

The Late Gothic Chapel of St Barbara in the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Banská Bystrica

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The present study maps the history of the Chapel of St Barbara in the Parish Church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary in Banská Bystrica from several aspects. The first part of study follows the building and historical development of the chapel. In the second part, the original furnishings of the chapel, of which the altar of Master Paul of Levoča is still preserved, are the focus. The third and last part focuses on the funds bound to the chapel, through which it is possible to observe the intricate interconnections of the local burghers' families. In addition to the aforementioned, the author attempts to look through the history of the chapel into the wider historical context of the town of Banská Bystrica in that period.

Keywords: Banská Bystrica, Church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary in Banská Bystrica, late Gothic, Chapel of St Barbara, endowment

Introduction

Sacral monuments form a significant part of our cultural heritage. From a construction point of view, chapels are considered the most demanding form, due to their diverse typology.¹

The phenomenon of founding of chapels has existed in European sacral art since the fourteenth century.² A characteristic feature of chapels built in the Gothic and Late Gothic style is that they are set up side by side in the lateral naves or apses of churches. Alternatively, they are constructed as separate buildings from the main body of the church with a separate entrance. As sacred buildings, chapels served their founders and later donors as places for private worship and also as their last resting place. The founder of a chapel could be a person or a whole family, but also a community. The bishop under whose administration the territory fell first had to authorize such a building and later consecrate it. A chapel's founder would need to have the money not only for the construction of the building and its furnishings, but also for its future maintenance and to pay the clergyman.³ This capital might, for example, take the form of an initial financial guarantee, officially for the administration of the founded chapel, or it might be in the form of testamentary legacies from the chapel's patron or patrons. In return

¹ KAČÍREK, Ľuboš. *Kultúrne dedičstvo Slovenska*. Bratislava: Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, o.z., 2016, p. 36.

² DUBY, Georges. *Umění a společnost ve středověku*. Praha – Litomyšl: Paseka, 2002 p. 69.

³ GLEJTEK, Miroslav. Práva a povinnosti uhorských biskupov pri správe diecéz v 11. až 14. storočí z pohľadu kánonického práva. In: *Konštantínove listy* vol.11, 2018, no. 1, pp. 88–89.

for the money spent, aside from burial space in the chapel's crypt, indulgences were granted, associated with the vision of eternal salvation for the founder and his family.

The trend of founding chapels was also known in Banská Bystrica. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the late Gothic reconstruction of the Parish Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary began with the addition of chapels with the abovementioned typical attributes.

In the present study, we will focus on one of these chapels, namely the Chapel of St Barbara, which is interesting from several aspects. At present, details of its oldest architectural and historical development are not entirely clear. However, its financing can be mapped in detail and, last but not least, the chapel's furnishings, which include the altar of St Barbara from the workshop of Master Paul of Levoča, must also be mentioned.

These aspects, from the perspective of which we will examine the pertraced monument and its equally precious furnishings, should ultimately help to complete a more detailed picture, which is important not only with regard to our material cultural heritage, but also in terms of intangible values based on knowing the past of our cities.

Architectural and historical development of the Chapel of St Barbara

The Chapel of St Barbara is part of the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, a landmark building in Banská Bystrica. This church belongs to the Banská Bystrica castle complex, a set of buildings which were designated a national cultural monument in 1955.

The first written mention of the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary dates back to 1300,⁴ but by analogy it can be assumed that a smaller sacral building already existed in Banská Bystrica before this. This is evidenced in a privilege issued to the German guests by Belo IV, dated 1255, which refers to the right of the free choice of a parson, to be confirmed by the Archbishop of Esztergom.⁵ It is also known that Banská Bystrica was founded on the site of an older Slavic settlement, whose territory was subject to the *comitatus* (county) of Zvolen; as regards its ecclesiastical administration, it was subject to the Archdeacon of either Hont or Zvolen.⁶ Belo IV's privilege extricated the entire town of Banská Bystrica from this structure and made it clear that all ecclesiastical affairs of the Banská Bystrica town rectory were, from that time, subject to the direct supervision of the Archbishop of Esztergom.

In addition to a degree of confusion over the precise date that construction of the Parish Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary began, there are some outstanding disputes over the church's original layout.

On the one hand we have encountered the opinion that the original church was a single nave (V. Mencl, B. Kovačovičová, A. Filip, A. Vallášek, M. Mácelová⁷) and on the other that

⁴ MATULAY, Ctibor (ed). *Mesto Banská Bystrica: Katalóg administratívnych a súdnych písomností (1020) 1255–1536*. Bratislava: Archívna správa MV SSR, 1980, reg. 21, p. 21.

⁵ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 6, p. 15.

⁶ TOMEČEK, Oto. *Drevorubači a uhliari v lesoch Banskej Bystrice*. Banská Bystrica: Fakulta humanitných vied UMB, 2010, p. 159.

⁷ VALLÁŠEK, Adrián. Výskum interiéru farského kostola v Banskej Bystrici. In: *AVANS*, Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV, 1985, p. 243; KOVAČOVIČOVÁ, Blanka. Stavebné pamiatky mesta. In: *Banská Bystrica. Sborník prác k 700. výročiu založenia mesta*. Martin: Osveta, 1955, pp. 67–74; FILIP, Anton. *O banskobystrických cirkevných i svetských staviteľských pamiatkach*. Banská Bystrica, 1938. Manuscript deposited in the archive of the Regional Monuments Bureau Banská Bystrica, Archív Krajského pamiatkového úradu v Banskej Bystrici (hereinafter referred to as the "Archive KPÚ BB") pp. 155–156; VALLÁŠEK, Výskum interiéru..., pp. 242–243; MÁCELOVÁ, Marta. *Pochovávanie v mestskom hrade v Banskej Bystrici*. In: *História Banskej Bystrice – dielo a význam Emila Jurkoviča*. Banská Bystrica: ŠVK, 1999.

the original church was built as a three-nave basilica. The first view is supported by the result of the most recent archaeological research, the conclusions of which were published in 1985, which also confirmed that the building's construction can be dated back to the mid-thirteenth century.⁸

The second view of the layout emerges from older publications. The three-nave basilica proposal of the layout was proposed by Matej Bel⁹ and also by A. Stummer-Ipolyi, a bishop and historian.¹⁰ In the academic literature of the second half of the last century, this opinion can be seen in publications by K. Kahoun¹¹ and M. Sura.¹²

The second phase of the church's construction took place during the fourteenth century. We know about it thanks to indulgence charters from 1323,¹³ 1332¹⁴ and 1335.¹⁵ The document from 1323 was confirmed in 1396¹⁶ and 1398.¹⁷ However, there is not enough information about the specific extent of these construction activities.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, according to M. Sura, the sacristy was probably lengthened and an unidentifiable chapel on the first floor was built; the remnants of its vaulting being part of the cross vault of St Johannes The Almoner's Oratory.¹⁸

In the second half of the fifteenth century there is a period of busy construction activity, documented by preserved indulgence charters relating to the construction of side chapels. The founders of these chapels were burghers. However, the miners who were associated in the Brotherhood of Body of God also contributed financially to the overall reconstruction of the church.¹⁹

The burghers, as initiators of the reconstruction and founders of the chapels, can be divided into two generations: one from the second half of the fifteenth century and the other active around the turn of the sixteenth century.

