

FOLIA HISTORIÆ ARTIUM

— 22 —

Seria Nowa

POLSKA AKADEMIA UMIEJĘTNOŚCI

KOMISJA HISTORII SZTUKI

KRAKÓW 2024

Seria pierwsza (tomy I–XXX) wydawana była przez Polską Akademię Nauk
– Oddział w Krakowie

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FUNDACJA
LANCKOROŃSKICH

Publikacja sfinansowana przez Fundację Lanckorońskich

ISSN 0071-6723



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Projekt

iMEDIUS agencja reklamowa sp. z o.o.
ul. Mogilska 69, 31-545 Kraków

Skład

Agencja Reklamowa NOVUM
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JÚLIA PAPP
Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

DIE ANFÄNGE DER INSTITUTIONELLEN KUNSTWERKFOTOGRAFIE IN UNGARN (1859–1885)*

Die wachsende Bedeutung von Kunstkopien im 19. Jahrhundert zeigt sich darin, dass die Frage der Reproduktion von Kunstwerken durch Fotografie, Gipsabguss und Galvanoplastik auf dem ersten kunsthistorischen Kongress 1873 in Wien aufkam. Im fünften Themenkreis dieser Tagung (*Reproduktionen von Kunstwerken und deren Verbreitung im Interesse der Museen und des Kunstunterrichtes*) diskutierten die Teilnehmer über die Herstellung, den Vertrieb sowie die Nutzung im Museums- und Bildungsbereich von Kunstwerkreproduktionen:

1. In wessen Händen liegen gegenwärtig in Deutschland, Oesterreich, Frankreich, Italien, England und Belgien die Reproduktionen von Werken des Alterthums und der Kunst?
2. In wie weit können und sollen Regierungen auf die Reproduktionen durch Private Einfluss nehmen? – Sollen Staatsanstalten bei Reproduktionen mitwirken und in welchem Maasse?
3. Welche Erfahrungen hat man mit den verschiedenen Reproductionsmaterialien gemacht?
4. Sollen systematische Reproduktionen und in welcher Weise veranlasst werden, – speciell für Zwecke des Kunstunterrichtes und des kunsthistorischen Unterrichtes?
5. Soll auf die Preise der von öffentlichen Anstalten reproducirten Gegenstände und in welcher Weise eingewirkt werden?
6. Auf welcher Grundlage können öffentliche Anstalten unter einander mit reproducirten Werken in Tausch treten?¹

* Die Studie wurde durch das Stipendium von OTKA, NKFIH Nr. 138702, Titel: „Die Rezeption der Schlacht von Mohács 1526 in

Die Geschichte der Reproduktion von Kunstwerken reicht bis ins alte Ägypten zurück; ein Teil der griechischen Skulpturen ist nur als Marmor- und/oder Bronzekopien aus dem Römischen Reich erhalten. Die Kunstwerkreproduktionen spielten eine wichtige Rolle sowohl in der akademischen Künstlerausbildung als auch, durch Schul- und Universitäts-sammlungen, in der Allgemeinbildung. In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts erhielten die Reproduktionen von Kunstwerken neue Funktionen: Die Sammlungen der Kopien in europäischen und später amerikanischen Museen begannen einem breiteren Bildungszweck zu dienen. Die musealen Sammlungen von Reproduktionen ermöglichten es, die Kunst verschiedener Kulturen und Länder historisch-chronologisch zu präsentieren und stilistische Veränderungen zu veranschaulichen.²

den bildenden Künsten vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert“, des Nationalen Kulturfonds und des Collegium Hungaricum in Wien gefördert.

¹ „Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte“, 36, 1983, S. 20–21. Siehe: G. SCHMIDT, *Die internationalen Kongresse für Kunstgeschichte*, „Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte“, 36, 1983, S. 10; E. MAROSI, *Die Reproduktionstechnik zu Anfang der Kunstgeschichte in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Kunstdenkmäler wissenschaftlich dokumentiert und am Beginn des „technischen Zeitalters“ zur Schau gestellt*, in E. MAROSI, G. KLANICZAY (Hrsg.), *The Nineteenth-century Process of „Musealization“ in Hungary and Europe*, Budapest 2006 [=Collegium Budapest Workshop Series 17], S. 330.

² R. FREDERIKSEN, E. MARCHAND (Hrsg.), *Plaster Casts. Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, Berlin–New York, 2010.

Seit den 1850er Jahren, als der Erwerb von Gips- und Galvanokopien von Kunstwerken sowohl bei Privatpersonen als auch bei verschiedenen Einrichtungen immer beliebter wurde, blühte das Geschäft mit der Herstellung und dem Verkauf von Kopien auf. So organisierte beispielsweise die Arundel Society in England Treffen, Vorträge und Ausstellungen für Sammler und Sammlerinnen und gab mit Fotos illustrierte Kataloge der von ihr zum Verkauf angebotenen Exemplare heraus. Unter den Museen spielte das South Kensington Museum eine Vorreiterrolle bei der Herstellung von Kunstreproduktionen. Henry Cole, der erste Direktor des South Kensington Museums, unternahm große Anstrengungen, um die Reproduktionen von Museumsobjekten populär zu machen, da er der Ansicht war, dass sie eine wichtige Rolle in der Erziehung und der Allgemeinbildung spielten und dem öffentlichen Geschmack entsprachen. Er initiierte ein internationales Abkommen, die *International Convention for Promoting Universally Reproductions of Works of Art*, das den gegenseitigen Austausch von Kopien der Ausstellungsstücke europäischer Museen „durch Abguss, Galvanoplastik, Fotografie oder andere Mittel“ fördern wollte. Das Abkommen wurde von 15 europäischen Thronfolgern unterzeichnet, wie aus der erhaltenen Originalabschrift hervorgeht. Coles Bemühungen führten zum Erfolg, denn 1873 wurden in zwei neu eröffneten Monumentalsälen, den sogenannten Architectural Courts (heute Cast Courts), für das Museum angefertigte Reproduktionen von Architektur und Skulpturen ausgestellt.³

KUNSTWERKFOTOGRAFIE IM RAHMEN DES SYSTEMS DER KULTUREINRICHTUNGEN IN UNGARN.⁴ ARCHÄOLOGISCHE UND DENKMALPFLEGERISCHE ORGANISATIONEN

Die Protokolle und wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften des 1858 im Rahmen der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften gegründeten Archäologischen Komitees, wie beispielsweise die *Archäologischen Mitteilungen* von 1859 oder das *Archäologische Bulletin* von 1868, enthalten zahlreiche Informationen über die Fotografien von Kunstwerken. Eine der Aufgaben des Komitees bestand darin, die Kunstdenkmäler Ungarns zu erfassen und in diesem Zusammenhang ihre Beschreibungen, Zeichnungen und Fotografien zu sammeln.

In der Anfangszeit wurde die Sammlung des Komitees vor allem durch Aufnahmen bereichert, die ihm von

engagierten Korrespondenten aus ländlichen Regionen, von Künstlern und Wissenschaftlern, die sich für Kunstdenkmäler interessierten, von Fotografen, die ihre Produkte anboten oder von Kunsthändlern beziehungsweise von Architekten und Zeichenlehrern, die für das Komitee auf Honorarbasis arbeiteten, eingeschickt wurden. Zudem wurden auch Fotos aus dem Ausland in die Sammlung aufgenommen. Zu den zuletzt genannten Werken zählt beispielsweise die Serie von 13 Fotografien, die der Bukarester Gelehrte Alexander Odobesco 1869 von dem sogenannten Petrossa-Goldfund an die Akademie schickte [Abb. 1]. Die hochwertigen Fotografien, die 1863 von Henrik Trenk aus Bukarest aufgenommen wurden, werden in der Handschriftensammlung der Akademiebibliothek in Budapest aufbewahrt. Ebenfalls in der Handschriftensammlung der Akademiebibliothek befindet sich eine große, hochwertige Fotografie der Elfenbeintafel des Konsuls Areobindus aus dem frühen 6. Jahrhundert, die 1864 von J. B. Pyne aufgenommen wurde.

1868 schenkte Ferenc Pulszky der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften eine Sammlung von Fotografien von Kopien geschnittener Elfenbeinwerke. Die Fotografien wurden von John Brampton Philpot aufgenommen⁵, einem Engländer, der sich in Florenz niedergelassen hatte und mit Pulszky, der seit 1863 ebenfalls in Florenz lebte, gut befreundet war. 1870 wurden die Fotografien der Kopien von Elfenbeinschnitzereien, von denen sich eine Serie auch im Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florenz befindet, an das Nationalmuseum in Budapest übergeben. 265 Aufnahmen befinden sich heute im Archäologischen Archiv des Nationalmuseums.⁶

Gegen Ende der 1850er Jahre begann man, die Fotografien der Kunstwerke als Vorlagen für Stiche zu verwenden, die als Abbildungen den Zeitschriften des Archäologischen Komitees beigelegt wurden. In einigen Fällen verfügten die Autoren bereits über Fotos, oft jedoch musste das Komitee die Fotografien der beschriebenen Objekte erst beschaffen. Einige der Artikel in den Zeitschriften des Archäologischen Komitees befassten sich mit der Rolle der Kunstwerkfotografie in der Museumswissenschaft, in der angewandten Kunst und in der Kunsterziehung. Die einheimischen Experten betonten, dass kostengünstige fotografische Reproduktionen es ermöglichen, Kunstwerke berühmter Meister weithin bekannt zu machen und die Sammlungen der Museen zu popularisieren. Fotografien der Kunstwerke wurden auch im Bereich der Hochschulbildung benutzt. Die Wertschätzung, die die Zeitgenossen den Fotografien von Kunstwerken entgegen brachten, wird ersichtlich, wenn man sich vor Augen führt, dass die Archäologische Kommission, nachdem sie die Zeichnungen und Fotografien der Interimskommission für

³ M. BAKER, *The History of the Cast Courts*, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/the-cast-courts/> (access: 19.11.2024).

⁴ Siehe: J. PAPP, *Az intézményi műtárgyfényképezés kezdetei (1859–1885)*, in Z. FARKAS, J. PAPP, *A műtárgyfényképezés kezdetei Magyarországon (1840–1885)*, Budapest 2007, S. 82–150.

⁵ *Catalogue de Photographies des Sculptures en Ivoire pour illustrer l'histoire de l'art depuis le II jusqu'au le XVI Siècle*. Collection unique Philpot & Jackson, 17 Borgo Ognissanti 17, Florence [o.D.].

⁶ J. PAPP, B. CHIESI (Hrsg.), *John Brampton Philpot's Photographs of Fictile Ivory*, Budapest 2016.



1. Henrik Trenk, Petrossa Goldfund, Fotografie. Handschriftenbibliothek der Akademie-Bibliothek in Budapest

Denkmäler geordnet hatte, Mitte der 1880er Jahre damit begann, die zur Herstellung fotografischer Reproduktionen verwendeten Fotoplatten zu sammeln und zu registrieren – zusammen mit dem Material des Nationalmuseums.

MUSEEN, BIBLIOTHEKEN, KIRCHLICHE SAMMLUNGEN

Ab den 1870er Jahren begann das Nationalmuseum, die Möglichkeiten der fotografischen Reproduktion in zunehmendem Maße zu nutzen. Ferenc Pulszky widmete

sich in seinen Schriften sowie in der Museumspraxis nicht nur den Gipskopien, sondern auch der mit wissenschaftlichem Anspruch erstellten Kunstwerkfotografie.⁷ In seiner Studie fasste er die bekanntesten Sammlungen der Kunstwerkfotografien ausländischer Kunsthändler zusammen und betonte zugleich, dass keine europäische Regierung, Bibliothek und kein Museum jemals die vollständigen Serien eigener Kunstwerkfotografien ausgestellt

⁷ E. MAROSI, *Die Reproduktionstechnik zu Anfang* (wie Anm. 1); J. PAPP, *Az intézményi műtárgyfényképezés kezdetei*, S. 107–117 (wie Anm. 4).

hat. Als Beispiel nannte er die kaiserliche Bibliothek in Wien, die zwar Fotografien von Kunstwerken sammelte, jedoch keinen Raum hatte, um sie der breiten Öffentlichkeit zu präsentieren. Er hegte die Hoffnung, dass die Sammlungen der Fotoaufnahmen von Kunstwerken aus berühmten Museen bald von Universitäten und größeren Kunstschulen erworben werden. Die Engländer hätten bereits entdeckt, schrieb er, dass die Fotografie das wirksamste Mittel zur Förderung der Kunst und zur Veredelung des Geschmacks sei. Hinsichtlich der heimischen Aufgaben schlug er vor, Gipsabdrücke oder Fotografien von heimischen Kunstwerken anzufertigen und auf dieser Grundlage eigenständige Sammlungen im Nationalmuseum einzurichten.⁸

Obwohl die seit 1870 in mehreren Auflagen erschienenen bebilderten Führer durch die Sammlung des Nationalmuseums noch Holzschnitte enthielten, wurden die französischen und ungarischen Fachkataloge, die ab 1873 erschienen und die antiken Inschriften des Nationalmuseums katalogisierten, bereits mit Lichtdrucken von Sándor Beszédes veröffentlicht.⁹ Ein Katalog, der in ungarischer Sprache erschien, enthielt auch Lichtdrucke der Zeichnungen von antiken Wachstafeln aus Siebenbürgen. Diese seltenen Relikte, wie der Autor Flóris Rómer anmerkte, hatten bereits die Aufmerksamkeit vieler ausländischer Gelehrter auf sich gezogen. Auf Mommsens Bitte hin brachte er sie persönlich nach Berlin, wo sie fotografiert und veröffentlicht wurden.

1874 erstellte György Klösz 70 Fotos von den prähistorischen Beständen des Nationalmuseums, und in den Jahren 1876 bis 1878 fertigte er eine Serie von über 270 Aufnahmen von den Kunstwerken des Nationalmuseums an, die wahrscheinlich kurz darauf in Alben geordnet wurden. Im Archäologischen Archiv des Nationalmuseums wird ein Exemplar des Albums mit Eintragungen, das die Form eines Inventarbuches hat, aufbewahrt. Unter den Fotos befinden sich Informationen über die Herkunft der Objekte und bibliografische Hinweise, da die Seiten des Albums ähnlich den heutigen Karteikarten benutzt wurden. Gleichzeitig wurden die Angaben zu den jeweiligen Objekten kontinuierlich hinzugefügt. Die Daten wurden jedoch nur beiläufig ergänzt, da unter vielen Aufnahmen keine Informationen zu finden sind.

Die Nachricht über die Entdeckung des berühmten antiken Dreifußes (eigentlich Vierfußes) in Polgárdi im Jahr 1878 bringt uns der Datierung des Albums näher. Dieses silberne dreifußige Gestell, das kurz zuvor im Zusammenhang mit dem so genannten Seuso-Schatz in den Mittelpunkt des internationalen archäologischen Interesses gerückt war, wurde von Ferenc Pulszky am 25. Mai

1878 auf einer Ausstellung in Paris zusammen mit einigen anderen wertvollen Stücken aus dem Museum präsentiert. Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass sich die Fotografien des Dreifußes aus Polgárdi im zweiten Teil des Albums befinden, kann man annehmen, dass dieser Teil ab Mitte 1878 zusammengestellt wurde. Im Oktober 1878 ersuchte Edouard Garnier, der Leiter der Porzellanmanufaktur in Sèvres, die Mitarbeiter des Budapester Museums, ihm eine Liste, der auf den Fotografien von Herrn Klösz abgebildeten Gegenstände zukommen zu lassen. Er gab an, dass Ferenc Pulszky in einem früheren Brief schrieb, dass es sich beim "le beau trépied a été photographié" wahrscheinlich um den Dreifuß aus Polgárdi handelt, den Pulszky im Frühjahr 1878 auch in Paris präsentiert hatte. Der Autor der Briefe aus Budapest, die dem Brief beiliegen, hat Garnier wegen der Klösz-Fotografien an einen Pariser Buchhändler verwiesen. Dies belegt, dass bereits 1878 die Museumsserie von Klösz in Paris erhältlich war.

Die Museumsleitung plante auch, die Fotografien von Klösz in Stichen zu reproduzieren. Diese Aufgabe sollte der renommierte deutsche Verleger Ernst Wasmuth übernehmen. Obwohl ich keine Informationen finden konnte, ob dieses Album tatsächlich veröffentlicht wurde, so zeigt dieser Plan jedoch, dass Stiche, die nach der Vorlage von Kunstwerkfotografien entstanden, weit verbreitet waren. Das Museumsalbum von Klösz war auch in Ungarn bekannt, wurde zur Identifizierung von Kunstwerken herangezogen und wird in der Fachliteratur häufig im Zusammenhang mit den jeweiligen Kunstwerken erwähnt.

Ein wesentlicher Aspekt der Verwendung von Kunstwerkfotografien einheimischer Museen in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren war der Austausch von Fotografien zwischen in- und ausländischen Sammlungen und Gelehrten. 1878 wurde eine Fotografie mit der Darstellung eines silbernen Krugs aus dem Pester Museum an Dr. August Essenwein, den Direktor des Germanischen Nationalmuseums in Nürnberg geschickt. Darüber hinaus wurde ein Briefwechsel mit Friedrich Pichler vom Johanneum in Graz über Fotografien geführt. 1881 ließ der Kustos der Medaillen- und Altertumsabteilung des Museums eine kürzlich erworbene Alabasterstatue aus Siebenbürgen fotografieren und wandte sich an Ludwig Reissenberger, den Direktor des Bruckenthal-Museums in Nagyszeben (jetzt Rumänien), mit der Bitte, Informationen über das auf dem Foto abgebildete Kunstwerk zu übermitteln. Der siebenbürgisch-sächsische Gelehrte schickte dem Budapester Museum auch Fotografien von ähnlichen Skulpturen, die als Abbildungen eines Textes im *Archäologischen Bulletin* von 1881 benutzt wurden.

Die Fotografien der Kunstwerke wurden häufig von in- und ausländischen Buch- und Kunsthändlern ihren Angeboten beigelegt. Im Oktober 1878 bot der Franzose Vicomte de Poli dem Museum in Pest eine kleine antike Satyrstatue aus Bronze an, die 50 Jahre zuvor in Frankreich gefunden und von Prosper Mérimée in seinem *Voyage Archéologique dans le midi de la France* beschrieben wurde. Poli schickte auch zwei Fotos dieser Statue, damit das

⁸ Pulszky Ferencz *kisebb dolgozatai*, Hrsg. A. LÁBÁN, Budapest 1914, S. 218–240.

⁹ *Monuments épigraphiques du Musée National Hongrois dessinés et expliqués par Ernst Desjardins... et par les soins de Dom Flóris Rómer*, Buda-Pest Imprimerie de l'Université Royale Hongroise Albertotypie d'Alexandre Beszédes 1873.

Museum entscheiden konnte, ob es sie erwerben möchte. Der Mitarbeiter des Museums bedankte sich für die beiden Fotografien, konnte jedoch die Bronzestatue nicht kaufen, da das Museum nicht über genug Mittel für den Erwerb von Objekten, die nicht im direkten Zusammenhang mit der nationalen Geschichte standen, verfügte.

Ein Briefwechsel aus dem Jahr 1883 gibt Aufschluss über die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zwischen den Fotografen und den Museen sowie über die damals vorherrschenden Preise. Der siebenbürgische Fotograf Fritz Geltsch übermittelte dem Nationalmuseum die Information, dass er 45 Negative von Gegenständen aus der Sammlung der Amateurarchäologin Zsófia Torma angefertigt habe und die auf Albuminpapier übertragenen Kopien dem Museum zum Kauf anbiete. Der Preis pro Kopie beträgt 50 Kreuzer. József Hampel, ein Mitarbeiter des Museums, erwiderte, dass der Preis zu hoch sei. Nach langen Verhandlungen verkaufte der Fotograf dem Museum die Aufnahmen für 30 Kreuzer pro Stück. Auf der Karte einer Fotografie, die ein Schmuckstück zeigt, ist folgender Vermerk zu finden: „Aufgenommen für Rosenberg.“ Marc Rosenberg, der Autor des Katalogs der Goldschmiedemerkzeichen, die heute noch verwendet werden, besuchte 1884 die Goldschmiedeaustellung in Budapest und bezog sich in seinem Werk mehrfach auf die Kunstwerke, die dort präsentiert wurden.

Eine wertvolle Sammlung von mehreren tausend Glasnegativen, darunter auch Kunstwerkfotografien aus dem 19. Jahrhundert, befindet sich in der Datenbank des Budapester Museums für Angewandte Kunst. Die Identifizierung der abgebildeten Gegenstände wird dadurch erleichtert, dass ein großer Teil der Sammlung aus Serien von Fotoaufnahmen zu bestehen scheint, die während verschiedener thematischer Ausstellungen in Ungarn im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert aufgenommen wurden.

Im letzten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts entstanden auch Fotografien von Kunstwerken für die Bibliothek des Nationalmuseums. Einige der Fotografien, vor allem von Codices und Handschriftenfragmenten aus dem In- und Ausland, die heute in der Széchenyi-Nationalbibliothek aufbewahrt werden, haben nichts von ihrem dokumentarischen Wert verloren, weil viele der abgebildeten Kunstwerke entweder zerstört wurden oder als verschollen gelten. Dieses frühe Inventar, das in Tagebuchform die Entwicklung der Sammlung wiedergibt, informiert darüber wie die Fotografien erworben wurden sowie in welchem Umfang und zu welchen Preisen sie gekauft wurden. In den 1880er Jahren begann man in ausländischen Bibliotheken nach Objekten mit Bezug zu Ungarn zu suchen. Die Fotos, die dabei entstanden und hauptsächlich Renaissancebücher, die mit dem König Matthias Corvinus in Verbindung stehen zeigten, wurden entweder von lokalen Fotografen oder von Fotografen, die aus Ungarn entsandt wurden, geschossen.

In den 1870er und 1880er Jahren erwarb auch die Königlich-Ungarische Musterschule für Zeichnen die

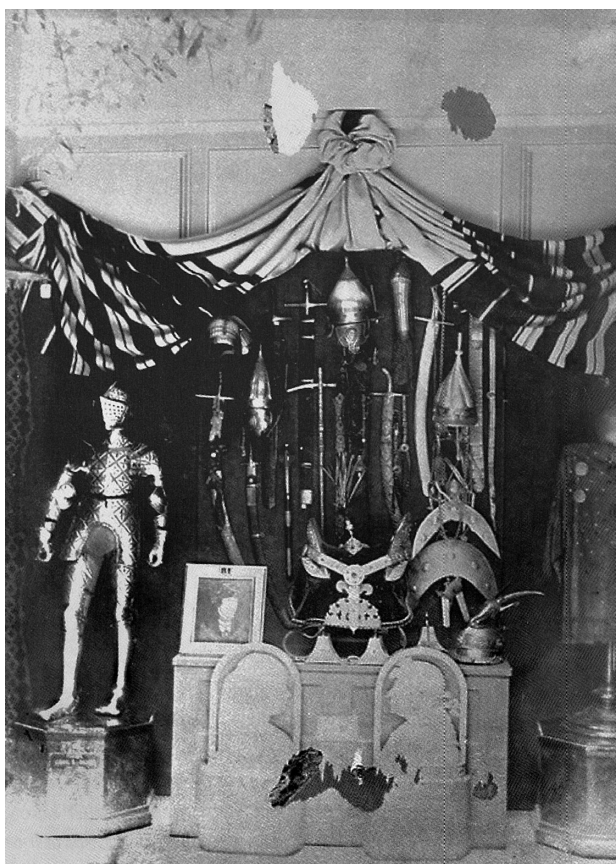


2. John Brampton Philpot, Zeichnung von Michelangelo, um 1870, Papier, Albumin. Magyar Képzőművészeti Egyetem Könyvtár, Levéltár és Művészeti Gyűjtemény (Ungarische Universität der Schönen Künste, Bibliothek, Archiv und Kunstsammlung), Budapest

Fotoaufnahmen verschiedener Kunstwerke. Aus dem damals veröffentlichten Katalog geht hervor, dass die Bibliothek bereits 1883 eine umfangreiche Fotosammlung besaß, zu der über 2.000 Fotografien von Kunstwerken gehörten.¹⁰ Für wissenschaftliche Studien wurde beispielsweise eine Serie von 477 Fotografien von John Brampton Philpot & Jackson aus Florenz erworben [Abb. 2].

Jedoch nicht nur die Museen, sondern auch die Kirche erkannte bald die Möglichkeiten der neuen Reproduktionstechnik. In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts kam es in Ungarn zu einer Wiederbelebung der Bemühungen um die Erfassung alter Handschriften von einheimischer Bedeutung. Zu diesen Werken zählen insbesondere die Corvinus-Handschriften. Das Archäologische Komitee der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften bat mehrere ausländische Bibliotheken um Informationen über Handschriften aus ihren Sammlungen, die in Bezug zu Ungarn standen und bemühte sich um Kopien oder Fotografien der schönsten Seiten. 1871 wurde mit Unterstützung der ungarischen Bischofskonferenz in Rom ein Prachtalbum mit 16 hochwertigen eingeklebten Fotografien der schönsten Seiten von vier Corvinus-Handschriften

¹⁰ A. M., *Kir. Országos Mintarajztanoda és Rajztanárképezde könyvtárának Címjegyzéke*, Budapest 1883, S. 66–72.



3. György Klösz, Interieurfotografie (Ausstellung zugunsten der Opfer der großen Donauüberschwemmung, 1876, Budapest)

aus den Bibliotheken von Rom veröffentlicht.¹¹ 1880 übernahm der Erzbischof János Simor von Esztergom die Kosten der Veröffentlichung einer repräsentativen Publikation mit 55 Fotografien, die wertvollsten Kunstschätze aus der Kathedrale zeigten.¹²

FOTOGRAFIEN DER AUSGESTELLTEN KUNSTWERKE

1873 erstellte der Budapester Fotograf György Klösz zusammen mit örtlichen Fotografen Aufnahmen von Kunstwerken, die auf der Wiener Weltausstellung präsentiert wurden. Unter ihnen befanden sich auch Aufnahmen ungarischer Baudenkmäler. 1876 wurde auf Initiative der Pester Adels eine Ausstellung zugunsten der Opfer des großen Donauhochwassers organisiert. An die Ausstellung, die Schätze aus ungarischen Kirchen, archäologischen Gesellschaften und Privatsammlungen sowie aus

¹¹ F. RÓMER, *Díszlapok a római könyvtárakban őrzött négy Corvin-Codexből*. 16 táblával. *Lefényképeztette a vaticáni zsinaton jelen volt*, Pest 1871.

¹² *Az esztergomi főegyház kincstára LXXIX. műtárgyának LV fényképe főmagasságú Herceg Primás esztergomi érsek Simor János úrnak a Római egyház bibornoka megbízásából és költségén kiadta Dr. Dankó József esztergomi kanonok*, Esztergom 1880.

in- und ausländischen Museen präsentierte, wurde eine großangelegte Kampagne zur Anfertigung von Fotografien abgeschlossen. Die Organisatoren schickten zwei Budapester Fotografen, György Klösz und Ignác Schrecker, die sich um den Auftrag bewarben, zu der Ausstellung. Obwohl auch Schrecker Kunstwerke in der Ausstellung fotografierte, hielt jedoch György Klösz die schönsten Objekte in einer Serie von mehr als 140 Fotos fest [Abb. 3]. Die Fotoaufnahmen, deren Herstellung vom Minister für Bildung gefördert wurde, wurden sowohl an das Denkmalschutzkomitee übergeben als auch den öffentlichen Einrichtungen und Schulen in Ungarn zur Verfügung gestellt.

Die zeitgenössische Anerkennung der Fotografie als Reproduktionstechnik zeigt sich darin, dass auf der 1882 eröffneten ersten Landesausstellung für Buchgeschichte auch einige Fotografien als eigenständige Exponate gezeigt wurden. Diese Fachausstellung wurde von György Ráth, dem Leiter des Museums für Angewandte Kunst, initiiert und mit Förderung des Ministeriums für Kultur und Bildung verwirklicht. Von den 112 damals bekannten Corvinus-Handschriften wurden 60 ausgestellt. Darüber hinaus wurden Kopien und Fotografien bedeutender Codices präsentiert, die aus ausländischen Bibliotheken nicht ausgeliehen werden konnten. Auch bei der Sammlung des Materials für die Ausstellung spielte die Fotografie eine wichtige Rolle: Mit Unterstützung des Ministeriums für Religion und Bildung ließen die Kuratoren von dem bekannten ungarischen Fotografen Antal Weinwurm 470 Fotografien von 960 Objekten anfertigen. Die Fotografien, die in großen, prächtigen Alben enthalten waren, wurden vom Museumsdirektor bei der Schlussveranstaltung der Ausstellung präsentiert.

Die offizielle Ordnung für die nächste große historische Fachausstellung, die auf die Buchausstellung von 1882 folgte und 1884 im Nationalmuseum zum Thema Goldschmiedekunst stattfand, unterstrich, dass die Ausstellung die wertvollsten Kunstwerke aus den bedeutendsten privaten und öffentlichen Sammlungen des Landes zeigen sollte und dass diese während der Ausstellung fotografiert werden sollten. Die in diesem Zusammenhang erstellten Fotografien sollten einerseits als Musterblätter für die Ausbildung der Handwerker, andererseits als Grundlage für die wissenschaftliche Erforschung der Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst im In- und Ausland dienen. Darüber hinaus sollten sie sicherstellen, dass die umfangreiche, für die Ausstellung zusammengestellte Sammlung nach ihrem Ende für Bildungs- und Forschungszwecke zur Verfügung gestellt wird.¹³ Im Januar 1884 beauftragte Ágoston Trefort, Minister für Kultus und Unterricht, die Organisatoren der Ausstellung, Fotografien und gegebenenfalls Aquarelle von den bemerkenswertesten Kunstwerken anzufertigen. Die Anweisung des Ministers, dass die Kartons der Fotos die gleiche Größe haben sollen, wie

¹³ Budapest, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Belegsammlung, Inv. Nr. 1889/234.

diejenigen, die für die Buchausstellung von 1882 verwendet wurden, ist ein Hinweis darauf, dass man dem Konzept einer systematischen, dokumentarischen Verwendung der Fotografien von Artefakten folgte.¹⁴

Aus dem Eintragsbuch geht hervor, dass 1884 das Fotomaterial des Museums (oder ein Teil davon) an das Nationalmuseum übergeben wurde. Da jedoch die Originalunterlagen im Archiv des Museums nicht zu finden ist, kennen wir die Umstände dieser Übergabe nicht und wissen nichts über den Umfang des übergebenen Materials. 1889 wies der Kultusminister Albin Csáky in einem Brief den Direktor des Museums für Angewandte Kunst im Zusammenhang mit den Fotografien von der Buchausstellung aus dem Jahr 1882 und von der Ausstellung der Goldschmiedekunst an: Die Fotografien sollten im Nationalmuseum verbleiben, die Glasnegative sind jedoch an das Museum für Angewandte Kunst zu übergeben. Die Entscheidung des Ministers verpflichtete Antal Weinwurm, wie wir gesehen haben, auch der Fotograf der Buchausstellung war, auf Anfrage der Museen jederzeit gegen eine feste Gebühr Kopien der Fotos anzufertigen.¹⁵

Zahlreiche Aufnahmen der Fotoserie befinden sich in der Archivfotosammlung der archäologischen Datenbank des Nationalmuseums. Die nach Gattungen und Werktypen geordneten Schachteln enthalten zahlreiche Fotografien, die mit Beschriftungen *Goldschmiedeausstellung 1884* und *Photograph A. Weinwurm Budapest* versehen sind. In den Schachteln befindet sich eine unterschiedliche Anzahl von Fotografien aus der damaligen Serie. Insgesamt enthält die Sammlung 247 Fotografien mit diesen Beschriftungen.

Die meisten Glasnegative der Fotos der ausgestellten Goldschmiedewerke, beziehungsweise einige entwickelte Fotos, befinden sich in den Sammlungen des Museums für Angewandte Kunst. Einige der Fotografien von Pokalen, Gläsern und Bechern in der Glasnegativsammlung des Museums tragen in der Rubrik „Besitzernamen“ den Vermerk „Goldschmiedeausstellung“. Man kann annehmen, dass etwa 600 Glasnegative im Inventarbuch des Museums auf der Goldschmiedeausstellung erstellt wurden.

Auch bei der Popularisierung der galvanoplastischen Kopien, mit denen die bedeutendsten Stücke der Goldschmiedeausstellung von 1884 reproduziert wurden, spielte die Kunstfotografie eine Rolle. Die Abbildungen in den ersten Katalogen der Galvano-Kopien wurden nach den originalen Kunstwerken oder Fotografien angefertigt.¹⁶ Der Katalog von 1908 enthält 209 Fotografien plastischer

Kopien.¹⁷ Im Inventarbuch der Glasnegativsammlung des Museums für Angewandte Kunst sind die Fotografien der Galvano-Kopien der Objekte von der Ausstellung aus dem Jahr 1884 kurz nach den der Goldschmiedeausstellung aufgeführt (Inv. Nr. 2161–2197). Bei den ersten beiden Abbildungen handelt es sich um galvanoplastische Kopien des Dreifußes aus Polgárdi. Außerdem gibt es auch mehrere Glasnegative von galvanoplastischen Kopien der in Wien aufbewahrten Elemente, die zum Goldschatz aus Nagyszentmiklós gehören und auf der Goldschmiedeausstellung von 1884 mit kaiserlicher Erlaubnis gezeigt wurden.

Das Thema der Fotografie der Kunstwerke im Ungarn des 19. Jahrhunderts sollte nicht nur erforscht werden. Genauso wichtig ist es, die archivierten Fotoaufnahmen von Kunstwerken, die sich in kulturellen Einrichtungen befinden, zu erfassen, zu ordnen und zu identifizieren. Dieses Quellenmaterial hat heute bereits einen musealen Wert. Obwohl es wegen seines ephemeren Charakters oft nicht als solches behandelt wurde, ist es jedoch eine unschätzbare Hilfe bei der Erforschung der Geschichte der Fotografie des 19. Jahrhunderts, der Sammeltätigkeiten oder der Ausstellungs- und Museumsgeschichte. Darüber hinaus ist es auch eine große Unterstützung bei der Erforschung der Geschichte einzelner Kunstwerke und ganzer Sammlungen, die damals fotografiert wurden, später jedoch vernichtet, beschädigt oder ins Ausland verbracht wurden bzw. sich an einem unbekanntem Ort befinden. Den Quellen zufolge wurden bereits in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren Tausende von Fotografien von Kunstwerken in Museen, Bibliotheken, öffentlichen Bildungseinrichtungen und Sammlungen verschiedener Vereine oder in kleinen, exklusiven Alben veröffentlicht, von denen bisher nur ein Bruchteil gefunden werden konnte.

¹⁴ Budapest, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Belegsammlung, Inv. Nr. 1884/22.

¹⁵ Budapest, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Belegsammlung, Inv. Nr. 1889/234.

¹⁶ E. RADISICS, *Országos Iparművészeti Múzeum. Catalogue des reproductions galvanoplastique du musée des arts-decoratifs hongrois*, Budapest 1884.

¹⁷ E. CZAKÓ (Hrsg.), *Az Országos Magyar Iparművészeti Múzeum által forgalomba hozott galvano-másolatok képes lapstroma*, Budapest 1908.

SUMMARY

Júlia Papp

THE BEGINNINGS OF INSTITUTIONAL ARTWORK
PHOTOGRAPHY IN HUNGARY (1859–1885)

In the fifth section of the first congress of art history, organized in Vienna in 1873, titled *Reproductionen von Kunstwerken und deren Verbreitung im Interesse der Museen und des Kunstunterrichtes*, the participants discussed the making and distribution of artwork reproductions and their use for museum's and educational purposes. The topic was very relevant at the time, since in the 19th c. in Europe the making of galvanoplastic and plaster cast reproductions reached almost industrial proportions. In the second half of the 19th c. the photography of artworks also started to flourish. In Western Europe in the 1850s began the photography of architectural monuments and the most valuable treasures of major museums and collections. In Hungary, the use of artwork photographs by institutions began in the 1860s by the committee for historic preservation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: one of their tasks was to search for artistic monuments and collect descriptions, drawings and photographs of them. Most of the documents, including the photographs, were given to the committee by enthusiastic patriots of the countryside. In the 1870s, the most valuable treasures of museums, libraries and church collections also began to be requested to be photographed, now by professional photographers. These photographers, often competing with each other, also created the photography series – which sometimes included hundreds of pictures – which recorded the historic exhibitions organized in the 1870s and 1880s (the 1873 Vienna World's Fair, a book exhibition in 1882, an exhibition of metal artworks in 1884 etc.).

