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Iconography of Kinship. The Holy Family and Attems Family in the Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj

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Abstract

Memorializing his family was a key concept of Ignaz Maria Count Attems' visual propaganda. The role of personal iconography has been recognised mainly in his secular fresco commissions. This paper focuses on the analysis of the ceiling painting and furnishings of the pilgrimage church of the Holy Virgin at Zagorje near Pilštanj in Styria (Slovenia) and decodes the interweaving of Virgin (Madonna with Grapes, Assumpta, Regina Coeli, the Immaculate Conception), Holy Family, Holy Kinship and other saints worship with representations of the Attems family. In 1708 and 1709, the church was frescoed by Matthias von Görz, and in the following years, it obtained the main Virgin's altar and the altars of St Joseph and St Dismas in the lateral chapels. The Baroque decoration followed a unified iconographic concept in which the family memoria systematically builds on and complements the theological programme. Attems presented himself in the imitatio of the Holy Family, following the example of the Habsburg family.

Keywords: Ignaz Maria Attems, Matthias von Görz, Holy Family, Genealogy of Christ, Virgin Mary, St Joseph, St Dismas, Abraham with Isaac

The books listed in the probate inventory of Ignaz Maria Count Attems, who died in Graz on 13 December 1732,¹ suggest that the deceased was more interested in his own endeavours, especially in art and architecture, than religious and theoretical writings of others. As a patron, he left his mark not only on castles and manors, i.e. his secular dwellings, but also on numerous churches and convents. Illustrated works, which served as model books (Musterbücher) for Attems, formed an important part of his relatively modest library. In particular, the graphic series and reproductive prints were not only a record of visual memories gained by travelling but also a key reference material used in the development of his own patronage and architectural projects.² From his marriage to Maria Regina Countess Wurmbrandt on 5 February 1685 until his death, Attems systematically built up a visualised family memoria. The presence of the Counts of Attems in Styria is evident even today, especially through the Baroque art commissions by Ignaz Maria in the four decades around 1700, i.e., in the last decade of the $17^{\rm th}$ century and in the first third of the 18th century.³ At first

glance, his contribution to sacred art is less obvious, although the Attems family, one of the few noble families in the Inner Austrian lands, remained on the side of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the period of religious struggles and the dominance of the Protestantism among the aristocracy. A more detailed analysis shows that the Attems' religious commissions have as important a place as the secular ones.

Alongside architecture, painting (especially ceiling painting) was the artistic medium through which Attems most effectively realised his desire for his visual representation and 'eternal' presence. When he commissioned two large oval family portraits for the great hall of his Castle of Brežice (Ger. Rann), Attems directed that he be depicted as an architect among his sons (fig. 1; now preserved in the Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz, Schloss Eggenberg). The self-portrait of his court painter, Franz Karl Remp, was assigned a prominent position in the centre of the *Festsaal*. The artist, the only one painted in contemporary dress, had and still has the task of welcoming visitors, inviting them to admire the distinguished Attems family. The frescoes reveal how the patron wanted his



1. Franz Karl Remp, *Family Portrait of Ignaz Maria Count Attems with his Sons*, around 1702 (from the Brežice Castle, now the Eggenberg Palace, Graz, © Schloss & Park Eggenberg Universalmuseum Joanneum GmbH)

social role, intentions, and mission to be seen by others.⁴ He presented himself through the personification of *Liberalitas*, as the patron of the fine arts, a commissioner familiar with ancient art, and educated in the Renaissance and Baroque art of the leading European art centres, in particular Rome, Bologna, Florence, and Paris. With such an agenda and referentiality, he positioned himself and his family permanently in the image of Styria and Central Europe.

This paper will concentrate on the intentional representation and reception of Ignaz Maria Count Attems as a profane commissioner in the sacred space. It analyses the church furnishings and, in particular, the ceiling painting in the pilgrimage church of Our Lady Help of Christians at Zagorje near Pilštanj (now Republic of Slovenia), commissioned by Attems at the end of the first and the beginning of the second decade of the 18th century (fig. 2). It explores how Attems, as the owner of the Hartenstein estate, incorporated family iconography into the pilgrimage church of the Virgin under his patronage, by linking the representation and *memoria* of the Attems family to the *Propaganda Fide*, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, St Joseph, and other holy persons. This paper argues that the commission was conceived as something beyond the mere concept of decorating the Zagorje church with religious images and miracles of the Virgin Mary, and that the iconographic programme links the message of the sacred images with the function of faith within the Attems family. At the same time, this paper explores how the scenes and saints were chosen to grant the imitation and possible identification of family members with their patrons and, ultimately, of the Attems family with the Holy Family.⁵

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Previous studies of the church have contributed significantly to our knowledge of the artists who made the individual pieces of furnishings and decorated the interior with ceiling paintings, as well as to the iconographic identification of individual scenes and statues. In her study from 1980, Anica Cevc attributed the frescoes of St Mary's Church to Matthias von Görz,⁶ a painter who also worked for Attems in his city palace in Graz in the first decade of the 18th century.⁷ She

Frančišek Karel Remb, Obiteljski portret Ignaca Marije grofa Attemsa sa sinovima (*iz dvorca Brežice, sada u dvorcu Eggenberg u Grazu*)

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2. The Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj (photo: Mario Braun) Marijina crkva u Zagorju kod Pilštanja

formulated a general assessment of Attems' role and of the concept of the ceiling painting:

