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Enlightenment and Baroque Ceiling Paintings in Sacred Spaces: The Example of Austria

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Summary

The paper questions the complex relations between Jansenism, Catholic Enlightenment, and visual culture in the second half of the 18th century in Austrian ceiling painting. On this basis, selected examples from Vienna and Lower Austria are compared with the characteristic features of the Enlightenment (e.g. purifying the religious practices of

sensual excess). The aim of this study is to bring the following – hitherto largely neglected – question into new focus: Did the Enlightenment cause, provoke, or produce new artistic attitudes or should pragmatism, classicism, and simplicity be considered as parallel phenomena in the complex intellectual history of the second half of the 18th century?

Keywords: *Intellectual history, Enlightenment, classicism, Jansenism, Maulbertsch*

The repercussions of the (early) Enlightenment on the development of Baroque ceiling painting have been a subject of intensive debate among the researchers over the recent decades. In the following discussion, I intend to draw on some (lesser known and scrutinised) examples from the Austrian hereditary lands in order to investigate, in an international context, the degree to which the concept of the Enlightenment specifically applies to the interpretations of stylistic and iconographic elements in the ceiling painting at that time.¹ Consequently, I shall attempt to identify some consistent ways of comparing the written word with the visual image. Due to the autonomy of rules and laws inherent in the visual media, specific ways will be explored that were used to transform the Enlightenment themes into images that reflect two conflicting forces: the paradigm of simplification and the return to the central truths of Faith. Such questions range from establishing iconographic priorities to placing the Enlightenment into a specific context – all this against the backdrop of the striking stylistic changes that occurred in the visual arts during the second half of the 18th century. Clarity was achieved by streamlining and simplifying the conventional pictorial arrangements inherited from the Baroque period. Consequently, my focus will be on the different ways in which particular (historical or iconographical)

subject matters were clarified (clarification in the sense of »enlightenment«). Furthermore, I shall proceed to use the term »Enlightenment« mainly in a functional sense, rather than as a term describing a historical period.

As philosopher Ernst Cassirer (1874 – 1945) argued, the Enlightenment does not constitute a clear-cut compendium of specific doctrines and teachings. Instead, the new movement can primarily be defined as a spiritual force or, to a certain extent, as a form of energy »which can only be fully understood in its implementation and effect.«² Moreover, the conclusions arrived at in the earlier research are indeed problematic: they point to a »deliberately individualistic tendency« as a characteristic feature of the Christian Enlightenment. Above all, they interpret the subject »as a starting or finishing point.«³

The literature of the time, on the other hand, was far more specific. When, for example, the Bavarian theologian Sebastian Mutschelle (1749 – 1800) delivered a speech »Ueber die Aufklärung« (1792), in which he declared: »Denn Aufklären heißt etwas klar machen, etwas in seiner Klarheit, Deutlichkeit, darstellen; den Schleyer, der darüber hieng (sic!), wegziehen, und, was man vorhin gar nicht, oder nur dunkel, sah, hell und deutlich sehen zu lassen.«⁴, his concise choice

of words clearly indicates that the creation of new visual content was not enough (indeed, it was ill suited) to define the Enlightenment art. A more useful approach is to regard the Enlightenment movement as a highly diverse and effective array of ideas that intended to clarify the central truths and tenets of Faith for the broader community. Some of the aspects Mutschelle addresses – the parting of the veil, for example – were also explicitly expressed in pictorial form. The frescoes in Neresheim⁵ are one such example.

