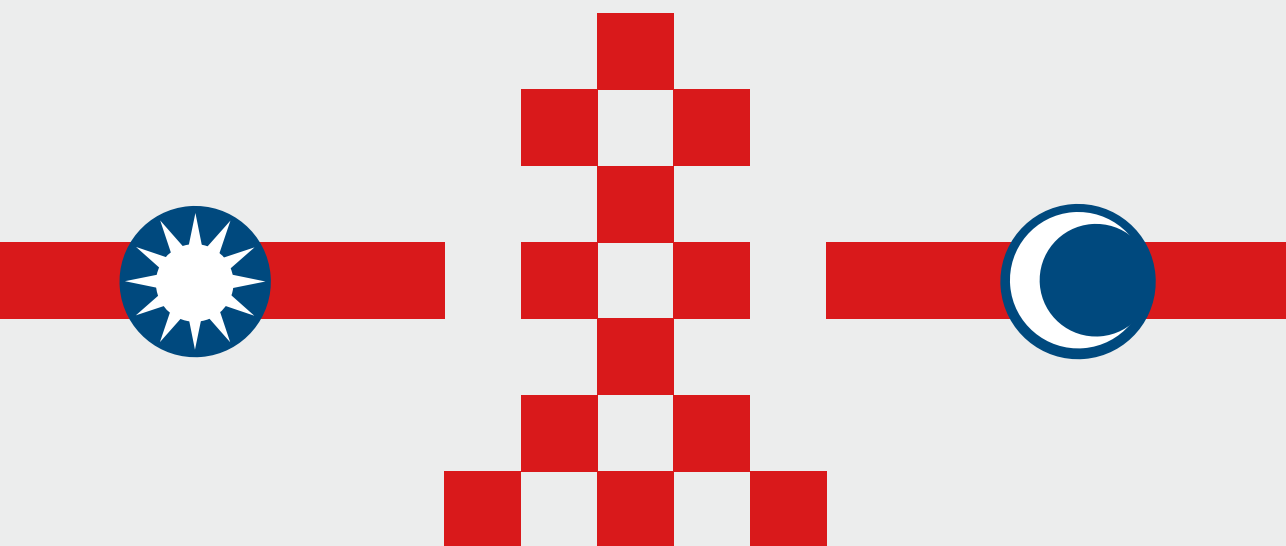


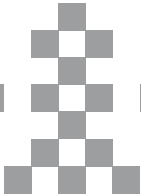
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VOL. V



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2024



V.

Slovensko-chorvátska komisia humanitných vied
pri Ministerstve školstva, výskumu, vývoja a mládeže Slovenskej republiky
a Ministerstve vedy a vzdelávania Chorvátskej republiky

Studia Carpathico-Adriatica, vol. V:
Umenie a identity

Studia Carpathico-Adriatica

Vol. V.

Umenie a identity Umjetnost i identiteti

Editori

Martin Homza, Željko Holjevac, Mirjana Repanić Braun & Ivan Gerát

Bratislava 2024

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Peti svezak znanstvenog časopisa *Studia Carpathico-Adriatica* tematski je vezan uz izlaganja sa znanstvenoga skupa *Umjetnost i identiteti*, održanoga u Východoslovenskoj galeriji u Košicama 12. lipnja 2024. godine.

Posve u skladu s važnošću i značenjem Slovačko-hrvatske komisije u kontekstu razvijanja međusobnih odnosa dviju povijesno bliskih država, a poglavito u kontekstu suradnje u polju humanističkih znanosti ta je Konferencija bila svečano otvorena govorima Alexandra Heina, hrvatskog ambasadora u Slovačkoj, Martine Klofáčove, predstavnice Ministarstva obrazovanja, znanosti, istraživanja i sporta Slovačke Republike te Staše Skenzića, predstavnika Ministarstva znanosti i obrazovanja Republike Hrvatske.

U ovome broju objavljeni recenzirani članci – u skladu s ustanovljenom uredničkom praksom provedeni kroz dvostruko slijepi međunarodni recenzentski postupak s dvjema recenzijama – donose zanimljive diskurse o različitim aspektima slovačke i hrvatske likovne baštine o, primjerice, stilskim uzorima, naručiteljima, recepciji vizualnih modela, komparaciji umjetničkih praksi iz bivših socijalističkih zemalja Čehoslovačke i Jugoslavije u sklopu kojih su se nalazile. Slijedi njihov kratak pregled:

„Konstrukcije identiteta u umjetnosti obično proizlaze iz procesa koji nadilaze granice lokalnih zajednica, regija ili

država. Povijesna geografija umjetnosti ne samo da opisuje prošle procese nego i sudjeluje u stvaranju suvremenih identiteta,“ napisao je Ivan Gerát koji je svojim izlaganjem “Azimuths of the historical geography of art – the example of the visual cult of St. Elizabeth in Košice” otvorio radni dio konferencije. Dakako, kada je posrijedi konferencija u Košicama, govorimo o likovnim umjetnostima, moćnim alatima izražavanja osobnih, grupnih, nacionalnih, kulturnih i religioznih identiteta. Bilo da je riječ o slikarstvu, kiparstvu, novim umjetničkim praksama, primijenjenoj umjetnosti ili arhitekturi, govorimo o umjetnosti koja otvara, ali ujedno i definira granice, osobito u slučaju snaženja nacionalnih, religijskih i kulturoloških vrijednosti. U fokusu njegova rada je sjeverni portal crkve sv. Elizabete u Košicama, originalno djelo za čije skulpture Gerát nalazi stilsko podrijetlo na starijim portalima crkava u zapadnoj i južnoj Europi, a osobito u Hrvatskoj, u čuvenome djelu Majstora Radovana na glavnome portalu katedrale sv. Lovre u Trogiru (1240.). Kult sv. Elizabete, koja je podrijetlom i rođenjem u Bratislavi početkom 13. stoljeća nazvana Ugarskom, a udajom za Ludwiga, sina landgrafa od Thüringije Tirinškom, osobito je razvijen u Slovačkoj gdje je postala dijelom povijesnoga i kulturnog nasljeđa. Njezine skulpture i oltarne slike česte su u katoličkim zemljama srednje

* MIRJANA REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb (Republika Hrvatska).

Europe, pa i u crkvama kontinentalne Hrvatske, gdje se najčešće spominje kao sv. Elizabeta Tirinška.

Katarína Orviská sagledava nekadašnji glavni oltar crkve sv. Martina u Bratislavi, rad Geoga Raphaela Donnera posvećen 1733. godine, u kontekstu građanskog identiteta njegova donatora, grofa i biskupa Emerika Esterházyja. Taj monumentalni oltar neoklasične arhitektonske konstrukcije, s vitkim kaneliranim stupovima i visokom trabeacijom, pripisivan je najprije Josephu Emanuelu Fischeru von Erlachu (1693.–1742.) i Antoniju Galli Bibieni te, naposljetku, Donneru koji je po narudžbi svojega mecene Emerika Esterházyja za istu crkvu izradio i oltar aleksandrijskog patrijarha sv. Ivana Milosrdnoga (1729.). Barokni oltar sv. Martina danas više ne postoji, uklonjen je oko 1867. godine, a Donnerova brončana skulptura *Sv. Martin s prosjakom*, središnja figurativna skupina bivšeg oltara, našla je svoje mjesto u crkvenom brodu, desno od trijumfalnog luka. Zanimljivo je spomenuti da se vjerojatno jedini oltar nadvišen velikom svetom ugarskom krunom (*Sacra Regni Hungarici Corona*) nalazi u Hrvatskoj, a podignut je 1763. godine u Požeškoj katedrali sv. Terezije Avilske, nebeske zaštitnice carice i kraljice Marije Terezije, donatorice velike oltarne slike Caspara Franza Sambacha, koja ga i danas resi.

Danko Šourek u svojem radu također piše o grofu Emeriku Esterhazyju u kontekstu hrvatskoga umjetničkog nasljeđa, spominjući da će kao biskup u Vácu, Zagrebu i Veszprému, a kasnije i kao nadbiskup Esztergoma s prebivalištem u Pressburgu, povezati umjetničke baštine Slovačke, Ugarske i Hrvatske. Iako smatra da će vrhunac Esterházyjeva pokroviteljstva obilježiti plodna suradnja s već spomenutim Georgom Raphaelom Donnerom, koja je u Bratislavi rezultirala iznimnim kiparskim i oltarističkim

djelima u crkvi sv. Martina, Šourek ističe da je njegova visoka umjetnička kultura ostavila značajan trag i na području povijesne Zagrebačke biskupije. Osim narudžbi nekoliko izvrsnih zlatarskih radova, među njima su i izvanredna ostvarenja poput srebrnog antependija glavne oltarne katedrale ili mramornog oltara sv. Ignacija Loyolskoga u nekadašnjoj isusovačkoj crkvi u Zagrebu. Njegove zasluge za pavlinski red, kojem je i sam pripadao, obilježene su freskama u blagovaonici i knjižnici pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi.

Nadgrobnici spomenici kao svjedočanstvo društvenoga položaja, kao i prihvaćanje likovnih rješenja među hrvatskim plemstvom tema je koju Maja Žvorc već duže vrijeme istražuje. U prvoj polovini 17. stoljeća nadgrobnja skulptura današnjih hrvatskih i slovačkih prostora, spominje Žvorc, doživjela je značajne promjene udaljujući se od srednjovjekovnih prikaza pokojnika i približavajući se djelima suvremene portretistike. Stoga u svojem članku istražuje kako je novo likovno rješenje, prvotno zastupljeno među ugarskim magnatima, postupno prihvatilo i hrvatsko plemstvo. Analizirajući primjere nadgrobnih spomenika podignutih u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj, razmatra društveno-politički kontekst njihova nastanka te simboličko značenje nazočnih likovnih elemenata koji naglašavaju vojni i društveni status pokojnika. Osobitu pozornost posvetila je prijenosu umjetničkih ideja unutar plemićkih krugova i ulozi nadgrobnje plastike u oblikovanju plemićkoga identiteta.

Sanja Cvetnić se u svojem radu "Između Košica i Knina: doprinos Aleksija Jordanskog temi *Hortus Marianus* u Hrvatskoj" bavi djelom *Kratki opis slika Blažene Djevice Marije u Ugarskoj i pripadajućih područja* (1836. na njemačkom i mađarskom; 1838. na slovačkom)

autora Alexiusa Jordánszkoga (Košice, 1765. – Ostrihom, 1840.) kao važnim mariološkim spisom koji pruža povijesni uvid u marijanska hodočasnička svetišta u Hrvatskoj. Jordánszky opisuje osam lokaliteta: Trsat (Senjska biskupija), Marija Bistrica, Remete, Krapina / Trški Vrh (Zagrebačka biskupija) te Aljmaš, Dragotin, Sotin, Petrovaradin (Đakovačka biskupija). Rođen u Slovačkoj, Jordánszky je bio istaknuta crkvena i intelektualna osoba u Habsburškoj Monarhiji. Ipak, u hrvatskoj crkvenoj i povijesti umjetnosti posebno je zapamćen kao naslovni biskup Tinina (Knin, Hrvatska) te po svojim opisima i ilustracijama navedenih marijanskih slika.

Premda se u Slovačkoj nalazi samo jedno djelo hrvatskog akademskog slikara i grafičara Mencija Klementa Crnčića, Marta Herucová spominje ga kao iznimnu osobnost hrvatske lijepe umjetnosti, osobito impresionizma i poentilizma i posvećuje mu svoj rad „Menci Clement Crnčić i misterij njegove slike“. Podrijetlom Hrvat, rođen u Austriji, školovao se u Moravskoj i Bavarskoj te je često boravio na jadranskoj obali i u mnogim europskim zemljama, postavši autor brojnih pejzažnih slika. Njegova jedina slika sačuvana u Slovačkoj odstupa od ostatka njegova opusa, naginjući prema simbolizmu te otvara nekoliko pitanja u području ikonografije i srodnih tema.

U radu „Tijelo i priroda u umjetnosti bivše Čehoslovačke i Jugoslavije. Neki komparativni primjeri“ Daniel Grúň nastoji iz novoga gledišta razmotriti umjetnost *Body Arta* i *Land Arta*. No pritom naglasak stavlja na pomicanje granica između kulture i prirode, što opravdava činjenica da su umjetnici o kojima je riječ tada njegovali osobne kontakte. Razmjenjivali su informacije i koristili poštansku komunikaciju za distribuciju svojih radova, a svođenje tih sredstava na tijelo

i prirodu, smatra autor, vraća maštu na *arché* – praiskonsku osnovu svijeta. Gruñ među inim pokušava približiti potragu za procesima rađanja, nestajanja, preobrazbe, snagom gravitacije ili prirodnim elementima – zrakom, vodom, zemljom i vatrom, usredotočuje se na interakciju tijela i prirode, povratak arhaičnim ritualima, licima kao maskama, oblicima postajanja životinjom koji rezultiraju modernim „upućenim primitivizmom“ te, naposljetku, različitim oblicima umjetničke komunikacije.

Katarína Bajrucová piše o slovačkom umjetniku Jozefu Jankoviču (1937. – 2017.) u Hrvatskoj. Smatran jednom od najvažnijih figura u povijesti slovačkog kiparstva, bio je jedna od žrtava političke „normalizacije“ i nasilnog suzbijanja demokratskih procesa u Čehoslovačkoj nakon 1968. godine. Usprkos zabrani izlaganja i putovanja, Jankovič je uspješno održavaoprijateljske kontakte u drugim zemljama, uključujući i bivšu Jugoslaviju, gdje je izrađivao i izlagao svoja djela. Kao njegove kapitalne radove Bajrucová ističe *Vrata* iz 1985. u Parku skulpture Dobrova u Labinu, *Ruke* iz 1994. u Vrsaru, te *Raspelo* iz 1995. godine u Komemorativnom centru, također u gradu Labinu, analizira ih i interpretira iz aspekta kulturnoga vizualnog i osobnoga umjetničkog aspekta.

Naposljetku čestitam od srca prof. dr. Martinu Homzi i prof. dr. Željku Holjevcu glavnim i odgovornim urednicima časopisa, jer znam koliko je taj posao zahtjevan kada nije naš jedini zadatak, i zahvaljujem na povjerenju koje sam od njih dobila da napišem ovaj uvodnik. Zahvaljujem im također kao utemeljiteljima i supredsjedateljima Slovačko-hrvatski / Hrvatsko-slovačke komisije za humanističke znanosti što sam imala priliku biti dijelom jednoga važnog i korisnog projekta koji je spojio znanstvenike iz dviju

prijateljskih zemalja humanističkim temama, kojima smo se svi mi – članovi, sudionici i kolege različitih specijalizacija

– posvetili i posvećujemo, uz podršku ministarstava znanosti Republike Hrvatske i Slovačke Republike.

UMENIE A IDENTITY

UMJETNOST I IDENTITETI

Azimuty historickej geografie umenia – príklad vizuálneho kultu svätej Alžbety v Košiciach**

Azimuti geografije povijesti umjetnosti – primjer vizualnog kulta sv.
Elizabete u Košicama /Azimuths of the Historical Geography of art –
the Example of the Visual Cult of St. Elizabeth in Košice

Identity constructions in art usually result from processes that transcend the boundaries of local communities, regions or states. The historical geography of art not only describes past processes but also participates in the creation of contemporary identities. The northern portal of St. Elizabeth's Church in Košice is an original work whose predecessors can be seen in portal sculpture not only in Western but also in Southern Europe: in this sense, it is a late parallel to the work of the master Radovan in Trogir (1240). At this time – also in the context of anti-heretic struggles – the image of the holy princess of Hungarian origin, the patroness of the Košice church, took shape in Marburg. However, the communication on the west-east axis was also in the 15th century supplemented in the north-south direction – for example, by the hitherto unnoticed reception of the growing cult of St. Catherine of Siena, which can be seen in the original elements of the iconography of the main altar of the Košice Cathedral.

Key words: Cultural communication, civic identity, Catherine of Siena, Elizabeth of Hungary

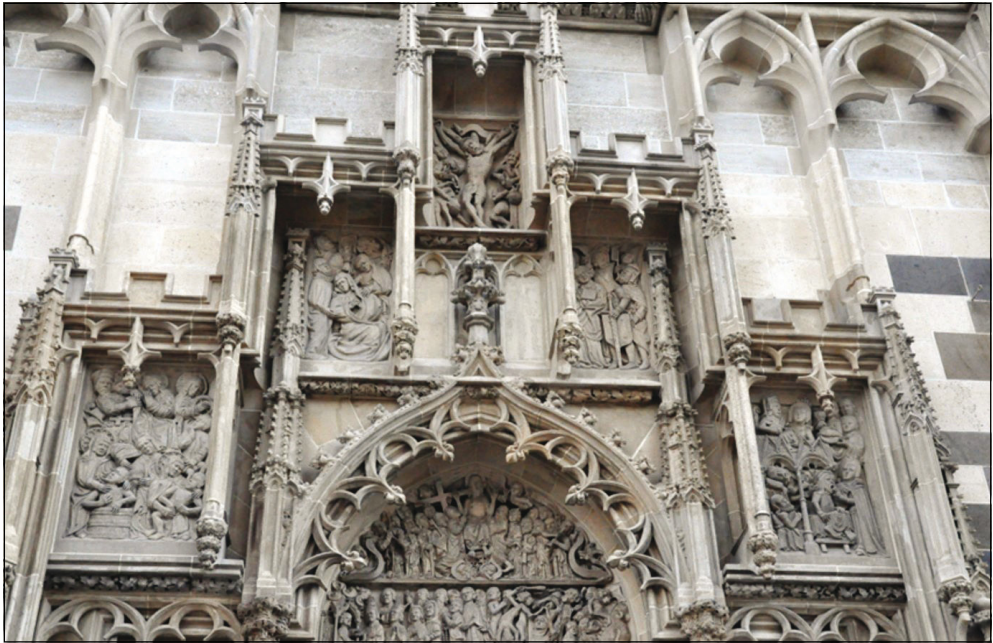
Portály katedrál v Košiciach (po 1400) a Trogire (okolo 1240) od seba delí takmer dvesto rokov, no predsa majú niečo spoločné. Oba boli postavené v neskorej fáze slohového obdobia – prvý románskeho, druhý gotického – a na okraji oblastí, kde sa príslušný sloh rozvíjal. Napriek zdanlivej vyčerpanosti slohu a vzdialenosti oboch miest od najvýznamnejších umeleckých centier svojej doby priniesol každý z nich do vývoja

portálovej výzdoby niekoľko originálnych riešení. Vyhodnotenie umeleckého významu týchto diel si zakaždým vyžaduje zohľadnenie komplexných geografických súvislostí, rôznych priamych inšpirácií, ale aj voľnejších analógií, ktoré možno hľadať vo viacerých smeroch.

Rozbor reliéfov západného portálu Katedrály sv. Vavrinca v Trogire patrí ku kľúčovým príkladom knihy Vladimíra Gossa, ktorá zásadne spochybňuje

* Prof. PhDr. IVAN GERÁT, PhD, Centrum vied o umení SAV, v.v.i., samostatný vedecký pracovník, Bratislava (Slovenská republika).

** Štúdiá vznikla s podporou projektu VEGA 2/085/23 *Temporality ikonológie*.



Obr. 1: Košice, horná časť severného portálu katedrály, začiatok 15. storočia (Foto: archív autora).

mainstreamový pohľad na geografiu stredovekého umenia v Európe.¹ Namiesto prevládajúceho uvažovania o šírení vplyvov zo západnej Európy pripomína dôležitosť juhozápadného smeru komunikácie, ležiaceho na spojnici Byzantskej ríše a Západu. V tomto zmysle poskytuje rovnako významný impulz pre výskum geografických súvislostí umenia strednej Európy ako práce Thomasa DaCosta Kaufmanna.² Otázky umeleckej geografie súvisia aj s problémom porovnávania rôznych kontextov, do ktorých vstupovali obrazy ako médium verejnej komunikácie, vyjadrujúce aj ovplyvňujúce rôzne dimenzie identity objednávateľov aj divákov. Na

inom mieste a v inom čase sa menila úloha obrazov a ich motívov v skutočnom aj imaginatívnom priestore, poskytujúcom oporu pre presnejšie definovanie identity jednotlivcov aj sociálnych skupín.³ Analógie či vývinové nadväznosti umeleckých diel a ich kultúrnych funkcií približujú vnútorné napätia a vzájomné dialógy myšlienok, ktoré podstatne vplývali na zdieľanú imagináciu a spoločenský život obyvateľov stredovekých miest.

Tvorivé impulzy pre formovanie obrazovej výzdoby košického Chrámu sv. Alžbety prichádzali z rôznych smerov. V prípade svätice, ktorá prežila väčšinu svojho života na území dnešného

¹ Vladimír P. Goss, *Four Centuries of European Art: 800–1200. A View from Southeast* (Zagreb: Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga, 2010).

² Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art* (Chicago, Ill. [u.a.]: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004).

³ Por. Patricia Lee Rubin, *Images and identity in fifteenth-century Florence* (New Haven, Conn. [u.a.]: Yale Univ. Press, 2007). K úlohe svätcov pri konštrukcii identít v neskorom stredoveku por. Nino M. Zchomelidse, *Art, Ritual, and Civic Identity in Medieval Southern Italy* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 170–203.



Obr. 2. Hlavný oltár Kostola sv. Alžbery v Košiciach, 1474 – 1477 (Foto: archív autora).

Nemecka, no bola kanonizovaná r. 1235 v Perugii je logické, že podnety, vychádzajúce z európskeho juhu, najmä Talianska, sa stretávali či priam krížili s impulzami, prichádzajúcimi so Západu. Cestu niektorých motívov smerom z juhu na sever zastavili Karpaty, čo možno ilustrovať porovnaním s analogickými dielami, ktoré vznikli v rovnakom čase v pobaltskom regióne.

Najoriginálnejším architektonickým prvkom severného portálu v Košiciach je jeho stupňovitá nadstavba, obsahujúca reliéfy s unikátnou ikonografiou. Predstavy o individuálnej aj spoločenskej identite, ktoré vyjadrujú, možno skúmať v súvislosti s dobovými teologickými diskurzmi a zložitou cirkevno-politickou situáciou v čase pápežskej schizmy. Vnútrocirkevné spory sa odrazili napríklad v tom, že identita vplyvného cirkevného hodnostára nebola automatickou zárukou pozitívneho

hodnotenia postavy v rámci ikonografického programu portálu. Po pravici Krista, ktorý dominuje obrazu Posledného súdu v tympanóne portálu, vidno pápeža vedúceho zástup veriacich do neba. Jednoznačne ho identifikuje tiara. Na opačnej strane, medzi zatratenými v otvorenej tlame Leviatana, však nájdeme aj postavu s biskupskou mitrou na hlave. Tento motív mohol aj v očiach širšej verejnosti spochybniť či relativizovať význam klerikálnej autority. Podobné pochybnosti určite neboli len miestnou záležitosťou, pretože súviseli so zložitou cirkevno-politickou situáciou. Komplikované vzťahy, ktoré vyplynuli z pápežskej schizmy, zasiahli aj Košice. Mesto úzko spolupracovalo s kráľom Žigmundom, ktorý uprednostňoval pápeža Jána XXIII., ale aj s jeho konkurentom pápežom Bonifácom IX., ktorý v roku 1402 vydal odpustok na podporu stavby farského kostola.⁴ Správca farského

⁴ Naposledy k téme Tim Juckes, *The Parish and Pilgrimage Church of St. Elizabeth in Košice: Town, Court and Architecture in Late Medieval Hungary*, Architectura medii aevi, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

kostola Stephanus de Caseda, ktorého si zvolili obyvatelia mesta, však požiadal pápeža Bonifáca IX., aby obmedzil pôsobenie františkánov vo farskom kostole. Pápež, ktorý inak františkánov podporoval, mu vyhovet listom z 9. marca 1402.

Napätia medzi náboženskými a politickými rozmermi identity sa odrazili aj v rozdieloch medzi inak štylisticky príbuznými portálmi farského a františkánskeho kostola v Košiciach. Oba portály vznikli v približne rovnakom čase a v rovnakej dielni, no ideologicky medzi nimi existuje viacero rozdielov. Autor ikonografického programu farského kostola vo väčšej miere zohľadnil zložitú politickú situáciu, spojenú so vzťahom cisára k pápežskej autorite v čase schizmy. Ikonografia tohto diela je preto motivicky oveľa bohatšia a teologicky prepracovanejšia ako je to v prípade jeho františkánskeho pendanta, ktorý sa sústreďuje na rozprávanie Kristovho príbehu. Vo farskom kostole sa k tomu pridávajú sofistikované soteriologické a eschatologické momenty, vyjadrené predovšetkým spomínaným obrazom Posledného súdu v tympanóne a lotrami po bokoch Krista v scéne Ukrižovania vo vrchole stupňovitého štítu portálu. Pohľad na Krista sa tu však nevyjadruje len obrazom biblických tém, ale sa ďalej diferencuje a modifikuje v rámci príbehu kráľovskej sväteice, uhorskej princeznej a durínskej kňaznej Alžbety, zobrazeného v dvoch okrajových reliéfoch stupňovitého nadstavca. Toto obohatenie ikonografie je dôsledkom narastajúceho významu vizionárskych svätíc v čase pápežskej schizmy. Na európsku politiku v tomto

čase priamo vplývali dve významné vizionárky – sv. Brigita Švédska a sv. Katarína Sienska. Pre obidve bol významným zdrojom inšpirácie aj život sv. Alžbety.⁵

Svätú Alžbetu si vďaka jej pôvodu, v ktorom bolo možné identifikovať najvýznamnejšie dynastie naprieč Európou, uctievali rôzne skupiny Košičanov. Ako uhorská princezná mohla rovnako oslovovať pôvodné slovensky i maďarsky hovoriace obyvateľstvo Košíc, ako durínska krajinská grófká zasa nemecky hovoriacich hostí. Ako hlavná patrónka budúcej košickej katedrály sa stala aj patrónkou mesta. V tejto úlohe plnila dovnútra komunity nepochybnú integrujúcu úlohu pre všetkých, ktorí v tomto meste žili. Navonok zasa slúžila ako hlavný identifikačný znak najmä pre majetné vrstvy mesta, to jest pre košických mešťanov, kupcov a remeselníkov. V medzinárodnom meradle sa stala významnou mediátorkou komunikácie v sieti vyznávačov jednej z najvýznamnejších stredovekých svätíc v rámci celej Európy.

Významnú úlohu Alžbety vo vizuálnej kultúre dokumentuje už stredoveká pečať mesta, ktorá má v strede jej obraz. Identita sväteice oslovovala aj nemajetné vrstvy košického obyvateľstva, a to pre jej mimoriadnu charitatívnu činnosť, starostlivosť o chorých v pôvodnom centre jej kultu v Marburgu, kde založila špitál.⁶ Ikonografia obrazu jej starostlivosti o chorých vychádzala od počiatku z vizuálnej tradície skutkov milosrdenstva, ktorá na základe Kristovho prísľubu v 25. kapitole *Matúšovho evanjelia* významovo spájala obraz konania v prospech trpiacich s prísľubom nebeského kráľovstva.

⁵ Maria H. Oen and Unn Falkeid, „Sanctity and female authorship : Birgitta of Sweden & Catherine of Siena,“ (2020), <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780429351778>.

⁶ Podrobnejšie pozri v Ivan Gerát, *Iconology of Charity: Medieval Legends of Saint Elizabeth in Central Europe*, ed. Barbara Baert, Art & Religion, (Leuven; Paris; Bristol [CT]: Peeters, 2020).



Obr. 3: Giovanni di Paolo: Zázračné prijímanie svätej Kataríny Sienskej, po roku 1461, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32.100.95.

V Košiciach získala táto tematika novú aktualitu tým, že obraz stavby, v ktorej Alžbeta navštevuje chorých, mohol pripomínať obdobnú inštitúciu – špitál, fungujúci práve pri farskom kostole. Jednotlivé scény však nenasledujú tradičnú ikonografiu skutkov milosrdenstva, ale historicky sa konkretizujú a súčasne radikalizujú až do tej miery, že v reliéfoch portálu možno vidieť určitú ambivalentnosť vizuálnej identity svätice. Vpravo, teda na menej významnej strane po Kristovej lavici, prichádza Alžbeta ešte ako krajinská grófka (uhorská princezná) s korunou na hlave na návštevu špitálu so svojou slúžkou. Na ľavej strane, teda na čestnejšej strane po Kristovej pravici, už vystupuje v jednoduchom rúchu a nijako sa nezdráha chudákovi priblížiť – napríklad ho umýva vlastnými rukami, alebo ho drží v polohe pripomínajúcej Pietu. Tento motív vychádza z radikálneho prehodnotenia identity bedára, vizuálne



Obr. 4: Vízia svätej Alžbety v špitáli, Košice, asi 1474 – 1478 (Foto: archív autora).

stotožneného s Kristom, ktorého Panna Mária držala podobným spôsobom. Tvorcovia portálu vnímali podobnosť Kristovho utrpenia, vyjadreného vo vrchole portálového nadstavca s utrpením jednoduchého človeka. Osobe na okraji spoločnosti sa tak v istom zmysle pripisovala dôstojnosť, založená na podobnosti k trpiacemu Spasiteľovi, Kristovi, večne živému sudcovi všetkých živých aj mŕtvych. Radikálny prístup sa prejavuje aj v obraze Alžbetinho manžela, durínskeho krajinského grófa Ludovíta, ktorého na rovnakej reliéfnej tabuli vidíme ležať v posteli vedľa kríža. Kríž pritom odkazuje na žobráka, ktorého jeho svätá manželka predtým umiestnila do ich spoločnej manželskej postele. Zázračnú premenu žobráka na Krista, zobrazili napríklad aj v kódexe, určenom pre dvojité kláštor františkánov a klarisiek v Českom Krumlove: Ludovít tam odkrýva prikrývku, aby pod ňou uvidel Krista na

kríži.⁷ Tomuto obrazu však chýba intímna blízkosť, charakteristická pre košický reliéf. Kríž v Košiciach navyše zobrazili medzi štyrmi ružami. Korene motívu kvetov siahajú do nástenných malieb na chóre kostola Santa Maria Donnaregina v Neapole. V rámci alžbetínskeho cyklu tam vidno aj scénu, ktorá by mohla byť prvým obrazom zázračnej premeny v manželskom lôžku alebo v Ľudovítových duchovných očiach, ako to uvádzajú texty legiend. Táto interpretácia však naráža na viacero nejednoznačností. Napríklad v posteli chýba kríž a ani muž s pútnickou palicou, ktorý stojí vedľa Alžbety, nemusí byť jednoznačne identifikovaný ako jej manžel.⁸ Na košickom portáli sú však rozhodujúce motívy prítomné celkom jednoznačne – Ľudovít pod prikrývkou, kvety obklopujúce kríž, modliaca sa postava a anjel v pozadí medzi manželmi.

Uhorská princezná a durínska grófka Alžbeta nadobúda mimoriadny význam aj na hlavnom oltári farského kostola, ktorého bola patrónkou. Jej sochu tu vidno uprostred oltárneho retabula po boku biblických postáv – Panny Márie a Alžbety, matky Jána Krstiteľa. Tieto polychrómované drevorezby ušľachtilých tvarov v mierne nadživotnej veľkosti sa štylisticky presvedčivo zaraďujú do okruhu

tvorby Nicholasa Gerhaerta z Leydenu, ktorý pracoval vo Viedni pre cisára Fridericha III.⁹ Ich postavy na zlatom pozadí predstavovali príslub nebeskej nádhery, očakávajúcej verných kresťanov.

Cyklus dvanástich obrazov na otvorených krídlach oltára sa venuje práve svätej patrónke farského kostola. Nové ikonografické motívy týchto malieb poskytujú množstvo záchytných bodov pre presnejšie definovanie jej identity. Cyklus otvára dva výjavy poukazujúce práve na nadnárodné rozpätie jej života, začínajúceho narodením v rodine uhorského kráľa Ondreja II. a pokračujúceho odchodom malého dievčatka do Durínska.

Ďalšie dve maľby predstavujú okrem svätice aj jedinečný uhol pohľadu jej manžela Ľudovíta. Najskôr ho zobrazili, ako pozoruje škandalóznou starostlivosťou svojej manželky o žobraka v zámočkej záhrade. Takýto obraz landgrófa inde v Európe nenájdeme. Jeho mimoriadnu toleranciu vysvetľuje nasledujúca maľba, venovaná zázraku s krížom. Malomocný na manželskom lôžku sa premenil na Ukrižovaného nielen pred očami diváka, ale hlavne pred vnútorným zrakom Ľudovíta, ktorý ako jediný pred týmto mimoriadnym zjavením pokľakol. Obaja manželia sú súčasťou mnohofigurálnej scény, v ktorej centre sa nachádza postel'

⁷ *Krumlovský kódex*, tzv. *Liber depictus*, dnes vo Viedni, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 370, fol. 93r.

⁸ Por. Cathleen A. Fleck, „Blessed the Eyes that See Those Things you See: The Trecento Choir Frescoes at Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples,“ *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 67, no. 2 (2004). Cordelia Warr, „Der Freskenzyklus der heiligen Elisabeth von Ungarn in Santa Maria Donna Regina in Neapel,“ in *Elisabeth von Thüringen – eine europäische Heilige. Aufsätze*, ed. Dieter Blume and Matthias Werner (Petersberg: Imhof, 2007). Samantha Kelly, „Religious Patronage and Royal Propaganda in Angevin Naples: Santa Maria Donna Regina in Context,“ in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina. Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, ed. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot, Burlington: Ashgate, 2004).

⁹ Kaliopi Chamonikolasová, „Recepcia diela Nicolausa Gerhaerta van Leyden na Slovensku v poslednej tretine 15. storočia,“ in *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2003). Robert Suckale, „The Central European Connections of Matthias Corvinus' Patronage of Late Gothic Art,“ in *Matthias Corvinus the King*, ed. Péter Farkas and András Véghe (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2008).

s Ukrižovaným na vetvovom kríži, obklopenom bielymi a červenými ružami. Motív kvetov v rámci tejto scény pokračoval v ceste na sever v rámci karpatského oblúka – nájdeme ho ešte v Bardejove, no celkom chýba na najznámejších alžbetínskych cykloch 15. storočia v baltskom priestore – nie sú po ňom stopy ani obrazovom živote svätice na chórovom zábradlí Kostola špitála sv. Ducha Lübecku, ani v Kostole sv. Ducha v Tallinne.¹⁰

Na ďalšej maľbe vidno transformáciu Ludovítovej identity z bojovného križiaka do jemnejšej podoby. Tento proces sa významne prejavil už v ilumináciách spomenutého krumlovského kódexu. Už na tomto mieste Ludovít stratil zásadné atribúty križiaka prítomné ešte v najstarších marburských cykloch zo života sv. Alžbety. Kým na marburskom relikviári sa pred reliéfom, zobrazujúcim Ludovítov odchod na križiacku výpravu objavuje aj jeho križiacky sľub, v Krumlove táto téma celkom chýba. V marburskom reliéfe rozlúčky pred odchodom na križiacku výpravu vidíme odhodlaného bojovníka. V Košiciach na seba berie anjelskú podobu, ktorej obrazová realizácia v mnohom nadväzuje na radikálne objavy nizozemských maliarov prvej polovice 15. storočia. Ludovítova tvár pri rozlúčke s Alžbetou na hlavnom oltári v Košiciach sa nápadne podobá na jedného z anjelov, ktorých namaľoval Jan van Eyck na oltári Mystického baránka v Katedrále sv. Bavo v Gente.¹¹

Vo viacerých obrazoch možno znamená zásadnú premenu Alžbety

na vizionárku. Iluzívny priestor maľby umožnil vyjadriť rôzne vidiny, ale aj rôzne spôsoby videnia. Košické maľby napríklad poskytujú diferencovaný pohľad na možnosti stretnutia s Kristom. Na jednej strane ilustrujú tézu, že v žobrákovi možno vidieť Krista. Na opačnom krídle oltára však nájdeme aj výjav s protikladným významom. Alžbetino stretnutie s nevďačnou žobráčkou predstavuje konfrontáciu dvoch osôb veľmi rozdielneho spoločenského postavenia a morálnych hodnôt bez akéhokoľvek bezprostredného nadprirodzeného zásahu. Na rozdiel od krumlovského kódexu v tejto maľbe nenájdeme vizionársky zážitok, keď ponížená svätica uvidela svojho nebeského ženícha. Mníšky, uzavreté v krumlovskom kláštore sa v podstate nemohli stretnúť so žobrákom. Návštevníci farského kostola v Košiciach však boli podobným stretnutiam vystavení často, takže oltárna maľba mohla ovplyvniť každodenné vnímanie identity nevďačných žobrákov tým skôr, že Alžbetino stretnutie predstavuje pri kostole na námestí stredovekého mesta. Ľudia oboznámení s týmto obrazom si už nemohli pomýliť agresívnu žobrač s Kristom, lebo videli zásadný rozdiel medzi ušľachtitou ženou a závistlivou, zlostnou žobráčkou. Nie žobráčka, ale padajúca Alžbeta pripomína trpiaceho Krista. Podstatný rozmer ľudskej identity, vyjadrený biblickým rozprávaním o človeku stvorenom na Boží obraz (Gn 1, 26-27), teda maľby oltára predstavovali diferencovane. Vízia mohla transformovať vnímanie sociálnej identity, no nie bezpodmienečne.

¹⁰ Ivan Gerát, *Obrazové legendy sv. Alžbety : téma, médium a kontext*, 1. vyd. ed. (Bratislava: Veda, 2009), 104-13.

¹¹ K dielu nedávno Wolfgang Kemp, „Realismus als Katalysator: der Genter Altar – vom Bildsystem zum Gattungssystem,“ *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 83 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1515/ZKG-2020-4002>.

Ikonograficky inovatívne vizionárske obrazy v Košiciach mohla ovplyvniť aj popularita rozprávání, oslavujúcich Katarínu Siensku (1347, Siena – 1380), ktorej príbeh v mnohom nadväzoval na Alžbetu.¹² V čase vzniku košického hlavného oltára sa jej význam ešte zvýšil v dôsledku nedávnej kanonizácie (1461). Jej príbeh vychádzal z podobných duchovných inšpirácií. Raymond z Kapuy ako Katarínin duchovný sprievodca a hagiograf zaznamenal jej život nielen na základe osobnej skúsenosti, ale aj na základe legendy o Alžbete, ktorú vytvoril Teodorich z Apoldy.¹³ Obidvaja autori boli dominikáni. Úctu ku Kataríne a rozprávanie o jej živote mohli do Košíc priniesť práve dominikáni, ktorí sa v meste usadili koncom 13. storočia (spomína ich dokument z roku 1303). Ich kostol z prvej tretiny 14. storočia je najstarším v meste.¹⁴ Stopäť košických dominikánov študovalo na talianskych univerzitách v čase medzi rokmi 1456 a 1500, každý z nich v priemere 5 rokov.¹⁵ Vavrínek zo Stropkova (fra Lorenzo da Sztropkó), profesor teológie doložený v Košiciach roku 1468, prepisoval legendu svätej Kataríny priamo v Siene.¹⁶ Je pravdepodobné, že svojím poznaním jej života a kultu významne prispel ku koncipovaniu

originálnej podoby života sv. Alžbety na hlavnom oltári farského chrámu.

Viacero podnetov pre pôvodnú košickú ikonografiu mohli poskytnúť aj obrazy z Kataríninho života, napríklad aj tie, ktoré v súvislosti s jej kanonizáciou namaľoval Giovanni di Paolo.¹⁷ Jeho Zázračné prijímanie svätej Kataríny Sienskej¹⁸ obsahuje viacero motívov, pripomínajúcich originálnu kompozíciu košického oltára, venovanú Alžbetinej modlitbe pred oltárom v marburskom špitáli. Obidve kompozície sa sústreďujú na dialóg svätice pohrúženej do modlitby, s víziou Krista, obklopeného anjelmi (v Košiciach aj s korunovanou Pannou Máriou). Alžbeta naň túžobne upína svoj zrak, Katarína dokonca prijíma jeho telo. V obidvoch obrazoch vidíme aj kňaza pred oltárom, ktorý nemá žiaden kontakt s nadprirodzeným zjavením, pretože venuje pozornosť liturgickým predmetom (kalichu) či obrazom, umiestneným na oltárnej menze.

Ikonograficky inovatívna košická maľba je zaujímavým sociálnym dokumentom, ilustrujúcim vplyv uznaných vizionárskych zážitkov na vnímanie identity a sociálnych rolí osôb. V najstarších cykloch zo života sv. Alžbety v Marburgu sa ešte prejavuje klerikálna

¹² Siena Carolyn Muessig, George Ferzoco, and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *A companion to Catherine of Siena* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012). André Vauchez, *Catherine of Siena : a Life of Passion and Purpose* (New York: Paulist Press, 2018).

¹³ Raymond (of Capua), *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, trans. George Lamb (Rockford: Harvill Press, 1960).

¹⁴ Bibiana Pomfyová, „Dominikánsky kostol v Košiciach: niekoľko poznámok k pretrvávajúcim dilemám,“ *Ars* 55, no. 2 (2022).

¹⁵ Mattia Fehér, „I domenicani di Casovia e l'Italia del quattrocento,“ *Corvina - n. s.* 6, no. 12 (1943): 604.

¹⁶ Fehér, „I domenicani di Casovia e l'Italia del quattrocento.“ 599.

¹⁷ Keith Christiansen, Laurence B. Kanter, and Carl Brandon Strehlke, eds., *Painting in Renaissance Siena* (New York: Abrams, 1988), 218–39.

¹⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32.100.95. Por. Gregory Steven Waldrop, „Painting in the priest: Giovanni di Paolo's 'Miraculous Communion of Saint Catherine of Siena' and the sacerdotal image“ (Ph.D. University of California, Berkley, 2009).

dominancia. Alžbeta klačí pred Konrádom z Marburgu, keď od neho prijíma rúcho. V iluminácii *Liber depictus* zasa klerik Konrád svätú princeznu bičuje. V košickej maľbe Alžbetinej vízie anonymný kňaz nedokáže urobiť nič podobné nielen preto, že sa ku svätici otáča chrbtom, ale hlavne z toho dôvodu, že Alžbeta má prostredníctvom vízie priamy kontakt s Kristom, ktorý je rozhodujúcim predmetom uctievania a prameňom autority.

Napriek tomu, že obrazy podobných vízií sa objavili už v maľbách venovaných sv. Brigite Švédskej, vizionárska transformácia alžbetínskej ikonografie, ku ktorej došlo v Košiciach, sa v pobaltskom priestore opäť neprejavila. V Lübecku sa Alžbeta modlí v kostole bez akýchkoľvek známkov vizionárskej skúsenosti. V Tallinne je Kristus prítomný len v podobe umeleckého diela, nie vízie. Giovanni di Paolo vytvoril aj ďalšie maľby, venované hlbokému mystickému vzťahu svätice ku Kristovi. Na jednej z nich si Katarína levitujúca na obláčiku vymieňa srdce s Kristom, znázorneným na zlatom pozadí v ľavom hornom rohu obrazu (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.117.3). Na ďalšej ju vidíme v interieri, ktorého horná časť je celá prikrytá víziou početnej skupiny nebešťanov, ako uzatvára manželstvo s Kristom (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.117.2). Opäť pritom ide o skupinu motívov talianskeho pôvodu, ktoré prenikli do alžbetínskej ikonografie v Košiciach, no nezasiahli významné cykly v baltickom priestore. Tak napríklad maľba v Lübecku (okolo 1440) predstavuje len modlitbu svätice pred oltárom, bez akejkoľvek vizionárskej skúsenosti. V Tallinne sa v podobnej scéne objavuje Ukrižovaný, ale len ako obraz v obraze, krucifix na oltári. Opäť teda nejde o explicitné stvárnenie

výnimočnej duchovnej skúsenosti svätice a už vôbec nie o kontrast jej unikátnej spirituality s kňazom, sústredeným na formálne aspekty liturgie.

Priamy vizionársky kontakt s Kristom, Pannou Máriou a svätými vidno aj v obraze Alžbetinho umierania, ktorý mohol predstavovať žiarivú podobu očakávaní, súvisiacich s predstavou dobrej smrti veriacich kresťanov. Na Alžbetu ako takmer nedostižný príklad svätosti akceptovanej v nebi, sa mohli košickí veriaci obracať v nádeji, že im pomôže dospieť do podobného cieľa.

Obrazy zo života svätej Alžbety aktuálnym spôsobom vyjadrovali mnohovrstevný pohľad na človeka, pevne zakorenený v stáročnom vývoji rôznych kultúr stredomorského priestoru i strednej Európy. Nová koncepcia príbehu svätice odzrkadľovala aktuálne premeny jej vnímania v mestskom priestore. Tieto premeny boli zakorenené vo vývoji mentalít, podmienenom mnohými okolnosťami. Obrazy však neboli len zrkadlom, ale stávali sa aktívnym faktorom formovania identity košických kresťanov.

Z hľadiska historickej geografie umenia poukazujú tieto obrazy predovšetkým na živú kultúrnu komunikáciu, prebiehajúcu medzi Košicami, významnými centrami podunajskej oblasti, predovšetkým Viedňou, nemeckými krajinami, hanzovými mestami na pobreží Batského mora, no v neposlednom rade aj cirkevnými a obchodnými centrami na území dnešného Talianska. Košice pritom neboli len pasívnym prijímateľom podnetov z týchto oblastí, ale aj ich aktívnym činiteľom, schopným transformovať existujúce riešenia do originálnych podôb. V tomto zmysle boli jednoznačne jedným z najvýznamnejších kultúrnych centier geografickej oblasti medzi Jadranom a Karpatmi.

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DANKO ŠOUREK*

Emerik Esterházy i hrvatsko umjetničko nasljeđe**

Imrich Esterházi a chorvátske umelecké dedičstvo / Emerik Esterházy
and the Croatian Artistic Heritage

As a bishop in Vác, Zagreb, and Veszprém, and eventually as an archbishop of Esztergom, residing in Pressburg, Emerik Esterházy (Nové Mesto nad Váhom / Vágújhely, 1663/1664 – Bratislava / Pressburg / Pozsony, 1745) connected the artistic heritages of Slovakia, Hungary, and Croatia. Although the apex of Esterházy's patronage will be marked by the fruitful collaboration with the sculptor Georg Raphael Donner, which took place in Bratislava (resulting in sculptural works in the Church of St. Martin), his high artistic culture also left a significant mark on the territory of the historic Zagreb diocese. In addition to commissions for several exquisite goldsmith works, they include outstanding achievements such as the silver antependium for the main altar of the cathedral and the marble altar of St. Ignatius of Loyola in the former Jesuit church in Zagreb. His merits for the Pauline order, to which he belonged, were commemorated by fresco portraits in the refectory and library of the Pauline monastery in Lepoglava.

Keywords: Emerik Esterházy, Zagreb, Baroque, art patronage, portraits

Emerik Esterházy od Galánthe (Bec-
kov; okrug Nové Mesto nad Váhom;
mađ. Vágújhely; njem. Neustadt an der
Waag, 1663./1664. – Požun/Bratislava;
mađ. Pozsony; njem. Pressburg, 1745.) bio
je visoki prelat koji svojim životnim pu-
tem i službama koje je obnašao pripada

baštini povijesnoga Ugarskog Kraljev-
stva, predstavljajući ujedno još jednu od
brojnih spona Slovačke i Hrvatske. Iz
njegove bogate biografije ovom prilikom
moguće je tek prisjetiti se nekolicine naj-
važnijih trenutaka.¹ Kao potomak slav-
ne velikaške obitelji, pavlinskom je redu

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¹ Za recentan i temeljit osvrt na historiografske izvore o životu i djelatnosti Emerika Esterházyja vidjeti: Katarína Orviská, „Imrich Esterházy a jeho historiografia pri výskume dejín umenia,” *Ars* 55, no. 2 (2022): 169–81. U hrvatskoj historiografiji do danas najvažnijim prinosima Esterházyjevu životopisu ostaju tekstovi – Janka Barlèa, „Biskup zagrebački grof Mirko Esterházy,” *Katolički list* 59, no. 35 (1908): 423–25; no. 36 (1908): 439–41; no. 37 (1908): 449–51; no. 38 (1908): 462–64; no. 39 (1908): 472–75) i Ante Sekulića, *Remete: Pavlini u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1986), 96–98; „Mirko Esterházy 1708 – 1722,” in *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, ed. Franko Mirošević (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), 382–91; „Emerik Esterházy,” in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, IV., ed. Trpimir Macan (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 1998), 90–92.

pristupio 1680. godine, uputivši se potom na studije u Bečko Novo Mjesto i Rim. Za svećenika je zaređen 1688. godine te je potom obnašao niz važnih službi u sklopu svojega reda: na pavlinskom sveučilištu u hrvatskoj Lepoglavi predavao je filozofiju, a na onom u slovačkoj Trnavi teologiju; godine 1696. postao je vrhovnim tajnikom (istodobno i vikarom) te od 1700. priorom samostana u Remetama kraj Zagreba, a 1701. vikarom Hrvatsko-slavonske pavlinske pokrajine (provincije). Konačno je, 1702. godine, bio izabran za vrhovnika (generala) Reda čije je sjedište prenio u lepoglavski samostan. Biskupom Váca imenovan je 1706., a na zagrebačkoj je biskupskoj katedri stolovao između 1708. i 1723. godine. Tijekom potonje službe, kao zamjenik odsutnoga hrvatskog bana Ivana Pálffyja (vladao 1704. – 1732.) sazvaio je 1712. godine Sabor Kraljevine koji je usvojio Hrvatsku pragmatičku sankciju, tj. priznao pravo nasljedstva i ženskim članovima Habsburškog doma (pridonijevši time stupanju Marije Terezije na ugarsko-hrvatsko prijestolje). Već 1714. godine postaje tajnim kraljevskim savjetnikom, a ubrzo (1715.) prima i grofovski naslov. Zagreb i Hrvatsku trajno napušta 1723. godine, postavši biskupom Veszpréma (ujedno i kancelarom Ugarske dvorske kancelarije u Beču), da bi 1725. bio imenovan ostrogonskim nadbiskupom i ugarskim primasom. Umro je u Požunu 6. listopada 1745. te je pokopan u kapeli sv. Ivana Milosrdnoga koju je sâm dao podići uz tamošnju crkvu sv. Martina.

Uz sve navedene službe, povijest je (odnosno povijest umjetnosti) Emerika

Esterházyja upamtila i kao važnoga naučitelja i donatora, prije svega tijekom razdoblja u kojem je – kao ostrogonski nadbiskup s rezidencijom u Požunu – podupirao rad mladoga kipara Geoga Raphaela Donnera (Beč, 1693. – 1741.). Esterházyjevu su donatorsku darežljivost isticali već njegovi suvremenici: opsežno se, primjerice, u tekstu zahvale, odnosno posveti knjige hrvatskoga pavlinskog redovnika i povjesničara Nikole Bengera (Križevci, 1695. – Lepoglava, 1766.), *Annalium eremi-coenobiticorum ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Pauli primi eremitae* (Požun, 1743.), osvrće tadašnji general Reda Andrija Mužar. Uz narudžbe u Zagrebu, Požegi te Veszprému, nabraja pritom i niz važnih spomenika slovačke barokne baštine: *mramornu kapelu* i oltar sv. Ivana Milosrdnoga uz požunsku crkvu sv. Martina (i u Leipzigu izrađen srebreni kovčeg za svetčeve relikvije); veličanstveni glavni oltar u istoj crkvi; kapelu (s oltarom i zidnim slikama) za čudotvorni prikaz Blažene Djevice Marije u katedrali u Trnavi; požunske samostane i crkve elizabetinki i kapucina, samostan uršulinki, kao i glavni oltar franjevačke crkve u istome gradu. Zaseban odlomak posvećen je pavlinskim zajednicama te se, uz darove za hrvatske Remete i obnovu u požaru stradale crkve u Bondorfu (u njemačkoj provinciji Reda), tu spominju glavni oltar i mjedeno zvono crkve u slovačkoj Marijanki (Maria Thall), kao i novoizgrađeni samostan i crkva u mjestu Šaštín-Stráže kojem je Esterházy darovao i šest srebrenih svijećnjaka, raspelelo, svjetiljku, dvije kadionice, par kaleža, ciborij te pokaznicu.² (prilog 1)

² Nikola Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM ORDINIS FRATRUM EREMITARUM S. PAULI PRIMI EREMITAE VOLUMEN SECUNDUM* (Impressum POSONII: Typis Haeredum Rovenianorum Annô Domini MDCCXLIII. [1743]), s.p.

Glas velikoga naručitelja koji je zarana stekao u hrvatskoj historiografiji,³ Emerik Esterházy zacijelo zahvaljuje svomemu suvremeniku, zagrebačkom kanoniku Tomi Kovačeviću (Križevci, 1664. – Zagreb, 1724.), čijim su se biografskim djelom – iako bez izravnoga spomena – služili povjesničari s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća (Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Ivan Krstitelj Tkalcić, Janko Barlè).⁴ Uza svoja druga rukopisna djela, Kovačević je, naime, tijekom prve četvrtine 18. stoljeća sastavio i životopise glasovitih zagrebačkih biskupa i kanonika,⁵ među kojima i onaj Esterházyjev, kasnije objavljen tiskom u petom svesku opsežnog djela *Illyricum sacrum* (Venecija, 1775.) posvećenom

povijesti Zadarske nadbiskupije i Zagrebačke biskupije (prilog 2).⁶ Esterházyjevim je hrvatskim donacijama (opisujući ih pomnije od Mužara) Kovačević namijenio opsežan odlomak svojega teksta, ističući činjenicu kako su najvećim dijelom bile ostvarene za njegova boravka izvan Zagreba (uglavnom u Beču), pa je tako „Zagrebačka crkva imala više koristi od biskupove odsutnosti, no što bi se mogla nadati u njegovoj prisutnosti.“⁷ Tim je velikodušnim djelima – prenosi pisac – biskup želio nasljedovati svoje prethodnike i potaknuti svoje nasljednike.

Uza spomen raskošnoga pluvijala i kazule (misnice) s četiri dalmatike i antependijem (predoltarnikom),⁸ Toma

³ Već Janko Barlè (1908.) navodi: „Biskup Esterházy bio je veliki dobroćinac pojedinih crkvi i samostana. Za svog biskupovanja nabavio je svu silu crkvenog posugja i odijela koje se odlikuje ne samo po svojoj umjetničkoj vrijednosti pa je sjajan dokaz o njegovom finom ukusu i poznavanju umjetnosti. (...) Megju svetim posugjem naše stolne crkve nadvisuje ono, što ga je Esterházy poklonio, svojom dragocjenošću sve ostalo.“ Barlè, „Biskup zagrebački,“ 450–51. Umjetničku vrsnoću njegovih narudžbi – u širokoj panorami barokne baštine kontinentalne Hrvatske – opetovano ističe i Anđela Horvat (1982.). Usp. Anđela Horvat, „Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj,“ in Anđela Horvat, Radmila Matejčić, Kruno Prijatelj, *Barok u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti Centra za povijesne znanosti, Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1982), 179, 183. Vidjeti također – Sekulić, „Mirko Esterházy,“ 388–89; Arijana Koprčina, „Zlatarstvo i zlatarske narudžbe u kontekstu hrvatsko-mađarskog kulturnog i političkog prožimanja,“ in *Ars et virtus. Hrvatska – Mađarska: 800 godina zajedničke kulturne baštine*, eds. Marina Bagarić et al. (Zagreb i Budimpešt: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2020), 162.

⁴ Usp. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka. Opisana s gledišta povjestnice, umjetnosti i starinah* (Zagreb: Tiskom Narodne tiskare Dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1856); Ivan Krstitelj Tkalcić, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka nekoč i sada* (Zagreb: Knjigotiskara Karla Albrechta, 1885); Barlè, „Biskup zagrebački“.

⁵ Zagreb, Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, *Catalogus praesulum Zagrabensium* (sign. II d 219, II a 70, III d 132); *Sequitur catalogus regulatus demortuorum canonicorum Zagrabensium* (sign. II d 214, II d 216, II d 217).

⁶ Daniele Farlati, *ILLYRICI SACRI TOMUS QUINTUS. ECCLESIA JADERTINA CUM SUFFRAGANEIS, ET ECCLESIA ZAGRABIENSIS, VENETIIS, MDCCCLXXV. [1775], APUD SEBASTIANUM COLETI, 598.*

⁷ *Denique id libenter fatemur, quod Ecclesia nostra plus utilitatis ex absentia sui Antistitis vetulerit, quam praesente sperare poterat.* Farlati, *ILLYRICI SACRI, 598.*

⁸ U riznici zagrebačke katedrale i danas se čuvaju pluvijal i kazula od bijeloga svilenog damasta, dar biskupa Esterházyja, koji su se koristili u tijelovskim procesijama, a njegovim se darom smatraju i dijelovi konventualnog ornata, kao i skupina paramentā izrađenih „od najskupocjenijih svilenih srebrenih i zlatnih brokata iz Lyona (...) i drugih francuskih manufaktura.“ Usp. Zdenka Munk, „Tekstilne dragocjenosti iz katedralne riznice,“ in *Riznica zagrebačke katedrale*, ed. Zdenka Munk (Zagreb: MTM, 1987 [1983]), 100, 141–44 (kat. 38T, 59T–64T). Autorica pretpostavlja kako su dar Emerika Esterházyja predstavljale i tapiserije iz ciklusa *Mjeseci*, s groteskama i arhitektonskim perspektivama iz manufakture francuskog majstora Charlesa Mitéa (17./18. st.). Usp. Munk, „Tekstilne dragocjenosti,“ 100, 140 (kat. 31T). Pa ipak, čini se kako su potonje tapiserije – kao

Kovačević osobitu pozornost pridaje zlatarskim radovima pribavljenima biskupovom darežljivošću, koji se i danas čuvaju u riznici zagrebačke katedrale. Spominje tako izvanredan kalež načinjen od čistoga zlata i urešen „bezbrojnim“ draguljima, koji je Esterházy 1720. godine nabavio u Beču, a bio je izrađen tako vješto da se njegova slava ubrzo proširila cijelim gradom, te ga je poželio vidjeti i sâm car (Karlo VI.) sa svojim dvorjanima. Zajedno sa srebrenom pliticom (patenom) težio je dva i pol kilograma, a njegova je cijena iznosila gotovo nevjerojatnih 6430 florena.⁹ [sl. 1] Ističe zatim dragocjenu srebrenu škrinjicu (*thumba; ručni Božji grob*) koja je stajala 3000 florena. Kronogramski napis na poklopcu kao godinu njezina nastanka određuje 1722., a na temelju zlatarskoga žiga grada Beča i urezanih inicijala »FIW« Ivo Lentić (1987.) pripisao ju je bečkome zlataru Franzu Josephu Weikartu (Weichardtu).¹⁰ Škrinjica, u čijoj je unutrašnjosti pohranjeno simbolično srebreno srce, u zagrebačkoj se katedrali koristila tijekom



Slika 1: Bečki zlatar, Kalež, 1720., Zagreb, Riznica katedrale (foto: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb).

pobožnosti Velikoga tjedna kada se izlagala unutar Božjega groba. [sl. 2] Biskupov dar bio je i sjajan pozlaćeni ciborij

kraljevski dar – u Zagreb pristigle nešto kasnije, vjerojatno u vrijeme biskupa Franje Thauszyja (1751. – 1769.). Usp. Sanja Cvetnić, „Charles Mité (Mitté). Arazzi del Tesoro del Duomo di Zagabria, Prospettive su disegni di Francesco Galli Bibiena (?), 1710. ca.“ in *I Bibiena, una famiglia europea*, ed. Deanna Lenzi, Jadranka Bentini (Venetia: Marsilio, 2000), 425–27 (kat. 137 a, b, c); Cvetnić, „Tapiserije ‘Mjeseci s groteskama i arhitektonskim perspektivama’ u Riznici zagrebačke katedrale,“ *Tkalčić: Godišnjak Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* 5 (2001): 305–15.

⁹ Usp. Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva*, 118; Barlè, „Biskup zagrebački“, 451; Usp. također: Horvat, „Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj,“ 278–279; Ivo Lentić, „Predmeti od metala u riznici zagrebačke katedrale,“ in *Riznica zagrebačke katedrale*, ed. Zdenka Munk (Zagreb: MTM, 1987 [1983]), 195 (kat. 91M; zlato, iskucano, ukrašeno dijamantima; kalež: visina 27 cm, promjer baze 16,3 cm; promjer plitice 18 cm). Na reljefu s unutrašnje strane baze autor prikazuje sv. Stjepana kralja, a godinu nastanka (1720.) odaje kronogramski napis: *ME DEO CONSECRO EX VOTO PERPETVO*.

¹⁰ Srebrenu škrinjicu Božjega groba iz 1722. godine spominje već Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1856.) te prenosi napis na njezinu poklopcu: *THESAURVS AMANTER IN CORDE / FLAGRANTI SEPVLTVS*. Povodom izložbe *Riznica zagrebačke katedrale*, održane u zagrebačkom Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt 1971. godine, Ivan Bach je – na temelju uočenoga žiga grada Beča i majstorskih inicijala „FI / W“ – rad pripisao zlataru Franzu Laneru von Waldbergu, dok je Ivo Lentić (1987.) iznio atribuciju Franzu Josephu Weikartu (Weichardtu). Usp. Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Prvostolna crkva*, 56–57; Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva*, 117; Barlè, „Biskup zagrebački,“ 451; Lentić, „Predmeti od metala,“ 196 (kat. 94M; škrinjica: pozlaćeno, iskucano i gravirano srebro s ukrasima od dragulja, 14,6 x 36,6 x 23,5 cm; srce: zlato ukrašeno dijamantima, 17 x 12 cm). Potonji autor omaškom navodi kako kronogram na unutrašnjoj strani poklopca otkriva 1721. godinu. Pretpostavku o Von Waldbergu prenosi i Anđela Horvat, „Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj,“ 286.



Slika 2: Franz Joseph Weikart, Thumba (škrinjica Božjega groba), 1722., Zagreb, Riznica katedrale (foto: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb).

(čestičnjak) urešen prikazima *Uskršnjih otajstava* i bezbrojnim dragocjenim biserima. Stajao je čak 3700 rajnskih florena, a prema kronogramskom napisu nastao je iste 1722. godine. Kao i kod prethodnih primjera, njegova se izrada povezuje s nekom od bečkih zlatarskih radionica.¹¹

Najveći dio spomenutoga odlomka Kovačević posvećuje opisu srebrenoga predoltarnika (antependija) koji je biskup Esterházy naručio 1721. godine. Predoltarnik danas krasi menzu glavnog oltara katedrale, postavljenu nakon Drugoga vatikanskog sabora (1962. – 1965.).¹²

Pisac navodi kako se čitatelj mora diviti biskupovoj velikodušnosti, kao i izvanrednoj zamisli predstavljenih prizora: u središtu velikoga polja – nastavlja – vidi se koliba sv. Josipa koji teše kolje za ogradu, diveći se malom Isusu koji ih batom (što ga je izvorno držao u desnoj ruci) zabija u tlo, dok im u poslu pomažu tri anđela. S lijeve strane prikazana je Blažena Djevica kako šije pod lisnatom krošnjom hrasta ispunjenom žirjem. Na bočnim poljima prikazi su svetih ugarskih kraljeva Stjepana i Ladislava (nakon pobjede nad Kumanima) koji, ponizno pokleknuv-

ši, svoje krunu prikazuju Bogorodici, odnosno Presvetom Trojstvu. Kovačević naposljetku navodi kako je cijeli predoltarnik stajao čak 8000 florena. Na temelju žiga grada Beča i inicijala „CGM“ izradu ovoga impresivnog djela već je Ivan Bach (1957.) pripisao bečkom zlataru Casparu Georgu Meichlu, koji će za Emerika Esterházyja kasnije (1728.) izraditi i zlatnu pokaznicu (monstrancu; ostenzorij) pohranjenu u riznici ostrogonske katedrale.¹³ Razrađenim figuralnim scenama, mjerilom i samom količinom utrošenoga srebra, zagrebački predoltarnik ostaje

¹¹ Čestičnjak nosi kronogramski napis *CIborII spLenDore ornaVIIt sponsaM / praesVL eIVs zagrablensIs*, a njegova je čaška ukrašena sa šest reljefnih prikaza iz Kristove muke. Usp. Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva*, 119; Barlè, „Biskup zagrebački,“ 451; Lentić, „Predmeti od metala,“ 195–196 (kat. 93M; srebro, pozlačeno, iskucano, ukrašeno draguljima, granatima i biserima, visina 47 cm, promjer baze 18,5 cm, promjer kupe 15,4 cm). Usp. također: Horvat, „Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj,“ 283.

¹² Usp. Antun Ivandija, *Zagrebačka katedrala (vodič)*, treće izdanje (Zagreb: Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, Glas koncila, 1989), 35–36.

¹³ Usp. Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Prvostolna crkva*, 53; Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva*, 122–123; Barlè, „Biskup zagrebački,“ 451; Ivan Bach, „Tri rada stranih umjetnika u Hrvatskoj,“ *Peristil* 2 (1957), 201–202,



Slika 3 – 5: Caspar Georg Meichel, Antependij, 1721., Zagreb, katedrala, glavni oltar (foto: D. Šourek).

iznimnim ostvarenjem ne samo u sklopu Meichlova opusa nego i bečke zlatarske produkcije 18. stoljeća. [sl. 3, 4, 5]

Ne ubrajajući druge donacije (po-put zabilježenih narudžbi paramenata od bečkih tkalačkih radionica),¹⁴ za poljepšanje zagrebačke katedrale Emerik Esterházy utrošio je preko 20.000 florena. Uz navedeno, Toma Kovačević spominje i – nažalost izgubljene – glavni oltar franjevačke crkve u Požegi,¹⁵ kao i oltar posvećen sv. Katarini Bolonjskoj u (kasnije porušenoj) crkvi redovnica klarisā na zagrebačkom Gradecu.¹⁶ Izgubljeni su i darovi namijenjeni pavlinskoj crkvi Blažene Djevice Marije u Remetama kraj Zagreba, a – uz novčane darove zagrebačkom svetištu sv. Franje Ksaverskoga – pozornost svakako privlači i Kovačevićev navod o biskupovoj namjeri da ljepoti svoje crkve (zagrebačke katedrale) pridonese narudžbom četiriju velikih srebrenih kipova. Saznajemo kako su njihovi nacrti već bili izrađeni i poslani (nažalost, neimenovanom majstoru), no narudžbu su

osujetili veliki troškovi povezani s održavanjem Sabora u Požunu. Vjerojatno je pritom riječ o Ugarsko-hrvatskom saboru koji je zasjedao između 1722. i 1723. godine,¹⁷ u predvečerje Esterházyjeva imenovanja veszprémskim biskupom i njegova konačnog odlaska iz Zagreba. Pitanje potencijalnoga autora (Caspar Georg Meichl?), kao i ikonografije četiriju skulpturā, ostaje otvorenim, no da su – kako se je Kovačević bio nadao – ipak bile izvedene, naša bi barokna baština bila bogatija za dragocjen i neuobičajen ansambl, čija umjetnička vrsnoća zacijelo ne bi zaostajala za drugim narudžbama mecene profinjena ukusa.

Posljednji (i vjerojatno najglasovitiji) Esterházyjev prinos hrvatskoj umjetničkoj baštini, oltar sv. Ignacija Loyolskoga u nekoć isusovačkoj crkvi sv. Katarine Aleksandrijske na zagrebačkom Gradecu (1727. – 1729.), ostvaren je nakon njegova imenovanja ostrogonskim nadbiskupom. Iako, kako je već spomenuto, Toma Kovačević piše o novčanim

table: XLIV, XLV; Lentić, „Predmeti od metala,” 195 (kat. 92M; srebro, djelomično pozlaćeno, iskucano, lijevano i cizelirano, na mekanoj drvenoj podlozi; srednji dio: 87 x 354,5 cm; lijevi dio: 88 x 104 cm; desni dio: 87 x 105,5 cm). Usp. također: Horvat, „Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj,” 270. Za ostrogonsku monstrancu, vidjeti npr. Pál Cséfalvay, *Esztergom: The Cathedral, The Treasury and The Castle Museum* (Budapest: Helikon Publishing House, 2011), 50–51.

¹⁴ O ovom segmentu Esterházyjeva naručiteljstva svjedoči biskupova korespondencija koju prenosi Janko Barle (1908.). Poimence se u njoj spominje bečki vezilac (*Stickherr*) Jakob Heno. Usp. Barle, „Biskup zagrebački,” 462.

¹⁵ Opis glavnoga oltara franjevačke crkve Sv. Duha u Požegi – stradaloga u požaru 1842. godine – zabilježen je u protokolu kanonske vizitacije provedene 1730. godine: bio je drven, obojan i pozlaćen, te obilježen grbom donatora i napisom „E.E.E.Z.” (*Emericus Esterházy episcopus zagrabienensis*). Uza slike Svetoga Duha i Sviju svetih, sadržavao je kipove svetih Stjepana kralja, Ivana Nepomuka, Emerika i Florijana u gornjem, te Petra apostola, Klare, Ane i Paškala u donjem dijelu. Usp. Paškal Cvekan, *Požeški franjevci i njihovo djelovanje* (Slavonska Požega: P. Cvekan, 1983), 95, 101.

¹⁶ Samostan klarisā na zagrebačkom Gradecu (osnovan 1647.) ukinut je u sklopu reformi cara i kralja Josipa II. 1782. godine. Samostanska zgrada služila je zatim raznim namjenama, a danas je u njoj smješten Muzej grada Zagreba. Crkva Presvetoga Trojstva (u kojoj se nalazio oltar sv. Katarine Bolonjske) porušena je nakon 1820. godine, te je na njezinu mjestu (1838.) podignuta klasicistička palača (od 1845. Narodni dom). Usp. Lelja Dobronić, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad Zagreb* (Školska knjiga, 1991), 84–86.

¹⁷ Vidjeti – István M. Szijártó, „The Diet: The Estates of the Parliament of Hungary, 1708 – 1792,” in *Bündnispartner und Konkurrenten der Landesfürsten? Die Stände in der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. Gerhard Ammerer et al. (Wien: Böhlau, 2007), 125.

darovima za uređenje isusovačke crkve sv. Franje Ksaverskoga (tada u zagrebačkoj okolici), ipak ne spominje ovu donaciju (što ukazuje na to da je biskupov životopis dovršio u prethodnim godinama), no Andrija Mužar ističe elegantan mramorni oltar *svetoga patrijarha Ignacija*. Oltar je bio podignut u kapeli koju je Esterházy još za svojega zagrebačkog biskupovanja (1713.) dao ukrasiti štukaturama,¹⁸ a izradio ga je ljubljanski kipar mletačkoga podrijetla Francesco Robba (Venecija, 1698. – Zagreb, 1757).¹⁹ [sl. 6] Uz donatorov grb, postavljen u zoni atike, krasi ga mramorni kipovi Presveto-ga Trojstva, svetih Franje Ksaverskoga i Franje Regisa, te manje skulpture anđela i Bogorodice s Djetetom (potonja je danas pohranjena u sakristiji crkve). Austrijska povjesničarka umjetnosti Erica Tietze-Conrat (1905.) zagrebački je oltar sv. Ignacija bila pripisala Georgu Rafaelu Donneru, smatrajući ga – štoviše – kiparovim prvim djelom za naručitelja koji će odigrati važnu ulogu u njegovoj umjetničkoj karijeri.²⁰ Iako se ubrzo pokazalo kako je oltar izveo ljubljanski Venecijanac Francesco Robba,²¹ vrijednim prilogom istraživačice ostaje objavljeno pismo koje je – o Božiću 1729. – nadbiskupu Esterházyju uputio rektor zagrebačkoga isusovačkog kolegija Franjo Ksaver Barci. U njemu hvali novopodignuti oltar



Slika 6: Francesco Robba, Oltar sv. Ignacija Loyolskoga, 1727. – 1729., Zagreb (Gradec), crkva sv. Katarine Aleksandrijske (foto: M. Braun).

navodeći kako mu *sličan još nije viđen u Hrvatskom kraljevstvu*, zaključujući svoj izvještaj spomenom nadbiskupova grba od bijeloga carrarskog mramora, kao *vječnoga spomenika najuzvišenijem patronu*.²² U štuku izvedenim Esterházyjevim

¹⁸ Usp. Miroslav Vanino, *Isusovci i Hrvatski narod I. Rad u XVI stoljeću: Zagrebački kolegij* (Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki institut Družbe Isusove, 1969), 473–474.

¹⁹ Usp. Matej Klemenčič, *Francesco Robba (1698 – 1757): Beneški kipar in arhitekt v baročni Ljubljani* (Maribor: Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, 2013), 74–77, 269–70 (kat. A15) i ondje navedena literatura.

²⁰ Usp. Erica Tietze-Conrat, „Unbekannte Werke von G. R. Donner,“ *Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst-, und historische Denkmale* n.s. III, no. 2 (1905): 228–37.

²¹ Usp. Viktor Hoffiler, „Radnje ljubljanskoga kipara Franje Robbe u Zagrebu,“ *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. XIV (1919): 205–35. Erica Tietze-Conrat Donneru je u Zagrebu pripisala i neka druga djela (mramorni oltari sv. Emerika, sv. Jeronima i sv. Franje Asiškoga, izvorno u zagrebačkoj katedrali), no niti te atribucije nisu se održale.

²² *Ut Natus Redemptor, et Coelites, tam publico Ecclesiae, Patriaeque Bono, quam peculiari Societatis Nostrae praesidio, diu servent incolumem Celsitud[inem] V[est]ram, ego indesinenter, et oro, et precabor constanter cum toto hoc Collegio Zagrab[ien]si. Fruimur modo magnifico Altari, quod Divo Parenti nostro Ignatio in*



Slika 7: Personifikacije Gornje Ugarske i Hrvatske s grbom Emerika Esterházyja, 1726., Zagreb (Gradec), crkva sv. Katarine Aleksandrijske, kapela sv. Ignacija Loyolskoga (foto: M. Braun).

grbom i posvetnim napisom (*Cesi[ssi] m[us] R[everendissi]m[us] / S. R. I. Princeps / Emer[icus] e Com[itibus] ESZTERHAZY / Archi-Ep[iscopu]s Strigoniensis*) bio je – već 1726. godine – nadvišen i luk nad

ulazom u kapelu, čiju kompoziciju upotpunjuju dvije ženske figure koje pridržavaju grbove Gornje Ugarske i Hrvatske:²³ personifikacije dviju Esterházyjevih domovina.²⁴ [sl. 7]

Capella Esterhasiana Ecclesiae nostrae erectum stat; et tam eleganti suae raris formae venustate, beneque perpolliti marmoris italici varietate, ad sui spectaculum, admirationem, et approbationem Intuentium oculos, et linguas attrahere cum gaudio spectamus: Laetamur simul, proposito hoc quasi exemplo, cui par Regnum Croatiae nondum spectavit: alios quoque DD. Capitulares excitatos, animatosque certatim Artificem nostrum obarrhasse; ut cumlato labore decorem Domus Dei augeat, quatuor aliis novis marmoreis Altaribus in templo Cathedrali S. Stephani elaborandis obligatus. Opus, quod Gloriam Ignatianae erectum est, Simul perenni monumento Celsi[ss]imi Archipraesulis Patroni nostri Insignibus in candidissimo Carrariensi marmore elaboratis, invertice collocatis, ornatum est: Cuius gratiosissimo favori, et munificentiae ut idipsum gratumque, ratumque perennet, quod factum est, demississimo obsequio vovemus. Ulterius veteri benevolentia, Gratiae, et Protectioni assidue Celsit[ul]dini V[est]rae me, et Collegium hoc impense commendo: quam profundissima reverentia veneror, et maneo. Cel[est]it[ul]d[i]nis V[est]rae R[e]v[erend]is[s]i[m]ae Zagrabiae 17. Dec. 1729. Humill[iss]imus Devotiss[im]us et Obs[er]v[ans]iss[im]us Servus Franciscus Xav. Barci S. J. Tietze-Conrat, „Unbekannte Werke,“ 229.

²³ Usp. Lelja Dobronić, „Crkva Sv. Katarine u Zagrebu i hrvatsko plemstvo,“ *Tkalčić: Godišnjak Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* 4 (2000), 416. O štukaturama u nekadašnjoj isusovačkoj crkvi na zagrebačkom Gradecu, vidjeti – Mirjana Repanić-Braun, „Slikarstvo, štukature i djela umjetničkog obrta,“ in *Akademski crkva sv. Katarine u Zagrebu*, ed. Katarina Horvat-Levaj (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2011), 249–83.

²⁴ Osvrćući se na Esterházyjev zagrebački boravak, Andrija Lukinović (1995.) navodi sljedeće: „U cijelom svom biskupovanju, pa i poslije, kada je otišao za ostrogonskog primasa, on se je

Zasebnu skupinu umjetničkih djela povezanih s Emerikom Esterházyjem predstavljaju njegovi portreti sačuvani u hrvatskim zbirkama. Među njima se ističe onaj iz zagrebačkoga (nad)biskupskog dvora,²⁵ na kojem je biskup prikazan s brkovima, pa Janko Barlè (1908.) navodi kako ih je nosio u skladu s hrvatskim običajem (tj. modom), a sigurno je da ih je kasnije – kao ostrogonski nadbiskup – bio obrijao. Sigurno je i kako će na svojim portretima svi kasniji zagrebački biskupi biti prikazani posve golobradi.²⁶ [sl. 8] Čini se kako je s karakterističnim brčićima Emerik Esterházy prikazan i u medaljonu na naslovnoj grafici prve, njemu (kao donatoru izdanja) posvećene, knjige hrvatskih propovjedi kapucina Štefana Zagrebca (svjetovno Matija Marković; Zagreb, 1669. – 1742.), tiskane u Zagrebu 1715. godine.²⁷ Napis u donjem dijelu lista prenosi kako je



Slika 8: Neznani slikar, Emerik Esterházy, 1708. – 1723. (nakon 1725./1727.?), Zagreb, Nadbiskupski dvor (izvor: Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi, ur. Franko Mirošević, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995.).

prema Hrvatskoj odnosio zaista prijateljski, smatrao ju je svojom drugom domovinom“. Andrija Lukinović, *Zagreb – devetstoljetna biskupija* (Zagreb: Glas Koncila, 1995), 233. Usto, prigodom diobe hrvatskih i ugarskih pavlina, Emerik Esterházy bio je (25. listopada 1700.) formalno primljen među Hrvate (*receptus a Croatis pro indigena*). Usp. Sekulić, *Remete*, 97.

²⁵ Portret je publiciran u: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, 382. Usp. G. Q. [Guido Quien], „Nepoznati slikar, Portret Emerika Esterháza,“ in *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244 – 1786: Slikarstvo, kiparstvo, arhitektura, umjetnički obrt, književnost, glazba, prosvjeta, ljekarstvo, gospodarstvo*, ed. Đurđica Cvitanović, Vladimir Maleković, Jadranka Petričević (Zagreb: Globus, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1989), 409 (kat. 65). Potonji autor navodi kako je portret pristigao iz pavlinskoga samostana u Lepoglavi.

²⁶ „U dvorani nadbiskupskog grada u Zagrebu nalazi se među slikama biskupa zagrebačkih i njegova slika, koja ga prikazuje kao muža, u najljepšoj muževnoj dobi, odvažna i oširoka lica, tamne kose i tamnih crnih brkova, na hrvatski način dolje spuštenih i samo malenih zalisaka bez brade. Esterházy je zadnji biskup zagrebački, koji je nosio brkove. Postavši primas ostrogonski dao si je brkove obrijati.“ Barlè, „Biskup zagrebački“, 441. Usp. također: Lukinović, *Zagreb*, 233.

²⁷ Štefan Zagrebec, *PABULUM SPIRITUALE OVIUM CHRISTIANARUM SEV Conciones in Sacra Euangelia Dominicarum totius Anni omnibus Pastoribus Animarum, & Animabus eisdem subiectis, pro consequenda Vita aeterna; perquam Utiles, & necessariae; compositae, ac in lucem datae. PARS PRIMA* (Zagrabiae: Typis Jacobi VVenceslai Heyvvel Incltyti Regni Croatiae Typographi. Anno M. DCC. XV.) / *HRANA DUHOVNA OVCHICZ KERSCHANSZKEH Illiti Prodechtva chesz usze czeloga leta Nedelye uszem Pasztírom Dussevnem, y Dussiczam nym podlosnem k zadoblyeniu Sitka Vekovechnoga, unogo hasznovita, y potrebna, zkonponuvana, y na Szvetlo dána. PERVA SZTRAN* (vu ZAGREBU Stampano po Iakopu VVenceslavussu Heivvel. Letá M. DCC. XV. [1715]).



Slika 9: Beniamin Kenckel (prema crtežu Johanna Georga Stoz), Emerik Esterházy, bakrorez u: Štefan Zagrebec (Matija Marković), Hrana duhovna, Zagreb, 1715. (izvor: Sveti trag. Devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadbiskupije 1094 – 1994, ur. Tugomir Lukšić, Ivanka Reberski, Zagreb: Zagrebačka nadbiskupija; Institut za povijest umjetnosti; Muzejsko-galerijski centar, 1994.).

bakrorez u Grazu izveo Beniamin Kenckel prema crtežu koji je u Varaždinu

izradio Johann Georg Stoz.²⁸ Medaljon s biskupovim likom lebdi pred krošnjom palme koja izrasta iz tora ispunjena ovčama, a lik kapucina (Štefan Zagrebec) ljevicom im prinosi rukohvat lišća, uzdižući desnicu u propovjedničkoj gesti. Nad njim – prema portretnom medaljonu – leti gavran s hljebom kruha u kljunu (uz palmino stablo, još jedan od simbola pavlinskog reda kojemu je Esterházy pripadao), dok dva anđelčića, lebdeći u gornjem dijelu prikaza, prinosе attribute biskupske i svjetovne časti: mitru, pastoral i (grofovsku) krunu.²⁹ [sl. 9] Za razliku od spomenute grafike, na štafelajnom je portretu iz (nad)biskupskoga dvora Esterházy prikazan s palijem (znakom nadbiskupske ili metropolitanske časti) te s dvostrukim (nadbiskupskim) križem u pozadini,³⁰ pa je opravdano pomišljati kako je potonji ipak nastao po završetku njegove pastirske službe u Zagrebu, tj. nakon što je 1725. godine postao ostrogonskim nadbiskupom i ugarskim primasom, odnosno 1727. kada je iz Rima i formalno primio nadbiskupski palij.³¹ Vrijedi međutim spomenuti kako je – *de iure* tek simboličnom, no svakako zvučnom – titulom *primasa Kraljevstava Hrvatske i Slavonije* Emerik Esterházy naslovljen u latinskoj posveti spomenute knjige propovijedi (1715.),³² a tako su mu se, uza

²⁸ Johann Georg Stoz delinavit Warasdin // Beniamin Kenckel sculp[er] Graecy. Usp. Olga Šojat, „Štefan Zagrebec,” in *Štefan Zagrebec i njegovo djelo*, ed. Alojz Jembrih (Zagreb: Hrvatska kapucinska provincija sv. Leopolda Bogdana Mandića, 2020), 345–46 [prvi puta objavljeno u: *Forum XVII* (1978) 6: 1106–21]. Usp. također: Lelja Dobronić, „Doprinos zagrebačkih biskupa hrvatskoj kulturi,” in *Sveti trag. Devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadbiskupije 1094 – 1994*, ed. Tugomir Lukšić, Ivanka Reberski (Zagreb: Zagrebačka nadbiskupija, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Muzejsko-galerijski centar, 1994), 59–60.

²⁹ Ugarsko grofovstvo Esterházyju je formalno dodijeljeno upravo u godini izdanja Zagrebčeve knjige (1715.). Usp. Sekulić, „Emerik Esterházy,” 90–92.

³⁰ MG [Marijan Grgić], „Palij;” AB [Anđelko Badurina], „Križ;” „Križanje,” in *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, V. izdanje, ed. Anđelko Badurina (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2006 [1979]), 477, 386–90.

³¹ Usp. Sekulić, „Mirko Esterházy,” 1995, 388.

³² *ILLUSTRISIMO, EXCELENTISIMO, ET REVERENDISIMO DOMINO, DOMINO EMERICO ESTERHAZI Comiti de Galantha, DEI, & Apostolicae Sedis gratiâ Episcopo Zagrabienſi; B. V. MARIAE*

Zagrebca, obraćali i neki od njegovih hrvatskih korespondenata.³³

Uza spomenuti naslovni bakrorez Zagrebčeve knjige, u grafičkim zbirka Hrvatskoga povijesnog muzeja i Hrvatskoga državnog arhiva u Zagrebu zatječu se i listovi s dvama češćim bakroreznim portretima koja Emerika Esterházyja prikazuju kao ostrogonskoga nadbiskupa, a oba je u Požunu izradio Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas (Augsburg, 1710. – 1772.) kao ilustracije za izdanja *Sacra Concilia Ecclesiae Romano-Catholicae in Regno Hungariae* (drugi dio; 1742.) Karla Peterffyja³⁴ te već spomenuto *Annalium*

Eremitarum s. Pauli Primi Eremitae (1743.) Nikole Bengera.³⁵ U primjerku Peterffyjeve knjige iz Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu, na listu ispod Esterházyjeva grafičkog portreta zabilježeni su – vjerojatno rukom nekadašnjega vlasnika, zagrebačkoga kanonika i povjesničara Baltazara Adama Krčelića (Šenkovec, 1715. – Zagreb 1778.) – nadnevak smrti (6. prosinca 1745.) i sažeta bilješka o njegovu životu.³⁶ [sl. 10, 11]

Kao i grafike, širi doseg imala je i medalja (spomenica) koju je – povodom proslave Esterházyjeva zlatnoga svećeničkog

de Topuzka Abbati: Sac. Caes. Regiaeque Maiestatis Intimo actuali Consiliario; Regnorum Croatiae, & Sclavoniae Primati; nec non Comitatus de Bersenze supremo ac Perpetuo Comiti Domino Dom. Mecoenati, ac Patrono Gratosissimo. (istaknuo D. Š.) Usp. Petar Ušković Croata, „Latinske posvete i aprobacije u Hrani duhovnoj Štefana Zagrebca,“ in *Štefan Zagrebec i njegovo djelo*, 58–59, 77 (s hrvatskim prijevodom posvete).

³³ Npr. Nadbiskupijski arhiv u Zagrebu, *Epistolae missiles originales ad episcopos zagradienses scriptae* (Ad Americum Eszterhazy): Tom. L, nr. 121 (9. XII. 1708; Paulus Puczli); Tom. LIII, nr. 64 (Kamensko, 12. IX. 1710., Josephus Pauletich); Tom. LI, nr. 53 (Sisak, 11. V. 1709., Adamus Gereczy); Tom. LIV, nr. 21 (Varaždin, 20. XII. 1710., Stephanus Zagradiensis). Titulom *Primasa Hrvatske* (Primasa Croatiae), na napisu bakroreznoga portreta koji je 1684. godine izradio bolonjski grafičar Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, bio je simbolički počašćen i zagrebački biskup Martin Borković. Usp. Daniel Premerl, „The Great Bravery of Croatian Soldier by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli,“ *Il Capitale culturale*, Supplementi 7 (2018): 218–19, 224.

³⁴ „EMERICUS. II. Comes ESZTERHAZY. / SRI PRINCEPS. ARCHI. EPPUS. STRIGO. / ab an: MDCCXXVI. Aetatis : an. LXXVII. / VIVIT et VIVAT.“; „I. G. Rugendas. sc: Posonij.“, in Carolus Péterffy, *SACRA CONCILIA ECCLESIAE ROMANO-CATHOLICAE IN REGNO HUNGARIAE CELEBRATA Ab Anno Christi MXVI. usque ad Annum MDCCXXXIV. ACCEDUNT Regum Hungariae, & Sedis Apostolicae Legatorum Constitutiones Ecclesiasticae. PARS SECUNDA (POSONII: Typis Haeredum Royerianorum. Anno M. DCC. XLII. [1742])*, 423. Zagreb, Hrvatski državni arhiv, Grafička zbirka, Inv. br. 170.; Zagreb, Hrvatski povijesni muzej, Zbirka grafika, HPM 15294, HPM 15438. Usp. Marina Bregovac Pisk, *Portreti u Zbirci grafika Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja* (Zagreb: Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 2009), 144 (br. 274).

³⁵ „Cels[iss]imus ac R[evere]nd[i]ss[im]us // S. R. I. Princeps / EMERICUS è Comit[ibus] // ESZTERHAZY / Archi: Ep[iscop]us // Strigoniensis. / ex Ord[inis] S. Pauli // primi Eremitae“; „Franciscus Bolco pinxit // Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas sculp: Posonij 1743.“, u Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM* (naslovna grafika). Zagreb, Hrvatski državni arhiv, Grafička zbirka, inv. br. 171.

³⁶ Usp. Bregovac Pisk, *Portreti u Zbirci grafika*, 144. Bilješka u cijelosti glasi: „Obijt Posonij, die 6ta Decembris Anni 1745. ibidemque in sacello abs Se D Ioanni Eleemosinario erecto Sepultus. Fuit ex aeremitarum D. Pauli familiae, terminato in Croatia Remethae Tyrocinio, Lepoglavae Philosophiâ, Romae in Coll[egio] Appolinaris Theologiâ, Philosophiam, dejn Theologiam Lepoglavae, inter Suos, Suisque Monachis tradidit, Remethae 1701, Priorem ut ajunt egit et ex Provincialis Secretario, Generalis sui Ordinis factus, dejn 1704, Vaccensis Ep[iscop]us, hinc 1708 translatus ad Pontificium Zagradiense. Anno dejn 1723 ut Cancellariatum Hungariae, commodius consequere[ur], Vesprimiensem Ep[iscop]atum, assumpsit, consecuto quod volebat Cancellariatu. Et cum Romanos Bullas, pro Vesprimensi Ep[iscop]atu neglexisset, (Spe Archi Ep[iscop]atus quem 1726 obtinuit) pro Vesprimiensi, a Romanis habitus n[e]q[ue]m est.“ Uz navedenu bilješku, Krčelić je – pišući nakon Esterházyjeve smrti (1745.) – u napisu pod bakrorezom riječ „VIVIT“ preinačio u „VIXIT“.



Slika 10: Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas, Emerik Esterházy, bakrorez u: Carolus Péterffy, Sacra Concilia Ecclesiae Romano-Catholicae in Regno Hungariae, sv. II., Požum, 1742., primjerak u Nacionalnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu (foto: Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb).

jubileja (27. srpnja 1738.) – izradio bečki medaljer Matthias / Matthäus Donner (Esslingen, 1704. – Beč, 1756.). Slavljeno-kovno poprsje na aversu popraćeno je napisom: *EMERICVS E C[omitibus] ESTERHAZY A[rchi] E[piscopus] S[trigoniensis] S[acri] R[omani] I[mperii] P[rinceps] P[rimas] R[egni] H[ungariae]*. Na reversu je prikazan



Slika 11: Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas (prema slici Franciscusa Bolcoa), Emerik Esterházy, bakrorez u: Nikola Bengler, Annalium Eremiticorum Ordinis, Požum, 1743. (izvor: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Imre_Esterh%C3%A1zy#/media/File:Esterh%C3%A1zy-Imre.jpg).

žrtvenik s plamenom i simbolima euharistije (žitnim klasjem i trsom vinove loze) te napisom *SACERDOS ITERUM* i godinom *MDCCXXXIV*. Srebrni primjerak ove medalje čuva se u Numizmatičkoj zbirci Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu, kamo je dospio iz bečke zbirke Leopolda Welzla von Wellenheima.³⁷ [sl. 12 – 13]

U Hrvatskome povijesnom muzeju u Zagrebu čuvaju se i dva Esterházyjeva

³⁷ Promjer; 24 mm; težina: 4,44 grama. Usp. Ivan Mirnik, „Spomenica Emerika Esterházyja,“ *Tkalčić: Godišnjak Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* 5 (2001): 281–83. Autor donosi i sažet, no temeljit pregled Esterházyjeva života (277–80).



Slika 12 – 13: Matthias Donner, Spomenica Emerika Esterházyja, 1738., Zagreb, Arheološki muzej, Numizmatička zbirka (foto: Arheološki muzej, Zagreb).

portreta nesigurnih datacija,³⁸ [sl. 14, 15] dok ga druga dva portreta – prvi iz dvorca Trakošćan u Hrvatskom zagorju i drugi, izložen u Muzeju grada Zagreba – zasigurno prikazuju kao ostrogonskoga nadbiskupa. Prvi portret, ovalnoga formata, s dopojasnim likom nadbiskupa prikazan u desnom poluprofilu, datiran oko 1730. godine,³⁹ nastao je po uzoru na portret iz Gradske galerije u Bratislavi (Galéria mesta Bratislavy), rad neznatoga umjetnika.⁴⁰ [sl. 16] Drugi – također dopojasni – portret iz Muzeja grada

Zagreba dovodi se u vezu s nekadašnjim pavlinskim samostanom u Remetama.⁴¹ [sl. 17] Ovalno polje s Esterházyjevim likom, također u desnom poluprofilu, ovdje je, međutim, upisano u blago izduženi pravokutni format slike, uz čiji donji rub teče latinski napis: *V. P. Emericus Esterhazy O. S. P. p. E. Prior Generalis, postea / Epliscopus Zagrabiensis, et Archi-Episcopus Strigoniensis, scientiis et rebus gestis clarissimus.* („Časni otac Emerik Esterházy, generalni prior Reda sv. Pavla prvoga pustinjaka, potom zagrebački

³⁸ Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 2475 (ulje na platnu, 91 x 74 cm); 2472 (ulje na platnu, 92 x 74 cm). Prvi portret – koji prikazuje prelatu s nadbiskupskim palijem – nekoć je (prije restauracije 1922.) na poleđini nosio napis „Caietan Franz pinx 1797“, a u muzej je, kao dar Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskoga, dospio iz Rečice. Marijana Schneider (1982.) smatra kako je vjerojatno riječ o 1697. ili 1707. godini, no nadbiskupski palij (ako je zaista riječ o Esterházyju) ne govori u prilog niti jedne od predloženih datacija. Drugi portret datira se u prva desetljeća 18. stoljeća, a s Esterházyjem je povezan zbog navodne sličnosti s kasnijim Rugendasovim bakrorezom. Usp. Marijana Schneider, *Portreti 16 – 18. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Povijesni muzej Hrvatske, 1982), 97–99 (br. 115, 116). Usp. također: M. B. P. [Marina Bregovac Pisk], „Caietan Franz? Emerik Esterházy,“ in *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244 – 1786*, 48 (kat. 49).

³⁹ Ulje na platnu, 91 x 72 cm. Usp. Marina Bregovac Pisk, „Obitelj Drašković kao naručitelji i kupci umjetnina (na primjeru dvora Trakošćan)“ (doktorska disertacija, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2012), 171–73 (kat. 83).

⁴⁰ Ulje na platnu, 113 x 82,5 cm. Inv. br. A718; https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:GMB.A_718. O Esterházyjevim portretima u slovačkoj umjetničkoj baštini, vidjeti: Ivan Rusina, „Ikonografija Imricha Esterházyho,“ in *Problémy umenia 16. – 18. storočia*, ed. Fedor Kresák (Bratislava: Umenovedný ústav SAV, 1987), 194–201.

⁴¹ Usp. Schneider, *Portreti*, 98.



Slika 14: Neznani slikar, Emerik Esterházy, 1697./1707. (nakon 1725./1727.?), Zagreb, Hrvatski povijesni muzej (foto: Hrvatski povijesni muzej, Zagreb).

biskup i ostrogonski nadbiskup, najglasovitiji u znanostima i svojim djelima.“). Iako na prvi pogled srodna s portretom iz Gradske galerije u Bratislavi i njezinom kopijom u Trakošćanu, slika iz Muzeja grada Zagreba od njih se razlikuje znakovitim detaljima: nadbiskupov torzo – koji na prve dvije slike slijedi usmjerenje glave, tj. zaokrenut je blago ulijevo – ovdje je usmjeren suprotno, pridonoseći unutrašnjoj dinamici prikaza. Biskupova desna ruka, koja na prethodnim primjerima pridržava donji krak pektorala, ovdje se njime tek poigrava, karakteristično ga



Slika 15: Neznani slikar, Emerik Esterházy (?), početak XVIII. st., Zagreb, Hrvatski povijesni muzej (foto: Hrvatski povijesni muzej, Zagreb).

prebacujući preko elegantno primaknutih srednjeg prsta i prstenjaka. Opisana gesta, kao i stav tijela upućuju na svoj uzor u drugome, monumentalnijem nadbiskupovu portretu (1735.), signiranom djelu slikara tirolskoga podrijetla Josefa Kurtza († Bratislava, 1737.), iz Slovačke narodne galerije (Slovenská národná galéria) u Bratislavi.⁴² Godina 1735. predstavlja tako siguran *terminus post quem* za nastanak remetske slike,⁴³ a čini se kako je – na temelju oblikovnih karakteristika – njezino autorstvo moguće povezati sa slikarom Gabrijelom Tallerom (Krakov?,

⁴² Ulje na platnu, 216 x 129 cm. Inv. br. O 4884; https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG:O_4884. Usp. Dušan Buran, Katarína Chmelinová, *Nestex: nestála expozícia Slovenskej národnej galérie* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2014), 26. Usp. također: MK [Magda Keleti], „J. Kurtz: Portrét arcibiskupa Imricha Esteráziho. 1735,“ in *Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia: Barok*, ed. Ivan Rusina (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1998), 462 (kat. 215).

⁴³ Slika je, s datacijom u drugo desetljeće 18. stoljeća, tek usputno spomenuta u pregledu pavlinskog slikarstva (1989.). Usp. Marija Mirković, „Ivan Krstitelj Ranger i pavlinsko slikarstvo,“ in *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244 – 1786*, 129. Osim spomenute veze s Kurtzovim portretom, na kasniju dataciju upućuju međutim i dob modela (s već staračkim crtama posve golobrada lica), kao i nadbiskupski palij s kojim je prikazan.



Slika 16: Neznani slikar, Emerik Esterházy, 1730-te, Trakošćan, Muzej Dvor Trakošćan (foto: Glaerija Klovečevi dvori, Zagreb).



Slika 17: Neznani slikar (Gabrijel Taller?), Emerik Esterházy, nakon 1735., Zagreb, Muzej grada Zagreba (foto: D. Šourek).