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ALFRED WOLTMANN AND THE HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY ART

The protagonist of the present paper makes his appearance in Czech art historiography primarily in connection with the public scandal he provoked in the autumn of 1876. In his lecture on the subject of *German Art in Prague*, Woltmann proclaimed that the aesthetic character of the Bohemian capital was almost exclusively the work of German artists and the result of German cultural influences. His statements sparked brawls between Czech and German university students and even street riots that had to be quelled by the police. No less serious were the effects that the lecture had on art-historical discourse. By describing Czech artistic culture as derivative and provincial, Woltmann placed it in a problematic situation, the resolution of which became one of the central topics of Czech art history. In opposition to his conclusions, which purported to demonstrate the inferiority of the Slavic tribe, Czech art scholarship worked to assemble an image of spiritual and material culture that could successfully challenge its German, or even Italian or French, counterparts. Such a model of historical narrative was, understandably, difficult to defend. Hence it comes as no surprise that until very recently, Woltmann was, in Czech historiography, portrayed negatively or completely ignored.¹

A PIONEER OF THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD IN ART HISTORY – 150 YEARS AGO

It was in 1873 that Alfred Woltmann (1841–1880) received the position of a full professorship of art history at the

university of Prague.² Prior to this appointment, he had achieved a reputation as one of the most capable and active representatives of this discipline from the younger generation. He had studied art history at the universities of Berlin, Munich, and Breslau, while deepening his erudition through study trips to London, Paris, the Netherlands, and Italy. From 1868 he had a position at the Polytechnic in Karlsruhe. He entered the awareness of the scholarly community quite early thanks to his two-volume monograph on Hans Holbein the Younger, a development of the topic of his dissertation from 1863.³ Dedicated to an artist whose popularity in Germany at the time matched that of Albrecht Dürer, this publication formed a significant contribution toward the shaping of a new, positivistic history of art. Though Woltmann did commit several errors in it, which he had to correct in the second edition, his work remains today one of the foundations for research concerning Holbein. Anton Springer described it as ‘the best biography hitherto written about a German artist’.⁴ Woltmann also participated in the well-known congress that discussed the question of the authenticity of the two versions of Holbein’s *Madonna of the Burgermeister Meyer*. The full significance that this discussion had for formulating art history as an autonomous discipline, with its

¹ A. WOLTMANN, *Deutsche Kunst in Prag*, Leipzig 1877. See J. VYBÍRAL, ‘What Is “Czech” in Art in Bohemia? Alfred Woltmann and defensive mechanisms of Czech artistic historiography’, *Kunstchronik*, 59, 2006, pp. 1–7.

² ‘Amtlicher Theil’, *Wiener Zeitung*, 1, 1873, p. 1; ‘Professoren und Lehrer-Ernennungen’, *Die Presse*, 1, 1873, Abendblatt, p. 2. See J. HORÁČEK, ‘Alfred Woltmann’, in *Století ústavu pro dějiny umění na Filozofické fakultě Univerzity Karlovy*, eds R. BIEGEL, R. PRAHL, J. BACHTÍK, Praha 2020, pp. 68–70.

³ A. WOLTMANN, *Holbein und seine Zeit*, Leipzig 1866 and 1868; second edition 1874 and 1876; published in English as *Holbein and His Time*, transl. F. E. Burnet, London 1872.

⁴ A. SPRINGER, ‘Hans Holbein und sein neuester Biograph’, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 2, 1867, pp. 63–69, here pp. 63–64 (die beste Biographie, die bisher über einen deutschen Künstler geschrieben wurde).

own methodology and objective findings, was already established in 1966 by Udo Kultermann.⁵ Yet we should also recall Woltmann's contribution to the first international congress of art historians, held in Vienna in September 1873, which should be regarded as another major step in this process. It was there that Woltmann delivered one of the main addresses, on the topic of administering museum collections and conserving art objects.⁶

From the German standpoint, Woltmann's pedagogic activity in Prague was exceptionally successful: 'He could stimulate interest in art and artistic research more powerfully than anyone before him in Prague; during his Collegium Publicum, the hall could scarcely hold the crowd of listeners who breathlessly followed the words of the respected master.'⁷ In his four years in the capital of Bohemia, Woltmann managed to publish four highly regarded books and, along with his lecturing at the university, he also investigated the artworks in Prague's collections and more generally medieval Bohemian art. He performed a thorough examination of the picture gallery of Prague Castle, where despite many years of pillaging and removal of artworks to the imperial capital Vienna, he found many works of 'major artistic value'.⁸ In turn, he published an analysis of 150 pictures classified into 'national' schools in the journal of the Viennese monuments commission. This admirable research activity, to be sure, had certain unfortunate consequences, since twenty-one of the most valuable works were shipped to the Vienna Belvedere, sparking vociferous disagreement from Czech patriots.⁹ Woltmann devoted particular attention to the *Madonna of the Rosary* by Albrecht Dürer, the altar painting from St. Vitus's Cathe-

dral *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* by Jan Gossaert called Mabuse, and the paintings by Peter Paul Rubens from the Augustinian church of St. Thomas.¹⁰ Yet, as a pupil and follower of Gustav Friedrich Waagen, he took the greatest interest in the medieval book illumination in Bohemian collections. In his study from the end of 1876, he presented the results of his examination of six codices, among them the greatest treasures from the library of the National Museum: *Mariale Arnesti* from the first Prague archbishop, *Liber viaticus* of Johannes Noviforensis (Jan ze Středy), and the renowned 13th-c. Latin glossary *Mater Verborum*. These manuscripts contained marginalia with certain Slavic names, alleged to offer confirmation of their Czech provenience. Woltmann, from his thoroughgoing research, nonetheless established that these inscriptions were forgeries, thus removing from the history of Bohemian art several mythical illuminators: specifically, *Bohuss Lutomericensis* (Bohuš z Litoměřic), *Sbisco de Trotina* (Zbyšek z Trotiny), *Petrus Brzuchaty* and the painter *Miroslav* (Miroslav). In parallel, he used comparative stylistic analysis of lettering and pictorial depictions, concentrating on physiognomic details, bodily posture, folds of drapery, painterly technique and colouring, to perform a partial re-dating of these manuscripts and eliminating the possibility of their Bohemian origin.¹¹ This study clearly indicates how Woltmann imagined the methodological status of his discipline as a 'science': striving toward an empirical history of art grounded in the thorough study of written sources and detailed examination of actual artworks, where the connoisseurship relied on comparative stylistic analysis.

This scholarly activity, which also included the questioning of the authenticity of the Králův Dvůr and Zelená Hora manuscripts – themselves later confirmed to be forgeries of the early 19th c. – was perceived as another manifestation of hostility toward the Czech nation, and Woltmann became *persona non grata* among the Czechs. His departure from a Prague he had increasingly come to dislike, however, only became possible with his appointment to the university in Strasburg in the summer of 1878. His most significant work, published after he left Prague, consisted of the chapters on medieval painting in the first

⁵ U. KULTERMANN, *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte. Der Weg einer Wissenschaft*, Wien–Düsseldorf 1966, pp. 251–262. O. BÄTSCHMANN, 'Der Holbein-Streit: Eine Krise der Kunstgeschichte', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 38, 1996, pp. 87–100; P. GRIENER, 'Alfred Woltmann and the Holbein dispute, 1863–1871', *Studies in the history of art*, 60, 2001, pp. 211–225; see H. LOCHER, *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst 1750–1950*, München 2010, p. 48.

⁶ R. EITELBERGER, 'Die Resultate des ersten internationalen kunstwissenschaftlichen Congresses in Wien', *Mittheilungen der kaiserl. königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, 19, 1874, pp. 40–45. See H. DILLY, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution*, Frankfurt am Main 1979, pp. 161–172.

⁷ 'Prof. Dr. Alfred Woltmann', *Montags-Revue aus Böhmen*, 16. 2. 1880, p. 12 (Er wußte das Interesse für Kunst und Kunstforschung so mächtig zu beleben, wie Niemand vor ihm in Prag; in seinem Collegium publicum konnte der Saal kaum die Menge der Zuhörer fassen, die athemlos den Worten des verehrten Meisters lauschten).

⁸ A. WOLTMANN, 'Die Gemäldesammlung in der Kaiserlichen Burg zu Prag', *Mittheilungen der kaiserl. königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, Neue Folge, 3, 1877, pp. 25–50 (von erheblichem Kunstwerth).

⁹ 'Nový kus kulturní činnosti prof. Woltmanna', *Národní listy*, 3. 5. 1877, p. 3.

¹⁰ A. WOLTMANN, 'Ein Gemälde von P. P. Rubens in Prag', *Mittheilungen der kaiserl. königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, Neue Folge, 2, 1876, pp. 77–80; idem, 'Dürer und Mabuse in Prag', in idem, *Aus vier Jahrhunderten niederländisch-deutscher Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 1878, pp. 28–48. See: 'Concordia. Die öffentlichen Vorträge', *Prager Abendblatt*, 28. 10. 1875, p. 3; 'Rubens der Prager Thomas-Kirche', *Politik*, 19. 10. 1876, p. 4.

¹¹ A. WOLTMANN, 'Zur Geschichte der böhmischen Miniaturmalerei', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 2, 1879, pp. 1–24; idem, 'Die tschechischen Fälschungen', *ibidem*, pp. 138–140. See J. KVĚT, 'Falsa v iluminovaných rukopisech knihovny Národního musea v Praze', *Národní listy*, 12. 6. 1927, p. 1.

volume of *Geschichte der Malerei*, the series that he edited in collaboration with Karl Woermann.¹² Yet the eight hundred pages of Woltmann's text, unfortunately, remained only a fragment, since the author, suffering from severe respiratory illness, died in February 1880.¹³

'PAINTING AND SCULPTURE IN THE HIGH STYLE'

Woltmann was not one of those art historians 'who fall short of breath in the sharp air of the present and, as a result, prefer to retreat to the past as to a peaceful island, there to devote themselves to the undisturbed exaltation of the beauty gained in the past,' as this category of academic historians was described by Wilhelm Lübke.¹⁴ Even during his early years as a *Privatdozent* at the university in Berlin, he organised two cycles of popular lectures on the art of the immediate present. In February and March 1864, the topic was the architecture of Berlin, and two years later he prepared six talks on contemporary art. Subsequently, in Strasburg he made German and French art of the 19th c. the topic of one of his university courses.¹⁵ At the same time, he published in German newspapers and magazines, essentially on an ongoing basis, reviews and notifications from exhibitions and commentaries on current events in the artistic scene.

His preferred artists were the Nazarene painters and their predecessors, primarily Asmus Jacob Carstens, Friedrich Overbeck, Peter Cornelius, and Carl Rahl. For discussing their work, Woltmann deployed a Winckelmann-influenced terminology, such as art of a 'high' or 'strict' style. The excellent formal qualities of the Nazarenes embodied for him not the 'old Germanic' style admired by the Romantics, but instead a respect for the normative ideal of beauty in the spirit of the classical



1. Peter Cornelius School (Jakob Götzenberger), *Madonna and Child with Parrot*, 1823 (engraving by Th. Langer). Phot. after: *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 3, 1868

tradition. It was classicism that, in his conviction, aided first German literature and then German art in extricating itself from the crisis of the latter part of the 18th c. Woltmann did not call for a literal imitation of antiquity, but instead for the creative apprehension of its spirit, which would allow artists to reach 'toward a new, autonomous grasp of nature'.¹⁶ The classical canon, in his view, implied a sense for calm, harmony, and above all the balanced relation between the semantic and formal aspects. Antiquity, in short, 'as its founding principle announced the congruence of content and form'.¹⁷ From this position, Woltmann disapproved, for instance, of the mixing of symbolic or allegorical motifs with real ones, yet refused even more forcefully, in the spirit of Lessing's aesthetics, literalness in pictorial compositions. Though the classical erudition of this era relied primarily on texts, he held that the fine arts should speak in their own, non-derivative language. 'Not communication, but depiction is the essence of the picture', he declared, stressing the visual character of the

¹² *Geschichte der Malerei*, vol. 1: *Die Malerei des Alterthums. Die Malerei des Mittelalters*, ed. A. WOLTMANN, Leipzig 1879; *Geschichte der Malerei*, vol. 2: *Die Malerei der Renaissance*, eds A. WOLTMANN, K. WOERMANN, Leipzig 1882.

¹³ B. MEYER, 'Alfred Woltmann', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 15, 1880, pp. 193-200, 242-250 and 301-315; M. THAUSING, 'Alfred Woltmann', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 3, 1880, pp. 357-360; A. STERN, 'Woltmann, Alfred', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 44, Leipzig 1898, pp. 185-188.

¹⁴ W. LÜBKE, 'Die heutige Kunst und die Kunstwissenschaft', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1, 1866, pp. 3-13, here p. 3 (denen in der scharfen Luft der Gegenwart der Athem ausgeht, und die sich deshalb lieber in die Vergangenheit wie auf ein friedliches Eiland zurückziehen, um dort in müheloser Anschauung des einmal gesicherten Besitzes von Schönheit zu schwelgen).

¹⁵ 'Vermischte Kunstdachrichten', *Kunstchronik. Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, 1, 1866, p. 16; 'Vorlesungen aus der Kunstgeschichte der Gegenwart', *National-Zeitung*, 31. 3. 1866, Beiblatt, p. 3; *Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen an der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität*, Straßburg 1879, p. 20.

¹⁶ A. WOLTMANN, 'Carstens', in idem, *Aus vier Jahrhunderten*, pp. 169-190, here p. 182 (as in note 10) (zu einer neuen, selbständigen Auffassung der Natur gelangte).

¹⁷ Idem, 'Das Rauch-Museum', *National-Zeitung*, 29. 3. 1866, pp. 1-3, here p. 2 (verkündet als Grundprincip Übereinstimmung von Inhalt und Form).



2. Friedrich Overbeck, *Christ Blessing the Children*, 1826 (engraving by Th. Langer). Phot. after: *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 6, 1871

language of painting, since ‘all that is depicted is a purely pictorial phenomenon.’¹⁸

In his favoured artists, which included alongside the previously mentioned names other Nazarenes such as Josef Führich, Bonaventura Genelli, Alfred Rethel and Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, and the American sculptor Erastus Dow Palmer, Woltmann prized their mastery of composition and virtuosity of line, while tolerating the underestimation of the expressive potential of colour by these ‘German Romans’. The ‘high style’, which for him ‘strove to grasp the highest ideas with the most essential forms’,¹⁹ should nonetheless do more than awaken the aesthetic experience of ‘the beautiful’. For his admired Cornelius, the same principle held true as for Michelangelo: ‘The style of both is turned more toward the powerful and the sublime than toward the purely beautiful.’²⁰ Likewise,

¹⁸ Idem, ‘Die Einkehr in das Volksthum’, in idem, *Aus vier Jahrhunderten*, pp. 317–344, here p. 321 (as in note 10) (Nicht Mittheilung ist Sache des Bildes, sondern Darstellung); idem, ‘Carstens’, p. 185 (as in note 16) (alles Dargestellte ist zu reiner bildlicher Erscheinung).

¹⁹ Idem, ‘Peter von Cornelius’, *Unsere Zeit*, 1867, pp. 801–822, here p. 821 (Malerei großen Stils, welche die höchsten Ideen in bedeutenden Formen zu fassen strebt).

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 802 (der Stil beider mehr dem Gewaltigen und Erhabenen als dem rein Schönen zustrebt).

in the work of sculptor Christian Daniel Rauch he admired, much like Friedrich Schlegel among Rauch’s contemporaries, its ‘force and solemnity.’²¹ From these statements, we can infer that the beauty of classicist forms was for Woltmann hardly the sole criterion of his evaluating judgments; that an added condition for his positive reception of artworks was their intellectual depth and inclination towards higher, impersonal values. The sensual experience of art should, in the Enlightenment sense, form the means toward the refinement of morals.

‘He bore in himself that aesthetic ideality that Schiller, in the same era, strove to express in his philosophical poems, that same ideality that elevates the human above time and the bounds of earth towards the pure Olympian calm wherein all the contradictions of life find resolution,’ is how Woltmann expressed this quality in his lecture on Carstens.²²

²¹ Idem, ‘Das Rauch-Museum’, p. 3 (as in note 17) (Kraft und Ernst). See H. LOCHER, *Kunstgeschichte als historische*, p. 160 (as in note 5).

²² Idem, ‘Carstens’, p. 190 (as in note 16) (Er trug in sich jene ästhetische Idealität, welche Schiller gleichzeitig in seinen philosophischen Gedichten auszudrücken rang, jene Idealität, die den Menschen über die Zeit und die Schranken des Irdischen hinaushebt zur heiteren olympischen Ruhe, in der alle Widersprüche des Lebens versöhnt sind).

The aesthetics of Romanticism led Woltmann toward the praise of individuals of genius who succeeded in freeing themselves from tradition and in 'starting entirely from the beginning'.²³ Their approach to the world was elemental and intuitive, rooted in a collective cultural identity. Ensuing from this postulate was Woltmann's enthusiasm for the genre painting of Franz Defregger, as much as for the Classicist sculpted oeuvre of the autodidact Palmer, who was able to express 'the characteristic American life in its most original forms'.²⁴ By contrast, Woltmann condemned superficial effects and manners in art that merely served aesthetic whims and ever-changing fashion. The bearers of this unfortunate current were mostly those artists who allowed themselves to be carried away by the unhealthy spirit of the academic painting of the French Second Empire. In Germany, he held, the embodiment of these negative tendencies was the successful painter and director of the Munich Academy, Wilhelm von Kaulbach. He did not hesitate to subject Kaulbach's work in lectures or articles to severe critique, despite earning angered reactions from the artist's admirers.²⁵ For Woltmann, Kaulbach lacked 'that great, powerfully emotive soul, that untrammelled creative force which can express the most sublime thoughts in visible forms'.²⁶ The painters of this decadent tendency, for him, produce only 'hollow theatrical pathos, internally empty characters without spiritual life, all together nothing more than a garish operatic performance'.²⁷ As with Kaulbach, Woltmann equally rejected the colouristic bravura of Hans Makart, the dream-visions of Anselm Feuerbach, the exaggerated subjectivism of Gabriel Max, and the conventional literalness of the Düsseldorf School.

Woltmann's heroes were the non-academic 'great idealists', taking a stand against the materialism of the modern age.²⁸ The idealism of German artists, though, was to be understood – in contrast to Schlegel and the Romantic followers of Winckelmann – not as the accentuation of a mystical-religious content but in connection with the

awakening of a patriotic enthusiasm. As shown through the example of Cornelius, classical form should be 'suffused and led by a pure national spirit'.²⁹ The nation provided the basis for a healthy link between the individual and society, through which art could bring to reality its 'higher ideal efforts'.³⁰ As in the conception of another representative of German Idealism, Friedrich Schelling, the national idea for Woltmann formed the complementary project that would bring to a culmination the role of the classical ideal.³¹

National identity should be articulated through the aesthetic means of art; hence for the visualisation of German national qualities Woltmann compiled an entire catalogue of specific signs: 'True-heartedness, forthrightness, strength of will and feeling are equally as appropriate as harsh angularity, unwavering defiance, coarse crudity', all traits that for him were made visible in German genre painting.³² Presented as such, this national character could not be idealised according to classicist norms; honesty and morality were best captured by the methods of realistic painting. 'The realism that dominates here is not content with dazzling effects, the perfect appearance of physical existence, or the virtuosic painting of materials', so Woltmann announced his aesthetic ideal prefigured in the painting of the German Renaissance.³³ His preferred stylistic modality, not surprisingly, 'expresses its feelings realistically in the sense of Dürer and Holbein'.³⁴ And these impressive figures were the points of comparison for his own hero Cornelius: 'For us, though, the name Cornelius matches the idea of a national art in the present. Since the age of Dürer and Holbein, the German nation has possessed no painter who could, as Cornelius does, speak to it through art in its native tongue'.³⁵

²³ Idem, 'Peter von Cornelius', p. 802 (as in note 19) (ganz vom Anfang zu beginnen).

²⁴ Idem, 'Der Morgenstern Relief von Erastus Dow Palmer', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 2, 1867, pp. 261–265, here p. 264 (das charakteristisch-amerikanische Leben in seinen ursprünglichsten Formen). See: idem, 'Ein Bildhauer Nordamerik's', *National-Zeitung*, 24. 11. 1865, pp. 1–2.

²⁵ B. MEYER, 'Alfred Woltmann', p. 303 (as in note 13).

²⁶ A. WOLTMANN, 'Kaulbach', in idem, *Aus vier Jahrhunderten*, pp. 288–316 (as in note 10), here p. 301 (ihm fehlte jene große, mächtig empfindende Seele, jene unmittelbare Gestaltungskraft, welche die erhabendsten Gedanken in sichtbaren Formen ausprägen vermag).

²⁷ Idem, 'Einkehr in das Volksthum', p. 325 (as in note 18) (hohles Theaterpathos, innerlich leere Charaktere, die kein geistiges Leben durchdringt, das Ganze nur ein prunkvoller Opernaufzug).

²⁸ Idem, 'Peter von Cornelius', p. 801 (as in note 19) (die großen Idealisten).

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 803 (von echt nationalem Geist durchdrungen und geleitet).

³⁰ Idem, 'Die Anfänge der deutschen Renaissance', in *Aus vier Jahrhunderten*, pp. 1–27 (as in note 10), here p. 8 (das höhere ideale Streben).

³¹ R. PRANGE, *Die Geburt der Kunstgeschichte. Philosophische Ästhetik und empirische Wissenschaft*, Köln 2004, p. 71.

³² A. WOLTMANN, 'Die Einkehr in das Volksthum', p. 331 (as in note 18) (Treuherzigkeit, Redlichkeit, Kraft des Wollens und Empfindens sind ebenso wie rauhe Eckigkeit, zäher Trotz, derbe Tölpelhaftigkeit am Platze).

³³ Ibidem, p. 330 (Der Realismus, der hier waltet, begnügt sich nicht mit glänzenden Effecten, vollendetem Schein körperhafter Existenz und virtuoser Stoffmalerei).

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ Idem, 'Peter von Cornelius', p. 801 (as in note 19) (Bei uns aber fällt der Name Cornelius zusammen mit dem Begriff einer nationalen Kunst in der Gegenwart. Seit Dürer und Holbein hatte das deutsche Volk keinen Maler besessen, der wie Cornelius seine Muttersprache in der Kunst mit ihm zu reden verstand).

‘A BRIGHT, NOBLE, AND FESTIVE ARCHITECTURE’

As previously noted, in parallel with his lectures and articles on painting and sculpture, Woltmann also produced writings on the contemporary architecture of three German metropolises, which were completed during the 1860s, i.e., before his arrival in Prague. In 1863, he published a study on the architecture of Munich; in the following year produced a series of articles that he later collected into a book on Berlin’s architecture, and in 1866 he addressed the current architecture of Vienna. Revealing his art-historical competence, these texts display the use of highly precise descriptive tools in the characterisation and features of individual buildings, no less than the ability to construct a strong developmental line out of such heterogeneous material. Nonetheless, Bruno Meyer in his obituary for Woltmann termed the book on Berlin ‘undemanding’ and stressed its not entirely scholarly character.³⁶ At first glance, it may well appear that the only commonality between these texts and the same author’s historical studies is their polemical impetus. If in the articles on early artworks Woltmann’s ‘argumentative and combative nature’ was revealed in his disputes with scholarly opponents, in these discussions the target of his attacks was the artist who failed to match the standards of his evaluative criteria.³⁷ Unlike his reflections on the fine arts, which with only a few exceptions addressed exemplary and admired creators, the texts on architecture stood far closer to the genre of criticism. Woltmann did not view contemporary architecture through the dispassionate gaze of an academic expert interpreting the intentions of the architects and their clients, but more as an implacable judge operating with normative postulates. He articulated an operative discourse that has many points in common with the approach of the later canonical architectural historians of the 20th c. Just as in his writings on painting and sculpture, his aesthetic sensitivity prized the classically balanced arrangement of different sections, the use of proportion, rhythm, or scale in buildings with respect to their surroundings and their material execution. The ‘beauty of form’ as he saw it emerged, once more, from the ideal of Winckelmann – he admired buildings that were ‘bright, noble, and festive.’³⁸ Their ideal order would be far from all extremes: not austere, bare, or monotonous, yet equally refraining from any exaggeration or decorative excess. Woltmann also demanded a balance between aesthetic factors and the rational questions of function and construction. The salient symptom of the ailments

³⁶ B. MEYER, ‘Alfred Woltmann’, p. 304 (as in note 13).

³⁷ R. v. E[ITELBERGER], ‘Alfred Woltmann’, *Wiener Zeitung*, Beilage zur *Wiener Abendpost*, 19. 2. 1880, p. 1 (eine streitbare und kampfbereite Natur).

³⁸ A. WOLTMANN, ‘Die Münchner Architektur dieses Jahrhunderts’, *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Politik und Literatur*, 8, 1863, pp. 38–74 and 279–300, here p. 59 (licht, edel und festlich).

of modern architecture was usually described in his texts as ‘excessive ostentation matched with a complete indifference towards the actual purpose.’³⁹ The classical unity of structure, function, and art for him lay close to Schlegel’s model of organic form, developing from within and, through the significance of the exterior, providing a truthful testament to its hidden essence; as Woltmann noted, the ‘capability for truly organic form-creation’.⁴⁰

Woltmann’s aesthetic ideal was met in contemporary architecture by the work of Karl Friedrich Schinkel, which conjoined the classical canon of Grecian antiquity with specifically modern construction impulses. ‘Without being an imitator of antiquity, he recognised in its forms the eternally beautiful and the eternally valid, which have their grounding above all in a simple, strict regularity’ – such were Woltmann’s reasons for his aesthetic appreciation.⁴¹ No less vital for him were Schinkel’s ambitions to adapt antiquity to modern ends: ‘He felt no doubt that every era needs to create its ideal in architecture from its own demands and goals.’⁴² The direct opposite to Schinkel was, for Woltmann, Leo von Klenze, who in his view imitated ancient architecture without any ability to penetrate into the essence of stylistic laws or create a fully functional modern organism. ‘Klenze’s buildings, for all their richness, are bleak and empty’, he announced, terming for instance the New Hermitage in St. Petersburg a ‘true built monstrosity at the greatest of expenditures’.⁴³

The fulfilment of Schinkel’s legacy, for Woltmann, was not to be found in modern Berlin but in Vienna, where the standard of building in his view surpassed that of other German cities. He greatly admired, above all, Heinrich Ferstel and Theophil Hansen for their fully comprehending Schinkel’s idea of modernising antiquity. The Heinrichshof by Hansen was called the most beautiful apartment block in the world, while his design for the Austrian Parliament, with its imposing force, organic expression, and even sensibility for colour, even outstripped any of Schinkel’s own works. Hansen, in Woltmann’s view, ‘clearly discerned what the present can learn and take from the Renaissance, and this not in its derivative forms relying on Roman architecture, but instead in the way that it uses

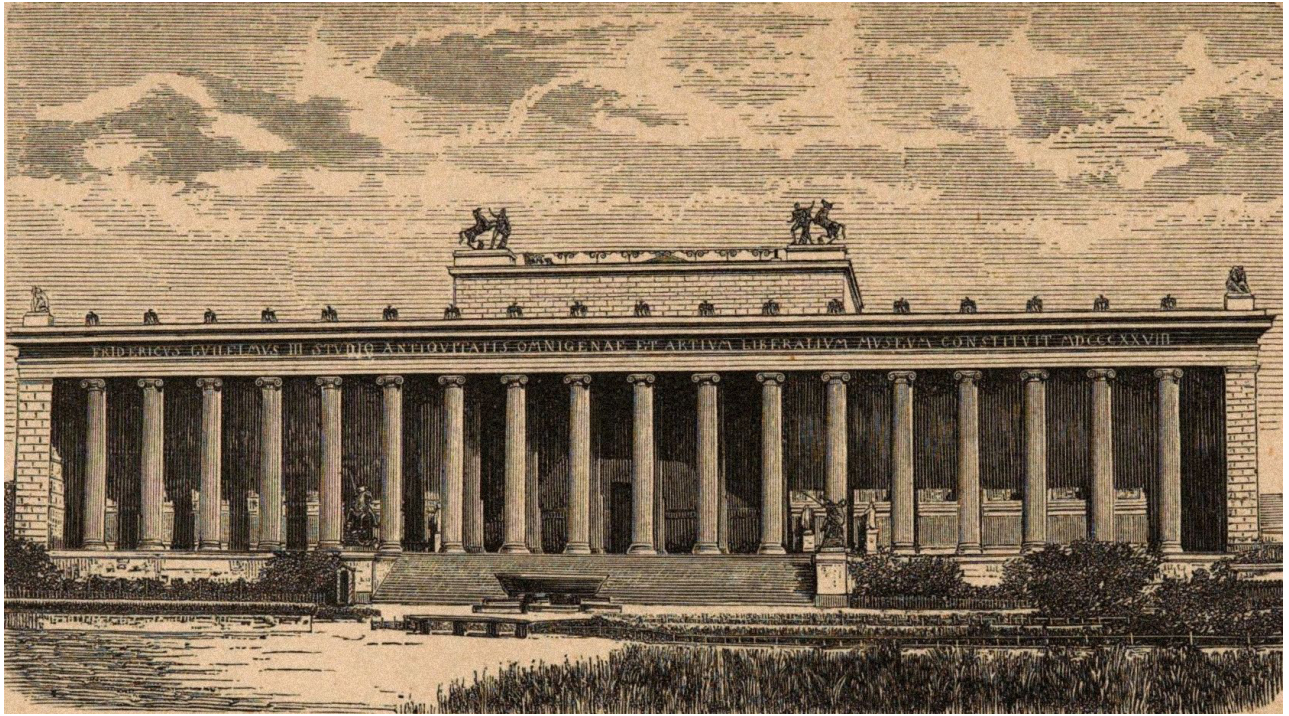
³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 53 (übermäßige Prunksucht ist mit völliger Rücksichtslosigkeit gegen den eigentlichen Zweck gepaart).

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 74 (einer wahrhaft organischen Gestaltungsfähigkeit).

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 297 (Ohne ein Nachahmer der Antike zu sein, erkannte er in ihren Formen das ewig Schöne und ewig Gültige, das vor Allem in der einfachen, strengen Gesetzmäßigkeit seinen Grund hat).

⁴² A. WOLTMANN, *Die Baugeschichte Berlins bis auf die Gegenwart*, Berlin 1872, p. 170 (Ihm war es zweifellos, daß jede Zeit ihren eigenen bestimmten Anforderungen und Zwecken ihr Ideal in der Baukunst gestalten muss).

⁴³ *Idem*, ‘Die Münchner Architektur’, p. 56 (as in note 38) (Klenze’s Bauwerke sind öde und arm trotz allen Reichthums) and p. 53 (mit maßlosestem Aufwand ein wahres Bauungeheuer). See *idem*, ‘Leo von Klenze’, *National-Zeitung*, 17. 3. 1864, pp. 1 and 3.



3. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Altes Museum in Berlin*, 1823–1830. Phot. after: Alfred Woltmann, *Die Baugeschichte Berlins bis auf die Gegenwart*, Berlin 1872

and transforms old models and principles for new tasks.⁴⁴ Like Gottfried Semper, Woltmann viewed the present as the inheritor of all past architectural achievements, and hence never worried over his age's lack of its own architectural style. Similarly, like Semper he could not admit that new materials such as iron and glass could satisfy the aesthetic need for beauty. The attempts to create a modern style initiated by the Bavarian king Maximilian II were, for him, pure insanity. At the same time, he rejected the effort to take up the tradition of Gothic architecture, seeing its intellectual background as incompatible with the unavoidable trajectory of universal progress. In addition, for him the Gothic style was far too conditioned by the technical givens of construction, allowing artistic inventiveness only limited chances for application. 'There rules in it a mathematical law that makes the same forms repeat in an endless return, requiring for the achievement of a richer effect more an ingenious combination than an independent discovery' is how he summarised his aesthetic reservations in an article on London's contemporary architecture from 1866.⁴⁵ The Neo-Renaissance was

preferable because its aesthetic qualities best embodied the practical, economic spirit of the 19th c. 'To build in true Grecian style is in our age not possible' was his firm conviction.⁴⁶ The stylistic mode of the Renaissance should be supported by 'all those who stand on the side of progress in life and art, who expect from the artistic actions of our age something new and original'.⁴⁷ Indeed, this opinion is quite similar to the claims that he voiced in his texts on Holbein: the specific German Renaissance appeared as the expression of Germanic creativity and force, with a modern content indicating to German society the path toward the future.

CONCLUSION

Woltmann's activity in the field of art-critical discourse played out, for the greatest part, in the period 1863–1868, in other words before the start of his academic career in Karlsruhe. This finding corresponds to the observation of Hubert Locher that the year 1870 forms a turning point

⁴⁴ Idem, 'Wiens Architektur in der Gegenwart', *Neue Zeit. Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart*, 2, 1866, pp. 401–424, here p. 424 (klar erkennt, was die Gegenwart von der Renaissance lernen und brauchen kann, nicht in ihrer abgeleiteten, an das Römische sich lehrenden Formen, sondern in der Art, wie sie überhaupt die alten Formen und Principien für neue Zwecke verwerthet und umprägt).

⁴⁵ Idem, 'Friedliche Briefe', vol. III, *National-Zeitung* 4. 10. 1866, pp. 1–3, here p. 1 (Es herrscht in ihm das mathematische Gesetz,

das die nämlichen Formen in ewiger Wiederholung wiederkehren läßt, und um eine reiche Wirkung hervorzubringen, weniger des selbständigen Erfindens bei geschickten Kombinieren bedarf).

⁴⁶ Idem, *Die Baugeschichte Berlins*, p. 295 (as in note 42) (Wahrhaft griechisch zu bauen ist in unsrer Zeit nicht möglich).

⁴⁷ Idem, 'Wiens Architektur in der Gegenwart', p. 412 (as in note 44) (alle diejenigen, welche in Leben und Kunst auf der Seite des Fortschritts stehen, welche von den künstlerischen Leistungen unserer Zeit etwas Neues und Eigenes erwarten).

in the establishment of art history as an academic discipline set at a remove from contemporary artistic activities.⁴⁸ In Woltmann's case, though, the time limits on his interest in current artwork had entirely personal reasons. His articles on contemporary architecture, and possibly even on contemporary art, were most likely penned in the framework of his tactical preparations for winning a professorship at the polytechnic institute.⁴⁹ Once this goal was attained, his journalistic writing fell aside, almost certainly as result of the burden of university courses and the associated historical research. As a member of the academic establishment, he expressed his views on current events only in the most exceptional situations, such as the discussion on the future Reichstag building. In this question, Woltmann objected to the proposal of August Reichensperger, calling for the new building to use the Gothic style as an expression of the Germanic spirit.⁵⁰

In his critical activity, Woltmann understandably did not strive for objective value-based judgments, instead evaluating recent art with partiality, using a normative aesthetic ideal. Yet in no case did he reject the approach of the historian. Like Moritz Thausing and many other colleagues of his, he was convinced that this competence and his professional background could make him useful for current artistic work. Wilhelm Lübke expressed this view in his previously cited study on the methodological problems of writing on contemporary art, where he supported the 'universalist standpoint' of the art-scholar.⁵¹ As for his critical methods, Woltmann was hardly of particular originality, and his argumentation had no deeper anchoring in current philosophical theories. His writings make reference more frequently to earlier authors, most regularly to Johann Wolfgang Goethe and Johann Joachim Winckelmann, or among the Romantics to Friedrich Schlegel and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder. That he was no deep speculative thinker is confirmed by his friend Bruno Meyer: 'In his intellectual constructions, abstract concepts played no great role.'⁵²

Woltmann was a Hegelian only to the extent that he believed in an all-powerful *Zeitgeist* and was convinced of the meaningful continuity of history, as well as of the task of art to represent its culture and society. This underlying

standpoint forms a crucial link between his texts on ancient art and his contemporary criticism. Another common denominator was the belief that art is a national matter and the 'nation' is the collective subject of its history. 'We know that style is not the creation of the individual, but the overall spirit of an age and nation', he remarked on the attempts to create a new style in the 19th c.⁵³ For the development of art and architecture, he added, this occurred 'when they are borne by the general education and free development of the nation.'⁵⁴ He did not question the postulate that artistic and architectural works should embody a national identity and serve the political needs of a nation-state. His patriotism, though, should not be confused with aggressive chauvinism, proclaiming the superiority of one nation or another. A convincing proof of this is his praise for French art and taste in his review of the Paris World Exposition in 1867.⁵⁵ Other texts of his seem to indicate that as a democrat, he saw the national community as a positive counterbalance to the privileged classes.

