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Kazalo / Contents

RAZPRAVE IN ČLANKI / ESSAYS AND ARTICLES

TOMISLAV VIGNJEVIĆ

- Od spomina na ustoličenje koroških vojvod do »kraljestva Sklavanije«. O nekaterih grbih slovenskih dežel v umetninah, povezanih z Maksimilijanom I. 9
- From the Commemoration of the Carinthian Dukes' Enthronement to the „Kingdom of Sclavania“. On Some Coats of Arms from the Slovene Lands in Artworks Related to Maximilian I*
-

MATEVŽ REMŠKAR

- Grafične predloge v delavnici Mojstra Trbojske Marije 25
- Graphic Sources in the Workshop of the Master of the Trboje Madonna*
-

IVANA TOMAS, PREDRAG MARKOVIĆ

- New Insights about the Gothic Chapel of St Jacob (Virgin Mary) on Očura 47
- Nov razmislek o gotski (Marijini) kapeli sv. Jakoba na Očuri*
-

TIM MAVRIČ

- Poskus opredelitve arhitekturnega razvoja palače Barbabianca v Kopru 79
- An Attempt to Define the Architectural Development of the Barbabianca Palace in Koper*
-

STANKO KOKOLE

- Herodotove zgodbe in zagonetno »Venerino slavje« 103
- Franca Kavčiča
- The Histories of Herodotus and the Enigmatic "Feast of Venus" by Franc Kavčič (Francesco/Franz Caucig)*
-

MIHA VALANT	
Four "Sensationsbilder" in Ljubljana <i>Štiri "Sensationsbilder" v Ljubljani</i>	119
<hr/>	
MATEJA BREŠČAK	
Nagrobnik Janu Legu kiparja Svetoslava Peruzzija v Pragi <i>The Headstone for Jan Lego's Grave in Prague by Sculptor Svetoslav Peruzzi</i>	145
<hr/>	
BRIGITA JENKO	
Pripravljalna slika za spomenik Nazariu Sauru v Kopru. Neznano delo Uga Flumianija <i>Dipinto preparatorio per il monumento a Nazario Sauro a Capodistria. Opera sconosciuta di Ugo Flumiani</i>	163
<hr/>	
FRANCI LAZARINI	
Načrt Eda Mihevca za prenovo Ljubljanskega gradu <i>Edo Mihevc's Plan for the Renovation of Ljubljana Castle</i>	191
<hr/>	

Four “Sensationsbilder” in Ljubljana

MIHA VALANT

They [the artists, AN] are enticed into the extravagant, the sensational. Of course, the modest, small, and inconspicuous does not work in the middle of a big market. If you want to attract attention, you must come up with something bizarre and mad, you must exaggerate and enlarge. This is the way to create something that earlier times did not know; a picture that causes a sensation; a virtuoso piece that fulfilled its purpose when it made a name for itself. It does not owe its creation to an inner urge but to an obsession with success and to the desire to shout over everything that hangs next to it. The Panoptikum and the Chamber of Horrors got a proper competitor. The absurd and absolutely inartistic concept of a “good exhibition image” is common to the world and causes devastation in the minds of painters and art lovers, spoiling the taste and overstimulating the nerves, so that they only react to the most severe stimulants. Instead of having an educational effect and captivating the public, most painters are sinking further and further into the slavery of the art mob and indulging in the instincts of the masses instead of fighting them. [...] This occurs because, on the market, goods must adhere to the taste of the buyer, as colorful and as trivial as they may be.¹

¹ „Sie werden zum Extravaganten, Sensationellen verführt. Das Bescheidene, Kleine, Unscheinbare wirkt natürlich nicht inmitten des grossen Marktes. Wer die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich lenken will, muss etwas recht Absonderliches, Verrücktes aushecken, muss übertreiben und vergrößern. So entsteht ein Ding, das frühere Zeiten nicht kannten; das Sensationsbild, ein Virtuosenstück, das seinen Zweck erfüllt hat, wenn es von sich reden macht, das keinem inneren Drängen sein Entstehen verdankt, sondern der Sucht nach Erfolg, dem Wunsche, alles zu überschreien, was daneben hängt. Das Panoptikum und die Schreckenskammer bekommen gebührlliche Konkurrenten. Der widersinnige und durchaus unkünstlerische Begriff des “guten Ausstellungsbildes” wird aller Welt geläufig und richtet in den Köpfen der Maler und der Kunstfreunde Verheerungen an, verdirbt den Geschmack und überreizt die Nerven, so dass sie nur noch auf die allerschärfsten Reizmittel reagieren. Statt erzieherisch zu wirken, das Publikum heranzubilden, sinkt das Gros der Maler immer mehr zum Sklaven des Kunstpöbels herab und frönt den Instinkten der Masse, statt sie zu bekämpfen. [...] Denn auf dem Markt muss die Ware nach dem Geschmack der Käufer sein, so bunt, so trivial, wie er es verlangt” (Benno BECKER, Die Ausstellung der Secession in München, *Die Kunst für Alle*, VIII/22, 15 August 1893, p. 343).

What Benno Becker criticized with these words in 1893 were the so-called sensational paintings (*Sensationsbilder*). They became a popular practice of exhibiting or highlighting only one significant work of art, mostly with large dimensions and/or shocking themes, coming into full swing in the 1870s and 1880s due to several factors.²

For example, also the tradition of salon-style exhibitions that had been common in Europe since the 18th century. It was a practice of hanging paintings to practically cover the walls from floor to ceiling. Furthermore, displayed works of art were usually not titled, but numbered. For example, if you wanted to learn the name of the artist or the painting displayed, you had to buy the exhibition catalog. Also, the committee overseeing the exhibitions placed what they regarded as the best works in prime places, while works of lesser importance were hung far up, just below the ceiling.³

With this kind of exhibiting practice, an urge to stand out emerged, which was also accentuated by the emergence and forming of the international art market and the stereotypical figure of the art dealer. Generally, art dealers, for example, Miethke, Wawra, Pisko, etc. in Vienna, tried to secure a position for themselves and for the artists they represented in the field of art. By using the concept of sensational paintings, they tried to assure that the artist and the painting became the “talk of the town”, drawing masses of people who paid the entrance fee, and therefore building up both their own and the author’s social and financial standing.

To understand how this system worked it is necessary to define what sensational paintings even are. Among things that Becker pointed out in his critique are the huge dimensions that most often differentiate sensational paintings from other artworks. On the other hand, iconographically they usually depicted shocking scenes, such as murders, deaths of important or legendary people, pogroms, catastrophes, sexually charged and provoking images, or historically important scenes, etc.⁴ Very often the authors of these compositions were famous and pop-

² The underlying current of this is the development of the concept of the so-called exhibiting artist (*Ausstellungskünstler*), discussed by Oscar Bätschmann. Its core was the artist who became the producer for the anonymous public, presenting their artistic products at “public” exhibitions. An important fact in this is the institutionalization of regular exhibitions, the formation of the galleries as agents of the free art market, and professional art critics that put in motion a modernization process of the art system (more on this in: Oscar BÄTSCHMANN, *The Artist in the Modern World. The Conflict Between Market and Self-Expression*, Köln 1997).

³ Patricia MAINARDI, *Show and Tell. Exhibition Practice in the Nineteenth Century, A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Art* (ed. Michelle Facos), Hoboken 2019, p. 72.

⁴ Cf. Philip URSPRUNG, *Katastrophen für das Salonpublikum. Die Sensationsbilder von Georges Rochegrosse im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert*, *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, LII/1, 1995, pp. 63–71.

ular Salon painters (so-called Malerstars or also Malerfürsten). This combination, namely the enormous dimensions, shocking themes, and great names of contemporary art, was only one of the keys to the success of this type of exhibition. Among other things, it was typical for them to offer an array of options for exploring the exhibition medium. For example, how to display the artwork in a flattering, impressive, and dramatic way (fig. 1).⁵ With this approach they (either the painters themselves or the dealers representing them) tried to build up and further strengthen the absolute monetary and symbolic value of artworks of their respective authors. Some art dealers went even further and started commissioning such works of art.⁶

One of the most effective strategies for marketing sensational paintings was sending them on tours to several cities within one country, internationally, or even to the USA. This way they managed to transcend local and even regional borders. This can be linked to numerous novelties of the modern world of the 19th century, such as the extensive network of railroads that connected all of Europe and brought faster transport of wares, people, and information. Simultaneously, international cooperation among countries strengthened and world expos emerged, along with globalization and the mass media. Especially mass media was another critical point for professionally marketing exhibitions of sensational paintings, which had to be presented with pomp and attractiveness, sometimes even with a scandal, in order to draw as much attention and spectators as possible. A part of such marketing strategies was also the sale of graphic and/or photographic reproductions of the exhibited works of art, which not only brought additional recognition but also an extra source of income to an artist and/or a dealer.⁷

Exhibitions of merely one artwork were hardly a novelty in the second half of the 19th century, and they can be traced back further, to 18th century England,

⁵ For example, the large painting by Hans Makart, *Venice Pays Tribute to Caterina Cornaro* (fig. 1) was exhibited in Vienna Künstlerhaus in 1873, during the Vienna World Exposition. The report from the exhibition tells us that the painting was already visible from the grand marble staircase, and a black cloth was used to dampen the light from above, so the spectators were standing in the dark, and the light was masterfully directed onto the canvas (today that would be achieved with spotlights). Plants were used as decoration in the corners of the room, and in front of the painting stood two renaissance bronze sculptures depicting Aphrodite and Bacchus. – Das Achtzigtausend-Gulden-Bild, *Die Presse. Lokal-Anzeiger der Presse*, XXVI/129, 11 May 1873, p. 9.

⁶ Stephanie AUER, Caterina Cornaro. “The Dearest Painted Queen”, *Hans Makart. Painter of Senses* (Belvedere, Vienna, 9 June – 9 October 2011, edd. Agnes Husslein-Arco – Alexander Klee), Wien 2011, p. 48. This practice can vaguely remind us of one of the aspects of the work of contemporary art curators who can commission specific artworks for special exhibitions such as art biennials etc.

⁷ Cf. URSPRUNG 1995, cit. n. 4, pp. 63–71; AUER 2011, cit. n. 6, pp. 48–49.

with the practice of Benjamin West and John Singleton Copely. Their large canvases representing historical events from the recent past aimed to attract a large number of visitors, by deploying a sensational way of depicting such stories, meanwhile their emotional attractiveness also played on the public's patriotism and need to relate to the scene.⁸ We can also notice a very similar approach in France, where Jacques-Louis David arranged a special exhibition of the painting *The Intervention of the Sabine Women* in his atelier in 1814. He went even further to immerse his spectators in the scene. He placed a large mirror on the opposite wall from the painting, which made the exhibit goers feel like they were part of the painted event, a move that most certainly was sensational in both exhibiting practice and its marketing.⁹ The approach typical for the exhibitions of sensational paintings in the later 19th century can be seen in the exhibiting of the monumental painting *The Raft of Medusa* by Théodore Géricault. After the painting was exhibited at the Salon in Paris, Géricault managed to transfer and show it in London, where it became an instant success.¹⁰ This among other events marks an important shift from exhibiting spectacular paintings within the national borders to staging them abroad. At the same time, artists aimed at building an artistic and market presence in the international art system.

