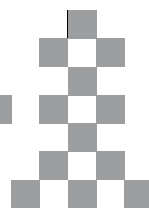


Studia Carpathico-Adriatica



2024



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of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia

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Art and Identities

Studia Carpathico-Adriatica

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 Galitia (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 prókoch 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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** This study is the outcome of the project *Temporalities of Iconology* (Scientific Grant Agency of the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak Academy of Sciences – VEGA No. 2/085/23).



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 Judgement 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>).

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



Fig. 4: *Vision of St. Elizabeth in the hospital*, Košice, ca. 1474–1478 (source: author's archive).

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 Farbaky and András Vég (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 Vavrinc (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 umelecke dedičstvo / Emerik Esterházy i hrvatsko umjetničko nasljeđe

Kao biskup u Vácu, Zagrebu i Veszprému, a naposljetku kao nadbiskup Ostrogona, sa sjedištem u Požunu, Emerik Esterházy (Nové Mesto nad Váhom / Vágújhely, 1665. – Bratislava / Požun / Pozsony, 1745.) povezao 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 narudžbe 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, ovjekovječene su freskama s portretima u blagovaonici i knjižnici pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi.

Ključne riječi: Emerik Esterházy, Zagreb, barok, naručiteljstvo, portreti

Emerik Esterházy de Galántha (Beck-Ov; 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 dejín 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 Barlè ("Biskup zagrebački grof 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 POSONI: Typis Haeredum Royenianorum 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, MDCCLXXV. [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 Hun-

garian kings Stephen and Ladislav (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 splendor ornatum sponsa Maria / praesentibus Zagrabensibus", 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 parments 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 Kováčević 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, Fraciscus Xaverius 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[ssi]m[us] R[everendissi]m[us] /

S. R. I. Princeps / Emer[icus] e Com[iti]bus] ESZTERHAZY / Archi-Ep[iscopus] 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 servent incolumem Celsitud[in]em V[est]ram, ego indesinenter, et oro, et precabor constanter cum toto hoc Collegio Zagrabliensi. Fruimur modo magnifico Altari, quod Divo Parenti nostro Ignatio in Capella Esterhasiana Ecclesiae nostrae erectum stat; et tam eleganti suae rarae 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[issi]mi Archipraesulis Patroni nostri Insignibus in candidissimo Carrariensi marmore elaboratis, invertice collocatis, ornatum est: Cuius gratiosissimo favori, et munificentiae ut idipsum gratumque, ratumque peremet, quod factum est, demississimo obsequio vovemus. Ulterius veteri benevolentia, Gratiae, et Protectioni assiduae Celsit[ud]ini V[est]rae me, et Collegium hoc impense commendo: quam profundissima reverentia veneror, et maneo. Cel[e]stit[ud]inis V[est]rae R[e]v[er]end[is]s[im]ae Zagrabiae 17. Dec. 1729. Humil[issi]mus Dev[ot]iss[im]us et Obs[e]q[ui]s[im]us Servus Franciscus Xav. Barci S. J." Tietze-Conrat, "Unbekannte Werke," 229.

²³ Cf. Lejla 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, *Akademski 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 Indlyti Regni Croatiae Typographi. Anno M. DCC. XV.) / HRANA DUHOVNA OVCHICZ KERSCHANSZKEH Illiti Prodechtva chesz usze czeloga leta Nedelye uszem Pasztinom Dusseonem, y Dussiczam nym podlosnem k- zadoblyeniu Sitka Vekovechmoga, unogo hasznovita, y potrebna, zkonmponuvana, y na Szvetlo dána. PERVA SZTRAN (vu ZAGREBU Stampano po Iakopu VVenceslavussu Heivvel. Letá M. DCC. XV. [1715]).*