In the previously cited polemic with Reichensperger, Woltmann even delivered a provocative rejection of any need for a 'national' or 'patriotic' style: 'Even in the ancient years of classicism, the time passed in which building styles were national. Since the Roman world, they have had a universal meaning in the sphere of European culture.'⁵⁶ Even though this clash of opinions took place in the emotionally tense atmosphere following the formation of the German Reich, Woltmann made his plea for the values of reason and universality: 'The element of antique-classical erudition is present not only in our art, but also in our life, in our general spiritual development: effective, fertile, irreplaceable.'⁵⁷ In this light, it would seem that the label of hostile German nationalist that Woltmann acquired in Prague may well be considered an injustice.

⁴⁸ H. LOCHER, *Kunstgeschichte als historische*, p. 29 (as in note 5).

⁴⁹ A. AXTMANN, 'Die Etablierung der Kunstgeschichte am Karlsruher Polytechnikum', in *Kunstgeschichte an Polytechnischen Instituten, Technischen Hochschulen, Technischen Universitäten. Geschichte – Positionen – Perspektiven*, ed. R. STALLA, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2021, pp. 115–135.

⁵⁰ A. WOLTMANN, 'Parlamentshaus, Postamt und "vaterländischer" Stil', *National-Zeitung*, 14. 4. 1871, pp. 1–3.

⁵¹ W. LÜBKE, 'Die heutige Kunst und die Kunstwissenschaft', p. 13 (as in note 14) (Universalität des Standpunktes). See H. LOCHER, *Kunstgeschichte als historische*, p. 50 (as in note 5).

⁵² B. MEYER, 'Alfred Woltmann', p. 198 (as in note 13) (in seiner Gedankenkonstruktion spielten die abstrakten Begriffe keine große Rolle).

⁵³ A. WOLTMANN, 'Die Münchner Architektur', p. 283 (as in note 38) (Wir wissen, dass nicht die Berechnung eines Einzelnen, sondern der gesammte Zeit- und Volksgeist Schöpfer eines Styles ist).

⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. 300 (wo sie von der allgemeinen Bildung und freien Entwicklung der Nation getragen wird).

⁵⁵ Idem, 'Die bildende Kunst in Paris', in J. RODENBERG, *Paris bei Sonnenschein und Lampenlicht. Ein Skizzenbuch zur Weltausstellung*, Leipzig 1867, pp. 55–75.

⁵⁶ A. WOLTMANN, 'Parlamentshaus', p. 2 (as in note 50) (Schon während des klassischen Alterthums geht die Zeit vorüber, in welcher die Baustile national waren. Seit der römischen Welt haben sie auf dem Gebiet der europäischen Kultur eine universelle Bedeutung).

⁵⁷ Ibidem (Wohl aber ist das Element der antiken klassischen Bildung nicht bloß in unserer Kunst, sondern in unserm Leben, in unserer ganzen geistigen Entwicklung wirksam, fruchtbar, unentbehrlich).

SUMMARY

Jindřich Vybíral

ALFRED WOLTMANN AND HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY ART

Alfred Woltmann (1841–1880) was the second full professor of art history at Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague, where he was active from 1873 to 1878. Unlike his predecessor Jan E. Vögel, who never studied art history and profiled himself more as a patriotic explorer of domestic monuments, Woltmann was a true, critically thinking art historian. To cultivate a scholarly art history, he was equipped with university studies at the University of Berlin (G. F. Waagen), numerous study trips abroad, and intensive contacts with the international professional community. The test of his scientific method was, above all, his involvement in the famous dispute over the authenticity of the Dresden Madonna attributed to Hans Holbein the Younger. Woltmann's Prague tenure, however, ended with his scandal forced departure, when in a lecture in 1876 he claimed that the artistic character of Prague was almost exclusively the work of German artists and the result of German influences, which were the source and support of the local Slavic culture. Nevertheless, Woltmann was not only an outstanding expert on medieval and Renaissance art. His extensive activity in contemporary fine art, architecture and decorative arts remains an afterthought. This neglected topic is the subject of the present paper, which seeks to relate Woltmann's interpretations of contemporary art to his historical studies. The focus is primarily on his conceptual grasp of current artistic events, but also on the special knowledge and skills that the author applied in relevant texts and lectures.

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THE COLLECTOR (KAROL LANCKOROŃSKI), THE SCHOLAR (MARIAN SOKOŁOWSKI) AND THE ARTIST (JACEK MALCZEWSKI) THREE GAZES UPON ASIA MINOR

INTRODUCTION: LENSES IN TERMS OF ORIENTALISM

I would like to begin with an explanation of the title of the present article. In the original version it read: 'The Collector (Karol Lanckoroński), the Scholar (Marian Sokołowski) and the Artist (Jacek Malczewski). Three Views of Asia Minor in the Context of the Beginnings of Interest in Non-European Art'. However, this title was shortened before a first presentation of the research because of the conclusions drawn from reading the texts of Lanckoroński and Sokołowski and viewing the works of Jacek Malczewski. The context of research into non-European art, although present in Lanckoroński's interests, is overwhelmed in the case of the expedition under consideration here by the prevailing views in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on the role of archaeological research in constructing the history of post-Greco-Roman civilisation. And the research, as will be demonstrated, bears the hallmarks of hegemonic discourse.

It should also be noted that the article is not intended as another presentation of the journey, but as a bunch of reflections derived from research into the history of art history and its entanglements with archaeology and local political and institutional circumstances.

The historical account of the dominant gaze, associated with power in Michel Foucault's sense¹, is one of the central motifs of humanities based on paradigms developed since the 1970s. The gaze as active while making the observed an object [Fig. 1], has been subjected to critiques of

intertwined feminist and post-colonial narratives, and the literature on 'imperial gaze' occupies a considerable shelf in the library.² For a long time, however, it has not been used for critical analysis of Polish art historiography.

Hence, this paper uses this notion to draw attention to the perspectives/lenses of the participants of the 1884 expedition to Asia Minor. This particular case study focuses, as if through a lens, on the orientalist tendencies present in the Habsburg Empire at the time, based on the tension between the construction of the 'near' and 'far Orient', used – as described by Johann Heiss and Johannes Feichtinger – in the political strategy of incorporating 'near' Bosnia and Herzegovina, and antagonising the Ottoman Empire.³

² Starting with the psychoanalytical study of Lacan, who positions the body as an object of the gaze, *via* the classic book of Franz Fanon (F. FANON, *Black Skin, White Masks*, London 1986, first edition 1952). See E. Ann Kaplan (E.A. KAPLAN, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film and the Imperial Gaze*, New York–London 1997; esp. Chapter 1: 'Travel, Travelling Identities and the Look'), where Kaplan analyses the process of the heightening of self-identity with travels. The particular case of it is travels to Asia Minor which are analysed in the article. As Kaplan writes: 'As noted, looking relations are never innocent. They are always determined by the cultural systems people travelling bring with them' (p. 6). The most moving example of making the local people the object of study, documented in Malczewski's drawing, is the scene of the anthropologist Felix Luschan measuring heads, reproduced here as fig. 1.

³ J. HEISS, J. FEICHTINGER, 'Distant Neighbours. Uses of Orientalism in the Late Nineteenth-Century Austro-Hungarian Empire', in: *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History. From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*, Rochester, NY 2013, pp. 148–165. The authors based their differentiation on two questions posed

¹ Foucault's publication of *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (1975) opened up the field and fast became a paradigmatic study for the analysis of vision, knowledge and power.



1. Jacek Malczewski, Antalya (?) *Dr Luschan taking measures of heads*, drawing, Wawel Castle State Art Collection. Phot.: Magdalena Trybulska, Wawel Castle State Art Collection

while also referring to the Ottoman Empire and the Turks, who were both kept at a distance in consequence of their defeat at the gates of Vienna in 1683. This politically advantageous strategy was propagated widely, mainly in circles associated with Catholic theology. Sermons and articles reinforced the binary division of civilisation, while using specific language – as will be seen also in Sokołowski's texts. *Nota bene* – the creation of the Near Orient in the form of 'Rus' is also present in his writings, as I analysed some time ago. Both Lanckoroński, who belonged to the

aristocratic elite of Vienna, and Sokołowski, who was heavily involved in distinguishing between the boundaries of Eastern and Western civilisations, undoubtedly had direct – or press mediated – access to these ideas.

Another problem worthy of analysis is the question of the relevance of the research undertaken in Asia Minor in turn for both scientific endeavours in art history and archaeology, and their cultural role. In terms of the institutional history, the topic of an institutional rivalry between the Habsburg Empire and Germany must also be taken into consideration.

The position I take from the start is based on the use of the broad concept of *orientalism*, a concept which has

by E. W. SAID in his 'Always on the Top', *London Review of Books*, 25, 2003, no. 6.

shimmered with many facets since Edward Said's 1978 publication,⁴ not to mention that Said himself subsequently developed his theory further. But even if we do not apply Said's specific conclusions from 1978, defining orientalism as a 'systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post Enlightenment period as binary oppositions'⁵ is a comprehensive starting point. The major contribution made by this discipline was the term *Orient*, which was created by the structures of power and historically employed to exert domination over the Other. The tropes of knowledge here, Said explains, 'dominate awareness into philological texts ideas creates "Oriental splendour," when in the same time "Orient" was created – or, rather [...] "Orientalized"'⁶

In this way, we are dealing – clearly – with an imagined space, and works of the travelogue type – as Mary Pratt notes – ground the imperial eyes. Pratt writes, and E. Ann Kaplan repeats:

The systematizing of nature in the second half of the century was to assert even more powerfully the authority of print, and thus of the class which controlled it. It seems to crystallize global imaginings of a sort rather different from the older navigational ones. The (lettered, male, European) eye that held the system could familiarize ('naturalize') sites/sights immediately upon contact.⁷

Moreover, both scholars emphasise the links between the imperial gaze and the culture of science that had been taking shape since the 1860s, which is at the heart of the modernist approach.

Of course, I do not uphold the thesis of an imperial Polish stance – but elements of the binary world, the entrenchment of hegemonic discourses, are undoubtedly present. We can easily discern a fascination with the repeated, perhaps too frequent, notes on 'charms of bazaars', horse travel, camels, and 'eastern women' both in Sokołowski's and Lanckoroński's writings and in Malczewski's drawings. These drawings, moreover, are in keeping with artistic conventions (one has to agree, by the way, with Mieczysław Paszkiewicz⁸ – they are not very good in terms of artistic quality), including those derived from the artist's education, and are themselves a document depicting the accounts of European travellers and of the areas and people they explored.⁹

⁴ E. W. SAID, *Orientalism*, New York 1978.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 3.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 13.

⁷ M. L. PRATT, *Imperial Eye. Travel writing and transculturation*, New York 1992, pp. 30–31.

⁸ *Jacek Malczewski w Azji Mniejszej i w Rozdole*, ed. and catalogue, M. PASZKIEWICZ, London 1972.

⁹ M. L. PRATT coined the term 'travelee' to describe the imbalanced relations between traveller and people who are visited as object

I would also like to point out here that Malczewski's drawings, 64 in number and stored in the Wawel collection (since 1994), will serve us as illustrations (meticulously researched by Joanna Winiewicz-Wolska¹⁰), and a certain group will serve to indicate characteristic, orientalisating traces.

I. KAROL LANCKOROŃSKI: LENSES OF AUSTRIAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND NORMATIVE AESTHETICS

Let me begin with a further explanation of the paper's title. I have chosen the word 'collector' even though it is only one of the tenets of Lanckoroński's 'gaze' towards Asia Minor. The Count himself, on his 80th birthday, defined himself as follows:

Who am I to the world? I was neither a minister, nor an artist, nor a professor. Or perhaps I was a bit of each? But who was I in essence? A dilettante, a collector, nothing more... Maybe just some rich man of high social standing who loved ancient poets and lived among works of art. Is that something special?¹¹

His journeys (including one around the world) were the realisation of the model of education and knowledge instilled in the Count by a later member of the 1884 expedition, Wilhelm von Hartel: 'Keep your eyes wide open for everything; travel is the source of your experience.'¹² Lanckoroński had his eyes wide open, but – as visual culture theorists would agree – this gaze imposed its own lenses, including the aesthetic one. It should be noted that the surviving *Diaries* are written rather in the spirit of short notes, listing individual localities and duties, analysing in detail the problems of the journey, but they are not free of remarks conveying stereotypical visions of

(M. L. PRATT, *Imperial Eye*, as in note 7). The term was employed also by Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius in her study on Eastern and Central Europe (K. MURAWSKA-MUTHESIUS, *Imaging and Mapping Eastern Europe. Sarmatia Europea to Post-Communist Bloc*, New York and Oxon 2021, p. 63).

¹⁰ J. WINIEWICZ-WOLSKA, *Jacka Malczewskiego kronika podróży po Anatolii*, Krakow 2009; also eadem, *Karol Lanckoroński i jego wie-deńskie zbiory*, t. 1, Krakow 2010, esp. pp. 238 ff.

¹¹ A. ERNST, 'Beim Grafen Lanckoroński', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 195, 1933, p. 2 after J. WINIEWICZ-WOLSKA, 'Karol Lanckoroński – "ostatni humanista wśród europejskiej arystokracji"', https://vienna.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=559:karol-lanckoroński-ostatni-humanista&catid=224&lang=pl&limitstart=2&Itemid=742 [access: 13.02.2024].

¹² W. von Hartel to Karol Lanckoroński, Jägerndorf (today: Krnov), 21.07. 1864; after H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Hrabia Karol Lanckoroński i jego zasługi w badaniach archeologicznych w Azji Mniejszej', in K. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Dzienniki podróży do Azji Mniejszej (1882–1883 i 1884)*, ed. A. SZYMANOWICZ-HREN, A. ZIEMLEWSKA, Wiedeń 2015, p. 19.

'beautiful women of the East', 'the true Orient', 'the splendour of the Orient', etc.¹³

As the role of Karol Lanckoroński in the beginnings of archaeology in Asia Minor, and thus in the history of archaeology, has been written about exhaustively (Janusz Ostrowski travelled in Lanckoroński's footsteps,¹⁴ and Hubert Szemethy devoted several publications to this particular issue¹⁵), and Lanckoroński himself found a permanent place among scholars with the publication of his work *Cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia* in 1890,¹⁶ two issues are worth noting in the context of the history of art history and its institutions.

The first is the aestheticised treatment of the Asia Minor area by use of the dominant category – that of Italian art – and the beloved Italian landscape. The phrase 'I had been even more [compared to the wide range of accessible post-Roman monuments, M.K.] enchanted by the wonderful area that no other surpasses and only Roman Campania matches',¹⁷ quoted dozens of times, is one example of how the gaze is conditioned by a prior aesthetic choice and how helpless it is in the face of an alien landscape (a similar limitation is evinced by Sokołowski when he writes of 'a lake like one of the Lombards'). The use of Italy (and the Italian Renaissance in particular) as a measure of perfection and progress can be seen in the statement:

For those who may be interested in frequent comparisons, especially with works of Art in Italy, I would like to

reply that Italy is a frequent point of reference and perhaps not the worst and that I didn't make it so.¹⁸

The discourse of Italy and the Renaissance as a normative category, through the lens of critical art history, appears only as epistemic violence, present in art history at its very beginnings.¹⁹

The second moment, which should be investigated collectively with art historical scholars in Turkey, is the institutional-political backdrop to the opening of the way for Austrian researchers to research (and easily export) artifacts from Asia Minor. As Dinç Saraç writes in the context of heritage preservation research, the moment of the Otto Benndorf's expedition (in which Lanckoroński took part) and the expeditions of the Count himself were a part of a specific model of the Ottoman Empire's relations to archaeological sites:

The extensive fieldwork that began in Turkey during the last quarter of the 18th century, with the financial support of the Society of the Dilettantes under the aim of investigating the remains of Greek and Roman civilizations continued with widespread archaeological projects all over Turkey in the 19th century [...]. These archaeological expeditions were launched to satisfy the European lust for antiquities and led to the appearance of archaeology as a scientific discipline in Turkey as an imported concept linked with western ideology. Özdoğan accentuates that during this process of emergence, the Ottomans neither considered the need for scientific archaeological practices, or of adopting archaeology to local needs, as the westerners were only interested in the Near Eastern, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine cultures.²⁰

¹³ For example Lanckoroński starts his notes with the explanation that travellers were not... kidnapped by robbers and warns a lot about camel merchants (K. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Dzienniki podróży do Azji Mniejszej*, as in note 12).

¹⁴ J. A. OSTROWSKI, 'Śladami Hrabiego Karola Lanckorońskiego po Pamfilii i Pizydii', *Alma Mater*, 2008, no. 99, pp. 148–155; idem, 'Archeologiczna wyprawa Karola Lanckorońskiego do Pamfilii i Pizydii', *Folia Historiae Artium* s.n., 4, 1998, pp. 63–73; idem, 'Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933). Archäologe, Kunsthistoriker und Sammler', in *Zur Geschichte der klassischen Archäologie Jena-Kraków. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena*, Jena 1985, pp. 100–120. On photographic traces of the expedition see: A. KORCZYŃSKI, 'Ślady ekspedycji archeologicznej do Azji Mniejszej w świetle Fototeki Lanckorońskich PAU', *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*, 16, 2010, pp. 101–111.

¹⁵ Inter alia H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Hrabia Karol Lanckoroński' (as in note 12).

¹⁶ Volumes published in German: K. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens. Unter Mitwirkung von George Niemann und Eugen Adolf Hermann Petersen*, vol. 1–2, Vienna 1890–1892, in French as *Les Villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie*, Paris 1890–1893 and Polish in 1890 and 1896: K. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Miasta Pamfilii i Pizydii*, vol. 1: *Pamfilia*, Kraków 1890, vol. 2: *Pizydia*, Krakow 1896.

¹⁷ Idem, *Miasta Pamfilii i Pizydii*, vol. 1, p. 14 (as in note 16).

¹⁸ Idem, *Rund um die Erde 1888–1889. Geschautes und Gedachtes*, Stuttgart 1891, p. VIII.

¹⁹ The seminal work on epistemic violence from the feminist perspective was G. SPIVAK, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds N. CARRY, L. GROSSBERG, Urbana-Champaign, IL 1988, pp. 271–313. After this the category was theoreticised in many fields exploring post-colonial consciousness which was summarised by C. BRUNNER, 'Conceptualizing Epistemic Violence: an Interdisciplinary Assemblage for IR', *International Politics Review*, 9, 2021, pp. 193–212. On the normative Renaissance see C. S. WOOD, 'Art History's Normative Renaissance', in *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century: Acts of an International Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti, 1999*, eds A. J. GRIECO, M. ROCKE, F. G. SUPERBI, Florence 2002, pp. 65–99. Another interesting point for the 19th century Kunstgeschichte programme and its involvement in this Renaissance is the position of Dan KARLHOLM in his *Art of Illusion: The Representation of Art History in Nineteenth-Century Germany and Beyond*, Bern 2006 [=Kunstgeschichten der Gegenwart].

²⁰ D. SARAÇ, *History of Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Management in Turkey And Europe: A Look From the Past to the Present. MA thesis, The Department of Archaeology And History Of Art Bilkent University*, Ankara 2003, <https://repository.bilkent>.

The situation as defined by Edel Eldem can be described as follows:

As to Western sources, generally speaking, their lack of interest for the local dimension of archaeology is equalled only by their implicit disdain for any form of Ottoman archaeological endeavour, sometimes to the point of justifying the mirror image of paranoid Turkish narratives.²¹

Interestingly, Lanckoroński's *Cities*, published in Turkey in 2005 (*nota bene* referring to him as an Austrian in the blurb), itself bolsters the orientalist moment by using the author's statement regarding the beginning of his research with pride in the context of Turkey heritage:

Both the voyage and the urban landscape I saw when we arrived there were well beyond my expectations. As a result of a series of excursions to ancient cities in the Pamphylian plains within a few hours' ride from Adalia, I was astonished to find out that there existed numerous ancient monuments, mostly dating to the Late Imperial period, either on which nothing has been written and researched or which have not received the attention they deserve, extending over a few miles. Nevertheless, its landscape, more beautiful than all the places I have known, had captured me the most.²²

Thus is seen the transition from complete *désintéressement* with Greco-Roman monuments to their inclusion in the 'paranoid' narrative on their origins, having its place in the politics of the country nowadays.

II. LENSES OF MARIAN SOKOŁOWSKI: ART HISTORY AND A HISTORY OF WESTERN CIVILISATION

Both of these lenses, i.e. a deep attachment to a classical ideal and a scientific goal defined by the interest of the community of nations, can also be found in the work of Marian Sokołowski, who additionally very strongly emphasises the moment of the struggle between Western civilisation and Eastern barbarism. It is worth noting that although, as Sokołowski points out, the expedition 'brought him a lot of material for a desk work',²³ in fact his insights in this direction were limited to:

edu.tr/items/9d70b61b-3be2-4f5e-8944-40feb92b6607 [access 13.02.2024].

²¹ E. ELDEM, 'Early Ottoman Archaeology: Rediscovering the Finds of Ascalon (Ashkelon), 1847', *Bulletin of the American Society of Overseas Research*, 378, 2017, p. 25.

²² As: *Pamphylia ve Pisidia kentleri*, vol. 1: *Pamphylia*, Istanbul 2005; *Pamphylia ve Pisidia kentleri*, vol. 2: *Pisidia*, Istanbul 2015; the quote of Lanckoroński was also used as an advertisement of the publication.

²³ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, 'Z Azji Mniejszej', *Czas*, 1884, no. 286, p. 1.

- A report on Benndorf's research anticipating the 1884 expedition: *Austryackie odkrycia archeologiczne w Azji Mniejszej*. Otto Benndorf, *Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei österreichische archäologische Expeditionen nach Klein-Asien*. Wien, Gerold 1883 which is in fact a summary of Benndorf's publication.²⁴
- a report in the spirit of a travelogue account titled *From a journey to the east. Adriatic, Archipelago and the Island of Rhodos*²⁵ and some shorten letters published in Cracow's *Czas*.

What is striking about the texts themselves is the attitude, so characteristic of the researcher, which oscillates between factual descriptions of monuments and – surprisingly – general conclusions about the history of civilisation. Another separate part is made up of passages with descriptions of human types, genre scenes and descriptions of bazaars, reminiscent of typical traveller images, but at the same time interspersed with discussions of human types (cf. the description of Jews on Rhodes²⁶).

II A. SCIENTIFIC OBJECTIVE OF THE EXPEDITION – EUROCENTRICITY OF ATTITUDES

Continuing with the metaphor of the gaze used, let us confront the two gazes of the wanderer on the ship. Johann Joachim Winckelmann wrote in the conclusion to the second part of his landmark *History of the Art of Antiquity*:

I have in this history of art already gone beyond its set bounds, and although contemplating the collapse of art has driven me nearly to despair, still, like someone who, in writing the history of his native land, must touch upon the destruction that he himself has witnessed, I could not keep myself from gazing after the face of works of art as far as my eye could see. Just as a beloved stands on the seashore and follows with tearful eyes her departing sweetheart with no hope of seeing him again, and believes she can glimpse even in the distant sail the image of her lover – so we, like the lover, have as it were only a shadowy outline of the subject of our desires remaining.²⁷

²⁴ Idem, *Austryackie odkrycia archeologiczne w Azji Mniejszej*. Otto Benndorf, *Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei österreichische archäologische Expeditionen nach Klein-Asien*. Wien, Gerold 1883, Kraków 1883, printed also in idem, *Studia i szkice z dziejów sztuki i cywilizacji*, vol. 1, Kraków 1899, pp. 3–33 as 'Austryackie poszukiwania archeologiczne w Azji Mniejszej' (all pagination here from this edition).

²⁵ Idem, 'Z podróży na Wschód, Adryatyk, Archipelag i wyspa Rhodos (1884 r.)', in idem, *Studia i szkice*, pp. 34–140 (as in note 24).

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

²⁷ J. J. WINCKELMANN, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, transl. H. F. MALLGRAVE, Los Angeles 2006, p. 351.

Over a hundred years later, Marian Sokołowski, while he had comforted himself on his journey by the 'solace of Piraeus'²⁸, saw Smyrna (Izmir) on the horizon:

these Ionian lands and mountains seemed to me, in spite of their great memories, somewhat heavy in contours, not so delicate and subtle and painted, so to speak, with less ideal and transparent hues on the sky. One could feel behind them **the great, boundless Asian world, stretching out into empty and deafening infinity.**²⁹

I conflate these insights for a reason: the citation of Winckelmann is linked to Sokołowski's assumed destination, sanctioned by the symbolic gesture of visiting his grave in Trieste:

To climb this mountain, to visit this basilica, to bow one's forehead before this tomb, as a prelude to a journey such as ours, is the same as realising our relationship to its aims.³⁰

In turn, the aim is to broaden the scope of knowledge of the Greco-Roman legacy:

Who ventures back East to Greece or even further to Asia Minor, especially if he or she wishes, as we do, to search for the memories and monuments that classical antiquity's ways have left behind.³¹

Characteristic traits described above were typical for the Viennese politics of archaeology, with a great example in the form of the account of Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg and Otto Benndorf, following the former's travel to Transylvania (Siebenbürgen). Tasks for the archaeologist were clearly set out, when Benndorf declares:

I will undertake the widest possible museum review of Roman sculpture and antiquities, especially in public and private collections. At the same time, I want to constantly draw attention to ancient Roman architecture and, where necessary, occasionally to the more important works of later art eras.³²

²⁸ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, 'Z podróży na Wschód', p. 56 (as in note 25).

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 57 (emphasis - M. K.).

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 36.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 34.

³² O. BENNDORF, a letter to R. Eitelberger, 08.07.1873 (WBR, H.I.N. 20.227) quoted after: H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Rudolf von Eitelberger und der Archäologe Otto Benndorf im Spiegel ihrer Korrespondenzen', in *Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg. Netzwerker der Kunstwelt*, eds E. KERNBAUER, K. POKORNY-NAGEL, R. ROSENBERG, Vienna 2019. I would like to thank Robert Born for his insightful remarks on Benndorf's Balkan trip. It is also worth noting that it was Benndorf who encouraged the display of single antique objects or larger collections, such as the collection of Count Karol Lanckoroński, which he brought to Vienna from Pamphylia, the centrepiece of which was an erotic sarcophagus later exhibited at the Lanckoroński Palace (H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Rudolf von Eitelberger', p. 28).

Similarly – the 1884 expedition aims to consolidate the classical-Christian monolith and to resurrect Winckelmann's lamented Greece (a motif repeated in both texts), while:

All nations compacting culture, theirs and civilisation into a classical legacy have directed their endeavours to, like the children of a single mother, lifting antiquity from its grave, to looking into the pale face of the Resurrected-one and being entitled to its common motherhood.³³

And all this is possible to achieve thanks to the expansion of research:

Since the end of the last century, since the time of Winckelmann, the founder of classical archaeology and art history, at the same time, the scope of our knowledge and notions of the civilised world has expanded considerably. The starting point and point of arrival of Hellenism, stands, in general outlines at least, clearly before our eyes.³⁴

And the study of local influences has (again) particular implications for Austrian Greek-Roman archaeology, while the local context is relegated to the category of ethnographic curiosity:

If, in time, the scope of research expands further, we will come to know more closely the peoples we currently known only by name; a resurrected Greece will awaken them to historical life. The science of history will find in the results of archaeological research unexpected gains for itself.³⁵

To conclude this part of argumentation for the presence of a hegemonic discourse in research of extra-European territory, Sokołowski situates himself in the tradition of researching monuments from the Ottoman Empire from the point of view of extending European heritage.

The second moment, however, that we can glean from Sokołowski's attitude towards the Asian coast is his axiological attitude towards the Asian element, which – to make matters worse – is sometimes masked beneath the formal analyses of the monuments.

Sokołowski, prejudiced against Asia, makes polemical use of the travel report at times when he writes, as in these examples,

- about the endless wilderness of Asia (as above);
- about the Hittite goddess Athis and the Amazons in the following words:

From the struggles of the Aeolian and Ionian colonists against these priestesses arose the deafening tale of heroines. The ideal shone on succeeding generations and it gained immortal shapes. These struggles alone, for the

³³ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, *Austryackie poszukiwania archeologiczne*, p. 4 (as in note 24).

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 3.

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 31.



2. Heroon from Gölbaşı-Trysa, entrance from the inside, photo published by M. Sokołowski. Phot. after: M. Sokołowski, *Studia i szkice z dziejów sztuki i cywilizacji*, 1, Kraków 1899

Greek world, became a symbol of the triumphs of **Europe over Asia and of civilisation over barbarism**.³⁶

Or, finally, in the persuasive and even aggressive description of the ports of Rhodes treated appropriately as the end of the civilised world:

You would say at a glance that, situated on the eastern shores of the island, these rocky banks turn back towards the western side, as if to prove that they serve as a harbour connecting the two parts of the world and as a bulwark **defending one of them against the other**.³⁷

Examples of the Civilisation – Barbarism/Wilderness, West – East binary can be found in Sokolowski's writing in abundance. These are distinctive, and of particular note is the use of the concept of the foreground. This fits in with the narrative of a hostile, savage, Islamic far-East read and described by Heiss and Feichtinger on the ground of Catholic sermons and other public statements. Both scholars wrote explicitly about the presence of oriental strategies and the creative role of language:

Language was used to create distance and ethno-cultural distinctions between groupings deemed 'valuable' to the empire and barbarous peoples beyond the pale. Language proved to be a tool of cultural devaluation. In many cases, Europe was related to 'Civilisation,' 'Gesit-tung,' and 'christliche Cultur,' whereas Asia, the East, and the Turks were designated as 'Barbaren,' 'barbarisch,' or 'Barbarei,' 'Tyrrannen,' and 'cultur- und bildungsfeindlich,' – and Islam was labeled 'fanatisch.' Single protagonists on the European side are described as 'edel,' 'rit-terlich,' 'kühn,' 'todesmuthig,' 'umsichtig' the other side is

characterized as 'roh,' 'barbarisch' and 'herrschsüchtig'. A process of cultural mirroring can be discerned here: the devaluing of the oriental other provides evidence of how Europeans themselves would have like to be seen vis-à-vis their Eastern Others.³⁸

In turn, let the words of Joseph von Helfert, a Catholic theologian, testify to the attitude of Catholic theologians towards the East:

The history of our part of the world, in all the great phases of its course, points to the sunrise, and in the influences coming from there a threefold different character is manifested: settlement from the east, refreshment from the east, danger from the east.³⁹

Accepting these theses about the character and mentality of the East, Sokołowski translates them, unfortunately, into studies of the form. Writing in 1883 about the Heroon of Trysa he observes: the lack of the Attic style purity in the frieze visible in changes to the formula of the human figure, while 'Asia has always had, as she has today, a revulsion to nudity and some religious and moral fear of it'.⁴⁰

The second argument for it is carrying out the composition of a double frieze. At the very beginning he describes figures flanking the entrances in terms of Asiatic taste: 'and to the right of the entrance having such a shape

³⁶ J. HEISS, J. FEICHTINGER, 'Distant neighbours', p. 153 (as in note 3).

³⁹ J. VON HELFERT, *Weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Wiener Sieges von 1683: Vortrag, gehalten am 2. September 1883 in der Festversammlung des katholisch-politischen Casinos der inneren Stadt*, Vienna 1883, p. 4. After: J. HEISS, J. FEICHTINGER, 'Distant neighbours', p. 154 (as in note 3).

⁴⁰ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, 'Z podróży na Wschód', p. 31 (as in note 25).

³⁶ Idem, 'Z podróży na Wschód', p. 60 (emphasis - M. K.) (as in note 25).

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 79.

and such ornaments, and much of a fantastic and Asian character' [Fig. 2].⁴¹

He attributes all deviations from the Attic norm to local influences (which is a rather typical strategy and was analysed *inter alia* by Aleksandra Lipińska by way of the example of Boims' Chapel in Lviv⁴²) and identifies the ruler who had the heroon built as only an uncivilised robber:

We have no idea of the extent of his state or the momentousness of his power. He was probably a mountain bandit living by robbery, but using the gains of modern civilisation to enhance his importance and brilliance.⁴³

II B. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

In addition to reviving knowledge of the classical tradition, the aim is also to raise the level of one's own era (a constant theme), hence we can read:

That they [it is Austrian exploration and discoveries in Asia Minor – M. K], with the entire body of research connected with them, may have unequally greater, practical and more vivid consequences for our civilisational future. It is not in vain that the world has devoted so much attention and effort to them, it is not in vain that it has followed them and their progress with so much attention; who knows whether in them lies the key to the turn that our materialistic age of drink, culture and art should take. With the over-realistic instincts of our time with an observation turned exclusively to the individual and accidental features of the world around us with a mind preoccupied with attractive, ideal notions by the grey lines in the spectrum around us, we can find a more invigorating spark of rebirth elsewhere than in contact with that noble antiquity which, no less than our time in nature, sought the source and starting point of its creativity. To be able to squeeze from its living womb the laws of the ideal.⁴⁴

Last but not least, both Sokołowski and Lanckoroński remain in the circle of the Habsburg competition with Germany, hence raising the role of Benndorf's discoveries:

Thanks to this expedition and the results, Vienna can no longer envy Berlin the Pergamonian sculptures, as it possesses works of Greek art that are significant for science.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Idem, *Austryackie poszukiwania*, p. 31 (as in note 24).

⁴² A. LIPIŃSKA, *Die Boim-Kapelle in Lwiw. Eine Herausforderung des Hybriden*, a lecture at Humboldt University, Berlin, 01.02.2023.

⁴³ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, *Austryackie poszukiwania*, p. 32 (as in note 24).

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 33.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 25. The specific 'arms struggle' between the centres is perfectly clear in the context of the presentation of the Heroon from Trysa precisely, for which Eitelberger had high hopes. In the end, the Heroon did not play such an important role and did not gain the popularity of the Pergamon Altar (see for example:

The thesis of the specific role of the region in the European perspective and zone of interests also did not escape the descriptions of the bazaar in Smyrna:

The bazaar, with its high wooden-beam supported and outward opening frames on the shores, shaded by the boughs of the Platanus trees rustling in the wind, where we noticed the balanced and varied mass of goods against the dark depths, looks mysterious and has an intermediate character **between East and West, between Asia and Europe**.⁴⁶

Although in many places Sokołowski uses impressionistic, even painterly language, and does not shy away from anecdotal tales (such as one on camels with tiny bells), the sheer difference in language use is striking, and Sokołowski's gaze is infected with Orientalist superstitions, while he proposes only the painterly gaze (of 'French painters of the romantic era'⁴⁷) to encounter the local context. This remark is a good starting point for the final perspective – that of the artist.

