

Visual Representation of the Young Widow-Mother in the Early Modern Times: The Castle of Slovenska Bistrica and the Patronage of Maria Juliana Countess Vetter von der Lilie

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Original scientific paper
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<https://www.doi.org/10.17234/9789533791654.04>

The article provides an insight into methodological approaches and research questions in early modern studies of female patronage, relevant to the visual representation of a young mother-widow from Inner Austria. Maria Juliana Countess Vetter von der Lilie (1672–1708) inherited the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica in Styria (Slovenia) after husband's death in 1695. Although the Castle was redecorated after 1717 by Ignaz Maria Count Attems, the uncle of the deceased, several spaces can still be linked to the women's patronage. A biblical quotation on the main portal announces that a wise woman built her house, a fresco on the first floor depicts the Allegory of Mother Earth, and Vischer's print of the garden and the ceiling painting of the pharmacy also show themes often related to women. Maria Juliana Vetter is a prominent secular noblewoman who has emerged from her husband's shadow and from oblivion in the under-researched field of female patronage in Central Europe.

Keywords: women art patronage, iconography of the Earth, ceiling paintings with herbs, unicorn, garden, pharmacy, around 1700, Windisch Feistritz (Slovenska Bistrica), Styria, Maria Juliana Countess Vetter von der Lilie, Simon Vouet, Michael Dorigny, Melchior Küsel

INTRODUCTION¹

Some three decades have passed since the beginning of systematic research on female patronage and collecting in Early Modern Europe.² The vast majority of studies focus on women's patronage during the Italian Renaissance,³ reflecting the research agenda that (male) art historians had begun on male patronage over a century earlier. In the wake of Frances Haskell's groundbreaking 1963 study of Baroque art *Patrons and Painters*,⁴ one of the research peaks was in the 1980s, when a series of studies

were devoted to the "Great Men". It was not until the 1990s that the first methodological reflections on female commissioning, which until then had been ignored even by the feminists, took place.⁵ As Jaynie Anderson states, "women patrons have suffered a particular form of death [...] because the study of patronage has traditionally been allied more closely to historical biography than art history"; additionally, widows and nuns stood out among the patrons, as well as "works of art of great quality", neither of which was an interesting area of study for young feminists with a strong interest in the marginal.⁶

The purpose of this paper is twofold:

- Observation of methodological approaches and research questions in women patronage studies of the Early Modern Times.
- A case study on Maria Juliana Countess Vetter von der Lilie, who at the age of 23 became a widow and, as a universal heiress, the owner of the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica (German: Windisch Feistritz) in Styria.

“BEYOND ISABELLA”

The collection of essays *Beyond Isabella*, published well over two decades ago, was one of the milestones in expanding research on women's patronage beyond extraordinary figures. Nevertheless, it remained within the most studied period and region – the Italian Renaissance.⁷ These and similar studies, however, have been instrumental in broadening awareness of the need for research in art history beyond Isabella d'Este. Previously, the emphasis on the uniqueness and exceptionality of a few female individuals had further solidified the myth of women's insignificance and irrelevance to the study of patronage and consequently highlighted the need for systematic research on the role of women in the visual representation of the nobility and their role in individual families.⁸ The cultural heritage of Central Europe, and of the Baroque period in particular, has not yet been systematically explored with regard to the questions of the contribution and relevance of female patrons, women as gender identities, and the significance of women in family patronage. Wives, widows, and regents acted within a more extensive family network.⁹ It is often difficult to establish whether the patronage concept belonged to her or to her husband when the woman was married, and this is, of course, even more the case in regions where male patronage is less well researched, such as Inner Austria, which is the subject of the present study. For the time being, entire commissioning and collecting projects are “often giving the credit to [...] husbands, fathers, or other male members of [...] families”.¹⁰

Research on women's secular commissioning has predominantly focused on case studies and social practices of regents at European courts, widows from the Habsburg dynasty, and individual women at Italian courts.¹¹ However, none of these themes provides an appropriate comparative context for the case study in Styria discussed below. The above-mentioned female patrons were representatives of ruling families with politically defined, usually transitional social roles, in which they were the intermediate link between the deceased and the next male ruler. The research on Catherine de' Medici (1519–1589), Maria de' Medici (1575–1642), Margaret of Austria (1584–1611), Maria Maddalena d'Austria (1589–

1631), Eleonora Gonzaga, the Elder (1598–1655), Eleonora Gonzaga, the Younger (1630–1686), and others, is often included in this context. As the ruling elite of society, they had insight into the patronage practices of their fathers, brothers and husbands (emperors), but they acted, as their mothers and other female relatives often did, in foreign courts. The research of these women is generally more oriented towards understanding cultural transfer, foreign policy, and diplomatic strategies, in which marriages between royal houses played a key role,¹² rather than studying Early Modern European commissioning through the lens of gender.

