

The Jesuits in Inner Austria

Studies on the Settlement of the Order in Graz

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ABSTRACT

The Jesuit Order was the main instrument of the Catholic reform in Inner Austria. In addition to education and pastoral work, art—such as the frescoes in the house chapel of the Jesuit convent or the emblems on the staircase in the college in Graz—played an essential role in conveying the faith. These images accompanied the students and fathers throughout their daily life.

KEYWORDS

Society of Jesus, Catholic reform, Baroque ceiling painting, architecture, Inner Austria

IZVLEČEK

Jezuitski red je bil glavno orodje katoliške obnove v Notranji Avstriji. Poleg izobraževanja in pastoralnega dela je imela pomembno vlogo pri posredovanju vsebine vere tudi upodablajoča umetnost, npr. freske v hišni kapeli jezuitskega samostana ali emblemi na stopnišču v kolegiju v Gradcu, s katerimi se ukvarja pričujoči prispevek. Te podobe so jezuite in njihove učence spremljale v vsakdanjem življenju.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

Družba Jezusova, katoliška obnova, baročno stropno slikarstvo, arhitektura, Notranja Avstrija

Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) founded the Society of Jesus in 1534, which was approved by the pope in 1540. By 1563, the Austrian province of the order was established, with its headquarters in Vienna.¹ The territory included Austria *ob der Enns* (Upper Austria), Austria *unter der Enns* (Lower Austria), Inner Austria (Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia, Trieste, and Inner Istria), Hungary, and Croatia. There were settlements, for example, in Wien/Vienna, Pressburg/Bratislava, Ödenburg/Sopron, Tyrnau/Trnava, Trentschin/Trenčín, Raab/Győr, Ofen/Buda, Erlau/Eger, Stuhlweißenburg/Székesfehérvár, Temeschwar/Timișoara, Warasdin/Varaždin, Agram/Zagreb, St. Veit am Pflaum/Rijeka, Laibach/Ljubljana, Triest/Trieste, Görz/Gorizia, Klagenfurt, Judenburg,

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¹ Karner and Scheutz, *Die Jesuiten – eine thematische Annäherung*, pp. 11, 22.

Leoben, and Graz. The extensive territory was governed by the superior general in Rome, with assistance from the order's secretary. The superior general appointed a provincial for each province of the order. The seat of the provincial council of the Austrian province of the order was in Vienna, from which in turn a superior was elected for the individual settlements.²

This article focuses on the settlement in Graz (residence of the sovereign). Archduke Charles II (1540–1590) called the Jesuits to Graz, and they arrived by 1572.³ The college was founded by Charles II in 1573 and received papal confirmation in April 1575.⁴ The city was almost completely Protestant, and the sovereign specifically used the order for the Counter-Reformation in his country. Jesuit buildings are examined in the context of the order's activities. Contemporary reports of the buildings and the settlement exist from the Jesuit period or shortly after the dissolution of the order. So far, partial investigations have been carried out, which serve as a basis but still do not provide an overall view. Therefore, a comprehensive overview of the Jesuit settlement in Graz in all its facets is being compiled. The initial research findings and research topics are outlined in this article.

Education is fundamental for the Jesuit Order. Shortly after the foundation of the settlement, a grammar school was established, and existing buildings were used for teaching. The *Ratio studiorum* (study regulations) was the basis of instruction at Jesuit grammar schools and universities. In addition to lectures, debates, and rhetoric exercises, Jesuit education included the performance of plays. These plays featured moral and Christian themes, as well as glorification of the virtues of the sovereign. Performances took place at the end of the school year or on occasion in theater halls or on temporary stages. These could often last several hours, and elaborate stage designs and effects were used. The Jesuit fathers also acted as teachers or confessors to the Habsburg family: for example, Father Johannes Reinell, S.J., (1543–1607) was the confessor of Archduchess Maria of Inner Austria (1551–1608, wife of Archduke Charles II). Father Bartholomäus Viller, S.J., (c. 1541–1626) was the confessor of her son (the future Emperor Ferdinand II).⁵ Pastoral care and the promotion of piety among the population were essential. In addition to sermons in the order's own church, caring for the sick, processions, pilgrimages (e.g., to the Calvary in Graz), and rituals during Holy Week, spiritual exercises were also conducted. Marian congregations or sodalities were founded under

² Ibid., pp. 13–14.