This practice can be found a few years later in the Austrian Monarchy. Already in 1843, two paintings by popular Belgian painters, Edouard De Bièfve's *Compromise of the Flemish Nobles* and Louis Gallait's *The Abdication of Charles V*, made a stop in Vienna on a tour through Germany.¹¹ In the third quarter of the 19th century, the exhibitions of sensational paintings in Austria became a standard and were often closely linked to the figure of the art dealer. Among the most well-known relationships like this was the cooperation between the painter Hans Makart and the gallerist Othmar Miethke. Typical of Makart were traveling sensational paintings, which Miethke, with the help of his contacts, managed to send

⁸ BÄTSCHMANN 1997, cit. n. 2, pp. 30–33.

⁹ Stephen F. EISENMANN, *Nineteenth Century Art. A Critical History*, London 2007, p. 48.

¹⁰ BÄTSCHMANN 1997, cit. n. 2, pp. 48–50.

¹¹ Carl von LÜTZOW, *Geschichte der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst 1871–1895. Nebst einem Rückblick auf den älteren Wiener Kunstverein, Die Graphischen Künste*, XVIII/4–5, 1895, pp. 73–74. The paintings were sensational due to their size (the *Abdication* is 485 × 683 cm; the *Compromise*, 482 × 680 cm). They were also regarded as a pinnacle of modern history painting in Belgium that sparked a polemic in German art journals between the proponents of the Romanticism-inspired idealist painting and those of the newer, realistic history painting (more about this topic in: Stefani MUHR, *Der Effekt des Realen. Die historische Genremalerei des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2006, pp. 274–293).



1. Hans Makart, *Venice Pays Tribute to Caterina Cornaro*, 1872–1873. Vienna, Belvedere

to special exhibitions in several cities across Europe, and some even to the USA. Among them for example, the painting *Venice Pays Tribute to Caterina Cornaro* (fig. 1) premiered in Vienna's Künstlerhaus in 1873 and afterward traveled to Berlin, Köln, Düsseldorf, London, and the World Exposition in Philadelphia.¹² Even more famous was Makart's painting *The Entry of Charles V into Antwerp* (1878), which scandalized the public in Vienna. Afterward, Miethke sent it on a European tour, first to the World Expo in Paris, then to the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, to the Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin, Buchhändler-Börse in Leipzig, Sachsen Art Society in Dresden, Königliche Odeon in Munich, Sophieninsel in Prague, Hannover Gallery in London, the Art Society in Basel, and finally to Stuttgart.¹³

The dealer's connections and the marketing of the artist through them were the key components in the relationship between Makart and Miethke. Miethke inflated public interest in the painter, his recognition, brand, and marketing price, by carefully planning the exhibitions and, most importantly, he boosted media reporting

¹² Kalkulierte Skandale, *Makart. Ein Künstler regiert die Stadt* (Wien Museum, 9 June – 16 October 2011, ed. Ralph Gleis), München – London – New York 2011, pp. 76–177. Künstlerhaus was an important venue for the exhibition of art in Vienna, not only the sensational paintings that were exhibited there in the 1870s and 1880s but also for larger group exhibitions of different artists. Some of them also presented the new tendencies in contemporary art of other European countries, such as France, the Netherlands etc. (More on this in: Christian HUEMER, *Jahrmarktbude oder Musentempel? Das Wiener Künstlerhaus und der Kunsthandel, Das Wiener Künstlerhaus. Kunst und Institution* (edd. Peter Bogner – Richard Kurdiovsky – Johannes Stoll), Wien 2015, pp. 257–263).

¹³ Amelie BAADER, *Biografie eines Skandals. Hans Makarts Einzug Karls V. in Antwerpen, Making History. Hans Makart und die Salonmalerei des 19. Jahrhundert* (edd. Markus Bertsch – Amelie Baader), Hamburg 2020, pp. 32–35. Not only that the painting was infamous for its nude figures, huge dimensions (5,20 × 9,50 meters), and the fame of the author, but also for its exorbitant price. It was sold to the Kunsthalle in Hamburg for a staggering 130.000 Marks (BAADER 2020, cit. n. 13, p. 34).

by placing emphasis on the sensation and sometimes on scandals as well.¹⁴ Other art dealers employed similar tactics, like Charles Sedlmeyer, an Austrian who was the most important link between Austrian artists and the art market in Paris. As Miethke represented Makart, Sedlmeyer took the Hungarian painter Mihály von Munkácsy under his wing and promoted his work through traveling exhibitions.¹⁵ However, it is important to note that the above-mentioned strategies are just a few of several approaches used by art dealers to deal with and market various artists. Therefore, they were just a few of several mechanisms in the whole system of exhibiting in 19th-century Europe.

This long introduction was important to establish how the system of the art market for sensational paintings functioned in developed artistic centers like Vienna. An important detail we can see in the case of Hans Makart is that such artworks also circulated through the system of so-called art societies.¹⁶ That was also the case in Ljubljana, then the provincial capital of the Duchy of Carniola in Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The city had a local branch of the Austrian Art Society (Österreichischer Kunstverein), which functioned from 1852 until the late 1870s. In 1876 and 1877, this branch staged three exhibitions of sensational paintings.

The first one was the painting *The Death of Emperor Joseph II* (fig. 2) by a Munich-born historical painter Georg Conröder.¹⁷ The painting came to Ljubljana

¹⁴ Cf. BÄTSCHMANN 1997, cit. n. 2, pp. 122–138; Tobias NATTER, *Die Galerie Miethke. Eine Kunsthandlung im Zentrum der Moderne* (Jüdisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 19 November 2003 – 8 February 2004), Wien 2003, pp. 26–27.

¹⁵ More in: Christian HUEMER, *Charles Sedlmeyer (1837–1925). Kunst und Spekulation am Pariser Gemäldemarkt*, Wien 2001, pp. 75–76; HUEMER 2015, cit. n. 12, p. 341.

¹⁶ The concept of art societies in Central Europe developed in the early 1800s. They functioned as cooperatives of art lovers (usually different strata of the bourgeois public) and artists. Their objective was directed toward selling artworks through the society's art exhibitions and by bringing together artists and potential buyers or commissionaires. The idea behind it was to assure the financial stability of the ever-growing class of artists. To further entice potential members and help the artists, the art societies bought artworks and put them up for yearly lotteries. Each membership therefore also functioned as a lottery ticket. More about the system of art societies in: Walter GRASSKAMP, *Sammler, Stifter und Museen. Kunstförderung in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 1993, pp. 104–113; and for the area of Carniola: Miha VALANT – Beti ŽEROVC, *Društva za likovno umetnost na Kranjskem v obdobju od 1848 do 1918, Likovne besede*, 113, 2019, pp. 4–13.

¹⁷ Georg Conröder (1838–1911) was a historical painter from Munich and one of the students of Munich's most celebrated painter and teacher Carl von Piloty. He completed several large painting projects for the Bavarian state, such as Maximillianeum and the Bavarian National Museum (Ludwig TAVERNIER, s. v. Conröder, Georg, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon*, XX, Leipzig 1998, p. 560). It is also important to note that Munich was known to have a highly respected school of historical painting that extended its influence also to the territory of the Austrian Empire (painters like Makart and Max also studied there).



2. Georg Conröder, *The Death of the Emperor Joseph II.*, before 1876. Private collection

through the mediation of the Styrian Art Society (Steiermärkischer Kunstverein) in Graz. In 1874 it was exhibited for the first time in the Austrian Art Society in Vienna, where they priced it at 36,000 florins.¹⁸ Ljubljana's local newspaper, *Laibacher Zeitung*, reported four times about it in the lead-up to the exhibition in March 1876, emphasizing its size (3.30 × 4.36 meters), monetary value, and its artistic qualities. Additionally, reporting about the complications to secure the right space for the exhibition may have intentionally or unintentionally functioned to bring more press and attention to it.¹⁹

¹⁸ 252. *Monats-Ausstellung – Oesterreichischer Kunst-Verein in Wien*, Oktober / November 1874, Wien 1874, s. p. A good approximation of the value of the old currencies used in Austria in the 19th century in today's euros is available on the site of the *Austrian National Bank (Oesterreichische Nationalbank)*. Accessible on the link: <https://www.eurologisch.at/docroot/waehrungsrechner/#/> (21 January 2022).

¹⁹ *Gemälde-Ausstellung, Laibacher Zeitung*, 51, 3 March 1876, p. 396; *Gemälde-Ausstellung, Laibacher Zeitung*, 52, 4 March 1876, p. 404; *Gemälde-Ausstellung, Laibacher Zeitung*, 55, 8 March 1876 p. 428. The painting today is heavily damaged and is stored in the collection of the Belvedere Gallery in Vienna.



3. Karl Otto, Marie Antoinette Receiving the Parisians at Versailles, ca. 1876

The liberal newspaper *Laibacher Tagblatt* made a short description that helps us understand the iconography of the depicted scene in the painting (fig. 2). It shows the dramatic event of important 18th-century Austrian monarch Joseph II's dying on his deathbed, surrounded by people from a range of social backgrounds. The author of the description is admitting a discrepancy and wrong interpretation of the then-known historical facts, according to which the emperor died alone.²⁰ This fact alone shows us that the distortion of the truth was probably done on purpose to create even more dramatic effect, seen in openly grieving people, such as countess Maria Theresia Kinsky, a crying Hungarian peasant, and shaken courtiers who entered the room when the emperor took his last breath. The composition is not Conröder's invention. He used a typical iconographic motif representing the last bow of the representatives of different social

²⁰ Der Tod Kaiser Josefs II. Ein Gemälde von G. Conröder in München, *Laibacher Tagblatt*, 56, 9 March 1876, s. p.

classes of citizens to dying emperors. Most often, the purpose of paintings with the stories from the lives of the former Habsburg emperors (such as the popular empress Maria Theresia, or the controversial emperor Joseph II) was to achieve more emotional reaction of the public by accentuating the humanness and accessibility of those monarchs. This somewhat promotional approach of the late Habsburg emperors could be used to stress the continuity of the state and the dynasty. Furthermore, they might even try to help with the inner integration of the empire and alleviate contemporary political and social frictions that were posed by the challenges in the process of modernizing the old monarchy in the second half of the 19th century.²¹

Today we could find this kind of “neo-rococo” style of painting with exaggerated dramatics out of taste, even kitschy, but it probably had quite a big influence on contemporary viewers. In 1911, the newspaper *Laibacher Zeitung* reminded its readers of this exhibition, pointing out that this painting allegedly attracted a huge number of visitors who wanted to see something that had never been seen before in Ljubljana.²² An insight into this can also be seen in the interview with important turn-of-the-century Slovenian painter Ferdo Vesel in 1924:

I got my enthusiasm for painting from a big picture I once saw exhibited at Realka. It represented the emperor Ferdinand on the catafalque, the courtiers in the back, and in the front a crying Hungarian or Croatian and his son in national costumes. I don't recall who painted that painting, but after I saw it, I liked it so much that I knew immediately that there was nothing in the world worth more than the art of painting.²³

From today's point of view, it is hard to imagine how people experienced such works of art. But the overall effect of the impressive dimensions, and dramatic and overly

²¹ Werner TELESKO, *Geschichtsraum Österreich. Die Habsburger und ihre Geschichte in der bildenden Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Wien, Köln, Weimar 2006, pp. 127, 417–418.