Figure 9: Benjamin 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 Benjamin 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 Warasdiny // Benjamin Kenckel sculp[sit] 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: 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 Esterházy was formally granted the Hungarian Countship in the very year of the publication of Zagreb'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 "ILLUSTRISSIMO, EXCELENTISSIMO, ET REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO, DOMINO EMERICO ESTERHAZI Comiti de Galantha, DEI, & Apostolicae Sedis gratiâ Episcopo Zagrabienisi; B. V. MARIAE de Topuzka Abbati: Sac. Caes. Regiaequè 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. Mecoenati, 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 Gereczy); 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[issim]us ac R[evere]nd[issim]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.", 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[iscop]us, hinc 1708 translatus ad Pontificium Zagrabiense. Anno dejn 1723 ut Cancellariatum Hungariae, commodius consequeret[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" 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 Eremiticoenobiticorum 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[piscopus] S[trigoniensis] S[acri] R[omani] I[mperii] P[rinceps] 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, "Ikonografia 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).*



Figure 15: *Unknown painter, Emerik Esterházy (?), early 18th century, Zagreb, Croatian History Museum (photo: Croatian History Museum, Zagreb).*

Generalis, postea / Ep[isco]pus Zagrabi-en[sis], et Archi-Episc[opus] Strigonien[sis], 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

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 Keleti], "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: Klovičevi 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 Bengner (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 cùm 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.*" Bengner, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITORUM*, 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, Bengel 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 candelae ardeant, devotissimus erga eandem Pientissimam Matrem Cliens Emeritus Oridinis nostri Generalis, actualis eo tum Episcopum Zagrabien-sis [added: Emericus Esterhazy], mille fl. ad interesse collocandos 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 “SVBDITĪ ANIMI CHRONOGRAPHICON. / Ô PĪA, Ô SANCTA VIRGO REMETENSĪS, INTERCEDE PRO NOBĪS. / IN TE SPERANTĪS SCLAVONĪAE REGNO FIDELĪS MATER ESTO. / Ô SĪNE LABE GENĪTA DEĪPARA VIRGO, LIBERA NOS À PESTE, / FAME ET BELLO, / ET DE COELĪS PROTEGE IN TERRA FIDELĪS STATVS ET / ORDĪNES REGNĪ. / HAEC EST PASTORĪS ET PATRĪS, PĪA MATER, PRO SVĪS / DEPPECATIŌ. / HAEC EST PERPETVA AD TE ORATIŌ EMERICI ESTERHAZĪI, / PER TE DOMĪNA, ET PER TVAS PRECES EPLSCOPĪ / ZAGRABIENSĪS.” Bengel, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITORUM*, 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 REMETENSĪS.” Bengel, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITORUM*, 536. Cf. Barlè, *Remete*, 32.

⁴⁹ Cf. Bengel, *ANNALIUM EREMI-COENOBITORUM*, 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 Ranger," 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]IAE DOCTOR. / NUNC MERITISSIMUS EPISCOPUS / ZAGREBIENSIS HUIUS BIB[LIO]TH[EC]AE / 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, “Pavliniski 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 Pavlinskog 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 medallion – 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]JOR⁶⁵ 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, Paroechias 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 dexterae largitas dicavit. Contestem aget & altera TUI quondam Praesulatus Ecclesia Veszprimiensis, quam omnibus ampli ejusdem Episcopii proventibus, in id gratiosè censis, 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 Lypsans 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 Marianaep 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, 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 ampliacionem Coenobii frequentes, largasque numerati aeris summas contulisti; & alias Divam Claram in Zagrabien-si 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 Zagrabien-si 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 circumamic-tum, & 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, aëraq̃ue 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 pientissimè exhibita munificentiae TUAE monumenta TE jubente celata, melius 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 fate-mur. Fuit nemque nobis Vicarius Nicolaus Gothal lector, vir et a spiritu commenda-tus, et a doctrina excellens, omnique mitra dignissimus, qui universae dioecesis ne-gotia (tradita sibi plena potestate) ea sol-litudinem tum per se, tum per alios dum aegrotaret, curabat, et expediebat, ut quod amplius desideraretur, advertere facile ne-utiquam fas fuit. Neque in iis defectu laboratum, quae characteris episcopalis ministerium unice exposeunt, puta conse-cratio olei, ordinum collatio, et similia etc. ad quas functiones peragendas ex dispo-sitione absentis Episcopi copia nobis vicinorum Praesulum haud defuit. Denique id libenter fate-mur, 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 il-lustrandae intentus, ceteris donariis prae-termissis, 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 Rhenen-sibus trecentis aestimantur) adeo rara arte elaboratus, ut ejus fama per urbem Viennensem circumlata, in ipso plane Caesare, suaque aula desiderium ejus videndi ex-citarit. Absumpsit autem ejus labor Rhen-enses sex mille quadringentos triginta; ex-bibetque 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 recipien-do 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 ornaVIIt 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
AntIpenDIa
PraesentaVerat PraesUL ZagrablensIs.

