsti drug ob drugem zbrani apostoli (sl. 13) s sklenjenimi rokami, z izproženim kazalcem ali s knjigo v rokah. Med njimi kot posebnost delavnice izstopa "puškinski" moški obrazni tip z brado, a brez brkov, in belolas, bradat stavec. Debela črna črta obroblja ogromne, predimenzionirane roke, očrtuje obraze, prominentne nosove s poudarjenimi nosnimi krili, oči po gornjem robu povešenih vek, ozke polkrožne obrvi in majhna usta. Deli pod obrvmi in spodnji del lic od nosu proti ušesom so osenčeni z rjavo barvo. Na Marijinem oblačilu pri nogah je opaziti reminiscence "risarskega" stila, saj draperija mehko pada, tako da se robovi oblikujejo v ušesca in valujoče škrice. Ta značilnost pa se pri apostolih izgubi, saj njihove halje potekajo v močno modeliranih, ravnih vzporednih gubah proti tlom.

Južno steno v celoti zavzema *Marija zaščitnica s plaščem*, (sl. 15, 16)<sup>10</sup> ki z razprtimi rokami ustvarja oglato kompozicijo in s svojo monumentalnostjo spominja na upodobitve sv. Krištofov. Na sredini je poškodovana zaradi kasneje povečanega okna, ki je utegnilo obstajati že od vsega začetka, le da je bila odprtina manjša in ožja.<sup>11</sup> Frontalna figura z dolgimi kodrastimi lasmi s svetlim pramenom, s strmečim pogledom izpod povešenih vek, ki daje obrazu hieratičen izraz, široko razpira plašč. Ta je na zunanji strani poslikan z vitično palmeto v obliki lire, na notranji pa s hermelskim okrasom.<sup>12</sup> Na robovih se mehko guba v smislu "risarskega" sloga. Na obeh straneh so v več vrstah drug nad drugim nanizani predstav-

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s poudarkom na ikonografiji ženina in neveste (Cf. Gertrud Schiller: *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* 4,2: Maria, Gütersloh 1980, sl. 609).

Najbližjo ikonografsko paralelo naši freski pa najdemo na severni zunanjščini prezbiterija župnijske cerkve sv. Lenarta v Weißensteinu na Koroškem iz sredine 14. stoletja ali malo potem, kjer gre za podoben ikonografsko-kompozicijski tip z dopasnim Kristusom z Marijino dušo v mandorli, že dvignjenim v nebo, in spodaj stoječimi, žalujočimi apostoli ob Marijinem ležišču.

<sup>10</sup> Kovačič, p. 307. Meni, da gre za prizor sv. Neže z verniki, kar povzema tudi Špitalarjeva v svoji diplomski nalogi. Ta razlaga prizora je manj verjetna, saj je sv. Neža upodobljena že na južni poševnici kornega sklepa. Poleg tega mesto upodobitve nasproti Marijine smrti govori prej za Marijo zaščitnico s plaščem. Povezavo Marijine smrti in Marije zaščitnice s plaščem najdemo npr. še na oltarnih tablah iz Biela v Zürichu, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum (cf. Gabriela Fritsche, Ein Retabelfragment des 14. Jahrhunderts im Schweizerischen Landesmuseum in Zürich: Versuch einer Einordnung der sogenannten Bieler Tafeln, *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 39/3, 1981, p. 190, sl. 1a, 1b).

<sup>11</sup> Na gradu Tirol pri Meranu v apsidi v spodnjem nadstropju Pankracove kapele zavzema *Marija zaščitnica* mesto v okenskem ostenju, tako da s plaščem z obeh strani obdaja okensko odprtino, pri čemer gre za podoben učinek kot na Brdinjah (cf. Josef Weingartner, Die frühgotische Malerei Deutschirols, *Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Instituts der k.k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege*, X, 1916, sl. 12).

<sup>12</sup> Hermelski vzorec se pogosto pojavlja na Južnem Tirolskem za okraševanje notranje strani oblačil in naslikanih zastorov (grad Sabbionara pri Aviu), pa tudi na Koroškem, v Furlaniji in Sloveniji, zlasti pri sv. Krištofih.

niki stanov, desno cerkveni, od preprostega meniha do škofa z mitro, levo pa posvetni, z raznovrstnimi modnimi pokrivali, značilnimi za tretjo četrtino 14. stoletja.

Na severovzhodni poševnici kornega zaključka je najlepša izmed ženskih figur - visoka, vitka, rahlo nazaj nagnjena *sv. Marjeta* z zmajem ob nogah (sl. 18, 19), v dolgem in oprijetem modnem oblačilu z globokim dekoltejem, ki razkriva gola ramena. Ozki rokavi pokrivajo zapestja in segajo skoraj do prstov, pas pa se je spustil na boke. Na glavi počiva umetelno izdelana petlistna krona in čez ramena ji padata dve izredno dolgi, gosti kiti las s svetlim pramenom po sredini. Obraz in ramena so nežno osenčeni, črte v očesnih koticah nesklenjene, kar daje obrazu mil in rahlo melanholičen izraz. Vendar pa tudi pri tej izjemni figuri kvarijo eleganco velike, grobo izdelane, shematične roke, v običajni drži z izproženim kazalcem. Manj prefinjena in bolj poljudna je *sv. Neža* z ovčico (sl. 20, 21) na jugovzhodni poševnici, z bolj grobimi potezami obraza, rahlo privihanim nosom in s tršo modelacijo. Poleg atributov svetnici določata še napol izbrisana napisa na zgornjem robu pravokotnega okvirja.

Na zahodnem obočnem polju sedi na preprostem prestolu blagoslavljajoč *Kristus Pantokrator* s kratko razcepljeno brado in z odprto knjigo v rokah. Na sosednjem severnem polju je evangelist Matej v podobi angela z rombasto borduro na oblačilu, na južni evangelist Luka kot vol, na jugovzhodni evangelist Marko kot lev in na severovzhodni skoraj popolnoma izbrisan evangelist Janez kot orel.

Sredino notranje slavoločne stene proti oltarju zavzema Kristusovo obličje v medaljonu kot neke vrste okrajšan motiv *Veronikinega prta*,<sup>13</sup> ki ga spremljata dva angela s svečo. Desno spodaj je *Abel* (sl. 22) v kratki tuniki, ki napol v pokleku dviguje jagnje. Njegov deški obraz krasi umetelna pričeska z natančno izrisanimi lasmi, prirezanimi v dveh različnih višinah, ki se vihajo navznoter. Levo spodaj pa je bradati *Kajn* z meandrasto oblikovanimi kodri in snopom žita v rokah.

Spodnjo stran slavoločne stene pokrivajo štirje bradati dopasni *preroki* (sl. 23) s čepicami na glavah in z napisnimi trakovi v rokah. Ker gre za starejše osebe, je tehnika senčenja še bolj groba in kontrasti še močnejši.

Prizore obrobijata borduri z diski in cikcakasto prepognjenim trakom. Ozadje je obarvano zelenomodro, oblačila figur pa rjavo, sivkastorjavo, oker in temnozeleno.

Program poslikave s Kristusom Pantokratorjem in simboli evangelistov na oboku, z Veronikinim prtom, s Kajnovim in Abelovo daritvijo ter preroki na slavoločni steni pripada tradicionalnemu severnjaškemu sistemu visoke gotike. Marijina smrt, ki je doživela na Koroškem izredno razširjenost predvsem v prvi polovici

<sup>13</sup> Identično upodobitev najdemo proti sredini 14. stoletja na vzhodni steni kora v podružnični cerkvi v Maignu na Spodnjem Avstrijskem, kjer medaljon držita dva angela. (Cf. Elga Lanc: *Die mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien in Wien in Niederösterreich*, Wien 1983, sl. 259, 260.)

14. stoletja,<sup>14</sup> ostaja tudi v tretji četrtini v okviru italijanizirajočega slikarstva še vedno pogost in priljubljen motiv.<sup>15</sup> Proti sredini in v tretji četrtini stoletja se razširi tudi upodobitev Marije zaščitnice s plaščem,<sup>16</sup> ki pa nikjer drugje še zdaleč ne doseže takšne monumentalnosti kot na Brdinjah. Prizore iz legend svetnic lahko zasledujemo na Koroškem že od zadnje četrtine 13., pa skozi vso prvo polovico 14. stoletja,<sup>17</sup> kar dokazuje njihovo stalno priljubljenost. Kot samostojne upodobitve, izločene iz narativnih ciklov, pa se pojavijo v teku druge četrtine 14. stoletja, nanizane druga ob drugi pod arkadnimi loki.<sup>18</sup> Zanimanje zanje še zdaleč ne usahne v tretji četrtini stoletja, ko narativne prizore postavijo pred bogato arhitekturno kuliso<sup>19</sup> in pozornost naklonijo tudi dotlej zapostavljenim svetnikom. Tako samostojni upodobitvi sv. Marjete in sv. Neže na Brdinjah sodita v splošne ikonografske tendence tistega časa. Zaradi geografske lege in kulturnozgodovinske pripadnosti Brdinj Koroški je potrebno freske razumeti v kontekstu koroškega slikarstva po sredini 14. stoletja, ko so ga v širokem valu zajeli gornjeitalijanski, predfurlanski trecentistični vplivi. V nasprotju z dobro obdelanim in vsaj glede provenience pojasnjenim slikarstvom furlanske smeri pa je ostalo italijansko obarvano slikarstvo proti sredini in v tretji četrtini 14. stoletja zaradi težavne uvrstitve in navadno nizke kvalitete izvedbe neopaženo. Prvi, epizodni pojav trecentistično obarvanega slikarstva, ki je ostal brez nasledstva, predstavlja poslikava preddverja krške stolnice (1339-1343).<sup>20</sup> Kljub številnim prispevkom in različ-

<sup>14</sup> V župnijski in romarski cerkvi Naše drage gospe v Mariji na Zilji (Maria Gail), župnijski cerkvi sv. Nikolaja v Sirmitzu (v obeh primerih Marijin pogrebni sprevod), župnijski cerkvi Marije Magdalene v Velikovcu (Völkermarkt) in kapeli Rabbensteinov ob samostanski cerkvi v Št. Pavlu v Labotski dolini (St. Paul im Lavanttal).

Vse primerjave v članku povzemam po *Dehio-Handbuch: Kärnten*, Wien 1981, sicer pa sem si spomenike ogledala v okviru magistrske naloge *Slikarstvo poznega 13. in zgodnjega 14. stoletja na Koroškem*, ki jo delam pri mentorju prof. dr. Janezu Höflerju.

<sup>15</sup> V župnijski cerkvi v Št. Lipšu pri Ženeku (St. Filippen ob Sonnegg) in krški stolnici (Gurk).

<sup>16</sup> Župnijska cerkev v Št. Lipšu pri Ženeku (St. Filippen ob Sonnegg).