²² Kunstaussstellung, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 267, 21 November 1911, p. 2547.

²³ “Pravzaprav sem dobil veselje za slikarstvo spričo velike slike, ki sem jo videl nekoč na realki razstavljeno. Predstavljala je cesarja Ferdinanda na mrtvaškem odru, zadaj dvorjanike, spredaj pa klečečega in jokajočega Ogra ali Hrvata ter njegovega sina v narodnih nošah. Ne vem, kdo bi bil naslikal tisto sliko, toda bila mi je tako všeč, da sem si koj rekel, ko sem jo videl, da vse na svetu razen slikarstva ni nič vredno” (Stanko VURNIK, Ferdo Vesel. Spomini, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, IV, 1924, p. 58). Vesel is here falsely stating that the painting depicts the emperor Ferdinand. This might or might not be an intentional mistake. The figure of emperor Joseph II became very controversial for Slovenians, and some other nations of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in the late 19th and 20th century. The nationalistic movements that sprang up around the Empire tended to portray the emperor as responsible for the Germanization of the Empire and was therefore wrongly portrayed by nationalists as the aggressor towards other non-Germanic ethnicities.

emotional topics that opened in front of the visitors like a theater scene, probably left a big impact on the 19th century bourgeois spectators.

What brings this exhibition close to other exhibitions of sensational paintings across Europe is also the sale of photographic reproductions of the painting. Right after the exhibition, people were able to purchase the photographic reproductions at the Ljubljana bookstore Giontini.²⁴ On top of that, the Styrian Art Society published the graphic version of the painting in November, the same year when it was also available for sale in the bookstore Kleynmayer & Bamberg on Ljubljana's Congress Square.²⁵ What we can't determine from the collected information is whether the painter marketed the painting himself or through an art dealer. However, it is highly likely that both the artist and the art society were trying to get as many financial benefits and positive press out of it as possible by carefully marketing the exhibition, charging the entrance fee, and selling graphic reproductions.

Also similar was the exhibition in October 1877 staged by the Austrian Art Society in Ljubljana. It brought another large historic painting entitled *Ladies-in-Waiting Paying Tribute to Marie Antoinette* (fig. 3) by the painter Carl Otto from Munich.²⁶ It arrived in Ljubljana from Klagenfurt (the neighboring province of Carinthia) and was later sent back to Vienna as the centerpiece of that year's Christmas Exhibition of the Austrian Art Society.²⁷ The scene shows an event taken out of the life of Marie Antoinette and, except for the large size of the canvas, at first glance it fails to reveal anything spectacular. The Queen is sitting on the throne, with King Louis XVI standing next to her, while important members of the court bow before her. The sensational moment is built on a completely different element, only understood by the description of the painting found in the catalog of the Austrian Art Society in Vienna. It is specifically naming the people in the painting, who were killed in the time of the French Revolution that followed.²⁸

²⁴ Kunstgemälde, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 69, 24 March 1876, p. 562.

²⁵ Kunstverein, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 262, 15 November 1876, p. 2096; Von steiermärkischen Kunstverein, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 268, 22 November 1876, p. 2150.

²⁶ We have conflicting information on its whereabouts. A painting by Carl Otto with a similar motif is mentioned in a tourist guide from 1889 as part of the Darmstadt Residenz gallery collection (Karl BAEDEKER, *Handbook for Travellers. The Rhine from Rotterdam to Constance*, Leipzig, London 1889, p. 217). But the painter's obituary in 1902 states that it was part of the collection of the Bavarian king Ludwig II (Der Historienmaler Karl Otto, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 273, 4 October 1902, p. 1). At this stage it was not possible to determine its present-day location.

²⁷ Das große Gemälde "Huldigung Marie Antoinettens", *Laibacher Zeitung*, 231, 9 October 1877, p. 1910; Ausstellung, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 251, 12 November 1877, p. 2155.

²⁸ 280. Ausstellung – Oesterreichischer Kunst-Verein in Wien, December 1877, Wien 1877, s. p.

The drama is, therefore, shown in a more introverted way than in the previously discussed painting of Georg Conröder.

Just like Georg Conröder, Carl Otto was also a typical artist of the renowned Piloty school in Munich. Both had a feel for spectacular theatrical representations of the stories. Otto was also a successful genre painter with his own studio and painting school. On top of that, it is also clear he had a keen sense for trade since he was involved in the real-estate business. Concerning his painting career, though, he was following contemporary trends in painting and the art market. It is stated in his obituary that he painted *Ladies-in-Waiting Paying Tribute to Marie Antoinette* at his own initiative, without a prior commission.²⁹ Furthermore, he was also relying on photographic reproductions of his paintings to popularize them.³⁰ Therefore, sending this painting on an exhibition tour through the system of the Austrian Art Society was just a part of the marketing strategy characteristic for the modern type of the so-called exhibiting artist (*Ausstellungskünstler*) in the 1870s and 1880s.

Especially interesting were the two exhibitions by painter Gabriel von Max from Munich. The first one was held by the Austrian Art Society in July 1876 and presented the painting *Christ's Face on the Veil of St. Veronica* (fig. 4). Max originally came from Prague, but lived and worked for most of his life in Munich, where he, like Georg Conröder and Carl Otto, studied at the Academy of Fine Arts under the famous historical painter Karl von Piloty.³¹ What distinguishes his work is the use of somewhat pre-symbolist iconography influenced by the prevailing views of metropolitan Munich in the 1870s and 1880s. His works touched on parapsychology, spiritism, hypnotism, and Darwinism, which he combined with the typical late 19th-century aestheticization of religious painting. The first major artwork that brought Max to fame and to him the status of the “Star Painter” (“*Malerstar*”) of his age was *The Christian Martyr (St. Julia)*, which he exhibited in 1867 at the Munich Art Society. The painting supposedly became hugely popular with the public, with some [female] visitors reportedly having tears in their eyes.³²

²⁹ Hyacinth HOLLAND, s. v. Otto, Karl, *Historienmaler, Biographischer Jahrbuch und Deutscher Nekrolog*, VII, Berlin 1905, p. 168; cf. Hermann UHDE-BERNAYS, *Die Münchner Malerei im 19. Jahrhundert. II. Teil. 1805–1900*, München 1983, p. 94.

³⁰ Der Historienmaler Karl Otto, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 273, 4 October 1902, p. 1.

³¹ Karin ALTHAUS – Susane BÖLLER, *Gabriel von Max 1840–1915, Gabriel von Max. Malerstar, Darwinist, Spiritist* (edd. Karin Althaus – Helmut Friedel), München 2010, p. 24.

³² Karin ALTHAUS, *Märtyrerinnen, Gabriel von Max. Malerstar, Darwinist, Spiritist* (edd. Karin Althaus – Helmut Friedel), München 2010, pp. 76–84.

Similarly, just as Makart, Max too entered a professional relationship with an art dealer, Nicolaus (Mikuláš) Lehmann from Prague. He worked closely with him between the years 1874 and 1893. Lehmann's gallery was one of the first modern sales galleries in Prague. In the beginning, he established it as a publishing company for art reproductions, making photographic and graphic versions of famous artworks. He was therefore successful as a tradesman, being able to provide his patrons with anything from expensive oil paintings by foreign authors to the simplest and cheapest photographs of famous paintings. In the 1870s, his salon became an important venue where several young and promising Czech artists started to exhibit, such as Václav Brožík, František Ženíšek, Josef Václav Myslbek, Hugo Ullik, and Mikoláš Aleš. Adjacent to the space for trade, he also had a private permanent gallery, which in 1873 showed about 150 painted originals. All the artworks were for sale and, on top of that, he was charging an entrance fee to see them.³³ He accepted Gabriel von Max in his work circle in 1874, when he supposedly commissioned the painting *Christ's Face on the Veil of St. Veronica* (fig. 4). At first, the painting was intended only as a template for color reproductions.³⁴

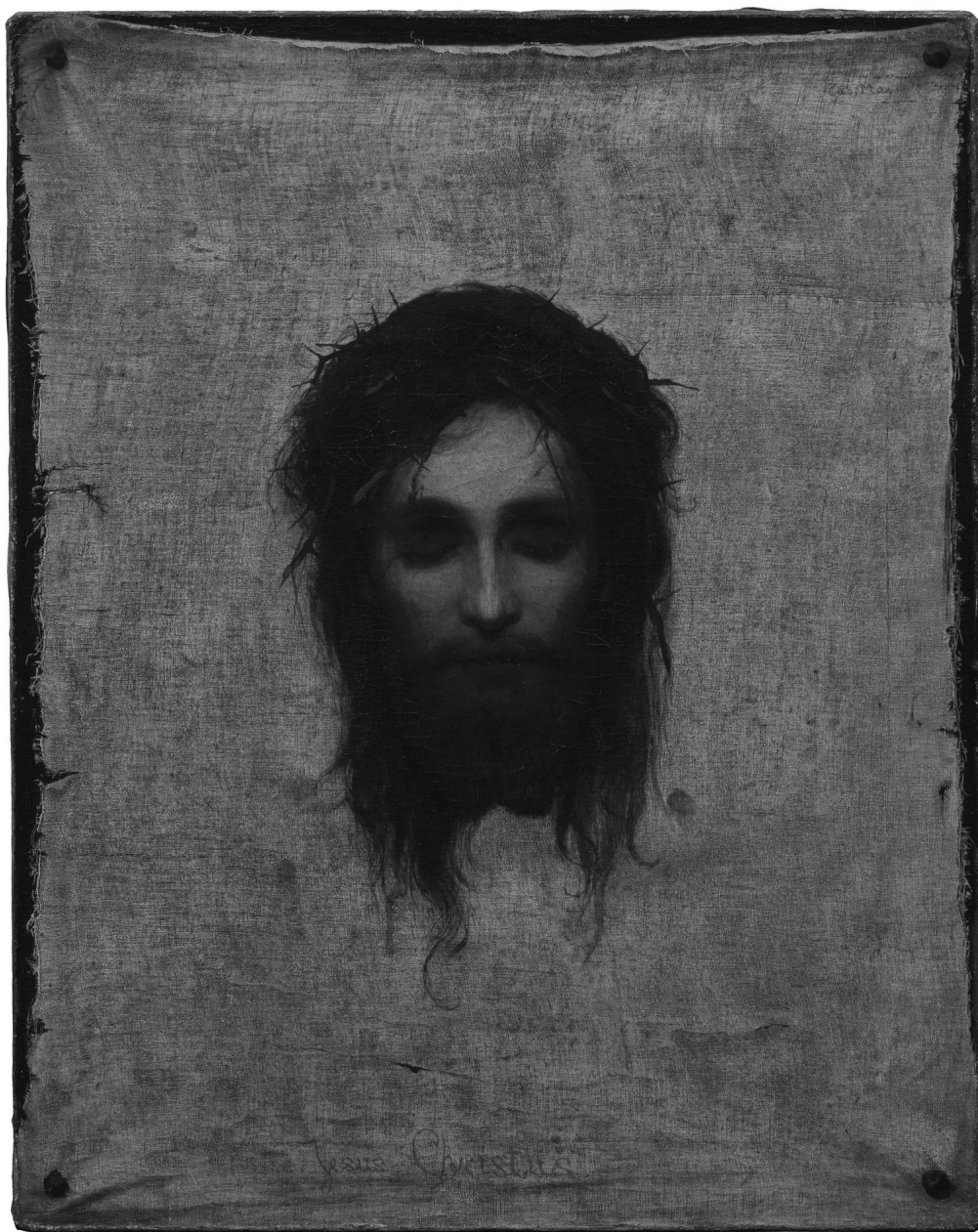
The painting first entered an exhibition in the Austrian Art Society in Vienna in April 1876, and then traveled to Graz, Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste.³⁵ At first glance, it does not seem to be a typical sensational painting, since it doesn't show a shocking or important scene from history, nor is it especially large (it only measures 78.5 × 62.1 cm).³⁶ The sensational effect was built on an illusion of Christ's