Alia aliis Ecclesia 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 nutritiv 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 Austriae 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 filum 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 / Nadgrobní spomenici 17. stoljeća u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj kao svjedočanstvo društvenog položaja: prihvaćanje likovnih rješenja među hrvatskim plemstvom

U prvoj polovini 17. stoljeća nadgrobnna 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 nadgrobnih 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 nadgrobnne plastike u oblikovanju plemićkog identiteta.

Ključne riječi: rani novi vijek, nadgrobní 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 inlyti 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 Zigmund I in 1618.

⁵ Orsolya Bubyrák, “*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 (Possonium/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, tresque nobis adsunt fluvii 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, & vsque; ad presentem 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 Rattkaj, *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*, 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: Rattkaj, *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; Rattkaj, *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 Rattkaj, *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’. Kegeység 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 szedegettetet 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 Maruševac. 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 v Bratislave* (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 v Bratislave*, 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 lőcsei 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 Erdódy II fortunately remained intact, preserving its original form.



Figure 5: *Votive Painting of Toma Erdódy II, 1620, Bojnice, Slovak National Museum –Bojnice Museum* (© Slovak National Museum – Bojnice Museum, Bojnice).

The primary distinction between the epitaphs of Toma Erdódy 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 Erdódy'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 Erdódy'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 Erdődy 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 (Erdődy's image, Christ on the Cross, motto, family coat of arms, mascarons) suggest that this *ex voto*, along with Pálffy's tomb, served as a key visual reference for the design of Erdődy'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 Erdődy II, which exhibits compositional similarity. It is the tomb of Hans Rueber Pixendorf (Püchsendorf, Puxendorff; ?, 1529 – Veľký 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 Maruševec [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 Maruševec 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 Maruševec 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 Maruševec 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, Maruševec, 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 Pethó 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, Pethó 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 Ratkaj, he distinguished himself in battles against the Ottomans, and in 1615, following the resignation of Toma Erdődy 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 Erdődy 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 Erdődy'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 Rattkay de Nagy Thabor, *MEMORIA REGVM ET BANORVM*, 186–87; Rattkay, *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 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 Esterházi/ 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, Esterhajiz.

⁴ Mária Malíková, *Juraj Raphael Donner a Bratislava* (Bratislava: Pallas, 1993), 39; Mária Pözl-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 Pözl-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 praesidium*, ed. Ferenc Tókei et al. (Budapest: ELTE, 1989), 65.

⁵ Jozef Haľko 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 Ilesházy*, 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 23927,47, 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