³ Amon, *Reformation – katholische Reform – Gegenreformation*, pp. 146–149.

⁴ Andritsch, *Matrikeln der Universität Graz*, p. 12.

⁵ Keller, *Erzherzogin Maria*, pp. 88, 134, 138.

the direction of the Jesuits to accompany the daily life of the faithful and to strengthen the Catholic faith of the population and the House of Habsburg. The immediate proximity of the Jesuit college to the archducal castle—the center of power at that time—and the structural connection of castle, Jesuit church, and college underline the close connection of the order to the Habsburgs. The entire complex of the Jesuit settlement today represents an impressive testimony to the order, despite changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The following paragraphs are dedicated to four buildings.



Figure 1: Saint Giles's Church (now the cathedral church) in Graz, handed over to the Jesuits in 1577, with changes by the order in the seventeenth century. (Photo: Sylvia Stegbauer.)

1. Saint Giles's Church

The late Gothic Saint Giles's Church was given to the Jesuits in 1577, a few years after the arrival of the order in the city. Before that, the building served as a court church or was used as a town parish church. In the seventeenth century, a new sacristy and side chapels were built: the Plague Chapel, Our Lady of Sorrows Chapel, Saint Francis Xavier Chapel, and Holy Cross Chapel. Our Lady of Sorrows, Saint Francis Xavier, and Holy Cross chapels can also be found in Saint James's Jesuit Church in Ljubljana. After the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773, the church in Graz was elevated to the status of a cathedral in 1786.

The use of the church by the order or congregations has been documented in textbooks. The congregations led by the Jesuits were used specifically to strengthen the Catholic faith of the students and the population. Members of the congregations⁶ met regularly, cared for the poor, and arranged funerals of deceased members of the sodality or activities during Holy Week. For example, on Maundy Thursday, March 31st, 1768, the spiritual chant *Jesus das Versöhnopfer* (*Jesus the Atonement*) was held in the Jesuit church by the Sodality of the Agony of Christ. A textbook is preserved at Admont Abbey.⁷ For the feast of Saint Francis Xavier the same year, a singing poem was performed during a nine-day devotion in the Jesuit church. A textbook, printed by Widmanstetter, is kept in the Provincial Library in Graz.⁸ Congregations also had their own altars in the Jesuit churches, such as the Agony of Christ Sodality in Holy Cross Chapel in Graz.

The Graz–Seckau Diocesan Archives preserve the account books of the church from the Jesuit period.⁹ In account book no. 1, dedications and bequests for individual chapels and altars were recorded, such as for the Francis Xavier or Ignatius altar. Based on the account books, conclusions can be drawn about sculptors' activities. Matej Klemenčič and Lara Baumgartner have already dealt with the sculptures on the high altar in detail.¹⁰ The influences from Venice, the mobility of the sculptors and Jesuits, and the exchange between the individual Jesuit settlements is worth noting. The control of the Jesuit building activities

⁶ For a comparison with the Vienna area, see the project *Die Frömmigkeitspraxis der jesuitisch geleiteten Bruderschaften in Wien* by Sylvia Stegbauer at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. See also: Stegbauer, *Kongregationen*.

⁷ Graff, *Grazer Theaterdrucke*, p. 280, no. 220, Stift Admont 85, 101/30; See also: Graff, *Bibliographia Widmanstadiana*.

⁸ Graff, *Grazer Theaterdrucke*, p. 280, no. 221, Steiermärkische Landesbibliothek, T 15.740 I.

⁹ See: Kohlbach, *Der Dom zu Graz*.