III. LENSES OF JACEK MALCZEWSKI

Finally, a few remarks about Jacek Malczewski's gaze toward Asia Minor. His drawings have so far accompanied us as anecdotal illustrations, but it is worth noting that – despite Winiewicz-Wolska's⁴⁸ full analysis – orientalist accents are present here as well. It should be remembered that Malczewski had the status of a 'friend' in the expedition's line-up, and not that of a drawer-documentalist, which is perfectly evident in the comparison of the two views of Hadrian's Gate in Antalya: one by Malczewski and the second published in Lanckoroński's book. Animated by the artist, probably drawn on the spot, in an anecdotal snapshot, the scene bears traces of genre painting [fig. 3]. Malczewski gets himself into trouble, peeping in and chronicling the expedition at many moments, but the question remains to what extent he himself succumbs to conventional forms and Orientalist thinking and composing.⁴⁹

H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Die österreichischen Trysa-Expeditionen im Bewußtsein der Öffentlichkeit des 19. Jhs.', in *Akten des 9. Österreichischen Archäologentages am Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Paris Lodron-Universität Salzburg*, 6.–8. Dezember 2001, eds B. ASAMER, W. WOHLMAYR, Vienna 2003, pp. 195–199.

⁴⁶ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, 'Z podróży na Wschód', p. 48 (emphasis - M.K.) (as in note 25).

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 98.

⁴⁸ J. WINIEWICZ-WOLSKA, both works cited in note 10.

⁴⁹ A seminal work of Linda Nochlin brought the orientalism theory into the field of visual studies, while she analyses the 'picturesque' visions of the East in French painting. The crucial terms are these of domination hidden behind 'realism' and the specific time measuring in this kind of painting. See L. NOCHLIN, 'Imaginary Orient', in eadem, *The Politics of Vision*, New York 1983, p. 33–59.



3. Jacek Malczewski, *Hadrian's Gate in Antalya*, Wawel Castle State Art Collection. Phot.: Tomasz Śliwiński Wawel Castle State Art Collection



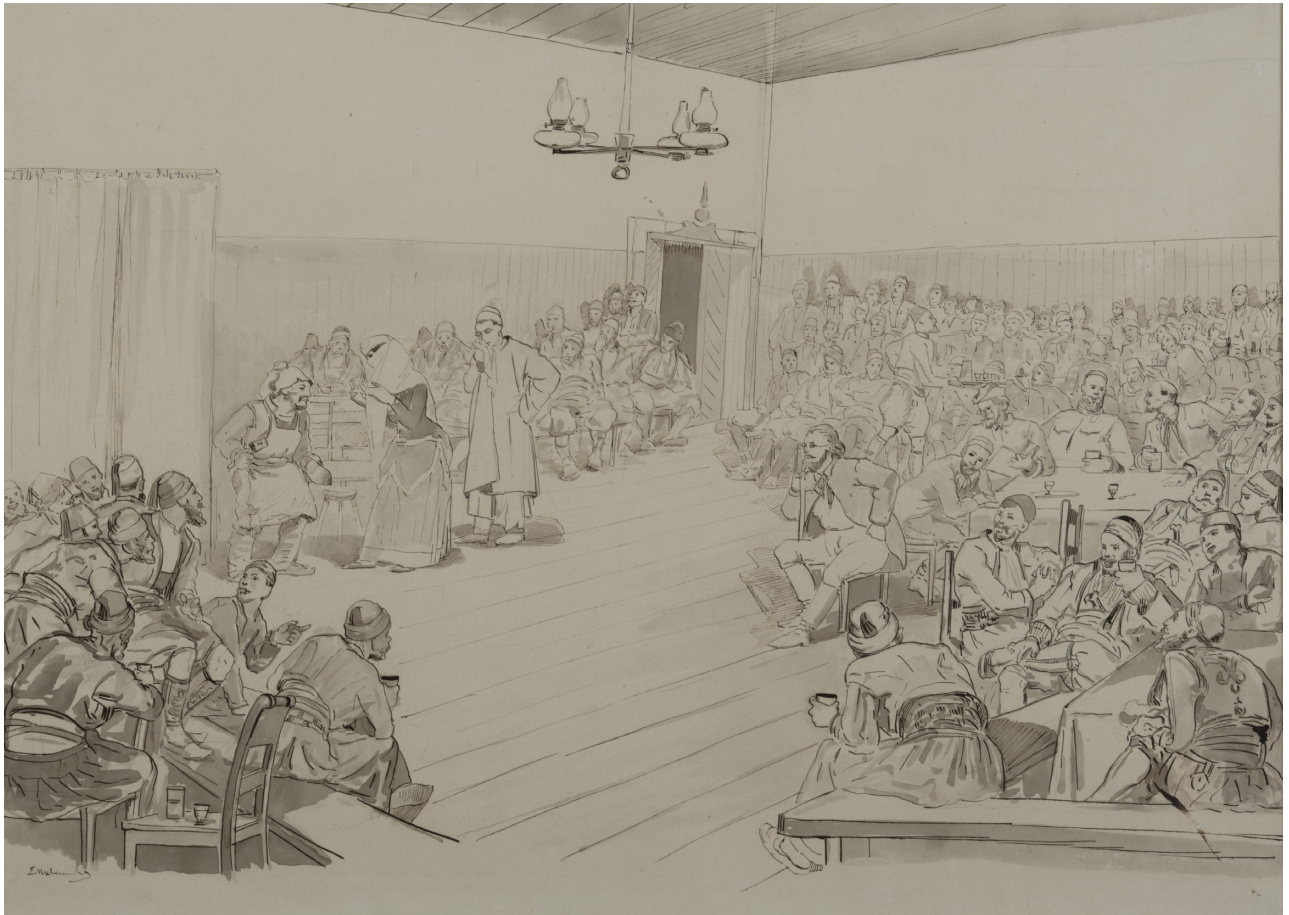
4. Jacek Malczewski, *Ruins of the Kiliç Arslan Palace in Konya*; Wawel Castle State Art Collection. Phot.: Magdalena Trybulska Wawel Castle State Art Collection



5. Jacek Malczewski, *Carpet seller*, drawing, Wawel Castle State Art Collection. Phot.: Stanisław Michta Wawel Castle State Art Collection



6. Osman Hamdi Bey, *Persian Carpet Dealer on the Street*, 1888, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. Photo: Public Domain



7. Jacek Malczewski, *A visit in kafana*, drawing, Wawel Castle State Art Collection. Photo: Stanisław Michta Wawel Castle State Art Collection

Undoubtedly the artist's first lens was an interest in the human figure and genre scenes (sometimes very crowded, which was unusual for Malczewski's later *oeuvre*); the second (scenes with prayers, watercolours) – was orientalist painting convention. Interestingly, it is Sokółowski who makes the distinction between painterly and scientific vision, suggesting the painter's preoccupation with scenes of everyday life:

In fact, this whole part of the city has a charm for the artist and painter. Through the wide doors of the houses, always open wide, the passer-by looks inside. The entire domestic life shifts before his eyes.⁵⁰

As the exhibition organised at the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009 by the National Museum in Warsaw showed, the presence of oriental tendencies and motifs has also had a long history in Polish painting. Their presence was driven by fascination, and – as Tadeusz Majda writes in the catalogue – the expeditions undertaken from the early 19th century onwards 'were usually aimed at visiting places associated with Greek and Roman culture, but during these journeys one also learned about Turkish art, customs and everyday life, and discovered contemporary

Turkey'.⁵¹ An example of this process is, of course, also the 1884 expedition analysed here. It seems that this 'getting to know' by the way of 'serious' research is evident in the two groups identified among Malczewski's drawings.

Of particular interest in the context of the present article are works depicting the expedition's participants at work or participating in the 'customs' and life of the East. In the first group, the first thing that strikes one's eye is the virtually mediated relationship between the Europeans and the objects studied: Malczewski hides himself behind an easel (several times, for example Fig. 3), while also under an umbrella, Lanckoroński takes notes in a sketchbook [Fig. 3], etc. This compositional solution distances the content and constitutes the leitmotif of the Orientalist gaze. A very specific work here is the scene of the purchase of carpets [Fig. 5], emphasising in the main axis of the composition (seller in fez – buyer) the dissimilarity of the groups of Europeans and Turks. In a similar but perhaps even stronger way, Oskar Hamdi Bey contrasted 'travellers' and 'travelees', in an analogous scene of the purchase of carpets [Fig. 6], while separating a European

⁵⁰ M. SOKOŁOWSKI, 'Z podróży na Wschód', p. 95 (as in note 25).

⁵¹ T. MAJDA, 'Orientalizm w Polsce', in *Orientalizm w malarstwie, rysunku i grafice w Polsce w XIX i 1. połowie XX wieku*, exh. cat. National Museum in Warsaw, Warszawa 2008, p. 19.

family, dressed in European fashion, from the Persian seller, by the distinguished presence of a colourful vase at the axis of the composition.

In the second group of drawings (including *A Meeting with Mevlevi in Konya*, *A visit in kafana* [Fig. 7], *A visit at a shadow theatre*), participants of the expedition are distinguished by their typical European dress which – of course – is a natural state of things but one that deepens the divide and, confronted with juicy descriptions of ‘Eastern types’. Unequivocally deepens the binary reading of the world, rooted in a fascination in terms of the ‘uncanny’.

CONCLUSION

Without aiming for a positivist reconstruction of the history of the expedition, which, as I have mentioned, has already been done, and starting from the position of the postcolonial trend, this incomplete and sketchy ‘glance’ at the written and artistic accounts only points to Asia Minor as an important feature of an art historiography in Poland which was immersed in the cultural, political, theological and artistic milieu of Vienna and its art historical and archaeological institutions, far from being neutral in its goals.

SUMMARY

Magdalena Kunińska

THE COLLECTOR (KAROL LANCKOROŃSKI),
THE SCHOLAR (MARIAN SOKOŁOWSKI)
AND THE ARTIST (JACEK MALCZEWSKI).
THREE GAZES UPON ASIA MINOR

The article is structured around the eponymous ‘three gazes’ of the participants of the expedition to Asia Minor organised and paid for by Karol Lanckoroński in 1884. Without aiming at a positivist reconstruction of the history of the expedition, it takes the notion of the traveller’s gaze analysed from the position of postcolonial studies and power relations as a starting point for critical analysis. In the following sections, the specific, axiologically characterised ‘lenses’ through which the participants look through are identified: an orientalist view of the Ottoman Empire, the construction of a West – East difference, and an aesthetic evaluation bearing the hallmarks of epistemological violence.

At the same time, the surviving written and artistic accounts point to research in Asia Minor as an important feature of art historiography in Poland, which was immersed in the cultural, political, theological and artistic milieu of Vienna and its historical and archaeological institutions, far from neutral in their aims.

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BETWEEN TWO EMERGING DISCIPLINES ART HISTORY IN VIENNA AND CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN CRACOW ON THE BREAKTHROUGHS IN ART

The second half of the 19th c. marked the birth and definition of many Humanities disciplines, among which studies on the arts took a significant place. Studies in art history, of course, had been conducted earlier, especially when the focus was on ancient art. In this regard, the 18th c. was a pivotal period, particularly with the discoveries of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the groundbreaking work of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *The History of Art in Antiquity*, opened up the history of classical archaeology as the field of research of ancient art¹. The art historians and archaeologists based in Vienna played a significant role in shaping both disciplines, although their activity primarily unfolded in the 19th c., with the work of Rudolf Eitelberger considered as a starting point.² The beginnings of the history of art in Cracow and, almost simultaneously, of classical archaeology, are closely tied to this center due to its political affiliation, as well.

The influence of the Viennese center, particularly the school of art history, on Cracow in the realm of research on ancient art and the formation of modern archaeology as a university discipline in the Polish territories can be examined on several levels. Firstly, in terms of the chosen

research topics, there is often a connection with the Viennese inclination towards studying late ancient and early Christian art, as well as decorative arts, which aligns closely with archaeology. The second level involves the adopted research methodology, focusing on in-depth analysis of source materials available in Vienna or Cracow collections, leading to the application of methods such as stylistic analysis. The third dimension encompasses institutional and organizational issues, inherently linked to Cracow's affiliation with the Habsburg Monarchy and the presence of shared political views and the social climate of the era.³ These dimensions are particularly significant in the context of research on ancient art, but they do not exhaust all the dependencies and relationships concerning the influence of Vienna on the emerging center of art history and archaeology in Cracow.⁴

¹ J. J. WINCKELMANN, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, Dresden 1764 [Polish version *Dzieje sztuki starożytnej*, transl. T. Zatorski, ed. W. Bałus, Kraków 2012]; cf. also R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Introduzione all'archeologia classica come storia dell'arte antica*, Roma 1976 (2022) [Polish version *Archeologia klasyczna jako historia sztuki*, Warszawa 1988] and idem, *Nozioni di storia dell'archeologia e di storiografia dell'arte antica: lezioni introduttive del corso di archeologia*, Florence 1952.

² About the Viennese art history school cf. M. RAMPLEY, *The Vienna School of Art History, Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918*, Pennsylvania 2013.

³ M. OLIN, 'Alois Riegl: The Late Roman Empire in the Late Habsburg Empire', in: *The Habsburg Legacy: National Identity in Historical Perspective*, eds R. ROBERTSON, E. TIMMS, Edinburgh 1994, pp. 107–120.

⁴ A more comprehensive exploration of the relations between the Viennese center and the Cracow center in the field of art history – cf. A. MAŁKIEWICZ, 'Historia sztuki w Polsce a "wiedeńska szkoła historii Sztuki"', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 16, 1987, pp. 331–336; M. KUNIŃSKA, 'Marian Sokołowski: Patriotism and the Genesis of Scientific Art History in Poland', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 8, 2013, pp. 1–17; eadem, 'Identity Built on Myth. Fact and Fiction in the Foundational Narrative of the "Cracow School of Art History" and its Relations to Vienna', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 25, 2021, pp. 1–20. Regarding the history of classical archaeology in Cracow – J. ŚLIWA, 'Archeologia śródziemnomorska w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim (1897–1998)', *Meander*, 72, 2017, pp. 143–163.

It is evident that the Vienna School was fundamentally rooted in a particular interest in ancient art. The groundbreaking *Stilfragen* by Alois Riegl from 1893 introduced a systematic approach to the issue of ornamentation, primarily in relation to ancient times.⁵ Stylistic analyses not only allowed for the chronological understanding of ornamentation but also facilitated the aggregation of patterns into stylistic groups based on predominant geometric, heraldic, or floral and scroll forms. As is well known, Riegl based his study on the results of his earlier works, notably those that were dedicated to artifacts from the Oriental, including Egyptian, cultures. These artifacts were, in fact, housed in the collections of the Vienna-based Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, where Alois Riegl was employed.⁶

An essential aspect of another groundbreaking work by Riegl, dedicated to late Roman artistic industry, was the reorientation of researchers' attitudes toward the art of late antiquity.⁷ The change in style described in *Die spätromische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn* was considered an artistic achievement rather than a sign of decline. A pivotal contribution in this regard was Franz Wickhoff's work, *Die Wiener Genesis*, where he notably revalued early Christian art.⁸ These works contributed to the rejection of the Winckelmann paradigm which regarded late ancient art as the final, declining phase in the development of ancient art, characterized by a supposed lack of creative force. This rehabilitation of late ancient art would influence not only the thematic focus but also the research methodology in other archaeological centers. It would also, as is well known, be a catalyst for the famous dispute with Josef Strzygowski concerning the genesis of late ancient art.⁹

An essential aspect of relations between genesis of art history and classical archaeology is also a problem that still engages the attention of many researchers. It concerns the relationship and demarcation line, if one exists, between both disciplines. Importantly, these relationships

looked quite different during the period under discussion than they do now, and what is even more significant, they are conditioned by the academic traditions of a given center or country. In the case of Cracow, the influence of Vienna and the broader German scientific circle is significant. The close connection between both centers is evident, for instance, in the biographies of archaeologists and art historians in Cracow who had contacts in Vienna. The close ties between Polish classical archaeology and art history were significantly severed in later Polish history when archaeology was merged with the so-called history of material culture, following the Soviet pattern, thereby bringing it closer to universal archaeology and disrupting what was valuable in 19th-c. art history – the community of research areas and the complementarity of methods. However, this issue is an entirely separate research topic.

The innovative views of the Vienna school of art found fertile ground in the emerging and shaping environment of classical archaeologists in Cracow. At this point, we must pay attention to the founder and, importantly, the organizer of classical archaeology in Cracow – Piotr Bieńkowski, who set the tone and direction of research in the initial phase of the development of Polish studies on ancient art in the early decades of the 20th c. [Fig. 1]. The figure of Bieńkowski is well-known and esteemed in the community of Cracow's researchers of Antiquity, especially as he taught several students who later initiated studies on ancient art in the academic centers of revitalized Poland.¹⁰ Born in 1865, a graduate of ancient history studies at the University of Lviv, where his mentor was Prof. Ludwik Ćwikliński, Piotr Bieńkowski quickly developed an interest in art and archaeology under the influence of his subsequent studies in Berlin with Theodor Mommsen and in Vienna with Otto Benndorf.¹¹ Immediately after his period of education, he embarked on scientific journeys to Rome and Athens, where he familiarized himself with the activities of archaeological institutes. However, the key influence on the choice of his research direction came from his studies in Berlin and Vienna. Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), the author of the multi-volume *History of Rome* and a historian of Antiquity, instilled a methodical approach to historical sciences

⁵ A. RIEGL, *Stilfragen, Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*, Berlin 1893.

⁶ Idem, *Die ägyptischen Textilfunde im K. K. Österr. Museum*, Wien 1889; idem, *Altorientalische Teppiche*, Leipzig 1891. Cf. also M. OLIN, *Forms of Representation in Alois Riegl's Theory of Art*, Pennsylvania 1992.

⁷ A. RIEGL, *Die spätromische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien 1901.

⁸ F. WICKHOFF, W. VON HARTEL, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Wien 1895.

⁹ J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Orient oder Rome. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spätantiken und Frühchristlichen Kunst*, Leipzig 1901; A. RIEGL, 'Spätromisch oder orientalisches?', *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 93, 1902, pp. 152–156; cf. also J. ELSNER, 'The Birth of Late Antiquity: Riegl and Strzygowski in 1901', *Art History*, 25, 2002, pp. 358–379 and M. OLIN, 'Art History and Ideology: Alois Riegl and Josef Strzygowski', in: *Cultural Visions: Essays in the History of Culture*, eds P. SCHINE GOLD, B. C. SAX, Amsterdam 2000, pp. 151–170.

¹⁰ Several publications have been dedicated to the figure of Piotr Bieńkowski, unfortunately appearing only in Polish, which has resulted in his achievements and contributions being less well known outside of Poland – cf. J. ŚLIWA, 'Piotr Bieńkowski (1865–1925). Badacz – nauczyciel akademicki – organizator nauki', in: *Archeologia śródziemnomorska w Krakowie 1897–1997. Materiały sympozjum naukowego. Kraków, 21–23 października 1997* ed. idem, Kraków 1998, pp. 15–34.

¹¹ Ludwik Ćwikliński (1853–1942), a classical philologist and ancient historian, was the rector of the University of Jan Kazimierz in Lviv. From 1902 he resided in Vienna, where, in 1917 and 1918, he held the position of Minister of Education and Religious Affairs – cf. K. KRÓLCZYK, 'Ludwik Ćwikliński (1853–1942)', *Nowy Filomata*, 14, 2010, no. 2, pp. 83–94.



1. Piotr Bieńkowski (1865–1925), reprint after: R. GOSTKOWSKI, *Piotr Ignacy Bieńkowski*, 'Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komisji Historji Sztuki za czas od I stycznia 1923 r. do 31 grudnia 1925 r.', *Prace Komisji Historji Sztuki*, 4, 1930, no. 1

among his students.¹² Otto Benndorf (1838–1907), a German-Austrian archaeologist, assumed the Chair of Archaeology at the University of Vienna in 1877.¹³ In 1898, he founded the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna, of which he was the director until his death in 1907. Bieńkowski was fascinated not only by Benndorf's scientific activities but also by his organizational skills. He entertained plans to establish a similar Polish Institute in Athens or Rome, which, however, did not materialize at that time. Benndorf conducted or co-conducted excavations in the ancient world, including Samothrace, Lycia, and Ephesus. His discoveries enriched the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Among his students were not only those focused on ancient history but also those who engaged in art history: Julius von Schlosser (1866–1938) and Franz Studniczka (1860–1929).¹⁴

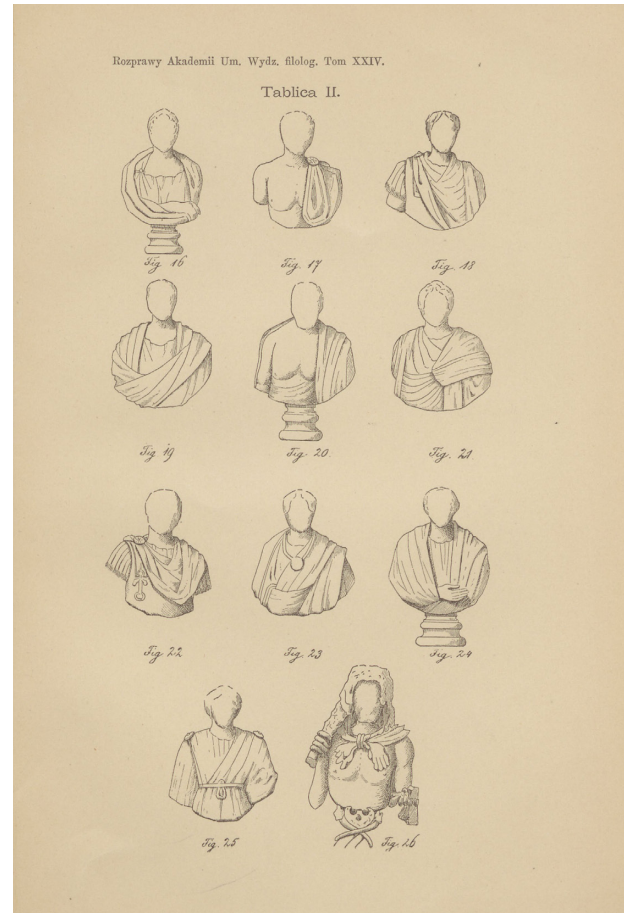
Upon his return to Cracow, Bieńkowski dedicated himself to studies on ancient art, which resulted in his habilitation thesis, titled *History of Shape of Ancient Bust*, published in 1895 [Fig. 2].¹⁵ An important year in the life of the

¹² F. STURM, *Theodor Mommsen. Gedanken zu Leben und Werk des großen deutschen Rechtshistorikers*, Karlsruhe 2006.

¹³ H. D. SZEMETHY, 'Von Greiz nach Wien. Das außergewöhnliche Leben von Otto Benndorf, Nachfolger Alexander Conzes und Gründer des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts', in: *1869–2019. 150 Jahre Klassische Archäologie an der Universität Wien*, eds G. SCHÖRNER, J. KOPE, Wien 2021, pp. 163–186.

¹⁴ K. T. JOHNS, 'Julius Alwin Ritter von Schlosser: Ein bio-bibliographischer Beitrag', *Kritische berichte*, 14, 1988, no. 4, pp. 47–64; H. U. CAIN, 'Studniczka, Franz', in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 25, Berlin 2013, pp. 621–622.

¹⁵ P. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Historja kształtów biustu starożytnego*, Kraków 1895.



2. Illustration from P. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Historja kształtów biustu starożytnego*, Kraków, 1895, pl. II

researcher, and as it turned out, in the history of classical archaeology in Cracow, was 1897, when Bieńkowski was appointed the head of the Chair of Classical Archaeology, a position created specifically for him.¹⁶ This date, similar to the year 1882 and the figure of Marian Sokołowski for art history, marks the beginning of classical archaeology in Cracow.¹⁷ In his habilitation thesis, Bieńkowski perhaps for the first time presented the methodology of his research, combining what archaeology had already developed, rejecting individual assessment of works of art. In the introduction to *History of the Shape of the Ancient Bust*, he writes:

On the other hand, it was important to establish a chronological basis for reconstructing the history of the bust's form. It must be emphasized that the style of portraits, the manner of conceiving and rendering the human face, could not and should not provide any guidance in this regard. This dissertation aims to create

¹⁶ J. ŚLIWA, 'Piotr Bieńkowski (1865–1925)', in: *Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Złota księga Wydziału Historycznego*, ed. J. DYBIEC, Kraków 2000, pp. 165–171.

¹⁷ M. KUNIŃSKA, 'Marian Sokołowski', pp. 1–17 (as in note 4).

a foundation independent of individual perspectives for evaluating the style of portraits in various epochs.¹⁸

Before assuming the chair, Bieńkowski undertook numerous journeys to places with monuments of ancient cultures, including not only Italy and Greece but also Asia Minor and North Africa. He also acquainted himself with European collections of ancient art. These trips were financed by, among other sources, the Austrian government and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow. In 1899, he was elected a full member of the Austrian Archaeological Institute. He was also a member of the Central Commission for the Investigation and Conservation of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Vienna. His connections with Vienna resulted in his participation in excavations in Egypt. In the 1910/1911 season, he took part in the work at El-Kubanie in Lower Nubia. Karol Hadaczek and Tadeusz Wałek accompanied him on the expeditions until 1914. The artifacts they collected enriched the collections of the Cracow Academy of Arts and Sciences.¹⁹

Following the example of his colleagues in Vienna, Bieńkowski was also an academic organizer. He established the Chair of Classical Archaeology from scratch, enriched the library collections, and provided direction for his students' research. He initiated the inventory of ancient monuments, which were then housed in private and partially public collections. Similarly to what had been done in Vienna, he aimed to establish a Polish Institute of Archaeology in Athens or Rome. However, this effort was not successful at that time.²⁰

In the context of the early connections between Cracow's classical archaeology research and Vienna, and the art history community there, it's also worth mentioning a well-known and significant figure in Viennese art history, whose relationship with Bieńkowski is less well known. Count Karol Lanckoroński was an art enthusiast, collector, patron, and sponsor of numerous scientific

endeavors, as well as a Viennese politician. Despite residing outside of Poland, he maintained connections with his homeland.²¹ This figure becomes even more significant as, according to family accounts of the Bieńkowskis, it was Lanckoroński who likely influenced the appointment of the first Chair and its faculty and library. Bieńkowski's connections with Lanckoroński go back a generation or more, as Bieńkowski's father served as the administrator and plenipotentiary of Lanckoroński's estates in Podole. The acquaintance with Karol Lanckoroński held importance for the young archeology enthusiast, as Lanckoroński financed his studies and travels, and presumably, as mentioned, contributed to the equipment of the new Chair. The patronage of Lanckoroński was also associated with the art historian Marian Sokołowski, who likewise benefited from Lanckoroński's financial support. In 1911, after Sokołowski's death, it was Bieńkowski who took over the management of the combined Collection of Art and Archaeology, which included a substantial collection of plaster casts of artworks, including those that had been acquired by Lanckoroński in consultation with Sokołowski and Bieńkowski.²² There is another noteworthy fact that testifies to the contacts of these scholars. After the famous expedition to Asia Minor undertaken by Karol Lanckoroński and his circle of acquaintances in the years 1882–1883, he published two volumes in German in 1890 and 1892 on the cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia.²³ This work was soon translated into Polish by Sokołowski (vol. I) and Bieńkowski along with Ćwikliński (vol. II).²⁴

Let us return to Cracow and Piotr Bieńkowski. His scholarly and literary output is substantial.²⁵ Along with his work dedicated to Greek and Roman busts, a particular focus of his interest was the iconography of barbarian peoples in Greek and Roman art. He devoted numerous works to this subject. However, one of his works is particularly significant in the context of the influence of Viennese art history. This work is *Impressionism in Roman and Early Christian Art* published in 1896 [Fig. 3].²⁶ The

¹⁸ P. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Historia kształtów*, pp. 4–5 (as in note 15).

¹⁹ It is worth mentioning the forgotten figure of Karol Hadaczek at this point. He initially studied in Lviv and, from 1897 onwards, in Vienna, where he delved into classical archaeology and art history. He served as the head of the Department of Classical Archaeology and Prehistory at the University of Lviv. Additionally, he was the curator of Lviv's collections of antiquities and a member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences. Among his numerous works, it is noteworthy to mention those where the influence of art theory can be observed, such as *Polygnotos, pierwszy klasyk malarstwa greckiego / Polygnotos, the First Classic of Greek Painting* (1908), passages from the monograph on Phidias: *Styl Fidiaszowy w rzeźbie szkół współczesnych / The Phidian Style in the Sculpture of Contemporary Schools* (1911), and *Rzeźby architektoniczne Partenonu / Architectural Sculptures of the Parthenon* (1912) – cf. J. PILECKI, 'Hadaczek Karol (1873–1914)', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 41, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1961, pp. 223–224.

²⁰ The Polish Institute of Archaeology in Athens was established in 2019.

²¹ J. ŚLIWA, 'Piotr Bieńkowski (1865–1925) w opiekuńczym kręgu Karola Lanckorońskiego', *Folia Historiae Artium*, 4, 1998, pp. 81–85. Cf. also J. A. OSTROWSKI, 'Karol Lanckoroński, Archäologe, Kunsthistoriker und Sammler', in: *Zur Geschichte der klassischen Archäologie Jena-Kraków*, eds E. KLUWE, J. ŚLIWA, Jena 1985, pp. 100–120.

²² A. BETLEJ et al., *Zapomniane dziedzictwo: zbiór odlewów gipsowych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Kraków 2019.

²³ *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens*, ed. K. LANCKOROŃSKI, unter Mitwirkung von G. NIEMANN und E. PETERSEN, vol. 1: *Pamphyliden*, Wien 1890; vol. 2: *Pisidien*, Wien 1892.

²⁴ K. LANCKOROŃSKI, *Miasta Pamfilii i Pizydii*, vol. 1, transl. M. SOKOŁOWSKI, Kraków 1890; vol. 2: transl. L. ĆWIKLIŃSKI, P. BIEŃKOWSKI, Kraków 1896.

²⁵ J. ŚLIWA, 'Piotr Bieńkowski (1865–1925)', pp. 15–34 (as in note 10), especially compiled by K. Stachowska bibliography (pp. 27–34).

²⁶ P. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Impressionizm w sztuce rzymskiej i starożytności*, Kraków 1896 – offprint from *Przegląd Polski*, 31, 1896, no.

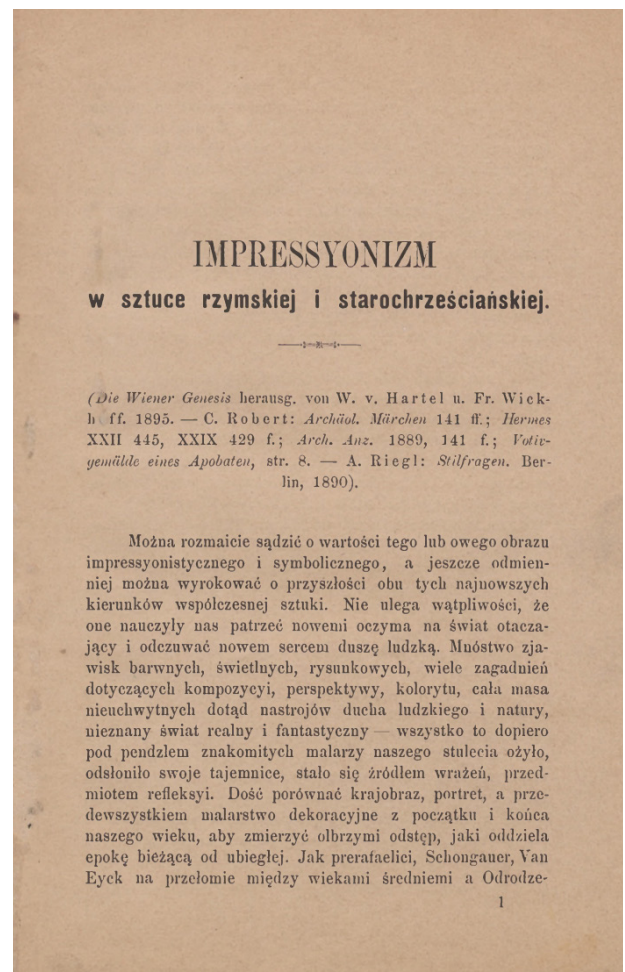


3. Cover of P. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Impressyonizm w sztuce rzymskiej i starochrześcijańskiej*, Kraków, 1896

title itself alludes to the contemporary art of that time, and simultaneously to a subject that preoccupied Viennese researchers – Wickhoff, Riegl, and later Strzygowski – namely, the genesis and significance of Roman art in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD.²⁷ Among all the important works by Bieńkowski concerning the theme of ancient art, this one is the least known. Its current value lies not only in its scientific significance, although it can still serve as a valuable reference point for researchers on this issue, but more in recognizing the reference point of Viennese art historians' thoughts and the consequences for the further work of the Cracow center. This publication represents a kind of bold and scholarly polemic with Wickhoff, who also, in his *Die Wiener Genesis*, refers to the illusionism of late Antiquity, in this case regarding the illustrations of early Christian art. As we remember, Wickhoff considers it,

4, pp. 27–46, 337–358.

²⁷ J. ELSNER, 'The Birth of Late Antiquity', pp. 358–379 (as in note 9); A. RIEGL, 'Spätromisch oder orientalisch?', pp. 152–156 (as in note 9) (translated into English by P. WORTSMAN as 'Late Roman or Oriental?', in: *German Essays on Art History*, ed. G. SCHIFF, New York 1988, pp. 173–190).



4. First page from P. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Impressyonizm w sztuce rzymskiej i starochrześcijańskiej*, Kraków, 1896

much like impressionism, as a creative achievement of the era.

In the introduction to the book, after citing the works of Wickhoff and Riegl in the bibliography, Bieńkowski writes:

Various opinions may be held about the value of this or that painting from the Impressionist and Symbolist movements, and even more diverse judgments may be made about the future of both these newest trends in contemporary art. There is no doubt that they have taught us to see the surrounding world with new eyes and to feel anew, with the heart and soul of humanity. Numerous colorful, luminous, and graphic phenomena, many issues related to composition, perspective, coloration, and a whole host of hitherto elusive moods of the human spirit and nature, the unknown world – both real and fantastical – have only come to life, revealed their secrets, and become a source of impressions and reflections under the brush of the outstanding painters of our century [Fig. 4].²⁸

²⁸ P. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Impressyonizm*, p. 1 (as in note 26).

Here, Bieńkowski invokes examples from contemporary works that seek the origins of many artistic phenomena in earlier epochs. The goal of the work is to draw attention to changes in ancient art, at a crucial moment of its apparent decline, through the eyes of a connoisseur of contemporary art, which was also experiencing dynamic changes, of which Impressionism and Symbolism were manifestations. The author continues:

Finally, Mr. Wickhoff, a professor at the University of Vienna and before him, to some extent, Professor Robert from Halle in the works whose titles we list at the beginning, had already reached even further into the past. Not the last four centuries, but the partly pagan, partly Christian era of the Roman Empire, the 1st to 4th centuries AD, were the oldest theater of such artistic struggles that shake today's art. To objectively present and then, if justified, evaluate this reflection of contemporary painting on the historiography of ancient art will be the task of these remarks.²⁹

In the reevaluation of Roman art, Bieńkowski places emphasis in a different area, drawing attention to the scarcity of ideas and motifs. He suggests that the Romans were creatively reproducing Greek achievements but with richness in form, including technique and the way of depicting ideas, namely style. It is precisely the style that is significant here, and Wickhoff's illusionism is supposed to represent the creative achievement of Roman art during a period when, as Bieńkowski writes, 'the native Roman genius engaged in a fierce struggle with imported Hellenism.'³⁰

Bieńkowski traces these changes, among other things, based on plant ornamentation and Riegl's findings in his *Stilfragen* regarding Greek ornamentation, which, in essence, was considered quite conservative. He emphasizes the shift in Roman ornamentation during the Flavian period, when it departed from Greek traditions and became more naturalistic and impressionistic.³¹ This process also finds analogies in the changes in decoration in 19th-c. art. According to Bieńkowski, creative changes in Roman art from the early 2nd century are evident in relief sculpture and statuary, but especially in painting. As we know, in Pompeii and Herculaneum, proper illusionism emerged, as we define it today, along with impressionism seen in landscapes and still life. Bieńkowski identifies the essence of Roman art's value precisely in these aspects. He writes:

The illusionistic landscape in Pompeii is most closely associated with the continuity norm that we have already

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 2. Carl Robert (1850–1922), classicist and archaeologist associated with the University and Museum in Halle. The museum was named after him 'Robertinum' (now Archäologisches Museum der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg) – cf. O. KERN, *Hermann Diels und Carl Robert. Ein biographischer Versuch*, Leipzig 1927.