Baronyai (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 Prešoviensis*, 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; Haľko 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 *Comisio 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 Praepositi Generalis Societatis Jesu publice propugnandæ [...]* (Romae: ex Typographia Pauli Monetae, 1687); Emericus Esterházy, *Theses theologiae. 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, 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 Esterházi od Galanthe, *Molítva 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 primite, &c. tunc Dignissimo Episcopo Zagradiensi 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* (Posonium: Joannis Pauli Royer, 1732); Emericus Esterhazy, *Žywot S. Yana Almuznara, alexandynskeho patryarchy ze Starodawnej Knihi žywoti Otczuw nazwanej od slowa do slowa wibrany A sstwerim jazikem Latinskim Nemeckim Uherskim Slowenskim* (Presporok: Yan Pawol Royer, 1732); Imre Esterhazy, *Alamishás Sz. Jánosnak Alexandriai patriárkának Élete. Melly, egy régi, Atyák életéről költ irásból, Szóról Szóra Szedetett, és Négy: egymint 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 proi je (i jedini) zabilježio u Kratkom 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. Romy [Karl Georg Romy], "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 respectd 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. Timinier Weichbischof, Abt zu Szaszvar und Canonicus, Hr. Alexius von Jordanszky. Unermüdliche Thätigkeit [sic], apostolischer Eifer und vielseitige hohe wissenschaftliche Bildung, wahre Frömmigkeit und Herzensgüte schmückten seinen Lebenslauf." See *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. 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 bekannt 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 Kovačić Šenkvički (Kovachich, Šenkvičký, Senquiciensis, Senquicziensis; Márton György, Martinus Georgius; Velké 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, "Jordanßky, 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, "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*, 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], "Kovačić Šenkvički, Martin Juraj (Kovachich, Šenkvičký, 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, Šenkvičký; József Miklós, Josephus Nicolaus, Jozef Mikulaš)," 813–14.

¹⁰ Ivica Filipović, "Martin Juraj i Josip Nikola Kovačić u Hrvatskoj 1812. – 1815." / ""Martin Juraj and Josip Nikola Kovačić 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, Palatins des Königreichs Hungarn, im Jahre 1690. und 1696. herausgegebenen Bücher, die eben in dem Hause, welches jetzt erwähneter Fürst zu Preßburg in der großen Kapitelgasse 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 Szávoár, Cantor und Canonicus des Graner Domcapitels, Weihbischof in der Tirnauer hälfte der Graner Erzdiözese, apostolischer Protonotár, 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 bölcsőságos 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 közreboocsátotta, a' Képek' másíval együtt JORDÁNSZKY ELEK,*



Figure 1.

Tinniniai felszentelt Püspök, Szászvári bölcsős Asszonytól nevezett Apát, Esztergami Fő Káptalan Énekes Kanonka, a' Nagszombati kerületben Suffraganeus „s Püspök, Apostoli Protonotárius, (Fő jegyző) a' Szentéges Teológiának Doktora, a hajdan volt rendszerenti köz tanítója; a' Pesti tudományos Egyetémnek társas tagja (POSONBAN, Belnay' örököseinek betúível. 1836). [fig. 2]

[Alexius Jordánszky,] *Krátki Opis Mistivich Obrazow blahoslavenég Panni Marie Matki Božég, které v Královstve Uherském, a v patricích k němu Částkách, a Kragnách weregne sa čá. Podla predešlich dvoch od někdagšého Knižata PAWLA ESZTERÁSA Královstwa Uherského Palatína Roku 1690 a 1696 widanich Kňih; práw w tom Dome, které wčil zmíněné Kňíža v hrubég Kapitul skeg Ulici, wistaviti dalo, pod Sňemem 1832/3 spolu ag z Obrazmi zebrał a k duchownému Pofešeňú Cfífelow Panni Marie Widál, Aleš Jordánszky*



Figure 2.

Tininski (Kniski [sic]) posvácaní Biskup, blahoslawenég Panni Marie ze Szászváru Opát, Ostrihomskég Kapitula Spewar, a Kanowňik, Arcbiskupstwa Ostihomského w Polowici Trnawskég Mistobiskup, Apostolski Prwoznačňik, swáteho Bohoslawa Učitel, biwali Professor, pri Peščanských wisokích Školách spolkowní 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 Mary around the World] (1696).¹² These works presented numerous Marian shrines