³³ Claire E. NOLTE, *Art in the Service of the Nation. Miroslav Tyrš as Art Historian and Critic, Bohemia*, XXXIV, 1993, p. 59; Roman PRAHL, Mikuláš Lehmann. Kapitola z dějin pražských galerií umění, *Pražské památky 19. a 20. století* (ed. Petr Štoncner), Praha 1997, pp. 30–32. He also published his new acquisitions in the newspapers. For example, in 1887 he acquired a new painting entitled *Astarte* by Gabriel von Max for his permanent art exhibition (Adv. 5048, *Prager Tagblatt*, 17, 17 January 1887, p. 4).

³⁴ ALTHAUS, BÖLLER 2010, cit. n. 29, p. 25. Munich appears to be at the center stage of the relationship between Lehmann and Max. Max originally came from Prague but worked in Munich. Meanwhile, Lehmann came to Prague from Munich but stayed connected to the Bavarian art metropolis through his son, who studied painting there (PRAHL 2010, cit. n. 31, p. 138).

³⁵ 266. *Ausstellung – Oesterreichischer Kunst-Verein in Wien*, April 1876, Wien 1876, s. p.; *Gemälde-Ausstellung, Laibacher Zeitung*, 149, 3 July 1876, p. 1156; *Gemäldeausstellung, Laibacher Zeitung*, 157, 12 July 1876, p. 1219. Lehmann was not the only art dealer and publisher to whom Max made concessions for reproductions of paintings and rights thereto. For example, Friedrich Bruckmann and Franz Hafenstaengel in Munich, Gustav Schauer in Berlin (Helmut HESS, Gabriel Max and the Art Reproduction Industry, *Gabriel Max* [ed. Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker], Seattle 2011, p. 97).

³⁶ Perhaps we can connect the painting's small size to the fact that it was first intended as a reproduction template. It is also true that Lehmann's Salon was small compared to, for example, Sedlmeyer's gallery in Paris, or even Miethke Gallery in Vienna, and he could not exhibit colossal paintings. Also, most purchases of large works by the Czech artists were therefore still a domain of Viennese art dealers even in the late 19th century (PRAHL 1997, cit. n. 31, p. 32).



4. Gabriel von Max, Christ's Face on the Veil of St. Veronica, 1874. Private collection

eyes that seem closed and open at the same time.³⁷ Such a naturalistic depiction of Christ's tortured face was very progressive for the period of the mid-1870s, approaching a somewhat pre-symbolistic type of imagery that was preoccupied with the supernatural, fantastic, magical, and sometimes even demonic. These kinds of paintings were especially fashionable in Munich in the 1870s and 1880s with a range of artists, such as Albert von Keller, Bruno Piglhein, and others.³⁸

Lehmann recognized quality and potential marketing success of this specific work of art and started offering it for exhibitions through his network around Europe. Subsequently, the painting traveled to Berlin, Saint Petersburg, London, Vienna, etc.³⁹ Reports in *Laibacher Zeitung* and the catalog of the Austrian Art Society reveal a very contemporary approach to its marketing. They reprinted the rave reviews from a range of respected European newspapers.⁴⁰ This move resembles the present-day marketing of movie blockbusters and book bestsellers. To make the painting even more interesting and alluring, Lehmann put an exorbitant and non-negotiable price on it, namely 20,000 florins.⁴¹ Not only did he add an aura of complete unattainability to the painting by doing so, but also tried to inflate the value of Max's other artworks with regular, well-curated exhibiting, reporting, and publishing of reproductions. When they reached fame, he sold them at large profits.⁴²

³⁷ The story of this effect's "invention" is summarized in a draft of one of Max's letters dated 14 February 1878. Together with his schoolmates from the academy, Lorenz Gedon, Franz von Seitz, Franz von Lembach, Arnold Böcklin, and Hans Makart, he "einmal auf unserer Kegelbahn auf die Schiefertafel mit Kreide als Witz einen Christuskopf mit Doppelblick gezeichnet. Das Zeichnen auf Schiefertafeln war bei uns Gebrauch, es lagen immer mehrere am Tisch und manche Zeichnung wurde aufbewahrt. Diesen Scherz habe ich ohne Zweck für mich auf Leinwand mit Öhlfarben wiederholt. Ich dachte mich, für Bauernküchen, Missionäre und Jahrmärkte ... ist der Witz ganz gut" (ALTHAUS 2010, cit. n. 30, pp. 82–83).

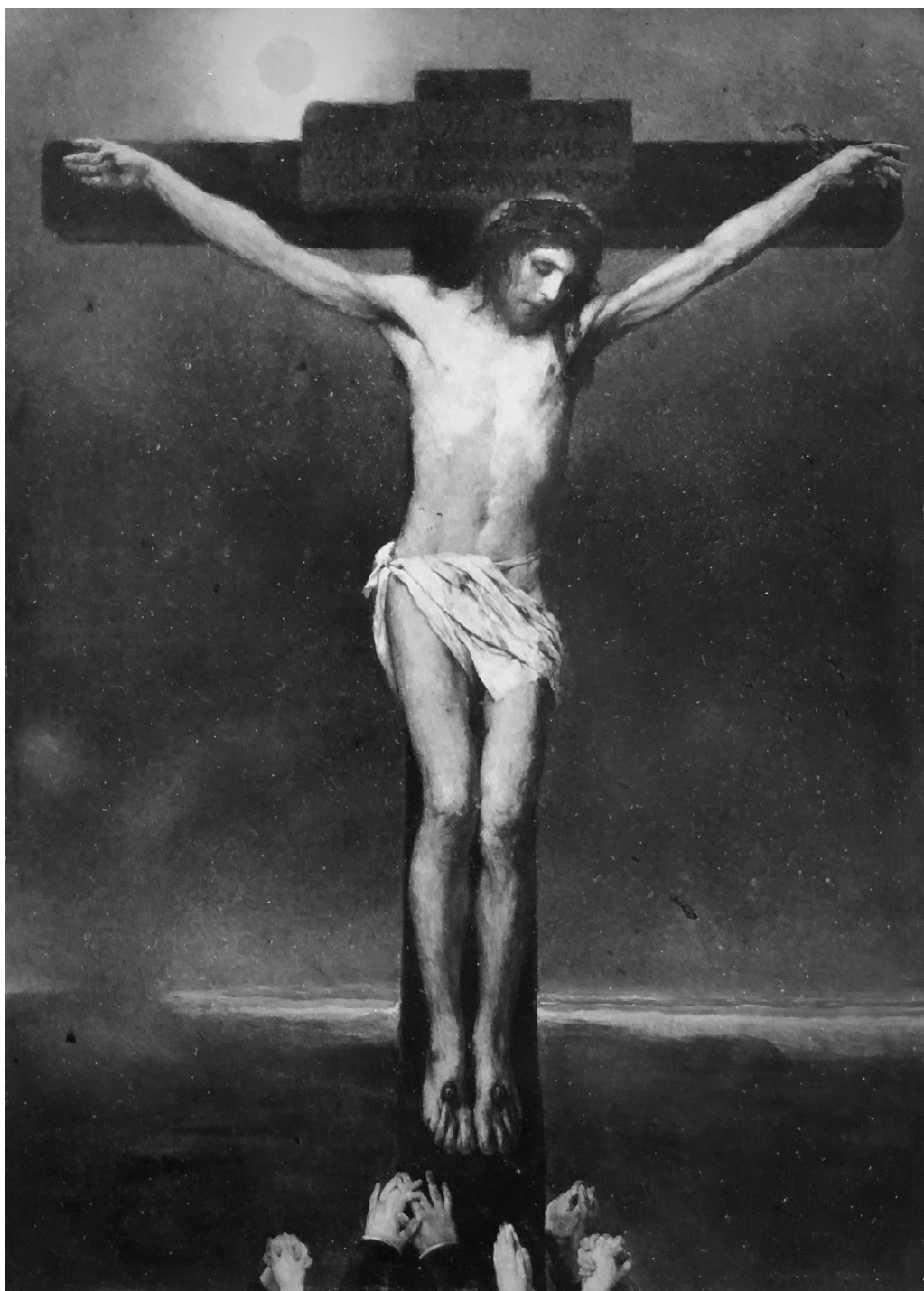
³⁸ More about Munich pre-Symbolists in: Horst G. LUDWIG, *Pre-Symbolism, Secession 1892–1914. The Munich Secession 1892–1914* (edd. Bettina Best – Michael Buhrs), München 2008, pp. 152–157.

³⁹ In 1880, the painting was exhibited in the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Rome and the apartments of pope Leo XIII. The pope decorated Max with a large silver medal and a recognition of his talent (ALTHAUS – BÖLLER 2010, cit. n. 29, p. 25).

⁴⁰ 266. *Ausstellung – Oesterreichischer Kunst-Verein in Wien*, April 1876, Wien 1876, s. p.; *Gemälde-Ausstellung, Laibacher Zeitung*, 159, 14 July 1876, p. 1236. The success of the painting in London newspapers was so overwhelming that Lehmann even published a special brochure of the reviews *Art Criticism on Gabriel Max's Picture, "The Head of Our Saviour", at the 22nd Annual Exhibition, of Continental Pictures, at Grench Gallery, 120, Pall Mall, London*.