The first generation were representatives of Buda's financial capital who had penetrated as far as Banská Bystrica, and they had close connections with the ruler Matthias Corvinus. Typical representatives of such burghers include Vitus Mühlstein (Buda's burgher, and later a head the County of Zvolen) and Johannes Colman (royal financial custodian).

⁸ VALLÁŠEK, Výskum interiéru..., pp. 242–243.

⁹ Matej Bel (1684–1749) considered the Church of St. Elizabeth, so called "hospital church", still located at the end of Dolná street, as the oldest church in the town. NAGY, Imrich; TURÓCI, Martin (eds). *BEL, Matej. Zvolenská stolica*. Čadca: Kysucké múzeum v Čadci. 2017, pp. 197–199.

¹⁰ MÁCELOVÁ, Marta. *Pochovávanie v mestskom hrade v Banskej Bystrici...*, p. 29. Arnold Ipolyi-Stummer (1823–1886)

¹¹ KAHOUN, Karol. *Neskorogotická architektúra na Slovensku a stavitelia východného okrúhu*. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1973, p. 27.

¹² M. Sura presents as an argument the discovery of part of the masonry in the eastern wall of the Chapel of St Barbara, which has the character of a possible semi-circular closure of the side nave of the oldest layout.

SURA, Miroslav. *Banská Bystrica. Pamiatková rezervácia*. Bratislava: Tatran, 1982, p. 8. Also, see SURA, Miroslav: *Kostol Nanebovzatia Panny Márie. Komplexný zisťovací reštaurátorský prieskum fasád. Návrh na reštaurovanie*. Banská Bystrica: 1975; Banská Bystrica 1984, sig. R4, R5 Manuscripts, p. 10. Archive KPÚ BB.

¹³ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 25, p. 22.

¹⁴ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 29, p. 23.

¹⁵ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 30, p. 23.

¹⁶ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 150, p. 53.

¹⁷ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 174, p. 59.

¹⁸ SURA, Kostol Nanebovzatia..., p. 15.

¹⁹ Initially, this organization was of a religious and later social character.

The second generation of burghers, who partially overlapped with the first, were associated with the period after the death of Matthias Corvinus, when the business-minded Johannes Thurzo set out to acquire various core mining enterprises (including Johannes Corvinus' holdings)²⁰ with the financial support of the Fuggers, and created a copper mining company of global importance.²¹ Those burghers who supported his plan and became a part of his business became very wealthy, and this was reflected in their religious donations. These burghers also included Michal Königsberger and Benedict Glöcknitzer.

The late Gothic reconstruction of the church in Banská Bystrica, and the building activity of the burghers of that period, is thus only a reflection of the above-mentioned conditions, while construction activities related to the chapel in the second half of the fifteenth century were mainly carried out by the wealthier individuals among the town's burghers who had better connections to the state's political elites than their contemporaries.

The earliest preserved document that provides evidence for the construction activity in this period is an indulgence charter from 1463, linked to the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and the Brotherhood of the Body of God.²² With regards to the chapels in particular, the foundation of the Chapel of the Body of God by Vitus Mühlstein in 1472 is documented as the first to be built.²³ The second, the Chapel of St Anton, was founded in 1475 by Urban Aurifaber. We know about it only indirectly through canonical visitations²⁴ and schematism of the Diocese of Banská Bystrica.²⁵ In 1477, the Chapel of St Barbara is mentioned for the first time.²⁶ Sometime before 1480, according to information from canonical visitations,²⁷ a chapel, founded by Johannes Colman, was built on the southern side of the church. Lastly, the Chapel of St Johannes The Almoner was built above the sacristy on the northern side of the church.²⁸ Its donor was the burgher Michal Königsberger, as evidenced by the figural console holding his coat of arms. Three years later, the chapel is also mentioned in his testament, which has been published several times.²⁹

The Chapel of St Barbara, built on the north wall of the nave of the parish church, occupies approximately two thirds of the length of the church. The name of the chapel changed over time according to the altars that were in it or according to the family that had patronage over the chapel at that moment. Over the course of several centuries, it has been variously called the

²⁰ This property was given as a gift from Matthias Corvinus to Barbara Edelpöck, the mother of his only son, Johannes Corvinus, in 1473. MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica, reg. 269, p. 8. Also, LUKAČKA, Ján (ed). *Pod osmanskou hrozbou: Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov VI*. Bratislava: Literárne centrum, 2004. Document No. 35, pp. 87–88.

²¹ For more detail, see SKLADANÝ, Marián. Prvé turzovsko-fuggerovské zmluvy o spoločnom mediarskom podniku. In: *Historický časopis*, Bratislava: Historický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, 43(2) 1995, pp. 215–229.

²² MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 241, p.78.

²³ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 264, p. 86.

²⁴ BELÁNSZKY, József. *Divina et apostolicae sedis gratia episcop. Neosol.* 1829, p. 71. The visitation manuscript is situated in the State Archive in Banská Bystrica. MVSR – Štátny archív v Banskej Bystrici (hereinafter referred to as the "ŠA BB"), fond Varia, V – 160.

²⁵ *Schematismus historicus Dioecesis Neosoliensis*, Neosolii Typis Philippi Machold, 1876, p. 109.

²⁶ This indulgence document was preserved only in copies, e.g. BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., p. 71, also Schematismus..., p. 109–110.

²⁷ BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., p. 71–72.

²⁸ Schematismus..., p. 110–111. A second chapel, founded by Michal Königsberger, was in his house in the square. In the seventeenth century, the Jesuits began to operate in this chapel. It subsequently became the basis of the later church of Francis Xavier.

²⁹ LUKAČKA, Pod osmanskou hrozbou..., document No. 54, p. 131.

Chapel of St Barbara, the Chapel of the Virgin Mary,³⁰ the Chapel of Mary Magdalene,³¹ the Chapel of St Alois,³² Plath Chapel, Wasserbroth Chapel,³³ and Guttiana (Guthiana).³⁴

It is assumed that where the chapel now stands, some other object or a part of the church from an earlier period once stood; however, this construction is not documented in any known written source. Based on monumental research, however, there are three hypotheses about the construction connection of an older building on that spot.

1. The chapel was built on the foundations of an older building.³⁵
2. It was originally an older part of the church, rebuilt to create a chapel.³⁶
3. The chapel was from an older construction, originally detached from the main church building, which was rebuilt in a way that connected it to the church.³⁷

The oldest documents concerning the Chapel of St Barbara are dated 1477,³⁸ 1478³⁹ and 1491.⁴⁰ These are indulgence charters that were issued at the request of the founders of the chapel.

According to these documents, we know that the chapel was “newly” rebuilt by the burgher Nicholas Plath (Platt, Platth or Plas).⁴¹ We know relatively little about his person and his origin. He was first mentioned as a town councillor in 1459.⁴² In 1470 he held the post of mayor in Banská Bystrica.⁴³ He did not live to see the completion of the chapel.⁴⁴ He died sometime before 1477, as evidenced in a document from 1477 (of which only a copy is known) in which his son-in-law Georg Kegel is designated as the patron of the chapel. The canonical visitations state that the Chapel of St Barbara was newly founded in honour of Saints Barbara and Hieronymus. It was set to the side of the Parish Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Banská Bystrica, in the Esztergom Diocese. However, it has not yet been consecrated. The

³⁰ BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., p. 320.