The programme of the ceiling is very simple, unified and without the complex, speculative webs of emblematic riddles and allusions that were popular in the High Baroque. It is likely that both the patron and the parish priest, Martin Umek, were involved in the composition of the programme, drawing on local history and legend.⁸

Summarizing the iconographic presentation of individual parts of the church interior, Cevc, while considering the south chapel, has pointed out that "the decision to dedicate this chapel to St Dismas [...] was certainly influenced by the name of the first-born son of Ignaz Maria Attems and his wife, Dismas Attems."⁹

In his extensive outline of Marian iconography in Slovenia, Lev Menaše examines Attems' commissions of frescoes with Lauretan iconography.¹⁰ He describes the Zagorje church as "the earliest example of a Baroque painting of a pilgrimage church" with this thematic and, at the same time, extremely simple artwork, as conceived for an uneducated pilgrim.¹¹ Menaše has provided important starting points for further research; however, by limiting his analysis to the role of



3. The Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj, interior (photo: Mario Braun) Marijina crkva u Zagorju kod Pilštanja, unutrašnjost

Mary, he overlooks the complexity of the content with which Attems, his first wife, and children are 'positioned' in the sacred space.

In 2008, two studies were published on St Mary's Church in Zagorje. In her monograph, Renata Novak Klemenčič uses a historical-topographical approach to present up-to-date knowledge about the church.¹² Dejan Zadravec, however, confirms the attribution of the frescoes to Matthias von Görz by publishing archival sources and adds some important details for a more precise understanding of the renovation and furnishing of the church at the beginning of the 18th century.¹³ Both are methodologically related to previous studies that sought to establish the historical facts about the church and to identify the artists, iconography and graphic models for the ceiling painting.¹⁴

* * *

We start to read the iconographical concept of the church furnishings in the high altar with the statue of Our Lady of Zagorje (fig. 3). The Baroque reworking of the late Gothic statue B. Murovec: Iconography of Kinship. The Holy Family and Attems Family...



4. *Madonna with Grapes* on the High Altar, the Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj (photo: Mario Braun) *Kip Blažene Djevice Marije od grožđa na glavnom oltaru, Marijina crkva u Zagorju kod Pilštanja*

of the Virgin with Child has not been greatly discussed,¹⁵ nor has it been mentioned in art historical literature that the Child in the Virgin's arms is holding grapes, the attribute, which identifies her iconographically as the Madonna with Grapes (Traubenmadona).¹⁶ Both Virgin Mary and the Child, like many Baroque miraculous statues, are crowned. Grapes - alluding to the Eucharist and the sacrifice of Christ, and at the same time opening the way of salvation for the pilgrims and other devout church visitors - have been a common attribute since the Middle Ages, especially in vine-growing regions such as the area around Zagorje. The graceful image of Mary, as mother and bride of God, is part of the Eternal family on the vertical level, together with Child Jesus, God the Father, and the Holy Spirit (the last two in the attic of the altar as part of the sculptural decoration). On the horizontal level, she is placed between her parents, St Joachim and St Anne, and the wider Holy Kinship, in which St Zechariah and St Elizabeth, with John the Baptist (the side sculptures by Janez Gregor Božič on the main altar), complete the visualisation of the family and the Kinship as the central iconographic motif in the church (fig. 4).

The ceiling painting of the presbytery depicts the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary (fig. 5). 15 August, the feast of the Assumption and the day of the birth of Attems, is also the feast of the miraculous Madonna of the Grapes in the high altar (the time of the beginning of the ripening, when the vine-growers bring one of the first ripe bunches of grapes to the Virgin Mary).¹⁷ The depiction of the Assumption is often iconographically combined with the Coronation; in Zagorje, Mary as Regina Coeli is a direct allusion to the patron's wife, Maria Regina. This means that the two patrons of the Attems are united on the main ceiling painting of the presbytery. On the sides of the ceiling are painted the miracles of the Holy Virgin of Zagorje, in accordance with the pilgrimage function of the church, and four putti, with the symbols of the Litany of Loreto: the Morning Star, the Triumphal Arch, the Ark of the Covenant, and the Tower. The latter were commissioned by Attems in all three of the sacred commissions dedicated to the Virgin Mary; beside the church in Zagorje, the Church of the Virgin Mary in Slake near Podčetrtek, and the Chapel of the Virgin Mary in the Slovenska Bistrica Castle.¹⁸

The entire nave vault is painted with a scene of the genealogy of Mary - depicted as Immaculate with Child in her arms - and Joseph being given a lily by Jesus (fig. 6). At the top of the fresco is the Holy Spirit and at the bottom Abraham with Isaac, directing the viewer's gaze to the clear composition of representatives of the ancestry of Christ. The theme of Holy Kinship and the identification of Mary with the tree of life (arbor vitae), of which Jesus is the fruit, links the statues on the main altar with the fresco on the nave ceiling.¹⁹ The iconographic and compositional model for the Zagorje fresco was Michael Willmann's The Genealogy of Christ for the Jesuit College in Kłodzko (now in the National Museum in Wrocław).²⁰ The oil painting and its graphic reproductions (the work of Willmann himself and the Augsburg engravers Bartholomäus Kilian and Johann Ulrich Stapff)²¹ refer iconographically to the Tree of Jesse, Holy Kinship (Heilige Sippe), Trinitas Terrestris, and the Immaculate Conception.²² Willmann's painting and the prints after it also visualise biblical sources: in the lower left corner, an angel, the symbol of the evangelist Matthew, holds a genealogical table with the clearly legible names (Matthew 1. 1–14), and in the right corner, an ox, the symbol of the evangelist Luke, an open gospel with the genealogy of Christ in his forefeet (Luke 3. 23–38).²³