1710. – oko 1780.), koji je u Hrvatskoj djelovao od 1740. godine kada je kao laik pristupio pavlinskom redu.⁴⁴ Osobite veze Emerika Esterházyja i samostana u Remetama (na povijesnome zagrebačkom *ladanju*) ističe spominjani pavlinski pisac Nikola Benger (1743): već je prvog dana po svom ustoličenju za zagrebačkoga biskupa, 12. studenoga 1708. godine,⁴⁵

hodočastio u Remete te čudotvornom kipu Majke Božje poklonio zlatni križ ukrašen rubinima.⁴⁶ Tijekom epidemije stočne kuge 1710. godine predvodio je svečanu procesiju Zagrepčana remet-skoj Bogorodici te je uz njezin oltar *vlastitom rukom* objesio srebrenu ploču sa zlatnim kronogramskim napisom.⁴⁷ Uz druge novčane darove Benger spominje

⁴⁴ Za osnovne podatke o Gabrijelu Talleru, vidjeti – Đurđica Cvitanović, „Slikarstvo pavlinskog kruga u 17. i 18. stoljeću,” in *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244 – 1786*, 168–70.

⁴⁵ Svečano ustoličenje održano je u zagrebačkoj katedrali, na blagdan sv. Martina (11. studenoga) 1708.

⁴⁶ Za svojega boravka u Zagrebu u Remete je hodočastio svake subote te svakom prilikom crkvi poklonio po jedan zlatnik „(...) *crastinâ mox luce Thaumaturgam invisit Remetensem, & publicâ voce gratiarum actiones pro collatis beneficiis deferens, simul in thessaram suae tenerae devotionis crucem auream, rubinis gemmeis refulgentem, admirabili eidem Matri devovit. Insuper cum omnes promotiones suas de Mariano Remetensi gratiarum fonte sibi profluxisse fateretur, jugiter ab hinc tributarius esse voluit Marianus: ideoque singulis diebus Sabbathinis Parthenium Remetae Sacellum invisere, pietatis suae affectibus inibi vacare, & aureum unum, velut sacri numisma censûs deponere consuevit.*“ Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM*, 405. Usp. Janko Barle, *Remete: Povijesni podaci o samostanu, crkvi i župi* (Zagreb: Tisak i naklada Marka Mileusnića, 1914), 31.

⁴⁷ „(...) *sVBDITĪ ANIMI CHRONOGRAPHĪCON. / Ô PĪA, Ô SANCTA VIRGO REMETENSĪS, INTERCEDE PRO NOBĪS. / IN TE SPERANTĪS sCLAVONĪAE REGNO FĪDELĪS MATER ESTO. / Ô SĪNE LABE GENĪTA DEĪPARA VIRGO, LIBERA NOS À PESTE, / FAME ET BĒLLO, / ET DE COELĪS PROTEGE IN TERRA FĪDELĪS STATVS ET / ORDĪNES REGNĪ. / HAEC EST PASTORĪS ET PATRĪS, PĪA MATER, PRO SVĪS / DEPPECATĪO. / HAEC EST PERPETVA AD TE ORATĪO EMERICI ESTERHAZĪI, / PER TE DOMĪNA, ET PER TVAS PRECES EPĪSCOPI / ZAGREBĪENSĪS. Benger, ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM, 430.*“ Usp. Barle, *Remete*, 32.

i dragocjeni zlatni kalež izrađen u Beču (1718.),⁴⁸ kao i raskošno misno ruho.⁴⁹ Budući da su svi navedeni darovi nestali po ukinuću pavlinskoga reda u Hrvatskoj 1786. godine,⁵⁰ portret iz Muzeja grada Zagreba vjerojatno predstavlja posljednju tvarnu vezu remetskoga samostana i njegova nekadašnjega vikara i priora Emerika Esterházyja. Ipak, nije sigurno radi li se o portretu koji u svom rukopisnom djelu *Descriptio synoptica monasteriorum ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae in Illyrio fundatorum* spominje pavlinški povjesničar Ivan Krištolovec (Varaždin, 1658. – Lepoglava, 1730.), a na što upućuje Marijana Schneider (1982.): „I svoju sliku je [Remetama] poklonio sa željom, da se objesi na zidu“.⁵¹ Krištolovec je, naime, svoj rukopis – sudeći prema zapisu na njegovu kraju – dovršio 1723. godine,⁵² a i godina njegove smrti (1730.) prethodi dataciji portreta iz Slovačke narodne galerije (1735.) koji je zasigurno poslužio kao predložak remetskoj slici. Pa ipak, puni navod Krištolovecova izvještaja otkriva vjerojatno postojanje još jednoga (izgubljenog) Esterházyjeva portreta,

nastaloga u vrijeme njegova boravka u Zagrebu (1708. – 1723.): „*Ut verò in eodem sacello perpetuis futuris temporibus, sed ex alba Caera media librae candela ardeant, devotissimus erga eandem Pientissimam Matrem Cliens Emeritus Oridinis nostri Generalis, actualis eo tum Episcopum Zagrabien-sis [dodano: Emericus Esterhazy], mille fl. ad interesse colocandos conventui numeravit, suumq[ue] Controfe in integra statura cum inscriptione, quasi ingrati animi, ob accepta ab eadem gratiosissima Patrona beneficia, anathema parieti appendi curavit.*“⁵³ Navod spominje Esterházyjevu donaciju od 1000 florena namijenjenih za voštani-ce u kapeli s čudotvornim kipom Majke Božje Remetske, a krije li se iza izraza *controfe* likovni prikaz (od lat. *contrafacere* – oponašati),⁵⁴ na zid kapele biskup je dao postaviti i vlastiti portret u punoj visini (*in integra statura*), popraćen zavjetnim napisom.

U punoj visini Emerik Esterházy bio je prikazan i na – nažalost također izgubljenoj – zidnoj slici u tzv. ljetnom refektoriju nekadašnjega pavlinskoga samostana u Lepoglavi.⁵⁵ Sačinjavala je dio

⁴⁸ Kalež je bio ukrašen brojnim dragim kamenjem i izrađen izvanrednim umijećem, a bio je procijenjen na 4000 rajnskih florena: „*Remetensis ad haec ejusdem Provinciae Conventus novâ gavisus est gratiâ Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Patris, & Domini Emerici Esterházy, Episcopi Zagrabien-sis. Qui in pignus obsequii, & amoris sui, quò jugiter Divam Remetensem prosequatur, calicem ex auro puro, Viennae Austriae insigni arte factum, & copiosò gemmarum fulgore radiantem (cujus valor quaternis florenorum Rhenensium millibus appendebatur) votivò donò transmissum obtulit, cum hac chronographica, annum praeteritum, quò calix elaborabatur, indicante, & pedi calicis incisa subscriptione: benedictio serVo tVo ô sanCta VIrgo reMetensIs.*“ Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM*, 536. Usp. Barlè, *Remete*, 32.

⁴⁹ Usp. Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM*, s.p. (prijepis u prilogu ovoga članka).

⁵⁰ Usp. Barlè, *Remete*, 32.

⁵¹ Schneider, *Portreti*, 98.

⁵² „Anno Domini 1723. Die 20. Xbris“ Ivan Krištolovec, *Descriptio Synoptica Monasteriorum Ordinis sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae, in Illyrio fundatorum, tam per Turcas ab antiquo destructorum, quam in praesens extantium, cum suis memorabilibus*, rkp., fol. 47r, Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, sign. R 4321/I-II.

⁵³ Krištolovec, *Descriptio Synoptica*, rkp., fol. 5v (istaknuo D.Š.).

⁵⁴ Za objašnjenje pojma *contrafee* / *controfee*, vidjeti – Jaroslav Klenovský, *Veduty: Historická zobrazení měst českých zemi od nejstarších dob do poloviny 19. století* (Praha: Grada Publishing, 2024), 7 (bilj. 1).

⁵⁵ Na uputi na vezu s portretom iz bratislavske Narodne galerije (Josef Kurtz, 1735.) zahvaljujem prof. dr. sc. Sanji Cvetnić, s Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. O sudbini ljetnog refektorija i njegovih zidnih oslika, vidjeti: Tomislav Pugelnik, „Zidne slike u ljetnoj blagovaonici bivšega pavlinskoga samostana u Lepoglavi,“ *Tkalčić. Godišnjak*

opsežnijega ikonografskog programa gotovo posve uništenoga u godinama neposredno nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata,⁵⁶ no njezin izgled sačuvan je na akvareli-ranom crtežu Ferdinanda Quiquereza (Budim, 1845. – Zagreb, 1893.) iz 1878. godine,⁵⁷ kao i na fotografiji Đure Griesbacha (Mitrovica / Srijemska Mitrovica, 1911. – Zagreb, 1999.) iz 1938. godine.⁵⁸ [sl. 18] Slika je prikazivala Esterházyja pred raskošnim zastorom, dok su na stolu do njega bili izloženi simboli nadbiskupske i kneževske časti: palij i kruna. Duž donjega dijela tekao je latinski napis (tek djelomično čitljiv na Griesbachovoj fotografiji) koji je nabrajao njegove službe (uključujući i imenovanje ostrogonkim nadbiskupom 1725. godine).⁵⁹

Zasad najraniji portret Emerika Esterházyja onaj je u medaljonu na svodu nekadašnje knjižnice lepoglavskog samostana, građene između 1710. i 1711. godine.⁶⁰ Danas znatno oštećeni oslici, uokvireni raskošnom štukaturom,⁶¹ bili su dovršeni 1714. godine,⁶² a pripisuju se pavlinskom slikaru Franji Bobiću



Slika 18: Đuro Griesbach, Portret Emerika Esterházyja, uništena zidna slika iz некоć pavlinskoga samostana u Lepoglavi, Zagreb, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Schneiderov fotografski arhiv.

Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije 12 (2008): 467–508; Petar Puhmajer, Bernarda Ratančić, „Ljetni refektorij pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi – nastanak, razaranje i ponovno otkrivanje,“ *Portal. Godišnjak Hrvatskog restauratorskog zavoda* 6 (2015): 161–82 (i ondje navedena ranija literatura).

⁵⁶ Uz potrebe poznatih pavlina, osnivača i zaštitnika lepoglavskoga samostana, oslik je obuhvaćao i prizore iz povijesti pavlinskog reda, Kristova života, životā svetih Pavla pustinjaka i Antuna opata, te prikaze sv. Augustina i sv. Jeronima. Usp. Pugelnik, „Zidne slike,“ 478–88; Cvetnić, „Ivan Krstitelj Ranger / Ioannes Baptista Rangger,“ in *Lepoglava: Monografija*, ed. Spomenka Težak, Darko Gorenak (Zagreb: Godar d.o.o., 2022), 92–96.

⁵⁷ Zagreb, Hrvatski povijesni muzej.

⁵⁸ Zagreb, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Schneiderov fotografski arhiv, br. 1359. Usp. Đuro Vandura, Borivoj Popovčak, Sanja Cvetnić, *Schneiderov fotografski arhiv. Hrvatski spomenici kulture i umjetnosti* (Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora, 1999), 328.

⁵⁹ O pitanju datacije i autorstva zidnih oslika, vidjeti: Pugelnik, »Zidne slike«, 473–475; Puhmajer, Ratančić, »Ljetni refektorij«, 162–164.

⁶⁰ Usp. Ivo Lentić, „Pavlinski samostan i crkva sv. Marije u doba baroka,“ *Kaj. Časopis za kulturu i prosojetu* XV, no. 5 (1982): 40, 44, 46; Petar Puhmajer, Teodora Kučinac, „Pročelja Pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi,“ *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 32 (2008): 153.

⁶¹ O autorstvu štukatura, usp. Miroslav Klemm, „Štukature Iosepha Antona Quadria u crkvi svete Marije u Lepoglavi,“ in *Lepoglavski zbornik 1992.*, ed. Zdenko Balog (Zagreb: Kajkavsko spravišće, 1993), 37–41; Repanić-Braun, „Likovna ostavština lepoglavskih pavlina,“ in *Lepoglava*, 78.

⁶² Usp. Martina Ožanić, „Prilog za dataciju oslika Knjižnice Lepoglavskog samostana,“ *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 33 (2009): 141–144.



Slika 19: Franjo Bobić, Emerik Esterházy, 1713. – 1714., *Lepoglava, nekadašnji pavlinski samostan, knjižnica* (foto: D. Šourek).

(† Lepoglava, 1728.).⁶³ Uz Esterházyja, u zasebnim medaljonima prikazana su još dvojica glasovitih pavlina, dobrotvora lepoglavske knjižnice: Gašpar Malečić (Varaždin, 1646. – 1702.) i Ladislav Nádasdy (Bratislava, 1662. – 1729.). Sva tri portreta popraćena su alegorijskim prizorima, emblemima i napisima, a sâm je Esterházy – iako u pavlinskom habitu i s pustinjačkom bradom – već predstavljen i kao najzaslužniji zagrebački biskup: F. EMERICUS EX COMITIBUS / AB ESTERHAZ ORD[INI]

S PRIOR / GENERALIS SS. TH[EO]LO[G]IAE DOCTOR. / NUNC MERITISSIMUS EPISCOPUS / ZAGRABIENSIS HUIUS BIB[LIO]TH[EC]AE / BENEFACOR. [sl. 19] Usprkos znatnim oštećenjima, u medaljonu iznad Esterházyjeva portreta moguće je razabrati tri lika raspoređena oko središnje sfere pod kojom se čita latinski napis: A SVMMIS / NORMA / RECTI („Najvišim mjerilima ispravnosti“). Lijevi lik, s papinskom tijarom i trostrukim križem, zacijelo predstavlja crkvenu, a onaj desni – u kraljevskoj odjeći i s uzdignutim mačem – svjetovnu vlast. Između njih, nad plavom kuglom, stoluje personifikacija Pravednosti, povezanih očiju, s mačem u desnoj i tezuljom u lijevoj ruci. Već je Gjuro Szabo (1919.) prizor odredio kao alegoriju Prava pridruživši mu i one Teologije, Filozofije i Medicine, u medaljonima na preostalim zidovima knjižnice.⁶⁴ Ispod portretnog medaljona – s lijeve i desne strane napisana – ikonografsku cjelinu upotpunjuju još dva slikana polja: na onome desnom (znatno oštećenom) pred šumovitim je krajolikom prikazan heraldički simbol iz Esterházyjeva grba: okrunjeni grifon koji zamahuje sabljom. U drugoj šapi zasi-gurno je držao stručak cvijeća, a prati ga stih ispisan na rotulu koji vijuga duž gornjega lijevog ruba polja: EX ENSE RI[G]OR⁶⁵ EX FLORE SPIRANT VIRTUTIS ODORES („Iz mača čvrstoća, iz cvijeta lahore mirisi vrline“), nastavljajući se na rotulu dolje desno: IN UTROQUE PRIMUS („U obaju prvi“). Na lijevom polju

⁶³ Usp. Željko Jiroušek, „Opći pregled umjetnosti. Umjetničke epohe i stilovi. Kulturno-umjetničke sfere u Jugoslaviji. Važniji historijsko-umjetnički spomenici. Crkvena arhitektura i slikarstvo,“ in *Almanah Kraljevine Jugoslavije, V. svezak, prvi deo, Naša zemlja (priručna enciklopedija kraljevine Jugoslavije)*, ed. Viktor Manakin (Zagreb: Glavno uredništvo Almanaha kraljevine Jugoslavije u Zagrebu, 1938), 80; Horvat, „Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj,“ 1982, 183; Mirković, „Ivan Krstitelj Ranger,“ 128.

⁶⁴ Usp. Gjuro Szabo, „Spomenici kotara Ivanec,“ *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 14 (1919): 48. Temeljitu ikonografsku analizu donosi: Marija Mirković, „Likovni ures lepoglavske samostanske knjižnice iz 1711.,” in *Lepoglavski zbornik 1995.*, ed. Božica Pažur (Kajkavsko spravišće, 1996), 67–83.

⁶⁵ Marija Mirković (1996.) ovu riječ čita kao *reor*. Usp. Marija Mirković, „Likovni ures,“ 78.

prikazana je stara zagrebačka katedrala,⁶⁶ pred kojom se izdižu dva vitka stupa s alegorijskim ženskim likovima (prva žena u ruci drži simbol Božjega oka, a u rukama druge razabiru se križ i kalež s hostijom). I ovaj prikaz prati stih ispisana na rotulima u gornjem i donjem dijelu: *VT SOL INTER SIDERA; PRAESULIS FULGESCIT* („Kao sunce među zvijezdama, [on] sja među biskupima“).

Opisanim portretom Emerika Esterházyja završava pregled njegovih impresivnih tragova u hrvatskoj umjetničkoj

baštini. Sigurna pogleda, s njega nas promatra pavlinski redovnik na početku svojega puta visokoga prelata, koji će ga preko Zagreba i Veszpréma odvesti do Beča, Ostrogona i Požuna. Njegova će pobožnost i pastirska revnost, kao i rafiniran ukus, a vjerojatno i aristokratska želja za dostojnom reprezentacijom, svoje odraze pritom pronaći u brojnim i vrijednim umjetničkim narudžbama. Ovaj osvrt pokušaj je sumarnoga prikaza hrvatske dionice njegova još nedovršenoga naručiteljskog portreta.

Prilozi:

Prilog 1: Andrija Mužar, izvještaj o donatorskoj djelatnosti Emerika Esterházyja (Nikola Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM ORDINIS FRATRUM EREMITARUM S. PAULI PRIMI EREMITAE VOLUMEN SECUNDUM*, Impressum POSONII Annô Domini MDCCXLIII. [1743], Typis Haeredum Royenianorum, s.p.):

(...) Quid porrò de effusae liberalitatis splendore memorem? Hac Coelitum planè aemularis munificentiam, qui largiuntur omnibus, ut sibi faciant debitores; quin Superos ipsos TIBI studes devincire, dum sanctissimâ foenerandi arte pauperem in terris DEUM ditare pergis; ingenti fovens charitate egenos, in sacras Religionum Familias larga effundens subsidia, Tempa Numini vel è fundamentis construens, vel aere liberali instaurans, vel aris, sacrisque apparatus ad magnificentiam adornans, in vastissima praesertim TUA Archi-Dioecesi, ubi quod Tempa, turres, aras, Paroechias attinet, undique jam aedificata, restaurata, ornata, aucta, provisa tum largiter, tum sufficienter visuntur omnia; nec adhuc cessatur ab operibus. Tam bellè in praelcelso sacrae dignitatis fastigio

Religiosae memor paupertatis, ut nihil in divitiis ames, quàm quòd possint donari; nec opes recipias, nissi ut eas tam sanctè profundas.

Perennaturum hujus TUAE profusae munificentiae testimonium reddet cum primis Cathedralis Ecclesia Zagrabiensis, cui sacrificalem de puro auro Calicem exquisitis adornatum gemmis; Ciborium insignis elegantiae ac pretii; Antipendium (ut vocant) summae arae de cuso fabrefactum argento; & cor aureum argentea inclusum tumbae, recondendo Christo Eucharistico aptatum, beneficentissimae TUAE dexteræ largitas dicavit. Contestem aget & altera TUI quondam Praesulatûs Ecclesia Veszprimiensis, quam omnibus ampli ejusdem Episcopii proventibus, in id gratiosè cassis, insigniter renovari, & erectis turribus

⁶⁶ Pretpostavku da je riječ o zagrebačkoj katedrali (u vrijeme dok su oslici, zbog spomenutih oštećenja, bili teže čitljivi nego danas) donosi Marija Mirković (1996.). Usp. Marija Mirković, „Likovni ures,“ 78.

decorari faciens, novô liberalitatis genere totum dedisti priùs, quàm vel partem accepisses. Poseniensis ad haec Collegiata Divi Martini Ecclesia aeviternum servabit inexhaustae munificentiae TUAE monumentum, cui marmoreum adjunxisti Sacellum, cum ara compari, & argenteo conditorio sacris Divi Joannis Eleemosinarii Lypsanis asservandis; Aram item principem Sancto Pannoniarum Tutelari Martino Praesuli opere prorsùs magnificentô statuisti; aliisque copiosis sacrum illud Delubrum ditâsti ornamentis. Sed & Cathedralis Ecclesia Tyrnaviensis cum non intermoritura gratitudine benignissimae TUAE munificentiae personabit pietatem, quâ eidem adjecisti miraculosae Iconis Marianae Capellam, largâ multorum millium profusione extractam, elegantique arâ, insigni picturâ, & plasticae artis opere adornatam.

Praetereo Sanctimonialium à Diva Elisabetha cognominatarum magnificam Ecclesiae, ac Coenobii structuram, quam in Suburbanis Poseniensibus, impensis ampliùs octuaginta millibus, è fundamentis majore jam parte erexisti, & pari munificentia continuas provehere in perfectionem. Missas facio Pauperum Matris DEI à Piis Scholis cognominatorum, Patrùmque Capucinatorum Religiosas aedes, nec non Ecclesiam, benignitate TUA in plurium elargitione millium adjutas, ac promotas; quemadmodùm & Aram maximam Poseniensium Patrum Franciscanorum. Subticeo Vestales sub Divae Ursulae vexillo pariter Posenii DEO famulantes, quibus in ampliatiorem Coenobii frequentes, largásque numerati aeris summas contulisti; & alias Divam Claram in Zagrabiensi Claustro sectantes; itémque Seraphici asseclas Francisci, quibus nobilem aram Sanctorum omnium Posegae, illis verò altare S. Catharinae Bonnoniensis nomini dictum condidisti. Magni quoque Ignatii

Filios non memoro, in quorum Zagrabiensi Ecclesia, eidem Sancto Patriarchae ara ex marmore eleganti TUIS assurrexit impensis; & Suburbanum Divi Xaverii Templum ex annuo TUAE devotionis tributo, per plurium lustrorum fluxum deposito, praeclaris decoramentis ornatum TUAM praedicat largitatem. Non haec, & innumera alia in haec stringo foliola, quae etiam Voluminum spatia replerent.

Taceri nihilominùs obstrictissima gratitudo non patitur ea munificentiae donativa, quibus TUAE Religioni, Proto – Eremitico Ordini nostro filiales olim, dein Paternos affectus TUOS amplissimè comprobâsti. Profert enim sacra Aedes Mariana Remetensis Calicem auri puri, gemmarum splendoribus circumamictum, & sacrificalem praecipui decoris apparatus, summásque ultra bis mille in fructum stabilem elargitas. Ostentat altera Mariana Ecclesia Thallensis principem Aram, Thaumaturgae Matris Sedem eximiâ arte constructam, aerâque campana turri imposita, & octona millia Coenobio in foundationis augmentum liberali donô collata. Sed & tertium itidem Marianum neo-Domicilium Sassiniense complura florenorum millia per varias vices in basilicae, Claustrique erectionem tributa, & sex justae molis argentea candelabra, cum Crucifixo, ac lampade, geminis item Thuribulis, Calicibus, Ciborio, ac insigni Monstrantia, aliisque pluribus Principe dignis muneribus Parthenio illi Templo dicatis; Bondorffense denique Coenobium Ecclesiam suam sub Annum 1728. incendiô vastatam, TUO autem gratiosè suppeditatô aere ad majorem decorem instauratam, gratâ pangunt memoriâ. Alia quàm plurima Divorum Templis, Claustralium Coetibus, pauperùmque turbis pientissimè exhibita munificentiae TUAE monumenta TE jubente celata, meliùs reputâsti aeternitatis paginis inscribenda. (...)

Prilog 2: Toma Kovačević, izvještaj o donatorskoj djelatnosti Emerika Esterházyja (Daniele Farlati, *ILLYRICI SACRI TOMUS QUINTUS. ECCLESIA JADERTINA CUM SUFFRAGANEIS, ET ECCLESIA ZAGRABIENSIS. VENETIIS, MDCCLXXV. [1775], APUD SEBASTIANUM COLETI, 598*)

Donaria pretiosissima eidem ab Emerico missa et collata.

Et vero de hac absentia, tametsi in sextum annum producta, neque Ecclesiam, neque dioecesim aliquid passim, quod justam querendi ansam praeberet, ultro fatemur. Fuit nemque nobis Vicarius Nicolaus Gonthal lector, vir et a spiritu commendatus, et a doctrina excellens, omnique mitra dignissimus, qui universae dioecesis negotia (tradita sibi plena potestate) ea sollicitudine tum per se, tum per alios dum aegrotaret, curabat, et expediebat, ut quod amplius desideraretur, advertere facile neutiquam fas fuit. Neque in iis defectu laboratum, quae characteris episcopalis ministerium unice exposeunt, puta consecratio olei, ordinum collatio, et similia etc. ad quas functiones peragendas ex dispositione absentis Episcopi copia nobis vicinorum Praesulum haud defuit. Denique id libenter fatemur, quod Ecclesia nostra plus utilitatis ex absentia sui Antistitis vetulerit, quam praesente sperare poterat. Voluit ille esse et priscorum ambulator, et futurorum impulsor Episcoporum, qui totus sacrae suppellectili augendae, et illustrandae intentus, ceteris donariis praetermissis, pluviale, casulam cum quatuor Dalmaticis, et antipendium contulit; quae omnia ex singulari, et praetiosa materia, diversis argentei filii figuris miro labore, et opere phrygio ornata, non possunt non spectantium oculos delectare. In anno 1720. prodiit de ejus munificentia ex auro puro insignis calix, innumeris pretiosis gemmis (quarum aliquot majores Rhenensibus trecentis aestimantur) adeo rara arte elaboratus, ut ejus fama per urbem Viennensem circumlata,

in ipso plane Caesare, suaque aula desiderium ejus videndi excitarit. Absumpsit autem ejus labor Rhenenses sex mille quadringentos triginta; exhibetque sequens chronographicum:

Me Deo ConseCro eX Voto perpetUo.

Hunc sequebatur nobilissimum Domini sepulchrum manuale ter mille Rhenenses exaequans, quod ex argento mirifico opere cusum, ac frequentissimis lapidibus pretiosis collustratum, in intimo continet cor ex puro auro, perquam belle corpori Christi in die Parasceves recipiendo accomodatum, cum hoc lemmate:

ThesaUrUs aManter In CorDe
FLagranti SepULtUs.

Ne minus splendidum argenteum inauratum ciborium, quod Dominicae Passionis mysteriis, innumerisque preciosis margaritis eximie ornatum, pretium referet Rhenensium ter mille septingentorum, cum hac inscriptione:

CiborII SpLenDore ornaVIt SponsaM
PraesUL eJUS ZagrablensIs.

At in antipendio arae summae habet lector quod mireris et munificentiam Praesulis, et curiosam figurarum, quibus adumbratur, adinventionem. Est illud cum duobus lateralibus ex puro argento, habens cum illis insimul pondo centum sexaginta quinque, et aliquot lothones, seu ut alii vocant, marcas trecentas triginta. In medio majoris (ut descripta mente intuearis) repraesentatur domuncula D. Joseph, quam idem dum sepire condit, ascia pallum dolans, Christum aequae palum in terram malleolo urgentem identidem miratur. In proximo ad partem dexteram est Angelus, qui septimentum positurus, infra palos virgulta, collocat et disponit; quae dein alter

Angelus, ut magis coalecant impellit, et protrudit; tertius vero excitato igne palorum adustioni incumbit, eidemque superstat grandis arbor quercea, folio et glande explicata. Ad partem demum sinistram est Virgo in actu sessionis acu et filo suitioni intenta, habens in latere plures quercus foliis, et fructibus fecundas. Porro ex lateralibus unum exhibet S. Stephanum paludatum, aliud S. Ladislavum thoracatum, reges Hungariae, et Patrones Ecclesiae. Uterque de genu offert coronam, ille Christo et Virgini, hic Santissime Triadi. Omnium autem valor est exaequat summam Rhenensium octies mille; et in majori haec inscripta leguntur:

HoC aMatae Sponsae, bInaqUe LaterIs AntIpenDIa

PraesentaVerat PraesUL ZagrablensIs.

Alia aliis Ecclesii dona collata.

Neque vero ille exornandae Ecclesiae suae ita intendit, ut ad alias munificam manum non extenderet. Poseganam videlicet religiosorum D. Francisci Seraphici nobilissima ara sub invocatione omnium Sanctorum eximie decoravit; nec minus Zagrabiensium Vestalium D. Clarae, ubi honori D. Catharinae Bononiensis aram erexit, capellamque exaedificavit. Erga Virginem Remetensem (veluti cui suam ad Episcopatum Zagrabiensem

provectionem potissimum tribuit) eam animo nutritivum devotionem, ut nullum sabbatum omitteret, quin ad eam venerandam sacrum eo die faciendum curaret; cui etiam casulam praetiosissimam, et calicem pretiosissimum dono consecravit. Divum quoque Franciscum Xaverium speciali cultu prosecutus, ad ornatum ejus capellae prope Zagrabiam tot singulis annis Rhenenses, quot aetatis annos numeraret, administrari curavit, composita etiam ad ejusvenerationem devotissima oratione. Ut praeterae Augustissimae Eucharistiae publica veneratio frequentio fieret in Ecclesia sua, instituit, ut singulis diebus Dominicis novilunii in summa Missa Venerabile exponatur, praemissa processione, et recitatis in fine litaniiis Lauretanis. Eodem pariter sedente, ut in dominiis et statibus domus Austriae atque adeo et in dioecesi Zagrabiensi, officium de Corpore Christi, quavis seria V. non impendit de praecepto, recitetur, ad preces Augustissimi obtentum est placitum summi Pontificis Clemetis XI. an. 1715. Denique fuerat pio ac munifico Praesuli firmum propositum ad decorem Ecclesiae suae adjicere adhuc quatuor grandes statuas argenteas, jamque ad hoc necessarias praemisera delineationes: ast superveniente diaeta Poseniensi aes copiosum absumptum, non sine dolore, optimarum intentionum filium praecidit, utinam vero tantum ad tempus.

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Nadgrobni spomenici 17. stoljeća u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj kao svjedočanstvo društvenog položaja: prihvatanje likovnih rješenja među hrvatskim plemstvom**

Sepulkrálne (hrobové) pamätníky 17. storočia ako svedectvo o sociálneho rozvrstvenia: Recepcia vizuálnych modelov medzi chorvátskou šľachtou / 17th-Century Tomb Monuments in Continental Croatia as Testaments of Social Class: Reception of Visual Models among Croatian Nobility

In the first half of the 17th century, tomb sculpture in the territories of present-day Croatia and Slovakia underwent significant changes, departing from the tradition of medieval effigies and aligning more closely with contemporary portraiture. This paper explores how the new visual model, initially prevalent among the Hungarian high nobility, was gradually adopted by Croatian nobles. By analysing tomb monuments erected in continental Croatia, the study examines the socio-political context in which they were created and the symbolic meaning of their visual components that emphasise the deceased's military and social status. Special attention is paid to the transmission of artistic ideas within noble circles and the role of tomb sculpture in shaping the nobility's identity.

Key words: early modern period, tomb monuments, tomb effigy, visual model, nobility, representation

Kao obilježja podignuta u spomen na preminule osobe, nadgrobni spomenici imaju istaknutu komemorativnu funkciju. Neovisno o tome tko je bio zaslužan za njihovu izradu – pokojnik koji je za života osigurao sredstva za vlastiti nadgrobnik, njegovi krvni srodnici,

nasljednici ili netko drugi – njihova je osnovna svrha obilježiti mjesto ukopa i očuvati sjećanje na pokojnika. Oda bir materijala, složenost forme i likovno-tekstualni sadržaj nadgrobnika često odražavaju društveni položaj, imovinski status i važnost pojedinca za njegovu

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zajednicu ili barem sliku o značaju koji su pojedinac i njegovi nasljednici željeli stvoriti. Opisana komemorativno-reprezentativna funkcija odnosi se na nadgrobne spomenike u cjelini, a posebice na one iz razdoblja ranoga novog vijeka koji su središnji predmet ovog istraživanja.¹

Šesnaesto i sedamnaesto stoljeće na području Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva obilježeni su ratovima protiv Osmanskoga Carstva čiji je prodor započeo padom Bosanskoga Kraljevstva 1463. godine. Osmanske su snage postupno osvajale hrvatski teritorij koji je do kraja 16. stoljeća reduciran na uski pojas uz granicu prema habsburškim nasljednim zemljama poznat u historiografiji kao *reliquiae reliquiarum olim magni et inclyti regni Croatiae* („ostaci ostataka nekoć velikoga i slavnoga Kraljevstva Hrvatskoga“). Prekretnicu u sukobu predstavljala je Bitka kod Siska (1593.) kojom je zaustavljeno daljnje napredovanje Osmanlija prema zapadu. Ipak, borbe za povrat teritorija nastavile su se tijekom cijeloga 17. stoljeća, a tek je završetkom Bečkoga rata (1683. – 1699.) i sklapanjem mira u Sremskim Karlovcima 1699. godine nastupilo mirnije razdoblje tijekom kojega se Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo moglo posvetiti obnovi.

Jedan od pripadnika hrvatskoga visokog plemstva koji se istaknuo u ratovanju protiv Osmanskoga Carstva bio je Toma II. Erdődy (? 1558. – Krapina, 1624.). Njegov život bio je obilježen vojnom službom i obranom hrvatskoga teritorija, za što je potrošio znatan dio vlastitog imetka, a nikada nije bio u potpunosti obeštećen.² Jedan od njegovih najvećih vojnih uspjeha bilo je razbijanje osmanske opsade sisačke utvrde (1593.) u savezu s habsburškim snagama. Vijest o pobjedi kršćanske vojske brzo se proširila Europom, a Erdődy je primio brojna priznanja za svoj doprinos, poput pisma pape Klementa VIII. koji je pohvalio njegovo junaštvo i poticao ga da ustraje u borbi protiv Osmanlija.³ Osim vojne službe, Toma II. Erdődy obnašao je brojne političke dužnosti: bio je hrvatsko-dalmatinsko-slavonski ban (1584. – 1595., 1608. – 1614.), vrhovni kraljevski stolnik (1598. – 1603.), tavernik za Ugarsku (1603. – 1608., 1615. – 1624.), kapetan Kraljevine (1603. – 1605., 1607. – 1619.) te veliki župan Varaždinske županije i nasljedni kapetan grada Varaždina (1607. – 1618.).⁴ Četiri je puta kandidiran za palatina (1608., 1609., 1618., 1622.), no ta je funkcija dodijeljena ugarskim

¹ Osim komemorativno-reprezentativne namjene ranonovovjekovni nadgrobni spomenici imali su i eshatološku funkciju jer su izražavali vjeru u nastavak života nakon smrti, odnosno u uskrsnuće duše. U kršćanskoj eshatologiji grobovi predstavljaju privremena počivališta tijelâ vjernikâ koja će se, po drugome dolasku Krista, ponovno sjединiti s njihovim dušama i uskrsnuti. *Katekizam Katoličke Crkve* (Zagreb: Glas Koncila, 2016.), 280, br. 997; 281, br. 1001; 285, br. 1016.

² Tatjana Radauš, „Erdődy, Toma II.“ u *Hrvatski biografski leksikon. 4, E-Gm*, ur. Trpimir Macan (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 1998), 71.

³ Više vidjeti u: Boris Prister, „Hrvatski ban Toma Erdődy – vitez Reda Otkupitelja,“ in *INCC-98: zbornik radova 2. međunarodnog numizmatičkog kongresa u Hrvatskoj, Opatija, 15. – 17. listopada 1998.*, ur. Julijan Dobrinčić (Zagreb: Dobrinčić & Dobrinčić; Hrvatsko numizmatičko društvo, 2000), 141; Zrinka Blažević i Daniel Premerl, „*Christianae Reipublicae Propugnator*: Reformnokatolička mitopoetika bana Tome Erdődyja (1558–1624),“ u *Tridentska baština: katolička obnova i konfesionalizacija u hrvatskim zemljama. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Zagrebu 6. i 7. prosinca 2013.*, ur. Zrinka Blažević i Lahorka Plejić Poje (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska; Katolički bogoslovni fakultet; Filozofski fakultet Družbe Isusove, 2016), 395.

⁴ Radauš, „Erdődy, Toma II.“ 71–72. Toma II. predao je časti velikoga župana Varaždinske županije i kapetana grada Varaždina sinu Žigmundu I. 1618. godine.

magnatima.⁵ Bio je gorljiv branitelj rimokatoličke vjere ne samo protiv Osmanlija nego i pristalica protestantizma. Na sjednici hrvatsko-ugarskoga sabora u Bratislavi (lat. Possonium, njem. Pressburg, mađ. Pozsony) odlučno je odbio prijedlog ugarskih plemića o naseljavanju protestanata na području Hrvatske, zaprijetivši mačem i najavivši borbu protiv „te kuge“.⁶ Za zasluge u obrani rimokatoličke vjere i papinstva mantovanski vojvoda Ferdinando I. Gonzaga odlikovao ga je 1619. godine Ordenom Reda Otkupitelja (puni naziv *Ordine del Preziosissimo Sangue del Redentore*), viteškog reda koji je desetak godina prije (1608.) osnovao Ferdinandov otac Vincenzo I. u svrhu jačanja rimokatoličke vjere, ali i učvršćivanja savezničkih veza između europskih plemićkih kuća.⁷

Toma II. Erdödy preminuo je na svojem posjedu u Krapini u šezdeset i šestoj godini života, onemogućao od godina i bolesti. Prema svjedočanstvu njegova suvremenika i kroničara Jurja Rattkaja

(Veliki Tabor, 1612. – Zagreb, 1666.) pripreme za grofovu pogrebnu svečanost trajale su šest mjeseci.⁸ Pokojnikovo je tijelo preneseno iz Krapine preko Samobora u Zagreb u svečanoj povorci koju su predvodili konji urešeni zlatnom opremom i tristo konjanika u crnim odorama naoružanih kopljima. Po dolasku u Zagreb, tijelo je preko noći pohranjeno u crkvi sv. Marka, a sljedeće je jutro preneseno u katedralu. Toj je povorci, prema Rattkajevoj opasci, prisustvovao tako velik broj ljudi „da kada su prvi u parovima ušli u baziliku sv. Stjepana, posljednji još nisu izašli iz grada“ odnosno Gradeca.⁹ Unutrašnjost katedrale, još uvijek obilježene oštećenjima uzrokovanim požarom koji je izbio iste godine, bila je posebno uređena za tu priliku. Zidovi su bili zastrti crnom draperijom i ukrašeni pogrebnim emblemima, a prostor osvjetljen brojnim svijećama.¹⁰ U glavnome je brodu postavljen katafalk „koji je visinom dosezao gotovo do svoda crkve, ukrašen čudesnim vitražima i raznolikošću boja“.¹¹ Prema kronici

⁵ Orsolya Bubryák, „*Athleta Christi*. Political Propaganda in the Art Patronage of Tamás Erdödy, Ban of Croatia and Slavonia,“ *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 57, br. 1 (2016): 133.

⁶ Juraj Rattkaj opisao je navedeni događaj i zabilježio rečenicu koju je ban tom prilikom uzviknuo: „*Hoc inquit ferro, si aliter fieri non poterit, pestem istam a nobis eliminabimus, tres[que] nobis adsunt fluvis Drauis, Sauus & Colapis, e quibus unum nouis hospitibus sorbendum dabimus.*“ („Ovim gvožđem, ako drugačije ne bude moguće, iskorijenit ćemo tu kugu: još imamo tri rijeke, Dravu, Savu i Kupu, iz njih ćemo dati novim gostima da piju vodu.“) Gregorio Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM, REGNORVM DALMATIÆ, CROATIÆ & SCLAVONIÆ, INCHOATA Ab Origine sua, & vsq[ue]; ad præsentem Annum M. DC. LII. DEDVCTA AVCTORE GREGORIO RATTKAY, DE NAGY THABOR, Lectore & Canonico Zagradiense* (Viennæ: Ex Officina Typographica Matthæi Cosmerouis, Sac: Cæs: Maiestatis Typographi Aulici, 1652), 162. Djelo je dostupno i u prijevodu: Juraj Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove kraljevstava Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije od njihovih početaka, pa sve do ove 1652. godine koji je sastavio Juraj Rattkay od Velikog Tabora, zagrebački kanonik i lektor*, prev. Zrinka Blažević et al. (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), 229.

⁷ Prister, „Hrvatski ban Toma Erdödy,“ 142–45.

⁸ Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163–64. Vidjeti i: Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 230–31.

⁹ „(...) ea fuit comitantium hominum copia, ut binis & binis incedentibus, dum primi Basilicam Divi Stephani ingrederentur, postremi nondum urbe egressi fuerint, quod fat notabilem distantiam efficit.“ Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163.

¹⁰ Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163–64; Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 231.

¹¹ „(...) inter alia maxime spectandum erat lectus fastigiatus in altitudinem prope concamerationis Templi, luminibus vitreis miro modo colorumque varietatibus distinctis.“ Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163. Vidjeti i: Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 231.



Slika 1: Epitaf Tome II. Erdődyja (†1624.), Zagreb, katedrala Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije i sv. Stjepana i Ladislava (izvor: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb).

gradečkoga isusovačkog kolegija, za ova-ko raskošno uređenje katedrale bili su zaslužni isusovci, čije je djelovanje grof

usrdno podupirao tijekom života.¹² Nakon što je na odar položen lijes s pokojnikovim tijelom, zagrebački biskup Petar Domitrović (? – Varaždin, 1628.; episkopat 1611. – 1628.) održao je misu zadušnicu (lat. *requiem*), a potom pogrebni govor (lat. *oratio funebris*) u kojem je istaknuo pokojnikove brojne vrline i zasluge.¹³ Po završetku govora lijes je spušten u grobnicu smještenu u južnoj apsidi nedaleko oltara Blažene Djevice Marije, a tristo kopljanika koji su sudjelovali u povorci slomili su svoja koplja o zidove katedrale, simbolično izražavajući tugu i gubitak koji je kraljevstvo pretrpjelo Erdődyjevom smrću.

Nakon pogreba u zid južne apsida, blizu Erdődyjeve grobnice, ugrađen je epitaf s grofovim likom oblikovan kao jednostavan retabl [sl. 1].¹⁴ Iznad zone predele, koja sadrži natpis o pokojnikovu životu i postignućima, nalazi se središnji reljef flankiran plitkim krilima ukrašenima ratnim trofejima, simbolima pokojnikova vojnog poziva. Na reljefu Erdődy je prikazan kako stoji odjeven u viteški oklop, pogledom usmjeren prema Kristu na križu koji se nalazi s njegove lijeve strane [sl. 2]. Lijevom rukom drži sablju koja mu visi o boku, a desna mu počiva na kacigi odloženoj na postamentu. Oko vrata nosi orden Reda Otкупitelja,¹⁵ a iznad glave ispisano je geslo „IN·DEO·VICI“ („U Bogu pobijedih“)

¹² Franjo Fancev, „Građa za povijest školskog i književnog rada isusovačkog kolegija u Zagrebu (1606–1772.),“ *Starine* 37 (1934): 40; Blažević i Premerl, „*Christianae Reipublicae Propugnator*,“ 398.

¹³ „[O]mnium enim maiorum suorum Thomam Cardinalem sequentium, hic Thomas maior fuit.“ Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163. Vidjeti i: Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 231.

¹⁴ Kamen, tragovi polikromacije, oko 340 × 190 × 14 cm, Zagreb, katedrala Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije i sv. Stjepana i Ladislava, južna apsida. Za pregled literature o epitafu vidjeti: Maja Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž: Naručiteljske elite i nadgrobni spomenici na području Zagrebačke biskupije od XV. do XVIII. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2023), 120–23, 259–60. Za razliku od nadgrobni ploča, koje su položene na crkveni pod i prekrivaju pojedinačni grob ili ulaz u grobnicu, epitafi su ugrađeni u zidnu masu i smješteni su u neposrednoj blizini groba ili grobnice s tijelom pokojnika.

¹⁵ Ogrlica se sastoji od ovalnih medaljona na kojima je ispisano geslo reda „*Domine, probasti [me]*“ („Gospodine, proučih me,“ Ps, 139,1) i privjeska s parom anđela koji drže relikvijar Krvi Kristove iz mantovanske crkve sv. Andrije. Prister, „Hrvatski ban Toma Erdődy,“ 142, 144; Blažević i Premerl, „*Christianae Reipublicae Propugnator*,“ 397.

koje je preuzeo nakon pobjede kod Siska. Epitaf je zaključen prekinutim zabatom sa sjedinjenim grbom kraljevina Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije¹⁶ koji je flankiran grbom Družbe Isusove i Marijnim monogramom.

Dosadašnja istraživanja nisu otkrila izvore koji bi pouzdano potvrdili identitet naručitelja Erdődyjeva nadgrobnika. Oslanjajući se na suvremene kronike Jurja Rattkaja (1652.) i Grgura Pethőa de Gerse (1660.), Orsolya Bubryák iznijela je pretpostavku da je spomenik naručio Tomin sin Žigmund I.¹⁷ Premda obje kronike opisuju Erdődyjev raskošan pogreb, nijedna ne spominje epitaf ni njegova naručitelja.¹⁸ Zrinka Blažević i Daniel Premerl razmotrili su alternativnu mogućnost da su epitaf naručili isusovci, temeljeći svoju argumentaciju na Erdődyjevu pokroviteljstvu Družbe Isusove i prisutnosti isusovačkoga grba na spomeniku.¹⁹ Međutim, svećenstvo je uglavnom podizalo nadgrobnice za crkvenu braću,



Slika 2: Detalj epitafa Tome II. Erdődyja (†1624.), Zagreb, katedrala Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije i sv. Stjepana i Ladislava (foto: M. Žvorc).

dok su nadgrobnice za svjetovne osobe najčešće naručivali članovi uže obitelji – supružnici, djeca ili braća pokojnikā.²⁰ S obzirom na te okolnosti, pretpostavka Orsolye Bubryák čini se izglednijom od one Zrinke Blažević i Daniela Premerla. Prisutnost isusovačkoga grba na epitafu tako vjerojatnije upućuje na Erdődyjevu potporu uloži isusovaca kao predvodnika katoličke obnove nego na njihovu naručiteljsku ulogu. Ipak, u nedostatku potvrda u povijesnim izvorima ili

¹⁶ Boris Prister identificirao je ovaj grb kao grb Trojedne Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije (1868. – 1918.), na temelju čega je zaključio da je najvjerojatnije dodan u 19. stoljeću. Prister, „Hrvatski ban Toma Erdődy,” 142. Međutim, grb koji objedinjuje heraldičke simbole svih triju kraljevina počeo se upotrebljavati znatno ranije, još u 17. stoljeću, kao izraz političke ideje o ujedinjavanju Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije u jedinstvenu državnu cjelinu. Upravo je grb s epitafa Tome II. Erdődyja jedan od prvih poznatih primjera takve simbolike. Jedan raniji primjer predstavlja sjedinjeni grb s grbovnice Matije II. koju je kralj dodijelio 1610. godine Ivanu Budoru i njegovim nasljednicima. Mate Božić i Stjepan Ćosić, *Hrvatski grbovi: geneza, simbolika, povijest* (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada; Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu; Institut društvenih znanosti „Ivo Pilar”, 2021), 104, 189–91.

¹⁷ Orsolya Bubryák, „'In Deo vici'. Kegység és reprezentáció Erdődy Tamás (1558-1624) horvát bán műpártolásában,” *Studia Agriensia* 27 (2008): 268; Orsolya Bubryák, „*Athleta Christi*,” 153.

¹⁸ Rattkay de Nagy Tabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163–64; Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 230–31; Gergely Pethő, *RÖVID MAGYAR CRONICA. SOK RENDBÉLI FŐ HISTORIÁS Könyvekből nagy szorgalmatossággal egybe szedezett és IRATTATOT* (Bécsben: Cosmerovius Máthé, 1660), fol. 133r. Potonja kronika objavljena je posthumno, tridesetak godina nakon autorove smrti (1629).

¹⁹ Blažević i Premerl, „*Christianae Reipublicae Propugnator*,” 403.

²⁰ Za pregled najčešćih naručiteljskih obrazaca na području kontinentalne Hrvatske vidjeti: Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž*, 195–98.

arhivskim dokumentima, nijedna od dviju teza ne može se sa sigurnošću potvrditi niti odbaciti.

Nadgrobnno je kiparstvo grana skulpturalne umjetnosti koja je obilježena konvencijama i tradicijom, što se očituje u dugome trajanju likovno-ikonografskih obrazaca. Epitaf Tome II. Erdődyja pripada skupini nadgrobnih spomenika koji se likovnim rješenjem odmiču od tradicionalnih viteških nadgrobnika i približavaju suvremenim portretnim djelima.²¹ Uklanjanjem elemenata karakterističnih za *gisante* (poput motiva jastuka, sklopljenih očiju ili ruku položenih na prsima), prilagodbom impostacije tijela kojom se pokojnik prikazuje u stojećem – umjesto ležećem – položaju (primjenom kontraposta, okretanjem figure iz *en facea* u poluprofil ili tričetvrt profil) te uvođenjem postamenta s kacigom, likovi pokojnika na takvim nadgrobnicima nalikuju reprezentativnim dvorskim

portretima. Osim Erdődyjeva epitafa, ovoj skupini pripadaju, primjerice, grobnice palatina Stjepana Illésházyja (†1609.) iz župne crkve u Pezinoku, palatina Ivana II. Draškovića (†1613.) iz katedrale sv. Martina u Bratislavi [sl. 3],²² palatina Jurja VII. Turza (†1616.) iz dvorske kapele Oravskoga dvorca te Gašpara Illésházyja (†1648.) iz župne crkve u Trenčínu,²³ ali i manja skupina spomenika s područja Hrvatskoga zagorja iz prve polovine 17. stoljeća – nadgrobnik Benedikta Thuróczyja Ludbreškoga iz Vinice, Ivana IV. Pethőa de Gerse iz Ivanca i obitelji Vragović iz Maruševca. Na svim navedenim nadgrobnicima pokojnici su prikazani u gotovo istovjetnim pozama i sa srodnim obilježjima: odjeveni u viteški oklop, stoje u kontrapostu u jednoj ruci držeći oružje (mač ili topuz), a drugom pridržavajući kacigu položenu na postamentu.²⁴ Najvažniji nadgrobnni spomenik unutar ove skupine koji je vjerojatno poslužio

²¹ Géza Galavics, „A magyar királyi udvar és a késő reneszánsz képzőművészet,” u *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra*, ur. Júlia Székely (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1987), 247–48.

²² Pješčenjak, 192 × 100 × 18 cm, Bratislava, katedrala sv. Martina, vanjski sjeverni zid svetišta. O spomeniku vidjeti: Ivan Rusina, *Renesančna a baroková plastika v Bratislave* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1983), 8, 54–55; Galavics, „A magyar királyi udvar,” 248; Árpád Mikó i Géza Pálffy, „A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékei (16–17. század),” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 51, br. 1–2 (2002): 115, 149–51.

²³ Više o spomenicima i njihovim sličnostima vidjeti u: Maria Aggházy, „Grabdenkmäler des Hochadels in Oberungarn aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert und ihre Stilquellen,” *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum* 5 (1958): 108–10; Rusina, *Renesančna a baroková plastika*, 8; Galavics, „A magyar királyi udvar,” 246–48; Mikó i Pálffy, „A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom,” 113; Géza Pálffy, „Die adelige Funeralkultur und Typen von Grabdenkmälern im Königreich Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” u *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der frühen Neuzeit*, ur. Mark Hengerer (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 504–07; Jozef Medvecký, „Novovek,” u *Umenie na Slovensku: stručné dejiny obrazov*, ur. Zuzana Bartošová (Bratislava: Slovart, 2007), 83.

²⁴ Usporedno s opisanim „suvremenijim” rješenjem nastavlja se primjenjivati tradicionalni motiv pokojnika kao *gisanta*. Jedan takav primjer predstavljaju tumbe članova obitelji Turzo koji su pokopani u crkvi sv. Jakoba u Levoči, one Krištofa III. († 1614.) i Stanislava III. († 1625.). Više o spomenicima vidjeti u: Galavics, „A magyar királyi udvar,” 246; Pálffy, „Die adelige Funeralkultur,” 506; Zuzana Ludiková, Árpád Mikó i Géza Pálffy, „A lőcsei Szent Jakab-templom reneszánsz és barokk síremlékei, epitáfiumai és halotti címerei (1530–1700),” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 55 (2006): 365–68, 374–77; Zuzana Čovanová Janošiková, „Renesančna architektúra a sochárstvo v 16. a prvej polovici 17. storočia na Spiši,” u *Historia Scepusii*, vol. II: *Dejiny Spiša od roku 1526 do roku 1918*, ur. Martin Homza i Stanisław A. Sroka (Bratislava/Kraków: Katedra slovenských dejín Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského; Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2016), 832–35.

kao uzor ostalima jest epitaf Nikole II. Pálffyja od Erdóda (?; 1552. – Hrad Červený Kameň, 1600.) iz katedrale sv. Martina u Bratislavi [sl. 4].²⁵

Poput Tome II. Erdódyja, Nikola II. Pálffy posvetio je život vojnom pozivu i državničkim dužnostima. Tijekom svoje karijere obnašao je niz istaknutih vojnih i političkih funkcija: bio je glavni kraljevski komornik (1582. – 1600.), glavni kapetan gradova Komárna (lat. Camarum, njem. Komorn, mađ. Komárom; 1584. – 1589., 1594. – 1600.), Novih Zámka (1589. – 1600.) i Ostrogon (1595. – 1600.), župan Komoranske županije (1584. – 1600.) te nasljedni župan Požunske županije (1599. – 1600.), kao i nasljedni kapetan Požuna (1599. – 1600.).²⁶ Njegova supruga Maria Fugger dala mu je podići nadgrobni spomenik u svetištu bratislavske katedrale. Epitaf je izvorno bio oblikovan kao tektonski retabl, a izradio ga je augsburški kipar Caspar Menneler (Augsburg, 1575. – ?, 1630.).²⁷ Središnji dio nadgrobnika bio je podijeljen na tri niše: u središnjoj je bio smješten kip pokojnika, a u bočnima skulpture arkandela Gabrijela i Mihaela. Atika spomenika bila je ukrašena reljefom bitke protiv Osmanlija iznad kojega se nalazio grb obitelji Pálffy flankiran parom muza. Tijekom neogotičke obnove katedrale u drugoj polovini



Slika 3: Epitaf Ivana II. Draškovića (†1613.), Bratislava, katedrala sv. Martina (foto: M. Žvoore).

19. stoljeća velik je dio epitafa uklonjen. Sačuvana je samo središnja niša s likom pokojnika koja je ugrađena u sjeverni zid svetišta, gdje se nalazi i danas.²⁸ Izvorni izgled nadgrobnika moguće je rekonstruirati na temelju pisanih i vizualnih izvora poput crteža Franza Alta (1848.) [sl. 5] na kojem je dokumentiran izgled svetišta prije obnove.²⁹ Sličnu neogotičku

²⁵ Vapnenac, 195 × 92 × 30 cm, Bratislava, katedrala sv. Martina, sjeverni zid svetišta.

²⁶ Mikó i Pálffy, „A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom,” 138–39.

²⁷ Pokojnikova supruga prvotno je sklopila ugovor s augsburškim majstorom Paulom Mayrom koji se obvezao izraditi epitaf tektonskoga tipa. Po dovršetku, spomenik je dopremljen u Bratislavu, no nije zadovoljio ukus pokojnikove obitelji koja je potom angažirala drugoga umjetnika, Caspara Mennelera, da izradi novi. Mayrov epitaf pohranjen je u franjevačkoj crkvi, gdje se nalazi i danas. Sačuvana je samo središnja niša s likom pokojnika, a cjeloviti izgled spomenika moguće je rekonstruirati na osnovi fotografije modela, koji je u međuvremenu također izgubljen. Rusina, *Renesančna a baroková plastika*, 52; Galavics, „A magyar királyi udvar,” 247; Árpád Mikó i Géza Pálffy, „A pozsonyi ferences templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk siremlékei,” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 54, br. 3–4 (2005): 329–31; Pálffy, „Die adelige Funeralkultur,” 506.

²⁸ Više o spomeniku vidjeti u: Rusina, *Renesančna a baroková plastika*, 8, 48–49; Galavics, „A magyar királyi udvar,” 247–48; Rusina, „Náhrobná plastika,” u *Barok: Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, ur. Rusina (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1998), 12, 14–15; 421, kat. br. 91; Mikó i Pálffy, „A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom,” 137–142; Pálffy, „Die adelige Funeralkultur,” 506–7.

²⁹ Akvarel, 387 × 285 mm, Beč, Liechtenstein Museum, The Princely Collections.



Slika 4: Caspar Menneler, Epitaf Miklósa II. Pálffyja od Erdóda, 1601., Bratislava, katedrala sv. Martina (foto: M. Žvorc).

obnovu prošla je i zagrebačka katedrala nakon potresa 1880. godine. Međutim, epitaf Tome II. Erdódyja tom je prilikom srećom ostao netaknut, čime je sačuvan njegov izvorni izgled.

Glavna razlika između nadgrobnih spomenika Tome II. Erdódyja i Nikole II. Pálffyja, a time i drugih nadgrobnika koji pripadaju opisanoj skupini, jest ta što Erdódyjev epitaf sadrži prikaz Raspetoga,



Slika 5: Franz Alt, Unutrašnjost svetišta požunske katedrale sv. Martina, 1848., Beč, Liechtenstein Museum, The Princely Collections (© The Princely Collections, Liechtenstein Museum, Beč).

koji je uobičajeniji za nadgrobnike s prikazom pokojnika kao adoranata u molitvi. Prikaz Krista razapetoga na križu ne začuđuje ako se uzme u obzir Erdódyjev ugled kao *athleta Christi* – status koji je tijekom života stekao sudjelovanjem u bitkama protiv Osmanlija i održavanjem snažnoga rimokatoličkog identiteta, a koji su njegovi nasljednici njegovali i nakon grofove smrti. Orsolya Bubryák uočila je da zagrebački epitaf dijeli sličnosti sa zavjetnom slikom iz Slovačkoga narodnog muzeja u Bojnicama (Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum Bojnice) [sl. 6]³⁰ koju je Erdódy dao izraditi povodom primanja u Red Otkupitelja.³¹ Na toj je slici grof prikazan kako kleči pred Raspetim odjeven u verižnu košulju i opasan mačem, dok

³⁰ Ulje na dasci, 184 × 147 cm, Bojnice, Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum Bojnice, inv. br. XI-1173.

³¹ Bubryák, „*Athleta Christi*,” 269–70.



Slika 7: Nadgrobni spomenik Hansa Ruebera Pixendorfa, 1591., Budimpešta, Magyar Nemzeti Galeria (© Magyar Nemzeti Galeria, Budimpešta).

pri čemu je sačuvana samo središnja skulptura pokojnika, danas pohranjena u Mađarskoj nacionalnoj galeriji (Magyar Nemzeti Galeria) u Budimpešti [sl. 7].³³ Razmatrajući prijenos i utjecaj novih vizualnih modela u nadgrobnoj plastici među ugarskim plemstvom, Géza Galavics istaknuo je da Pixendorfov nadgrobnik nije imao tako snažan odjek

u Gornjoj Ugarskoj kao što je epitaf Nikole II. Pálffyja imao u Donjoj Ugarskoj (područje današnje središnje i zapadne Slovačke).³⁴ Međutim, vjerujemo da je bio dio likovnoga repertoara za kojim su naručitelji posezali pri odabiru rješenja koja su odgovarala njihovim željama i potrebama. Naime, svi dosad navedeni magnati – Hans Rueber Pixendorf, Nikola II. Pálffy, Toma II. Erdődy, Ivan II. Drašković, Juraj VII. Turzo i Gašpar Illésházy – pripadali su istom društvenom sloju: bili su pripadnici visokoga plemstva, visoki državni dužnosnici i vojni zapovjednici. Dijelili su sličan način života, kretali se u istim političkim i društvenim krugovima te su bili povezani obiteljskim i ženičbenim vezama.³⁵ Takva mreža odnosa omogućila je razmjenu i prijenos novih ideja među njima, pri čemu su pokazali sličan estetski senzibilitet i preferencije kao naručitelji. Njihova društvena i politička povezanost pridonijela je širenju inovativnih oblika nadgrobne plastike, što se jasno očituje u stilskoj podudarnosti njihovih spomenika na kojima su pokojnici prikazani na reprezentativan i autoritativan način kao vojni zapovjednici, uza sve simbole svojega položaja i časti.

To novo likovno rješenje prihvatili su i manje utjecajni plemići koji su nastojali ići u korak s društveno-političkom elitom. To potvrđuje skupina nadgrobnih spomenika nastalih tijekom prve polovine 17. stoljeća na uskom geografskom području – sjevernom dijelu Hrvatskoga zagorja. Riječ je o nadgrobnicima

³³ Mramor, 185 × 73 × 45 cm, Budimpešta, Magyar Nemzeti Galeria, inv. br. 55.1593.

³⁴ Galavics, „A magyar királyi udvar,” 247.

³⁵ Maria Aggházy posebno ističe važnost rodbinskih veza u prijenosu likovnih rješenja. Aggházy, „Grabdenkmäler des Hochadels in Oberungarn,” 108–9, 116. Što se tiče navedenih plemića, pojedini su se višestruko orodili. Primjerice, Barbara, jedna od kćeri Jurja VII. Turza, bila je udana za sina Tome II. Erődyja, Krsta, dok je druga, Helena, bila udana za Gašpara Illésházyja. Stjepan Illésházy i Nikola II. Pálffy su pak bili šurjaci.

Benedikta Thuróczyja Ludbreškoga († 1616.) iz Vinice [sl. 8],³⁶ Ivana IV. Pethóa de Gerse († 1616.) iz Ivanca [sl. 9]³⁷ i člana obitelji Vragović iz Maruševca.³⁸ Sva su tri nadgrobnika oblikovana prema istome modelu: prikazuju pokojnika odjevena u viteški oklop koji u desnoj ruci – visoko podignutoj u laktu – drži topuz, a lijevom pridrži sablju, izuzev lika na maruševčkom nadgrobniku koji umjesto sablje drži barjak. Pokojnici na glavi nose kalpak, pokrivalo za glavu karakteristično za hrvatsko-ugarsko plemstvo, a kaciga je odložena s njihove desne strane na profiliranom postamentu. Maruševčki nadgrobnik sadrži i motiv lava koji leži iza pokojnikovih nogu, simbolizirajući snagu i služeći kao sredstvo (dodatne) glorifikacije pokojnika. Nijedan od navedenih nadgrobnika nije sačuvan u izvornome obliku, nego su svi sekundarno ugrađeni u unutarnje zidove crkava.³⁹ Nije poznato jesu li izvorno bili uklopljeni u veći arhitektonski okvir, poput dosad razmotrenih epitafa, ili su sadržavali samo nišu s likom pokojnika. Na maruševčkom nadgrobniku nije čak sačuvan ni natpis zbog čega se ne može pobliže odrediti za kojega je člana obitelji podignut – jedini je element identifikacije grb isklesan na luku polukružnoga otvora ispod kojega pokojnik stoji.

Zasad nisu razjašnjenje okolnosti naruđbe nijednoga od triju spomenika.



Slika 8: Radionica majstora Trantnerova epitafa (?), Nadgrobnni spomenik Benedikta Thuróczyja Ludbreškoga (†1616.), Vinica, crkva sv. Marka evanđelista (izvor: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb).

Nije poznato tko ih je naručio, tko ih je izradio niti kada su nastali. Djelomična je iznimka nadgrobnik Benedikta Thuróczyja Ludbreškoga koji je Emilijan Cevc na osnovi stilske analize pripisao

³⁶ Mramor, 181 × 95,5 × 11,5 cm, Vinica, crkva sv. Marka evanđelista. Detaljnije o spomeniku vidjeti: Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž*, 69–75, 80, 89, 278; i ondje navedenu literaturu.

³⁷ Kamen, 221 × 74 × 13 cm, Ivanec, crkva sv. Marije Magdalene, izvorno u dvorskoj kapeli sv. Ivana Krstitelja kaštela Ivanec.

³⁸ Kamen, 118 × 100 × 11 cm, Maruševac, crkva sv. Jurja.

³⁹ Thuróczyjev se nadgrobnik nalazio u staroj župnoj crkvi koja je srušena 1808. godine, a na njezinu je mjestu podignuta nova. Prilikom izgradnje nove crkve nadgrobnik je ugrađen u sjeverni zid svetišta. Nadgrobnik Ivana IV. Pethóa de Gerse izvorno se nalazio u dvorskoj kapeli ivanečkoga kaštela koja je srušena 1844. godine. Spomenik je izvađen prije rušenja i ugrađen u južni zid župne crkve. Vragovićev nadgrobnik podignut je s poda svetišta crkve u kojoj se nalazi i ugrađen u sjeverni zid prezbiterija tijekom njegove obnove 1913. godine. Detaljnije o spomenicima vidjeti: Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž*, 69–75, 268, 272, 278; i ondje navedenu literaturu.



Slika 9: Nadgrobnni spomenik Ivana IV. Pethóa de Gerse (†1616.), Ivanec, crkva sv. Marije Magdalene (izvor: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb).

radionici majstora epitafa Geoga Trantnera.⁴⁰ Ta je kiparska radionica djelovala u prvoj polovini 17. stoljeća u Ptuju i Slovenskim Konjicama opskrbljujući radovima dijelove slovenske Štajerske i Hrvatskoga zagorja. Godina smrti Benedikta Thuróczyja Ludbreškoga i Ivana IV. Pethóa de Gerse (1616.) može poslužiti kao uporište za okvirno određivanje vremena

nastanka dvaju nadgrobnika. Međutim, iako su nadgrobnne spomenike najčešće naručivali članovi obitelji neposredno nakon smrti pokojnika, poznati su slučajevi u kojima su pojedinci još za života dali izraditi vlastiti nadgrobnik ili su im potomci podigli spomenik čak nekoliko desetljeća nakon njihove smrti.⁴¹ Stoga, bez konkretnih arhivskih podataka nije moguće sa sigurnošću odrediti točno vrijeme nastanka nadgrobnih spomenika u Vinici i Ivanju, a još manje onoga u Maruševcu. Razlike u kiparskom rukopisu upućuju na to da su spomenike izradili različiti majstori odnosno radionice, no kompozicijske sličnosti među njima jasno naznačuju da su nastali u međusobnoj ovisnosti. Ostaje otvoreno pitanje koji je od nadgrobnika nastao prvi, odnosno koji je poslužio kao uzor drugima dvama.

Nadgrobnik Benedikta Thuróczyja Ludbreškoga ističe se kvalitetom izvedbe i upotrijebljenoga materijala u usporedbi s druga dva spomenika. Među pripadnicima triju obitelji – Thuróczy, Pethó de Gerse i Vragović – upravo se Benedikt najviše uzdigao na društvenoj ljestvici. Potjecao je iz ogranka obitelji koja se potkraj 15. stoljeća doselila iz Turočke županije (lat. Thurocium, sk. Turiec, njem. Turz, mađ. Turóc) u Hrvatsku.⁴² Bio je gospodar Ludbrega, Belca i Vinice, kraljevski savjetnik te jedan od potpisnika Bečkoga mira (1606.) kojim je okončan protuhabsburški ustanak u sjevernim dijelovima ostataka Kraljevine Ugarske (većim dijelom područje današnje Slovačke)

⁴⁰ Emilijan Cevc, *Kiparstvo na Slovenskem med gotiko in barokom* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1981), 197; Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž*, 72.

⁴¹ Jedan takav primjer predstavlja epitaf kanonika Nikole Gotala († 1723.) koji je više od četrdeset godina nakon njegove smrti dao postaviti posljednji obiteljski odvjetak, zagrebački kanonik prepošt i naslovni beogradsko-smederevski biskup Stjepan Puc, 1765. godine u zagrebačkoj katedrali, gdje je pokojnik pokopan. Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž*, 178, 198.

⁴² Ivan von Bojničić, *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien* (Nürnberg: Bauer und Raspe, 1899), 190.

i u Transilvaniji.⁴³ Prema Jurju Rátkaju, istaknuo se u borbama protiv Osmanlija, a 1615. godine, nakon ostavke Tome II. Erdődyja, imenovan je hrvatsko-dalmatinsko-slavonskim banom.⁴⁴ Tu je dužnost obnašao do svoje smrti 1616. godine. S druge strane, Ivan IV. Pethő de Gerse pripadao je hrvatskom ogranku ugarske plemićke obitelji koja je imala posjede u Beli, Ivancu i Jurketincu.⁴⁵ O njegovu je životu sačuvano malo podataka, no više je toga poznato o njegovu bratu, već navedenom kroničaru i političaru Grguru Pethőu de Gerse, autoru *Kratke mađarske kronike (Rövid magyar kronika, objavljena postumno 1660.)*. Grgur je bio zastupnik u zajedničkome hrvatsko-ugarskom saboru te, poput Benedikta Thuróczyja, jedan od potpisnika Bečkoga mira (1606.).⁴⁶ Naposljedku, obitelj Vragović u 17. je stoljeću pripadala nižem plemstvu, a njezini su glavni posjedi bili u Maruševcu i Križovljanu.⁴⁷ Pojedini su članovi obnašali upravno-političke dužnosti nešto nižega ranga u usporedbi s prethodno navedenima, poput funkcije (pod)župana Varaždinske županije i saborskih izaslanika.

Na osnovi dostupnih podataka možemo zaključiti da je u zagorskoj skupini plemića Benedikt Thuróczy Ludbreški bio najpovezaniji s društveno-političkom elitom onoga razdoblja. Stoga se čini izglednim da je upravo on – odnosno naručitelj njegova spomenika – prvi usvojio novi model nadgrobnika zastupljenoga

među ugarskim magnatima koji su potom slijedile obitelji Pethő de Gerse i Vragović, preuzimajući sve identitetske odrednice koje je on implicirao. Ipak, ostaje otvoreno pitanje je li nadgrobnik Benedikta Thuróczyja nastao i prije onoga Tome II. Erdődyja. Thuróczyjevo slovačko podrijetlo, kao i visoki dužnosnički položaj sugeriraju da je mogao biti upoznat s novim vizualnim modelom koji se pojavio među ugarskim plemstvom neovisno o Erdődyjevu epitafu u Zagrebu. Međutim, bez konkretnijih podataka, odnosno poznavanja okolnosti izvršavanja dvaju narudžaba teško je donijeti konačan zaključak.

Nadgrobnici ranoga novog vijeka odražavali su društveni status i aspiracije pokojnika, odnosno njihovih baštinika. Novo likovno rješenje, kojim se nadgrobnica skulptura udaljila od srednjovjekovnih konvencija i približila djelima suvremene portretistike, simboliziralo je moć i pripadnost eliti. Ovaj vizualni jezik prvotno razvijen među ugarskim magnatima postupno su usvojili i manje utjecajni plemići, potvrđujući time svoje društvene težnje i povezanost s elitom. Sličnosti u ikonografiji i kompoziciji spomenika svjedoče o likovnim utjecajima, a izbor opisane vrste prikaza ukazuje na svijest njihovih naručitelja o važnosti vizualnoga identiteta u plemićkoj kulturi. Primjenom novoga likovnog rješenja, nadgrobnica plastika potvrdila

⁴³ Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal, Tizenegyedik kötet* (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1865), 188.

⁴⁴ Rátkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM, 186–187*; Rátkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 246–47.

⁴⁵ Bojničić, *Der Adel*, 145.

⁴⁶ Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal, Kilenczedik kötet* (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1862), 262.

⁴⁷ Krsto Vragović primio je barunsku titulu 1716. godine. Ivana Šupljika, „Gospodari Križovljan-grada: povijest obitelji Vragović s posebnim naglaskom na posljednjeg člana Kristofora i njegov posjed u Križovljanu (1724. – 1725.),“ *Podravina* 13, br. 25 (2014): 176–81.

je svoju ulogu medija ne samo u izražavanju osobne pobožnosti i sjećanja na pokojnika nego i u njegovoj društvenoj reprezentaciji i legitimizaciji statusa.

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Bývalý korunovačný oltár od G. R. Donnera v Dóme sv. Martina, bratislavská meštianska identita a Imrich Esterházi

Bivši krunidbeni oltar G. R. Donnera u katedrali sv. Martina,
Bratislava, građanski identitet i Emerik Esterházi / Former coronation
altar by G. R. Donner in St. Martin's Cathedral, Bratislava, civic
identity and Imrich Esterházi

The sculpture of St Martin and the Beggar was originally located on the nonextant main and coronation altar in St Martin's Cathedral in Bratislava. The author of the sculpture was Georg Raphael Donner (1693–1741) and the commissioner the Archbishop of Esztergom, Emericus Esterházy (1664–1745). Although all experts agree that it is rare to see Saint Martin depicted in Hungarian clothing, there is no consensus on what he actually wears. For this reason, the article explores the saint's Hungarian clothing and its context with Bratislava's civic identity and the identity of the commissioner, Emericus Esterházy.

Key words: Sv. Martin, Dóm sv. Martina, Imrich Esterházi, Georg Raphael Donner, Bratislava, 18. storočie, identita

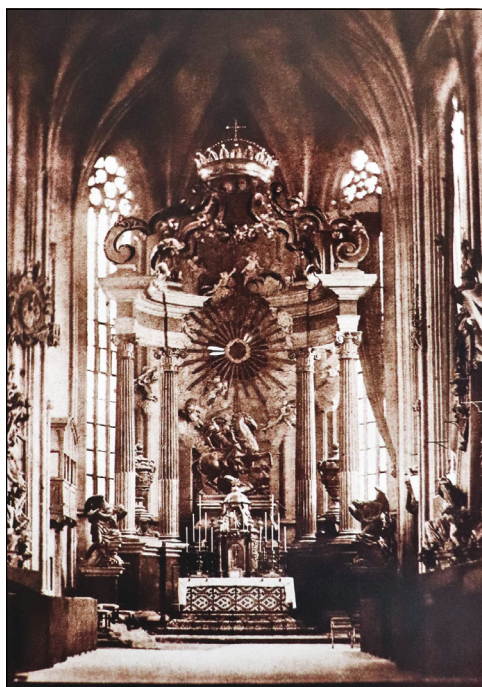
Predložený článok sa venuje jednému s bratislavskou meštianskou identitou.¹ konkrétnemu prvku na súsoší sv. Súsošie sa pôvodne nachádzalo na dnes Martina so žobrákom [obr. 1] – svätcov už zničenom hlavnom a korunovačnom umorskému odevu a jeho kontextu oltári sv. Martina v Dóme sv. Martina

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¹ Pretože pojem identita má veľké množstvo významov, podobne ako svojich odporcov a zástancov, rozhodla som sa využiť nasledujúcu všeobecnú definíciu, ktorú podrobne prepracoval James D. Fearon: identita znamená buď a) sociálnu kategóriu (vek, pohlavie, rasa, národnosť, rodinný či miestny pôvod, jazyk, náboženstvo, sexuálna orientácia, trieda, povolanie, presvedčenie, ale v prípade jednotlivcov môže ísť aj o vizuálne či charakterové špecifiká alebo záluby a pod.), definovanú pravidlami členstva alebo (domnelými) charakteristickými atribútmi, alebo očakávaným chovaním; alebo b) spoločensky odlišujúci rys, na ktorý je človek obzvlášť hrdý alebo ktorý považuje za nemenný, ale spoločensky významný; pričom platí môže len a), len b), alebo oboje. – James B. Fearon, „What Is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?“ (Stanford: Stanford University, 1999), 14, 36, <https://shorturl.at/vZF9I>.



Obr. 1: Georg Raphael Donner, *Súsošie sv. Martina so žobrákom*, 1734–1735, zliatina olova a cínu, 275 cm, *Dóm sv. Martina*, Bratislava. Zdroj: Katarína Oroviská.



Obr. 2: Georg Raphael Donner, *Hlavný oltár sv. Martina v Dóme sv. Martina*, Bratislava, 1733–1735, cca 18 m, zachovaná fotografia z roku 1865.

v Bratislave. [obr. 2 a 3] Tvorcom súsošia bol Georg Raphael Donner (1693 – 1741), objednávateľom ostrihomský arcibiskup Imrich Esterházi (1664 – 1745). Hoci sa všetci odborníci zhodujú, že sv. Martin oblečený v uhorskom odevu je

veľmi vzácnym úkazom, neexistuje zhoda v otázke, čo má vlastne na sebe. Podľa niektorých odborníkov ide o magnátsky odev,² časť hovorí o husárskej uniforme,³ časť vychádza zo všeobecného pomenovania uhorský odev/kroj.⁴

² Mária Malíková, *Juraj Rafael Donner a Bratislava*, (Bratislava: Pallas, 1993), 39; Mária Pötzl-Malíková, „Zu Leben und Werk von Georg Raphael Donner“, in *Georg Raphael Donner. 1693–1741: Katalog der Ausstellung: Unteres Belvedere 2. Juni bis 30. September 1993*, ed. Michael Krapf (Wien: Österreichische Galerie, 1993), 54; Mária Pötzl-Malíková, „Georg Raphael Donner: Sv. Martin so žobrákom“, *Pamiatky a múzea*, no. 5–6 (1992), 29; Miklós Mojzer, „Egy jelmezes mecénás. Esterházy Imre hercegprímás,“ in *Sub minervae nationis praesidio*, ed. Ferenc Tókei et al (Budapest: ELTE, 1989), 65.

³ Jozef Halko a Štefan Komorný, *Dóm: Katedrála sv. Martina v Bratislave* (Bratislava: Lúč, 2010), 339; Péter Kovács, *Donner* (Budapest: Corvina, 1979), 18.

⁴ Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz, „Lovasszobor az oltáron: gondolatok Georg Raphael Donner pozsonyi fooltáráról, Josef Thaddäus Stammel gráci Szent Marton-oltárával összehasonlítva,“ *Művészettörténeti értesítő* 45, no. 3–4 (1996), 161; Andreas Pigler, *Georg Raphael Donner* (Leipzig: Verlag Dr. Hans Epstein, 1929), 45; Ivan Rusina, *Renesančná a baroková plastika v Bratislave* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1983), 94.



Obr. 3: Franz Messmer a Wenzel Pohl, Korunovácia Márie Terézie v Bratislave (1741), 1768, olej na plátne, cca 250 × 140 cm, Maďarská ambasáda vo Viedni. Zdroj: bratislavskerozky.sk.

Husársku uniformu [obr. 4] tvoril krátky kabát dolomán s radovým šnúrovým zapínaním. Na ňom nosili husári podobne šnúrovaný a kožušinou lemovaný kabátec – mentieku. Úzke nohavice boli na dvoch predných rozparkoch bohato zdobené. Dolomán v pásu obtáčala



Obr. 4: Martin Engelbrecht, Portrét plukovníka grófa von Schluga, okolo 1740, kolorovaný lept, 29,4 × 18,4 cm. Zdroj: Univerzitná knižnica, Viedeň, licencia CC BY-NC.

šerpa z farebnej vlny, na ktorú boli navlečené pletené trubičky ako gombíky. Ako pokrývka hlavy slúžil husárom kalpak z čiernej alebo hnedej kožušiny. Zvláštnosťou husárskeho výstroja bola plochá kožená taška (*Säbeltasche*) nosená cez pravé rameno. Veko tašky, najmä u dôstojníkov, bohato zdobili výšivky s ľudovými motívmi, neskôr erbom majiteľa pluku. Výzbroj tvorila zakrivená šabľa orientálneho typu v koženej pošve, karabína a dve pištole. Kone mali sedlá uhorského typu, bežne sa využívala zdobená čabraka. Pri rozpoznávaní plukov hrala dôležitú rolu farba. Tá sa pritom často menila, napríklad pri zmene majiteľa pluku sa zmenila farba dolománu

i mentieky.⁵ Odev šľachticov taktiež pozostával z dolománu, mentieky, úzkych nohavíc, čižiem a kalpaku. [obr. 5] Dolomán sa zvykol zdobiť a vpredu sa na prsiach odev prichytával drahocennými sponami a reťazami. Zimné mentieky sa podšívajú kožušinou.⁶

Z odevu sv. Martina teda nejde určiť, o aký typ ide. Na identifikáciu husárskej uniformy, ktorá by umožnila priradenie ku konkrétnemu pluku, chýba farebnosť uniformy, *Säbeltasche*, sedlo, čabraka, výzbroj. Hlavný prvok napovedajúci, že ide o husára, je vojenský dôstojnícky kalpak. Dôstojníci-husári si bežne zdobili uniformu podľa vlastného vkusu a na kalpak si pripínali najrôznejšie ozdoby.⁷ Pozoruhodnou je aj ľavia koža, na ktorej svätec sedí. Medzi husármi bolo populárne nosiť ľaviu kožu prehodenú cez rameno, nebolo však bežné na nej sedieť. Takéto zachytenie husára je teda značne schematické. Na úplnosť dodajme, že v danej dobe existovali aj iné jazdecké oddiely – kyrysníci, karabinieri a dragúni – avšak na našom území sa formovali len husárske pluky. Ich uniformy sa navyše od tých husárskych líšia, napríklad jediní, ktorí nosili kalpak, boli husári.⁸

V prospech predpokladu, že ide o šľachtica, svedčí mohutná reťaz na mentieke. Svojím vzhľadom sa ponáša



Obr. 5: Daniel Schmidelli, Portrét Jozefa Iľešháziho, 1764, olej na plátne, 237 × 157 cm. Zdroj: Trenčianske múzeum.

na reťaz od rádu zlatého rúna, samotný privesok chýba. Sv. Martin je teda oblečený v šatstve, z ktorého sa nedá určiť, či ide o vojenský, alebo šľachtický odev; na hlave má vojenskú husársku dôstojnícku čiapku a na mentieke šľachtický reťaz podobnú reťazi rádu zlatého rúna. V husárskej uniforme so všetkými atribútmi

⁵ Harald Skala, *Slávne časy cisárskej jazdy v 17.–19. storočí* (Prešov: Universum, 2005), 26; György Ságvári a Győző Somogyi, *Das Buch der Husaren* (Budapest: Magyar Könyvklub, 1999); Vojtech Dangl a Vladimír Segeš, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska*, vol. 3: 1711–1914 (Bratislava: Vojen. inform. a tlač. Agentúra, 1996), 36; Zoltán Barcy a Győző Somogyi, *Magyar huszárok* (Budapest: Móra F, 1987), 6.

⁶ Tünde Lengyelová, *Život na šľachtickom dvore: odev, strava, domácnosť, hygiena, voľný čas* (Bratislava: Slovart, 2016), 80–81; József Höllrigl, „Magyar és török viseletek a XVI–XVII. Században,“ in *Magyar művelődéstörténet 3. A kereszténység védbástyája*, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Szekszárd: Babits Magyar-Amerikai Kiadó, 1993), 360–361.

⁷ Barcy – Somogyi, *Magyar huszárok*, 33.

⁸ Dangl – Segeš, *Vojenské dejiny*, 35.

spolu s dôstojníckym kalpakom a šľachtickou reťazou/zdobenou sponou sa však dokázateľne portrétovalo niekoľko husárskych veliteľov-šľachticov.⁹ [obr. 4] Naopak, šľachtici-nevojaci sa zvykli portrétovať v uhorskom odeve občas aj s kalpakom, avšak nie s vojenskými inšígniami. Sv. Martina preto treba v tomto kontexte chápať ako vojenského veliteľa-šľachtica, čo predstavuje anomáliu v rámci jeho ikonografie.¹⁰

Podľa predstáv baroka bol navyše v Uhorsku vnímaný ako uhorský svätec¹¹ nehľadiac na fakt, že ho možno považovať za internacionálneho svätca populárneho v celej Európe a patróna mnohých európskych šľachtických rodov. Úcta k sv. Martinovi sa v Uhorsku udomácnila zásluhou uhorského kráľa Štefana (vláda 1000 – 1038) a jeho otca Gejzu, ktorý v Pannonhalme postavil jemu zasvätený kláštor i chrám. V zápase proti šíreniu

pohanstva a proti Kopáňovi Štefan prosil o príhovor sv. Martina, ktorý sa tak stáva hlavným patrónom celého Uhorska i rodu Arpádovcov. K tejto úcte napomohla aj Štefanova manželka Gizela. Tá poznala úctu k svätcovi už v rodnom Bavorsku. Podobne sa k jeho kultu dostal aj biskup Gerhard, vychovávateľ Štefanovho syna sv. Imricha, ktorý si ho so sebou prináša z Talianska. V roku 1074 pred bitkou pri Mogyoróde zložil sľub sv. Martinovi aj sv. Ladislav. Po víťazstve nad Šalamúnom na mieste bitky založil benediktínske opátstvo na svätcovu počesť. Arpádovci si často vyberali sv. Martina ako patróna kostolov. Tri kapituly – bratislavská, spišská a aradská – dokonca niesli jeho meno. Jeho úloha ako patróna krajiny pretrvala aj po vymretí Arpádovcov. V roku 1427 kráľ Žigmund Luxemburský (1368 – 1437) ho v listine vymenoval za najvýznamnejšieho patróna krajiny.¹²

⁹ Martin Engelbrecht, portrét grófa Antona von Kalnocki, grafika, okolo 1740, inv. č. HB 23927,47, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Norimberg; Martin Engelbrecht, portrét grófa Johanna Baroniay (Baranyay), grafika, okolo 1740, inv. č. HB 23927,115, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Norimberg; Martin Engelbrecht, portrét grófa Františka Leopolda Nádašdyho z Fogarasu, grafika, okolo 1740, inv. č. HB 23927,109, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Norimberg; Martin Engelbrecht, portrét kniežata Pavla Antona Esterháziho, grafika, okolo 1740, inv. č. HB 23927,135, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Norimberg; Martin Engelbrecht, portrét grófa von Schluga, kolorovaná grafika, okolo 1740, inv. č. III,263,31, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Nemecko; Martin Engelbrecht, portrét grófa Johanna Josepha von Herberstein, kolorovaná grafika, 1731–1755, inv. č. III,263,39, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Nemecko; Martin van Meytens, portrét grófa Alexandra Károlyi, maľba, pred 1743, súkromná zbierka.

¹⁰ O sv. Martinovi a jeho ikonografii existuje množstvo vedeckých publikácií, viď napr.: Raymond van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Raymond van Dam, *Saints and their miracles in late antique Gaul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Yossi Maurey, *Medieval Music, Legend, and the Cult of St. Martin: the Local Foundations of a Universal Saint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Ferenc Tóth, „Szent Márton, a katona: Gondolatok a Szent Márton-kultusz Szombathely fejlődésében betöltött kora újkori szerepéről,“ *Vasi Szemle* 69, no. 1 (2015), 705–14; Judith Rosen, *Martin von Tours: der barmherzige Heilige* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2016); Martin Scheutz, „Geteilte Mäntel, ein Hauch von Fasching und ein neuer Martinskult: Die Verehrung des Martin in der Frühen Neuzeit,“ *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 98, no. 1 (2016), 95–134.

¹¹ Pözl-Malíková, *Georg Raphael Donner*, 28.

¹² Úloha svätého Martina ako patróna krajiny však nebola v súdobom Uhorsku výlučná. Popri ňom sa v ranom období za sv. Štefana v podobnej úlohe objavovali aj sv. Juraj, sv. Michal a najmä Panna Mária. – László Koszta, „Szent Márton tiszteletének magyarországi kezdete: Megjegyzések az első magyar bencés monostor, Pannonhalma alapításához,“ in *Annales Historici Prešovensis*, ed. Martin Pekár, Patrik Derfiňák a Peter Zmátlo (Prešov: Universum, 2005), 71–74; Richard Pražák, *Legendy a kroniky Koruny uherské* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1988), 82, 84, 98, 351–52.

Z 19. a začiatku 20. storočia z obdobia nacionalizmu sa nám zachovalo veľké množstvo najmä maďarských novinových článkov, podľa ktorých ide o dielo, na ktorom svätec s použitým odevom prezentuje maďarskú identitu.¹³ Akú však mali identitu ľudia 18. storočia, najmä v prostredí Bratislavy? Meštianskej identite v novoveku sa venovala napr. Barbara Hodásová (Balážová). Konštatuje, že život človeka ranonovovekej spoločnosti i jeho úspechy v profesionálnej kariére od začiatku určoval počestný pôvod. V meštianskom prostredí bolo nemysliteľné, aby sa do spoločnosti zaradil jedinec nemanželského pôvodu. Rodičia museli verejne uzatvoriť manželstvo a prvé dieťa sa smelo narodiť najskôr deväť mesiacov po svadbe. Ak sa toto pravidlo snažil niekto akýmkoľvek spôsobom porušiť, pri odhalení ho čakali sankcie. Riadny rodný list sprevádzal človeka po celý život a bol jeho vstupenkou do slušnej spoločnosti. Každý, kto sa uchádzal o meštianstvo, vstup do cechu alebo manželstvo, musel predložiť rodný list, v ktorom sa uvádzalo meno, dátum a miesto narodenia, pôvod a zamestnanie rodičov. Prvotná identifikácia novovekého človeka v Uhorsku sa spájala s jeho mikropôvodom – s konkrétnym mestom a konkrétnou rodinou. Národnosť teda v uhorskom prostredí ešte v 18. storočí nehrala výraznejšiu rolu. O tom svedčí aj fakt, že sa do cechov v uhorských mestách prijímali aj cudzinci, najmä z územia dnešného Nemecka, Rakúska, Čiech,

Moravy, Sliezska, občasne aj zo vzdialenejších kútov Európy (Švajčiarsko, Prusko či Španielsko). Barbara Hodásová konštatuje, že na určenie národnosti uhorského obyvateľa nie je možné použiť miesto narodenia (vzhľadom na výraznú – nielen vnútornú – migráciu) ani jazyk. Ako príklad spomína súpis členov kremnickej mestskej správy z roku 1762. Samozrejmosťou bolo ovládanie nemčiny, nechýbala však ani znalosť slovenčiny, maďarčiny a latinčiny. Jazykové znalosti sa uvádzali pri dvadsaťjeden členoch, pričom osem ľudí uviedlo – medzi inými jazykmi – aj znalosť slovenčiny.¹⁴

Jeden z najtrefnějších súhrnov uhorskej identity u šľachty ponúka József Demmel. Ten vo svojom výskume „uhorskej šľachty s materinským jazykom slovenským“ poukazuje na fakt, že chápanie identity bolo pred nacionalizmom 19. storočia iné, než ho chápeme my dnes v „postnacionalistickej“ dobe. Pred nacionalizmom existovali dve základné zložky identity šľachtica – politická/národná príslušnosť a jazyková príslušnosť.¹⁵ Pri definícii slovenskej šľachty prichádza k uzáveru: „*Keby sme teraz chceli vymedziť najdôležitejšie charakteristiky tejto vrstvy, uvedieme, že ide o šľachtickú elitu Horného Uhorska, ktorej členovia sa dôrazne považovali za súčasť uhorského šľachtického národa, natio Hungarica, a popritom ako dominantný jazyk, respektíve ako jeden z dominantných jazykov, používali vo viacerých dôležitých oblastiach života (rodinná komunikácia), ako aj v miestnej verejnej správe, pri*

¹³ Spomeňme si aspoň niektoré: Porzó Feldunai, „A püspök úr pongyolában,“ *Pozsonyvidéki Lapok* 8, no. 4 (6. 6. 1880), 1; Sándor Vutkovich, „A nemzeti ügy Pozsonyban,“ *Nyugatmagyarországi Híradó* 14, no. 23 (27. 1. 1901), 1–2; Kornél Divald, „Láthatatlan műemlékek,“ in *Művészet* 4, ed. Károly Lyka (Budapest: Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat, 1905), 164; Haľko a Komorný, Dóm, 339.

¹⁴ Barbara Balážová, „Linguarum Hungaricae, Germanicae et Slavonicae gnarus: K otázke „národnosti“ meštianskeho umelca raného novoveku,“ in *Sociálne vedy a humanistika očami mladých: zborník zo stretnutia v Třešti 14.-16.3.2005*, ed. Tatiana Sedová (Bratislava: Veda, 2006), 147–50.

¹⁵ József Demmel, „Stav zemiansky národa slovenského“. Uhorská šľachta slovenského pôvodu,“ *Forum Historiae* 6, no. 2 (2012), 59.

správe majetku, respektíve v regionálnom politickom živote, niektorý z spisovaných variantov slovenčiny.“¹⁶

Viacjazyčnosti uhorskej identity sa venovali z rôznych pohľadov aj Juraj Šedivý a Jozef Tancer. Juraj Šedivý pri výskume stredovekých identít v Bratislave prichádza k zaujímavému záveru. Preferovaný jazyk – alebo dokonca etnicita – jedinca bol pre stredovekých mešťanov druho- až treťoradým skupinovým identifikačným činiteľom. Navyše je otázne, či sa jeho skupinová identita kryla s jeho preferovaným jazykom. Až na explicitné identifikácie sa etnická identita nedá zistiť, preto sú akékoľvek kvantifikácie etnických skupín v mestách príliš hypotetickými a špekulatívnymi. Multilingualita Bratislavy zodpovedá antropologickej zásade, že menšie lokality majú tendenciu k unitárnosti a naopak, väčšie centrá podporujú (jazykovú) diverzitu. Zo Šedivého práce zároveň vyplýva, že v stredovekej Bratislave bola viacjazyčnosť realitou, avšak obmedzenou. Veľkú prevahu mala nemčina v ústnom prejave aj v písomnej komunikácii – či listinnej alebo nápisovej. To však zároveň neznamenalo, že to bol rodný jazyk komunikujúcich. Nemčina vystriedala latinčinu v priebehu 14. storočia, pričom však latinčina zostala cirkevným jazykom aj v rámci cirkevnej administratívy. Tieto javy následne plynule pokračujú v ranom novoveku. Hoci až do druhej polovice 19. storočia prevládal v uliciach

mesta nemecký jazyk (v diplomatickej komunikácii a administratíve sa čeština/slovenčina objavuje od tretiny 15. storočia a maďarčina od prelomu 15. a 16. storočia), obyvatelia sa prezentovali ako hrdí uhorskí patrioti.¹⁷

Z uvedeného by nám malo byť jasné, že sv. Martina v uhorskom odeve mohli v 18. storočí „za svojho“ považovať bratislavskí Nemci, Rakúšania, Slováci, Maďari aj Chorváti. V tomto období navyše predstavoval súčasť vyjadrenia vlastnej identity práve odev. Rôzne krajiny mali rôzne odevy, ktorými vyššia trieda (šľachta, bohatí mešťania) demonštrovala svoju politickú identitu.¹⁸ To v praxi znamená, že sv. Martin odetý v uhorskom odeve ako husársky veliteľ – šľachtic, predstavoval súčasť uhorskej identity bez ohľadu na to, či jej príslušník mal materinský jazyk slovenský, maďarský, nemecký alebo chorvátsky. Krajinská a politická identita *natio hungarica* však nebola spoločná len pre šľachtu a bratislavskú mešťanskú populáciu, ale pre celé kráľovstvo.

Povedané inými slovami, Imrich Esterházi pri objednávaní oltára musel poznať viacjazyčnú uhorskú identitu svojich veriacich, v ktorej bol uhorský odev sv. Martina považovaný za znak identity jej príslušníkov bez ohľadu na jazyk. V 18. storočí sa bratislavský uhorský Slovák, Maďar, Chorvát, Nemec či Rakúšan mohol pri oltári „zbožne a precítene sústrediť k modlitbám“ a „oprávnené tu

¹⁶ József Demmel, *Panslávi v kaštieli. Zabudnutý príbeh slovenského národného hnutia* (Krásno nad Kysucou: Kalligram, 2017), 23.

¹⁷ Juraj Šedivý, „Jazyková a etnická pluralita v stredovekom Prešporku/Bratislave – stredoveká realita alebo moderný obraz?“ *Forum Historiae*, no. 2 (2012) 16, 26, 31; Jozef Tancer a Elena Mannová, „Od uhorského patriotizmu k menšinovému nacionalizmu: Zmeny povedomia Nemcov na Slovensku v 18. až 20. storočí,“ in *My a tí druhí v modernej spoločnosti: konštrukcie a transformácie kolektívnych identít*, ed. Gabriela Kiliánová, Eva Kowalská a Eva Krekovičová (Bratislava: Veda, 2009), 368.

¹⁸ Irena Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Warszawa: Institute of the History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1991), 7.

hľadať svoj domov“, ako to v 19. storočí napísali noviny *Pozsonyvidéki lapok*.¹⁹ Toto tvrdenie podporuje fakt, že v dobe výstavby oltára bola úradným jazykom v Bratislave nemčina, cirkevným jazykom latinčina, s ťažko identifikovateľným objemom príslušníkov jednotlivých národov či jazykových skupín.

Na tomto mieste sa môžeme zastaviť pri identite objednávateľa, Imricha Esterháziho. [obr. 6] Ten v priebehu svojho života dosiahol najvyššie možné funkcie v rámci Uhorského kráľovstva v cirkevnej oblasti, vo svetskej patril k najvýznamnejším politikom. Tieto úspechy v priebehu života dosiahol vďaka neochvejnej podpore habsburských kráľov – Jozefa I. (1678 – 1711), Karola VI. (ako uhorský kráľ Karol III., 1685 – 1740) aj Márie Terézie (1717 – 1780). Pri najrôznejších príležitostiach pretláčal ich vôľu absolutistickým spôsobom, často na úkor domácej šľachty. V roku 1680 vstúpil do rehole pavlínov, o osem rokov neskôr bol vysvätený za kňaza. Získal doktorát z filozofie vo Viedenskom Novom Meste a doktorát z teológie v Ríme na jezuitskom Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum. Svoje teologické štúdium úspešne zakončil v roku 1687, keď napísal dizertačnú prácu *Theses ex universa theologia*. V rokoch 1688 – 1692 vyučoval v chorvátskom meste Lepoglava filozofiu, odkiaľ sa presunul do Trnavy, kde do roku 1695 učil filozofiu a teológiu. Nasledujúci rok uverejnil knižne časť svojich trnavských prednášok pod názvom *Theses theologicae. De Jure & Dominio*. Táto práca, podobne ako jeho dizertácia, je dnes nezvestná.



Obr. 6: Josef Kurtz, *Portrét arcibiskupa Imricha Esterháziho*, okolo 1735, olej na plátne, 216 × 129 cm. Zdroj: Slovenská národná galéria, voľné dielo.

Po odchode z Trnavy odišiel do obce Remete, dnes miestna časť Záhrebu, kde sa stal priorom pavlínskeho kláštora. V rokoch 1702 – 1707 pôsobil ako rádový generál pavlínov. Následne sa stal vacovským (1706) a záhrebským (1708) biskupom. Do týchto funkcií ho menoval Jozef I. Záhrebským biskupom bol do roku 1723, keď sa stal vesprémskym biskupom. O dva roky neskôr sa Esterházi stal ostrihomským arcibiskupom, uhorským prímasom, ríšskym kniežatom a ostrihomským županom²⁰ (ostrihomský

¹⁹ Porzó Feldunai, „A püspök úr pongyolában,“ *Pozsonyvidéki Lapok* 8, no. 4 (6. 6. 1880), 1.