³¹ JURKOVIČ, Emil. *Dejiny kráľovského mesta Banská Bystrica*. Translated by Imrich Nagy. Banská Bystrica: Občianske združenie Pribicer, 2005, p. 76.

³² BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., p. 37.

³³ JURKOVIČ, Dejiny..., p. 73.

³⁴ JURKOVIČ, Dejiny..., pp. 320–325.

³⁵ KOSTKA, Jiří; DZÚRIK, Ondrej. *Banská Bystrica, farský kostol, kaplnka sv. Barbory – prieskum*. Banská Bystrica, 1971. Manuscript. pp. 3–5. Archive KPÚ BB.

³⁶ SURA, Kostol nanebovzatia..., pp. 10–15.

³⁷ AVENÁRIUS, Alexander. *Banská Bystrica – hrad, historický výskum*. Banská Bystrica, 1975. Manuscript, pp. 20–21, Archive KPÚ BB

³⁸ This indulgence document was preserved only in copies, e.g. BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., 26, p. 71; Schematismus..., pp. 109–110.

³⁹ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár – Országos Levéltár Budapest (hereafter referred to as the MOL) fond Diplomatikai levéltár (hereafter referred to as the DL). 45711. The document was fully published in ENTZ, Géza. *Neuere Beiträge zur spätgotischen Holzplastik im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*. In: *Acta Historiae Artium*, Tomus 18, 1972, p. 255.

⁴⁰ MOL, DL 46160 The document was fully published in ENTZ, Neuere..., p. 255.

⁴¹ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., p. 526.

⁴² MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 237, p. 77.

⁴³ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 257, 258, pp. 83–84.

⁴⁴ “*Cum itaque dilecta nobis in Christo honesta et circumspicua domina Dorothea relicta quondam Nicolai Plath de Nona Zolio Strigoniensis diocesis ad Capellam sancte Barbare virginis et martiris, quam ut dicitur. dictus quondam Nicolaus in vita sua ad latus ecclesie parochialis beate Marie Virginis de eadem Nona Zolio de novo fundare proposuerat et etiam inceperat. Tandemque ipso mortuo dicta domina Dorothea huiusmodi laudabile propositu cuiusdem quondam Nicolai adimplere et ad effectum perducere cupiens eandem Capellam erigi et construi et perfici effectiue singularem gerat deuotionis affectum*”. MOL, DL 45711

patron of the chapel, Georg Kegel, performed a special dedication, valid for one hundred days and forever. On 24 March 1477...⁴⁵

In a charter from 1478 (original document), only the widow Dorothea, who had the chapel completed, consecrated and furnished, is mentioned. The charter, which was issued in Esztergom by the vicar of the Esztergom Archdiocese on 14 March 1478, specifically states:

However, at the request of the same lady Dorothea, dated 10 February of the year mentioned below, we have consecrated the same chapel under the aforementioned name, and also the altars in the same chapel, one larger or higher under the same [name] and also of Saint Hieronymus and the other smaller [altars] under the names of Saints Peter and Paul the Apostles, Pope Urban and Mary Magdalene.⁴⁶

It is clear from the second charter that by this time the construction work was completed and the chapel was fully fit for purpose, as were the altars mentioned in the document. It is particularly important, in this case, to note the ecclesiastical acts mentioned in the charter, which clearly that the chapel, together with the inventory, was consecrated.⁴⁷ The process of consecration involved inviting the vicar or the Archbishop of Esztergom to Banská Bystrica. The vicar was commissioned by the Archbishop of Esztergom to consecrate the altars and the chapel itself.⁴⁸

Another preserved document that directly discusses the chapel and its founders is the indulgence charter of 9 May 1491. This charter was issued at the request of the widow Dorothea. The indulgences mentioned in the charter, subject to certain conditions, were specifically linked to the main statues from the altar of St Barbara, statues from the smaller altar and silverware belonging to the chapel furnishings. The charter was again issued by the vicar of the Esztergom Archdiocese (although by this time a different person was serving in that role than at the time of the charter from 1478), but it is interesting that this charter was issued directly in Banská Bystrica.⁴⁹

It is well documented that in 1500⁵⁰ Banská Bystrica was hit by a devastating fire. The parish church, where the later phase of reconstruction work was underway, was one of the buildings affected. We do not know to what extent the chapel was damaged by fire. However, the year 1504 is inscribed on the western wall of the chapel. Whether this refers to the date of completion of the artistic decoration of the chapel or its repair after the fire in 1500 is not documented. However, the coat of arms situated on the vault of the chapel, which was ultimately

⁴⁵ “*Pro Capella in honorem S. Barbarae et Hieronymi noviter fundata, sita in latere Parochialis Ecclesiae B. Mariae in Noviztio Strigon. Dioecesis quae nondum consecrata existit et ad quam Georgius Kegel Patronus dictae Capellae specialem gerit devotionem, 100 dierum, aequo pro perpetuo de 1477. 24a Martii, sex Cardinalium cum sigillis pendentibus. Quam Bullam se acceptare, pariter subscripsit idem Michael Episcopus Milkoviensis Strigonii 9 Maji 1477.*” BELÁNSZKY, Divina..., p.71.

⁴⁶ “*Nos autem ad eiusdem domine Dorothe supplicationem de anno domini subscripto decima die mensis Februarij eandem Capellam sub vocabulo predicto ac Altaria in eadem Capella unum scilicet maius sive supremus sub eodem ac beati Ieronimi et aliud videlicet minus sub beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ac Urbani pape et Marie Magdalene vocabulis consecrauerimus.*” MOL, DL 45711

⁴⁷ Lat. consecro, are, avi, atum – sanctify, consecrate, dedicate; Consecration – consecration is a necessity for the altar. Only an ordained bishop could perform such an act. OLEJNÍK, Vladimír. Kto mohol posvätiť hlavný oltár Majstra Pavla z Levočí? Náboženská situácia na Spiši na prelome 15. a 16. storočia. In: *Majster Pavol z Levoče a jeho doba*. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2018, p. 33.

⁴⁸ OLEJNÍK, Kto mohol..., p. 33.

⁴⁹ MOL, DL 46160; ENT'Z, Neuere..., p. 255.

⁵⁰ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 324, p. 103.

identified by the Hungarian art historian G. Endrödi as the Glöcknitzer coat of arms,⁵¹ proves that the chapel was already under the patronage of the Glöcknitzer family at this time.

Benedict Glöcknitzer is mentioned as a burgher who was helping Johannes Thurzo, together with Michal Königsberger. As we know, Nicholas Plath had a son-in-law, which means he had at least one daughter. It is quite likely that these two families had a close family relationship, as suggested by the fact that the name Johannes Schwoger, also called Kegel, is frequently mentioned in connection with Glöcknitzer's children.⁵²

Another possible route to their gaining patronage over the chapel was that it was left to Benedict Glöcknitzer along with the other property of the Plath family at a time when, along with Königsberger, they were gradually acquiring the failing properties of the Banská Bystrica burghers in favour of Thurzo.

As mentioned earlier, late Gothic chapels used to have a separate entrance, and this was the case with the Chapel of St Barbara. Originally it was accessed through an entrance situated in the northern wall of the chapel. The second entrance, set in the western wall, probably led to a now non-existent extension which contained a spiral staircase extending into the space above the Chapel of St Barbara.⁵³ It is currently assumed that one of the former chapels whose precise location is unclear could have been situated above the Chapel of St Barbara, or else that this staircase led to the choir or the attic of the chapel.