Exploring this avenue of thought soon leads to the idea that the visual arts during the Enlightenment may easily have had a primarily clarifying, illustrative, and underscoring function along the same lines as the sermon. After all, many Catholic rationalists regarded clarity, serenity, and concision as the core values of the Enlightenment.⁶ Likewise, the »desire for determinability and clarity«⁷ increasingly became the focus of attention. Since the Enlightenment sermon was chiefly preoccupied with the idea of ensuring that it would lead the Christians to think in the right way, clarity can be viewed as the »overriding principle«.⁸

For this reason, it is hardly surprising that »pastoral letters« were so common in the second half of the 18th century. The principles outlined above played a central role at the time: hence the »Beförderung des Bibellesens unter dem gemeinen Volke« became a declared motto of the pastoral letter (of 1782) distributed by Hieronymus Colloredo, Royal Archbishop of Salzburg from 1772 to 1803/1812. It had the declared aim of spreading the message of the Bible to a wider constituency in order that »das Bibellesen allgemeiner wird.«⁹ His pastoral letter, which marked his anniversary of office in the same year,¹⁰ went a step further by dealing with another cause of interference with prayer and devotion. Colloredo called for the removal of any »unnötiges Zierwerk« that might disturb the »Stille der Seele«.¹¹ Hence the (church) reformers also made full use of decidedly aesthetic categories in their approach to redesigning church interiors.¹² Yet Bible reading or the avoidance of superfluous, unnecessary decoration cannot be considered programmatic objectives *per se*. Rather, they were effective, tried and tested means used to achieve the actual goal of inculcating a pious and godly disposition among the faithful.

In this context, the pastoral letter issued by the Archbishop of Vienna, Johann Joseph Graf von Trautson (1707 – 1757), on January 2, 1752 (published in Bamberg in 1753 and re-published in Vienna in 1781 and 1782) is an even more trenchantly argued document. In 1782, Emperor Joseph II requested it to be sent to the entire community of preachers.¹³ The aim here was to instruct them precisely that »Gottes Wort auf denen Predigt-Stühlen nach dem Wunsch und Vorschrift der Kirche recht ausgelegt werden mögte (sic!); dann ein jeder begreift (sic!), daß ein (sic!) rechte Verkündigung des Göttlichen Worts in der Christenheit den größten Nutzen schaffe«. The wording »Vor allen Dingen sollen die Prediger die Wichtigkeit ihres Ampts zu Herzen nehmen« makes it very clear that each »Prediger erfordert (sic!) (wird), daß er das Wort Gottes, wie es Wahrhaftig (sic!) Gottes Wort ist, vortrage.« Here, too, preaching was intended to serve the

true mediation of the *verbum Dei*. Trautson's pastoral letters are not unique in this regard. All three pastoral letters of Vienna's senior bishop – from 1 May 1751, July 1751 and January 1752 – placed great emphasis on the significance of sermons and preaching.¹⁴

In this respect, the sermon (such as it was) played an increasingly central role and came to the fore as »the catechetical element in worship«.¹⁵ In this sense, the basic idea was to simplify the church service by reducing it to its essentials in the spirit of Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672 – 1750).¹⁶ The Enlightenment homilies and sermons on the importance of piety pursued a general desire to achieve practical goals. After all, the aim in each case was to bring about »a thorough improvement of the people«.¹⁷ In this regard, the practical character, the insistence on improvement, and the pedagogical-educational thrust of all these efforts were important in characterising the theological Enlightenment.¹⁸ They were completely in line with the idea of religion as »the guiding force in real, conventional life« (Johann Joachim Spalding).¹⁹ Hence the sermon played a highly significant role in the overarching educational programme of the reformist Catholics, one that the subsequent research described as the »moral instruction of the common people« and one that regarded Jesus more as a teacher of virtue than as the Saviour.²⁰

Even so, the repercussions of the objectives set out by the (Catholic) Enlightenment do not apply in general to the visual arts. They can only be gleaned by recourse to the different variants we have available. For example, Bartolomeo Altomonte (1694 – 1783) visualised a scientific, educational, and epistemological path of discovery in the library of the Benedictine Abbey in Admont, Styria, in 1776. This procedural route starts from the degrees of knowledge (faculties) that are accessible to all of us, and ends with the omnipresent divine wisdom as revealed in the central cupola.²¹ On the other hand, Roman art in the 18th century points to a move from a mystical, transcendental attitude towards a »rationalistic, reportorial, genre-like approach«²² and was a characteristic trend in painting. The more cautiously arguing scholars have also assumed »that from the mid-18th century onwards, artistic statements in the Austrian hereditary lands and in Salzburg (...) indicate the movement of the Enlightenment in a differentiated way«²³, although one researcher has also stated that »(there was no) consistent implementation in the reform movement itself«.²⁴ As a result, it is difficult to define any fixed aesthetic and substantive principles of an »Enlightenment art«. The absence of a specific »Jansenist theory of art«²⁵ has also been noted in this regard.