Two central themes that still dominate the study of female patronage and the representation of women in the Early Modern period are: women and religious art, and women and portraiture.¹³ Some iconographic themes, particularly characteristic of the images women commissioned, have been identified: “the ubiquity of St Jerome in altarpieces commissioned by widows in memory of their husbands; the frequency of Marian imagery; the frequent references to Diana as a model of chastity; and the invocation to St Margaret of Antioch as the patron saint of women in childbirth.”¹⁴ Beyond iconography, research on women, especially widows, as commissioners of architecture and gardens is relevant to our case study.¹⁵

Because of the limited old records and the sparse research on the nobility of Styria in the Early Modern period, many questions will (for the time being) remain unanswered. However, it is worth recalling the relevant issues raised by Sheryl E. Reiss concerning women's patronage:

Who were the female secular patrons in Europe from the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries? What were their relationships with other women and with men, including their kinsmen and the artists and the architects whose works they commissioned? To what social classes did these women belong and how were they able to finance the undertakings they sponsored? What types of works did they request? What were the personal, familial, and societal motivations for their patronage? What were the social, political, and religious groups and networks to which these patrons belonged? Did the character of patronage by women differ from that of men and what were the mechanisms of their patronage in a male-dominated culture?¹⁶

The discussions at Imotski were instrumental in stimulating my reflections on the traditional art historical narratives deeply rooted in the research and scholarship of women art historians. Moreover, there is an urgent need for a methodological revision of how we think about women's role in the ‘alliance’

patronage or independent secular commissioning. However, the observation of the editors Allyson M. Poska, Jane Couchman, and Katherine A. McIver in the introduction to *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* that scholars have already “transformed the study of women and gender” does not yet pertain to the area of Central Europe considered here. The topic of patronage in the Inner Austrian territories of the Habsburg Monarchy in general, and of women in particular, is extremely under-researched. One of the major challenges is the scarcity of archival sources and the poor investigation of those that have been preserved. In Slovenia, research after 1945 was further complicated by the handling of the cultural heritage of the nobility and the confiscation of property. Knowledge of the origin and names of the owners of the confiscated objects held in public museums is still an ideologically and politically charged issue.

MARIA JULIANA COUNTESS VETTER VON DER LILIE AND THE CASTLE OF SLOVENSKA BISTRICA

The case study examines the female patronage in the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica in the part of the historical province of Styria (Inner Austria in the Habsburg Monarchy) that is now in Slovenia (Fig. 1). The Castle came into the free and hereditary ownership of the Vetter family in 1587, as the court councillor Hans Vetter acquired it.¹⁷ The Vettters owned the Slovenska Bistrica Castle for more than a hundred years. From 1653, they were, as Imperial Counts (Reichsgrafen), allowed to use the title *von der Lilie und zu Feistritz*.¹⁸ The last owner of the Vetter family, Michael Weikhard, married Maria Juliana (1672–1708), née Zollner, in 1689 and died on 7 February 1695 with no living descendants. His 23-year-old wife, a daughter of Franz Johann Zollner and Maria Anna Countess Attems, sister of Ignaz Maria Count Attems, became his universal heiress.

Fig. 1.
The Castle of
Slovenska Bistrica
(photo:
Karin Šmid)



The latter, who bought the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica in 1717, already owned the nearby Stattenberg Manor, and was one of the most distinguished art patrons in Central Europe around 1700.¹⁹ The Castle remained in the Attems family until the end of the Second World War, when it was confiscated as the property of an enemy of the new Yugoslav state and the army moved in.²⁰ As it was degraded, emptied and neglected, only modest fragments of the Baroque furnishing survived in the Castle, including statues from the garden and the ceiling painting of the Great Hall, staircase and chapel by the painter Franz Ignaz Flurer (1688–1742), created for Count Attems around 1720. Hitherto overlooked frescoes and other architectural and artistic features, probably commissioned around 1700, are also preserved in the Castle.

INSCRIPTION ON THE MAIN PORTAL OF THE CASTLE

The Castle is a four-wing structure from the 16th century with an inner, partly arcaded, courtyard.²¹ During the Baroque period, the Castle underwent extensive construction and reconstruction work at least twice. The most prominent change, dating from the late 17th or the early 18th century, is the reshaping of the main entrance and its adornment with the inscription (Fig. 2): *SAPIENS: MVLLER AEDIFICA[T] DOMVM SVAM: PROV: CAP: XIV.* (The wise woman builds her house, Proverbs 14, 1). This text can be attributed to a commission from Maria Juliana Countess Vetter and identified as one of the most important programmatic formulations concerning her self-presentation as a commissioning authority.