³⁰ P. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Impressionizm*, p. 6 (as in note 26).

³¹ Ibidem, pp. 11–12.

encountered in relief sculptures. Only through the coherence of these two styles did Roman art become what constitutes its highest glory, becoming universal art, the art of the entire world. The widespread impressionistic-continuity style, spread throughout the corners of the Roman Empire, endured for 15 centuries of our era and had a decisive influence on artists throughout almost all of Medieval Europe. Sandro Botticelli still pays homage to it in his illustrations for the *Divine Comedy*; even Raphael in the *Liberation of Saint Peter* and Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel ceiling pay tribute to it.³²

This is manifested in the decoration of Roman sarcophagi from the 3rd century and early Christian mosaics from the 4th century AD. However, the continuity norm, along with illusionism, achieved a special position in early Christian art, as evident in the *Wiener Genesis*. Bieńkowski continues:

Impressionism and the continuity norm – these are the two enduring achievements of Roman and early Christian art. Both can be reduced to a common denominator, which is realism, or concerning faces, individualism. While Eastern and Greek art always strives for the ideal, or at least for the type, the Etruscans and, following them, the Romans, always seek to impart individual characteristics to works of art. This Roman individualism has left an indelible mark on Western art as a whole. Even when external conditions, such as devotional needs, fashion, or market demand, favor the creation of types, artists in Western Europe strive to individualize them to a greater or lesser extent.³³

At the end, Bieńkowski directly addresses Wickhoff's work and the methodology he adopted. He writes:

At the outset, it should be emphasized that this is a work of exceptional talent, opening up new horizons for scholarship. I would be proud if Polish academia produced similar works. The author has risen to the highest position, as a philosopher of art history. From this summit, he not only embraces the entirety of its history but also sees the course and direction of issues that the eye of an ordinary art historian would struggle to discern. Hence, he often succeeds in presenting views and ideas for which an ordinary art historian would strive in vain. Moreover, beyond this knowledge, his thorough understanding of painting and sculpting techniques has been invaluable. It has allowed him to build his argument on a scientific basis, independent of personal preferences and pseudo-aesthetic deliberations. It is also to him that we must attribute the fact that ancient art stands in Mr. Wickhoff's book in an individual light, free from the civilizational-cultural nimbus with which ignorance or dilettantism typically obscures it. Lastly, it is worth mentioning, as we highlighted at the outset,

³² Ibidem, p. 28.

³³ Ibidem, p. 34.

that Mr. Wickhoff is a fervent supporter of contemporary Impressionism and Symbolism, that he has absorbed all the contentious issues of the day, fertilized his mind with them, sharpened his perceptive senses, and armed them against all suggestions and old prejudices. This imparts to his work a somewhat polemical and proselytizing character, which is in any case full of life, temperament, and relevance.³⁴

However, Bieńkowski also proceeds to offer rather severe criticism of Wickhoff's work and the method adopted by the author. He accuses him of methodological shortcomings and a lack of insight into available materials concerning the decline of Roman art, as well as its earlier periods. Bieńkowski believes that the breakthrough Wickhoff attributes only to this period was already foreshadowed in Greek art of the 4th c. BC, in Athenian tomb reliefs. Therefore, illusionistic Impressionism appears earlier than Wickhoff indicated, and later in Rome, it occurs in various forms and shapes as decorative elements in ancient art, in general in Roman, and in Early Christian art in particular.³⁵

In conclusion, Bieńkowski states:

The above-mentioned shortcomings, both fundamental and formal, in my opinion, resulted unconsciously from a misguided understanding of art history. Art history is an art form, indeed, but primarily a science. It demands from the writer passion, intuition, and so on, but above all, it requires reflection. An author should master the material and be intimately acquainted with subject-specific and cautious criticism, enabling control over the most elusive topics and commanding their pen, as Goethe demands from a true poet to „command poetry”. In contrast, Wickhoff, in my opinion, does not control the tumult of his own soul or imagination; he allows them to carry him away, creating a work more akin to art than science. Hence, his discussion of Impressionism is excellent but immature, captivating the reader but not convincing them [...].

Wickhoff's artistic talent, closely resembling the painterly Impressionism of the present day, is well-suited to move the least sensitive minds. The reader finishes Wickhoff's book with a pensive, enriched, elevated state, different in a single word from when they began reading. Therefore, the purpose of all writing for the public — a certain spiritual catharsis — has been achieved. This quality of the book also explains why I allowed

myself to present it to my readers despite considering it incomplete.³⁶

Dispute over Late Antiquity and the methodology of the new, young discipline was, as we can see, not only a subject of debate for Wickhoff, Riegl, and Strzygowski, but also involved Piotr Bieńkowski. Importantly, this somewhat forgotten publication by Bieńkowski opens a new chapter in the study of the origins of Cracow's archaeology and its connections to art history. It's not just about personal aspects — the fact that Cracow's students gained scientific knowledge in Vienna. It's also not only about institutional and organizational connections resulting from Vienna's status as the capital and its influence on other academic centers in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. As we can see, these connections are made manifest not only in the flow of ideas and scientific novelties but also, most importantly, in the engaging in substantive disputes with Vienna's leading researchers in the field of Antiquity — a topic of significant importance at that time. The question of late ancient art was not just about another phase in the development of ancient art, which, of course, interested archaeologists the most, but also about the genesis of post-ancient art from the Middle Ages to later periods — a question that engaged the minds of art historians. Of course, we can interpret this debate today as reflecting the different views of art historian and classical archaeologist, but that would be a misleading approach. At that time, the differences between the two disciplines, especially in the field of Roman and early Christian art, and to a degree early Medieval art, were not as significant. We must also reject the idea of an ambitious or nationalistic approach by mature and already recognized researchers. We can only accept that Bieńkowski's research horizon was somewhat broader, reaching into periods of Greek Archaic art, for example, but even this statement would be unfair to Wickhoff.

We can believe this debate reflects not so much potential differences in the workmanship and methodology of the emerging disciplines in art, but rather the influence of contemporary changes in art on the perception of ancient art during a phase of dynamic transformation. The key to understanding Bieńkowski's reasoning may lie in another quote from his work, where he sees changes in Roman art against the backdrop of broader changes, with Greek art as the starting point:

The danger that loomed over Impressionism from its inception did not fail to materialize. What began as virtuosity degenerated into negligence, and the ease of composition turned into an artificial genius that, with time, acquired almost crude characteristics. Especially miniatures depicting various animals and geographical maps stand out for their peculiar neglect of drawing and coloration. Manuscripts from the second half of the Middle Ages, in general, guard against the deviations into which

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

³⁵ 'If, therefore, Impressionism was already known to the Greeks and is not the exclusive legacy of Roman art, then it is impossible to accept the further conclusions of Mr. Wickhoff that illusionism and individualism were passed down to Western arts from the Romans and Etruscans, when the preference for types was imparted to the Byzantines by the Greeks and Asians' (*ibidem*, p. 38).

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 40–41.

illustrative art fell from the 7th to the 10th centuries. The illusionism is replaced by a penchant for details, and drawing regains its rightful place even in colorful miniatures. This was, therefore, a kind of return to Greco-Roman naturalism. Thus, the circle of Roman and early Christian art, which, in formal terms, constitutes an equally organic whole, closed in a way similar to the writings of the Church Fathers with classical literature.³⁷

SUMMARY

Grzegorz First
 BETWEEN TWO EMERGING DISCIPLINES.
 ART HISTORY IN VIENNA AND CLASSICAL
 ARCHAEOLOGY IN CRACOW
 ON THE BREAKTHROUGHS IN ART

The second half of the 19th c. marked the beginning of the institutionalization of two great disciplines in the Humanities – art history and classical archaeology. This process took place in many European centres, including Vienna, and influenced other university cities in the Habsburg Monarchy. There are obvious connections between the beginnings of art history and the interest in ancient Greek and Roman art. It is visible in the works of both art historians, who often referred to the ancient roots of artistic phenomena, and archaeologists, who often referred to parallels and concepts developed by art historians. On the basis of the connections between the Viennese and Cracow centres, this is visible, for example, in the works of Alois Riegl and Franz Wickhoff and their influence on the work and research undertaken by Piotr Bieńkowski, the founder and organizer of the Department of Classical Archaeology in Cracow (1897). These connections are visible, for example, in Bieńkowski's work *Impressionism in Roman and Early Christian Art*, which was published in 1896 and referred to Viennese theoreticians of art history.

³⁷ Ibidem, pp. 33-34.

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WISSENSCHAFTLICHKEIT IN ALOIS RIEGL'S STUDY OF LATE ANTIQUE TEXTILES FROM EGYPT

*Willst du ins Unendliche schreiten
Geh nur im Endlichen nach allen Seiten.*

J. W. Goethe¹

One of the most renowned members of the Vienna School of Art History, Alois Riegl (1858–1905), is remembered among other things for having analysed lesser-known works of art (and so-called ‘minor arts’) in such a way as to extract from their formal features more information than anyone else had managed to do before, and in doing so, to provide the basis for the independence of the history of art from other academic disciplines. This is also true for the Late Antique textiles from Egypt in the collection of the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry (k. k. Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie), which were the subject of Riegl's first major publication, a catalogue² compiled at the beginning of his career in the Museum's textile department.³ The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how Riegl attempted to realise in his

research on Late Antique textiles the demands of scientific rigour (*Wissenschaftlichkeit*) propounded by his teachers at the University of Vienna, and how, based on this research, he developed his original approach to works of art and the history of art.

To better comprehend Riegl's innovative approach and original contribution to the field of Late Antique textiles research, it must be added that from the time of the pioneering works of Joseph Karabacek (published in 1883)⁴ to the publication in 1889 of Riegl's catalogue, quite a lot was written about these textiles, including catalogues of temporary exhibitions or permanent collections.⁵ Most of

R. WINKERS, ‘Foreword’, in A. RIEGL, *Late Roman Art Industry* (1901), transl. R. WINKERS, Rome 1985, p. XIV.

⁴ J. KARABACEK, *Die Theodor Graf'schen Funde in Aegypten. (Der Papyrusfund von El-Faijûm, die textilen Gräberfunde)*, Wien 1883; idem, *Katalog der Theodor Graf'schen Funde in Ägypten*, Wien 1883.

⁵ G. MASPERO, ‘Rapport à l'institut Égyptien sur les fouilles et travaux exécutés en Égypte pendant l'hiver de 1885–1886’, *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, 2, 1886, no. 7, pp. 196–251; E. GERSPACH, ‘Les tapisseries coptes du Musée Des Gobelins’, *Gazette des beaux-arts: la doyenne des revues d'art*, 36, 1887; F. BOCK, *Kunstgeschichtliche Beiträge über die vielfarbigen Gobelin-Wirkereien und Purpurstickereien der spätromischen und frühbyzantinischen Kunstepoche*, Hannover 1886; idem, *Katalog frühchristlicher Textilfunde des Jahres 1886*, Düsseldorf 1887; A.S. COLE, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Tapestry-woven and Embroidered Egyptian Textiles in the South Kensington Museum*, London 1887; F. HASSELMANN, ‘Über altägyptische Textilfunde in Oberägypten’, *Korrespondenzblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 19, 1888; J. RÉE, ‘Die altchristlichen Stoffe und Stickereien im Germanischen Nationalmuseum’, *Bayerische Gewerbe-Zeitung*, 1, 1888, pp. 13–78, 97–103; C.O. HARZ, ‘Über ägyptische Textilstoffe des 4. bis 7. christlichen Jahrhunderts’,

¹ J.W. GOETHE, ‘Gott, Gemüth und Welt’, in idem, *Sprüche in Reimen. Sprüche in Prosa. Ethisches*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1850, p. 4.

² A. RIEGL, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde im K. K. Österreich Museum: Allgemeine Charakteristik und Katalog*, Wien 1889. Apart from the catalogue, Riegl wrote several articles wholly devoted to those textiles: ‘Frühmittelalterliche Gewebe im Österr. Museum’, *Mittheilungen des Österr. Museum*, 1, 1886, no. 11, pp. 213–218; *Textilkunst (II Capitel: Alterthum)*, in: *Geschichte der technischen Künste*, vol. 3, ed. B. BUCHER, Stuttgart 1889, pp. 335–399; ‘Spätantike Stickereien’, *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, 2, 1891, pp. 127–131; ‘Zur Frage des Nachlebens der altägyptischen Kunst in der späten Antike’, *Eranos Vindobonensis* 1893, pp. 191–197.

³ Riegl began as an apprentice in the textile department of the Museum in 1884; in 1885 he was promoted to the position of assistant curator, and in 1886 he became an adjunct curator – see

those studies represent the same approach, in which an historical and philological point of view prevails. To explain the archaeological context of the findings, changes in burial customs that occurred during the Late Roman Empire as well as the transformation of dress in this period were usually described in detail and laced with quotations from ancient authors. Many pages were devoted to reconciling the hitherto obscure Latin vocabulary referring to textiles and dress with suddenly available archaeological evidence, as well as to recognising the ornamental motifs and iconographic representations known from other fields of art. The history of dress and iconography were the focal points for most of the authors at that time.

Riegl himself is not interested in attire.⁶ What interests him are the textiles themselves, the materials and techniques as well as the ornaments executed by means of these materials and techniques, and he does not stop at the general appreciation of their qualities, as many other scholars did.⁷ Instead, he makes a great effort to understand the construction of textiles and the inner logic of the ornament and to do so, he performs a painstakingly scrupulous examination. On each page of this catalogue we can see neutral, empirical, and positivist methods he had learned from Rudolf Eitelberger, Moritz Thausing and his other teachers.⁸ However, as we will see, he does not stop at this either. All the meticulous empirical analyses, using the tools borrowed from natural sciences, serve as a basis for building a universal theory of the larger problems of art history, concerning spirit rather than matter.

Let us start like Riegl, however, from the rudiments. It is worth noting that in order to correctly identify materials and techniques, Riegl consulted experts representing

various branches of knowledge, including the natural sciences.⁹ The fibres were analysed by Julius Wiesner (1838–1916), a professor of botany specializing in microscopic examination of the properties of plant-based materials.¹⁰ Thanks to him Riegl avoided the mistakes made by Karabacek, who considered many of the textiles in the Viennese collection to be made of cotton, while in reality there were only two.¹¹ The dyes were detected by the chemists Ernst Ludwig (1842–1915), a specialist in biochemistry working at the University of Vienna, and his assistant, Wilhelm Suida (1853–1922), later the Rector of Technical High School (k. k. Technische Hochschule) in Vienna.¹² Wiesner, Ludwig, and Suida had already carried out expert analysis and conducted experiments with fibres and dyes for industrial purposes, so the relations between the natural sciences and industry were now employed for museum research and new interdisciplinary networks were created.

Having determined the raw materials, Riegl proceeded to the techniques. To accurately classify the weaving and non-weaving techniques, Riegl consulted Severin Schroeder (1857–1918), a lecturer and later director of the Vocational School for the Textile Industry (k. k. Fachschule für Textil-Industrie)¹³ and Emilie Bach (1840–1890), the founder and headmistress of the Vocational School for Art Embroidery (k. k. Fachschule für Kunststickerei).¹⁴ Such consultations were just beginning to be common practice in museums, but in art historical studies in general, in Riegl's time as well as at the present day, they were not standard procedure at all. I will quote the complaints made by British archaeologist Alan Wace much later, in 1948, to describe something that still happens today:

Classical scholars [and we might add art historians too – A.G.] when faced with passages in ancient authors referring to technical or scientific matters such as medicine, botany, zoology, or chemistry often consult experts in those subjects to help them to arrive at a correct interpretation of the Greek or Latin text. In dealing with some technical matters, however, especially textiles, they seem to scorn such assistance and attempt to solve the

Botanisches Centralblatt, 34, 1888, pp. 185–186, 215–217; A. von ESSENWEIN, 'Spätklassische Seidengewebe', *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum*, 2, 1887–1889, pp. 89–96; R. FORRER, *Versuch einer Klassifikation der antik-koptischen Textilfunde*, Strassburg 1889; idem, 'Über das Alter der antik-koptischen Textilfunde', *Antiquitäten-Zeitschrift*, 1889, sp. 339–340; idem, 'Antike Gobelins', *ibidem*, sp. 257–260; idem, 'Überraschungen', *ibidem*, sp. 263 ff.

⁶ He does not omit those issues completely, yet he limits himself to basic information, mentioning that the subject of dress has been elaborated on by other scholars – A. RIEGL, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde*, p. VIII (as in note 2).

⁷ E.g., Karabacek was fascinated with the technical qualities of the textiles 'welche die Konkurrenz mit unseren im Zeitalter der Jacquard-Maschine gefertigten Stoffen gleicher Art wohl siegreich zu bestehen vermöchten' (*Die Theodor Graf'schen Funde*, p. 30, as in note 4), but he did not go beyond the judgements 'by the looks', which sometimes resulted in erroneous identifications of materials and techniques.

⁸ On elaborating the methods appropriate for 'scientific' art historical studies see M. RAMPLEY, 'The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna, 1847–1873', *Art History*, 34, 2011, pp. 54–79; idem, *The Vienna School of Art History*, University Park 2013, pp. 8–51.

⁹ A. RIEGL, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde*, p. XXIV (as in note 2).

¹⁰ G. LUXBACHER, 'Die technologische Mobilisierung der Botanik. Konzept und Wirkung der Technischen Rohstofflehre und Warenkunde im 19. Jahrhundert', *Technikgeschichte*, 68, 2001, pp. 307–333.

¹¹ A. RIEGL, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde*, p. IX (as in note 2).

¹² E. OBERHUMMER, 'Ludwig, Ernst (1842–1915), Chemiker', in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, vol. 5, Wien 1972, pp. 347–348; R.W. SOUKUP, 'Suida, Wilhelm (1853–1922), Chemiker', in: *ibidem*, vol. 14, Wien 2015, p. 40.

¹³ *Bundeslehranstalt für Textilindustrie Wien. Festschrift zur 175-Jahr-Feier 1758–1933*, Wien 1933, p. 29.

¹⁴ R. HOUZE, *Emilie Bach: Education Reformer, Critic, and Art Embroiderer in the Era of Franz Joseph I*, in *Design Dialogue: Jews, Culture and Viennese Modernism*, ed. E. SHAPIRA, Vienna 2018, pp. 111–123.

problems before them in the light of their own knowledge, usually all too limited, of the matter in hand. One of their greatest delusions is that practically the only means of decorating a textile is by embroidery.¹⁵

This was also the case with Karabacek, whose catalogue is full of *Stickereien*,¹⁶ while Riegl identified only three examples (leaving aside stitches made for practical reasons and embroidered inscriptions) in the whole collection of about seven hundred fabrics.¹⁷ This leads Riegl to the conclusion that ‘embroidery must have played a minor role in classical antiquity’.¹⁸ Looking from the perspective of today’s state of the field we know he was right.¹⁹ What is more, this had further implications for the development of his theories, a topic which I will revisit later.

Riegl was fully aware of the difference between weaving (interlacing two sets of yarns – warp and weft – so that they cross each other, typically at right angles) and non-weaving methods of constructing and/or decorating a fabric. He discussed plain weave, rep weave, loop pile weave, brocading, tapestry, and ‘flying thread’; he also mentioned satin and compound weaves. Among the non-weaving constructional techniques, knitting and sprang are examined, and finally, non-weaving methods of decorating the textiles by embroidery, printing, and resist-dyeing are described. None of the earlier publications on Late Antique textiles presented such a comprehensive review of techniques. Some of these techniques were not even recognised in Riegl’s time and as such did not have accepted names. All the more credit should be given to Riegl for his diligence in trying to choose the right words, as neutral as possible, in describing the textiles and explaining how they were made.

There is no space here to review Riegl’s analyses of all types of textiles and their decoration, but I would like to illustrate the way that Riegl approaches the issue via the example of the tapestry. He insists on establishing proper terminology and on calling it by the neutral term *Wirkerei*, instead of *Gobelinweberei*, which while constantly used by Karabacek and others, was an anachronism because it was related to a very concrete group of tapestries deriving from a different historic context (the renowned Manufacture des Gobelins established in the 17th c. in Paris).²⁰ Riegl explains the binding system used in tapestry by comparing it to the rep weave, in which the thinner, linen warp yarns are completely covered by the

thicker, wool weft yarns.²¹ He also comments on the limitations and potential of this technique, depending on the way that the wefts of different colours are set aside.²² He tries to recreate the weaving process and the tools used, considering the effects that can be achieved with different kinds of shuttles.²³ It seems that Riegl was the first to identify the technique that was often used in Late Antique tapestry which today is called ‘flying shuttle’ or ‘flying thread’, and which Riegl describes as executed by the means of a ‘tapestry needle’ (*Wirknadel*). He compares the drawing-like effects achieved by it to embroidery but, importantly, he realizes that it was created in the weaving process, not by sewing, while many of his contemporaries perceived it as embroidery.²⁴ Riegl probably owed these and other insightful remarks on the technical aspects of the textiles to Severin Schroeder and Emilie Bach, but it was he who was responsible for obtaining this kind of information and placing it in the catalogue, and he knew how to use it for his further, more theoretical purposes.

When Riegl examines the examples of actual embroidery, what attracts his attention is its convexness, which he contrasts with the flatness of woven structures. He says:

It may be concluded that the textile art of classical antiquity generally used embroidery only when it was necessary to create a certain relief on the ground to be decorated. In all other cases, where the pattern was to appear flat, tapestry weave remained in exclusive use.²⁵

And in another place, he dwells on the technical solutions that allow the tapestry technique ‘not to disturb the uniformity of the surface’.²⁶ Such remarks show that Riegl understands textiles as structures, which means something constructed rather than merely applied on something else, and at the same time, he perceives them as flat surfaces (in contrast to embroidery). It seems justified to suppose that this kind of exercise in analysing textiles both as structures and surfaces, a task that demanded tactile and optical perception combined, led him to formulate one of the basic pairs of notions in his art theory: ‘tactile/haptic’ (*taktisch/haptisch*) and ‘optic’ (*optisch*),

¹⁵ A. J. B. WACE, ‘Weaving or Embroidery?’, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 52, 1948, no. 1, pp. 51–55.

¹⁶ J. KARABACEK, *Katalog der Theodor Graf’schen*, passim (as in note 4).

¹⁷ A. RIEGL, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde*, pp. XIII–XV (as in note 2).

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. XIII.

¹⁹ See e.g. K. DROß-KRÜPE, A. PAETZ gen. SCHIECK, ‘Unravelling the Tangled Threads of Ancient Embroidery: a compilation of written sources and archaeologically preserved textiles’, in *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress. An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, eds. M.-L. NOSCH, M. HARLOW, Oxbow 2014, pp. 207–235.

²⁰ A. RIEGL, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde*, p. X (as in note 2).

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Ibidem*, p. XII.

²³ E.g.: ‘man nicht einmal mit Sicherheit die Unterscheidung treffen kann, dass die einfarbigen Wollripse mittels des mechanischen Webeschiffchens, die eingewirkten mehrfarbigen Verzierungen durch eine von der menschlichen Hand unmittelbar geführte Wirknadel gearbeitet sind’ – *ibidem*, p. X.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. XII.

²⁵ A. RIEGL, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde*, p. XIII (as in note 2) (die Textilkunst des classischen Alterthums die Stickerei im Allgemeinen nur dann heranzog, wenn es sich darum handelte, ein gewisses Relief auf dem zu verzierenden Grunde zu erzeugen. In allen anderen Fällen, wo das Muster flach erscheinen sollte, blieb die Wirkerei in ausschliesslicher Verwendung).

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. XIV (um die Einheitlichkeit der Fläche nicht zu stören).

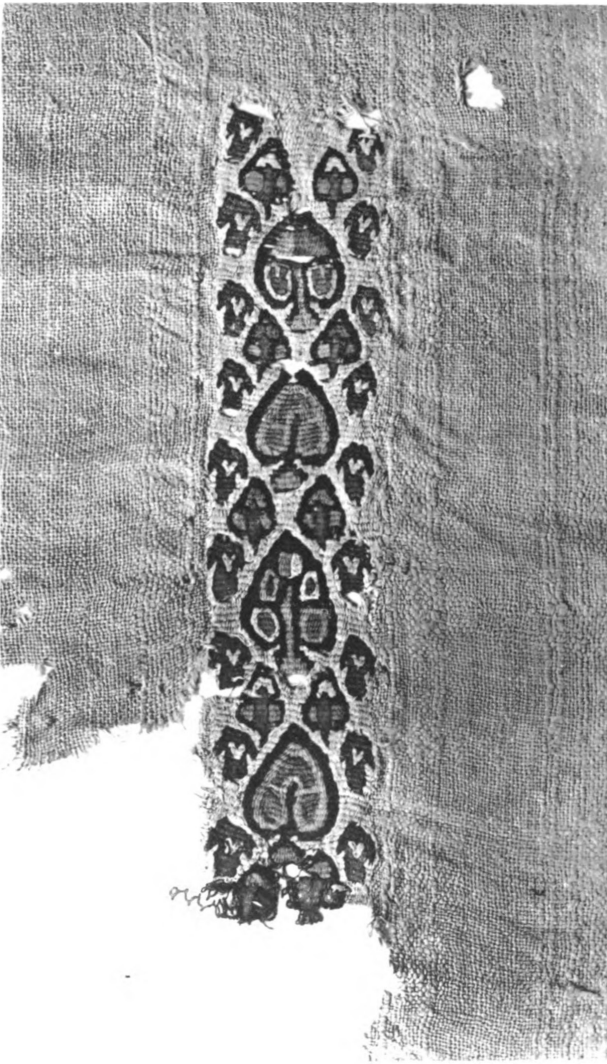


Fig. 1. Tapestry weave in polychrome wool on plain-weave ground of undyed linen. Phot. after: A. Riegl, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde* (as in note 2), Taf. II

categories that proved crucial in capturing stylistic changes determined by *Kunstwollen*.²⁷

One can also anticipate Riegl's mature methodology in a passage of this catalogue in which he compares the properties of a regular plain weave and its rep variation in relation to the preferred materials used respectively for one and another binding:

The majority of woollen fabrics are executed in a rep weave: it can be understood as a way to cover the cheaper linen warp completely with the woollen weft and produce a uniform woollen textile which, by its ribbed appearance alone, claimed priority over the linen textile, whose visible crossings rather distract the eye than attract it in a certain direction.²⁸

²⁷ Idem, *Die spätromische Kunst-Industrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien 1901, pp. 20–22 and passim.

²⁸ Idem, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde*, p. XIII (as in note 2) (die Wollstoffe der Mehrzahl nach die Ripsbindung aufweisen: verstand

In this one sentence, Riegl passes fluently from the basic technical facts to matters of perception and the psychological effect exerted by certain textures. Such remarks may have been a result of his listening to the lectures of Franz Brentano, Alexius Meinong, and Robert Zimmermann, who attempted to construct a perceptual psychology.²⁹ They may also echo his reading of Owen Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament*.³⁰ Interestingly, Riegl applies this kind of analysis not to the motifs but to the very construction of the textile, and he makes sure that what he is trying to explain can be fully apprehended by the reader with the help of the illustrations. The catalogue contains thirteen plates with photographs taken by professionals from the Imperial Royal Institute for Photography and Reproduction Processes (k. k. Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt für Photographie und Reproduktionsverfahren), who did their best to render 'not only the appearance [...] but also the peculiarities of the weave' [Figs. 1–2].³¹ Earlier publications of Late Antique textiles rarely included figures and if they did, these were usually drawings, which allowed to appreciate the design of a fabric but not its structure.

After investigating the techniques, Riegl passes on to the examination of ornaments. He analyses them in relation to materials and techniques, paying special attention to the way the latter factors condition the choice of ornaments and the way they are rendered.³² This part is clearly influenced by Gottfried Semper's theory of ornament formulated in his monumental work *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten; oder praktische Aesthetik*.³³ This is not the place to present Semper's ideas in full and with all the nuances they deserve; suffice it to say

man doch aufs Beste die billigere Leinenkette vollständig mit dem Wollschuss zu decken und ein gleichmässiges Wollgewebe herzustellen, das durch sein geripptes Aussehen allein schon den Vorrang vor dem Leinengewebe behauptete, dessen zu Tage liegende Kreuzungen das Auge eher zerstreuen, als nach einer bestimmten Richtung fesseln").

²⁹ On the influence of those scholars on Riegl see e.g. M. OLIN, *Forms of Representation in Alois Riegl's Theory of Art*, University Park 1992, pp. 5–6.

³⁰ O. JONES, *The Grammar of Ornament*, London 1856. On the elements of the psychology of perception in Jones see: J.K. JESPersen, 'Originality and Jones' "The Grammar of Ornament" of 1856', *Journal of Design History*, 21, 2008, issue 2, pp. 148–149.

³¹ A. RIEGL, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde*, p. XXV (as in note 2).

³² E.g. 'Indem wir uns der Betrachtung dieser Textil-Ornamentik zuwenden, mögen zu Anfang diejenigen Ornamente Platz finden, die vorwiegend durch die Technik bedingt sind. Es sind dies hauptsächlich die gewebten Ornamente. Nach den zwei hierzu verwendeten Techniken lassen sie sich noch weiter eintheilen in lancirte und broschirte. Gemeinsam ist ihnen beiden die Neigung für geometrische Formen und eine weitgehende Stilisierung, sobald vegetabilische oder animalische Motive in Betracht kommen' – ibidem, p. XVII.

³³ First published in Frankfurt a. M. 1860 (vol. I) and München 1863 (vol. II).

that the general idea that Riegl adopts in his catalogue of Late Antique textiles is the conviction that art forms are determined (among other things) by material, technique and function, and that the reservoir of ornaments was crystallised around such fields of primaevial human artistic creativity as textiles, ceramics, metallurgy and wood-working, whereby geometric motifs and linear patterns originated from weaving. Some observations on the relations between textile techniques and ornaments that Riegl borrows from Semper are well-grounded, and Riegl would not give them up even when writing polemical *Stilfragen*³⁴ in which he was to criticise the simplified and exaggerated manner in which some of Semper's followers ('Semperians', as Riegl calls them) applied his theory.³⁵ There is a passage in *Stilfragen* that presents the most reasonable compromise between Semper's and Riegl's views, which can be summarised as follows: geometrical ornaments are indeed best suited for weaving because it is easier to execute them when operating two sets of yarns crossing each other at right angles, yet this does not mean those motifs were conceived in the weaving techniques, and the limitations of material factors can be overcome thanks to the creative will.³⁶ At the stage of writing the catalogue, however, Riegl was more inclined to highlight the dependence of form on material and technique, and yet – paradoxically – the observations made on this ground would be later used to argue for the primacy of *Kunstwollen*.³⁷ This is the case with the features noted by him when analysing the floral and figural motifs.

When it comes to the floral and figural motifs represented on textiles, Riegl notes, on the one hand, the persistence of the classical repertoire (vines, acanthus, erotes, bacchantes, centaurs, hunting scenes, warriors, etc.) and on the other hand the growing predilection for absolute symmetry.³⁸ Here again, Riegl sees the influence of the weaving techniques on art forms. In this case, these are compound weaves used predominantly for silk. These advanced binding systems, demanding a certain level of mechanisation of the loom, involve two (or more) warp sets plus two (or more) weft sets, which are manipulated to create repeated patterns based on what is called a 'rapport' (the smallest unit which is replicated continuously in the direction of the width as well as in the length of the fabric thanks to the appropriate setting of the loom's harnesses). Such patterns were so innate to the silk textiles made in compound weaves that Riegl sees their possible influence on tapestry-woven fabrics decorated with symmetrical compositions.³⁹ Symmetry



Fig. 2. Plain weave with supplementary brocading weft. Phot. after: A. Riegl, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde* (as in note 2), Taf. VI

and the repetitiveness of motifs in a rapport-like way, observed by analysing textiles, are the features that will be crucial for Riegl's theory of ornament and his definition of Late Antique *Kunstwollen*. A concept of 'infinite rapport' (*unendliche Rapport*), whose construction provokes viewers to extend the pattern in their minds endlessly and which goes hand in hand with the denaturalisation of motifs, already has an important place in *Stilfragen*⁴⁰ and will be developed further in *Die Spätromische Kunst-Industrie*.⁴¹ Especially noteworthy is that in the latter publication, Riegl uses a drawing depicting a Late Antique textile to illustrate his considerations on how the rule of 'an infinite rapport' manifests itself in architecture and architectural decoration [Fig. 3].⁴²

In the end, it should be emphasised that Riegl does not call the textiles in question 'Coptic', which was quite common in his day. Today scholars prefer to avoid the designation 'Coptic' when speaking of Late Antique art in Egypt,

³⁴ A. RIEGL, *Stilfragen. Grundlegungen Geschichte der Ornamentik*, Berlin 1893.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. VII.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 28–29.

³⁷ *Idem*, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde*, pp. XIII and XVIII (as in note 2).

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. XXII.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Idem*, *Stilfragen*, pp. 308–309 (as in note 34).

⁴¹ *Idem*, *Spätromische Kunst-Industrie*, pp. 38–43, 143, 145, 152, 157, 164, 166, 192, 194, 198 (as in note 27).

⁴² *Ibidem*, fig. 6.

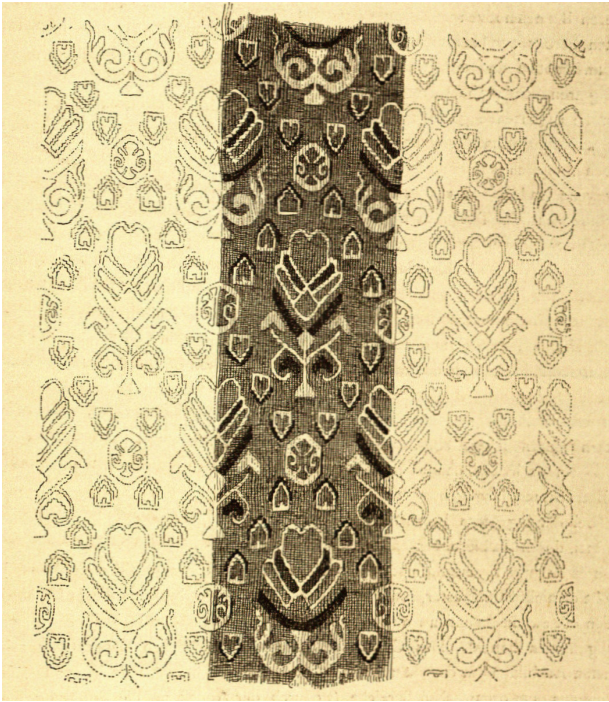


Fig. 3. A drawing illustrating the principle of 'infinite rapport'. Phot. after: A. Riegl, *Die Spätromische Kunst-Industrie*, Vienna 1901, Fig. 6

especially textiles, since the ethnic and religious connotations of the word, referring to native Egyptian Christians, are too narrow to describe the complex and multicultural reality of this period.⁴³ Remarkably, Riegl does not employ arguments from the field of historical knowledge (ethnic and religious factors) but draws his conclusions mostly from formal analysis.⁴⁴ Late Antique textiles from Egypt allowed Riegl to define 'Coptic art' as Late Antique art in Egypt,⁴⁵ and, through their role in his formulation of concepts such as 'infinite rapport', they also helped him to define Late Antique art as a whole and as a consequence to emancipate it as a separate period in the history of art.⁴⁶

⁴³ L. TÖRÖK, *Transfigurations of Hellenism: Aspects of Late Antique Art in Egypt*, Leiden 2005, esp. pp. XXV-XXVII. On the inadequacy of the word 'Coptic' in relation to textiles see e.g.: J. TRILLING, *Roman Heritage: Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 A.D.*, Washington 1982, p. 11.