Most probably, Matthias von Görz used in Zagorje a print by Bartholomäus Kilian as his visual model (fig. 7). The large, ceiling composition omits the symbols of the Evangelists, God the Father and the tendril which, in the painting and prints, connects the figures in a structured genealogy and is a direct reminiscence of the Tree of Jesse. This represents one of the forms of the genealogy of Christ and "is probably most commonly interpreted as representing a summary of the royal genealogy of Christ," which was from the Middle Ages "used to celebrate and exalt temporal rulers."²⁴ Iconographically, Willmann's depiction and the fresco by Matthias von Görz are therefore a combination falling between the Genealogy of Christ and the Holy Kinship. Marek Pierzchała



5. Matthias von Görz, *Assumption with Coronation of the Virgin*, ceiling painting in the presbyterium, the Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj, 1708/1709 (photo: Mario Braun) *Matthias von Görz*, Uznesenje i krunjenje Bogorodice, *slika na svodu prezbiterija, Marijina crkva u Zagorju kod Pilštanja*, 1708./1709.



6. Matthias von Görz, *Genealogy of Christ*, ceiling painting in the nave, the Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj, 1708/1709 (photo: Mario Braun) *Matthias von Görz*, Kristovo rodoslovlje, *slika na svodu lađe, Marijina crkva u Zagorju kod Pilštanja, 1708./1709*.



7. Bartholomäus Kilian, *Genealogy of Christ*, engraving (Graphische Sammlung, Stift Göttweig) *Bartholomäus Kilian*, Kristovo rodoslovlje, *bakrorez*

has appropriately titled Willmann's painting *The Family of Christ*,²⁵ which corresponds to Attems' concept of the representation of his family in the context of the Holy Family. At the same time, for the pilgrimage church, the allusion to salvation is important, as we can interpret the figure of Abraham with Isaac in the context of the Bosom of Abraham, as a place of waiting before the Messiah opens the gate to heaven or even the place of eternal bliss, a paradise.²⁶

Since Matthias von Görz is thought to have used the same graphic model twice or even three times for different patrons,²⁷ it is likely that he had it in his collection of drawings and prints. Namely, the oil painting *The Genealogy of Christ*, which hung in the Ursuline church in Gorizia from at least 1693,²⁸ and the ceiling fresco from the sacristy of the pilgrimage church at Pöllauberg, painted in 1703, are also attributed to him.²⁹ However, not only artist Matthias von Görz but also his patron Ignaz Maria Attems, who had been educated by the Jesuits in Gorizia, was closely connected to the Gorizia region and to the Jesuits; the order that commissioned the depiction of the *Family of Christ* from Willmann and spread the prints from Silesia around Central Europe.

The two side chapels of St Joseph and St Dismas in the Zagorje church continue and at the same time extend the iconographic concept of the placement of the patron's fam-

ily in the sacred space, adoration, and following of the Holy Family and of the patron saints. The iconography of the St Joseph chapel and the significance of the saint can be read on several levels,³⁰ which also made St Joseph, from the point of view of an identification figure, stand out as a key saint in Attems' concept (fig. 8).³¹ St Joseph is not only the 'head' of the Holy Family as Mary's husband and Jesus' guardian and earthly father, but also of the Church. A parallel is drawn with the Old Testament Joseph, in whose hands God placed the destiny of the people, as various Baroque preachers interpreted it.³² The veneration of St Joseph was systematically and continuously propagated among the people as late as the 16th century, first through the Franciscans especially. Later the Jesuits, as the most influential Counter-Reformation order, and the Habsburg ruling house were primary to its spread.³³ It gained political importance after Leopold I appointed St Joseph patron of the Hereditary Lands in 1675.³⁴ In a symbolic sense, St Joseph is the patron and role model of Ignaz Maria as the father of the Attems family, and alongside the secular ruler - after all, the concept for the painting and furnishing of the church in Zagorje was conceived during the reign of Joseph I of Habsburg (1705-1711). Ignaz Maria was strongly influenced by the Jesuits and by the Franciscans. His son Innocent Joseph Xaver (born 27 November 1692), who

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8. St Joseph Chapel, the Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj (photo: Mario Braun) *Kapela svetog Josipa, Marijina crkva u Zagorju kod Pilštanja*

died in 1702 at the age of nine as a member of the Knights of Malta, was also named after the saint and his godfather Joseph Count Croneg. The choice of the name Innocent may have been influenced by the fact that his father had selected for him a church ministry and therefore named him after the Pope at the time of his birth, Innocent XII (1691–1700). For Attems himself, Pope Innocent XI was also an important figure due to his role in the defence against the Ottoman Empire (called Defender of the Christian West),³⁵ which is related to Attems' service as *Obrist-Proviantmeister der Windischen und Petrinianischen Grenzen*, i.e. in the defence of the southern frontier of the Habsburg Monarchy, and to his appreciation and perception of peace as one of the essential values evident through the painting programmes in his manors.³⁶

On the altar of St Joseph are statues of St Ignatius of Loyola and St Francis Xavier, the patron saint of Ignaz Maria and his deceased son, Innocent Joseph Xavier. St Ignatius and his