Countess Vetter, as the female patron of architecture and interior decoration, renovated the Castle with her first husband, Michael Weikhard, and her second husband, Johann Joseph Count Wildenstein, and left a visual imprint on it to this day. Although this has been overlooked by art historical research, the spatial and visual presence of the young Countess – in her roles as wife, widow, grieving mother of her deceased children from her first marriage and mother to her children from her second marriage, from whom her son Johann Maximilian Wildenstein inherited the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica after her death – has remained preserved. In the inscription she does not refer to herself as a widow or otherwise specify her social status, but rather, by choosing a biblical text, she describes herself ‘merely’ as a woman who has built a home for herself. She represented herself as the owner and (after her deceased husband) the new ‘head’ of the family. The exact date of the renovation of the portal is not known, so it remains an open question whether it was altered in the short period



Fig. 2.
Main portal, the
Castle of Slovenska
Bistrica
(photo: Karin Šmid)

after the death of her first husband, i.e. in the widowhood before her marriage to her second husband, or whether (more likely) she continued to act as the owner of such a prominent place as the main entrance of the Castle even after her second marriage.²²

FRESCO OF THE ALLEGORY OF MOTHER EARTH

Furthermore, Juliana Maria's patronage can be seen in the stucco-framed ceiling fresco, *quadro riportato*, depicting the *Allegory of the Earth* in the first-floor room (Fig. 3), directly opposite to which Ignaz Maria, Count Attems, built a Great Hall about two decades later and commissioned the ceiling painting with the *Apotheosis of Hercules* from Flurer. The anonymous painter of the *Allegory of the Earth* belongs to the circle of artists such as Lorenz Steeger, Matthias Echter and Antonio Maderni, who were active in Styria around 1700.²³

A half-reclining female figure with ears of corn in her hair feeds a putto from her breast, another putto plucks grapes from a vine, a third one sits in

the arms of a lion which is fed grapes by Cupid, and the two flying putti carry a walled city or a castle (Fig. 3). The painter used as a model a print by the Augsburg engraver Melchior Küsel (1626–1683) with the subtitle/inscription *Siue parens rerum Tellus, Berecynthia mater / Seu Cybele malis dici, das nomina Terrae* (Fig. 4). The goddess with children is the Earth, Cybele, Berecynthia and Ceres – Mother Nature, the symbol of fertility,²⁴ who gives birth and nourishment. In the fresco, many details have been altered from the engraving, including the format of the image, but the iconographic and compositional source is unmistakable. The print by Küsel is not an original engraving, but a mirror reproduction of a print by Michael Dorigny after Simon Vouet's paintings for Anne of Austria from the Vestibule of the Queen at the Palace of Fontainebleau, made in 1644.²⁵ Although we cannot prove that Maria Juliana knew, or even chose, as the source for her own fresco the artwork for the Queen of France, i.e. a woman's commission, such a thesis undoubtedly seems seductive. Anne of Austria, the mother of



Fig. 3.
Allegory of the Earth,
ceiling painting, the
Castle of Slovenska
Bistrica
(photo: Karin Šmid)

Fig. 4.
Melchior Küsel: Allegory
of the Earth, engraving
(https://
wellcomecollection.org/
works/mdrjuc6g)



Louis XIV, who waited so long to give France an heir to the throne,²⁶ was a model for 17th-century mothers and, with the Val-de-Grâce, for female patronage strategies.²⁷

The same graphic model of the *Allegory of the Earth* was used by the painter Steeger in the Trautentfels Castle, but there it is part of a series of Four Elements.²⁸ In the Slovenska Bistrica Castle, however, there is no indication that other Elements have been depicted, so Mother-Earth is the only fresco representing a young mother who has built a home for herself and her children. Therefore, the Cybele can be interpreted as a mythological portrait of Maria Juliana, and the building carried by the putti as a representation of the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica. The number of putti in the fresco may have been reduced to correspond to the young patron's actual number of children (dead and alive).

Fig. 5.
Andreas Trost:
Garden and the
Castle of Slovenska
Bistrica, engraving
(G. M. Vischer:
Topographia ducatus
Stiriae, Graz, ca.
1700.)