Completed in 1775, the frescoes in the former Benedictine abbey church at Neresheim (Swabian Alb) were of national importance and represent without doubt a qualitative highlight of the Enlightenment agenda. Compared to the iconographical traditions of the 18th century, they point to a highly Christocentric programme:²⁶ the intention behind these depictions was clearly and comprehensively to implement the central truths of faith as based on the gospels and their historical²⁷ interpretations. Efforts undertaken at the time to develop popular education feature in the work of Karl Aloys

Nack (1751 – 1828), one of Neresheim's Benedictine monks, and are reflected in the fresco programme.²⁸ The Neresheim frescoes also illustrate the departure from an »obligatory illusionism«²⁹ in favour of an »aesthetic sobriety«.³⁰ More than anything else, the experienced fresco painter Martin Knoller (1725 – 1804) wanted to »demonstrate the possibilities of ceiling painting«³¹ in a historicising »exemplary collection of monumental ceiling painting«, which experienced »one final exposition of this kind in historical retrospect«.³² In the main dome, the figure of *Fides* unveiling the Holy Trinity clearly indicates that Knoller's intention was not to visualise a heaven of the saints and the Benedictines *per se*, but to offer »a likeness, a reflection of the same«.³³ The underlying notion that representation itself should be understood *as an image*³⁴ can be regarded as an important symptom of the Enlightenment's historicising view of art.

The development of Austrian church policy from the mid-18th century onwards was, in contrast, mainly characterised by the fact that a number of the senior bishops who took office in certain dioceses between 1740 and 1760 clearly pursued a reformist agenda and attempted to overcome the evidently inflexible aspects of the system. The growing importance of the theology of Augustinian hermits and canons is closely linked to the reorganisation of Austrian university studies in the wake of *reformatio studiorum* (1752). Among other things, it reveals the new priorities and emphasis placed on studying the Holy Scriptures, the writings of the Church Fathers, Hebrew, and the history of the Church.

Hence, although discernible changes can be noted in regard to intellectual history and theology, one difficulty still remains. Visual implementations of such radical theological transformations can only be partly proven in the context of artistic design and decoration. Furthermore, the Austrian examples – unlike Neresheim – refer less to Christological conceptions but point instead – as I intend to demonstrate in the following – to a greater focus placed on the programmatic curricula and content, such as the repression of »heretics«.

Above all, artistic policy at the Herzogenburg Monastery near St. Pölten³⁵ should be analysed against the background of activities undertaken by Provost Frigidian I Knecht, who held office from 1740 to 1775. He began the construction of the collegiate church three years after his investiture (1743); the keystone of the dome was laid five years later. Daniel Gran (1694 – 1757) and Bartolomeo Altomonte (1694 – 1783) were commissioned to decorate the collegiate church with frescoes and canvas paintings. Some years ago, in a groundbreaking essay,³⁶ Karl Möseneder discussed the significance and influence of church policy in determining the kind of decoration that was eventually chosen for the interiors of the church and the ceremonial hall. Recently discovered sources in the Herzogenburg Monastery archives and the evaluation of the Baroque library collection enable us to specify the spiritual and intellectual situation at the monastery between the 1750s and 1770s. On the one hand, the two bays of the church presbytery display an allegory, painted by Daniel Gran in 1748/1749, of the Church as a glorification of the Eucharist. On the other, the Descent of the Holy Spirit,