⁴⁴ Interestingly, based on formal analysis alone, Riegl was able to draw pertinent conclusions on socio-economic circumstances under which the fabrics were created and reject the idea of them being examples of the 'house industry' - A. RIEGL, *Die Ägyptischen Textilfunde*, p. IX (as in note 2).

⁴⁵ A. RIEGL, 'Koptische Kunst', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 2, 1893, pp. 112-121.

⁴⁶ On Riegl as a 'father' of Late Antique art studies see e.g. J. ELSNER, 'Alois Riegl: Art History and the Beginning of Late Antique Studies as a Discipline', in *The New Late Antiquity: A Gallery of Intellectual Portraits*, eds. C. ANDO, M. FORMISANO, Heidelberg 2021, pp. 167-182.

To sum up, Alois Riegl's catalogue of the Late Antique textiles in the Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna is an interesting example of shaping the criteria of art historical 'science'. It was the first attempt to comprehensively survey a group of fabrics that comprised a completely new field of studies. Standards for researching textiles were only beginning to emerge and Riegl (with his interdisciplinary research team) was undoubtedly at the forefront. Additionally, this catalogue may be seen as a footprint of the 'young' Riegl taking the first steps on the way that led from empirical scrutiny of the material aspects of concrete artifacts to a more speculative approach and a universal art-historical system that went beyond the limits of strict sensory verification.

Summary

Anna Głowa

WISSENSCHAFTLICHKEIT IN ALOIS RIEGL'S STUDY OF LATE ANTIQUE TEXTILES FROM EGYPT

This paper discusses how Alois Riegl attempted to apply the postulates of the scientific approach formulated by his teachers at the University of Vienna in his studies of a very specific type of artefacts, i.e. Late Antique textiles from Egypt. In addition, I would like to demonstrate what role the analyses of these textiles played in formulating Riegl's theories of ornament, style, *Kunstwollen*, perception, and his vision of Late Antique art in general.

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DEFINING A DISCIPLINE: KUNSTGESCHICHTLICHE ANZEIGEN AS A CRITICAL ORGAN FOR THE VIENNA SCHOOL*

While the journal *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen* (KA) has often been mentioned in obituaries or biographical overviews of Franz Wickhoff and Max Dvořák as one of their numerous projects,¹ little has been noted about its founding, content, and objectives. The aim of this article is to make the first synthetic presentation of this scholarly project, which served as a critical organ for the judgement of art-historical publications by the members of the Vienna School of Art History. It will be conducted on the basis of the personal correspondence between Wickhoff and Dvořák,² in which the founding of the KA is discussed, as well as by highlighting some of the main values propagated

by the protagonists of the Vienna School, in order to establish a more precise definition of the idea of *Wissenschaftlichkeit* ('scientificity') of art history, as demanded by the editors. Finally, a reflection on the journal's effectiveness and legitimacy in the broader context of the institutionalisation of the discipline of art history will be considered.

THE PROJECT

In a letter written on 9 January 1904 to his teacher Franz Wickhoff, Max Dvořák stated:

I think that your concerns that we want to judge but have not published any major works recently are not justified. Firstly, this is not the case with you, for if anyone's work gives one the right to pass judgement on scientific questions in art history, it is you, and no one else, for no one in Germany has done as much for the scientificity of art history as you have. Secondly, in my opinion, it is not at all necessary for a reviewer to acquire the legal title for his profession through his own great works, just as a reviewer in fine literature does not have to be a poet himself. It is sufficient if he has methodical training and is competent in relation to the book under discussion. I am convinced, by the way, that once the matter is set in motion, it will run by itself and become the real scientific centre.³

* This article is the result of a talk at the conference *Art History and its Institutions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire*, organised by the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow on 28–29 September 2023. I would like to thank Wojciech Bałus, Tomáš Murár and Matthew Rampley for their valuable observations, which have enhanced this publication.

¹ See, for example, V. KRAMÁŘ, 'Franz Wickhoff', *Volné směry*, 1909, 13, pp. 211–214; D. FREY, *Max Dvořák zum Gedächtnis. Max Dvořáks Stellung in der Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna 1922, p. 10; J. WEINGARTNER, 'Max Dvořák und die kunsthistorische Wiener Schule', *Hochland*, 1924, vol. 21, 1, pp. 345–351, 348; F. POLLEROSS, '170. Geburtstag von Franz Wickhoff', Institut für Kunstgeschichte, 7.05.2023, <https://kunstgeschichte.univie.ac.at/ueber-uns/mitarbeiterinnen/institutsnachrichten/170-geburtstag-von-franz-wickhoff/> (access: 25.10.2024).

² In 1903, the year before the first issue of KA was published, there was a very intensive exchange of information on editorial aspects. However, for reasons of space, it is not possible to go into all the details here. The cited letters below are from Max Dvořák to Franz Wickhoff, located in Wickhoff's estate at the archive of the Institut für Kunstgeschichte (IKG) (box 2, folder 1) at the University of Vienna.

³ 'Ich glaube[,] dass Ihre Bedenken deshalb, dass wir richten wollen und selbst keine grossen Arbeiten in der letzten Zeit publicieren[,] nicht berechtigt sind. Erstens trifft es bei Ihnen nicht zu, denn wenn Jemandem seine Arbeiten das Recht geben über wissenschaftliche Fragen in der Kunstgeschichte ein Urteil zu fällen, so sind es Sie, wie niemand zweiter, denn niemand hat in Deutschland für die Wissenschaftlichkeit der Kunstgeschichte

Dvořák referred to the activity undertaken by him and Franz Wickhoff since the final months of 1902 of founding a critical journal that could review publications in the field of art history. The project took name under the title *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*. The term *Anzeige* can mean either 'notice' or 'advertisement' but also 'report' or even 'complaint'. Clearly, it is the function of *Anzeige* as a notice that should give meaning to the title of this journal,⁴ but – sarcastically speaking – in the case of some highly critical reviews a denunciatory interpretation would also suit perfectly. The KA appeared quarterly from 1904 to 1909, with a break in 1908, as an appendix to the official organ of the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung (IÖG), the *Mittheilungen*, where Wickhoff held the chair of art history. After Wickhoff's death in April 1909, the journal continued to appear under Dvořák's editorship until 1913. In the interwar period, another journal focused on methodology appeared: *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*, published from 1927 to 1937 and edited by Rudolf Kautzsch, Wilhelm Pinder, Georg Swarzenski (who contributed seven reviews in the first three volumes of the KA) and Karl Maria Swoboda, a former student of Dvořák's. In his introductory words to the first volume of this successor, Pinder underlined the intention to ideologically continue the purpose of the KA:

Since the Viennese Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen do not exist anymore, we no longer have an organ whose sole purpose is the self-criticism of art history as a science. [...] Today, we see neither the danger recognised by Wickhoff nor that by Dvořák as having been eliminated.⁵

In its final incarnation, Karl M. Swoboda attempted to restore the magazine in 1955, editing it for seven volumes until 1965.

When the journal was founded, art history as a discipline could already look back at about fifty years of

practical experience,⁶ but it still had to struggle with contamination through lack of methodological coherency, nationalistic intentions in defining the evolution of artistic creation, and amateurish interference disguised as professional contributions. By 1902, Franz Wickhoff and Alois Riegl held the two chairs of art history at the IÖG, where an increasing number of history students dedicated their research to art history, which was in the process of liberating itself from the function of mere auxiliary science. Turning their gaze towards the more consolidated *Geschichtswissenschaft*, the art historians at the Viennese University also longed for a profound and secure method. To disseminate their vision of a methodologically stable praxis the scholars needed an official organ through which they could communicate their ideas on art-historical research, its method, and instruments as well as to separate good from bad examples. It is in this context, that Dvořák on 23 December 1902 wrote to Wickhoff:

When I was with Riegl last week, we also talked about the prevalence of dilettantism in art history and since I am convinced that the conditions in political history are better only thanks to the generally practised critical supervision of production, it occurred to me that a critical organ published in Vienna could improve many things. It was only through the bella diplomatica under Sickel that the Monumenta [Germaniae Historica] became what they are today, and in the art-historical reviews, as in the Repertorium [für Kunstwissenschaft], the papers are mostly a matter of favours. Now, a critical organ would not have to be founded in Vienna. The institutional publications could be used for this purpose. [...] It would be of great advantage if the scientific nature of the art-historical production could be strictly monitored from Vienna, where there is such a large number of suitable contributors.⁷

so viel getan wie Sie, zweitens ist es aber meines Erachtens gar nicht notwendig[,] dass sich ein Recensent durch eigene grosse Arbeiten den Rechtstitel für seinen Beruf erwirbt, ebenso wie ein Recensent in der schönen Literatur nicht selbst ein Dichter sein muss. Es genügt[,] wenn er über methodische Schulung verfügt und in dieser Beziehung dem besprochenen Buche souverän [sic!] gegenüber steht. Ich bin übrigens überzeugt, dass die Sache[,] einmal in Gang gebracht[,] von selbst laufen wird und zum wirklichen wissenschaftlichen Centrum wird.'

⁴ Considering the use of the term on other occasions, as for the title of the influential *Götttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*.

⁵ 'Seit die Wiener Kunstgeschichtlichen Anzeigen nicht mehr bestehen, besitzen wir kein Organ, dessen ausschließlicher Zweck in der Selbstkritik der Kunstgeschichte als Wissenschaft gelegen wäre. [...] Wir sehen heute weder jene von Wickhoff, noch diese von Dvořák erkannte Gefahr als beseitigt an.' W. PINDER, 'Einleitende Worte', in *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*, vol. 1, ed. R. KAUTZSCH et al., Leipzig 1927, pp. 1–2.

⁶ On the institutionalisation process see W. BEYRODT, 'Kunstgeschichte als Universitätsfach', in *Kunst und Kunsttheorie 1400–1900*, ed. P. GANZ et al., Wiesbaden 1991, pp. 313–333; and B. VOM BROCKE, 'Wege aus der Krise. Universitäts-Seminar, Akademie-Kommission oder Forschungs-Institut? Institutionalisierungsbestreben in den Geistes- und Naturwissenschaften und in der Kunstgeschichte vor und nach 1900', in *Storia dell'arte e politica culturale intorno al 1900. La fondazione dell'Istituto Germanico di Storia dell'Arte di Firenze. Per i cento anni dalla fondazione del Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz. Firenze, 21–24 maggio 1997*, ed. M. SEIDL, Venice 1999, pp. 179–222.

⁷ 'Als ich vorige Woche bei Riegl gewesen bin[,] sprachen wir auch von dem Überhandnehmen des Dilettantismus in der Kunstgeschichte und da ich überzeugt bin, dass die Verhältnisse in der politischen Geschichtswissenschaft nur dank der allgemein geübten kritischen Überwachung der Production besser sind, fiel mir ein[,] dass ein in Wien erscheinendes kritisches Organ vieles bessern könnte. Erst durch die bella diplomatica unter Sickel sind die Monumenta zu dem geworden, was sie heute sind[,] und in den kunstgeschichtlichen Revuen[,] z.B. im Repertorium[,] sind die Referate zumeist Gefälligkeitssache. Nun müsste jedoch in

The main task of the publication thus becomes clear in these words: monitoring, supervision, and control of the methodical application of art-historical research are the purposes that the periodical should fulfil. Only three weeks later, on 14 January 1903, Dvořák already had the scheme of the first issue sent to his former teacher. It should contain five reviews, two by Wickhoff, two by Dvořák, and one by Wolfgang Kallab, but until they were published another year had to pass. Only in August 1903 did Dvořák nominate the KA again in a letter, asking if it wouldn't be possible to continue working on the critical supplement to the *Mittheilungen*. And, finally, on 5 September he wrote from Roudnice: 'I am very pleased that the journal is coming to life. I hope it will be good, and I will do whatever I possibly can with great pleasure.'⁸

During the following winter, in which Wickhoff had headed off on a long excursion to Greece, Turkey and Egypt, Dvořák was occupied with the organisation of the journal: choosing the reviews, writing to the individual contributors, conceptualising the typographic formatting of the articles with the university publisher Wagner in Innsbruck, making budget calculations, and so on. Due to Wickhoff's absence in this period, this process is very well documented by the correspondence between the two.

A very interesting aspect is the choice of academics they wanted to invite to contribute. Among these were not only Wickhoff's own pupils and Dvořák's direct colleagues from Vienna, such as the above mentioned Kallab, Hans Tietze, Gustav Glück and Friedrich Dörnhöffer (to mention just a few of the first contributors) but also the German art historians Georg Swarzenski and Adolph Goldschmidt, who were both positively reviewed in the first issue and contributed to the first volume. But still, until 1909 most reviews were written by Wickhoff himself, who contributed 42 times, followed by his assistant Tietze with 22 and Dvořák with 19 reviews. Out of the 27 writers in total, the majority can be counted as pupils of the Vienna School, while only seven contributors came from other universities. Besides Goldschmidt and Swarzenski, there were Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, Raymond Koechlin, Friedrich Rintelen, Frida Schottmüller, and Wilhelm Vöge. Only Swarzenski and Rintelen contributed several reviews (respectively seven and six), while the others made only one contribution, most of them in the first three volumes. About the involvement of 'reichs-deutsche' colleagues, Dvořák wrote:

Wien ein kritisches Organ nicht erst begründet werden. Es könnten dazu die Institutionsmittheilungen verwendet werden. Es wäre von grossem Vorteil[,] wenn man von Wien aus, wo es eine so grosse Anzahl geeigneter Mitarbeiter gibt, die Wissenschaftlichkeit der kunstgeschichtlichen Production streng überwachen könnte.'

⁸ 'Es freut mich riesig, dass die Zeitung zu Stande kommt. Ich hoffe[,] sie wird gut werden, was in meinen Kräften nur steht, will ich mit grosser Freude einsetzen.'

A misunderstanding about the tendency of the journal is also excluded by the content of the other reviews and that this tendency is shared and approved by serious people is clear from the letters that Goldschmidt and Swarzenski wrote to me. We have nothing at all to do with people who do not approve of this tendency, they are the ones we must fight.⁹

His selection criteria were therefore not so much related to an academic's provenance as to his methodological approach.¹⁰

THE CONCEPT OF WISSENSCHAFTLICHKEIT

But what precisely was this tendency, this *Wissenschaftlichkeit* that was always referred to? It is well explained in the introduction written by Franz Wickhoff on the occasion of the first issue and structured as a letter *An die Leser*.¹¹ In this brief introduction, Wickhoff directly clarified which principles he and his colleagues followed, and which were to be rejected.¹² At first, he highlighted the interrelation of the group of art historians who studied at the IÖG and the fact that their shared intention, no matter how different the precise fields of study may be, was the same: to position art history among the other historical sciences by treating the subject scientifically. For that, as Wickhoff wrote, had by no means happened yet. Colleagues from the historical or linguistic fields didn't take art historians seriously and Wickhoff could not blame them because in no other discipline could such unscientific and confused writings be published or accepted as happened in art history. These circumstances made it clear that 'orientation is lacking, that no path leads through the

⁹ 'Ein Misverständnis [sic!] über die Tendenz der Zeitschrift ist auch durch den Inhalt der sonstigen Recensionen ausgeschlossen und dass diese Tendenz von ernsten Leuten geteilt und gebilligt wird, geht aus den Briefen hervor, die mir Goldschmidt und Swarzenski geschrieben haben. Leute[,] die diese Tendenz nicht billigt [sic!], mit denen haben wir überhaupt nichts zu tun, das sind eben die, die wir bekämpfen müssen.' Letter from 14 January 1903.

¹⁰ The problem lies rather in the appalled reaction of some German academics to the crude tone of the first reviews. It is plausible that some of them decided not to participate out of collegiality rather than lack of common interests. See W. VON SEIDLITZ, 'Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen. Beiblatt der Mittheilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung', *Kunstchronik: Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, 1904, vol. 15, 21, pp. 346-347.

¹¹ F. WICKHOFF, 'An die Leser!', *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen. Beiblatt der MIÖG*, 1904, vol. 1, 1, pp. 1-2.

¹² See also I. KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, 'Franz Wickhoff: Kunstgeschichte als Wissenschaft', in *Wien und die Entwicklung der kunsthistorischen Methode. Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte. 4.-10. September 1983*, vol. 1, eds S. KRENN, M. PIPPAL, Vienna 1984, pp. 17-22.

tangled web of art-historical literature, because there is no scholarly reporting that separates wheat from chaff.¹³ The main task of this journal was therefore to shape a pathway and to distinguish valuable books, journals, or articles from what in their eyes was rubbish, or, in Wickhoff's words, to identify publications that 'stimulate or threaten science'.¹⁴ This appears to be a noble intention, but it clearly also reinforced the scientific superiority and authority the Vienna School tried to obtain in the discipline on a global scale. The reviews were to focus on writings on medieval and modern art (thus excluding the antique and contemporary eras) and be open to art history's auxiliary sciences, too. Positive examples praised by Wickhoff were Giovanni Morelli's method of attribution and Wilhelm Bode's approach in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett.¹⁵

Summarizing the intentions pronounced in the introduction and in the letters written by Dvořák, three main aims of the journal can be pointed out:

- 1) Elevation of art history to the status of an independent and valid scientific discipline.
- 2) Formulation, to reach this goal, of a distinctive scientific method based on source study, archival research, *connoisseurship*, and understanding of the artwork in the context of historical development.
- 3) Distinction between acceptable examples worthy of imitation and poor, unscientific approaches, where personal aesthetic or nationalistic values prevail, and therefore also a judgement upon the capabilities of a researcher.

The effort to establish the art-historical discipline is part of a broader process of institutionalisation of the humanities, and particularly of history as a precursor to art history. It should be remembered here that both Wickhoff and his student Dvořák had received their training at the IÖG and always maintained a (cultural) historical connection to art history.¹⁶ Under Wickhoff, history became an auxiliary science of art history.¹⁷ The need for a system

to analyse works of art was reflected in a number of projects initiated by Wickhoff: as a fundamental methodology for the study of the graphic works in the Albertina collection¹⁸ and the miniatures in the imperial lands¹⁹, the tradition of critical interpretation of source texts brought to the University of Vienna by Rudolf Eitelberger²⁰ was combined with Giovanni Morelli's "experimental method", which formed a sort of 'palaeography of art' in the style of Theodor von Sickel.²¹ These elements, together with a comparative iconography for didactic purposes as a form of historical grammar, formed the newly established 'rule of thumb' for the art-historical analysis of artworks.²² The legacy of two of the IÖG's founding fathers, Rudolf Eitelberger²³ and Theodor von Sickel, as well as that of Moriz Thausing,²⁴ representative of the next generation, contributed fundamentally to the *Verwissenschaftlichung der Disziplin* through the application of the Morellian method²⁵ and through his insistence on

¹³ 'Orientierung [sic!] fehlt, dass kein Weg durch das Wirrsal der kunsthistorischen Literatur führt, weil eine wissenschaftliche Berichterstattung fehlt, die Spreu vom Weizen sonderte.' F. WICKHOFF, 'An die Leser!', p. 1 (as in note 12).

¹⁴ 'Wissenschaft fördern oder auch bedrohen.' Ibidem.

¹⁵ See also Gombrich's translation of the introductory words as printed in Richard Woodfield's selection of his writings (E. H. GOMBRICH, 'On Art and Artists (*The Story of Art*)', in *The Essential Gombrich. Selected Writings on Art and Culture*, ed. R. WOODFIELD, London 1996, p. 80).

¹⁶ One may think of Köhler's famous anecdote: 'Wickhoff sagte in späteren Jahren einmal, es wäre vielleicht schade, daß Dvořák Kunsthistoriker und nicht Kulturhistoriker geworden sei.' W. KÖHLER, 'Max Dvořák', *MIÖG*, 39, 1923, pp. 314–320.

¹⁷ As Lhotsky states: 'durch Wickhoff aber ist die Historie selbst zur Hilfswissenschaft der Kunstgeschichte gemacht worden und hat ihr geben dürfen, um zu nehmen.' A. LHOTSKY, *Geschichte des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 1854–1954*, Graz 1954, p. 211.

¹⁸ F. WICKHOFF, 'Die italienischen Zeichnungen der Albertina', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 12, 1891, pp. 205–314; 13, 1892, pp. 175–283.

¹⁹ *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, vol. 1–3, ed. F. WICKHOFF, Leipzig 1905–1907.

²⁰ See A. DOBSLAW, *Die Wiener 'Quellenschriften' und ihr Herausgeber Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg. Kunstgeschichte und Quellenforschung im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2009.

²¹ Sickel was also the founder of the *MIÖG* in 1880, in which the *KA* were published as a supplement from 1904.

²² See A. LHOTSKY, *Geschichte*, p. 231 (as in note 18).

²³ On the main characteristics of the Vienna School cultivated already by Eitelberger see his first lecture at the University of Vienna: R. EITELBERGER, 'Antrittsrede, gehalten bei Eröffnung der Vorlesungen über Theorie und Geschichte der bildenden Künste am 26. Oktober 1847', *Österreichische Blätter für Literatur, Kunst, Geschichte, Geografie, Statistik und Naturkunde*, 5, 1848, vol. 14/15, pp. 49–51 and 53–54; T. JENNI and R. ROSENBERG, 'Die Analyse der Objekte und das Studium der Quellen – Wiens Beitrag zur Etablierung einer universitären Kunstgeschichte', in *Reflexive Innensichten aus der Universität. Disziplinengeschichten zwischen Wissenschaft, Gesellschaft und Politik*, ed. K. FRÖSCHL et al., Göttingen 2015, 121–34; and *Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg. Netzwerker der Kunstwelt*, ed. E. KERNBAUER et al., Vienna 2019.

²⁴ Deeper insight into his principles can be found in Thausing's informative inaugural lecture (see M. THAUSING, 'Die Stellung der Kunstgeschichte als Wissenschaft. Aus einer Antrittsvorlesung an der Wiener Universität im October 1873', in idem, *Wiener Kunstbriefe*, Leipzig 1884, pp. 1–10). Rosenauer accurately emphasises his importance for the Vienna School (see A. ROSENAUER, 'Moriz Thausing und die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 1983, vol. 36, 1, pp. 135–139).

²⁵ On Giovanni Morelli in this context see: G. C. SCIOLLA, 'Il metodo morelliano e la "Scuola di Vienna" 1880–1915: una traccia di ricerca', in *Giovanni Morelli e la cultura dei conoscitori. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Bergamo, 4–7 giugno 1987*, vol. 2, ed. G. AGOSTI, Bergamo 1993, pp. 371–387; J. ANDERSON, 'Giovanni Morelli et sa définition de la "scienza dell'arte"', *Revue de l'Art*, 1987, vol. 75,

the importance of the form rather than the content of an art work, percolated through Wickhoff's teaching to the youngest historians, who were able to devote themselves directly to the study of art history. It was only a matter of time before the historical auxiliary science was given a more prominent position at the institute, as it not only trained archivists and librarians, but also museum officials (*Beamte*).²⁶

Finally, another scholar of the Vienna School must not be left unseen. Even though he was not actively involved in the KA project and did not write a single review, Alois Riegl's ideas are a driving force behind the definition of academic art history. In fact, on the occasion of Riegl's death in 1905 Dvořák wrote an obituary in which he delineated the development of the discipline of art history to date and distinguished between three different approaches since the middle of the 19th c.: cultural-historical, aesthetic and historic-dogmatic (represented respectively by Schnaase, Semper and Burckhardt).²⁷ None of these currents had been able to combine the general historic meaning with the immanent specific meaning of the single art work. Only Riegl, in Dvořák's view, had managed to bridge this gap and establish a connection between history and artwork through precise historical research. Riegl himself had reflected on this relationship in a review of Cornelius Gurlitt's 1902 *Geschichte der Kunst*, significantly entitled *Eine neue Kunstgeschichte*. In his opinion, the art-historical discipline had to follow a principle of unity that could only be realised through 'the presentation of the similarities between the artistic and other cultural endeavours – in religion, philosophy, politics, social movements – of the same time.'²⁸ This was a principle decisive for the following generation of the Vienna School.

REFLECTIONS ON THE JOURNAL'S LEGITIMACY

The format proposed by Dvořák and Wickhoff is a novelty in art history and the definition of this genre is quite specific. From today's perspective, it is easy to categorise these notices as reviews of art-historical publications, as is usual in the academic communication system. One

pp. 49–55; L. UGLOW, 'Giovanni Morelli and his Friend Giorgione: Connoisseurship, Science and Irony', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 2014, vol. 11, pp. 1–30.

²⁶ See A. LHOTSKY, *Geschichte*, pp. 205–211 (as in note 17), for the involvement of art history in the institute.

²⁷ M. DVOŘÁK, 'Alois Riegl', *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentral-Kommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und Historischen Denkmale*, 1905, vol. 3, 4, (col. 255–276), col. 258–259.

²⁸ 'die Darlegung der Gemeinsamkeit zwischen den künstlerischen und übrigen kulturellen Bestrebungen – in Religion, Philosophie, Politik, sozialen Bewegungen – der gleichzeitigen Zeit.' A. RIEGL, 'Eine neue Kunstgeschichte' in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. K. M. SWOBODA, Augsburg 1929, pp. 43–50.

hundred and twenty years ago, however, the situation was completely different: although literary criticism had existed since the Enlightenment and art criticism had established itself at the latest with Denis Diderot's Salon commentaries,²⁹ the reviews belong to neither the first nor the second category. They refer to writings, but only to art-historical non-fiction, and although these texts may contain observations on individual works of art, these are not the purpose of the publication, the essence of which is rather to analyse the various methods used to examine a certain topic. While individual art-historical reviews had been published before, the journal, which is limited exclusively to this format, represents a first for the entire discipline. Indeed, in the register of his comprehensive work *Kunstgeschichte und Kunstwissenschaft* from 1923, Walter Timmling described the KA as: 'Review organ only. Leading as such, not replaced to date.'³⁰ Like its precursors in the field of historical studies, this new phenomenon is a clear product of the development of disciplinary tradition over the second half of the 19th and the first quarter of the 20th c.³¹

According to the German historical information medium *H-Soz-Kult*, a modern review ideally fulfils three functions: 'It provides information about new publications and content, it subjects publications to critical quality control by professional and independent reviewers and it places the research results in a wider context.'³² If these criteria are compared with the conditions of the KA, then the first and last points apply, but what distinguishes them from today's review system is the independence of the authors. The contributors were closely linked not only by a professional but frequently also a social network and thus often pursued similar ideals.³³ In an interesting article on the role of journals in the institutionalisation process of historical scholarship, Matthias Middell refers to

²⁹ See W. MÜLLER-JENTSCH, 'Kunstkritik als literarische Gattung. Gesellschaftliche Bedingungen ihrer Entstehung, Entfaltung und Krise', *Berliner Journal für Soziologie*, 2012, vol. 22, pp. 539–568.

³⁰ 'Nur Rezensionsorgan. Als solches führend, bis heute nicht ersetzt.' W. TIMMLING, *Kunstgeschichte und Kunstwissenschaft*, Leipzig 1923, p. 272.

³¹ See Ch. OTTNER, 'The Professionalization of the Historical Discipline: Austrian Scholarly Periodicals, 1840–1900', in *The Making of the Humanities. The Modern Humanities*, vol. 3, ed. R. BOD, J. MAAT, T. WESTSTEIJN, Amsterdam 2014, pp. 157–169.

³² 'es informiert über neue Publikationen und Inhalte, es unterzieht Publikationen einer kritischen Qualitätskontrolle durch fachlich ausgewiesene und unabhängige Rezensent:innen und es ordnet vorgelegte Forschungsergebnisse in größere Zusammenhänge ein.' 'Forum: Buchrezensionen in den Geschichtswissenschaften', *H-Soz-Kult*, 1.01.2021, hsozkult.de/debate/id/fddebate-132428 (access: 25.10.2024).

³³ On the co-dependence of academic relationships see J. TOLLEBEEK, 'A Domestic Culture: The Mise-en-scène of Modern Historiography', in *The Making of the Humanities*, pp. 129–143 (as in note 31).

journals 'as the collective works of a group of authors'³⁴, which made the following contribution to institutionalisation:

- 1) Stabilisation of a communication framework between researchers;
- 2) Establishment of solid rules;
- 3) Academic socialisation of the individual research process and the resulting establishment of representativeness (in the sense of either a national historiography or a separation of the professional from the amateur sector).³⁵

Although the author refers to the discipline of history in his study, his observation can be applied effectively to the situation of the KA in the context of the art-historical discipline and to the desire of their editors. It was noted at the beginning that there are no further studies on the KA and generally little research on art history journals.³⁶ In my opinion, however, this deficiency can in no way be linked to the wealth of information and facets that these journals offer. It would therefore be desirable to give more consideration not only to the case studies of individual KA reviews within the system of the Vienna School,³⁷ but also to art-historical journals in general as an important channel of communication within the historical establishment of the discipline.

In his comprehensive history of the IÖG, Alphons Lhotsky noted that the KA 'have fulfilled their purpose for a decade through their ruthless fight against dilettantism'³⁸ and that due to stricter saving measures, the journal was suspended in 1914. From the missing continuation during Dvořák's lifetime, he concluded that after the end of the war no importance was given to it and that at the latest when Schlosser took over the chair in 1922, after

Dvořák's death, any thought of it had died out anyway. In conclusion, I would like to correct this observation, because Dvořák's estate in the archives of the Vienna IKG contains a draft concept for a new KA programme from 1920. As its 'Bescheidenes Programm' (humble program), Dvořák calls for 'not natural scientific experimental psychology, but historically descriptive psychology, not some skeleton of a system that fragments phenomena, but the totality of historical moments. In sum: a historical experience [*Erlebnis*] but an objectified experience at the same time.'³⁹ The notes suggest an avant-garde manifesto, written in an almost feverish tone, rather than a factual introduction to a specialised journal. Evidently, Dvořák felt that Riegl's legacy had not yet penetrated the principles of art history, even more than fifteen years after his death, otherwise he would not have felt the need to define his programme with his teacher's values. Perhaps Lhotsky's observation is not so untrue, as there was no real continuation of Wickhoff's sober programme addressed to the readers in 1904.

³⁴ 'Kollektive Werke einer Gruppe von Autoren.' M. MIDDELL, 'Vom allgmeinhistorischen Journal zur spezialisierten Liste im H-Net. Gedanken zur Geschichte der Zeitschriften als Elemente der Institutionalisierung moderner Geschichtswissenschaft', in *Historische Zeitschriften im internationalen Vergleich*, ed. idem, Leipzig 1999, p. 11.

³⁵ See *ibidem*, pp. 8-9.

³⁶ Noteworthy in this context is S. TRÖGER's *Kunstpöplarisierung und Kunstwissenschaft. Die Wiener Kunstzeitschrift »Die Graphischen Künste« (1879-1933)*, Berlin 2011, which tries in part to investigate the connection between the analysed journal and the Vienna School. Another interesting volume is M. RENNHOFFER, *Die Kunstzeitschriften der Jahrhundertwende in Deutschland und Österreich 1895-1914*, Augsburg 1997, but it is rather peripheral to the present discourse as it concentrates on art journals.

³⁷ I am currently working on an article that will take a closer look at selected reviews in the journal. On this occasion, I would like to thank Richard Woodfield for his keen interest and his motivational advises.

³⁸ 'haben ein Jahrzeit lang durch ihre rücksichtslose Bekämpfung des Dilettantismus ihren Zweck erfüllt.' See A. LHOTSKY, *Geschichte*, p. 341 (as in note 17).

³⁹ 'Nicht irgendein Gerippe eines die Entwicklungen zerstückelnden Systems, sondern die Totalität der historischen Momente. In Summa: ein historisches Erlebnis[,] aber ein objektiviertes Erlebnis zugleich.' Estate Dvořák, box 14, IKG, University of Vienna.

SUMMARY

Sabrina Raphaela Buebl

DEFINING A DISCIPLINE: *KUNSTGESCHICHTLICHE ANZEIGEN* AS A CRITICAL ORGAN FOR THE VIENNA SCHOOL

This article briefly presents the often mentioned, yet not deeper investigated journal *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen* (KA), founded by Franz Wickhoff in 1904. The primary driving force behind the project was his then assistant Max Dvořák, who continued the editorship after Wickhoff's death in 1909 until 1913. On this occasion, the founding of the journal through the unpublished correspondence between the two, which gives insight into the journal's objectives and purpose, is retraced. Particular attention is given to the involvement of scholars from other universities as well as to the KA's aim to establish a definition of scientifically valid research in art history. In this context, an analysis of the Vienna School's definition of *Wissenschaftlichkeit* ('scientificity') is a central part of the article. Finally, the author reflects on the journal's legitimacy in the broader context of the institutionalisation of the discipline of art history.

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‘I AM WRONG ABOUT MY QUALIFICATIONS, OR I DO NOT HAVE ANY FRIENDS’: ARCHIVAL RESEARCH ON THE FIRST PROFESSORSHIP OF MAX DVOŘÁK

Max Dvořák’s appointment as an associate professor at the University of Vienna in 1905 has become almost a mythical narrative in the historiography of early 20th-century art history: in every survey of Dvořák’s early life, this appointment is referred to as a milestone in his career, but, paradoxically, is mentioned just in passing, as though it were self-evident.¹ This is probably the

¹ So far, this *mythical narrative* has not been supported by the archival materials. To present them is the aim of this study in order to show the more material-based narrative of this part of the history of the so-called Vienna School of Art History. Beside the correspondence and the newspapers articles presented below, the only official archival material connected to this history is generally unknown letter from the Imperial Royal Ministry of Culture and Teaching (*Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht*) to the Dean’s Office of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Vienna (*Dekanat der philosophischen Fakultät der k. k. Universität in Wien*) from 31st August 1905. This letter confirms that Dvořák had been appointed the associate professor of art history (*außerordentlicher Professor der Kunstgeschichte*) on 26th August with effect from 1st October 1905. This archival document has not been connected with Dvořák’s biography because it is not stored as a part of Dvořák’s estate in the Archive of the University of Vienna, but as the part of *Personalakt* of Julius von Schlosser, Dvořák’s successor at the University of Vienna in 1922, who was in 1905 together with Dvořák appointed the associate professor of art history of the University of Vienna (see the new classification of the document after its discovery: Universität Wien, Universitätsarchiv, PH PA 1514 Dvorak, 1897.12.17-1921.02.28 (Akt)). This letter is the only so far known official document confirming Dvořák’s 1905 professorship – the official decree of appointment has not been discovered yet. The author of this study would like to thank to the staff of the Archive of the University of Vienna for their help to track down this

result of an anachronistic assumption informing historiographic research, which presumes that since Dvořák succeeded Alois Reigl and Franz Wickhoff at the University of Vienna, he must have belonged to the Vienna School of Art History.² However, in this study I would

document. For Dvořák’s biographies see, e.g., H. AURENHAMMER, ‘Max Dvořák (1874–1921). Von der historischen Quellenkritik zur Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte’, in *Österreichische Historiker. Lebensläufe und Karrieren 1900–1945*, ed. K. HRUZA, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2012, pp. 169–200, here p. 177; S. SCARROCCIA, ‘Denkmalpflege und Moderne: Die Lehre Max Dvořáks’, in M. DVOŘÁK, *Schriften zur Denkmalpflege*, ed. S. SCARROCCIA, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2012, pp. 23–210, here p. 24; L. KALINOWSKI, *Max Dvořák i jego metoda badań nad sztuką*, Warszawa 1974, p. 10; K. M. SWOBODA, ‘Vortrag zum 30. Todestag von Max Dvořák’, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 28, 1974, pp. 74–81, here p. 76; J. PEČÍRKA, ‘Max Dvořák. Životopis’, in *Max Dvořák. Umění jako projev ducha*, ed. J. PEČÍRKA, Praha 1936, pp. VII–XCII, here LVIII–LIX; J. PAVEL, *Max Dvořák, ochránce památek*, Praha 1974, pp. 254–256.