9. St Dismas Chapel, the Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj (photo: Mario Braun) *Kapela svetog Dizme, Marijina crkva u Zagorju kod Pilštanja*

companions gathered on 15 August (1534) in a small church on the hill of Montmartre to pronounce "their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Faber, the only priest among them, said Mass and gave them communion"; which was the beginning of the new Order in the Church.³⁷ Ignaz Maria was similarly the founder of the new Attems branch of the family in Styria. St Ignatius played an additional important role in Zagorje, as the fair was held on the day of his feast day.³⁸

On the opposite side is a chapel dedicated to St Dismas, the patron saint of Attems' eldest son Franz Dismas (fig. 9). Attems greatly expanded in Styria the cult of the Penitent Thief or the Good Thief who died on the cross with Christ; e.g., he had a chapel of St Dismas erected on the Graz Calvary and a chapel dedicated to the saint had built in the Manor Stattenberg.³⁹ Dismas as a personal name and the veneration of the saint were both extremely rare, and there were no previous church confraternities dedicated to him; however, in 1688, the same year that Franz Dismas Count Attems



10. Matthias von Görz, *Apotheosis of St Joseph*, ceiling painting, Joseph Chapel, the Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj, 1708/1709 (photo: Mario Braun) *Matthias von Görz*, Apoteoza sv. Josipa, *slika na svodu, kapela svetog Josipa, Marijina crkva u Zagorju kod Pilštanja*, 1708./1709.



11. Matthias von Görz, *Apotheosis of St Dismas*, ceiling painting, Dismas Chapel, the Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj, 1708/1709 (photo: Mario Braun) Matthias von Görz, Apoteoza sv. Dizme, slika na svodu, kapela svetog Dizme, Marijina crkva u Zagorju kod Pilštanja, 1708./1709. was born, the Noble Society of St Dismas was founded in Ljubljana,⁴⁰ the birthplace of Ignaz Maria Count Attems, which suggests a connection to Attems' naming of his son after the Penitent Thief.

On the altar of the Dismas Chapel in Zagorje, statues of the Apostles St Simon and St Jude Thaddeus were placed, who, as offspring of St Anne, are relatives of Christ and are represented as children in the depictions of the Holy Kinship.⁴¹ This selection is not accidental, as St Jude Thaddeus was the patron saint of Attems' second son, Thaddeus Cajetan.

Not only Mary, but also Joseph and Dismas are depicted with apotheosis in the central ceiling frescoes of the chapels (fig. 10, 11). Undoubtedly, the concepts of a good death and divinisation, as with St Joseph and St Dismas, both patron saints at the hour of a death, experienced in the presence of Christ and Mary,⁴² were important for the pilgrimage church. At the same time, the holy protectors are also a model for the hope of salvation and the honour of the Attems family.

Ignaz Maria Count Attems, as *pater familias*, and his family were placed in St Mary's pilgrimage church under his patronage, with a well-considered theological programme involving the parish priest Martin Umek (commemorated in the church by an inscription in the cartouche in the Dismas chapel: *ALMAE DEI PARAE SANCTO / IOSEPHO, LATRONIQVE BEATO / sub Adm. Rdo. Domino Martino Vmegk / Parocho et Comissario loci / reparatum*) and the fresco painter Matthias von Görz, who is believed to have contributed the print model at least for the central ceiling fresco in the nave.

The highly visible presence of founders and commissioners in sacred spaces is no exception. On the contrary, many patrons have had their coats of arms depicted in prominent places in church interiors and have had their portraits presented, especially in altarpieces and paintings. Nevertheless, the pilgrimage church of St Mary in Zagorje is so far the first Styrian sacral object for which it has been possible to show that the Baroque ceiling paintings and furnishings follow a unified iconographic concept in which the family *memoria* systematically builds on and complements the theological programme.

Count Ignaz Maria legitimised his social position through the renovation and decoration of the important pilgrimage centre in Styria, where he placed all pilgrims, and especially his family under the protection of the Virgin Mary. Creating a memory of the Attems family was a key concept of Ignaz Maria's visual propaganda. Until now, personal iconography as a starting point has been recognised mainly in his secular fresco commissions. However, the furnishing programme of the Zagorje church shows that the carefully considered choice of theme – which visualises numerous allusions to the patron's personal story, and presents his family 'walking after the Holy Family' and after the saints – also significantly influenced his sacred commissions. The *imitatio* of the Holy



12. Johann Martin Lerch, *The Holy Family and Habsburg Family*, coloured engraving, before 1684 (photo: Friedrich Polleroß, © Pfarrarchiv Thaya im Waldviertel)

Johann Martin Lerch, Sveta obitelj i obitelj Habsburg, bakrorez, prije 1684.

Family follows the example of the Habsburg family. A direct parallel was established between the Holy Family and the imperial family of Leopold I in the engraving by Johann Martin Lerch, made in Vienna before 1684 (fig. 12).⁴³ The importance of Loreto as a 'votive church' in the context of Habsburg family iconography is also reflected in the fact that the Habsburg empresses travelled to Loreto after the birth of each child.⁴⁴ Attems' visualisations of the symbols of the Virgin Mary from the Litany of Loreto ultimately allude to the Loreto house as the home of the Virgin and Holy Family.