⁴¹ *Gemäldeausstellung, Laibacher Zeitung*, 157, 12 July 1876, p. 1219; Roman PRAHL, *Gabriel von Max und Tschechien, Gabriel von Max. Malerstar, Darwinist, Spiritist* (edd. Karin Althaus – Helmut Friedel), München 2010, p. 139. The painting was sold at an auction at Christie's in Paris in 2018 for €47,500 (Lot 86, Live Auction 15063 C'est fou!, Christie's, 2018, URL: https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-6186359#accordion_special-notice (23 January 2022)).

⁴² Aleš FILIP – Roman MUSIL, "From Christ–to an Orangutan. Notes on the Thematic Range of the Work of Gabriel von Max", *Gabriel Max* (ed. Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker), Seattle 2011, p. 68.



5. Gabriel von Max, *It is finished*, ca. 1887

Moreover, by the 1870s it was very well known how big of an attraction a scandal could be. *Laibacher Zeitung* reported a lawsuit that occurred between Lehmann and the art dealer August Angerer who was representing the artist Karl Dietrich. The dispute centered on the originality and authorship of the effect of Christ's open-closed eyes. In the end, the court in Vienna decided in favor of Max and Lehmann.⁴³ This kind of event probably not only made the painting more interesting but also placed on it an additional stamp of authenticity and originality that assured the public of its undisputable quality. This two-week-long exhibition in Ljubljana was an absolute success, and it was apparently visited by around 1,000 visitors in one day.⁴⁴

It took more than a decade before the next large sensational painting came to Ljubljana. In 1888 the public in the capital of Carniola was able to see another important artwork of Max's, entitled "*It is finished*" ("*Es ist Vollbracht*") (fig. 5). It showed a classical motif of crucifixion, but was at that time hailed as one of the most progressive contemporary religious paintings.⁴⁵ That stemmed from the fact that Max managed to catch the dramatic moment of Christ's last words before dying. It is marked by the dimming light of the sun, which lost its power at the time of his death, and the hands of the pleading people on the lower edge of the painting, accentuating the drama and the magnitude of the event. The painting's enticing nature lies in the psychological effect of the last moment before Christ dies and the sins of humanity are washed away.

In connection to this, we need to mention that the hype about the progressiveness of the painting probably mostly came from Lehmann's own endeavors. In 1887,

⁴³ Zum G. Max'schen Gemälde, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 161, 17 July 1876, p. 1254. According to Oesterreichische Nationalbank we can equate this price to the sum of approximately €253,500 (*Historischer Währungsrechner*, 2019).

⁴⁴ Zum G. Max'schen Gemälde, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 161, 17 July 1876, p. 1254.

⁴⁵ The Carniolan catholic newspaper *Slovenec* wrote: "Ta slika je v popolnem nasprotju s slikami Veraščaginovimi, ki so dale povod opravičenim pritožbam dunajskega nadškofa ..." ("This painting is the complete opposite of the paintings of Vereshchagin, which gave a justified cause for complaints from the Viennese archbishop..." "Dopolnjeno je!", *Slovenec*, 125, 2 June 1888, s. p.) They reminded their readers of an 1885 scandal surrounding the exhibition of the religious paintings of the Russian painter Vasily Vereshchagin in Künstlerhaus in Vienna. The paintings caused an uproar among the public and the clerics, since they presented the life of Jesus Christ as a completely ordinary person, and on top of everything portrayed him with specific "Jewish" facial features. Later, the Slovenian press put this painting and Vereshchagin's works in comparison to a new painting entitled *Visitation*, made by Carniolan artist Jurij Šubic for the church in Rožnik in Ljubljana. They emphasized that Šubic's idealized realistic work did not show either the "disgusting Jewish type that you can find with the supernaturalistic Vereshchagin" or "the sick overstraining presented by the works of mystical fantasist Max" (Marijino obiskovanje, *Slovenec*, 283, 10 december 1888, s. p.). More on Vereshchagin scandal in Vienna in: Konstantin AKINSHA, *Russische Kunst in Wien 1873–1921 / Russian Art in Vienna 1873–1921, Silver Age. Russische Kunst in Wien um 1900 / Russian Art in Vienna Around 1900* (Belvedere, Vienna, 27 June – 28 September 2014, edd. Agnes Husslein-Arco – Wilfried Weidinger), Wien 2014, pp. 21–25.

he published an essay in a special book *Jesus Christus am Kreuze* in der bildenden Kunst that focused on the ways of representing the iconography of the crucifixion. He constructed the text so as to emphasize that the previous depictions of this motif were missing the important spiritual dimension that most artists (both the old masters and the contemporary painters) failed to grasp. He saw the most sublime moment of this story in the last words “It is finished” (“Es ist vollbracht”), which at the same time are also the most difficult to depict in art (fig. 5). He noted that Christ is always isolated in such presentations even if they show the moment when he gave his life for humanity. In both respects, he promoted Max’s artwork as the most unique and progressive way of depicting this motif, with the painter having shown the psychological drama of Christ’s last words, connecting him with the crowds he saved. These are represented by the pleading hands of the believers at the bottom edge of the painting. With the text, Lehmann openly promoted Max’s specific artwork that was featured in the center of the debate, while aligning him with the photographic reproductions of the *Christ on the Cross* by artists ranging from the old masters such as Michelangelo, Rubens, van Dyck, Dürer, Velazquez, to popular contemporary artists as Munkacsy, Bonnat, and Morot (fig. 6). Lehmann knew how to use writing and publishing to influence the perception of this artwork.⁴⁶ This openly promotional aspect can be seen in his last paragraph, stating:

Through such an uplifting atmosphere to let infinite love and the forgiveness of sin shine into the mind burdened with sin and requiring atonement, or somehow frightened so that even in despair one feels new consolation, new hope, and new vitality. Also, by depicting the spirit of Christ, and not just the body hanging from the height of the cross, as a power at work among humanity in its universal meaning and effect: this is what one of the most ingenious and profound artists, Gabriel Max, succeeded to show in his sublime image of redemption and salvation radiating from the mission of Christ: “It is finished!”⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Lehmann also published other books on Gabriel von Max, such as three monographs of the painter. In the one made in 1890 for the occasion of Max’s 50th birthday, he pointed out that paintings *Christ’s Face on the Veil of St. Veronica* and “*It is finished*” were his most important religious paintings (Nicolaus MANN, *Gabriel Max. Eine kunsthistorische Skizze*, Leipzig 1890, pp. 34–36).

⁴⁷ “Durch eine so emporgehobene Stimmung in das von Sünde beladene und Sühne erfordernde, oder irgendwie beängstigte Gemüth die unendliche Liebe, die Vergebung der Sünde hineinleuchten zu lassen, so dass man selbst in der Verzweiflung neuen Trost, neue Hoffnung, neue Lebenskraft wieder empfindet, also den Geist Christi, und nicht bloss den Körper, von der Höhe des Kreuzes herab bildlich darzustellen, als eine unter der Menschheit wirkende Macht in seiner universellen Bedeutung und Wirkung: Das ist einem der genialsten und tiefstinnigsten Künstler: Gabriel Max gelungen in seinem erhabenen, die himmlische Mission Christi ausstrahlenden Erlösungsbilde: „Es ist vollbracht!“ (MANN 1887, cit. n. 46, p. XIV)

The traveling exhibition of this painting was apparently organized as a last-ditch effort to see it in Austria, since it was allegedly bought by a US-based buyer for the decoration of their private chapel in San Francisco.⁴⁸ On the other hand, it is not possible to determine who exactly expressed their special desire for this tour. Its organizer was most likely Lehmann, who is mentioned as the painting's owner in the newspapers.⁴⁹ Through several newspaper stories, it is possible to trace an approximate exhibition tour that had in České Budějovice and continued on to Linz, Graz, Innsbruck, and Ljubljana, with Zagreb potentially being its last stop.

As was typical for exhibitions of sensational paintings in the 19th century, we know for a fact that at least in Linz this painting had a special setup. It was presented in the Bishop's Palace in a dark room, illuminated only by a light that produced a dramatic effect.⁵⁰ We cannot find similar reports in other cities, which leaves the option that the presentation in Linz could as well be a result of the physical characteristics of the exhibiting space.⁵¹ In Ljubljana, for example,

⁴⁸ "Das Gemälde ist angeblich angekauft für die Privat-Kapelle eines reichen Hauses in San Francisco in Amerika" (Zur Ausstellung des Gemäldes "Es ist vollbracht" von Gabriel Max, *Linzer-Volksblatt*, 75, 30 March 1888, p. 3). Together with the graphic reproductions of the painter's works produced by Lehmann, and his connection to some Munich galleries, such as Galerie Wimmer & Cie and E. A. Fleischmann'sche Hof-Buch- und Kunsthandlung, he was also known in certain circles of American art collectors. In addition, his paintings were included in important American exhibitions, and prints of his paintings were featured in magazines. But, despite the fame and interest in Max's work across the Atlantic, he never set foot in the USA (Susanne BÖLLER, Gabriel von Max and America, *Gabriel Max* [ed. Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker], Seattle 2011, p. 90).

⁴⁹ Regarding to this information *Prager Abendblatt* only reports about a "special wish" ("besondere Wunsch") to show it in specific cities around Austria (Kunstnotiz, *Prager Abendblatt*, 67, 21 March 1888, p. 3). Why exactly and who chose those cities as places to stage this exhibition is hard to determine and would be at this stage left to too much speculation.

⁵⁰ Zur Ausstellung des Gemäldes "Es ist vollbracht" von Gabriel Max, *Linzer-Volksblatt*, 75, 30 March 1888, p. 3. The newspapers in Linz also advertised the exhibition in this way: "Täglich bei Beleuchtung von 9 Uhr vormittags bis 7 Uhr abends" (Adv. 506, *Linzer Volksblatt*, 77, 1 April 1888, p. 5).

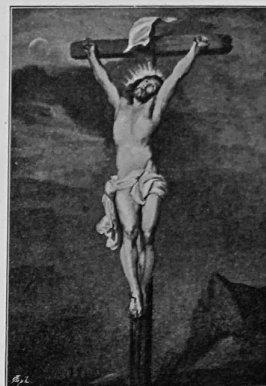
⁵¹ A problem arose in Ljubljana, where a rumor emerged that the painting's colors were too dark, and the painted motif was barely visible. The newspaper *Slovenec* published a letter from an anonymous visitor (here only enclosed in English translation): "The taste of some people is very strange, so I must describe it, and I will be very grateful to the editor of the newspaper if they could publish these lines. Today, many gentlemen visited Max's famous painting exhibited in the large hall of Realka. This painting has been described in our newspapers numerous times and every cultured man knows that it's bringing nothing but honor to the artist. But enough about this. The exhibition's organizer, even if he didn't anticipate a good visit, expected that everyone who sees the painting would leave the venue with a good impression. When I was observing the painting, two ladies came in, and just as they entered the room, barely even seeing the painting, they had already turned around as if to say that the painting was too dark and therefore nothing special to see. Saying that, they swiftly left the hall. Well, once again a blind man judged the colors! This rumor was spread around Ljubljana and uncultured people believed this kind of judgment, thinking that the painting really is worthless. We can pity the exhibitor of the painting from the bottom of our hearts since a great deal of damage is done to him by this kind of criticism." (Maxova slika, *Slovenec*, 128, 6 June 1888, s. p.)