²⁰ Hoci sa táto informácia bežne vo vedeckých publikáciách neobjavuje, v rámci uhorskej administratívy existovalo už od stredoveku nariadenie, podľa ktorého sa ostrihomský arcibiskup automaticky stával ostrihomským županom a hlavným županom. V 16. storočí platilo, že funkciu a právomoci župana vykonával najmä vicežupan. Do jeho právomoci patrilo súdnictvo, obrana štátu a výber daní. Od 17. storočia sa rozvíjala stoličná autonómia. Čoraz väčšiu úlohu nadobúdala stoličný snem (*Komitatsversammlung*), ktorý aj volil vicežupana. Ten tak mal v rukách skutočnú

arcibiskup sa zároveň stáva prímasom, ríšskym kniežatom a ostrihomským županom). Tento úrad zastával až do svojej smrti roku 1745. Čo sa týka jeho politickej kariéry, 23. januára 1725 bol Karolom VI. vymenovaný za uhorského dvorského kancelára. Funkciu však zastával len do smrti prímasa Kristiána Augusta Saského (1666 – 1725) z 23. augusta. V roku 1715 získal grófsky titul a funkciu kráľovského tajného radcu, ktorú zastával aj za vlády Márie Terézie. V tom istom roku bol zároveň zvolený za člena komisie určenej na revíziu zákonov a súdneho systému, tzv. *Commisio Systematica*. Funkciu zastával do roku 1723. Približne od nultých do dvadsiatych rokov sa pravidelne zúčastňoval na chorvátskych a uhorských snemoch.²¹

Úradné dokumenty dokazujú, že s cisárskym dvorom komunikoval nemecky, s duchovenstvom latinsky.²² Znalosť viacerých jazykov demonštroval v tlačených prameňoch. V priebehu svojho záhrebského episkopátu napísal modlitbu sv. Františkovi Xaverskému. Zaujímavým je, že toto dielo napísal v dvoch jazykoch – latinsky a chorvátsky. Ako ostrihomský arcibiskup napísal úvod k *Životopisu sv. Jána Almužníka* po latinsky, nemecky, slovensky a maďarsky, kde sa zakaždým podpísal ako brat Imrich.²³ Môžeme teda vidieť, že s bežnou populáciou sa v osobnom kontakte rozprával ich materinským jazykom. Vzhľadom na kariéru a jazykové znalosti prímasa môžeme predpokladať, že sa sám považoval za príslušníka *natio hungarica*.

moc. V tomto období titul hlavného župana bol skôr hodnostný a titulárny, určujúci príslušnosť k vysokej šľachte, bez skutočných právomocí. Zmena nastala až v 18. storočí. Od roku 1711 platilo, že hlavný župan sa stával zástupcom kráľa vo svojej župe a musel vykonávať reálnu funkciu. Ak ju kandidát nebol schopný vykonávať, úrad nebol obsadený. Pozri Zoltán Fallenbüchl, *Magyarország főispánjai 1526–1848* (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994), 29, 30–32, 38–40, 75.

²¹ Emericus Esterházy, *Theses ex universa theologia sub Auspiciis Reverendissimi Patris P. Tyrsi Gonzalez Praepositi Generalis Societatis Jesu publice propugnandae* [...] (Romae: ex Typographia Pauli Monetae, 1687); Emericus Esterházy, *Theses theologicae: De Jure & Dominio, Quas in Congregatione Generali Ordinis S. Pauli, Primi Eremitae Anno M.DC.XCVI. Die XI. Junij Defendendas suscepit Venerabilis Pater Fridericus Geiseler* [...] (Tyrnaviae, 1696); Katarína Orviská, „Imrich Esterházi a jeho historiografia pri výskume dejín umenia,“ *Ars* 55, no. 2 (2022), 172; Katarína Orviská, „Obraz Imricha Esterháziho v panegyrikách v kontexte jeho osobnosti a osobných ambícií,“ in *Kapitulská od minulosti po budúcnosť* (Bratislava: RKCMBF UK, 2024), 259–60..

²² V prípade záujmu o administratívne dokumenty viažuce sa na prímasovu prácu, pozri Katarína Orviská, „Imrich Esterházi,“ 171–172.

²³ Imbrih Esterházi od Galanthe, *Molitva k-sz. Otczu Ferenczu Xaveriussu velikomu indianszkomu apostolu*, Zagreb, 1715; Emericus Esterhazi de Galantha, *Oratio a celsissimo, ac reverendissimo S. R. I. principe Emerico e comitibus Esterhazi de Galantha, metropolitanae Strigoniensis ecclesiae archi-episcopo, & Hungariae primato, &c. tunc Dignissimo Episcopo Zagradiensi composita, & certo, ac perpetuo voto suo ad Thaumaturgum S. Franciscum Xaverium facio* [...], 1715; Emericus Esterhazy, *Vita S. Joannis Eleemosynarii Alexandrii Patriarchae, ex Antiquo Autographo In Vitas Patrum De verbo ad verbum excerpta, et Quatuor linguis Latinâ, Germanicâ, Hungaricâ, Slavonicâ Poseniensium* (Possonii: Joannis Pauli Royer, 1732); Emericus Esterhazy, *Żywot S. Jana Almuznara, alexandynskiego patryarchy ze Starodawnej Knihi żywoiti Otczuu nazwanej od slowa do slowa wibrany A sstwerim jazikem Latinskim Nemeckim Uherskim Slowenskim* (Presporok: Yan Pawol Royer, 1732); Imre Esterhazy, *Alaminnás Sz. Jánosnak Alexandriai patriárkának Élete. Melly, egy régi, Atyák életéről költ írásból, Szórol Szóra Szedetett, és Négy: ugmint Deák, Német, Magyar, Tót* (Posony: János Pál Royer, 1732); Emericus Esterhazy, *Leben Des Heiligen Allmosen-Gebers Joannis Alexandrinischen Patriarchens, Aus einer Mehr denn tausend Jahr alt-bewährten Geschichts-Verfassung Unter dem Nahmen: Das Leben der Alt-Väter, zusammen getragen, Und denen Preßburgern, Bey welchen Dessen H. unversehrter Leichnam ruhet Zu sonderbarem Nutzen In vier Sprachen: als Lateinisch, Deutsch, Hungarisch und Böhmisch* (Pressburg: Joann Paul Royer, 1732).

Záver

Z odevu sochy sv. Martina nejde určiť, o aký typ ide. Na identifikáciu husárskej uniformy, ktorá by umožnila priradenie ku konkrétnemu pluku, chýba farebnosť uniformy, *Säbeltasche*, sedlo, čabraka, výzbroj. Hlavný prvok napovedajúci, že ide o husára, je vojenský dôstojnícky kalpak. Takéto zachytenie husára je teda značne schematické. V prospech predpokladu, že ide o šľachtica, svedčí mohutná reťaz na mentieke. Svojím vzhladom sa ponáša na reťaz od rádu zlatého rúna, samotný prívesok chýba. Sv. Martin je teda oblečený v šatstve, z ktorého sa nedá určiť, či ide o vojenský, alebo šľachtický odev; na hlave má vojenskú husársku dôstojnícku čiapku a na mentieke šľachtickú reťaz podobnú reťazi rádu zlatého rúna. V husárskej uniforme so všetkými atribútmi spolu s dôstojníckym kalpakom a šľachtickou reťazou/zdobenou sponou sa však dokázateľne portrétovalo niekoľko husárskych

veliteľov-šľachticov. Sv. Martina preto treba v tomto kontexte chápať ako vojenského veliteľa-šľachtica, čo predstavuje anomáliu v rámci jeho ikonografie.

Svätec odetý v uhorskom odevu ako husársky veliteľ-šľachtic, predstavoval súčasť uhorskej identity bez ohľadu na to, či príslušník tejto identity mal materinský jazyk slovenský, maďarský, nemecký alebo chorvátsky. Práve v tomto kontexte je možné pochopiť napr. rozhodnutie Imricha Esterháziho preložiť životopis sv. Jána Almužníka do „našich ľudových jazykov“ – nemčiny, slovenčiny a maďarčiny. Prímas pri objednávaní oltára musel poznať viacjazyčnú uhorskú identitu svojich veriacich, v ktorej bol uhorský odev sv. Martina považovaný za znak identity jej príslušníkov bez ohľadu na jazyk. V tomto zmysle dokázal prímas vyhotoviť oltár, ktorý počas nedelných omší slúžiť na posilňovanie viery a svojím spôsobom aj kolektívnej identity bežných veriacich protireformačným spôsobom.

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Između Košica i Knina (*Tinninum*): doprinos Aleksija Jordánskoga „Marijinu vrtu“ (lat. *Hortus Marianus*) u Hrvatskoj**

Medzi Košicami a Kninom (*Tinninum*): Príspevok Alexandra Jordánskeho k *Hortus Marianus* v Chorvátsku / Between Košice and Knin (*Tinninum*): Alexius Jordánszky's contribution to the *Hortus Marianus* in Croatia

The paper discusses the importance of the Brief Description of the Merciful Images of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Hungary and Its Parts (1836 in German and Hungarian; 1838 in Slovak) and its author Alexius Jordánszky (Košice, 1765 – Esztergom, 1840), titular bishop of Knin, in Croatia. The Brief Description is an important Marian topographical album that provides historical insight into eight pilgrimage sites within the dioceses of Croatia: Trsat (Senj Diocese), Marija Bistrica, Remete, Krapina / Trški Vrh (Zagreb Diocese), and Aljmaš, Dragotin, Sotin, Petrovaradin (Bosnian or Đakovo and Srijem Diocese). Jordánszky was a notable ecclesiastical and intellectual figure in the Austrian Empire. As a fervent Marian devotee, he was the first (and only) to document some of the Marian images and altars, including the image in Dragotin and the late eighteenth-century altar (which has since been destroyed) in Marija Bistrica.

Key words: Alexius Jordánszky, 19th century, Marian shrines in Croatia, book illustration

Doktor teologije, požunski pa ostrogonski kanonik i naslovni biskup Knina, Aleksij (Áleš, Alex; Elek) Jordánszky malo je poznata povijesna ličnost u Hrvatskoj, pogotovo u odnosu na to koliko je zadužio hrvatsku marijansku kulturu. Prije nego što odmjerimo

koliko je njegov prinos mariologiji, prenijet ćemo nekoliko podataka iz njegova životopisa. Rođen je u Košicama (Cassovia/Kaschau/Kassa) 15. rujna 1765. godine, a umro u Ostrogonu (Esztergom/Strigonoim/Gran/Ostrihom) 17. veljače 1840. godine.¹ O ugledu koji je u životu

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¹ Dr. Romy [Karl Georg Romy], „Nekrolog des Alexius von Jordanßky“, *Der Adler* 53 (Montag, den 2. März 1840.), 421; Constant von Wurzbach, „Jordanßky, Alexius von“, u *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*: X: Jablonowski – Karolina (Wien: Druck und Verlag der k. k. Hof- und

stekao svjedoče nekrolozi objavljeni u raznim novinama Austrijskoga Carstva, pa je čak – primjerice – udaljeni *Salzburger Zeitung* 4. ožujka 1840. na naslovnici obavijestio čitatelje:

„(..), najpoštovaniji biskup Knina, opat Szászvára i kanonik, gospodin Alexius von Jordánszky umro je u Granu. Neumorni rad, apostolski žar i iznimno dobra znanstvena naobrazba, iskrena pobožnost i dobro srce krasili su njegov život.“²

U Košicama je Jordánszky zarana bio izložen trojezičnoj kulturi državno-činovničkog sloja komu su pripadali njegov otac i šira obitelj, pa je kao dijete naučio „tri glavna jezika Kraljevine Ugarske: mađarski, njemački i slovački, te je do kraja života, uz latinski, tečno govorio te jezike“.³ Potom je – tijekom školovanja – savladao francuski i talijanski.⁴ U obitelji visokoga prelata i jednoga od protagonista crkvenoga, političkog i kulturnog

života konzervativnoga Carstva neobične su okolnosti pod kojima je sklopljen brak njegovih roditelja, što posebno ističu Gábor Tüskés i Éva Knapp (1990.):

„Njegov je otac bio nekadašnji isusovac, koji je potom pod nejasnim okolnostima napustio red i oženio se Marijom Uher, koja je bila deset godina mlađa od njega. Ovaj događaj u povijesti obitelji odražava, s jedne strane, proces raspada crkvene discipline za redovnički način života u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća, a s druge strane, kasnije je utjecao na Jordánszkyjev životni put. Iste godine kada mu je otac preminuo u 44. godini života, Jordánszky postaje sjemeništara u Ostrogonu. Filozofiju i teologiju studirao je u Požunu (Bratislavi) i Trnavi (Nagyszombat). Među njegovim profesorima nalazili su se, osim konzervativne većine, i oni koji su podržavali ideje febronijanizma, jansenizma i prosvijećenog jozefinizma.“⁵

Staatsdruckerei, 1863.), 267–68; Imrich Kotvan, *Bibliografija bernolákovcov* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1957.), 186–92. Zbog nedostatka podataka o protagonistu ovoga istraživanja podatci iz životopisa u prilogu izneseni su sukladno člancima iz referentne literature.

² „Am 17. d. M. Starb zu Gran der Hochw. Tinninier Weichbischof, Abt zu Szaszvar und Canonicus, Hr. Alexius von Jordanszky. Unermüdliche Thätigkeit [sic], apostolischer Eifer und vielseitige hohe wissenschaftliche Bildung, wahre Frömmigkeit und Herzengüte schmückten seinen Lebenslauf.“ *Kaiserl. Königl. privilegirte Salzburger Zeitung* 46 (Mittwoch den 4. März 1840.), s. p. [p. 1].

³ „Der Umstand, daß er in Kaschan geboren wurde und seine Kinderjahre verlebte, trug dazu bei, daß er die drei Haupt= Landessprachen Ungarns, die magyarische, deutsche und slawische auf die leichteste Weise erlernte und bis zu seinem Tode, nebst der lateinischen Sprache, fertig sprach.“ Dr. Rummy, „Nekrolog des Alexius von Jordanßky“, 421. Pridjev „slawische“ ovdje se može razumjeti i prevesti kao „slovački“.

⁴ Dr. Rummy, „Nekrolog des Alexius von Jordanßky“, 421; Wurzbach, „Jordanßky, Alexius von“.

⁵ „Sein Vater war früher Jesuit. Dann trat er unter unklaren Umständen aus dem Orden aus und hat mit Maria Uher die Ehe geschlossen, die zehn Jahre jünger war als er. Dieses Ereignis der Familiengeschichte spiegelt einerseits den Auflösungsprozess der kirchlichen Disziplin, für die Lebensform der Orden in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, II andererseits wirkt es sich später auf die Laufbahn von Jordánszky bestimmend aus. Im selben Jahr, als sein Vater im 44. Lebensjahr stirbt, wird Jordánszky Seminarist der Exztergomer Diözese. Er studierte Philosophie und Theologie in Pozsony und Nagyszombat. Unter seinen Professoren finden wir neben der konservativ eingestellten Mehrheit auch jene, die sich zu den Ideen des Febronianismus, des Jansenismus und des aufgeklärten Josephinismus bekannt haben. 1789 wird er zum Priester geweiht.“ Gábor Tüskés i Éva Knapp, „Revitalisierung zwischen Barockfrömmigkeit und Massenregiosität: ein ungarischer Versuch“, u *Papers II. SIEF 4th Congress*, eds. Bente Gullweig Alver, Torunn Selberg (Bergen: European Culture Foundation. 1991), 645–73. Constant von Wurzbach piše da je pravo po želji oca studirao teologiju i pristupio sjemeništu: „Auf des Vaters Wunsch, der selbst schon Mitglied des Jesuitenordens und Novize gewesen, studirte der Sohn Theologie und trat zu Preßburg in das General-Seminarium ein.“ Wurzbach, „Jordanßky, Alexius von“, 267.

Za svećenika je zaređen 26. rujna 1789. godine, a nakon početnih iskustva kao odgojitelj postao je aktuar ostrogonskoga nadbiskupa, grofa Józsefa Batthyányja, primasa Ugarske. Bio je potom i župnik u Svodínu (Szólgyénu;) u Nitranskoj biskupiji, a to je pastoralno iskustvo pret hodilo brzom razvoju Jordánszkyjeve crkvene karijere: imenovan je profesorom teologije na nadbiskupijskom liceju u Trnavi, kanonikom Požunskoga kolegijalnog kaptola i prorektorom tamošnje kraljevske akademije. Postao je kanonik Ostrogonskoga metropolitanskog kaptola te je 28. veljače 1831. potvrđen, a 24. travnja zaređen za naslovnoga biskupa Knina.⁶ Zlatni jubilej svećeništva proslavio je pola godine prije smrti, u najslavnijemu austrijskom marijanskom svetištu Maria Zell u Štajerskoj.⁷ Osim političke i književne aktivnosti – koja je važna u sklopu Bernolákové jezične standardizacije slovačkoga jezika i čitavoga pokreta koje je *bernalákovčina* nadahnula – Jordánszky je važan i zbog brojnih znanstvenih, crkvenih i političkih kontakata te poticajne prepiske koja najavljuje utemeljiteljsko doba (*Gründerzeit*).⁸ Posebno privlače njegove veze s povjesničarem, arhivistom

Ugarske dvorske komore i plodnim piscem Martinom Jurjem Kovačićem Šenkvičkim (Kovachich, Šenkvičský, Senquiciensis, Senquicziensis; Márton György, Martinus Georgius; Veľké Šenkvice kod Pezinoka, 1744. – Budim, 1821.).⁹ Naraštajno stariji autor bio je potomak Hrvata koji su zbog osmanskih prodora od sredine 16. stoljeća napuštali Kostajnicu, Sisak i okolicu te kolonizirali Šenkvice u zapadnoj Slovačkoj, dvadeset i pet kilometara sjeveroistočno od Bratislave, ali je svoje hrvatske korijene zalijevao posjetom Zagrebu (u više navrata od 1812.) i drugim hrvatskim gradovima u Kraljevini, prepiskom s Nikolom Škrlecom Lomničkim, a posebno biskupom Maksimilijanom Vrhovcem (za koga je uredio kaptolski arhiv 1814./1815.) te je poslao sina Josipa Nikolu na studij prava u Zagreb (1813.).¹⁰

Intelektualni kontekst i osobni portret skicirani na tkanju života Alekseja Jordánszkoga scenografija su za razumijevanje njegova golema napora i uspjeha u izdanju marijanskoga atlasa, odnosno ilustrirane topografije njezinih hodočasničkih svetišta u Kraljevini na tri jezika – mađarskom i njemačkom 1836., a slovačkom 1838. godine.¹¹ Sa željom da zažive

⁶ Wurzbach, „Jordanßky, Alexius von“. Za kronologiju imenovanja naslovnim biskupom Knina usp. Remigius P. Ritzler, Pirminus P. Seerin, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi sive Summorum Pontificum – S.R.E. Cardinalium Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series: Volumen Septimum: PII PP. VII 1800 – Gregorii PP. XVI 1846* (Patavii: Typis Librariae „Il Messaggero di S. Antonio“ apud Basilicam S. Antonii, 1968.), 370.

⁷ Wurzbach, „Jordanßky, Alexius von“.

⁸ Miroslav Vojtech, „Podoby slovenskej literatúry okolo 1800,“ in *Umenie a umelci v meste okolo roku 1800 / Art and Artists in the City around 1800*, ed. Katarína Beňová i Katarína Kolbiar Chmelinová (Bratislava : Stimul; Katedra dejín výtvarného umenia Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského, 2023), 527–51.

⁹ St. Kn. i R. [Stjepan Krpan i Redakcija], „Kovačić Šenkvički, Martin Juraj (Kovachich, Šenkvičský, Senquiciensis, Senquicziensis; Márton György, Martinus Georgius, Martin Đuro),“ in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon: VII.: Kam–Ko*, ed. Trpimir Macan (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2009), 814–15; St. Kn. [Stjepan Krpan], „Kovačić Šenkvički, Josip Nikola (Kovachich, Senquiciensis, Šenkvičský; József Miklós, Josephus Nicolaus, Jozef Mikulaš),“ 813–14.

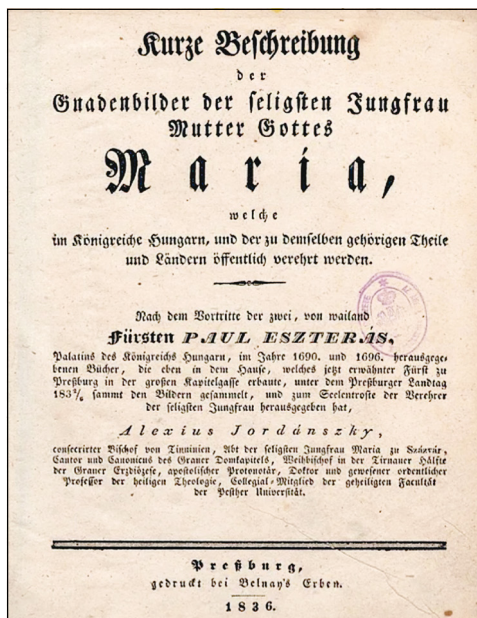
¹⁰ Ivica Filipović, „Martin Juraj i Josip Nikola Kovačić u Hrvatskoj 1812. – 1815,“ *Arhivski vjesnik*, IX (1966) 1, 273–284.

¹¹ Mađarsko izdanje objavljeno je još jednom, posthumno (1863.), u Pešti: „Pesten, 1863. Nyomatja és kiadja Bucs’ánszky Alajos.“

u mariološkoj literaturi navodim pune naslove:

[Alexius Jordánszky,] *Kurze Beschreibung der Gnadenbilder der seligsten Jungfrau Mutter Gottes Maria, welche im Königreiche Hungarn, und der zu demselben gehörigen Theile und Ländern öffentlich verehrt werden, Nach dem Vortritte der zwei, von wailand fürsten PAUL EZTERÁS, Palatins des Königreichs Hungarn, im Jahre 1690. und 1696. herausgegebenen Bücher, die eben in dem Hause, welches jetzt erwähnter Fürst zu Preßburg in der großen Kapitelgasse erbauete, unter dem Preßburger sammt Landtag 1832/6 sammt den Bildern gesammelt, und zum Seelentrost der Verehrer der seligsten Jungfrau herausgegeben hat, Alexius Jordánszky, consecrirter Bischof von Tinninien, Abt der seligsten Jungfrau Maria zu Százvár, Cantor und Canonicus des Graner Domcapitels, Weihbischof in der Tirnauer hälft der Graner Erzdiözese, apostolischer Protonotär, Doctor und gewesener erdentlicher Professor der heiligen Theologie, Collegial=Mitglied der geheiligten Facultät der Pestcher Univerſität (Preßburg, gedruckt bey Belnay's Erben, 1836).* [sl. 1]

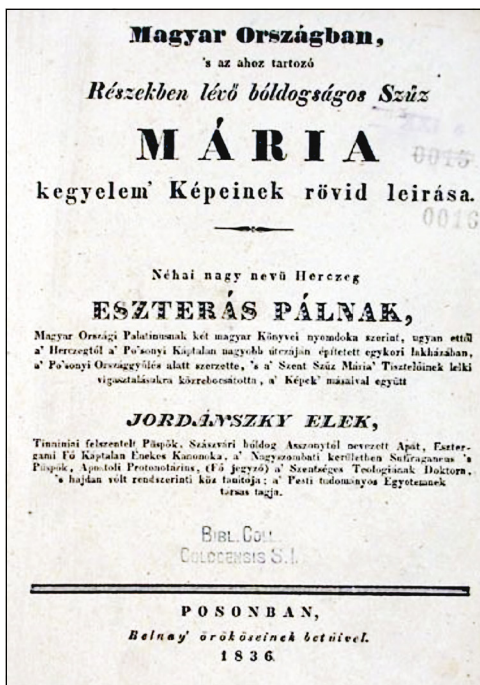
[Alexius Jordánszky,] *Magyar Országban, „s az ahoz tartozó Részekben lévő bölcdogságos Szűz MÁRIA Képeinek rövid leírása. Néhai nagy novú Herczeg ESZTERÁS PÁLNAK, Magyar Országgi Palatinusnak két Könyvei nyomdoka szerint, ugyan ettől a' Herczetől a' Po'sonyi Káptalan nagyobb útczáján épitetett egykori lakházában, a' Po'sonyi Országgyűlés alatt szerzette, „s a' Szent Szűz Mária' Tisztelőinek lelki vigasztalásukra közrebocsátotta, a' Képek' másival együtt JORDÁNSZKY ELEK, Timiniai felszentelt Püspök, Szászvári bölcdog Asszontytól nevezett Apát,*



Slika 1.

Esztergami Fő Káptalan Énekes Kanonika, a' Nagszombati kerületben Suffraganeus „s Püspök, Apostoli Protonotárius, (Fő jegyző) a' Szentéges Teológiának Doktora, a hajdan volt rendeszerienti köztanítója; a' Pesti tudományos Egyetemenk társas tagja (POSONBAN, Belnay' örököseinek betüivel. 1836). [sl. 2]

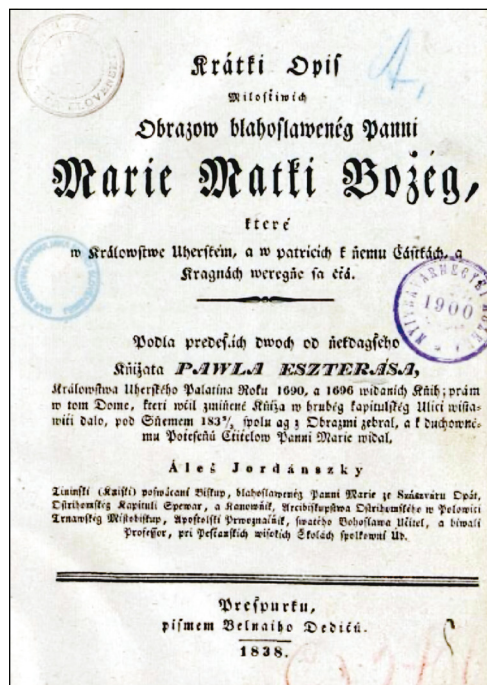
[Alexius Jordánszky], *Krátki Opis Milostiwích Obrazow blahoslawenég Panni Marie Matki Božég, které w Králowstwe Uherském, a w patricích k němu Částkách, a Kragnách weregne sa ctá. Podla predešlich dwoch od někdagšeho Knižata PAWLA ESZTERÁSA Králowstwa Uherského Palatína Roku 1690 a 1696 widanich Kňih ; prám w tom Dome, které wčil zmíněné Kňíža v hrubég Kapitul skeg Ulici, wistawiti dalo, pod Šňemem 1832/3 spolu ag z Obrazmi zebrał a k duchownému Pořešení Cřiřelow Panni Marie Widal, Áleš Jordánszky Tininski (Kniski [sic]) poswácaní*



Slika 2.

Biskup, blahoslavenég Panni Marie ze Szászváru Opát, Ostrihomskég Kapitula Spewar, a Kanowňik, Arcibiskupstwa Ostihomského w Polowici Trnawskég Mistobiskup, Apostolski Prvoznačnik, swáteho Bohoslawa Učitel, biwali Professor, pri Peščanských wisokých Školách spolkwóni Úd. (Prespurku: písmem Belnaiho Dediču, 1838). [sl. 3]

Naslovi izdanja su dugi i pružaju uvid u sadržaj knjige, u uzore, ali i informacije o autorovim važnim ulogama u Crkvi (među kojima je prva ona naslovnoga biskupa Knina) i u akademskom životu



Slika 3.

Kraljevstva. Prije svega, Jordánsszky tu otkriva da su mu uzor bili marijanski atlas koji je gotovo stoljeće i pol prije objavio ugarski palatin grof Pavao Esterházy: *Az egész világon levő csudalatos Boldogságos Szűz kepeinek rövideden föl tett eredeti* (1690., „Kratki opis podrijetla čudotvornih prikaza Blažene Djevice diljem svijeta“) te u drugom izdanju *Mennyei korona az az Az egész világon levő csudálatos Boldogságos Szűz Kepeinek rövideden föl tett eredeti* (1696., „Nebeska kruna ili kratki opis podrijetla čudotvornih prikaza Blažene Djevice Marija diljem svijeta“).¹² U njima su prikazana brojna marijanska svetišta

¹² [Pavao Esterházy,] *AZ EGÉSZ VILÁGON LEVŐ CSUDALATOS BOLDOGSÁGOS SZŰZ KEPEINEK RÖVIDEDEN FÖL TETT EREDETI*: Melyet sok tanúságokból össze szerzett, és az aétatos hívek lölki üdvösségére ki bocsátott GALANTHAI ESTERHAS PAL szentséges Romai Birodalombéli herceg, s Magyar Országí palatinus. 1690. Esztendőben, (Nagy-Szombatban [Trnava], az Academiai Bötükkal, 1690); [Pavao Esterházy,] *MENNYEI KORONA az az Az egész világon levő csudálatos Boldogságos Szűz Kepeinek rövideden föl tett EREDETI*. Melyet sok tanúságokból össze szerzett, és az aétatos hívek lelki üdvösségére ki bocsátott újonann GALANTHAI ESTERHAS PÁL, Sentlégres Romai Birodalombeli



Slika 4: Dorneck sc., *Effigies B. Mariæ Virg. In Ecclesia Remete, prope Zagrabiam in Croatia 1836, iz slovačkoga izdanja (1838).*



Slika 5: Dorneck sc., *Effigies B. Mariæ Virg. Bistricen in Regno Croatiae, Diœc. Zagrab. 1836., iz slovačkoga izdanja (1838).*

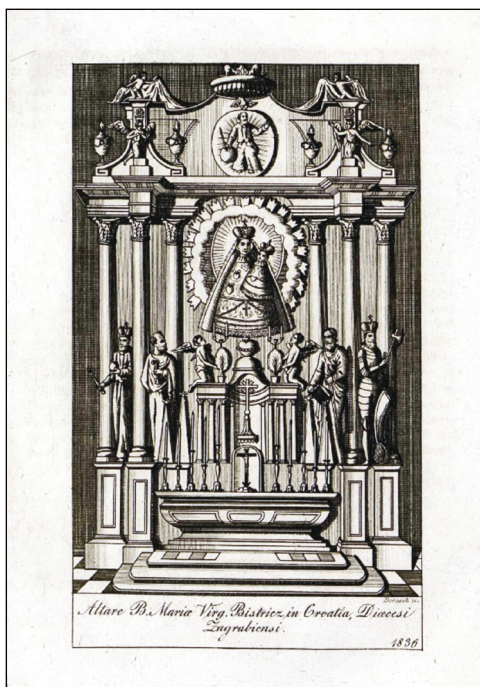
diljem svijeta, a opisano je i pet čudotvornih slika i kipova s hrvatskoga područja: u Remetama, na Trsatu – ali pogrešno jer je prikazao stojeći kip (moguće Gospe Slunjske tada izložen u hodočasničkoj crkvi, sada u riznici) umjesto čudotvorne slike Gospe Trsatske (na glavnom oltaru) – te tri slike iz Dubrovačke Republike.¹³ Globalna zamisao Esterházyjeva atlasa i primjeri koje prenosi (uključujući i tri dubrovačke slike) otkrivaju da mu je uzor bio četverosveščani atlas čudotvornih marijanskih kipova i slika bavarskoga

isusovca Wilhelma Gumpfenberga *Atlas Marianus sive De imaginibus Deiparæ per orbem Christianum miraculosis* (I.–II. 1657; III.–IV. 1659; objavljen i na njemačkom *Marianischer Atlas Das ist wunderthätige Mariabilder. So in Aller Christlichen Welt mit Wunder Zaichen behüembt [sic]*).¹⁴ U spomenutim atlasima zrcale se posljednjenjski naponi da se oživi raznolika zbirka marijanskih skulptura i slika i tako podrži rastući ugled Blažene Djevice Marije u raznim oblicima (hodo)čašćenja, molitava, glazbene i vizualne pobožnosti.

HERCZEG Magyar Országi PALATINVS 1696. Esztendőben. Meg szaporítottott pedig az erlőbbeb Kőnyu ugy hogy az Historiákknak száma Ezer Három Száz. [Trnava].

¹³ [Esterházy.] *AZ EGESZ VILAGON LEVŐ CSVDALATOS BOLDOGSAGOS SZÜZ KEPEINEK*, 84–86 (Remete i Trsat), 200–2 (Dubrovačka Republika).

¹⁴ Pavao Knezović, „Dubrovačka Gospina svetišta 17. stoljeća prema Atlas Marianus W. Gumpfenberga“ / „Seventeenth-Century Marian Shrines of Dubrovnik According to Wilhelm Gumpfenberg's Atlas Marianus“, in *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 43 (2005), 75–92.



Slika 6: Dorneck sc., Altare B. Mariæ Virg. Bistricæ in Croatia, Diœcesi Zagrabienensi. 1836., iz slovačkoga izdanja (1838.).



Slika 7: Effigies B. Mariæ Virg. In Eccles. Krapina in Croat. Diœc. Zagrab. 1836., iz slovačkoga izdanja (1838.).

Marijanska topografija Aleksija Jordánszkoga bila je usmjerena na Ugarsko Kraljevstvo (kako je istakao u naslovu) u kome je prikazao šezdeset i devet slikā i kipova. On nije uključio slike s područja Dubrovačke Republike jer one nakon ukinuća (1808.) nisu bile obuhvaćene granicama Kraljevstva, ali je znatno proširio hrvatsku dionicu iz Esterházyjevih marijanskih albuma s novim hodočasničkim središtima, koja su stasala nakon oslobođenja Slavonije, Baranje i Srijema od osmanske vlasti (Mir u Srijemskim Karlovcima, 1699.; Požarevački mir 1718.; Beogradski mir 1739.). Starom srednjovjekovnom središtu koje

su osnovali pavlini u Remetama [sl. 4], u povijesnoj Zagrebačkoj biskupiji pridružio je Bisticu (danas Mariju Bisticu) [sl. 5, 6] i Krapinu (Trški Vrh) [sl. 7], koji u Esterházyjevo vrijeme nisu još dosegli slavu kao marijanska svetišta (Bistrica) ili nisu još ni postojali (Trški Vrh). U povijesnoj Senjsko-modruškoj biskupiji prikazao je točan Marijin trsatski lik (tip *Virgo lactans*), središnji dio triptiha iz *Trecenta* na glavnom oltaru hodočasničke i franjevačke samostanske crkve na Trsatu, i to s krunama Bogorodice i djeteta Isusa kojima su svečano okrunjene 1715. godine [sl. 8].¹⁵ Ono što je posebno vrijedno jesu vizualna svjedočanstva o marijanskim

¹⁵ Zoraida Demori Staničić, *Javni kultovi ikona u Dalmaciji* (Split, Književni krug; Zagreb, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2017), 277–79; Danko Šourek, „Iconography of the Sacred Stage: Scenography for the Canonical Coronation of our Lady of Trsat (1715),“ in *Art and Politics in the Modern Period. Conference Proceedings*, ed. Dragan Damjanović, Lovorka Magaš Bilandžić, Željka Miklošević, Jeremy F. Walton (Zagreb: FF press, 2019), 111–18; Danko Šourek, „Triumphus Coronatæ Reginae:



Slika 8: *Imago B. Mariæ Virg. Tersacti in Eccl. P.P. Franciscan. in Croat. maritima in Diœc. Segnien. 1836., iz slovačkoga izdanja (1838.).*



Slika 9: *Imago B. Mariæ Virg in Ecclesia Dragotin. Diœc. Diakov. in Slavonia. 1836.*

svetištima u povijesnoj Bosanskoj ili Đakovačkoj i Srijemskoj biskupiji, u kojoj je prikazao slike i kipove u Dragotinu [sl. 9], Aljmašu [sl. 10, 11], Sotinu [sl. 12] i Petrovaradinu [sl. 13]. Značaj marijanskoga albuma, *Kratki opis milostivih prikazā*, leži u njegovoj ključnoj ulozi u uzdizanju marijanske *imago* na središnje mjesto, što je posebno razvidno u dvama slučajevima – u Bistrici (Zagrebačka biskupija) i Aljmašu (Bosanska ili Đakovačka i Srijemska biskupija) – gdje su Marijini kipovi prikazani i samostalno i na oltarima

kao cjelina. U obama slučajevima to je iznimno vrijedno vizualno svjedočanstvo jer su oba oltara uništena (kao i onaj u Petrovaradinu), a bistrički nije drugdje vizualno zabilježen, pa je *Kratki opis milostivih prikazā* jedino mjesto na kome je moguće vidjeti kako je izgledala ta važna i iznimna narudžba.¹⁶ Njezina posebnost leži u povijesnom uvidu u razvoj svetišta koje je postalo nacionalno marijansko hodočasničko središte u Hrvatskoj.¹⁷ Pomnim zalaganjem Jordánszky je uspio izraditi bogato ilustrirani marijanski

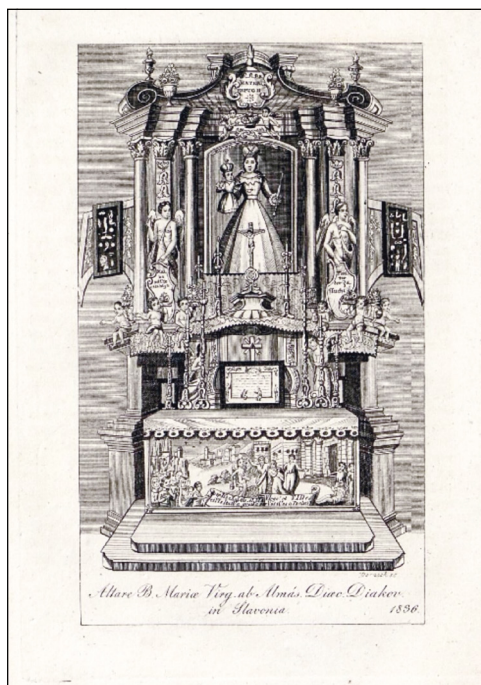
Scenografija krunidbe čudotvorne slike Majke Božje Trsatske 1715. godine," in *Vera imago G. V. Mariæ Tarsactensis*, ed. Marina Vicelja-Matijašić (Rijeka: Sveučilište u Rijeci, Filozofski fakultet, 2019), 157–72.

¹⁶ O oltaru koji je dao podići Hrvatski sabor (dovršen prije srpnja 1731.) i ovome koji je naručio bistrički biskup Josip Šandor (1791., pozlata 1794.), a dao prikazati Jordánszky usp. Josip Buturac, *Marija Bistrica 1209–1996: Povijest župe i prošteništa* (Marija Bistrica: Nacionalno svetište Majke Božje Bistričke, 1996 [1981]), 21–23.

¹⁷ O razvoju marijanskoga svetišta usp. Buturac, *Marija Bistrica 1209–1980*.



Slika 10: Dorneck sc., Effigies B. Mariæ Virg. in Eccles. Ab. Almás Diœc. Diakov. in Slavonia Mater Refugii. 1836., iz slovačkoga izdanja (1838.).



Slika 11: Dorneck sc., Altare B. Mariæ Virg. Ab Almás Diœc. Diakov. in Slavonia. 1836., iz slovačkoga izdanja (1838.).

atlas, i upravo su knjižne ilustracije razlika u odnosu na dotadašnju mariološku traktatistiku u Hrvatskoj, koju su još u 17. stoljeću začeli hrvatski isusovci Lovro Grisogono (*Mundi Mariani*, Beč 1646., Pars secunda Padova 1651.; II. izdanje Augsburg 1712.)¹⁸ i Juraj Habledelić (*Zerczalo Marianzko*, Graz 1662.)¹⁹

U izdanju *Kratki opis milostivih prikazā* Aleksija Jordánszkoga ilustracije

su potpisane „Dorneck sc.“ (Aljmaš, kip i oltar; Remete; Bistrica, kip i oltar) ili nemaju potpisa (Petrovaradin; Sotin; Dragotin; Krapina, Trsat), a sve su datirane 1836. godinom. Prema rodu naznačenom u pismima sačuvanima u Nadbiskupijskom arhivu u Ostrogonu, a koja su upućena iz Beča i potpisana „Dorneck“, Gyula Rózsa (2001.) otkriva da se radi o ženi koja je bila bakrorezac te da je

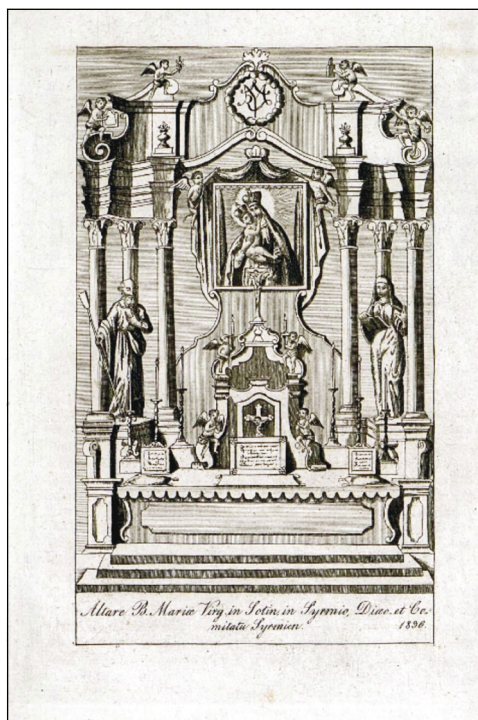
¹⁸ [Lovro Grisogono,] *MVNDI MARIANI: MARIA SPECVLVM MVNDI ARCHETYPY SEU DIVINITATIS AVCTORE R. P. LAVRETIO CHRYSOGONO DALMATA SPALATENSI SOCIETATIS JESU THEOLOGO.*(VIENNAÆ AVSTRIÆ, Typis Matthæ Cosmerovij, in Aula Coloniensi, ANNO DOMINI M.DC. XLVI. [1646.]); Pars Secunda. (PATAVII. ANNO MDCLI. Suptibus iuncarum, & Ioan. Iacobi Hertz. [1651.]); drugo izdanje (AUGUSTÆ VINDELICORUM, EXPENSIS PHILIPPI JACOBI VEITH, BIBLIOPLÆ GRÆCENSIS, ET FRATRUM. ANNO M DCC XII. [1712]).

¹⁹ [Juraj Habledelić,] *ZERCZALO MARIANZKO. To je to PONIZNOZT DEVICZE MARIE, KAJE BOGA RODILA. USEM SZLOVENZKOGA i Horuatzckoga naroda Kerschenikom á onem naulaztito, zuerhunaturalzke, od dareslyive ruke Bosje prieli, na nasleduvanye, PO JURIU HABDELICHU Tovarustua JESSUSSEVOGA Mesniku popisana, i na szuétlo dana (M.DC.LXII Stampano U-Nemskom Gradczu pri Ferenczu Widmanstetteru. [1662]).*

vjerojatno živjela u Beču.²⁰ U Nadbiskupijskom arhivu u Zagrebu sačuvana su pak pisma Aleksija Jordánszoga zagrebačkom biskupu Aleksandru Alagoviću (Manželice kod Trnave 1760. – Zagreb 1837),²¹ koji je – kao i povjesničar Martin Juraj Kovačić Šenkvički – bio Slovak hrvatskoga podrijetla. U njima Jordánszky moli da mu se pošalju crteži čašćenih slikā i kipova prema kojima su Dorneck i drugi²² urezivali bakroreze za knjižne ilustracije. Prema toj prepisci zaključujemo da Jordánszky svoju dopisnu mrežu suradnika razvio pišući u središte dijeceza u kojima su se one nalazile, obraćajući se izravno biskupima, i potpisujući se kao naslovni biskup kninski („Alexius Jordánszky, Ep. Tinn.“). U siječnju 1836. godine, u kojoj je objavio njemačko i mađarsko izdanje *Kratkoga opisa milostivih prikazā*, tako piše Alagoviću:

„Preuzvišeni, Presvijetli i Prečasni Gospodine Biskupe, Milostivi Gospodine!

Gospoda hrvatski dostojanstvenici, koji odobravaju i dive se mojim naporima u prikupljanju milostivih slika Blažene Djevice Bogorodice, savjetuju mi da od Vaše Ekscelencije zatražim i nacrt i opis slike Krapinske Djevice. Jer, kažu oni,



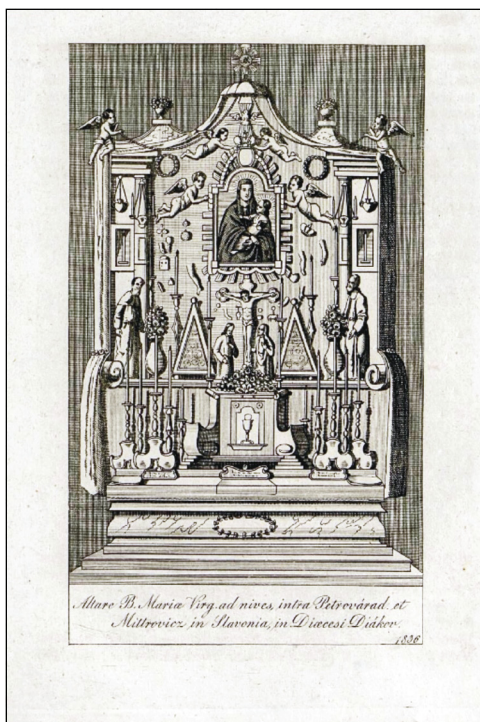
Slika 12: [S. a.], *Altare B. Mariae Virg. in Sotin in Syrmia Dioc. Et Comitatu Syrmien.* 1836., iz slovačkoga izdanja (1838).

bilo bi žalosno ako bi u tako velikoj zbirci (već posjedujem 33 tisuće bakroreznih slika) iz cijele Hrvatske samo jedina slika iz Marije Bistrice bila u njoj predstavljena,

²⁰ Gy. Rózsa [Gyula Rózsa], „Dorneck, Wiener (?) Kupferstecherin“ in *Saur: Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Die bildenden Künstlerlexikon aller Zeiten und Völker*: 29: Donny – Du, ed. Günter Meißner (München/Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2001), 92. Na tržištu umjetnina za odvojene listove iz mađarskoga izdanja identificiran je Joseph Dorneck, bakrorezac koji je djelovao u Beču dvadesetih i tridesetih godina 19. stoljeća, bez izvora za podatak. Usp. „1836 Dorneck, Joseph“, *Aukcijska kuća Darabanth*, Budimpešta, <https://www.darabanth.com>, accessed on 14 October 2024]. Identitet ženske osobe iz obitelji Dorneck u odnosu na Josepha nije razjašnjen (moguće supruga ili udovica?).

²¹ Juraj Kolaric, „Aleksandar Alagović 1829–1837“, in *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, ed. Franko Mirošević (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), 446–58.

²² Gyula Rózsa bilježi da je od devedeset i jedne knjižne ilustracije njih četrdeset i pet potpisala Dorneck, pet Josef Kern, a ostale su nepotpisane. Rózsa, „Dorneck, Wiener (?) Kupferstecherin“. Jordánszky nije uspio dobiti niti sliku iz grkokatoličkoga marijanskoga svetišta u mjestu Sajópálfala (nekoć Pálfalva) u Egerskoj biskupiji („Pálfalvaer Marien-Bild in der Erlaner Diözese, im Borsoder Comitatu“), pa je na tom mjestu umetnuo knjižni bakrorez potpisan „Vinc. Franceschini sculp.“ s prikazom svetišta Madre delle Grazie della Mentorella šezdesetak kilometara istočno od Rima, između Tivolija i Palestrine, prema predaji jednom od najstarijih marijanskih svetišta izvan Rima.



Slika 13: Altare B. Mariæ Virg. ad nives intra Petrovárad. Et Mitrovicz in Slavonia, in Diœcesi Dákov. 1836., iz slovačkoga izdanja (1838.).

a ona iz Krapine izostavljena.

Zbog onoga što čvrsto vjerujem o postojanosti Vaše Ekscelencije u pobožnom čašćenju, temeljenom na visokom mišljenju i procjeni, molim milost Vaše

Ekscelencije u tome da mi se ljubazno dostavi: 1^o prikaz u formatu octavo (8^o) slike Blažene Djevice Marije Krapinske, 2^o kratki povijesni opis podrijetla, razvoja i sadašnjega čašćenja iste. Moćna Djevica nagradit će sve napore uvećanja njezina čašćenja.

Još jedna (druga) stvar koju bih htio navesti: Zbirka biografskih slika Franje I., komu dugujemo naše unapređenje, ovih je dana završena. Kod mene se može nabaviti svih 20 slika po cijeni od 30 forinti. Neka se Vaša Milost pobrine da se barem neki primjerci ove doista lijepe zbirke izlože u Hrvatskoj i prenesu Franjinu uspomenu budućim naraštajima. Jedini biskup iz Trojedne kraljevine koji ju je podržao bio je Sučić.²³ Sada nema nijednoga.

Ova nesretna zasjedanja ne znaju doći do kraja [rješenja]. Čvor treba presjeći, a Skenderbegov je mač zahrđao. Nepriстойno je kako Oligarsi, kojima je sva vlast u rukama, imenuju Hrvate, pa čak i biskupa kninskoga. Preporučam se u milost, i s poštovanjem ostajem Vašem Veličanstvu najpokorniji sluga Aleksij Jordánszky, biskup kninski. E.M.S.C. et [i] C. (?) / U Požunu 28. siječnja 1836. / Gosp. biskup Madarassy²⁴ se vrlo loše osjeća.²⁵

²³ Franjo Šanjek et. al., *Pavao Marija Sučić biskup bosanski ili đakovački i srijemski* (11. siječnja 1767. – 13. travnja 1834.): 250 godina od rođenja. Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog 15. prosinca 2017. u Đakovu i 8. ožujka 2018 u Subotici (Zagreb/Đakovo: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti Zavod za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Đakovu, 2018).

²⁴ s. a., „Madarassy Ferenc”, in *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon: VIII: Lone – Meszl*, eds. István Diós i János Viczián, (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2003.), *sub voce*.

²⁵ „Excellentissime, Illustrissime, et Reverendissime Domine Episcopo, Domine Gratioso! / Domini Croatiae Dignatales, qui meos in colligendis Gratiolis Beatæ Virginis Deiparæ Imaginibus conatus probant ac mirantur, suadent mihi ut ab Excellentia Vestra etiam Krapinensis Imaginis delineationem ac descriptionem efflagitem. Dolendum enim esset, inquit, si in tanta collectione (jam 33 millia Imaginum cupro incisarum possideo) ex tota Croatia unicum saltem Bisztricensem Imaginem Collectio mea exprimeret et Krapinensem præteriret. / Pro ea, quam de Vestræ Excellentie constantia teneris hyperdulico cultu firmam teneo, opinione et existimatione, imploro Ejusdem Excellentie Vestræ gratiam in eo, ut mihi 1^o delineationem in 8^o majori imaginis BMV Krapiniensis, 2^o brevem historicam descriptionem originis, progressus et actualis cultus ejusdem gratiose submitti facere dignetur. Reprendet Virgo potens cuncta in sui cultus augmentum impensa fatigia. / Alterum est, quod insinuo: Collectionem biographicarum Francisci I., cui nostram promotionem debemus, Imaginum his diebus conclusam esse. Haberi apud me omnes 20. imagines possunt ad 30 fl MC.

Ton pisma otkriva bliskost sunarodnjaka i političkih sumišljenika, no naslovni kninski biskup Jordánszky trebao je ipak požuriti zagrebačkoga biskupa Alagovića u vezi crteža i onoga u Bistrici²⁶ (koji je u vrijeme molbe za krapinski već dobio) i novonaručenoga krapinskog prikaza maloga kipa visokoga svega dvanaest centimetara – što ga je Stjepan Balagović, redovnički fra Joakim – donio iz Svete Zemlje 1669. godine i oko koga se razvilo svetište na Trškom Vrh u kraj Krapine.²⁷ U ljeto 1836. godine Jordánszky obavještava Alagovića i u vezi poteškoća u prepisci sa Srijemskim biskupom (tada nasljednikom Pavla Marije Sučića, Josipom Kukovićem),²⁸ a crtež slike Majke Božje

Sućutne u Dragotinu (a ne kipa kako piše u opisu prošteništa) stigao je tako kasno da je u početnom popisu s najavom koje će čudotvorne slike i kipovi biti prikazani za Dragotin u svim izdanjima naznačeno da je „bez slike“ („bez Obrazu“, „ohne Bild“, „Kép nélkül“), ali je knjižna ilustracija s prikazom Majke Božje Sućutne iz Dragotina ipak objavljena, prvi put u svojoj višestoljetnoj povijesti.²⁹ Zahvaljujući naporu da svojim žarom, marom i upornošću zagrije i pokrene nevoljke suradnike i dopisnike, Aleksij Jordánszky uspio je prvi predstaviti poslijetridentska marijanska svetišta na jugu Carstva, a tako i sâm zaslužio važno mjesto na hrvatskome mariološkom zemljovidu.

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Dignetur efficere, ut in Croatia adminus aliquos hujus certe pulchrae collectionis exemplaria ostendantur et memoriam Franciscanam posteritati exhibeant. Unicus Ep̄pus Szucsich e tribus Sociis Regnis subscripserat. Nunc nullus est. / Inauspicata ista Comitua non sciunt finem invenire. Nodus secari deberet, sed gladius Scanderbegi æruginavit. Indignum est, quomodo Croatas, et etiam Ep̄pum. Tinnin. designentur Oligarchæ, quos penes arbitrium est. Commendo me gratiis, et distincta cum veneratione sum Excellentiae Vestrae humillimus servus Alexius Jordánszky, Ep. Tinn. E.M.S.C. et C. / Posonii, 28 Jan. 1836. / D. Ep. Madarassy ægerrime valet.“ HR- NAZg, Officium praesidiale episcopi Alexandri Alagovich, no. 56/1836, 28. Januarii 1836.

²⁶ HR-NAZg, Officium praesidiale episcopi Alexandri Alagovich, no. 134/1835, 17. Martii 1835, nakon čega je molba prosljeđena bistričkom župniku („Requisitus D. Abbas Bistricensis“).

²⁷ O povijesti kipa i svetišta usp. s. a. [Mikula /Nikola Gorup], *ZERCZALO MARIANSZKO KIPA JERUSALEMSZKOGA VU KRAPINE Pod Bratovschinum Sz. Skapulara Podignyenoga* (VU ZAGREBU, Stampano pri Andrasu Besse Purgaru Klobucharu, per Anton Jandera Factorem, 1868 [drugo izdanje 1996]).

²⁸ HR-NAZg, Officium praesidiale episcopi Alexandri Alagovich, no. 356/1836, 3. Julii 1836 („Pro statu notitia“).

²⁹ Ilustracija prije opisa na stranici 131 u njemačkom izdanju, nakon opisa na stranici 128 u mađarskom izdanju (1836.) te nakon opisa na stranici 149 u slovačkom izdanju (1838.).

MENNYEI KORONA az az Az egész világon lévő csudálatos Boldogságos Szűz Kepeinek rövideden föl tett EREDETI. Nagy-Szombatban [Trnava]: Academiai Bötükkel, 1696.

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Menci Clement Crnčić a záhada jeho obrazu**

Menci Clement Crnčić i misterij njegove slike / Menci Clement Crnčić and the Mystery of His Painting

Menci Clement Crnčić (1865–1930) was a well-known painter and graphic artist, a prominent figure in Croatian art, especially Impressionism and Pointillism. Croatian by origin, born in Austria, studying in Moravia and Bavaria, often staying by the Adriatic Sea and in several European countries, he became the author of many landscape paintings. His only painting preserved in Slovakia departs from his work tending towards Symbolism. It raises several questions in the field of iconography and related themes.

Key words: maliarstvo okolo 1900, secesia, symbolizmus, homage, klinčeky / painting around 1900, Art Nouveau, Symbolism, homage, carnations

V depozitári Galérie mesta Bratislavy sa nachádza obraz Menci Clementa Crnčića s názvom *Portrét so siedmimi klinčekmi*, ktorý je signovaný, ale nie datovaný (obr. 1).¹ Jeho pôvod je neznámy, vie sa iba, že bol predtým súčasťou starých zbierok mestského múzea. Prvýkrát sa náhodne objavil v roku 1978 na obale vinylovej platne so Symfóniou C-dur, predohrou k opere Carmen Georgesa Bizeta² a v roku 1980 cielene na výstave *Hľadanie slohu: Umenie okolo 1900* a

zároveň na titulnej strane katalógu výstavy.³ Neskôr sa stal súčasťou dnes už neexistujúcej stálej expozície mestskej galérie. V sprievodcovi expozície sa uvádza ako dielo chorvátsko-rakúskeho maliara, s tajuplnou melanchóliou, stojace na hranici secesie a symbolizmu.⁴ *Portrét so siedmimi klinčekmi* Slovensko nikdy neopustil, nebol súčasťou žiadnej Crnčićovej výstavy, ani poslednej retrospektívy, ktorá sa konala v Záhrebe v roku 2016.⁵

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** Štúdia vznikla s podporou projektu VEGA 2/0062/23 *Orient vo výtvarnom umení na Slovensku*.

¹ Menci Clement Crnčić, *Portrét so siedmimi klinčekmi*, okolo 1910, olej, plátno, 60 x 49, získané prevodom z Mestského múzea (dnes Múzea mesta Bratislavy) v roku 1959, Galéria mesta Bratislavy, inv. č. A 1411 (s datovaním 1895 – 1910). Značené vpravo hore „Menci Cl. Crnčić“.

² Platňa vyšla vo vydavateľstve Opus v spolupráci s Gramofónovým klubom a nahrala ju Slovenská filharmónia pod vedením Zdeňka Košlera.

³ Trojanová, Radmila, *Hľadanie slohu: Umenie okolo 1900: Katalóg výstavy* (Bratislava: Galéria mesta Bratislavy, 1980), nestr.

⁴ Želmíra Grajciarová a Zsófia Kiss-Szemán, *Stredoeurópske maliarstvo a sochárstvo 1800 – 1918* (Bratislava: Galéria mesta Bratislavy, 2008), 52 (Crnčić); životopisy umelcov: Marta Ryšavá. Stála expozícia bola v Pálffyho paláci a Crnčićov obraz v miestnosti č. 7.

⁵ Petra Vugrinec et al., *Retrospektiva Menci Clement Crnčić (1865. – 1930.)* (Zagreb: Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2016).



Obr. 1: Menci Clement Crnčić: Portrét so siedmimi klinčekmi, okolo 1910, olej, plátno, 60 x 49, Galéria mesta Bratislavy. Foto GMB (Reprodukovať ako najväčšie).

Menci Clement Crnčić, narodený v roku 1865 v Štajersku, mal byť vojakom ako jeho otec, ktorý pochádzal zo Slavónska a slúžil ako pohraničník. Nemal však na to fyzické predpoklady, a tak ho z vojenskej školy v Hraniciach na



Obr. 2: Wilhelm Leibl: Hlava dievčaťa – takzvaná Malresl, 1897, olej, drevo, 22,7 x 24,1 cm, v ponuke aukčnej spoločnosti Lempetz, Kolín nad Rýnom. Foto Lempetz.

Morave vylúčili pre nespôsobilosť.⁶ Jeho kroky smerovali na akadémiu do Viedne⁷ a odtiaľ v roku 1886 do Mníchova. Na štúdium však nemal peniaze. Prostredníctvom „jednej krásnej ženy“, ako sa spomína v katalógu poslednej retrospektívy, aby si zarobil, maľoval divadelné dekorácie pre Landestheater v Coburgu. Napokon mu pomohlo štipendium slavónskeho pohraničiar⁸ a pravdepodobne aj podpora sestry Marije, ktorá žila

⁶ Menci Clement Crnčić sa narodil 3. apríla 1865 v štajerskom mestečku Bruck an der Mur, kde jeho otec Gaspar Crnčić slúžil ako pohraničník. Otec pochádzal z malej slavónskej obce Rajič, matka bola Maria Clementina, rod. Mayer. Menci mal staršiu sestru Mariju (1851 – 1929), usadenú v obci Nova Gradiška (v Slavónii) a brata Alberta, ktorý žil v Lovrane (na Istrii). Základnú školu vychodil vo Viedni, vojenské gymnázium v hornorakúskom St. Pöltene (1876 – 1880) a dva roky študoval na Vyššej vojenskej reálnej škole v Hraniciach na Morave. Pozri Vugrinec, *Retrospektiva*, 237; www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2Z6-J1TQ, citované 25. 1. 2024.

⁷ Študoval tam v rokoch 1882 až 1885. Pozri Vugrinec, *Retrospektiva*, 15.

⁸ Krajinský majetkový, rozvojový a osvetový fond (Krajiška imovna, uzgojna i obrazovna zaklada) bol osobitý fond v Krajine (Vojna Krajina), v pohraničnom pásme Rakúsko-Uhorska a Osmanskej ríše. Financie získaval z peňazí od vlastníkov domov, ktorí nechceli poskytovať ubytovanie predpísanému počtu vojakov, z poplatkov za povolenie na predaj alkoholických nápojov, na prevádzkovanie mlynov, mäsiarstiev a pod., z poplatkov za predaj zvierat, z rôznych pokút a pod. Účelom fondu bolo skvalitniť školstvo a vzdelanie v Krajine. Fond slúžil na štipendiá a pomoc



Obr. 3: Menci Clement Crnčić: Dievčatko (Djevojčica), 1890, olej, plátno, 66 x 53 cm, Národné múzeum moderného umenia, Záhreb. Foto Goran Vranić © National Museum of Modern Art, Zagreb, 2022.

v Slavónsku, vydatá za dobre situovaného obchodníka Josipa Schwartza. Crnčić sa ako 24-ročný v roku 1889 konečne zapísal na mníchovskú akadémiu.⁹ Študoval u gréckeho maliara Nikolaosa Gyzisa



Obr. 4: Achác (Ákos) Aranyossy: Dievčatko, 1893, olej, plátno, 57 x 45 cm, Východoslovenská galéria, Košice.

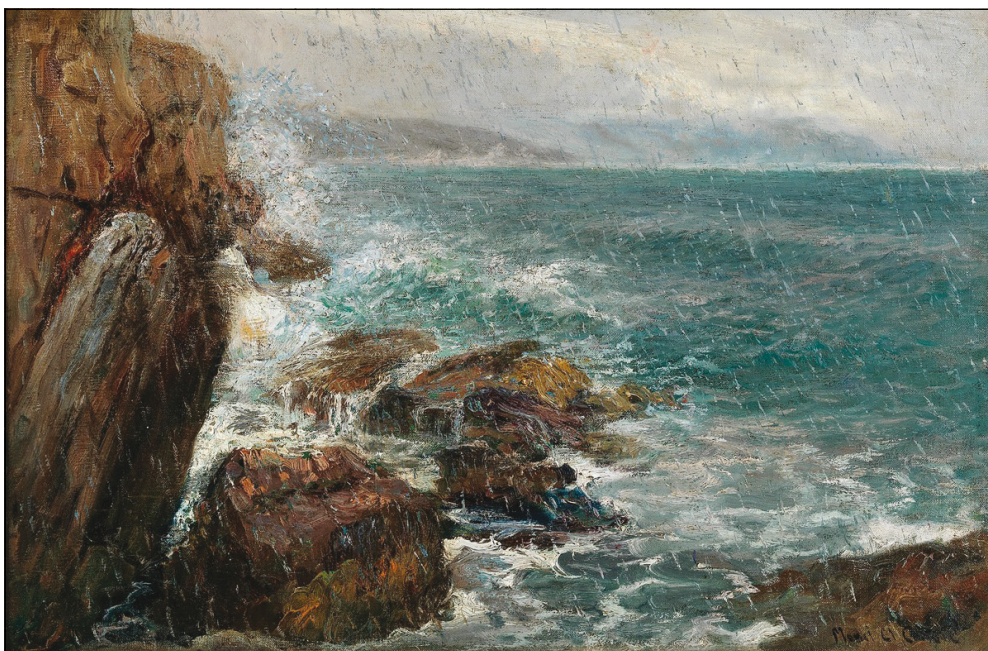
(1842 – 1901), známeho svojimi akademickými alegorickými a žánrovými obrazmi. Crnčić si osvojil skôr mníchovský realizmus leiblovského razenia, založený na tonálnej modelácii postáv, redukcii farebnej škály i na predstieranej nedokonalosti (obr. 2).¹⁰ Obraz *Dievčatko (Djevojčica)* je jeden z mála zachovaných z toho obdobia, keďže Crnčićova raná tvorba zhorela pri požiari jeho záhrebského ateliéru (obr. 3).¹¹ Podobný obraz namaloval

študentom, na stavbu škôl a kostolov a v malej miere aj na pomoc pohraničníkom, ktorých postihli živelné pohromy. – www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/krajiske-imovne-zaklade, citované 10. 2. 2024.

⁹ Do matriky akadémie je zapísaný skomolene ako „Klement Crucic“. – https://matrikel.adbk.de/matrikel/mb_1884-1920/jahr_1889/matrikel-00658, citované 12. 2. 2024.

¹⁰ Dajana Vlasisavljević, (<https://nmmu.hr/en/2022/11/25/menci-clement-crn-cic-a-young-girl-1890/>), citované 15. 2. 2024). Ako ukážku leiblovského štýlu pozri napr. Wilhelm Leibl (1844 – 1900): *Hlava dievčaťa – takzvaná Malresl*, 1897, olej, drevo, 22,7 x 24,1 cm, v ponuke aukčnej spoločnosti Lempetz, Kolín nad Rýnom 21. 5. 2016. Ako sa píše v aukčnom katalógu, predlohou pre tento intímny portrét bola Leiblova kuchárka a modelka Therese Haltmeier (www.lempetz.com/en/catalogues/lot/1067-2/1544-wilhelm-leibl.html), citované 15. 2. 2024).

¹¹ Menci Clement Crnčić, *Dievčatko*, 1890, olej, plátno, 66 x 53 cm, Nacionalni muzej moderne umjetnosti, Záhreb, inv. č. MG 447. Crnčićov ateliér zhorel v roku 1927. Pozri Vugrinec, *Retrospektiva*, 237.



Obr. 5: Menci Clement Crnčić: Daždivý deň na pobreží, nedatované, olej, plátno, 50 x 73,5 cm, v ponuke aukčnej spoločnosti Dorotheum, Viedeň. Zdroj <https://artvee.com/artist/menci-clement-crnctic/>.

počas svojho mníchovského štúdia aj košícky maliar Achác (Ákos) Aranyossy (1870 – 1898) (obr. 4).¹²

Crnčić sa po pobyte v Mníchove usadil v Záhrebe. Svojimi dielami vzbudil pozornosť slavónskeho maliara a historika umenia, vtedajšieho ministra školstva a náboženstva Izidora Kršnjaveho (1845 – 1927). Ten mu ponúkol miesto profesora na škole pre remeselníkov.¹³ Crnčić to prijal, ale zakrátko ho začali ubíjať administratívne povinnosti. Kršnjavi mu

preto vybavil štipendium a poslal ho do Viedne, odkiaľ pochádzala Kršnjaveho manželka Wilhelmina, aby tam študoval na Univerzite užitého umenia. Stal sa nielen žiakom, ale aj priateľom nemeckého grafika Williama Ungera (1837 – 1932). Crnčićove lepty ponurých krajín s osamelými postavami ho vtiahli do prúdu európskeho symbolizmu. Mali v sebe böcklinovskú nejednoznačnosť, neponúkali vysvetlenia, kto sú tí ľudia, a prečo postávajú smutní a sklúčení na brehu mora.¹⁴

¹² Achác (Ákos) Aranyossy, *Dievčatko*, 1893, olej, plátno, 57 x 45 cm, Východoslovenská galéria, Košice, inv. č. O 94.

¹³ Na Kráľovskej krajinskej remeselníckej škole (Kraljevska zemaljska obrtna škola) bol v rokoch 1892/1893. Pozri Vugrinec, *Retrospektiva*, 237.

¹⁴ Menci Clement Crnčić, *Osamelá (Osamljena)*, 1895, lept, papier, 337 x 608 mm, Kabinet grafike, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Záhreb; tiež v ponuke aukčnej spoločnosti Dorotheum, Viedeň 18. 9. 2019, por. č. 129. Porovnaj napr. s obrazom Arnolda Böcklina: *Vila pri mori* (III. verzia), 1871 – 1874, olej, plátno, 108 x 154 cm, Städel Museum, Frankfurt n/Mohanom, inv. č. 1260 (<https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/villa-by-the-sea>, citované 18. 2. 2025); Dielo bolo známe prostredníctvom grafik. Hecht, Wilhelm (sculp.) a Böcklin, Arnold (pinx), *Vila pri mori* (II. verzia), 1897, lept, papier, Galéria umenia Ernesta Zmetáka, Nové Zámky, inv. č. G 1329.

(Čo sa týka Crnčićovej grafickej tvorby, vytvoril aj grafický portrét chorvátskeho bána Teodora Pejačevića podľa Vlahu Bukovaca; na Slovensku sa zachovala iba jeho grafika anjelikov podľa Raffaela).¹⁵

V roku 1894 išiel Crnčić s Ungerom, ktorý mal choré pľúca, na Istriu. Bol to kľúčový moment, lebo Crnčić sa tam dostal do spoločnosti plenéristov, nadobro si zamiloval more, ktoré potom maľoval a fotografoval do konca svojho života (obr. 5). Crnčić sa pre Chorvátsko stal nielen prvým školeným grafikom, ale aj maliarom, ktorý sa dokázal vyhupnúť na vlnu moderny impresionistického, priam monetovského, ladenia¹⁶ (podobne ako náš, od Crnčića oveľa starší, šarišský maliar Pavol Szinyei Merse, 1845 – 1920).¹⁷ V roku 1900 mal Crnčić prvú samostatnú výstavu v Záhrebe a verejnosť bola z jeho obrazov nadšená. Hneď na ďalší rok sa vybral na cesty po Dalmácii a potom na Plitvické jazerá a neskôr opäť na juh k moru. Pri mori pobýval s rôznymi umelcami a spolu s nimi vystavoval vo viedenskom Salóne Eugena Artina, polovičného Arména, ktorý krátko študoval dejiny umenia, a ktorého „lacné a zlé“ umenie v ponuke hlavného mesta monarchie rozčuľovalo.¹⁸ V roku 1903 Crnčić spolu s maliarom Belom Čikošom Sesijom (1864 – 1931), ktorý takisto

pochádzal zo Slavónska, a bol synom pohraničníka, založil maliarsku školu, zárodok budúcej záhrebskej akadémie.¹⁹ Túto školu navštevovala aj pobožná Karolina (Lina) Virant (1879 – 1949), s ktorou sa v roku 1910 oženil; mal vtedy 45 rokov. Zakrátko sa im narodil syn Menci Clement jr. (1911 – 1985) a potom dcéra Branka, neskôr vydatá Koščec (1915 – 2003). Crnčić striedal pobyty v Záhrebe a pri mori v Novom Vinodolskom. V Záhrebe pravidelne vystavoval v Salóne Ullrich, ktorý patril slavónskemu ramárovi Antunovi Ullrichovi (1872 – 1937). V Novom Vinodolskom mal vilu.²⁰ Zomrel náhle po potulkách pri Sáve 9. novembra 1930 vo veku 65 rokov.

Bratislavský obraz so záhadnou ženou mohol vzniknúť ešte pred svadbou, mohol zvečňovať jeho modelku alebo lásku; do úvahy prichádza aj objednávka pre niekoho iného. Crnčić totiž portréty bežne nemaľoval, ak, tak len na objednávku, aj to výnimočne, alebo portrétoval ľudí zo svojho blízkeho okruhu, skôr na ich želanie, ako z vlastnej iniciatívy. Pred prvou svetovou vojnou portrétoval napr. Kršnjaveho dcéru Rozu (1894), pani Sch., pani R., pani N., pani V. (všetky 1902), grófa Pejačevića, pani A. P., Ninu (všetky 1904), Dr. Theodora Grafa (1905).²¹ Z nich by mohol byť so Slovenskom spätý gróf

¹⁵ Menci Clement Crnčić (sculp.) a Raffael (pinx.), *Anjelici* (detail obrazu Sixtínskej madony), po 1894, medirytina, papier, 412 x 470 mm, 285 x 700 mm, Galéria mesta Bratislavy, inv. č. G 11027 (s datovaním 1850 – 1875 sic!).

¹⁶ Pozri porovnanie Crnčićovho obrazu *Izgleđ z Bellaviste* (1901 – 1902) a Monetovho obrazu *Manneporte pri Etretate* (1886). Podľa Vugrinec, *Retrospektiva*, 22.

¹⁷ Porovnaj napr. Pavol (Pál) Szinyei Merse, *Červené maky na poli*, 1901 – 1902, olej, plátno, 89,5 x 80 cm, Maďarská národná galéria, Budapešť, inv. č. 2285 (<https://en.mng.hu/artworks/50517/>, citované 20. 2. 2024). Menci Clement Crnčić, *Červené maky*, nedatované, 50 x 79 cm, zbierka Dr. Vinka Perčića, Galerija Klovičevi dvori, Záhreb.

¹⁸ Bližšie Vogl, Gunter, *Eugen Artin: Ein Wiener Kunstsalon um 1900* (Gunter Vogl, 2019).

¹⁹ Počas pôsobenia na škole podnikol cesty po Taliansku, Švajčiarsku, Francúzsku, Belgicku (1905, 1907) i Bosne (1908).

²⁰ Jeho Vila Lada bola postavená v rokoch 1910 až 1915.

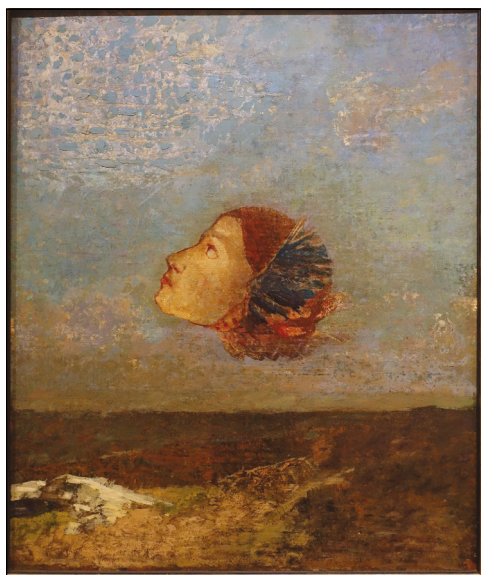
²¹ Roky v zátvorkách uvádzajú, kedy bolo dielo vystavené. Pozri Vugrinec, *Retrospektiva*, 238–40.



Obr. 6: Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer: Beethovenova maska, okolo 1906, pastel, papier, 91 x 61,3 cm, v ponuke aukčnej spoločnosti Sotheby's, Paríž. Zdroj [https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Beethoven_Mask_\(c._1906\)_-_Lucien_Lévy-Dhurmer.jpg](https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Beethoven_Mask_(c._1906)_-_Lucien_Lévy-Dhurmer.jpg).

Pejačević; príslušníci rodu boli totiž známi aj tým, že organizovali osídľovanie Slavónska obyvateľmi zo Slovenska a okolo roku 1900 mali letohrádok vo Vysokých Tatrách.²²

Na ráme bratislavského obrazu je nemecký nápis „ERINNRUNG“, v slovenskom preklade SPOMIENKA, ak si odmyslíme, že v slove chýba písmeno „E“, aby to bolo správne „ERINNERUNG“.



Obr. 7: Odilon Redon: Hommage a Goya (I), cca 1885, olej, plátno na lepenke, zbierka Scharfa-Gerstenberga, Berlín. Zdroj https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hommage_a_Goya_by_Odilon_Redon,_view_1,_c._1885,_oil_on_cardboard,_mounted_on_canvas_-_Scharf-Gerstenberg_Collection_-_DSC03859.JPG.

Chýbajú aj ozdoby na začiatku a na konci slova, po ktorých ostali len dierky.

Textúra močaristého pozadia vo viditeľných ťahoch štetca, podobná ako na obraze *Sluka* z roku 1908,²³ dodáva obrazu jemný rytmický tok iného sveta, z ktorého sa vynára hlava mladej ženy s porcelánovou pleťou a ryšavými vlasmi vyčesanými do typického secesného účesu. Modro-sivé oči, lesklé a začervenané, akoby uplakané, sú upreté priamo na diváka, pričom drobné pootvorené

²² *Rodina Pejačević a kultúrno-historické vzťahy Chorvátov a Slovákov*, výstava, SNM-Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku v Bratislave (v spolupráci so Slovenským kultúrnym centrom a Vlastivedným múzeom v Našičiach), 2019. Letohrádkov rodiny Pejačević (dnes Penzión Bělín) v Tatranskej Lomnici obývali najmä dcéry Marka Pejačevića (1818 Osijek – 1890 Budapešť) a Hermíny, rod. Bethlen (1828 Kluž – 1911 Budapešť) – Katarína (1848 – 1918 Budapešť) a Jolana (1859 – 1932), ktoré boli donátorkami stavby tamojšieho evanjelického (kalvínskeho) kostola. Pozri Ivan Bohuš, st. a Ivan Bohuš, ml., *Premeny tatranských osád* (I&B, 2008).

²³ Menci Clement Crnčić, *Sluka*, 1908, olej, plátno, 55,5 x 38,5 cm, súkromný majetok. Pozri Vugrinec, *Retrospektíva*, kat. č. 42.



Obr. 8: Fernand Khnopff: Biela maska, 1907, akvarel a pastel, papier, Ca' Pesaro, Medzinárodná galéria moderného umenia, Benátky. Zdroj https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%22Un_masque_au_manteau_blanc%22_de_F._Khnopff_%28Petit_Palais,_Paris%29_%2840382834143%29.jpg.

červené ústa evokujú úsmev. V tvári tak možno čítať bolesť i radosť a v červených klinčekoch život i smrť. U symbolistov už len koncept zobrazenia iba hlavy, zbavený telesnosti, býval chápaný ako hommage. Utielal sa k nemu aj

Crnčićov francúzsky súpútnik Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer (1865 – 1953), zhodou okolností narodený v ten istý rok ako on, ako aj o niečo starší bardi francúzskeho a belgického symbolizmu Odilon Redon (1840 – 1916) a Fernand Khnopff (1858 – 1921) (obr. 6, 7, 8).²⁴ Crnčić mal k symbolizmu blízko, poznal diela symbolistov, jeho obľúbenou knihou boli *Mŕtve Bruggy* a v ateliéri mu viseli reprodukcie Ropsa a Moreaua.²⁵

Klinček (karafiát) bol pomerne známym motívom od dôb renesancie. Objavoval sa na devocionálnych obrazoch aj na svetských portrétoch. Bol narážkou na božský pôvod Ježiša, keďže jeho grécky názov *dianthus*, uvedený v Theophrastovom *Rastlinopise*, bol odvodený od „dios“ (boh) a „anthus“ (kvet), teda boží kvet. Bol aj predzvesťou Kristovho umučenia – podľa legendy sa objavil, keď Mária plakala pri jeho ukrižovaní.²⁶ Len v niektorých jazykoch existuje podobnosť názvu kvetu a nástroja, klinček – kliniec, čo ešte viac zosilňuje alúziu Kristovho umučenia. Klinček obvykle leží na parapete v blízkosti Madony s dieťaťom na obrazoch Juraja Čulinovića († 1504), známeho aj ako Giorgio Schiavone alebo Giorgio Dalmaticus (Juraj Slovan alebo Juraj z Dalmácie), drží ho v ruke Madona s dieťaťom na obraze Leonarda da Vinciho (1452 – 1519) i Raffaela (1483 – 1520) (obr. 9, 10).²⁷ Na svetských portrétoch sa klinček interpretuje ako symbol

²⁴ Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer, *Beethovenova maska*, okolo 1906, pastel, papier, 91 x 61,3 cm, v ponuke aukčnej spoločnosti Sotheby's, Paríž 26. 6. 2019; Odilon Redon: *Hommage a Goya (I)*, cca 1885, olej, plátno na lepenke, zbierka Scharfa-Gerstenberga, Berlín; Fernand Khnopff, *Biela maska*, 1907, akvarel a pastel, papier, Ca' Pesaro, Medzinárodná galéria moderného umenia, Benátky.

²⁵ Pozri Vugrinec, *Retrospektíva*, 43.

²⁶ Elisabeth Wolffhardt, „Beiträge zur Pflanzensymbolik,“ *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 8 (1954): 177–96.

²⁷ Juraj Čulinović, *Madona s dieťaťom a anjelmi*, 1459/1460, olej, drevo, 69 x 56,7 cm, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland, USA, inv. č. 37.1026; Leonardo da Vinci: *Madona s klinčekom*, 1478 – 1480, olej, drevo, od 1889 Alte Pinakothek, Mníchov, inv. č. 7779; Raffael, *Madona s klinčkami*, 1506, olej, drevo, 29 x 23 cm, The National Gallery, Londýn, inv. č. NG 6596. Na Raffaelovom obraze má klinčeky v rukách aj Ježiško.



Obr. 9: Juraj Čulinovič: Madona s dieťaťom a anjeli, 1459/1460, olej, drevo, 69 x 56,7 cm, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Zdroj https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giorgio_di_Tomaso_Schiavone_-_Madonna_and_Child_with_Angels_-_Walters_371026.jpg.



Obr. 10: Leonardo da Vinci: Madona s klinčekom, 1478 – 1480, olej, drevo, Alte Pinakothek, Mníchov. Zdroj https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leonardo_da_Vinci_Madonna_of_the_Carnation.jpg.

zbožnosti (obr. 11)²⁸ a(lebo) zasnúbenia, citového puta, lásky (obr. 12).²⁹ Zásnubné portréty s klinčekom boli tak narážkou, že pri svadbe – ako bolo zvykom – bude mať nevesta v šatách schovaný klinček, ktorý musí ženích nájsť.³⁰ Klinček dostal časom svoju úlohu aj v kontexte memento mori, pri tematizovaní *vanitas* a vôbec

smrti.³¹ Jeho význam na obrazoch však nebýva vždy jednoznačný.

Prijatie klinčeka do ikonického vesmíru fin-de-siècle ovplyvnili aj čisto estetické hľadiská spojené s vizuálnym potešením. Stretieme sa s ním v mníchovskom realizme leiblovského razenia, ktoré Crnčić dobre poznal (obr. 13).³² Rovnako

²⁸ Napr. Bartholomäus Bruyn st., *Portrét Sophie von Schwelhem, rod. Korth (1498 – 1573)*, okolo 1538, olej, drevo, 37 x 30 cm, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Kolín nad Rýnom, inv. č. WRM 266. Bruyn st. namaloval početné portréty žien s klinčekom v ruke.

²⁹ Napr. Andrea Solario, *Muž s klinčekom*, okolo 1495, olej, drevo, 49,5 x 38,5 cm, od 1875 The National Gallery, Londýn, inv. č. NG 923; Adrien Ysenbrandt: *Mladý muž s klinčekom*, 1520/1530, olej, drevo, 48 x 30,8 cm, Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, UŠA, inv. č. 65.18.

³⁰ Colombi, Martina, *L'uomo con il garofano rosa* (<https://errareumano.org/luomo-con-il-garofano-rosa/>, citované 12. 5. 2024).

³¹ Dirck Jakobsz, *Pompeius Occo*, okolo 1531, olej, drevo, 66,5 x 55,1 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. č. SK-A-3924. Pompeius Occo (1483 – 1537) bol jeden z najmajetnejších obyvateľov Amsterdamu. Okolo roku 1511 tam zastupoval bankový a obchodný dom augsburských Fuggerovcov. Jeho portrét vyjadruje všeobecne prevládajúci názor, že všetka svetská prosperita je pominuteľná: v jednej ruke má klinček a druhou sa dotýka lebky.

³² Wilhelm Leibl, *Pravá ruka dievčaťa s klinčekom*, okolo 1880, olej, plátno, 13 x 17,5 cm, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.



Obr. 11: Bartholomäus Bruyn st.: Anne of Cleves, 70. roky 16. storočia, olej, drevo, 50,2 x 36,8 cm, St John's College, University of Oxford. Zdroj <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/anne-of-cleves-223303>.

mohla u neho zarezonovať poviedka *Karafiát z básnikovho hrobu* (*Karafiát sa pjesnikova groba*),³³ ktorá pochádzala z pera Augusta Šenou (1838 – 1881), jedného z najznámejších chorvátskych spisovateľov, žijúceho v Záhrebe.

V spojitosti s prácou v továrňach a vykúpením robotníka sa klinček objavil na parížskom kongrese v roku 1889 a v roku 1905, keď Gabriele Galantara (1867 – 1937) navrhol socialistom secesný leták s klinčekom. Odvtedy sa uplatňoval ad hoc pri rôznych kampaniach.³⁴

Klinček sa tak v dejinách stal vizuálnou identitou božskosti, zbožnosti, citového puta, vykúpenia a fenoménu



Obr. 12: Adrien Ysenbrandt: Mladý muž s klinčekom, 1520/1530, olej, drevo, 48 x 30,8 cm, Portland Art Museum. Zdroj <http://portlandartmuseum.us/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=12188;type=101#>.

krásky, avšak ako väčšina symbolov v ich evolučnom procese spojenie so svojimi významami postupne strácalo (obr. 14).³⁵

Záhadná žena na Crnčićovom obraze je podľa nápisu spomienkou, sedem klinčekov môže odkazovať na sedem rokov, mesiacov, dní... Na hlbšie odkrytie významu chýbajú indície. Určitá podoba ženy s chorvátskou hluchonemou maliarkou Slavou Raškaj, žiačkou a milenkou Čikoša Sesiju a chránenkyňou ministra Kršnjaveho, ktorá zomrela v roku 1906 vo

³³ Prvýkrát vyšla v roku 1878.

³⁴ Napr. na plagáte proti zrušeniu zákona o umelom prerušení tehotenstva. – Barrese, Manuel www.engramma.it/eOS/index.php?id_articolo=1533, citované 15. 5. 2024.

³⁵ Adolfo Guiard, *Sedliacke dievča s klinčekom*, 1903, olej, plátno, 73 x 60 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, inv. č. 82/31.



Obr. 13: *Wilhelm Leibl*: Pravá ruka dievčaťa s klinčekom, okolo 1880, olej, plátno, 13 x 17,5 cm, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe. Zdroj www.kunsthalle-karlsruhe.de/kunstwerke/Wilhelm-Leibl/Rechte-Hand-des-Mädchens-mit-der-Nelke/EE3FFAF741903899FF1C4FB2BCEC38B0/.

veku 29 rokov, je príliš málo na hypotézu. Obraz však zostáva ojedinelou ukážkou Crnčicovho príklonu k symbolizmu.



Obr. 14: *Adolfo Guiard*: Sedliacke dievča s klinčekom, 1903, olej, plátno, 73 x 60 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao. Zdroj https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Adolfo_Guiard_-_The_Little_Village_Girl_with_Red_Carnation_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg.

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K transregionálnym dejinám umenia. Niekoľko poznámok k umeleckým výmenám medzi Československom a Juhosláviou v 70. a 80. rokoch

Prema transregionalnim povijestima umjetnosti: Bilješke
o umjetničkim razmjenama između Čehoslovačke i Jugoslavije 1970-ih
i 1980-ih godina / Towards Transregional Art Histories. Some Notes
on Artistic Exchanges Between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in the
1970s and 80s

The study examines fragments of artistic networks whose international reach extended to the former Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia from the second half of the 1960s to the end of the 1980s. It focuses on selected examples that provide evidence of artistic exchange in the fields of visual poetry, concrete poetry, conceptual photography and performance. The study focuses on a few figures whose efforts were directed towards exhibitions and publications realized beyond the borders of their respective countries. The initiators of such artistic exchanges were among others Jiří Valoch from Brno and Bogdanka Poznanović from Novi Sad. The study also discusses further representatives of the New Artistic Practice in Yugoslavia. Using the example of several exhibitions, it suggests the possibilities of transregional research on the art of Eastern Europe. The study is the result of research on comparative approaches to art in the countries of the former Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Key words: Sieť, komunikácia, konkrétna poézia, Československo, východná Európa, Mail-Art, fotografia, performance, vizuálna poézia, Juhoslávia

Vizuálna poézia a komunikačné siete mail-artu

„Prajeme si mať s tebou permanentný kontakt,“ napísali 17. októbra 1973 Bogdanka a Dejan Poznanović z Nového Sadu ako

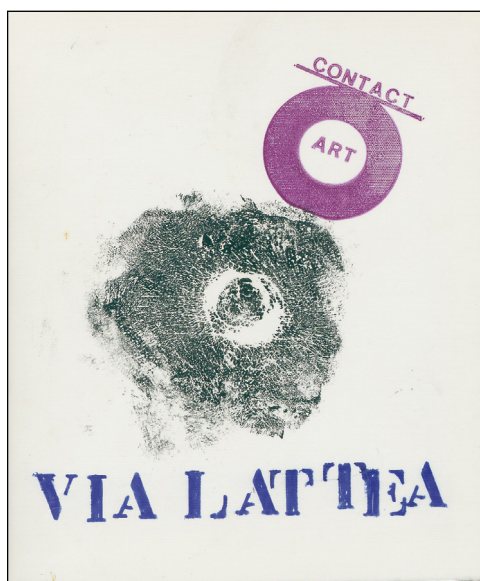
odpoveď na list s projektom poštovej schránky od Jiřího Valocha z Brna. „Prosim, posielaj nám pravidelne materiály o tvojej práci pre naše dokumentačné, informatívne a operatívne centrum – Atelje DT/Favite 00010.“¹ Od roku 1972 zbierali Bogdanka

* Mgr. DANIEL GRŮŇ, PhD., Centrum vied o umení SAV, v.v.i., samostatný vedecký pracovník, Bratislava (Slovenská republika). Štúdia je výstupom projektu *Transregionálne, národné a horizontálne dejiny umenia druhej polovice 20. storočia* (Vedecká grantová agentúra MŠVVaM SR a SAV – VEGA č. 2/0039/25).

¹ Archív a zbierka Jiřího Valocha, Moravská Galerie Brno.

a Dejan tlače a dokumentácie pre publikovanie v časopise *Új symposion*, ktorý vychádzal v Novom Sade v srbochorváčtine, maďarčine a angličtine. Bogdanka Poznanović uskutočnila na začiatku 70. rokov viacero zásadných akcií, ktorými sa zaradila k predstaviteľkám takzvanej novej umeleckej praxe v Juhoslávii. Niekoľko z jej akcií, kde použila názvy riek, *Cubes-Rivers* (1971) alebo *Rivers-Transmissions* (1972), realizovala na brehu Dunaja; sú venované myšlienke komunikácie – toku rieky, ktorá spája. Následne uskutočnila participatívnu akciu *Feedback Letterbox – Information – Decision – Action* (1973 – 1974), ktorou sa zaradila k popredným predstaviteľkám mail-artu. Na akcii sa zúčastnilo 38 umelcov z rôznych krajín, ktorí jej zaslali popis vlastnej poštovej schránky. Výsledkom bola fotokoláž vytlačená ako plagát s výberom doručených príspevkov. Koncept a médium poštovej komunikácie sa stalo novým metamédiom prezentácie intersubjektívnych vzťahov na medzinárodnej úrovni.² Kontakt realizovaný medzi odosielateľom a prijímateľom signálu sa povýšil na formu umeleckého diela. Jiří Valoch bol jedným z umelcov, ktorí na výzvu zareagovali. V tomto príspevku sa budem zaoberať dvomi rovinami umeleckej komunikácie medzi umelcami z Československa a Juhoslávie: vizuálnej poézii a konceptuálnej fotografii. Obidve roviny umeleckej komunikácie vďaka ich nenáročnosti a dematerializovanej povahe umožnili priame alebo nepriame výmeny tvorby performatívne zameraných, efemérnych a marginalizovaných foriem umenia.

Bogdanka Poznanović využívala často humor a absurditu spoločne s re-



Obr. 1: Poznanović, Bogdanka: *Via Lattea*. *Contact Art*. Dokumentácia, 1972 – 1976, kombinovaná technika, tlač na papieri, rôzne rozmery. Zbierka Darko Šimičić, Záhreb.

flexiou socialistickej konzumnej spoločnosti. (obr. 1) Cieľom jej mail-artových stratégií bolo nielen prekonať depresívnu izoláciu umelcov, ale najmä preveriť demokratickejšiu alternatívu komunikácie v planetárnych rozmeroch, aká sa neriadi prísne vymedzenými pravidlami. Poštová komunikácia zaujala pozíciu nenápadnej kritiky socialistickeho byrokratickeho systému, inštitucionálnej, a najmä galerijnej praxe s jej sklonom k sakralizácii umeleckých predmetov, hierarchizácii, klasifikácii a valorizácii umeleckej produkcie.³ Poznanović v priebehu 70. a 80. rokov rozšírila svoju umeleckú prax na nové komunikačné médiá (predovšetkým zvukové, telekomunikačné médiá a video). Výhodou efemérnych diel, ktoré sa zmestili do poštovej obál-

² Miško Šuvaković, *Bogdanka i Dejan Poznanović. Umetnost mediji i aktivizam na kraju moderne* (Zagreb: Institut za istraživanje avangarde, 2012), 100–1.

³ Sanja Kojić Mladenov, *Bogdanka Poznanović: Contact Art* (Novi Sad: Muzej savremene umetnosti Vojvodine, 2016), 56.

ky, bolo, že pomerne rýchlo dosiahli vzdialené miesta (napríklad v Latinskej Amerike) a tým aj účasť na výstavách, kam by nebolo možné dostať sa osobne. Podobne ako Jiří Valoch aj Bogdanka Poznaniová zaujala rolu kritičky a aktívne písala o dôležitých medzinárodných výstavách, festivaloch, performanciách. Na stránkach *Új symposion* informovala tiež o *Festivale snehu* vo Vysokých Tatrách (1970), ktorý uskutočnil Alex Mlynárčik spoločne s Milanom Adamčiakom a Róbertom Cyprichom.⁴ Ako pionierka videoumenia iniciovala spoločné dielo so Stanom Filkom *Bioelektronická komunikácia* (1980), ktorým predznamenal neskoršie technológie videohovoru.⁵ Mnohostranné domáce aj medzinárodné aktivity Bogdanky Poznaniovej v Novom Sade majú kľúčový význam pre juhoslovenskú alternatívnu výtvarnú a taktiež experimentálnu literárnu scénu. Obdobne sieťovacie, kurátorské, kritické a umelecké aktivity Jiřího Valocha z Brna predstavujú pre československú umeleckú scénu zásadný prínos. Obaja autori ako schopní organizátori vytvárali alternatívne priestory pre prezentáciu nového avantgardného umenia; ich umelecký network prepájali miesta a ľudí, čím efektívne zabezpečil vytváranie sociálneho poľa ponad hranice štátov.⁶

Jiří Valoch už o čosi skôr iniciatívne spolupracoval s celým spektrom umelcov aktívnych v oblasti konkrétneho umenia a vizuálnej poézie v Južoslávii. Na základe pozvania teoretika Radoslava Putara sa Valoch zúčastnil na medzinárodnom

kolokviu *Počítače a vizuálny výskum* v Záhrebe (3. – 4. augusta 1968). Kolokvium bolo súčasťou programu medzinárodného podujatia *Tendencie 4* a jeho výstupy spoločne s príspevkom Jiřího Valocha boli publikované v čísle 3 časopisu *bit International*. V čísle 5/6 vyšla esej *Konkretna poezija – poetska kozmogonia tehnološke ere* („Konkrétne poézie – poetická kozmogónia technologickej éry“), ktorej autorom je Branimir Donat. Donat sa okrem toho, že v esejí podáva ucelený prehľad svetového diania vo vizuálnej poézii, zmienil aj o československých autoroch a, samozrejme, nevynechal ani Valocha, ktorého vizuálna báseň bola v časopise reprodukováaná. Následne sa Valoch ako tvorca vizuálnej poézie zúčastnil na viacerých profilových výstavách, ako napríklad *Vizuelna poezija s podtitulom Vizuelna i konkretna poezija – fenomen suvremene epohe komunikacija* („Vizuálna a konkrétne poézie – fenomény súčasnej komunikačnej epochy“, 1969).⁷

Helena Musilová v obsiahlej publikácii o Valochovi uvádza početné medzinárodné aktivity a príspevky do zahraničných publikácií. Valochovu činnosť vníma a charakterizuje predovšetkým ako činnosť kurátora, teoretika a zberateľa, nie experimentálneho básnika a sieťovateľa, hoci tieto úlohy sú v jeho prípade neoddeliteľne spojené. Valoch už od počiatkov svojho záujmu o vizuálnu a konkrétne poéziu (1964 – 1966) vnímal vlastnú tvorbu ako formu komunikácie: vytvoril celú typologickú škálu strojov písaných nesémantických básní,

⁴ *Ibidem*, 58.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 100–1.

⁶ Klara Kemp-Welch, *Networking the Bloc: Experimental Art in Eastern Europe 1965–1981* (Cambridge [MA]: The MIT Press, 2018), 10.

⁷ Ivana Janković, „Here/There and Somewhere Else: The Artistic Connections of Jiří Valoch with Former Yugoslav Territory during the 1960s and 70s,“ *Miejsce* 5 (2019). Dostupné online: <http://miejsce.asp.waw.pl/english-here-there-and-somewhere-else-the-artistic-connections-of-jiri-valoch-with-former-yugoslav-territory-during-the-1960s-and-70s/> (25. mája 2024).

vizuálnych básní so sémantickými prvkami, grafémami a znakmi, pričom jeho vlastná tvorba zároveň odrážala profesionálny záujem o semiotiku a štrukturalizmus.⁸ Zaujímala ho simultánnosť videnia a čítania, chápanie diela ako otvoreného poľa vizuálnych vzťahov a spojení. Mary Ellen Soltová vo svojej obsiahlej publikácii z roku 1968 *Concrete Poetry. A World View* uvádza, že *Optická báseň* Jiřího Valocha, oslobodená od sémantiky, je svojím vizuálnym pôsobením totožná s optickou maľbou, s tým rozdielom, že je vytvorená na písacom stroji.⁹ Solt zdôrazňuje, že Valochove „chvejivé mikroštruktúry“ nás nielen učia aktívne sa pozerať na písaný text, ale aj to, že aktívny impulz týchto strojom písaných textov vedie k vytvoreniu novej komunikačnej sféry. So stratou pôvodných komunikačných spojení vzniká vizuálny metajazyk, v ktorom vizuálne básne performujú vlastné teoretické postuláty. Teoretické texty Jiřího Valocha vznikali takmer paralelne s umeleckými dielami a umeleckými smermi, ktoré opisovali.¹⁰ Medzinárodná poštová komunikačná sieť pozostávala z početných tvorcov, konzumentov, vydavateľov a propagátorov. Valoch bol nielen jej aktívnym účastníkom, ale tiež spolutvorcom, sám na výzvy reagoval, ako aj výzvy vytváral.