The fresco in Slovenska Bistrica can be interpreted as both a symbol and a mythological portrait of the patron Maria Juliana. Presumably, the location of the chapel dedicated to Saint Mary (before Count Attems moved it to the ground floor) was in the south-east tower of the first floor, next to the room with the *Allegory of the Earth*, so that the secular and sacred Mother were spatially connected, and Maria Juliana in the *anticamera* followed the model of Saint Mary.²⁹

GARDEN AND PHARMACY

Two other, at least partially preserved, spaces – the garden and the pharmacy (herbal room) – were created or renovated at the end of the 17th century, when the Castle was owned by the Vettters, i.e. Maria Juliana. The garden was largely devastated after the Second World War and is rather poorly studied. The few publications mentioning it consider it one of the most beautiful Early Modern gardens in Styria.³⁰ The exact date of its creation is not known; the literature indicates that it has a late Renaissance design and a Baroque representative part. Its appearance is best documented by an engraving published in *Topographia ducatus Stiriae* by Georg Matthæus Vischer (1628–1696) (Fig. 5).³¹

The garden is separated from the Castle by a road. The portal then opens into the front garden area, where poultry enclosures can be seen on the left in the print (with a stable), and the vegetable garden with vegetable beds on the right. The central axial path from the main portal to the central portal of the ornamental garden in the rear area is designed as an avenue. One has the impression that the side kitchen gardens were to be concealed by the trees for representative purposes; in the ornamental garden, there were fountains, taxus pyramids, broderie parterres, and vegetable beds (recognisable from the striped design). The trees in the background could



Fig. 6. Ceiling painting in the pharmacy room, the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica (photo: Karin Šmid)

be fruit trees; as is often seen in Baroque ornamental gardens.³²

The prints for Vischer's *Topography* were engraved between 1676 and 1703. It is not known when the first edition was published in Vienna (with the year 1681); the second edition was published in Graz at the beginning of the 18th century.³³ After Vischer's death, most of the engravings were made by Andreas Trost, whose monogram AT also appears on the engraving of the garden in Slovenska Bistrica. According to Ivan Stopar and Primož Premzl, authors of the accompanying study to the facsimile edition of the prints of "Slovene" Styria published in 2006, the *Topography* got its final form around 1700. Stopar and Premzl include the two prints of the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica among the *vedute* produced by Andreas Trost after Vischer's death.³⁴ In addition, they listed Maria Juliana Countess Wildenstein,³⁵ i.e. the widow Vetter, in the "list of owners" of the castles for the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica. How much, if any, credit Maria Juliana deserves for the Baroque renovation of the garden cannot be ascertained. However, it is highly probable that the two views of Slovenska Bistrica Castle in the topographical album are part of the young owner's representational strategy.

On the ground floor of the castle there is a frescoed room which, because of its function as a pharmacy, is in direct connection with the garden and is thought to have been commissioned by Maria Juliana. Medicine, botany and horticulture were among the fields of female activity in the secular Baroque.³⁶ The flower and herb garden is reflected in the ceiling paintings of the apothecary room. The frescoes, some of which are very poorly preserved, depict putti carrying flowers and herbs, as well as ointments, corals and a unicorn horn (Figs. 6, 7). Inscriptions in various languages emphasise the healing properties of the herbs and other objects depicted. Of particular

interest is the image of the unicorn horn (Fig. 7), after which many pharmacies in early modern Europe were named. One of the main healing effects of the precious narwhal teeth was detoxification. The healing power of narwhal teeth was described by many experts, including the Styrian physician Adam von Lebenwaldt in his book *Land-Stadt-Und Haus-Artzney-Buch*, published in 1695.³⁷ The first pharmacy was brought to Slovenska Bistrica by the Minorites, who came to the town at the invitation of the Vetter family and had their own convent with the Vetter family tombs in the immediate vicinity of the Castle. Around 1700 the town of Slovenska Bistrica seems to have had two pharmacies, one sacred and the other secular, which were connected to each other.



Fig. 7. Ceiling painting in the pharmacy room, detail with a unicorn horn, the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica (photo: Karin Šmid)

One of the few archival traces left of the young Maria Juliana is her stay at the Tobelbad spa near Graz in 1695,³⁸ described by the Styrian historian Aquilinus Julius Caesar as a place that was supposed to “increase the fertility of women, or at least provide them with entertainment appropriate to their status.”³⁹

Due to the lack of study of the members of the Vetter family, many aspects of their patronage remain open, including the commissions of religious artworks from Maria Juliana in the Minorites convent and church. She probably commissioned the painting of the Chapel of the Holy Cross in the Minorite church with frescoes, which can be attributed to the same painter as the ceiling painting of the *Allegory of the Earth* and the one in the pharmacy. Before the Attems’ renovation, there may have been a *grotto* on the ground floor of Slovenska Bistrica Castle, which Ignaz Maria Count Attems transformed into the Chapel of the Virgin Mary. This may be suggested by an older fresco on the altar wall, with painted architecture and nude women in an ancient landscape.

CONCLUSION

Although traces of Maria Juliana Vetter von der Lilie’s patronage are scarce, they are the only known examples of highly visible female secular architectural and artistic commissions. The preserved visual imprints, such as those left by Countess Vetter, undoubtedly call for a revision of the understanding of the role of the female gender in the visual culture of the Early Modern period in Styria.⁴⁰ “For many women, piety, filial and wifely duty, and the preservation of memory were prime motivating factors.”⁴¹ Still, women’s ambitions were often much greater, and widow status was crucial for commissioning and visual representation, giving them greater autonomy and access to financial means. Through the portal’s textual design and paintings’ iconography, widow

Vetter demonstrated that she recognised the power of visual self-presentation.