which was completed one year later, clearly took its cue from the biblical text which speaks of a house – an enclosed space (Acts 2:2). Hence we have two concise »images« of the Church in the centre. The dedication inscription seen on the cupola ring reinforces this ecclesiological claim: *D. T. O. M. / QUI ECCLESIAM IN UNIGENITO SUO / FUNDAVIT / PER SPIRITUM AB UTROQUE PROCEDENTEM / ILLUSTRAVIT / PER SACRUM / CRUOREM MARTYRUM / ET / PENNAM DOCTORUM / DEFENDIT*. The clear profession to the Holy Trinity makes it a pivotal theme of the entire programme: according to this inscription, the Church is illuminated by the Holy Ghost, which emanates from God the Father and God the Son, and which is enlightened and defended by the blood of the martyrs as well as the teachings of the Church Fathers. The dome fresco (Fig. 1), created by Bartolomeo Altomonte himself in 1754/1755, points to the glorification of the Gospel and its propagation by the Augustinian monastic order. In the centre, we see the Angel of the Apocalypse holding the Holy Bible, which openly displays the text: *EVAN- / GELIUM / AETER- / NUM / APOC. 14* (Revelation 14:6). The central message of the dome refers to the Holy Scriptures: the »eternal« message of salvation is imparted to *everyone* (cf. Pentecost). This is made explicit by the figures of the Evangelists in the arcatures and cosmically expanded in the four continents in the blind niches of the pendentive. The gospel side of the cupola features depictions of Old Testament prophets deemed to be witnesses to the Gospel. The Epistle Side depicts Enoch and Elijah above the Archangel Michael; they have returned to prophesy the End of Time. The history of these two »witnesses« to Christ (Apocalypse 11:3–8) refers to Christian martyrdom, which is also clearly evident in the frescoes of St George (Fig. 2) and St Stephen located in the dome's adjacent bays, in the completed Church of the Saints, and in the »eternal Gospel« of the dome. In a certain sense, one specific feature of these church paintings is that the different dimensions of the »Church« – as an institution of salvation – are gradually revealed from the chancel to the nave and culminate in the dome, where eschatological time emerges from all earthly time through the proclamation of the »eternal Gospel« (2 Corinthians 6:2).³⁷ The »time of God's favour« within the »earthly« time now became the decisive factor in the actual building and the medium of ceiling painting enabled the Church to be presented – one step at a time – as the »era of Faith«³⁸ on the basis of its most important predicates (the Eucharist, Pentecost, martyrdom, the propagation of the Gospel throughout the world, and the End of Days). Such church decorations were designed as allusions not only to the central source of all salvation – the Gospel as the word of God to the people – but also in order to demonstrate how faith and martyrdom were framed in (»earthly«) time by means of a visualised and temporally distinct *history* of the Church and its representatives which called for the *militia Christi*. Consequently, the issue here is not only a depiction of the foundations of the proclamation of salvation, but also a historicist self-reflection – in this case, of Church history from a Roman Catholic perspective. Although the Gospel is the visual centre of attention as a source of faith, it also forms



1 Herzogenburg, collegiate church, dome fresco (© Author)
Herzogenburg, samostanska crkva, freska u kupoli



2 Herzogenburg, collegiate church, Martyrdom of St. George (© Author)
Herzogenburg, samostanska crkva, Mučeništvo svetog Jurja

part of an eschatological and anti-heretical concept of life. In regard to a specific expression of an Enlightenment dimension in this programme, the findings are therefore quite ambivalent: Ultimately, the defence of orthodoxy against all heresies tended to be distinctly conservative, as can be seen in the case of the Order of the Augustinian Canons. The purifying effectiveness of their founder, St Augustine, emerged in the context of the growing inspiration that he had received from the Holy Scriptures. The ambiguity of the Herzogenburg church programme clearly shows the problems caused by decorations of this kind: in his capacity as Provost, Frigidian Knecht was highly interested in new developments, which incorporated aspects of the reformist Enlightenment that combined with traditional ideas and which, in turn, were incorporated into a system characterised by an underlying counter-reformist polarity between the purification of faith and the destruction of »false teachers«.