Z toho vyplýva, že medzinárodnú sieť vnímal ako možnosť efektívne rozptýliť vlastné diela, aj preto sa stala rozšíreným nástrojom jeho umeleckej praxe.

Jean-Marc Poinsoť je autorom termínu „komunikácií na dlhé vzdialenosti“, ktorí zodpovedá vzájomnej výmene informácií medzi umelcami prostredníctvom mail-artu. Poinsoť tvrdí, že moc je v rukách tých, ktorí vlastnia výmenné a komunikačné systémy. Mimochodom, dnes jeho tézu presvedčivo potvrdzujú globálni hráči ovládajúci sociálne siete a audiovizuálne médiá. Čiastočne z tohto dôvodu niektorí umelci odmietali sprostredkovateľskú úlohu galérií alebo múzeí a sami sa snažili šíriť svoje diela a príslušné informácie.¹¹ Valoch svoju rolu zámerne znejasňoval,¹² pretože hoci vystupoval ako predstaviteľ Domu umenia v Brne, budoval si v súkromí svoju paralelnú inštitúciu na báze medzinárodných kontaktov. Globálny rozsah a univerzálne formy komunikácie umelcov pôsobiacich v socialistických krajinách vychádzali z ich umeleckých programov a úsili prostredníctvom participačných byrokratických aparátov založiť vlastné neformálne inštitúcie.¹³

Pravdepodobne to bol Marko Pogáčnik, kto Valochovi sprostredkoval viaceré dôležité kontakty. Z ich vzájomnej

⁸ Helena Musilová, *Jiří Valoch. Kurátor, teoretik, sběratel: Léta 1965–1980 [Jiří Valoch. Curator, Theoretician, Collector. Years 1965-1980]* (Brno: Galerie a nakladatelství Stará pošta, 2020), 40.

⁹ Mary Ellen Solt, "A World Look at Concrete Poetry", in *Concrete Poetry. A World View*, eds. Mary Ellen Solt a Willis Barnstone (Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Limited, 1968), 24–25.

¹⁰ Jana Písařková, "Jiří Valoch's Archive", in Grůň, Daniel (ed.). *Subjective Histories. Self-historicisation as Artistic Practice in Central-East Europe* (Bratislava: Veda, 2020), 208.

¹¹ Jean-Marc Poinsoť, "Utilisations of Postal Institution and Long-distance Communications," in Poinsoť, Jean-Marc (ed.) *Mail art, communication à distance concept* (Paris: Editions CEDIC, 1971), 13–18. Citované podľa <https://artpool.hu/MailArt/chrono/1971/Poinsoť.html> (25. mája 2024)

¹² Tejto téme sa užšie venujem v štúdií – Daniel Grůň, "Amateurism Under Socialism. The Politics of Art Education in the Work of Milan Adamčiak, Július Koller and Jiří Valoch," in *Third Text, Actually Existing Artworlds of Socialism* 32, no. 4 (2018): 434–49.

¹³ Tejto téme sa venujem v úvode knižnej publikácie – Daniel Grůň, "Seba-historizácia ako umelecká prax = Self-historicisation as Artistic Practice," in Daniel Grůň, *Subjektívne histórie. Seba-historizácia ako umelecká prax v stredovýchodnej Európe* (Bratislava: Veda, 2020), 5–12.

korešpondencie vyplýva, že Valocha v Brne navštívil spoločne s Davidom Nezom (obaja, Pogačnik a Nez, boli členmi skupiny OHO) a Dejanom Poznanovićom.¹⁴ V tom istom čase si Valoch vymieňal korešpondenciu so slovinským básnikom Francim Zagoričnikom. Zagoričnik takisto žil v slovinskom meste Kranj a podieľal sa na publikáciách hnutia OHO. Spolupráca medzi Valochom a Zagoričnikom sporadicky pokračovala až do 80. rokov. Valoch udržiaval kontakt aj s ďalším významným predstaviteľom vizuálnej poézie Bálintom Szombathym, ktorý je zakladajúcim členom skupiny Bosch+Bosch (1969 – 1976), aktívnej v Subotici ležiacej v srbskej Vojvodine. Szombathyho s Valochom spájal okrem iného aj záujem o teoretické princípy konkrétnej poézie v 20. storočí, ktoré spracoval v troch číslach časopisu *Új Symposion* s rozšírením o mapovanie tohto fenoménu vo viacerých lokalitách bývalej Juhoslávie.¹⁵

Fotografia ako dokument umenia

Skupina OHO a jej akcie v prírode mali nepochybne vplyv na organizovanie kolektívnych aktivít spolku MPVU (Mladí priatelia výtvarného umění) v Brne. Realizácie Bogdanky Poznanović a Jiřího Valocha majú viaceré paralely v rozvíjaní komunikatívnych poetických intervencií na periférii mesta alebo v krajine. Dokumentácie *feu – báseň z léta 1970* (foto: Pavel

Trávník) a *Rivers-Transmissions* (1972) analogicky pracujú s tautológiou jazykovej reprezentácie a materiálnej realizácie, keď je pojem feu (oheň) stotožnený s pálením slova a názov rieky so vznášaním slova na hladine rieky. Jiří Valoch kládol dôraz na proces realizácie a samotný priebeh (zaznamenaný fotograficky) považoval za artefakt.¹⁶

Viacerí československí umelci sa zúčastnili na putovnej výstave, ktorú v máji až septembri 1976 organizovali spoločne Centar za fotografiju film i tv, Galerija grada Zagreba, Muzej suvremene umetnosti Beograd a Razsavni salon Rotovž v Maribore. Výstava *Nf (Nova fotografija) 2: Fotografija kao umjetnost / Fotografija kot umetnost / Photography as Art* v koncepcii Biljana Tomić. V úvodnom texte Biljana Tomić charakterizuje zámer výstavy sústrediť sa na médium fotografie nielen pre skúmanie jeho špecifickej povahy, ale aj ako na nástroj umeleckého výrazu. Výstavu koncipovala ako vývoj umeleckých hnutí od 60. rokov až k post-konceptuálnej tvorbe. Zaoberala sa významom umeleckého diela vo vzťahu k prostrediu a k systémom umenia, ako aj súvislosťou s nastolením sociologických a lingvistických modelov. Tomić zdôrazňuje uchopenie umenia ako decentralizovanej praxe s možnosťou porozumenia individuálnym a všeobecným modelom na príklade vzťahu umelca a umenia.¹⁷ Ješa Denegri zdôrazňuje

¹⁴ List Marka Pogačnika Jiřímu Valochovi, Kranj, 10. decembra 1970. Archív a zbierka Jiřího Valocha, Moravská Galerie Brno.

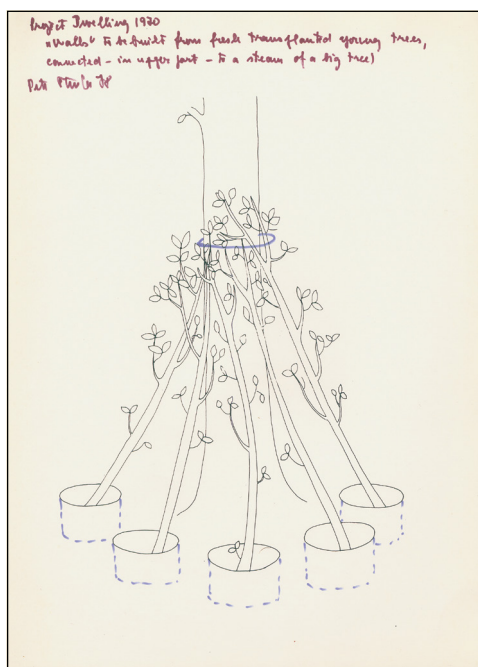
¹⁵ Bálint Szombathy, „A Konkrét Költészet Útjai I.-III.“ [The Ways of Concrete Poetry I.-III.] *Új Symposion* no.143 (1977): 9–10–11.

¹⁶ Jana Písaříková, „Neviditelná socha, transcendentní výstava i programované umění. Kurátorské aktivity Jiřího Valocha šedesátých a sedmdesátých let.“ [Invisible Sculpture, Transcendent Exhibition and Programmed Art: The Curatorial Activities of Jiří Valoch during the Sixties and Seventies] *Sešit* 25 (2019): 54–55.

¹⁷ Biljana Tomić, „Úvodný text v katalógu,“ in: *Nf (Nova fotografija) 2: Fotografija kao umjetnost / Fotografija kot umetnost / Photography as Art* (Katalóg: nepag.) Centar za fotografiju film i tv., Galerija grada Zagreba, Muzej suvremene umetnosti Beograd, Razsavni salon Rotovž Maribor, 1976)

niekoľko základných teoretických predpokladov fotografie ako diela umelca: 1) nie je založená na ovládaní techniky a dokonca umelci často nie sú autormi fotografií; 2) ide skôr o konceptualizáciu témy a významu vybranej fotografickej scény a vytvorenie artikulovanej štruktúry v systéme jazyka, ktorý umelec používa pri komunikácii; 3) umelci hovoria predovšetkým v prvej osobe.¹⁸ Denegri v texte otvára čítanie fotografie-ako-umenia z pozície sebareflexívneho média fotografie-ako-dokumentácie-umenia.

V roku 1978 sa venovalo československej fotografii v smerovaní naznačenom Denegrim 11. číslo časopisu pre fotografiu *Spot*, na obálke sa nachádzalo dielo Kataríny Zavorskej *My Alphabet* (1976). Helena Kontová a Jaroslav Anděl zostavili výber autorov tak, aby reprezentovali tri najväčšie mestá – Prahu, Brno a Bratislavu – s ohľadom na miestnu kultúrnu tradíciu.¹⁹ Väčšina z vybraných umelcov sa vtedy nezaoberala umením ako profesiou a fotografii sa venovali len vo voľnom čase. Napriek tomu niektoré dôležité mená v ich výbere chýbali, čo znamená, že komunikačné reťazce nie vždy fungovali efektívne. V roku 1981 bola v Belehrade v Galérii Srečna nova umetnost reinstalovaná putovná výstava s názvom *Miesta a chvíle*, ktorú pripravil Jaroslav Anděl. Výstava sa najprv v roku 1979 uskutočnila v Poľsku, v Galérii Foto Medium Art vo Vroclave a v Galérii Remont vo Varšave. Zaujímavosťou tejto výstavy bolo zameranie sa na teritorialitu vo vzťahu k času, zdôrazňujúc pluralitu



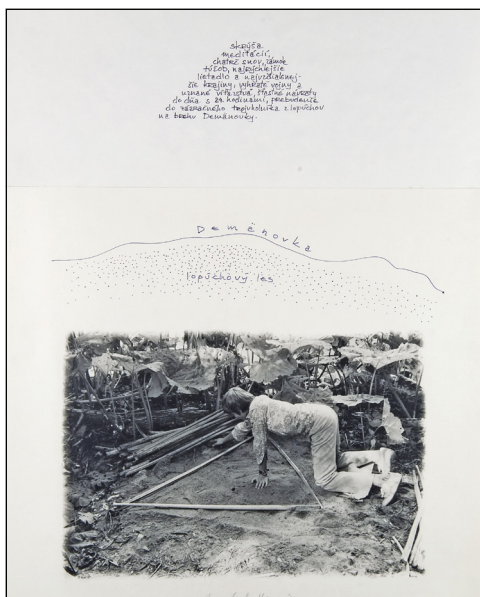
Obr. 2: Štembera, Petr: Projekt Skryša, 1970/1978, tlač a fix na papieri, 30 x 21,5 cm. Zbierka Darko Šimičić, Záhreb.

individuálnych prístupov.²⁰ Na výstave boli prítomné tiež diela Michala Kerna a Júliusa Kollera. Oboja autori boli zastúpení približne v tom istom čase (20. – 30. septembra 1979) spoločne s juhoslovenskými, maďarskými a poľskými umelcami na medzinárodnej umeleckej manifestácii *Works and Words*, ktorú usporiadala Nadácia De Appel v Amsterdame. Na výstave boli zdôraznené prepojenia medzi fotografickým, resp. filmovým záznamom a performanciou. Práve tu možno vidieť rozdiely v lokálnych kultúrnych politikách, keďže politická

¹⁸ Ješa Denegri, "Photography as the work of the artists," in *Nf (Nova fotografija) 2: Fotografija kao umjetnost / Fotografija kot umetnost / Photography as Art* (Katalóg: nepag.)

¹⁹ Helena Kontová a Jaroslav Andjel, „ČSSR fotografie“, *Spot. Review of Photography* 11 (1978): 7–11.

²⁰ Jaroslav Anděl, *Places and Moments – Vladimír Ambroz, Jaroslav Anděl, Ján Budaj, Dalibor Chatrný, Róbert Cyprich, Sony Halas, Vladimír Havrilla, Lumír Hladík, Kim Houdek + Milan Lachman, Michal Kern, Július Koller, Jiří Kovanda, Marie Kratochvilová, Milan Langer, Karel Miler, Jan Mlčoch, Ladislav Novák + Michal Resl, Ludmila Padrtová, Stanislav Pekár, Jaroslav Richtr, Rudolf Sikora, Petr Štembera.* (Katalóg: nepag.) Gallery Foto-Medium-Art, Wrocław, November 1979).



Obr. 3: Kern, Michal: *Skrýša meditácií*, 1981, fotografia, 57,4 x 47,5 cm, Archív Michala Kerna, v správe Liptovskej galérie P. M. Bohúňa, Liptovský Mikuláš, 7254 / LM 241.

situácia v Československu, ktorá sa po roku 1977 výrazne pritvrdila, neumožnila umelcom vycestovať do Amsterdamu, čo neplatilo pre juhoslovanských umelcov, ktorí mali možnosť osobne sa zúčastniť a vystúpiť v programe performancií.²¹

K Michalovi Kernovi sa dostávajúme tiež prostredníctvom aktívnych sprostredkovateľov, medzi akých patril Jiří Valoch. Jeho zanietený záujem o tvorbu Michala Kerna vychádzal z kontaktov

so skupinou OHO i jeho vlastných umeleckých experimentov a premietol sa do realizácie dvoch samostatných výstav.²² Médium fotografie doplnené textovou informáciou alebo kresbou sa využívalo ako nástroj konštrukcie perцепčných a haptických rovín interakcie umelca s prostredím. „Chcem nájsť miesto, kde je človek spojený pupočnou šnúrou s prírodou,“ zapísal si do denníka Michal Kern.²³ Od roku 1975 sa datujú podstatné Kernove práce, ktoré majú povahu interakcie človeka a prírody, ich vzájomného prepojenia.²⁴ Jedinečnosť Kernových diel spočíva v prelínaní kresby a fotografie. Umelec premýšľal a pracoval s miestnou špecifickosťou fotografie. Výsledkom je efemérne zaznamenávanie interakcie medzi technickým médiom a prírodnými procesmi, ako je svetlo, tieň, dotyk, vrstvenie, rast. Kernove interakcie s prírodným prostredím tematicky rezonujú s prácami Petra Štemberu. Dobrým príkladom je porovnanie série kresieb Petra Štemberu *Projekt skryša* (projekt 1970, realizácia 1976) s projektom Michala Kerna *Skrýša meditácií* (1981). Obaja umelci navrhli vstupy do prírodného prostredia a konceptualizovali ich prostredníctvom priestorovej projekcie geometrických telies. Zatiaľ čo Štembera dokumentoval vykopanie príbytku pod koreňmi stromu ako kruhový výsek prenikajúci koreňovým systémom stromu, Kern

²¹ Zsuzsa László, *Works and Words. The Invention and Renunciation of the Concept of East European Art*. November 2018. Dostupné online: <https://institutulprezentului.ro/en/2018/11/15/works-and-words-the-invention-and-renunciation-of-the-concept-of-east-european-art/> (25. júna 2024).

²² Jiří Valoch, *Michal Kern: Katalóg* (Brno: Klub školství a vědy Bedřicha Václavka, 1982). Jiří Valoch usporiadal Michalovi Kernovi výstavu aj posmrtné: Jiří Valoch, *Michal Kern: Katalóg* (Klatovy: Galerie U Bílého Jednorozce, 1995). K obidvom výstavám bol publikovaný katalóg, ale hlavne v druhom prípade napísal Valoch syntetický výkladový text k tvorbe Michala Kerna.

²³ Jiří Valoch, *Michal Kern: Katalóg* 1995. Pre úplný pohľad na Kernovo dielo pozri Daniela Čarná, *Michal Kern* (Bratislava: Galéria mesta Bratislava, 2011).

²⁴ Práce Michala Kerna by mali byť kontextualizované po boku ďalších stredoeurópskych umelcov, ktorých postoje a prístupy k životnému prostrediu výrazne formovali ekologické myslenie. Pozri Maja Fowkes, *The Green Bloc: Neo-Avant-Garde Art and Ecology Under Socialism* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015).

lokalizoval svoj príbytok na brehu lesného potoka Demänovka v Nízkych Tatrách a vytvoril ho z lopúchových stoniek v pôdoryse trojuholníka a štvorca. Štembera odôvodnil svoj projekt len tým, že túto interakciu fyzicky podstúpil. Kern považoval príbytok za skrýšu meditácií, za podnet k hľadaniu tajomstva, situoval do neho nielen postavu performerera, ale tiež vlastné reflexie.²⁵ Okrem toho sa pre Michala Kerna analytický prístup k fotografickému obrazu ako médiu zobrazenia prelína s úvahami o civilizačných hrozbách a deštrukcii vzácnej prírodnej lokality. (obr. 2 a 3)

Výstavy umenia performancie. Od národných príbehov k transregionálnym dejinám umenia

Výstavy *Out of Actions* v MOCA, Los Angeles, spoločne s výstavou *Body and the East* v Moderna Galerija Lubľana položili paradigmatický základ pre akademický záujem o umenie performancie vo východnej Európe. V prvom prípade to bol veľmi skreslený obraz o východoeurópskom umení, ktorý výstava komunikovala prevažne v euro-americkom kontexte metaforicky ako *balancing between dusthole and eternity*, charakterizujúc performancie východoeurópskych umelcov ako „masochistické“.²⁶ V druhom

prípade to bola otvorene kritická odpoveď týmto zjednodušujúcim skresleniam v prezentácii modelu výstavy, ktorá ponúkla rovnocenne hlas všetkým lokalitám zastúpeným v teritóriu bývalého Východu a vytvorila tak platformu pre komparatívny výskum.²⁷ Akčné umenie v Čechách bolo najširšie zmapované publikáciou Pavlíny Morganovej *Czech Action Art: Happenings, Actions, Events, Land Art, Body Art and Performance Art behind the Iron Curtain*²⁸ a na Slovensku výstavným katalógom *Umenie akcie/Action Art 1965 – 1989*, ktorého editorkou a spoluautorkou je Zora Rusinová.²⁹ Už reprodukcie na obálke vovádzajú do hry stereotypy národných reprezentácií: české akčné umenie reprezentuje rušné námestie pražskej metropoly v medzinárodne uznanom diele Jiřího Kovandu (*19. listopadu 1976*, Praha, Václavské náměstí) a slovenské akčné umenie reprezentuje prostredie smrekového lesa so stúpajúcim dymom pod zaveseným telom performerera (Artprospekt P.O.P., *Daring*, 1981, Lubietová). Výber mediácie diela pre knižnú obálku veľa napovie o tom, ako sú nastavené ambície jednotlivých historických prístupov. Hoci pomer, v akom českí a slovenskí performereri pracovali s mestským a krajinným prostredím, nezaznamenáva výrazné rozdiely, pozornosť čitateľa/ky sa ešte predtým, než publikáciu začne listovať, uberá dvomi odlišnými smermi. Prečo? Pretože autorky publikácií nielen

²⁵ Jaroslava Vydrová, „O sochárstve, prírode a dotyku – z fenomenologickej perspektívy,“ *Ars* 56, no. 1 (2023): 57.

²⁶ Kristine Stiles, „Uncorrupted Joy: International Art Action,“ in: *Out of Actions: Between Performance and the Object, 1949–1979*, eds. Paul Schimmel a Russell Ferguson (London: Thames and Hudson for MOCA – Los Angeles, 1998), 306.

²⁷ Zdenka Badovinac (ed.), *Body and the East* (Cambridge [MA] a London: MIT Press, 1998).

²⁸ Pavlína Morganová, *Czech Action Art: Happenings, Actions, Events, Land Art, Body Art and Performance Art behind the Iron Curtain* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2014).

²⁹ Zora Rusinová (ed.), *Umenie akcie/Action Art 1965 – 1989* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2001). Publikácia je dielom kolektívu autorov: Gábor Hushegyi, Ivo Janoušek, Radislav Matuščík, Zora Rusinová, Tomáš Štraus.

vykladajú miestne špecifiká akčného umenia, ale zároveň aj potvrdzujú význam akčného umenia v kontexte národného príbehu umenia. Pavlína Morganová v úvode svojej knihy poznamenáva, že hoci česká a slovenská kultúrna scéna boli prepojené, nerozvinuli sa počas existencie spoločného štátu do jedného celku a s rekonštrukciou kultúrnej histórie po roku 1989 obidva národy začali písať oddelené verzie československého príbehu.³⁰ Zora Rusinová sa zmieňuje o československom kontexte trochu inak: v súvislosti so samizdatom, tajne šírenými strojopisnými kópiami zahraničných prekladov a teoretických statí dotýkajúcich sa akčného umenia.³¹

Základy transregionálneho skúmania historických avantgárd, neoavantgárd a postavantgárd v Juhoslávii položila kniha *Impossible Histories*.³² Ďalej na ňu nadväzovali mnohé ďalšie publikácie. Takýto syntetický prístup sa na pôde českej a slovenskej umenovedy zatiaľ neuskutočnil. V prípade umenia performance je nutné skúmať rozličné miestne manifestácie a významy, zdôrazňovať rôznorodosť umeleckých praxí vrátane odlišných momentov a spôsobov, akými

sa performance objavovali vo vzťahu k sociopolitickej klíme v danej krajine.³³

Záver

V tomto fragmentárnom príspevku som sa pokúsil o porovnanie vybraných príkladov komunikácie na transregionálnej, a zároveň univerzálnej úrovni. Model transregionálnych dejín neoavantgardného a postavantgardného umenia by sa preto mohol inšpirovať funkčnými príkladmi medzinárodných sietí umelcov. Skupina Bosch+Bosch slúži ako vhodný model kultúrnej hybridity.³⁴ Bola vytvorená v charakteristicky multietnickom regióne Európy ako jedna z prvých skupín juhoslovanskej vizuálnej kultúry 70. rokov so zámerom pôsobiť transregionálne. Vojvodina a mesto Subotica boli akýmsi centrom rôznych ľavicových skupín umelcov už od prvej polovice 20. storočia. Skupinová činnosť navyše oživila zásady avantgardnej poézie a zostavovateľskej práce Lajosa Kassáka.³⁵ Na skupinu Bosch+Bosch nadväzovali zakladatelia Štúdia erté.³⁶ Mimochodom, nie je náhodou, že to boli práve Nové Zámky, Kassákov rodisko,

³⁰ „Both nations began to write increasingly separate versions of their cultural history, despite mapping a shared Czechoslovakian period and despite endeavors to integrate both cultural fields.“ Morganová, *Czech Action Art*, 19.

³¹ Rusinová, „Interpretačné a kontextuálne aspekty umenia akcie na Slovensku,“ in Rusinová (ed.), *Umenie akcií/Action Art 1965 – 1989*, 7.

³² Miško Šuvaković, „Impossible Histories,“ in Dubrovka Djurić a Miško Šuvaković (eds.), *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918 – 1991* (Cambridge [MA] a London: MIT Press, 2003), 26–27.

³³ Amy Bryzgel, *Performance Art in Eastern Europe Since 1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 2–3.

³⁴ Okrem Slavka Matkovića a Bálinta Szombathyho, ďalší zakladajúci členovia boli László Szalma, Zoltán Magyar, Edit Basch, István Krekovity a Slobodan Tomanović. K skupine sa pridali László Kerekes v roku 1971, Attila Csernik a Katalin Ladik v roku 1973, Ante Vukov v roku 1975. Skupina zanikla v roku 1976. Bližšie – Emese Kürti, „Transregional Discourses: The Bosch+Bosch Group in the Yugoslav and the Hungarian Avant-garde,“ in *Bosch+Bosch: Katalóg* (Budapest: acb researchlab, 2016), 4–5.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, 15.

³⁶ Zakladateľmi Štúdia erté boli József R. Juhász, Ottó Mészáros, Ilona Németh a Attila Simon. Pozri Gábor Hushegyi, „20 rokov Štúdia erté,“ in: *Transart Communication Performance & Multimedia Art Studio erté 1987 – 2007* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2008), 95.

kde na sklonku 80. rokov iniciovali vznik medzinárodného festivalu performance *Transart Communication*. Tieto dva príklady nám ukazujú, ako môžu organizačné platformy a infraštruktúry iniciované umelcami vytvoriť aktívne miesta pre kultúrnu výmenu v stredovýchodnej a juhovýchodnej Európe.

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Jozef Jankovič v Chorvátsku

Jozef Jankovič u Hrvatskoj / Jozef Jankovič in Croatia

Jozef Jankovič (1937 – 2017) is one of the most important figures in the history of modern Slovak sculpture. He was one of the victims of political normalization in Czechoslovakia after 1968 and the violent suppression of the democratization process. Despite the ban on exhibiting and traveling, he managed to maintain unofficial and friendly contacts with foreign countries – including through curators and artists of the former Yugoslavia, where he exhibited and realized works (since the mid-70s, he was regularly invited to the biennial of graphics in Ljubljana). Three “emblematic” works were created and are located in Croatia: Gate (1985, Park of Sculptures Dubrova, Labin), Hands (1994, Vrsar) and Raspello/Crucifix (1995, Commemorative Centre, Labin). The paper deals with the analysis and interpretation of these works from the aspect of cultural (visual) × personal (artistic) identities.

Key words: Jozef Jankovič, monumental sculpture, modern Slovak sculpture, normalization, international sculpture symposium, Park Dubrova Labin, Josip Diminić, relationship Slovakia – Croatia

O Jozefovi Jankovičovi¹ sa často píše, že bol bytostný figuralista. Človek bol skutočne kľúčovou témou jeho tvorby, vždy mu však išlo skôr o odvrátenú, skrytú, ťažko zjavovateľnú stránku jeho individuálnych, druhových či

spoločenských dejín. Zaujímala ho predovšetkým ľudská bytosť v sieti sociálnych (a mocenských) vzťahov – situovanosť v kontexte, v širšom dejinnom rámci. Prišiel s inou, odlišnou predstavou a obrazom človeka, aké vyžadovala

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¹ Jozef Jankovič (*8. november 1937, Bratislava – †6. jún 2017, Bratislava) patrí k najvýznamnejším slovenským sochárom 20. storočia. Študoval na Strednej škole umeleckého priemyslu (1952 – 1956, Anton Drexler, Ludwik Korkoš) a na Vysokej škole výtvarných umení v Bratislave (1956 – 1962, prof. Jozef Kostka), kde od roku 1990 pôsobil ako pedagóg, prvý porevolučný rektor (1990 – 1994) a profesor na Katedre sochárstva (1994 – 2007). Bol hosťujúcim profesorom na Hochschule für angewandte Kunst vo Viedni (1984). Vystavoval na bienále mladých v Paríži (1969), dvakrát na bienále v Benátkach (1970, 1995) i na mnohých medzinárodne dôležitých výstavách. Bol nositeľom viacerých prestížnych cien: Grand Prix z bienále *Danuvius* v Bratislave (1968), *Biennale de Paris* (1969), Herderovej ceny (1983), Ceny Nadácie Tatrabanky (1997), štátnych vyznamenaní: Pribinovho kríža I. stupňa (1997) a Rádu Ľudovíta Štúra II. stupňa (2004). 1998 mu bolo udelené vyznamenanie Chorvátskej republiky Rad Danice Hrvatske s likom Marka Maruliča. Vytvoril celý rad monumentálnych diel (*Obete varujú! Pamätník SNP* v Banskej Bystrici, 1964 – 1965, počas normalizácie bolo odstránené, 1974 umiestnené na Kališti, 2004 vrátené späť; *Pomník SNP* v Kováčovej, 1967 – 1969). Realizoval početné práce v architektúre i na sochárskych sympóziách v Slovinsku (*Väzenie IX*, Portorož, 1971); Chorvátsku (*Brána*, Labin, 1985; *Raspelo*, 1995), Južnej Kórei (*Miesto hore*, olympijský park, Soul, 1987), socha *V šlapajách otcov* sa stala súčasťou sochárskej zbierky *La Défence* v Paríži (1987), súsošie *Rovnováha* vytvoril pre Campus Masarykovej univerzity v Brne (2009).



Obr. 1: Jozef Jankovič, *Väzenie IX*, 1971, *Forma viva*, Portorož.

– socialistická – spoločnosť, v ktorej žil. Uviedol doň bytosť a priori tragickú, obraz vífaza, človeka – budovateľa nového sveta nahradil obrazom obete, fragmentarizovaným a rozbitým telom. Často to bol človek „bezmocný“, gniavený okolnosťami, manipulovaný mocnými tohto sveta, človek, ktorého meno vôbec „neznelo hrdo“. Tri významné, priam „znakové“, ikonické monumentálne diela realizoval Jozef Jankovič v Chorvátsku – takúto príležitosť nedostal ani doma, na

Slovensku –, predstavíme ich v kontexte jeho diela a myslenia, vývinu symbolicko-ikonografickej formy.²

Keď po úvodnom dobrodružstve so štruktúrnou abstrakciou a s nájdeným predmetom prišiel s novou a brutálnou podobou figurácie, jeho ďalšia cesta – cesta za odhalením tajomstiev života, viedla cez ľudské telo. Práve sochárske telo, stelesnenie, ktoré sa zjavuje v jeho sochách, odhaľuje psychické cez fyzické a na druhej strane „predlžuje telo do sfér interpersonálnych a sociálnych“.³ Prehovára k nám vizuálnou rečou, jazykom, ktorý dokáže poodhaliť mikrokozmos človeka a v ktorom sa zároveň zrkadlí celý jeho spoločenský makrokozmos. Jankovič, obrazoborecký *enfant-terrible* slovenského sochárstva odvážne – a na naše pomery – nezvyčajne nahlas a skoro začal dôrazne polemizovať s výtvarnými a socio-kultúrnymi paradigmami svojich čias.⁴

Nové podoby figurácie, ktoré sa v polovici šesťdesiatych rokov udomácnili v slovenskom výtvarnom umení predovšetkým v maliarstve, do značnej miery predstavovali výsledok stretnutia rozmanitých podnetov staršieho i súdobého

² Jankovič bol vedúcou osobnosťou slovenského moderného sochárstva, jeho charakteristický brutálny figurálny štýl ako výsledok originálnej syntézy podnetov pop-artu, novej figurácie a nového realizmu vyvrcholil v 2. polovici šesťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia v rozsiahlom sochárskom diele, ktoré získalo široký medzinárodný ohlas. Problém ľudskej telesnosti vo svojej tvorbe prezentoval v odvodenej, neautentickej a deformovanej podobe, morálnym apelom dokázal metaforicky zovšeobecniť existenciálne traumy moderného človeka i aktuálne spoločensko-politické kontexty. Počas tzv. normalizácie (1972 – 1985) bol vylúčený z výtvarného diania a aktívne fungoval na neoficiálnej scéne, venoval sa „malým“ formám: kresbe, šperku a ako jeden z prvých na Slovensku systematicky tvoril v oblasti počítačovej grafiky, od osemdesiatych rokov sa znovu vrátil k veľkorozmernej i komornej soche a reliéfu. Jankovičovo celoživotné dielo, oscilujúce medzi tragédiou a groteskou, je sugestívnym podobenstvom o človeku, o limitoch jeho individuálneho a spoločenského údely, o slobode a neslobode, o odcudzení seba samému i totalitnej moci. Bližšie súborné katalógy a monografie – Katarína Bajcurová, Aurel Hrabušický a Zora Rusinová, eds., *Jozef Jankovič: Tvorba z rokov 1958 – 1997* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1997); Juraj Mojžiš, *Jozef Jankovič 1957 – 2007* (Bratislava: Danubiana Meulenstein Art Museum, 2007); Juraj Mojžiš, *Jankovič. Plynutie času: Flow of Time* (Bratislava: ArtBid a Galéria mesta Bratislavy, 2016) a Katarína Bajcurová, *Všetko je v hlave: It's All in the Head* (Bratislava: Slovart, 2024), etc.

³ Josef Kroutvor, *Hlava medusy* (Praha: Jazzová sekce, 1985), 105.

⁴ Katarína Bajcurová, *Slovenské sochárstvo 1945 – 2015: Socha a objekt* (Bratislava: Roman Fecik Gallery, Slovart, 2017).

európskeho umenia (pop-artu, surrealizmu, l'art brut, novej figurácie, ale aj nového realizmu) i širokého duchovného podhubia filozofie a literatúry (filozofia života, fenomenológia, existencializmus a vyznačovali sa úplne odlišnou obraznosťou v porovnaní s tou, ktorá prežívala v „socialisticky angažovanom“ umení. Priam obrazoborecky doň zasiahlo práve dielo Jankoviča, ktorý po polovici šesťdesiatych rokov zrušil tradičnú integritu figurálnej sochy a hneď na začiatku rozbil ľudské telo na fragmenty: pohybujúce sa údy, ruky a nohy, čo vystupovali ako *pars pro toto* ľudského tela. Charakteristický, neurčito-odutý tvar končatiny získal viac-menej náhodou, experimentálne, keď do pančuchovej či rukavicovej formy nalial poddajnú sadru; neskôr tento prvok sémanticky povýšil na ústredný motív tvorby. Vznikol zvláštny efekt „scudzenia“. Ľudská telesnosť sa prezentovala: „... v odvodenej, neautentickej a teda deformovanej podobe. To, čo telo pôvodne chránilo, teraz ho akoby prezrádzalo.“⁵ Tieto prvky, ktoré na roky predurčili Jankovičovo tvaroslovie, sa vo svojej odcudzenej objektivej telesnosti stali súčasťou početných asamblážových, reliéfnych skrumáží, kompozičným a obrazným základom priestorových zostáv. Čoraz viac poukazoval na odosobnenú ľudskú prítomnosť i pocity existenciálnej traumy



Obr. 2: Jozef Jankovič, Jozef Jankovič pred dielom *Veľký pád*, Bienale Danuvius, Bratislava, 1968.

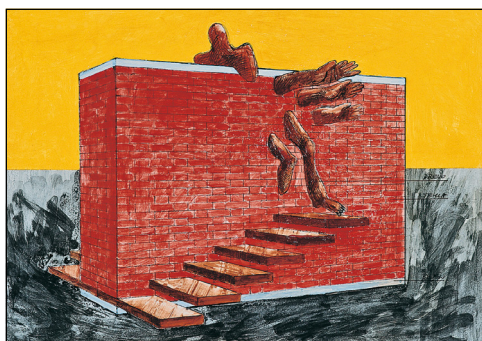
moderného človeka. Jankovič svoje sochy takmer vždy „situačne“ definoval tým, že ich priestorovo kontextoval, umiestňoval, rámcovoval (do klietky, siete, pavučiny, neskôr sa v jeho tvorbe objavili architektonické prvky ako oblúky, okná, múry, dvere, schody), rozmanitým situovaním telesných fragmentov do figurálno-architekturných celkov tematizoval stále prítomné spoločensko-politické obsahy a zdôrazňoval morálnu apelatívnosť svojho posolstva.

Počas šesťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia zažil Jankovič prvý vzostup svojej tvorby a získal nemalé medzinárodné renomé.⁶ Patril však tiež k prvým tvorcom ostrakizovaným komunistickým režimom v Československu.⁷ Nasledujúce sedemdesiate roky sa stali najtvrdším

⁵ Aurel Hrabušický, „Situačné porozumenie svetu,“ in *Slovenské pohľady* 104, no. 12 (1988): 108–13.

⁶ Vystavoval na prestížnych medzinárodných výstavách: *9th Middelheim Biennial*, Openluchtmuseum voor Beeldhouwkunst, Antverpy (1967); *Sculpture Tchécoslovaque de Myslbeek à nos jours*, Musée Rodin, Paríž (1968); *Arte contemporanea in Cecoslovacchia*, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rím (1969); *VI biennale de Paris*, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, Paríž (1969); *Discovery of Harmony. Contemporary Trends*, EXPO Museum of Fine Arts, Osaka (1970) etc. Oveľa neskôr, po roku 1989 bol znovu uznaný na medzinárodnej scéne výstavami: *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin 1950s – 1980s*, Queens Museum of Art, New York (1999); *Aspekten – Positionen. 50 Jahre Kunst aus Mitteleuropa 1949 – 1999*, Museum moderner Kunst, Wien (2000); *Villes visionnaires. Hommage a Michel Ragon*, Collection Frac Centre Val de Loire; Orléans (2014); *World goes Pop*, Tate Modern, Londýn (2015) etc. Najväčšiu retrospektívnu výstavu mu usporiadala Slovenská národná galéria v Bratislave (1997, kurátori Katarína Bajcurová, Aurel Hrabušický, Zora Rusinová).

⁷ Jankovič bol *expressis verbis* kritizovaný v publikácii: Kolektív autorov, *Za socialistické umenie. Materiály zo zjazdov umeleckých zväzov (máj – november 1972)* (Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ, 1974).



Obr. 3: Jozef Jankovič, *Zamurovaná figúra*, súkromná zbierka.

normalizačným desaťročím. Pokus o socializmus ľudskou tvárou nevyšiel a idey demokracie a slobody v auguste 1968 skončili pod kolesami tankov „spriatelených armád“ Varšavskej zmluvy. Viacerí umelci, ktorí nevyznávali ideály socialistického realizmu sa stali nepriateľmi režimu – medzi nimi Jozef Jankovič. Bolo mu zakázané vystavovať, publikovať, cestovať, realizovať väčšie

diela. Bol vypočúvaný a prenasledovaný štátnou bezpečnosťou. Stal sa „vyhnancom“ vo vlastnej krajine. Jankovič sa ale nevzdal a v sedemdesiatych rokoch si našiel náhradný vizuálny program. Stal sa jednou z osobností tzv. neoficiálneho umenia.⁸ V súlade s nástupom nových tendencií konceptuálneho umenia „dematerializoval“ prostriedky tvorby umeleckého diela – sochu nahradil kresbou, grafikou, projektom, prípadne šperkom. Do vzniku diela začal zapájať, ako jeden z prvých vo vtedajšom Československu, aj počítač. Tieto „malé“ práce na papieri (hlavne kresby a grafiky) sa mu darilo ľahšie pašovať aj do zahraničia – medziiným aj do krajín bývalej Juhoslávie, kde získal dobrých známych a priateľov.⁹

Roku 1971 mu bola ešte povolená účasť na sympóziu *Forma viva* v Portoroži (dnes Slovinsko), kde realizoval skulptúru *Väzenie IX*.¹⁰ – na dlhšie obdobie posledná monumentálna socha, motív

⁸ Aurel Hrabušický, ed. et al., *Slovenské vizuálne umenie 1970 – 1985* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2002); Zuzana Bartošová, *Napriek totalite: neoficiálna slovenská výtvarná scéna sedemdesiatych a osemdesiatych rokov 20. storočia* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2011), etc.

⁹ Bližšie k výmene diel a informácií medzi krajinami bývalej Juhoslávia a ČSSR – Daniel Grúň, *Haptická ozvena. Príroda, telo, politika v umení bývalej Juhoslávie a Československa: Haptic Echo. Nature, Body, Politics and Art in Former Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia* (Bratislava: Galéria mesta Bratislavy, 2024). Jankovič vystavoval v krajinách bývalej Juhoslávie na viacerých významných i cyklických podujatiach na ktoré bol pozývaný, ale fyzicky sa ich zúčastniť nemohol, pretože mu bol odobratý pas. Diela sa do zahraničia dostávali viacerými cestami (vo vzácných prípadoch poštou, cez diplomatov, známych, zahraničných hostí). Pri prevoze Jankovičových diel do bývalej Juhoslávie zohral významnú úlohu bývalý emigrant a galerista Ivan Banič. Jankovičove diela boli prezentované na výstavách: *Medunarodna izložba na črtež od daritelije*, Muzej na sovremenata umetnost, Skopje (1973); *Bienale grafike*, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana (1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989 bola špeciálna kolekcia z bienále pripravená Zoranom Kržišnikom pre Civic Art Museum v Sakaide, Japonsko, vo výberovej jury tohto prestížneho podujatia boli osobnosti ako Ryszard Stanislawski, Jorge Glusberg, Jean Clair etc.); na *Medunarodova izložba originalnog crteža*, Moderna galerija, Rijeka (1976, 1984, 1988), roku 1980 mal samostatnú výstavu *Crteži. Objekti* v Studiu galerije Forum / Centar za kulturu i informacije grada v Záhrebe (kurátor Vladimír Malekovič), 1987 vystavoval v Galeriji Spektar v Záhrebe (spolu s Rudolfom Filom, Danielom Fischerom, Vikotorm Hulikom a Jurajom Melišom) etc.

¹⁰ *Väzenie IX. (Prison IX)*, 1971. Istrijský mramor, 240 × 160 × 60 cm. *Forma viva. XI. Mednarodni simpozij kiparjev*, Portorož (dnes Slovinsko). Na sympóziu mu československé úrady dovolili vycestovať, ale namiesto ôsmich týždňov mu bol pobyt obmedzený na štyri týždne, za tento čas dokázal zrealizovať sochu. Taktiež tu nadviazal kontakty s viacerými umelcami, medzi nimi aj s Josipom Diminićom. Na sympóziu *Forma viva* sa vrátil ešte raz roku 2007 (spolu s Janesom Lenassim, Karlom Heinzom Deutschom a Makoto Fujijwarom).

nehybnosti, zamurovania, uväznenia medzi nehybné rámce, z ktorých niet úniku... Vidíme okno, v ktorom sú „uväznené“ fragmenty ľudských končatín, telesné zlomky – pozostatky niekdajšej ľudskej celistvosti... Jeho vtedajší životný a umelecký pocit by sme mohli metaforicky pomenovať: zaživa „zamurovaný po Veľkom páde“.¹¹ Ukazuje to názorne kresba *Zamurovaná figúra* (1974),¹² vidíme hrubý tehlový múr, z ktorého sa vynárajú telesné fragmenty: ruky a nohy, ktoré sa ešte usilujú vykročiť po schodisku, ale hlava s torzom je už uväznená na druhej strane múru. „Zamurovaná figúra viac ako ktorékoľvek iné dielo zhmotňuje situáciu 'novej nehybnosti', brutálne prerušeného rozmachu.“¹³ Dielo *Veľký pád* (1968)¹⁴ Jankovič pripravil na bienále mladých v Bratislave *Danuvius*¹⁵ a získal zaňho Grand Prix. Možno ho označiť za inverziu tragického Ikarovho mýtu. Základným prvkom diela je zmnožený motív osamostatnených a hypertrofovaných končatín, „obrich“ rúk a nôh vyčnievajúcich priamo zo zeme ako pozostatok obľudného pádu kamsi do pekiel. „Kultovo“ tu predviedol rozpad starej integrity ducha a tela na desivé kúsky ľudských substancií. Politický podtext diela (narážka na pád obrodného procesu v Československu) podčiarkol využitím farieb trikolóry.

Jankovičovi sa ešte podarilo prezentovať samostatnou kolekciou sôch v československom pavilóne na Bienále v Benátkach (1970), avšak krátko nato ho čakal trest v podobe dlhoročného vyhnanstva z výtvarného života.

Po *Veľkom páde* prišlo spomínané zamurovanie. Ideu *Väzenia* z Portoroža a kresby *Zamurovanej figúry* však naplno predviedol až o viac ako desaťročie neskôr v skulptúre *Brána* (1985) v rámci sympózia v Labine, kam mu už dovolili vycestovať (po 14 rokoch).¹⁶ V polovici osemdesiatych rokov už režim strácal silu a v Sovietskom zväze sa k slovu hlásila *perestrojka* a *glasnosť*, ktoré čiastočne ovplyvnili – uvoľnili kultúrnu situáciu v sovietskych satelitoch, aj v Československu a viedli roku 1989 k Nežnej revolúcii a oslobodeniu sa spod vplyvu sovietskeho komunistického impéria, na čom sa Jankovič aktívne občiansky podieľal. Ale vráťme sa späť. V roku 1983 získal Jozef Jankovič vo Viedni prestížnu Herderovu cenu, ktorá mu (aj materiálne) postupne umožnila vrátiť sa k sochárstvu.

Kapíja / Brána (1985)

*Kapíja / Brána*¹⁷ bola po rokoch prvá Jankovičova monumentálna

¹¹ Hrabušický, „Zamurovanie po Veľkom páde (sedemdesiate roky),“ in Bajcurová, Hrabušický a Rusinová, eds., *Jozef Jankovič: Tvorba z rokov 1958 – 1997*, 79.

¹² *Zamurovaná figúra*, 1974, tuš, akryl na papieri, 44 × 62 cm, súkromný majetok.

¹³ Hrabušický, *ibidem*, 82.

¹⁴ *Veľký pád*, 1968, kov, textil, polyester, 410 × 500 × 400 cm, https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.P_2634 (10. 6. 2025), SNG, inv. č. P 2634. J. Jankovič dielo daroval roku 1999 Slovenskej národnej galérii.

¹⁵ Vladimíra Büngerová, *Umenie, ktoré zostalo. Kolekcia Medzinárodné bienále mladých výtvarníkov Danuvius 1968: The Art that Remains. Collection International Biennial of Young Artists Danuvius 1968* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2024).

¹⁶ Jankovičovi bol roku 1976 odobratý pas a bol mu vrátený roku 1983 pri príležitosti udelenia Herderovej ceny vo Viedni. Bol to prvé zahraničné sympóziu, na ktorom sa mohol po rokoch fyzicky zúčastniť.

¹⁷ *Kapíja / Brána*, 1985, istrijský mramor, 340 × 200 × 60 cm, XV. *Mediterranski kiparski simpozij Labin '85*, Park Dubrova, Labin, Chorvátsko.



Obr. 4: Jozef Jankovič, *Brána*, 1985, Park Dubrova, Labin.

realizácia. Ukazuje figúru zakliesenú v múre v okamihu pohybu, ktorý je znemožnený. Socha je zarámovaná do pravouhlého architektonického rámca, ten u Jankoviča vždy bráni slobodnému pohybu (mohla to byť klieťka, oblúk, schody...). Tu priamo tematizoval svoju životnú skúsenosť „zamurovania“ za živa: prvýkrát využije celú figúru, ktorá uviazla v múre, oduté a zmnožené končatiny ustrnuli v nemom posunku, tvár nevidí... „*noha, ktorá chce niekam vykročiť, ruka, ktorá chce niečo pokynúť...*“.¹⁸ K interpretácii labinskej *Brány* Ladislav Snopko

o dva roky neskôr (1987) podotkol: „*Jankovičov človek v bráne už neprosí o prijatie. Ostáva stáť uprostred, uvedomujúc si, že 'exponovaná rovnováha' miesta na rozhraní je tým poznaním, po ktorom túžil, ktoré je odpoveďou. Byť von, alebo byť vo vnútri už nie je dôležité. Je to vždy len pohyb buď v jednej, alebo v druhej, rovnako pevne definovanej štruktúre.*“... A Zuzana Bartošová dodala, že „*brány sú na to, aby ich ľudia otvárali a prešli nimi smerom von, jeden k druhému, do sveta.*“¹⁹ Obe sentimenty z dobovej reflexie diela boli na jednej strane skeptickou rezignáciou vtedajšieho stavu, ako aj dokladom želaných zmien. Jankovič tu akoby anticipoval – cez metaforu múru, okna – niečo, čo sa onedlho stane v politickom živote (rúcanie berlínskeho múru, rozdeľujúceho Západ a Východ, otváranie okien do Európy). Labinská *Brána* sa však stala dôležitým osobným – autorským medzníkom sochárneho vývoja: mierne oduté, deformované tvary končatín s meravými črtami tváre otvorili pre Jankoviča nové obdobie tzv. monumentálneho klasicizmu.

Jankovič si v Chorvátsku vytvoril množstvo ľudských a tvorivých kontaktov, a začal sa tam s obľubou vracáť (v jeho osobnej mytológii prežíval pocit, že predkovia – podľa jeho typického mena – mohli byť Chorváti). Organizátor labinského sympózia – sochár Josip Diminić (1937 – 2019)²⁰ sa stal jeho blízkym

¹⁸ Aurel Hrabušický, *Jozef Jankovič: dokumentácia* (Bratislava: SCCA / Soros Center for Contemporary Art: Sorosovo centrum súčasného umenia, nedat. rukopis).

¹⁹ Zuzana Bartošová a Ladislav Snopko, *Jozef Jankovič: Katalóg k výstave v Rodnom dome Jána Kupeckého v Pezinku*. (Pezinok: Malokarpatské múzeum, 1987).

²⁰ Josip Diminić (1937 – 2019) bol chorvátsky sochár, venoval sa tiež grafike a keramike, pracoval v kameni, dreve, lamináte. Absolvoval Akadémiu výtvarných umení v Záhrebe (1958 – 1963, prof. Marina Tartaglia), roku 1965 sa vrátil do Labinu, 1966 si v starom meste založil ateliér, okrem tvorby sa venoval sa viacerým organizačným aktivitám venovaným rozvoju výtvarného diania v Labini. Bol zakladateľom a spoluzakladateľom umeleckého zoskupenia *Labin Ateliers*, výstavy *Ars Histriae*, viacerých významných sochárskych podujatí: *Mediteranski kiparski simpozij* (od 1969), ktorého súčasťou sa stal sochársky park Dubrova v Labini, letnej študentskej sochárskej školy *Montraker* vo Vrsare (od 1991). V rokoch 1975 až 1984 bol členom skupiny autorov Galérie

priateľom. Bol spoluzakladateľom medzinárodného sochárskeho sympózia v Labini a sympózia *Montraker* – medzinárodnej letnej sochárskej školy vo Vrsare. Spoznal sa a spriatelil aj s inými významnými osobnosťami chorvátskeho umenia a kurátormi, napr. s Vladimirom Malekovičom (1936 – 2003),²¹ ktorý mu v Záhrebe roku 1980 otváral výstavu a publikoval text o jeho diele, s Ante Glibotom (1945 – 2020),²² prominentným chorvátskym intelektuálom, historikom umenia a architektúry a zberateľom.

Glibota Jankoviča osobne navštívil v Bratislave v súvislosti s prípravou a výberom autorov na predolympijské sympóziu v Soule (bol členom výberovej poroty). Jankovič sa na sympóziu zúčastnil a realizoval tam dve diela, monumentálnu sochu *Miesto hore* a *Šebastiána* (1987).²³ Výrazom rozvoja a upevňovania medzikultúrnych a medziumeleckých vzťahov medzi Slovenskom a Chorvátskom bolo udelenie chorvátskeho štátneho vyznamenania Rad Danice Hrvatske s likom Marka Marulića roku 1998.²⁴

Forum v Záhrebe. Venoval sa tiež pedagogickej činnosti na Katedre výtvarných umení Filozofickej fakulty v Rijeke a od roku 2005 na Akadémii úžitkových umení v Rijeke, ktorej bol spoluzakladateľom. Realizoval diela na viacerých miestach v Chorvátsku (Labin, Rijeka, Karlovac etc.), zúčastnil sa množstva výstav doma i v zahraničí. Bližšie – Vlado Bužančić, *Diminić* (Rijeka: Izdavački centar Rijeka, 1982); Vlado Bužančić, Mladenka Šolman et al., *Josip Diminić* (Zagreb: Hdlu, 2000).

²¹ Vladimir Maleković (1936 – 2003) bol chorvátsky historik umenia, absolvoval Filozofickú fakultu v Záhrebe (1962). Od roku 1953 publikoval novinové kritiky a články o kultúre; od 1964 do 1983 bol výtvarným kritikom v periodiku *Vjesnik*, od 1983 riaditeľ Múzea umeleckých remesiel v Záhrebe. Venoval sa hlavne naivnému/insitnému umeniu (*Hrvatska izvorna umjetnost*, 1973; *Kosta Angeli Radovani*, 1981; *Matija Skurjeni*, 1982; *Josip Generalić*, 1988; *Duro Seder*, 1989; *Edo Murtić*, 1990). Bol autorom veľkého množstva výstav a publikácií o chorvátskom umení (*Angažirana umjetnost u Hrvatskoj 1919 – 1969*, 1969; *Grupa trojice – aspekti hrvatske likovne umjetnosti 1930 – 1935*, 1976; *Ekspressionizam i hrvatsko slikarstvo*, 1980; *Kubizam i hrvatsko slikarstvo*, 1981). Jeden zo zakladateľov múzeí a galérií v Brdovci, Zlatare a Novej Gradiške. Bližšie – „Maleković, Vladimir,“ in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (1983 – 2024), *mrežno izdanje* (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2024), <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/malekovic-vladimir> (15. 6. 2025).

²² Ante Glibota (1945 – 2020) bol jedným z najvýznamnejších chorvátskych povojnových intelektuálov. Vyštudoval Ekonomickú fakultu v Záhrebe, roku 1970 spolu s Vladimírom Veselicom založili *Hrvatski gospodarski list*, angažoval sa v rámci tzv. Chorvátskej jari. V januári 1972 bol za svoju činnosť uväznený. Po pobyte vo väzení, keďže sa stal nežiaducim pre vtedajší režim, emigroval do Francúzska. Tam sa realizoval ako galerista, historik umenia, teoretik architektúry a zberateľ, kurátor prestížnych umeleckých podujatí (vo Francúzsku i vo svete). V rokoch 1979 až 1994 bol riaditeľom Parížskeho umeleckého centra. Za svoju prácu kurátora v oblasti umenia a architektúry, multimediálne aktivity získal viaceré medzinárodné ocenenia. Publikoval viacero kníh a monografií (*150 Years of Chicago Architecture 1833 – 1983*, 1985; *Helmut Jahn*, 1987; *Olympiade Des Arts/Olympiad of Art*, 1988; *Otto Piene*, 2011 etc.). Bol členom Európskej akadémie vied, umenia a literatúry a Amerického inštitútu architektúry. Angažoval sa v exilovom hnutí za nezávislosť Chorvátska. Pozri – „Ante Glibota,“ in *CROWN: Croatian Word Network* <https://www.croatia.org/crown/articles/11250/1/Ante-Glibota-1945-2020-distinguished-Croatian-patriot-and-historian-of-art-and-architecture.html> (15. 6. 2025).

²³ *Miesto hore*, 1987, granit, 960 × 360 × 140 cm, Olympijský park, Soul, Južná Korea; *Šebastián*, 1987, žula, bronz, 120 × 180 × 60 cm, National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Soul, Južná Korea.

²⁴ Vyznamenanie bolo ustanovené roku 1995 a týkalo sa ocenenia zásluh na rozvoji kultúry a umenia. Menovanie pozri – „Odluka o odlíkovanju Redom Danice hrvatske s likom Marka Marulića broj: 01-051-98-13-1-2/1 od 26. svibnja 1998,“ in *Narodne novine: Službeni list Republike Hrvatske*, 10. júna 1998, https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1998_06_81_1127.html (15. 6. 2025).



Obr. 5: Jozef Jankovič, *Ruky*, 1993, Vrsar.

Ruke / Ruky (1993)

Ruke / *Ruky*²⁵ vznikli počas sympózia v istrijskom Vrsare a môžeme ho vidieť na malebnom námestí starého mesta s výhľadom na more. Dve veľké ruky v akejsi „prosebnnej“ pozícii sú zovreté medzi dva kamenné hranoly. Tak ako kedysi dolné končatiny nohy boli typickým motívom, pridali sa k nim aj horné končatiny – ruky (v skutočnosti odliatky z rukavicovej formy). „V tradičnej ikonografii je ruka symbolom opatrnosti, božej sily a lásky, povahy, autority, humoru, sily, tvorenia, majstrovstva, pôžitku, pozdravu, štedrosti, pohostinnosti, ale aj zrady. Ruka, rameno, dlaň božia je vtelením logosu, tvorivej moci: ‘i

padla na mňa ruka Pána’ (Ezechiel 8, 1-3).“²⁶ Ale gestom ruky sa často prosí o pomoc, podporu, o záchranu. V šesťdesiatych rokoch sa u Jankoviča osamostatnil motív ruky (vznikol vlastne ako odliatok hmoty naliatej do rukavice); osamote i zmnožené často vytvárali štruktúru diela: *Ruky* na reliéfe z roku 1968²⁷ vidíme tentokrát v navýsošť politickom geste SOS, príznačne vo farebnosti trikolóry. V objekte *Pohyblivé ruky* (1970)²⁸ z masívneho sokla nechal vyrásť raster unifikovane formovaných (rovnakých?) rúk, ktoré sa v istých časových intervaloch rovnako uniformovane a mechanicky rozpo pohybujú (na základe zabudovaného motorčeku). Sú celé červené – obetované komunistickému režimu? Alebo sú tu nato, aby bezmyšlienkovito odsúhlasili, odhlasovali všetko, čo sa im zo strany staronovej moci prednesie?

Z hľadiska našej témy práve Jankovičov spomínaný náhradný program v sedemdesiatych rokoch, keď sochu nahradila kresba, grafika alebo šperk, priniesol veľmi zaujímavé výsledky v podobe série fiktívnych – utopických architektonických projektov. Tvorba utopických projektov alebo inak – prospektívna architektúra – má v dejinách umenia pomerne bohatú históriu, počnúc francúzskou revolučnou architektúrou

²⁵ *Ruke / Ruky*, 1993, istrijský mramor, cca 120 × 150 × 150 cm, *Symposium Montraker*, Vrsar, Chorvátsko – sympóziu založil ako letnú sochársku školu roku 1991 Josip Diminić a bolo určené pre študentov vysokých škôl, Jankovič sa na ňom zúčastnil ako pedagóg VŠVU so žiakmi Patrikom Kovačovským a Petrom Machatom.

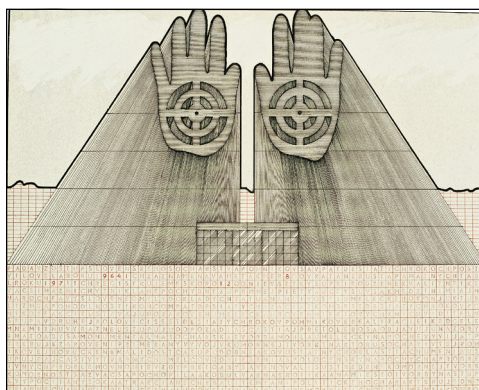
²⁶ Rusinová, „Od asambláže k tragickému mýtu (šesťdesiate roky),“ in Bajcurová, Hrabušický a Rusinová, eds., *Jozef Jankovič: Tvorba z rokov 1958 – 1997*, 48.

²⁷ *Ruky*, 1968, drevo, polyester, 120 × 150 cm, súkromná zbierka. Dielo vzniklo v rámci sympózia *Artichemo* v Pardubiciach, ktoré bolo venované novým technológiám v oblasti spracovania plastov.

²⁸ *Pohyblivé ruky*, 1970, polyester, drevo, kov, elektromotor, 140 × 100 × 100 cm, Zbierka PSIS. Bližšie – Zuzana Bartošová, *Súčasný slovenský výtvarný umenie 1960 – 2000 zo zbierky Prvej slovenskej investičnej skupiny* (Bratislava: Orman, 2008); Zuzana Bartošová, „Freedom in Unfreedom: a Few Notes on the Slovak Unofficial Art Scene in the 1970s,“ in *Crisis: The Avant-Garde and Modernism in Critical Modes: European Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies* 7, eds. Sasha Bru et al. (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 2022), 210, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110773637-010> (17. 6. 2025).

po trebárs utopické vízie ruskej avantgardy. V sedemdesiatych rokoch si našla svoje zastúpenie aj na Slovensku v osobe Alexa Mlynárčika a zoskupenia VAL (Viera Mecková – Alex Mlynárčik – Ľudovít Kupkovič),²⁹ na rozdiel od nich, však Jankovičovu projektovému mysleniu chýbal akýkoľvek civilizačný optimizmus.

Architektúra a tvorba pre architektúru ho zaujímali od mladosti, zúčastnil sa početných súťaží; spolu s architektom Dušanom Kuzmom bol spoluautorom plastickej idey vari najvýznamnejšej slovenskej modernej – signatúrnej – architektúry 20. storočia, *Pamätníka Slovenského národného povstania (SNP)* v Banskej Bystrici (1965 – 1969), pre ktoré urobil ústredné súsošie *Obete varujú!*,³⁰ dramaticky navrhnutú a expresívne formovanú skrumáž mŕtvych a živých tiel vložil ho do úzkej prieluky medzi dvomi betónovými hemisférami pripomínajúcimi rozčesnutú skalu. Povinný obraz hrdinu tu – obrazoborecky – nahradil obrazom obete, depatetizoval povstanie, zbavil ho morálnej aureoly víťazov, pochopil ho všeludsky, pacifisticky a antropologicky. Aj *Pomník SNP* v Kováčovej (1968, arch. spol. Anton Cimmerman) koncipoval ako fiktívne architektonické prostredie, kde sa divákovi pri pohybe vynárali stále nové sekvencie brutálnych a prázdnych odtlačkov končatín padajúcich do ničoty.



Obr. 6: Jozef Jankovič, *Návrh pamätníka slovenského sochárstva*, 1976, Slovenská národná galéria.

Maďarský kurátor László Beke Jankovičove fiktívne projekty označil za „gigantické antropomorfné monumenty“,³¹ český konceptualista a kurátor Jiří Valoch k tomu pridal označenie „humánne architektúry, monumenty, evokujúce predstavu ľudskej postavy“.³² Práve Valoch si ako prvý všimol nový sémantický obrat v Jankovičovej tvorbe, v ktorom „tragické je nahradzované groteskným, poslanstvo umeleckých diel už nie je protestom, ale predovšetkým zisťovaním. Je to niečo na polovičnej ceste medzi tragickým a komickým...“³³ Projekty priniesli nový ironicko-sarkastický obraz človeka zamurovaného v nehybnosti rokov konsolidácie, pripomínali skamenené bytosti zakliate v hmote.

Z hľadiska vývoja Jankovičovskej ikonografie ruky dva príklady za všetky:

²⁹ Pierre Restany, *Alex Mlynárčik: INDE* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1995); Ľudovít Kupkovič, Viera Mecková, Alex Mlynárčik, *VAL Cesty a aspekty zajtraška* (Žilina: Expresprint, 1995); Katarzyna Cytlak, „L'architecture prospective en Tchécoslovaquie. Convergences et divergences entre l'approche du groupe slovaque VAL (1968 – 1994) et la théorie architecturale de Michel Ragon,“ *RIHA Journal*, 1. januára 2017, <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/rihajournal/article/view/70264> (17. 6. 2025).

³⁰ Roku 1972 súsošie *Obete varujú!* odstránili, vystriedala ho kompozícia kosáka a kladiva. Roku 1974 ho osadili v areáli pamätníka vypálenej obce Kalište, na pôvodné miesto sa vrátilo zásluhou Ladislava Snopka roku 2004. Bližšie – Ladislav Snopko et al., *Obete varujú. Paralelné príbehy: Victims Warn. Parallel Stories* (Banská Bystrica: Múzeum SNP, 2004).

³¹ László Beke, *Jankovič* (Budapest: Fiatal Művészék Klubja, 1974), nepag.

³² *Ibidem*, nepag.

³³ Jiří Valoch, *Jankovič* (Brno: Dům pánů z Kunštátu, 1973), nepag.

v *Návrhu pamätníka slovenského sochárstva* (1976)³⁴ pracoval s textom – s neslávne známym článkom *Vzostup a pád slovenského sochárstva*, ktorý uverejnil denník Komunistickej strany Slovenska *Pravda*. Autorka, historička umenia Zita Kostrová, v ňom kritizovala tzv. pravicové tendencie v sochárstve šesťdesiatych rokov. Z textu článku rozčleneného na jednotlivé písmená – verzálky radené do pravidelného geometrického rastra – je vytvorený podstavec, z ktorého vyrastá monumentálny architektonický tvar, ktorý zobrazuje dve zveličené ľudské dlane. Sochárovy ruky, ktoré mali hnieť hmotu v nej stuhli a zmenili sa na strelecké terče. Jankovič tu osobitne reagoval na pomníkovú tému – tvoriť pomníky, byť sochárom mu bolo počas normalizácie odopreté. V inom anti-utopickom *Projekte parlamentu s pneumatickou strechou* (1977)³⁵ vytvoril strechu, zloženú z nafukovacích hlasujúcich rúk, ktorej význam sa dnes znovu oživuje a symbolika súhlasne hlasujúcich poslancov je až zlovestne aktuálna. Jankovič pseudo-utopickou absurdnou formou parodoval obsah. Kombinácia a následné splynutie architektonických a ľudských stavebných článkov, spojenie odlišných

znakových sústav vytvorili „zložitú jednotu“, typickú pre postmoderné myslenie. Svoje unifikované videnie a tvarovanie ruky skúšal hľadať aj cez počítač, veď v sedemdesiatych rokoch patril k prvým umelcom v Československu ktorí začali experimentovať s počítačovou grafikou (*Ruka I. – III.*, 1979)³⁶.

A napokon ešte jedno dielo, v ktorom povýšil motív ruky na symbol: je z komornej série *Krajiny I. – XII.* (1980 – 1984), všetky mali charakter miniatúrnych priestorových inštalácií. V *Krajine III.* (1980)³⁷ je ústredným prvkom ruka vyrastajúca z vrstveného sokla (zeme?); vyzerať to akoby zažíva pochoval sám seba a aj ruka, ktorá trčí zo zeme je navyše spútaná. Znovu: je mu zabránené v akomkoľvek pohybe a aktivite. Ale Jankovič sa rafinovane pohral s mierkou, máme pocit, že to je ruka bájneho obra Gulivera, ktorého spútal režim – liliputánov...

Raspelo / Ukrižovanie

Tretím významným dielom, Jozefa Jankoviča v Chorvátsku je monumentálne *Raspelo / Ukrižovanie* (1995).³⁸ Realizoval ho v Labini, pri vstupe na cintorín nad mestom ako výraznú krajinnú

³⁴ *Architektúry III. Návrh pamätníka slovenského sochárstva*, 1976, ofset na papieri, 45 × 58 cm, SNG, inv. č. G 13135, https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.G_13135 (10. 6. 2025).

³⁵ *Projekt parlamentu s pneumatickou strechou*, 1977, pero, tuš, akryl na papieri, 50,7 × 65,5 cm, SNG, inv. č. K 17370 https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.K_17370 (10. 6. 2025). Obdobné dielo *Projekt záhrady parlamentu*, 1976, pero, tuš na papieri, 50 × 63 cm, vystavoval na *V. meždunarodna izložba originalnog crteža '76 Rijeka*, dielo ostalo v Chorvátsku, dnes nezvestné. Z hlasujúcich rúk je vytvorená záhrada.

³⁶ *Ruka I. – III.*, 1979, počítačová grafika, ofset na papieri, 40 × 62,3 cm; 40 × 58,3 cm; 40 × 50 cm, SNG, inv. č. G 9486; G 9487, G 9488, https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.G_9486; https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.G_9487; https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.G_9488 (10. 6. 2025).

³⁷ *Krajina III.*, 1980, drevo, meď, povraz, papier, 30 × 42 × 42 cm, súkromná zbierka.

³⁸ *Raspelo / Ukrižovanie*, 1995, istrijský mramor, v. 540 cm, Dom smútku, Labin. Dielo vzniklo v rámci *Mediteranski kiparski simpozij* v Labine, Chorvátsko. Jankovič pripravoval projekt pre ďalší 25. ročník sympózia v Labini (1997) v rámci zámeru *Bijela cesta / Biela cesta* v Parku Dubrova, kde každý účastník mal sochársky stvárniť 25 metrov dlhý úsek cesty. Projekt kvôli chorobe nerealizoval, návrh zachovaný v pozostalosti sochára.

dominantu, ktorá je zďaleka viditeľná. Využil v ňom motív, ktorý prechádza celou jeho tvorbou: je to ukrižovaná figúra. Aj keď pojem figúra možno v tomto, aj v iných prípadoch použiť iba podmienenčne.

Motív ukrižovanej figúry, kríža nachádzame v Jankovičovom diele takmer od jeho začiatkov. Už v ranom *Autoportréte II.* (1964)³⁹ upúta torzo Ježiša Krista z anonymných ľudových múk, ktorý sa objavuje v rámci assambláže zloženej každodenných reálií. Je to alter ego umelca, vernejšie jeho tieň, pripravený na seba vziať údel ľudstva a obrazne – niesť jeho kríž? V informelovom *Väzení I.* (1963)⁴⁰ vidíme prvýkrát „mŕtvu“ formu vytvarovanú do tzv. Tau kríža a adjustovanú do rámu. Čo je kríž vo forme gréckeho písmena T (tau), posledného písmena abecedy, má predkresťanský pôvod, používali ho raní kresťania; zvlášť si ho obľúbil sv. František z Assisi, pre ktorého bol symbolom obrátenia a pokánia. Do tohto tvaru Jankovič sformoval fragmenty figúr v diele *Svedectvo XI.* (1967 – 1968)⁴¹ z väčšieho cyklu a *Miesto hore* (1969)⁴²: jeho podstatou je typická jankovičovská figúra s rozpaženými rukami avšak bez torza, poliata krvou stojí na konci dlhého vertikálneho schodiska. Autor tu prekračuje význam kresťanského symbolu a výrazne ho aktualizuje, resp. sémantizuje v opačnom garde; koľko obetí zanechá za sebou ten „ukrižovaný“ tvor s krvavými rukami, kým vyjde až na vrchol... Uchopenie motívu svojou



Obr. 7: Jozef Jankovič: *Krucifix*, 1993, Galéria Horský park, Bratislava, Zbierka Linea.

univerzálnosťou rozhodne prekračuje pôvodný kresťanský námet a získava – ako to u Jankoviča bolo zvykom – zovšeobecňujúce humanistické značenie.

Priamym predchodcom labinského *Raspela* bol *Krucifix* (1993),⁴³ je to jedno z vrcholných Jankovičových diel záverečného monumentalizačného obdobia. Ako námet si vybral tému Ukrižovania, ktorej všeludský (náboženský) *raison d'être* je všeobecne známy a ustálená je aj ikonografická forma zobrazenia. Jankovič však volí inováciu. Kríž, útvar šibenice zložený zo zvislého kolu a priechneho brvna, na ktorom je odsúdenec priklinčovaný za zápästia a členky na nohách,

³⁹ *Autoportrét I. – II.*, 1964, drevo, kov, polyester, akronex, à 65 × 85 cm, súkromná zbierka.

⁴⁰ *Väzení I.*, 1963, drevo, textil, polyester, 140 × 70 cm, súkromná zbierka.

⁴¹ *Svedectvo XI.*, 1967 – 1968, drevo, sadra, polyester, 170 × 150 cm, SNG, inv. č. P 2642, https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.P_2642 (10. 6. 2025).

⁴² *Miesto hore*, 1969, drevo, polyester, textil, kov, v. 400 cm, Art Fond Collection.

⁴³ *Krucifix*, 1993, drevo, kov, epoxid, 640 × 310 × 100 cm, Zbierka Linea. Dielo je súčasťou exteriérovej sochárskej expozície v Galérii Horský park v Bratislave, <https://www.lineacollection.sk/galeria-horsky-park/> (10. 6. 2025). Pôvodne vzniklo pre exteriérovú výstavu *Priestor '93* na Kúpeľnom ostrove v Piešťanoch (1993, kurátor Ľubor Kára).



Obr. 8: Jozef Jankovič, *Ukrižovanie*, 1995, Labin.

autor mení na zložitejšiu, „hybridnú“ architektonickú konštrukciu. Je to niečo medzi šibenicou, bránou a vežou s padacím mostom, do ktorej je v tvare T (tau) kríža vtesnané v doskách zadbenej, bezhlavé – „gilotínované“ telo. Jankovič premenil tradičný kresťanský symbol spasenia a vykúpenia na univerzálny a nadkonfesionálny symbol. Významový posun výstižne vyjadril v eseji o diele hudobný skladateľ Roman Berger:

„dnešný svet (najmä ten vraj – kresťanský!), nie len že pokračuje v tradícii Golgoty, v zabíjaní Krista. Dnešný svet ide

dalej – zabíja aj Krucifix, nivočí symbol stvorenia, otvárajúci perspektívu Života – vesmírneho princípu... vytesňuje z vedomia horizont Transcendencie.“⁴⁴

Kurátor Aurel Hrabušický k tomu dodal: „Opäť je teda brána otvorená, no vstúpiť nemožno. Možno len zostať visieť vo vzduchoprázdne. Ukrižovanie tu nie je prísľubom – ostáva len zaklätie – mŕtvy v mŕtvej hmote.“⁴⁵

Labinské *Raspelo / Ukrižovanie* (1995), ktoré vzniklo o dva roky neskôr, je vo svojom výraze a význame harmonickejšie, zbavené možnosti paradoxného čítania, aj preto, že má komemoratívnu, pietnu funkciu. Veľkorysý rozvrh symbolickej formy uprednostňuje striedme, klasicky vyvážené chápanie, ktoré je zvýraznené využitím istrijskeho mramoru. Formu T (tau) kríža tvoria končatiny – rozpažené ruky zhora zakončené akýmsi jednoduchým architrávom a „visiace“ nohy zovreté medzi dva podstavce v typicky neskoršej *soufflé* poetike. Telo je tvorené motívom okna – na jednej strane odhmotňuje – odľahčuje celú kompozíciu, na druhej strane – perforácia, priehľad k oblohe vnáša do diela transcendentálny zmysel. Jankovič tu znovu opakovane dokázal, že bol monumentalistom *par excellence*, jeho diela sa stali sugestívnou súčasťou istrijskej krajiny. To nám jeho chorvátske realizácie naplno dokumentujú.

⁴⁴ Roman Berger, „Inferno podľa Jankoviča,“ in Radislav Matuščík, ed. et al., *Jozef Jankovič* (Žilina: Považská galéria, 1994), 35.

⁴⁵ Hrabušický, *Jozef Jankovič: dokumentácia*, nedat. rukopis.

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RECENZIE A SPRÁVY

RECENZIJE I NOVOSTI

KOPŘIVOVÁ, Lenka i LEISSEROVÁ, Eliška (eds.). *Boje hrvatske Moravske*. Jevišovka: Udruga građana hrvatske narodnosti u Češkoj, Aramis, 2024., 270 s. ISBN 978-80-11-05903-3

Zbornik radova *Boje hrvatske Moravske* (*Barvy Chorvatské Moravy*), objavljen 2024. u češkom i hrvatskom izdanju, sadrži dvadesetak priloga o povijesti, jeziku i tradicijskoj kulturi moravskih Hrvata. Moravski Hrvati potomci su Hrvata koji su još 1530-ih godina pred plimom osmanske ekspanzije napustili staru domovinu između Drave i Jadrana i nastanili se u nekoliko naselja u Moravskoj (danas dio Češke Republike). Najveće i najpoznatije hrvatsko selo u Moravskoj bio je Frielištof, gdje postoji spomenik i na njemu stihovi: „Hrvatsko selo / Hrvatski ljudi, / Hrvatski jazyk / Hrvat ljubi.“ Hrvatske zajednice u moravskim naseljima opstale su četiri stoljeća sve do priključenja Sudeta Trećem Reichu 1938. i dolaska komunista na vlast u Čehoslovačkoj između 1945. i 1950. Tada su moravski Hrvati raseljeni po svijetu, postavši svojevrsnom „dijasporom u dijaspori“, a u njihova su sela doseljeni pretežno Slovaci iz Bugarske.

U uvodnom dijelu zbornika nalazi se pregled literature o moravskim Hrvatima prije i poslije 1991. Pregled literature prije 1991. sastavio je Richard Jeřábek, a nakon 1991. Lenka Kopřivová. U Hrvatskoj je najpoznatija monografija *Moravski Hrvati. Povijest – život - kultura*, koju je 1994. objavio povjesničar Dragutin Pavličević, ali ima i drugih istraživačkih doprinosa koji su uredno popisani i ukratko opisani.

O moravskim Hrvatima u vrtlogu povijesti piše Lenka Kopřivová. Obrađuje razdoblje od doseljenja predaka moravskih Hrvata u 16. stoljeću preko života u novom zavičaju tijekom stoljeća i raseljavanja hrvatskih zajednica poslije Drugoga svjetskog rata do izgleda

za očuvanje njihovih rasutih potomaka potkraj 20. i početkom 21. stoljeća. Ivan Dorovský piše o nastanku i postojanju hrvatskih zajednica u Moravskoj u kontekstu češko-južnoslavenskih odnosa. František Zbořil donosi podatke o Hrvatima na području Drnholeca u 17. i 18. stoljeću u svjetlu matičnih knjiga. Bilo je to feudalno seosko društvo u kojem su vodeću ulogu imali načelnici (rychtáři), svećenici, učitelji, gostioničari i drugi. Lenka Kopřivová obrađuje Hrvate na području Valtica i u Donjoj Austriji do početka 20. stoljeća, a Martin Markel analizira moravske Hrvate u dugoj sjeni tradicije u razdoblju stvaranja modernih nacija. David Kovařík fokusira se na sela Jevišovka, Nova Prerava i Dobro Polje u pograničnom pojasu, dok Martin Sítek analizira hrvatski identitet u suvremenoj obitelji iz južne Moravske. Hrvatska sela u južnoj Moravskoj na početku 21. stoljeća u svjetlu demografskih i ekonomskih pokazatelja predstavlja Ondřej Šerý.

O jeziku moravskih Hrvata piše Andrej Novik. Posebno vrednuje sličnosti i razlike između čakavskih govora moravskih i govora gradišćanskih Hrvata. „Lovili smo ribe u Jajšpici“ lajtmotiv je priloga koji potpisuje Michaela Boháčová, a posvećen je razvoju naziva mjesta (toponima) u selima s nekadašnjim hrvatskim stanovništvom u okolici Mikulova.

Lenka Nováková piše o razvoju nošnje moravskih Hrvata u drugoj polovici 19. i prvoj polovici 20. stoljeća. Duhovnu kulturu moravskih Hrvata analiziraju Lenka Kopřivová i Klára Nádaská. Posebnu pozornost poklanjaju životu čovjeka (rođenje djeteta i krštenje, vjenčanje, smrt i pogreb) i pučkoj književnosti

(pjesme, pripovijetke, poslovice, uzrečice, legende, praznovjerja, dječje igre, promjene običaja i tradicije moravskih Hrvata nakon iseljenja i sl.). Jitka Matusková obrađuje tradicijski ples moravskih Hrvata, a Eliška Leisserova piše o vinogradarskoj tradiciji i narodnom graditeljstvu moravskih Hrvata. Epigrafske spomenike u hrvatskih selima na području Mikulova do 1900. portretira Martina Kvardová. Tereza Luzarová piše o dobropoljskom svećeniku Aloisu Malecu i slikaru Othmaru Ruzicki te njihovu interesu za Hrvate u Moravskoj, a Hana Dvořáková o etnografu Františku Pospišilu i njegovu dokumentiranju života moravskih Hrvata.

„Bilo je to davno: u šesnaestom stoljeću uvjeti za život u Hrvatskoj nisu bili nimalo povoljni. Tada su deseci tisuća ljudi otišli odatle potražiti sreću negdje drugdje. Nadali su se da će bolje živjeti u sjevernijim dijelovima Habsburške Monarhije (na području današnje Austrije, Mađarske, Slovačke, ali i Češke). Hrvati koji su se naselili u Moravskoj imali su najduži put. Nisu bili brojni, ali je njihova snaga bila u odlučnosti kojom su čuvali svoj hrvatski identitet. Njihova su naselja bila posebna i od okolnih su se razlikovala na prvi pogled. Vladala je ovdje egzotika. Hrvati su voljeli boje i obilno su ih koristili pri svom odijevanju ili ukrašavanju svojih prebivališta. Štoviše, govorili su svojim čarobnim narječjem koje Nijemac nije razumio, a Čeh se morao jako potruditi. Kada je moravske Hrvate ponekad posjetio hrvatski putnik, mogao se radovati da je u tako dalekim krajevima opet čuo prastari hrvatski jezik koji je u Hrvatskoj već nestao. Kroz mnoga stoljeća moravski su Hrvati bili ti koji su spajali Hrvatsku i Češku. No, kako je moguće da za njih danas zna samo malo ljudi? Drugi sovjetski rat donio je veliku prekretnicu, ali presudna je bila 1948. godina. Zbog političkih događaja Hrvati su iseljeni iz svojih domova, hrvatska Moravska

je nestala. Godine prolaze, vremena se mijenjaju. Iz sjećanja Hrvata odavno je nestala svijest da su nekada negdje u Moravskoj postojala živopisna hrvatska sela. Da ih se još jednom prisjetimo, u ovoj smo knjizi saželi što znamo o moravskim Hrvatima i njihovu životu u južnoj Moravskoj. Tekstove smo podijelili u tri dijela: povijest, jezik i tradicijska kultura. Za svaki od njih pokušali smo zahvatiti najbitnije“,

nadahnuo je napisala u predgovoru Lenka Kopřivová.

Zbornik radova *Boje hrvatske Moravske* u značajnoj mjeri sadrži još neobjavljene rezultate izvornih istraživanja koji su izneseni tako da se može provjeriti njihova točnost kao i pouzdanost analize i izvora na kojima se temelje. Naime, svaki prilog u zborniku sadrži vlastiti popis izvora i literature. Iako se o moravskim Hrvatima i dosad pisalo, ovaj zbornik koncepcijski i sadržajno predstavlja izvorni doprinos znanosti, napose u svjetlu činjenice da takve komparativne studije o povijesti, jeziku i tradicijskoj kulturi jedne manjinske zajednice u nestajanju nisu česte. Obradene teme su znanstveno relevantne, struktura zbornika je konzistentna, a tekstovi su i bogato ilustrirani. Upotrijebljene su znanstvene metode, a stručna terminologija je uobičajena i prikladna. Autori se u interpretacijama nastoje držati nepristrano. Problemi i teze prezentirani su na razumljiv način, a kontinuiteti, promjene, uzroci i posljedice objašnjavaju se temeljito i uvjerljivo.

Objašnjenja i argumenti su primjereni, dobro organizirani i povezani te su u skladu sa znanstvenom metodologijom i pravilima struke. Autori su svjesni da se u povijesti, jezikoslovlju i etnologiji mogu sresti različite interpretacije podataka i to zorno pokazuju u ovome zborniku: znaju protumačiti zašto je nešto

tako i vrednovati pojedine informacije, utoliko prije kad se u priložima uspješno koriste temeljito proučeni izvori i literatura te se jasno prepoznaje sposobnost njihove profesionalne evaluacije. Urednice zbornika su osmišljeno povezale povijest, jezik i tradicijsku kulturu kao srodne discipline u kontekstu uzajamnog utjecaja. Djelo je namijenjeno znanstvenoj i drugoj zainteresiranoj javnosti, a s obzirom na očekivani akademski i društveni interes njegovo je objavljivanje dobrodošlo. Uostalom, to je vrijedan i nijansirani doprinos koji se srednjoeuropskom kulturološkom obzoru može samo pozdraviti i preporučiti.

Na kraju zbornika nalaze se sažeci na hrvatskom, češkom, engleskom i njemačkom jeziku. Nije potrebno isticati značaj zbornika u situaciji u kojoj je živućih moravskih Hrvata, svjesnih svojega identiteta, sve manje. Uspomenu na njih čuvati će u budućnosti njihova bogata narodna nošnja, čiste i lijepe kuće, nadgrobni spomenici s hrvatskim imenima na grobljima, slike Othmara Ruzicke, raznovrsna literatura o prošlosti, jeziku i običajima moravskih Hrvata i – zbornik koji su uredile Lenka Kopřivová i Eliška Leisserová, a koji je od 2024. dostupan u izdanju na češkom i izdanju na hrvatskom jeziku.

Željko Holjevac*

IVANČEVIĆ, Olja Savičević. *Letá s Máriou*, preklad Milina Svítková. Bratislava: E.J. Publishing 2024, 240 s. ISBN 978-80-99954-30-5.

Olja Savičević Ivančević je významná súčasná chorvátska spisovateľka, ktorá doposiaľ bola prítomná v slovenskom kultúrnom prostredí iba časopisec-ky, a to s preloženými prozaickými úryvkami v *Revue svetovej literatúry* (2/2008) a poéziou v časopise *Fragment* (3/2016). Zúčastnila sa dosiaľ literárnych festivalov *Ars Poetica* v Bratislave a *Tranz* v Banskej Bystrici. Román *Letá s Máriou* vo výbornom preklade M. Svítkovej vyšiel ako jej prvý knižný preklad do slovenčiny dva roky po tom, ako sa ukázal na knižnom trhu v Chorvátsku. Slovenský čitateľ dostáva tak peknú príležitosť zoznámiť sa lepšie s tvorbou tejto známej a oceňovanej autorky. Ako prozaička sa týmto vydavateľským činom aktívne zaraďuje medzi tzv. chorvátske feministicky orientované spisovateľky, ktorých preklady

románov na Slovensku vyšli o dekádu skôr a mali u nás slušnú recepciu.

Olja Savičević Ivančević (1974) vyrastala blízko Splitu v mestečku Kaštel Lukšić, kde navštevovala základnú školu Vjeka Butira. Už vtedy vďaka podpore školy vyšiel jej básnický debut. Strednú školu vyštudovala v Splitu a vysokoškolské vzdelanie dosiahla na Univerzite v Zadare – štúdium zamerané na literatúru. Jej doterajší literárny opus je pomerne rozsiahly. V uplynulom období publikovala množstvo básní, poviedok, románov i dramatické texty. Treba spomenúť aspoň jej poviedkovú knižku *Rozsmiat' psa* (*Nasmijati psa*, 2006) a úspešný román *Adio kauboju* (2010), za ktorý získala cenu novín Slobodná Dalmácia a Cenu Jure Kaštelana. Pracuje prevažne ako slobodná spisovateľka. Píše pre rôzne

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časopisy a webové portály. Je jednou z najúspešnejších súčasných chorvátskych autoriek doma v Chorvátsku a takisto v zahraničí.

Reklamné puto na zadnej obálke preloženej knihy *Letá s Máriou* láka slovenského čitateľa predovšetkým výstižnou formuláciou:

„Letá s Máriou zachytávajú príbehy žien piatich generácií jednej rodiny na pozadí turbulentných udalostí 20. storočia. Hrdinky, ktoré sú všetky hlavné, prežívajú nielen, no najmä letá na chorvátskom pobreží, počnúc tým v roku 1921. Príbehy z prímorského mestečka neďaleko Splitu a letné spomienky zo storočného kamenného domu rozprávajú ženy, ktoré sa tradične volajú Mária, no v rôznych obmenách tohto mena: Mara, Marijola, Maša, Meri, Marijeta. Autorka bravúrne narába s jazykom, ktorý je raz úsporný a jasný, inokedy košatý a podmanivý. Hovorí o sile žien v patriarchálnom svete, skladá útržky ich životov do farebnej mozaiky a vytvára poetickú kroniku ženskej emancipácie. Priateľstvá, ženské témy, dvoenie, prvé a veľké lásky, vzťahy s otcami a manželmi, rodinné stretnutia, vojny, radosti a tragédie, cesty a vysídlenie, spomienky, ale aj sny o krajšej budúcnosti. Ako listovanie rodinným albumom.“

Rozprávačsky štýl O. Savičevičovej Ivančevičovej je nepochybne osobný, reflexívny, nezriedka aj autobiografický – hlavné protagonistky čerpajú inšpiráciu pre svoje naratívy najmä z vlastných prežitých a nezabudnuteľných okamihov a využívajú pritom aj vlastnú ženskú skúsenosť. V celom texte románu, ktorý útržkovito spracováva chronotopy symbolicky v časovom úseku celého jedného storočia, čiže v rokoch 1921 – 2021, nachádzame silnú emocionalitu, pohotovú a sebedomú naratívnu, efektívnu a pôsobivú argumentáciu v opisoch a vo

fabule, ako aj „*dojímavovo zoládnuté remeslo pointovania*“ (Krešimir Bagić).

Román *Letá s Máriou* má súčasne aj intímny charakter; zameriava sa na jednotlivé postavy, a vzápätí podáva ucelený obraz o kolektíve, resp. o pôdoryse celej prezentovanej doby v príbehoch. Spoločenská situácia či autorkino komentovanie spoločenských javov slúži tu skôr ako plátno, na ktorom sa odohrávajú dej a fabula celého románu. Jazyk je miestami ostrý, hovorový a priamy, využíva sa dokonca aj miestny dialekt a regionalizmy. Je úplne v súlade s postavami, keďže ich vyjadrovanie je rovnako hrubé ako ich životy, osud či podmienky, v ktorých žijú. Napriek často závažným a pochmúrnym témam, O. Savičević Ivančević dokáže udržať v knihe humor a iróniu a jej postavy sa na svet pozerajú s nadhľadom.

Kniha opisuje v prvom rade osudy žien a ich existenciu v spoločnosti aj v súvislosti s patriarchálnym systémom ovplyvňujúcim ich život, slobodu a práva, či už na rozmedzí spoločnosti, rodiny, intímnych vzťahov alebo vnímania svojej vlastnej identity, napríklad:

„Skutočné ženy v rodinách, susedy a ich príhody boli jediným dôkazom toho, že život žien nie je dvojrozmerný ani bez vzdoru, dobrodružstiev či erotiky, aj keď sa ich dobrodružstvá odohrávali v domácom interiéri či väzení. V kuchárskych knihách poliatych rumom s čokoládovým odtlačkom prsta, na zadnej strane fotografií, v listoch a pohľadniciach, pamätníkoch a lexikónoch, v zamknutých skrinkách, zásuvkách a v kredencoch nachádzala zrnká a omrvinky veľkých a nezapísaných súkromných dejín sveta (s. 23 – 24).

Hrdinky sú mnohokrát aj rozprávačkami príbehov. Čitateľom je tak ponúknutý príbeh aj z pohľadu feministickej narácie. Autorka si akoby priamo želala,

aby konkrétna rozprávačka bola samotným svedkom udalostí, aby ich zbytočne a príliš nevysvetľovala, aby prostredníctvom ich príbehov len poukázala na čas a svet, do ktorého patrí, zároveň však, aby v texte bola prítomná čo najmenej. V knihe *Letá s Máriou* sa otvárajú tiež otázky súvisiace so ženskou sexualitou a láskou k svojmu telu. Prítomná je i vulgárnosť jazyka, bezstarostný pohľad na svet, výsmech náboženskej morálky a všeobecná rebélia voči tradičným názorom na to, čo je žena a aké jej správanie je spoločensky akceptovateľné. Postavy (všetky Márie)

sa zároveň aj obrazne prenášajú cez zažívané zvyky, predsudky a stereotypy. Mohlo by sa pokračovať v hovorení aj o rafinovanom prekročení hraníc na úrovni spoločnosti, rodiny, ale aj vzťahu muž verzus žena, keďže: „Neskôr vliezli do mora a zosúladene vyplávali, lanami dotiahli loď k pláži s nenápadným kotviskom“ (s. 138). Ide koniec-koncov o pôsobivý beletristický titul a my sa môžeme skutočne tešiť, že ho máme v slovenčine. Dielu sa oplatí venovať zaslúženú pozornosť. Zážitok z čítania určite nesklame nikoho.

Zvonko Taneski*

JERGOVIĆ, Miljenko. *Sarajevské Marlboro*, preklad Milan Materák. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Petrus 2025, 168 s. ISBN 978-80-8294-010-0.

V roku 2025 sa na slovenskej literárnej scéne objavil preklad knihy chorvátskeho spisovateľa Miljenka Jergovića *Sarajevské Marlboro*. Slovenčina sa tak zaraďuje medzi mnohé iné jazyky, do ktorých bola táto poviedková kniha preložená. Prekladateľ Milan Materák tak vo svojom vydarenom preklade diela prináša slovenskému čitateľovi opäť hrôzy vojenského konfliktu v rozpadajúcej sa Juhoslávii. Hoci originál vznikol pred 31 rokmi, v obliehanom Sarajeve, kniha nie je o vojne, ale hovorí o živote. Takto charakterizoval Jergovićovu zbierku známy bosniacký autor Aleksandar Hemon.¹ Na moju otázku v diplomovej práci o tomto autorovi z roku 2024, či je zbierka *Sarajevské Marlboro* o vojne alebo o živote v autorizovanom rozhovore Miljenko Jergović odpovedal podobne:

„O vojne by som ani nenapísal knihu. Nezaujímajú ma zbrane, pušky a kanóny, a neviem nič o teóriách vojny ani vojenských stratégiách. Nie som ohromený vojenskými veliteľmi. Bez toho všetkého sa kniha o vojne nedá napísať.“

Vojna je niekde na pozadí každého príbehu, ale hlavnou myšlienkou je osud jednotlivých postáv v nich. Z literárno-vedného hľadiska hovoríme o téme a látke.² Pre *Sarajevské Marlboro* platí, že látkou je vojna, ktorou sa autor inšpiroval, a témou je osud jednotlivých postáv. Jergović v 29 na seba nenadväzujúcich príbehoch opísal osudy fiktívnych postáv v skutočnej vojne. Každá poviedka sa začína osudom postavy pred príchodom vojny a končí sa v priebehu nej. Miljenko Jergović v každej z nich prejavil veľký

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¹ Aleksandar Hemon, in *fraktura.hr/Sarajevski Marlboro*, <https://fraktura.hr/sarajevski-marlboro.html>.

² Stanislav Rakús, *Poetika prozaického textu: Látka, téma, problém, tvar* (Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ 1995), 3.

rozprávačský talent. Striedaním jednotlivých naratologických postupov presne určuje hranice medzi jednotlivcom a kolektívom, a čitateľa priamo vŕha do jednotlivých príbehov fiktívnych postáv. Najviditeľnejšie striedanie naratívneho postupu sledujeme v poviedke *Komunisti*, kde autor opisuje osud postavy Iva T. Tam niekoľkokrát v priebehu celého naratívu príde k zmene rozprávača. Heterodietetický rozprávač sa totiž plynulo strieda s homodietetickým. Vymieňanie foriem rozprávania má v tejto poviedke symbolický zmysel. Zatiaľ čo súkromný život Iva T. je príbehom jednotlivca, ktorý autor predostiera čitateľovi, vojna je kolektívnou záležitosťou a homodietetický rozprávač mal kolektívny pocit v čitateľovi utvrdiť. Jergovićova výstavba textu má presne definovaný plán. A to nielen v striedaní foriem rozprávania, ale aj vo výstavbe postáv. Postavy predstavujú u neho funkčným aspektom naratívneho sveta.³ Fungujú samostatne popri rozprávačovi, niekedy môžu byť aj rozprávačom samotným. Z teoretického hľadiska je postava zároveň „terminologický prostriedok na vyjadrenie vnútrotextových komunikačných procesov (...), na vyjadrenie personálnych a literárnych komunikačných činiteľov.“⁴ V *Sarajevskom Marlboro* sa stretávame aj s neživou postavou kaktusom, v rovnomennej poviedke. Na začiatku príbehu je kaktus darom a dôkazom lásky medzi mladým párom, a s príchodom vojny upadá a vädne, rovnako ako vzťah oboch ľudí a samotná spoločnosť. Na inom mieste meno postavy slúži ako symbol. Hlavná postava, prostoduchý

Slobodan, sa narodil počas oslobodenia mesta Sarajeva. Z teórie literatúry už dobre vieme, že postavy v naratívnom svete rozdeľujeme podľa predvídateľnosti ich konania. Predvídateľnosť alebo nepredvídateľnosť postavy sa označuje aj termínmi *ploché* (ak je založená na jednej charakteristickej črte, a jej správanie je predvídateľné) alebo *gulaté* ak ide o komplexnejšie postavy a ich konanie nevie percipient predikovať. Typickou plochou je nemenovaná hlavná postava poviedky *Záhradník*. Táto postava napriek tomu, že svet sa okolo nej neustále mení (najmä po začiatku vojny) nereflektuje na tieto zmeny a venuje sa iba svojej záľube – záhradníčeniu. Prostredníctvom tejto postavy Jergović opísal viaceré charaktery ľudí, ktorí boli voči svojmu okoliu nevšímaví, aj keď navôkol nich zúrila vojna.

Okrem teoreticko-literárnych podnetov na rozbor, môžeme v *Sarajevskom Marlboro* sledovať aj skrytú líniu. Miljenko Jergović, ako etnický Chorvát narodený na území Bosny a Hercegoviny, prirodzene čerpá námety na svoje príbehy zo svojho okolia a tak je Bosna a Hercegovina územím, do ktorého autor prenáša príbehy postáv v rôznych románoch a prozaických zbierkach. Krešimir Bobaš nazýva Bosnu a Hercegovinu v dielach M. Jergovića francúzskym termínom *lieu de mémoire* (miesto pamäti).⁵ Podľa Bobaša je v Jergovićovom prípade Bosna a Hercegovina *živý a heterotopicky zafarbený topos*⁶ podmienený históriou, ale hlavne aktuálny. Aktuálnosť vtedajších udalostí je pre *Sarajevské Marlboro* najdôležitejšia, pretože dielo vznikalo priamo

³ Podľa Tomáš Kubíček a kol., *Naratologie: Strukturální analýza vyprávění* (Praha: Dauphin 2013), 57.

⁴ Rakús, *Poetika prozaického textu*, 52.