<sup>17</sup> Pogosti so prizori iz Marjetine (severna stena župnijske cerkve sv. Martina v Radlachu, slavoločna stena župnijske cerkve sv. Andreja v Gradesu) in Katarinine legende (severna stena župnijske cerkve sv. Marjete v Remšeniku v Karavankah [Remschenig], kostnica v Bistrici pri Gradesu [Feistritz ob Grades]) ter posamezne upodobitve sv. Doroteje (severna stena podružnične cerkve sv. Cecilije v Althofnu, južna zunanjščina župnijske cerkve Marijinega vnebovzeta v Malti (?)).

<sup>18</sup> Severna stena in del slavoločne stene Zimske oziroma Rožnovenske cerkve na Otoku ob Vrbskem jezeru (Maria Wörth), severna stena kornega kvadrata župnijske cerkve sv. Dioniza v Irschnu in severna stena kornega kvadrata župnijske cerkve sv. Lovrenca v Glanhofnu.

<sup>19</sup> Dorotejina legenda na severni steni župnijske cerkve St. Peter im Holz.

<sup>20</sup> Alfred Schnerich, Die beiden biblischen Gemäldezyklen des Domes zu Gurk, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission*, XIX, 1893, pp. 35-44, 89-94; XX, 1894, pp. 143-150; Karl Ginhart, Bruno Grimschitz: *Der Dom zu Gurk*, Wien 1930, pp. 95-102; Hannelore Stein-Kaiser: *Der alttestamentliche Freskenzyklus in der Vorhalle des Domes zu Gurk unter Berücksichtigung seiner Ikonographie*, Wien 1975 [doktorska disertacija]. Avtorica je mnenja, da gre za potujočega italijanskega slikarja, ki prihaja iz odročnega okolja (Furlanije ?) in se je le obrobno seznanil z novimi trecentističnimi stvaritvami. Za opozorilo na omenjeno doktorsko disertacijo se zahvaljujem mag. Robertu Wlattnigu. Cf. Tanja Gregorovič, *Freske v preddverju krške stolnice*, Ljubljana 1991 [diplom. naloga].

nim pristopom še vedno ostajajo odprta temeljna vprašanja: So freske delo provincialnega severnoitalijanskega mojstra ali severnega slikarja, ki je prišel v stik z italijanskim slikarstvom? Od kod izvira italijanska komponenta? Gre za neposreden stik s trecentističnim repertoarjem ali za vsaj deloma posredno sprejemanje prek severnega slikarstva, ki je že vsrkalo, predelalo in naprej razvijalo trecentistične prvine?<sup>21</sup> Ali severnozahodne prvine v resnici izvirajo le iz lokalnega slikarstva?<sup>22</sup> Kam lokalizirati mojstra oziroma delavnico, ki pomeni povsem osamljen pojav v koroškem slikarstvu druge četrtine 14. stoletja? Če si zastavimo vsa ta vprašanja, ugotovimo, da je resnično trecentističen v krškem preddeverju le dekorativni aparat z modro obarvanim in z zvezdami posutim banjastim obokom, s prizori, ki potekajo v horizontalnih vrstah vzdolž severne in južne stene, s kozmatsko borduro, štirilistnim medaljonom in akantovjem, ki sicer z nekaj nepravilnostmi in odstopanji (na primer rahlo variiranje velikosti polj, neupoštevanje dekorativnih ločilnih elementov, kontinuirano združevanje dveh prizorov v enem okvirju) sledi italijanskim vzorom. Pa še v teh primerih lahko v severnem slikarstvu zasledimo sorodne pojave, neodvisne od italijanskega slikarstva.<sup>23</sup> V figuralnem stilu, ritmu in duktusu draperije kljub nekaterim trecentističnim citatom in plastičnosti prevladujejo visokogotske severnjaške forme, v nekaterih primerih francoskega izvira. Tudi perspektivično oblikovana arhitektura z visečimi baldahinskimi loki, tuja padovanskemu slikarstvu, verjetno ni nastala le v neposrednem stiku z Italijo, temveč že ob poznavanju severnega slikarstva, ki se je že prilagodilo novim trecentističnim zahtevam.<sup>24</sup> S spajanjem severnih in italijanskih elementov se to slikarstvo po učinkovanju še najbolj približuje lokalno obarvanemu giottovskemu riminiškemu slikarstvu, ki je na podlagi dvojne, deloma asiško, deloma padovansko obarvane tradicije izoblikovalo svoj specifični jezik, v katerem so se še dodatno okrepili italo-bizantinski in severni elementi.

<sup>21</sup> O problemu recepcije trecentističnih elementov v severnem slikarstvu in njihovem nadaljnjem razvoju: Gerhard Schmidt, *Die Chorschrankenmalereien des Kölner Doms und die europäische Malerei, Kölner Domblatt*, 44/45, 1979-80, pp. 293-340; Gabriela Fritsche: *Die Entwicklung des "neuen Realismus" in der Wiener Malerei: 1331 bis Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Wien, Köln, Graz 1983 [doktorska disertacija].

<sup>22</sup> Le-ti so izrazitejši kakor na drugih sočasnih koroških spomenikih. Kot francoske lahko označimo sivolase bradate starce z značilno obliko oči in zalomljenih obrvi, živahno, ekspresivno gestikulacijo z izproženimi dlanmi in prsti, tu in tam lahkotno stojo in umeleto zasuk, figure v razkoraku z razpeto haljico, spodvihane in za pas zataknjene robove tunik, obliko ležišč, oblakaste obroče ter viteško-aristokratske pričeske, obuvala in oblačila.

<sup>23</sup> Jürgen Michler, *Grundlagen zur gotischen Wandmalerei, Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XXXII, 1990, pp. 85-136. Nizanje prizorov v več horizontalnih vrstah se pojavlja tudi na severu, zlasti v preprostih, provincialnih cerkvenih zgradbah, kjer se je sočasno s Padovo in neodvisno od nje pričela pot proti t.i. "Bildwand". Ta pojav lahko zasledimo tudi na Koroškem v karnerju v Piswegu in Deinsbergu iz zadnje četrtine 13. stoletja, ki pa še ohranjata delitev prizorov s preprostimi enobarvnimi trakovi in stebriči, medtem ko gre krško preddeverje korak dlje in in uveljavi po italijanskem vzoru delitev s kozmatsko borduro.

<sup>24</sup> Podoben arhitekturni princip zasledimo na primer na antependiju iz Königfeldna proti 1350.

Drugi trecentistični val, ki je zajel Koroško v tretji četrtini 14. stoletja, je bolj organsko povezan s severnim slikarstvom. Proti sredini 14. stoletja se na povsem severno usmerjenih spomenikih pojavi eklekticizem v figuralnem stilu in kompozicijah ter poskusi perspektivnega poglobljanja prostora. Ti se kažejo v poenostavljenem gubanju draperije, odebeljenih in slikovitejših konturah v obrisu telesa, sumaričnem podajanju pričesk, grobem senčenju gub in s tem kompaktnjšem učinkovanju celote.<sup>25</sup> To že izčrpano slikarstvo "risarskih" tendenc pripravi pot za sprejem drugega vala trecentističnih vplivov in omogoči sintezo obeh usmeritev. Zaradi nastanka "mešanega" stila in poljudne note v večini primerov ni mogoče določiti konkretnih virov. Vsekakor gre za neki predfurlanski stil<sup>26</sup> z določenimi pobudami trečenta. Te se kažejo v plastičnem podajanju popreproščene draperije in telesnih delov, bolj potlačenih proporcih in okroglem, nabuhlem obraznem tipu s podolgovatimi očmi in majhnimi, polnimi ustnicami, ki pa ga ne gre zamenjevati z mehkejšo, gobasto in še bolj okrepljeno plastičnostjo furlanskih obraznih tipov. Ta zaradi neveščega, tršega toniranja in obrobljanja z debelo črto kot reminiscenco "risarskega" sloga pogosto deluje karikirano. Tudi gestikulacija, figuralni tipi in ikonografski vzorci se radi ravnajo po vzorih iz prve polovice 14. stoletja. Novost pomeni razširitev in večji realizem poglobljene arhitekturne kulise psevdotalijanskega značaja, ki nadomesti fantazijsko, bolj komplicirano in bogato okrašeno severnjaško. Tudi krajina s skoraj obveznim nazobčanim trecentističnim skalovjem pridobi pomen in se epsko razširi.<sup>27</sup> Le redke poslikave v

<sup>25</sup> E.g. poslikava kostnice v Bistrici pri Gradesu (Feistritz ob Grades), severne zunanjsčine župnijske cerkve sv. Lenarta v Weißensteinu, spodnje strani slavoločne stene podružnične cerkve Sv. Janeza pri Št. Jakobu (St. Johann bei St. Jakob), ladje župnijske cerkve sv. Lovrenca v Kamnu v Podjurski dolini (Stein im Jauntal), severne stene v višini emporje župnijske cerkve St. Michael pri Wolfsbergu.

<sup>26</sup> Walter Frodl: *Die gotische Wandmalerei in Kärnten*, Klagenfurt 1944 (od tod citirano Frodl: *Die gotische Wandmalerei*). V predfurlansko skupino uvršča kostnico v Krčanju (Greutschach, okoli 1360), prizore iz Marijinega življenja v Št. Lipšu pri Ženeku (St. Filippen ob Sonnegg, okoli 1370), Križanje na severni zunanjsčini sv. Ulrika v Platzu (okoli 1370), Dorotejino legendo in pasijonske prizore v St. Petru im Holz (1370/80). Cf. Andreas Besold: *Fresken in Kärnten um 1400: Die Trecentorezeption in der Kärntner Wandmalerei*, Wien 1992 [diplomska oziroma magistrska naloga] (od tod citirano Besold), pp. 9-12, tej skupini dodaja kasneje odkrite in edine z napisom datirane freske karnerja v Gmündu (1370), poslikavo zunanjsčine podružnične cerkve sv. Jurija v Gerlamoosu (okoli 1380), poslikavo južnega slopa v samostanski cerkvi v Millstattu (okoli 1380) in sv. Krištofa na zunanjsčini nekdanje Elizabetine cerkve na Plöcknu (1370/80), ki jih je Walter Frodl zaradi furlanskih potez v obraznem tipu in močnejše modelacije uvrstil v furlansko slikarstvo okoli 1400 ali kmalu potem.

Tem spomenikom lahko priključimo še poslikavo severne ladijske in dela slavoločne stene župnijske cerkve sv. Jakoba starejšega in sv. Ane v Deinsbergu (okoli 1360), južno steno Marijine kapele v Lindu v Dravski dolini (1360/70), korni kvadrat župnijske cerkve sv. Jerneja na Reberci (Rechberg, okoli 1380) in severno zunanjsčino župnijske cerkve v Sv. Juriju (St. Georgen) v Ziljski dolini (okoli 1380).