² See, e.g., J. v. SCHLOSSER, ‘Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte, Rückblick auf ein Säkulum deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Österreich’, *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, 13, 1934, pp. 145–225; A. ROSENAUER, ‘Das Rätsel der Kunst der Bruder Van Eyck. Max Dvořák und seine Stellung zu Wickhoff und Riegl’, in *Wien und die Entwicklung der kunsthistorischen Methode. Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte I/1*, eds. H. FILLITZ, M. PIPPAL, Wien-Köln-Graz 1984, pp. 45–52; R. CHADRABA, ‘Max Dvořák a vídeňská škola dějin umění’, in *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu umění II. Dvacáté století*, ed. idem, Praha 1987, pp. 9–70. J. BAKOŠ, ‘Die epistemologische Wende eines Kunsthistorikers’, in *L’Art et les révolutions, Section 5: Révolution et évolution de l’Histoire de l’Art de Warburg à nos*

like to show that Dvořák's early attempt to obtain a stable position within the academic sphere of art history had a profound impact not only on his personal life but on how we actually understand the Vienna School of Art History as a historiographic concept in early 20th-century art history.

The first time the term 'Vienna School of Art History' was used to refer to a distinct methodological system was in 1910, in Vincenc Kramář's extensive review of Dvořák's 'habilitation', where Kramář described Dvořák's work as building on the art-historical thought of Riegl and Wickhoff.³ Realising that the Vienna School was formulated as a concept as early as this can enrich our understanding of what it actually means, or it can at least show how unstable its roots are, because, paradoxically, Dvořák at the time of publication of his 'habilitation' was not strictly speaking a representative of the University of Vienna (not until he was appointed a professor there in 1905). On the basis of a study Dvořák wrote in 1903, however, Kramář considered him the leading proponent of the Vienna School's method of art history, which originated in the art history department of the university's Institute of Austrian Historical Research, from which other students not considered today to be proponents of the Vienna School graduated as well.⁴ Looking back at Kramář's 1910 placement of Dvořák's work within the Vienna School, one might ask whether this would have happened if Max Dvořák had not been appointed a professor at the University of Vienna.

In order to resolve this historiographic paradox, before examining what the Vienna School means in terms of its *methodological principles*,⁵ we should reconstruct the principles on which it was founded in order to understand its *methodological origins*. To do this in reference to Max Dvořák's inclusion within the Vienna School, I work with three types of archival materials: the German and Bohemian press around 1900; Dvořák's personal correspondence with his friends Josef Šusta

and Vincenc Kramář;⁶ and Dvořák's letters to Franz Wickhoff.⁷

* * *

The history of Dvořák's effort to obtain his first position as a university professor starts, surprisingly, not in Vienna but in Prague, where, at the beginning of 1903, a university committee suggested that Bohumil Matějka be appointed to the position of associate professor for art history in the Czech part of Charles-Ferdinand University.⁸ Dvořák was informed of this idea by one of the members of the committee of professors convened for the purpose of filling this position, Jaroslav Goll, who had remained in close contact with Dvořák ever since he had been Dvořák's history professor at the University of Prague between 1892 and 1894.⁹ We know that it was Goll who informed Dvořák about the suggestion that Matějka become the professor at the University of Prague from a letter dated 3 April 1903, sent by Dvořák to another of Goll's students, Josef Šusta.¹⁰ In the letter, Dvořák complained that he was surprised that his own name had not even been mentioned in relation to this position. He added, 'I cannot see myself critically enough and I am wrong about my qualifications, or I do not have any friends among Prague University's professors.'¹¹ Dvořák blamed Goll for this oversight, and harsh criticism of Goll appears in Dvořák's letters throughout the year 1903.¹² In a letter to Šusta dated 23 April 1903, Dvořák, after again condemn-

jours, ed. H. Olbrich, Strasbourg 1992, pp. pp. 53–63. M. RAMPLEY, *The Vienna School of Art History. Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918*, University Park PA 2013, p. 54.

³ M. DVOŘÁK, 'Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 14, 1903, pp. 161–319. V. KRAMÁŘ, 'O vídeňské škole dějin umění', *Volné směry*, 14, 1910, pp. 41–43, 75–78, 110–112, 170–174, 209–210.

⁴ For more on Dvořák's colleagues from his university graduation year, see A. LHOTSKY, *Geschichte des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 1854–1954*, Graz-Köln 1954, pp. 271–276. See also T. WINKELBAUER, *Das Fach Geschichte an der Universität Wien. Von den Anfängen um 1500 bis etwa 1975*, Wien 2018.

⁵ For a recent example of this type of interpretation, see W. BALUS, 'Max Dvořák, the (Christian) Architecture and the Limits of Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte', *Artibus et Historiae. An Art Anthology*, 87, 2023, pp. 241–257.

⁶ Dvořák's correspondence with Šusta was published in 1943 and it was significantly redacted. Fortunately, the originals are preserved in the archive of the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague, where they were compared with the published letters for the purpose of this study. Dvořák's letters to Kramář were published in 2004; in these letters only very minor editorial interventions can be observed. See M. DVOŘÁK, *Listy o životě a umění. Dopisy Jaroslavu Gollovi, Josefu Pekařovi a Josefu Šustovi*, ed. J. PEČÍRKA, Praha 1943; M. KREJČÍ, 'Dopisy Maxe Dvořáka Vincenci Kramářovi', *Umění*, 52, 2004, pp. 353–369.

⁷ I would like to thank Dr Friedrich Polleroß for letting me study Dvořák's letters to Wickhoff in the Archive of the Institute of Art History of the Vienna University.

⁸ Archive of the Charles University, Personal Folders, The Personal Folder of B. Matějka (further as ACU BM), 'The Letter of the Professorial Committee from 9 March 1903'. See also J. VYBÍRAL, 'Why Max Dvořák did not Become a Professor in Prague', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 17, 2017.

⁹ See B. JIROUŠEK, *Jaroslav Goll: role historika v české společnosti*, České Budějovice 2006.

¹⁰ Archive of the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, The Estate of J. Pečírka, Box 10 Correspondence (further as AIAH JP), 'Dvořák to Šusta on 3 April 1903'. See also J. ŠUSTA, *Mladá léta učňovská a vandrovní, Praha – Vídeň – Řím*, Praha 1963.

¹¹ AIAH JP, 'Dvořák to Šusta on 3 April 1903'.

¹² See, e.g., AIAH JP, 'Dvořák to Šusta on 14 May 1903'. Cf. M. DVOŘÁK, *Listy o životě a umění*, p. 118 (as in note 6).

ing Goll, complained ‘that the ministry itself might appoint me at its own initiative is out of the question, especially since the faculty doesn’t even know about me. Because of the complete omission of my name, it is almost impossible for me to get into Prague [University]’.¹³

Yet two months later, on 23 June 1903, the ministry of education responded to the University of Prague’s proposal to appoint Matějka that it seemed odd to nominate only one candidate and asked why Max Dvořák was not also being considered for the job. At the end of its reply, the ministry included a direct order that the committee draw up an expert report on Dvořák’s scholarly work.¹⁴ Not long after that Dvořák went to Vienna and met Antonín Rezek,¹⁵ his second history professor at the University of Prague, who from 1900 to 1903 served as the minister for Czech affairs in the Austro-Hungarian parliament. According to a letter Dvořák wrote to Wickhoff on 29 July 1903, the first thing Rezek said to Dvořák at this meeting was, ‘so, you are going to become a professor’.¹⁶ In the letter, Dvořák said that he thanked Rezek for interceding on his behalf at the ministry of education, indicating that it was Rezek, acting at the instigation of Wickhoff, who had seen to it that the ministry would respond to the university in the way it did. In a letter to Šusta from the following day, 30 July 1903, Dvořák referred to his meeting with Rezek and added that Goll had in the meantime asked him for a list of his scholarly work in art history.¹⁷ In a letter to Wickhoff from 18 August 1903 Dvořák reported Goll’s claim that ‘there was nothing that could be done with the first proposal’ for the professorship in Prague,¹⁸ but that Goll then assured Dvořák that he had done everything he could to get the ministry of education to propose Dvořák as a candidate. However, Dvořák knew that it had been Wickhoff and Rezek who had been instrumental in getting the ministry to mention his name, and he thus considered Goll’s claim to be merely laughable. Nevertheless, on 10 October 1904 the Prague professorial appointment committee, including Goll, submitted a positive appraisal of Dvořák’s scholarly work,¹⁹ even though the committee was still convinced that the professorship in art history at the University of Prague should be given to Matějka,

mostly because he was already teaching at the university and had been doing so since 1896. Dvořák knew by February 1904 that he was not going to get the professorship in art history because Wickhoff told him of the ministry’s intention to appoint Matějka, which Wickhoff had learned directly from the minister of education, Wilhelm von Hartel,²⁰ who had been Wickhoff’s friend since 1895 when they published the *Wiener Genesis* together.²¹

Another opportunity for Dvořák to become a university professor came a short time later, at the beginning of March 1904, when he was sent an offer by telegraph to take up an art history professorship at the university at Fribourg in Switzerland. Dvořák discussed this offer in letters to Wickhoff dated 9 March 1904,²² to Šusta dated 10 March 1904,²³ and to Kramář dated 13 March 1904.²⁴ In all of these letters Dvořák informed his friends that he would accept this offer, even though, as he wrote to Kramář, he would ‘be leaving Vienna with a heavy heart, almost as though I were going into exile’.²⁵ He went on, however, to say, ‘what else can I do? They do not want me in Prague and it is impossible for the ministry to establish a third professorship in art history in Vienna; what should I then be waiting for?’²⁶ In the letter to Šusta, Dvořák praised the conditions in Fribourg – he was supposed to

¹³ AIAH JB, ‘Dvořák to Šusta on 23 April 1903’.

¹⁴ The reply from the ministry of education is reproduced in a letter dated 1 July 1905 dealing with Dvořák’s appointment to the position of associate professor at Prague University. This process was stopped at Dvořák’s request in October 1905. See ACU BM, ‘A Letter from the Professorial Committee from 1 July 1905’.

¹⁵ See F. KUTNAR, J. MAREK, *Přehledné dějiny českého a slovenského dějepiscetví*, Praha 1997, pp. 403–416.

¹⁶ Archive of the Institute of Art History of the Vienna University, Estate of F. Wickhoff, Correspondence of M. Dvořák (further as AIAHVU FW), ‘Dvořák to Wickhoff on 29 July 1903’.

¹⁷ AIAH JB, ‘Dvořák to Šusta on 30 July 1903’.

¹⁸ AIAHVU FW, ‘Dvořák to Wickhoff on 18 August 1903’.

¹⁹ ACU BM, ‘The Professorial Appraisal of M. Dvořák’s scholarly work in art history from 10 October 1904’.

²⁰ AIAH JB, ‘Dvořák to Šusta on 27 February 1904’.

²¹ F. WICKHOFF, W. v. HARTEL, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Wien 1895.

²² AIAHVU FW, ‘Dvořák to Wickhoff on 9 March 1904’.

²³ AIAH JB, ‘Dvořák to Šusta on 10 March 1904’.

²⁴ Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, Estate of V. Kramář, Personal Correspondence – M. Dvořák (further as ANG VK), ‘Dvořák to Kramář on 13 March 1904’.

²⁵ *Ibidem*. So far, it is not clear on which basis the university of Fribourg decided to appoint Dvořák. The most likely explanation is that it could have been connected to Dominican Catholic Biblical scholar Vincent Zapletal, born near Olmütz in 1867, who was studying in Vienna around 1890. As a Czech, he most likely came into a contact (so far we do not know if personal or through the academic work) with young Dvořák, also Catholic, referencing to his Czech origin in many occasions as Zapletal did, who e.g. was writing into Czech Catholic journals (*Vlast*). Zapletal could have been the key connection between university in Fribourg and Dvořák, since Zapletal was appointed the professor of the exegesis of the Old Testament at the Theological Faculty of this newly founded university in 1893, coming through a personal crisis around 1898 connected with the leave of German professors. However, this thesis needs to be examined more from the archival point of view. The author is thankful to Martin Bedřich and Tomáš Petráček for their notice on this possible connection. See, T. PETRÁČEK, *Od vědecké exegeze k psaní beletrie. Biblické romány Vincenta Zapletala OP*, ‘Studia Theologica’ 11, 2009, pp. 48–62; idem, *Výklad Bible v době (anti-)modernistické krize: Život a dílo Vincenta Zapletala OP*, Praha 2006. See also, U. ALTERMATT, *Die Universität Freiburg auf der Suche nach Identität. Essays zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte der Universität Fribourg im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Fribourg 2009.

²⁶ ANG VK, ‘Dvořák to Kramář on 13 March 1904’.

teach a four-hour lecture and a two-hour seminar and would thus, as he stated in the letter to Wickhoff, be more independent in his work than he would have been in Prague or Vienna. What is more, he noted to Šusta that he was glad that he was going to have a steady job, one that, in addition, was close to Italy and Paris. Dvořák also highlighted that his religion presented no obstacle to his obtaining this post, even though, as he wrote to Kramář, Fribourg was a clerical university and religion could have been an issue. Luckily, however, in art history it was not. Dvořák also knew, as he wrote to Šusta, that if his name had been put forward for the position of professor of art history in Vienna, this would have sparked national outrage, which, he thought, was highly unlikely in Switzerland. Dvořák could not have known at the time, however, that his plans were to be disrupted by fears of nationalist demonstrations even in Switzerland, and that this time it would be fears connected with the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904.²⁷

It was a mass held in a Russian church in Prague on 22 February 1904 that triggered the events that prevented Dvořák from being given the professorship in Fribourg. The mass was held to express support for Russia to be successful in the war.²⁸ The mass was followed by a procession that went from the church to the German House on Na Příkopě Street, where people stopped and chanted expressions of shame and disgust, because, unlike the Czechs, the Germans were on the side of the Japanese. A few days later, a response from German nationalist students was organised: members of the student association called 'Burschenschaft' at Charles-Ferdinand University started accosting Czech citizens in the streets of Prague, and on Sunday, 6 March 1904, they organised huge protests that escalated into fights in the city centre and only stopped after the police and the army arrived on the scene.²⁹ These nationalist tensions were widely covered in the press and continued until the end of March.³⁰ They were also the reason why the rector of Fribourg University, C. Decurtius, wrote to Dvořák at the end of March, a letter Dvořák quoted in his own correspondence to Šusta on 5 April 1904 and to Kramář on 20 April 1904: 'As a result of recent events, your candidacy in the election for the professorship of art history was rejected.'³¹ Dvořák added in the letter to Šusta that he knew the professorship decision had been influenced by the demonstrations in Prague, mostly

out of the fear that similar demonstrations would occur in Fribourg. With the loss of the second opportunity to become a professor, Dvořák was relieved that at least he did not have to leave Vienna – he could not have known that the nationalist tensions brewing in the Austro-Hungarian Empire would impact his third attempt to get a professorship at the University of Vienna as well.

As Dvořák informed Šusta in a letter from 28 March 1905, Wickhoff started a campaign to give him a professorship at the University of Vienna.³² Wickhoff's motivation for doing this was not only his close personal relationship with Dvořák,³³ but also the fact that Riegl's health had quickly declined and it was obvious that he was going to need someone soon to step in and take over his lectures. A few months later, on 19 June 1905, Alois Riegl died, and, as Dvořák wrote to Šusta the following day, Wickhoff started doing everything he could to secure Riegl's professorship for Dvořák.³⁴ As Dvořák wrote to Šusta on 9 July 1905, Wickhoff was quite successful in this endeavour – by 8 July 1905 Dvořák's name had already been put forward for the professorship 'primo loco'.³⁵ However, as Dvořák added, the proposal was not accepted unreservedly by the university professorial committee, because it was only agreed to after some 'difficult fights', during which Dvořák was accused of not being able to speak German properly and of being connected to the dangerous Slavic movement within the empire.³⁶ Dvořák was at first convinced that these attacks originated with Josef Neuwirth,³⁷ a professor of art history at the Technical School in Vienna and from 1905 Dvořák's colleague at the Central Commission for the Research and Preservation of Architectural Monuments, with whom Dvořák had had a difficult relationship ever since he had critically reviewed Neuwirth's study on paintings in Karlstein in 1899.³⁸ Nevertheless, in a letter

²⁷ See, e.g., 'Válka rusko-japonská', *Čech*, 11 February 1904, p. 4.

²⁸ 'Demonstrace pro Rusko v Praze', *Lidové noviny*, 23 February 1904, p. 8.

²⁹ 'Pražské demonstrace', *Čech*, 7 March 1904, pp. 1–2.

³⁰ See e.g. 'Buršácké provokace v Praze', *Národní listy*, 8 March 1904, p. 1. 'Die deutschfeindlichen Ausschreitungen in Prag', *Bohemia*, 8 March 1904, p. 1.

³¹ AIAH JB, 'Dvořák to Šusta on 5 April 1904'. ANG VK, 'Dvořák to Kramář on 20 April 1904'. Wickhoff was by that time in Vienna, as Dvořák mentioned to Kramář, thus there are no letters between them on this matter.

³² AIAH JB, 'Dvořák to Šusta on 28 March 1905'.

³³ See T. MURÁR, 'Notes on Franz Wickhoff's School and Max Dvořák's Italian Renaissance Studies Based on New Archival Material', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 29, 2023.

³⁴ AIAH JB, 'Dvořák to Šusta on 20 June 1905'.

³⁵ AIAH JB, 'Transcript of Dvořák's Letter to Šusta from 9 July 1905'.

³⁶ Similar accusations later appeared in newspapers. See e.g. 'Das Deutsch des Herrn Professors Dvorak', *Wiener Deutsches Tagblatt*, 21 December 1905, p. 6. The earliest attacks on Dvořák due to his professorship appointment occurred in July and August 1905. See 'Von der Wiener Universität', *Freie Stimmen*, 19 July 1905, p. 6; 'Ein Czeche als Professor der Kunstgeschichte an der Wiener Universität', *Deutsches Nordmährerblatt*, 23 July 1905, p. 5; 'Die Lehrkanzel für Kunstgeschichte an der Universität', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 9 August 1905, p. 6; 'Ein tschechischer Candidat für eine Wiener Lehrkanzel', *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 10 August 1905, p. 3.

³⁷ See J. KOUKAL, 'Josef Neuwirth', in *Století Ústavu pro dějiny umění na Filozofické fakultě Univerzity Karlovy*, ed. R. BIEGEL, R. PRAHL, J. BACHTÍK, Praha 2020, pp. 280–284.

³⁸ J. NEUWIRTH, *Mittelalterliche Wandgemälde und Tafelbilder der Burg Karlstein in Böhmen*, Prag 1896. M. DVOŘÁK, 'K dějinám

from 11 August 1905,³⁹ Dvořák agreed with Wickhoff's suspicion that the person behind the attacks was actually Moritz Dreger,⁴⁰ who had been a student of both Wickhoff and Riegl and a 'Privatdozent' at the University of Vienna since 1901; the main reason for Dreger's effort to discredit Dvořák's reputation was that he himself had been suggested for Riegl's professorship 'secondo loco'.⁴¹ Dvořák wrote to Šusta of this suspicion as well on 13 August 1905, and he underlined that the nationalist arguments against him were only a pretext, and that the real reason for the attempts to discredit him was rooted in the personal conflict between Dreger and him.⁴²

Because of these 'difficult fights', as Dvořák wrote to Wickhoff on 16 July 1905,⁴³ Count Ferdinand Zdeněk of Lobkowitz from Raudnitz in Bohemia (present-day Roudnice nad Labem in the Czech Republic), for whom Dvořák's father worked as a librarian and family archivist,⁴⁴ had a word with the minister Hartel in order to secure Dvořák's professorship. Dvořák wrote to Wickhoff on 22 August 1905 that the count's intercession was important, because the attacks against him had been partly successful – the ministry had already been prepared to award Dvořák the professorship but the official decision had been deliberately delayed.⁴⁵ We can surmise that Wickhoff also planned to write directly to the emperor, knowing that Count Lobkowitz had already mentioned Dvořák's name at the imperial court, because Dvořák thanked Wickhoff for this suggestion in a letter to him dated 24 August 1905.⁴⁶ A few days later, in a letter from 30 August, Dvořák thanked Wickhoff for the suggestion that he, Wickhoff, would at the ministry mention the plan to write to the emperor.⁴⁷ Thus we may suppose that when Wickhoff at the beginning of September mentioned at the ministry his intention to send (or the fact that he had already written) a letter directly to the emperor, the process was set in motion, and by 5 September 1905 the newspapers printed that the emperor had appointed Maxmilian Dvořák as the new professor of art history at the University of Vienna.⁴⁸ A week after the announcement, on 12 September 1905, Dvořák wrote to Wickhoff that he had

got his professorial certificate that very day and it would be effective from 1 October.⁴⁹ Then, on 16 September, in *Neue Freie Presse*, Wickhoff published an article celebrating Dvořák, in which he called him an 'österreichischer Forscher'.⁵⁰ Dvořák was thrilled and it seemed he would finally be able to focus on his work. However, the peace was only temporary. In an unpublished letter, preserved only in the form of an editor's transcript and stored in the archive of the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague, Dvořák wrote to Šusta on 25 September 1905 that Wickhoff had told him that Hartel had informed him, Wickhoff, that the fight against Dvořák's appointment would start again when the Imperial Council next convened. In addition, even if the fight against him failed, demonstrations were planned to take place at the beginning of the academic year to prevent Dvořák from teaching at the University of Vienna.⁵¹

Already on 2 October 1905, Rudolf Berger, a member of the Imperial Council in Vienna, demanded to speak on the case of Dvořák's appointment as professor of art history and presented it as a typical example of a provocation by the minority nations that were trying to dismantle the empire, drawing attention to the fact that Dvořák had been born into the family of 'a fanatical Czech archivist [...]' and that he had been 'brought up in the Czech milieu and "armed" with exclusively Czech schooling'.⁵² In his speech, among the other insults he directed against Dvořák, Berger pointed to the speed with which Dvořák had been appointed as Riegl's successor, even though he had been rejected as a candidate for professorships at the universities in Prague and Fribourg only a few years earlier, and described this new appointment as a calculated move to prevent a true expert from applying for the professorship. Berger claimed that there were therefore grounds to challenge Dvořák's appointment, and he suggested that Dvořák should rather be sent to one of the 'Slavic' universities in Prague, Cracow, or Lviv, arguing that there was no need for two professorships of art history at the Viennese university at all, because the empire should instead be increasing the number of professorships it offered in hygiene, medicine, or pharmacology.⁵³ Dvořák described Berger's interpellation speech in detail to Wickhoff in a letter from 7 October 1905,⁵⁴ and he concluded that a lot

malířství českého doby Karlovy', *Český časopis historický*, 5, 1899, p. 5.

³⁹ AIAHVU FW, 'Dvořák to Wickhoff on 11 August 1905'.

⁴⁰ Dreger was a member of the Viennese 'Burschenschaft' association which pushed the needs of the German professors at the Vienna University. See *Biographisches Lexikon der Deutschen Burschenschaft II: Künstler*, eds. H. DVORAK, P. KAUPP, Heidelberg 2018, pp. 148–149.

⁴¹ AIAH JB, 'Transcript of Dvořák's Letter to Šusta from 9 July 1905'.

⁴² AIAH JB, 'Dvořák to Šusta on 13 August 1905'.

⁴³ AIAHVU FW, 'Dvořák to Wickhoff on 16 July 1905'.

⁴⁴ J. PEČÍRKA, 'Max Dvořák. Životopis', p. VIII (as in note 1).

⁴⁵ AIAHVU FW, 'Dvořák to Wickhoff on 22 August 1905'.

⁴⁶ AIAHVU FW, 'Dvořák to Wickhoff on 24 August 1905'.

⁴⁷ AIAHVU FW, 'Dvořák to Wickhoff on 30 August 1905'.

⁴⁸ *Die Zeit*, 5 September 1905, p. 1.

⁴⁹ AIAHVU FW, 'Dvořák to Wickhoff on 12 September 1905'.

⁵⁰ F. WICKHOFF, 'Max Dvorak', *Neue Freie Presse*, 16 September 1905, pp. 21–22. For this appraisal Dvořák thanked Wickhoff in a letter from 18 September 1905.

⁵¹ AIAH JB, 'Transcript of Dvořák's Letter to Šusta on 25 September 1905'. Dvořák's first lecture was announced on 26 October 1905 on the topic of Baroque art in Italy in *Die Zeit*, 30 September 1905, p. 4.

⁵² *Stenographische Protokolle über Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des österreichischen Reichsrathes 351*, Sitzung der XVIII Session am Oktober 1905, pp. 31742–31745, here 31743.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 31754.

⁵⁴ AIAHVU FW, 'Dvořák to Wickhoff on 7 October 1905'.

of noise had been made but that no one had actually found any reason to block his appointment. That was good news for both Dvořák and Wickhoff, but it also meant that, as anticipated, there would be demonstrations.

The first demonstration was held against Wickhoff at his opening lecture on 24 October 1905 in a corridor inside the Institute of Austrian Historical Research.⁵⁵ The protestors sang German nationalist songs, through which Wickhoff continued his lecture. When he finished his talk, the protesters were waiting for him in the corridor, but Wickhoff stayed in his university office, and after half an hour the protesters left. On the following day, the rector of the university condemned the demonstration and warned against organising others.⁵⁶ That did not stop the protesters, and on 26 October 1905 a demonstration against Dvořák took place during his first lecture. The press reported that the university had been expecting the protests,⁵⁷ and there were security guards in front of the lecture hall who only admitted people with a valid student card. Since many of the people protesting against Dvořák's appointment were students at the university, most of them connected with the 'Burschenschaft' association, many protestors were able to get into the lecture hall. As 'Die Zeit' reported, almost four hundred more German-nationalist students gathered in the corridors outside the hall singing German-nationalist songs, and as soon as Dvořák began his lecture, the students inside the lecture hall started shouting insults at him, and they had even brought toy trumpets to disturb his speech.⁵⁸ This went on for almost the whole duration of the lecture.⁵⁹

Another demonstration took place on 28 October,⁶⁰ when Dvořák held his second lecture. He and Wickhoff later cancelled their scheduled classes when the university had to be shut down in early November⁶¹ after the demonstrations went beyond what were deemed customary displays of dissatisfaction: two days after a protest was organised in the main lecture hall on 5 November 1905⁶² fights erupted between German-nationalist students and

non-German students on the ramp at the entrance to the university building on the Ringstrasse.⁶³ Around the same time, protests against Dvořák's professorship in Vienna were being organised in Prague as well.⁶⁴ In a letter to Šusta from 29 November 1905,⁶⁵ Dvořák wrote that he and Wickhoff knew who was behind the November protests – it was neither Dreger nor Neuwirth, but a history professor at the Institute of Austrian Historical Research named Alphons Dopsch (his name is omitted from the published version of the letter, because he was still alive when the letter was published in 1943).⁶⁶ Since his student years Dopsch had been involved in German-nationalist circles and he probably used the Dvořák affair to foreground the question of the 'Germanness' of the University of Vienna. For these reasons Dvořák suspected that Dopsch was also the person who had initiated Berger's interpellation in the Viennese Imperial Council.⁶⁷

As has been shown, the dramatic events at the beginning of the fall semester in 1905 were recorded in Dvořák's letters to Šusta and they are partly traceable in his letters to Kramář.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, most of the information about what was going on at the time must be sought from the daily press, because at that time Dvořák was with Wickhoff in Vienna and they probably discussed everything in person. Luckily, we also have some memoirs from Dvořák's students at that time – besides the well-known text by Erica Tietze-Conrat, in which she writes that Dvořák suggested she not attend his first lecture because, he said, 'it will be grim',⁶⁹ the recollections of Dvořák's student Josef Borovička were discovered just a few years ago and these have been published.⁷⁰ He remembered the fights on the university ramp and he mentioned that the university closed after that. Borovička added that in the middle of November political pressure led to the reopening of the university and Dvořák started to lecture again. But this time no one protested during his lectures, because

'Wickhoff entered the lecture hall, he strode very slowly through the hall and sat down on a chair in front of the teacher's desk; [...] then Dvořák entered, and with him like his Paladins the whole art-historical apparatus [and] the teacher listened with attention and affection to his student for the whole hour (fillius spiritualis they called

⁵⁵ 'Eine Demonstration auf der Universität', *Neue Freie Presse*, 24 October 1905, p. 4; 'Demonstration gegen Hofrat Wickhoff', *Die Zeit*, 24 October 1905, p. 2.

⁵⁶ 'Demonstrationen gegen Hofrat Wickhof' [sic!], *Das Vaterland*, 25 October 1905, p. 5.

⁵⁷ 'Eine neuerliche Demonstration auf der Universität', *Neue Freie Presse*, 26 October 1905, p. 4; 'Demonstrationen an der Universität', *Die Zeit*, 26 October 1905, p. 2.

⁵⁸ 'Die Kindertrompete auf der Universität', *Reichspost*, 28 October 1905, p. 4.

⁵⁹ See also, 'Der Rector und der deutsche Hochschulausschuss', *Neue Freie Presse*, 28 October 1905, p. 9; 'Die Vorgänge an der Universität', *Das Vaterland*, 10 November 1905, p. 5.

⁶⁰ 'Von der Wiener Universität', *Das Vaterland*, 28 Oktober 1905, p. 5.

⁶¹ 'Die Vorgänge an der Universität', *Das Vaterland*, 11 November 1905, p. 3.

⁶² 'Die Protestversammlung der deutschnationalen Studenten', *Die Zeit*, 11 November 1905, p. 5.

⁶³ 'Die Vorgänge an der Universität', *Neue Freie Presse*, 5 November 1905, p. 11; 'Die Vorgänge an der Universität', *Das Vaterland*, 7 November 1905, p. 5.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ AIAH JB, 'Dvořák to Šusta on 29 November 1905'.

⁶⁶ Cf. M. DVOŘÁK, *Listy o životě a umění*, p. 152 (as in note 6). Alphons Dopsch died in 1953 at the age of 85. See Lhotsky, pp. 228–231.

⁶⁷ AIAH JB, 'Dvořák to Šusta on 29 November 1905'.

⁶⁸ ANG VK, 'Dvořák to Kramář on 28 September 1904'.

⁶⁹ E. TIETZE-CONRAT, 'I then asked myself: what is the Wiener Schule? Erinnerungen an die Studienjahre in Wien', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 59, 2011, pp. 207–218, here 213.

⁷⁰ J. BOROVIČKA, 'Můj učitel Max Dvořák', *Sborník archivních prací*, 2, 2020, pp. 507–536.

it at the university). [...] This demonstration by Wickhoff – he attended Dvořák's lectures for the whole week – had its effect. Dvořák lectured in total silence.⁷¹

Thus, as we conclude our survey of Max Dvořák's first university professorship, it is possible to present archival findings that show that the institutional mechanics of early 20th-century art history defined who would and who would not have an opportunity to contribute to the development of the Vienna School method of art history. In other words, Max Dvořák was only able to become the leading representative of the Vienna School, as Kramář referred to him in 1910, because he was appointed an associate professor of art history at the University of Vienna in 1905, and not at Prague University in 1903 or at Fribourg University in 1904. This turn of events was, as the archival findings suggest, more or less accidental and, in all likelihood, was not especially defined by any methodological connections with any other proponents of what the contemporary historiography of art history has constructed to be the 'Vienna School'. This understanding, I believe, can provide us with a vital impulse for newly reviewing the history and meaning of the Vienna School of Art History from the viewpoint of its methodological origins.⁷²

SUMMARY

Tomáš Murár

'I AM WRONG ABOUT MY QUALIFICATIONS, OR I DO NOT HAVE ANY FRIENDS': ARCHIVAL RESEARCH ON THE FIRST PROFESSORSHIP OF MAX DVOŘÁK

The study presents the results of archival research on the circumstances in which Max Dvořák was appointed associate professor for art history at the University of Vienna in 1905. The archival materials studied include correspondence relating to two previous but unsuccessful attempts by Dvořák to become a professor at the universities in Prague at Bohemia and at Fribourg in Switzerland. The institutional mechanics that form the backdrop against which Dvořák struggled to find a steady university job as an art historian in the early 20th century are then presented as a lens through which to newly examine and understand the historiographic concept of the so-called Vienna School of Art History.

⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 521. Dvořák knew about Wickhoff's importance for his career, as he stated in his letter on 29 December 1905, see АИАВУ FW, 'Dvořák to Wickhoff on 29 December 1905': 'Du hast jedes Jahr seit dem wir uns können so viel mich getan, dass mehr kaum möglich gewesen wäre, doch was ich Dir [...] verdanke, lässt sich gar nicht sagen. Möge mir vergönnt sein es Dir lange durch Liebe und Dankbarkeit so weit es in meinen Kräften steht zu entlohnen.'

⁷² This study was produced with financial assistance from the Support for the Long-term Conceptual Development of the Research Organisation, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, v. v. i., RVO: 68378033.

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JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI AND AVGUŠTIN STEGENŠEK

SOME REMARKS ON THEIR JERUSALEM STUDIES

In 2005, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the publication of the first art topography written in Slovenian, a symposium was held in Maribor focusing on its author.¹ The topography was written by Avguštin Stegenšek (1875–1920), art historian and theologian, born in Slovenian Styria, about 100 kilometres south of Graz.² Stegenšek completed his doctorate on early Christian wall painting in Rome at the University of Graz under the supervision of Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941) in 1905,³ in the same year his first topography was published.⁴ The inquiry into Stegenšek's personality and research has, among other insights, demonstrated the importance of his studies on the Early Modern period, particularly Baroque, which stems from his topographical work. Stegenšek's most significant contribution to the art history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was his 1912 treatise on the history, and especially the iconography, of the Via

Crucis in Styria.⁵ His book is closely related to his research on early Christian art, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Since Stegenšek declined an invitation to become the first professor of art history at the newly founded University of Ljubljana in 1919, his role in the institutionalisation of art history in Central Europe has been largely overlooked. Furthermore, his contribution to the study of early Christian art in what Strzygowski called the 'Orient', and its reception in the Habsburg Monarchy and German-speaking scientific discourse, has remained unexplored. Stegenšek's focus on Jerusalem studies shortly before the First World War (initially in the context of his topographical work in Styria) brought him closer to the subject, which remained an interest of Strzygowski after the latter took up a professorship in Vienna in 1909. Along with Strzygowski, Stegenšek represents a minority in Austrian art history that around 1900, who looked beyond Rome and Western Europe.

Jerusalem studies were increasingly carried out from the middle of the nineteenth century, mainly by archaeologists, theologians, Byzantinists and orientalists, such as Conrad Schick (1822–1901) and Philipp Wolff (1810–1894),⁶ who aimed to combine philological and theological Bible studies with the scientific exploration of the biblical Lands, and therefore Palestine. This approach, motivated by a search for a biblical truth, changed with the

¹ We would like to thank Charlotte Whiting and Gerhard Wolf for their readings and comments. We are grateful to Karin Šmid for her help with photos from the Regional Archives in Maribor. The conference proceedings were published as a double issue of *Studia Historica Slovenica* in 2007.

² S. KRAJNC, 'Osebnost in poslanstvo Avguština Stegenška (1875–1920)' [Personality and Mission of Avguštin Stegenšek (1875–1920)], *Studia Historica Slovenica*, 7, 2007, pp. 489–511.

³ A. STEGENŠEK, *Studien über die kirchliche Wandmalerei in Rom und Umgebung von V. bis zum XIII. Jht.*, PhD, Graz 1905 (manuscript in the archives of the University of Graz, also available online: <https://unipub.uni-graz.at/download/pdf/1639884.pdf>, access: 1.10.2024).

⁴ Idem, *Cerkveni spomeniki Lavantinske škofije. 1: Dekanija gornjegrajska*, Maribor 1905. The first of two books of ecclesiastical monuments of the Lavantine diocese, dedicated to the deanery of Gornji grad (in German: Oberburg).

⁵ Idem, *Zgodovina pobožnosti sv. križevega pota* [History of the Devotion to the Holy Way of the Cross], Maribor 1912.