¹⁰ Klemenčič, *Venezianische Bildhauer*; Baumgartner, *Hochaltar des Grazer Doms*.

was in Rome, and the Jesuit churches were usually of a wall pillar type with chapels in the side niches. However, the late Gothic Saint Giles's Church was remodeled after it was taken over by the Jesuit order.¹¹



Figure 2: The former Jesuit college in Graz (today the seminary, diocesan archives, and diocesan museum), built from 1572 onward (architect: Vinzenz de Verda), expanded 1591–1597, extended by one floor 1714–1718. (Photo: Sylvia Stegbauer.)

2. The Jesuit College

The college in Graz is one of the largest collegiate buildings of the sixteenth century. The Jesuit college at Bürgergasse no. 2, which today houses the seminary, the Diocesan museum, and the Graz-Seckau Diocesan Archives, started being built in 1572 and was designed by Vinzenz de Verda. It was not until 1714–1718 that one floor was added to the complex.¹² The topographical description of the city of Graz (*Graecium Inclyti Ducatus Styriae Metropolis*,

¹¹ In Krems, Bratislava, and Klagenfurt, a church building was handed over to the order as well. Architects faced different requirements than, for example, in Vienna, where a new Jesuit building was erected.

¹² Bundesdenkmalamt (ed.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, p. 68.

Topographice Descriptum) by Johann Macher, S.J., printed by Widmanstetter in 1700, includes a copperplate engraving by Andreas Trost (1657–1708) depicting the college and the old university adjoining it.¹³ It shows the Jesuit college even before the addition of another floor, a tower between the south and west wings, which no longer exists today, and the connecting passage to the Jesuit church via Bürgergasse. Colleges had optimal communication pathways. Their external and internal zones were clearly separated from each other.¹⁴

Some of the staircases¹⁵ in the colleges were splendidly decorated. In 1697, the main staircase of the southwest wing in the Jesuit college in Győr was decorated with frescoes. In the cycle, the glorification of Mary, her function as a mediator and protector, is closely linked to the fight against the Ottomans and the victory over them.¹⁶ Around fifteen years later the staircase in the south wing of the Graz College was reworked in the Baroque style and mentioned in the annual report of 1712.¹⁷ The staircase connected the floor where the library was located with the level where the passage over Bürgergasse was once situated. From there, the priests could directly access the church galleries from the college. The paintings of the staircase in stucco cartouches in the form of emblems¹⁸ are also related to Mary and are based on a meditation program.¹⁹ Both staircases were intended as representative spaces of meditation, whose main function was the visualization of abstract ideas with the help of the emblematic expression and visual rhetoric of the Jesuit meditation tradition.²⁰ The concept and use of inner images can be supported by emblems. According to Eva-Maria Kaufmann, the ladder to heaven can be seen as man's ascent—specifically, as man's in-depth change in life, as a change in his behavior, and as a resemblance to God in terms of knowledge and virtue²¹—and can thus serve as a metaphor for the ascent of the stairs. The steps, the movement, and the images depicted supported and strengthened the inner movement of the Jesuit fathers and their striving for inner transformation and union with God.

¹³ Macher, *Graecium*. The print can be found between page 34 and 35.

¹⁴ Bösel, *Jesuitische Bautypologie*, p. 202.

¹⁵ Further examples in colleges of the Austrian province of the order: Judenburg (1662), Székesfehérvár (1697), Bratislava (1698), Leoben (1715), and Varaždin (not dated yet).

¹⁶ Knapp and Tüskés, *Rhetorisches Konzept*, p. 949.

¹⁷ See the annual report of the Jesuit Order from 1712, which is preserved at the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) in Vienna: ÖNB, LA 1712, Cod. 12106, CAPUT IX: Temporalia, p. 201.

¹⁸ See Lesky's detailed analysis of the emblems: Lesky, *Prunkstiege im Grazer Priesterhaus*.

¹⁹ See the remarks by Knapp and Tüskés on the staircase in Győr: Knapp and Tüskés, *Rhetorisches Konzept*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 971.

²¹ Kaufmann, *Jakobs Traum*, pp. 12–19.



Figure 3: Staircase in the former Jesuit college in Graz, 1712. (Photo: Sylvia Stegbauer.)