<sup>27</sup> Prav na upodobitvah Pohoda in poklona sv. treh kraljev je kljub tradiranim ikonografskim vzorcem mogoče opazovati napredovanje italijanskih elementov, ki se kažejo v izrazitejši modni uglajenosti figur, večji narativnosti (v spremstvu se poveča število služabnikov, pojavi se zamorec s čutarico in psi), obogatitvi ambienta z bolj realistično vegetacijo in trecentistično arhitekturo (fantazijski gotski baldahin nad Marijo z dete-

tej skupini presegajo provincialno raven.<sup>28</sup> Slog od spomenika do spomenika vari-ira, tako da ne moremo govoriti o enotnem trecentističnem viru ali prodroru določene šole. V pošteb pride vsa gornja Italija od Furlanije, prek Lombardije do Južne Tirolske.

Tatjana Špitalar<sup>29a</sup> je tako brdinjske freske prav zaradi italijanizirajoče nabulih obrazov, svetlih pramenov v laseh in velikih, podolgovatih, široko odprtih oči, ki v resnici spominjajo na furlansko slikarstvo, uvrstila v nekoliko kasnejšo furlansko skupino z izhodiščnim tokom pri Vitalu da Bologna v Vidmu. Omenila je podobnost s *sv. Krištofom* na zunanjsčini nekdanje Elizabetine cerkve na Plöckenskem prelazu<sup>29b</sup> in še izrazitejšo s slikarjimi v gornjem nadstropju kostnice v Gmündu,<sup>30</sup> s katero se ujema čas nastanka okoli 1370 in obrazna tipika figur. Vsceno pa te podobnosti niso tolikšne, da bi bile freske lahko delo ene delavnice

tom nadomesti trecentistična lesena staja). Tako lahko med seboj kronološko primerjamo *Pohode in poklone sv. treh kraljev* na slavoločni steni podružnične cerkve sv. Elizabete v Oberzeiringu (1340-50), severni ladijski steni župnijske cerkve sv. Jakoba starejšega in sv. Ane v Deinsbergu (okoli 1350-60), severni steni prezbiterja podružnične cerkve St. Cäcilien ob Murau (1360-70), južni steni kapele Maria Hilf v Lindu v Dravski dolini (1360-70), južni steni prezbiterja župnijske cerkve Št. Lipš pri Ženeku (St. Filippen ob Sonnegg, okoli 1370) in karnerju v Gmündu (okoli 1370).

<sup>28</sup> Poleg kostnice v Gmündu sta izjemi še *Poklon kraljev* na severni steni župnijske cerkve v Deinsbergu in *Pohod ter poklon kraljev* v Marijini kapeli v Lindu v Dravski dolini (posvetitev 1347; napis iz 18. stoletja govori, naj bi v tem letu nastala tudi poslikava, kar pa glede na stil fresk ni mogoče; bolj verjeten je nastanek med 1360-70). Opaziti je ikonografske podobnosti s *Pohodom in poklonom kraljev* v pokopališki cerkvi sv. Elizabete v Oberzeiringu na Štajerskem iz 1340-50. Oba *Pohoda* potekata v nasprotni smeri od običajne, od naše desne proti levi. Marija z detetom v obeh primerih sedi pod perspektivično oblikovanim baldahinom s pogledom od spodaj navzgor in podobne so postavitev galopirajočih konj z jezdeci. Stilistično pa freske pripadajo različnim svetovoma. V Oberzeiringu gre za značilni pozni "risarski" slog štiridesetih let, medtem ko je v Lindu opaziti uveljavitev nove italijanske modne uglajenosti s češkim pridihom v obraznih tipih. O Oberzeiringu cf. Ulrich Ocherbauer: *Die Wandmalerei der Steiermark im XIV. Jahrhundert*, Graz 1954 (od tod citirano Ocherbauer), p. 64 [doktorska disertacija]; id., *Der Freskenzyklus in der Knappenkirche zu Oberzeiring*, *ÖZKD*, XI, 1957, pp. 62-69, datacija fresk med 1340/50; id., *Wandmalerei, Gotik in der Steiermark*, Graz 1978, p. 96. [r.k.]

<sup>29a</sup> Špitalar, p.p. 9-12.

<sup>29b</sup> Frodl: *Die gotische Wandmalerei*, p. 74, sl. 17. Avtor ga uvršča v furlansko slikarstvo blizu slikarjam v Neuhausu na Zilji in ga datira kmalu po 1400. Ocherbauer (Ochenbauer, p. 77) opaža podobnosti z votivno sliko Polaganja v grob in Oznanjenja na južni steni mestne župnijske cerkve v Murau. Šlo naj bi za furlanski krog z močnejšim naslovom na S. Chiaro v Vidmu (cf. Heribert Hutter: *Italienische Einflüsse auf die Wandmalerei in Österreich im 14. Jahrhundert*, Wien 1958 [doktorska disertacija] od tod citirano Hutter, p. 94). Tako kot Frodl ga uvršča v furlansko skupino in postavlja v bližino Neuhausna. Besold (Besold, pp. 36-37) opaža močno shematizacijo, ki spominja na ikonsko slikarstvo in se zavzema za zgodnejšo datacijo proti 1370/80, pri čemer bi mojster utegnil biti učitelj slikarja v Neuhausnu. Tako bi zgodneje datirani sv. Krištof na Plöckenskem prelazu lahko zastopal vmesno stopnjo med predfurlanskim in furlanskim slikarstvom.

<sup>30</sup> Ernst Bacher, *Zu den Freskenfunden des letzten Jahrzehnts: Kärnten*, *ÖZKD*, XXIII, 1969, pp. 129-131. Freske zaradi shematične obravnave in prevladujoče severnjaške note pripisujejo domačemu mojstru, ki se je seznanil z raznovrstnimi trecentističnimi



ali celo istega mojstra. Na Plöckenskem prelazu srečamo podobno obliko magično strmečih oči s povešenimi vekami, način senčenja in podajanja plastičnosti ter ornamentiranja oblačila. Vseeno pa se zdi, da je freska s prefinjenim, mehkim toniranjem in potencirano plastičnostjo že korak naprej od stopnje v Brdinjah. Brdinjam in Gmündu so skupne visoke, vitke silhete svetnic v oblačilih z globokim izrezom (sv. *Barbara* v Gmündu in *svetnici* na Brdinjah) (sl. 24, 18, 20), drža nerodno oblikovanih rok z izproženim kazalcem in sorodno oblikovanje valovitih, volnatih las (*Marija* na Zaroki v Gmündu in sv. *Marjeta* na Brdinjah, sl. 14, 13). Podobnosti je opaziti pri bradatih, belolasih starčevskih figurah in njihovi gestikulaciji (*Jožef* na Marijini zaroki v Gmündu in *apostoli* na Marijini smrti na Brdinjah) (sl. 14, 13), pa tudi v barvni lestvici zelenih, rjavih in oker tonov ter borduri z diski, ki je na Brdinjah v primerjavi s perspektivno oblikovano gmündsko preprostejša. Ob primerjavi detajlov pa se pojavijo precejšnje razlike, tako da je ugotovitev Špitalarjeve o različnih delavnicah povsem pravilna. Na Brdinjah obrobijo obraz, oči in nos črne konture, kontrasti v senčenju so izrazitejši in figure masivnejše, česar pri subtilnejši gmündski figuraliki ne srečujemo. Ti grobi, rustificirani detajli so deloma posledica nižje kvalitete, deloma pa izrazitejšega naslona brdinjskih fresk na italijansko izročilo, medtem ko gmündske vsaj v figuraliki ostajajo bliže severnemu slikarstvu. Prav tako je draperija na sicer kvalitetnejših slikarijah v Gmündu v primerjavi z brdinjskimi konservativnejša, z manj modnimi detajli, saj s suho modelacijo, ravno padajočimi, popreproščenimi oblačili s trdimi skledastimi gubami in ovitostjo figur v dolge plašče ponavlja formulacije iz sredine stoletja.<sup>31</sup> Glavna razlika pa je v vlogi arhitekture in krajinskega pejzaža, ki v Gmündu zavzema pomembno, a izolirano mesto v koroškem slikarstvu,<sup>32</sup>

formulacijami prek furlansko-gornjeitalijanskih potujočih slikarjev. Cf. Maria Prokopp: *Italian Trecento Influence on Muralš in East Central Europe, particularly Hungary*, Budapest 1983, pp. 38-39.

<sup>31</sup> Tako v gornjem nadstropju nekdanje grajske kapele na Aufensteinu v bližini Matreia pri Brennerskem prelazu (danes podružnična cerkev sv. Katarine v Navisu) naletimo na prizoru *Predstavitev v templju* na podoben ženski obrazni tip z oglavno ruto kakor na *Marijini zaroki* in soroden duktus draperije kot na *Marijinem oznanjenju* v Gmündu. Sv. *Janeza Evangelista* v okenskem ostenju v dolgem, ravno padajočem oblačilu s skledastima gubama ob straneh pa lahko primerjamo s sv. *Barbaro* v Gmündu. Cf. Eva Frodl-Kraft, *Zu den Freskenfunden des letzten Jahrzehnts: Tirol, ÖZKD, XXIII, 1969*, pp. 195-198, sl. 231 (*Predstavitev v templju*). Datacija fresk proti 1350.

<sup>32</sup> Izrazito dekorativen tip arhitekture s trikotnimi čeli in filialami kot na *Marijinem oznanjenju* srečujemo na Južnem Tirolskem že v tretjem desetletju 14. stoletja v križnem hodniku frančiškanskega samostana v Bolzanu, njegov odmev pa lahko zasledujemo še v začetek 15. stoletja v župnijski cerkvi v Terlanu na *Marijinem kronanju* (cf. Josef Weingartner: *Gotische Wandmalerei in Südtirol*, Wien 1948, sl. 44). Gre za splošno razširjen arhitekturni tip, zlasti v severni Italiji, ki izhaja iz asiškega in ne iz Giottovega slikarstva in ki se je še pred sredino 14. stoletja uveljavil tudi v severnem slikarstvu. Na skoraj identične leve, ki silijo izpod polkrožnih lokov, naletimo na Salomonovem prestolu na severni steni samostanske cerkve v St. Lambrechtu na Štajerskem, pri čemer pa je podobnost tudi ikonografsko pogojena. Podobno členjen arhitekturni tip kot v St. Lambrechtu najdemo na južni steni spodnjega nadstropja nekdanje grajske kapele v Aufensteinu na fragmentu velike sedeče figure na prestolu, ob kateri kleči priprošnjik. Podobnosti bi morda lahko govorile za izvir tega arhitekturnega tipa na Tirolskem.