⁵ Krešimir Bobaš, *Bosna kao lieu de mémoire u djelima Miljenka Jergovića* (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu 2013), 477.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

počas obliehania Sarajeva, takže percipient má vojnovú situáciu neskreslenú odstupom času. V tejto zbierke sa však autor vyhýbal priamym opisom prostredia. Jergović upriamil svoju pozornosť na rozdiely medzi jednotlivými etnickými skupinami, ktoré s príchodom vojny boli jednou z príčin vojenského konfliktu na území Bosny a Hercegoviny. V *Sarajevskom Marlboro* sa s etnickými rozdielmi a predsudkami stretávame vo viacerých poviedkach. Jedna z poviedok v ktorej sú tieto rozdiely najviditeľnejšie je poviedka *Bosniansky hrniec*. Na tomto mieste sa autor pohral už so samotným názvom, keď v súvislosti s vojnovými udalosťami dostáva názov tradičného jedla úplne inú konotáciu. Hlavnými postavami tejto poviedky sú Sarajevčan Zlaja a Chorvátka Elena, ktorá ešte pred začiatkom vojny prichádza do Sarajeva. Síce do mesta, ktoré nachádza v rovnakej krajine z ktorej pochádza, ale prichádza do úplne iného kultúrneho prostredia. Elena si v Sarajeve nevie zvyknúť na životný štýl domácich a Sarajevo vníma ako niečo orientálne. Na druhej strane Zlaja je ako doma hlavne v sarajevských kaviarňach a nevie si ani predstaviť iný život ako ten v Sarajeve. Elena a Zlaja sa do seba zamilujú, a po vypuknutí vojny sa spoločne presťahujú do Záhrebu. V tomto momente sa situácia obráti a ten ktorý si nevie zvyknúť na nové prostredie je Bosniak Zlaja. Čiže v tejto poviedke môže percipient sledovať obojsmerné predsudky jedného národa proti druhému. Známy bosniacký komparatista Nebojša Lujanović vidí problém v rámci etnických skupín krajín bývalej Juhoslávie a jeho spracovanie v literatúre ako rozdelenie na *pravícový* a *lavícový*

naratív.⁷ Lavícový naratív sa spája s anti-fašistickými myšlienkami a nerozdeľuje jednotlivé národy ako odlišné, ale naopak spája ich do vyššieho „juhoslovanského“ celku. Naproti tomu pravícový naratív sa dištancuje od antifašizmu a trvá na rozdieloch medzi jednotlivými národmi.⁸ Podľa tohto kritéria môžeme pravícový naratív sledovať v priebehu výmeny názorov dvoch postáv v poviedke *Krádež*. Žena nazve suseda, ktorého dcéry kradli v jej záhrade ako *gangstra* z *Kalinovika*. Kalinovik je mesto v juhovýchodnej časti Bosny a Hercegoviny a je súčasťou Republiky Srbskej. Z kontextu naratívu, ale rovnako aj z vyrieknutých slov vieme, že otec dcér, ktoré kradli v susedovej záhrade, je srbského pôvodu. Podobných alebo rovnako ladených predsudkov, alebo aj nenávisti môžeme nájsť v každej z 29 poviedok. Jergović majstrovským spôsobom pomenoval a opísal pravú príčinu občianskej vojny v bývalej Juhoslávii. Ponúka nám tak realistický obraz o každodenných starostiach obyčajných ľudí, ako aj politicko-spoločenské pozadie vtedajších udalostí. V podobnom duchu je aj predhovor tureckého vydania *Sarajevského Marlboro*. Jeho autorom je Ekrem Čaušević a o zbierke píše:

„*Sarajevské Marlboro* je kniha poviedok, v ktorej sa pozornosť sústreďuje na spisovateľov mikrovesmír, v ktorom sa ocitol v čase vypuknutia vojny. Tragické obliehanie Sarajeva mu zbystrilo zmysly pre „obyčajné, malé“ veci a ľudí zo spoločenského okraja, ako aj pre nezvyčajné príbehy a udalosti, v ktorých sa prelínajú fakcia a fikcia. O tom všetkom Jergović rozpráva s pokojom a ľahkosťou, niekedy s humorom, iróniou, komickým sarkazmom až

⁷ Nebojša Lujanović, *Ideološke i identitske napukline u opusu Miljenka Jergovića*, in *Raznolikost čitanja - Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o djelu Miljenka Jergovića u Tešnju 5. 12. 2020 godine*, ed. Kazas Enver (Tešanj: Centar za kulturu i obrazovanje 2022), 11.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

groteskou, inokedy s precítenosťou prechádzajúcou do túžby, lyriky, melanchólie a tragiky.“⁹

Možno práve aj z týchto dôvodov je prozaická zbierka *Sarajevské Marlboro* populárna medzi čitateľmi aj po 31 rokoch od jej vydania. Svojho času bola zbierka zaradená aj do povinného čítania v talianskych školách. Rovnako znamenala zlom aj pre Miljenka Jergovića. Okrem úspešnej recepcie aj mimo hraníc Chorvátska a Bosny a Hercegoviny, sa s Jergovićom spája takisto pojem *stvarnostna proza*, ktorý sa plnohodnotne usídlil v chorvátskom literárnom prostredí, ktorý by sme voľne mohli preložiť ako *reálna próza* (aj keď v slovenských literárnovedných súradniciach ide v podstate o tzv. neo-realizmus), respektíve „ako termín, ktorý vychádza zo skutočnosti, že generácia prozaikov, ktorá sa usadila v druhej polovici 90. rokov 20. storočia, začala prejavovať záujem o realitu a svojou literatúrou ju nejako odrážala.“¹⁰ Jergović tento termín uviedol medzi prvými vo svojich novinových

článkoch. Dôkazom toho, že *Sarajevské Marlboro* bolo prelomovým dielom v tvorbe Miljenka Jergovića, a rovnako aj pre jeho čitateľov, je návrat autora k tejto zbierke po 28 rokoch. V roku 2022 vydal zbierku *Trojica za kartal*, ktorá má v podtitule názov *Sarajevské Marlboro remastered*. Ako už samotný podtitul napovedá, kniha vychádza z myšlienok *Sarajevského Marlboro*. Táto zbierka získala viacero ocenení, zahraničných ohlasov a prekladov do iných jazykov. Autor tak aspoň zatiaľ uzatvára kruh, ktorým je jeho život v Sarajeve.

Z vyššieho naznačeného teda možno konštatovať, že na slovenský knižný trh, síce s oneskorením, prišla kniha, ktorú právom môžeme nazývať kultovou. Ide o dielo, ktoré je dôkazom rozprávačského majstrovstva jej autora. Slovenský čitateľ práve jej pomocou nadobúda možnosť výstižne sa oboznámiť so surovou realitou vojny v Sarajeve, a hlavne o jej vplyve na osudy jeho obyvateľov.

Štefan Riška*

Kaleidoskop slovenských udalostí v Chorvátsku v roku 2024

Vv. Hana Kováčová a chorvátska časť SChKHV

V rámci začiatku ďalšej spolupráce Veľvyslanectva Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe v roku 2024 uskutočnila vv. Hana Kováčová 1. februára 2024 pracovné rokovanie so spolupredsedom Slovensko-chorvátskej komisie humanitných vied (ďalej SChKHV) a riaditeľom

Inštitútu sociálnych vied PILAR prof. Željkom Holjevacom. Pri tejto príležitosti mu boli odovzdané výtlačky *Studia Carpatico-Adriatica* (ďalej SCA), vol. 3, 2022, ktoré vydala Univerzita Komenského vďaka podpore Ministerstva školstva, vedy, výskumu a športu Slovenskej republiky. Veľvyslanectvo SR v Záhrebe zabezpečilo ich dopravu do Chorvátskej republiky.

⁹ Ekrem Čaušević, *Sarajevski Marlboro Miljenka Jergovića*, <https://www.jergovic.com/ajfelov-most/sarajevski-marlboro-miljenka-jergovica/>.

¹⁰ „Tema rata u suvremenoj hrvatskoj prozi (Uspioni, padovi i konačno dobri radovi),“ *Hrvatska revija* 3 (2019), <https://www.matica.hr/hr/355/usponi-padovi-i-konacno-dobri-radovi-21076>.

* Štefan Riška, interný doktorand na Univerzite Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, Filozofická fakulta, Katedra slovanských filológií (Slovenská republika).

Slovenská veľvyslankyňa v Chorvátsku pri tejto príležitosti vysoko ocenila slovensko-chorvátsku spoluprácu v oblasti humanistiky v spoločnom stredo-európskom prostredí a ponúkla prof. Holjevacovi súčinnosť v komunikácii so slovenskou stranou aj v rámci plánovanej prípravy VI. zasadnutia komisie v termíne 13. – 15. júna 2024 v Košiciach.

Nasledujúceho dňa sa vv. Hana Kováčová zúčastnila 1. pracovného rokovania členov chorvátskej časti SChKHV pod vedením riaditeľa prof. Željka Holjevaca na Inštitúte Pilar v Záhrebe, kde sa diskutovalo o príprave ročenky SCA za rok 2023 a jej vydanie v časovom horizonte najneskôr do júna 2024.

Spolupráca so slovenskou menšinou v Chorvátskej republike

V priestoroch Veľvyslanectva SR v Záhrebe 7. februára 2024 sa uskutočnilo pracovné stretnutie vv. Hany Kováčovej s predsedom Zväzu Slovákov v Chorvátsku Mirko Vávrom, poslancom pre slovenskú a českú národnostnú menšinu v Sabore Chorvátska Vladimírom Bílekom, a to za spoluúčasti členky Rady vlády Chorvátskej republiky pre národnostné menšiny, tajomníčky Zväzu Slovákov v Chorvátsku a Brankou Baksa, predsedníčkou Matice slovenskej v Markovaci Našickom. Stretnutie bolo zamerané na spoluprácu pred očakávanými spoločensko-kultúrnymi aktivitami v roku 2024.

Významným prvkom slovensko-chorvátskej relácie je krajská agenda. Podľa pôvodného osídľovania a sťahovania sa Slovákov na územie dnešného Chorvátska v 19. storočí prvú skupinu tvoria Slováci, ktorí sa usadili v Slavónsku medzi riekami Sáva a Dráva. Druhú skupinu tvoria Slováci žijúci vo východnej časti Chorvátska a tretia sa skladá zo Slovákov, ktorí sa prisťahovali na



Obr.1: Stretnutie Hany Kováčovej, slovenskej veľvyslankyne v Záhrebe s predsedom chorvátskej časti SChKHV prof. Željkom Holjevacom.

dlhodobý alebo trvalý pobyt do Chorvátska v nedávnej minulosti. Slováci na území súčasného Chorvátska početnejšie žijú prevažne v piatich župách: Vukovarsko-sriemskej, Osijecko-baranskej, Prímorsko-goranskej, Požecko-slavónskej a Sisacko-moslavskej.

Na stretnutí vv. Hany Kováčovej 14. marca 2024 s poslancom pre slovenskú a českú národnostnú menšinu v Parlamente Chorvátskej republiky Vladimírom Bílekom bola prerokovaná súčinnosť pri kultúrno-spoločenských aktivitách slovenskej krajskej komunity, zabezpečované v rámci partnerstva veľvyslanectva so Zväzom Slovákov a maticami slovenskými v Chorvátsku.

Popularizácia štúdia slovenského jazyka v Chorvátsku

Dňa 18. marca 2024 rokovala vv. Hana Kováčová o popularizácii vysokoškolského

štúdia slovenského jazyka a literatúry v Chorvátskej republike s Martinom Machatom a Petrom F. „Rius Jílekom, ktorí pôsobia ako lektori na Katedre západoslovanských jazykov a literatúr Univerzity v Záhrebe. Štúdium slovenčiny má na Záhrebskej univerzite už takmer 30 ročnú tradíciu. Absolventov slovakistiky nie je nikdy dosť, Chorvátsko ich potrebuje v mnohých oblastiach, predovšetkým v oblasti menšinového školstva, cestovného ruchu, kultúry, medzinárodnej politiky, v obchode a priemysle. Štúdium prešlo v minulom roku komplexnou reformou a od nového akademického roka bude ponúkať nové predmety prispôbené podmienkam trhu. V roku 2024 bola popularizácia štúdia slovenčiny v Chorvátsku zameraná na stredné školy v Požege, Našičiach a Osijeku. Zároveň študenti slovenského jazyka a literatúry uskutočnili v letnom semestri týždňovú študentskú exkurziu na Slovensku.

Stretnutie s predsedom Úradu pre národnostné menšiny Tiborom Vargom

V rámci vzájomne prospešného stretnutia vv. Hany Kováčovej s predsedom Úradu pre národnostné menšiny Tiborom Vargom 9. apríla 2024 boli prerokované ďalšie formy partnerstva a spolupráce. Aj touto cestou poďakovala veľvyslankyňa za priateľské prijatie a súčinnosť, ktorú úrad slovenskej národnostnej menšiny a Veľvyslanectvu Slovenskej republiky v Chorvátsku poskytuje.

Stretnutie s predsedom Matice chorvátskej Mirom Gavranom

Dňa 9. apríla 2024 prijal vv. Hanu Kováčovú predseda Matice chorvátskej Miro Gavran, veľká osobnosť kultúry a spoločenského života. Známy je ako dramatik,

románopisec, novelista a poet. V súčasnosti je azda najznámejším a najprekladanejším chorvátskym autorom. Do širšieho čitateľského povedomia sa zapísal najmä vďaka svojim dramatickým dielam. Napísal viac ako tridsať divadelných hier, ktoré sa úspešne hrajú vo viacerých slovenských divadlách. Miro Gavran je autorom siedmich románov pre dospelých, ôsmich poviedkových knižiek a desiatok hier pre deti. Jeho hry uvádzajú vo všetkých metropolách Európy a USA. Partneri prerokovali otázky vzájomného slovensko-chorvátskeho prehlbovania kultúrnych väzieb, napríklad možnosti spolupráce v rámci roka 2026, v ktorom bude európskym hlavným mestom kultúry mesto Trenčín, ako aj vzácných slovensko-chorvátskych synergií, ktoré sú reflexiou spoločnej histórie a vynikajúcich dlhoročných vzťahov medzi našimi krajinami.

Posilňovanie regionálnej spolupráce

S cieľom ďalšieho posilnenia regionálnej spolupráce vv. Hana Kováčová a ekonomický diplomat Ján Štark 11. apríla 2024 navštívili Osijecko-baranskú župu. Podľa ostatného sčítania žije v Chorvátskej republike 3688 občanov, ktorí sa hlásia k slovenskej národnosti, z toho 1723 krajanov žije v Osijecko-baranskej župe.

Počas stretnutia so zástupcom župana Josipom Miletićom boli prerokované aktuálne možnosti spolupráce – energetika, zelené technológie, cestný koridor 5c, rozvoj súčinnosti v oblasti kultúry a školstva. Na stretnutí bola prítomná aj predsedníčka Rady slovenskej národnostnej menšiny Osijecko-baranskej župy Ana Kanđera Legčevićová.

Rokovanie so zástupkyňou primátora mesta Osijek Jasenkou Crnkovićovou pozitívne zhodnotilo partnerstvo miest Nitra a Osijek, ktoré sa datuje od roku

1997. Obe strany vyjadrili nádej, že toto partnerstvo prinesie ďalšie prehĺbenie slovensko-chorvátskej spolupráce v rámci automobilového priemyslu, priemyselných parkov, logistiky ale aj cestovného ruchu, kultúry a školstva. Dobrým spojovacím mostíkom v oblasti hospodárskej spolupráce je aj dlhodobé dvadsaťpäťročné partnerstvo obchodných komôr v Nitre a Osijeku.

Spoločné oslavy V4 a Chorvátska

Dňa 12. apríla 2024 usporiadalo Veľvyslanectvo Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe v spolupráci s krajinami Vyšehradskej štvorky V4 slávnostný koncert k 20. výročiu členstva týchto krajín v Severoatlantickej aliancii – NATO a 13. apríla bol zorganizovaný koncert pre slovenskú a českú krajskú komunitu v Českej besede v Záhrebe.

Stretnutie s príbuznou Martina Benku

Počas návštevy Osijecko-baranskej župy sa 15. apríla 2024 vv. Hana Kováčová stretla s Ing. Brankou Vuksanovou, priamou príbuznou slovenského národného umelca Martina Benku. Stretnutie sa uskutočnilo za prítomnosti kurátora Múzea Slavónska v Osijeku prof. Grgura Marka Ivankovića, ktorý sa venuje výskumu na tému „Objavenie rodinných príslušníkov národného umelca Martina Benku v Osijeku“. Za objavenie vzácnnej osoby Ing. Branky Vuksanovej vďačíme slovenskému študentovi práva Samuelovi Markovi, ktorý sa popri Erasmus štúdiu v Osijeku angažuje v rámci spoločenských aktivít prepojených na slovenskú národnostnú menšinu v Chorvátsku.



Obr. 2: Tlačová konferencia po rokovaniach v Osijecko-baranskej župe.

Podpora projektu popularizácie štúdia slovenského jazyka

Veľvyslanectvo Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe podporilo projekt popularizácie vysokoškolského štúdia slovenského jazyka a literatúry na Filozofickej fakulte Univerzity v Záhrebe. Dňa 18. apríla 2024 navštívila vv. Hana Kováčová spolu s vyšším lektorom Martinom Machatom a mimoriadnou profesorkou Ivanou Čagalj gymnáziá v mestách Požega a Našice.

Odhalenie pamätnej tabule na moste, ktorý slovenský ženijný prápor postavil cez rieku Pakra

Pakrac, Daruvar a Lipik – miesta, ktoré s pietou v srdciach navštívili členovia Únie vojnových veteránov SR v dňoch 26. – 28. apríla 2024 pod vedením predsedu Pavla Marka spolu s vv. Hanou Kováčovou. Dostalo sa nám krásneho prijatia zo strany predstaviteľov Ministerstva chorvátskych obrancov, Ministerstva



Obr.3: Odhalenie pamätnej tabule slovenským vojakom na moste, ktorý slovenský ženijný prápor postavil cez rieku Pakra.

obranu, starostky mesta Pakrac, predstavitel'ov Požecko-slavonskej župy a poslancu za českú a slovenskú národnostnú menšinu v Parlamente Chorvátskej republiky. Na podujatiach sa zúčastnili Špiro Blažević, štátny tajomník rezortu chorvátskych obrancov, osobitný predstaviteľ ministra vnútra, generál Miroslav Vacek, poslanec chorvátskeho parlamentu Vladimír Bílek, Ivan Ševčík, člen Výboru pre obranu a bezpečnosť Parlamentu Slovenskej republiky, Patrik Voltmann, podpredseda Trnavského samosprávneho kraja.

Na počesť spolupráce s chorvátskym ľudom v Občianskej vojne 1991 – 1995 a pomoci členov slovenského ženijného práporu slúžiacich pod modrou vlajkou Organizácie Spojených národov odhalili starostka mesta Pakrac Anamarija Blažević a predseda Únie vojnových veteránov Slovenskej republiky pamätnú tabuľu na moste, ktorý slovenský ženijný prápor postavil cez rieku Pakra. Členovia slovenského ženijného práporu postavili most, ktorý dodnes slúži obyvateľom

mesta Pakrac, ako aj celej župy. Stavanie mostov je jedným z ďalších symbolov priateľstva medzi Slovenskom a Chorvátskom.

Slávnostnému odhaleniu predchádzal 26. apríla pietny spomienkový akt – polozenie vencov a kytíc k pamätníku v centre mesta Pakrac na večnú pamiatku hrdinom Občianskej vojny 1991-1995.

Oslavy 20. výročia členstva SR v Európskej únii

V rámci osláv 20. výročia členstva SR v Európskej únii zabezpečilo Veľvyslanectvo SR v Záhrebe so Zastúpením Európskej komisie v Chorvátskej republike 9. mája 2024 na Námestí Európy vystúpenie Slovenského kultúrno-umeleckého zoskupenia „Ivan Brník Slovák“ z Jelisavca. Energický tanec mladých „Brníkovcov“, ktorí si takýmto spôsobom uchovávajú ľudový tanec ako jednu z foriem ľudových tradícií, umocnili aj ich dobové ľudové kroje. Osobitné poďakovanie patrí súčasne Matici slovenskej

v Lipovljanoch za sprostredkovanie gitarového dua Kristijana Sudru a Tiny Bukovski na prezentácii slovenského umenia a tradícií.

V podvečerných hodinách mala široká verejnosť možnosť vzhliadnuť slovenský umelecký film zo študentskej tvorby FTF VŠMU *Chlieb náš každodenný* od režisérky Alice Bednárikovej, študentky Filmovej a televíznej fakulty Vysoké školy múzických umení v Bratislave.

Diskusný panel k 20. výročiu členstva v EU

Dňa 10. mája 2024 usporiadali Veľvyslanectvá Slovenskej republiky, Poľska, Českej republiky, Slovinska, a Litvy v Chorvátskej republike v spolupráci so Stálym zastúpením Európskej komisie v Chorvátskej republike diskusný panel k 20. výročiu členstva v európskej únii.

Slávnostné zasadnutie Rady pre národnostné menšiny

Na pozvanie Rady pre národnostné menšiny Osijecko-baranskej župy sa vv. Hana Kováčová 25. mája 2024 zúčastnila spolu s poslancami Chorvátskeho Saboru Robertom Jankovicom, Draganou Jeckov, Goranom Ivanovićom, veľvyslancom Severného Macedónska Milaimom Fetaiom a generálnym konzulom Maďarska Jánosom Magdóom slávnostného zasadnutia Rady pre národnostné menšiny. Spoločne s predsedom Rady pre národnostné menšiny, zástupcom župana Josipom Mileticom a Anou Kandra-Legčevićovou, predsedníčkou Koordinačnej rady predstaviteľov národnostných menšín Osijecko-baranskej župy slovenská strana podporila toto vzájomne-prospešné podujatie. Ďalej tiež podčiarkla jeho význam pre ďalší pozitívny rozvoj

národnostných menšín v Osijecko-baranskej župe. Rada pre národnostné menšiny je dôležitou platformou na výmenu názorov, skúseností na riešenie a procesovanie problémov národnostných menšín. Rieši každodenné výzvy a otázky spojené s ich plnohodnotným životom v Chorvátskej republike.

Podpora najmenších slovensky hovoriacich obyvateľov Chorvátska

Veľvyslanectvo Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe s radosťou prispelo 27. mája 2024 na ďalšie vzdelávanie našich malých kamarátov z Materskej školy Zvončíc Jelisavac-Našice v slovenskom jazyku. Ďakujeme pani riaditeľke Srnežane Kanderovej a všetkým jej milým kolegyniam za energiu a zanietenosť v rámci inovatívnych foriem výuky slovenského jazyka.

Veľmi si ceníme milé prijatie a stretnutia so starostom Krešimírom Kašubom, Sandrou Kraljovou Vukšić, riaditeľkou Slovenského kultúrneho centra Našice, Anou Kanderovou-Legčević, predsedníčkou Koordinačnej rady predstaviteľov národnostných menšín v Osijecko-baranskej župe, riaditeľkou Základnej školy Ivana Brnjika Slovaka v Jelisavaci Ljerkou Čorkovićovou a predsedom miestnej Matice slovenskej Danjelom Kubalom.

Chorvátsky preklad románu *Demokrati*

Dňa 13. septembra 2024 vv. Hana Kováčová prijala s vďakou pozvanie do Matice chorvátskej a prevzala výtlačok prekladu skvostu slovenskej literatúry – diela *Demokrati* Janka Jesenského. Vyjadrila tým veľké poďakovanie Matici chorvátskej a jej predsedovi Mirovi Gavranovi za spoluprácu a vzácnu podporu slovenskej kultúry a umenia.

Oslava Dňa Ústavy Slovenskej republiky

Oslava Dňa Ústavy Slovenskej republiky sa 19. septembra 2024 niesla v Chorvátskej republike v znamení ďalších ťažiskových medzníkov našej histórie: 20. výročia členstva Slovenskej republiky v Európskej únii; 20. výročia vstupu do Severoatlantickej aliancie a 80. výročia Slovenského národného povstania 1944.

V rámci účasti významných predstaviteľov parlamentu, kancelárie prezidenta, exekutívy, diplomatického zboru, našich drahých krajanov, spolupracujúcich inštitúcií a predstaviteľov veľkého spektra podnikateľských subjektov sa prítomným prihovril predseda Výboru pre zahraničnú politiku Saboru pán Andro Krstulović Opara. Vo svojom vystúpení ocenil dlhoročnú a vzácne priateľskú previazanosť našich národov a pomoc Slovenska chorvátskemu národu v časoch najťažších s dôrazom na význam slobody v dnešných dňoch v globálnom svete plných výziev. Súčasťou recepcie Veľvyslanectva Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe bola aj panelová výstava výstavného projektu k 20. výročiu SR v EÚ s názvom *Slovensko na mape EÚ*.

Festival jazykov v Záhrebe a slovenčina

Pri príležitosti Európskeho dňa jazykov sme 27. septembra 2024 na Festivale jazykov v Záhrebe v gescii Stáleho zastúpenia Európskej komisie v spolupráci s Katedrou slovenského jazyka a literatúry Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity v Záhrebe propagovali slovenský jazyk výstavou, prednáškou a workshopom. Potešil nás veľký záujem mladých ľudí. Oslavujúc kultúrnu a jazykovú rozmanitosť Európy, podporili sme aj dôležitosť

učenia sa jazykov a rozvoja viacjazyčnosti, interkultúrneho porozumenia a celoživotného vzdelávania.

Rozhovor vv. Hany Kováčovej v Meridijani

Pre jubilejný 30. ročník časopisu *Meridijani* (www.meridijani.com) poskytla vv. Hana Kováčová rozhovor o hlavnom meste Slovenskej republiky – *Mesto plné prekvapení a histórie*. V rámci odpovedí na desať otázok redakcie informovala o krásach Bratislavy z pohľadu jej rodného mesta a súčasne upozornila na atraktivity a zaujímavosti pre návštevníkov.

Svetový veľtrh vzdelávania v Záhrebe

Dňa 12. októbra 2024 prijalo Veľvyslanectvo Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe pozvanie na Svetový veľtrh vzdelávania v Záhrebe a podporilo tak predstaviteľov univerzít zo Slovenska, pričom samotné podujatie bolo priestorom pre stretnutie so zástupcami viac ako 25 vzdelávacích inštitúcií zo sveta. Po prvýkrát sa zúčastnili slovenské univerzity: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, Ekonomická univerzita v Bratislave a Univerzita Pavla Šafárika v Košiciach. Išlo o dôležité každoročné podujatie, ktoré pomáha spájať študentov s medzinárodnými vzdelávacími príležitosťami, spája univerzity, vysoké školy, školy a študentov pod jednou strechou. Veľtrh ponúkol rady a informácie, vďaka ktorým je štúdium v zahraničí reálnou možnosťou. Študenti sa mohli dozvedieť o rôznych študijných programoch, požiadavkách na prijatie, štipendiách a iných aspektoch štúdia v zahraničí. Veľtrh je priestorom pre možnosť nadväzovania kontaktov s inými študentmi a odborníkmi v oblasti vzdelávania.

Rozhovor vv. Hany Kováčovej pre *Diplomacy & Commerce* o slovensko-chorvátskych vzťahoch a ocenenie SChKHV

Dňa 29. októbra 2024 poskytla vv. Hana Kováčová rozhovor pre *Diplomacy & Commerce* o slovensko-chorvátskych vzťahoch pod názvom *Slováci a Chorváti zdieľali spoločnú históriu naprieč storočiami* (https://issuu.com/dcinfofocus/docs/dc_cro_53_web?fr=xKAE9_zU1NQ). V rozhovore je pozitívna zmienka a ocenenie práce Slovensko-chorvátskej komisie humanitných vied.

Podujatia k 35. výročiu Nežnej revolúcie 1989

Veľvyslanectvo SR v Záhrebe zabezpečilo pre diplomatický zbor, slovenskú krajanskú komunitu a spolupracujúce subjekty – ústredné orgány štátnej správy Chorvátskej republiky 12. novembra 2024 v Kaptol Boutique Centre v Záhrebe, sériu podujatí k 35. výročiu Nežnej revolúcie 1989.

Premietnutím koprodukčného životopisného filmu o Alexandrovi Dubčekovi s názvom *Krátka jar – dlhá zima* sme spoločne predstavili kľúčovú postavu udalostí Augusta 1968 ale aj významnú osobnosť Nežnej revolúcie 1989 a následných demokratických zmien vo vtedajšom Československu.

Promócia *Studia Carpathico-Adriatica*, vol. 4, 2023 na Interliber v Záhrebe

V období 12. – 17. novembra 2024 sa konal 46. medzinárodný knižný veľtrh Interliber v Záhrebe. Medzi 300 vystavovateľmi tu bol 14. novembra 2024 predstavený IV. zborník *Studia Carpathico-Adriatica*

venovaný slovenskej a chorvátskej neolatinistike – výsledok vzájomne – prospešnej práce SChKHV.

K vydaniu IV. zborníka zablahožela a ocenila prácu celej komisie vv. Hana Kováčová. Práca tejto komisie je výsledkom spoločnej slovensko-chorvátskej vitality v prístupe k témam, ktoré majú medzinárodný obsah a význam, a ktoré vedeckou formou otvárajú cestu ďalšiemu prehlbovaniu slovensko-chorvátskych väzieb.

Spoločný koncert džezovej formácie ALTAR TRIO

35. výročie Nežnej revolúcie si Veľvyslanectvo Slovenskej republiky spoločne s Veľvyslanectvom Českej republiky 15. novembra 2024 v Záhrebe pripomenuli džezovým koncertom formácie ALTAR TRIO.

Predvečer Dňa boja za slobodu a demokraciu a Dňa študentstva bol spoločnou oslavou symbolov 17. novembra 1989, ktoré nám dodnes pripomínajú vzájomnosť, jednotu, nádej a boj za slobodu a demokraciu. Virtuozita saxofonistu Nikolaja Nikitina, klaviristu Luboša Šrámeka a multitalentu Samuela Hoška bola oslavou medzinárodného hudobného dialógu, budovania mostov a inkluzívneho spájania kultúr a rôznorodosti. Na koncerte sa zúčastnili aj zahraniční hostia, členovia Diplomatického zboru v Chorvátskej republike, partneri z Ministerstva zahraničných vecí a európskych záležitostí Chorvátskej republiky. Slováci žijúci v Chorvátsku si so záujmom prezreli obrazovú výstavu dobových fotografií udalostí Novembra 1989.

Hana Kováčová*

* Hana Kováčová, veľvyslankyňa Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe.

Rok 2024 v Slovenskom národnom múzeu – Múzeu kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku

Rok 2024 sa začal v znamení výstavy *Tíšiiny* od autorky Marty Földešovej, ktorá priniesla nový pohľad na oblasť Devínskeho jazera prostredníctvom historického fotoaparátu.

Veľkú obľúbenosť a návštevnosť u návštevníkov z prostredia širokej verejnosti, ale aj u mnohých základných škôl zaznamenala výstava *Vedecká hračka – Kyvadlo*, ktorá prostredníctvom hry a experimentov s bežne dostupnými hračkami dokázala návštevníkom pomôcť ľahšie pochopiť zákony fyziky.

V apríli sa uskutočnila prezentácia knihy Siniša Glaviševiča *Príbehy z Vukovaru* za účasti študentov Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity v Zadare a doc. Vice Sunjića. Autor poviedok bol účastníkom bojov o mesto Vukovar v roku 1991 a počas týchto bojov aj zahynul. V Chorvátsku je toto dielo veľmi uznávané a slovenskej verejnosti bolo sprístupnené prostredníctvom slovenského prekladu od bývalých študentiek chorvatistiky na Filozofickej fakulte Univerzity Komenškého – Lýdie Camponiovej a Marianny Kamenickej.

Okrem tematických výstav prinášame verejnosti aj výstavy z rôznych záujmových oblastí. Preto sme už po druhýkrát dali priestor Slovenskému zväzu telesne postihnutých na uskutočnenie fotografickej výstavy *Tak to vidíme my*, ktorá návštevníkom predstavila fotografie, zachytené očami ľudí s telesným postihnutím.

V máji nás navštívila chorvátska televízia (HRT 1), ktorá sa zaujímalá o chorvátsku menšinu na Slovensku a bližším predstavením širokej činnosti nášho múzea sa takto mala možnosť oboznámiť s históriou príchodu Chorvátov na naše územie a súčasnou situáciou

chorvátskej menšiny na Slovensku. Natáčanie reportáže chorvátskej televízie v múzeu prebiehalo celý deň a rozhovory uskutočnili so zástupcami menšiny a zamestnancami múzea.

Koncom júna sme otvárali každoročnú výstavu prác detí z miestnej základnej umeleckej školy. Táto výstava trvá pravidelne tri týždne a končí bezprostredne pred Festivalom chorvátskej kultúry v Devínskej Novej Vsi. Pripravovaná bola aj tematická výstava, ktorá mala prezentovať všetkých desať hudobných a tanečných súborov slovenských Chorvátov. Z dôvodu meškania finančných prostriedkov bol tento zámer pozastavený a výstava presunutá na ďalší rok. V spolupráci s kultúrnym zariadením Istra Centrum – centrom pre voľný čas a kultúru v Bratislave – Devínskej Novej Vsi sa uskutočnili každoročné *Letné komorné koncerty*. Pre deti sme počas prázdnin pripravili letné tvorivé dielne.

Hneď začiatkom školského roku, dňa 5. septembra sa v našich priestoroch uskutočnila oficiálna návšteva ministra zahraničných vecí Chorvátskej republiky pána Gordana Grlića Radmana. V histórii existencie múzea sa uskutočnilo už niekoľko významných návštev chorvátskych štátnikov.

V našom múzeu dávame priestor aj miestnym amatérskym umelcom, ktorí by chceli svoje umenie predstaviť verejnosti. V októbri prostredníctvom takejto výstavy *Maľujem svet, ktorý ma oslovuje* predstavil svoje maľby verejnosti pán Lubomír Kochan.

Tradične v novembri sme zorganizovali fotografickú výstavu *Fotofórum*, ktorú pripravujeme v spolupráci s kultúrnym zariadením Istra Centrum – centrom pre voľný čas a kultúru v Bratislave

– Devínskej Novej Vsi každoročne v novembri od roku 2009.

Rok 2024 bol mimoriadny aj vzhľadom na 35. výročie Nežnej revolúcie. Toto výročie sme si pripomenuli výstavou, ktorú sme otvorili v spolupráci s Ústavom pamäti národa s názvom *Ochrana štátnej hranice v rokoch 1951 – 1989*. Takisto sme zorganizovali tematické prednášky pre základné školy, ktoré viedol riaditeľ Archívu Ústavu pamäti národa pán Mgr. Peter Mikle. Vďaka tomu, že sme v tomto roku zväčšili výstavné priestory, táto výstava mohla byť realizovaná súbežne s výstavou *Fotofórum 2024*.

Za účasti veľvyslanca Chorvátskej republiky na Slovensku J. E. Alexandra Heinu sme verejnosti sprístupnili krátku a menšiu, avšak o to vzácnejšiu výstavu s názvom *Zlatne ruke žene braniteljice*, ktorej autormi sú ženy zo združenia Udruga braniteljice, ktoré združuje ženy aktívne sa podieľajúce na obrane Chorvátska počas vojny v Juhoslávii.

V predvianočnom období sme návštevníkom múzea predstavili výstavu fotografií Terézie Németh Šramkovej, ktoré vznikli pri realizácii televízneho dokumentu *Stari Božić* Denisa a Mária Némethovcov, ktorý mal premiéru v roku 2023 a zachytávajú atmosféru a spôsob

slávania vianočných sviatkov tak, ako to kedysi v minulosti bolo zvykom u našich chorvátskych predkov v Jarovciach.

Aj záverom roka nás navštívila chorvátska štátna televízia (HRT 1), ktorá robila reportáž o vianočných zvykoch a tradíciách chorvátskej menšiny na Slovensku.

Popri výstavách a podujatiach, ktoré sme organizovali v našich priestoroch v roku 2024, venovali sme sa aj odborným činnostiam. Prebiehala vedecko-výskumná úloha *Náboženské púte slovenských Chorvátov, ako jeden z prejavov chorvátskej kultúry*; realizácia revízie zbierkového fondu; katalogizácia kníh v knižnici, kde nám darom pribudlo množstvo ďalších kníh. Problém nastal na konci roka, keď nám bolo oznámené, že z dôvodu konsolidácie verejných financií budeme musieť šetriť nielen na prevádzkovej činnosti, ale aj v personálnej oblasti. Koncom roka sme boli nútení ukončiť pracovný pomer dohodou s dlhoročnou kolegyňou, ktorá na skrátený pracovný úväzok katalogizovala knihy v software pre malé a stredné knižnice. Od roku 2025 taktiež z finančných dôvodov nemôžeme sprístupňovať naše expozície pre verejnosť počas víkendov.

Andrej Solár*

Dosahy Slovenského kultúrneho centra Našice v roku 2024

Výstava *Molovanie – tradícia nástennej maľby Slovákov v Chorvátsku* prezentovaná na Slovensku a v Chorvátsku

Výstava *Molovanie – tradícia nástennej maľby Slovákov v Chorvátsku* – V Slavónsku

bolo v minulosti bežné ozdobovať steny interiéru, ale aj exteriéru rodinných domov nástennou maľbou s použitím papierových predlôh a/alebo valčekov. V posledných desaťročiach sa však tento spôsob dekorovania stien dostal do úzadia a vystriedali ho iné techniky.

* Andrej SOLÁR, Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku Bratislava – Devínska Nová Ves (Slovenská republika).

V súčasnosti sa zachoval už len v rurálnom prostredí a ovláda ho čoraz menší počet žien staršieho veku. Etnologička Múzea Slavónska Tünde Šipošová Živić sa preto rozhodla zaznamenať hodnotu tohto druhu postupne zanikajúceho tradičného výtvarného prejavu pomocou terénneho výskumu na území celej Slavónska, vrátane obcí obývaných Slováckmi. Preto v roku 2021 oslovila s požiadavkou o spoluprácu Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice (ďalej SKC Našice).

Výskum, ktorý organizovalo SKC Našice, sa uskutočnil v rokoch 2021 – 2023 v šiestich lokalitách: dvoch obciach našickej oblasti – Markovci Našickom a Jelisavci, dvoch obciach djakovskej oblasti – Josipovci Punitovskom a Jurjevci Punitovskom a dvoch obciach ilockej oblasti – Iloku a Radoši. Na výskume sa ako informátorky zúčastnili Ana Fabryová z Iloku, Jozefina Hanižjarová z Markovca Našického, Marija Krošlaková z Radoša, Katica Kuricová z Josipovca Punitovského, Vera Majdišová z Jurjevca Punitovského, Marija Marenjaková z Jelisavca a Katica Topolovecová z Jelisavca. V realizácii terénneho výskumu, ktorý viedli Tünde Šipošová Živić, Marko Kurtek, Tatjana Seničaninová a Sandra Kraljová Vukšić, bola použitá metóda dotazníka a priameho rozhovoru.

Výstava predstavuje výsledky terénneho výskumu *molovania* – postupu ozdobovania stien interiéru a exteriéru rodinných domov či verejných budov kontinuálnou ornamentikou pomocou valčekov alebo používaním papierových predlôh. Ide o druhú autorskú výstavu riaditeľky SKC Našice Sandry Kraljovej Vukšić a kustódky Tatjany Seničaninovej, ktoré stvárnil obsah výstavy na desiatich informačných paneloch a dvoch roll up banneroch. Výstava je vybavená slovensko-chorváckym dvojjazyčným katalógom, letákmi, záložkami a ručné

molovanými textilnými taškami. Doplnená je o zozbierané predmety, ako aj ukážky motívov valčekov či šablón. Výstavu finančne podporili Rada pre národnostné menšiny CHR, Úrad pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí, Úrad pre ľudské práva a práva národnostných menšín CHR a mesto Našice.

Na Krajanskom dvore v rámci Folklórnych slávností pod Poľanou v Detve

Zahraniční Slováci aj v roku 2024 mali príležitosť prezentovať svoju kultúru a tradície v rámci Folklórnych slávností pod Poľanou (FSP). Od roku 1974 to robia na doskách amfiteátra v rámci Krajanskej nedele a od roku 2014 aj v rámci Krajanského dvora.

V programe Krajanského dvora prezentovali druhý júlový víkend gastronomické pochúťky, ako aj ručné práce v 12 stánkoch: Slováci zo SKUS Pivnica z Pivnice, MOMS Selenča, Spolok žien z Padiny a Ludmila Berediová-Stupavská z Kysáča (Srbsko), Krempašské gazdinky z Krempách (Poľsko), Demokratický zväz Slovákov a Čechov z Nadlaku (Rumunsko), Únia slovenských organizácií z Maďarska, ktorá odprezentovala Slovákov z Békešskej Čaby, Slovenského Komlóša, Veľkého Banhédeša a Pítvaroša a FS Naša fajta zo Storožnice (Ukrajina). Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice tu v priestore humna prezentovalo autorskú výstavu *Molovanie – Tradícia nástenej maľby Slovákov v Chorvátsku*. Okrem desiatich informačných panelov a dvoch roll up bannerov výstavu dopĺňal pohyblivý stojan so šablónami rôznych valčekových vzoriek a vzoriek vytvorených v deň otvorenia výstavy, ktoré vyrobila nositeľka tohto umeleckého remesla, členka MS v Jurjevci Vera Majdišová.

Na vernisáži sa zúčastnili okrem návštevníkov Krajanského dvora, početných

zástupcov a účastníkov i vzácní hostia: predsedníčka Úradu pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí (ÚSZZ) Dagmar Repčková, ktorá výstavu otvorila; podpredsa Matice slovenskej v Martine Marek Hanuska; pracovníčka Úradu pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí a vedúca Krajanského dvora Milina Sklabinská. Spevácky úvod do vernisáže Slovenky z USA Anny Hradskej potvrdila opodstatnenosť názvu tohtoročnej Krajanskej nedele *Blízki zďaleka*.

V sobotu 13. júla primátor Detvy Branislav Baran privítal predstaviteľov organizácií, ktoré účinkovali na Folklórnych slávnostiach pod Poľanou na Mestskom úrade, kde sa hostia zapísali do knihy návštev. Deviaty Krajanský dvor bol slávnostne ukončený v nedeľu v popoludňajších hodinách udeľovaním ďakovných listov zahraničným Slovákom, ktorí sa zúčastnili Folklórnych slávností pod Poľanou. Ďakovné listy v mene ÚSZZ udeľovala predsedníčka ÚSZZ Dagmar Repčková a Pamätné listy za mesto Detva primátor Branislav Baran a predseda Programovej rady 57. FSP v Detve Roman Malatinec.

Trojdnňové stretnutie ukončila predsedníčka ÚSZZ poďakovaním krajanom za účasť, pestovanie slovenského jazyka, kultúry a tradícií a za propagáciu dobrého mena o Slovensku vo svete. Podporu účastníkom z Chorvátska prejavili svojou prítomnosťou aj členovia Matíc slovenských z Chorvátska, resp. Zväzu Slovákov, ktorý organizoval návštevu tohtoročných slávností.

Vernisáž výstav *Molovanie* v Našiciach Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice usporiadalo vernisáž výstavy 5. decembra 2024 vo svojom sídle za prítomnosti veľvyslankyne Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe Hany Kováčovej; predsedu Zväzu Slovákov v CHR Mírka Vavru

a podpredsedu Aleksandra Knapčeka; zástupcu župana Osijecko-baranskej župy (OBŽ) Josipa Miletića; primátora Našic Krešimira Kašubu; predsedníčky Rady slovenskej národnostnej menšiny (RSNM) OBŽ Any Kanderovej Legčević; predsedu RSNM Vukovarsko-sriemskej župy Milana Pucovského; etnologičky Múzea Slavónska Tünde Šipošovej Živić; riaditeľky Materskej školy Zvončič v Našiciach Snježany Kanderovej; predsedu RSNM mesta Ilok Vladimira Knapčeka; predstaviteľov Macedónskej menšiny OBŽ Dragoljuba Siljanoského; riaditeľky Rádia Našice Tomislavy Justićovej; ako aj predstaviteľov a predsedov Matíc slovenských z Iloku, Radoša, Zokovho Gaja, Jelisavca, Josipovca Punitovského, Jurjevca Punitovského a Osijeku.

Do programu vernisáže prítomných uviedla molerka, členka Matice slovenskej v Iloku Ana Fabryová, prednesom spomienky na molovanie. O dejinách molovania hovorila odborná spolupracovníčka na tejto výstave, etnologička Múzea Slavónie Tünde Šipošová Živić. S obsahom výstavy a jej dvomi celkami, etnografickým a umeleckým, prítomných zoznámila kustódka Tatjana Seničaninová.

Riaditeľka Sandra Kraljová Vukšić v krátkosti oboznámila prítomných s existujúcim zámerom ochrany molovania ako nehmotného kultúrneho bohatstva panónskeho regiónu Ministerstvom kultúry a médií Chorvátskej republiky, čo by významne prispelo k zachovaniu tohto prejavu tradičnej kultúry v Chorvátsku. Prítomnosť všetkých informátoriek zúčastnených na výskume aj na vernisáži výstavy vyzdvihla ako vzácny bod spolupráce s nositeľkami tohto umenia.

Zvláštnosťou etnografickej časti expozície bola scénografia gánku, vypožičaného v rámci spolupráce s odbornou inštitúciou – Múzeom Slavónska, avšak



Obr. 1: Výstava Molovanie – Tradícia nástennej maľby Slovákov v Chorvátsku v humne Krajského dvora na Detve.

prínos dala aj členka MS v Jurjevci Punitovskom, molerka Vera Majdišová vymalovaním novozariadeného priestoru pivnice sídla Slovenského kultúrneho centra Našice.

Druhú časť výstavy tvorili umelecké diela výtvarníčky, absolventky výtvarného umenia v Bratislave Kristiny Hrubikovej z Iloku, inšpirované molovaním, ktoré predstavila samotná autorka.



Obr. 2: Prihovor predsedu Zväzu Slovákov Mirka Vavru na vernisáži výstavy Molovanie – tradícia nástennej maľby Slovákov v Chorvátsku v SKC Našice. Zľava doprava: zástupca župana Osijecko-baranskej župy Josip Miletić; riaditeľka Materskej školy Zvončič v Našiciach Snježana Kandžerová; veľvyslankyňa Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe Hana Kováčová; primátor mesta Našice Krešimir Kašuba; etnologička Múzea Slavónska Tünde Šipošová Živić; predseda Zväzu Slovákov Mirko Vavra; spevácka skupina Matice slovenskej v Jurjevci Punitovskom.

Príležitostnými adventnými a vianočnými piesňami vernisáž výstavy obohatili členky speváckej skupiny Matice slovenskej v Jurjevci Punitovskom.

Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice na Stálej konferencii – Slovenská republika a Slováci žijúci v zahraničí v Bratislave

V Bratislave sa v dňoch 24. – 25. októbra 2024 konala Stála konferencia – Slovenská republika a Slováci žijúci v zahraničí, ktorú pravidelne každé dva roky organizuje Úrad pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí (ÚSZZ). Stála konferencia je kľúčovým fórom pre riešenie otázok života Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí a zúčastňujú sa jej zástupcovia slovenských komunit z celého sveta, významné osobnosti slovenského zahraničia a predstavitelia štátnych orgánov Slovenska.

V roku 2024 sa účastníci konferencie stretli na pôde Ministerstva zahraničných vecí a európskych záležitostí Slovenskej republiky. Konferenciu slávnostne otvoril minister zahraničných vecí SR Juraj Blanár, podpredseda vlády SR Peter Kmeč a predsedníčka ÚSZZ Dagmar Repčková.

Počas prvého dňa sa konferencia venovala kľúčovým témam, ako sú vzdelávanie, kultúra a v neposlednom rade aj problematika osvedčenií pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí. Počas druhého dňa Stálej konferencie sa diskutovalo o krajských médiách, ich súčasnom pôsobení a ich budúcnosti. Boli

predstavené výsledky a plány na obnovenie činnosti Tvorivej školy žurnalistiky ako i návrh, aby niesla názov podľa jeho dlhoročného organizátora, nebohého Ludovíta Pomichala, ktorý školu žurnalistiky viedol ako zamestnanec ÚŠŽZ.

Nasledujúce tematické celky boli venované plánom slovenských vzdelávacích centier, ktoré pôsobia po celom svete avšak aj výskumu Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí. Po prvýkrát na konferencii bola otvorená téma novodobej migrácie a využívania profesionálov z radov krajanov, ako aj návrat mozgov na Slovensko.

Motívom tohtoročnej konferencie *Spájanie pre budúcnosť* príležitostne zastrešilo všetky rôznorodé témy, ktoré odzneli počas oboch dní konferencie. Súčasťou prvého dňa konferencie bolo aj slávnostné udelenie medailí ÚŠŽZ, ktoré boli udelené šiestim oceneným osobnostiam a organizáciám, ktoré významnou mierou pôsobia alebo pôsobili v prospech Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí. Medailu dostal Pavol Baláž zo Srbska (in memoriam); diplomat Miroslav Mojžita; reverend Dušan Tóth z Kanady; súbor Vychodna Slovak Dancers z Kanady a v neposlednom rade Národné české a slovenské múzeum a knižnica v Cedar Rapids, USA. Medzi ocenenými bol aj profesor Jaroslav Čukan, osobnosť zo sveta slovenských etnológov, ktorý najdôkladnejšie pozná slovenské pomery Dolnej zeme. Okrem iného sa zaslúžil o vznik publikácie *Kultúrny potenciál Slovákov v Chorvátsku* a možno mu pripísať aj mnoho ďalších počinov. V rámci pedagogickej činnosti odchoval množstvo žiakov pôsobiacich dnes v rámci dolnozemskej komunity. Pri príležitosti jeho životného jubilea dožitia sa 70. rokov Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice pripravilo publikáciu, do ktorého prispeli jeho blízki spolupracovníci, ktorá mu bola na tejto konferencii aj odovzdaná.

Príspevok Slovenského kultúrneho centra Našice bol do programu konferencie zaradený do oblasti kultúry – *Zachovanie výrazových prostriedkov slovenskej kultúry vo výzvoch digitálneho sveta – od tradičnej kultúry k súčasnému umeniu*. Riaditeľka Sandra Kraljová Vukšić predniesla príspevok pod názvom *Multimediálne spracovanie prvkov kultúrneho dedičstva v kontexte budovania etnickej uvedomelosti mladej generácie*. Príspevok prezentoval činnosť Slovenského kultúrneho centra Našice v oblasti dokumentácie, ochrany, prezentácie či revitalizácie jedného prvku kultúrneho dedičstva na príklade fašiangovej masky slameného medveďa z Josipovca Punitovského. Fašiangová maska slameného medveďa bola v roku 2022 zaradená na Zoznam chránených kultúrnych prvkov Ministerstva kultúry a médií Chorvátskej republiky, SKC Našice centrum tak eviduje úspešnú aktivitu v oblasti ochrany slovenského kultúrneho dedičstva v zahraničí. Tento jav sa v rámci partnerstva na projekte *Minoritná kultúra ako prostriedok pre sebaidentifikáciu a posilnenie inklúzie v multietnickom prostredí – MySme* podarilo aktualizovať v roku 2024 prípravou krátkeho vzdelávacieho filmu pre žiakov, ktorí sa slovenčinu učia na základných školách. Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice v tejto súvislosti vyprodukovalo aj krátky dokumentárny film, ktorý následne prihlásili na medzinárodný filmový festival ETNOFILM Čadca 2024. Tu bol odbornou porotou zaradený medzi 30 najúspešnejších. Záver príspevku poukazuje na dôležitosť budovania kultúrnej infraštruktúry a v tejto súvislosti informuje o Kultúrno-edukačnom centre Zväzu Slovákov v Orebiči na poloostrove Pelješac, zámerom ktorého je rozšíriť možnosti na spoluprácu krajanov a prípravu nových obsahov s cieľom zachovania slovenského kultúrneho dedičstva.

Slamené medvede na ETNOFILME Čadca

Zamestnankyne Slovenského kultúrneho centra Našice pobudli od 14. do 16. novembra 2024 na Slovensku, presnejšie v meste Čadca, kde sa 15. novembra konal 23. ročník filmového festivalu Etnofilm Čadca.

ETNOFILM ČADCA je najstarším filmovým festivalom na Slovensku. Svoju históriu začal písať v roku 1980, keď sa v Čadci po prvý raz stretli tvorcovia filmov o ľudovej kultúre. Festival má v súčasnosti trvalé miesto jednak medzi odbornou, ako i laickou verejnosťou. Je to unikátne filmové podujatie venované problematike etnológie, sociálnej a kultúrnej antropológie, spôsobu života ľudskej spoločnosti a ľudovej kultúry prostredníctvom filmových diel, dokumentárnych filmov zo Slovenska i zo zahraničia. Cieľom festivalu je predstaviť najnovšie dokumentárne filmy o kultúrnej a sociálnej rôznorodosti ľudského spoločenstva a podporiť vznik nových filmových diel na uvedené témy udeľovaním rôznych cien.

Do ročníka 2024 sa prihlásilo 109 filmov z 35 krajín, z ktorých odborná porota festivalu zaradila do hlavnej súťaže 29 filmov z 22 krajín. Z Chorvátska sa na festivale zúčastnili dva filmy. Jeden z nich je aj film pod názvom *Slamené medvede – Symbol lokálnej identity josipovských Slovákov*, ktorý vznikol v produkcii Element media j.s.r.o. z Osijeku a v spolupráci so Slovenským kultúrnym centrom Našice a Maticou slovenskou v Josipovci. Film prináša poznatky o fašiangovej maske medveda či tradičnom fašiangovom sprievode, ktorý sa v obci Josipovec Punitovský zachoval dodnes. Pozornosť sa upriamuje na prípravu masky medveda, ako aj na popis samotného obsahu a priebehu fašiangového sprievodu.

Filmy vybrané Odbornou komisiou boli premietané nielen v Čadci, ale aj na vysokých školách v Žiline, Banskej Bystrici, Nitre a Bratislave, a v období 12. do 19. novembra boli sprístupnené aj online. Na vyhlásení víťazov účastníkov z Chorvátska prišiel podporiť aj veľvyslanec Chorvátskej republiky na Slovensku, Jeho Excelencia Aleksandar Heina.

Sandra Kraljová Vukšićová*

Medaila Úradu pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí Jaroslavovi Čukanovi a publikácia pri príležitosti životného jubilea

Pri príležitosti životného jubilea 70 rokov bola prof. PhDr. Jaroslavovi Čukanovi, CSc. udelená medaila Úradu pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí za zásluhy o zachovávanie kultúrneho dedičstva krajanov. Medailu mu slávnostne odovzdali minister zahraničných vecí a európskych záležitostí SR Juraj Blahar; podpredseda vlády SR Peter Kmec

a predsedníčka Úradu pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí Dagmar Repčková v Bratislave 24. októbra 2024 na Stálej konferencii Úradu pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí. Okrem ceny mu bola odovzdaná aj príležitostná publikácia, v ktorej na odbornú spoluprácu, ale aj kamarátstva s profesorom spomínajú uznávaní odborníci, jeho kolegovia, spolupracovníci

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a bývalí študenti zo Slovenska, Poľska a Dolnej zeme.

Udelenie Ceny Úradu pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí Jaroslavovi Čukanovi a príprava publikácie pri príležitosti jeho životného jubilea predstavujú poďakovanie, úctu a uznanie za jeho životný vklad do kultúrno-spoločenského života dolnozemskej Slovákov. Za zachovanie slovenskej etnickej identity v tomto priestore, a to nielen prostredníctvom výskumov a bohatej odbornej publikačnej činnosti, ale aj za pedagogické vedenie študentov z Dolnej zeme, ktorých svojimi manažérskymi schopnosťami formoval na zariadených odborníkov, pracujúcich pre potreby slovenských dolnozemskej komunit jednotlivých krajín. Je to poďakovanie za jeho vklad do človeka Dolnej zeme, v mene dolnozemskej.

Jaroslav Čukan, ktorý 13. októbra oslávil 70 rokov, patrí k výrazným osobnostiam etnologickej spoločnosti Slovenska a k najplodnejším autorom publikácií o Dolnej zemi. Po absolvovaní štúdia národopisu na Univerzite Komenského v Bratislave (UK) v rokoch 1974 – 1978 bol úspešným vedeckým pracovníkom Etnografického ústavu Slovenského národného múzea v Martine, kde sa stal vedúcim Oddelenia vedeckého výskumu a jeho národopisné metodologické syntézy z tohto obdobia sú dodnes vysoko uznávané. Popri múzejnej činnosti sa podieľal aj na organizácii folklórnych festivalov vo Východnej, Myjave a Detve, kde bol aj autorom programov.

Od roku 1991 úspešne budoval akademickú univerzitnú kariéru v rodnej Nitre. Od roku 1991 tak začalo jeho vedecko-pedagogické pôsobenie na dnešnej Univerzite Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre



Obr. 1: Udelenie ceny prof. J. Čukanovi – zľava doprava: predsedníčka Úradu pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí Dagmar Repčková; prof. Jaroslav Čukan; minister zahraničných vecí Juraj Blanár a podpredseda vlády SR Peter Kmec.

(UKF). Osem rokov (1991 – 1998) stál na čele Katedry folkloristiky a regionalistiky, ktorú budoval po materiálnej aj personálnej stránke. Svoje organizačné a riadiace schopnosti preukázal založením Katedry manažmentu kultúry a turizmu, ktorú viedol v rokoch 1999 – 2016. Inicioval založenie časopisu *Kontexty kultúry a turizmu*, ktorého je už 20 rokov šéfredaktorom. Vykonával aj funkciu prodekana Filozofickej fakulty súčasnej UKF v Nitre, a to v období 1995 – 2001. V roku 1995 sa na UK v Bratislave habilitoval na docenta v odbore etnografia. Za profesora bol vymenovaný v roku 2001.

Profesor Jaroslav Čukan v málopočetnej skupine slovenských odborníkov zameraných na slovenský svet aj mimo Slovenska, a najmä na Dolnú zem, zaujíma popredné miesto. Aj keď je to Slováč z Nitre, veľkú časť svojho nielen odborného pôsobenia, ale aj osobného života, nezištne venoval dolnozemskej. Je to osobnosť zo sveta slovenských etnológov a kulturoológov, ktorá najdôkladnejšie pozná kontext a súčasne slovenské podoby Dolnej zeme. Profesor vlastný výskumný talent v tomto priestore naplno uplatňoval viac ako tri desaťročia a aj výskumne



Obr. 2: Titulná strana príležitostnej publikácie k životnému jubileu 70 rokov Jaroslava Čukana, ktorú vydalo Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice.

sa ukotvil v priestore Dolnej zeme. Jeho výskum, ako vlastne aj jeho život, je založený na ľudskosti a odbornosti.

Od polovice 90. rokov sa zapájal spolu so svojimi kolegami a študentmi do kolektívnych výskumov Slovákov v Maďarsku. Tím jeho katedry, dolnozemocami prezývaní aj „čukanovci“, sa postupom času vďaka húževnatosti a pracovnému nasadeniu vypracoval na uznávaných tvorcov interdisciplinárnych monografií obcí osídlených Slovákami v Rumunsku, Srbsku, Maďarsku a Chorvátsku. Z krátkodobých výskumov dolnozemských Slovákov vzišla aj jeho debutová vedecká publikácia *Dolnozemske reflexie na nerolníckej zamestnanosti* (2001). Publikovanie spomenutej monografie mu umožnilo vstúpiť do inauguračného konania.

Dôkladný terény výskum „čukanovcov“, jeho následné spracovanie a

publikovanie v knižnej podobe priniesli bohaté výsledky: 15 monografických syntéz a viac ako 60 štúdií o Dolnej zemi. Rozsiahlejšie monografické publikácie vzišli z výskumov v Erdevíku, Pivnici, Boľovciach, Silbaši, Soľanoch, Vojlovici, Borumlaku, Varzali, Butíne či v Békešskej Čabe. Výsledkom projektovej činnosti *Kultúrny potenciál dolnozemských Slovákov* vznikli publikácie *Kultúrny potenciál Slovákov v Chorvátsku*, *Kultúrny potenciál Slovákov v Srieme*, *Kultúrny potenciál Slovákov v Banáte* či *Kultúrny potenciál Slovákov v Rumunsku*.

Vlastnú oddanosť etnológii prof. Čukan prenášal na svoje okolie – spolupracovníkov a študentov. Jeho osobný vklad do kultúrneho potenciálu Dolnej zeme, okrem výskumov a publikovania, je aj v budovaní ľudských zdrojov, nedostatok ktorých si uvedomoval pri výskumoch. Prostredníctvom svojho pedagogicko-manadžérskeho pôsobenia budoval ľudské zdroje nevyhnutné na udržanie „slovenskosti“ dolnozemcov. Za pedagogickú prácu si na UKF vyslúžil viacero ocenení a jeho študenti sú dnes odborníci, vedúci krajských organizácií vrátane Dolnej zeme.

Profesorovi Čukanovi prajem všetko najlepšie, nech sa mu mnohonásobne vráti všetko, čo pre svojich študentov a zvlášť dolnozemcov urobil. A nech sa v zdraví stretávame pri nových projektoch a tešíme z každého stretnutia!

Sandra Kraljová Vukšićová*

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ROZHOVOR

RAZGAVOR

Rozhovor s etnológom Jánom Botíkom*

Univerzitný profesor Ján Botík sa narodil v roku 1938 v Gornej Mitropoliji v slovenskej komunite v Bulharsku. Je vedeckým pracovníkom, emeritným profesorom a patrí medzi popredných slovenských etnológov. Vo svojom profesionálnom živote sa zaoberal a ešte stále zaoberá oblasťami ako tradičná rodina, ľudová architektúra a bývanie, migračné štúdie, teória etnicity, kolektívne identity, etnické minority na Slovensku a v zahraničí a najmä slovenským vystahovalectvom na Balkáne. V rokoch 1996 až 2005 pracoval ako vedúci Dokumentačného centra chorvátskej kultúry na Slovensku a prispel k budovaniu zbierkového fondu neskôr vzniknutého SNM – Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku. Položil základy vedeckého bádania v oblasti etnológie tejto minority na Slovensku a zostavil doteraz jedinú ucelenú monografiu o Chorvátoch na Slovensku. Počas svojho bohatého vedeckého života vydal desiatky publikácií a je autorom stoviek odborných štúdií a recenzií. V rozhovore sme sa zamerali na jeho pohnútky k štúdiu etnológie a jeho ďalšiemu vedeckému smerovaniu, záujmu o etnicitu a minority na Slovenku. Venovali sme sa aj jeho odbornej orientácii smerom na slovenskú menšinu v zahraničí a chorvátsku menšinu na Slovensku.

Prečo ste sa rozhodli pre štúdium
národopisu/etnológie?

Moja cesta k národopisu viedla dost veľkou okľukou. Ako absolvent strojníckej priemyslovky som nemal záujem pokračovať v štúdiu v technickom, ale vo filozofickom zameraní. Príťahovala ma najmä literárna tvorba, domáca aj svetová, pretože sprostredkovávala život ľudí v najrozličnejšom sociálnom, kultúrnom aj národnostnom prostredí. Pre takéto zameranie som si vytypoval študijné predmety slovenčina – španielčina. Keďže španielčina sa v tom čase na bratislavskej Filozofickej fakulte UK ešte neprednášala, v roku 1958 som sa stal poslucháčom slovenčiny a ruštiny.

Už v prvom ročníku sme ku všeobecnému literárnemu základu mali aj prednášky o folklóre a folkloristike. Až vtedy

som sa dozvedel, že folklór je súčasťou tradičnej ľudovej kultúry a folkloristika súčasťou národopisu, čiže vedy o tradíciách ľudovej a národnej kultúry. Na moje veľké prekvapenie, z týchto prednášok som sa postupne zorientoval, že aj folkloristika a národopis sú vedné disciplíny, ktorých predmetom záujmu je tiež spôsob života ľudí v rôznych historických, civilizačných a národnostných podmienkach, lenže v porovnaní s tvorbou prozaikov a básnikov národopisci a folkloristi ho zobrazujú na odlišných reáliách, aj rozdielnym tvorivým postupom. No a toto moje nové poznanie ma do takej miery fascinovalo, že po ukončení prvého ročníka som požiadal o zmenu študijného predmetu. Vďaka tomu som sa od druhého ročníka stal poslucháčom národopisu a po ukončení univerzitného štúdia graduovaným etnológom.

* Zhovárал sa Andrej SOLÁR.



Univerzitný profesor Ján Botík.

Ktorá osobnosť vás najviac ovplyvnila vo vašom vedeckom smerovaní?

V doterajšom už polstoročnom národopisnom účinkovaní oblasťami môjho odborného záujmu bola problematika ľudovej architektúry, tradičnej rodiny, regionalistiky, muzeológie, národnostných menšín a iných tematických okruhov. Aj pri takomto zameraní dlhší čas som sa vo svojej výskumnej činnosti pridŕžoval metodiky pozitivistickej etnografie 19. storočia, spočívajúcej na faktografických popisoch skúmaných reálií, bez ich sociálnych a kultúrnych súvislostí. K pochopeniu významu týchto súvislostí som sa dostával postupne, ako som sa zoznamoval s bádateľskými výsledkami renomovaných etnológov. Prvou takouto konceptuálnou inšpiráciou, ktorá predstavovala teoretický zlom v mojej výskumnej činnosti, bol koncept ruského etnografa Sergeja Alexandroviča Tokareva, ktorého

podstata spočívala v tom, že materiálna vec nemôže etnografa zaujímať mimo jej sociálnej existencie, mimo jej vzťahu k človeku, ktorý ju vytvoril, a ktorý si ňou slúži. A navyše, pre nás nie je dôležité poznať iba vzťah veci k človeku alebo vzťah človeka k veci, ale aj vzťahy medzi ľuďmi podmienené danou vecou.

Vďaka osvojeniu takéhoto teoretického konceptu mohol som svoje výskumy zamerané na tradičné staviteľstvo a bývanie rozpracovávať nielen so zreteľom na technologicko-konštrukčné, výtvarné a dispozično-funkčné danosti, ale aj so zreteľom na sociálny ekvivalent obydľia, ktorým bola tradičná rodina. Finálnym výsledkom takto zameraného výskumu bola di-

zertačná práca s názvom *Korelácie medzi formami rodiny a obydľia*, ktorú som obhajoval v roku 1975.

K hlavným oblastiam vášho záujmu patrí etnicita, Slováci v zahraničí a etnické menšiny žijúce na Slovensku. Čo podmienilo váš záujem o tieto oblasti výskumu?

Bádateľská príťažlivosť problematiky etnicity a etnických minorít mala v mojom prípade jednak osobnú, no hlavne odbornú motiváciu. Tá osobná vyplynula z toho, že ako rodák v spoločenstve slovenských kolonistov v Bulharsku, po ich reemigrácii do Československa po druhej svetovej vojne, ako aj po završení vysokoškolského štúdia, mojou ambíciou bolo zdokumentovať ich vysťahovalecké a reemigrantské osudy. V roku 1994 sa mi to podarilo finalizovať publikáciou a rovnomennou výstavou *Slováci v Bulharsku*.

No a tá odborná motivácia dlhodobého záujmu o etnicitu a etnické minority súvisela s tým, že na sklonku 20. storočia sa fenomén etnicity v spojitosti s procesmi globalizácie a multikulturalizmu stal hybnou silou moderného sveta. Pojmy *eticita* a *etnická identita* sa v sociálnych vedách začali využívať ako sociálny konštrukt pri vytváraní individuálneho alebo skupinového sebaobrazu: som osobou len v takej miere, v akej sám seba ako osobu poznám, a práve tak je skupina ľudí kmeňom či národom len v takej miere, nakoľko sa v medziach týchto pojmov chápe a spodobňuje. Ľudia od najstarších čias sa dokázali bez ťažkostí začleňovať do skupín – rodina, komunita, kmeň, náboženské spoločenstvo, atď. Ľudia neradi žijú osamote a v bezradnosti. Preto sa neustále snažia niekam prináležať, združiť sa a stotožniť so skupinou, ktorú považujú za svoju. Etnicita a etnická identita sú univerzálne vlastnosti človeka ako spoločenskej a kultúrnej bytosti. Majú identifikačnú funkciu, sú nástrojom identifikácie jednotlivcov so svojou skupinou: my sme my, čiže nemôžeme byť súčasne sami pre seba aj tí druhí – oni. Taliansky bádateľ multikulturalizmu a skupinových identít Giovanni Sartori zdôraznil, že vždy musí byť splnená podmienka rozhraničenia identifikujúcich sa skupín: Naša identita je totožná s my, oni predstavujú odlišné identity, ktoré vymedzujú tú našu. Nenahraditeľným doplnkom/protipólom identity je inakosť. Kto a akí sme, závisí od toho, kto a akí nie sme. Každú skupinu charakterizuje uzavretosť, vnútorná zomknutosť, ktorá je však zároveň aj vylúčením, nevypustením dovnútra. Pokiaľ nie sme obklopení nejakými „oni“, žiadne „my“ nevznikne.

Možno teda zhrnúť, že tou najrozhodujúcejšou motiváciou môjho záujmu o problematiku etnicity a etnických minorít bol zintenzívnený proces teoretického

rozpracovávaní základných pojmov a konceptov pri výskume etnických spoločenskostí. Zavážilo aj to, že sme v národopisnej vede mali na tomto bádateľskom úseku značné podľžnosti, aj prekonané teoretické prístupy.

Veľký zlom vo vašom vedeckom živote nastal v roku 1996, keď ste sa začali venovať výskumu Chorvátov na Slovensku. Čo vás priviedlo k tejto téme a problematike?

Pri tejto otázke musím spresniť, že zámer venovať sa výskumu Chorvátov na Slovensku neskrsol z mojej osobnej iniciatívy, ale z inštitucionálnych podnetov. Keď v Chorvátskom kultúrnom zväze na Slovensku uvažovali o revitalizácii značne oslabeného národnostného povedomia svojich príslušníkov, za účinný prostriedok ako docieľiť uvedené zábery, považovali zriadenie odborného pracoviska muzeálneho typu. Takže požiadali Ministerstvo kultúry Slovenskej republiky o poskytnutie grantu k vytvoreniu národnostného múzea. Keďže Chorvátsky kultúrny zväz nedisponoval personálnymi ani priestorovými kapacitami pre vytvorenie takejto odbornej ustanovizne, Ministerstvo požadované prostriedky prideliť Slovenskému národnému múzeu s tým, aby odborne odštartovalo zriaďovanie a činnosť špecializovaného múzea pre Chorvátov na Slovensku. Tak sa pri Historickom múzeu SNM zrodila organizačná jednotka s názvom *Dokumentačné centrum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku*. Keďže v tom čase som sa na tomto pracovisku iba ja venoval problematike národnostných menšín, riaditeľ ma poveril, aby som sa stal vedúcim novozriadeného dokumentačného centra. Túto funkciu som vykonával až do roku 2006, keď v Devínskej Novej Vsi

začalo pôsobiť *Múzeum chorvátskej kultúry na Slovensku*.

S akými zámermi ste špecifikovali a rámcovali činnosť a ťažiskové úlohy Dokumentačného centra chorvátskej kultúry?

Hlavný dôraz sme sústredili na zbierkotvornú činnosť, pri zhromažďovaní dokladov o päť storočí trvajúcej prítomnosti chorvátskych kolonistov na území Slovenska. Konceptuálnym zreteľom bola skutočnosť, že v etnokultúrnom vývine tohto enklávneho spoločenstva pôsobili dva základné trendy. Jedným z nich bola tendencia pretrvávania zdedenej jazykovej a kultúrnej výbavy, a tým druhým trendom boli jazykové a kultúrne výpožičky z prostredia obklopujúcej starousadlej spoločnosti. Keďže tieto skutočnosti sa nedali zdokumentovať iba hmotnými zbierkovými predmetmi, do programu Dokumentačného centra sme zaradili aj vedeckovýskumnú a publikačnú činnosť. Prostredníctvom nej sme sa mohli dopracovať ku komplexnému obrazu o vývine Chorvátov na Slovensku v podmienkach ich dlhodobého odlúčenia od materského národa. Vďaka tomu mohli byť spracované a vydané viaceré publikačné výstupy, vrátane súhrnnej a syntetizujúcej monografie *Slovenskí Chorváti z pohľadu spoločenskovedných poznatkov* (Botík 2001).

Zaznamenali ste rozdiely v badaní Slovákov v zahraničí a Chorvátov na Slovensku?

Určité odlišnosti sa pri takejto komparácii dajú špecifikovať. Najmä ak by sme porovnávali Chorvátov na Slovensku so zahraničnými Slovákami vo vyspelých európskych krajinách a v zámorí. Rozdielne

boli nielen okolnosti vysťahovalectva, ale aj jeho dôsledky. Chorváti na Slovensku, usídlení v podmienkach tradičnej agrárnej spoločnosti mali väčšie predpoklady ku kontinuálnemu pretrvávaniu ich etnickej svojbytnosti, ako napr. americkí Slováci ukotvení v podmienkach industriálnej spoločnosti a účinkovania tzv. taviaceho kotla prijímajúcej krajiny. Naproti tomu pri porovnávaní Chorvátov na Slovensku a slovenských minorít v stredoeurópskych krajinách nemožno prehliadnúť výrazné zhody príčin a dôsledkov migračných a kolonizačných procesov. Určité odlišnosti, hlavne po rozpade Rakúsko-Uhorska a vzniku nástupníckych štátov (1918) sa dali zaregistrovať, hlavne pri zohľadňovaní právnej ochrany národnostných menšín.

Aká bola vaša spolupráca s chorvátskymi združeniami na Slovensku?

Či už so strešným Chorvátskym zväzom na Slovensku, ako aj s jeho miestnymi spolkami v Devínskej Novej Vsi, Chorvátskom Grobe, Jarovciach a Čunove sme boli v osobnom kontakte. Vyžadovalo si to riešenie praktických ako aj koncepčných problémov činnosti Dokumentačného centra na úseku zbierkotvorných aj vedeckovýskumných aktivít. S tým súvisela aj naša iniciatíva priebežne sprostredkovať v chorvátskych komunitách výsledky Dokumentačného centra.

Prínosom bola taktiež spolupráca s kultúrnymi centrami Chorvátov v rakúskom Burgenlande. Spočívala hlavne vo vzájomnej výmene literatúry a najnovších bádateľských výsledkov, čo nám prispievalo k prehĺbovaniu poznatkov o súňaležitosti Chorvátov na Slovensku s rozsiahlym chorvátskym ostrovom na

strednom Dunaji, čiže s tzv. gradiščanskými Chorvátmi. Osobitne záslužným počínom bola spolupráca pri spracovávaní a publikačnom sprístupnení kronikárskej pozostalosti Jure Treuera z Jaroviec, ktorá vyšla pod názvom *Náše selo Hrvatski Jandrof* (editori J. Botík a N. Benčić: 2005).

Ktorú zo svojich publikácií z oblasti skúmania etnicity a etnických menšín považujete za najvýznamnejšiu?

Je to publikácia, ktorá mi vyšla v roku 2007 pod názvom *Etnická história Slovenska: K problematike etnicity, etnickej identity, multietnického Slovenska a zahraničných Slovákov*. Vznikla počas môjho pedagogického pôsobenia na Univerzite Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre. K jej napísaniu ma motivovala potreba sprístupniť študijnú príručku k rozvetvenej, značne neprehľadnej a v mnohom aj protirečivej etnickej problematike v slovenských vedeckých, ale aj politických kruhoch.

Obraz etnickej histórie Slovenska som nekoncepčnoval ako etnocentricky poňaté dejiny majoritného národa, (ako sa to praktizovalo v celoslovensky koncepčovaných publikáciách národopiscov a historikov ešte aj v 20. storočí), ale ako obraz Slovenska, ktorého historický a etnokultúrny vývin je výsledkom spolužitia Slovákov s príslušníkmi na Slovensku žijúcich inoetnických skupín – Maďarov, Nemcov, Rusínov-Ukrajincov, Židov, Rómov a Čechov. Do takto rámcovaného obrazu Slovenska som začlenil aj zahraničných Slovákov, pretože dokiaľ sa u týchto vysťahovalcov uchováva vedomie slovenskosti, alebo aspoň vedomie pôvodu, ich vysťahovalecké osudy sú prirodzeným pokračovaním dejín Slovákov, a ich symbiózou a

synkretizmom poznačené subkultúry v rôznych krajinách sveta, sú organickou súčasťou národnokultúrneho imania Slovákov.

Zažili ste počas vašej vedeckej činnosti momenty či udalosti, ktoré považujete za zlomové?

Takých situácií som vo svojom bádateľskom účinkovaní zažil viacero. Avšak za najvýznamnejšiu považujem tú, keď som si prečítal štúdiu historika Lubomíra Liptáka o historickom povedomí. V nej ma zaujala jadrne sformulovaná paradigma, že podstata všetkého, čo sa odohráva v čase, je vzťah kontinuity a diskontinuity. Čiže vzťah pretrvávania a zmeny, tradície a inovácie, prijímania a odmietania, odolávania a splývania (E. Lipták 2000).

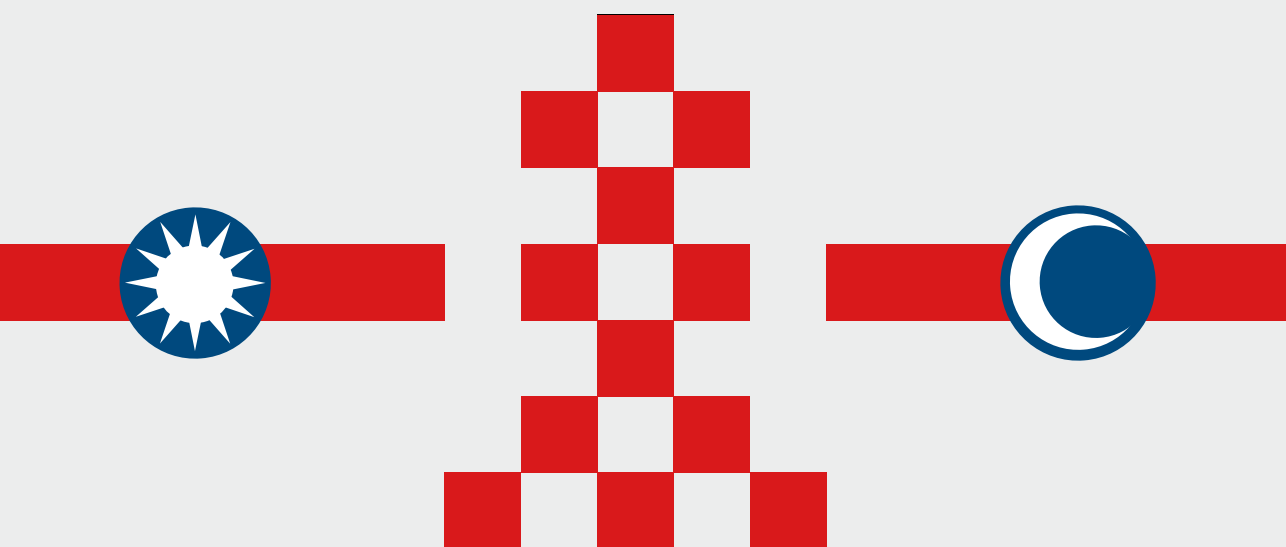
Po prečítaní tejto štúdie sa mi začala odvíjať procesualnosť enklávnych a minoritných spoločenstiev, ktorá nebola iba pohybom kontinuálneho pretrvávania, ale aj pohybom diskontinuitných zmien. Čoskoro som pochopil, akou anomáliou bolo u národopiscov zotrúvanie na prístupoch z evolucionizmu 19. storočia odvodeného konceptu o kultúrnych reziduách. Čiže o pretrvávani kultúrnych javov, ktoré v podmienkach etnických enkláv a národnostných menšín ustrnuli a zostávali zakonzervované v nezmenenej archaickej podobe. Pritom v dôsledku kontinuitných a diskontinuitných trendov vo vývine etnických minorít v ich živote sa uplatňovala nielen zotrúvanosť, ale aj medzietnické a interkultúrne spojitosti, čoho výsledkom boli súbežné procesy pretrvávania a zmeny. Paradigma Lubomíra Liptáka o kontinuite a diskontinuite vniesla do mojich migračných a minoritných štúdií progresívnejšiu platformu teoretického uvažovania.

Čomu sa venujete v súčasnosti?

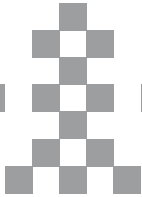
Dni človeka v penzijnom veku sú oveľa dlhšie a jednotvárnejšie ako u zamestnancov. Tiež ich načím niečím vyplňať. Takže popri čítaní dennej tlače a životopisov výnimočných osobností, privítaval som príležitostné pozvania na konferencie,

alebo aj prednášať poslucháčom Univerzity tretieho veku. Výnimočné vzrušenie som zažíval, keď sa mi naskytla možnosť pripraviť monografiu o našich v srbskej Vojvodine. Som pravidelným prispievateľom do publikácií a do časopisu Spolku Slovákov z Bulharska.

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Art and Identities

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Vol. V.

Art and Identities

Editori

Martin Homza, Željko Holjevac, Mirjana Repanić Braun & Ivan Gerát

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The motif on the cover is motivated by the first silver denarius of Coloman of Galicia (MONETA REGIS P SCLAVONIA, around 1235). The motif from the front script comes from the tombstone of Stephan Zápoľský (after 1499).

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Editorial

Uvodnik / Úvodník

The fifth issue of the scholarly journal *Studia Carpathico Adriatica* is thematically connected to the proceedings of the conference *Art and Identities*, convened at the Východoslovenská Galéria in Košice on June 12, 2024.

Reflecting the role and significance of the Slovak–Croatian Commission in fostering relations between two historically close nations — and, in particular, in strengthening cooperation within the humanities — the conference was formally inaugurated with addresses by H.E. Alexander Hein, Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the Slovak Republic; Ms. Martina Klofáčová, representative of the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic; and Mr. Stašo Skenzič, representative of the Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia.

In this issue, the published peer reviewed articles—conducted following established editorial practice through a double blind international peer-review process with two reviews—bring engaging discussions on various aspects of Slovak and Croatian visual heritage: for example, stylistic models, patrons, the reception of visual motifs, and the comparison of artistic practices from the former socialist countries of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, within which they were situated.

The construction of identity within the art field typically emerges from processes that transcend the confines of local communities, regions, or nation-states. As Ivan Gerát has observed, the historical geography of art not only serves to describe past phenomena but also actively participates in the formation of contemporary identities. Naturally, in the case of the Košice conference, we are referring to visual arts, the most powerful tool for expressing personal, group, national, cultural, and religious identities. Whether expressed through painting, sculpture, innovative artistic practices, applied arts, or architecture, art functions simultaneously as an opening of boundaries and as a means of their definition—particularly when reinforcing national, religious, and cultural values. At the focus of Gerát's article is the northern portal of St Elizabeth's Church in Košice, an original work whose sculptures Gerát traces stylistically to older church portals in Western and Southern Europe, and especially in Croatia, in the famous work of Master Radovan on the main portal of the Cathedral of St Lawrence in Trogir (1240). The cult of St Elizabeth—who, by origin and birth in Bratislava at the beginning of the 13th century, was called "of Hungary", and by marriage to Ludwig, son of the Landgrave of Thuringia, became

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“of Thuringia”—was particularly developed in Slovakia, where she became part of the country’s historical and cultural heritage. Her sculptures and altarpieces are common in Catholic countries of Central Europe, including the churches of continental Croatia, where she is mostly referred to as St Elizabeth of Thuringia.

Katarína Orviská examines the former main altar of St Martin’s Church in Bratislava, the work of Georg Raphael Donner consecrated in 1733, in the context of the civic identity of its donor, Count and Bishop Emeric Esterházy. This monumental altar of Neoclassical architectural design, with slender fluted columns and a high entablature, was initially attributed to Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach (1693–1742) and Antonio Galli Bibiena, and ultimately to Donner, who, at the commission of his patron Emeric Esterházy, also created for the same church the altar of St John the Merciful, Patriarch of Alexandria (1729). The Baroque altar of St Martin no longer exists—it was removed around 1867—and Donner’s bronze sculpture *St Martin with the Beggar*, the central figurative group of the former altar, found its place in the church nave, to the right of the triumphal arch. It is interesting to note that what is probably the only altar surmounted by the great Holy Crown of Hungary (*Sacra Regni Hungarici Corona*) is located in Croatia, erected in 1763 in the Cathedral of St Teresa of Ávila in Požega, the heavenly patroness of Empress and Queen Maria Theresa, donor of the large altarpiece by Caspar Franz Sambach, which still adorns it today.

Danko Šourek in his work also writes about Count Emeric Esterházy in the context of Croatian artistic heritage, noting that as bishop in Vác, Zagreb, and Veszprém, and later as Archbishop of Esztergom residing in Pressburg, he

connected the artistic legacies of Slovakia, Hungary, and Croatia. Although he considers the peak of Esterházy’s patronage to be marked by the fruitful collaboration with the aforementioned Georg Raphael Donner—which in Bratislava resulted in exceptional sculptural and altarpiece works in St Martin’s Church—Šourek emphasises that his high artistic culture also left a significant mark in the territory of the historical Diocese of Zagreb. In addition to commissioning several excellent goldsmith’s works, there are also remarkable achievements such as the silver antependium of the cathedral’s main altar or the marble altar of St Ignatius of Loyola in the former Jesuit church in Zagreb. His contributions to the Pauline Order, to which he himself belonged, are marked by frescoes in the refectory and library of the Pauline Monastery in Lepoglava.

Funerary monuments as testimony to social status—the reception of artistic solutions among the Croatian nobility—is a topic that Maja Žvorc has been researching for some time. In the first half of the 17th century, funerary sculpture in the present-day Croatian and Slovak territories, Žvorc notes, underwent significant changes, moving away from medieval depictions of the deceased and approaching the works of contemporary portraiture. In her article, she therefore examines how this new artistic solution, initially represented among Hungarian magnates, was gradually adopted by the Croatian nobility. Analysing examples of funerary monuments erected in continental Croatia, she considers the socio-political context of their creation and the symbolic meaning of the visual elements present, which emphasise the military and social status of the deceased. She devotes particular attention to the transmission of artistic ideas within noble

circles and the role of funerary sculpture in shaping noble identity.

Sanja Cvetnić, in her work *Between Košice and Knin: The Contribution of Alexius Jordánszky to the Theme of Hortus Marianus in Croatia*, examines the work *A Short Description of the Images of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Hungary and the Parts Belonging to It* (1836 in German and Hungarian; 1838 in Slovak) by Alexius Jordánszky (Košice, 1765 – Esztergom, 1840) as an important Mariological treatise that provides historical insight into Marian pilgrimage sites in Croatia. Jordánszky describes eight locations: Trsat (Bishopric of Senj), Marija Bistrica, Remete, Krapina / Trški Vrh (Bishopric of Zagreb), and Aljmaš, Dragotin, Sotin, Petrovaradin (Bishopric of Đakovo). Born in Slovakia, Jordánszky was a prominent ecclesiastical and intellectual figure in the Habsburg Monarchy. Nevertheless, in Croatian church history and art history, he is especially remembered as titular Bishop of Tinin (Knin, Croatia) and for his descriptions and illustrations of the aforementioned Marian images.

Although Slovakia holds only one work by the Croatian academic painter and printmaker Menci Clement Crnčić, Marta Herucová refers to him as an exceptional figure of Croatian fine art—especially Impressionism and Pointillism—and dedicates her study *Menci Clement Crnčić and the Mystery of His Painting* to him. Croatian by origin, born in Austria, he was educated in Moravia and Bavaria and often stayed on the Adriatic coast and in many European countries, becoming the author of numerous landscape paintings. His only painting preserved in Slovakia deviates from the rest of his oeuvre, leaning towards Symbolism, and raises several questions in the field of iconography and related topics.

In his paper *Body and Nature in the Art of Former Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia: Some Comparative Examples*, Daniel Gruň seeks to re-examine the art of Body Art and Land Art from a new perspective. However, he emphasizes the shifting of boundaries between culture and nature, justified by the fact that the artists in question at the time maintained personal contacts. They exchanged information and used postal communication to distribute their works, and, in the author's view, reducing these means to the body and nature returns the imagination to the *arché*—the primordial basis of the world. Among other things, Gruň seeks to shed light on the exploration of the processes of birth, extinction, transformation, the force of gravity, or the natural elements—air, water, earth, and fire—focusing on the interaction of the body and nature, the return to archaic rituals, faces as masks, forms of becoming-animal that result in modern “instructed primitivism” and, finally, various forms of artistic communication.

Katarína Bajrucová writes about the Slovak artist Jozef Jankovič (1937–2017) in Croatia. Considered one of the most important figures in the history of Slovak sculpture, he was one of the victims of political “normalisation” and the violent suppression of democratic processes in Czechoslovakia after 1968. Despite being banned from exhibiting and travelling, Jankovič successfully maintained friendly contacts in other countries, including the former Yugoslavia, where he created and exhibited his works. As his major works, Bajrucová highlights *Vrata* (*The Gate*, 1985) in the Dobrova Sculpture Park in Labin, *Ruke* (*Hands*, 1994) in Vrsar, and the *Crucifix* (1995) in the Memorial Centre, also in the town of Labin, analysing and interpreting them from cultural/visual and personal/artistic perspectives.

Finally, I wholeheartedly congratulate Prof. Dr. Martin Homza and Prof. Dr. Željko Holjevac, the editors in chief of the journal, because I know how demanding the work is if it is not the only task to perform, and thank them for the trust they placed in me by inviting me to write this editorial. I also thank them as the founders and co chairs of the Slovak Croatian / Croatian Slovak Commission

for the Humanities, for allowing me to be part of an important and valuable project that has brought together scholars from the two friendly countries on topics in the humanities, the topics to which all of us – members, participants and colleagues have dedicated and continue to dedicate ourselves, with the support of the ministries of science of the Republic of Croatia and the Slovak Republic.

ART AND IDENTITIES

Azimuths of the Historical Geography of Art: A Case Study of the Visual Cult of Saint Elizabeth in Košice**

Azimuty historickej geografie umenia – príklad vizuálneho kultu svätej Alžbety v Košiciach/ Azimuti geografije povijesti umjetnosti – primjer vizualnog kulta sv. Elizabete u Košicama

Konštrukcie identít v umení sú spravidla výsledkom procesom, presahujúcim hranice lokálnych komunit, regiónov či štátov. Historická geografia umenia pritom nielen opisuje minulé procesy, ale podieľa sa aj na tvorbe identít súčasníkov. Severný portál košického kostola sv. Alžbety je originálnym dielom, ktorého predchodcov možno vidieť v portálovej plastike nielen západnej, ale aj južnej Európy: v tomto zmysle je oneskorenou paralelou diela majstra Radovana v Trogire (1240). V tomto čase sa – takisto v kontexte protiheteretických zápasov – v Marburgu sformoval obraz svätej princeznej uhorského pôvodu, patrónky košického chrámu. Komunikácia na západno-východnej osi však bola aj v 15. storočí dopĺňaná v severno-južnom smere – napríklad aj doposiaľ nepovšimnutou recepciou rastúceho kultu sv. Kataríny Sienskej, ktorú možno vidieť v originálnych prvkoch ikonografie hlavného oltára košického dómu.

Kľúčové slová: Kultúrna komunikácia, občianska identita, sv. Alžbeta Uhorská, sv. Katarína zo Sieny

There is almost a two-hundred-year span between the portals of the cathedrals in Košice (after 1400) and Trogir (around 1240), yet they have something in common. Both were built in a late phase of the style of their period – the first in Romanesque, the second in Gothic – and moreover, on the fringes of the areas where the respective style was developing. Despite the apparent then style exhaustion and the distance of both sites from the key artistic centres

of their time, each of these two creations brought about several original solutions to the development of portal decoration. Evaluating the artistic significance of these works always requires taking into account complex geographical contexts, various direct inspirations, as well as looser analogies that can be sought in several directions.

The analysis of the reliefs of the west portal of the Cathedral of Saint Lawrence in Trogir is one of the pivotal

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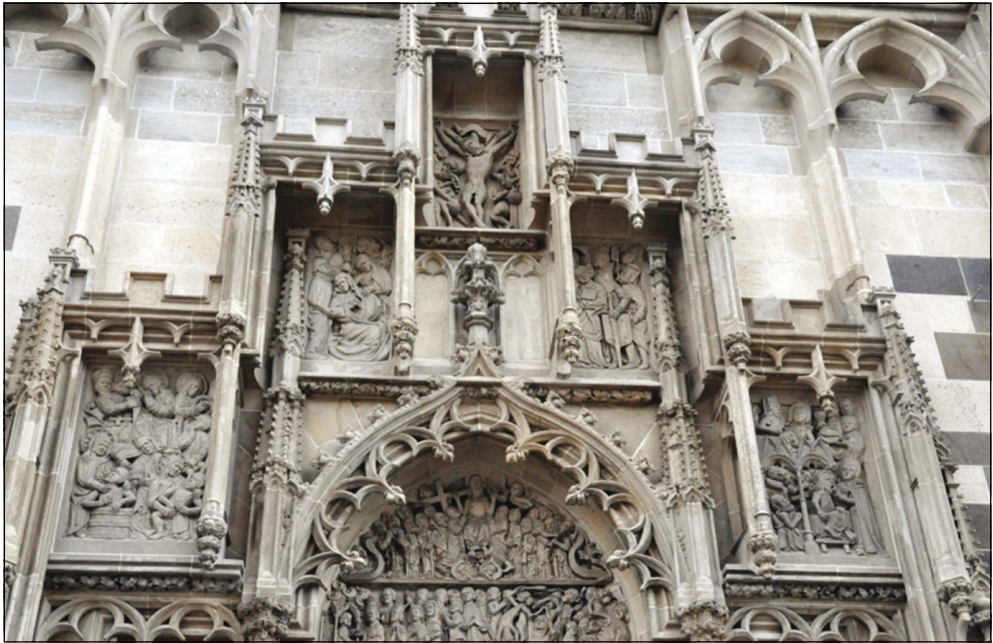


Fig. 1: Košice, upper part of the northern portal of the cathedral, early 15th century. (source: author's archive).

examples described in a book written by Vladimir Goss, a book that fundamentally challenges the mainstream view of the geography of medieval art in Europe.¹ Instead of the prevailing thought that deals with the spread of influences from Western Europe, he reminds us of the importance of that one direction of communication that was coming from the south-west, the junction of the Byzantine Empire and the West. In this sense, it provides as significant a stimulus for research into the geographical contexts of Central European art as the work of Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann.² Questions of artistic geography are also related to the problem of comparing the different

contexts into which images emerged as a medium of public communication that both expressed and influenced different dimensions of the identity of their commissioners as well as the audience. In a different place and time, the role of images and their motifs changed in both real and imaginative space, providing a fulcrum for a more precise definition of the identity of individuals as well as social groups.³ Analogies or developmental continuities between works of art and their cultural functions outline the internal tensions and interrelated dialogues of ideas that substantially influenced the shared imagination and social life of the inhabitants of medieval cities.

¹ Vladimir P. Goss, *Four Centuries of European Art: 800–1200. A View from Southeast* (Zagreb: Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga, 2010).

² Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004).

³ Cf. Patricia Lee Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2007).



Fig. 2: *The high-altarpiece of Saint Elizabeth, Košice, 1474–1477 (source: author's archive).*

The creative impulses for the formation of the pictorial decoration of the St Elizabeth Cathedral in Košice were coming from various directions. In the case of the saint, who, despite the fact that she lived most of her life in the territory of today's Germany, was canonised in 1235 in Perugia, it is logical that impulses coming from the European south, especially from Italy, met or even crossed with impulses coming from the West. The journey of some motifs from south to north was halted by the range of the Carpathians, which can be illustrated by comparison with analogous works created at the same time in the Baltic region.

The most original architectural element of the northern portal in Košice (fig. 1) is its stepped superstructure bearing reliefs with unique iconography. The ideas of individual and social identity that they express can be examined in the context of contemporary theological discourses and the complex ecclesiastical and political situation at a time of papal

schism. Intra-ecclesiastical disputes were reflected, for example, in the fact that the identity of an influential ecclesiastical dignitary did not automatically guarantee a positive evaluation of his figure within the iconographic program of the portal. To the right of Christ, who dominates the image of the Last Judgement in the portal's tympanum, we can see the Pope, leading the crowd of believers to heaven. He can be clearly identified by the tiara. On the opposite side, however, among the damned in the open mouth of Leviathan, we also find a figure wearing a bishop's mitre. This motif may have called into question or relativized the significance of clerical authority in the eyes of the wider public. Such doubts were certainly not just a local matter, as they were connected with the then complex ecclesiastical-political situation. The complicated relations that resulted from the papal schism did not avoid Košice. The city cooperated closely with King Sigismund, who favoured Antipope John

XXIII, but also with his rival Pope Boniface IX, who in 1402 issued an indulgence to support the building of a local parish church.⁴ However, the administrator of the parish church, Stephanus de Casada, who was elected by the townspeople, asked Pope Boniface IX to restrict the Franciscans from operating in this very temple. The Pope, who otherwise supported the Franciscans, granted the request in a letter written on 9 March 1402.

The tensions between the religious and political dimensions of identity were also reflected in the differences between the otherwise stylistically related portals of the parish and Franciscan churches in Košice (fig. 2). Both portals were created at approximately the same time and in the same workshop, but ideologically there are a number of differences between them. The author of the iconographic programme of the parish church took greater account of the complex political situation associated with the relationship of the emperor to papal authority at the time of the schism. The iconography of this work is therefore much richer in its motifs and more theologically sophisticated than that of his Franciscan counterpart, which concentrates on the narration of the story of Jesus Christ. In the parish church, sophisticated soteriological and eschatological moments are added, expressed especially by the aforementioned image of the Last Judgment in the tympanum and the thieves at Christ's sides in the Crucifixion scene at the top of the stepped gable of the portal. However, the view of Christ is not only expressed here by the depiction of biblical themes, but is further differentiated

and modified within the story of the royal saint, the Hungarian princess and landgravine Elizabeth of Hungary (or Elisabeth of Thuringia), depicted in the two marginal reliefs of the stepped superstructure. Such enrichment of the iconography is a consequence of the growing importance of visionary saints at the time of the papal schism. Two important visionary women, Saint Bridget of Sweden and Saint Catherine of Siena, directly influenced European politics at that time. For both, the life of St Elizabeth was a significant source of inspiration.⁵

St. Elizabeth was venerated by various groups of Košice inhabitants thanks to her origins, in which it was possible to identify the most important dynasties across Europe. As a Hungarian princess, she could address both the native Slovak and Hungarian speaking population, and as a Thuringian landgravine she could be interesting to German colonists. As the main patroness of the future Košice Cathedral, she also became the patroness of the city. In this role, she fulfilled an undoubtedly integrating role for all those who lived in this city. Externally, she served as the main identifying sign, especially for the wealthy classes of the city, i.e. for the burghers, merchants and craftsmen of Košice. Internationally, she became an important communication mediator in the network of devotees of the holiness of one of the most important medieval saints throughout Europe.

Her important role in visual culture is already substantiated by the medieval seal of the town, which bears her image in the centre. The identity of the saint also appealed to the poor layers of the

⁴ Recently on the topic Tim Juckes, *The Parish and Pilgrimage Church of St. Elizabeth in Košice: Town, Court and Architecture in Late Medieval Hungary*, *Architectura medii aevi*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

⁵ Maria H. Oen and Unn Falkeid, "Sanctity and Female Authorship: Birgitta of Sweden & Catherine of Siena," (2020), <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780429351778>.