As the collection of emblems in the *Gnaden-Gebäu*²² (Building of Mercy) shows, Mary can also be seen as a ladder to heaven and subsequently as the intercessor for the souls of the faithful to God. This ascent and descent are linked with the pictorial representation (emblems) of multilayered Marian programs, preparation for spiritual exercises, church services, and personal devotion.²³

In most cases, the colleges also had large-scale inner courtyards in which temporary stages for theater performances were also erected. At the college in Vienna (founded in 1624), the arcades of the inner courtyard were recently uncovered during renovation and revitalization work. In Graz (founded in 1572) and Judenburg (founded in 1621), courtyards with arcades have also been preserved. In Leoben (founded in 1613), only walled arcades of a preserved wing give a hint of the original shape.

Libraries were an integral part of the colleges. As part of the new construction of the Vienna Jesuit college from 1624, a hall for the Jesuit library was built in the northern wing of the building located on Postgasse. In the 1730s there was a period of redecoration, during which a fresco by Anton Hertzog (c. 1691/1692–1740) was painted in the library in 1734. On the second floor of the south wing in the Graz college is the former library hall, which was furnished in 1692/1694. The stucco ceiling with acanthus vines and hanging fruit is the work of Domenico Bosco.²⁴ After the dissolution of the order in 1773, the Jesuit library collection in Graz was initially moved to the library hall of the Old University and subsequently to the Graz University Library. Today, the room is used for lectures and events.

Theater rooms and their stages were an essential part of the Jesuit building complexes, but they have hardly survived. Since its completion around 1640, the former Viennese theater hall served as a festival hall of the university, as a theater hall, and as a meeting place of the Marian Congregation *Assumptio Mariae*.²⁵ The theater hall in Graz was housed in the Old University, which was used not only for theater performances but also for disputations and graduation ceremonies. In addition to the theater rooms, the fathers also gathered in the

²² Unknown author, *Gnaden-Gebäu*, Figure 29 and description on the following page.

²³ I was able to share the research results outlined here for the first time in my presentation “The Expression of a Meditation Program through Staircases: Examples in the Jesuit Colleges of the Austrian Province of the Order” at the conference “Plurality in the Artistic and Architectural Theories of the Jesuits” in March 2023. The presentation focused on the significance of emblems and the typology of staircases in Jesuit colleges. In addition, my colleague Szabolcs Serfőző and I were able to date some staircases of the Austrian province of the order and show the corresponding emblematic templates. See also Serfőző, *Litterae Annuae*.

²⁴ Bundesdenkmalamt (ed.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, p. 73.

²⁵ Lindner, *Theatersaal der Jesuiten*, pp. 11, 60, 91.



Figure 4: Former Jesuit university built 1607–1609, total reconstruction 1778–1781 (architect: Joseph Hueber; secco paintings by Joseph Michael Gebler), Graz. (Photo: Sylvia Stegbauer.)

refectories, some of which were splendidly furnished, as examples in Krems, Graz, Vienna, Győr, and Trenčín show. The stucco ceilings in the Viennese and Krems refectories, as well as that in Győr, also have an elaborate program.

3. The Former Jesuit University

Of the 1,200 to 1,300 students, an average of four hundred to five hundred studied theology and philosophy. Three professors taught philosophy, two professors each taught scholastic theology and morals, and one professor each taught ethics, mathematics, sacred scripture, controversy, Hebrew, and canon law.²⁶ The former Jesuit university was built next to the college in 1607–1609. A previously mentioned copperplate engraving by Andreas Trost in Macher's topographical description of the city of Graz²⁷ shows the original appearance of the façade. There were six lecture halls on the ground floor

²⁶ Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, p. 553.