The chapel's ceiling has been preserved to this day, and is in the form of a barrel vault with rich mesh and star warps. The vault rests on six consoles⁵⁴ in the form of busts, representing the saints Ladislaus, Adalbert, Martin, Emmerich⁵⁵ and, according to the latest knowledge, St Johannes the Almoner, until recently denoted as Hieronymus.⁵⁶ Only the sixth console, which shows St Stephen, is not original; it was added in the nineteenth century in place of the missing bust.⁵⁷

The chapel has maintained its original late Gothic style to the present day, indicating that in the following years any building activity manifested itself mainly in the form of partial adjustments, reconstruction and restoration work.

In 1643 the chapel was repaired at the expense of the Gutt (Guth) family,⁵⁸ as evidenced by documents deposited in the archives of Banská Bystrica.⁵⁹ The Gutt family took over patronage of the chapel through family ties to Wolfgang Glöcknitzer. Erasmus Gutt, a castellan of Ľupča Castle and estate,⁶⁰ is mentioned among the heirs of Wolfgang Glöcknitzer who were obliged to finance the Chapel of St Barbara after his death.⁶¹

⁵¹ ENDRÓDI, Gábor. Grosse Kunst "aus Hass und Neid" Überlegungen zu Bauarbeiten und zur Ausstattung der Neusohler Pfarrkirche um 1500. In: *Acta Historiae Artium Tomus 47*, 2006, pdf, pp. 16–18. Accessed 15 July 2019, https://www.academia.edu/299705/Gro%C3%9Fe_Kunst_aus_Hass_und_Neid._%C3%9Cberlegungen_zu_Bauarbeiten_und_zur_Ausstattung_der_Neusohler_Pfarrkirche_um_1500

⁵² MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., p. 538.

⁵³ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 37.

⁵⁴ For more on consoles and their creators, see ENDRÓDI, Grosse Kunst..., pp. 10–12.

⁵⁵ KAHOUN, Karol: *Gotická architektúra na Slovensku*. In: *ARS 4*, 1970, p. 45.

⁵⁶ ENDRÓDI, Grosse Kunst..., p. 10.

⁵⁷ FILIP, O banskobystrických..., p. 170.

⁵⁸ AVENÁRIUS, Banská Bystrica..., p. 21.

⁵⁹ ŠA BB, fond Mesto Banská Bystrica (hereinafter as the "MBB"), fasc. 11 no. 14.

⁶⁰ He was mentioned as the castellan of this castle in 1531, 1543, 1547, 1548, 1554 and 1555. In 1576, 1578 and 1580, he or his direct descendant Christof Gutth was probably the castellan of the castle. HOMOLA, Vladimír; TOMEČEK, Oto (eds). *Hrad Ľupča klenot Pohronia vo svetle vekov*. Podbrezová: Železiarne Podbrezová, 2017, p. 335.

⁶¹ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 326, JURKOVIČ, Dejiny..., p. 73. ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 17 no. 1

In 1761, Banská Bystrica was hit again by a fire that destroyed a large part of the town. The parish church was severely damaged and had to be almost completely rebuilt, but fortunately, the chapel remained largely intact. Only its roof collapsed, and this was repaired in 1784.⁶² The baroque reconstruction of the main church, however, also touched the chapel. A great entrance was cut from the sacristy⁶³ and the original portal in the north wall was walled up.⁶⁴ The masonry of the arch in the southern wall, which serves as the passage between the chapel and the nave of the church, was also reformulated.⁶⁵

Further modifications to the chapel took place in 1876, initiated by the Bishop of Banská Bystrica, Arnold Ipolyi-Stummer, one of the pioneers of monument care in Hungary. In cooperation with the architect, painter and restorer Francz Storno, they had a significant influence on the painting of the chapel and the appearance of the late Gothic windows. The whole intervention was in the spirit of the neo-Gothic style. Neo-Gothic stained glass windows were installed, which damaged the middle bars and tracery.⁶⁶ A missing console, removed in the eighteenth century to make way for the baroque altar of St Alois,⁶⁷ was added back in by F. Storno,⁶⁸ and the entire vault and walls were replastered and painted according to his neo-Gothic-style design.

In 1971, the last modifications were made to the chapel, restoring it to the form in which we can still admire it today. The restoration was preceded by detailed research by the conservators, who aimed to return the chapel, as close as was possible, to its appearance at the turn of the sixteenth century. The vaults and walls were carefully restored, after removing the neo-Gothic painting and plaster applied during the nineteenth-century restoration of the chapel. Inscriptions that had been covered up at that time were also restored, and the windows renovated in accordance with their original monochrome design.⁶⁹ The restoration also affected the portals and a commemorative epitaph located in the chapel.

As mentioned in the introduction, chapels also served as a last resting place for their patrons. The Chapel of St Barbara had its own crypt built for this purpose. The entrance was situated in the interior of the chapel. The town's senator, Joseph Huszar, was the last person to be buried there; he was interred in 1779. In the same year, a new crypt was built under the church; this one was entered from the exterior of the church.⁷⁰ There is now a vaulted coffin chamber under the chapel, which is empty. At the bottom of the northern wall there is a grid that ends the canal and also drains the crypt of St Barbara.⁷¹

⁶² FILIP, O banskobystrických..., p. 113.

⁶³ KOSTKA; DZÚRIK, Banská Bystrica..., pp. 5–6.

⁶⁴ FILIP, O banskobystrických..., p. 169.

⁶⁵ DZÚRIK, Ondrej. O priebehu reštaurátorských prác v kaplnke sv. Barbory v Banskej Bystrici. Záverečný protokol. Banská Bystrica, 1974. Manuscript. p. 4, Archive KPU BB.

⁶⁶ DZÚRIK, O priebehu..., pp. 1–5.

⁶⁷ ENTZ, Neuere..., p. 252.

⁶⁸ Francz Storno also artistically collaborated with Arnold Ipolyi on his publication dedicated to the monuments of Banská Bystrica IPOLYI, Arnold. *A besztercebányai egyházi műemlékek története és helyreállítása*. Budapest: A Magy. Tud. Akadémia Könyvtudományi Intézetének Kiadóosztálya, MDCCCLXXVIII.

⁶⁹ DZÚRIK, O priebehu..., pp. 1–5.

⁷⁰ BELANSZKY, Divina..., pp. 30–31.

⁷¹ MÁCELOVÁ, Pochovávanie..., p. 35.

The original furnishings of the Chapel of St Barbara

The original chapel furnishings are attested to in the abovementioned indulgence charters from 1478 and 1491, deposited in the Hungarian National Archive. Excerpts from these charters were copied into canonical visitations⁷² and a schematism,⁷³ and in 1972 they were published in full by the Hungarian art historian G. Entz.⁷⁴ According to these documents, the original furnishings of the chapel included two altars, silver gilded statuettes⁷⁵ of Hieronymus and Barbara, and a silver reliquary cross.