¹² [Pál Esterházy,] *AZ EGESZ VILAGON LEVŐ CSVDALATOS BOLDOGSAGOS SZÜZ KEPEINEK RÖVIDEDEN FÖL TETT EREDETI*: Mellyet sok tanuságokbol öszve szerzett, és az aétatos hivek lölki üdvösségére ki bocsátott GALANTHAI ESTERHAS PAL szentséges Romai Birodalombéli herczeg, s Magyar Országi palatinus. 1690. Esztendőben. Nagy-Szombatban [Trnava], az Academiai Bötükkal; [Pál Esterházy,] *MENNYEI KORONA az az Az egész világon levő csudalatos Boldogságos Szűz Kepeinek rövideden föl tett EREDETI*. Mellyet sok tanuságokbol öszve szerzett, és az aétatos hivek 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 Deiparae 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 ESTERHÁS PÁL, *Sentlègres Romai Birodalombeli HERCZEG Magyar Országi PALATINVS 1696. Esztendőben. Meg szaporítottatott pedig az erlőbbek Kőnyu ugy hogy az Historiáknak száma Ezer Három Száz.* [Trnava].

¹³ [Esterházy,] *AZ EGESZ VILAGON LEVŐ 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. Mariæ Virg. Bistritz in Croatia, Diœcesi Zagrabieniensi. 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838.).*



Figure 7: *Effigies B. Mariæ Virg. In Eccles. Krapina in Croat. Diœc. 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 Ecclesia 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 Diœc. Diakov. in Slavonia Mater Refugii. 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838.).*

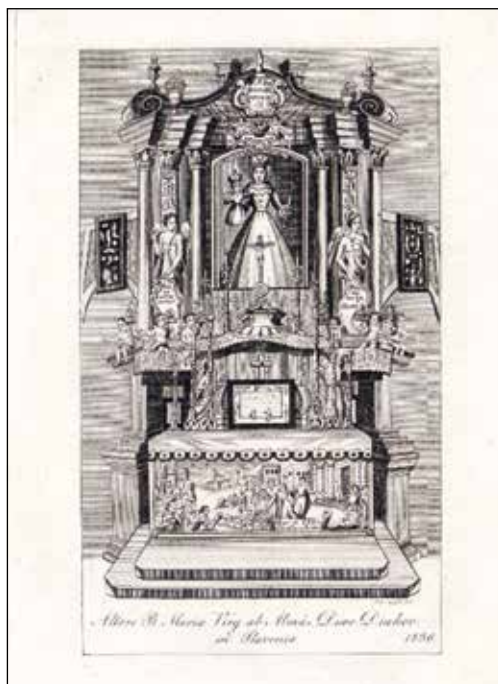


Figure 11: Dorneck sc., *Altare B. Mariæ Virg. Ab Almás Diœc. Diakov. in Slavonia. 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838.).*

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 Habelić (*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 ARCHETYPI 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. Jacobi Hertz. [1651]; second edition AUGUSTÆ VINDELICORUM, EXPENSIS PHILIPPI JACOBI VEITH, BIBLIOPLÆ GRÆCENSIS, ET FRATRUM. ANNO M DCC XII. [1712]).*

¹⁹ [Juraj / Georgius Habelich,] *ZERCZALO MARIANZKO. To je to PONIZNOZT DEVICZE MARIE, KAJE BOGA RODILA. USEM SZLOVENZKoga i Horuatzkoga naroda Kerschenikom á onem naulaztito, zuerhunaturalzke, od dareslyive ruke Bosje prieli, na nasleduvanye, PO JURIU HABDELICHU Tovarustua JESSUSSEVOGA Mesniku popisvana, i na szuelto 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