²⁷ Macher, *Graecium*. The print can be found between pages 34 and 35.

and an assembly hall, and a theater hall decorated with frescoes by Giovanni Pietro de Pomis on the upper floor.²⁸ It was not until after the dissolution of the order (1773) that it was remodeled in 1778/1781 by the architect Joseph Hueber (1717–1787). The assembly hall and theater hall were finally converted into a library and decorated with ornamental secco paintings.²⁹

During the Jesuit period, theater performances and disputations were held in the auditorium and the theater hall on the upper floor. Thesis prints were engraved for the celebrations and contain information about the professors, the graduate, and the exam theses. They also served as a tribute to the thesis patron. The graphics collection in the Albertina in Vienna holds a thesis print³⁰ from 1659 by a Carniolan student (Johannes Andreas Gallenfels) that studied at the Jesuit university in Graz. The print was engraved by Philip Kilian and is dedicated to Wolf Engelbert Count of Auersperg³¹ (1610–1673), who was chamberlain to Ferdinand II and governor of Carniola.

Theater plays—whether school plays or public performances—made up an essential part of education, staged in the university's theater hall or also on temporary stages; for example, in the inner courtyard of the college. In April 1600, in honor of Archduke Ferdinand and his wife Archduchess Maria Anna, the tragedy of King Saul was performed. A print of the play,³² published by Widmanstetter, is kept in the Provincial Library in Graz. The play *Cäcilia*, for example, was performed in Graz in 1603³³ and in Ljubljana in 1713.³⁴ Elaborate stage designs, costumes, lighting effects, and music were crucial to staging the plays presented.

The creation of emblems was also part of the curriculum to learn Latin and practice it. To honor graduating students, the younger students and the professors produced small emblem books. Liselotte Caithaml dealt with a collection of student emblems from the Jesuit grammar school in Graz.³⁵ Emblematics played an important role: the aforementioned staircase in the college, as well as Saint Catherine's Church with the mausoleum between the Jesuit church and the convent, are decorated with emblems.

²⁸ Bundesdenkmalamt (ed.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, pp. 79–80.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83.

³⁰ Albertina, Deutsche DG n. m. GM Hetsch-Kupferschmied.

³¹ Luka Ručigaj is currently working on his dissertation on Count Auersperg: *Patron of Arts Wolf Engelbert, Count of Auersperg (1610–1673)*.

³² Graff, *Grazer Theaterdrucke*, p. 250, no. 3, Steiermärkische Landesbibliothek, T 43.059 I.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 250, no. 4, Steiermärkische Landesbibliothek, A 513.482 I.

³⁴ Kuret, *Jesuiten Schultheater*, p. 152; See also the digital repository *Drama Activity of the College* by Deželak Trojar.

³⁵ Caithaml, *Emblembücher*.



Figure 5: Veit Königer, portal of the former Jesuit convent (today Domherrenhof) on Bürgergasse, Graz, 1763. (Photo: Sylvia Stegbauer.)

4. Holy Spirit Chapel in the Jesuit Convent

Three convents were established in Graz. The Ferdinandeum on Färbergasse, the Josepheum on Mariahilferstraße, and the artistically most important one on Bürgergasse. The former Jesuit Convent at Bürgergasse no. 1, today Domherrenhof, was established by Archduke Charles II and built in 1595/1597.³⁶

Like the Ferdinandeum in Graz, a music seminary was founded in Ljubljana (1600), which provided music for the church.³⁷ Whereas the Ferdinandists were free to choose their profession, were obliged to participate musically in the Jesuit church, and received lessons in singing and making music,³⁸ the pupils at the convent on Bürgergasse devoted themselves to their spiritual career. Bernhard Duhr, S.J., reports in his second volume of *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* (History of the Jesuits in the German-Speaking Countries) about the archducal convent. In 1618, it housed one hundred pupils, including about twenty to twenty-five counts and barons. After the devastating fire on October 10th, 1627, and a reconstruction, it accommodated about 140 pupils in 1628. At the end of the 1640s, however, only about fifty to sixty theology students lived in the convent due to war and inflation.³⁹

Macher's topographical description of the city of Graz includes a copper engraving by Andreas Trost with a depiction of Saint Catherine's Church and the mausoleum. At the side, part of the wall of the convent facing the mausoleum forecourt and its original Renaissance façade can be seen.⁴⁰ Franz Schmelter, who served as *Regens* from 1761–1773, carried out a complete reconstruction from 1762 onward. The complex was given a late Baroque façade by Joseph Hueber, who took over the workshop of Joseph Carlone in Graz in 1740 and was court architect from 1753. Hueber worked for the Styrian noble families Eggenberg, Herberstein, and Attems. He was responsible for structural alterations to the Attems family manor in Dornava in Lower Styria (today Slovenia) and the Batthyány family manor in Ludbreg in northern Croatia. The most important artists in southeastern Europe were connected to workshops in Graz as a place of exchange.⁴¹