One of the smaller altars, dedicated to St Peter and St Paul, Pope Urban and Mary Magdalene, has been lost. This altar probably stood at the northern wall of the chapel and was replaced by the altar of St Alois, which is also not currently situated in the chapel.⁷⁶

A silver statuette, listed among the items of silverware mentioned in the indulgence charters, has also not been preserved. A letter discussing the treasures of the Chapel of St Barbara is dated 1530. Whether or not there were silver statuettes among them we do not know, but we consider it very probable. The letter was written by Frederick Schilling, a burgher of Krakow and Banská Bystrica, who was related to the Glöcknitzer family. In the letter, he responds to the Banská Bystrica Town Council's complaint that, without their consent or the knowledge of the church's guards, he had at some point removed some silverware from the chapel of St Barbara. In his defence, he claims that he did so at the command of the patrons of the chapel, the Glöcknitzer.⁷⁷ There were certainly several possible reasons for this. Before 1530, the situation in Banská Bystrica was difficult in several respects. One reason for removing the treasures from Banská Bystrica before 1526 could have been to cover war expenses. In the archives of the city of Banská Bystrica is a document from 1526 in which Johannes and Francis Doczy confirm that, at the command of Louis II and with the approval of the papal nuncio, they accepted 48.5 hryvnja for silver and jewels from the parish church in Banská Bystrica for military purposes. However, the King undertook to return these items after the end of the military expedition.⁷⁸

Another reason could be linked to an insurrection by local miners and the subsequent departure of the Thurzo family from the Banská Bystrica business community. The burghers tied to the Thurzos, including Wolfgang Glöcknitzer and Frederick Schilling, subsequently relocated outside Banská Bystrica. It is possible that at this time they also attempted an unsuccessful relocation of the chapel's treasures, but this was clearly not allowed by the town council. The missing items were returned to Banská Bystrica this time, through Těšín and Orava.⁷⁹ We assume that the spread of Protestantism among the burghers and mining workers did not play a major role in this case.

The last known time the treasures and statuettes are mentioned is in a record from the Town Protocol, dated 1546 and cited in canonical visitations of 1829. In this document, the town

⁷² BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, pp. 100–101, 320.

⁷³ *Schematismus...*, pp. 109–110, 121.

⁷⁴ ENTZ, *Neuere...*, p. 252.

⁷⁵ In the original Latin text, the word 'imagines' is used, which is from the Latin *imago* (image, portrait) but can also be translated as a statue. Therefore, we cannot determine with certainty what kind of artistic object it was. G. Entz describes these objects as hermas and M. Novotná as busts. ENTZ, *Neuere...*, p. 251–252; NOVOTNÁ, Mária. *Majster Pavol z Levoče. Ruky a zlato v službách ducha. Katalóg výstavy*. Bratislava: SNM – Historické múzeum, 2017, p. 51.

⁷⁶ ENTZ, *Neuere...*, p. 252; BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, p. 104.

⁷⁷ MATULAY, *Mesto Banská Bystrica...*, reg. 888, p. 292.

⁷⁸ MATULAY, *Mesto Banská Bystrica...*, reg. 689, p. 230.

⁷⁹ MATULAY, *Mesto Banská Bystrica...*, reg. 888, p. 292.

council criticize Wolfgang Glöcknitzer for taking the statuettes without informing the council or the mayor. Glöcknitzer was required to declare that the statuettes were the property of the town, and were only in his custody.⁸⁰

The larger altar in the Chapel of St Barbara was dedicated to Virgin Mary, St Barbara and St Hieronymus. Together with the chapel and the smaller altar, it was consecrated as early as 1478. From the indirect description of the altar in the document, we know that statues of the Virgin Mary, St Hieronymus and St Barbara were in the “wooden board”⁸¹ of this altar.⁸² The statues from the altar are also mentioned in an indulgence charter of 1491. The charter was issued at the request of Dorothea, for “certain statues, three wooden, which are placed in the altar of St Barbara, one in the middle in honour of the Virgin Mary, the other on the right in honour of St Barbara and the third on the left in honour of St Hieronymus”.⁸³

As we know, there is still a rare late Gothic altar in this chapel corresponding to this description. Authorship of this altar and the main wooden statues is unambiguously attributed to Master Paul of Levoča, although this fact is not documented by known sources. However, the surviving indulgence charters suggesting these items were made by Master Paul of Levoča bring complications that historians and art historians have been struggling with for decades. If we assume the altar present today is the same one mentioned in the charters, then there is a discrepancy in dating. The currently accepted biographical data on Master Paul of Levoča disagrees with the aforementioned dating of the altar by several years. In 1478, the year when the altar and the three main statues were consecrated, Paul could not have been older than 18 years of age, according to the earliest supposed year of his birth in 1460.⁸⁴

To complicate things further, it should be added that the year 1509⁸⁵ is inscribed on the back of the altar wing on the dividing bar of the altar, suggesting that the entirety of the present altar was not carved by a single master.

In connection with the attempt to date the present altar's origins and the authorship of Master Paul of Levoča, two main strands of opinion have emerged which more-or-less take into account the individual historical contexts associated with this still unresolved problem.

According to the first strand, the altar's statues are the same ones described in the charters, while the years 1478, 1491 and 1509 indicate the gradual completion of the altar. G. Entz is one

⁸⁰ BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, pp. 321–322.

⁸¹ Lat. *retabulum “deinde vicesimaria mensis Februarij prescripti Imagines beate Marie Virginis ac sanctorum Ieronimi et Barbare in Tabula lignea dicti maioris altaris habitas et Alias Imagines eorundem sanctorum Ieronimi et Barbare de argento factas et deauratas necnon crucem Argenteam reliquijs conditam omnino per dictam dominam Dorotheam dicte Capelle donatas benedixerimus”* MOL, DL 45711

⁸² ENTZ, *Neuere...*, p. 255.

⁸³ “*Cum igitur nobis supplicatum sit ex parte honeste Dorothee quondam relicte Nicolai Platt ex parte indulgentiarum certarum Imaginum quarum tres lignee in altari sancte Barbare situate Media in honore virginis Marie dignissime dextra ad laudem sancte Barbare et tertia sancti Ieronimi...*” ENTZ, *Neuere...*, p. 255; MOL, DL 46160. It was G. Entz who, by “rediscovering” the indulgence charters of 1478 and 1491, opened up two fundamental problems concerning the dating and authorship of the altar of St Barbara. Although the existence of the charters was known from copies of them, G. Entz first pointed out their misinterpretation, noting that the original document from 1491 describes the statues in the altar of St Barbara as wooden “lignee” and not copper “cuprae” as described in canonical visitations and, subsequently, in the schematism. BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, pp. 72, 101; Schematismus..., p. 121.

⁸⁴ CHALUPECKÝ, Ivan. Príspevok k biografii majstra Pavla z Levoče. In: *Spíš, Vlastivedný zborník 1*. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1967, p. 182.