MICHELANGELO. (I)



PETER PAUL RUBENS. (II)



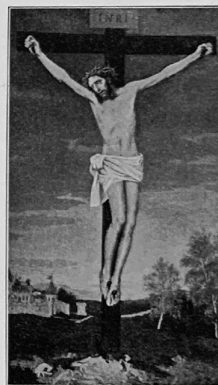
VAN DYCK. (III)



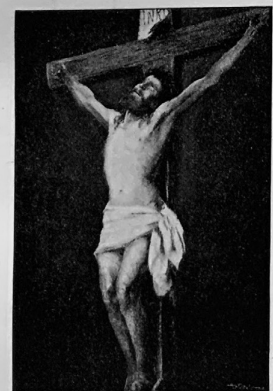
ALBRECHT DÜRER. (IV)



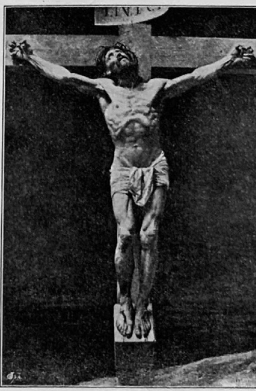
D. VELASQUEZ. (V)



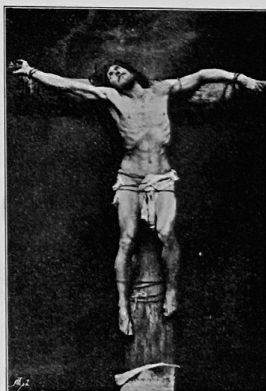
E. VON GEBHARDT. (VI)



M. VON MUNKACSY. (VII)



L. J. F. BONNAT. (VIII)



A. N. MOROT. (IX)

(Verlag von VI: Photogr. Gesellschaft-Berlin, von VII: CH. Sedelmeyer-Paris, von VIII: vorm. Goupil & Co.-Paris, von IX: A. Braun & Co.-Paris.)

it was presented on the premises of the city's Realschule (Realka).⁵² Regarding the whole concept of this exhibition, we have reports from Linz, Ljubljana, and Zagreb that it was done together with some copies of Max's works in the form of photographs or etchings of various sizes.⁵³ As *Laibacher Zeitung* put it, it "... brought a nice overview of the works this artist had created up until now".⁵⁴ According to this, the exhibition was meant to be understood not only as a chance to see a sensational painting but also as a traveling promotional exhibition of his other works. That way both the artist and the dealer could profit, one through potential new commissions, the other through an increase in sales revenue, and both through the rise in monetary value and recognition. What is even more important is the fact that people would talk about both figures, which meant extending their reach and sphere of influence.⁵⁵ Probably completely by chance, the attendance of this exhibition by important personalities from different provinces of the empire, for example, archbishop Jakob Missia from Ljubljana, or heads of the provincial government in Linz, also gave it a seal of approval.⁵⁶ In addition, the public discourse about the painting could commence through the newspapers already with the announcements of the exhibition. Those were constructed in a way that ensured everyone understood the importance of the artwork by highlighting the fact that it had already received rave reviews in big cities like Munich, Vienna, and Prague. That either caused a sensation or divided the public opinion about it.⁵⁷

⁵² "Es ist vollbracht", *Laibacher Zeitung*, 123, 30 May 1888, p. 1042. The building of the school is still standing opposite of the present-day University of Ljubljana building on Vegova Street. It was used as an art exhibiting space several times, for example, in the case of already mentioned Conraders's painting.

⁵³ "Es ist vollbracht!", *Linzer Volksblatt*, 82, 8 April 1888, p. 2; Max-Ausstellung, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 127, 5 June 1888, p. 1087.

⁵⁴ "... eine schöne Uebersicht über das bisherige Schaffen dieses Künstlers vor Augen führen" (Max-Ausstellung, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 127, 5 June 1888, p. 1087).

⁵⁵ It seems that Max raised quite a lot of interest among people in Ljubljana and the exhibition was well visited. Among other things, the report in *Laibacher Zeitung* stated that Lehmann was already thinking of sending more of Max's paintings for an exhibition in Ljubljana in the fall of 1888 (Max-Ausstellung, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 133, 12 June 1888, p. 1140).

⁵⁶ Max-Ausstellung, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 133, 12 June 1888, p. 1140. The sheer number of reproductions of Max's paintings in the market is a clear indication of a painter who was paying close attention to his works' placement on the market and their commercial feasibility. Through this, he extended the reach of the original paintings and secured additional profits from the sale of the prints.

⁵⁷ "Es ist vollbracht", *Linzer-Volksblatt*, 72, 27 March 1888, p. 1; "Es ist vollbracht", *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 115, 19 May 1888, p. 5; Gabriel Max, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 129, 7 June 1888, p. 1102.

Another way to use this exhibition to market Max's works was by selling the reproductions of the painting.⁵⁸ With what we know about Nicolaus Lehmann, it probably came in handy that he owned a publishing company through which he was able to produce all sorts of reproductions of the paintings he owned. Furthermore, it is also clear that the etchings of the painting *"It is finished"*, made by well-known engraver Wilhelm Wörnle in Vienna, were marketed through the newspapers at the same time as the exhibition in Ljubljana. The news emphasized that these etchings were already popular in France, Germany, England, etc., and they could even be found in the collections of the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph I, German emperor Wilhelm I, and Russian tsar Alexander III.⁵⁹ In that respect, we can understand this exhibition through present-day exhibition practices, which put in motion a whole industry of producing souvenirs, postcards, photographs, special prints, etc.

As far as we can say, this was the last sensational painting exhibition in Ljubljana in the 19th century. What is clear from this is that Ljubljana was included in the contemporary currents of art exhibiting all around Europe. It was a benefit that the city had a branch of the larger Vienna-based art society. It actively supported the circulation of artworks around the country and was directed towards sharpening popular artistic taste and sensibilities, but meanwhile also extending the art market to the provinces. All four exhibitions of the sensational paintings brought some sort of a spectacle and free-time activity to a city that was otherwise not used to this kind of events.⁶⁰ On top of that, we can see that they had some effect on the people who saw them, in one case even influencing a young visitor to pursue his career in painting. But apart from that, it is hard to say that these four exhibitions had any specific influence on the local art system in Ljubljana. As we have seen, those exhibitions usually even in bigger centers entailed extraordinariness and momentariness that, apart from curiosity, couldn't bring deeper and substantial changes in the especially small provincial art world of the 19th-century Duchy of Carniola.

What we have described on one hand enables us to trace back the evolution of the type of sensational painting exhibitions to the necessity to stand out from the

⁵⁸ For example, Zagreb newspaper *Narodne novine* openly appealed to the public, saying that the reproductions were not at all expensive and would be a beautiful decoration for every salon (Maxova slika "Savršeno je", *Narodne novine*, 144, 23 June 1888, s. p.).

⁵⁹ Kupferstich-Radierungen, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 127, 5 June 1888, p. 1088.

⁶⁰ "Da in Laibach nicht oft Gelegenheit geboten ist, ein derartiges Original-Meisterwerk zu sehen, so sollte es weder Kunstkenner noch Laie unterlassen, sich diese wunderbare Schöpfung des vaterländischen Malers zu besichtige" (Es ist vollbracht, *Laibacher Zeitung*, 123, 30 May 1888, p. 1042).

saturated salon-type exhibitions. This new trend should be understood as a current parallel to the established art exhibiting practices. On the other hand, it was concentrated exclusively on one painter and one work of art. Specifically, a painter who had already had a strong presence in the contemporary art market, which was then even strengthened by such exhibitions and extended outside the initial home base (like for example Makart in connection with the Viennese art system and art dealers; or for that matter Max with Lehmann outside Prague or/and Munich). In this context, we could potentially say that the so-called “Malerfürsten” (“Painter princes”) were not only the cause but also the product of such a market-controlled art system.

But at this point let us return to the initial quote by Benno Becker from 1893; by the time he wrote those words, the prime time for such paintings and exhibitions was already running out. The stark critique of Becker on the concept of the sensational paintings exhibitions in the early 1890s must be seen and understood through a specific point of view that was influenced by an elitist line of thought. It was characteristic of the turn-of-the-century ideologically profiled and more or less closed artistic circles and groups (such as the Secessions in Munich and Vienna). One of their traits was also openly denying the force of the art market, which can be understood in the context of the words of Benno Becker, reporting about the exhibition in the Munich Secession.⁶¹ Therefore, the paradigm shifted, the sensational paintings slowly went out of fashion, and the progressive circles of the Central European art system, including the art market, focused on other ways of thinking about and dealing with art.

Illustration references: © Belvedere Vienna (1); © Alamy Stock Photo (2); *Über Land und Meer*, XXXV/70, 1893, p. 1048; © Christie's Paris (4); Nicolaus MANN, *Jesus Christus am Kreuze in der bildenden Kunst*, Prag 1887 (5, 6)

⁶¹ More on the ways of the Secessionist movements to deny the art market and present themselves as pure art creators freed from the constraints of it in a lucid study: Robert JENSEN, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*, Princeton 1996, pp. 167–200.

Štiri »Sensationbilder« v Ljubljani

POVZETEK

19. stoletje že pozna širok spekter razstavnih praks umetniških del. Mednje sodijo tudi razstave t. i. senzacijskih slik (*Sensationsbilder*). Običajno je šlo za razstave zgolj enega samega umetniškega dela, ki je bilo lahko zanimivo tako zaradi svoje vsebine in/ali pa ga je izdelal slaven avtor. Pogosto so potovala po različnih mestih znotraj države ali pa celo mednarodno. Same korenine tovrstnih razstav lahko v zahodnoevropski umetnosti zasledimo že v 18. stoletju, na primer v Angliji z Benjaminom Westom in Johnom Singletonom Copelyjem ali v Franciji pri Jacquesu-Louisu Davidu itd. V Avstriji se je ta praksa še posebej razširila v drugi polovici 19. stoletja. Vodili so jo predvsem vedno močnejši umetnostni trg in trgovci z umetninami, ki so na njem med drugim lahko zastopali tudi posamezne vidnejše umetnike. Na tak način je denimo delovala povezava trgovca z umetnimami Huga Othmarja Miethkeja in slikarja Hansa Makartta, ki sta posamezna izstopajoča dela (npr. veliko zgodovinsko platno *Benetke se klanjajo Katarini Coronaro*) pošiljala celo na mednarodne in medkontinentalne turnee. Razstave senzacijskih slik se niso omejile zgolj na velika urbana središča po Avstriji, ampak so kot uveljavljena razstavna praksa dosegle tudi Ljubljano. Prvič so se pojavile konec 70. let 19. stoletja in so vezane na razstavne aktivnosti filiale Avstrijskega umetnostnega društva, ki je na Kranjskem delovala že vse od leta 1852. Preko te filiale društva so namreč leta 1876 v Ljubljano, s posredovanjem Štajerskega umetnostnega društva v Gradcu, pripeljali veliko umetniško delo *Smrt cesarja Jožefa II.*, ki jo je naslikal slikar Georg Conröder. Eno leto kasneje je v filialo pripotovala naslednja senzacijska slika, *Poklon Mariji Antoinetti na dvoru Versaillesu*, slikarja Carla Otta iz Münchna. Obe deli vezani na zgodovino habsburške dinastije sta, s svojimi impresivnimi dimenzijami in privlačno vsebino, predstavljali veliko zanimivost v takratni Ljubljani. Tako kot je bilo splošno značilno za razstavljanje senzacijskih slik, je bilo, vsaj v primeru dela Georga Conröderja, v ljubljanskih knjigarnah mogoče kupiti tako fotografske kot grafične reprodukcije razstavljenega dela.