This study aims to be one of the starting steps in the research of female patronage in the Early Modern period for the Inner Austrian lands. In order to gain comprehensive insight into the activities of overlooked female art supporters, patrons, and collectors, several additional case studies will have to be written and linked together. Maria Juliana was not the only female owner of a castle or manor house in Styria at the time Vischer’s views of the castles and manor houses were created. On the contrary, in the list of owners they prepared for the facsimiles of the views of the Slovenian part of Styria, Ivan Stopar and Primož Premzl were able to list a number of women with associated manors, among them Susanne Abfaltrer, Regina Felicitas Countess Gaisruck, Christina Crescentia Countess Herberstein, Susanne Maximilliana Countess Maschwander, Maria Eleonora Baroness Reising, Maria Eleonora Countess Rosenberg, née Countess Khiessl, Christina Susanne Baroness Sauer and Crescentia Countess Wagensberg.⁴² For the time being, we know almost nothing about their patronage; among the few exceptions, we could mention Christina Crescentia Countess Herberstein, especially as an example of conjugal patronage. She is also connected with Slovenska Bistrica Castle, as she was the (second) wife of Ignaz Maria Count Attems when he bought and furnished the Castle. The Attems family has preserved the heritage and visual memory of their relative Maria Juliana over the centuries. Although her biography and the details of her commission are probably lost forever, through an iconographic reading of the place and representational strategies in the period around 1700, the young woman Maria Juliana, who built her home in the Slovenska Bistrica Castle, can be re-included among the important Early Modern patrons of Styria.

Bilješke

- ¹ I would like to thank the organising committee, especially Jasenka Gudelj (Venice), for inviting me to the conference XVII. Dani Cvita Fiskovića, for the opportunity to present a comparative “Slovenian” theme and for permission to publish it in English. Special thanks for my participation in Imotski go to Ljerka Dulibić (Zagreb), for close reading and suggestions to Anja Božič (Vienna), Robert Born (Oldenburg), and Mirjana Repanić-Braun (Zagreb), for the photographs of the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica to Karin Šmid (Maribor).
- ² See references in: SHEILA FFOLIOTT, »Introduction«, *Women Patrons and Collectors*, eds. S. Bracken, A. M. Gáldy, A. Turpin, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2012, XIX: notes 3 and 4; *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, eds. A. M. Poska, J. Couchman, K. A. McIver, Farnham, Burlington, 2013, esp. 462-467.
- ³ For example: CATHERINE KING, *Renaissance Women Patrons. Wives and Widows in Italy c. 1300–1550*, Manchester, New York, 1998; SYLVIA FERINO-PAGDEN, *Isabella d’Este. „la prima donna del mondo“*. Fürstin und Mäzenatin der Renaissance, Ausstellung Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, ed. W Seipel, Wien, 1994.
- ⁴ FRANCIS HASKELL, *Patrons and Painters. A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, London, 1963; see also TOMASO MONTANARI, »Francis Haskell - Patrons and Painters. A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque, 1963«, *La riscoperta del Seicento. I libri fondativi*, eds. A. Bacchi, L. Barroero, Genova, 2017, 102-113.
- ⁵ JAYNIE ANDERSON, »Rewriting the History of Art Patronage«, *Women Patrons of Renaissance Art, 1300–1600* (comp. and introd. by J. Anderson), Oxford, 1996 (= *Renaissance Studies*, 10/2 [1996]), 129.
- ⁶ JAYNIE ANDERSON, *Rewriting...* (note 5), 129-130.
- ⁷ *Beyond Isabella. Secular Women Patrons of Art in Renaissance Italy*, eds. S. E. Reiss, D. G. Wilkins, Kirksville/Miss., 2001. Twelve years later, one of the two editors, Sheryl E. Reiss, has prepared a state of the research with relevant questions, a list of references (almost exclusively) in English and a strong regional focus on Italy, France, England, the Netherlands and Spain; see SHERYL E. REISS, »Beyond Isabella and Beyond. Secular Women Patrons of Art in Early Modern Europe«, *The Ashgate Research Companion...* (note 2), 445-467.
- ⁸ See CHARLES HOPE, »Artists, Patrons, and Advisers in the Italian Renaissance«, *Patronage in the Renaissance*, eds. G. Fitch Lytle, S. Orgel, Princeton/N.J., 1981, 293-343.
- ⁹ SHEILA FFOLIOTT, »European Women Patrons of Art and Architecture«, *Nordic Journal of Renaissance Studies*, 4 (2008) [https://www.njrs.dk/4_2008/ffolliott.pdf]; DAGMAR EICHBERGER, ANNE-MARIE JORDAN GSCHWEND, »Sammlungen und Kennerschaft. Habsburgerfrauen als Förderinnen der Künste«, *Frauen. Kunst und Macht. Drei Frauen aus dem Hause Habsburg*, Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck, eds. S. Haag, D. Eichberger, A. Jordan Gschwend, Wien, 2018, 11.
- ¹⁰ See for example JOY KEARNEY, »Agnes Block, a Collector of Plants and Curiosities in the Dutch Golden Age, and her Friendship with Maria Sibylla Merian, Natural History Illustrator«, *Women Patrons and Collectors...* (note 2), 68. For Italy some basic discussions have been published in: *Beyond Isabella...* (note 7).
- ¹¹ *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe. Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, ed. C. Lawrence, University Park/Pa., 1997; *Fürstliche Witwen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte eines Standes*, ed. U. Ilg, Petersberg, 2015; *The Making of Juana of Austria. Gender, Art, and Patronage in Early Modern Iberia*, ed. N. García Pérez, Baton Rouge, 2021. Cf. also ALLISON LEVY, »Widow’s Peek. Looking at Ritual and Representation«, *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. Levy, Hampshire, Burlington, 2003, 1-15.
- ¹² See *Early Modern Habsburg Women. Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities*, eds. A. J. Cruz, M. Galli Stampino, Farnham, Burlington, 2013.
- ¹³ JAYNIE ANDERSON, *Rewriting...* (note 5), 136, already in 1996 observed: “Conventionally it is believed that widows were patrons for pious reasons, but for some women [...] as for many of their contemporaries, patronage of art and architecture served first and foremost to convey familial and personal liberality.” In the book *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy. Making the Invisible Visible Through Art and Patronage*, ed. K. A. McIver, Farnham, Burlington, 2012, the topic is addressed in four thematic strands: 1: Overshadowed, Overlooked: Historical Invisibility; 2: Becoming Visible Through Portraiture; 3: Spatial Visibility Reconstructed; 4: Sacred Invisibility Unveiled. See also *Women and Portraits in Early Modern Europe. Gender, Agency, Identity*, ed. A. Pearson, Aldershot, Burlington, 2008; CATHARINE E. KING, »Lay Patronage and Religious Art«, 95-113; and ANDREA G. PEARSON, »Images of Women«, 489-507, both in: *The Ashgate Research Companion...* (note 2); ALICE E. SANGER, *Art, Gender and Religious Devotion in Grand Ducal Tuscany*, Farnham, Burlington, 2014.