Entering the church in Zagorje, the visitor, looking towards the altar, first saw the genealogy of Christ, especially Abraham with Isaac and Mary with the Child, and – on the triumphal arch painted – Attems' coat of arms surrounded by the three theological virtues. However, Ignaz Maria Attems and his wife Maria Regina Wurmbrandt are present in the church not only through their coats of arms but also with their allegorical portraits. Alongside Mary, Joseph, Christ, Dismas, Ignatius, Francis Xavier and Juda Thaddeus, the identifying figure in the frescoes is above all Abraham with



13. Ceiling painting in the nave with Abraham and Attems' coats of arms, the Holy Virgin's Church at Zagorje near Pilštanj (photo: Mario Braun) Slika na svodu crkvenog broda s Abrahamom i grbom Attemsa, Marijina crkva u Zagorju kod Pilštanja

Isaac as the father of faith and the beginner of the new kinship. Attems, like Abraham, was placed at the beginning of the genealogical line, so the allegorical portrait of Ignaz Maria with his son Dismas should perhaps be seen primarily in the figure of Abraham with Isaac, as the initiators of the Holy Kinship and of the Attems family (fig. 13). By analysing Attems' role in the context of sacred art, the keywords of his mission can be summarised as peace, art, and family, and undoubtedly should be complemented by piety,⁴⁵ so that the fundamental concepts in the life of Ignaz Maria Attems as *memory space* (Erinnerungsort) can be encapsulated in *Pax, Ars, Familia, & Pietas.*⁴⁶

Notes

1

Graz, Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Familienarchiv Attems, box 8, folder 59, probate inventory of Ignaz Maria Count Attems, 1733, fol. 57v–60r; cf. GEORG MATTHIAS LECHNER, *Der Barockmaler Franz Carl Remp (1675–1718)*, Dissertation, Universität Wien,

Wien, 2010, 227–230. Until recently, the date of Attems' death has been given as 11 December 1732, which is probably due to an incorrect inscription on the tombstone in the Franciscan Church in Graz; for more see BARBARA MUROVEC, Historizirana podoba naročnika. Attemsova družinska portreta iz brežiškega gradu in

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Rembov avtoportret [The Patron's Historized Image. Attems' Family Portraits and Remp's Self-Portrait in the Brežice (Rann) Castle], *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 23/1 (2018), 120, 130.

2

BARBARA MUROVEC, Referenzialität als Strategie. Johann Ulrich Kraus, das Zitat und die barocke Deckenmalerei, *Frühneuzeit-Info*, 32 (2021), 165–181.

3

Cf. IGOR WEIGL, "Die Einheimischen bewundern die Gemälde". Graf Ignaz Maria von Attems-Heiligenkreuz als Auftraggeber und Sammler, *Kunsthistoriker (11. Österreichischer Kunsthistorikertag. Osterweiterung – Westerweiterung*), 18/19 (2001/2002 [2003]), 50–55.

4

BARBARA MUROVEC (note 1), 124-129, 131, fig. 8.

5

For the methodological context see especially FRIEDRICH POL-LEROSS, "alles zur größeren Ehre Gottes und Euer Hochfürstlichen Gnaden Lob", in: K. Keller – P. Maťa – M. Scheutz (eds.), Adel und Religion in der frühneuzeitlichen Habsburgermonarchie. Adelige Repräsentation im barocken Sakralraum, Wien, 2017, 239-272; see also FRIEDRICH POLLEROSS, Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt. Ein höfischer Bildtypus vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert, Worms, 1988 (Manuskripte für Kunstwissenschaft in der Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft, 18); MARIA ANN CONELLI, The Ecclesiastical Patronage of Isabella Feltria della Rovere. Bricks, Bones, and Brocades, in: I. F. Verstegen (ed.), Patronage and Dynasty. The Rise of the Della Rovere in Renaissance Italy, Kirksville, 2007 (Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 77), 123-138; H. Karner - E.-B. Krems - J. Niebaum - W. Telesko (eds.), Sakralität an Europäischen Höfen. Bau - Bild - Ritual -Musik (1648-1740), Regensburg, 2019.

6

ANICA CEVC, Freske Matthiasa von Görza v Marijini cerkvi v Zagorju pri Podčetrtku [Les fresques de Matthias von Görz dans l'eglise Sainte Marie à Zagorje près Podčetrtek], *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n. v. 16 (1980), 53–73, figs. XIX–XXVI.

7

More about the painter, see: EDITH ALTMANN, *Der Pöllauer Stiftsmaler Matthias von Görz (1670–1731) und seine Zeitgenossen*, Dissertation, Karl Franzens-Universität Graz, Graz, 1994.

8

ANICA CEVC (note 6), 61.

9

ANICA CEVC (note 6), 66.

10

Lev MENAŠE, Marija v slovenski umetnosti. Ikonologija slovenske marijanske umetnosti od začetkov do prve svetovne vojne [The Virgin Mary in Slovenian Art. Iconology of Slovenian Marian Art from the Beginnings to the First World War], Celje, 1994, 293–295.

11

LEV MENAŠE (note 10), 293.

12

RENATA NOVAK KLEMENČIČ, *Marijina cerkev. Zagorje pri Pilštanju*, Ljubljana, 2008, especially 45–83; reprinted in a multi--author monograph: RENATA NOVAK KLEMENČIČ: Marijina cerkev, in: R. Novak Klemenčič (ed.), *Zagorje na Kozjanskem in Marijina romarska cerkev*, Ljubljana, 2016, 67–132. DEJAN ZADRAVEC, Arhivski viri za baročno prenovo romarske cerkve Marija Zagorje [Archival Sources for the Baroque Renovation of the Pilgrim Church of Marija Zagorje], *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n. v. 44 (2008), 233–247.

14

13

For the graphic models for the central ceiling painting in the nave of the church, see: BARBARA MUROVEC, Likovni viri za baročno stropno slikarstvo v Sloveniji [Visual Sources of Baroque Ceiling Painting in Slovenia], *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n. v. 29 (2003), 119, 121.