The sculptor Veit Königer (1729–1792), for example, was responsible for the new portal on Bürgergasse. Designed by Königer in 1763, the stone portal with pilasters holding a curved arch is crowned by two putti supporting a cartouche

³⁶ Bundesdenkmalamt (ed.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, p. 61.

³⁷ Kuret, *Jesuiten Schultheater*, p. 150.

³⁸ Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, p. 648.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 620.

⁴⁰ Macher, *Graecium*. The print can be found between pages 56 and 57.

⁴¹ Botica, Josef Hueber, pp. 89, 91, 97–100.



Figure 6: Veit Königer, marble tabernacle in the house chapel, 1763; Eustachius Gabriel, fresco decoration of the chapel in the former Jesuit convent in Graz, circa 1770/1771, Domherrenhof, Graz. (Photo: Sylvia Stegbauer.)

with a relief of Archduke Charles II. The personifications of religion and science are enthroned on the sides. Königer also created the sandstone fountain sculpture in the inner courtyard of the former Jesuit convent in 1763, depicting Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra.⁴² He also created the marble tabernacle in the house chapel with a relief of Saint Barbara and angel figures on the sides.⁴³

The frescoes in the house chapel of the Jesuit convent were painted around 1770/1771.⁴⁴ They depict the Annunciation of Mary, the Trinity with the four continents, and the baptism of Christ. The miracle of Pentecost can be seen

⁴² A similar sculpture can be found in Ljubljana. At the initiative of Ludwig Schönleben (1590–1663), the father of Johann Ludwig Schönleben (1618–1681), a new town fountain was erected in front of the Jesuit grammar school in 1653 during his term as mayor of the town. The fountain was decorated with a sculpture of Hercules by Johannes Khumersteiner. The fountain was destroyed in the late eighteenth century. The original Hercules is now displayed in the arcaded courtyard of the town hall. A copy can be seen today on Old Square (*Stari trg*). See: Deželak Trojar, *Janez Ludvik Schönleben*, pp. 29–30; Kemperl, Klemenčič, and Weigl, *Baroque Ljubljana*, pp. 44–45.

⁴³ Bundesdenkmalamt (ed.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, pp. 63–64, 67.

⁴⁴ Bushart, Eustachius Gabriel, p. 216.

centrally on the apse wall. The interweaving of the viewer's real space and the illusory world becomes clear in the decoration program.⁴⁵ The apostles are in real space, so to speak, and it is a question of reality and illusion. The program addresses the missionary activity of the order, the role of the theology students living in the convent, and their future clerical career. Therefore, this program of frescoes highlights the mediation of Jesuit spiritual ideas.

The frescoes are attributed to Eustachius Gabriel.⁴⁶ Bruno Bushart provided an important basis for the life and work of Gabriel. Anica Cevc⁴⁷ also dealt with the artist and his activities in Carniola, and Barbara Murovec and Markus Enzinger also studied the artist's oeuvre. Gabriel was born in Unterschwarzach in 1724 and died in Ljubljana on October 5th, 1772.⁴⁸ In his will, which is preserved in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, he stated that he intended to be buried in the crypt at the Franciscan church in Ljubljana. His artist colleague Martin Johann Schmidt (Kremser Schmidt) is also mentioned in the will, who was to create a high altarpiece for the parish church of Saints Peter and Paul in Gabriel's homeland: "verschaffe ich ein Hoch Altar-Plat pr. 500 fl. zu der Pfarr-Kirche Reitte, welches der Herr v. Schmid in Crems mach(en) und der Universall Erb bezahlen solle."⁴⁹ Because Kremser Schmidt was mentioned in the Swabian painter's will, the artists must have known each other. The latest research shows that Kremser Schmidt was in Ljubljana at about the same time, where he decorated the fresco in the staircase of the Gruber Mansion and the chapel there.⁵⁰

In Styria, in addition to the frescoes in the former Jesuit convent in Graz, which are stylistically similar⁵¹ to the works (1765/1766) in Pleß an der Iller (Germany), Gabriel also created frescoes in the chapel of Premstätten Castle near Graz in 1772. Gabriel also created the ceiling painting of the rectory

⁴⁵ Regarding the illusory and real worlds, see: Ganz, *Scheinwelt und Realpräsenz*.