Fig. 3: Giovanni di Paolo: *The Miraculous Communion of Saint Catherine of Siena*, after 1461, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32.100.95 (source: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436511>).



Fig. 4: *Vision of St. Elizabeth in the hospital*, Košice, ca. 1474–1478 (source: author's archive).

Košice population because of her extraordinary charity work, caring for the sick in the original centre of her cult, Marburg, where she founded a hospital.⁶ The iconography of the image of her care of the sick was based on the beginning on the visual tradition of the works of mercy, which, based on Christ's promise in Matthew 25, linked the image of action on behalf of the suffering with the promise of the Kingdom of Heaven. In Košice, this theme acquired a new relevance by the fact that the depiction of the building in which Elizabeth visits the sick may have been reminiscent of a similar institution – a hospital operating right next to the parish church. The individual scenes, however, do not follow the traditional

iconography of the works of mercy, but are historically concretized and at the same time radicalized to the point that a certain ambivalence of the visual identity of the saint can be seen in the reliefs of the portal. On the right, that is, on the less prominent side to Christ's left, Elizabeth, still as a landgravine (Hungarian princess) wearing a crown, arrives to pay a visit to the hospital with her maidservant (fig. 3). On the left, that is, on the more honourable side to Christ's right, she appears in simple attire and with no hesitation approaches the pauper – for example, she washes him with her own hands or holds him in a position reminiscent of the *Pieta* (fig. 4). This motif stems from a radical reassessment of the identity of the pauper, who is visually identified with Christ here, for the Virgin Mary held her

⁶ For more details, see: Ivan Gerát, *Iconology of Charity. Medieval Legends of Saint Elizabeth in Central Europe*, ed. Barbara Baert, Art & Religion, (Leuven; Paris; Bristol: Peeters, 2020).

son in a similar manner. The creators of the portal perceived the similarity of Christ's suffering, expressed at the top of the portal superstructure, with the suffering of a commoner. In a sense, a person on the margins of society was thus accorded a dignity based on his resemblance to the suffering Saviour, Christ, the ever-living Judge of all the living and the dead.

This radical approach is also reflected in the image of Elizabeth's husband, the Thuringian Landgrave Louis (Ludwig), who can be observed in the same relief panel, lying in bed next to the cross. The cross refers to the pauper whom his saintly wife had previously placed in their own matrimonial bed. The miraculous transformation of the beggar into Christ is also depicted, for example, in the codex made for the double monastery of the Franciscans and Poor Clares in Český Krumlov, where Louis uncovers a blanket to see Christ on the cross beneath it.⁷ This image, however, lacks the intimate closeness that characterises the Košice relief. Moreover, the cross in Košice is depicted between four roses. The roots of the floral motif go back to the murals in the choir of the church of Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples. Within the Elizabethan cycle, there is also a scene that could represent the first image of a

miraculous transformation, be it in the matrimonial bed or in Louis' spiritual eyes, as the texts of the legends state. This interpretation, however, encounters several ambiguities. For example, the cross is missing from the bed, and even the man with the pilgrim's staff who stands beside Elizabeth may not be clearly identified as her husband.⁸ However, in the Košice portal, the crucial motifs are present quite unambiguously – Louis under the blanket, the flowers surrounding the cross, the praying figure, and the angel in the background between the couple.

The Hungarian princess and Landgravine of Thuringia, Elizabeth, is given special significance also on the main altar of the parish church of which she was the patroness (fig. 5). Her statue can be seen there in the centre of the altar retable alongside the biblical figures of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist. These polychrome woodcuts of noble forms in slightly larger-than-life size can be, based on their style, quite convincingly placed within the oeuvre of Nicholas Gerhaert of Leyden, who worked in Vienna for Emperor Frederick III.⁹ Their figures against a golden background represent the promise of heavenly splendour awaiting faithful Christians.

⁷ *Krumlov Codex*, also called *Liber depictus*, now kept in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 370, fol. 93r.

⁸ Cf. Cathleen A. Fleck, "Blessed the Eyes That See Those Things You See: The Trecento Choir Frescoes at Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 67, no. 2 (2004); Cordelia Warr, "Der Freskenzyklus der heiligen Elisabeth von Ungarn in Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples," in *Elisabeth von Thüringen – eine europäische Heilige. Aufsätze*, ed. Dieter Blume and Matthias Werner (Petersberg: Imhof, 2007); Samantha Kelly, "Religious Patronage and Royal Propaganda in Angevin Naples: Santa Maria Donna Regina in Context," in *The Church of Santa Maria Donna Regina. Art, Iconography and Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Naples*, ed. Janis Elliott and Cordelia Warr (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2004).

⁹ Kaliopi Chamonikolasová, "Recepcia diela Nicolausa Gerhaerta van Leyden na Slovensku v poslednej tretine 15. storočia," in *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2003). Robert Suckale, "The Central European Connections of Matthias Corvinus' Patronage of Late Gothic Art," in *Matthias Corvinus the King*, ed. Péter Farkas and András Véghe (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2008).

The cycle of twelve paintings on the open wings of the altar is dedicated to the patron saint of the parish church. The new iconographic motifs of these paintings provide a number of clues for a more precise definition of her identity. The cycle opens with two scenes that point precisely to the transnational span of the saint's life, beginning with her birth to the family of King Andrew II of Hungary and continuing with her departure as a little girl to Thuringia.

In addition to the saint, the other two paintings present the unique point of view of her husband, Louis. First, they depict him observing his wife's scandalous care of the beggar in the castle garden. Such an image of the landgrave cannot be found elsewhere in Europe. His extraordinary tolerance is explained by the following painting, dedicated to the miracle of the cross. The leper on the marital bed was transformed into the crucified Christ not only before the eyes of the viewer, but especially before the inner gaze of Louis, who was the only one to kneel before this extraordinary apparition. The two spouses are part of a multi-figured scene, in the centre of which is the bed on which the Crucified One lies on a cross made of branches surrounded by white and red roses. The motif of flowers within this scene continued its journey north, still within the arch of the Carpathians – it can be found as far as in Bardejov, but is completely absent from the most famous Elizabethan cycles of the 15th century in the Baltic area, neither is there any trace of it in the life of the saint depicted on the choir rail of the

church within the Hospital of the Holy Spirit of Lübeck, nor in the Church of the Holy Spirit in Tallinn.¹⁰

The next painting shows the transformation of Ludovít's identity from a warrior crusader to a more subtle form. This process was already significantly manifested in the illuminations of the aforementioned Krumlov Codex. Already at this point Ludovít lost the essential attributes of a crusader still present in the earliest Marburg cycles from the life of St. Elizabeth. While in the Marburg reliquary his crusading vow appears before the relief depicting Louis's departure for the crusade, in Krumlov this theme is completely absent. In the Marburg relief of the farewell before his departure for the crusade we see a determined warrior. In Košice, he takes on the form of an angel, whose pictorial execution in many ways follows the radical discoveries of the Dutch painters of the first half of the 15th century. Louis's face as he bids farewell to Elizabeth on the main altar in Košice bears a striking resemblance to one of the angels painted by Jan van Eyck on the altar of the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* in Saint Bavo's Cathedral, Ghent.¹¹

In a number of paintings, Elizabeth's fundamental transformation into a visionary can be noted. The illusory space of the painting made it possible to express different visions, but also different ways of seeing. The Košice paintings, for example, provide a differentiated view of the possibilities of encountering Christ. On the one hand, they illustrate the idea that Christ can be seen in the pauper. On the opposite wing of the altar, however,

¹⁰ Ivan Gerát, *Obrazové legendy sv. Alžbety: téma, médium a kontext*, 1st ed. (Bratislava: Veda, 2009), 104–13.

¹¹ For a recent work on this topic, see: Wolfgang Kemp, "Realismus als Katalysator: der Genter Altar – vom Bildsystem zum Gattungssystem," in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 83 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1515/ZKG-2020-4002>.

we also find a scene with a contradictory meaning. Elizabeth's encounter with the ungrateful beggarwoman represents the confrontation of two persons of a very different social status and moral values without any immediate supernatural intervention. Unlike the *Krumlov Codex*, we do not find in this painting the visionary experience when the humbled saint saw her heavenly bridegroom. The nuns, confined in the Krumlov monastery, could actually hardly encounter a beggar in person. Visitors to the parish church in Košice, however, were oft exposed to similar encounters, thus the altarpiece may have influenced the everyday perception of the identity of the ungrateful almspeople, all the more so as it represents this Elizabeth's encounter at the church situated in the medieval city square. People familiar with this painting could no longer mistake aggressive beggary for Christ, for they saw a crucial difference between the noble woman and the covetous, bilious almswoman. Not the beggarwoman, but the falling Elizabeth resembles the suffering Christ. The essential dimension of human identity, expressed in the biblical narrative of man created in the image of God (Gen 1:26–27), was thus represented differentially by the altar paintings. The vision may have transformed the perception of social identity, but not necessarily.

The iconographically innovative visionary paintings in Košice may also

have been influenced by the popularity of narratives celebrating Catherine of Siena (1347, Siena – 1380), whose story was in many ways related to that of Elizabeth.¹² At the time of the creation of the Košice high altar, her importance was further increased by her recent canonization (1461). Her story was based on similar spiritual inspirations. Raymond of Capua, as Catherine's spiritual guide and hagiographer, recorded her life not only on the basis of personal experience, but also on the basis of the legend of Elizabeth created by Dietrich (Theodoric) of Apolda.¹³ Both authors were Dominicans. It may have been this order that, having settled in Košice at the end of the 13th century (Dominicans are mentioned in a document from 1303), brought the reverence for Catherine and the story of her life there. Their church from the first third of the 14th century is the oldest in the city.¹⁴ A hundred and five Košice Dominicans studied at Italian universities between 1456 and 1500, each of them for an average of 5 years.¹⁵ Vavrínek of Stropkov (Fra Lorenzo da Sztropkó), professor of theology, documented in Košice in 1468, copied the legend of St. Catherine directly in Siena.¹⁶ It is likely that his knowledge of her life and cult contributed significantly to the conception of the original depiction of St. Elizabeth's life on the high altar of the parish church.

A number of stimuli for the original Košice iconography could have been

¹² Carolyn Muessig, George Ferzoco and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *A Companion to Catherine of Siena* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012); André Vauchez, *Catherine of Siena: A Life of Passion and Purpose* (New York: Paulist Press, 2018).

¹³ Raymond (of Capua), *The Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, transl. George Lamb (Rockford: Harvill Press, 1960).

¹⁴ Bibiana Pomfyová, "Dominikánsky kostol v Košiciach: niekoľko poznámok k pretrvávajúcim dilemám," *Ars* 55, no. 2 (2022).

¹⁵ Mattia Fehér, "I domenicani di Cassovia e l'Italia del quattrocento," *Corvina*, n. s. anno 6, no. 12 (1943), 604.

¹⁶ Fehér, "I domenicani di Casovia e l'Italia del quattrocento," p. 599.

provided by images portraying Catherine's life, for example those painted by Giovanni di Paolo in connection with her canonization.¹⁷ His *Miraculous Communion of Saint Catherine of Siena*¹⁸ contains several motifs reminiscent of the original composition of the Košice altarpiece, depicting Elizabeth's prayer before the altar in the Marburg hospital (figs. 6 and 7). Both compositions focus on the dialogue of the saint, absorbed in prayer, with the vision of Christ surrounded by angels (in Košice also with the crowned Virgin Mary). Elizabeth fixes her gaze longingly on him, Catherine even receives his body. In both paintings we also see the priest in front of the altar, who has no contact with the supernatural apparition, for he pays attention to the liturgical objects (the chalice) and pictures placed on the altar communion table.

Iconographically innovative, the Košice painting is an interesting social document, illustrating the influence of acknowledged visionary experiences on the perception of identity and social roles of individuals. In the earliest cycles from the life of St. Elisabeth, located in Marburg, clerical dominance is still evident. Elizabeth kneels before Conrad of Marburg as she receives her vestments from him. In an illumination contained in *Liber depictus*, the cleric Conrad flogs the holy princess. In the Košice painting of Elizabeth's vision, the anonymous priest is unable to do anything similar not only because he turns his back on the saint, but mainly because Elizabeth, through the vision, has direct contact with Christ,

who is the decisive object of worship as well as the supreme source of authority.

Despite the fact that images of similar visions had already appeared in paintings of St Bridget of Sweden, the visionary transformation of Elizabethan iconography that took place in Košice once again did not manifest itself in the Baltic space. In Lübeck, Elizabeth prays in a church without any signs of visionary experience. In Tallinn, Christ is present only in the form of a work of art, not a vision. Giovanni di Paolo also created other paintings dedicated to the saint's deep mystical relationship with Christ. In one of them, Catherine, levitating on a cloud, exchanges hearts with Christ, depicted against a gold background in the upper left corner of the painting (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.117.3). In another, we can see her in an interior, the upper part of which is entirely covered by a vision of a large group of celestials as she enters into marriage with Christ (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.117.2). Again, this is a group of motifs of Italian origin that permeated Elizabethan iconography in Košice, but did not affect significant cycles in the Baltic area. Thus, for example, the painting in Lübeck (c. 1440) represents only the prayer of the saint before the altar, without any visionary experience. In Tallinn, the Crucified One appears in a similar scene, but only as an image within the image, as the crucifix on the altar. Again, then, this is not an explicit representation of the saint's extraordinary spiritual experience, and certainly not a contrast of her unique

¹⁷ Keith Christiansen, Laurence B. Kanter, and Carl Brandon Strehlke, eds., *Painting in Renaissance Siena* (New York: Abrams, 1988), 218–39.

¹⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 32.100.95. Cf. Gregory Steven Waldrop, "Painting in the Priest: Giovanni di Paolo's 'Miraculous Communion of Saint Catherine of Siena' and the Sacerdotal Image" (Berkeley: Ph.D. University of California, 2009).

spirituality with the priest's focus on the formal aspects of the liturgy.

Direct visionary contact with Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints can be also observed in the image of Elizabeth's death, which may have represented an illustrious portrayal of the expectations associated with the idea of a good death for Christian believers. Elizabeth, as an almost unattainable example of holiness being accepted in heaven, could be looked to by the faithful of Košice in the hope that she would help them reach a similar goal.

The images from the life of Saint Elizabeth expressed in a topical way the multilayered view of man, firmly rooted in the centuries-long development of the various cultures of the Mediterranean area and Central Europe. The new conception of the story of the saint reflected the then transformations of her perception in the urban space. These

transformations were rooted in the evolution of mentalities, conditioned by a number of circumstances. However, the images were not just a reflection but also became an active factor in shaping the identity of the Christians of Košice.

From the point of view of the historical geography of art, these paintings point above all to the lively cultural communication that took place between Košice, the key centres of the Danube region, especially Vienna, the Germanic lands, the Hanseatic cities on the shores of the Bath Sea, and last but not least the religious and commercial centres in the territory of present-day Italy. Košice was not a passive recipient of impulses from these areas, but also an active agent capable of transforming existing solutions into original forms. In this sense, it was clearly one of the most important cultural centres of the geographical area between the Adriatic and the Carpathian Mountains.

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Emerik Esterházy and the Croatian Artistic Heritage**

Imrich Esterházi a chorvátske umelecké dedičstvo / Emerik Esterházy i hrvatsko umjetničko nasljeđe

Kao biskup u Vácu, Zagrebu i Veszprému, a naposljetku kao nadbiskup Ostrogon, sa sjedištem u Požunu, Emerik Esterházy (Nové Mesto nad Váhom / Vágújhely, 1665. – Bratislava / Požun / Pozsony, 1745.) povezo je umjetničke baštine Slovačke, Mađarske i Hrvatske. Iako će vrhunac Esterházyjeva pokroviteljstva biti obilježen plodonosnom suradnjom s kiparom Georgom Raphaelom Donnerom, koja se odvijala u Bratislavi (rezultirajući kiparskim djelima u crkvi sv. Martina), njegova visoka umjetnička kultura ostavila je značajan trag i na području povijesne Zagrebačke biskupije. Uz naruđbe za nekoliko izvanrednih zlatarskih radova, tu se ubrajaju i iznimna ostvarenja poput srebrnoga antependija za glavni oltar katedrale ili mramornoga oltara sv. Ignacija Loyolskog u nekadašnjoj isusovačkoj crkvi u Zagrebu. Njegove zasluge za pavlinski red, kojemu je pripadao, ovekovečene su freskama s portretima u blagovaonici i knjižnici pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi.

Ključne riječi: Emerik Esterházy, Zagreb, barok, naručiteljstvo, portreti

Emerik Esterházy de Galántha (Beckov; Nové Mesto nad Váhom district; Hungarian: Vágújhely; German: Neustadt an der Waag, 1663/1664 – Bratislava; Croatian: Požun; Hungarian: Pozsony; German: Pressburg, 1745) was a high prelate who, through his life path and the services he held, belongs to the heritage of the historical Kingdom of

Hungary, thus representing yet another of the numerous links between Slovakia and Croatia as well. From his rich biography, here it is possible to recall only a few of the most important moments.¹ As a descendant of a famous noble family, he joined the Pauline order in 1680, and went to study in Wiener Neustadt and Rome. He was ordained a priest in

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¹ For a recent and thorough review of historiographical sources on the life and work of Emerik Esterházy, cf. Katarína Orviská, "Imrich Esterházy a jeho historiografia pri výskume dejin umenia," *Ars* 55, no. 2 (2022): 169–181. In Croatian historiography, the most important contributions to Esterházy's biography to this day remain the contributions by Janko Barlé ("Biskup zagrebački prof Mirko Esterházy," *Katolički list* 59, no. 35 (1908): 423–25; no. 36 (1908): 439–41; no. 37 (1908): 449–451; no. 38 (1908): 462–64; no. 39 (1908): 472–75) i Ante Sekulić, e.g. *Remete: Pavlini u Hrvatskoj* (Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1986), 96–98; "Mirko Esterházy 1708–1722," in *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, ed. Franko Mirošević (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), 382–91; "Emerik Esterházy," in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, IV. ed. Trpimir Macan (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod "Miroslav Krleža", 1998), 90–92.

1688, and subsequently held a number of important positions within his order: he taught philosophy at the Pauline University in Lepoglava (Croatia), and theology at the one in Trnava (Slovakia); in 1696 he became the general secretary (at the same time the vicar, and – from 1700 – the prior of the monastery in Remete near Zagreb), and in 1701 the vicar of the Croatian-Slavonian Pauline province. Finally, in 1702, he was elected superior (general) of the Order, whose seat he transferred to the Lepoglava monastery. He was appointed Bishop of Vác in 1706, and was Bishop of Zagreb between 1708 and 1723. During the latter service, as deputy to the absent Croatian Ban (Viceroy) Ivan Pálffy (reigned 1704–1732), in 1712 he convened the Parliament of the Kingdom (Sabor) which adopted the so called *Croatian Pragmatic Sanction*, i.e. recognized the right of inheritance to female members of the House of Habsburg (thus contributing to Maria Theresa's accession to the Hungarian-Croatian throne). As early as 1714, he became a privy royal advisor, and soon (1715) received the title of count. He permanently left Zagreb and Croatia in 1723, becoming Bishop of Veszprém (also Chancellor of the Hungarian Court Chancellery in Vienna), and in 1725 was appointed Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary. He died in Bratislava, on 6 October 1745, and was buried in the Chapel of St. John the Merciful, which he himself had built next to the Church of St. Martin.

In addition to all the above-mentioned services, history (or rather, art history) remembered Emerik Esterházy as an important art commissioner and donor, primarily during the period in which – as

the Archbishop of Esztergom residing in Bratislava – he supported the work of the young sculptor Georg Raphael Donner (Vienna, 1693–1741). Esterházy's generosity as was highlighted already by his contemporaries: for example, in the dedication of the book by the Croatian Pauline monk and historian Nikola Benger (Križevci, 1695 – Lepoglava, 1766), *Annalium eremi-coenobiticorum ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Pauli primi eremitae* (Bratislava, 1743), the then general of the Order Andrija Mužar extensively reflects on it. In addition to commissions in Zagreb, Požega, and Veszprém he also lists important monuments of Slovak Baroque heritage: the *marble* chapel and altar of St. John the Merciful next to the Bratislava Church of St. Martin (and a silver casket made in Leipzig for the saint's relics); the magnificent high altar in the same church; the chapel (with altar and wall paintings) for the miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin in the Cathedral in Trnava; the monasteries and churches of the Elizabethans and Capuchins in Bratislava; the Ursuline monastery, as well as the main altar of the Franciscan church in the same city. A separate section is dedicated to the Pauline communities, and in addition to the gifts for the Croatian monastery of Remete and the renovation of the church destroyed in the fire in Bendorf (in the German province of the Order), there is also mention of the high altar and the brass bell of the church in the Slovak Marijanka (Maria Thall), as well as the newly built monastery and church in Šaštín-Stráže, to which Esterházy donated six silver candlesticks, a crucifix, a lamp, two censers, a pair of chalices, a ciborium, and a monstrance.² (Appendix 1)

² Nikola Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM ORDINIS FRATRUM EREMITARUM S. PAULI PRIMI EREMITAE VOLUMEN SECUNDUM* (Impressum POSONII: Typis Haeredum Rovenianorum Annô Domini MDCCXLIII. [1743]), s.p.

The reputation of a great commissioner, early acquired in Croatian historiography,³ Emerik Esterházy certainly owes to his younger contemporary, the Zagreb canon Toma Kovačević (Križevci, 1664 – Zagreb, 1724), whose biographical work – although without direct mention – was used by historians from the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, Janko Barlè).⁴ In addition to his other manuscripts, during the first quarter of the 18th century Kovačević compiled biographies of famous Zagreb bishops and canons,⁵ of which Esterházy's was later published in print, in the fifth volume of the extensive work *Illyricum sacrum* (Venice, 1775) dedicated to the history of the Zadar

Archdiocese and the Zagreb Diocese (Appendix 2).⁶ Kovačević devoted an extensive paragraph of his text to Esterházy's Croatian donations (describing them more carefully than Mužar), emphasizing the fact that they were mostly made during his stay outside Zagreb (mainly in Vienna), and thus "*the Zagreb church benefited more from the bishop's absence than it could have hoped for in his presence.*"⁷ With these generous deeds – the writer reports – the bishop wanted to inherit his predecessors and instigate his successors.

Referring the luxurious mantle (pluviale), chasuble with four dalmatics and an antependium,⁸ Toma Kovačević pays special attention to the goldsmith's works acquired through the bishop's generosity,

³ Already Janko Barlè (1908) states: "*Bishop Esterházy was a great benefactor of individual churches and monasteries. During his episcopate, he acquired a wealth of church accessories and vestments, which are distinguished not only by their artistic value, but are a great proof of his fine taste and knowledge of art. [...] The sacred accessories of our cathedral surpass in their preciousness everything else that Esterházy gave them.*" Barlè, "Biskup zagrebački," 450–51. The artistic excellence of his commissions – in the broad panorama of the Baroque heritage of continental Croatia – is repeatedly emphasized by Anđela Horvat (1982). Cf. Anđela Horvat, "Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj," in Anđela Horvat, Radmila Matejčić, Kruno Prijatelj, *Barok u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti Centra za povijesne znanosti, Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1982), 179, 183. Also, cf. Sekulić, "Mirko Esterházy," 388–89; Arijana Koprčina, "Zlatarstvo i zlatarske narudžbe u kontekstu hrvatsko-mađarskog kulturnog i političkog prožimanja," in *Ars et virtus. Hrvatska – Mađarska: 800 godina zajedničke kulturne baštine*, eds. Marina Bagarić et al. (Zagreb i Budimpešt: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2020), 162.

⁴ Cf. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka. Opisana s gledišta povjestnice, umjetnosti i starinah* (Zagreb: Tiskom Narodne tiskare Dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1856); Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka nekoč i sada* (Zagreb: Knjigotiskara Karla Albrechta, 1885); Barlè, "Biskup zagrebački".

⁵ Zagreb, Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti), *Catalogus praesulum Zagrabiensium* (sign. II d 219, II a 70, III d 132); *Sequitur catalogus regulatus demortuorum canonicorum Zagrabiensium* (sign. II d 214, II d 216, II d 217).

⁶ Daniele Farlati, *ILLYRICI SACRI TOMUS QUINTUS. ECCLESIA JADERTINA CUM SUFFRAGANEIS, ET ECCLESIA ZAGRABIENSIS, VENETIIS, MDCCLXXXV. [1775], APUD SEBASTIANUM COLETI*, 598.

⁷ "Denique id libenter fatemur, quod Ecclesia nostra plus utilitatis ex absentia sui Antistitis vetulerit, quam praesente sperare poterat." Farlati, *ILLYRICI SACRI*, 598.

⁸ The treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral still holds a pluvial and chasuble made of white silk damask, a gift from Bishop Esterházy, which were used in Corpus Christi processions, and parts of the conventual vestments are also considered to be his gifts, as well as a group of vestments made "*from the most precious silk, silver and gold brocades from Lyon [...] and other French manufactures.*" Zdenka Munk, "Tekstilne dragocjenosti iz katedralne riznice," in *Riznica zagrebačke katedrale*, ed. Zdenka Munk (Zagreb: MTM, 1987 [1983]), 100, 41–144 (cat. 38T, 59T–64T). The author assumes that the gift of Emerik Esterházy also included the tapestries from the cycle of months, with grotesque and architectural perspectives, deriving from the manufactory of the French master Charles Mitté

which are still kept in the treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral. He mentions an extraordinary chalice made of pure gold and decorated with “countless” jewels, which Esterházy acquired in Vienna in 1720, and was made so skillfully that its fame soon spread throughout the city so that the emperor (Charles VI) himself, and his courtiers, wanted to see it. Together with the silver plate (*patena*), it weighed two and a half kilograms, and its price was an almost incredible 6,430 florins.⁹ [Fig. 1] Kovačević then features the precious small silver chest (*Tomb of Christ*), which cost 3,000 florins. The chronographic inscription on the lid determines the year of its creation as 1722, and based on the goldsmith’s mark of the city of Vienna and the engraved initials “FIW”, Ivo Lentić (1987) attributed it to the Viennese goldsmith Franz Joseph Weikart (Weichardt).¹⁰ The casket, inside which a symbolic silver heart is stored, was used in the Zagreb cathedral during the Holy Week devotions when it was displayed inside



Figure 1: Viennese goldsmith, Chalice, 1720, Zagreb, Cathedral Treasury (photo: Klovičevi dvori Gallery, Zagreb).

the Holy Sepulchre. [Fig. 2] The bishop’s gift was also a splendid gilded ciborium

(17th/18th century). Cf. Munk, “Tekstilne dragocjenosti,” 100, 140 (cat. 31T). However, it seems that the latter tapestries – as a royal gift – arrived in Zagreb somewhat later, probably during the time of Bishop Franjo Thauszy (1751–1769). Cf. Sanja Cvetnić, “Charles Mité (Mitté). Arazzi del Tesoro del Duomo di Zagabria, Prospettive su disegni di Francesco Galli Bibiena (?), 1710. ca.,” in *I Bibiena, una famiglia europea*, ed. Deanna Lenzi, Jadranka Bentini (Marsilio, 2000), 425–27 (cat. 137 a, b, c); Sanja Cvetnić, “Tapiserije ‘Mjeseci s groteskama i arhitektonskim perspektivama’ u Riznici zagrebačke katedrale,” *Tkalčić: Godišnjak Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* 5 (2001): 305–15.

⁹ Cf. Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva*, 118; Barlè, “Biskup zagrebački,” 451; Cf. also: Horvat, “Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj,” 278–279; Ivo Lentić, “Predmeti od metala u riznici zagrebačke katedrale,” in *Riznica zagrebačke katedrale*, ed. Zdenka Munk (Zagreb: MTM, 1987 [1983]), 195 (cat. 91M; gold, embossed, decorated with diamonds; chalice: height 27 cm, base diameter 16.3 cm; plate diameter 18 cm). Relief on the inside of the base depicts St. Stephen the King and the year (1720) is revealed by a chronographic inscription: “ME DEO CONSECRO EX VOTO PERPETVO”.

¹⁰ The silver chest of the Holy Sepulchre from 1722 was already mentioned by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1856), who cites the inscription on its lid: “THESAURVS AMANTER IN CORDE / FLAGRANTI SEPVLTVS”. On the occasion of the exhibition *The Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral* (Riznica zagrebačke katedrale), held at the Zagreb Museum of Arts and Crafts in 1971, Ivan Bach – based on the Vienna city stamp and the master’s initials “F I / W” – attributed the work to the goldsmith Franz Laner von Waldberg, while Ivo Lentić (1987) presented the attribution to Franz Joseph Weikart (Weichardt). Cf. Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Prvostolna crkva*, 56–57; Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva*, 117; Barlè, “Biskup zagrebački,” 451; Lentić, “Predmeti od metala,” 196 (cat. 94M; casket: gilt, embossed and engraved silver with gem decorations, 14.6 x 36.6 x 23.5 cm; heart: gold decorated with diamonds, 17 x 12 cm). The latter author states by mistake that the chronograph on the inside of the lid reveals the year 1721. The assumption about Von Waldberg is also conveyed by Anđela Horvat, “Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj,” 286.



Figure 2: Franz Joseph Weikart, *Thumba* (the casket of the Holy Sepulchre), 1722, Zagreb, Cathedral Treasury (photo: Klovićevi dvori Gallery, Zagreb).

decorated with depictions of the *Easter mysteries* and countless precious pearls. It cost as much as 3,700 Rhine florins, and according to the chronographic inscription, was made in the same year, 1722. As with the previous examples, its manufacture is associated with one of the Viennese goldsmith's workshops.¹¹

Kovačević devotes the largest part of the aforementioned passage to the description of the silver antependium that Bishop Esterházy commissioned in 1721. Today it adorns the table (*mensa*) of the high altar of the Zagreb cathedral, installed after the Second Vatican Council

(1962–1965).¹² The author states that the reader must admire the bishop's generosity, as well as the extraordinary conception of the scenes presented: in the center of a large plate – he continues – one can observe the hut of St. Joseph who is hammering stakes for a fence, admiring the boy Jesus who is hammering them into the ground with a mallet (which he originally held in his right hand), while three angels help them in their effort. On the left side, the Blessed Virgin is shown sewing under a leafy oak tree crown filled with acorns. The side panels depict the holy Hungarian kings Stephen and Ladislas (after the victory over the Cumans), who, humbly bowing, present their crowns to the Virgin Mary and the Holy Trinity, respectively. Kovačević finally states that the entire antependium cost as much as 8,000 florins. Based on the Vienna city stamp and the initials "CGM", Ivan Bach (1957) attributed this impressive work to the Viennese goldsmith Caspar Georg Meichl, who would later (1728), also for Emerik Esterházy, make a golden monstrance (*ostensorium*), stored in the treasury of the Esztergom cathedral.¹³ With its elaborate figural scenes, scale and the sheer

¹¹ The ciborium bears a chronographic inscription: "Ciborium spLenDore ornaVIt sponsaM / praesVL eIVs zagrablensls", and its cup is decorated with six reliefs from the Passion of Christ. Cf. Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva*, 119; Barlè, "Biskup zagrebački," 451; Lentić, "Predmeti od metala," 195–96 (cat. 93M; silver, gilded, embossed, decorated with gems, garnets and pearls, height 47 cm, base diameter 18.5 cm, cup diameter 15.4 cm). Cf. also: Horvat, "Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj," 283.

¹² Cf. Antun Ivandija, *Zagrebačka katedrala (vodič)*, treće izdanje (Zagreb: Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, Glas koncila, 1989), 35–36.

¹³ Cf. Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Prvostolna crkva*, 53; Tkalčić, *Prvostolna crkva*, 122–23; Barlè, "Biskup zagrebački," 451; Ivan Bach, "Tri rada stranih umjetnika u Hrvatskoj," *Peristil* 2 (1957), 201–2,



Figures 3–5: Caspar Georg Meichel, *Antependium*, 1721, Zagreb, cathedral, high altar (photo: D. Šourek).

amount of silver used, the Zagreb altarpiece remains an exceptional achievement not only within Meichl's oeuvre, but also within Viennese goldsmith production of the 18th century. [Figs. 3, 4, 5]

Excluding other donations (such as recorded commissions of various paraments from Viennese weaving workshops),¹⁴ Emerik Esterházy spent over 20,000 florins on the embellishment of the Zagreb cathedral. In addition, Toma Kovačević also mentions the – unfortunately lost – high altar of the Franciscan church in Požega,¹⁵ as well as the altar dedicated to St. Catherine of Bologna in the (later demolished) church of the Poor Clares in Gradec (Zagreb).¹⁶ Gifts intended for the Pauline church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Remete near Zagreb were also lost, and – in addition to monetary donations to the Zagreb shrine of St. Francis Xavier – our attention is drawn to Kovačević's report about the bishop's intention to contribute to the beauty of his church (i.e. the Zagreb cathedral) by

commissioning four large silver statues. We read that their designs had already been made and sent (unfortunately, to an unnamed master), but the order was thwarted by the large costs associated with the Parliament that sat in Bratislava. This was probably the session of the Hungarian-Croatian Parliament held between 1722 and 1723,¹⁷ on the eve of Esterházy's appointment as Bishop of Veszprém and his final departure from Zagreb. The question of the potential author (Caspar Georg Meichl?), as well as the iconography of the four sculptures, remains open, but if – as Kovačević had hoped – they had been executed, Croatian baroque heritage would have been enriched by a precious and unusual ensemble, the artistic excellence of which would certainly not have lagged behind other commissions by this patron of refined taste.

The last (and probably most famous) Esterházy's contribution to Croatian artistic heritage, the altar of St. Ignatius of

table: XLIV, XLV; Lentić, "Predmeti od metala," 195 (cat. 92M; silver, partly gilded, embossed, cast and chiseled, on a soft wooden base; middle part: 87 x 354.5 cm; left part: 88 x 104 cm; right part: 87 x 105.5 cm). Cf. also: Horvat, "Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj," 270. For the Esztergom monstrance, cf. e.g. Pál Cséfalvay, *Esztergom: The Cathedral, The Treasury and The Castle Museum* (Budapest: Helikon Publishing House, 2011), 50–51.

¹⁴ This aspect of Esterházy's commission is evidenced by the bishop's correspondence, which is reported by Janko Barlè (1908). The Viennese embroiderer (*Stickherr*) Jakob Heno is mentioned by name. Cf. Barlè, "Biskup zagrebački," 462.

¹⁵ The description of the high altar of the Franciscan Church of the Holy Spirit in Požega – which was destroyed by fire in 1842 – was recorded in the protocol of the canonical visitation conducted in 1730: it was wooden, painted and gilded, and marked with the coat of arms of the donor and the inscription "E.E.E.Z." (*Emericus Esterházy episcopus zagrabiensis*). In addition to images of the Holy Spirit and All Saints, it contained statues of Saints Stephen the King, John of Nepomuk, Emeric and Florian in the upper part, and Peter the Apostle, Clare, Anne and Pascal in the lower part. Cf. Paškal Cvekan, *Požeški franjevci i njihovo djelovanje* (Slavonska Požega: P. Cvekan, 1983), 95, 101.

¹⁶ The Poor Clares' monastery in Zagreb's Gradec (founded in 1647) was abolished during the reforms of Emperor and King Joseph II in 1782. The monastery building then served various purposes, and today it houses the Zagreb City Museum. The Church of the Holy Trinity (which also housed the altar of St. Catherine of Bologna) was demolished after 1820, and a classicist palace was built in its place (1838) (from 1845 called *Narodni dom*). Cf. Lelja Dobronić, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad Zagreb* (Školska knjiga, 1991), 84–86.

¹⁷ Cf. István M. Szijártó, "The Diet: The Estates of the Parliament of Hungary, 1708–1792," in *Bündnispartner und Konkurrenten der Landesfürsten? Die Stände in der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. Gerhard Ammerer et al. (Wien: Böhlau, 2007), 125.

Loyola in the former Jesuit church of St. Catherine of Alexandria in Zagreb Gradec (1727–1729), was created after his appointment as Archbishop of Esztergom. Although, as already mentioned, Toma Kovačević writes about monetary donations for the decoration of the Jesuit church of St. Francis Xavier (once in the vicinity of Zagreb), he does not mention this donation (which indicates that he completed the bishop's biography in previous years). However, Andrija Mužar highlights the elegant marble altar of the *Holy Patriarch Ignatius*. The altar was erected in a chapel that Esterházy already had decorated with stucco while he was bishop of Zagreb (1713),¹⁸ and it was made by the Ljubljana sculptor of Venetian origin, Francesco Robba (Venice, 1698 – Zagreb, 1757).¹⁹ [Fig. 6] In addition to the donor's coat of arms placed in the upper zone, it is adorned with marble statues of the Holy Trinity, Saints Francis Xavier and Francis Regis, and smaller sculptures of angels and the Virgin and Child (the latter is now stored in the church's sacristy). The Austrian art historian Erica Tietze-Conrat attributed (1905) the Zagreb altar of St. Ignatius to Georg Rafael Donner, considering it – moreover – the sculptor's first work for a client who would play an important role in his artistic career.²⁰ Although it soon became clear that the altar was made by Francesco Robba,²¹ a valuable contribution by Tietze-Conrat remains



Figure 6: Francesco Robba, *Altar of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 1727–1729, Zagreb (Gradec), church of St. Catherine of Alexandria (photo: M. Braun).

the letter published by her, sent – on the occasion of Christmas 1729 – to Archbishop Esterházy by the rector of the Zagreb Jesuit college, Francis Xavier Barci. In it, Barci praises the newly erected altar, stating that *nothing like it has yet been seen in the Kingdom of Croatia*, concluding his report with the mention of the archbishop's

¹⁸ Cf. Miroslav Vanino, *Isusovci i Hrvatski narod I. Rad u XVI stoljeću: Zagrebački kolegij* (Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki institut Družbe Isusove, 1969), 473–474.

¹⁹ Cf. Matej Klemenčič, *Francesco Robba (1698–1757): Beneški kipar in arhitekt v baročni Ljubljani* (Maribor: Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl, 2013), 74–77, 269–70 (cat. A15).

²⁰ Cf. Erica Tietze-Conrat, "Unbekannte Werke von G. R. Donner," *Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst-, und historische Denkmale* n.s. III, no. 2 (1905): 228–37.

²¹ Cf. Viktor Hoffiler, "Radnje ljubljanskoga kipara Franje Robbe u Zagrebu," *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. XIV (1919): 205–35. Erica Tietze-Conrat attributed to Donner some other works in Zagreb as well (marble altars of St. Emeric, St. Jerome and St. Francis of Assisi, originally in the Zagreb cathedral), but these attributions did not hold up either.



Figure 7: Personifications of Upper Hungary and Croatia with the coat of arms of Emerik Esterházy, 1726, Zagreb (Gradec), Church of St. Catherine of Alexandria, Chapel of St. Ignatius of Loyola (photo: M. Braun).

coat of arms made of white Carrara marble, as an eternal monument to the most exalted patron.²² Even earlier (in 1726), Esterházy's coat of arms executed in stucco accompanied by dedicatory inscription ("Cesi[ssim]us R[everendissim]us /

S. R. I. Princeps / Emer[ic]us e Com[itibus] ESZTERHAZY / Archi-Ep[iscop]us Strigoniensis") was made upon the arch above the entrance, and its composition is completed by two female figures holding the coats of arms of Upper Hungary

²² "Ut Natus Redemptor, et Coelites, tam publico Ecclesiae, Patriaeque Bono, quam peculiari Societatis Nostrae praesidio, diu servant incolumem Celsitud[in]em V[est]ram, ego indesinenter, et oro, et precabor constanter cum toto hoc Collegio Zagrab[li]ensi. Fruimur modo magnifico Altari, quod Divo Parenti nostro Ignatio in Capella Esterhasiana Ecclesiae nostrae erectum stat; et tam eleganti suae raris formae venustate, beneque perpolliti marmoris italici varietate, ad sui spectaculum, admirationem, et approbationem Intuentium oculos, et linguas attrahere cum gaudio spectamus: Laetamur simul, proposito hoc quasi exemplo, cui par Regnum Croatiae nondum spectavit: alios quoque DD. Capitulares excitatos, animatosque certatim Artificem nostrum obarrhasse; ut cumulado labore decorem Domus Dei augeat, quatuor aliis novis marmoreis Altaribus in templo Cathedrali S. Stephani elaborandis obligatus. Opus, quod Gloriam Ignatianae erectum est, Simul perenni monumento Cels[issim]i Archipraesulis Patroni nostri Insignibus in candidissimo Carrariensi marmore elaboratis, invertite collocatis, ornatum est: Cuius gratiosissimo favori, et munificentiae ut idipsam gratumque, ratumque perennet, quod factum est, demississimo obsequio votemus. Ulterius veteri benevolentia, Gratiae, et Protectioni assidue Celsit[ud]ini V[est]rae me, et Collegium hoc impense commendo: quam profundissima reverentia veneror, et maneo. Cel[est]it[ud]inis V[est]rae R[e]v[er]end[is]s[im]ae Zagrabiae 17. Dec. 1729. Humill[issim]us Dev[ot]issim]us et Obs[e]q[ui]s[is]s[im]us Servus Franciscus Xav. Barci S. J." Tietze-Conrat, "Unbekannte Werke," 229.

²³ Cf. Lelja Dobronić, "Crkva Sv. Katarine u Zagrebu i hrvatsko plemstvo," *Tkalčić: Godišnjak Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* 4 (2000), 416. For information on the stucco work in the former Jesuit church in Zagreb's Gradec, cf. Mirjana Repanić-Braun, "Slikarstvo, štukature i djela umjetničkog obrta," in Katarina Horvat-Levaj, Doris Baričević, Mirjana Repanić-Braun, *Akademska crkva sv. Katarine u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2011), 249–83.

and Croatia;²³ personifications of Esterházy's two homelands.²⁴ [Fig. 7]

A separate group of works of art associated with Emerik Esterházy is presented by his portraits, preserved in Croatian collections. Among them, the one from the Zagreb (arch)bishop's palace stands out,²⁵ depicting the bishop with a moustache. Janko Barlè (1908) states that he wore them in accordance with Croatian custom, and it is certain that later – as the archbishop of Esztergom – he shaved them off. It is also certain that all subsequent bishops of Zagreb would be depicted completely beardless in their portraits.²⁶ [Fig. 8] It seems that Emerik Esterházy is also depicted with his characteristic moustache on an engraving frontispiece of the book of Croatian sermons dedicated to him (as the donor of edition) by the Capuchin Štefan Zagrebac (Matija Marković; Zagreb, 1669–1742), printed in Zagreb in 1715.²⁷



Figure 8: Unknown painter, Emerik Esterházy, 1708–1723 (after 1725/1727?), Zagreb, Archbishop's Palace (source: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, ed. Franko Mirošević, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995).

²⁴ Reflecting on Esterházy's stay in Zagreb, Andrija Lukinović (1995) states the following: "Throughout his entire episcopate, and even after he became the Primate of Esztergom, he treated Croatia with a truly friendly attitude, considering it his second homeland." Andrija Lukinović, *Zagreb – devetstoljetna biskupija* (Glas Koncila, 1995), 233. In addition, on the occasion of the division of the Croatian and Hungarian Paulines, Emerik Esterházy was (on October 25, 1700) formally accepted among the Croats ("receptus a Croatis pro indigena"). Cf. Sekulić, *Remete*, 1986, 97.

²⁵ The portrait was published in: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, 382. Usp. G. Q. [Guido Quien], "Nepoznati slikar, Portret Emerika Esterháza," in *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244–1786: Slikarstvo, kiparstvo, arhitektura, umjetnički obrt, književnost, glazba, prosvjeta, ljekarstvo, gospodarstvo*, ed. Đurđica Cvitanović, Vladimir Maleković, Jadranka Petričević (Zagreb: Globus, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1989), 409 (cat. 65). The latter author states that the portrait arrived from the Pauline monastery in Lepoglava.

²⁶ "In the hall of the archbishop's palace in Zagreb, among the paintings of the bishops of Zagreb, there is his [Esterházy's] painting, which depicts him in the prime of his manhood, with a bold and broad face, dark hair and a dark black mustache, lowered in the Croatian manner and with only small sideburns without a beard. Esterházy was the last bishop of Zagreb to wear a mustache. After becoming Primate of Esztergom, he had his mustache shaved off." Barlè, "Biskup zagrebački," 441. Cf. also: Lukinović, *Zagreb*, 1995, 233.

²⁷ Štefan Zagrebac, *PABULUM SPIRITUALE OVIUM CHRISTIANARUM SEV Conciones in Sacra Euangelia Dominicarum totius Anni omnibus Pastoribus Animarum, & Animabus eisdem subiectis, pro consequenda Vita aeterna; perquam Utiles, & necessariae; compositae, ac in lucem datae. PARS PRIMA (ZAGRABIAE, Typis Jacobi VVenceslai Heyvvel Inclyti Regni Croatiae Typographi. Anno M. DCC. XV.) / HRANA DUHOVNA OVCHICZ KERSCHANSZKEH Illiti Prodechtva chesz usze czeloga leta Nedelye uszem Pasztirom Dussevnem, y Dussiczam nym podlosnem k zadoblyeniu Sitka Vekovechnoga, unogo hasznovita, y potrebna, zkonponuvana, y na Szvetlo dána. PERVA SZTRAN (vu ZAGREBU Stampano po Iakopu VVenceslavussu Heivvel. Letá M. DCC. XV. [1715]).*



Figure 9: Beniamin Kenckel (after Johann Georg Stoz), Emerik Esterházy, copper engraving in: Štefan Zagrebec, *Hrana duhovna*, Zagreb, 1715 (source: *Sveti trag. Devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadbiskupije 1094–1994*, ed. Tugomir Lukšić, Ivanka Reberski, Zagreb: Zagrebačka nadbiskupija; Institut za povijest umjetnosti; Muzejsko-galerijski centar, 1994).

The inscription at the bottom of the page states that this copper engraving was made in Graz by Beniamin Kenckel,

based on a drawing made in Varaždin by Johann Georg Stoz.²⁸ The medallion with the bishop's figure hovers in front of a palm tree crown growing from a sheepfold, and the figure of a Capuchin monk (Štefan Zagrebec) offers them a handful of leaves with his left hand, raising his right in a preaching gesture. Above him, a raven with a loaf of bread in its beak (along with the palm tree, another symbol of the Pauline order to which Esterházy belonged) flies towards the portrait medallion, while two angels, hovering above, offer the attributes of episcopal and secular honour: a mitre, a pastoral and a (count's) crown.²⁹ [Fig. 9] Unlike the aforementioned print, the easel portrait from the (arch)episcopal palace shows Esterházy with a pallium (a sign of archbishopric or metropolitan honour) and with a double (archbishopric) cross in the background,³⁰ so it is reasonable to think that the latter was created after the end of his pastoral service in Zagreb, i.e. after he became Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary in 1725, or 1727, when he formally received the archbishop's pallium from Rome.³¹ It is worth mentioning, however, that in the Latin dedication of the aforementioned book of sermons (1715) Emerik Esterházy was honored with the – *de iure* only symbolic, but certainly resonant – title of *Primate of*

²⁸ "Johann Georg Stoz delineavit Warasdinij // Beniamin Kenckel sculp[si]t Graecy". Cf. Olga Šojat, "Štefan Zagrebec," in *Štefan Zagrebec i njegovo djelo*, ed. Alojz Jembrih (Zagreb: Hrvatska kapucinska provincija sv. Leopolda Bogdana Mandića, 2020), 345–46 [first published in: *Forum* XVII (1978) 6: 1106–21].

Cf. also: Jelja Dobronić, "Doprinos zagrebačkih biskupa hrvatskoj kulturi," in *Sveti trag. Devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadbiskupije 1094–1994*, ed. Tugomir Lukšić, Ivanka Reberski (Zagreb: Zagrebačka nadbiskupija, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Muzejsko-galerijski centar, 1994), 59–60.

²⁹ Esterházy was formally granted the Hungarian Countship in the very year of the publication of Zagrebec's Book (1715). Cf. Sekulić, "Emerik Esterházy," 90–92.

³⁰ Cf. MG [Marijan Grgić], "Palij;" AB [Anđelko Badurina], "Križ;" "Križanje," in *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, V. izdanje, ed. Anđelko Badurina (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2006 [1979]), 477, 386–90.

³¹ Cf. Sekulić, "Mirko Esterházy," 1995, 388.

³² "ILLUSTRISIMO, EXCELENTISSIMO, ET REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO, DOMINO EMERICO ESTERHAZI Comiti de Galantha, DEI, & Apostolicae Sedis gratiâ Episcopo Zagrabienſi; B. V. MARIAE de Topuzka Abbati: Sac. Caes. Regiaeque Maiestatis Intimo actuali Consiliario; *Regnorum Croatiae,*

the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia,³² and that is how he was addressed by some of his Croatian correspondents as well.³³

In addition to the aforementioned engraving in Zagreb's book, the graphic collections of the Croatian History Museum and the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb also preserve sheets with two more common copperplate portraits of Emerik Esterházy as the Archbishop of Esztergom, both made in Bratislava by Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas (Augsburg, 1710–1772) as illustrations for the editions of *Sacra Concilia Ecclesiae*

Romano-Catholicae in Regno Hungariae (vol. II, 1742) by Carolus Péterffy,³⁴ and the aforementioned *Annalium Eremiticorum Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum s. Pauli Primi Eremitae* (1743) by Nikola Benger.³⁵ In the copy of Péterffy's book from the National and University Library in Zagreb, on the sheet below Esterházy's graphic portrait, the date of his death (6 December 1745) and a brief note on his life are recorded, probably by the hand of volume's former owner, the Zagreb canon and historian Baltazar Adam

& Slavoniae Primati; nec non Comitatus de Bersenze supremo ac Perpetuo Comiti Domino Dom. Meoenati, ac Patrono Gratosissimo. " (highlighted by D.Š.) Cf. Petar Ušković Croatia, "Latinske posvete i aprobacije u Hrani duhovnoj Štefana Zagrebca," in *Štefan Zagrebec i njegovo djelo*, 58–59, 77 (with croatian translation of the dedication).

- ³³ E.g. Zagreb, Archiepiscopal Archives (Nadbiskupijski arhiv u Zagrebu), Epistolae missiles originales ad episcopos zagrabienses scriptae (Ad Emericum Eszterhazy): Tom. L, nr. 121 (9. XII. 1708; Paulus Puczli); Tom. LIII, nr. 64 (Kamensko, 12. IX. 1710., Josephus Pauletich); Tom. LI, nr. 53 (Sisak, 11. V. 1709., Adamus Gerecny); Tom. LIV, nr. 21 (Varaždin, 20. XII. 1710., Stephanus Zagrabiensis). Zagreb's Bishop Martin Borković was also honored with the symbolic title of Primate of Croatia (Primas Croatiae), on the inscription of a copperplate portrait made in 1684 by the Bolognese graphic artist Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. Cf. Daniel Premerl, "The Great Bravery of Croatian Soldier by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli," *Il Capitale culturale*, Supplementi 7 (2018), 218–19, 224.
- ³⁴ "EMERICUS. II. Comes ESZTERHAZY. / SRI PRINCEPS. ARCHI. EPPUS. STRIGO. / ab an: MDCCXXVI. Aetatis : an. LXXVII. / VIVIT et VIVAT:"; "I. G. Rugendas. sc: Posonij.", in Carolus Péterffy, *SACRA CONCILIA ECCLESIAE ROMANO-CATHOLICAE IN REGNO HUNGARIAE CELEBRATA Ab Anno Christi MXVI. usque ad Annum MDCCXXXIV ACCEDUNT Regum Hungariae, & Sedis Apostolicae Legatorum Constitutiones Ecclesiasticae. PARS SECUNDA (POSONII, Typis Haeredum Royerianorum. Anno M. DCC. XLII. [1742])*, 423. Zagreb, Croatian State Archives (Hrvatski državni arhiv), Graphic Collection (Grafička zbirka), Inv. no. 170.; Zagreb, Croatian History Museum (Hrvatski povijesni muzej), Graphic Collection (Zbirka grafika), HPM 15294, HPM 15438. Usp. Marina Bregovac Pisk, *Portreti u Zbirci grafika Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja* (Zagreb: Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 2009), 144 (no. 274).
- ³⁵ "Cels[issimus] ac R[everend]iss[imus] // S. R. I. Princeps / EMERICUS è Comit[ibus] // ESZTERHAZY / Archi: Ep[iscopu]s // Strigoniensis. / ex Ord[inis] S. Pauli // primi Eremitae"; "Franciscus Bolco pinxit // Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas sculp: Posonij 1743.", in Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM* (frontispice). Zagreb, Croatian State Archives (Hrvatski državni arhiv), Graphic Collection (Grafička zbirka), inv. no. 171.
- ³⁶ Cf. Bregovac Pisk, *Portreti u Zbirci grafika*, 144. The note reads in full: "Obijt Posonij, die 6ta Decembris Anni 1745. ibidemque in sacello abs Se D Ioanni Eleemosinario erecto Sepultus. Fuit ex aeremitarum D. Pauli familiae, terminato in Croatia Remethae Tyrocinio, Lepoglavae Philosophiâ, Romae in Coll[egio] Appolinaris Theologiâ, Philosophiam, dejn Theologiam Lepoglavae, inter Suos, Suisque Monachis tradidit, Remethae 1701, Priorem ut ajunt egit et ex Provincialis Secretario, Generalis sui Ordinis factus, dejn 1704, Vaccensis Ep[iscopu]s, hinc 1708 translatus ad Pontificium Zagrabiense. Anno dejn 1723 ut Cancellarium Hungariae, commodius consequeret[ur], Vesprimiensem Ep[iscopatu]m, assumpsit, consecuto quod volebat Cancellariatu. Et cum Romanos Bullas, pro Vesprimensi Ep[iscopatu] neglexisset, (Spe Archi Ep[iscopatu]s quem 1726 obtinuit) pro Vesprimiensi, a Romanis habitus n[e]q[ue]m est" In addition to the aforementioned note, Krčelić – writing after Esterházy's death (in 1745) – changed the word "VIVIT" to "VIXIT" in the inscription under the engraving.



Figure 10: Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas, Emerik Esterházy, copper engraving in: Carolus Péterffy, *Sacra Concilia Ecclesiae Romano-Catholicae in Regno Hungariae*, vol. II, Bratislava, 1742, volume from National and University Library in Zagreb (photo: National and University Library, Zagreb).



Figure 11: Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas (after Franciscus Bolco), Emerik Esterházy, copper engraving in: Nikola Benger, *Annalium Eremiticorum Ordinis*, Bratislava, 1743 (source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Imre_Esterh%C3%A1zy#/media/File:Esterh%C3%A1zy-Imre.jpg).

Krčelić (Šenkovec, 1715 – Zagreb 1778).³⁶ [Fig. 10, 11]

Like the prints, a wider reach was also achieved by a memorial medal made by the Viennese medallist Matthias/Matthäus Donner (Esslingen, 1704 – Vienna, 1756) on the occasion of the celebration of Esterházy's golden jubilee as a priest (27 July 1738). The celebrant's bust on the obverse is accompanied by the inscription: "EMERICVS E C[omitibus] ESTERHAZY A[rchi]

E[pisopus] S[trigoniensis] S[acri] R[omani] I[mperii] P[rin]ceps P[rimas] R[egni] H[ungariae]". The reverse shows an altar with a flame and symbols of the Eucharist (an ear of wheat and a vine), as well as the inscription "SACERDOS ITERUM" and the year "MDCCXXXIV". The silver example of this medal is kept in the Numismatic Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Arheološki muzej, Numizmatička zbirka), for which it was obtained from the

³⁷ Diameter; 24 mm; weight: 4.44 grams. Cf. Ivan Mirnik, "Spomenica Emerika Esterházyja," *Tkalčić: Godišnjak Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* 5 (2001): 281–83. The author also provides a concise but thorough overview of Esterházy's life (277–80).



Figure 12–13: Matthias Donner, Memorial medal of Emerik Esterházy, 1738, Zagreb, Archaeological Museum, Numismatic Collection (photo: Archaeological Museum, Zagreb).

Viennese collection of Leopold Welzl von Wellenheim.³⁷ [Fig. 12–13]

The Croatian History Museum in Zagreb also holds two portraits of Esterházy of uncertain date,³⁸ [Fig. 14, 15] while the other two portraits – the first from Trakošćan Castle in Hrvatsko Zagorje, and the second, exhibited in the Zagreb City Museum – certainly depict him as the Archbishop of Esztergom. The first painting, in an oval format, with a half-length portrait of the Archbishop depicted in right half-profile, dated around

1730,³⁹ was modeled after a portrait by an unknown artist from the City Gallery in Bratislava (Galéria mesta Bratislavy).⁴⁰ [Fig. 16] The second – also a half-length – portrait from the Zagreb City Museum is associated with the former Pauline monastery in Remete.⁴¹ [Fig. 17] The oval field with Esterházy’s figure, also in right half-profile, here is, however, inserted in a slightly elongated rectangular format of the painting, along the lower edge of which runs the Latin inscription: “V. P. Emericus Esterhazy O. S. P. p. E. Prior

³⁸ Croatian History Museum (Hrvatski povijesni muzej), 2475 (oil on canvas, 91 x 74 cm); 2472 (oil on canvas, 92 x 74 cm). The first portrait – depicting the prelate with the archbishop’s pallium – once (before its restoration in 1922) bore the inscription “Caietan Franz pinx 1797” on its back, and it came to the museum from Rečica as a gift from Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski. Marijana Schneider (1982) believed that it probably dates from 1697 or 1707, but the archbishop’s pallium (if it is indeed Esterházy) does not support any of the proposed dates. The second portrait dates to the first decades of the 18th century, and is associated with Esterházy due to its alleged similarity to a later copper engraving by Rugendas. Cf. Marijana Schneider, *Portreti 16–18. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Povijesni muzej Hrvatske, 1982), 97–99 (no. 115, 116). Cf. also: M. B. P. [Marina Bregovac-Pisk], “Caietan Franz? Emerik Esterházy,” in *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244–1786*, 48 (cat. 49).

³⁹ Oil on canvas, 91 x 72 cm. Cf. Marina Bregovac Pisk, *Obitelj Drašković kao naručitelji i kupci umjetnina (na primjeru dvora Trakošćan)*, doktorska disertacija, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2012, 171–73 (cat. 83).

⁴⁰ Oil on canvas, 113 x 82.5 cm. Inv. no. A718; https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:GMB.A_718. On Esterházy portraits in Slovak artistic heritage, cf. Ivan Rusina, “Ikongrafia Imricha Esterházyho,” in *Problémy umenia 16. – 18. storočia*, ed. Fedor Kresák (Bratislava: Umenovedný ústav SAV, 1987), 194–201.

⁴¹ Cf. Schneider, *Portreti*, 1982., 98.



Figure 14: Unknown painter, Emerik Esterházy (?), 1697/1707 (after 1725/1727?), Zagreb, Croatian History Museum (photo: Croatian History Museum, Zagreb).

Generalis, postea / Ep[iscop]us Zagrabi-en[sis], et Archi-Episc[opus] Strigonien[is], scientiis et rebus gestis clarissimus." (The Venerable Father Emerik Esterházy, Prior General of the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit, then Bishop of Zagreb and Archbishop of Esztergom, most eminent in sciences and his deeds.). Although at first glance similar to the portrait from the City Gallery in Bratislava and its copy in Trakošćan, the painting from the Zagreb City Museum differs from them in significant details: the archbishop's torso – which in the first two paintings follows the orientation of the head, i.e. is turned slightly to the left – is here twisted in the opposite direction, contributing



Figure 15: Unknown painter, Emerik Esterházy (?), early 18th century, Zagreb, Croatian History Museum (photo: Croatian History Museum, Zagreb).

to the internal dynamics of the depiction. The bishop's right hand, which in the previous examples holds the lower arm of the pectoral, here is merely playing with it, characteristically passing it over the elegantly coupled middle and ring fingers. The described gesture, as well as the body position, point to their model in another, more monumental portrait of the archbishop (1735), a signed work by the Tyrolean-born painter Josef Kurtz († Bratislava, 1737), from the Slovak National Gallery (Slovenská národná galéria) in Bratislava.⁴² The year 1735 thus represents a certain *terminus post quem* for the creation of the Remete painting,⁴³ and it seems that – based on

⁴² Oil on canvas, 216 x 129 cm. Inv. no. O 4884; https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.O_4884. Cf. Dušan Buran, Katarína Chmelinová, *Nestex: nestála expozícia Slovenskej národnej galérie* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2014), 26. Cf. Also: MK [Magda Keletí], "J. Kurtz: Portrét arcibiskupa Imricha Esteráziho. 1735," in *Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia: Barok*, ed. Ivan Rusina (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1998), 462 (cat. 215).

⁴³ Roughly dated to the second decade of the 18th century, the painting was only mentioned in passing in a review of Pauline painting (1989). Cf. Marija Mirković, "Ivan Krstitelj Ranger i pavlinsko



Figure 16: Unknown painter, Emerik Esterházy, 1730s, Trakošćan, Trakošćan Castle Museum (photo: Klovićevi dvori Gallery, Zagreb).



Figure 17: Unknown painter (Gabrijel Taller?), Emerik Esterházy, after 1735, Zagreb, Zagreb City Museum (photo: D. Šourek).

the formal characteristics – its authorship can be linked to the painter Gabriel Taller (Krakow?, 1710 – around 1780), who was active in Croatia from 1740, when, as a layman, he joined the Pauline order.⁴⁴ The special ties between Emerik Esterházy and the monastery in Remete (then in the Zagreb countryside) are emphasized by the aforementioned Pauline writer Nikola Benger (1743): on the very

first day after his enthronement as Bishop of Zagreb, on November 12, 1708,⁴⁵ he made a pilgrimage to Remete and presented the miraculous statue of the Mother of God with a golden cross decorated with rubies.⁴⁶ On the occasion of the cattle plague epidemic in 1710, he led a ceremonial procession of the citizens of Zagreb to the Blessed Virgin of Remete, and with his own hand hung a silver

slikarstvo,” in *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244–1786*, 129. In addition to the mentioned connection with Kurtz’s portrait, the age of the model (with already old features and a completely beardless face), as well as the archbishop’s pallium with which he is shown, both point to a later date.

⁴⁴ For basic information about Gabriel Taller, cf. Đurđica Cvitanović, “Slikarstvo pavlinskog kruga u 17. i 18. stoljeću” in *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244–1786*, 168–70.

⁴⁵ The ceremonial enthronement took place in the Zagreb cathedral, on the feast of St. Martin (November 11) in 1708.

⁴⁶ During his stay in Zagreb, he made a pilgrimage to Remete every Saturday, and on each occasion he donated a gold coin to the church: “[...] *crastinâ mox luce Thaumaturgam invisit Remetensem, & publicâ voce gratiarum actiones procollatis beneficiis deferens, simul in thessaram suae tenerae devotionis crucem auream, rubinis gemmeis refulgentem, admirabili eidem Matri devovit. Insuper cum omnes promotiones suas de Mariano Remetensi gratiarum fonte sibi profluxisse fateretur, jugiter ab hinc tributarius esse voluit Marianus: ideôque singulis diebus Sabbathinis Parthenium Remetae Sacellum invisere, pietatis suae affectibus inibi vacare, & aureum unum, velut sacri numisma censûs deponere consuevit.*” Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM*, 405. Cf. Janko Barlè, *Remete: Povijesni podaci o samostanu, crkvi i župi* (Zagreb: Tisak i naklada Marka Mileusnića), 1914, 31.

plaque with a golden chronographic inscription by her altar.⁴⁷ In addition to other monetary donations to the sanctuary, Benger also mentions a precious golden chalice made in Vienna (1718),⁴⁸ as well as a luxurious mass vestment.⁴⁹ Since all of the aforementioned gifts disappeared after the abolition of the Pauline order in Croatia in 1786,⁵⁰ the portrait from the Zagreb City Museum probably represents the last material connection between the Remete monastery and its former vicar and prior, Emerik Esterházy. However, it is not certain whether this is the portrait mentioned by the Pauline historian Ivan Krištoľovec (Varaždín, 1658 – Lepoglava, 1730) in his manuscript work *Descriptio synoptica monasteriarum ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae in Illyrio fundatorum*, as Marijana Schneider (1982) suggests: “He also gave his painting [to Remete] with the desire to hang it on the wall.”⁵¹ Krištoľovec, namely, completed his manuscript – judging by the note at the end of it – in 1723,⁵² and the year of his death

(1730) also precedes the dating of the portrait from the Slovak National Gallery (1735), which certainly served as a model for the Remete painting now in Zagreb City Museum. And yet, the full statement of Krištoľovec’s report reveals the probable existence of yet another (lost) portrait of Esterházy, painted during his stay in Zagreb (1708–1723): “*Ut verò in eodem sacello perpetuis futuris temporibus, sed ex alba Caera media librae candellae ardeant, devotissimus erga eandem Pientissimam Matrem Cliens Emeritus Oridinis nostri Generalis, actualis eo tum Episcopum Zagrabien-sis [added: Emericus Esterhazy], mille fl. ad interesse colocandos conventui numeravit, suumq[ue] Controfe in integra statura cum inscriptione, quasi ingrati animi, ob accepta ab eadem gratiosissima Patrona beneficia, anathema parieti appendi curavit.*”⁵³ The quote mentions Esterházy’s donation of 1,000 florins intended for candles in the chapel with the miraculous statue of the Blessed Virgin of Remete, and if the expression *controfe* here marks a visual

⁴⁷ “SVBDITI ANIMI CHRONOGRAPHICON. / Ô PLA, Ô SANCTA VIRGO REMETENSIS, INTERCEDE PRO NOBIS. / IN TE SPERANTIS SCLAVONIAE REGNO FIDELIS MATER ESTO. / Ô SINE LABE GENITA DEIPARA VIRGO, LIBERA NOS À PESTE, / FAME ET BELLO, / ET DE COELIS PROTEGE IN TERRA FIDELIS STATVS ET / ORDINES REGNI. / HAEC EST PASTORIS ET PATRIS, PLA MATER, PRO SVIS / DEPRECATIO. / HAEC EST PERPETVA AD TE ORATIO EMERICI ESTERHAZY, / PER TE DOMINA, ET PER TVAS PRECES EPISCOPÏ / ZAGRABIENSIS.” Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM*, 430. Cf. Barlè, *Remete*, 32.

⁴⁸ The chalice was decorated with numerous precious stones and made with extraordinary craftsmanship, and was valued at 4,000 Rhine florins: “Remetensis ad haec ejusdem Provinciae Conventus novâ gavisus est gratiâ Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi Patris, & Domini Emerici Esterházy, Episcopi Zagrabien-sis. Qui in pignus obsequii, & amoris sui, quò jugiter Divam Remetensem prosequatur, calicem ex auro puro, Viennae Austriae insigni arte factum, & copiosò gemmarum fulgore radiantem (cujus valor quaternis florenorum Rhenensium millibus appendebatur) votivò donò transmissum obtulit, cum hac chronographica, annum praeteritum, quò calix elaborabatur, indicante, & pedi calicis incisa subscriptione: BENEDIC SERVO tVo ô sancta Virgo reMetensis.” Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM*, 536. Cf. Barlè, *Remete*, 32.

⁴⁹ Cf. Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM*, s.p. (transcription in the attachment of this article)

⁵⁰ Cf. Barlè, *Remete*, 32.

⁵¹ Schneider, *Portreti*, 98.

⁵² “Anno Domini 1723. Die 20. Xbris” Ivan Krištoľovec, *Descriptio Synoptica Monasteriorum Ordinis sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae, in Illyrio fundatorum, tam per Turcas ab antiquo destructorum, quam in praesens extantium, cum suis memorabilibus*, ms., fol. 47r, Zagreb, National and University Library (Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica), sign. R 4321/I-II.

⁵³ Krištoľovec, *Descriptio Synoptica*, ms., fol. 5v (highlighted by D.Š.).

representation (from latin *contrafacere* – to imitate),⁵⁴ the bishop also had his own full-height portrait (*in integra statura*) accompanied by a votive inscription placed on the wall of the chapel.

Emerik Esterházy was also depicted in full height on an – unfortunately, as well lost – wall painting in the so-called summer refectory of the former Pauline monastery in Lepoglava.⁵⁵ It formed part of a more extensive iconographic program that was almost completely destroyed soon after World War II,⁵⁶ but its appearance has been preserved in a watercolour drawing by Ferdinand Quiquerez (Buda, 1845 – Zagreb, 1893) from 1878,⁵⁷ as well as in a photograph by Đuro Griesbach (Mitrovica / Srijemska Mitrovica, 1911 – Zagreb, 1999) from 1938.⁵⁸ [Fig. 18] The painting depicted Esterházy in front of a luxurious curtain, while on the table next to him were displayed the symbols of archiepiscopal and princely honour: the pallium and the crown. Along the bottom ran a Latin inscription (only partially legible in Griesbach's photograph) listing his



Figure 18: Đuro Griesbach, Portrait of Emerik Esterházy, destroyed wall painting from the former Pauline monastery in Lepoglava (summer refectory), Zagreb, Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Schneider's Photo Archive.

services (including his appointment as Archbishop of Esztergom in 1725).⁵⁹

⁵⁴ For an explanation of the term *contrafee* / *controfee*, cf. Jaroslav Klenovský, *Veduty: Historická zobrazení měst českých zemí od nejstarších dob do poloviny 19. století* (Praha: Grada Publishing, 2024), 7 (note 1).

⁵⁵ For the reference to the similarity with the portrait from the Bratislava National Gallery (Josef Kurtz, 1735), I would like to thank professor Sanja Cvetnić, from the University of Zagreb Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (Department of Art History). On the fate of the summer refectory and its wall paintings, cf. Tomislav Pugelnik, "Zidne slike u ljetnoj blagovaonici bivšega pavlinskoga samostana u Lepoglavi," *Tkalčić: Godišnjak Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* 12 (2008): 467–508; Petar Puhmajer, Bernarda Ratančić, "Ljetni refektorij pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi – nastanak, razaranje i ponovno otkrivanje," *Portal. Godišnjak Hrvatskog restauratorskog zavoda* 6 (2015): 161–82.

⁵⁶ In addition to portraits of famous Paulines, founders and patrons of the Lepoglava monastery, the painting also included scenes from the history of the Pauline order, the life of Christ, the lives of Saints Paul the Hermit and Anthony the Abbot, and depictions of Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome. Cf. Pugelnik, "Zidne slike," 478–88; Sanja Cvetnić, "Ivan Krstitelj Ranger / Ioannes Baptista Rangger," in *Lepoglava: Monografija*, ed. Spomenka Težak, Darko Gorenak (Godar d.o.o., 2022), 92–96.

⁵⁷ Zagreb, Croatian History Museum (Hrvatski povijesni muzej).

⁵⁸ Zagreb, Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Schneider's Photo Archive (Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Schneiderov fotografski arhiv), no. 1359. Cf. Đuro Vandura, Borivoj Popovčak, Sanja Cvetnić, *Schneiderov fotografski arhiv. Hrvatski spomenici kulture i umjetnosti* (Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora, 1999), 328.

⁵⁹ On the issue of dating and authorship of wall paintings, cf. Pugelnik, "Zidne slike," 473–75; Puhmajer, Ratančić, "Ljetni refektorij," 162–64.



Figure 19: *Franjo Bobić, Emerik Esterházy, 1713–1714, Lepoglava, former Pauline monastery, library (photo: D. Šourek).*

The earliest so far known portrait of Emerik Esterházy is the one in the medallion on the vault of the former library of the Lepoglava monastery, built between 1710 and 1711.⁶⁰ The now considerably damaged frescoes, framed in luxurious stucco,⁶¹ were completed in 1714,⁶² and are attributed to the Pauline painter Franjo Bobić († Lepoglava, 1728).⁶³ In addition to Esterházy, two other important

Paulines, benefactors of the Lepoglava library, are depicted in separate medallions: Gašpar Malečić (Varaždin, 1646–1702) and Ladislav Nádasdy (Bratislava, 1662–1729). All three portraits are accompanied by allegorical scenes, emblems and inscriptions, and Esterházy himself – although in a Pauline habit and with a hermit’s beard – is already presented as the most deserving bishop of Zagreb: “F. EMERICUS EX COMITIBUS / AB ESTERHAZ ORD[INI]S PRIOR / GENERALIS SS. TH[EO]LO[G]I[A]E DOCTOR. / NUNC MERITISSIMUS EPISCOPUS / ZAGRABIENSIS HUIUS BIB[LIO]TH[E]CAE / BENEFACTOR.” [Fig. 19] Despite the considerable damage, in the medallion above Esterházy’s portrait it is still possible to make out three figures arranged around a central sphere under which the Latin inscription is read: “A SVMMS / NORMA / RECTI” (By the highest standards of rectitude). The left figure, with the papal tiara and triple cross, certainly represents the ecclesiastical authority, and the right one – in royal attire and with a raised sword, the secular one. Between them, above the blue sphere, sits the personification of Justice, blindfolded, with a sword in her right hand and a balance in her left hand. Already Gjuro Szabo (1919) defined the scene as an allegory of Law, joining those of Theology, Philosophy and Medicine,

⁶⁰ Cf. Ivo Lentić, “Pavlinški samostan i crkva sv. Marije u doba baroka,” *Kaj: Časopis za kulturu i prosvjetu* XV, no. 5 (1982): 40, 44, 46; Petar Puhmajer, Teodora Kučinac, “Pročelja Pavlinškog samostana u Lepoglavi,” *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 32 (2008): 153.

⁶¹ On the authorship of stucco, cf. Miroslav Klemm, “Štukature Iosepha Antona Quadria u crkvi svete Marije u Lepoglavi,” in *Lepoglavski zbornik 1992.*, ed. Zdenko Balog (Zagreb: Kajkavsko spravišće, 1993), 37–41; Repanić-Braun, “Likovna ostavština lepoglavskih pavlina,” in *Lepoglava: Monografija*, 78.

⁶² Cf. Martina Ožanić, “Prilog za dataciju oslika Knjižnice Lepoglavskog samostana,” *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 33 (2009): 141–44.

⁶³ Cf. Željko Jiroušek, “Opći pregled umjetnosti. Umjetničke epohe i stilovi. Kulturno-umjetničke sfere u Jugoslaviji. Važniji historijsko-umjetnički spomenici. Crkvena arhitektura i slikarstvo,” in *Almanah Kraljevine Jugoslavije, V. svezak, prvi dio, Naša zemlja (priručna enciklopedija kraljevine Jugoslavije)*, ed. Viktor Manakin (Zagreb: Glavno uredništvo Almanaha kraljevine Jugoslavije u Zagrebu, 1938), 80; Horvat, “Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj,” 1982, 183; Mirković, “Ivan Krstitelj Ranger,” 128.

in medallions on the remaining walls of the library.⁶⁴ Below the portrait medalion – on the left and right sides of the inscription – the iconographic scheme is completed by two more painted fields: on the right one (significantly damaged), in front of a wooded landscape, the heraldic symbol from the Esterházy coat of arms is depicted: a crowned griffin swinging a sabre. In its other paw, it certainly held a sprig of flowers, and it is accompanied by a verse inscribed on a ribbon that winds along the upper left edge of the field: “EX ENSE RI[G]OR⁶⁵ EX FLORE SPIRANT VIRTUTIS ODORES” (From the sword firmness, from the flower the breeze of the fragrances of virtue), continuing on the ribbon at the bottom right: “IN UTROQUE PRIMUS” (The first in both). The left field depicts the old Zagreb cathedral,⁶⁶ in front of which rise two slender columns with allegorical female figures (the first woman holds the symbol of the eye of

God in her hand, and in the hands of the second one a cross and a chalice with a host can be seen). This depiction is also accompanied by a verse inscribed on the ribbons in the upper and lower parts: “VT SOL INTER SIDERA”; “PRAESULIS FULGESCIT” (Like the sun among the stars, he shines among the bishops).

The above-described portrait of Emerik Esterházy concludes this review of his impressive traces in the Croatian artistic heritage. In it, with a confident gaze, the Pauline monk looks at us at the beginning of his life-journey as a high prelate, which will take him via Zagreb and Veszprém, to Vienna, Esztergom and Bratislava. His piety and pastoral zeal, as well as particular taste, and most probably aristocratic desire for worthy representation, will find their reflection in numerous and valuable artistic commissions. This review is an attempt to summarize the Croatian part of his still unfinished *commissioner-portrait*.

Attachments:

Attachment 1: Andrija Mužar, report on the patronship of Emerik Esterházy (Nikola Benger, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITICORUM ORDINIS FRATRUM EREMITARUM S. PAULI PRIMI EREMITAE VOLUMEN SECUNDUM*, Impressum POSONII Annô Domini MDCCXLIII. [1743], Typis Haeredum Royenianorum, s.p.):

[...]Quid porrò de effusae liberalitatis splendore memorem? Hac Coelitum planè aemularis munificentiam, qui largiuntur omnibus, ut sibi faciant debitores; quin Superos ipsos TIBI studes devincire, dum sanctissimâ foenerandi arte pauperem in

terris DEUM ditare pergis; ingenti fovens charitate egenos, in sacras Religionum Familias larga effundens subsidia, Tempa Numini vel è fundamentis construens, vel aere liberali instaurans, vel aris, sacrisque apparatus ad magnificentiam

⁶⁴ Cf. Gjuro Szabo, “Spomenici kotara Ivanec,” *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 14 (1919): 48. A thorough iconographic analysis is provided by: Marija Mirković, “Likovni ures lepoglavske samostanske knjižnice iz 1711.,” in *Lepoglavski zbornik 1995.*, ed. Božica Pažur (Zagreb: Kajkavsko spravišće, 1996), 67–83.

⁶⁵ Marija Mirković (1996) reads this word as *reor*. Cf. Marija Mirković, “Likovni ures,” 78.

⁶⁶ The assumption that this is the Zagreb Cathedral (at a time when the paintings, due to the aforementioned damage, were more difficult to read than they are today) is made by Marija Mirković (1996). Cf. Mirković, “Likovni ures,” 78.

adornans, in vastissima praesertim TUA Archi-Dioecesi, ubi quod Tempa, turres, aras, Paroecias attinet, undique jam aedificata, restaurata, ornata, aucta, provisa tum largiter, tum sufficienter visuntur omnia; nec adhuc cessatur ab operibus. Tam bellè in praecelso sacrae dignitatis fastigio Religiosae memor paupertatis, ut nihil in divitiis ames, quàm quòd possint donari; nec opeis recipias, nissi ut eas tam sanctè profundas.

Perennaturum hujus TUAE profusae munificentiae testimonium reddet cum primis Cathedralis Ecclesia Zagrabiensis, cui sacrificalem de puro auro Calicem exquisitis adornatum gemmis; Ciborium insignis elegantiae ac pretii; Antependium (ut vocant) summae arae de cuso fabrefactum argento; & cor aureum argentea inclusum tumbae, recondendo Christo Eucharistico aptatum, beneficentissimae TUAE dexteræ largitas dicavit. Contestem aget & altera TUI quondam Praesulatûs Ecclesia Veszprimiensis, quam omnibus ampli ejusdem Episcopii proventibus, in id gratiosè cessis, insigniter renovari, & erectis turribus decorari faciens, novò liberalitatis genere totum dedisti priùs, quàm vel partem accepisses. Poseniensis ad haec Collegiata Divi Martini Ecclesia aeviternum servabit inexhaustae munificentiae TUAE monumentum, cui marmoreum adjunxisti Sacellum, cum ara compari, & argenteo conditorio sacris Divi Joannis Eleemosinarum Lypsanis asservandis; Aram item principem Sancto Pannoniarum Tutelari Martino Praesuli opere prorsus magnificò statuisti; aliisque copiosis sacrum illud Delubrum ditasti ornamentis. Sed & Cathedralis Ecclesia Tyrnaviensis cum non intermoritura gratitudine benignissimae TUAE munificentiae personabit pietatem, quâ eidem adjecisti miraculosae Iconis Marianaë Capellam, largâ multorum millium profusione extructam, elegantique arâ, insigni picturâ, & plasticae artis opere adornatam.

Praetereo Sanctimonialium à Diva Elisabetha cognominatarum magnificam Ecclesiae, ac Coenobii structuram, quam in Suburbanis Poseniensibus, impensis ampliùs octuaginta millibus, è fundamentis majore jam parte erexisti, & pari munificentia continuas provehere in perfectionem. Missas facio Pauperum Matris DEI à Piis Scholis cognominatorum, Patrumque Capucinatorum Religiosas aedes, nec non Ecclesiam, benignitate TUA in plurimum elargitione millium adjutas, ac promotas; quemadmodum & Aram maximam Poseniensium Patrum Franciscanorum. Subticeo Vestales sub Divae Ursulae vexillo pariter Posenii DEO famulantes, quibus in ampliationem Coenobii frequentes, largisque numerati aeris summas contulisti; & alias Divam Claram in Zagrabiensi Claustro sectantes; itémque Seraphici asseclas Francisci, quibus nobilem aram Sanctorum omnium Posegae, illis verò altare S. Catharinae Bonnoniensis nomini dicatum condidisti. Magni quoque Ignatii Filios non memoro, in quorum Zagrabiensi Ecclesia, eidem Sancto Patriarchae ara ex marmore eleganti TUIS assurrexit impensis; & Suburbanum Divi Xaverii Templum ex annuo TUAE devotionis tributo, per plurimum lustrorum fluxum deposito, praeclaris decoramentis ornatum TUAM praedicat largitatem. Non haec, & innumera alia in haec stringo foliola, quae etiam Voluminum spatia replerent.

Taceri nihilominus obstrictissima gratitudo non patitur ea munificentiae donativa, quibus TUAE Religioni, Proto – Eremitico Ordini nostro filiales olim, dein Paternos affectus TUOS amplissimè comprobasti. Profert enim sacra Aedes Mariana Remetensis Calicem auri puri, gemmarum splendoribus circumamicum, & sacrificalem praecipui decoris apparatus, summásque ultra bis mille in fructum stabilem elargitas. Ostentat altera Mariana Ecclesia Thallensis

principem Aram, Thaumaturgae Matris Sedem eximiâ arte constructam, aerâque campana turri imposita, & octona millia Coenobio in foundationis augmentum liberali donô collata. Sed & tertium itidem Marianum neo-Domicilium Sassinense complura florenorum millia per varias vices in basilicae, Claustrique erectionem tributa, & sex justae molis argentea candelabra, cum Crucifixo, ac lampade, geminis item Thuribulis, Calicibus, Ciborio, ac insigni Monstrantia, aliisque pluribus

Principe dignis muneribus Parthenio illi Templo dicatis; Bondorffense denique Coenobium Ecclesiam suam sub Annum 1728. incendiô vastatam, TUO autem gratiosè suppeditatô aere ad majorem decorem instauratam, gratâ pangunt memoriâ. Alia quàm plurima Divorum Templis, Claustralium Coetibus, pauperumque turbis pietissimè exhibita munificentiae TUAE monumenta TE jubente celata, meliùs reputâsti aeternitatis paginis inscribenda. [...]

Attachment 2: Toma Kovačević, report on the patronship of Emerik Esterházy (Daniele Farlati, *ILLYRICI SACRI TOMUS QUINTUS. ECCLESIA JADERTINA CUM SUFFRAGANEIS, ET ECCLESIA ZAGRABIENSIS. VENETIIS, MDCCLXXV. [1775], APUD SEBASTIANUM COLETI, 598*):

Donaria pretiosissima eidem ab Emerico missa et collata.

Et vero de hac absentia, tametsi in sextum annum producta, neque Ecclesiam, neque dioecesim aliquid passim, quod justam querendi ansam praeberet, ultro fatemur. Fuit nemque nobis Vicarius Nicolaus Gothal lector, vir et a spiritu commendatus, et a doctrina excellens, omnique mitra dignissimus, qui universae dioecesis negotia (tradita sibi plena potestate) ea sollicitudine tum per se, tum per alios dum aegrotaret, curabat, et expediebat, ut quod amplius desideraretur, advertere facile nequitiam fas fuit. Neque in iis defectu laboratum, quae characteris episcopalis ministerium unice exposeunt, puta consecratio olei, ordinum collatio, et similia etc. ad quas functiones peragendas ex dispositione absentis Episcopi copia nobis vicinorum Praesulum haud defuit. Denique id libenter fatemur, quod Ecclesia nostra plus utilitatis ex absentia sui Antistitis vetulerit, quam praesente sperare poterat. Voluit ille esse et priscorum ambulator, et futurorum impulsor Episcoporum, qui

totus sacrae suppellectili augendae, et illustrandae intentus, ceteris donariis praetermissis, pluviale, casulam cum quatuor Dalmaticis, et antependium contulit; quae omnia ex singulari, et praetiosa materia, diversis argentei fili figuris miro labore, et opere phrygio ornata, non possunt non spectantium oculos delectare. In anno 1720. prodiit de ejus munificentia ex auro puro insignis calix, innumeris pretiosis gemmis (quarum aliquot majores Rhenensibus trecentis aestimantur) adeo rara arte elaboratus, ut ejus fama per urbem Viennensem circumlata, in ipso plane Caesare, suaque aula desiderium ejus videndi excitarit. Absumpsit autem ejus labor Rhenenses sex mille quadringentos triginta; exhibetque sequens chronographicum:

Me Deo ConseCro eX Voto perpetUo.

Hunc sequebatur nobilissimum Domini sepulchrum manuale ter mille Rhenenses exaequans, quod ex argento mirifico opere cusum, ac frequentissimis lapidibus pretiosis collustratum, in intimo continet cor ex puro auro, perquam belle corpori Christi in die Parasceves recipiendo accomodatum, cum hoc lemmate:

ThesaUrUs aManter In CorDe
FLagrantI SepULtUs.

Ne minus splendidum argenteum inauratum ciborium, quod Dominicae Passionis mysteriis, innumerisque preciosis margaritis eximie ornatum, pretium referet Rhenensium ter mille septingentorum, cum hac inscriptione:

CiborII SpLenDore ornaVIt SponsaM
PraesUL eJUS ZagrablensIs.

At in antependio arae summae habet lector quod mireris et munificentiam Praesulis, et curiosam figurarum, quibus adumbratur, adinventionem. Est illud cum duobus lateralibus ex puro argento, habens cum illis insimul pondo centum sexaginta quinque, et aliquot lothones, seu ut alii vocant, marcas trecentas triginta. In medio majoris (ut descripta mente intuearis) repraesentatur domuncula D. Joseph, quam idem dum sepire condit, ascia pallum dolans, Christum aequae palum in terram malleolo urgentem identidem miratur. In proximo ad partem dexteram est Angelus, qui sepimentum positurus, infra palos virgulta, collocat et disponit; quae dein alter Angelus, ut magis coalecant impellit, et protrudit; tertius vero excitato igne palorum adustioni incumbit, eidemque superstat grandis arbor quercea, folio et glande explicata. Ad partem demum sinistram est Virgo in actu sessionis acu et filo suitioni intenta, habens in latere plures quercus foliis, et fructibus fecundas. Porro ex lateralibus unum exhibet S. Stephanum paludatum, aliud S. Ladislaum thoracatum, reges Hungariae, et Patrones Ecclesiae. Uterque de genu offert coronam, ille Christo et Virgini, hic Santissime Triadi. Omnium autem valor est exaequat summam Rhenensium octies mille; et in majori haec inscripta leguntur:

HoC aMatae Sponsae, bInaqUe LaterIs
AntIpenDla
PraesentaVerat PraesUL ZagrablensIs.

Alia aliis Ecclesiis dona collata.

Neque vero ille exornandae Ecclesiae suae ita intendit, ut ad alias munificam manum non extenderet. Poseganam videlicet religiosorum D. Francisci Seraphici nobilissima ara sub invocatione omnium Sanctorum eximie decoravit; nec minus Zagrabiensium Vestalium D. Clarae, ubi honori D. Catharinae Bononiensis aram erexit, capellamque exaedificavit. Erga Virginem Remetensem (veluti cui suam ad Episcopatum Zagrabiensem provectionem potissimum tribuit) eam animo nutritivum devotionem, ut nullum sabbatum omitteret, quin ad eam venerandam sacrum eo die faciendum curaret; cui etiam casulam praetiosissimam, et calicem pretiosissimum dono consecravit. Divum quoque Franciscum Xaverium speciali cultu prosecutus, ad ornatum ejus capellae prope Zagrabiam tot singulis annis Rhenenses, quot aetatis annos numeraret, administrari curavit, composita etiam ad ejusvenerationem devotissima oratione. Ut praeterae Augustissimae Eucharistiae publica veneratio frequentio fieret in Ecclesia sua, instituit, ut singulis diebus Dominicis novilunii in summa Missa Venerabile exponatur, praemissa processione, et recitatis in fine litanis Lauretanis. Eodem pariter sedente, ut in dominiis et statibus domus Austriacae atque adeo et in dioecesi Zagrabiensi, officium de Corpore Christi, quavis seria V. non impendita de praecepto, recitetur, ad preces Augustissimi obtentum est placitum summi Pontificis Clemetis XI. an. 1715. Denique fuerat pio ac munifico Praesuli firmum propositum ad decorem Ecclesiae suae adjicere adhuc quatuor grandes statuas argenteas, jamque ad hoc necessarias praemiserat delineationes: ast superveniente diaeta Poseniensi aes copiosum absumptum, non sine dolore, optimarum intentionum filium praecidit, utinam vero tantum ad tempus.

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17th-Century Tomb Monuments in Continental Croatia as Testaments of Social Class: Reception of Visual Models among Croatian Nobility**

Sepulkrálne (hrobové) pamätníky 17. storočia ako svedectvo o sociálneho rozvrstvenia: Recepcia vizuálnych modelov medzi chorvátskou šľachtou / Nadgrobni spomenici 17. stoljeća u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj kao svjedočanstvo društvenog položaja: prihvaćanje likovnih rješenja među hrvatskim plemstvom

U prvoj polovini 17. stoljeća nadgrobna skulptura današnjih hrvatskih i slovačkih prostora doživjela je značajne promjene udaljujući se od srednjovjekovnih prikaza pokojnika i približavajući se djelima suvremene portretistike. Ovaj rad istražuje kako je novo likovno rješenje, prvotno zastupljeno među ugarskim magnatima, postupno prihvatilo i hrvatsko plemstvo. Analizirajući primjere nadgrobničkih spomenika podignutih u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj, rad razmatra društveno-politički kontekst njihova nastanka te simboličko značenje njihovih likovnih elemenata koji naglašavaju pokojnikov vojni i društveni status. Posebna je pozornost usmjerena na prijenos umjetničkih ideja unutar plemićkih krugova i ulogu nadgrobne plastike u oblikovanju plemićkog identiteta.

Ključne riječi: rani novi vijek, nadgrobni spomenici, pokojnikov lik, likovno rješenje, plemstvo, reprezentacija

Tomb monuments, as sculptural works erected in memory of the departed, have a prominent commemorative function. Regardless of who commissioned them – whether individuals who arranged for their own memorial during their lifetime, their relatives, heirs, or another party – their primary purpose is to mark the burial site and preserve the memory of the deceased. The choice of

material, the complexity of form, and the visual and textual content of the monument often reflect the social status, financial standing, and significance of the individual within their community, or at least the image of importance that they and their heirs wished to convey. While these commemorative and representative functions apply to tomb monuments in general, they are particularly evident

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in those from the early modern period, which are the focal point of this study.¹

The 16th and 17th centuries in the Kingdom of Croatia were marked by wars against the Ottoman Empire, whose advance began with the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463. Ottoman forces gradually conquered Croatian territory, which, by the end of the 16th century, was reduced to a narrow strip of land along the border with the Habsburg hereditary lands – a region referred to in historiography as *reliquiae reliquiarum olim magni et incltyi regni Croatiae* (“the remnants of the remnants of the once great and illustrious Kingdom of Croatia”). A turning point in the conflict came with the Battle of Sisak (1593), which halted the Ottoman advance westward. However, the struggle to reclaim lost territory continued throughout the 17th century, and only with the end of the Great Turkish War (1683–1699) and the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 did a more peaceful period begin, during which Kingdom of Croatia could focus on rebuilding and renewal.

Toma Erdődy II (? 1558–Krapina, 1624) was a prominent member of the Croatian high nobility who distinguished himself

in warfare against the Ottoman Empire. His life was defined by military service and the defence of Croatian territory, for which he expended a significant portion of his wealth, although he was never fully compensated.² Among his most notable military achievements was lifting the Ottoman siege of the Sisak fortress in 1593 in alliance with Habsburg forces. News of the Christian army’s victory quickly spread across Europe, earning Erdődy widespread recognition. Among the many accolades he received was a letter from Pope Clement VIII, who praised his valour and encouraged him to persist in the fight against the Ottomans.³ In addition to military service, Toma Erdődy II held many political offices: he served as Viceroy (Latin *banus*) of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia (1584–1595, 1608–1614), Master of Stewards (1598–1603), Treasurer of Hungary (1603–1608, 1615–1624), and Captain of the Kingdom (1603–1605, 1607–1619), as well as the Varaždin County Prefect (Latin *comes*) and the Hereditary Captain of Varaždin (1607–1618).⁴ Despite being nominated four times for the office of Palatine (1608, 1609, 1618, 1622), the position was ultimately awarded to Hungarian magnates.⁵ Erdődy was

¹ In addition to their commemorative and representational functions, early modern tomb monuments also had an eschatological purpose, as they expressed belief in the afterlife and the resurrection of the soul. In Christian eschatology, graves are considered temporary resting places for the bodies of the faithful, which, upon Christ’s Second Coming, will reunite with their souls and rise again. *Katekizam Katoličke Crkve* (Zagreb: Glas Koncila, 2016), 280, no. 997; 281, no. 1001; 285, no. 1016.

² Tatjana Radauš, “Erdődy, Toma II,” in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon. 4, E-Gm*, ed. Trpimir Macan (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 1998), 71.

³ For more information see: Boris Prister, “Hrvatski ban Toma Erdődy – vitez Reda Otkupitelja,” in *INCC-98: zbornik radova 2. međunarodnog numizmatičkog kongresa u Hrvatskoj, Opatija, 15. – 17. listopada 1998.*, ed. Julijan Dobrinić (Zagreb: Dobrinić & Dobrinić; Hrvatsko numizmatičko društvo, 2000), 141; Zrinka Blažević and Daniel Premerl, “*Christianae Reipublicae Propugnator*: Reformnokatolička mitopoetika bana Tome Erdődyja (1558–1624),” in *Tridentska baština: katolička obnova i konfesionalizacija u hrvatskim zemljama. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Zagrebu 6. i 7. prosinca 2013.*, eds. Zrinka Blažević and Lahorka Plejić Poje (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska; Katolički bogoslovni fakultet; Filozofski fakultet Družbe Isusove, 2016), 395.

⁴ Radauš, “Erdődy, Toma II,” 71–72. Toma II handed over the honours of Varaždin County Prefect and Hereditary Captain of Varaždin to his son Žigmund I in 1618.

⁵ Orsolya Bubryák, “*Athleta Christi*. Political Propaganda in the Art Patronage of Tamás Erdődy, Ban of Croatia and Slavonia,” *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 57, no. 1 (2016): 133.

also a fervent defender of the Roman Catholic faith, opposing not only the Ottomans but also Protestant influences. At a session of the Croatian-Hungarian Diet in Bratislava (Posonium/Pressburg/Pozsony), he firmly rejected the proposal of Hungarian nobles to settle Protestants in Croatia, reportedly drawing his sword and vowing to fight against “that plague”.⁶ In recognition of his contributions to the defence of the Catholic faith and the papacy, the Duke of Mantua, Ferdinando Gonzaga I, awarded him the Order of the Redeemer (full title *Ordine del Preziosissimo Sangue del Redentore*) in 1619. This chivalric order had been established in 1608 by Ferdinando’s father, Vincenzo I, with the purpose of strengthening Catholicism and reinforcing alliances among European noble houses.⁷

Toma Erdödy II passed away at his estate in Krapina at the age of sixty-six, weakened by age and illness. According to his contemporary and chronicler Juraj Ratkaj (Veliki Tabor, 1612–Zagreb, 1666),

preparations for his funeral lasted six months.⁸ His body was transported from Krapina via Samobor to Zagreb in a solemn procession led by horses adorned with golden harnesses and three hundred horsemen dressed in black and armed with spears. Upon arrival in Zagreb, the body was placed overnight in St Mark’s Church before being transferred the following morning to the cathedral. Ratkaj noted that the procession was so vast that “*by the time the first pairs entered the Basilica of St Stephen, the last had not yet left the town,*” i.e. Gradec.⁹ The cathedral, still damaged from a fire that had broken out earlier that year, was specially prepared for the occasion. Its walls were draped in black and adorned with funerary emblems, and the interior was illuminated by a multitude of candles.¹⁰ In the central nave stood a towering catafalque, “*rising nearly to the vault of the church, adorned with wondrous stained glass and an array of colours.*”¹¹ According to the Jesuit College’s chronicle, the opulent

⁶ Juraj Ratkaj described the event and recorded the sentence that the ban shouted on that occasion: “*Hoc inquit ferro, si aliter fieri non poterit, pestem istam a nobis eliminabimus, tresq[ue] nobis adsunt fluvis Drauus, Sauus & Colapis, e quibus unum nouis hospitibus sorbendum dabimus.*” (“With this sword, if it cannot be done otherwise, we will eliminate that plague from among us; we have three rivers – Drava, Sava, and Kupa – from which we will give our new guests to drink.”) Gregorio Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM, REGNORVM DALMATIÆ, CROATIÆ & SCLAVONIÆ, INCHOATA Ab Origine sua, & vsq[ue]; ad præsentem Annum M. DC. LII. DEDVCTA AVCTORE GREGORIO RATTKAY, DE NAGY THABOR, Lectore & Canonico Zagradiense* (Viennæ: Ex Officina Typographica Matthæi Cosmerouis, Sac: CÆs: Maiestatis Typographi Aulici, 1652), 162. The work is also available in Croatian translation: Juraj Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove kraljevtava Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije od njihovih početaka, pa sve do ove 1652. godine koji je sastavio Juraj Rattkay od Velikog Tabora, zagrebački kanonik i lektor*, trans. Zrinka Blažević et al. (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), 229.

⁷ Prister, “Hrvatski ban Toma Erdödy,” 142–45.

⁸ Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163–64. See also: Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 230–31.

⁹ “[...] *ea fuit comitantium hominum copia, ut binis & binis incedentibus, dum primi Basilicam Divi Stephani ingrederentur, postremi nondum urbe egressi fuerint, quod fat notabilem distantiam efficit.*” Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163.

¹⁰ Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163–64; Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 231.

¹¹ “[...] *inter alia maxime spectandum erat lectus fastigiatus in altitudinem prope concamerationis Templi, luminibus vitreis miro modo colorumque varietatibus distinctis.*” Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163. See also Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 231.