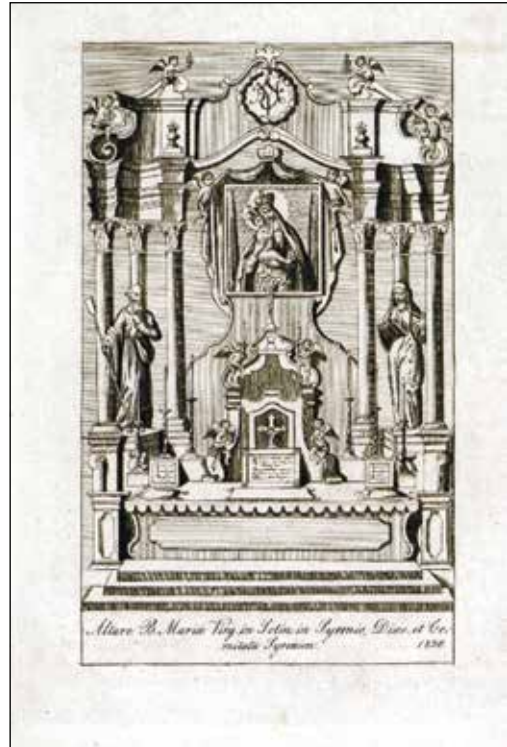


Figure 12: S. a., *Altare B. Mariae Virg. in Sotin in Syrmio Dioc. et Comitatu Syrmien. 1836.*, from the Slovak edition (1838.).

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 (?)

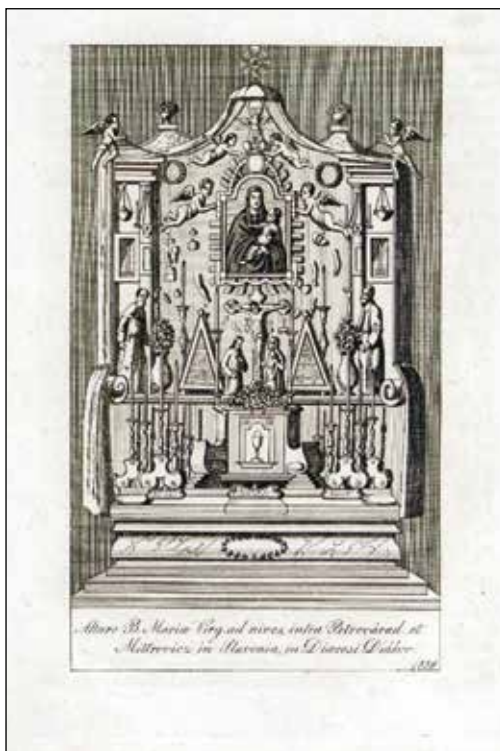


Figure 13: Altare B. Mariæ Virg. ad nives, intra Petrovárad. et Mitrovicz in Slavonia, in Diœcesi Diákov. 1836., from the Slovak edition (1838.).

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 Gratiosè! / Domini Croatiae Dignatales, qui meos in colligendis Gratiosis 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 Kukić),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, inquit, si in tanta collectione (jam 33 millia Imaginum cupro incisarum possideo) ex tota Croatia unicam saltem Bisztricensem Imaginem Collectio mea expromeret et Krapinensem præteriret. / Pro ea, quam de Vestra Excellentia constantia teneris hyperdulico cultu firmam teneo, opinione et existimatione, imploro Eiusdem Excellentia Vestra 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. Dignetur efficere, ut in Croatia adminus aliquos hujus certe pulchrae collectionis exemplaria ostendantur et memoriam Franciscanam posteritati exhibeant. Unicus Epp^{us} Szucsich e tribus Socii 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 Excellentia 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 JERUSALEMSZKOJA 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, klinčky

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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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.

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



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.

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: Klovičevi 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 Rajić, 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-imovne-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-crnčić-a-young-girl-1890>). For an example of Leibl's style, see e.g., Wilhelm Leibl (1844–1900), *Girl's Head – so-called Malresl*, 1897, oil on wood, 22.7 × 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 × 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-crnctic/>.

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 Košćec 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 *Mameporte* (*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).

(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



Figure 7: Odilon Redon: *Homage to Goya (I)*, ca. 1885, oil, canvas on cardboard, Scharf-Gerstenberg Collection, Berlin. Source https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Homage_a_Goya,_by_Odilon_Redon,_view_1,_c._1885,_oil_on_cardboard,_mounted_on_canvas_-_Scharf-Gerstenberg_Collection_-_DSC03859.JPG.

as REMEMBRANCE, or it would if we omit the fact that the word lacks a letter "E", as it would properly be read "ERIN-NERUNG". 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 *Rođina 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 Bělin) 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 Čulinović († 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 Corbout, 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/mwebcgi/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/.