As also becomes clear in the theme of the dome fresco in Herzogenburg, the importance of Augustinian theology³⁹ was closely linked to the aforementioned reorganisation of university studies in Austria, which established new priorities with its renewed emphasis on the study of the Holy Scriptures.⁴⁰ Under Empress Maria Theresa, the university reformers found that the Augustinians were more than will-

ing and able to commit themselves to the task of introducing educational innovations. In this regard, the auxiliary bishop and faculty director Ambros Simon von Stock (1710 – 1772), who also worked as a professor and dean of the theological faculty at the University of Vienna, was well aware of the goals of Augustinian theology in his work and strongly promoted the study of the Fathers.⁴¹

Just how complex the early Enlightenment could appear in the visual arts is also illustrated by the ceiling fresco that Franz Anton Maulbertsch (1724 – 1796) created in the »Johannessaal« of the old Vienna University (around 1766/1767), which is now the seat of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.⁴² It depicts the baptism of Christ (Fig. 3), who is surrounded by numerous, richly dressed groups of figures in an expansive landscape. The artist has designed the chronological sequence of events so that the preparation of other persons for the act of baptism takes place after John the Baptist has met Jesus. At the centre of the fresco, we see Jesus isolated from other people and praying on a rock in the riverbed. John the Baptist is standing on a separate rock, pointing both to Jesus and to heaven. At the same time, the Holy Spirit takes the form of a dove hovering in bright light, and God the Father, supported by angels, approaches the scene with outstretched arms. In the upper tympanum of the

narrow windowless wall opposite the entrance we observe the personification of the Church, or of the New Covenant, the *ecclesia*, which is painted in a wide oval.

In his work, Maulbertsch impressively discarded the illusionistic tradition of the late Baroque period and aimed to achieve a more »panel-like effect«⁴³ – yet had striking artistic problems in doing so.⁴⁴ This formal orientation of ceiling painting had become increasingly popular since the 1770s because the depictions in question could be presented to the viewer with increasing clarity and openness. There was less overlapping. Hence, they were mainly »intended for closer and quieter contemplation«.⁴⁵ In many cases, the disconnection between the decorations on the rising wall and the ceiling fresco now enabled the latter to acquire a new (and more autonomous) purpose, used to display a more wide-sweeping thematic repertoire (such as battles and acts of war).⁴⁶ By liberating iconography from the domination of transcendent aspects, the intrinsic value associated with these subjects managed to place greater emphasis on other dimensions.

Above all, the case of Maulbertsch raises an intriguing question: What was the relationship between artistic realisation and the person of the artist himself? For example, Bruno Bushart was in favour of calling the artist an »Enlightener«⁴⁷ if there was concrete evidence of his »active participation in the Enlightenment movement«.⁴⁸ On the other hand, the genuinely artistic aspect must also be taken into consideration. Franz Matsche referred to the function of the painter as a »practitioner« in order to point out that the new style »(could) not be replaced with quotes based on postulates of philosophy and art theory, or episcopal pastoral letters, or imperial rescripts«. However, he emphasised that Maulbertsch should not be regarded solely in terms of classical aesthetics and art theory, but rather as an »academic reaction to certain excesses of Viennese baroque painting«.⁴⁹

The ceiling fresco in the »Johannessaal«, the lecture hall of the faculty of theology, which possesses a *terminus ante quem* according to a historical record dating back to 1771, also offers a good example of the visualisation of biblical texts. Its context indicates that the work has a close historical connection to the goals prescribed for teaching at the theological faculty of the University of Vienna starting in 1752 – from that time onwards, specific attempts were made to bring down the monopoly of the Jesuits and combat Jesuit scholasticism in a hybrid union between Augustinianism and Thomism.⁵⁰ Starting in 1760, the Dominican Pietro Maria Gazzaniga (1722 – 1799) and the Augustinian Agostino Gervasio (1730 – 1806) gave lectures on the *Theologia sanior et purior* at the University of Vienna.⁵¹ The ideas behind the reform of university curricula attached great importance to the study of the teachings of the Church Fathers alongside ancient Greek and Hebrew as well as the Christian Church and its Councils. Gervasio, who was appointed *Theologus Caesareus* by Maria Theresa, but stood down from his post in 1768, and Gazzaniga undoubtedly wielded the greatest influence among the new professors. The substantive orientation of the writings of the two theologians converged to a certain extent with