Figure 1: Epitaph of Toma Erdődy II († 1624), Zagreb, Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Stephen and St Ladislaus (source: Institute of Art History, Zagreb).

decorations were commissioned by the Jesuit Order, whom Erdődy had ardently supported throughout his life.¹² After

the coffin containing the deceased's body was placed on the bier, Zagreb Bishop Petar Domitrović (?–Varaždin, 1628; episcopate 1611–1628) first celebrated a requiem mass and then delivered a funeral oration, in which he praised Erdődy's numerous virtues and accomplishments.¹³ After the speech, the coffin was lowered into the tomb in the southern apse near the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. As a final tribute, the three hundred soldiers who had accompanied the procession ceremonially broke their spears against the cathedral walls, symbolizing the grief and profound loss the Kingdom had suffered with Erdődy's passing.

After the funeral, an epitaph bearing Erdődy's effigy was installed in the southern apse near his tomb, designed as a simple retable [fig. 1].¹⁴ It consists of a predella, which bears an inscription detailing the count's life and accomplishments, and a central relief flanked by shallow wings adorned with military trophies – symbols of Erdődy's military career. The relief depicts Erdődy in full armour and a firm stance, his gaze fixed on Christ on the cross shown to his left. His left hand rests on the sabre belted around his waist, while his right hand is placed on a helmet set upon a pedestal. Around his neck, he wears the Order of the Redeemer,¹⁵ and above his head

¹² Franjo Fancev, "Građa za povijest školskog i književnog rada isusovačkog kolegija u Zagrebu (1606–1772.)," *Starine* 37 (1934): 40; Blažević and Premerl, "*Christianae Reipublicae Propugnator*," 398.

¹³ "[O]mnium enim maiorum suorum Thomam Cardinalem sequentium, hic Thomas maior fuit." Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORUM*, 163. Vidjeti i: Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 231.

¹⁴ Stone, traces of polychromy, circa 340 × 190 × 14 cm, Zagreb, Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Stephen and St. Ladislaus, south apse. For an overview of the literature on the epitaph see: Maja Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž: Naručiteljske elite i nadgrobni spomenici na području Zagrebačke biskupije od XV. do XVIII. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2023), 120–23, 259–60. In contrast to tomb slabs, which are placed on the church floor and cover an individual grave or the entrance to a tomb, epitaphs are built into the wall and are located in the immediate vicinity of the grave or tomb containing the body of the deceased.

¹⁵ The necklace consists of oval medals inscribed with the Order's motto, "*Domine, probasti [me]*" ("Lord, thou hast searched [me]," Ps. 139:1), and a pendant featuring a pair of angels holding

is inscribed the motto “IN-DEO-VICI” (“In God I have conquered”), which he adopted after his victory at Sisak. The epitaph is topped with a broken pediment displaying the united coat of arms of the Kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia,¹⁶ flanked by the emblem of the Society of Jesus and the Marian monogram.

So far, researchers have not identified a source that could definitively confirm the commissioner of Erdődy’s monument. Drawing on the contemporary chronicles of Juraj Ratkaj (1652) and Grgur Pethő de Gerse (1660), Orsolya Bubryák has suggested that the monument was commissioned by Toma’s son, Žigmund I.¹⁷ However, while both chroniclers describe Erdődy’s elaborate funeral, neither mentions the epitaph or its commissioner.¹⁸ Zrinka Blažević and Daniel Premerl have proposed an alternative hypothesis, arguing that



Figure 2: Epitaph of Ivan Drašković II (†1613), Bratislava, St Martin’s Cathedral (photo: M. Žvorc).

the monument was commissioned by the Jesuits. Their reasoning is based on Erdődy’s patronage of the Society of Jesus and the presence of the Jesuit coat of arms on the epitaph.¹⁹ However, the clergy primarily erected tombs for their own members, whereas tombs for laypersons were typically commissioned by immediate family members – spouses, children, or siblings.²⁰ Given these considerations, Bubryák’s hypothesis appears

the reliquary of Christ’s Blood from the Church of St Andrew in Mantua. Prister, “Hrvatski ban Toma Erdődy,” 142, 144; Blažević and Premerl, “*Christianae Reipublicae Propugnator*,” 397.

¹⁶ Boris Prister identified this coat of arms as that of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia (1868–1918) and concluded that it was most likely added in the 19th century. Prister, “Hrvatski ban Toma Erdődy,” 142. However, the coat of arms uniting the heraldic symbols of all three kingdoms began to be used as early as the 17th century as an expression of the political aspiration to unify Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia into a single legal and political entity. The coat of arms on the epitaph of Toma Erdődy II is one of the earliest known examples of this kind. An earlier example is the united coat of arms presented on the grant of arms issued by King Matthias II in 1610 to Ivan Budor and his successors. Mate Božić and Stjepan Čosić, *Hrvatski grbovi: geneza, simbolika, povijest* (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada; Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu; Institut društvenih znanosti “Ivo Pilar”, 2021), 104, 189–91.

¹⁷ Orsolya Bubryák, “‘In Deo vici’. Keyesség és reprezentáció Erdődy Tamás (1558–1624) horvát bán műpártolásában,” *Studia Agriensia* 27 (2008): 268; Orsolya Bubryák, “*Athleta Christi*,” 153.

¹⁸ Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 163–64; Rattkay, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 230–31; Gergely Pethő, *RÖVID MAGYAR CRONICA. SOK RENDBÉLI FŐ HISTORIÁS Könyvekből nagy szorgalmatossággal egybe szedegettet és IRATTATOT* (Bécsben: Cosmerovius Máthé, 1660), fol. 133r. The latter chronicle was published posthumously, some thirty years after the author’s death (1629).

¹⁹ Blažević and Premerl, “*Christianae Reipublicae Propugnator*,” 403.

²⁰ For an overview of the most common patterns in tomb monument patronage in continental Croatia see: Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž*, 195–98.

more plausible than that of Blažević and Premerl. The Jesuit coat of arms on the epitaph more likely signifies Erdődy's support for the Jesuits as key figures in the Catholic Reformation rather than their direct involvement in commissioning the monument. Nevertheless, in the absence of definitive historical or archival evidence, neither hypothesis can be confirmed or entirely dismissed.

Tomb sculpture is a branch of sculptural art governed by established conventions and tradition, which is reflected in its enduring visual and iconographic models. The epitaph of Toma Erdődy II belongs to a group of monuments that depart from the traditional knightly tomb slabs and align more closely with contemporary portraiture.²¹ By omitting elements typical of *gisants* (such as the pillow motif, closed eyes, or hands resting on the chest), modifying the posture so that the deceased is depicted standing rather than reclining (employing *contrapposto*, shifting the figure from an *en face*

to a half- or three-quarter profile), and incorporating a pedestal with a helmet resting upon it, these tomb effigies resemble formal court portraits. In addition to Erdődy's epitaph, other monuments that belong to this group include the tombs of Palatine Stjepan Illésházy (†1609) in the parish church of Pezinok, Palatine Ivan Drašković II (†1613) in St Martin's Cathedral in Bratislava [fig. 2],²² Palatine Juraj Turzo VII (†1616) in the court chapel of Oravský Hrad, and Gašpar Illésházy (†1648) in the parish church of Trenčín,²³ as well as a smaller group of monuments from Croatian Zagorje – tomb of Benedikt Thuróczy de Ludbreg in Vinica, Ivan Pethő de Gerse IV in Ivanec, and Vragović family in Maruševec. In each of these examples, the deceased are depicted in a very similar manner: clad in armour, they stand in *contrapposto* holding a weapon (either a sword or a mace) in one hand, while the other rests on a helmet placed atop a pedestal.²⁴ The most significant monument within this group

²¹ Géza Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar és a késő reneszánsz képzőművészet," in *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra*, ed. Júlia Székely (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1987), 247–48.

²² Sandstone, 192 × 100 × 18 cm, Bratislava, St Martin's Cathedral, sanctuary outer northern wall. On the monument see: Ivan Rusina, *Reneszánsz a barokk művészete Bratislavában* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1983), 8, 54–55; Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar," 248; Árpád Mikó and Géza Pálffy, "A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk síremlékei (16–17. század)," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 51, no. 1–2 (2002): 115, 149–51.

²³ For more information on the monuments and their similarities see: Maria Aggházy, "Grabdenkmäler des Hochadels in Oberungarn aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert und ihre Stilquellen," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum* 5 (1958): 108–10; Rusina, *Reneszánsz a barokk művészete Bratislavában*, 8; Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar," 246–48; Mikó and Pálffy, "A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom," 113; Géza Pálffy, "Die adelige Funeralkultur und Typen von Grabdenkmälern im Königreich Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Macht und Memoria. Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberschichten in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 504–7; Jozef Medvecký, "Novovek," u *Umenie na Slovensku: stručné dejiny obrazov*, ed. Zuzana Bartošová (Bratislava: Slovart, 2007), 83.

²⁴ In parallel with the described "more contemporary" solution, the traditional *gisant* motif continued to be used. One such example are the tombstones of the Turzo family members who were interred in the church of St Jacob in Levoča, specifically those of Krištof III (†1614) and Stanislav III (†1625). Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar," 246; Pálffy, "Die adelige Funeralkultur," 506; Zuzana Ludiková, Árpád Mikó and Géza Pálffy, "A lócei Szent Jakab-templom reneszánsz és barokk síremlékei, epitáfiumai és halotti címerei (1530–1700)," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 55 (2006): 365–68, 374–77; Zuzana Čovanová Janošíková, "Reneszánsz architektúra a sochárstvo v 16. a prvej polovici 17. storočia na Spiši," in *Historia Scepusii: vol. II: Dejiny Spiša od roku 1526 do roku 1918*, eds. Martin Homza and Stanisław A. Sroka (Bratislava/Kraków: Katedra slovenských dejín Filozofickej

– which likely served as a model for the others – is the epitaph of Nikola Pálffy de Erdőd II (? , 1552 – Hrad Červený Kameň, 1600) from St Martin’s Cathedral in Bratislava [fig. 3].²⁵

Similar to Toma Erdődy II, Nikola Pálffy II devoted his life to military service and state duties. Throughout his career, he held numerous prominent military and political positions, including Royal Chief Chamberlain (1582–1600), Chief Captain of Komárno/Camarum/Komorn/Komárom (1584–1589, 1594–1600), Nové Zámky (1589–1600), and Esztergom (1595–1600), Prefect of Komárno County (1584–1600), Hereditary Prefect of Bratislava County (1599–1600), and Hereditary Captain of Bratislava (1599–1600).²⁶ His wife, Maria Fugger, erected a monument in his memory in the sanctuary of Bratislava Cathedral. The epitaph, originally designed as a retable, was created by the Augsburg sculptor Caspar Menneler (Augsburg, 1575 – ?, 1630).²⁷ The central portion of the monument was divided into three niches: the central niche contained a statue of the deceased, while the side niches housed sculptures of the archangels Gabriel and Michael. The attic of the epitaph was adorned with a relief depicting a battle against the Ottomans, above which was the Pálffy family



Figure 3: Caspar Menneler, *Epitaph of Nikola Pálffy de Erdőd II*, 1601, Bratislava, St Martin’s Cathedral (photo: M. Žvorc).

coat of arms, flanked by a pair of muses. During the neo-Gothic renovation of the cathedral in the latter half of the 19th century, much of the epitaph was removed. Only the central niche, with the figure of the deceased, was preserved and relocated to the northern wall of the sanctuary, where it remains to this day.²⁸ The tombs’ original appearance can be reconstructed

fakulty Univerzity Komenského; Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2016), 832–35.

²⁵ Limestone, 195 × 92 × 30 cm, Bratislava, St Martin’s Cathedral, sanctuary northern wall.

²⁶ Mikó and Pálffy, “A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom,” 138–39.

²⁷ The wife of the deceased initially signed a contract with the Augsburg master Paul Mayr, who was obliged to create an architectural-type epitaph. Upon completion, the monument was transported to Bratislava, but it was not to the commissioner’s taste, who subsequently hired another artist, Caspar Menneler, to create a new monument. Mayr’s epitaph was stored in the local Franciscan church, where it remains today. Only the central niche with the figure of the deceased has been preserved, but the original appearance of the monument can be reconstructed based on a photograph of its model, which has since been lost. Rusina, *Renesančná a baroková plastika*, 52; Galavics, “A magyar királyi udvar,” 247; Árpád Mikó and Géza Pálffy, “A pozsonyi ferences templom késő reneszánsz és kora barokk siremlékei,” *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 54, no. 3–4 (2005): 329–31; Pálffy, “Die adelige Funeralkultur,” 506.

²⁸ For more information on the monument see: Rusina, *Renesančná a baroková plastika*, 8, 48–49; Galavics, “A magyar királyi udvar,” 247–248; Rusina, “Náhrobná plastika,” in *Barok: Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, ed. Rusina (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1998), 12, 14–15;



Figure 4: Franz Alt, *Interior of the Sanctuary of St Martin's Cathedral in Bratislava, 1848, Vienna, Liechtenstein Museum, The Princely Collections* (© The Princely Collections, Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna).

based on written and visual sources, including a watercolour by Franz Alt (1848) [fig. 4], which documents the sanctuary's appearance before the renovation.²⁹ The Zagreb Cathedral also underwent a neo-Gothic renovation following the 1880 earthquake. However, the epitaph of Toma Erdődy II fortunately remained intact, preserving its original form.



Figure 5: *Votive Painting of Toma Erdődy II, 1620, Bojnice, Slovak National Museum – Bojnice Museum* (© Slovak National Museum – Bojnice Museum, Bojnice).

The primary distinction between the epitaphs of Toma Erdődy II and Nikola Pálffy II – and, by extension, other tombs within this group – is the inclusion of the motif of Christ on the Cross in Erdődy's monument. This element is more commonly associated with monuments on which the deceased are presented kneeling in prayer. The presence of the Crucified Christ is unsurprising given Erdődy's reputation as *athleta Christi* – a status he acquired during his lifetime through his participation in battles against the Ottomans and his steadfast Roman Catholic identity, which his successors actively upheld after his death. Orsolya Bubryák has observed that the Zagreb epitaph bears similarities to a votive painting

421, cat. no. 91; Mikó and Pálffy, "A pozsonyi Szent Márton-templom," 137–42; Pálffy, "Die adelige Funeralkultur," 506–7.

²⁹ Watercolour, 387 × 285 mm, Vienna, Liechtenstein Museum, The Princely Collections.



Figure 6: *Tomb Monument of Hans Rueber Pixendorf, 1591, Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery* (© Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest).

housed in the Slovak National Museum in Bojnice (Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum Bojnice) [fig. 5],³⁰ which Erdódy commissioned upon his admission to the Order of the Redeemer.³¹ In the painting, the count is depicted kneeling before the Crucified Christ, clad in chain mail and equipped with a sword, while the Battle of Sisak unfolds in the background. The use of similar motifs in the votive painting and the epitaph (Erdódy's image, Christ on the Cross, motto, family coat of arms, mascarón) suggest that this *ex voto*, along with Pálffy's tomb, served as a key visual reference for the design of Erdódy's monument.

There is another monument from the then Upper Hungary (today the territory of eastern Slovakia, Transcarpathian Ukraine, and north-eastern Hungary), predating both the epitaphs of Nikola Pálffy II and Toma Erdódy II, which exhibits compositional similarity. It is the tomb of Hans Rueber Pixendorf (Püchsendorf, Puxendorff; ?, 1529 – Velký Šariš, 1584), Chief Captain of Upper Hungary, who was interred in the Cathedral of St. Elizabeth in Košice. The monument was erected in 1591 in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, also known as the Kromer Chapel after its commissioner, which today serves as the chapter

³⁰ Oil on panel, 184 × 147 cm, Bojnice, Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum Bojnice, inv. no. XI-1173.

³¹ Bubryák, "Athleta Christi," 269–70.

³² Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar," 247; Pálffy, "Die adelige Funeralkultur," 505–6; Árpád Mikó, "IX-4, Hans Rueber von Püchsendorf (†1584), felső-magyarországi főkapitány síremlékének



Figure 7: *Master of the Trantner Epitaph Workshop (?)*, Tomb Monument of Benedikt Thuróczy de Ludbreg (†1616), Vinica, Church of St Mark the Evangelist (source: Institute of Art History, Zagreb).

sacristy.³² The tomb was dismantled in 1733 to make way for a new altar. Only the central sculpture of the deceased has been preserved, and it is now housed in the Hungarian National Gallery (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria) in Budapest [fig. 6].³³ Discussing the transfer and influence of new visual models in tomb sculpture

among Hungarian noblemen, Géza Galavics has observed that Pixendorf's tomb did not exert as significant an influence in Upper Hungary as Pálffy's epitaph did in Lower Hungary (present-day western and central Slovakia).³⁴ Nevertheless, it was a part of the visual repertoire available to commissioners when selecting a design that best aligned with their preferences and requirements. All the magnates mentioned thus far – Hans Rueber Pixendorf, Nikola Pálffy II, Toma Erdődy II, Ivan Drašković II, Juraj Turzo VII, and Gašpar Illésházy – belonged to the same social stratum. They were members of the high nobility, prominent state officials, and military commanders. They shared a similar lifestyle, moved within the same political and social circles, and were connected through familial and marital ties.³⁵ This network facilitated the exchange and transmission of artistic ideas among them, who appeared to share similar aesthetic sensibilities and preferences. These social and political connections played a crucial role in disseminating innovative forms of tomb sculpture, as reflected in the stylistic consistency of their monuments. On each of the tombs, the deceased is depicted in a commanding and dignified manner, emphasising their role as military leaders by incorporating symbols of their rank and honour.

This new visual model was also adopted by less influential nobles seeking to align themselves with the social and political elite. This is evident in a group

főfigurája Kassáról," in *Mátyás király öröksége, Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16–17. század)*, eds. Árpád Mikó, Mária Verő and Anna Jávor (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008), 253.

³³ Marble, 185 × 73 × 45 cm, Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, inv. no. 55.1593.

³⁴ Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar," 247.

³⁵ Maria Aggházy particularly emphasises the role of family ties in the transmission of artistic ideas. Aggházy, "Grabdenkmäler des Hochadels in Oberungarn," 108–9, 116. Among the aforementioned nobles, several were connected through multiple familial relations. For instance, Barbara, one of the daughters of Juraj Turzo VII, married Krsto, a son of Toma Erdődy II, while another daughter, Helena, married Gašpar Illésházy. Additionally, Stjepan Illésházy and Nikola Pálffy II were brothers-in-law.

of monuments created in the first half of the 17th century within a relatively small geographical area – the northern part of the Croatian Zagorje. These are the tomb monuments of Benedikt Thuróczy de Ludbreg († 1616) in Vinica [fig. 7],³⁶ Ivan Pethó de Gerse IV († 1616) in Ivanec [fig. 8],³⁷ and a member of the Vragović family in Maruševac [fig. 9].³⁸ All three monuments follow the same compositional model: the deceased is clad in armour, holding a mace in the right hand – raised high at the elbow – and a sabre in the left, except for the Maruševac figure, who grips a banner instead. They wear a kalpak, a headgear characteristic of the Croatian-Hungarian nobility, while their helmet rests on a profiled pedestal to their right. The Maruševac tomb also features a lion positioned behind the deceased's legs, symbolizing strength and serving as an additional means of glorification. None of these monuments has survived in its original form; all were displaced from their original setting and embedded into inner church walls.³⁹ It remains unclear whether they were initially part of a larger architectural framework, like the epitaphs discussed earlier, or whether they consisted solely of a niche containing the figure of the deceased. The Maruševac monument even lacks an inscription, making it difficult to determine which family member it



Figure 8: *Tomb Monument of Ivan Pethó de Gerse IV († 1616), Ivanec, Church of St. Mary Magdalene (Source: Institute of Art History, Zagreb).*

commemorates. The only identifying element is the coat of arms carved into the arch of the semicircular opening beneath which the deceased stands.

The circumstances surrounding the commission of these three monuments remain unclear. It is unknown who

³⁶ Marble, 181 × 95,5 × 11,5 cm, Vinica, Church of St Mark the Evangelist. For more information on the monument see: Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž*, 69–75, 80, 89, 278; and the literature listed there.

³⁷ Stone, 221 × 74 × 13 cm, Ivanec, Church of St Magdalene, originally in the castle chapel of St John the Baptist at the Ivanec Castle.

³⁸ Stone, 118 × 100 × 11 cm, Maruševac, Church of St George.

³⁹ Thuróczy's monument was located in the old parish church, which was demolished in 1808 and replaced with a new one. During the construction of the new church, the monument was embedded into the northern wall of the sanctuary. The monument of Ivan Pethó de Gerse IV was initially housed in the chapel of Ivanec Castle, which was demolished in 1844. Before the chapel's demolition, the monument was removed and installed in the southern wall of the parish church. Vragović's monument, originally placed on the sanctuary floor of its current church, was relocated and built into the northern wall of the sanctuary during its renovation in 1913. For more information on the monuments see: Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž*, 69–75, 268, 272, 278; and the literature listed there.



Figure 9: *Tomb Monument of Vragović Family Member, first half of the 17th century, Maruševec, Church of St. George's (source: Institute of Art History, Zagreb).*

commissioned them, who created them, or when they were made. A partial exception is the tomb of Benedikt Thuróczy de Ludbreg, which Emilijan Cevc attributed to the workshop of the Master of Georg Trantner's Epitaph based on stylistic analysis.⁴⁰ This sculptural workshop was active in the first half of the 17th century in Ptuj and Slovenske Konjice, supplying works to Slovenian Styria and the Croatian Zagorje region. The year

of death of Benedikt Thuróczy de Ludbreg and Ivan Pethő de Gerse IV (1616) provides a reference point for estimating the approximate date of their construction. However, while tombs were typically commissioned by family members shortly after the deceased's passing, there are documented cases in which individuals commissioned tombs during their lifetime or descendants erected monuments several decades after their death.⁴¹ Consequently, without specific archival evidence, it is impossible to determine the precise date of the tombs in Vinica and Ivanec, and even less so for the one in Maruševec. Variations in sculptural style suggest that different masters or workshops were responsible for their execution. However, their striking compositional similarities indicate a strong interrelationship. It remains an open question which of the tomb monuments was created first and thus served as a model for the other two.

Among the three monuments, the tomb of Benedikt Thuróczy de Ludbreg stands out for its craftsmanship and the quality of its material. Of the three families – Thuróczy, Pethő de Gerse, and Vragović – it was Benedikt who attained the highest social status. He belonged to a branch of the Thuróczy family that relocated from Turiec (Turčianska stolica/Comitatus T[h]urociensis/Turóc vármegye/Turzer Gespanschaft) to Croatia at the end of the 15th century.⁴² As the lord of Ludbreg, Belec, and Vinica, he served as a royal advisor and was one of the signatories of the Peace of Vienna (1606), which

⁴⁰ Emilijan Cevc, *Kiparstvo na Slovenskem med gotiko in barokom* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1981), 197; Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž*, 72.

⁴¹ One such example is the epitaph of Canon Nikola Gotal († 1723), which was erected more than forty years after his death by the last family member in the female line, the Zagreb canon provost and titular bishop of Belgrade and Smederevo, Stjepan Puc, in 1765 in the Zagreb Cathedral, where the deceased had been interred. Žvorc, *Preci, potomci, prestiž*, 178, 198.

⁴² Ivan von Bojničić, *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien* (Nürnberg: Bauer und Raspe, 1899), 190.

ended the anti-Habsburg uprising in the northern parts of the remnants of the Kingdom of Hungary (mostly in today Slovakia) and Transylvania.⁴³ According to Juraj Rátkaj, he distinguished himself in battles against the Ottomans, and in 1615, following the resignation of Toma Erdódy II, he was appointed Viceroy of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia – a position he held until his death in 1616.⁴⁴ Ivan Pethő de Gerse IV belonged to the Croatian branch of a Hungarian noble family with estates in Bela, Ivanec, and Jurketinec.⁴⁵ Although little is known about his life, that of his brother, the chronicler and politician Grgur Pethő de Gerse, is better documented. The author of the *Short Hungarian Chronicle* (*Rövid magyar krónika*, published posthumously in 1660), Grgur served as a representative in the joint Croatian–Hungarian parliament and, like Benedikt Thuróczy, was a signatory of the Peace of Vienna (1606).⁴⁶ In the 17th century, the Vragović family belonged to the lesser nobility, with Maruševac and Križovljan as their main estates.⁴⁷ Certain members held administrative and political positions, albeit of somewhat lower rank than those previously mentioned, including the roles of (sub)prefect of Varaždin County and parliamentary delegate.

Given the available information, among the mentioned nobles from Croatian Zagorje, Benedikt Thuróczy de Ludbreg appears to have been the one most closely connected to the social and political elite of the period. It is, therefore, likely that he

– or rather the person who commissioned his monument – was the first to adopt the tomb model favoured by Hungarian magnates, with Pethő de Gerse and Vragović families following suit, embracing its visual and symbolic connotations. However, the question of whether the tomb of Benedict Thuróczy was also created prior to that of Toma Erdódy II remains open. Thuróczy's Slovak origin, along with his high-ranking official position, suggests that he may have been acquainted with the new visual model that had emerged among the Hungarian nobility regardless of Erdódy's epitaph in Zagreb. Nevertheless, in the absence of concrete evidence or a clearer understanding of the circumstances surrounding the execution of the two monuments, it is difficult to reach a definitive conclusion.

Early modern tomb monuments served as reflections of both the social status and aspirations of the deceased and their heirs. The emergence of a new visual model, which departed from medieval conventions and aligned with contemporary portraiture, symbolised power and reinforced a sense of belonging to the elite. Initially accepted and promoted by Hungarian magnates, this visual language was gradually adopted by less influential nobles, affirming their social ambitions and ties to the aristocracy. The monuments' recurring iconographic and compositional elements testify to visual influences, and the choice of the described visual type reveals the commissioners'

⁴³ Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, Tizenegyedik kötet (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1865), 188.

⁴⁴ Rátkaj de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 186–87; Rátkaj, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove*, 246–47.

⁴⁵ Bojničić, *Der Adel*, 145.

⁴⁶ Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, Kilencedik kötet (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1862), 262.

⁴⁷ Krsto Vragović received the title of baron in 1716. Ivana Šupljika, "Gospodari Križovljan-grada: povijest obitelji Vragović s posebnim naglaskom na posljednjeg člana Kristofora i njegov posjed u Križovljanu (1724. – 1725)," *Podravina* 13, no. 25 (2014): 176–81.

awareness of the importance of visual identity in aristocratic culture. By embracing this new artistic approach, tomb sculpture not only functioned as a medium for expressing personal piety and commemorating the deceased but also played a crucial role in social representation and the legitimisation of status.

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Former Coronation Altar by G. R. Donner in Saint Martin's Cathedral (Bratislava), Civic Identity and Emericus Esterházy

Bývalý korunovačný oltár od G. R. Donnera v Dóme sv. Martina, bratislavská meštianska identita a Imrich Esterházy/ Bivši krunidbeni oltar G. R. Donnera u katedrali sv. Martina, Bratislava, građanski identitet i Emerik Esterházi

Súsošie sv. Martina so žobrákom sa pôvodne nachádzalo na dnes už zničenom hlavnom a korunovačnom oltári v Dóme sv. Martina v Bratislave. Tvorcom súsošia bol Georg Raphael Donner (1693–1741), objednávateľom ostrihomský arcibiskup a prímás Imrich Esterházi (1664–1745). Hoci sa všetci odborníci zhodujú, že sv. Martin oblečený v uhorskom odeve je veľmi vzácnym úkazom, neexistuje zhoda v otázke, čo má vlastne na sebe. Predložený článok sa z tohto dôvodu venuje analýze svätcovho uhorského odevu a jeho kontextu s bratislavskou meštianskou identitou a identitou objednávateľa, Imricha Esterháziho.

Kľúčové slová: Sv. Martin, Dóm sv. Martina, Imrich Esterházi, Georg Raphael Donner, Bratislava, 18. storočie, identita

This article explores a particular element that can be found on the sculpture of St Martin and the Beggar [Fig. 1] – specifically, the saint's Hungarian-style clothing¹ – and its context in relation to Bratislava's civic identity.² The sculpture was originally located on the nonextant coronation altar of Saint Martin in St

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¹ Since English, unlike Slovak and Croatian, cannot distinguish between the concepts of Uhorsko and Maďarsko (both being translated as Hungary), which greatly reduces the possibility of understanding the nuances of identity in the 18th century, the following terms will be used in this thesis: Hungary (Kingdom of Hungary = Uhorsko, Ugarska), Hungarian (collective identity of all inhabitants in Kingdom of Hungary = uhorský, ugarski), Magyar (present-day Hungary = Maďarsko, Maďarska), Magyar (= maďarský, maďarski).

² As the term 'identity' has a great number of meanings, as well as its opponents and proponents, I decided to use the following general definition, which was elaborated in detail by James D. Fearon: identity means either (a) a social category (age, gender, race, nationality, family or local origin, language, religion, sexual orientation, class, occupation, beliefs, but in the case of individuals it can also be visual or character specifics or hobbies, etc.), defined by membership rules or (presumed) distinctive attributes or expected behaviour; or (b) a socially distinguishing feature of which the person is particularly proud or which he or she considers immutable but socially significant; where only (a), only (b), or both may apply. – James B. Fearon, "What Is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?" (Stanford: Stanford University, 1999), 14, 36, <https://shorturl.at/vZF9I>.



Figure 1: Georg Raphael Donner, *St. Martin and the Beggar*, 1734–1735, alloy of lead and tin, 275 cm, St Martin's Cathedral, Bratislava, Source: Katarína Orviská.



Figure 2: Georg Raphael Donner, *Main altar of St. Martin in St. Martin's Cathedral, Bratislava*, ca 18 m, preserved photograph from 1865.

Martin's Cathedral in Bratislava. [Fig. 2 and 3] The author of the sculpture was Georg Raphael Donner (1693–1741) and the commissioner the Archbishop of Esztergom, Emericus Esterházy (1664–1745).³ Although all experts agree that it is rare to see Saint Martin depicted in Hungarian clothing, there is no consensus on what he actually wears. According to some experts, it is a magnate's dress,⁴

others speak of a hussar uniform,⁵ some use the general term Hungarian dress/costume.⁶ This led me to carry out some research on this garment, which brought the following findings.

The typical hussar uniform [Fig. 4] consisted of a short dolman coat with a row of frogging with loops, over which hussars wore a similarly laced and fur-trimmed coat called pelisse. They

³ Emericus Esterházy signed most of his life as Frater Emericus. Because of that I decided to use this equivalent of the first name. Other variations of his first name: Imrich, Emmerich, Imre, Imbrih, Emerik, Mirko. Variations of his surname: Estoras, Eszterházy, Esterhaszy, Esterhajzy.

⁴ Mária Malíková, *Juraj Raphael Donner a Bratislava* (Bratislava: Pallas, 1993), 39; Mária Pöztl-Malíková, "Zu Leben und Werk von Georg Raphael Donner," in *Georg Raphael Donner. 1693–1741. Katalog der Ausstellung: Unteres Belvedere 2. Juni bis 30. September 1993*, ed. Michael Krapf (Vienna: Österreichische Galerie, 1993), 54; Mária Pöztl-Malíková, "Georg Raphael Donner: Sv. Martin so žobrákom", *Pamiatky a múzeá*, no. 5–6 (1992), 29; Miklós Mojzer, "Egy jelmezes mecénás. Esterházy Imre hercegprímás", *Sub minervae nationis praesidio*, ed. Ferenc Tőkei et al. (Budapest: ELTE, 1989), 65.

⁵ Jozef Halko and Štefan Komorný, *Dóm: Katedrála sv. Martina v Bratislave* (Bratislava: Lúč, 2010), 339; Péter Kovács, *Donner* (Budapest: Corvina, 1979), 18.

⁶ Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz, "Lovasszobor az oltáron: gondolatok Georg Raphael Donner pozsonyi fooltáráról, Josef Thaddäus Stammel gráci Szent Marton-oltárával összehasonlítva," *Művészettörténeti értesítő* 45, no. 3–4 (1996), 161; Andreas Pigler, *Georg Raphael Donner* (Leipzig: Verlag Dr. Hans Epstein, 1929), 45; Ivan Rusina, *Reneszáncná a baroková plastika v Bratislave* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1983), 94.



Figure 3: Franz Messmer and Wenzel Pohl, *Coronation of Maria Theresa in Bratislava (1741)*, 1768, oil on canvas, ca 250 × 140 cm, Hungarian Embassy in Vienna, Source: bratislavskerozky.sk.

matched it with narrow trousers featuring two richly decorated front slits. A sash of coloured wool, on which knitted tubes were strung as buttons, encircled the waist (barrel sash). A colback of black or brown fur served as a headdress. A special feature of the hussars' equipment was a sabretache worn over the right shoulder. The lid of the bag, especially



Figure 4: Martin Engelbrecht, *Portrait of colonel count von Schluga*, about 1740, coloured etching, 29,4 × 18,4 cm, Source: Vienna University Library, license CC BY-NC.

when owned by officers, was richly decorated with embroideries of folk motifs, later with the coat of arms of the regimental owner. The armament consisted of a curved sabre of oriental type in a leather scabbard, a carbine and two pistols. The horses had saddles of the Hungarian type, and the ornamented saddlecloth (shabrack) was commonly used. Colour played an important role in recognising regiments. This often changed over time, e.g., when the regiment had a new owner, the colour of the dolman and the pelisse was often modified accordingly.⁷ The clothing of the nobles also consisted

⁷ Harald Skala, *Slávne časy cisárskej jazdy v 17.–19. storočí* (Prešov: Universum, 2005), 26; György Ságvári and Győző Somogyi, *Das Buch der Husaren* (Budapest: Magyar Könyvklub, 1999); Vojtech Dangl and

of a dolman, a pelisse, narrow trousers, boots and a colback. [Fig. 5] The dolman was decorated and the front of the garment fastened at the chest with precious buckles and chains. Winter pelisses were lined with fur.⁸

It is therefore not possible to determine from St Martin's clothing what exact type it is. The colour of the uniform, the sabretache, the saddle, the saddlecloth, and the armour which would identify the hussars' uniform and allow assignment to a specific regiment, are all missing. The main element suggesting that the figure depicted is a hussar is its military officer's colback. Hussar officers commonly decorated their uniform according to their own taste and pinned all sorts of ornaments on the colback.⁹ It is also remarkable that the saint is sitting on a lion skin. It was popular among hussars to wear a lion skin slung over the shoulder, but it was not common to sit on one. Such a depiction of a hussar is therefore highly schematic. For the sake of completeness, let us add that there were other cavalry troops at the time – cuirassiers, carabinieri and dragoons – but only hussar regiments were formed in the territory of today's Slovakia. Moreover, these other uniforms differed from those of the hussars; for example, only the hussars wore a colback.¹⁰

The massive chain on the pelisse speaks in favour of the assumption that the person depicted is a nobleman. Its appearance resembles the chain of the



Figure 5: Daniel Schmidelli, *Portrait of Josef Illesházy*, 1764, oil on canvas, 237 × 157 cm, Source: Trenčín museum.

Order of the Golden Fleece, however the pendant itself is missing. St Martin is therefore dressed in clothes from which it is impossible to determine whether they are military or noble; he is wearing a military hussar officer's hat on his head and a chain similar to those worn by the nobility on his pelisse. However, several hussar noble commanders have demonstrably been portrayed in the hussar uniform with all the attributes, together with the officer's colback and the noble chain / decorated buckle (*agraffe*).¹¹

Vladimír Segeš, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska*, vol. 3: 1711–1914 (Bratislava: Vojen. inform. a tisk. agentúra, 1996), 36; Zoltán Barcy and Győző Somogyi, *Magyar huszárok* (Budapest: Móra F, 1987), 6.

⁸ Tünde Lengyelová, *Život na šľachtickom dvore: odev, strava, domácnosť, hygiena, voľný čas* (Bratislava: Slovart, 2016), 80–81; József Höllrigl, "Magyar és török viseletek a XVI–XVII. Században," in *Magyar művelődéstörténet*, vol. 3. *A kereszténység védőbástyája*, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Szekszárd: Babits Magyar-Amerikai Kiadó, 1993), 360–61.

⁹ Barcy and Somogyi, *Magyar huszárok*, 33.

¹⁰ Dangl and Segeš, *Vojenské dejiny Slovenska*, 35.

¹¹ Martin Engelbrecht, portrait of Count Anton von Kalnocki, print, c. 1740, inv. no. HB 2392747, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; Martin Engelbrecht, portrait of Count Johann

[Fig. 4] Conversely, non-military noblemen used to be portrayed in Hungarian attire and occasionally in the colback, but not with military insignia. In this context, therefore, St Martin must be understood as both a nobleman and a military commander, which represents an anomaly within his iconography.¹²

Moreover, in Baroque era St Martin of Tours was perceived as a Hungarian saint in Hungary¹³ – notwithstanding the fact that he can be regarded as an international saint popular throughout Europe and the patron saint of many European noble families. The veneration of St Martin was established in Hungary by King Stephen (reign 1000–1038) and his father Géza, who built a monastery and a temple dedicated to him in Pannonhalma. In his struggle against Lord Koppány and the spread of paganism, Stephen asked for the intercession of St Martin, who thus became the main patron of the whole of Hungary and of the House of Árpád. Stephen's wife

Gisela also contributed to this veneration. She had already been taught to esteem this saint in her native Bavaria. Similarly, Bishop Gerhard, the tutor of Stephen's son St Emeric, brought the cult with him from Italy. In 1074, before the Battle of Mogyoród, Ladislaus (later St Ladislaus, 1040–1095) also made a vow to St Martin. After his victory over Solomon (1053–1087), he founded a Benedictine abbey in the saint's honour at the site of the battle. The Árpád family often chose St Martin as the patron saint of churches. Three chapters (in Bratislava, Spišská Kapitula, and Arad) even bore his name. His role as patron saint of the country persisted even after the extinction of the House Árpád. In 1427, King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437) named him the country's most important patron in his charter.¹⁴

Many newspaper articles, mainly Magyar, have survived from the 19th and early 20th centuries, from the period of nationalism, which depict the sculpture

Baroniy (Baranyay), print, c. 1740, inv. no. HB 23927,115, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; Martin Engelbrecht, portrait of Count Franz Leopold von Nádasdy auf Fogaras, print, c. 1740, inv. no. HB 23927,109, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; Martin Engelbrecht, Portrait of Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, print, c. 1740, inv. no. HB 23927,109, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; Martin Engelbrecht, portrait of Count von Schluga, coloured print, c. 1740, inv. no. III,263,31, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Germany; Martin Engelbrecht, portrait of Count Johann Joseph von Herberstein, coloured print, 1731–1755, inv. no. III,263,39, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Germany; Martin van Meytens, portrait of Count Sándor Károlyi, painting, before 1743, private collection.

¹² There is a large body of scholarly texts on St Martin and his iconography; see, for example, Raymond van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Raymond van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Yossi Maurey, *Medieval Music, Legend, and the Cult of St. Martin: The Local Foundations of a Universal Saint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Ferenc Tóth, "Szent Márton, a katona. Gondolatok a Szent Márton-kultusz Szombathely fejlődésében betöltött kora újkori szerepéről", *Vasi Szemle* 69, no. 1 (2015), 705–14; Judith Rosen, *Martin von Tours: der barmherzige Heilige* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2016); Martin Scheutz, "Geteilte Mäntel, ein Hauch von Fasching und ein neuer Martinskult. Die Verehrung des Martin in der Frühen Neuzeit", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 98, no. 1 (2016), 95–134.

¹³ Pötzl-Malíková, *Georg Raphael Donner*, 28.

¹⁴ However, the role of St Martin as the country's patron saint was not exclusive in the then Hungary. In addition to St. Stephen, also St. George, St. Michael and especially the Virgin Mary appeared in a similar role in the early period. – László Koszta, "Szent Márton tiszteletének magyarországi kezdete. Megjegyzések az első magyar bencés monostor, Pannonhalma alapításához", in *Annales Historici Prešovensis*, ed. Martin Pekár, Patrik Derfiňák and Peter Zmátlo (Prešov: Universum, 2005), 71–74; Richard Pražák, *Legendy a kroniky Koruny uherské* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1988), 82, 84, 98, 351–52.

of St Martin with his specific garment as a representation of Magyar identity.¹⁵ But what was the identity of the people in the Bratislava of the 18th century? Civic identity in the early modern period has been discussed, for example, by Barbara Balážová. She notes that the life of a person in early modern society and his or her success in a professional career was determined from the beginning by having an honourable origin. In a civic environment, it was unthinkable for an individual of illegitimate origin to join the society. Parents had to marry publicly and the first child was not expected to be born until nine months after the wedding. If anyone tried to break this rule in any way, sanctions awaited upon discovered. A proper birth certificate accompanied a person throughout his or her life and represented their ticket to decent society. Anyone applying to become a burgher, enter a guild or get married had to produce a birth certificate, which stated his or her name, date and place of birth, as well as parentage and occupation of the parents. Thus, the primary identification of a modern person in Hungary was linked to his or her micro-origin – to a particular town and a particular family. Thus, as late as the 18th century, nationality did not play a significant role in the Hungarian environment. This is evidenced by the fact that foreigners were also admitted to guilds in Hungarian towns, mainly from the territories of present-day Germany, Austria,

Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and occasionally from more distant parts of Europe (Switzerland, Prussia or Spain). Barbara Balážová notes that neither place of birth (due to significant – not only internal – migration) nor language can be used to determine the nationality of a Hungarian inhabitant. As an example, she cites the 1762 census of the members of the Kremnica town administration. Knowledge of German was a matter of course, but knowledge of Slovak, Magyar and Latin was not lacking either. Language proficiency for twenty-one members was reported, while eight people also mentioned knowledge of Slovak among other languages.¹⁶

One of the most accurate summaries of Hungarian identity among the nobility is offered by József Demmel. In his research on the Hungarian nobility with Slovak as their mother tongue, he points out that the understanding of identity differed from the nationalism of the 19th century as we understand it today in the “post-nationalist” era. Before nationalism, there were two basic components of the identity of a nobleman – political/national affiliation and linguistic affiliation.¹⁷ In defining the Slovak nobility, he comes to a conclusion: “*If we were now to define the most important characteristics of this stratum, we would state that it was that the noble elite of Upper Hungary strongly considered themselves part of the Hungarian nation of nobles, natio Hungarica, and yet at the same time, as the dominant language, or*

¹⁵ Let us remember at least some: Porzó Feldunai, “A püspök úr pongyolában”, *Pozsonyvidéki Lapok* 8, no. 4 (6 June 1880), 1; Sándor Vutkovich, “A nemzeti ügy Pozsonyban”, *Nyugatmagyarországi Híradó* 14, no. 23 (27 January 1901), 1–2; Kornél Divald, “Láthatatlan műemlékek,” in *Művészet* 4, ed. Károly Lyka (Budapest: Az Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat, 1905), 164; Hal’ko and Komorný, *Dóm*, 339.

¹⁶ Barbara Balážová, “Linguarum Hungaricae, Germanicae et Slavonicae gnarus. K otázke ‘národnosti’ meštianskeho umelca raného novoveku,” in *Sociálne vedy a humanistika očami mladých: zborník zo stretnutia v Třešti, 14.–16. 3. 2005*, ed. Tatiana Sedová (Bratislava: Veda, 2006), 147–50.

¹⁷ József Demmel, “Stav zemiansky národa slovenského. Uhorská šľachta slovenského pôvodu”, *Forum Historiae* 6, no. 2 (2012), 59.

as one of the dominant languages in several important spheres of life (such as family communication), as well as in local public administration, in the administration of property, and/or in regional political life, they used one of the written variants of Slovak.¹⁸

The multilingualism of the Hungarian identity has been discussed from different perspectives by Juraj Šedivý and Jozef Tancer. Juraj Šedivý comes to an interesting conclusion when researching medieval identities in Bratislava. The preferred language – or even ethnicity – of an individual was a second- to third-order group identification factor for medieval townspeople. Moreover, it is questionable whether such group identity coincided with one's preferred language. Except for explicit identifications, ethnic identity cannot be ascertained, so any quantifications of ethnic groups in towns are at best hypothetical and speculative. Bratislava's multilingualism corresponds to the anthropological principle that smaller localities tend to be unitary and, conversely, larger centres promote (linguistic) diversity. His work also shows that multilingualism was a reality in medieval Bratislava, but a limited one. German was truly predominant in both speech and in writing – whether in documents or in inscriptions. However, this does not mean that it was the native language of those in communication. German replaced Latin during the 14th century, but Latin remained the ecclesiastical language, and was also used within the church administration. These

phenomena then continued seamlessly into the early modern period. Until the second half of the 19th century German was the predominant language in the streets of the city (yet Czech/Slovak began appearing in diplomatic communication and administration from about 1430 and Magyar as the 15th century ended), the inhabitants presented themselves as proud Hungarian patriots.¹⁹

From the above it should be clear that in the 18th century Germans, Austrians, Slovaks, Magyars and Croats in Bratislava could all consider St Martin in Hungarian clothing “their man”. Moreover, in this period clothing was a distinctive expression of one's own identity. Different states were characterised by different clothing, and the upper classes (nobility, wealthy burghers) used it to demonstrate their political identity.²⁰ In practice, this means that St Martin, dressed in Hungarian clothing as a hussar commander and a nobleman, represented Hungarian identity, regardless of whether its member had a native language of Slovak, Magyar, German or Croatian. Clearly, the political identity of *natio hungarica* was common not only to the noble and civic populations of Bratislava, but to the entire kingdom.

In other words, when ordering the altar Emericus Esterházy must have been aware of the multilingual Hungarian identity of his worshippers, for whom the Hungarian dress was considered a sign of identity for its members regardless of language. In the 18th

¹⁸ József Demmel, *Panslávi v kaštieli. Zabudnutý príbeh slovenského národného hnutia* (Krásno nad Kysucou: Kalligram, 2017), 23.

¹⁹ Juraj Šedivý, “Jazyková a etnická pluralita v stredovekom Prešporoku/Bratislave – stredoveká realita alebo moderný obraz?” *Forum Historiae*, no. 2 (2012) 16, 26, and 31; Jozef Tancer and Elena Mannová, “Od uhorského patriotizmu k menšinovému nacionalizmu. Zmeny povedomia Nemcov na Slovensku v 18. až 20. storočí,” in *My a tí druhí v modernej spoločnosti: konštrukcie a transformácie kolektívnych identít*, ed. Gabriela Kiliánová, Eva Kowalská and Eva Krekovičová (Bratislava: Veda, 2009), 368.

²⁰ Irena Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Warszawa: Institute of the History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1991), 7.

century, a Bratislava-based Hungarian Slovak, Magyar, Croat, German or Austrian could “devoutly and passionately concentrate on prayers” at the altar and “rightfully seek their home here”, as the 19th century newspaper *Pozsonyvidéki lapok* put it.²¹ This statement is supported by the fact that at the time of the construction of the altar, the official language in Bratislava was German and the language of the church was Latin, and the city contained a barely identifiable volume of members of particular nations or linguistic groups.

At this point we can focus our attention on the identity of the commissioner, Emericus Esterházy. [Fig. 6] In the course of his lifetime, he reached the highest possible ecclesiastical positions within the Hungarian state; and in the secular sphere, he was one of the most prominent politicians. He achieved these successes during his lifetime thanks to the unwavering support of the Habsburg kings – Joseph I (1678–1711), Charles VI (as King Charles III of Hungary, 1685–1740) and Maria Theresa (1717–1780). On various occasions he pushed their will in an absolutist manner, often at the expense of the domestic nobility. In 1680 he entered the Pauline Order, and eight years later he was ordained a priest. He received a doctorate in philosophy in Wiener Neustadt and a doctorate in theology in Rome at the Jesuit Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum. He successfully completed his theological studies in 1687, when he wrote his dissertation, *Theses ex universa theologia*. From 1688 to 1692 he taught philosophy in the Croatian town of Lepoglava, from which he moved to Trnava where he taught philosophy and theology until 1695. The following year he published part of his Trnava lectures as



Figure 6: Josef Kurtz, *Portrait of Archbishop Emericus Esterházy*, about 1735, oil on canvas, Source: Slovak national gallery, Public Domain.

a book titled *Theses theologicae. De Jure & Dominio*. This work, as well as his dissertation, is now lost. After leaving Trnava, he went to Remete, a former village and now a neighbourhood of Zagreb, where he became Prior of the Pauline monastery located there. In 1702–1707 he served as the superior General of the Pauline Order. Subsequently, he became the Bishop of Vác (1706) and Zagreb (1708). He was appointed to these posts by Joseph I. He was bishop of Zagreb until 1723, when he became bishop of Veszprém. Two years later Esterházy became Archbishop of Esztergom, Primate of Hungary, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and Ispán of Esztergom (the Archbishop of Esztergom becomes Primate, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and Ispán of Esztergom at

²¹ Porzó Feldunai, “A püspök úr pongyolában”, *Pozsonyvidéki Lapok* 8, no. 4 (6 June 1880), 1.

the same time).²² He held this office until his death in 1745. As for his political career, he was appointed chancellor of the Hungarian court by Charles VI on January 23rd 1725. However, he held the post only until the death of Primate Christian August of Saxony (1666–1725) on August 23rd. In 1715, he received the title of count and the post of royal privy councillor, which he also held during the reign of Maria Theresa. In the same year he was also elected a member of the commission appointed to revise the laws and the judicial system, the *Commissio Systematica*. He held the post until 1723. From about 1700 to the 1720s, he

regularly participated in the Croatian and Hungarian assemblies.²³

Official documents prove that he communicated with the imperial court in German and with the clergy in Latin.²⁴ He demonstrated his knowledge of several languages in printed sources. During his episcopate in Zagreb, he wrote a prayer to St Francis Xavier. Interestingly, he wrote this work in two languages – Latin and Croatian. As Archbishop of Esztergom, he wrote the introduction to the Biography of St John the Almoner in Latin, German, Slovak and Magyar, where he signed his name each time as *Frater Emericus*.²⁵ Thus we can see that

²² Although this information is not commonly found in scholarly publications, there was a regulation within the Hungarian administration from the Middle Ages onwards, according to which the Archbishop of Esztergom automatically became both count (Latin = *comes*, Slovak = *župan*, Magyar = *Ispán* and German = *Gespan*) of Esztergom and the Chief count at the same time. In the 16th century, the function and powers of the count were mainly exercised by the vice-count. His powers included the judiciary, the defense of the state and the collection of taxes. From the 17th century onwards, county autonomy developed. The county assembly (*diet/Komitatsversammlung*), which also elected the vice-count, played an increasingly important role. He thus had real power in his hands. In this period, the title of Chief count was more of a rank and titular title, designating membership of the high nobility, without any real powers. The change came only in the 18th century. From 1711 onwards, the chief count became the king's representative in his county and had to hold a real office. If the candidate was unable to perform it, the office was not filled. See Zoltán Fallenbüchl, *Magyarország főispánjai 1526–1848* (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994), 29, 30–32, 38–40, and 75.

²³ Emericus Esterházy, *Theses ex universa theologia sub Auspiciis Reverendissimi Patris Tyrsi Gonzalez Præpositi Generalis Societatis Jesu publice propugnandæ* [...] (Romæ: ex Typographia Pauli Monetæ, 1687); Emericus Esterházy, *Theses theologice. De Jure & Dominio, Quas in Congregatione Generali Ordinis S. Pauli, Primi Eremitæ Anno M.DC.XCVI. Die XI. Junij Defendendas suscepit Venerabilis Pater Fridericus Geiseler* [...] (Tyrnaviæ, 1696); Katarína Orviská, "Imrich Esterházi a jeho historiografia pri výskume dejín umenia", *Ars* 55, no. 2 (2022), 172; Katarína Orviská, "Obraz Imricha Esterháziho v panegyrikách v kontexte jeho osobnosti a osobných ambícií", in *Kapitulská od minulosti po budúcnosť* (Bratislava: RKCMBF UK, 2025), 243–44.

²⁴ For more on the administrative documents related to the Primate's work, see Katarína Orviská, "Imrich Esterházi", *ibidem*, 171–72.

²⁵ Imrich Esterhazi od Galanthe, *Molitva k-sz. Otczu Ferenczu Xaveriussu velikomu indianszkomu apostolu*, Zagreb, 1715; Emericus Esterhazi de Galantha, *Oratio a celsissimo, ac reverendissimo S. R. I. principe Emerico e comitibus Esterhazi de Galantha, metropolitanae Strigoniensis ecclesiae archi-episcopo, & Hungariae primate, &c. tunc Dignissimo Episcopo Zagrabiensi composita, & certo, ac perpetuo voto suo ad Thaumaturgum S. Franciscum Xaverium facio* [...], 1715; Emericus Esterhazy, *Vita S. Joannis Eleemosynarii Alexandrini Patriarchae, ex Antiquo Autographo In Vitas Patrum De verbo ad verbum excerpta, et Quatuor linguis Latinâ, Germanicâ, Hungaricâ, Slavonicâ Posoniensium* (Possonium: Joannis Pauli Royer, 1732); Emericus Esterhazy, *Żywot S. Jana Almuznara, alexandynskeho patryarchy ze Starodawnej Knihi żywotni Otczuu nazwanej od słowa do słowa wibrany A sstwerim jazikem Latinskim Nemeckzim Uherskim Slowenskim* (Presporok: Yan Pawol Royer, 1732); Imre Esterhazy, *Alamispán Sz. Jánosnak Alexandriai patriárkának Élete. Melly, egy régi, Atyák életéről költ írásból, Szórol Szóra Szedetett, és Négy: ugymint Deák, Német, Magyar, Tót* (Posony: János Pál Royer, 1732); Emericus Esterhazy, *Leben Des Heiligen Allmosen-Gebers Joannis Alexandrinischen Patriarchens, Aus einer Mehr denn tausend Jahr*

when he spoke to the general population, he used their mother tongue. Considering the Primate's career and linguistic skills, we can assume that he considered himself a member of the *natio Hungarica*.

Conclusion

It is impossible to determine the exact type of clothing worn by the statue of St Martin. The colour of the uniform, the sabretache, the saddle, the shabrack and the armament are not depicted, rendering it impossible to identify the hussars' uniform, thus preventing from assigning to particular regiment. The element that suggests that it is a hussar is the military officer's colback. Such a depiction of a hussar is therefore highly schematic. The massive chain on the pelisse favours the assumption that he is a nobleman. In its appearance it resembles a chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, though the pendant itself is missing. St Martin is therefore dressed in a way that make it impossible to determine whether his clothing is military or noble; he wears a military officer's hat and a nobleman's chain on his pelisse. However, several hussar noble commanders have demonstrably

been portrayed in the hussar uniform with all the attributes, together with the officer's colback and a chain or decorated agraffe of the nobility. In this context, therefore, St Martin must be understood as a military commander from the noble class, though this represents an anomaly within his iconography.

A saint dressed in the Hungarian clothing of a noble hussar commander represented an aspect of Hungarian identity, regardless of whether its representative's mother tongue was Slovak, Magyar, German or Croatian. It is in this context that one can understand, for example, Emericus Esterházy's decision to translate the biography of St John the Almoner into 'our vernacular languages' – Latin, German, Slovak and Magyar. In commissioning the altar, the Primate must have been aware of the multilingual Hungarian identity of his faithful, wherein the Hungarian dress of St Martin would signify the identity of its members regardless of language. In this sense, the Primate produced an altar that reinforced the faith during Sunday masses while simultaneously fostering the collective identity of the ordinary believers through a counter-Reformation disposition.

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Between Košice and Knin (*Tinninum*): Alexius Jordánszky's Contribution to the Hortus Marianus in Croatia**

Između Košica i Knina (*Tinninum*): doprinos Aleksija Jordánskoga „Marijinu vrtu“ (lat. *Hortus Marianus*) u Hrvatskoj / Medzi Košicami a Kninom (*Tinninum*): Príspevok Alexandra Jordánskeho k *Hortus Marianus* v Chorvátsku

Prilog predstavlja značenje marijanskoga atlasa Kratki opis milostivih prikazā Blažene Djevice Marije u Ugarskoj i njezinim dijelovima (1836. na njemačkome i mađarskom jeziku; 1838. na slovačkome) i njezina autora Aleksija Jordánszkoga (Košice, 1765. – Ostrogon, 1840.), naslovnoga biskupa Knina u Hrvatskoj. Kratki opis važan je marijanski topografski album koji nudi povijesni uvid u osam hodočasničkih mjesta na području hrvatskih biskupija: Trsat (Senjska biskupija), Marija Bistrica, Remete, Krapina / Trški Vrh (Zagrebačka biskupija) te Aljmaš, Dragotin, Sotin, Petrovaradin (Bosanska ili Đakovačka i Srijemska biskupija). Jordánszky je bio zapažena crkvena i intelektualna ličnost u Austrijskom Carstvu, a kao gorljivi Marijin poklonik prvi je (i jedini) zabilježio u Kratkome opisu neke od marijanskih prikaza, uključujući sliku u Dragotinu i oltar iz kasnoga osamnaestog stoljeća (sada uništen) u Mariji Bistrici.

Ključne riječi: Aleksij Jordánszky, 19. stoljeće, Marijina prošteništa u Hrvatskoj, knjižna ilustracija

Doctor of theology, canon of Bratislava (Posonium/Pressburg/Pozsony) and later Esztergom (Strigonoim/Gran/Ostrihom), and titular bishop of Knin, Alexius (Áleš/Alex/Elek) Jordánszky is a little-known historical figure in Croatia, especially considering the significant

contributions he made to Croatian Marian culture. Before we measure his contribution to Mariology, we will share a few biographical details. He was born in Košice (Cassovia/Kaschau/Kassa) on September 15, 1765, and died in Esztergom on February 17, 1840.¹ The respect

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¹ Dr. Rummy [Karl Georg Rummy], "Nekrolog des Alexius von Jordanßky," *Der Adler* 53 (Montag, den 2. März 1840): 421; Constant von Wurzbach, "Jordanßky, Alexius von," in *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich: X: Jablonowski – Karolina* (Wien: Druck und Verlag der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1863), 267–68; Imrich Kotvan, *Bibliografija bernolákovcov* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1957), 186–92. Due to the relative obscurity of the protagonist in this study, biographical data are presented in the text in an encyclopaedical format.

he gained during his life is evidenced by obituaries published in various newspapers of the Austrian Empire, for example, the distant *Salzburger Zeitung* informed readers on its front page on March 4, 1840:

*"[...] the most respected Bishop of Knin, Abbot of Szászvár, and canon, Mr. Alexius von Jordánszky, has died in Gran. Tireless work, apostolic zeal, an exceptionally good education, sincere piety, and a kind heart adorned his life."*²

In Košice, Jordánszky was early exposed to the trilingual culture of the state-official classes, to which his father and extended family belonged, so as a child, he learned "the three main languages of the Kingdom of Hungary: Hungarian, German, and Slovak, and throughout his life, he fluently spoke these languages, alongside Latin."³ Later, during his schooling, he also mastered French and Italian.⁴ In the family of this high-ranking prelate, and one

of the protagonists of the ecclesiastical, political, and cultural life of the conservative Empire, the circumstances of his parents' marriage were unusual. Gábor Tüskés and Éva Knapp (1990) particularly emphasize:

*"His father was a former Jesuit who, under unclear circumstances, left the order and married Maria Uher, who was ten years younger than him. This event in the family's history reflects, on the one hand, the breakdown of church discipline for monastic life in the second half of the 18th century and, on the other hand, later influenced Jordánszky's life path. The same year that his father passed away at the age of 44, Jordánszky entered the seminary in Esztergom. He studied philosophy and theology in Pozsony (Bratislava) and Trnava (Nagyszombat). Among his professors, besides the conservative majority, were those who supported the ideas of Febronianism, Jansenism, and enlightened Josephinism."*⁵

² "Am 17. d. M. Starb zu Gran der Hochw. Tinninier Weichbischof, Abt zu Szaszvar und Canonicus, Hr. Alexius von Jordanszky. Unermüdliche Thätigkeit [sic], apostolischer Eifer und vielseitige hohe wissenschaftliche Bildung, wahre Frömmigkeit und Herzengüte schmückten seinen Lebenslauf." See Kaiserl. Königl. privilegierte Salzburger Zeitung 46 (Mittwoch den 4. März 1840.), s. p. [p. 1].

³ "Der Umstand, daß er in Kaschan geboren wurde und seine Kinderjahre verlebte, trug dazu bei, daß er die drei Haupt = Landessprachen Ungarns, die magyarische, deutsche und slawische auf die leichteste Weise erlernte und bis zu seinem Tode, nebst der lateinischen Sprache, fertig sprach." Dr. Rummy, "Nekrolog des Alexius von Jordanßky," 421. In the translation "slawische" was understood and translated as "Slovak".

⁴ Dr. Rummy, "Nekrolog des Alexius von Jordanßky," 421; Wurzbach, "Jordanßky, Alexius von".

⁵ "Sein Vater war früher Jesuit. Dann trat er unter unklaren Umständen aus dem Orden aus und hat mit Maria Uher die Ehe geschlossen, die zehn Jahre jünger war als er. Dieses Ereignis der Familiengeschichte spiegelt einerseits den Auflösungsprozess der kirchlichen Disziplin, für die Lebensform der Orden in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, andererseits wirkt es sich später auf die Laufbahn von Jordánszky bestimmend aus. Im selben Jahr, als sein Vater im 44. Lebensjahr stirbt, wird Jordánszky Seminarist der Exztergomer Diözese. Er studierte Philosophie und Theologie in Pozsony und Nagyszombat. Unter seinen Professoren finden wir neben der konservativ eingestellten Mehrheit auch jene, die sich zu den Ideen des Febronianismus, des Jansenismus und des aufgeklärten Josephinismus bekant haben. 1789 wird er zum Priester geweiht." Gábor Tüskés i Éva Knapp, "Revitalisierung zwischen Barockfrömmigkeit und Massenreligiosität: ein ungarischer Versuch," in *Papers II. SIEF 4th Congress*, eds. Bente Gullweig Alver and Torunn Selberg (Bergen: European Culture Foundation. 1991), 645–73. Constant von Wurzbach writes that he studied theology according to his father's wishes and entered the seminary: "Auf des Vaters Wunsch, der selbst schon Mitglied des Jesuitenordens und Novize gewesen, studierte der Sohn Theologie und trat zu Preßburg in das General-Seminarium ein." Wurzbach, "Jordanßky, Alexius von", 267.

He was ordained a priest on September 26, 1789, and after gaining initial experience as an educator, he became the notary of the Archbishop of Esztergom, Count József Batthyány, Primate of Hungary. He then served as a parish priest in Svodín (Szőlgyén) in the Diocese of Nitra, and this pastoral experience preceded the rapid development of Jordánszky's ecclesiastical career: he was appointed professor of theology at the archdiocesan lyceum in Trnava, a canon of the Collegiate Chapter of Bratislava, and vice-rector of the royal academy there. He became a canon of the Esztergom Metropolitan Chapter and was confirmed on February 28, 1831, and consecrated on April 24 as the titular bishop of Knin.⁶ He celebrated his golden jubilee of priesthood half a year before his death at the most famous Austrian Marian shrine, Mariazell in Styria.⁷

In addition to his political and literary activities—important within the context of Bernolák's standardization of the Slovak language and the entire movement inspired by Bernolákovčina—Jordánszky is also notable for his numerous scholarly, ecclesiastical, and political contacts, and his stimulating correspondence, announcing the age of the founders

(*Gründerzeit*).⁸ Particularly notable are his connections with historian, archivist of the Hungarian Court Chamber, and prolific writer Martin Juraj Kovačič Šenkvički (Kovachich, Šenkvičský, Senquiciensis, Senquicziensis; Márton György, Martinus Georgius; Veľké Šenkvice near Pezinok, 1744 – Buda, 1821).⁹ He was a descendant of Croats who had left Kostajnica, Sisak, and its surroundings due to Ottoman incursions from the mid-16th century, settling in Šenkvice in western Slovakia, twenty-five kilometers northeast of Bratislava. He maintained his Croatian roots through visits to Zagreb (on several occasions from 1812), correspondence with Nikola Škrlec Lomnički, and especially with Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac (for whom he arranged the chapter archive in 1814–1815), and he sent his son Josip Nikola to study law in Zagreb (1813).¹⁰

The intellectual context and personal portrait sketched from the life of Alexius Jordánszky provide the backdrop for understanding his enormous effort and success in publishing the Marian atlas, an illustrated topography of its pilgrimage shrines in the Kingdom of Hungary, in three languages—Hungarian and German in 1836, and Slovak in 1838.¹¹ I quote

⁶ Wurzbach, "Jordánsky, Alexius von". For the chronology of the appointment as titular Bishop of Knin see: Remigius P. Ritzler, Pirminus P. Seerin, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi sive Summorum Pontificum – S.R.E. Cardinalium Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series: Volumen Septimum: PII PP. VII 1800 – Gregorii PP. XVI 1846* (Patavii: Typis Librariae "Il Messaggero di S. Antonio" apud Basilicam S. Antonii, 1968.), 370.

⁷ Wurzbach, "Jordánsky, Alexius von".

⁸ Miroslav Vojtech, "Podoby slovenskej literatúry okolo 1800," in *Umenie a umelci v meste okolo roku 1800/Art and Artists in the City around 1800*, eds. Katarína Beňová and Katarína Kolbiar Chmelinová (Bratislava: Stimul; Katedra dejín výtvarného umenia Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského, 2023), 527–51.

⁹ St. Kn. and R. [Stjepan Krpan and Editorial Office], "Kovačič Šenkvički, Martin Juraj (Kovachich, Šenkvičský, Senquiciensis, Senquicziensis; Márton György, Martinus Georgius, Martin Đuro)," in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon: VII.: Kam–Ko*, ed. Trpimir Macan (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod "Miroslav Krleža", 2009), 814–15; St. Kn. [Stjepan Krpan], "Kovačič Šenkvički, Josip Nikola (Kovachich, Senquiciensis, Šenkvičský; József Miklós, Josephus Nicolaus, Jozef Mikulaš)," 813–14.

¹⁰ Ivica Filipović, "Martin Juraj i Josip Nikola Kovačič u Hrvatskoj 1812. – 1815." / "Martin Juraj and Josip Nikola Kovačič in Croatia 1812–1815", *Arhivski vjesnik IX*, no. 1 (1966): 273–84.

¹¹ The Hungarian edition was published once more, posthumously (1863), in Pest: "Pesten, 1863. Nyomatja és kiadja Bucs'ánszky Alajos."

the titles in full in the hope of promoting wider awareness of the edition:

[Alexius Jordánszky,] *Kurze Beschreibung der Gnadenbilder der seligsten Jungfrau Mutter Gottes Maria, welche im Königreiche Hungarn, und der zu demselben gehörigen Theile und Ländern öffentlich verehrt werden, Nach dem Vortritte der zwei, von wailand fürsten PAUL EZTERÁS, Palatinus des Königreichs Hungarn, im Jahre 1690. und 1696. herausgegebenen Bücher, die eben in dem Hause, welches jetzt erwähneter Fürst zu Preßburg in der großen Kapittelgasse erbaute, unter dem Preßburger sammt Landtag 1832/6 sammt den Bildern gesammelt, und zum Seelentrost der Verehrer der seligsten Jungfrau herausgegeben hat, Alexius Jordánszky, consecrirter Bischof von Tinninien, Abt der seligsten Jungfrau Maria zu Százvár, Cantor und Canonicus des Graner Domcapitels, Weihbischof in der Tirnauer hälfte der Graner Erzdiözese, apostolischer Protonotär, Doctor und gewesener erdentlicher Professor der heiligen Theologie, Collegial=Mitglied der geheiligten Facultät der Pestcher Universität (Preßburg, gedruckt bey Belnay's Erben, 1836).* [fig. 1]

[Alexius Jordánszky,] *Magyar Országban, „s az ahoz tartozó Részekben lévő bódogságos Szűz MÁRIA Képeinek rövid leírása. Néhai nagy novú Herczeg ESZTERÁS PÁLNAK, Magyar Országgi Palatinusnak két Könyvei nyomdoka szerint, ugyan ettől a' Herczetől a' Po'sonyi Káptalan nagyobb utcáján építetett egykori lakházában, a' Po'sonyi Országgyűlés alatt szerzette, „s a' Szent Szűz Mária' Tisztelőinek lelki vigasztalásukra közrebocsátotta, a' Képek' másival együtt JORDÁNSZKY ELEK,*

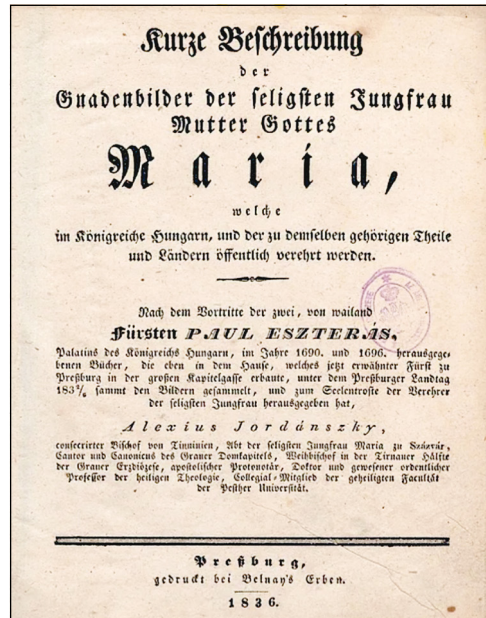


Figure 1.

Tinniniai felszentelt Püspök, Szászvári bódog Asszontytól nevezett Apát, Esztergami Fő Káptalan Énekes Kanonka, a' Nagszombati kerületben Suffraganeus „s Püspök, Apostoli Protonotárius, (Fő jegyző) a' Szentéges Teológiának Doktora, a hajdan volt rendeszerienti köz tanítója; a' Pesti tudományos Egyetémnek társas tagja (POSONBAN, Belnay' örököseinek betüivel. 1836). [fig. 2]

[Alexius Jordánszky,] *Krátki Opis Mistivich Obrazow blahoslavenej Panni Marie Matki Božej, které v Královstve Uherském, a v patricích k němu Částkách, a Kragnách weregne sa ctá. Podla predešlich dvoch od někdagšeho Knižata PAWLA ESZTERÁSA Královstwa Uherského Palatína Roku 1690 a 1696 widanich Kňih ; prám w tom Dome, které wčil zmíněné Kňíža v hrubég Kapitul skeg Ulici, wistaviti dalo, pod Šnemem 1832/3 spolu ag z Obrazmi zebrał a k duchownému Pořešení Cfifelow Panni Marie Widál, Áleš Jordánszky*

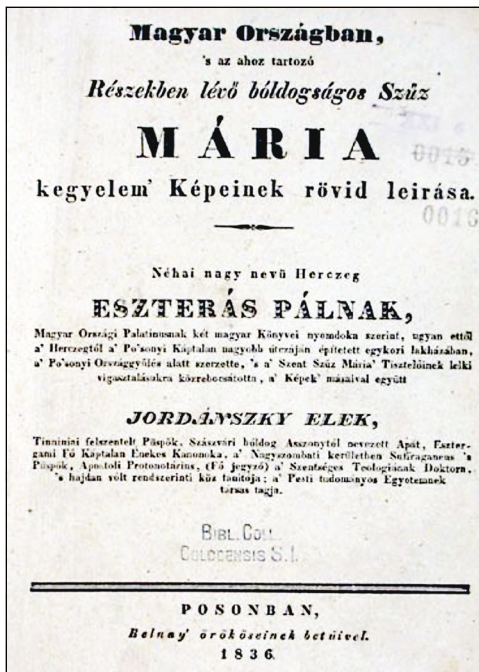


Figure 2.

Tininski (Kniski [sic]) posvácani Biskup, blahoslavenég Panni Marie ze Szászváru Opát, Ostrihomskég Kapitula Spewar, a Kanowńnik, Arcibiskupstwa Ostihomského w Polowici Trnawskég Mistobiskup, Apostolski Prvoznačnik, swáteho Bohoslawa Učitel, biwali Professor, pri Pesčanských wisokých Školách spolkwoni Úd. (Prespurku: písmem Belnaiho Dediču, 1838). [fig. 3]

The titles of the editions are long and provide insight into the book's content, its models, as well as information about the author's important roles in the Church (the first indicated is being titular Bishop of Knin) and in the academic life of the



Figure 3.

Kingdom. First and foremost, Jordánszky reveals here that he was inspired by Marian atlases published nearly a century and a half earlier by Hungarian Palatine Count Pál Esterházy: *Az egész világon levő csudalatos Boldogságos Szűz kepeinek rövideden föl tett eredeti* [A Brief Description of the Origins of the Miraculous Images of the Blessed Virgin around the World] (1690), and in its second edition, *Mennyei korona az az Az egész világon levő csudalatos Boldogságos Szűz Kepeinek rövideden föl tett eredeti* [Heavenly Crown or a Brief Description of the Origins of the Miraculous Images of the Blessed Virgin around the World] (1696).¹² These works presented numerous Marian shrines

¹² [Pál Esterházy.] *AZ EGESZ VILAGON LEVŐ CSUDALATOS BOLDOGSÁGOS SZŰZ KEPEINEK RÖVIDEDEN FÖL TETT EREDETI*. Mellyet sok tanúságokból öszve szerzett, és az aétatos hívek lölki üdvösségére ki bocsátott GALANTHAI ESTERHAS PÁL szentséges Romai Birodalombéli hercege, s Magyar Országi palatinus. 1690. Esztendőben. Nagy-Szombatban [Trnava], az Academiai Bötűkkel; [Pál Esterházy.] *MENNYEI KORONA az az Az egész világon levő csudalatos Boldogságos Szűz Kepeinek rövideden föl tett EREDETI*. Mellyet sok tanúságokból öszve szerzett, és az aétatos hívek lelki üdvösségére



Figure 4: Dorneck sc., *Effigies B. Mariæ Virg. In Ecclesia Remete, prope Zagrabiam in Croatia* 1836, from the Slovak edition (1838.).



Figure 5: Dorneck sc., *Effigies B. Mariæ Virg. Bistricen in Regno Croatia, Diœc. Zagrab.* 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838.).

globally, and also described five miraculous images and statues from the Croatian territory: in Remete, on Trsat — although incorrectly, as he depicted a standing statue (possibly of Our Lady of Slunj, then displayed in the pilgrim church, now in the treasury), instead of the miraculous image of Our Lady of Trsat (on the main altar) — and three images from the Republic of Ragusa / Dubrovnik.¹³ The global concept of Esterházy's atlas and the examples he transmitted (including the three Dubrovnik images) reveal

that his model was the four-volume atlas of venerated Marian statues and images by Bavarian Jesuit Wilhelm Gumpenberg, *Atlas Marianus sive De imaginibus Deiparæ per orbem Christianum miraculosis* (I-II, 1657; III-IV, 1659; also published in German as *Marianischer Atlas Das ist wunderthätige Mariabilder. So in Aller Christlichen Welt mit Wunder Zeichen behüembt [sic]*).¹⁴ These atlases reflect post-Tridentine efforts to revive a diverse collection of Marian sculptures and images, thereby supporting the growing reputation of

ki bocsatott ujonann GALANTHAI ESTERHÀS PÀL, *Sentlègres Romai Birodalombeli HERCZEG Magyar Orszàgi PALATINVS* 1696. *Eszkendöben. Meg szaporittatt pedig az erlöbbeb Könyu ugy hogy az Historiákknak száma Ezer Három Száz.* [Trnava].

¹³ [Esterházy,] *AZ EGESZ VILAGON LEVÖ CSVDALATOS BOLDOGSAGOS SZÜZ KEPEINEK*, 84–86 (Remete and Trsat), 200–2 (Republic of Ragusa / Dubrovnik).

¹⁴ Pavao Knezović, "Dubrovačka Gospina svetišta 17. stoljeća prema Atlas Marianus W. Gumpennberga" [Seventeenth-Century Marian Shrines of Dubrovnik According to Wilhelm Gumpenberg's Atlas Marianus], in *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku / Annals of the Institute for Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Dubrovnik*, 43 (2005): 75–92.

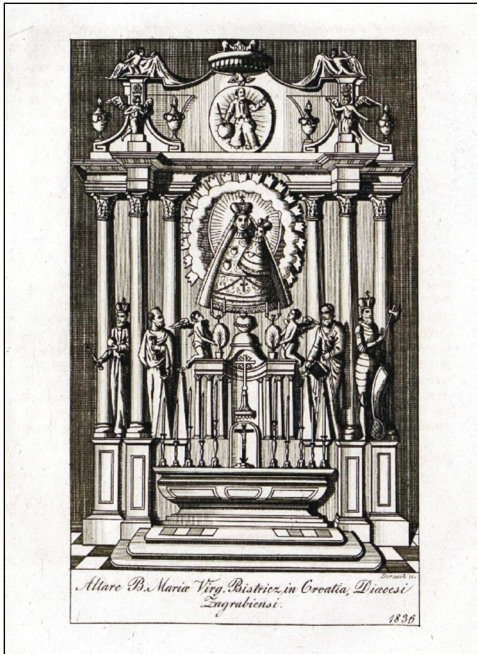


Figure 6: *Dorneck sc., Altare B. Mariae Virg. Bistricae in Croatia, Diocesi Zagrabienensi. 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838).*



Figure 7: *Effigies B. Mariae Virg. in Eccles. Krapina in Croat. Dioc. Zagrab. 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838).*

the Blessed Virgin Mary in various forms of (pilgrimage) veneration, prayers, and visual and musical devotion.

Alexius Jordánszky's Marian topography was focused on the Kingdom of Hungary (as stated in the title), where he depicted sixty-nine images and statues. He did not include images from the historical territories of the Republic of Dubrovnik / Ragusa (abolished in 1808), as it they were not part of the Kingdom, but he significantly expanded the Croatian section from Esterházy's Marian albums with new pilgrimage centres that emerged after the liberation of Slavonia, Baranja, and Srijem from Ottoman rule (Peace of Karlowitz, 1699; Peace of

Passarowitz 1718; Treaty of Belgrade 1739). To the old medieval center founded by the Pauline friars in Remete [Fig. 4] in the historical Diocese of Zagreb, he added Bistrica (now known as Marija Bistrica) [Fig. 5, 6] and Krapina (Trški Vrh) [Fig. 7], which had not yet gained fame as Marian shrines (Bistrica) or did not yet exist (Trški Vrh) in Esterházy's time. In the historical Diocese of Senj-Modruš, he accurately depicted the Marian figure of Trsat (type *Virgo lactans*), the central part of a Trecento triptych on the main altar of the pilgrim and Franciscan monastery church on Trsat, crowned with crowns of the Virgin and Child Jesus, which were ceremoniously crowned in 1715 [Fig. 8].¹⁵

¹⁵ Zoraida Demori Staničić, *Javni kultovni ikona u Dalmaciji* (Split, Književni krug; Zagreb, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2017), 277–79; Danko Šourek, "Iconography of the Sacred Stage: Scenography for the Canonical Coronation of our Lady of Trsat (1715)," in *Art and Politics in the Modern Period. Conference Proceedings*, eds. Dragan Damjanović, Lovorka Magaš Bilandžić, Željka Miklošević,



Figure 8: *Imago B. Mariæ Virg. Tersacti in Eccl. P.P. Franciscan. in Croat. maritima in Diœc. Segnien. 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838).*



Figure 9: *Imago B. Mariæ Virg in Ecclesia Dragotin, Diœc. Diakov. in Slavonia, 1836.*

Of particular value are the visual testimonies of Marian shrines in the historical Diocese of Bosnia or Đakovo and Srijem, where he depicted images and statues in Dragotin [Fig. 9], Aljmaš [Figs. 10, 11], Sotin [Fig. 12], and Petrovaradin [Fig. 13]. The significance of Jordánszky's Marian album, *A Brief Description of Merciful Images*, lies in its key role in elevating the Marian *imago* to a central position, which is particularly evident in two cases — Bistrica (Diocese of Zagreb) and Aljmaš (Diocese of Bosnia or Đakovo

and Srijem) — where Marian statues are depicted both individually, and in their altar embedding. In both cases, this is an extremely valuable visual testimony, as both altars were destroyed (as well as that in Petrovaradin), and the Bistrica altar was not visually recorded elsewhere, making *A Brief Description of Merciful Images* the only place where one can see what this important and exceptional commission looked like.¹⁶ Its uniqueness lies in the historical insight into the development of a shrine that became the

Jeremy F. Walton (Zagreb: FF press, 2019), 111–18; Danko Šourek, "Triumphus Coronatæ Reginae: Scenografija krunidbe čudotvorne slike Majke Božje Trsatske 1715. godine" / "Triumphus Coronatæ Reginae: The Scenography of the Coronation of the Miraculous Image of Our Lady of Trsat in 1715," in *Vera imago G. V. Mariæ Tarsactensis*, ed. Marina Vicelja-Matijašić (Rijeka: Sveučilište u Rijeci, Filozofski fakultet, 2019), 157–72.

¹⁶ On the altar commissioned by the Croatian Parliament (completed before July 1731) and this one, commissioned by paroch of Bistrica Josip Šandor (1791, inaurated in 1794) and shown by Jordánszky, see Josip Buturac, *Marija Bistrica 1209–1996: Povijest župe i prošteništa* (Marija Bistrica: Nacionalno svetište Majke Božje Bistričke / National Shrine of Our Lady of Bistrica, 1996 [1981]), 21–23.



Figure 10: Dorneck sc., *Effigies B. Mariæ Virg. in Eccles. Ab. Almás Dicec. Diakov. in Slavonia Mater Refugii*. 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838.).

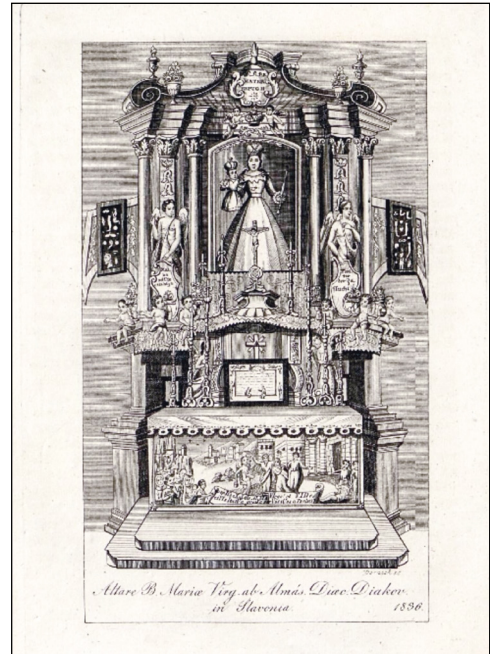


Figure 11: Dorneck sc., *Altare B. Mariæ Virg. Ab Almás Dicec. Diakov. in Slavonia*. 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838.).

national Marian pilgrimage centre in Croatia.¹⁷ Through his diligent effort, Jordánszky succeeded in creating a richly illustrated Marian atlas, and it is precisely the book illustrations that distinguish this work from the earlier Marian treatises in Croatia, initiated in the 17th century by Croatian Jesuits Lovro Grisogono (*Mundi Mariani*, Vienna 1646, *Pars secunda*, Padua 1651; second edition Augsburg

1712)¹⁸ and Juraj Habeldić (*Zerczalo Marianzko* [*The Marian Mirror*], Graz 1662).¹⁹

In the edition *A Brief Description of Merciful Images* by Alexius Jordánszky, the illustrations are signed “Dorneck sc.” (Aljmaš, statue and altar; Remete; Bistrica, statue and altar), or they are unsigned (Petrovaradin; Sotin; Dragotin; Krapina, Trsat), and all are dated 1836. According to the gender indicated in letters

¹⁷ For the development of the shrine in Marija Bistrica, see Buturac, *Marija Bistrica 1209–1980*.

¹⁸ [Laurentius Grisogono.] *MVNDI MARIANI: MARIA SPECVLVM MVNDI ARCHETYPY SEU DIVINITATIS AVCTORE R. P. LAVRETIO CHRYSOGONO DALMATA SPALATENSI SOCIETATIS JESU THEOLOGO*. (VIENNAE AVSTRIÆ: Typis Matthæ Cosmerovij, in Aula Coloniensi, ANNO DOMINI M.DC. XLVI. [1646]); *Pars Secunda*. PATAVII. ANNO MDCLI. Suptibus iuncarum, & Ioan. Iacobi Hertz. [1651]; second edition *AUGUSTÆ VINDELICORUM, EXPENSIS PHILIPY JACOBI VEITH, BIBLIOPLÆ GRÆCENSIS, ET FRATRUM*. ANNO M DCC XII. [1712]).

¹⁹ [Juraj / Georgius Habeldich.] *ZERCZALO MARIANZKO. To je to PONIZNOZT DEVICZE MARIE, KAJE BOGA RODILA. USEM SZLOVENZKoga i Horuatczkoga naroda Kerschenikom á onem naulaztito, zuerhunaturalzke, od dareslyive ruke Bosje prieli, na nasledwanye, PO JURIU HABDELICHU Tovarustua JESSUSSEVOGA Mesniku popiszana, i na szuétlo dana* (M.DC.LXII Stampano U-Nemskom Gradczu pri Ferenczu Widmanstetteru. [1662]).

preserved in the Archdiocesan Archive in Esztergom, sent from Vienna and signed “Dorneck”, Gyula Rózsa (2001) discovered that this was a woman who was Jordánszky’s main engraver, and she likely lived in Vienna.²⁰ Meanwhile, in the Archdiocesan Archive in Zagreb, letters from Alexius Jordánszky to the Bishop of Zagreb, Aleksandar Alagović (Manželice near Trnava 1760 – Zagreb 1837),²¹ have been preserved. Like the historian Martin Juraj Kovačić Šenkvički, Alagović was a Slovak of Croatian origin. In these letters, Jordánszky requests that drawings of venerated images and statues be sent to him, to be forwarded to Dorneck and others,²² and engraved in copperplates for the book illustrations. From this correspondence, we conclude that Jordánszky developed his network of collaborators by writing to the centres of dioceses where these images were located, addressing bishops directly, and signing as the titular Bishop of Knin (“Alexius Jordánszky, Ep. Tinn.”). In January 1836, the same year he published the German and Hungarian editions of *A Brief Description of Merciful Images*, he wrote to Alagović:

“Your Excellency, Most Reverend and Honorable Bishop, Gracious Sir!

The Croatian dignitaries who approve and admire my efforts in gathering the gracious images of the Blessed Virgin

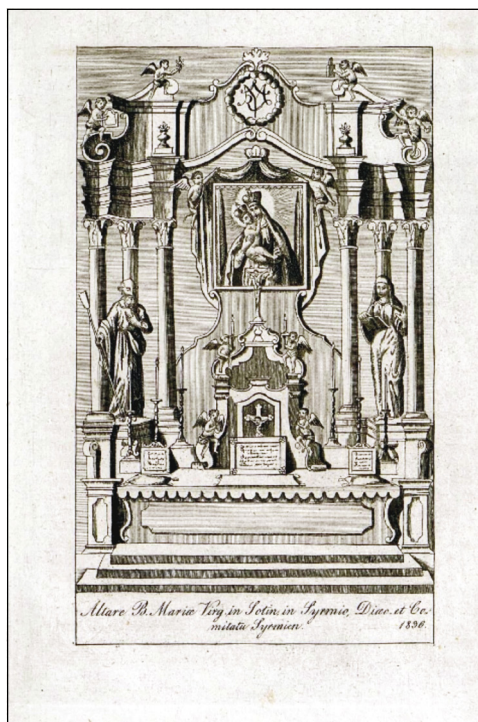


Figure 12: S. a., *Altare B. Mariæ Virg. in Sotin in Syrmio Diœc. Et Comitatu Syrmien. 1836.*, from the Slovak edition (1838.).

advise me to request from Your Excellency both a drawing and a description of the image of the Virgin of Krapina. For, they say, it would be regrettable if, in such a large collection (I already possess 33 thousand engraved images) from all over Croatia, only the image from Marija Bistrica were represented, while the one from Krapina were omitted.

²⁰ Gy. Rózsa [Gyula Rózsa], “Dorneck, Wiener (?) Copper Engraver” in *Saur: Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*: 29: Donny – Du, ed. Günter Meißner (München/Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2001), 92. In the art market, Joseph Dorneck, a copper engraver who worked in Vienna during the 1820s and 1830s, has been identified in connection to the sale of the separate sheets from the Hungarian edition, although no source is provided for this information. Cf. “1836 Dorneck, Joseph,” Darabanth Auction House, Budapest, <https://www.darabanth.com>, accessed on 14 October 2024. The identity of the female member of the Dorneck family in relation to Joseph remains unknown (possibly wife or widow?).

²¹ Juraj Kolarić, “Aleksandar Alagović 1829–1837,” in *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi / Bishops and Archbishops of Zagreb*, ed. Franko Mirošević (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), 446–58.

²² Gyula Rózsa notes that out of ninety-one book illustrations, forty-five were signed by Dorneck, five by Josef Kern, while the others remain unsigned. Rózsa, “Dorneck, Wiener (?)

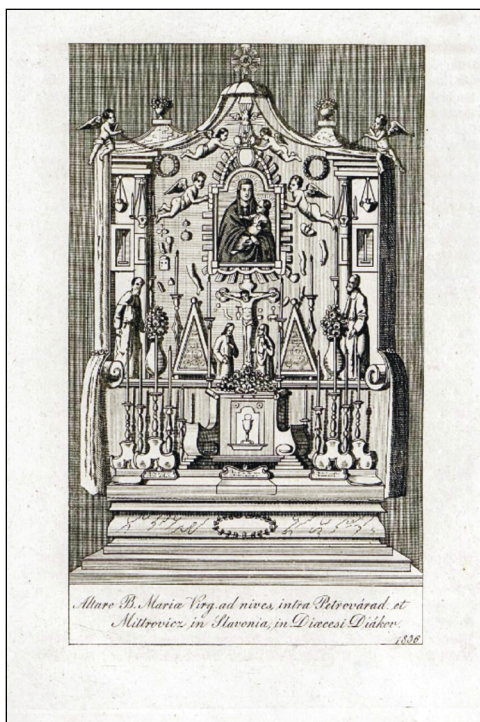


Figure 13: *Altare B. Mariæ Virg. ad nives intra Petrovárad. Et Mitrovicz in Slavonia, in Diœcesi Diákov. 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838).*

Due to what I firmly believe about Your Excellency's steadfastness in pious devotion, based on high opinion and evaluation, I humbly ask Your Excellency for the favor of kindly providing me

with: 1^o a depiction in octavo (8^o) format of the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Krapina, 2^o a brief historical description of its origin, development, and current veneration. The Mighty Virgin will reward all efforts to increase her veneration.

One more (second) thing I would like to mention: The collection of biographical images of Francis I, to whom we owe our promotion, has been completed these days. Twenty images can be obtained from me for 30 forints. May Your Grace ensure that at least some copies of this truly beautiful collection are displayed in Croatia and that Francis' memory is passed on to future generations. The only bishop from the Triune Kingdom who supported it was Sučić.²³ Now, there is none.

These unfortunate sessions seem unable to reach an end. The knot needs to be cut, but Scanderbeg's sword has rusted. It is rude how the Oligarchs, who hold all the power, appoint Croats, even the Bishop of Knin. I recommend myself to your favour and remain your most obedient servant, Alexius Jordánszky, Bishop of Knin. E.M.S.C. et [and] C. (?) / In Pressburg, January 28, 1836. / Bishop Madarassy²⁴ is feeling very unwell.²⁵

Kupferstecherin." Jordánszky was unable to obtain an image from the Greek Catholic Marian sanctuary in the village of Sajópálfala (formerly Pálfalva) in the Eger Diocese ("Pálfalvaer Marien-Bild in der Erlaner Diözese"), so he inserted a book engraving signed "Vinc. Franceschini sculp." depicting the sanctuary of Madre delle Grazie della Mentorella, located about sixty kilometres east of Rome, between Tivoli and Palestrina, which is traditionally considered one of the oldest Marian shrines outside of Rome.

²³ Franjo Šanjek et. al., *Pavao Marija Sučić biskup bosanski ili đakovački i srijemski (11. siječnja 1767. – 13. travnja 1834.): 250 godina od rođenja. Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog 15. prosinca 2017. u Đakovu i 8. ožujka 2018 u Subotici / Pavao Marija Sučić, Bishop of Bosnia or Đakovo and Syrmia (11 January 1767–13 April 1834): 250 Years Since His Birth. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference held on 15 December 2017 in Đakovo and 8 March 2018 in Subotica (Zagreb/Đakovo: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti Zavod za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Đakovu, 2018).*

²⁴ s. a., "Madarassy Ferenc," in *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon*: VIII: Lone – Meszl, eds. István Diós i János Viczián, (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2003), *sub voce*.

²⁵ "Excellentissime, Illustrissime, et Reverendissime Domine Episcopo, Domine Gratiose! / Domini Croatiae Dignatales, qui meos in colligendis Gratiolis Beatæ Virginis Deiparæ Imaginibus conatus probant ac mirantur, suadent mihi ut ab Excellentia Vestra etiam Krapinensis Imaginis delineationem ac descriptionem

The tone of the letter reveals the closeness of compatriots and political like-mindedness. Nevertheless, the titular Bishop of Knin, Jordánszky, still had to urge the Bishop of Zagreb, Alagović, regarding the drawings, including the one from Bistrica²⁶ (which he had already received by the time he requested the one from Krapina) and the newly commissioned depiction of the small statue from Krapina, which was only twelve centimeters tall, brought from the Holy Land in 1669 by Stjepan Balagović (as a Franciscan Friar named Joachim), around which a shrine developed on Trški Vrh near Krapina.²⁷ In the summer of 1836, Jordánszky also informed Alagović about the difficulties in correspondence with the Bishop of Srijem (then the successor to Pavao Marija Sučić, Josip Kuvović),²⁸ and the drawing of the painting

of Our Lady of Sorrows of Dragotin (not a statue, as indicated in the shrine's description) arrived so late that in the initial list announcing which miraculous images and statues would be presented, Dragotin was indicated in all editions as being "without an image" ("bez Obrazu", "ohne Bild", "Kép nélkül"). Nevertheless, the book illustration depicting Our Lady of Sorrows of Dragotin was eventually published for the first time in its centuries-long history.²⁹ Thanks to his efforts, enthusiasm, diligence, and persistence in motivating and engaging reluctant collaborators and correspondents, Alexius Jordánszky became the first to present the post-Tridentine Marian shrines in the southern part of the Empire, earning himself an important place on the Mariological map of Croatia.

efflagitem. Dolendum enim esset, iniquiunt, si in tanta collectione (jam 33 millia Imaginum cupro incisarum possideo) ex tota Croatia unicam saltem Bisztricensem Imaginem Collectio mea exprimeret et Krapinensem præteriret. / Pro ea, quam de Vestræ Excellentie constantia teneris hyperdulico cultu firmam teneo, opinione et existimatione, imploro Ejusdem Excellentie Vestræ gratiam in eo, ut mihi 1^a delineationem in 8^a majori imaginis BMV Krapiniensis, 2^a brevem historicam descriptionem originis, progressus et actualis cultus ejusdem gratiose submitti facere dignetur. Reprendet Virgo potens cuncta in sui cultus augmentum impensa fatigia. / Alterum est, quod insinuo: Collectionem biographicarum Francisci I., cui nostram promotionem debemus, Imaginum his diebus conclusam esse. Haberi apud me omnes 20. imagines possunt ad 30 fl MC. Dignetur efficere, ut in Croatia adminus aliquos hujus certe pulchrae collectionis exemplaria ostendantur et memoriam Franciscanam posteritati exhibeant. Unicus Epp^{us} Szucsich e tribus Sociis Regnis subscripserat. Nunc nullus est. / Inauspicata ista Comitia non sciunt finem invenire. Nodus secari deberet, sed gladius Scanderbegi æruginavit. Indignum est, quomodo Croatas, et etiam Epp^{um}. Tinnin. designentur Oligarchæ, quos penes arbitrium est. Commendo me gratiis, et distincta cum veneratione sum Excellentie Vestrae humillimus servus Alexius Jordánszky, Ep. Tinn. E.M.S.C. et C. / Posonii, 28 Jan. 1836. / D. Ep. Madarassy ægerrime valet." HR-NAZg, Officium praesidiale episcopi Alexandri Alagovich, no. 56/1836., 28. Januarii 1836.

²⁶ HR-NAZg, Officium praesidiale episcopi Alexandri Alagovich, no. 134/1835. 17. Martii 1835., after which the request was forwarded to the parish priest of Bistrica ("Requisitus D. Abbas Bistriczensis").

²⁷ For the history of the statue and shrine see: s. a. [Mikula /Nikola Gorup], ZERCZALO MARIANSZKO KIPA JERUSALEMSZKOGA VU KRAPINE Pod Bratovschinum Sz. Skapulara Podignyenoga (VU ZAGREBU, Stampano pri Andrasu Besse Purgaru Klobucharu, per Anton Jandera Factorem. 1868. [2nd edition 1996]).

²⁸ HR-NAZg, Officium praesidiale episcopi Alexandri Alagovich, no. 356/1836. 3. Julii 1836. ("Pro statu notitia").

²⁹ Illustration before the description on page 131 in the German edition, after the description on page 128 in the Hungarian edition (1836), and after the description on page 149 in the Slovak edition (1838).

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Menci Clement Crnčić and His Mysterious Painting**

Menci Clement Crnčić a záhada jeho obrazu / Menci Clement Crnčić i
zagonetka njegova slikarstva

Menci Clement Crnčić (1865–1930) bol známy maliar aj grafik, výrazná osobnosť chorvátskeho výtvarného umenia, najmä impresionizmu a pointilizmu. Chorvát pôvodom, narodený v Rakúsku, študujúci na Morave a v Bavorsku, často sa zdržiavajúci pri Jadranskom mori a v mnohých európskych krajinách, sa stal autorom mnohých krajinomalieb. Jeho jediná maľba zachovaná na Slovensku sa odchyľuje od jeho tvorby inklinujúcej k symbolizmu. Otvára viaceré otázky v oblasti ikonografie a príbuzných tém.

Kľúčové slová: maliarstvo okolo 1900, secesia, symbolizmus, homage, klinčeky

In the depository of the Bratislava City Gallery there is a painting by Crnčić entitled *Portrait with Seven Carnations*, which is signed but not dated (fig. 1).¹ Its provenance is unknown, all we can say is that it used to be part of the old collection of the city museum. It first appeared coincidentally in 1978 on the cover of a vinyl record of the Symphony in C major, the overture to Georges Bizet's opera *Carmen*,² and in 1980 it was purposefully displayed as a part of the

exhibition *Hľadanie slohu: Umenie okolo 1900* (*The Search for Style: Art around 1900*) as well as on the title page of the exhibition catalogue.³ Later it became part of the now defunct permanent exhibition of the Bratislava City Gallery. In the exhibition guide it is listed as a work by a Croatian-Austrian painter and it is a piece of art with an atmosphere of mysterious melancholy, on the border of Art Nouveau and Symbolism.⁴ *Portrait with Seven Carnations* has never left Slovakia,

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** The study was made with the support of the project VEGA 2/0062/23 *Orient in Fine Arts in Slovakia*.