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



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.

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

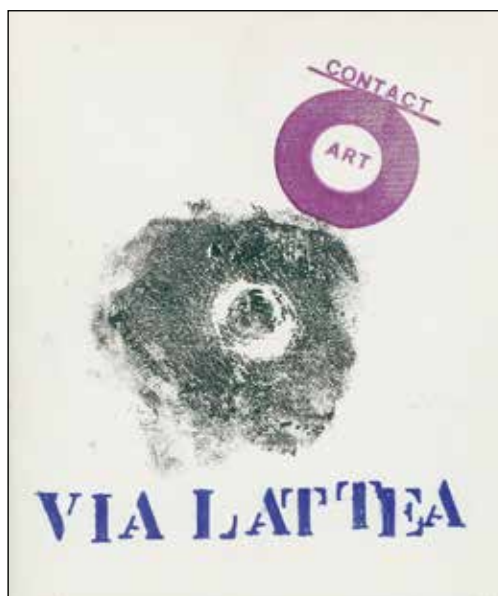


Figure 1: Poznanović, Bogdanka: *Via Lattea. Contact Art. Documentation, 1972–1976, mixed media, print on paper, dimensions variable.* Collection Darko Šimičić, Zagreb.

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 Mlynářčik accomplished together with Milan Adamčiak 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 Poinot used the term "long-distance communication", corresponding to mutual exchange via mail-art. Poinot 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 Písaříková, "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 Poinot, "Utilisations of Postal Institution and Long-distance Communications," in Poinot, Jean-Marc (ed.), *Mail art, communication á distance concept* (Paris: Editions CEDIC, 1971), 13–18, <https://artpool.hu/MailArt/chrono/1971/Poinot.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, Muzejsuvremene umetnosti Beograd and Razsavni 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 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.

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 Zavaršková'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

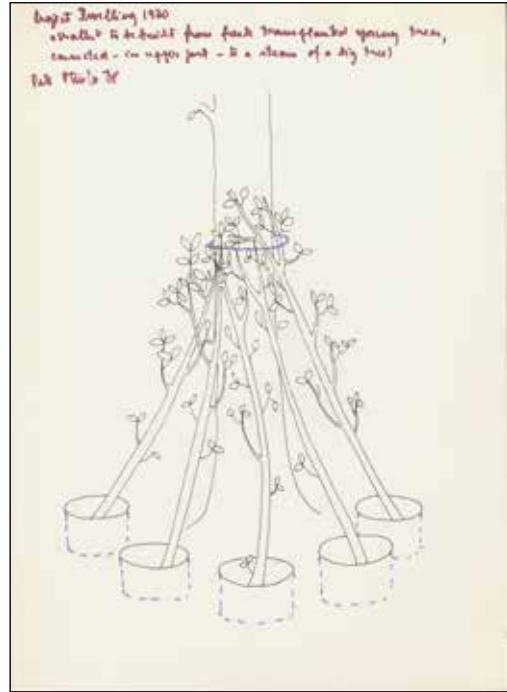


Figure 2: Štembera, Petr: *Project Dwelling*, 1970/1978, print and felt-tip pen on paper, 30 x 21,5 cm. Collection Darko Šimičić, Zagreb.

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 – 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 Kratochvílová, Milan Langer, Karel Miler, Jan Mlčoch, Ladislav Novák + Michal Resl, Ludmila Padrtová, Stanislav Pekár, Jaroslav Richt, 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 Zsusza 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 Jednorožce, 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 Jednorožce, 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: Inter-national 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., *Daring*, 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 Jankovič 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 Meulensteen 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 Tchèqueoslovaque de Myslpek 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 visionaires. 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 Juhoslávie 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 crteži 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 *Medunarodna 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: Vladimir Maleković), 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

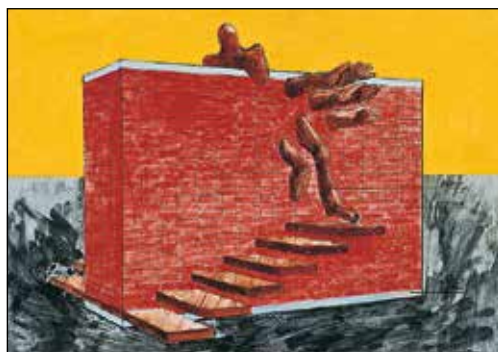


Figure 3: Jozef Jankovič, *Walled Figure, 1974, private collection*.