3 Vienna, Austrian Academy of Sciences, »Johannessaal«, Baptism of Christ (© Author)

Beč, Austrijska akademija znanosti, »Johannessaal«, Kristovo krštenje

similar ideas as were discussed among the imperial dynasty – although there is evidence that Maria Theresa became increasingly open and sympathetic to Jansenist thinking from the 1760s onwards.⁵² In this sense, the above-mentioned Viennese professors were by no means radical reformers. Instead, they can be more accurately described as subtle, even diplomatic theologians who nonetheless retained their core beliefs in the truths of revelation.

The centre of the fresco in the »Johannessaal« does not relate a story in the strict sense of the word. Instead, it is more of a visualisation of the testimony to divine revelation. Crucially, any substantive interpretation of the depiction must draw on the account of baptism provided in the Gospel of St. John (1:32–34). Given the efforts to combat heresy at the time, baptism becomes far easier to understand as a revelation of the Trinity and as a sign of integration into the Church (as Maulbertsch depicts it in the »Johannessaal« fresco) when the prominent importance of Christ's baptism and baptism as a sacrament are taken into account in the context of contemporary textbooks and academic disputations. Furthermore, a perusal of the titles of Augustinian literature in the

period from 1750 to 1775 clearly indicates that numerous documents deal with the issues that were in some way linked to the content of Maulbertsch's fresco.⁵³

Divine revelation is also the central theme of the »Salvatorsaal« ceiling painted by Vinzenz Fischer (1729 – 1810) at the College of the Viennese Barnabites (in Vienna-Mariahilf) in 1770. The word of God is received and associated with specific acts (the destruction of idols and the veneration of the Cross) on a periphery upgraded with richer content, which incorporates standing and reclining figures from each continent on strips of terrain. Fischer creates the centre of the ceiling plan from the polarity between the symbol of Yahweh in the cloud of glory and Paul the Apostle, raised aloft by angels in an inspirational mode, with an upheld quill in his right hand (Fig. 4). Although this alludes to the well-known vision of St Paul (2 Corinthians 12:2–3), the specific narrative context can only be surmised from the open book located to the right below the figure: the passage it displays from Galatians 1:11 refers to the idea that Paul's gospel did not originate from the Apostle himself, but that he had received it through the revelation of Jesus Christ. Paul uses this passage to display the origin of the Gospel as well as the »mode of mediation«.⁵⁴ Once again, the dichotomy of the pictorial arts in the epoch of the Enlightenment becomes clear in Fischer's artistic realisation: while St Paul's creation of types is consistently oriented on tradition – namely, in the evident adoption of the inspirational gesture – significant focus, typical of the time, is nonetheless placed on the interrelated subjects of revelation and the Gospel using the passage from the Galatians. The overall theme in this case owes its special charm to the tension that is built up between the centre (Paul, Yahweh) and the recipients on the periphery. Fischer's fresco once again raises the central question about the ways in which people could receive the word of God as expressed in the Gospel and therefore leads to a central issue of the Enlightenment: the visualisation and depiction of the ways in which the most important source of faith was to be explained and imparted.

Biblical texts play a decisive role in all these Austrian examples, as we have seen. A review of the Bible indicates their iconographic feasibility (as with the »Johannessaal«), or that the relevant texts integrated into the paintings addressed the role of the Holy Scriptures (as is the case with the »Salvatorsaal« and Herzogenburg). Consequently, the stronger textual ties that are generally claimed for the Enlightenment sometimes assumed very different artistic forms in the works themselves; even so, the biblical text always formed the ultimate frame of reference for such decorations.