na Brdinjah pa ga sploh ni. S to potezo pričenjajo Brdinje konservativno nagnjene slikarstva na Slovenskem, ki se nadaljuje v 15. stoletje. Kljub razlikam pa sta si cikla v primerjavi z drugimi koroškimi spomeniki tistega časa vseeno najbližja. Del podobnosti gre v določeni meri pripisati stilu časa okoli 1370, ko sta nastali obe poslikavi, poleg tega pa bi lahko pričakovali tudi podobna izhodišča. Teh ne gre iskati v furlanskem slikarstvu, ki naj bi sicer začelo prodirati na Koroško med 1370 in 1380,<sup>33</sup> a je ustvarilo drugačen, še bolj okrogel in bolj plastično izdelan obrazni tip z boljšečimi, široko odprtimi očmi in luminozno, mehko plastičnostjo. Zdi se, da se daljni vzori in izhodišča prej skrivajo v južnotirolskem slikarstvu in njegovem vplivnem območju okoli sredine in v tretji četrtini 14. stoletja. Oblikovala sta ga dva nasprotna si tokova, na eni strani pozni "risarski" slog z glavnima predstavnikoma v poslikavah kapel gradov Aufenstein in Tirol<sup>34</sup> ter na drugi strani slikarstvo v nasledstvu Guarienta di Arpa,<sup>35</sup> ki se mu ponekod primešajo veronski ali beneški vplivi. Padovanski mojster je ob obisku v Bolzanu leta 1348<sup>36</sup> oziroma v petem ali šestem desetletju 14. stoletja<sup>37</sup> skupaj s pomočniki poslikal kapelo sv. Nikolaja ob dominikanski cerkvi v Bolzanu po naročilu Nicolaja, člana florentinske bankirske družine de' Rossi (Botsch). S tem je ustvaril široko in dolgotrajno nasledstvo, ki je odmevalo do konca 14. stoletja.<sup>38</sup> Na Južnem Tirolskem sicer ne moremo pokazati povsem konkretnega spomenika, po katerem bi se zgledovali poslikavi v Gmündu in na Brdinjah, saj je njun stil že preveč predelan in absorbiran v severno slikarsko izročilo. Vendar pa gre za neki globalen stilistični pojav, na katerega se freske v Gmündu in na Brdinjah odzivajo vsake na svoj način. V figuraliki bolj konservativne freske v Gmündu izhajajo v veliki meri iz tirolskega slikarstva poznega risarskega sloga srede 14. stoletja, kot ga zastopa poslikava gornjega nadstropja nekdanje grajske kapele na Aufensteinu, kjer lahko zasledimo rahlo podobnost v ženskih obraznih tipih in duktusu draperije. (sl. 24, 25, 26, 27)<sup>39</sup> V oblikovanju bogato členjene arhitekturne kulise

<sup>33</sup> Besold, p. 10. Prva znamenja naj bi se kazala v Gerlamoosu in Millstattu okoli 1380.

<sup>34</sup> Hutter, p. 58 ss.; Nicolo Rasmus: *Affreschi medioevali atesini*, Venezia 1971 (od tod citirano Rasmus: *Affreschi*), pp. 139-134; Waltraud Kofler: *Der "Linearstil" in der spätromanischen und frühgotischen Wandmalerei Tirols*, Innsbruck 1984, p. 163 ss. [doktorska disertacija]

<sup>35</sup> Nicolo Rasmus, *I distrutti affreschi guarienteschi della chiesa dei domenicani a Bolzano, Cultura atesina*, IX, 1955 (od tod citirano Rasmus, *I distrutti affreschi*), pp. 118-127; Rasmus: *Affreschi*; id., *Pittura del Duecento e del Trecento in Trentino Alto Adige, La pittura in Italia: Il Duecento e il Trecento*, II/1, Milano 1986 (Enrico Castelnuovo, ed.) (od tod citirano Rasmus, *Pittura del Duecento*), pp. 93-109; Hutter, p. 51 ss.

<sup>36</sup> Roberto Pallucchini: *La pittura veneziana del Trecento*, Venezia 1964; Francesca d'Arcais: *Guariento*, Venezia 1965. Datacija v leto 1348.

<sup>37</sup> Rasmus, *I distrutti affreschi*, datacija med 1345-1350/55; Rasmus: *Affreschi*, datacija v šesto desetletje 14. stoletja. Rasmus, *Pittura del Duecento*, datacija med 1360/65. Kapela je bila med bombardiranjem leta 1944 popolnoma porušena. Ohranile so se le predvojne črno-bele fotografije dela poslikave, ki ne omogočajo natančne datacije.

<sup>38</sup> Poslikava ladje z zgodbama obeh Janezov v cerkvi sv. Janeza v Bolzanu (S. Giovanni in Villa/St. Johann im Dorf), poslikava cerkve S. Maria del Conforto v Maii Bassi, S. Pietra v Quarazzah, S. Vigilia al Virgolo itd.

<sup>39</sup> Op. cit. p. 9.

in krajine z utrdbo pa sledijo sodobnim južnotirolskim in tridentinskim poznorecentističnim formulacijam.<sup>40</sup> Brdinjske freske s tršim, bolj italijanizirajočim obraznim tipom s poudarjenimi vekami in bolj grobim, kontrastnim načinom senčenja pa se prej naslanjajo na guarientesko tirolsko izročilo, kot sta poslikava oboka v cerkvi sv. Janeza v Bolzanu (St. Johann im Dorf/S. Giovanni in Villa)<sup>41</sup> in poslikava S. Biagia v Levicu.<sup>42</sup> Obenem so naprednejše v oblikovanju modnih oblačil, a zato izvedene nerodnejše, brez arhitekturne in krajinske kulise. Tirolski značaj figuralike, ki kljub plastičnemu učinkovanju deluje sploščeno in grobo, jih približuje tudi poslikavi župnijske cerkve v Urschallingu na Bavarskem iz 1378-1395.<sup>43</sup>

Obojim pa je skupna rahla lirična nota in bolj aristokratsko učinkovanje, ki počasi napoveduje dogodke s konca 14. stoletja. V Gmündu se kaže na *Poklonu kraljev* z zametkom kavalkade, štafažnimi figuricami, utrdbo na pečini v ozadju in Marijo z detetom pod visoko baldahinsko arhitekturo, na Brdinjah pa moramo v tej smeri razumeti aristokratsko *sv. Marjeto* v modnem oblačilu. Poslikava *sv. Neže* na Brdinjah nad Kottljami je v slovenskem prostoru osamljen primer italijanizirajočega slikarstva, ki ni nastalo niti v povezavi s prihodom tistega bolonjskega mojstra, ki je okoli 1370 poslikal zahodno zunanjšino župnijske cerkve v Crngrobu in podružnično cerkev *sv. Petra* v Bodovljah,<sup>44</sup> niti z nekoliko kasnejšim prodorom t.i. furlanskih delavnic okoli leta 1400. Ob bok bi ji lahko postavili nekoliko kasnejšo poslikavo podružnične cerkve *sv. Miklavža* pri Koritnem nad Čadramom s konca 14. stoletja, kjer je opaziti podobnost v obraznem tipu ženskih figur, načinu senčenja in očrtovanja s temnejšo črto ter oblikovanju velikih nerodnih rok. Tudi tu srečujemo mešani stil z nekaterimi konservativnimi severnjaškimi elementi,<sup>45</sup> le da pri tem freske v Koritnem že kažejo večjo bližino furlanskemu slikarstvu, posredovanemu verjetno prek avstrijske Koroške.<sup>46</sup> V skupino italijansko obarvanih predfurlanskih poslikav spadata še fragment *sv. Nikolaja*

<sup>40</sup> Podobno krajino z utrdbo kot na *Poklonu kraljev* v Gmündu najdemo na prizorih iz *legende sv. Julijana* v stolnici v Trentu 1365, delu bolonjsko izšolanega mojstra Monta da Bologna, ki je prišel v stik z aristokratskim slikarstvom, morda lombardskim. Cf. Antonio Morassi: *Storia della pittura nella Venezia Tridentina*, Roma 1934, sl. 151-153. Soroden obrazni tip in oblikovanje pričeške kot pri *sv. Barbari* se pojavlja pri Madoni z detetom v S. Biagu v Levicu, delu pod veronskim vplivom (Rasmo: *Affreschi*, sl. 177). Pri Kristusu Pantokratorju je v oblikovanju nosu, obrvi, oči in pričeške opaziti podobnosti z drugo Madono z detetom v S. Biagu v Levicu iz 1346, ki kaže vplive poznega Paola Veneziana in zgodnjega Guarienta (Rasmo: *Affreschi*, sl. 198).

<sup>41</sup> Rasmo: *Affreschi*, sl. 170, 171.

<sup>42</sup> Rasmo: *Affreschi*, sl. 198.

<sup>43</sup> Evamaria Ciolina: *Der Freskenzyklus von Urschalling: Geschichte und Ikonographie, Miscellanea Bavarica Monacensia*, Heft 80, München 1980.

<sup>44</sup> Janez Höfler, *Srednjeveške freske v Sloveniji, I: Gorenjska, uvodno poglavje* (prednatisom). Gre za bolonjskega mojstra, ki se je izoblikoval ob slikarstvu Vitala da Bologne in njegovih pomočnikov v Pomposi ter prišel v slovenski prostor direktno, mimo Furlanije.

<sup>45</sup> Na primer evangelist Matej kot angel na oboku prezbiterja.

<sup>46</sup> Tako je opaziti soroden obrazni tip pri Kristusu na sklepniku v Koritnem in na poslikavi apside župnijske cerkve *sv. Egidija* v Zweinitzu ter v južnem koru stolnice v Krki s konca 14. stoletja.

kot krmarja ladje apostolov na zahodni zunanjščini podružnične cerkve sv. Miklavža v Bregu (Žužemberk) iz tretje četrtine 14. stoletja in poslikava ladje podružnične cerkve sv. Miklavža nad Pangrč Grmom<sup>47</sup> na Dolenjskem s konca 14. stoletja, kjer pa ne gre za kakšno ožjo zvezo s freskami na Brdinjah, temveč le za sorodne razvojne smernice. Tako se brdinjske freske s svojimi značilnostmi vseeno bolj vključujejo v pisano podobo koroškega kakor osrednjeslovenskega slikarstva tretje četrtine 14. stoletja.

<sup>47</sup> Vilma Praprotnik, *Ornamentika slikanih okvirjev v srednjeveškem stenskem slikarstvu v Sloveniji*, ZUZ, n.v. X, 1973, pp. 31-78; Alenka Vodnik: *Brokatni vzorci v slovenskem stenskem slikarstvu 15. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1991 [diplomska naloga]. Avtorici se kljub številnim retardiranim potezam v figuraliki (sv. škof) in obraznem tipu (karikirani profili) zaradi uporabe šabloniranih vzorcev zavzemata za datacijo proti koncu 14. stoletja.