15

ANICA CEVC (note 6), 54, dates its origins to the early 16^{th} century (1500–1510).

16

See especially: ALOIS THOMAS, Maria die Weinrebe, *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch*, 10 (1970), 30–55; ALOIS THOMAS, Die Weinrebenmadonna, in: L. Küppers (ed.), *Die Gottesmutter. Marienbild in Rheinland und in Westfalen*, 1, Recklinghausen, 1974, 185–195; see also: HERMANN JUNG, *Traubenmadonnen und Weinheilige*, Neustadt an der Weinstraße, 1971; SILKE EGBERS – ULRIKE LIEBL, Weinrebenmadonna, in: *Marienlexikon*, 6, Ottilien, 1994, 701–702.

17

HERMANN JUNG (note 16), 55.

18

LEV MENAŠE (note 10), 293–295.

ALOIS THOMAS (note 16, 1970), 48.

20

19

See BARBARA MUROVEC (note 14).

21

For Willmann's painting with further literature see: ANDRZEJ KOZIEŁ, *Michael Willmann i jego malarska pracownia*, Wrocław, 2013 (Historia sztuki, 33), 231–234, cat. no. 33. For graphic reproduction see: ANDRZEJ KOZIEŁ, *Rysunki Michaela Willmanna* (1630–1706), Wrocław, 2000, cat. no. A.43.

22

MAREK PIERZCHAŁA, Die Familie Christi, in: F. Wagner (ed.), Michael Willmann (1630–1706). Studien zu seinem Werk (exhibition catalogue, concept by R. Klessmann and B. Steinborn), Residenzgalerie Salzburg, Nationalmuseum Breslau, Salzburg, 1994, 106; see also UWE GAST, Wurzel Jesse, Stammbaum Mariens, Verherrlichung der Immaculata – und Peter von Mainz, in: E. Leuschner – F. Bornschein – K. U. Schierz (eds.), Kontroverse & Kompromiss. Der Pfeilerbilderzyklus des Mariendoms und die Kultur der Bikonfessionalität im Erfurt des 16. Jahrhunderts, Dresden, 2015, 59. The Tree of Jesse can be depicted with vines with grapes, see for example: TILDE GIANI GALLINO, L'albero di Jesse. L'immaginario collettivo medievale e la sessualità dissimulata, Torino, 1996 (Nuova cultura, 56), fig. 8 (unknown painter around 1530, Alte Galerie, Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz).

23

Cf. EDITH ALTMANN (note 7), 276. – See also reproduction and transcription by MAREK PIERZCHAŁA (note 22), 106– 107; GREGOR M. LECHNER – MICHAEL GRÜNWALD, Johannes Ulrich Stauff nach Bartholomäus II. Kilian (1630–1696), Stammbaum Christi und Marias – Die hl. Sippe, in: *"unter deinen Schutz …" Das Marienbild in Göttweig* (exhibition catalogue), Göttweig, 2005/2006, 436–437. B. Murovec: Iconography of Kinship. The Holy Family and Attems Family...

24

MARIE-PIERRE GELIN, Stirps Jesse in Capite Ecclesiae. Iconographic and Liturgical Readings of the Tree of Jesse in Stained-Glass Windows, in: Pippa Salonius – Andrea Worm (eds.), *The Tree. Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought*, Turnhout, 2014 (International Medieval Research, 20), 22.

25

MAREK PIERZCHAŁA (note 22), 106.

26

WILFRIED E. KEIL, Abrahams Schoß in der mittelalterlichen Bauskulptur, in: K. Oschema (ed.), *Abrahams Erbe. Konkurrenz, Konflikt und Koexistenz der Religionen im europäischen Mittelalter*, Berlin – München – Boston, 2015, 140.

27

BARBARA MUROVEC (note 14), 119-123.

28

LUCA GERONI, La chiesa di carta. Vicende costruttive tra Seicento e Settecento, in: *Il Monastero di Sant'Orsola a Gorizia. Trecento anni di storia e Arte*, Milano, 2001, 95.

29

EDITH ALTMANN (note 7), 276-277.

30

For the Baroque iconography of St Joseph see especially: Leopold KRETZENBACHER, Joseph der Hausvater, in: *Heimat im Volksbarock. Kulturhistorische Wanderungen in den Südostalpenländern*, Klagenfurt, 1981, 63–71; Barbara MIKUDA-HÜTTEL, *Vom "Hausmann" zum Hausheiligen des Wiener Hofes. Zur Ikonographie des hl. Joseph im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Marburg, 1997 (Bauund Kunstdenkmäler im östlichen Mitteleuropa, 4); RÜDIGER GRIMKOWSKI, *Michael Willmann. Barockmaler im Dienst der katholischen Konfessionalisierung. Der Grüssauer Josephszyklus*, Berlin, 2005; SANJA CVETNIĆ, *Ikonografija nakon Tridentskog sabora i hrvatska likovna baština* [Iconography after the Council of Trent and the Croatian artistic heritage], Zagreb, 2007, 198–203.

31

The fundamental study for sacred portrait identification is still the published doctoral dissertation by FRIEDRICH POLLEROSS (note 5, 1988); for the Holy Family and the Holy Kinship see: pp. 121–166; specially for St Joseph pp. 156–159.

32

Cf. RÜDIGER GRIMKOWSKI (note 30), 93.