- ¹⁴ JAYNIE ANDERSON, *Rewriting...* (note 5), 137; as well as Artemisia and other strong women: SHEILA FFOLLIOTT, »Catherine de' Medici as Artemisia. Figuring the Powerful Widow«, *Rewriting the Renaissance. The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, eds. M. W. Ferguson, M. Quilligan, N. J. Vickers, Chicago, London, 1987, 227-241.
- ¹⁵ For example, CAROLYN VALONE, »Architecture as a Public Voice for Women in Sixteenth-Century Rome«, *Renaissance Studies*, 15 (2001), 301-327 (and her earlier studies); KATHERINE A. MCIVER, »Locating Power: Women in the Urban Fabric of Sixteenth-Century Rome«, *Patronage, Gender and the Arts in Early Modern Italy*. Essays in Honor of Carolyn Valone, eds. K. A. McIver, C. Stollhans, New York, 2015, 21-41; CHRISTA SYRER, »Architekturwissen und Bautätigkeit von Fürstinnen in der frühen Neuzeit. Elisabeth Amalia von Pfalz-Neuburg und das Alte Schloss in Benrath im Kontext weiblicher Auftraggeber-schaft«, *Frauen Geschichten. Weiblicher Adel auf Schloss Benrath vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. S. Schweizer, B. Mismahl, Benrath, 2019, 39-53; BRUCE EDELSTEIN, *Eleonora di Toledo and the Creation of the Boboli Gardens*, Livorno 2022.
- ¹⁶ SHERYL E. REISS, *Beyond Isabella and Beyond...* (note 7), 445-446.
- ¹⁷ IVAN STOPAR, *Grajske stavbe v vzhodni Sloveniji. 2: Med Prekmurjem in porečjem Dravinje*, Ljubljana, 1991, 117; with ownership history of the Castle and bibliography, 115-124.
- ¹⁸ BERTHOLD BRETHOLZ, *Die Grafen Vetter von der Lilie*, Brünn, 1901; JOŽE KOROPEC, »Svet okoli Slovenske Bistrice do leta 1700«, *Zbornik občine Slovenska Bistrica I*, ed. F. Šerbelj, Ljubljana, 1983, 135.
- ¹⁹ The daughter Maria Juliana, with the same name as her mother, married Franz Dismas, son of Ignaz Maria Attems, heir of the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica. See Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Graz, Familienarchiv Pallavicino, K. 28, H. 415, Familienbuch des Hauses Attems, VI. Die steirische Linie, typescript.
- ²⁰ IVAN STOPAR, *Grajske stavbe ...* (note 17), 117.
- ²¹ Architectural history and archival material are poorly researched. Cf. IVAN STOPAR, *Grajske stavbe ...* (note 17), 115-124.
- ²² The widower Johann Joseph Count Wildenstein, acting as guardian of his minor son Johann Maximilian, sold the Castle of Slovenska Bistrica to Ignaz Maria Count Attems due to his wife's debts. IVAN STOPAR, *Grajske stavbe...* (note 17), 117.
- ²³ See GÜNTER BRUCHER, »Die barocke Deckenmalerei in der Steiermark«, *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Universität Graz*, 8 (1973), 1-122.
- ²⁴ Cf. CHARLOTTE STEINBRUCKER, HANS MARTIN VON ERFFA, »Cybele«, *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1953, Vol. 3, coll. 895-899; Jacqueline LECLERCQ-KADANER, »De la Terre-Mère à la Luxure. A propos de la migration des symboles«, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 18/69 (1975), 37; see also K. A. Wirth, »Erde«, *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1967, Vol. 5, 997-1104 (all with further references).
- ²⁵ WILLIAM R. CRELLY, *The Painting of Simon Vouet*, New Haven, London, 1962, 260-261, Cat. No. 251.
- ²⁶ For the print with the scene of Queen Anne of Austria handing over her son to the personification of France, see RICHARD HARRPETH: »52. Simon Vouet. Studie für die kniende Figur der Königin Anne d'Autriche«, *Simon Vouet. 100 neuentdeckte Zeichnungen aus den Beständen der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*. Eine Ausstellung der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung in der Neuen Pinakothek München, München, 1991, 146.