⁸⁵ 1.5.0.9. AN DEM. TAG. SANCT. YPOLITY. IST. GEEND. WORDEN. DISSE. TAPHEL. (13 August 1509). This date is mainly associated with the creation of paintings on the altar wings. ENDRÖDI, Gábor. Oltárne celky, skulptúry a tabuľové maliarstvo. In: *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*. Bratislava: Slovart, 2003, p. 747.

of those who support this opinion. According to him, 1509 is the correct date for the paintings on the wings of the altar, but not the main statues.⁸⁶

K. Vaculík suggests that “the figures of saints in the altar cabinet could have originated in the last quarter of the fifteenth century”. He expresses no doubt about the authorship of Master Paul.⁸⁷

The same is true of J. Homolka. In 1988, he expressed the view that “if all the reports on the altar of St Barbara are all correct, we should have here the record of the beginning of the construction of the altar (1478) and the end of its construction (1509)”. As he goes on to say, “the procedure would actually be the same that we encounter when building the main altar in Levoča”.⁸⁸

The second strand of thought draws upon one of the disasters mentioned above. In 1500, Banská Bystrica was hit by a fire, which also damaged the parish church. Some historians suggest that at that time the altar mentioned in the charters was damaged or destroyed and it was replaced by the altar we can see today. The year 1509, recorded on the back of the retable, would, in this case, refer to the completion of the second altar of St Barbara.⁸⁹ I. Chalúpecký, an expert on biography of Master Paul of Levoča, is among those who support this hypothesis. He suggests that although Master Paul was devoting his energies to the Levoča altar in 1509, this does not exclude the possibility that the altar for Banská Bystrica may have originated in Levoča, and that it was transported in its complete form to its destination.⁹⁰ The overall structure of the altar, which is designed as if for a larger space, also supports this hypothesis. P. Kresánek also supports this theory.⁹¹

However, as we have already stated above, in the event of any damage to the altar, it must be consecrated again, as evidenced by indulgence charters from that time. In this case, however, none of the known sources document or even indirectly mention such an activity.

The complexity of the conflicting evidence from the charters, the artisan’s biography and the altar itself is evidenced by the fact that the 2003 book *Gothic* deliberately omits the issue, due to confusion over the facts.⁹²

The historical significance of this monument is evidenced by the fact that in 2017, the altar of St Barbara was included in a list of national cultural monuments that are a priority for protection and restoration. This list was drawn up in cooperation with the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, the Ministry of the Slovak Republic and self-governing regions.⁹³

⁸⁶ ENTZ, Neuere..., pp. 251–256.

⁸⁷ VACULÍK, Karol. *Gotické umenie na Slovensku. Katalóg výstavy Zvolenskej zámok, máj – október 1975*. Bratislava: SNG, 1975, p. 79.

⁸⁸ HOMOLKA, Jaromír. Audio recording of a lecture on the altar of St Barbara in Banská Bystrica, delivered as part of a seminar held on 29–30 June 1988 in Levoča dedicated to Master Paul of Levoča. I would like to thank Dr M. Skladaný, CSc. for the mediation of the recording.

⁸⁹ CHLADNÁ, Zuzana. Kaplnka sv. Barbory vo farskom kostole Nanebovzatia Panny Márie v Banskej Bystrici, z aspektov archívno-historického výskumu. In: *Minulosť a prítomnosť Banskej Bystrice I*. Banská Bystrica: Katedra História FHV UMB, Štátna vedecká knižnica, 2005, pp. 133–135.

⁹⁰ CHALUPECKÝ, Ivan. Rezbár Pavol z Levoče, jeho prostredie a rodina. In: *Biografické štúdie 7*, Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1978, p. 117.

⁹¹ KRESÁNEK, Peter. *Ilustrovaná encyklopédia pamiatok*. Bratislava: Simplicissimus, 2009, p. 540.

⁹² ENDRÖDI, Oltárne celky..., pp. 746–747.

⁹³ *Zoznam národných kultúrnych pamiatok s prioritou ochrany a obnovy k 31.07.2017*, p. 35. Accessed 18 July 2019, https://www.pamiatky.sk/Content/Data/File/pamiatkovy_urad/evidencia_pamiatok/Zoznam_NKP_s_prioritou_ochrany_a_obnovy_31_7_2017.pdf

Funding of the Chapel of St Barbara

As mentioned in the introduction, the founder and patron of the chapel had to finance not only the actual construction of the sacral building, but also its later maintenance, as well as pay a regular salary for the clergy who gave sermons for the founders or later patrons.

The Chapel of St Barbara had two relatively large sums earmarked for this purpose. The first amount mentioned in connection with the chapel was 500 florins and the second 1000 florins: not negligible sums at the time. For example, in 1501 the heirs of the burgher of Banská Bystrica sold his manor house, 11 villages and half of the mill he owned in Kostiviarska to the town of Banská Bystrica for 533 florins.⁹⁴

As a third party, the town council supervised the implementation of contracts related to the funding. The first endowment of 500 florins came already from Georg Kegel, son-in-law of the founder of the chapel, who provided it as a principal to the town of Kremnica. We know about the original contract between Banská Bystrica and Georg Kegel only from copies of the relevant documents made in a later period.⁹⁵ As for the money involved, we learn that in 1479, Georg Kegel, son-in-law of Nicholas Plath and wife Dorothea, gave 500 florins to the town of Kremnica on the Three Kings Day, with the provision that the town of Kremnica would send to the Chapel of St Barbara an interest on that sum, quarterly and at its own expense and risk. The interest was to be 25 florins per year,⁹⁶ that is, 5% of the total.

Kremnica appears to have respected these conditions for at least 47 years. For example, a document from 1526 states that Wolfgang Franck, chaplain at the altar of Mary Magdalene⁹⁷ in the Chapel of St Barbara in Banská Bystrica, confirms that he received from Kremnica town council a fee for a quarter of 1526, worth almost 7 florins.⁹⁸ However, it can be assumed that this was one of the last payments made. The reason is that during this period, the overall climate in Banská Bystrica and also in other Central Slovak mining towns, radically changed under the influence of domestic and foreign political events. In these confusing times, Reformation ideas spread very quickly, finding a positive response from both miners and burghers. Although the town of Kremnica states that it was in a difficult financial situation, it probably tried to take advantage of this radical change in religious circumstances in mining towns to finally rid itself of the regular payment of interest.⁹⁹ The town of Banská Bystrica did not accept the reasons proffered by the Kremnica town council and insisted on further payment of contributions. This began a long period of disputes over both the principal and the interest payable. From

⁹⁴ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 330, p. 105.

⁹⁵ MVSR – Štátny archív v Banskej Bystrici – pracovisko archív Kremnica (hereinafter referred to as the ŠA BB PAK) fond Magistrát mesta Kremnica (hereinafter referred to as the MMK) I 19, 1,19 I would like to thank doc. M. Skladaný, CSc. for the mediation of the document.

⁹⁶ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 322. MVSR – ŠA BB PAK, MMK I 19, 1,19.

„Wir richter und rathmanne der stadt Crembnitz bekennen vnd thuen kbundt öffentlich in krafft dieses brieffes allen vnd ietzlichen den er sukumbt, das wir mit wissen vnd verantwortung der gantzen gemein vngesundert vnd eintrechtig zu mercklicher notdurfft nuetz vnd gedein entpfangen erhebet vnd in vsrer gewalt genomben haben von dem erbarn Georg Kegel, aidem etwan des ersamen Niclass Platten säligen vnd der tugentsamen frawen Dorothea seiner gelassenen wittib burgerin im Newensoll vngerische rothe gutte gerecht an wags vnd strich funffhundert guldin in kbauffweise, daon wir jürlich zu der Capelln Sanct Barbara, gebaut in dem Newensoll, zu der seitten der Pfarrkirchen vsrer lieben Frawen, dienen vnd zinsen sollen, pflichtig sein vnd wöllen rothguldin funffvndzwainzig zu viertljares viertail dientt vnsaumlich in dem Newensoll auff vsrer eigene rebung mube vnd abentewer ausrichten vnd erlegen.“

⁹⁷ Smaller altar, originally situated in the Chapel of St Barbara.