⁴⁶ Although Egger (Egger, Caspar Johann Fibich, pp. 54–57) and Brucher (Brucher, *Barocke Deckenmalerei*, pp. 93–96), as well as *Kunsttopographie* (Bundesdenkmalamt (ed.), *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Graz*, p. 65) still assumed that the frescoes were by Caspar Johann Fibich, Bushart (Bushart, Eustachius Gabriel) was able to clearly demonstrate that it was the Swabian painter Eustachius Gabriel. Meine-Schawe and Schawe (*Die Sammlung Reuschel*, p. 72) also hold this view.

⁴⁷ Cevc, *Švabski slikar Eustachius Gabriel*.

⁴⁸ Murovec, *Eustachiusa Gabriela*, p. 154; NŠAL, ŽA [Parish Archives] Ljubljana – Sv. Nikolaj, *Matične knjige* [Registers of Births and Deaths], MMK [Register of Deaths] 1771–1812.

⁴⁹ Translation: "I provide a high altar piece for 500 fl. for the parish church of Reute, which Mr. Schmid in Crems is to make and the universal heir is to pay for."

⁵⁰ See also: Klemenčič, *Opis Kremser Schmidtovih poslikav*.

⁵¹ Bushart, *Bemerkungen zu Eustachius Gabriel*, p. 120. Thanks to Markus Enzinger for his advice in this regard and for the professional exchange.

chapel (demolished in 1960) in Klagenfurt in 1769/1771, and he is no stranger to Carniola either. In 1772 he decorated the auditorium of the Jesuit college in Ljubljana, which was destroyed by fire in 1774.⁵² This indicates that Gabriel received two commissions from the Jesuits in the Austrian province of the order. However, there are only references to Gabriel's work in the Jesuit college in Ljubljana in his will.⁵³ Gabriel mentions the ceiling frescoes in the auditorium as follows: "der mir an dem Jesuiten Auditorio ausständigen 200 Ducaten."⁵⁴

In 1772, Gabriel decorated the banquet hall of Smlednik Castle near Ljubljana with frescoes. A design drawing for the chapel there is associated with Eustachius Gabriel and is now kept in the Albertina's graphics collection in Vienna.⁵⁵ The study is interesting because it was not executed—presumably due to Gabriel's death—but it shows some types of figures that can also be seen in the Graz chapel. The drawing is typical of Gabriel's working method: his figure types are based on works by others and are repeated several times in Gabriel's works. The commission for Smlednik Castle itself is also worth mentioning. It is presumably a prestigious commission from Baron Flödnig, who also commissioned portraits from the artist at this time and tried to elevate the status of his family but drove himself and his family to financial ruin.⁵⁶

Conclusion

So far, there has been no comprehensive art-historical overview of Jesuit sacred and secular buildings in Graz. The city was an important artistic and cultural center, and it was a place of exchange for artists from what are now Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, and Hungary. Today, despite the changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the entire settlement complex is an impressive testimony to the order, and it is one of the largest college buildings of the sixteenth century. The settlement of the order in the city, the Jesuit buildings and reconstructions, the use of the buildings by the order, the proximity of the order to the Habsburgs, the political circumstances, the Jesuit presence in the city, and the relevance of the arts are central considerations. A historical as well as constructional and functional-historical investigation is planned to close research gaps here. For example, the fresco program of Holy Spirit Chapel of

⁵² Bushart, Eustachius Gabriel, pp. 205, 211–213, 218.