- ²⁷ JENNIFER G. GERMANN, »The Val-de-Grâce as a Portrait of Anne of Austria. Queen, Queen Regent, Queen Mother«, *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, ed. H. Hills, Aldershot, Burlington, 2003, 47-61; LISA A. ROTMIL, »Understanding Piety and Religious Patronage. The Case of Anne of Austria and the Val-de-Grâce«, *Art in Spain and the Hispanic World. Essays in Honour of Jonathan Brown*, ed. S. Schroth, London, 2010, 267-281.
- ²⁸ See GÜNTER BRUCHER, *Die barocke Deckenmalerei...* (note 22), Figs. 110, 113, 115, 117.
- ²⁹ In that way, Mary and the Holy Family were often used as virtuous examples during the Counter-Reformation; see for example HILDEGARD ERLEMANN, *Die Heilige Familie. Ein Tugendvorbild der Gegenreformation im Wandel der Zeit. Kult und Ideologie*, Münster, 1993.
- ³⁰ TIHOMIR GJORGJEVIĆ, »Putovanje Simona Klemena kroz severozapadne krajeve naše zemlje 1715 godine«, *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 16 (1920/1921) [Journals of Simon Clements Travel's in Germany etc. 1710 to 1716], 100; ALEŠ HAFNER, »Vrtnoarhitekturno ustvarjanje na Slovenjebistriškem«, *Zbornik občine...* (note 18), 163-167.
- ³¹ *Topographia ducatus Stiriae: dass ist eigentliche Delineation, und Abbildung aller Städte, Schlosser, Marchfleck, Lustgärten, Probsteyern, Stiffter, Clöster, und Kirchen, so sich in Hertzogthumb Steyrmarch befinden*, Wien, Graz [1681, around 1700].
- ³² For kindly helping me to describe the garden, I would like to express my gratitude to Iris Lauterbach (Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich).
- ³³ *Knjiga slovenještajerskih gradov 1676–1703 z izrezom Vischerjevega zemljevida Vojvodine Štajerske iz leta 1678*. GEORG MATTHÆUS VISCHER, *Topographia Ducatus Stiriae. Izbior* (compiled and accompanying texts by Ivan Stopar, Primož Premzl); on the open questions concerning the first edition and reprint of Vischer's book of vedute and the time of production of the individual engravings see introduction by Ivan Stopar, 1-2.
- ³⁴ *Knjiga slovenještajerskih gradov...* (note 33), 13.
- ³⁵ *Knjiga slovenještajerskih gradov...* (note 33), 96.
- ³⁶ See also RACHEL SAVAGE: »The Herbal Tradition and Its Influence on Women's Role in Garden-Making, 1600–1900«, *Garden History*, 46/1 (2018), 57-73.
- ³⁷ ELFRIEDE GRABNER, »Adam von Lebenwaldt und die Volksmedizin. Ein steirischer Arzt des 17. Jahrhunderts zwischen Volkshelkunde und Schulmedizin«, *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, 11 (1966), 6.
- ³⁸ JACOB WICHNER, »Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des Heilwesens, der Volksmedizin, der Bäder und Heilquellen in Steiermark bis inc. Jahr 1700«, *Mittheilungen des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, 33 (1885), 107: »die Fruchtbarkeit der Frauen befördern, oder wenigstens ihnen eine standmäßige Unterhaltung verschaffen«. She may also have stayed at the spa in 1697, when Christina Juliana Countess Wildenstein is mentioned.
- ³⁹ AQUILIN JULIUS CAESAR, *Staat- und Kirchengeschichte des Herzogthum Steyermarks*, Graz, 1786, Vol. 1, 8.
- ⁴⁰ For one of the rare studies on Styria see: SUSANNE KÖNIG-LEIN, »Maria von Bayern, Erzherzogin von Innerösterreich (1551-1608), als Auftraggeberin«, *Auftraggeber als Träger der Landesidentität. Kunst in der Steiermark vom Mittelalter bis 1918*, eds. D. F. Hobelleitner, E. Lein, Graz, 2016, 139-165.
- ⁴¹ SHERYL E. REISS, *Beyond Isabella and Beyond...* (note 7), 455.
- ⁴² »Seznam lastnikov«, *Knjiga slovenještajerskih gradov...* (note 33), 94-96.