## THE FRESCOES IN BRDINJE ABOVE KOTLJE AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR ART HISTORY

By Tanja Gregorovič, Ljubljana

The wall paintings in the church of Sv Neža (St Agnes) in Brdinje above Kotlje\*, also called Vrhe near Slovenj Gradec<sup>1</sup> were discovered in the early 1980s. First mentioned when the church was restored in 1984,<sup>2</sup> they were dealt with in detail two years later in a diploma paper by Tatjana Špitalar, who classified them as belonging to the Friuli group.<sup>3</sup> We are informed about the allowance to build a church by a document dating back to 1367, in which the Aquilean Patriarch Markvard allowed the parish priest Parthamer in Šmartno near Slovenj Gradec to erect a chapel in Kotlje dedicated to St Agnes and the martyrs St Primus and St Felician.<sup>4</sup> If we judge by the style of the frescoes it was probably this priest who

\* My attention was drawn to the newly discovered frescoes, currently awaiting publication, by Professor Dr. Janez Höfler. I would like to take this opportunity of thanking him for his kindness, for making available his archive material as well as the latest discoveries concerning Slovenian medieval painting, and for encouraging me in my work. I would also like to thank Robert Wlattnig MA, curator of the Regional Museum in Celovec, who kindly supplied me with a photocopy of his dissertation on 14th-century painting.

<sup>1</sup> *Krajevni leksikon Slovenije, IV: Podravje in Pomurje*, Ljubljana 1980, p. 519. The church of Sv Neža (St Agnes) in Brdine (!) is mentioned as a late Gothic building dating from 1554 in the place called Vrhe pri Slovenjem Gradcu.

<sup>2</sup> Bine Kovačič, *Varstvo spomenikov*, XXVI, 1984 (Kovačič), p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> Tatjana Špitalar: *Novoodkrite gotske freske na slovenskem Štajerskem: na področju Zavoda za spomeniško varstvo Maribor*, Ljubljana 1986 (diploma paper, Špitalar), pp. 9-12.

<sup>4</sup> *Notizenblatt: Beilage zum Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, 8, Wien 1858, p. 489, 1367, 25/X ("Marquardus Dei gratia S. Sedia Aquilegensis Patriarcha dilecto nobis in Christo Marquardo dicto Parthamer Plebano Plebis S. Martini in valle de Windisgratz nostre Aquilegensis Diocesis salutem in Domino. Sicut nobis tua exposuit devotio tu diligere decorum domus Domini, Capellam unam sub vocabulo S. Agnetis et Sanctorum Martyrum Primi et Feliciani cum subsidio populi tue cure subjecti, pro hujusmodi felici opere intercedentis, proposuisti construere in Plebe et cura tuis, in loco qui dicitur Chotelach dicte nostre Diocesis, et eandem capellam dotare mediante subsidio antedicto bonis quibus unus Capellanus celebrans divina officina in aedem, congrue poterit substantari, super quibus nostrum postulasti assensum. Quia igitur debemus et volumus prompti in talibus et favorabiles inveniri, tuis dignis desideriis annuentes in hiis cum grato concurrentes affectu, construendi et difficandi Capellam modis statem: nolentes ex hoc martricis ecclesie iuribus in aliquo derogare; imo quod eadem Capella

commissioned the painting, which must have been carried out contemporary to the building of the church: around 1370. The single-nave architectural design with a very rare two-sixth termination of the presbytery<sup>5</sup> and three wide plain buttresses indicates that the church was built in the 14th century. In both sloping walls and in the south wall there are three comparatively large windows, which were enlarged at a later date and given a pointed termination. The nave has a flat wooden ceiling, characteristic of Carinthian churches, while the presbytery is vaulted. Five ribs with a deeply grooved profile<sup>6</sup> are connected by a round flat keystone on one side and have no consoles on the lower end where they gradually weld with the walls. In this way the vault is divided into five bays with two of them on the east side shaped as groined vaults due to requirements of statics. Later, a door was built into the north wall of the presbytery, but has since been walled up again. On the west side a bell tower with a conical roof was built lean-to. Owing to the three semicircular openings of a later date made on its lower side, it gives the impression of an entrance porch.

Paintings can be seen on the vault and the walls of the presbytery, as well as on the wall of the triumphal arch. Despite being badly preserved in some places, all the scenes are discernible. The vault shows *Christ the Pantocrator* and *the symbols of the Evangelists*, on the north wall there is the scene of *Mary's Death*, on the south wall there is *Mary the Patroness with cloak* and on the sloped walls, *St Margaret and St Agnes*. On the inner wall of the triumphal arch facing the presbytery there are *the Cloth of St. Veronica, Cain's and Abel's offerings* and on the lower side of the arch there are *the four Prophets*.

The restorer Bine Kovačič<sup>7</sup> has found that the fairly well preserved part of the painting on the wall was executed in *fresco*, while the combined *fresco-secco* technique was used in the rather damaged part of the painting where the topmost layer of paint is missing. The scene of *Death of the Virgin* had suffered severe damage on account of the door which was later built into the wall, while the scene of *Mary the Patroness with Cloak* was damaged by the subsequent enlargement of the window.

sine cimiterio existens, subjecta existat Plebi predictae, prout alie Capelle in Aquilegensis Diocesi subjecte existunt. Datum harum sub nostri sigilli impressione litterarum, Aquillie die XXV. Octobris anno Domini MCCCLXVII. Indictione quinta." I was made aware of the document by Prof. Dr. Janez Höfler; Janez Höfler: *Gradivo za historično topografijo predjožefinskih župnij na Slovenskem*, vol. VI/1, computer draft at the Philosophical Faculty; in the book by Franc Kovačič: *Zgodovina Lavantinske škofije (1228 - 1928)*, Maribor 1928, pp. 108-109, there is, under the same date, an incorrect inscription stating that it is the church of St Fortunatus and Felician and identifying it with today's church of St Margaret in Kotlje; cf. also Anton Ožinger: *Carlo M. d'Attems: Vizitacije savinjskega arhidiaconata goriške nadškofije 1751 - 1773*, Ljubljana 1991, pp. 237, 290, 640. The visitation inventories from 4th July 1751 and 28th June 1756 state that the daughter church of St Agnes had three altars - St Agnes', St Bartholomew's (unconsecrated, portable) and St Agatha's (unconsecrated, non-portable).

<sup>5</sup> In Carinthia it is also found on the monastery church of the Poor Clares in Št. Vid na Glini (St. Veit an der Glan), which was founded in 1323 by Konrad von Aufenstein and his third wife Diemut (cf. *Dehio-Handbuch: Kärnten*, Wien 1981<sup>3</sup>, p.625).

<sup>6</sup> Ivan Komelj: *Gotska arhitektura na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1973, p. 113, fig. I/d.

<sup>7</sup> Kovačič, p. 307.

Mary's *Death of the Virgin*<sup>8</sup> on the north wall is, iconographically speaking, of a rather rare type and cannot be clearly categorized as belonging either to the northern or the Italian style.<sup>9</sup> The atmosphere of the painting would, however, indicate that it is closer to the painting of the Italian Trecento. The half-length figure of Christ in the mandorla, held by two kneeling angels with open arms, rises heavenwards above the centre of the scene, leaving behind the grieving Apostles. This central position of Christ was quite common in paintings dating from the first half of the 14th century and following in the Byzantine tradition. Christ holds his right hand in a gesture of blessing while he embraces Mary's praying soul with the other hand. Below, beside a wooden bed, where the Virgin lies, the Apostles (pl. 13) stand, lined in a row. Some of them hold their hands in prayer, while others have their forefingers spread out or hold a book in their hands. Among them we find examples of a "Pushkin-like" type of male face with a beard but without a moustache, and of a bearded, white-haired old man. Both are characteristic of the artist's workshop. The excessively large hands, the faces, the prominent noses with emphasized nostrils are black-rimmed as are also the upper lines of the lowered eyelids, the narrow semicircular brows and the small mouths. The parts under the eyebrows and the lower parts of the cheeks from the nose towards the ears are shaded in brown. Mary's garment is in the area of the feet reminiscent of the "drawing" style: it is softly draped so that the hems form little ear-like and undulating lappets. We seek in vain this feature in the Apostles, for their cloaks have distinctly modelled parallel folds falling straight to the ground.

The whole south wall is covered with the painted scene of *Mary the Patroness with Cloak* (pls. 15, 16)<sup>10</sup> who, with her arms spread out, forms an imposing

<sup>8</sup> Kovačić, p. 307. The scene is explained as Mary's funeral although it is undoubtedly Death of the Virgin as the Apostles are gathered around the bed and are not carrying the bier.

<sup>9</sup> In northern as well as Italian painting of the 14th century the type of Death of the Virgin (with Christ at the bed holding Mary's soul in his hands) following the Byzantine tradition was widespread. On the other hand, another, more rarely used scene of Christ with Mary's soul, already on high, was known in both artistic trends. One can find such scenes in the Arena Chapel in Padua dating from about 1320, the work of the Giottoesque Padua workshop (*Arte veneta*, XXIV, 1970, p. 11, fig. 5) and in the German miniature in a lectionary dating back to the beginning of the 13th century from Munich, with an accent on the iconography of bride and bridegroom (Gertrud Schiller: *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst* 4,2: Maria, Gütersloh 1980, fig. 609). The nearest iconographical parallel to the fresco under review can be found on the exterior of the presbytery of St Leonard's parish church in Weissenstein in Carinthia dating from the mid 14th century or a little later with a similar type of iconographical composition of the half-length Christ with Mary's soul in the mandorla, already in heaven, and the Apostles, standing and mourning at Mary's bedside below.

<sup>10</sup> Kovačić, p. 307. His opinion is that the scene depicts St Agnes with the worshippers, which was resumed by T. Špitalar in her diploma paper. Such an explanation of the scene is less credible, as St Agnes is depicted on the south sloping wall of the choir termination. Moreover, the position of the painting opposite Death of the Virgin suggests Mary the Patroness with Cloak. The connection of Death of the Virgin and Mary the Patroness with Cloak can also be found, for example, on altar tables from Biela in Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum (cf. Gabriela Fritsche, Ein Retabelfragment des 14.

rectangular composition reminiscent of depictions of St Christopher. The centre of the painting was probably damaged at the time when the window, which may have existed from the very beginning, although in a much smaller and narrower form, was enlarged.<sup>11</sup> The frontal figure of the Virgin has long curly fair hair with a lighter streak in the middle. Holding her mantle wide open she gazes stearnly from under the lowered eyelids, which gives her face a hieratic expression. The outside of the mantle is decorated with a painted palmette containing tendrils in the shape of a lyre, while the inside is adorned with an ermine ornament.<sup>12</sup> The hems are softly folded in accordance with the "drawing" style. On both sides, representatives of different social classes are depicted in several rows: on the right we meet representatives of the Church ranging from the simple monk to the mitred bishop, and on the left are the profane classes wearing various kinds of headgear characteristic of the third quarter of the 14th century.