¹ Menci Clement Crnčić, *Portrait with Seven Carnations*, circa 1910, oil on canvas, 60 × 49 cm, acquired by transfer from the Municipal Museum of Bratislava (currently the Bratislava City Museum) in 1959, Bratislava City Gallery, inv. no. A 1411 (dated 1895–1910). Upper right corner is signed "Menci Cl. Crnčić".

² The record was released by Opus record label in cooperation with the Gramophone Club and recorded by the Slovak Philharmonic under the baton of Zdeněk Košler.

³ Radmila Trojanová, *Hľadanie slohu: Umenie okolo 1900* (Bratislava: Bratislava City Gallery, 1980), non-paginated exhibition catalogue.

⁴ Želmíra Grajciarová and Zsófia Kiss-Szemán, *Stredoeurópske maliarstvo a sochárstvo 1800–1918* (Bratislava: Bratislava City Gallery, 2008), 52 (Crnčić). The artists' biographies: Marta Ryšavá. The permanent exhibition was located in the Pálffy Palace and Crnčić's painting in room 7.



Figure 1: Menci Clement Crnčić: *Portrait with Seven Carnations*, around 1910, oil on canvas, 60 x 49 cm, Bratislava City Gallery. Photo Bratislava City Gallery.

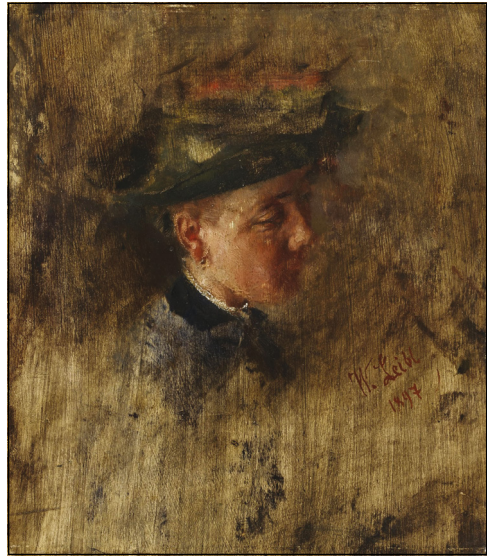


Figure 2: Wilhelm Leibl: *Head of a Girl – so-called Malresl*, 1897, oil on wood, 22.7 x 24.1 cm, offered by the auction house Lempetz, Cologne. Photo Lempetz.

it has not been part of any of Crnčić's exhibitions, not even his last retrospective, which took place in Zagreb in 2016.⁵

Menci Clement Crnčić, born in 1865 in Styria, was supposed to become a soldier like his father, who came from Slavonia and served as a frontiersman. However, he was not physically cut out for this job

and was expelled from military school in Hranice na Moravě as unfit for service.⁶ He went to study at the Academy in Vienna⁷ and later, in 1886, in Munich. However, he was soon short of funds to finance his studies. Thanks to "a beautiful lady", as the catalogue of the last retrospective put it, he painted theatre sets for the Landestheater in Coburg to earn some money. Eventually his situation brightened as he received a scholarship from the Slavonic borderlands⁸ and probably also by the support of his sister Marija, who lived

⁵ Petra Vugrinec et al., *Retrospective of Menci Clement Crnčić (1865–1930)* (Zagreb: Klovićevi dvori Gallery, 2016).

⁶ Menci Clement Crnčić was born on 3 April 1865 in the Styrian town of Bruck an der Mur, where his father Gaspar Crnčić served as a border guard. His father came from the small Slavonian village of Rajič, his mother was called Maria Clementina, née Mayer. Menci had an older sister, Marija (1851–1929), who settled in the village of Nova Gradiška (in Slavonia), and a brother, Albert, who lived in Lovran (in Istria). He attended primary school in Vienna, a military real gymnasium in St. Pölten, Upper Austria (1876–1880), and studied for two years at the Higher Military Real School in Hranice na Moravě. See Vugrinec et al., *Retrospective of Menci Clement Crnčić*, 237; www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2Z6-J1TQ.

⁷ He studied there between 1882 and 1885. See Vugrinec et al., *Retrospective of Menci Clement Crnčić*, 15.

⁸ The Krajina Property, Development and Education Fund (Krajiška imovna, uzgojna i obrazovna zaklada) was a special fund in Krajina (Vojna Krajina), in the border zone of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. It was financed by money from house owners who did not



Figure 3: Menci Clement Crnčić: *Little Girl (Djevojčica)*, 1890, oil on canvas, 66 x 53 cm, National Museum of Modern Art, Zagreb. Photo Goran Vranić © National Museum of Modern Art, Zagreb, 2022.

in Slavonia and was married to the well-to-do merchant Josip Schwartz. Crnčić finally enrolled at the Munich Academy in 1889; he was 24 at that time.⁹ He studied



Figure 4: Achác (Ákos) Aranyossy: *Little Girl*, 1893, oil on canvas, 57 x 45 cm, East Slovak Gallery, Košice. Photo East Slovak Gallery.

there under the Greek painter Nikolaos Gyzis (1842–1901), known for his academic allegorical and genre paintings. Crnčić adopted rather Munich realism, which features a Leibleian character that was based on tonal modelling of figures, reduction of the colour palette, as well as on a pretended incompleteness (fig. 2).¹⁰ The painting *A Young Girl (Djevojčica)* is one of the few surviving from the period, as Crnčić's early work was destroyed in a fire in his Zagreb studio.¹¹ A similar picture

choose to provide accommodation for the prescribed number of soldiers, from fees for permits to sell alcoholic beverages, to operate mills, butcheries, etc., from fees for the sale of animals, from various fines, etc. The purpose of the fund was to improve education and schooling in the Krajina. The fund was used for scholarships and aid to students, for the construction of schools and churches, and, to a small extent, for the relief of frontiersmen affected by natural disasters. – Available at www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/krajiske-umovne-zaklade.

⁹ He is listed in the Academy's registry incorrectly as "Klement Crucic". – https://matrikel.adbk.de/matrikel/mb_1884-1920/jahr_1889/matrikel-00658.

¹⁰ Dajana Vlaisavljevic (<https://nmmu.hr/en/2022/11/25/menci-clement-crnacic-a-young-girl-1890>). For an example of Leibl's style, see e.g., Wilhelm Leibl (1844–1900), *Girl's Head – so-called Matresl*, 1897, oil on wood, 22.7 x 24.1 cm, offered by Lempertz Auctioneers, Cologne, 21 May 2016, auctioned for €86,800. According to the auction catalogue, the model for this intimate portrait was Leibl's cook and model Therese Haltmeier (www.lempertz.com/en/catalogues/lot/1067-2/1544-wilhelm-leibl.html).

¹¹ Menci Clement Crnčić, *A Young Girl*, 1890, oil on canvas, 66 x 53 cm, National Museum of Modern Art, Zagreb, inv. no. MG 447. Crnčić's studio burned down in 1927. Vugrinec et al., *Retrospective of Menci Clement Crnčić*, 237.

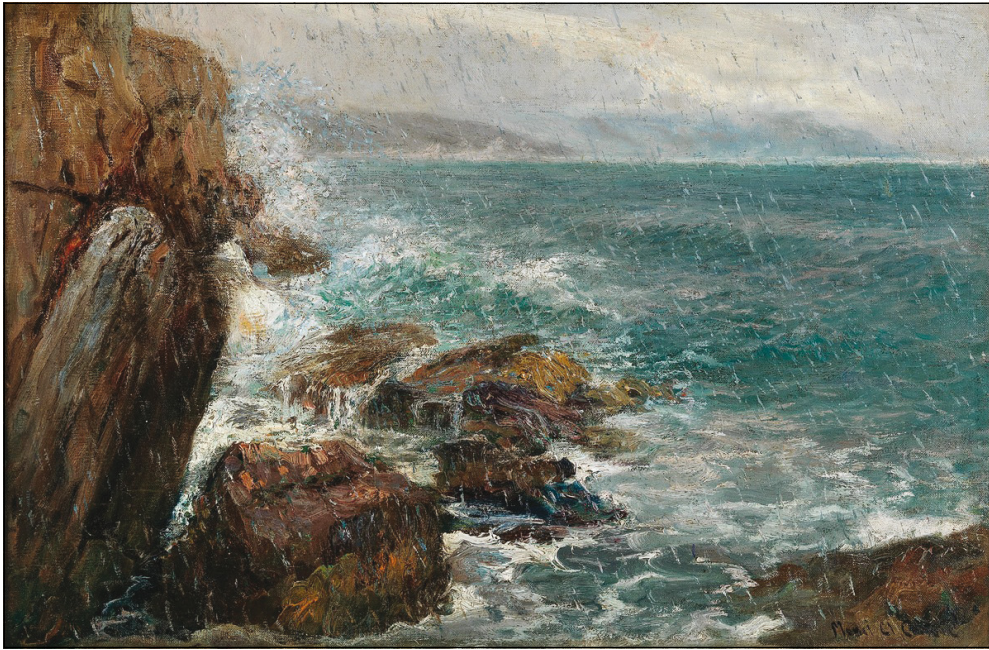


Figure 5: Menci Clement Crnčić: *Rainy Day on the Coast*, undated, oil on canvas, 50 x 73.5 cm, offered by the auction house Dorotheum, Vienna. Source <https://artvee.com/artist/menci-clement-crnčić/>.

was painted by the painter Achác (Ákos) Aranyossy (1870–1898) from Košice during his Munich studies.¹²

After his stay in Munich, Crnčić settled in Zagreb. His works attracted the attention of the Slavonian painter and art historian, then Minister of Education and Religion Izidor Kršnjavi (1845–1927). He offered him a professorship at the school for craftsmen.¹³ Crnčić accepted, but soon administrative duties began to overwhelm him. Kršnjavi therefore arranged a scholarship for him and sent

him to Vienna, the native city of his wife Wilhelmina, to study at the University of Applied Arts. He became not only a pupil but also a friend of the German printmaker William Unger (1837–1932). Crnčić's etchings of bleak landscapes with lonely figures drew him into the current of European Symbolism. They had a Böcklin-esque ambiguity to them, offering no explanation as to who these people were or why they stood sad and dejected on the seashore.¹⁴ (As for Crnčić's graphic work, he also created a graphic portrait

¹² Achác (Ákos) Aranyossy, *A Young Girl*, 1893, oil on canvas, 57 × 45 cm, East Slovak Gallery, Košice, inv. no. O 94.

¹³ He worked at the Royal Regional School of Arts and Crafts (Kraljevska zemaljska obrtna škola) in 1892/1893. See Vugrinec et al., *Retrospective of Menci Clement Crnčić*, 237.

¹⁴ Menci Clement Crnčić: *Osamljena (Lonely)*, 1895, etching, paper, 337 × 608 mm, Kabinet grafike, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb; also offered by Dorotheum Auction Company, Vienna, 18 September 2019, lot 129 (auctioned for € 576). Compare, e.g., with Arnold Böcklin's *Villa by the Sea (Version III)*, 1871–1874, oil on canvas, 108 × 154 cm, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. no. 1260 (<https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/villa-by-the-sea>); the work was known through prints. Hecht, Wilhelm (sculp.) – Böcklin, Arnold (pinx.), *Villa by the Sea (Version II)*, 1897, etching on paper, Ernest Zmeták Art Gallery, Nové Zámky, inv. no. G 1329.

of the Croatian Baron Teodor Pejačević after Vlaho Bukovac; in Slovakia, only his graphic depiction of two winged cherubs after Raphael has been preserved).¹⁵

In 1894 Crnčić went to Istria with Unger, who had a lung disease. It was a key moment, because Crnčić encountered plein air painters there and fell in love with the sea for good, which he then painted and photographed for the rest of his life (fig. 3). Crnčić became for Croatia not only the first trained printmaker, but also a painter who was able to ride the wave of a modernism with an impressionistic, almost Monet-like, spirit¹⁶ (similar to the Slovak painter Pavol Szinyei Merse, who was much older than Crnčić – lived between 1845 and 1920, mostly in his native Šariš region).¹⁷ In 1900 Crnčić had his first solo exhibition in Zagreb and the public was enthusiastic about his paintings. The very next year he went on a tour of Dalmatia, then to the Plitvice Lakes and later again south to the sea. At the sea he stayed with various artists and exhibited with them in the Art Salon Eugen Artin in Vienna, an event hosted by a semi-Armenian who had briefly studied art history and who was annoyed by the “cheap and bad” art that was otherwise on offer in the monarchy’s capital.¹⁸ In 1903 Crnčić, together with the painter Bela Čikoš Sesija (1864–1931) who also came

from Slavonia and was also the son of a frontiersman, founded a painting school, the nucleus of the future Zagreb Academy.¹⁹ The school was also attended by the pious Karolina (Lina) Virant (1879–1949), whom he married in 1910; he was then 45 years old. Soon they had a son, Menci Clement Jr. (1911–1985) and then a daughter, Branka, of the name Koščec after marriage (1915–2003). Crnčić rotated between stays in Zagreb and by the sea in Novi Vinodolski. In Zagreb, he regularly exhibited in the Ullrich Salon, a private gallery owned by the Slavonian gallerist Antun Ullrich (1872–1937). The painter owned a villa in Novi Vinodolski.²⁰ Crnčić died suddenly after wandering near Sava on 9 November 1930 at the age of 65.

The Bratislava painting of the mysterious woman could have been made well before the wedding, it could have immortalised a model of his or his lover; also, it may have been commissioned by a third party. The thing is that Crnčić did not usually paint portraits; if he did, it was only on commission – which he very seldom did, or he portrayed people from his close circle, more at their request than on his own initiative. Before the First World War, for example, he portrayed Kršnjavi’s daughter Roza (1894), Mrs. Sch., Mrs. R., Mrs. N., Mrs. V. (all 1902), Count Pejačević, Mrs. A. P., Nina (all 1904), and Dr. Theodor Graf

¹⁵ Menci Clement Crnčić (sculp.) – Raphael (pinx.), *Two Winged Cherubs* (detail of the Sistine Madonna), after 1894, copper engraving, paper, 412 × 470 mm, 285 × 700 mm, Bratislava City Gallery, inv. no. G 11027 (as Angels, dated 1850–1875 sic!).

¹⁶ See the comparison of Crnčić’s painting *Izgled z Bellaviste* (*View from Bellaviste*) (1901–1902) and Monet’s *Manneporte* (*Etretat*) (1886). See Vugrinec et al., *Retrospective of Menci Clement Crnčić*, 22.

¹⁷ Cf. e.g., Pavol (Pál) Szinyei Merse, *Poppies in the Field*, 1901–1902, oil on canvas, 89.5 × 80 cm, Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest, inv. no. 2285, <https://en.mng.hu/artworks/50517>; Menci Clement Crnčić, *Red Poppies*, undated, 50 × 79 cm, collection of Dr. Vink Perčić, Klovičevi dvori Gallery, Zagreb.

¹⁸ Gunter Vogl, *Eugen Artin: Ein Wiener Kunstsalon um 1900* (Vienna: Gunter Vogl, 2019).

¹⁹ During his time at the school he travelled to Italy, Switzerland, France, Belgium (1905, 1907) and Bosnia (1908).

²⁰ His Villa Lada was built between 1910 and 1915.



Figure 6: Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer: *Beethoven's Mask*, around 1906, pastel, paper, 91 x 61.3 cm, offered by Sotheby's, Paris. Source [https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Beethoven_Mask_\(c._1906\)_-_Lucien_Lévy-Dhurmer.jpg](https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Beethoven_Mask_(c._1906)_-_Lucien_Lévy-Dhurmer.jpg)



Figure 7: Odilon Redon: *Hommage to Goya (I)*, ca. 1885, oil, canvas on cardboard, Scharf-Gerstenberg Collection, Berlin. Source https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hommage_a_Goya_by_Odilon_Redon_view_1_c._1885_oil_on_cardboard_mounted_on_canvas_-_Scharf-Gerstenberg_Collection_-_DSC03859.JPG

(1905).²¹ Of these, Count Pejačević could be connected with Slovakia; members of the family were also known for organizing the settlement of Slavonia by people from Slovakia and for having a summer palace in the High Tatras around 1900.²²

On the frame of the Bratislava painting there is a German inscription "ER-INNRUNG", translating into English

as REMEMBRANCE, or it would if we omit the fact that the word lacks a letter "E", as it would properly be read "ERINNERUNG". Also missing are the embellishments at the beginning and end of the word, of which only holes remain.

The texture of the swampy background in visible brushstrokes, similar to that of the 1908 painting *Sluka (Woodcock)*,²³ gives the painting the subtle

²¹ The years in brackets indicate when the work was exhibited. See Vugrinec et al., *Retrospective of Menci Clement Crnčić*, 238–40.

²² *Rodina Pejačević a kulturno-historické vzťahy Chorvátov a Slovákov [The Pejačević Family and Cultural and Historical Relations of Croats and Slovaks]*, exhibition, SNM-Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia in Bratislava (in cooperation with the Slovak Cultural Centre and the Homeland Museum in Našice), 2019. The Pejačević family's summer house (today the Pension Bělín) in Tatranská Lomnica was primarily occupied by the daughters of Marko Pejačević (1818 Osijek – 1890 Budapest) and Hermína, née Bethlen (1828 Cluj – 1911 Budapest), that is: Katarína (1848–1918 Budapest) and Jolana (1859–1932), who were the sponsors of the building of the local Evangelical (Calvinist) church. – Ivan Bohuš st. and Ivan Bohuš ml., *Premeny tatranských osád* (Tatranská Lomnica: I&B, 2008).

²³ Menci Clement Crnčić, *Sluka (Woodcock)*, 1908, oil on canvas, 55.5 × 38.5 cm, private property. See Vugrinec et al., *Retrospective of Menci Clement Crnčić*, 42.



Figure 8: Fernand Khnopff: *White Mask*, 1907, watercolor and pastel, paper, Ca' Pesaro, International Gallery of Modern Art, Venice. Source https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%22Un_masque_au_manteau_blanc%22_de_F._Khnopff_%28Petit_Palais,_Paris%29_%2840382834143%29.jpg.

rhythmic flow of another world from which emerges the head of a young woman with porcelain skin and red hair combed into a typical Art Nouveau hairstyle. Her blue-grey eyes, glossy and flushed as if in tears, are fixed directly on the viewer, while the tiny open red mouth evokes a smile. Thus, in the face one can read both pain and joy, and in the red carnations both life and death. For the

Symbolists, the very concept of depicting only the head, stripped of corporeality, would be understood as a homage. Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer (1865–1953), Crnčić's French contemporary who was coincidentally born in the same year as himself, also resorted to it, as did the slightly older luminaries of French and Belgian Symbolism, Odilon Redon (1840–1916) and Fernand Khnopff (1858–1921) (figs. 4, 5, 6).²⁴ Crnčić was close to this style, and was familiar with the works of the Symbolists, his favourite book was *Bruges-la-Morte*, and on his studio wall he had reproductions of Rops and Moreau.²⁵

The carnation had been a relatively well-known motif used since the Renaissance. It appeared in devotional paintings as well as in secular portraits. It was an allusion to the divine origin of Jesus, since its Greek name *dianthus*, given in Theophrastus' *Historia Plantarum*, was derived from Greek *dios* (god) and *anthus* (flower), i.e., the flower of God. It was also a harbinger of Christ's Passion – according to legend, it appeared when Mary wept at his crucifixion.²⁶ In some languages is there a similarity in the name of the flower and the instrument, carnation (*klinček* in Slovak) – nail (*klinec* in Slovak), which further amplifies the allusion to Christ's Passion. The carnation can frequently be found laid on the windowsill near the Madonna and Child in paintings by Juraj Čulinovič († 1504), also known as Giorgio Schiavone or Giorgio Dalmaticus (George the Slav or George of Dalmatia / Juraj Slovan or Juraj z Dalmácie), and is held in the hand

²⁴ Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer, *Beethoven Mask*, circa 1906, pastel on paper, 91 × 61.3 cm, offered by Sotheby's, Paris 26 June 2019, estimated price €15,000–20,000; Odilon Redon, *Hommage to Goya (I)*, circa 1885, oil on canvas on board, Scharf-Gerstenberg Collection, Berlin; Fernand Khnopff, *White Mask*, 1907, watercolour and pastel on paper, Ca' Pesaro International Gallery of Modern Art, Venice.

²⁵ See Vugrinec et al., *Retrospective of Menci Clement Crnčić*, 43.

²⁶ Elisabeth Wolffhardt, "Beiträge zur Pflanzensymbolik", *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 8, (1954): 177–96.



Figure 9: Juraj Čulinović: *Madonna and Child with Angels*, 1459/1460, oil on wood, 69 x 56.7 cm, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Source https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giorgio_di_Tomaso_Schiavone_-_Madonna_and_Child_with_Angels_-_Walters_371026.jpg.



Figure 10: Leonardo da Vinci: *Madonna with the Carnation*, 1478–1480, oil on wood, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Source https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leonardo_da_Vinci_Madonna_of_the_Carnation.jpg.

of the Madonna and Child in paintings by both Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) and Raphael (1483–1520) (figs. 7, 8).²⁷ In secular portraits, the carnation is interpreted as a symbol of piety (fig. 9)²⁸ and/or betrothal, emotional bond, and love (fig. 10).²⁹ Engagement portraits with a carnation were thus a reference to the

tradition that at her wedding a bride would have a carnation hidden in her dress, which the groom would have to find.³⁰ The carnation has also been given a role over time in the context of the memento mori, in the thematization of vanitas and death in general.³¹ However, its meaning in paintings is not always clear.

²⁷ Juraj Čulinović, *Madonna and Child with Angels*, 1459/1460, oil on wood, 69 × 56.7 cm, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland, USA, inv. no. 37.1026; Leonardo da Vinci, *Madonna of the Carnation*, 1478–1480, oil on wood, since 1889 Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. no. 7779; Raphael, *Madonna of the Pinks*, 1506, oil on wood, 29 × 23 cm, The National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG 6596. In Raphael's painting, the baby Jesus is also holding carnations.

²⁸ E.g., Barthel Bruyn the Elder, *Portrait of Sophie von Schwelhem, née Korth (1498–1573)*, circa 1538, oil on wood, 37 × 30 cm, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Cologne, inv. No. WRM 266. Bruyn the Elder painted numerous portraits of women with a carnation in their hands.

²⁹ E.g., Andrea Solario, *A Man with a Pink (Carnation)*, circa 1495, oil on wood, 49.5 × 38.5 cm, since 1875 in The National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG 923; Adrien Ysenbrandt, *Portrait of a Young Man Holding a Carnation*, 1520/1530, oil on wood, 48 × 30.8 cm, Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, USA, inv. no. 65.18.

³⁰ Colombi, Martina, *L'uomo con il garofano rosa* (<https://errareumano.org/luomo-con-il-garofano-rosa>, cited 12 May 2024).



Figure 11: Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder: *Anne of Cleves*, 1570s, oil on wood, 50.2 x 36.8 cm, St John's College, University of Oxford. Source <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/anne-of-cleves-223303>.

The acceptance of the carnation within the iconic fin-de-siècle universe was also influenced by purely aesthetic considerations related to visual pleasure. We encounter it in the Munich realism of the Leiblenian character, which Crnčić knew well (fig. 11).³² The short story *Karanfil sa pjesnikova groba* (*Carnation from the Poet's Grave*),³³ written by August Šenoa (1838–1881), one of the best-known Croatian writers who lived in Zagreb, may have resonated with him in the same way.



Figure 12: Adrien Ysenbrandt: *Young Man with a Clove*, 1520/1530, oil on wood, 48 x 30.8 cm, Portland Art Museum. Source <http://portlandartmuseum.us/mwebcgl/mweb.exe?request=record;id=12188;type=101#>.

In connection with factory work and the redemption of the worker, the carnation appeared at the Paris Congress in 1889 and in 1905, when Gabriele Galantara (1867–1937) designed a socialist Art Nouveau leaflet with a carnation. Since that time, it has been used ad hoc in various campaigns.³⁴

³¹ Dirck Jakobsz, *Pompeius Occo*, circa 1531, oil on wood, 66.5 × 55.1 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-3924. Pompeius Occo (1483–1537) was one of the wealthiest residents of Amsterdam. Around 1511 he represented the banking and trading house of the Augsburg Fuggers there. His portrait expresses the commonly held view that all worldly prosperity is ephemeral: he is holding a carnation in one hand and is touching a skull with the other.

³² Wilhelm Leibl, *Right Hand of the Girl with Carnation*, circa 1880, oil on canvas, 13 × 17.5 cm, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.

³³ It was first published in 1878.

³⁴ E.g., on a poster opposing the repeal of the abortion law. – Manuel Barrese, https://www.engramma.it/eOS/index.php?id_articolo=1533.



Figure 13: Wilhelm Leibl: *Right Hand of a Girl with a Carnation*, around 1880, oil on canvas, 13 x 17.5 cm, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe. Source www.kunsthalle-karlsruhe.de/kunstwerke/Wilhelm-Leibl/Rechte-Hand-des-Mädchens-mit-der-Nelke/EE3FFAF741903899FF1C4FB2BCEC38B0/.



Figure 14: Adolfo Guiard: *Peasant Girl with a Carnation*, 1903, oil on canvas, 73 x 60 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao. Source https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Adolfo_Guiard_-_The_Little_Village_Girl_with_Red_Carnation_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg.

The carnation has thus throughout history become a visual identity of divinity, piety, emotional bonding, redemption and the phenomenon of beauty, but like most symbols the connection to their meanings has, in their evolutionary process, gradually been lost.³⁵

The mysterious woman in Crnčić's painting represents a remembrance, according to the inscription; the seven carnations may refer to seven years, months or possibly days. There are no clues to

uncover a deeper meaning. The woman's certain resemblance to the Croatian deaf-mute painter Slava Raškaj, who died in 1906 at the age of 29 but was a pupil and lover of Čikoš Sesija and a protégé of Minister Kršnjave, is too little to form a hypothesis. However, the painting remains a unique example of Crnčić's symbolistic tendencies.

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³⁵ Adolfo Guiard, *Country Girl with a Red Carnation*, 1903, oil on canvas, 73 × 60 cm, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, inv. no. 82/31.

Towards Transregional Art Histories: Some Notes on Artistic Exchanges Between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in the 1970s and 80s**

K transregionálnym dejinám umenia: Niekoľko poznámok k umeleckým výmenám medzi Československom a Juhosláviou v 70. a 80. rokoch / Prema transregionalnim povijestima umjetnosti: Bilješke o umjetničkim razmjenama između Čehoslovačke i Jugoslavije 1970-ih i 1980-ih godina

Štúdia sa zaoberá fragmentami umeleckých sietí, ktorých medzinárodné pôsobenie zasahovalo aj bývalú Juhosláviu a Československo od druhej polovice šesťdesiatych rokov do záveru osemdesiatych rokov. Zameriava sa vybrané príklady, ktoré sú dokladom umeleckej výmeny v oblasti vizuálnej poézie, konkrétnej poézie, konceptuálnej fotografie a performance. Štúdia sa zameriava na niekoľko osobností, ktorých úsilie smerovalo k výstavám a publikáciám realizovaným za hranicami danej krajiny. Iniciátormi takýchto umeleckých výmien boli Jiří Valoch z Brna a Bogdanka Poznanović z Nového Sadu. Štúdia sa venuje aj ďalším predstaviteľom novej umeleckej praxe v Juhoslávii. Na príklade niekoľkých výstav naznačuje možnosti transregionálneho výskumu umenia východnej Európy. Štúdia je výsledkom výskumu zameraného na porovnávacie prístupy k umeniu v krajinách bývalej Juhoslávie a Československa.

Kľúčové slová: sieť, komunikácia, konkrétna poézia, Československo, východná Európa, Mail-Art, fotografia, performance, vizuálna poézia, Juhoslávia

Visual Poetry and the Communicative Networks of Mail-Art

"We'd like to have permanent contact with you, Bogdanka and Dejan Poznanović from Novi Sad wrote on 17. 10. 1973, replying to a letter with a postbox project from Jiří Valoch

*in Brno. Please send us regular materials about your work for our documentary, informational and operational centre Atelje DT/ Favit 00010!"¹ Since 1972 Bogdanka and Dejan had been collecting prints and documentary items for publication in the journal *Uj symposion*, which appeared in Novi Sad in Serbo-Croat, Hungarian*

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¹ Archív a zbierka Jiřího Valocha (Archive and collection of Jiří Valoch), Moravská Galerie Brno.

and English. In the early 1970s Bogdanka Poznanović had accomplished several significant actions, making her one of the acknowledged pioneers of the “new artistic practice” in Yugoslavia. Some of her actions which had “rivers” in their titles, *Cubes-Rivers* (1971) and *Rivers-Transmissions* (1972), were performed on the bank of the Danube and were dedicated to the idea of communication: the flow of a river that unites. Subsequently she conducted the participative action *Feedback Letterbox – Information – Decision – Action* (1973–1974), which made her one of the leading representatives of mail art. Thirty eight artists from a variety of countries took part in her action, sending her a description of their own mailbox. The outcome was a photo collage printed as a poster, with a selection of the contributions submitted. The concept and medium of postal communication was a new meta-medium for presentation of intersubjective relations on an international level.² Contact achieved between the sender and receiver of a signal became a form of art work. Jiří Valoch was one of the artists who responded to the call. In this paper I will be concerned with two levels of communication between artists in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia: visual poetry and conceptual photography. Both of these planes of artistic communication, thanks to their undemanding and dematerialised nature, enabled direct or indirect exchanges of performance-orientated, ephemeral and marginalised forms of art.

Bogdanka Poznanović frequently employed humour and absurdity, together

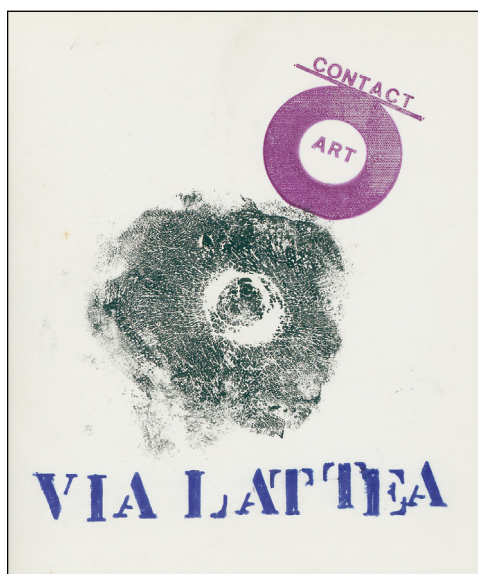


Figure 1: Poznanović, Bogdanka: *Via Lattea*. *Contact Art*. Documentation, 1972–1976, mixed media, print on paper, dimensions variable. Collection Darko Šimičić, Zagreb.

with reflections on a socialist consumer society. (fig. 1) The aim of her mail-art strategies was not only to overcome the depressing isolation of artists, but above all to test out a more democratic alternative for communication in planetary dimensions, one that was not stringently governed by restrictive rules. Postal communication assumed a stance of inconspicuous criticism of the socialist bureaucratic system, the practice of institutions (and above all galleries) with its inclination towards a sacralisation of art objects and a hierarchisation, classification, and valorisation of artistic production.³ In the course of the 1970s Poznanović extended her artistic practice to new communication media

² Miško Šuvaković, *Bogdanka i Dejan Poznanović. Umetnost mediji i aktivizam na kraju moderne* [Bogdanka and Dejan Poznanović. Art, Media, and Activism at the End of Modernity] (Zagreb: Institut za istraživanje avangarde, 2012), 100–1.

³ Sanja Kojić Mladenov, *Bogdanka Poznanović: Contact Art* (Novi Sad: Muzej savremene umetnosti Vojvodine, 2016), 56.

(especially sound media, telecommunication media and video). An advantage of the ephemeral works that were placed in an envelope was that they relatively quickly reached distant places, for example in Latin America, and thereby also participation in exhibitions which one could not have reached in person. Like Jiří Valoch, Bogdanka Poznanović also took on the role of critic and wrote assiduously about important international exhibitions, festivals and performances. On the pages of *Uj symposion* she gave information about the *Festival of Snow in the High Tatras* (1970), which Alex Mlynářčík accomplished together with Milan Adamčík and Róbert Cyprich.⁴ As a pioneer of video art, she initiated a joint work with Stano Filko, *Bioelectronic Communication* (1980), which prefigured later technologies of video call.⁵ Bogdanka Poznanović's multilateral domestic and international activities in Novi Sad are of key significance for the Yugoslavian alternative scene in visual art, and likewise for the experimental literary scene. Similarly, the networking, curatorial, critical and artistic activities of Jiří Valoch in Brno made a fundamental contribution to the art scene in Czechoslovakia. Both of these artists were capable organisers who created alternative spaces for the presentation of new avant-garde art; their art network united places and people, effectively creating a social field which transcended the borders of states.⁶

Somewhat earlier, Jiří Valoch on his own initiative had collaborated with the

entire spectrum of artists active in the fields of concrete art and visual poetry in Yugoslavia. Responding to an invitation by Radoslav Putar, Valoch took part in the international colloquium *Computers and Visual Research* in Zagreb (August 3–4, 1968). This event was part of the programme of the international project *Tendency 4*, and its outputs, with Jiří Valoch's contribution included, were published in issue No. 3 of the journal *bit International*. Issue Nos. 5/6 included an essay by Branimir Donat, *Konkretna poezija – poetska kozmogonia tehnološke ere* [Concrete Poetry: A Poetic Cosmogony of the Technological Era]. Here Donat provided a comprehensive overview of what was happening in the world in visual poetry. He did not fail to mention Czechoslovak artists; needless to say, he did not omit Valoch, who had a visual poem of his reproduced in the journal. Subsequently Valoch, as a creator of visual poetry, participated in several profile exhibitions, including for example *Vizuelna poezija* with the subtitle *Vizuelna i konkretna poezija – fenomen suvremene epohe komunikacija* [Visual and Concrete Poetry: Phenomena of the Current Epoch of Communication] (1969).⁷

In her wide-ranging publication on Valoch, Helena Musilová mentions numerous international activities and contributions to foreign publications. She sees the activities he engaged in principally as those of a curator, theoretician and collector, not an experimental poet and networker, even if in his case the

⁴ *Ibidem*, 58.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 100–1.

⁶ Klara Kemp-Welch, *Networking the Bloc: Experimental Art in Eastern Europe 1965–1981* (Cambridge [MA]: The MIT Press, 2018), 10.

⁷ Ivana Janković, "Here/There and Somewhere Else: The Artistic Connections of Jiří Valoch with Former Yugoslav Territory during the 1960s and 70s.," *Miejsce* 5 (2019), <http://miejsce.asp.waw.pl/english-here-there-and-somewhere-else-the-artistic-connections-of-jiri-valoch-with-former-yugoslav-territory-during-the-1960s-and-70s/> (May 25th 2024).

latter roles also are inseparably present. Right from the inception of his interest in visual and concrete poetry (1964–1966), Valoch thought of his own creative work as a form of communication: he composed an entire typological gamut of typewritten non-semantic poems, visual poems with semantic elements, graphemes and symbols, while at the same time his creative work reflected his professional interest in semiotics and structuralism.⁸ He was interested in the simultaneity of seeing and reading, understanding the art work as an open field of visual relations and connections. In *Concrete Poetry. A World View*, an extensive survey published in 1968, Mary Ellen Solt argues that Jiří Valoch's *Optická báseň* (Optical Poem), liberated from semantics, is identical in its visual effect with optical painting, the only difference being that it is created on a typewriter.⁹ Solt emphasises that Valoch's "trembling microstructures" teach us not merely that we must look actively at the written text, but also that the impulse of these typewritten texts leads towards the creation of a new communicative sphere. With the loss of original communicative linkages, a visual meta-language emerges, where visual poems perform their own theoretical postulates. Jiří Valoch's theoretical texts appeared almost in parallel with the art works and artistic trends that they were describing.¹⁰ The

international postal communicative network consisted of numerous creators, consumers, publishers and promoters. Valoch was not only its active participant but also its co-creator; he both responded to proposals and himself composed them. From this it is evident that he saw the international network as an opportunity to effectively disseminate his own works, and therefore it became an extended instrument of his artistic practice.

Jean-Marc Poinsoot used the term "long-distance communication", corresponding to mutual exchange via mail-art. Poinsoot declared that power was in the hands of those who owned the exchange and communication systems. Incidentally, today his thesis is persuasively confirmed by the global players who control the social networks and audiovisual media. Partly for this reason, some artists reject the mediating role of galleries and museums and attempt by their own means to disseminate their works and the pertinent information.¹¹ Valoch deliberately made his position opaque,¹² because although he was employed as a representative of the House of Art in Brno, in private he was building his parallel institution on the basis of international contacts. If artists functioning in socialist countries had a global reach and universal forms of communication, these were derived from their artistic programmes and their efforts, via

⁸ Helena Musilová, *Jiří Valoch. Kurátor, teoretik, sběratel: Léta 1965–1980* [Jiří Valoch. Curator, Theoretician, Collector. Years 1965–1980] (Brno: Galerie a nakladatelství Stará pošta, 2020), 40.

⁹ Mary Ellen Solt, "A World Look at Concrete Poetry", in *Concrete Poetry. A World View*, eds. Mary Ellen Solt a Willis Barnstone (Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Limited, 1968), 24–25.

¹⁰ Jana Písařiková, "Jiří Valoch's Archive", in Grůň, Daniel (ed.). *Subjective Histories. Self-historicisation as Artistic Practice in Central-East Europe* (Bratislava: Veda, 2020), 208.

¹¹ Jean-Marc Poinsoot, "Utilisations of Postal Institution and Long-distance Communications," in Poinsoot, Jean-Marc (ed.), *Mail art, communication à distance concept* (Paris: Editions CEDIC, 1971), 13–18, <https://artpool.hu/MailArt/chrono/1971/Poinsoot.html> (May 25th 2024).

¹² I consider this theme more closely in Daniel Grůň, "Amateurism Under Socialism. The Politics of Art Education in the Work of Milan Adamčiak, Július Koller and Jiří Valoch," in *Third Text, Actually Existing Artworlds of Socialism* 32, no. 4 (2018): 434–49.

participating bureaucratic apparatuses, to found their own informal institutions.¹³

Probably it was Marko Pogačnik who passed on many important contacts to Valoch. From their correspondence it is evident that he, David Nez and Dejan Poznanović together visited Valoch in Brno (both Pogačnik and Nez were members of the OHO group).¹⁴ At the same time, Valoch was corresponding with the Slovenian poet Franci Zagoričnik. Living in the city of Kranj in Slovenia, Zagoričnik also contributed to the OHO movement's publications. Collaboration between Valoch and Zagoričnik continued sporadically even into the 1980s. Valoch also maintained contact with another important representative of visual poetry, Bálint Szombathy, a founding member of the Bosch+Bosch group (1969–1976), active in Subotica (in Vojvodina, Serbia). Among other things, they had a shared interest in the theoretical principles of 20th century concrete poetry, which Szombathy had discussed in three issues of *Új Symposion*, where he went on to map this phenomenon in several localities of contemporary Yugoslavia.¹⁵

Photography as Document of Art

The OHO group and its actions in the countryside undoubtedly had an influence on the organization of collective activities by the MPVU society (Young Friends of Visual Art) in Brno. There are

many parallels in what Bogdanka Poznanić and Jiří Valoch accomplished, in terms of developing communicative poetic interventions on the periphery of the city or in the countryside. The documents *feu – báseň z léta 1970* (*feu* – a poem from the summer of 1970. Photo: Pavel Trávník) and *Rivers-Transmissions* (1972) analogously work with a tautology of linguistic representation and material realisation, where the concept of *feu* (fire) is identified with the burning of the word, and the title *Rivers* with the floating of the word on the river's surface. Jiří Valoch laid emphasis on the process of realisation and regarded the actual episode (recorded photographically) as the artefact.¹⁶

Several Czechoslovak artists participated in a travelling exhibition from May to September 1976 which was co-organised by Centar za fotografiju film i tv, Galerija grada Zagreba, Muzej suvremene umetnosti Beograd and Razzavni salon Rotovž in Maribor. The conception of the exhibition *Nf (Nova fotografija) 2 : Fotografija kao umjetnost / Fotografija kot umetnost / Photography as Art* was by Biljana Tomić. In her introductory text, Tomić characterised the exhibition's purpose: to concentrate on the photographic medium, not only exploring its specific nature but also treating it as an instrument of artistic expression. Aware of how developing art movements from the 1960s had tended to encounter post-conceptual art, she conceived the exhibition as a question about

¹³ I address this theme in: Daniel Grúň, "Seba-historizácia ako umelecká prax = Self-historicisation as Artistic Practice," in Daniel Grúň, *Subjektívne histórie. Seba-historizácia ako umelecká prax v stredovýchodnej Európe* (Bratislava: Veda, 2020), 5–12.

¹⁴ Letter by Mark Pogačnik to Jiří Valoch, Kranj, 10. 12. 1970. Archive and collection of Jiří Valoch, Moravská Galerie Brno.

¹⁵ Bálint Szombathy, "A Konkrét Költészet Útjai I.-III.," [The Ways of Concrete Poetry I.-III.] *Új Symposion* no. 143 (1977): 9–10–11.

¹⁶ Jana Písaříková, "Neviditelná socha, transcendentní výstava i programované umění. Kurátorské aktivity Jiřího Valocha šedesátých a sedmdesátých let," [Invisible Sculpture, Transcendent Exhibition and Programmed Art: The Curatorial Activities of Jiří Valoch during the Sixties and Seventies] *Sešit* 25 (2019): 54–55.

the meaning of the art work in relation to its setting and to the art systems, and also its connections with the establishment of sociological and linguistic models. Tomić emphasised the comprehension of art as a decentralised practice, with the possibility of comprehending individual and general models via the model relationship of artist vis-à-vis art.¹⁷ Ješa Denegri stressed a number of basic theoretical presuppositions about photography as the work of an artist: 1) it is not based on a mastery of techniques; often, indeed, the artists are not the ones who have taken the photographs; 2) it is more about the conceptualisation of a theme and the significance of the selected photographic scene, and the creation of an articulate structure in the language system which the artist uses for communication; 3) the artists speak principally in the first person.¹⁸ In this text Denegri opens up a reading of photography-as-art from the position of the self-reflexive medium of photography-as-documentation-of-art.

In 1978 the 11th issue of the photography magazine *Spot* was devoted to Czechoslovak photography (of the tendency designated by Denegri), with Katarína Zavarová's *My Alphabet* (1976) on the cover. Helena Kontová and Jaroslav Anděl compiled the selection of artists so as to have representation of the three largest cities (Prague, Brno and Bratislava), taking local cultural tradition into account.¹⁹ Most of the selected artists were at that time

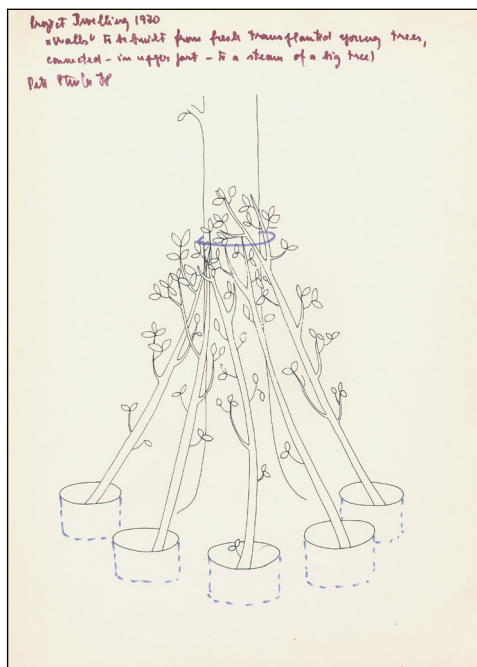


Figure 2: Štembera, Petr: *Project Dwelling*, 1970/1978, print and felt-tip pen on paper, 30 x 21,5 cm. Collection Darko Šimičić, Zagreb.

not engaged with art as a profession, and they devoted themselves to photography only in their free time. Despite this, some important names were missing from the given selection, which meant that the chains of communication did not always function effectively. In 1981 a travelling exhibition entitled *Miesta a chvíle* (Places and Moments), prepared by Jaroslav Anděl, was reinstalled in Belgrade in *Galéria Srečna nova umetnost*. Originally it had been held in Poland in 1979, in

¹⁷ Biljana Tomić, "Entry to the Catalogue," in *Nf (Nova fotografija) 2: Fotografija kao umjetnost / Fotografija kot umetnost / Photography as Art* (Exhibition Catalogue: no pagination) Centar za fotografiju film i tv., Galerija grada Zagreba, Muzej suvremene umetnosti Beograd, Razsavni salon Rotovž Maribor, 1976).

¹⁸ Ješa Denegri, "Photography as the work of the artists," in *Nf (Nova fotografija) 2: Fotografija kao umjetnost / Fotografija kot umetnost / Photography as Art* (Exhibition Catalogue: no pagination)

¹⁹ Helena Kontova a Jaroslav Andjel, "ČSSR fotografija," *Spot. Review of Photography 11* (1978): 7–11.

²⁰ Jaroslav Anděl, *Places and Moments – Vladimir Ambroz, Jaroslav Anděl, Ján Budaj, Dalibor Chatrný, Róbert Cyprich, Sony Halas, Vladimír Havrilla, Lumír Hladík, Kim Houdek + Milan Lachman, Michal Kern, Július Koller, Jiří Kovanda, Marie Kratochvílová, Milan Langer, Karel Miler, Jan Mlčoch, Ladislav Novák + Michal Resl, Ludmila Padrtová, Stanislav Pekár, Jaroslav Richtr, Rudolf Sikora, Petr Štembera.* (Katalóg: nepag.) Gallery Foto-Medium-Art, Wrocław, November 1979).

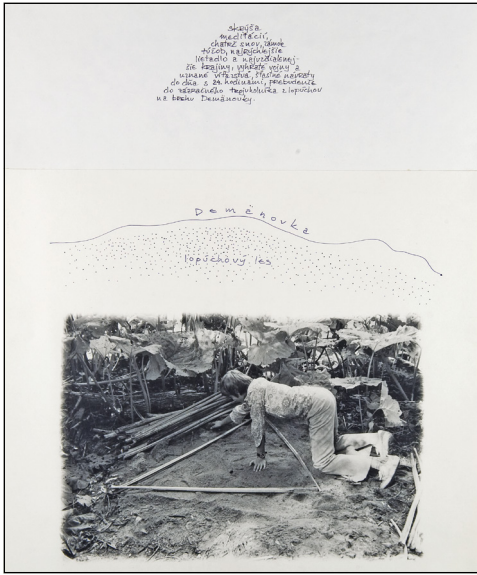


Figure 3: Kern, Michal: *Stash of meditations*, 1981, photograph, 57,4 x 47,5 cm, Archive of Michal Kern in the administration of the Liptov Gallery of Peter Michal Bohúň, Liptovský Mikuláš, 7254 / LM 241.

Galeria Foto Medium Art in Wrocław and Galeria Remont in Warsaw. An interesting feature of this exhibition, highlighting the plurality of the individual approaches, was its focus on territoriality in relation to time.²⁰ It included works by Michal Kern and Július Koller, both of whom at roughly the same time (20.–30. 9. 1979) were represented in the international art demonstration *Works and Words* (organised by De Appel Foundation in

Amsterdam), together with artists from Yugoslavia, Hungary and Poland. At that event emphasis was laid on connections between the photographic or film record and performance. Here, particularly, one may see the local differences between cultural policies: the political situation in Czechoslovakia, which became notably tighter after 1977, did not enable artists to travel to Amsterdam; in contrast, the Yugoslavian artists suffered no such restriction, and they had an opportunity to participate personally and appear in the programme of performances.²¹

We are led once again to Michal Kern by the efforts of active mediators, one of whom was Jiří Valoch. His enthusiastic interest in Kern's work came from contacts with the OHO group and his own artistic experiments, and it bore practical fruit in the holding of two solo exhibitions.²² The photographic medium, supplemented with textual information and drawing, is used as an instrument for constructing perceptual and haptic planes of the artist's interaction with the setting. "I want to find a place where the human being is umbilically linked with Nature," Michal Kern wrote in his diary.²³ Kern's essential works (dating from 1975) have the character of an interaction, a mutual conjunction, of man and Nature.²⁴ The uniqueness of his art consists in the

²¹ Zsuzsa László, *Works and Words. The Invention and Renunciation of the Concept of East European Art*. November 2018, <https://institutulprezentului.ro/en/2018/11/15/works-and-words-the-invention-and-renunciation-of-the-concept-of-east-european-art/> (June 25th 2024).

²² Jiří Valoch, *Michal Kern*. Exhibition catalogue: (Brno: Klub školství a vědy Bedřicha Václavka, 1982). Another exhibition *Michal Kern* was organised by Jiří Valoch after the artist's death. Galerie U Bílého Jednorozce, Klatovy, 1995. Catalogues were published for both exhibitions, but most notably in the later one Valoch wrote a synthetic interpretive text on Kern's work.

²³ Jiří Valoch, *Michal Kern*. Exhibition catalogue: (Klatovy Galerie U Bílého Jednorozce, 1995). For a comprehensive view of Kern's work, see Daniela Čarná, *Michal Kern* (Bratislava: City Gallery of Bratislava, 2011).

²⁴ The works of Michal Kern should be contextualized alongside other Central European artists whose attitudes and approaches to the environment significantly shaped ecological thinking. See Maja Fowkes, *The Green Bloc: Neo-Avant-Garde Art and Ecology Under Socialism* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015).

overlap of drawing and photography: a deeply-thought site-specific work with a photograph, whose result is an ephemeral registration of the process of interaction between the technical medium and such natural processes as light, shade, touch, stratification, and growth. Kern's interaction with the natural environment resonates thematically with the works of Petr Štembera. A good example is Štembera's series of drawings *Dwelling under roots of a tree* (project 1970, realised 1976), compared with Kern's project *Stash of Meditations* (1981). Both artists advocated acts of entry to the natural environment, which they conceptualised via a spatial projection of geometrical bodies. While Štembera documented his excavation of a dwelling-place under the roots of a tree as a circular incision that penetrated the tree's root system, Kern localised his abode on the bank of the Demänovka, a forest stream in the Low Tatras, and constructed it of burdock stems in a ground-plan of triangle and square. Štembera justified his project simply by the fact of physically undergoing this interaction. Kern regarded his dwelling as a refuge for meditations, a stimulus towards seeking mystic knowledge; he situated there not only the figure of the performer but also his personal thoughts.²⁵ Apart from that, for Michal Kern the analytical approach to the photographic image as a medium of portrayal overlaps with his ideas about the dangers of civilisation

and the destruction of the precious natural locality. (fig. 2, fig. 3)

Exhibitions of Performance Art. From National to Transregional Art History

Out of Actions in MOCA, Los Angeles and *Body and the East* in Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana: these were the two exhibitions that laid a paradigmatic foundation for academic interest in the art of performance in Eastern Europe. In the first instance there was a highly distorted image of East European art, which the exhibition mainly communicated metaphorically in the Euro-American context as *balancing between dusthole and eternity*, characterising the performances of East European artists as "masochistic".²⁶ In the second case there was an open critical response to these oversimplifications and distortions in the presentation of the exhibition model, which even-handedly offered a voice to all localities represented on the territory of the former East bloc and thus created a platform for comparative research.²⁷ Action art in the Czech lands was most extensively mapped in Pavlína Morganová's *Czech action art: happenings, actions, events, land art, body art and performance art behind the iron curtain*²⁸ and in Slovakia by the exhibition catalogue *Umenie akcie / Action Art 1965-1989*, whose editor and co-author was Zora Rusinová.²⁹ Even the placing

²⁵ Jaroslava Vydrová, "On Sculpture, Nature, and Touch – from a Phenomenological Perspective," *Ars* 56, no. 1 (2023): 57.

²⁶ Kristine Stiles, "Uncorrupted Joy: International Art Action," in *Out of Actions: Between Performance and the Object, 1949–1979*, eds. Paul Schimmel and Russell Ferguson (London: Thames and Hudson for MOCA – Los Angeles, 1998), 306.

²⁷ Zdenka Badovinac (ed.), *Body and the East* (Cambridge [MA] and London: MIT Press, 1998).

²⁸ Pavlína Morganová, *Czech Action Art: Happenings, Actions, Events, Land Art, Body Art and Performance Art behind the Iron Curtain* (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2014).

²⁹ Zora Rusinová (ed.), *Umenie akcie / Action Art 1965–1989* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2001). This publication is the work of an authors' collective Gábor Hushegyi, Ivo Janoušek, Radislav Matuščík, Zora Rusinová, Tomáš Štraus.

of a reproduction on the cover brings national stereotypes into play: Czech action art is represented by a busy square in the Prague metropolis, in an internationally acknowledged work by Jiří Kovanda (19. listopadu, 1976. Prague, Wenceslas Square), and Slovak action art is represented by a spruce forest setting with smoke rising under the suspended body of the performer (Artprospekt P.O.P., *Dar-ing*, 1981. Lubietová). The selection of the mediating work for the book cover says a great deal about how the aims are set in the individual historical approaches. Although there is actually no marked difference in the degree to which Czech and Slovak performers worked with an urban or a landscape setting, nevertheless the reader's attention, even before beginning to browse the publication, is ineluctably drawn in two different directions. Why? Because the authors not only interpret the local specifics of action art, but at the same time they confirm the importance of action art in the national story of art. Pavlína Morganová, introducing her book, remarks that although the Czech and Slovak scenes were connected, in the course of the united state's existence they did not develop into a single whole, and with the reconstruction of cultural history after 1989, both nations began to write separate versions of the Czechoslovak story.³⁰ Zora Rusinová gives a somewhat

different opinion of the Czechoslovak context: in connection with samizdat and the secretly disseminated typewritten copies of translations of foreign works and theoretical articles about action art.³¹ A book that laid the foundations for transregional research of the historical avant-gardes, neo-avant-gardes and post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia was *Impossible Histories*.³² Many other publications followed its lead. A synthetic approach of that kind has not been achieved hitherto in Czech or Slovak art scholarship. In the case of performance art, it is necessary to examine diverse local manifestations and significances: to highlight the heterogeneity of artistic practices, including the differing moments and methods whereby performances made their appearance in relation to the socio-political climate in the given country.³³

Conclusion

In this fragmentary essay I have sought to compare selected examples of communication on a transregional level, and simultaneously also on a universal level. The model of a transregional history of neo-avant-garde and post-avant-garde art could therefore take inspiration from functional examples of the international networks of artists. As a convenient model of cultural hybridity, the Bosch+Bosch group may serve.³⁴ It was formed

³⁰ "Both nations began to write increasingly separate versions of their cultural history, despite mapping a shared Czechoslovakian period and despite endeavours to integrate both cultural fields." Morganová, *Czech Action Art*, 19.

³¹ Rusinová, "Interpretačné a kontextuálne aspekty umenia akcie na Slovensku," [Interpretive and Contextual Aspects of Action Art in Slovakia] in Rusinová (ed.), *Umenie akcie/Action Art 1965–1989*, 7.

³² Miško Šuvaković, "Impossible Histories," in Dubrovka Djurić a Miško Šuvaković (eds.), *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918–1991* (Cambridge [MA] a London: MIT Press, 2003), 26–27.

³³ Amy Bryzgel, *Performance Art in Eastern Europe Since 1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 2–3.

³⁴ Apart from Slavko Matković and Bálint Szombathy, further founding members were László Szalma, Zoltán Magyar, Edit Basch, István Krekovity and Slobodan Tomanović. László Kerekes joined the group in 1971, Attila Csernik and Katalin Ladik in 1973, Ante Vukov in 1975. The group ceased to

in a characteristically multiethnic region of Europe, as one of the first groups in Yugoslavian visual culture of the 1970s that had the intention of making a trans-regional impact. The Vojvodina region, and the city of Subotica specifically, had been a kind of centre for various left-wing groupings of artists ever since the first half of the 20th century. Furthermore, the group's activity revived the principles of avant-garde poetry and the editorial work of Lajos Kassák.³⁵ Studio

erté's founders were following on from the Bosch+Bosch group.³⁶ Incidentally, it is no coincidence that it was precisely Nové Zámky, Kassák's birthplace, where Transart Communication, the international festival of performance, came into being at the end of the 1980s. These two examples show us how self-organised platforms and infrastructures initiated by artists can create active places for cultural exchange in East Central and South-Eastern Europe.

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³⁵ *Ibidem*, 15.

³⁶ The founders of the Studio erté were József R. Juhász, Ottó Mészáros, Ilona Németh a Attila Simon. Gábor Hushegyi, "20 rokov Štúdia erté," [Twenty Years of Studio Erté] in: *Transart Communication Performance & Multimedia Art Studio erté 1987–2007* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2008), 95.

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Jozef Jankovič in Croatia

Jozef Jankovič v Chorvátsku / Jozef Jankovič u Hrvatskoj

Jozef Jankovič (1937–2017) je jednou z najvýznamnejších osobností v dejinách moderného slovenského sochárstva. Bol jednou z obetí politickej normalizácie v Československu po roku 1968 a násilného potlačenia demokratizačného procesu. Napriek zákazu vystavovať a cestovať sa mu podarilo udržiavať neoficiálne a priateľské kontakty so zahraničím – aj prostredníctvom kurátorov a umelcov z bývalej Juhoslávie, kde vystavoval a realizoval diela (od polovice 70. rokov bol pravidelne pozývaný na bienále grafiky v Lublane). V Chorvátsku vznikli a nachádzajú sa tri „emblematické“ diela: Brána (1985, Sochársky park Dubrova, Labin), Ruky (1994, Vrsar) a Raspello/Križ (1995, Dom smútku, Labin). Príspevok sa zaoberá analýzou a interpretáciou týchto diel z hľadiska kultúrnej (vizuálnej) verzus osobnej (umeleckej) identity.

Kľúčové slová: Jozef Jankovič, monumentálna socha, moderná slovenská sochárska tvorba, normalizácia, medzinárodné sochárske sympóziu, Park Dubrova Labin, Josip Diminić, vzťahy medzi Slovenskom a Chorvátskom.

It is often stated about Jozef Jankovič¹ that he was a figurative artist to his very essence. The human being was indeed the key theme of his work, but he was always more concerned with the averted, hidden,

hardly disclosable side of the individual, generic or social history of man. His interest primarily lay in the figure set in a web of social (and power) relations – situated in a context, in a broader historical

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¹ Jozef Jankovič (*8 November 1937, Bratislava – † 6 June 2017, Bratislava) is one of the most important Slovak sculptors of the 20th century. He studied at the Secondary School of Applied Art (1952–1956, Anton Drexler, Ludwik Korkoš) and at the Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Bratislava (1956–1962, prof. Jozef Kostka), where he also lectured from 1990, held the post of the first post-revolutionary rector (1990–1994) and taught as a professor at the Department of Sculpture (1994–2007). He was a visiting professor at the Hochschule für angewandte Kunst in Vienna (1984). He exhibited at the La Biennale internationale des jeunes artistes in Paris (1969), twice at the Venice Biennale (1970, 1995) and in many internationally important exhibitions. He was awarded several prestigious prizes: the Grand Prix of the Danuvius Biennial in Bratislava (1968), VI Biennale de Paris (1969), the Herder Prize (1983), the Tatra banka Foundation Art Award (1997), the Pribina Cross of the First Class (1997), and the Order of Ludovít Štúr of the Second Class (2004). In 1998, he was awarded the Croatian Republic's Red Danice Hrvatske with the figure of Marko Marulić. He created a number of monumental works (*Obete varujú! Pamätník SNP / Victims warn! SNP Memorial* in Banská Bystrica, 1964–1965, removed during normalization, in 1974, to be placed in Kališče and returned to the original site in 2004; *Pomník SNP / SNP Memorial* in Kováčová, 1967–1969). He realized numerous works in architecture and at sculpture symposia in Slovenia (*Prison IX*, Portorož, 1971); Croatia (*Gate*, Labin, 1985; *Raspelo*, 1995) or South Korea (*Place at the Top*, Olympic Park, Seoul, 1987). His sculpture *In the Footsteps of Our Fathers* became part of the sculpture collection La Défence in Paris (1987) and he created the sculpture *Equilibrium* for the campus of Masaryk University in Brno (2009).

framework. He came up with another, different idea and image of man than the one that the circumjacent socialist society wanted and demanded. He brought into it an *a priori* tragic being; he replaced the image of the victor – of man depicted as the builder of the new world – with the image of a victim, a fragmented and broken body. Often this was a man who was powerless, hammered by circumstances, manipulated by the powers of this world, a man whose name did not “sound proud” at all. Three significant, emblematic, iconic monumental works were realised by Jozef Jankovič in Croatia (he did not even get such an opportunity at home, in Slovakia) and we will present them in the context of his work and thought, framed by the development of the symbolic-iconographic form.²

When, after his initial adventure with structural abstraction and the found object, he came up with a new and brutal form of figuration, his next journey – a journey to unravel the mysteries of life – led through the human body. It was the sculptural body, the embodiment that

appears in his sculptures that reveals the psychic through the physical and, in turn, “extends the body into the realms of the interpersonal and the social”.³ He speaks to us in a visual language, a language that can reveal the microcosm of the human being and which at the same time mirrors his entire social macrocosm. Jankovič, the iconoclastic *enfant-terrible* of Slovak sculpture, boldly – and by Slovak standards – unusually loudly and early on began to vigorously polemicise the artistic and socio-cultural paradigms of his time.⁴

The new forms of figuration, which in the mid-1960s were becoming established in Slovak art, especially in painting, represented to a large extent the result of an encounter of various stimuli of both older and contemporary European art (Pop Art, Surrealism, *l'art brut*, New Figuration, but also New Realism) and the broader spiritual breeding ground of philosophy and literature (philosophy of life, phenomenology, existentialism), and were characterised by a completely different imagery compared to the one still surviving in socialist committed art. It was

² Jankovič was a leading figure of Slovak modern sculpture, while his characteristic brutal figurative style, the result of an original synthesis of Pop Art, New Figuration and New Realism that culminated in the second half of the 1960s in his large-scale sculptural work, received wide international acclaim. In his work, he presented the problem of human corporeality in a derivative, inauthentic and deformed manner; he was able to generalise the existential traumas of modern man and current socio-political contexts in a metaphorical way by means of a moral appeal. During the era of normalization (1972–1985) he was excluded from the official artistic scene and was active only unofficially, devoting himself to lesser forms: drawing, jewellery, and as one of the first in Slovakia to work systematically in the field of computer graphics. From the 1980s he returned again to large-scale as well as more intimate sculpture and relief. Jankovič's lifelong work, oscillating between tragedy and the grotesque, is a suggestive parable about man, about the limits of his individual and social role, about freedom and its lack, about alienation from oneself and totalitarian power. For more, see: Katarína Bajcurová, Aurel Hrabušický and Zora Rusinová, eds., *Jozef Jankovič. Tvorba z rokov 1958–1997* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1997); Juraj Mojžiš, *Jozef Jankovič 1957–2007* (Bratislava: Danubiana Meulenstein Art Museum, 2007); Juraj Mojžiš, *Jankovič. Plynutie času: Flow of Time* (Bratislava: ArtBid a Galéria mesta Bratislavy, 2016); Katarína Bajcurová, *Všetko je v hlave: It's All in the Head* (Bratislava: Slovart, 2024), etc.

³ Josef Kroutvor, *Hlava medusy* (Praha: Jazzová sekce, 1985), 105.

⁴ Katarína Bajcurová, *Slovenské sochárstvo 1945–2015: Socha a objekt* (Bratislava: Roman Fecik Gallery with Slovart, 2017).

Jankovič's work that intervened into it in an almost iconoclastic way, abolishing the traditional integrity of figurative sculpture after the mid-1960s and breaking the human body into fragments directly from the outset: featuring moving limbs, arms and legs, which acted as *pars pro toto* of the human body. He developed the characteristic, indeterminate-looking shape of the limbs more or less by accident, experimentally, when he poured malleable plaster into a stocking or glove form; later he semantically elevated this element to the central motif of his work. A strange effect of alienation was created. Human corporeality presented itself: "[...] in a derivative, inauthentic and therefore deformed form. What originally protected the body now seemed to betray it".⁵ These elements, which for years predetermined Jankovič's morphology, in their alienated object corporeality became part of numerous assemblages, relief clumps, compositional and figurative basis of spatial assemblages. Increasingly, he pointed to the alienated human presence and the feelings of existential trauma of modern man. Jankovič almost always situationally defined his sculptures by spatially contextualizing, positioning, and framing them (in cages, nets, and spider webs;

later in his work, architectural elements such as arches, windows, walls, doors, and stairs appeared). By variously situating bodily fragments into figural-architectural units he thematized ever-present socio-political contents and emphasized the moral appeal of his message.

During the 1960s, Jankovič experienced the first rise of his work and gained considerable international renown.⁶ However, he was also one of the first artists to be ostracized by the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia.⁷ The following decade, the 1970s, were characterised by the harshest normalization. The prior attempt to give socialism a human face failed, and the ideas of democracy and freedom came to an end in August 1968 under the tank tracks of the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact. A number of artists who did not profess the ideals of socialist realism became enemies of the regime – with Jozef Jankovič one of them. He was banned from exhibiting, publishing, travelling, and producing major works. He was interrogated and persecuted by the secret police (ŠTB) and became an exile in his own country. Jankovič, however, did not give up, and in the 1970s he found a substitute visual program. He became one of the personalities of the

⁵ Aurel Hrabušický, "Situačné porozumenie svetu," *Slovenské pohľady* 104, no. 12 (1988): 108–13.

⁶ He exhibited at prestigious international exhibitions: 9th *Middelheim Biennial*, Openluchtmuseum voor Beeldhouwkunst, Antwerp (1967); *Sculpture Tchécoslovaque de Myslbeek à nos jours*, Musée Rodin, Paris (1968); *Arte contemporanea in Cecoslovacchia*, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome (1969); *VI Biennale de Paris*, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, Paris (1969); *Discovery of Harmony. Contemporary Trends*, EXPO Museum of Fine Arts, Osaka (1970), etc. Much later, after 1989, he was again recognized on the international scene with the exhibitions: *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin 1950s–1980s*, Queens Museum of Art, New York (1999); *Aspekten – Positionen. 50 Jahre Kunst aus Mitteleuropa 1949–1999*, Museum moderner Kunst, Vienna (2000); *Villes visionnaires. Hommage a Michel Ragon*, Collection Frac Centre-Val de Loire; Orléans (2014); *World Goes Pop*, Tate Modern, London (2015), etc. The largest retrospective exhibition was organized for him by the Slovak National Gallery in Bratislava (1997, curated by Katarína Bajcurová, Aurel Hrabušický, and Zora Rusinová).

⁷ Jankovič was criticized *expressis verbis* in the publication *Za socialistické umenie: Materiály zo zjazdov umeleckých zväzov (máj–november 1972)* (Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ, 1974).

Slovak unofficial art scene.⁸ In line with the advent of new tendencies of conceptual art, he dematerialized the means of creating a work of art and replaced sculpture with drawing, graphic art, art projects, or jewellery. As one of the first in Czechoslovakia at that time, he began to use the computer to create a work of art. He was able to smuggle these lesser works on paper (mainly drawings and graphic art) abroad more easily – including to the countries of the former Yugoslavia, where he gained good acquaintances and friends.⁹



Figure 1: Jozef Jankovič, *Prison IX*, 1971, *Forma viva*, Portorož.

Prison IX

In 1971 he was allowed to participate in the *Forma viva* symposium in Portorož (today Slovenia), where he realized the sculpture *Väzenie IX. / Prison IX*¹⁰ – for an extended period of time the last

monumental sculpture he was allowed to realise; a motif of immobility, of being immured, imprisoned among immobile frames from which there is no escape. There is a window in which fragments

⁸ Aurel Hrabušický ed. et al., *Slovenské vizuálne umenie 1970–1985* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria); Zuzana Bartošová, *Napriek totalite: neoficiálna slovenská výtvarná scéna sedemdesiatych a osemdesiatych rokov 20. storočia* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2011), etc.

⁹ For closer research on the exchange of works and information between the countries of the former Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, see: Daniel Grúň, *Haptická ozvena. Príroda, telo, politika v umení bývalej Južoslávie a Československa: Haptic Echo. Nature, Body, Politics and Art in Former Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia* (Bratislava: Galéria mesta Bratislavy, 2024). Jankovič exhibited in the countries of the former Yugoslavia at a number of important and recurrent events to which he was invited, but could not physically attend for his passport was revoked. His works were sent abroad by several routes (in rare cases by mail, usually through diplomats, acquaintances and foreign guests). Ivan Banić, a former émigré and gallery owner, played an important role in the transport of Jankovič's works to the former Yugoslavia. Jankovič's works were presented at the exhibitions: *Medunarodna izložba na crtež od daritelije*, Muzej na sovremenata umetnost, Skopje (1973); *Bienale grafike*, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana (1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985, and 1987; the 1989 edition was represented by a special collection from the Biennial conceived by Zoran Kržišnik for the Civic Art Museum in Sakaido, Japan, while the selection jury of this prestigious event included personalities such as Ryszard Stanislawski, Jorge Glusberg, Jean Clair etc.); at *Medunarodova izložba originalnog crteža*, Moderna galerija, Rijeka (1976, 1984, 1988); in 1980 he had a solo exhibition called *Crteži. Objekti* at Studio galerija Forum / Centar za kulturu i informacije grada, Zagreb (curator: Vladimír Malekovič), in 1987 he exhibited at Galerija Spektar, Zagreb (together with Rudolf Fila, Daniel Fischer, Viktor Hulík, and Juraj Meliš), etc.

¹⁰ *Väzenie IX. / Prison IX*, 1971, Istrian marble, 240 × 160 × 60 cm, *Forma viva: XI. International Symposium of Sculptors*, Portorož, today in Slovenia. The Czechoslovak authorities allowed him to travel to the symposium, but instead of eight weeks, his stay was limited to four weeks, during which he was able to create his sculpture as well as establish contacts with several artists, among them Josip Diminić. He returned to the *Forma viva* symposium once more in 2007 (together with Janes Lenassi, Karl Heinz Deutsch and Makoto Fujiwara).



Figure 2: Jozef Jankovič, *Jozef Jankovič in front of The Great Fall*, Danuvius Biennial, Bratislava, 1968.

of human limbs are trapped, bodily fragments – remnants of a former human wholeness. His life and artistic feeling at the time, as we could metaphorically put it, was: “immured alive after the Great Fall”.¹¹ This is vividly shown in the drawing *Zamurovaná figúra / Walled Figure* (1974),¹² where we can see a thick brick wall from which bodily fragments emerge: arms and legs still struggling to step up the staircase, but the head with its torso already trapped on the other side of the wall. “More than any other work, the walled figure materializes a situation of ‘new immobility’, a brutally interrupted momentum”.¹³ The work *Veľký pád / The Great Fall* (1968)¹⁴ was Jankovič’s entry to the International Biennial of Young Artists Danuvius¹⁵ and he won the Grand Prix for it. It can be described as an inversion of the tragic myth of Icarus. The basic element of the work is the multiplied motif of isolated

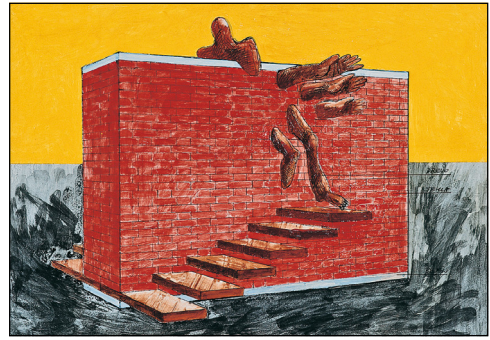


Figure 3: Jozef Jankovič, *Walled Figure*, 1974, private collection.

and hypertrophied limbs, giant arms and legs protruding directly from the ground as the remains of a monstrous fall somewhere into the nether world. Here he “cultishly” demonstrated the collapse of the old integrity of spirit and body into horrifying pieces of human substance. The political subtext of the work (alluding to the fall of the revival process in Czechoslovakia) was underlined by the use of the colours of the tricolour. Jankovič managed to present an independent collection of sculptures in the Czechoslovak pavilion at the Venice Biennale (1970), but shortly afterwards he was condemned to a long exile from artistic life.

After *The Great Fall* came the aforementioned immuring. However, he did not fully demonstrate the idea of the prison of Portorož and the drawing of the walled figure until more than a decade later in his sculpture *The Gate* (1985)

¹¹ Hrabušický, “Zamurovanie po Veľkom páde (sedemdesiate roky),” in Bajcurová, Hrabušický and Rusinová, eds., *Jozef Jankovič. Tvorba z rokov 1958–1997*, 79.

¹² *Zamurovaná figúra / Walled Figure*, 1974, ink and acrylic on paper, 44 × 62 cm, private property.

¹³ Hrabušický, *Ibid*, 82.

¹⁴ *Veľký pád / The Great Fall*, 1968, metal, textile, polyester, 410 × 500 × 400 cm, SNG Collection, inv. no. P 2634, https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.P_2634 (10 June 2025). Jankovič donated the work to the Slovak National Gallery in 1999.

¹⁵ Vladimíra Bünigerová, *Umenie, ktoré zostalo. Kolekcia Medzinárodné bienále mladých výtvarníkov Danuvius 1968: The Art that Remains: Collection International Biennial of Young Artists Danuvius 1968* (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2024).

created at the symposium in Labin, where he was even allowed to travel in person (after a 14-year ban)¹⁶. By the mid-1980s, the regime was losing its strength and *perestroika* and *glasnost* were taking hold in the Soviet Union, which partly influenced – that is, relaxed – the cultural situation in the Soviet satellites, including Czechoslovakia, and led in 1989 to the Velvet Revolution and the liberation from the influence of the Soviet communist empire, in which Jankovič took an active civic part. But let us return to the year 1983, when Jozef Jankovič won the prestigious Herder Prize in Vienna, which enabled him (among other things also materially) to gradually return to sculpture.

Kapija / Brána / Gate

Kapija / Brána / Gate (1985)¹⁷ was Jankovič's first monumental realization after a long forced pause. It shows a figure stuck in a wall in a moment of movement that is thus made impossible. The sculpture is framed in a rectangular architectural frame, which in Jankovič's work always prevents free movement (be it a cage, an arch or stairs). Here he directly thematized his life experience of being "walled up" alive: for the first time he uses the whole figure, here stuck in the wall, its swollen and multiplied limbs frozen in a mute pose, its face unrecognisable. "A foot that wants to make a step somewhere, a hand that wants to beckon..."¹⁸

On the interpretation of the *Labin Gate*, Ladislav Snopko remarked two years later (1987) that

"Jankovič's man in the gate no longer begs to be let in. He lingers in the middle, aware that the 'exposed balance' of the borderline is the knowledge he longed for, the answer. Being outside or being inside is no longer important. It is always just a movement either within one or the other, equally firmly defined structure..."

And Zuzana Bartošová added that "gates are for people to open and pass through them outwards, towards each other, into the world".¹⁹ Both sentences, quoted from contemporary reflection of Jankovič's work, were, on the one hand, a sceptical resignation of the then state of affairs as well as evidence of desired changes. Jankovič here seemed to anticipate – through the metaphor of a wall, a window – something that would soon happen in politics (the breaking down of the Berlin Wall dividing West and East, the opening of windows to Europe). The *Labin Gate*, however, became an important personal-authorial landmark in the sculptor's development: the slightly swollen, deformed forms of the limbs with the inert features of the face opened a new period of Jankovič's work that can be called monumental classicism.

Jankovič made many human and creative contacts in Croatia, and found a

¹⁶ Jankovič had his passport revoked in 1976 and it was returned to him in 1983 on the occasion of the Herder Prize in Vienna. It was the first foreign symposium he was able to physically attend in years.

¹⁷ *Kapija / Brána / Gate*, 1985, Istrian marble, 340 × 200 × 60 cm, XV. Mediteranski kiparski simpozij Labin '85, Dubrova Park, Labin, Croatia.

¹⁸ Aurel Hrabušický, *Jozef Jankovič: documentation* (Bratislava: SCCA / Soros Center for Contemporary Art, an undated manuscript).

¹⁹ Zuzana Bartošová and Ladislav Snopko, *Jozef Jankovič* (Pezinok: Malokarpatské múzeum, 1987). Catalogue for the exhibition at the Native House of Jan Kupecky in Pezinok.



Figure 4: Jozef Jankovič, *Gate*, 1985, Park Dubrova, Labin.

liking in returning there (in his personal mythology, he experienced the feeling – based on his surname – that his ancestors might have come from this very country). The organizer of the Labin symposium, the sculptor Josip Diminić (1937–2019)²⁰ became his close friend. He was a co-founder of the Labin International Sculpture Symposium and the *Montraker* Symposium, an international summer student sculpture school in Vrsar. He also met and befriended other important Croatian art personalities and curators, such as Vladimir Maleković (1936–2003),²¹ who opened an exhibition of his works in Zagreb in 1980, as well as Ante Glibota (1945–2020),²² a prominent Croatian intellectual, art and architectural historian and collector. Glibota

²⁰ Josip Diminić (1937–2019) was a Croatian sculptor who also engaged in graphic art and ceramics, worked with stone, wood and laminate. He graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb (1958–1963, prof. Marina Tartaglia), in 1965 he returned to Labin, in 1966 he established a studio in the historical part of the town, and in addition to his own creative work he was involved in several organizational activities dedicated to the development of the art scene in Labin. He was the founder and co-founder of the art group *Labin Ateliers*, the exhibition *Ars Histriae*, several important sculpture events: the *Mediteranski kiparski simpozij* (since 1969), which included the Dubrova Sculpture Park in Labin, and the *Montraker* summer student sculpture school in Vrsar (since 1991). From 1975 to 1984 he was a member of the group of artists of the Forum Gallery in Zagreb. He also taught at the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University in Rijeka and since 2005 at the Academy of Applied Arts in Rijeka, of which he was a co-founder. He realized works in several places in Croatia (Labin, Rijeka, Karlovac, etc.), and participated in numerous exhibitions at home and abroad. For more information see: Vlado Bužančić, *Diminić* (Rijeka: Izdavački centar Rijeka, 1982); Vlado Bužančić, Mladenka Šolman et al., *Josip Diminić* (Zagreb: Hdlu/Hrvatsko društvo likovnih umjetnika, 2000).

²¹ Vladimir Maleković (1936–2003) was a Croatian art historian, graduated from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zagreb (1962). From 1953 he published newspaper reviews and articles on culture; from 1964 to 1983 he was an art critic for the periodical *Vjesnik*, and from 1983 director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb. He was mainly devoted to naive art (*Hrvatska izvorna umjetnost*, 1973; *Kosta Angeli Radovani*, 1981; *Matija Skurjeni*, 1982; *Josip Generalić*, 1988; *Duro Seder*, 1989; *Edo Murtić*, 1990). He was the author of a large number of exhibitions and publications on Croatian art (*Angažirana umjetnost u Hrvatskoj 1919–1969*, 1969; *Grupa trojice – aspekti hrvatske likovne umjetnosti 1930–1935*, 1976; *Ekspressionizam i hrvatsko slikarstvo*, 1980; *Kubizam i hrvatsko slikarstvo*, 1981). He was one of the founders of museums and galleries in Brdovec, Zlatar and Nova Gradiška. For more information see: Vladimir Maleković, *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (1983–2024), mrežno izdanje (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2024), <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/malekovic-vladimir> (15 June 2025).

²² Ante Glibota (1945–2020) was one of the most important Croatian post-war intellectuals. He graduated from the Faculty of Economics in Zagreb, co-founded *Hrvatski gospodarski list* with Vladimir Veselić in 1970, and was involved in the events of the Croatian Spring. In January 1972 he was imprisoned for his activities. After his imprisonment, as he became undesirable to

personally visited Jankovič in Bratislava in connection with the preparation and selection of artists for the pre-Olympic symposium in Seoul (he was a member of the selection jury). Jankovič participated in the symposium and realized two works there, the monumental sculpture *Miesto hore / Place at the Top* and *Šebastián / Sebastian* (1987).²³ The development and consolidation of intercultural and inter-artistic relations between Slovakia and Croatia was expressed by the fact that he was awarded the Croatian state decoration Red Danice Hrvatske with the figure of Marko Marulić in 1998.²⁴

Ruke / Ruky / Hands

Ruke / Ruky / Hands (1993)²⁵ was made during a symposium in Vrsar, Istria, and can be found in a picturesque square of this old town overlooking the sea. Two large hands in a kind of pleading position are enclosed between two stone prisms. Just as the lower limbs – legs



Figure 5: Jozef Jankovič, *Hands*, 1968, private collection.

– were Jankovič's typical motif, the upper limbs – hands – were now added.

“In traditional iconography, the hand is a symbol of caution, divine power and love, character, authority, humour, strength, creation, mastery, pleasure, greeting, generosity, hospitality, but also betrayal. The hand, the arm, the palm of God is the embodiment of logos,

the then regime, he emigrated to France. There he established himself as a gallerist, art historian, architectural theorist and collector, as well as a curator of prestigious art events (in France and worldwide). From 1979 to 1994 he was the director of the Paris Art Centre. He received several international awards for his work as a curator in the field of art and architecture as well as multimedia activities. He published several books and monographs (*150 Years of Chicago Architecture 1833–1983*, 1985; *Helmut Jahn*, 1987; *Olympiade Des Arts / Olympiad of Art*, 1988; *Otto Piene*, 2011, etc.). He was a member of the European Academy of Letters, Sciences and Arts and the American Institute of Architects (AIA). He was involved in the exile movement for Croatian independence. For more information, see: “Ante Glibota,” in *CROWN: Croatian Word Network*, <https://www.croatia.org/crown/articles/11250/1/Ante-Glibota-1945-2020-distinguished-Croatian-patriot-and-historian-of-art-and-architecture.html> (15 June 2025).

²³ *Miesto hore / Place at the Top*, 1987, granite, 960 × 360 × 140 cm, Olympic Park, Seoul, South Korea; *Šebastián / Sebastian*, 1987, granite, bronze, 120 × 180 × 60 cm, collection of the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Seoul, South Korea.

²⁴ The award was established in 1995 to recognize merit in the development of culture and the arts, see: “Odluka o odlikovanju Redom Danice hrvatske s likom Marka Marulića broj: 01-051-98-13-1-2/1 od 26. svibnja 1998,” in *Narodne novine: Službeni list Republike Hrvatske*, 10 June 1998, https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1998_06_81_1127.html (15 June 2025).

²⁵ *Ruke / Ruky / Hands*, 1993, Istrian marble, circa 120 × 150 × 150 cm, Symposium Montraker, Vrsar, Croatia. The symposium was founded as a summer sculpture school in 1991 by Josip Diminić and was intended for university students; Jankovič participated as a teacher at the Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Bratislava with his pupils Patrik Kovačovský and Peter Machata.

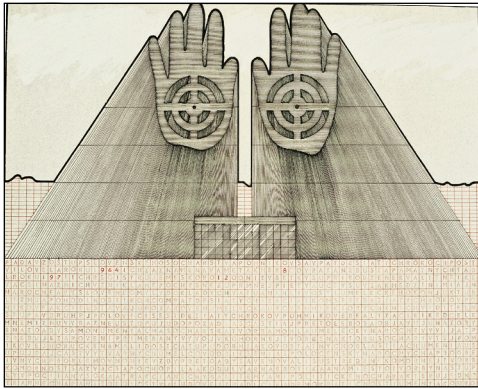


Figure 6: Jozef Jankovič, *The Draft of a Memorial to Slovak Sculpture*, 1976, Slovak National Gallery.

of creative power: 'the hand of the Lord God fell upon me' (Ezekiel 8:1–3)".²⁶

But the gesture of the hand is often a plea for help, for support, for rescue. In the 1960s, the motif of the hand (which actually originated as a cast of matter poured into a glove) gained independence in Jankovič's work; alone and multiplied, it often formed the structure of the work: *Ruky / Hands* in the 1968 relief²⁷ are seen this time in the overtly political gesture of SOS, tellingly in the tricolour. In the object *Pohyblivé ruky / Moving Hands* (1970),²⁸ a grid of uniformly formed hands grows

out of a massive plinth, which at certain intervals of time are equally uniformly and mechanically set in motion (by virtue of a built-in motor). Are they all red as a sacrifice to the communist regime? Or are they there to unthinkingly approve, to vote for everything that is put before them by the re-established power?

In terms of our topic, it was Jankovič's aforementioned substitution programme in the 1970s, when sculpture was replaced by drawings, graphics or pieces of jewellery, that produced very interesting results in the form of a series of fictional, utopian architectural projects. The creation of utopian projects, or otherwise – prospective architecture – has a rather rich history in the history of art, from French revolutionary architecture to, for example, the utopian visions of the Russian avant-garde. In the 1970s it found its representation in Slovakia in the person of Alex Mlynárčik and the VAL group (Viera Mecková – Alex Mlynárčik – Ludovít Kupkovič),²⁹ but unlike them, Jankovič's project thinking lacked any kind of civilisational optimism.

He was interested in architecture and designing for architecture since his youth, and participated in numerous

²⁶ Rusinová, "Od asambláže k tragickému mýtu (šesťdesiate roky)," in Bajcurová, Hrabušický and Rusinová, eds., *Jozef Jankovič. Tvorba z rokov 1958–1997*, 48.

²⁷ *Ruky / Hands*, 1968, wood, polyester, 120 × 150 cm, private collection. The work was created as part of the *Archemo* symposium in Pardubice, thematising new technologies in plastics processing.

²⁸ *Pohyblivé ruky / Moving Hands*, 1970, polyester, wood, metal, electric motor, 140 × 100 × 100 cm, PSIS collection. See: Zuzana Bartošová, *Súčasná slovenské výtvarné umenie 1960–2000 zo zbierky Prvej slovenskej investičnej skupiny* (Bratislava: Orman, 2008); Zuzana Bartošová, "Freedom in Unfreedom: A Few Notes on the Slovak Unofficial Art Scene in the 1970s," in *Crisis: The Avant-Garde and Modernism in Critical Modes: European Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies 7*, eds. Sasha Bru et al. (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 2022), 210, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110773637-010> (17 June 2025).

²⁹ Pierre Restany, *Alex Mlynárčik: INDE* (Slovenská národná galéria, 1995); Ludovít Kupkovič, Viera Mecková and Alex Mlynárčik, *VAL Cesty a aspekty zajtajšška* (Žilina: Expresprint, 1995); Katarzyna Cytlak, "L'architecture prospective en Tchécoslovaquie. Convergences et divergences entre l'approche du groupe slovaque VAL (1968–1994) et la théorie architecturale de Michel Ragon," in *RIHA Journal* [online], 2017, <https://journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/rihajournal/article/view/70264> (17 June 2025).

competitions; together with architect Dušan Kuzma, he was co-author of the sculpting idea of perhaps the most significant – even signature – piece of Slovak modern architecture of the 20th century, the *Memorial of the Slovak National Uprising (SNP)* in Banská Bystrica (1965–1969), for which he made the central sculpture, *Obete varujú! / Victims Warn!*,³⁰ a dramatically stacked and expressively shaped jumble of dead and living bodies that he placed in a narrow gap between two concrete hemispheres resembling a split rock. The obligatory image of the hero is here – iconoclastically – replaced by the image of the victim, stripping the uprising of its pathos, of the moral aureole of the victors, understanding it in an all-human, pacifist and anthropological way. He also conceived the *Memorial of the SNP* in Kováčová (1968, together with the architect Anton Cimmermann) as a fictitious architectural environment, where the viewer, as he moved, was confronted with ever new sequences of brutal and empty imprints of limbs falling into nothingness.

Hungarian curator László Beke described Jankovič's fictional projects as "gigantic anthropomorphic monuments",³¹ while Czech conceptualist and curator Jiří Valoch added the label "*humane architectures, monuments evoking the idea of the human figure*".³² It was Valoch who first noticed a new semantic turn

in Jankovič's work, where "*the tragic is replaced by the grotesque, the message of the artworks is no longer protest, but above all inquiry. It is something halfway between the tragic and the comic*".³³ The projects brought a new ironic-sarcastic image of man immured in the immobility of the years of consolidation, resembling petrified beings trapped by a spell in matter.

In terms of the development of Jankovič's hand iconography, two examples are worth mentioning: in his *Návrh pamätníka slovenského sochárstva / The Draft of a Memorial to Slovak Sculpture* (1976)³⁴ he worked with a text – the infamous article "*Vzostup a pád slovenského sochárstva*" (The Rise and Fall of Slovak Sculpture), published in *Pravda*, the daily of the Communist Party of Slovakia. The author, art historian Zita Kostrová, criticized the so-called right-wing tendencies in sculpture of the 1960s. The text of the article, divided into individual letters – block capital letters arranged into a regular geometric grid – is used to create a pedestal from which grows a monumental architectural shape depicting two hyperbolised human palms. The sculptor's hands, which were supposed to knead the mass within it, have stiffened and turned into shooting targets. Jankovič here responded in a special way to the theme of memorials – to create monuments, to be a sculptor, was denied to him during normalization. In

³⁰ In 1972 the sculpture *Obete varujú! / Victims Warn!* was removed to be replaced by a composition of a hammer and sickle. In 1974 it was installed at the site of the memorial to the burnt village of Kalište and in 2004 it was returned to its original place thanks to Ladislav Snopko. For more information, see: Ladislav Snopko, et al., *Obete varujú. Paralelné príbehy: Victims warn. Parallel Stories* (Banská Bystrica: Múzeum SNP, 2004).

³¹ László Beke, *Jankovič* (Budapest: Fiatal Művészék Klubja, 1974), unpag.

³² *Ibidem*, unpag.

³³ Jiří Valoch, *Jankovič* (Brno: Dům pánů z Kunštátu, 1973), unpag.

³⁴ *Architektúry III. Návrh pamätníka slovenského sochárstva / Architectures III. The Draft of a Memorial to Slovak Sculpture*, 1976, offset on paper, 45 × 58 cm, SNG, inv. no. G 13135, https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.G_13135 (10 June 2025).

another anti-utopian piece, *Projekt parlamentu s pneumatickou strechou / The Parliament Project with Pneumatic Roof* (1977),³⁵ he created a roof composed of inflatable voting hands, whose meaning is now revived and the symbolism of unanimously voting MPs is eerily relevant. Jankovič parodied the content in a pseudo-utopian absurdist way. The combination and subsequent fusion of architectural and human building blocks, a union of disparate sign systems, created a complexity typical of postmodern thought. He also tried to find his unified vision and shaping of the hand through the computer, for in the 1970s he was one of the first artists in Czechoslovakia to experiment with computer graphics (*Ruka I.–III. / Hand I–III*, 1979).³⁶

Finally, there is one more work in which he elevated the motif of the hand to a symbol: it is a piece of the more intimate series *Krajiny I.–XII. / Landscapes I–XII* (1980–1984), all of which had the character of miniature spatial installations. In *Landscape III* (1980)³⁷ the central element is a hand growing out of a layered plinth (the ground?). It looks as if the figure had buried itself alive, and what is more, the hand that sticks out of

the ground is shackled. Again: the man is prevented from all movement and activity here. But Jankovič has cunningly played with the scale; we have the feeling that this is the hand of the mythical giant Gulliver, who has been tied up by the regime – the Lilliputians...

Raspelo / Ukrižovanie / Crucifixion

The third important work by Jozef Jankovič in Croatia is the monumental *Raspelo / Ukrižovanie / Crucifixion* (1995).³⁸ He realized it in Labin, at the entrance to the cemetery above the town, as a distinctive landscape landmark that is visible from afar. He used a motif that runs through all his work: the crucified figure. Although the term figure can only be used conditionally in this and other cases.

The motif of the crucified figure or the cross can be found in Jankovič's work almost from its beginnings. In his early *Autoportrét II. / Self-Portrait II* (1964)³⁹ the torso of Jesus Christ, as if from an anonymous wayside shrine catches the eye, appearing within an assemblage composed of everyday realities. Is this the alter ego of the artist, or rather his shadow, ready

³⁵ *Projekt parlamentu s pneumatickou strechou / The Parliament Project with Pneumatic Roof*, 1977, pen, ink, and acrylic on paper, 50.7 × 65.5 cm, SNG, inv. no. K 17370, https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.K_17370 (10 June 2025). Similar work: *Projekt záhrady parlamentu / Project of the Garden of the Parliament*, 1976, pen and ink on paper, 50 × 63 cm; exhibited by *V. meždunarodna izložba originalnog crteža '76 Rijeka*; the work remained in Croatia, now missing. The garden was made of voting hands.

³⁶ *Ruka I.–III. / Hand I–III*, 1979, computer graphics, offset on paper, 40 × 62.3 cm; 40 × 58.3 cm; 40 × 50 cm, SNG, inv. no. G 9486; G 9487, G 9488. https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.G_9486; https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.G_9487; https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG.G_9488 (10 June 2025).

³⁷ *Krajina III. / Landscape III.*, 1980, wood, copper, string, paper, 30 × 42 × 42 cm, private collection.

³⁸ *Raspelo / Ukrižovanie / Crucifixion*, 1995, Istrian marble, height 540 cm, House of mourning, Labin. Created as part of the *Mediterranski kiparski simpozij* in Labin, Croatia. Jankovič was also preparing a project for the next, 25th edition of the symposium in Labin (1997) as part of the *Bijela cesta / White Road* project in Dubrova Park, where each participant was to create a sculpture a 25-metre-long stretch of road. Due to illness, he did not realize the project, design kept in the sculptor's estate.

³⁹ *Autoportrét I.–II. / Self-Portrait I–II*, 1964, wood, metal, polyester, PVA, à 65 × 85 cm, private collection.

to take upon himself the lot of humanity and to bear its cross? In the work *Väzenie I. / Prison I* (1963),⁴⁰ created in the style of Informel, we see for the first time a “dead” form sculpted into the Tau cross and adjusted into a frame. This is a cross in the form of the Greek letter T (tau), the last letter of the alphabet, and is of pre-Christian origin, later used by the early Christians; it was particularly favoured by St Francis of Assisi, for whom it was a symbol of conversion and penance. Jankovič formed fragments of figures in his *Svedectvo XI. / Testimony XI* (1967–1968)⁴¹ from a larger series and *Miesto hore / Place at the Top* (1969)⁴² into this shape: its essence is the typical Jankovič figure with arms outstretched but without a torso, spattered with blood, standing at the end of a long vertical staircase. Here the artist transcends the meaning of the Christian symbol and significantly updates it, or semanticizes it in reverse; how many victims will the crucified creature with bloody hands leave behind itself before it reaches the top? The grasp of the motif, by its universality, certainly transcends the original Christian theme and acquires – as was Jankovič’s custom – a generalising humanistic significance.

A direct predecessor to Labin’s *Raspel* was *Krucifix / Crucifix* (1993),⁴³ one of Jankovič’s masterpieces of the final monumental period. He chose as his subject the theme of the Crucifixion, whose universal (religious) *raison d’être* is widely known and the iconographic form of its



Figure 7: Jozef Jankovič, *Krucifix*, 1993, Galéria Horský park, Bratislava, Linea Collection.

depiction is well established. Jankovič, however, opts for innovation. The cross, bearing the form of a gallows composed of a vertical stake and a transverse crossbar, onto which the condemned man is nailed by his wrists and ankles, is transformed by the artist into a more complex, hybrid architectural construction. It is something between a gallows, a gate and a tower with a drawbridge, into which a headless – guillotined – body is embedded in slabs in the shape of a T (tau) cross. Jankovič transformed the traditional Christian symbol of salvation and redemption into a universal and supra-confessional symbol. The shift in meaning

⁴⁰ *Väzenie I. / Prison I*, 1963, wood, textile, polyester, 140 × 70 cm, private collection.

⁴¹ *Svedectvo XI. / Testimony XI*, 1967–1968, wood, plaster, polyester, 170 × 150 cm, SNG, inv. no. P 2642. https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:SNG:P_2642 (10 June 2025).

⁴² *Miesto hore / Place on the Top*, 1969, wood, polyester, textile, metal, h. 400 cm, Art Fond Collection.

⁴³ *Krucifix / Crucifix*, 1993, wood, metal, epoxy, 640 × 310 × 100 cm, Linea Collection. The work is part of the outdoor sculpture exhibition at the Horský park Gallery in Bratislava, <https://www.lineacollection.sk/galeria-horsky-park> (10 June 2025). It was originally created for the outdoor exhibition *Priestor 93* at the Kúpeľný ostrov (Spa Island) in Piešťany (1993, curated by Lubor Kára).



Figure 8: Jozef Jankovič, *Crucifixion*, 1995, Cemetery, Labin.

was aptly expressed in an essay on the work by the composer Roman Berger:

*“Today’s world (especially the supposedly Christian one!) not only continues in the tradition of Golgotha, in the killing of Christ. Today’s world goes further – it also kills the Crucifix, the symbol of creation, opening the perspective of Life – the cosmic principle... It forces out from consciousness the horizon of Transcendence.”*⁴⁴

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⁴⁴ Roman Berger, “Inferno podľa Jankoviča,” in Radislav Matuštić, ed. et al., *Jozef Jankovič* (Žilina: Považská galéria umenia, 1994), 35.

⁴⁵ Hrabušický, *Jozef Jankovič: documentation*, undated manuscript.

And curator Aurel Hrabušický adds: “Once again, then, the gate is open, but it is impossible to enter. One can only remain hanging in a vacuum. Crucifixion is not a promise here – only the spell remains – the dead man in dead matter.”⁴⁵

Labin *Raspelo* / *Ukrižovanie* / *Crucifixion* (1995), created two years later, is more harmonious in its expression and meaning, free from the possibility of paradoxical interpretations, also because it has a commemorative, reverential function. The generous layout of the symbolic form favours a moderate, classically balanced understanding, which is emphasised by the use of Istrian marble. The form of the T (tau) cross is made up of limbs – outstretched arms that are from above topped by a kind of simple architrave, and dangling legs clasped between two pedestals in typically late *soufflé* poetics. The body is formed by the motif of a window – on the one hand, it de-materializes and lightens the whole composition, on the other hand, there is the perforation, the transparency to the sky that brings a transcendental meaning to the work. Here Jankovič proved once again that he was a monumentalist *par excellence*, and his works became a suggestive part of the Istrian landscape. His Croatian realisations fully document this.

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