Vizualno predstavljanje mlade udovice-majke u ranome novom vijeku: dvorac Slovenska Bistrica i naručiteljsko djelovanje Marije Juliane grofice Vetter von der Lilie

BARBARA KRISTINA MUROVEC

Svrha je ovog rada dvojaka: promatranje metodoloških pristupa i istraživačkih pitanja u studijama ženskog pokroviteljstva ranoga novog vijeka i studija slučaja Marije Juliane grofice Vetter von der Lilie, koja je s 23 godine postala udovica i kao univerzalna nasljednica – vlasnica dvorca Slovenske Bistrice (njemački: Windisch Feistritz) u Štajerskoj. Prošla su tri desetljeća od početka sustavnog istraživanja ženskog naručiteljstva i kolekcionarstva u ranoj modernoj Europi. Većina studija usmjerena je na žensko pokroviteljstvo tijekom talijanske renesanse i odražava istraživački program muškog pokroviteljstva kojim su se (muški) povjesničari umjetnosti počeli baviti više od jednog stoljeća prije. Istraživanja vezana za profano naručiteljstvo žena uglavnom su bila usmjerena na studije slučaja i društvene prakse namjesnica na europskim dvorovima, na udovice dinastije Habsburg i individualne slučajeve žena na talijanskim dvorovima. Dvije glavne teme koje i dalje dominiraju u proučavanju ženskog pokroviteljstva i njihove zastupljenosti u ranome novom vijeku jesu žene i religijska umjetnost te žene i portret. U Sloveniji je istraživanje nakon 1945. bilo komplicirano zbog upravljanja kulturnom baštinom plemstva i zapljene imovine. Poznavanje podrijetla i imena vlasnika oduzetih predmeta u javnim muzejima i dalje je ideološki i politički motivirano pitanje.

Marija Juliana grofica Vetter von der Lilie (1672. – 1708.) naslijedila je dvorac Slovensku Bistricu 1695. godine. Iako je dvorac nakon 1717. godine preuredio Ignaz Maria grof Attems, ujak pokojnice, nekoliko prostora i ukrasa još se može povezati sa ženskim pokroviteljstvom i naručiteljstvom. Tako biblijski citat na glavnom portalu najavljuje da je mudra žena izgradila svoju kuću (SAPIENS: MVLIER AEDIFICA[T] DOMVM SVAM: PROV: CAP: XIV), a freska na prvom katu prikazuje alegoriju Majke Zemlje. Nepoznati slikar koristio se grafikom augsburškoga gravera Melchiora Küsela, prema slikama Simona Voueta za Anu od Austrije iz vestibula kraljevske palače u Fontainebleau. Grafika u Topographia ducatus Stiriae Georga Matthäusa Vischera s prikazom vrta dvorca, kao i stropna slika ljekarne s puttima koji nose cvijeće i bilje te masti, koralje i rog jednoroga (natpisima na različitim jezicima ističu se ljekovita svojstva bilja i drugih predmeta) također prikazuju teme često vezane za žene.

Maria Juliana Vetter pokazala je da prepoznaje moć vizualnog samopredstavljanja i jedna je od najistaknutijih plemkinja koja je izašla iz muške sjene i zaborava u nedovoljno istraženom području ženske naručiteljske djelatnosti u Srednjoj Europi.