On the north-east sloping wall of the choir termination we find the most beautiful of the female figures in the church: a tall, slim *St Margaret* leaning slightly backwards, with a dragon at her feet (pls. 18, 19). She is wearing a close-fitting garment with a low neckline revealing her naked shoulders. The narrow sleeves embracing her wrists reach almost to the fingers, while the belt line is slung down to the hips. An elaborately wrought five-leaved crown rests on her head and her hair is arranged into two long, thick plaits (with a light streak of hair in the middle) falling down her shoulders. The face and shoulders are softly shaded, and the lines in the eye corners are interrupted, giving the face a gentle and slightly melancholic look. However, the elegance of this exceptional figure is spoiled by the large, crudely executed schematic hands in the usual position with the forefinger outstretched. Less refined and more popular-looking is the figure of *St Agnes* tending to little sheep (pls. 20, 21) on the south-east sloping wall. The features of her face are rather rough, while her nose is turned up and formed in a harsher way. Apart from their attributes, the two saints can also be identified by means of half-erased inscriptions on the upper edge of the rectangular frame.

In the west bay of the vault, *Christ the Pantocrator* with a short parted beard sits on a simple throne, giving out blessings and holding a book in his hand. Next to him in the north bay there is a painting of the Evangelist Matthew in the form of an angel with a rhombic border to his garment. In the south bay the Evangelist Luke is represented by an ox; in the south-east bay the Evangelist Mark is represented by a lion; and in the north-east bay the Evangelist John takes the form of an eagle. Unfortunately, the last picture is almost completely ruined.

Jahrhunderts im Schweizerischen Landesmuseum in Zürich: Versuch einer Einordnung der sogenannten Bieler Tafeln, *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 39/3, 1981, p. 190, figs. 1a, 1b).

<sup>11</sup> At Tirol Castle near Merano in the apse on the lower floor of St Pancras' Chapel *Mary the Protectress* occupies a place on the wall with the windows. With her mantle she encompasses the window from both sides and the effect resembles that in Brdinje. (cf. Josef Weingartner, *Die frühgotische Malerei Deutschtirols*, *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege*, X, 1916, fig. 12).

<sup>12</sup> The ermine pattern appears very frequently in South Tirol, adorning the inner side of the garments and painted curtains (Sabbionara Castle near Avio), as well as in Carinthia, Friuli and Slovenia, particularly in depictions of St Christopher.



The centre of the inner wall of the triumphal arch facing the altar is painted with Christ's face in a medallion as a sort of reduced motif of *The Cloth of Saint Veronica*,<sup>13</sup> accompanied by two angels with a candle. Below on the right there is a depiction of *Abel* (pl. 22) in a short tunic, half kneeling and holding a lamb in his raised hands. His boyish face is adorned with an elaborate hairstyle with minutely drawn hair, trimmed at two different levels and curling inward. Below on the left there is the picture of bearded *Cain* with meander-shaped curls and a sheaf of wheat in his hands.

The lower side of the wall of the triumphal arch is covered by the depictions of four bearded half-length figures of the *Prophets* (pl. 23) with caps on their heads and scrolls in their hands. Since they are represented as aged men, the shading is even coarser and the contrasts greater.

The scenes are framed by two borders, one containing discs and another a zig-zag pattern. The background is green-blue and the garments of the figures are brown, grey-brown, ochre and dark green.

The depictions of Christ the Pantocrator and the symbols of the Evangelists on the vault, The Cloth of St Veronica, Cain's and Abel's offerings and the Prophets on the wall of the triumphal arch belong to the traditional northern High Gothic style. Death of the Virgin, which was exceptionally popular in Carinthia, particularly in the first half of the 14th century,<sup>14</sup> remained a frequent and favourite motif in the third quarter of the century, at the time when the influence of the Italian painting style was fairly strong.<sup>15</sup> Towards the middle and the third quarter of the century the scene of Mary the Patroness with Cloak became more and more popular,<sup>16</sup> but the picture in Brdinje is by far the most imposing. Scenes from legends about women saints can be traced back in Carinthia to the last quarter of the 13th century and throughout the first half of the 14th,<sup>17</sup> which proves that they were consistently popular. In the course of the second quarter of the 14th century,

<sup>13</sup> An identical representation is found on the east wall of the choir in the daughter church in Maigen in Lower Austria, dating from the mid 14th century, in which the medallion is held by two angels. (cf. Elga Lanc: *Die mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien in Wien in Niederösterreich*, Wien 1983, figs. 259, 260).

<sup>14</sup> In the parish and pilgrimage church of Our Dear Lady in Marija na Zilji (Maria Gail), the parish church of St Nicholas in Sirnitz (in both cases the scene of Mary's funeral procession), the parish church of Mary Magdalen in Velikovec (Volkermarkt) and in the Rabbenstein chapel near the monastery church in Št. Pavel in Labotska dolina (St. Paul im Lavanttal). All comparisons after *Dehio-Handbuch: Kärnten*, Wien 1981. I inspected the frescoes in connection with my MA thesis *The Late 13th and Early 14th Century Painting in Carinthia* (Prof. dr. Janez Höfler, tutor).

<sup>15</sup> In the parish church in Št. Lipš pri Ženeku (St. Filippen ob Sonnegg) and in the Krka (Gurk) cathedral.

<sup>16</sup> The parish church in Št. Lipš pri Ženeku (St. Filippen ob Sonnegg).

<sup>17</sup> Very frequent are scenes from St Margaret's legend (the north wall of St Martin's parish church in Radlach, the wall of the triumphal arch in St Andrew's church in Grades), from St Catherine's legend (the north wall of St Margaret's church in Remšenič (Remschenig) in the Karavanke mountains, the ossuary in Bistrica pri Gradesu (Feistritz ob Grades)) and individual pictures of St Dorothy (the north wall of St Cecily's daughter church in Althofen, part of the south exterior of the parish church of Mary's Assumption in Malta(?)).

they appeared as independent images, separated from their narrative cycle and arranged in rows one beside the other on the walls of arches.<sup>18</sup> In the third quarter of the century the interest in them persisted since the narrative scenes were painted in front of a rich architectural background<sup>19</sup> and attention was given also to those saints who had previously been neglected. Thus, the independent images of St Margaret and St Agnes in Brdinje are an expression of the iconographical tendencies of the period. In view of Brdinje's geographical position and its cultural and historical connection with Carinthia, the frescoes are to be understood as part of Carinthian painting after the mid 14th century, when it was flooded by the influence of the upper Italian, pre-Friulian Trecento. Unlike the well-studied and explained (at least with respect to its provenance) painting of the Friulian trend, the painting marked by Italian influence towards the middle and in the third quarter of the 14th century remained relatively unnoticed, mostly as a result of its usually being of a low quality as well as of the fact that it was difficult to classify. The first appearance, albeit episodic, of paintings influenced by the Italian Trecento was the painting of the entrance porch of Krka (Gurk) Cathedral between 1339 and 1343,<sup>20</sup> which unfortunately was not followed by other examples. Despite numerous contributions and various approaches, some basic questions remain open: Was the author of the frescoes a provincial North Italian master or a northern painter who had come into contact with Italian painting? Where does the Italian component originate from? Was it a result of direct contact with the repertoire of the Italian Trecento or of indirect contact through northern painting styles that had already absorbed and further developed the Trecento elements?<sup>21</sup> Do the north-western elements really originate solely from local art?<sup>22</sup> Where should one locate the master or the

<sup>18</sup> The north wall and part of the wall of the triumphal arch of the Winter, or Rosary, church, in Otok near Vrbsko jezero (Maria Worth), the north wall of the choir square of St Dinosius's parish church in Irshen and the north wall of the choir square of St Lawrence's parish church in Glanhofen.

<sup>19</sup> St Dorothy's legend on the north wall of the parish church of St. Peter im Holz.

<sup>20</sup> Alfred Schnerich, *Die beiden biblischen Gemäldezyklen des Domes zu Gurk, Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission*, XIX, 1893, pp. 35-44 and 89-94; XX, 1894, pp. 143-150; Karl Ginhart, Bruno Grimschitz: *Der Dom zu Gurk*, Wien 1930, pp. 95-102; Hannelore Stein-Kaiser: *Der alttestamentliche Freskenzyklus in der Vorhalle des Domes zu Gurk unter Berücksichtigung seiner Ikonographie*, Wien 1975 [dissertation]. In the author's opinion it was an itinerant Italian painter from an out-of-the-way place (Friuli ?), who was only partly acquainted with the new Trecento works. (I wish to express my thanks to Robert Wlatnigg MA for referring me to this dissertation.) Cf. Tanja Gregorovič: *Freske v predverju krške stolnice*, Ljubljana 1991 [diploma paper].

<sup>21</sup> On the question of the reception of Trecento elements in northern painting and their further development cf. Gerhard Schmidt, *Die Chorschrankenmalereien des Kölner Doms und die europäische Malerei, Kölner Domblatt*, 44/45, 1979/80, pp. 293-340; Gabriela Fritsche: *Die Entwicklung des "neuen Realismus" in der Wiener Malerei: 1331 bis Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Wien, Köln, Graz 1983 [dissertation].

<sup>22</sup> These are more distinctive than in other contemporary Carinthian works of art. A French origin can be ascribed to the greyhaired bearded old men with characteristically shaped eyes, broken eyebrow lines, lively gestures with splayed hands and fingers, now and then a figure standing in an attitude of slight torsion, figures standing slightly astride with open cloaks, hems of tunics tucked in behind their belts, the shape of beds, cloud-shaped hoops and knightly-aristocratic hairstyles, footwear and garments.

workshop, representing a completely isolated phenomenon in Carinthian painting of the second quarter of the 14th century? When all these questions have been posed, it is possible to establish that, with slight inconsistencies (as are variations in the size of the bays, the disregard for the decorative separating elements and the continuous combination of two scenes within one frame), only the decorative part really follows Italian models in the Krka (Gurk) porch. It includes the trough vault painted blue and sprinkled with stars, the scenes running in horizontal sequences along the north and south walls, with a Cosmati border, a four-leaved medallion and acanthus. On the other hand, elements related to all these cases can be found in northern painting, independent of the Italian art of painting.<sup>23</sup> Despite some Trecento elements and plasticity, northern High Gothic forms of French origin in some cases prevail in the figural style, the rhythm and the ways of draping. The use of perspective in the architectural background with hanging baldachin arches, alien to Paduan painting, probably did not come about under the direct influence of Italian models but rather under that of northern styles of painting, which had already been adapted to the new Trecento requirements.<sup>24</sup> By linking the northern and Italian elements, this kind of painting is closest to the locally-coloured Giottoesque Rimini painting, which formed its own specific language based partly on the Assisi and partly on the Paduan tradition where Italian-Byzantine and northern elements are additionally emphasized.