Veliko zanimanja pa sta v Ljubljani poželi še deli znamenitega münchenskega predsimbolista Gabriela Maxa. Slikar je bil zvezda takratne sodobne umetnostne scene v barvarski presotlnici in je v svojem delu kombiniral elemente sipiritizma, okultizma, estetizacije religioznega slikarstva in nekoliko kasneje še darwinizma. Leta 1876 je v ljubljansko filialo Avstrijskega umetnostnega društva prišla njegova slika *Kristusov obraz na prtu sv. Veronike*. Senzacionalnost slike, ki je sicer dokaj majhnih dimenzij, je ležala v učinku zaprtih/odprtih Kristusovih oči, s čimer je ustvaril specifičen simbolistični občutek. Delo je bilo pred tem že razstavljeno v velikih evropskih centrih, kot so Dunaj, London, Sankt Peterburg, Rim itd., kjer je poželo velik uspeh. Bilo je v lasti trgovca z umetninami Nicolausa Lehmana, ki je v Pragi vodil zasebno prodajno

galerijo. Podobno kot je Miethke na trgu umetnin zastopal Makarta, pa je Lehmann prevzel vlogo uradnega trgovca Maxovih umetniških del.

S prenehanjem delovanja filiale Avstrijskega umetnostnega društva v Ljubljani po letu 1877 je naslednja senzacijska slika prispela šele leta 1888. Tokrat je Lehmann na turnejo po avstrijskih mestih (České Budějovice, Linz, Innsbruck, Gradec, Ljubljana in Zagreb) poslal veliko Maxovo religiozno sliko *Izpolnjeno je* (*Es ist vollbracht*). Slika naj bi malo pred tem prodal zbiralcu v ZDA, turneja pa je bila zasnovana kot zadnja priložnost, ki jo je za ogled dela imela domača avstrijska javnost. Delo so v časopisih predstavljali kot najsodobnejši primer religioznega slikarstva, k čemur je najverjetneje pripomogel Lehmann sam, tako s pomočjo knjižice *Jesus Christus am Kreuze in der bildenden Kunst* (izdana 1887), usmerjenega medijskega poročanja in grafičnih reprodukcij. Potujoča razstava je poleg dela *Izpolnjeno je*, vključevala še fotografije in grafike drugih Maxovih del, s čimer je Lehmann kot trgovec javnosti želel predstaviti čim širši del slikarjevega opusa.

Razstave senzacijskih slik so v prvi vrsti predstavljale specifično promocijsko obliko razstavljanja, ki je umetniku prinesla veliko publicitete, potencialno povečala prodajo njegovih del in zagotovilo možna nova naročila. Istočasno pa so utrdile njegov položaj na polju sodobne umetnosti (pa tudi položaj njegovega trgovca z umetninami, če ga je le-ta imel). Tovrstne razstave v Ljubljani sicer niso pustile večjega vpliva na tukajšnjo umetnostno sceno, saj so bile predvsem enkratni fenomeni. Dejstvo pa je, da so z njihovim prihodom na Kranjsko samo deželo in njeno prestolnico vključile v splošne umetnostne tokove po monarhiji. Poleg tega pa so tukajšnjemu meščanstvu ponudile drugačno obliko razvedrila in prostočasne dejavnosti, ki je mesto doslej v takšni obliki ni poznalo.



[VALANT 1] Hans Makart, Venice Pays Tribute to Caterina Cornaro, 1872–1873. Vienna, Belvedere



[VALANT 4] Gabriel von Max, Christ's Face on the Veil of St. Veronica, 1874. Private collection

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Sinopsisi / Abstracts

1.01 IZVIRNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANEK

Mateja BREŠČAK, Nagrobnik Janu Legu kiparja Svetoslava Peruzzi v Pragi

Ključne besede: Jan Lego, Svetoslav Peruzzi, nagrobna plastika, Praga, kiparstvo 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem

Kipar Svetoslav Peruzzi (1881–1936) je izdelal nagrobnik Janu Legu (1833–1906), začetniku češko-slovenske vzajemnosti, ki so ga postavili na praškem pokopališču Olšanské hřbitovy. Postavitev nagrobnika lahko datiramo v leto Legove smrti konec leta 1906 oziroma v leto 1907, a takrat še brez portretnega reliefa. Nagrobni spomenik so »z veliko udeležbo slovenskih gostov« javno odkrili 29. junija 1911. Največje zasluge za Legov nagrobnik je imel učitelj, urednik in prevajalec Andrej Gabršček (1864–1938). V kiparskem fondu Narodne galerije je hranjen mavčni osnutek nagrobnika s prepoznanim portretnim reliefom Jana Lega. V končno izvedbo se kipar ni odločil vključiti zgornjega dela osnutka s simboličnima figurama, ki predstavljata prijateljstvo in trdno vez slovenskega in češkega naroda.

1.01 ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

Mateja BREŠČAK, The Headstone for Jan Lego's Grave in Prague by Sculptor Svetoslav Peruzzi

Keywords: Jan Lego, Svetoslav Peruzzi, tomb sculpture, Prague, 19th and 20th century sculpture in Slovenia

Sculptor Svetoslav Peruzzi (1881–1936) completed the bronze decoration for the headstone of Jan Lego (1833–1906), the pioneer of Czech–Slovene mutuality, which was erected in the Olšanské Hřbitovy cemetery in Prague. It is reasonable to date the setting up of the stele to the year of Lego's death, late in 1906, or in 1907, but yet without his portrait relief. The headstone was publicly inaugurated on 29 June 1911, "with a large attendance of Slovene guests." The greatest credit for Lego's headstone went to the teacher, editor and translator Andrej Gabršček (1864–1938). In the sculpture fund of the National Gallery of Slovenia, there is a plaster model of a headstone with an identifiable portrait relief of Jan Lego. The sculptor decided to omit in the final version of the model's upper part two symbolic figures personifying the friendship and the strong bond between the Slovene and the Czech nations.

1.01 IZVIRNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANEK

Brigita JENKO, Pripravljalna slika za spomenik Nazariu Sauru v Kopru. Neznano delo Uga Flumianija

Ključne besede: Ugo Flumiani, spomenik Nazariu Sauru, Koper, Pokrajinski muzej Koper, Arduino Berlam, simbolično označevanje prostora

Članek želi osvetliti odkrito in v literaturi še neobjavljeno likovno delo tržaškega slikarja Uga Flumianija. Gre za pripravljeno sliko za spomenik koprskemu iredentistu Nazariu Sauru, ki jo hrani Pokrajinski muzej Koper. Na osnovi tega osnutka spomenika niso postavili. Drugi namen članka pa je branje te likovne podobe kot mikrozgodbinskega pričevanja iz leta 1920, ki osvetljuje petnajstletno genezo in postavitev spomenika leta 1935 v popolnoma novem duhu.

1.01 ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

Brigita JENKO, Preparatory Painting for the Monument to Nazario Sauro in Koper. Unknown Work by Ugo Flumiani

Keywords: Ugo Flumiani, the monument to Nazario Sauro, Koper, Koper Regional Museum, Arduino Berlam, symbolic marking of space

The first and foremost aim of this article is to shed light on a figurative art piece by Trieste painter Ugo Flumiani that has hitherto eluded publication in the literature. Housed by the Koper Regional Museum, the piece at issue is a preparatory design for the monument to Nazario Sauro, a Koper irredentist. However, no monument was ever erected on the basis of that draft. A secondary purpose of the article is to present a reading of this figurative art piece as a micro-historical document from 1920, highlighting the monument's fifteen-year genesis and erection in 1935 in an entirely different spirit.

1.01 IZVIRNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANEK

Stanko KOKOLE, Herodotove zgodbe in zagonetno »Venerino slavje« Franca Kavčiča

Ključne besede: Franc Kavčič (Francesco/Franz Caucig), antična književnost, profana ikonografija, »Venerino Slavje«, Herodot, boginja Milita, Gorica/Gorizia, Fondazione Palazzo Coronini Cronberg, Hans Rudolph Füessli

Članek obravnava neobičajno vsebino lavirane perorisbe Franca Kavčiča (Francesco/Franz Caucig [1755–1828]), ki jo hranijo v Gorici (Fondazione Palazzo Coronini Cronberg, inv. št. 2181) in predstavlja najbolj celovito ohranjeno likovno pričevanje o enem izmed slikarjevih izgubljenih platen, naslikanih na Dunaju med letoma 1787 in 1791. Hans Rudolph Füessli je leta 1801 prav to sliko nekoliko zavajajoče opisal kot »Tempel und Fest der Venus zu Melita«. Toda več povednih podrobnosti in še berljivi deli zabeležke z grafitnim svinčnikom (ki vsebuje formulacijo »di Venere Melitta«) na robu same risbe nam omogočajo, da Kavčičevo dejansko literarno predlogo zanesljivo prepoznamo v Herodotovem dokaj podrobnem poročilu o babilonskem čaščenju boginje Milite (*Zgodbe* 1.199). V Gorici rojenemu slikarju je bilo antično besedilo brez dvoma dostopno v italijanskem prevodu, ki ga je Giulio Cesare Becelli objavil leta 1733.