33

Cf. CLAUS VELTMANN, Christus und einzelne Heilige, in: Fromme Propaganda. Glaube und religiöse Kunst im Barock, Münster, 1993 (Ausstellungskatalog des Westfälischen Museumsamtes), 87; Brigitte HEUBLEIN, Der "verkannte" Joseph. Zur mittelalterlichen Ikonographie des Heiligen im deutschen und niederländischen Kulturraum, Weimar, 1998, 17; see also BARBARA MIKUDA-HÜTTEL (note 30); BARBARA MIKUDA-HÜTTEL, Zur Veränderung der Ikonographie des heiligen Joseph im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Libri pretiosi, 17 (2014), 27–34. – See also: CAROLYN C. WILSON, Sanctus Joseph Nutritor Domini. A Triptych Attributed to Jan Gossaert Considered as Evidence of Early Hapsburg Embrace of St. Joseph's Cult, in: Święty Józef. Patron na nasze czasy. Akta X Międzynarodowego Kongresu Józefologicznego/Saint Joseph. Patron for Our Times. Proceedings *of the Tenth International Josephological Congress*, September 27 – October 4, Kalisz, 2009, 499–524.

34

FRIEDRICH POLLEROSS, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt* (note 5, 1988), 158–159. Polleroß states that he is not aware of a direct identification portrait of any Habsburg with St Joseph. He points to an allegorical portrait of Cosimo III Medici as St Joseph, which was probably painted in 1720 by Carlo Sacconi, after the Grand Duke of Tuscany "proclaimed St Joseph patron saint of Florence in December 1719". See: KARLA LANGEDIJK, *The Portraits of the Medici.* 15th–18th Centuries, 1, Firenze, 1981, 197.

35

HUBERT JEDIN, Pope Innocent XI. Defender of the Christian West, in: Hubert Jedin, *Essays and Lectures*, 1, Freiburg/Br., 1966, 287–291.

36

BARBARA MUROVEC, Das visualisierte Friedenskonzept eines Adeligen aus der Frühen Neuzeit. Pax in den Aufträgen von Ignaz Maria Graf Attems, in: S. Jerše – K. Lahl (eds.), *Endpunkte. Und Neuanfänge. Geisteswissenschaftliche Annäherungen an die Dynamik von Zeitläuften*, Köln, 2021, 173–186.

37

THOMAS J. CAMPBELL, *The Jesuits*, 1534–1921. A History of *the Society of Jesus from Its Foundation to the Present Time*, New York, 1921, 24.

38

CIRIL HOČEVAR, *Spomini na Zagorje*, [Maribor, 1972], quoted after RENATA NOVAK KLEMENČIČ (note 12), 15, n. 9.

39

For the author's unpublished paper, see: BARBARA MUROVEC, Ignaz Maria Count Attems and the Confraternities of Saint Dismas, in: *The Role of Religious Confraternities in Medieval and Early Modern Art*, Conference Programme and Abstract Booklet, Ljubljana, 2017, 13.

40

Theatrum memoriae nobilis, ac almae Societatis unitorum, das ist Schau Bühne der Gedächtnuss der Adelichen und Gottseeligen Geselschafft der Vereinigten zu stätts wehrenden Andenken eröffnet in der Uhralten Haubt Statt Laybach, 1688, facsimile, Ljubljana, 2001.

41

WERNER ESSER, *Die Heilige Sippe. Studien zu einem spätmittelalterlichen Bildthema in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*, 1–2, Bonn, 1986 (Inaugural-Dissertation), 163: Stammbaum der Hl. Sippe nach Trinubiumlegende und Geneologie des Servatius.

42

Cf. JASMINA NESTIĆ, *Auxilium in tribulatione* – ikonografija dobre smrti na primjeru slike iz župne crkve Majke Božje Snježne u Kutini [*Auxilium in tribulatione* – Iconography of Good Death in a Painting from the Parish Church of Our Lady of Snow in Kutina], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 44/1 (2020), 57–72.

43

BARBARA MIKUDA-HÜTTEL (note 30), 235; see also ULRI-CH NACHBAUR, Der heilige Josef und Vorarlberg, in: H.-O. Mühleisen – H. Pörnbacher – K. Pörnbacher (eds.), *Der heilige Josef. Theologie, Kunst, Volksfrömmigkeit*, Lindenberg im Allgäu, 2008, fig. p. 180; BARBARA MIKUDA-HÜTTEL (note 33, 2014), 27–34. B. Murovec: Iconography of Kinship. The Holy Family and Attems Family...

44

Abraham a Sancta Clara. Eine Ausstellung der Badischen Landesbibliothek und der Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, 1982, 117; see also: FRANZ MATSCHE, Gegenreformatorische Architekturpolitik. Casa-Santa-Kopien und Habsburger Loreto--Kult nach 1620, *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, Neue Folge 1 (1978), 81–118.

45

Cf. ANNA CORETH, Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock, München – Wien, 1982. I would like to thank Gerhard Wolf, Director of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut, for inviting me to Florence as a visiting scholar, where I could work on my Attems book project and where I had the best conditions also for preparing this paper. Many thanks also to Tatiana Sizonenko from the California State University San Marcos for her careful proofreading, Mirjana Repanić-Braun from the Croatian Institute of Art History in Zagreb, for editing the Croatian summary, and Mario Braun for the photographs.