Hence, in regard to the artistic solutions evident in the genre of ceiling painting during the early Enlightenment in Austria, it is important to note the possibly significant fact that radically new subject matters were certainly not the focus of attention. The preference was rather given to the re-configured themes, which had been stripped of obscurantist illusionism and which now displayed a »renunciation of representation«.⁵⁵ In case of the collegiate church of Herzogenburg, for example, this enables us to understand the fresco



4 Vienna, college of the Viennese Barnabites, »Salvatorsaal«, ceiling, detail (© Author)

Beč, Kolegij bečkih barnabita, »Salvatorsaal«, detalj stropa

compartments as interrelated »theorems«⁵⁶ with a quasi-catechetical and didactically harmonised structure. Knoller's Neresheim fresco of Christ driving the traders from the temple is, in turn, generally typical of the Enlightenment's claim to wisdom in the guise of historical narrative.⁵⁷ On the other hand, the ceiling frescoes in the »Johannessaal« and the »Salvatorsaal« certainly underline the central idea and structural principle of divine revelation. Maulbertsch's work, which refers explicitly to the text of the Gospel of St John, carries an anti-heretical undertone in the context of the university disputations at the time, while Vinzenz Fischer focuses on the tension between the source of salvation, the instance of mediation (Paul), and the recipients in each continent in a way that follows the proven model of contrasting the protagonists (on the ceiling panel) with groups of figures on the periphery.

In each case, these proven formations of iconographic types were not merely handed down, refined, or subjected to clarification or specification from the point of view of the Enlightenment postulates. Instead, the potency and agency of *verbum Dei* were examined, interrogated, and questio-

ned in new ways. Although the revelatory character of the Holy Scriptures was consistently in the focus of attention, instances of mediation that could potentially muddy the semantic waters of biblical verses (through the use of allegory and the choice of emblems) were forced to recede into the background.⁵⁸ In this respect, the pictorial decorations of sacred spaces during the Enlightenment period should not be described so much as an innovation or a fractious caesura – instead, they can be seen more accurately as a cautiously presented reference to the past, albeit with new

points of emphasis, and a return to the truths of Faith and the beginnings of the Church (both were regarded as crucial), as a *renovatio* of prototypical evangelical simplicity as well as a revival of idiosyncratic traditions (of the monastic orders) with the related fulfilment of a central postulate of the Enlightenment communication – in other words, with the focus placed firmly on the texts of the Holy Scriptures and the Church Fathers as fundamental sources for the mediation of salvation – sources that should no longer be obfuscated through the use of allegories.