**Stanko KOKOLE, The Histories of Herodotus and the Enigmatic
"Feast of Venus" by Franc Kavčič (Francesco/Franz Caucig)**

Keywords: Franc Kavčič (Francesco/Franz Caucig), Classical literature, secular iconography, "Feast of Venus", Herodotus, goddess Mylitta, Gorizia, Fondazione Palazzo Coronini Cronberg, Hans Rudolph Füessli

The article discusses the elusive subject-matter of a line-and-wash drawing by Franc Kavčič (Francesco/Franz Caucig [b. 1755 – d. 1828]), now held in Gorizia (Fondazione Palazzo Coronini Cronberg, inv. no. 2181), which is the most complete surviving visual record of one of his lost canvas paintings executed in Vienna between 1787 and 1791. In 1801, Hans Rudolph Füessli rather misleadingly described that particular picture as "Tempel und Fest der Venus zu Melita." Yet, several telltale details, as well as Ksenija Rozman's groundbreaking publication of the still legible portions of a penciled marginal annotation (containing the phrase "di Venere Melitta") on the drawing sheet itself, facilitate the precise identification of Kavčič's literary source in Herodotus's descriptively evocative account of the Babylonian worship of the goddess Mylitta (*Histories* 1.199). The Classical text was no doubt accessible to the Gorizia-born painter in Giulio Cesare Beccelli's Italian translation of 1733.

Franci LAZARINI, Načrt Eda Mihevca za prenovo Ljubljanskega gradu

Ključne besede: Edo Mihevc, Ljubljanski grad, arhitektura, spomeniško varstvo, revitalizacija

Prispevek obravnava neuresničene načrte arhitekta Eda Mihevca za prenovo Ljubljanskega gradu, izdelane leta 1967. Projekt, ki do sedaj v strokovni literaturi ni bil analiziran, je predvideval prenovo in revitalizacijo gradu za muzejske, prireditvene, gostinske in turistične namene. Mihevčev načrt je nastal v precejšnji meri neodvisno od starejših Plečnikovih in Kobetovih zasnov, odlikuje pa ga precejšnja inovativnost na eni in velik odnos do arhitekturne dediščine na drugi strani, hkrati pa sposobnost prilagoditve potrebam sodobnega časa.

Franci LAZARINI, Edo Mihevc's Plan for the Renovation of Ljubljana Castle

Keywords: Edo Mihevc, Ljubljana Castle, architecture, monument protection, renovation

The article focuses on the unrealized plan for the renovation of Ljubljana Castle, designed in 1967 by one of the leading Slovenian modernist architects Edo Mihevc. The project, which so far has never been analysed, envisaged the Castle's reconstruction with museum, event, restaurant, and tourist activities in mind. Mihevc's plan was made relatively independently from the older designs of Plečnik and Kobe. His innovativeness is made clear on one hand, and his remarkable attitude towards architectural heritage on the other, along with his ability to adapt the historical monument to the needs of the modern time.

1.01 IZVIRNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANEK

Tim MAVRIČ, Poskus opredelitve arhitekturnega razvoja palače Barbabianca v Kopru

Ključne besede: Koper, Barbabianca, palača, barok

Proces postopne »agregativne« rasti plemiških arhitektur se kaže kot pogost pojav v urbanih središčih beneškega kroga, v Kopru je bil izpričan že pri palači Tiepolo-Gravisi. Podoben proces srečamo tudi pri palači Barbabianca, ki je bila ena izmed stavb v urbanem arealu, pripadajočem plemiški družini, ki je v Kopru živela med 16. in 18. stoletjem. Primerjava arhivskih virov z obstoječimi grajenimi strukturami kaže na serijo nakupov obstoječih starejših stavb v drugi četrtini 17. stoletja ter baročni gradbeni poseg v tretji četrtini stoletja, ki je vse stavbe povezal v enotno strukturo ter hkrati dosegel učinek monumentalnosti ter reducirano obliko tlorisa beneške palače.

1.01 ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

Tim MAVRIČ, An Attempt to Define the Architectural Development of the Barbabianca Palace in Koper

Keywords: Koper, Barbabianca, Palace, Baroque

The process of extending existing aristocratic architectural objects by constructing ways to connect them into a whole was a relatively common practice in Venetian urban centres along the Adriatic, as the example of Tiepolo-Gravisi palace in Koper shows. The Barbabianca Palace, which belonged to a noble family living in the town between the 16th and the 18th centuries, is a similar case. Archival and architectural research has shown that a series of purchases of pre-existing buildings in the second quarter of the 17th century, followed by a baroque building project in the third quarter. Besides displaying a monumental facade and a partial Venetian palace floor plan, the construction work connected all the former buildings into a unified aristocratic dwelling.

1.01 IZVIRNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANEK

Matevž REMŠKAR, Grafične predloge v delavnici Mojstra Trbojske Marije

Ključne besede: Mojster Trbojske Marije, Mojster E. S., poznogotsko kiparstvo, rezbarstvo, grafične predloge

Prispevek obravnava opus Mojstra Trbojske Marije z vidika uporabe grafičnih predlog. Poleg v literaturi že navedenih, lahko med kiparskimi deli, ki so pripisana temu solidnemu rezbarju, ne pa tudi ustvarjalnemu umetniku, in grafikami, med katerimi izstopajo tiste Mojstra E. S., najdemo še številne podobnosti. Grafične predloge so, kot kažejo obravnavani primeri, torej botrovale shemam in figuralnim tipom v kiparski produkciji delavnice Mojstra Trbojske Marije.

1.01 ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

Matevž REMŠKAR, Graphic Sources in the Workshop of the Master of the Trboje Madonna

Keywords: Master of the Trboje Madonna, Master E. S., late gothic sculpture, carving, printed templates

This paper discusses the work of the Master of the Trboje Madonna and his use of graphic templates. In addition to those already mentioned in the literature, there are many similarities between the works attributed to this not-very-creative artist and the prints he used, among which the prints of the Master E. S. stand out. Graphic templates, as shown with the discussed examples, were crucial for the schemes and figural types for the production at the workshop of the Master of the Trboje Madonna.

1.01 IZVIRNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANEK

Ivana TOMAS, Predrag MARKOVIĆ, Nov razmislek o gotski (Marijini) kapeli sv. Jakoba na Očuri

Ključne besede: gotika, kapela na Očuri, Hrvaško Zagorje, Ivaniš Korvin, Beatrica Frankapan, Juraj Brandenburg-Ansbach

Kapela sv. Jakoba na Očuri (prvotno posvečena Mariji) je eden od bolje ohranjenih gotskih spomenikov v Hrvaškem Zagorju. Namen članka je pokazati, da je bila kapela najverjetneje zgrajena kot romarsko zatočišče proti koncu 15. ali v začetku 16. stoletja. Kot možni naročniki gradnje so predlagani trije pomembni velikaši: Ivaniš Korvin, Beatrica Frankapan in Juraj Brandenburg-Ansbach.

1.01 ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

Ivana TOMAS, Predrag MARKOVIĆ, New Insights about the Gothic Chapel of St Jacob (Virgin Mary) on Očura

Keywords: Gothic, Očura chapel, Croatian Zagorje, John Corvinus, Beatrice Frankapan, George Brandenburg-Ansbach

St Jacob's Chapel (initially dedicated to the Virgin Mary) in Očura is a well-preserved monument of the Gothic period in Croatian Zagorje. This paper aims to demonstrate the unlikelihood of a pilgrimage edifice being constructed at the end of the 15th or in the first decades of the 16th century. Three prominent nobles will be suggested as potential patron(s) of the Očura chapel: John Corvinus, Beatrice Frankapan, and George Brandenburg-Ansbach.

1.01 IZVIRNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANEK

Miha VALANT, Štiri "Sensationsbilder" v Ljubljani

Ključne besede: Sensationsbilder, razstavljanje, Georg Conröder, Gabriel von Max, Nicolaus Lehmann, trg umetnin, umetnost 19. stoletja

Članek se osredotoča na razstavno prakso t. i. senzacijskih slik (*Sensationsbilder*). Šlo je za razstave ene same slike z bodisi izjemno vsebino bodisi znanim avtorjem, ki so potovale po različnih krajih po državi ali celo mednarodno. Ta praksa je bila v Avstriji še posebej razširjena v drugi polovici 19. stoletja. Razstave senzacijskih slik so v 70. in 80. letih 19. stoletja prišle tudi v Ljubljano. Razstavili so dve sliki s tematiko iz zgodovine Habsburške dinastije, ki sta jih izdelala slikarja Georg Conröder in Carl Otto, pa tudi dve religiozni deli pomembnega Münchenskega slikarja Gabriela Maxa.

1.01 ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER

Miha VALANT, Four "Sensationsbilder" in Ljubljana

Keywords: Sensationsbilder, exhibiting, Georg Conröder, Gabriel von Max, Nicolaus Lehmann, art market, 19th century art

This article focuses on exhibiting so-called sensational paintings (*Sensationsbilder*). These were typically exhibitions of only one artwork with either an exceptional theme and/or famous author that travelled around different cities within one country or internationally. This practice was especially common in Austria in the second half of the 19th century. This kind of exhibition could also be found in Ljubljana in the 1870s and 1880s. Two such paintings were exhibited with themes from the history of the Habsburg dynasty, made by painters Georg Conröder and Carl Otto, along with two religious works from the famous painter Gabriel Max from Munich.

1.01 IZVIRNI ZNANSTVENI ČLANEK

Tomislav VIGNJEVIĆ, Od spomina na ustoličenje koroških vojvod do »kraljestva Sklavanije«. O nekaterih grbih slovenskih dežel v umetninah, povezanih z Maksimilijanom I.

Ključne besede: Maksimilijan I., grbi, slovenske dežele, Albrecht Altdorfer, renesansa

V članku obravnavam upodobitve grbov slovenskih dežel, ki so nastale za umetnine, povezane s cesarjem Maksimilijanom I. Obravnavana so tudi omembe teh grbov v besedilih. Tako je tukaj objavljen tudi kratek opis ustoličevanja koroških vojvod. Posebna pozornost pa je posvečena dvema upodobitvama »kraljestva Sklavanija«, in sicer v grafiki na *Slavoloku Maksimilijana I.* iz leta 1515, ki je delo Albrechta Altdorferja, in pa v delu tega istega slikarja v sklopu *Zmagoslavnega pohoda Maksimilijana I.* V dveh teh umetninah je z grbi ponazorjena izvirna zamisel o preoblikovanju Cesarstva in oblikovanju novih kraljestev, kot jo je narekoval cesar Maksimilijan I.

Tomislav VIGNJEVIĆ, From the Commemoration of the Carinthian Dukes' Enthronement to the "Kingdom of Sclavania". On Some Coats of Arms from the Slovene Lands in Artworks Related to Maximilian I

Keywords: Maximilian I, coats of arms, Slovene lands, Albrecht Altdorfer, renaissance

In this article, I discuss the depictions of the coats of arms of the Slovene lands that were created for artworks associated with Emperor Maximilian I. Textual references to these coats of arms are also discussed. Thus, a short description of the enthronement of the Dukes of Carinthia is also included. Particular attention is paid to two depictions of the 'Kingdom of Sclavania', namely the 1515 engraving on the *Arch of Honour* by Albrecht Altdorfer and the work by the same painter in the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I*. In these two works of art, the coats of arms illustrate the original idea for the Empire's transformation and the creation of new kingdoms as envisioned by the Emperor Maximilian I. These two works of art were ordered by the Emperor Maximilian I, and the coats of arms were used to represent the new kingdoms.