Sažetak

46

Barbara Murovec

Ikonografija srodstva. Sveta obitelj i obitelj Attems u Marijinoj crkvi u Zagorju kod Pilštanja

Članak se usredotočuje na analizu baroknoga svodnog oslika i opreme hodočasničke Marijine crkve u Zagorju kod Pilštanja u Štajerskoj (Republika Slovenija) te govori o semiotici patronata u sakralnom prostoru, odnosno isprepletanju štovanja Blažene Djevice Marije, svete Obitelji, svetoga rodoslovlja (*Heilige Sippe*) i drugih svetaca s reprezentacijom i memorijom obitelji naručitelja Ignaca Marije Attemsa. Tumačenje polazi od pretpostavke da je narudžba sadržajno osmišljena s ciljem da se ikonografskim programom iluzionističkog oslika povežu teološke poruke sakralnih prikaza s njihovim funkcijama u životu vjernika. Članak ujedno argumentira da je odabir svetaca povezan s konkretnom mogućnošću identifikacije članova obitelji Attems s njihovim svetim zaštitnicima, imenjacima.

Slikarstvo (osobito zidno) je uz arhitekturu predstavljalo umjetnički medij kojim je Ignac Marija grof Attems (Ljubljana, 15. kolovoza 1652. – Graz, 13. prosinca 1732.) najučinkovitije ostvario svoju želju za "vječnom" prisutnošću i trajnom vizualnom memorijom. Crkvu je 1708./1709. godine freskama oslikao Matthias von Görz, a sljedećih godina dobila je i novi glavni oltar Blažene Djevice Marije, kao i oltare sv. Josipa i sv. Dizme u bočnim kapelama.

U ikonografskom programu crkvenog prostora isprepletena je hodočasnička funkcija Marijine crkve s aluzijama na obitelj naručitelja. No naglasak je na štovanju milosnog lika Bogorodice s grožđem (*Traubenmadonna*), Bezgrješne, Velike Gospe, *Regine Coeli*, loretskih simbola i Marijinih čuda. Naročito je istaknuto Sveto rodoslovlje, poglavito na glavnom oltaru i na središnjoj fresci na svodu lađe, gdje je prikazana *Kristova genealogija*, zasnovana na slici Michaela Willmanna, za koju je Görz kao predložak koristio grafiku Bartholomäusa Kiliana.

Freske u kapeli sv. Josipa s prizorima iz života Isusova zemaljskog oca ukazuju na širu protureformacijsku ikonografiju i štovanje toga svetca u Austriji nakon što ga je Leopold I. 1675. proglasio zaštitnikom svih habsburških nasljednih zemalja. U simboličkom smislu, sv. Josip je zaštitnik i uzor Ignaca Marije kao oca obitelji Attems. Njegov sin Inocent Josip Ksaver (rođen 27. studenog 1692.), koji je preminuo 1702. kao član Malteškog reda, također je nazvan po ovome svecu i svojemu kumu Josipu grofu Cronegu. Na Josipov oltar postavljeni su kipovi sv. Ignacija Lojolskoga i sv. Franje Ksaverskoga, zaštitnika Ignaca Marije i njegovoga pokojnog sina Inocenta Josipa Ksavera.

Aluzija na obitelj Attems nastavlja se u kapeli sv. Dizme, posvećene zaštitniku Attemsova najstarijeg sina Franca Dizme. Naručitelj Ignac Marija bio je glavni promicatelj širenja kulta sv. Dizme u Štajerskoj. Na oltar kapele postavljeni su kipovi apostola sv. Šimuna i sv. Jude Tadeja, po sv. Ani Kristovi rođaci, koji su na slikama svetog rodoslovlja prikazani kao djeca. Ni taj odabir nije slučajan jer sv. Juda Tadej je svetac zaštitnik Attemsova drugog sina Tadeje Kajetana.

Ne samo Marija, nego i sv. Josip i sv. Dizma su na središnjim freskama na svodovima kapela prikazani u nebeskoj slavi. Nedvojbeno su za hodočasničku crkvu bili važni koncepti dobre smrti i divinizacije, koje su u blizini Krista i Marije dobili sv. Josip i sv. Dizma, oba zaštitnika u smrtnom času. Ujedno su sveti zaštitnici i uzor za nadu u spas i čast obitelji Attems.

Ulaskom u zagorsku crkvu posjetitelj je najprije ugledao Kristovo rodoslovlje, ponajprije Abrahama s Izakom i Mariju s Djetetom, te grb Attemsa okružen trima teološkim krepostima. Ignaz Maria Attems i njegova supruga Maria Regina Wurmbrandt predstavljeni su u crkvi grbovima, dok njihovi portreti i portreti njihove djece nisu naslikani. Njih treba tražiti prvenstveno među alegorijskim prikazima. Želimo li u crkvi "pronaći" portret naručitelja i njegovog sina Dizme, možda ga možemo vidjeti na zidnoj slici Abrahama s Izakom u lađi s Kristovim rodoslovljem.

Ignac Maria, grof Attems, koristio je moć umjetnosti u svim svojim narudžbama. Dosad je osobna ikonografija kao polazište bila prepoznata uglavnom u njegovim narudžbama svjetovnih fresaka. Program opremanja zagorske crkve pokazuje da je izbor tema dobro promišljen, da su vizualizirane mnoge aluzije na naručiteljevu obitelj, koja je predstavljena "na tragu" Svete obitelji (*imitatio*), te da je osobna ikonografija značajno obilježila i sakralne narudžbe Ignaca Marije grofa Attemsa.

Ključne riječi: Ignac Maria grof Attems, Matthias von Görz, sveta Obitelj, Kristovo rodoslovlje, Blažena Djevica Marija, sv. Josip, sv. Dizma, Abraham s Izakom