⁹⁸ RATKOŠ, Dokumenty..., document no. 90, pp. 166–167. Also available and accessed 13 July 2019, <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/307061/?list=eyJxdWVyeSI6ICJrXHUwMGUxcG9sbmEgYmFyYmFyYSJ9>

⁹⁹ In the case of a regular payment to the Chapel, approximately 1,175 florins were paid out over 47 years by Kremnica, which far exceeded the value of the original principal.

1527, the archive documents of the town of Banská Bystrica contain regular requests from the town of Kremnica for termination of the regular payments to the Chapel of St Barbara.¹⁰⁰

The dispute was not only at intercity level. Representatives of the Esztergom Archdiocese also became involved in the ongoing dispute. This increased interest on the part of the Catholic Church can be associated with the beginning of recatholization. One of its goals was to regain an overview of the state of the original property of the church, including any endowments that were in Protestant use at that time.¹⁰¹ In 1560, the dispute over the financing of the chapel was brought before the Trnava Church Court.¹⁰² Two documents written in Trnava, from May and August of that year, recurrently state the false claim that Kremnica did not pay interest for about 78 years.¹⁰³ According to the description of Kremnica's reactions to the dispute, it can be concluded that the people of Kremnica considered the whole process annoying.

The first document from 1560 is dated 22 May 1560, and was issued in Trnava. Through a public notary who had the power of attorney from the Archdiocese of Esztergom, the genesis of the entire case (with inaccuracies) was presented to the representatives of the Church Court of the Esztergom Archdiocese. The reason for bringing the dispute to the Church Court of the Esztergom Archdiocese can be deciphered in a sentence stating that "the care of churches and altars and other religious places also affects the Reverend Archbishop of Esztergom".¹⁰⁴

The hearing of arguments from both parties was set for 16 July of the same year. On the basis of the aforementioned dispute, the people of Kremnica were then called upon to pay the interest for the entire period in question and, in addition, to return the principal and pay the court costs. The representatives of Kremnica did not appear at the hearing, but instead sent a document under the seal of the town through a prosecutor, challenging the legal validity of the accusation and the validity of the plaintiff's decree. The date was again postponed to the first day of August. However, no decision was taken on that date either, as the Kremnica representative had submitted in writing a list of their objections and observations on the pleadings filed. The prosecutor, a representative of the Esztergom Archdiocese, took until 14 August to respond to the objections presented to him. The lawyer for Kremnica was not satisfied with the counter-argumentation of the prosecutor, and with the comments already described, he expressed the town's intention to bring the matter to the attention of the Supreme Royal Judge, based on the fact that the dispute was considered mundane by the Kremnica people.¹⁰⁵ This was actually the reason for the creation of a second document dated 14 August 1560, addressed even to the Supreme Royal Judge Andreas de Bathor.¹⁰⁶ The reaction of the Royal Judge, or even the judgment, is not currently known. It is likely, however, that the situation was resolved either in the church or in the Royal Court.

¹⁰⁰ JURKOVIČ, Dejiny..., p. 73. Such documents are, for example, dated 12 August 1545 and 1557. ŠA BB, MBB facs. 895 no. 62 (10–24 September 1557)

¹⁰¹ See in more detail MIČKOVÁ, Zuzana. Cirkevné dejiny baníckej osady Špania Dolina s dôrazom na konfesionálne pomery v 16. a 17. storočí In: *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. VII(2) 2016 pp. 14–28.

¹⁰² As is well known, the Archbishopric of Esztergom was forced to move to Trnava in 1543.

¹⁰³ MVSР – ŠA BB PAK, MMK I 19, 1, 19.

¹⁰⁴ MVSР – ŠA BB PAK, MMK I 19, 1, 19. Four years later, in 1564 the Archbishop of Esztergom Nicolaus Olahus published a resolution of the Council of Trent at the Synod in Trnava. According to one of the conclusions, the ancient duty of bishops to visit their dioceses should be restored, thus controlling and recording their condition.

¹⁰⁵ MVSР – ŠA BB PAK, MMK I 19, 1, 19

¹⁰⁶ MVSР – ŠA BB PAK, MMK I 19, 1, 19

Other documents dated 1572,¹⁰⁷ 1584¹⁰⁸ and 1586 from the Banská Bystrica City Archive show that Kremnica was still asking for the remission of the current debt of the Chapel of St Barbara in subsequent decades. In a review and testimony document dated 6 May 1586, the city of Kremnica itself acknowledges that this amount has not been paid for many years and, due to the depletion of the municipal treasury, asks to be forgiven this amount of capital so that the town of Banská Bystrica would remit not only the remaining interest of many years but also the most of the capital withheld. The town of Banská Bystrica renewed the debt obligation, forgiving the town of Kremnica half the disputed amount. Interest was to be paid at a rate of 20 florins per year. Kremnica promised that if the town council of Banská Bystrica was ever attacked by the church for a financial remittance, Kremnica would defend it at its own expense.¹⁰⁹

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the whole case was again dredged up by the Jesuits. For example, Wolfgang Ebenhöch, Rector of the Jesuit College and parish priest in Banská Bystrica from 1752 to 1756, prepared a document containing basic information about the state of the parish, in preparation for a visitation from Bishop Bathany. This document mentioned the former patronage rights and benefits relating to church institutions in Banská Bystrica, with an emphasis on financial resources. Immediately, in the second paragraph of the document, the endowments of the Chapel of St Barbara are described. At the end of the document, the author emphasises that he had already highlighted the facts of this case in the previous year with complaints and accounts.¹¹⁰ In 1758, another Jesuit, Adam Reinwald,¹¹¹ who had taken over the office of Rector, followed Ebenhöch in also claiming interest on the entire sum of 500 florins. Once again, the dispute was brought before the Church Court in Bratislava, which asked the Rector for all available documents for consideration. These were submitted on 16 February 1758. After examination of the available documents, a decision was issued on 9 June 1760. The ruling recognised the validity of the contract of 1586 in which Kremnica was forgiven 250 florins, but also acknowledged Kremnica's obligation to continue contributing to the chapel. The new debenture bond entered into force.¹¹² The fulfilment of this bond is not mentioned again in the documents. Kremnica did not pay the money this time either, but at least it issued a bond, which eventually was replaced in February 1769.¹¹³ After the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, the whole agenda was transferred to the newly established Bishopric of Banská Bystrica. The last time the case came to life was during a visitation from the Bishop of Banská Bystrica, Joseph Belanzky, in 1829. The bishop mentions that he vainly searched in archival documents for a definitive payment of the last fixed amount of 250 florins.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ MVSR – ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 895 no. 61

¹⁰⁸ JURKOVIČ, *Dejiny...*, pp. 73–74.

¹⁰⁹ BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, pp. 323–324.

¹¹⁰ MVSR – ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 360 no. 5

¹¹¹ Reinwald worked in the office of the Rector and pastor in the years 1756–1759.

¹¹² BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, pp. 323–324.

¹¹³ JURKOVIČ, *Dejiny...*, p. 74; BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, pp. 323–324.

¹¹⁴ BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, p. 325.