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 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).

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.

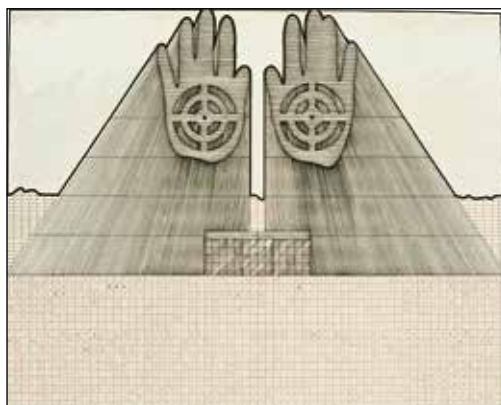


Figure 6: Jozef Jankovič, *The Draft of a Memorial to Slovak Sculpture*, 1976, Slovak National Gallery.

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 – Ľudovít 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 *Artchemo* 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); Ľudovít Kupkovič, Viera Mecková and Alex Mlynárčik, *VAL Cesty a aspekty zajtrajška* (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 Művészeti 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 *Autopotrét 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 *Mediteranski 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 *Autopotrét 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

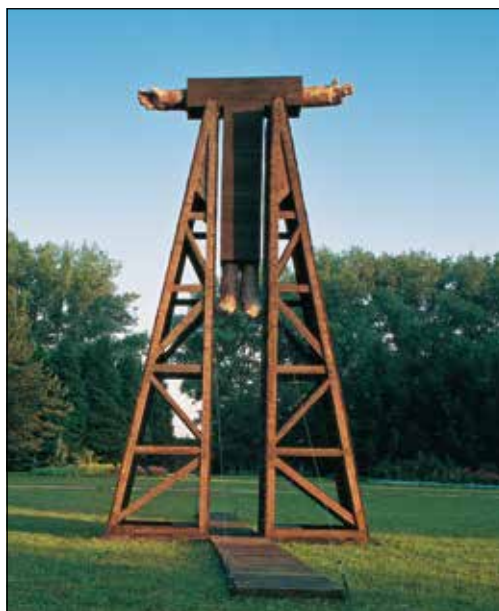


Figure 7: Jozef Jankovič, *Krucifix*, 1993, Galéria Horský park, Bratislava, Linea Collection.

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).

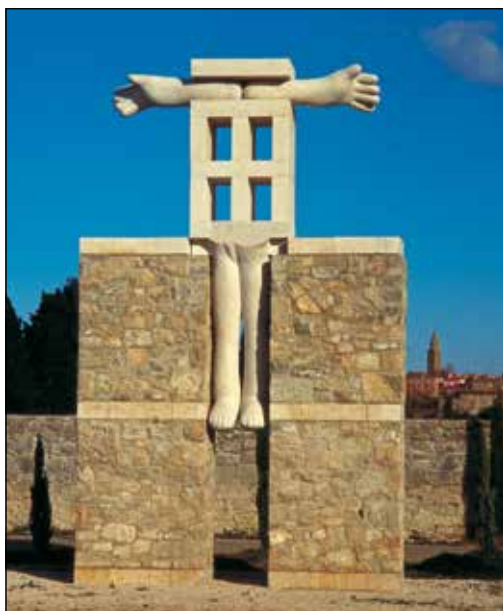


Figure 8: Jozef Jankovič, *Crucifixion*, 1995, Cemetery, Labin.

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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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 / Ukrížovanie / 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.

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.

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