Notes

- 1 Summing up the comprehensive problems related to this topic see: MEINRAD VON ENGELBERG, »Le salon du bon Dieu«. Die Entzauberung des Sakralraums im Zeichen »edler Simplizität«, in: EVA-MARIA SENG (ed.) with the collaboration of GERD BRÜNE, *Der Kirchenbau zwischen Sakralisierung und Säkularisierung im 17./18. Jahrhundert und heute*, Berlin – Munich, 2013, 105–124; ROLAND KANZ, Aspekte zu Kunst und Aufklärung, in: STEFANIE STOCKHORST (ed.), *Epoche und Projekt. Perspektiven der Aufklärungsforschung* (Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert, Supplementa, vol. 17), Göttingen, 2013, 131–158; furthermore: FRANK BÜTTNER, Das Ende des Rokoko in Bayern. Überlegungen zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Stilwandels, in: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 51 (1997), 125–150.
- 2 ERNST CASSIRER, *Die Philosophie der Aufklärung*, Philosophische Bibliothek, Volume 513, Hamburg, 1998 (Tübingen, 1932), 16.
- 3 ANTON L. MAYER, Liturgie, Aufklärung und Klassizismus, in: *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 9 (1929), 67–127, here 83.
- 4 EDGAR BAUMGARTL, *Martin Knoller 1725 – 1804. Malerei zwischen Spätbarock und Klassizismus in Österreich, Italien und Süddeutschland*, Munich – Berlin, 2004, 54 (with indication of sources).
- 5 Ibidem, 228, nr. F VI 3, pl. 12–14; similar in the frescoes of the library in the former Augustinian monastery of Polling (1778), see: ROLAND KANZ (as in note 1), 152–153, fig. 8.
- 6 KARL MÖSENER, Franz Anton Maulbertsch. Aufklärung in der barocken Deckenmalerei (Ars viva, vol. 2), Vienna – Cologne – Weimar, 1993, 145–146.
- 7 Ibidem, 150.
- 8 REINHARD KRAUSE, *Die Predigt der späten deutschen Aufklärung (1770 – 1805)* (Arbeiten zur Theologie ser. II, vol. 5), Stuttgart, 1965, 46.
- 9 Hirtenbrief des Fürst-Erzbischofs zu Salzburg: Die Abstellung des unnöthigen (sic!) religiösen Aufwandes, die Anpreisung des fleißigen Bibellesens, die Einführung eines teutschen (sic!) Kirchengesangbuches, dann verschiedene Pastoralverordnungen und Ermahnungen an die Seelsorger (...) betreffend, Salzburg, 1782, 33; critical to this text: Giovanni Pacini et al., *Etwas über die Verzierungen der Kirchen, die Verehrung der Heiligen, das Bibellesen, die Ablässe usw.*: an den Verfasser des fünften Salzburgerischen Hirtenbriefes vom Jahre 1782, s. l., s. a. (after 1782), 112–115.
- 10 Edited by: PETER HERSCHE, *Der aufgeklärte Reformkatholizismus in Österreich* (Quellen zur neueren Geschichte, vol. 33), Bern – Frankfurt on the Main, 1976, 45–102.
- 11 GÜNTHER HEINZ, Veränderungen in der religiösen Malerei des 18. Jahrhunderts mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Österreichs, in: ELISABETH KOVÁCS (ed.), *Katholische Aufklärung und Josephinismus*, Vienna, 1979, 349–370, here 361–362, 364.
- 12 Ibidem, 363.
- 13 Edited by: PETER HERSCHE (as in note 10), 9–16. This letter will be cited here after the non-paginated German-Latin edition that appeared in print in Bamberg in 1753.
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Sažetak

Werner Telesko

Stropno slikarstvo prosvjetiteljstva i baroka u sakralnim prostorima. Primjer Austrije

U članku se na primjeru austrijskog stropnog slikarstva preispituju složeni odnosi jansenizma, katoličkog prosvjetiteljstva i likovne kulture u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća. Od 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća jansenizam privlači sve veću pozornost znanstvenika, no iako se došlo do novih uvida o osobnim vjerskim stavovima Marije Terezije, pitanja o relevantnosti jansenizma za likovnu umjetnost još uvijek su sasvim otvorena i bez odgovora.

Osobito su katolički »prosvjetitelji« veličali jednostavnost u govornom i pisanom stilu, smatrajući da se »pročišćavanjem« vjerskih praksi od viška osjetilnih podražaja može postići bolja komunikacija vjerskih istina. Tako i čuveno bečko pastoralno pismo Johanna Josepha, grofa Trautsona, iz 1752. godine valja smatrati mjerilom spomenute težnje za jasnoćom i redukcijom enigmatskih struktura. Često se kao razloge za promjene na polju umjetnosti navodi sve važniji

»praktični pristup«, kao i sklonost štedljivosti te određeni pragmatizam, poglavito u osjećaju za preciznost detalja i objektivnosti. Općenito govoreći, u stropnom slikarstvu može se zamijetiti snažna tendencija odmaka od mistične, transcendentalne i trijumfalističke aure kasnog baroka prema racionalističkom, repertoarnom i žanrovskom pristupu (osobito u kasnom opusu Franza Antona Maulbertscha).

Kada je riječ o baroknom slikarstvu, na temelju iznesenog kao središnju temu valja izdvojiti sljedeće pitanje: Je li prosvjetiteljstvo uzrokovalo, potaknulo ili proizvelo nove umjetničke stavove ili pak pragmatizam, klasicizam i jednostavnost treba shvatiti kao usporedne pojave u intelektualnoj povijesti druge polovice 18. stoljeća?

Ključne riječi: intelektualna povijest, prosvjetiteljstvo, klasicizam, jansenizam, Maulbertsch