Another endowment, of 1,000 florins, was donated to the Chapel of St Barbara by Barbara Glöcknitzer, daughter of Benedict Glöcknitzer.¹¹⁵ The testamentary legacy of Barbara Glöcknitzer can be found in later documents, from the visitations and subsequently the schematism, which drew from visitations. Barbara is also associated with the oldest preserved epitaph located in the Chapel of St Barbara. A member of the Glöcknitzer family, pictured in the relief of the epitaph, she died, according to date on the epitaph, in 1513.¹¹⁶ In that same year, we encounter Barbara twice in the town archives. On 4 July, she is mentioned in connection with the handing over to her brothers Nicholas and Wolfgang of an inheritance share from her parents' property, which she administered together with her late husband Peterman. Their parents' real estate was divided into three parts, with Barbara retaining the right to use the house for the remainder of her life.¹¹⁷ The second mention is from 11 July the same year, when the Glöcknitzer family handed over to Barbara's sister-in-law – Peterman's sister – her deceased brother's legacy. After examining the original text of this record, Hungarian art historian G. Endrödi concludes that Barbara is referred to in the document as deceased.¹¹⁸

Despite being married twice, Barbara Glöcknitzer left no heirs from either husband. There seems to have been considerable interest in the disposal of the property of her first husband, Peterman (who died somewhere between May 1508 and August 1512). Records from the period document interest not only from the heirs of the Glöcknitzer, but also from the town and even the monarch, who sought this property as escheat.¹¹⁹ As a widow, Barbara was entitled to receive at least a morning gift from her husband's inheritance, and also the 1,000 florin endowment for the chapel testifies to her financial security. If a burgher without an heir died, there was a possibility that all living relatives would inherit equally. Thus, if Barbara was indeed the woman depicted in the epitaph in the Chapel of St Barbara who died in 1513, there is a high probability that, based on the aforementioned example, her second marriage to Francis Roth (a burgher of Krakow) was undertaken in order to keep Peterman's property within the

¹¹⁵ In the Glöcknitzer family, we come across two Barbaras who lived about the same time. One was the daughter of Benedict Glöcknitzer, whose brothers were Nicholas Glöcknitzer and Wolfgang Glöcknitzer. Barbara was married twice. Her first husband, Peterman, was a burgher of Banská Bystrica and her second husband, Francis Roth, was a burgher of Krakow and at some time also a factor in the service of the Thurzos and the Fuggers. The second Barbara in the family was the widow of Gregor Mühlstein, who married Nicholas, son of Benedict Glöcknitzer and brother of Barbara and Wolfgang Glöcknitzer. Since Nicholas died relatively early, she married the third time to Henrich Kindlinger.

¹¹⁶ The broken text lining the epitaph is as follows:

....ARA.QUE. IACET,HIC.INO
SSIA.MATER. CLARA. FVIT. VITA. RELIGIONE.FIDE.CVI.FVIT.IN
 PR...DNO.SERVIRE.SVPERNO
 HOC.IACEO.DVRO.PVLVIS.ET.VMBRA.LOCO.AN.1.5.1.3....

In the literature we also encounter the name Claire. This misunderstanding arises because the word CLARA is retained in the epitaph text. However, this is a Latin adjective of the feminine gender, which relates to the word VITA or MATER. Clarus, -a, -um – famous, excellent. In the 1829 visitation, it is even mentioned as a clue that the verse on the epitaph edging is written in hexameter and that the name Barbara fits into the scheme of this metric verse. BELANSZKY, *Divina...*, pp. 105–106.

¹¹⁷ MATULAY, *Mesto Banská Bystrica...*, reg. 386, 387, 388, 389, p. 124.

¹¹⁸ ENDRÓDI, *Grosse Kunst...*, p.16 and p. 42.

¹¹⁹ MATULAY, *Mesto Banská Bystrica...*, reg. 380, p. 122.

the Glöcknitzer family and their other relatives after Barbara's death.¹²⁰

After she died, the 1,000 florin endowment for the chapel was for some time managed by Barbara's brother, Wolfgang Glocknitzer, together with Francis Roth.¹²¹ After 1526, they both spent more time living in Krakow than in Banská Bystrica.

Until 1568, the money left by Barbara was still under the management of Wolfgang Glöcknitzer. A record dated 13 July 1568 sets out a testamentary legacy in which Wolfgang Glöcknitzer commits his heirs to pay one florin a week for the chaplain of the chapel. For this purpose, he leaves his heirs gardens, fields and meadows in Karlovo¹²² and part of his copper ore mine in Piesky (Sandberg).¹²³ However, the payment of interest was problematic for the heirs. In 1588, specifically on 16 November, Glöcknitzer's heirs concluded a contract with the town as an owner, that they would hand over the inherited part of the mine at Piesky to cover the capital and the remaining 800 florins, which would amply cover this and other debts.¹²⁴ In return, they asked for a permanent place for themselves and their heirs in the crypt of the Chapel of St Barbara. The town thus officially became the owner of a part of the copper mine and took on the obligation to provide regular funds for the Chapel of St Barbara. How long the town fulfilled this obligation for is unknown to us. In 1755, as was the case with the first endowment, this long-unused source of finance was brought to attention by the Rector of the Jesuit College, Wolfgang Ebenhöch. In the document, he even calls for damages from the town dating back to the time the Jesuit fathers replaced the chaplain of the chapel.¹²⁵ We learn about the existence of the endowment from subsequent visitations, but no information about payment has been recorded.

It is obvious that the town tried to shuck off this commitment at opportune moments, and had little interest in being associated with it at all. On this issue, it is necessary to add that since its foundation the chapel has also been financed in parallel from smaller financial donations and resources, such as contributions from believers and church tithes.

Conclusion

The Chapel of St Barbara and the altar of St Barbara, thought to be the work of Master Paul of Levoča, is a part of the cultural heritage of the Slovak Republic. The architectural and historical development of the chapel or the artistic-historical aspects of the chapel and its furnishings are still topical issues. In a broader context, however, our investigations of the archives have revealed other, no less interesting information. Through the lens of documents pertaining to the chapel, we have discovered much about the interconnection between the various burgher families, both in terms of business and family ties. From the chapel's history, it is also possible to observe the religious life of the town, in correlation with phenomena such as the Reformation and the subsequent counter-Reformation and recatholization periods. It is also interesting to observe the financial affairs of the chapel, which throw up questions about

¹²⁰ MATULAY, Mesto Banská Bystrica..., reg. 773, p. 261. In the catalogue of administrative and court documents from Ctibor Matulay, there is a record of a document dated 3 January 1528, which states that Francis Roth will donate the inheritance third he received after the death of his wife Barbara, formerly the widow of Petermann. This is not related to the 1,000 florins.

¹²¹ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 327.

¹²² Part of Banská Bystrica.

¹²³ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 326, MVSR – ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 286 no. 93

¹²⁴ BELANSZKY, Divina..., p. 326, JURKOVIČ, Dejiny..., p. 73., ŠA BB, MBB fasc.17 no.1

¹²⁵ MVSR – ŠA BB, MBB fasc. 360 no. 5

the motivations of the donors of large funds. The ultimate fate of the endowments proves that they were significant funds even several centuries later, as they repeatedly attracted the attention of church leaders.

We believe that this type of research is a valuable way to study the monuments of our ancestors. Indeed, by exploring the broader context and relationships, we can gain an understanding of the spirit of time and place, which clearly enriches our cultural heritage, whether tangible or intangible.

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