The second wave of the Trecento, which reached Carinthia in the third quarter of the 14th century, is more organically connected with northern painting. Toward the mid 14th century, eclecticism can already be felt in the figural style and composition of works, executed entirely under northern influence, and the first attempts at using spatial perspective can also be traced. They show in the simplified folding of the drapery, the thicker and more picturesque contours of the body, the hairstyle, the coarse shading of folds, which brought about a more compact effect of the whole.<sup>25</sup> This exhausted art with "drawing" tendencies paved the way for the second wave of Trecento influences and made a synthesis of both trends possible. Due to the appearance of a "mixed" style and the popular note, it is

<sup>23</sup> Jürgen Michler, Grundlagen zur gotischen Wandmalerei, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XXXII, 1990, pp. 85-136. Arranging scenes in horizontal rows also appears in northern painting, particularly in simple provincial church buildings, where it started to develop (at the same time as Paduan art, but independently of it) towards the so-called *Bilderwand*. This phenomenon can also be seen in Carinthia in the ossuaries in Pisweg and Deinsberg, dating from the last quarter of the 13th century. In both of them the scenes are still divided by simple unicoloured stripes and little columns, while the painting in the Krka (Gurk) entrance porch goes a step farther and uses, according to Italian models, a Cosmati border as division.

<sup>24</sup> A similar architectural principle is found, for example, in the antependium in Königsfelden dating from about 1350.

<sup>25</sup> For example, the painting of the ossuary in Bistrice near Grades (Feistritz ob Grades), the north part of the exterior of St Leonard's parish church in Weißenstein, the lower side of the wall of the triumphal arch of St John's church near St. Jakob (St. Johann bei St. Jakob), the nave of St Lawrence's parish church in Kamen in the Podjuna valley (Stein im Jauntal), the north wall at the gallery level of St Michael's parish church near Wolfsberg.

impossible in most cases to establish the sources of influence. There is no doubt that we are dealing with a sort of pre-Friulian style<sup>26</sup> with certain stimuli of the Trecento. These show particularly in the plastic presentation of the simplified drapery and parts of the body, the compressed proportions and the round, puffy type of face with oblong eyes and small, full lips, which should not be mistaken for the softer, spongy and stronger plasticity of the Friulian facial types. Due to the inexpert, harder toning and thick-line rimming reminiscent of the "drawing" style, it often has a caricature-like effect. The gestures, figural types and iconographical patterns often follow also the models from the first half of the 14th century. A novelty is the widening and a greater realism of the architectural scenery of the pseudo-Italian character which replaced the more fantastic, intricate and richer northern type of painting. The landscape with almost obligatory rugged Trecento rocks also gains importance and becomes epically widened.<sup>27</sup> Rarely

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<sup>26</sup> Walter Frodl: *Die gotische Wandmalerei in Kärnten*, Klagenfurt 1944 (Frodl: *Die gotische Wandmalerei*). As pre-Friulian art he classifies the ossuary in Krčanje (Greutschach, around 1360), scenes from Mary's life in Št. Lipš near Ženek (St Filippen ob Sonnegg, around 1370), the Crucifixion on the north part of the exterior of St Ulrich's church in Platz (around 1370), St Dorothy's legend and Passion scenes at St. Peter im Holz (1370/80); cf. Andreas Besold: *Fresken in Kärnten um 1400: Die Trecentorezeption in der Kärntner Wandmalerei*, Wien 1992 [diploma and MA papers, respectively] (Besold), pp. 9-12. He added to this group the later-discovered frescoes in the Gmünd ossuary (1370), the only ones containing an inscription with the date, as well as the painting on the exterior of St George's daughter church in Gerlamoos (around 1380), the painting of the south pillar in the monastery church in Millstatt (around 1380) and the picture of St Christopher on the exterior of the former church of St Elizabeth on the Plöcken Pass (1370/80). All those works were classified by Walter Frodl as Friulian, from about 1400 or a little later, on account of the Friulian features of the faces and the more articulate modelling.

Some other works can also be considered as part of this group. These are the painting on the north wall of the nave and part of the wall of the triumphal arch of the churches of St James, the elder, and St Anne in Deinsberg (around 1380), the south wall of Mary's chapel in Lind in the Drava valley (1360/70), the choir square of St Bartholomew's parish church on Reberca (Rechberg, around 1380) and the north part of the exterior of the parish church at Sv. Jurij (St. Georgen) in the Zilja valley (around 1380).

<sup>27</sup> Despite the tradition of iconographical models, the very scenes of the Journey and the Adoration of the Magi permit one to observe the progress of Italian elements, which can be distinguished by their fashionable refinement of the figures, greater narrativeness (there is a greater number of servants in the suite and a new element appears in the form of a Negro with dogs), the heightening of the ambience through a more realistic vegetation and Trecento architectural elements (the fanciful Gothic baldachin over the Virgin with Child is replaced by a wooden shed). Thus it is possible to compare the chronology of the scenes with *the Journey and the Adoration of the Magi* on the wall of the triumphal arch of St Elizabeth's church in Oberzeiring (1340-50), the north nave wall of the parish church of St James, the elder, and St Anne in Deinsberg (around 1350-60), the north wall of the presbytery of the daughter church in St. Cäcilien near Murau (1360-70), the south wall of the Maria Hilf chapel in Lind in the Drava valley (1360-70), the south wall of the presbytery of the parish church in Št. Lipš near Ženek (St. Filippen ob Sonnegg, about 1370) and the Gmünd ossuary (around 1370).

does any painting of this group ever surpass the provincial artistic level.<sup>28</sup> The style varies from work to work so that we cannot speak of a single Trecento source or a definite school. The influence may have come from any part of Upper Italy ranging from Friuli over Lombardy to South Tyrolia.

The puffy Italian-like faces, lighter streaks of hair and large, oblong and wide-open eyes, which are in fact reminiscent of Friulian painting, prompted Tatjana Špitalar<sup>29a</sup> to classify the Brdinje frescoes as belonging to a somewhat later Friulian group, a trend originating from Vitalo da Bologna from Udine. She mentions their similarity to the fresco of *St Christopher* on the exterior of the former church of St Elizabeth on the Plöcken mountain pass<sup>29b</sup> and the even more characteristic wall painting on the upper storey of the Gmünd ossuary<sup>30</sup> which corresponds with

<sup>28</sup> Apart from the Gmünd ossuary, further exceptions are the scenes depicting the Adoration of the Magi on the north wall of the parish church in Deinsberg and the Journey and the Adoration of the Magi in Mary's chapel in Lind in the Drava valley (consecrated in 1347; the inscription dating from the 18th century informs us that the painting originated from the same year, but the style of the frescoes suggests otherwise, and they were more probably painted between 1360 and 1370). There are iconographical similarities with the Journey and the Adoration scene in the cemetery church of St Elizabeth in Oberzeiring in Styria dating from 1340-50. Both scenes are painted in the opposite direction to the usual one, that is to the left from the onlooker's viewpoint. In both cases the Virgin with the Child in her arms is sitting under the baldachin which is painted in perspective, with the view from below, and there are similar scenes of galloping horses with riders. Stylistically, however, the scenes belong to different worlds. In Oberzeiring they are carried out in the characteristic "drawing" style of the 1340s, while in Lind the new Italian fashionable politeness with a Czech quality to the faces is noticeable. About Oberzeiring cf. Ulrich Ocherbauer: *Die Wandmalerei der Steiermark in XIV. Jahrhundert*, Graz 1954 [dissertation; Ocherbauer], p. 64; id., *Der Freskenzyklus in der Knappenkirche zu Oberzeiring*, *ÖZKD*, XI, 1957, pp. 62-69, the frescoes are dated between 1340 and 1350; id., *Wandmalerei, Gotik in der Steiermark* [exhibition catalogue], Graz 1978, p. 96.

<sup>29a</sup> Špitalar, pp. 9-12.

<sup>29b</sup> Frodl: *Die gotische Wandmalerei*, p. 74, fig. 17. The author classifies it as Friulian painting, related to the paintings in Neuhausen upon Zilja and dates it to soon after 1400; Ocherbauer (p. 77) notices the resemblance to the votive picture of Christ's Entombment and the Annunciation on the south wall of the town parish church in Murau. It is classified as belonging to the Friulian circle and as following the model of S. Chiara in Udine to a great extent (cf. Heribert Hutter: *Italienische Einflüsse auf die Wandmalerei in Österreich im 14. Jahrhundert*, Wien 1958 [dissertation, Hutter], p. 94). Like Frodl, he classifies it as Friulian and relates it to Neuhausen. Besold (Besold, pp. 36-37) notices the strong schematization reminiscent of icon painting and is in favour of an earlier dating, around 1370-80, whereby the master could have been the teacher of the Neuhausen painter. Thus *St Christopher* on the Plöcken Pass, dated earlier, could represent a stage between pre-Friulian and Friulian painting.

<sup>30</sup> Ernst Bacher, *Zu den Freskenfunden des letzten Jahrzehnts: Kärnten*, *ÖZKD*, XXIII, 1969, pp. 129-131. On the account of the schematic work and prevailing northern atmosphere the frescoes are attributed to a local master who had learned various Trecento means of expression from itinerant painters from Friuli and Upper Italy. Cf. Maria Prokopp: *Italian Trecento Influence on Murals in East Central Europe, particularly Hungary*, Budapest 1983, pp. 38-39.

Brdinje in terms of the time of origin around 1370 and the facial types of the figures. Yet the similarity of the features does not seem to be strong enough to prove that the mentioned frescoes could have been the work of one workshop or even the same master. On the Plöcken Pass one finds a similar form of magically staring eyes with lowered eyelids, and similar ways of shading and of rendering the plasticity. There are also similarities in the ornamentation of the garment. However, it seems that the fresco with its soft, refined tinting and intensified plasticity has made an advance on the one in Brdinje. What Brdinje and Gmünd have in common are the tall, slim silhouettes of the women saints wearing garments with low necklines (*St Barbara* in Gmünd and *the two saints* in Brdinje) (pls. 24, 18, 20), the posture of the awkwardly shaped hands with their forefingers outstretched and similarly shaped wavy, fleecy hair (*Mary* in the scene of her Betrothal in Gmünd and *St Margaret* in Brdinje) (pls. 14, 13). Further similarities are found in the bearded white-haired figures of old men and their gestures (*St Joseph* in *Mary's Betrothal* in Gmünd and *the Apostles* in *Death of the Virgin* in Brdinje) (pls. 14, 13), as well as in the colour scale of green, brown and ochre tones and in the border with discs, which is simpler in Brdinje than in Gmünd. The latter is drawn in perspective. Yet on a detailed comparison, quite a few differences emerge and T. Špitalar's statement about different workshops proves entirely correct. In Brdinje the faces, eyes and noses have black contours, the contrasts in shading are more intense and the figures are more massive, which is not the case in the more subtle figures in Gmünd. The coarse rustic details can be ascribed partly to the lower quality of the Brdinje frescoes and partly to the more explicit Italian influence they followed, while the Gmünd frescoes remain closer to the northern art of painting, i.e., at least with respect to the figural representation. Compared to Brdinje, the drapery in the wall paintings in Gmünd, which are of higher quality, is more conservative and with fewer fashionable details. With its dry way of modelling, simplified garments falling straight toward the ground, with harsh concave folds, and by wrapping the figures in long cloaks, it repeats the way of modelling from the mid 14th century.<sup>31</sup> The main difference, however, is in the role of architectural elements and the landscape, which play an important, although isolated, role in Gmünd,<sup>32</sup> but are altogether lacking in Brdinje. With

<sup>31</sup> On the upper floor of the former castle chapel in Aufenstein in the vicinity of Matri near the Brenner Pass (today St Catherine's daughter church in Navis), in the scene of the *Presentation at the Temple*, one comes upon a facial type with a kerchief on its head similar to the ones in *Mary's Betrothal* and a similar type of draping to *Mary's Annunciation* in Gmünd. The *Evangelist John* painted on the wall between the windows can be compared to *St Barbara* in Gmünd with his long garment falling straight down with two concave folds on each side. Cf. Eva Frodl-Kraft: *Zu den Freskenfunden des letzten Jahrzehnts: Tirol, ÖZKD, XXIII, 1969*, pp. 195-198, fig. 231 (*Presentation at the Temple*). The frescos are dated towards 1350.