⁵³ ARS, SI AS 308, Serija [Series] I, 4, 78, Testament Eustachija Gabriela (October 2nd, 1772).

⁵⁴ Translation: "of the 200 ducats due to me for the Jesuit auditorium."

⁵⁵ Murovec, Freske Eustachiusa Gabriela, p. 155; Albertina, Deutsche Schule, vol. 73 (Ö23), inventory no. 25591. It is listed in the collection as a work by Leopold Mitterhofer.

⁵⁶ See also: Preinfalk, *Plemiške rodbine na Slovenskem*, pp. 58–60.

the former Jesuit convent in Graz and the use of the chapel have not yet been studied in detail. As has been shown in this article, the program is devoted to the missionary activity of the order, the role of the theology students living in the convent, and their future clerical careers. This fresco program therefore highlights the mediation of Jesuit spiritual ideas. Particularly noteworthy is the *Prunkstiege* (magnificent staircase) in the college, decorated with stucco and emblems. This staircase is based on a Marian and meditation program. Other examples in the Austrian province of the order show that this is not a rare type. As demonstrated here, Mary is identified with the ladder to heaven and subsequently as the intercessor to God. Using Graz as an example, this analysis of programs continues the discussion of research on the order's art and cultural policy.

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Jezuiti v Notranji Avstriji

Študije o postojanki reda v Gradcu

Povzetek

V prispevku so predstavljeni prvi rezultati raziskave v okviru doktorske disertacije, ki poteka na Univerzi na Dunaju. Osrednji predmet raziskave sta gradbena in funkcionalna zgodovina Jezuitskega kolegija v Gradcu, s poudarkom na uporabi umetnosti jezuitskega reda. Gradec je predstavljal pomembno umetnostno in kulturno središče in je bil eden od ključnih krajev, kjer je potekala izmenjava umetnikov, ki so delovali na prostoru današnje Avstrije, Hrvaške, Madžarske in Slovenije. Kljub spremembam v 18. in 19. stoletju celoten kompleks nekdanjega Jezuitskega kolegija v Gradcu še vedno impresivno priča o vplivu, ki ga je red imel v 16. stoletju. Jezuitski kolegij v Gradcu je eden največjih kompleksov kolegijskih stavb v Avstriji.

Pričujoči prispevek se osredotoča na štiri stavbe, ki so predstavljene kot tematski sklopi. 1.) Poznogotsko cerkev svetega Tilna (Egidija) so jezuiti prevzeli leta 1577. V 17. stoletju so jo barokizirali ter zgradili zakristijo in stranske kapele, ki so jih marijanske kongregacije pod jezuitskim vodstvom uporabljale za bogoslužje in srečanja. Da je red te kapele uporabljal, potrjujejo tudi natisnjene molitve in pesmi, ki so nastale ob praznovanjih godov svetnikov reda. 2.) Jezuitski kolegij, ki se je od leta 1572 naprej postopoma gradil nasproti cerkve, je bil prenovljen v obdobju baroka. Posebno pozornost si zasluži stopnišče v kolegiju, ki je okrašeno s štukaturami in emblemi ter temelji

na marijanskem in meditacijskem programu. Ta tip »slavnostnega stopnišča« je mogoče najti tudi v drugih kolegijih avstrijske province reda, na primer v Györu na Madžarskem. 3.) Prispevek prav tako obravnava nekdanjo jezuitsko univerzo, ki je bila zgrajena med letoma 1607 in 1609. V njej so bile v pritličju predavalnice, v zgornjem nadstropju pa gledališka dvorana. V slednji so bili poleg pomembnega jezuitskega gledališča tudi t. i. »disputi« kot del diplomskih slovesnosti. V jezuitskem kolegiju, zgrajenem med letoma 1595 in 1597, so bili nastanjeni študenti teologije. 4.) Hišna kapela je bila v okviru popolne obnove v 18. stoletju opremljena z iluzionističnimi freskami, katerih program odraža misijonarsko dejavnost reda. Ta razprava na primeru Gradca predstavi aktualne raziskave umetnosti in kulturne politike jezuitskega reda.