<sup>32</sup> A distinctly decorative architectural style with triangular pediments and filials as in *Mary's Annunciation* can be found in South Tyrol as early as the 1330s in the cloisters of the Franciscan monastery in Bolzano, while its echo can be traced as late as the beginning of the 15th century in the Terlan parish church in the painting of *Mary's Coronation* (cf. Josef Weingartner: *Gotische Wandmalerei in Südtirol*, Wien 1948, fig. 44). It is a generally known type of architecture, particularly in Northern Italy, which

this feature the Brdinje frescoes mark the beginning of a conservative trend in painting in Slovenia, which continues into the 15th century. However, when other Carinthian works from that time are compared with them, the two series mentioned are despite the differences still the most closely related. To some extent, the similarities can be attributed to the style of the period around 1370, from which both wall paintings date, and therefore, similar sources of origin may be assumed. They should not be sought in the Friulian painting style, which did start to penetrate Carinthia between 1370 and 1380,<sup>33</sup> yet it created a different, even rounder and more plastic facial type with bulging, wide open eyes and a luminous, soft plasticity. It seems that the remote models and sources are to be sought in the South Tyrolean art of painting and its area of influence from about the middle and the third quarter of the 14th century. It was formed by two contrasting trends: the late "drawing" style with its main representatives in the paintings of the chapels in Aufenstein and Tyrol Castles<sup>34</sup> on the one hand, and on the other, the paintings by the followers of Guariento di Arpa,<sup>35</sup> joined by additional influences of Veronese or Venetian art in some places. During his visit to Bolzano in 1348<sup>36</sup> or in the fifth or sixth decade of the 14th century,<sup>37</sup> the Paduan master and his assistants were commissioned by Nicolo, of the Florentine banking family de Rossi (Botsch), to paint the chapel of St Nicholas near the Dominican church in Bolzano. This creation became a longlasting model, which was followed up to the end of the 14th century.<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately there is no work of art in the South Tyrol that could be distinguished

took from the Assisi and not the Giottoesque painting and asserted itself in northern painting before the mid 14th century. The lions are almost identical to the ones on Salomon's throne on the north wall of the monastery church in St. Lambrecht in Styria, whereby the resemblance in iconography is evident. A similarly articulated type of architecture as in St. Lambrecht can be found on the south wall of the lower floor of the former Aufenstein Castle chapel in the fragment of a large figure sitting on the throne and an intercessor kneeling at the side. The similarities arguably point to a Tyrolean source of this type of architecture.

<sup>33</sup> Besold, p. 10. The first signs are supposed to have appeared in Gerlamoos and Millstatt around 1380.

<sup>34</sup> Hutter, p. 58 ss.; Nicolo Rasmus: *Affreschi medioevali atesini*, Venezia 1971 (Rasmus: *Affreschi*), pp. 139-134; Waltraud Kofler: *Der "Linearstil" in der spätromanischen und frühgotischen Wandmalerei Tirols*, Innsbruck 1984 [dissertation], p. 163 ss.

<sup>35</sup> Nicolo Rasmus: I distrutti affreschi guarienteschi della chiesa dei domenicani a Bolzano, *Cultura atesina*, IX, 1955, pp. 118-127 (Rasmus, I distrutti affreschi); Rasmus: *Affreschi*; id., *Pittura del Duecento e del Trecento in Trentino Alto Adige, La pittura in Italia: Il Duecento e il Trecento*, II/1, Milano 1986 (Enrico Castelnuovo, ed.) (Rasmus, *Pittura del Duecento*), pp. 93-109; Hutter, p. 51 ss.

<sup>36</sup> Roberto Pallucchini: *La pittura veneziana del Trecento*, Venezia 1964, Francesca d'Arcais: *Guariento*, Venezia 1965. Dated in 1348.

<sup>37</sup> Rasmus, I distrutti affreschi, dated to between 1345 and 1350/55; Rasmus: *Affreschi*, dated to the 1350s; Rasmus, *Pittura del Duecento*, dated to between 1360 and 1365. The chapel was destroyed in an air raid in 1944. Only prewar black-and-white photographs of part of the painting survive and an exact dating is not possible.

<sup>38</sup> The paintings in the nave of St John's church in Bolzano (S. Giovanni in Villa / St Johann im Dorf) with the scenes from the lives of John the Evangelist and John the Baptist, the painting of the church S. Maria del Conforto in Maia Bassa, of S. Pietro in Quarazza, of S. Vigilia al Virgolo, etc.

with certainty as the model used in the Gmünd and Brdinje frescoes, as by that time their style had already been altered and absorbed by the northern painting tradition. However, there is a global stylistic phenomenon to which the Brdinje and Gmünd frescoes respond in their own ways. More conservative in their figural representation, the Gmünd frescoes are derived from the late drawing style of Tyrolean painting from the mid 14th century as represented by the paintings in the upper storey of the former chapel in Castle Aufenstein, where slight similarities can be found in the facial types of the female figures and in the manner of draping (pls. 24, 25, 26, 27).<sup>39</sup> In shaping the richly articulated background architecture and the landscape with a fortress, the frescoes seem to follow the contemporary South Tyrolean and Trident late Trecento model.<sup>40</sup> The Brdinje frescoes, on the other hand, with the harsher, more Italianate facial type with emphasized eyelids and the coarser contrastive manner of shading are more in favour of the guarientesque Tyrolean tradition, such as the painting on the arch in St John's church in Bolzano (St Johann im Dorf/ S. Giovanni in Villa)<sup>41</sup> and the painting in S. Biagio in Levico.<sup>42</sup> At the same time they make a step forward in the design of fashionable clothes, even though they are executed in a more awkward manner, without any architectural elements or landscape in the background. The Tyrolean character of the figural representation, despite the plastic effect, creates a flat and coarse impression making them reminiscent of the parish church at Urschalling in Bavaria, dating from 1378-1395.<sup>43</sup>

However, the two share a slight lyrical note and a rather aristocratic effect, which announces developments at the end of the century. In Gmünd this can be seen in the *Adoration of the Magi* with the first hints of a cavalcade, decorative figurines, the fortress on the rock in the background and the Virgin with Child under the tall baldaquin, while in Brdinje this trend is evident in the aristocratic-looking *St Margaret* in her fashionable garment.

The wall painting of the church of Sv Neža (St Agnes) in Brdinje above Kotlje is an isolated example of Italianate painting in Slovenia, which is linked neither with the master, who came from Bologna around 1370 and painted the west exterior

<sup>39</sup> Op. cit. p. 9.

<sup>40</sup> A similar landscape to that in the *Adoration of the Magi* in Gmünd can be found in the *scenes from St Julian's legend* dating from 1365 in Trento Cathedral, the work of the Bologna master Monte da Bologna, who came into contact with aristocratic painting, probably Lombard. Cf. Antonio Morassi: *Storia della pittura nella Venezia Trentina*, Roma 1934, figs. 151-153. A similar facial type and hairstyle as in St Barbara appears in the *Madonna with Child* in S. Biagio in Levico, a work painted under Verona's influence (cf. Rasmò: *Affreschi*, fig. 177). In the scene of Christ the Pantocrator one can see certain similarities with another *Madonna with Child* from 1346 in S. Biagio in Levico. It reveals the influence of Paolo Veneziano in his later period and of the early Guariento (cf. Rasmò: *Affreschi*, fig. 198).

<sup>41</sup> Rasmò: *Affreschi*, figs. 170, 171.

<sup>42</sup> Rasmò: *Affreschi*, fig. 198.

<sup>43</sup> Evamaria Ciolina: *Der Freskenzyklus von Urschalling: Geschichte und Ikonographie, Miscellanea Bavarica Monacensia*, Heft 80, München 1980.



wall of the parish church in Crngrob and the church of St Peter in Bodovlje,<sup>44</sup> nor with the so-called Friulian workshops, which made their way into Slovenia later, around 1400. It could only be compared to the somewhat later paintings at St Nicholas's church near Koritno above Čadram from the end of the 14th century. Similarities can be noticed in the facial types of female figures, the manner of shading and making contours with a darker line and the shaping of large awkward hands. In this church the mixed style can be observed alongside conservative northern elements,<sup>45</sup> although the Koritno frescoes already evince some influence of Friulian painting art, probably mediated via Austrian Carinthia.<sup>46</sup>

The group of paintings showing traces of Italian pre-Friulian art also includes the fragment of *St Nicholas* as steersman of the boat of the Apostles on the west exterior wall of St Nicholas's church at Breg (Žužemberk), dating back to the third quarter of the 14th century, and the painting of the nave of St Nicholas's church above Pangrč Grm<sup>47</sup> in Dolenjska, dating back to the end of the 14th century. In these cases there is no close connection with the Brdinje frescoes; it is merely that related elements in the trend of development are visible.

Thus the Brdinje frescoes with their characteristic features are more at home in the colourful frame of Carinthian painting than in central Slovenian painting of the third quarter of the 14th century.

<sup>44</sup> Janez Höfler, *Srednjeveške freske v Sloveniji, I: Gorenjska, introduction* (before publication). It is about a master from Bologna who developed his art following the works of Vitale da Bologna and his assistants in Pomposa and came to Slovenian territory directly, not via Friuli.

<sup>45</sup> For example, the Evangelist Matthew represented as an angel on the presbytery vault.

<sup>46</sup> A similar facial type can be noticed in the depiction of Christ on the boss in Koritno and on the painting in the apse of St Egidius's church in Zweinitz and in the south choir of Krka (Gurk) Cathedral, dating from the end of the 14th century.

<sup>47</sup> Vilma Praprotnik, *Ornamentika slikanih okvirjev v srednjeveškem stenskem slikarstvu v Sloveniji*, ZUZ, n.v. X, 1973, pp. 31-78; Alenka Vodnik: *Brokatni vzorci v slovenskem stenskem slikarstvu 15. stoletja*, Ljubljana 1991 [diploma paper]. Despite numerous retarded features in the figural representation (St Bishop) and in the facial type (caricatured profiles) due to the use of template patterns, the authors are in favour of dating the work towards the end of the 14th century.