⁶ The literature on this topic is vast, cf. e.g. H. GOREN, „Zieht hin und erforscht das Land“. *Die deutsche Palästinaforschung im 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2003 [=Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte der Universität Tel-Aviv, 23].

establishment of art history as a discipline in its own right. Actually, around 1900 one of the major issues that was discussed in the context of Jerusalem studies was the architectural reconstruction of the Constantinian Holy Sepulchre Church, and one of the first art historians who was concerned with this question was Stegenšek's professor, Strzygowski.⁷ He indeed not only dealt with the Byzantine 'Orient', Armenia, Persia and Mesopotamia, but several times with the Holy Land too.⁸ In 1899, Strzygowski reviewed the monograph *Die Heilige Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem in ihrem ursprünglichen Zustande*, which had been published a year before by the theologian Carl Mommert (1840–1910).⁹ In 1901, Strzygowski's essay on the newly discovered Orpheus mosaic in Jerusalem appeared.¹⁰ In the same year Strzygowski also published his book *Orient oder Rom*, with its much-debated hypothesis on the emergence of early Christian art. Its final chapter is dedicated to the Constantinian Holy Sepulchre Church.¹¹

Although Strzygowski has recently been the subject of numerous publications, especially in Central Europe,¹² the fundamental importance of his studies on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for his theory of an oriental origin of Christian art has not yet been considered sufficiently. In the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Strzygowski saw a confirmation of 'Europe's dependence on Oriental forms' as well as 'the superior historical value of material over textual evidence'.¹³ His argumentation was mainly concentrated on the south façade and based upon

two inconsistent assumptions. Firstly, he was concerned with proving that the (probably medieval) cornices of the façade are ancient and,¹⁴ since they are *in situ*, that they have remained from the construction of Constantine.¹⁵ Secondly he conceded that the cornices lack 'everything that makes the Roman style special'. According to him, all analogies were offered by Egypt, 'the country in which Roman art has found less of a permanent home than in Syria and Asia Minor'.¹⁶

Strzygowski's studies on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were comprehensively appreciated in 1908 by the Byzantinist August Heisenberg (1869–1930), at that time a private lecturer at the University of Würzburg, and then, from 1910, professor of Byzantine studies in Munich and editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.¹⁷ In the introduction to his first volume on the two Constantinian Churches of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Apostles, Heisenberg writes that Strzygowski has taken the decisive step towards solving the reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Moreover, he states that the question 'Orient or Rome?' will be decided in line with Strzygowski's position.¹⁸ However, a year after its publication, the art-historical assessment from Vienna was quite different: Max Dvořák (1874–1921) strongly criticised the book and denied any relevance to the question posed in the title.¹⁹

⁷ Strzygowski taught art history in Graz from 1892 to 1909; for his biography cf. e.g. L. SORENSEN, 'Strzygowski, Josef Rudolf Thomas', in *Dictionary of Art Historians*; <https://arthistorians.info/strzygowski/> (access: 12.02.2024); W. J. GRUBER, 'Der Fabrikantensohn Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941) auf dem Weg vom Tuchmacher zum Kunsthistoriker', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien*, 74, 2022, no. 3, pp. 1–13.

⁸ Cf. also A. ZÄH, 'Josef Strzygowski als Initiator der christlich-kunsthistorischen Orientforschung und Visionär der Kunstwissenschaft', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 107, 2013, no. 3/4, pp. 249–292.

⁹ J. STRZYGOWSKI, 'Carl Mommert, Die hl. Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem in ihrem ursprünglichen Zustand, 1898', *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 20, 1899, no. 19, pp. 753–754.

¹⁰ J. STRZYGOWSKI, P. J. DASHIAN, 'Das neugefundene Orpheus-Mosaik in Jerusalem', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 24, 1901, pp. 139–171.

¹¹ J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Orient oder Rom. Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst*, Leipzig 1901, pp. 127–150.

¹² Cf. e.g. the collected essays published on the occasion of Strzygowski's 150th birthday *Von Biala nach Wien. Josef Strzygowski und die Kunstwissenschaften*, eds. P.O. SCHOLZ, M.A. DŁUGOSZ, Vienna 2015; *Orient oder Rom? History and Reception of a Historiographical Myth*, eds. I. FOLETTI, F. LOVINO, Rome 2018.

¹³ S. L. MARCHAND, 'The Rhetoric of Artifacts and the Decline of Classical Humanism. The Case of Josef Strzygowski', *History and Theory*, 33, 1994, no. 4 (thematic issue: *Proof and Persuasion in History*), pp. 106–130, here p. 106.

¹⁴ 'Ich denke, man wird der Detailaufnahme gegenüber nicht schwanken können: dieses Kranzgesims ist antik. [...] Unser Kranzgesims ist unzweifelhaft antik, das beweist der tiefe, exakte Schnitt, besonders der Blattrippen und die dadurch erzielte kräftige Licht- und Schattenwirkung [...]; J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Orient oder Rom*, p. 129 (as in note 11).

¹⁵ 'Ich habe im Vorstehenden zuerst an der Hand von Aufnahmen nach den Gesimsen der Südfassade der Grabeskirche gezeigt, dass dieselben antik und, da sie *in situ* liegen, offenbar vom Bau des grossen Konstantin bis auf unsere Tage stehen geblieben sind', *ibidem*, p. 147.

¹⁶ 'Im Gegenteil, es fehlt alles, was den römischen Stil im besonderen ausmacht [...] Was die Gesimse der Grabeskirche auszeichnet und anziehend macht, ist gerade der Mangel der strengen römischen Gesetzmässigkeit. [...] Was ich bis jetzt an Analogien nachweisen kann, das bietet Ägypten, das Land, in dem römische Kunst weniger als in Syrien und Kleinasien dauernd Eingang gefunden hat', *ibidem*, p. 147.

¹⁷ On Heisenberg see most recently U. MOENNIG, 'August Heisenberg als (Gründungs-)Vorsitzender der Deutsch-Griechischen Gesellschaft', in *Anekdoten Byzantina. Studien zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, eds. I. GRIMM-STADELMANN et al., Berlin 2023 [=Byzantinisches Archiv, 41], pp. 457–468.

¹⁸ 'Eines aber ist wohl jetzt schon sicher: die große Frage "Orient oder Rom?" wird sich wesentlich im Sinne Strzygowskis entscheiden', A. HEISENBERG, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche, zwei Basiliken Konstantins. Untersuchungen zur Kunst und Literatur des ausgehenden Altertums*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1908, p. V.

¹⁹ 'Die summarisch gestellte Frage *Orient oder Rom* hat keine thatsächliche und wissenschaftliche Bedeutung [...] ein Apologet des Ostens dieser Zeit läuft Gefahr wie der unsterbliche Held

Despite Dvořák's negative judgment, Strzygowski in his lecture *The Origins of Christian Art*, delivered in London and Oxford in 1911 and published shortly afterwards in the *Burlington Magazine*, considered (in support of his thesis which had been endorsed by Heisenberg) Jerusalem as 'a focus of the Christian world' and as, from the fourth century onwards, 'a new capital beside Rome and Byzantium'.²⁰ He stated that Jerusalem 'superseded Alexandria and Antioch as the centre of art'.²¹ In the same year, 1911, Anton Baumstark (1872-1948), a philologist, orientalist and literary scholar who received his doctorate in Leipzig, habilitated in Heidelberg and was a private scholar at the Campo Santo Teutonico in Rome from 1899 to 1905,²² published a critical review of Heisenberg's book in the journal *Oriens Christianus*, which he founded in 1901.²³ Four years after this review, in 1915, Baumstark's own monograph on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre appeared, in which he refuted Heisenberg's reconstruction in detail and critically wrote that Strzygowski, who had praised it, was unable to escape the impression of the captivating aspects of Heisenberg's work which, for its part, maintained an attitude of unconditional allegiance to Strzygowski and the ideas he advocated.²⁴ This harsh assessment seems all the more remarkable because Strzygowski and Baumstark were in constant dialogue with each other.²⁵ On the other hand, however, Baumstark's views also show that the debate over 'Orient or Rome' ul-

timately flared up with the reconstruction attempts of the Constantinian building and the southern façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The great studies regarding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the first and second decades of the twentieth century were apparently also formative for Avguštin Stegenšek's Jerusalem studies. Before studying art history with Josef Strzygowski in Graz, however, Stegenšek had been ordained a priest in 1898 and was sent by the Bishop of Lavantine, Michael Napotnik (1850-1922), to Rome, where he stayed from 1899 until 1902. There he lived and studied at the Römische Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft on the Campo Santo Teutonico, where he dedicated himself to archaeology and early Christian art, at the same time that Baumstark was a private scholar there. The rector of the Campo Santo was Anton de Waal (1837-1917),²⁶ and his closest collaborator was Josef Wilpert (1857-1944), who represented de Waal during periods of absence. Stegenšek, Baumstark and Wilpert may have been in active contact in the Roman circle of Christian archaeologists; Stegenšek and Baumstark both took part in Wilpert's seminar 'Übungen des Archäologischen Institutes' in 1901,²⁷ i.e. the year when Strzygowski's book *Orient oder Rom* was published. In that period, Wilpert became one of the greatest advocates of Roman primacy and later one of the most determined opponents of Strzygowski's theses. It is illuminating to locate Stegenšek's work between these two opposite positions.

Following his return from Rome, and preparing the Styrian topographies, Stegenšek began to study Western ecclesiastical art as copies of the spaces and buildings of Christ's passion. He focused in particular on architectural copies of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre and summarised his findings in his book on the Via Crucis, published in 1912. However, it was not until 1913 that his efforts to visit the Holy Land would be fulfilled, so the analyses are based on literature.²⁸ In his archive there is

Cervantes gegen Windmühlen zu kämpfen', M. DVOŘÁK, 'Strzygowski, Josef, Orient oder Rom', *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 164, 1902, pp. 693-711, here 711. In 1901, Alois Riegl's *Die spätromische Kunst-Industrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn* was also published in Vienna, which Dvořák, who in his review defended Franz Wickhoff's theses on Roman art, did not mention.

²⁰ J. STRZYGOWSKI, 'The Origin of Christian Art', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 20, 1911, no. 105, pp. 149-153, here 146.

²¹ Ibidem.

²² Cf. H. KAUFHOLD, 'Josef Strzygowski, der „Oriens Christianus“ und Anton Baumstark', in *Von Biala nach Wien*, pp. 70-96, in particular pp. 70-71 (as in note 12).

²³ A. BAUMSTARK, 'Besprechungen', *Oriens Christianus*, n.s. 1, 1911, pp. 349-353.

²⁴ 'Es hat, wie allem verblüffenden Neuen, der Heisenbergschen These an rascher Zustimmung nicht gefehlt. Insbesondere hat kein Geringerer als unser aller Lehrer und Führer in der Erkenntnis der kunstgeschichtlichen Bedeutung des chrislichen Ostens J. Strzygowski zunächst dem Eindruck der bestechenden Seiten einer Arbeit sich nicht zu entziehen vermocht, die ihm selbst und den von ihm vertretenen Gedanken gegenüber ihrerseits die Haltung einer unbedingten Gefolgschaft wahrte', idem, *Die Modestianischen und die Konstantinischen Bauten am Heiligen Grabe zu Jerusalem. Eine Nachprüfung der Forschungsergebnisse von A. Heisenberg, Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche. Zwei Basiliken Konstantins*, Paderborn 1915, p. 5.

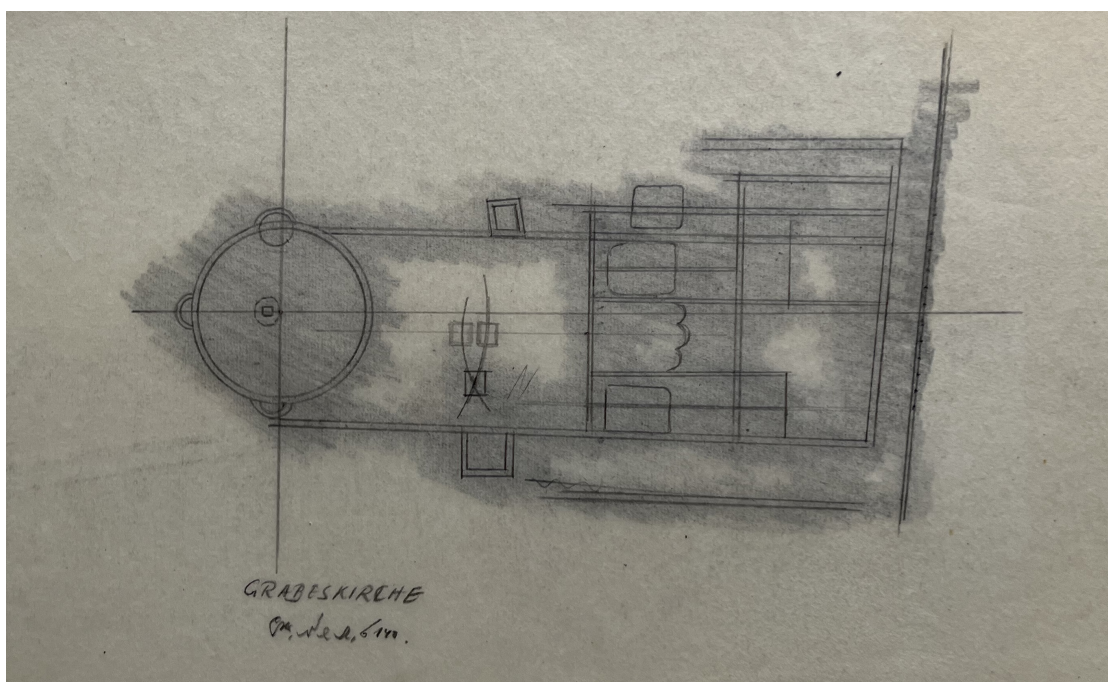
²⁵ Strzygowski had already written two essays for Baumstark's first edition of *Oriens Christianus* in 1901, followed by five more in the

following years. Cf. also H. KAUFHOLD, 'Josef Strzygowski', p. 71 (as in note 22).

²⁶ On Anton de Waal in Rome, see: T. BRECHENMACHER, 'Ultramontanismus in Rom. Anton de Waal und vier Päpste', in *Päpstlichkeit und Patriotismus. Der Campo Santo Teutonico. Ort der Deutschen in Rom zwischen Risorgimento und Erstem Weltkrieg (1870-1918)*, eds. S. HEID, K.-J. HUMMEL, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 2018, pp. 233-262.

²⁷ S. HEID, 'Der christliche Archäologe Joseph Wilpert und das Römische Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 101, 2006, no. 1/2, pp. 4-49; cf. also B. MUROVEC, 'Drobci za zgodovino in metodologijo slovenske umetnostne zgodovine. Avguštin Stegenšek in baročno stropno slikarstvo' [Fragments for the History and Methodology of Slovenian Art History. Avguštin Stegenšek and Baroque Ceiling Painting], *Studia Historica Slovenica*, 7, 2007, no. 3/4, pp. 893-908.

²⁸ For Stegenšek's journey to Jerusalem, see F. K. LUKMAN, 'Zadnjih deset let dr. Avguština Stegenška' [The Last Ten Years of Dr.



1. Stegenšek's drawing of a reconstruction of the Constantinian Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem, Regional Archives Maribor. Phot. Karin Šmid

a folder on Jerusalem and a folder on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with several plans of the Holy Sepulchre and its surroundings,²⁹ as well as numerous tracing papers on which he drew various reconstructed ground plans of the Church [Fig. 1].³⁰ There are also maps of Jerusalem, for instance those from the Baedeker guidebook,³¹ tracings of the city walls, and collage papers with a wide variety of drawn image comparisons. Stegenšek collected, analysed and prepared the material for his publication for almost two decades; however, he published almost nothing before his early death in 1920.

An insight into the early phase (before his visit to the Holy Land) of Stegenšek's Jerusalem studies is given by his little-known article on Jerusalem's church buildings of the fourth century in pictorial representations. It was published in the *Oriens Christianus* in 1911,³² the same

year as Strzygowski's *The Origins of Christian Art*. In it, Stegenšek also addressed the question of the reconstruction of the Constantinian building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. However, unlike his teacher Strzygowski, his approach was not based on a comparative examination of stylistic features in the Church, but – presumably still under the impression of Wilpert and his Roman experiences – he focused on its architectural representation on a Roman sarcophagus.

The sarcophagus, a column sarcophagus with the representation of the *Traditio Legis* on the front, shows on its small left side the denial of Peter, and on the right side the healings of the blind and the bleeding woman.³³ All scenes are set against architectural backgrounds. In his article, Stegenšek compared the depicted buildings in the reliefs with descriptions of Eusebius and Aetheria (Egeria), and assumed that they can be identified as the Constantinian Nēa Ierusalim on Golgotha, the Martyrium, the Chapel *Ad Crucem* and the Anastasis. To visualize the complex grouping of the buildings, he also drew a ground plan of it.³⁴ He furthermore believed in the existence of an independent domed building above the Golgotha rock,³⁵ a thesis that was rejected by Baumstark in the same volume.³⁶

Nevertheless, the sarcophagus became an important object in Stegenšek's later research, with which he tried to

Avguštin Stegenšek], *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, n.s. 3, 1955, pp. 197–224, here pp. 205–206.

²⁹ Among others there is for instance a groundplan of the Holy Sepulchre Church published by Conrad Schick and Carl Mommert in 1898 as well as that published by August Heisenberg in his monograph: A. HEISENBERG, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, s.p. (as in note 18).

³⁰ Regional Archives Maribor, SI_PAM/1624, Stegenšek's legacy. With the exception of his article in *Oriens Christianus*, Stegenšek's research has remained in manuscript and some of the archival material was lost during the Second World War or later.

³¹ K. BAEDECKER, *Palestina und Syrien*, Leipzig 1880.

³² A. STEGENŠEK, 'Die Kirchenbauten Jerusalems im vierten Jahrhundert in bildlicher Darstellung', *Oriens Christianus*, n.s. 1, 1911, pp. 272–285.

³³ On this sarcophagus see also H.-G. SEVERIN, 'Oströmische Plastik unter Valens und Theodosius I', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 12, 1970, pp. 211–252, at pp. 243–247, fig. 22.

³⁴ A. STEGENŠEK, 'Die Kirchenbauten Jerusalems', p. 277 (as in note 32).

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 280.

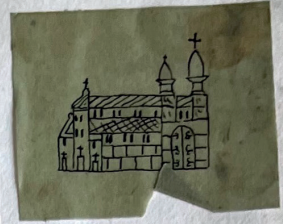
³⁶ A. BAUMSTARK, 'Besprechungen', p. 352 (as in note 23).



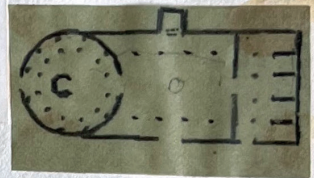
2. Rom. Sarkophag Lat. n. 174, rechte Schmalseite.

ORIENS CHRISTIANUS. Neue Serie I. Tafel II.

Aus Sybel, Christliche Antike, Bd. II.



Kopie.



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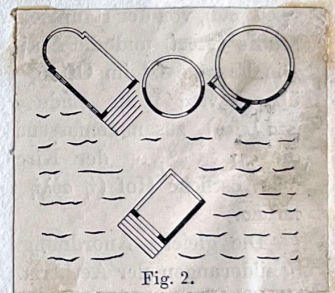


Fig. 2.



6,533



XV. Kad. B, Pos



h. 2,40 (2 x 2 x)

2. Collage with the reproduction of the sarcophagus from Stegenšek's article in *Oriens Christianus* and his drawings of depictions of the Holy Sepulchre, Regional Archives Maribor. Phot. Karin Šmid

further strengthen his theses. It is a fortunate coincidence that some collages on cardboard, which illustrate his research process, are still preserved in his archive. There Stegenšek associated the images of the sarcophagus, which he cut out from his own printed article, with drawings he made of numerous Holy Sepulchre representations, such as those from the mosaic of Santa Pudenziana in Rome, the Trivulzio ivory, and that of the Sancta Sanctorum reliquary [Fig. 2]. In his collages there are also depictions of Zion, among them the map of Mount Zion made by Marino Sanudo in 1310,³⁷ in which Stegenšek added the names of the represented buildings in red pen [Fig. 3].

Stegenšek's analysis of the other side of the sarcophagus, which represents Peter's denial, is, in fact, focussed on Mount Zion's topography. At first, he points to three buildings in the background connected by a crenellated wall. He identified them as, on the left, a round building, perhaps the House of Mary or the gate, through which Peter is said to have been led by an angel; in the centre, the old Church of the Apostles (later replaced by the Sancta Maria in Monte Zion of the Crusaders) with a circular Upper Room; and on the right, the House of Caiaphas. In front of the latter, however, a fourth building is represented. Stegenšek identified it as the Grotto of Peter's Repentance, situated on the eastern slope of Zion, in front of the city wall, and first mentioned by Sæwulf only in 1102.³⁸ Stegenšek concluded from this that Peter's Grotto as a memorial site was already fixed outside the city wall (towards the pool of Siloam) in the fourth century, the time of its depiction on the sarcophagus.³⁹

Even if Stegenšek's research has found little to no resonance, what remains intriguing about his study on Jerusalem, and which differs from that of Strzygowski, is his topographical approach. From the beginning, Stegenšek was interested not only in a reconstruction of the buildings, but especially in the topographical localisation of the biblical events in the urban space. The identification of the original sites was certainly crucial for his research. In this, he followed a tradition of theologians (and pilgrims), for instance Johann Nepomuk Sepp (1816–1909), who in the nineteenth century almost rapturously pursued research in the life of Jesus in order to determine the true holy sites of the New Testament.⁴⁰ However,

Stegenšek speaks explicitly of biblical sites of remembrance (*Erinnerungsstätten*), and, although, he believed that a free invention of biblical memorials without the foundation of a tradition was impossible, he acknowledges that, because of the unstable history of the city, traditions – and therefore the topography of the sites of commemoration – could have changed over time.⁴¹ He is, thus, also concerned with the tradition of remembrance and not, ostensibly, with authenticity. In this respect, he points ahead not least to the studies of the Holy Land by Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945), and his concept of collective memory.⁴²

As mentioned, Stegenšek began his research on the Via Crucis in Jerusalem when he was preparing the ecclesiastical topography of the Slovenian part of Styria. He contextualised the architecture and furnishings, mainly Baroque, by comparing how closely the buildings followed the originals in the Holy Land. A lack of knowledge of these 'originals' led him to research individual buildings and ultimately to the Jerusalem topography. He wrote both his topographies on Styrian church monuments in Slovenian. However, the Jerusalem studies he planned to publish in German under the title *Jerusalemische Entdeckungen*, since 'criticism, in order to be valid, needs counter-critics, which it is difficult to expect to be able to obtain among one's own compatriots'.⁴³

Before publishing his scientific hypotheses, however, he aimed to verify them in Jerusalem. On 5 August 1912, in search of financial support, he wrote to Max Hussarek von Heinlein (1865–1935) in the latter's capacity as K.&K. (Imperial and Royal) Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, about his interest in researching in Jerusalem.⁴⁴ He listed his original scientific contribution to Jerusalem topography, in particular, the corrections to the position of individual churches, such as St Mary's and St Sophia's.⁴⁵

³⁷ Stegenšek quotes Sanudo's image from an essay written by Mommert on the Dormitio on Zion, see C. MOMMERT, 'Die Dormitio und das deutsche Grundstück auf dem traditionellen Zion', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 21, 1898, pp. 149–183, here p. 179.

³⁸ A. STEGENŠEK, 'Die Kirchenbauten Jerusalems', pp. 274–276 (as in note 32).

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 275.

⁴⁰ On the figure of Johann Nepomuk Sepp, see M. FINK-LANG, "Dem Geiste nach verpflichtet". Die Görres-Schüler Johann Nepomuk Sepp und Michael Strodl, in *Schule, Universität und Bildung. Festschrift für Harald Dickerhof zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. H. FLACHENECKER, D. GRYPÄ, Regensburg 2007, pp. 243–293.

⁴¹ 'Daß in Jerusalem einzelne kirchliche Traditionen wegen der verschiedenen Wechselfälle, die die Stadt und deren Heiligtümer getroffen haben, ihren Platz öfters verändert, geben wir gerne zu, [...], aber eine freie Erfindung von biblischen Erinnerungsstätten ohne Grundlage einer Tradition scheint uns ausgeschlossen. Außerhalb der Stadtmauer, gegen den Siloateich zu lag also der Ort der Reue Petri und in dieser Gegend ist er auch auf unserem Relief wiedergegeben', A. STEGENŠEK, 'Die Kirchenbauten Jerusalems', p. 276 (as in note 32).

⁴² M. HALBWACHS, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre sainte* (1941), Paris 1942; German translation: *Stätten der Verkündigung im Heiligen Land. Eine Studie zum kollektiven Gedächtnis*, Konstanz 2003.

⁴³ F. K. LUKMAN, 'Zadnjih deset let', p. 197 (as in note 28). In the last years of his life, following the research in France (by Dominicans Louis-Hugues Vincent (1872–1960) and Félix-Marie Abel [1878–1953]), he even considered publishing his study in French (*ibidem*, pp. 206, 214).

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 197. For Hussarek cf. *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, vol. 3, Wien 1965, pp. 16–17.

⁴⁵ F. K. LUKMAN, 'Zadnjih deset let', p. 197 (as in note 28).



1. Rom. Sarkophag Lat. n. 174, linke Schmalseite.



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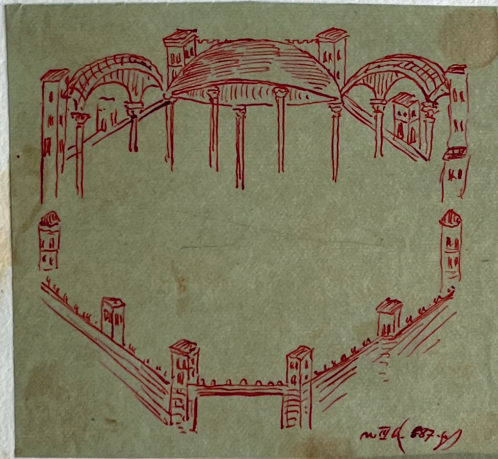


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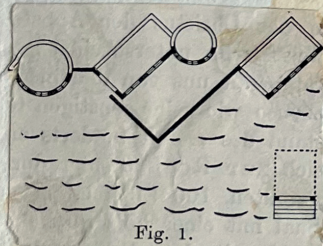
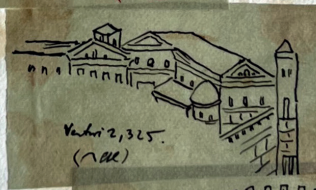
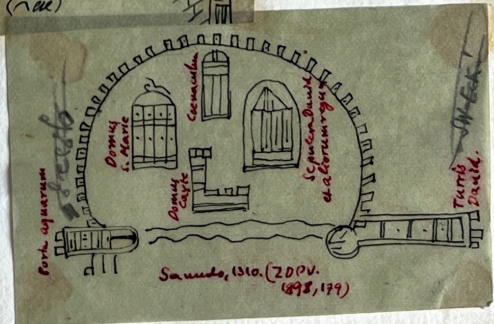


Fig. 1.



Vat. n. 2, 325.
(AK)



Sauer, 130. (ZDPV.
1898, 179)

3. Collage with the reproduction of the sarcophagus from Stegenšek's article in *Oriens Christianus* and his drawings of depictions of Jerusalem and Mount Zion, Regional Archives Maribor. Phot. Karin Šmid

And he expressed the hope 'that the Austrian state will want to compete with other nations in the discovery of early Christian monuments as eagerly as it competes in the investigation of classical antiquities'.⁴⁶

However, Hussarek did not reply to the letter, but left Stegenšek's request to the assessment of Strzygowski, then professor in Vienna. Strzygowski immediately wrote to Stegenšek, criticising him for not approaching him directly and asking him about the scientific evidence.⁴⁷ As Stegenšek delayed his visit to Vienna to report his research in detail, Strzygowski travelled to Maribor (then Marburg an der Drau), to which he returned also around Easter of the same year, 1913. The correspondence that followed and continued over several years cannot, however, be described as a collaboration between the two researchers. Strzygowski supported Stegenšek, invited him to give a lecture at the Institute of Art History at the University of Vienna, and offered him a scholarship from his Institute and the possibility of publishing in the *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*. Stegenšek thanked his professor for his interest and support, especially for enabling him to stay for two months in the Austrian hospice in Jerusalem; he wrote to Strzygowski about the timetable of his plans and the concept, but basically, he distrusted him and shared very few of his insights and findings with him.⁴⁸

After exploring the Holy Land in autumn 1913, Stegenšek was even more convinced of the validity of his methods and discoveries, while largely abandoning his preparations for archaeological research. The change in Stegenšek's approach throughout the years is also evidenced by the fact that he never referred to his article in *Oriens Christianus*, while repeatedly citing the topographical study of the Via Crucis as a reference.⁴⁹ In the last years of his life his topography was becoming increasingly speculative and would ultimately be based solely on the interpretation of biblical texts. He approached an interdisciplinary community of university professors, Church authorities and colleagues from Rome for (financial) support,⁵⁰ finally writing in October 1919 to the theologian and archaeologist Johann Peter Kirsch (1861–1941), then a professor in Fribourg, Switzerland, who replied in January 1920 (just two months before Stegenšek passed away) that his Jerusalem topography would be of interest to the Görres Society.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

⁴⁷ Ibidem.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ Cf. ibidem, p. 197.

⁵⁰ For example, correspondence with Joseph Sauer (1872–1949) in 1918, also a former student at Campo Santo Teutonico, then professor of church history, Christian archaeology and art history at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, and constant contact with Alois Musil (1868–1944), from 1909 full professor of Oriental studies in Vienna; cf. ibidem, pp. 202, 212.

⁵¹ Ibidem, pp. 217–218.

For his Jerusalem studies, Strzygowski was criticised by both the interdisciplinary research community (archaeologists, Byzantinists, etc.) and the Vienna School of Art History. Stegenšek's interest from 1912 onwards, at least in Strzygowski's view, most probably represented the gain of an ally in support of his arguments, and the institutionalisation of art-historical research on the Holy Land and the 'Orient' at the University of Vienna. However, Stegenšek did not meet the expectations of his Graz teacher. His art-historical work remained closely connected to Church authorities and institutions in Maribor and limited to the institutionalisation of art history on a local level, as a Slovenian national science, including the launching of the art journal *Ljubitelj krščanske umetnosti* [The Christian Art Amateur].

After the end of the First World War and with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the process of establishing art history studies at the newly founded University of Ljubljana began.⁵² Stegenšek declined to become the first professor and later, unsuccessfully, offered to lecture on the history of Byzantine art.⁵³ Strzygowski was no longer an authority to whom he had to report. However, his aspiration – that the new State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes would be more supportive of his Jerusalem studies and would be willing to finance them, even though the results might be contrary to Church dogma – remained unfulfilled.

Stegenšek's work is marked, on the one hand, by an international interdisciplinary research perspective, and, on the other, by the construction of a national art history in Slovenian. It is difficult to assess whether or not Stegenšek's research contribution has been overlooked (also) because of the nationalist-socialist stigma of his Graz professor Strzygowski. Post-Second-World-War borders and ideologies have strongly shaped the narration on individual art historians and the historiography of the region until the present day. By 1945, Stegenšek had been dead for 25 years. His involvement in Church institutions and his Christian perspective were politically highly problematic, and in opposition to the new doctrine of education and research. However, art history at the University in Ljubljana, established in the Interwar Period by former Viennese students, especially Izidor Cankar (1886–1958), France Stele (1886–1972) and Vojeslav Molè (1886–1973), built its methodology on the foundations of the Vienna School of Art History.⁵⁴ It was Molè who, as professor in Ljubljana and Cracow, contributed greatly to the continuation in how to

⁵² Cf. F. STELE, 'Slowenische Kunstgeschichte seit 1920', *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Universität Graz*, 3/4, 1968/1969, pp. 1–18.

⁵³ F. K. LUKMAN, 'Zadnjih deset let', p. 216 (as in note 28).

⁵⁴ B. MUROVEC, 'Zwischen Methodologie und Ideologie. Slowenische Kunsthistoriker der Wiener Schule nach 1945', *RIHA Journal*, 2015, article no. 117 (<https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2015.0.70067>, access: 1.10.2024).

understand and teach the ‘Orient’.⁵⁵ The model of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in which Byzantine research (in contrast to German art history) was focused on Balkan and the South Slavic lands, as a direct territorial interest of the Monarchy (‘the Orient closest to us’),⁵⁶ was continued.

SUMMARY

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JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI AND AVGUŠTIN
STEGENŠEK. SOME REMARKS ON THEIR
JERUSALEM STUDIES

Josef Strzygowski and Avguštin Stegenšek, his student at the University of Graz, made a decisive contribution to the institutionalisation of art history in the Styrian province of the Habsburg Monarchy around 1900. At the time, research in Vienna focused on antiquity and the Renaissance, while very few art historians in the German-speaking world devoted themselves to the study of the ‘Orient’, and even fewer to Jerusalem studies. Strzygowski dedicated the last chapter of his book *Orient oder Rom* (1901), in which he argued for Europe’s dependence on Oriental forms, to the Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre, thus embarking on an interdisciplinary research project that was mainly carried out by archaeologists, theologians, Byzantinists and orientalists. Strzygowski’s book was severely criticised by Max Dvořák, his colleague and rival at the University of Vienna from 1909 onwards, and other scholars, such as Anton Baumstark.

Between 1899 and 1902, Stegenšek was a student at the Roman Institute of the Görres Society on the Campo Santo Teutonico, where he listened to Josef Wilpert’s lectures and came into contact with many other German intellectuals who supported the primacy of Rome. Stegenšek’s research was based on his topographical work in southern Styria, in which he traced how the ‘originals’ of Jerusalem were copied in the Calvaries of Europe and in the Stations of the Cross. A forgotten text on the pictorial representation of church buildings in Jerusalem in the fourth century, published by Stegenšek in *Oriens Christianus* in 1911, reveals his method which is based on a comparative study. Stegenšek, moreover, was interested not only in reconstructing holy sites, but above all in topographically locating the biblical events within the urban space. In the idea of memorial sites (*Erinnerungsstätten*) Stegenšek points ahead not least to the studies of the Holy Land by Maurice Halbwachs.

After 1912, when Stegenšek attempted to obtain funding from the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Education and Culture for a trip to Jerusalem, his path became more closely linked with Strzygowski’s again. However, as Stegenšek did not trust his former professor from Graz, he travelled to Jerusalem at his own expense in 1913. With the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the process of establishing art-historical studies at the newly founded University of Ljubljana began; Stegenšek declined to become the first professor and later unsuccessfully offered to teach the history of Byzantine art. Due to his early death, his research has remained largely unpublished and overlooked.

⁵⁵ Cf. W. BAŁUS, ‘The Place of the Vienna School of Art History in Polish Art Historiography of the Interwar Period’, *Journal of Art Historiography*, 21, 2019, pp. 1–15, here p. 2.

⁵⁶ ‘Das uns am nächsten liegende Gebiet des Orient’, Hans Sedlmayr to Ernst Diez, 22 September 1937, University of Vienna, Department of Art History Archives, Sedlmayr Folders, Vienna, quoted after Z. TONBUL, ‘From Strzygowski’s ‘Orient oder Rom’ to Hans Sedlmayr’s ‘Closest Orient’’, *Journal of Art Historiography*, 23, 2020, pp. 1–15, here p. 2.

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INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE IMPERIAL AND ROYAL CENTRAL COMMISSION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MONUMENTS AND THE CONSERVATOR MILIEUS IN GALICIA

COMPETING COMPETENCES

As one of the intermediary bodies in the Habsburg Monarchy, the *k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* (Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Preservation of Monuments; below, the 'Central Commission'), subordinated to the Ministry of Culture and Education, was established in 1850 in Vienna.¹ The founding was part of the institutionalisation of monument protection in Europe. But whereas in France with the *patrimoine*, and the *vaterländische Kultur* [patriotic culture] in the German lands, a nationally defined concept of monuments was constituted, the Central Commission for Monument Preservation was to measure up to the multinational cultural heritage in the multi-ethnic Empire and act as a 'cultural cement'.² This was a difficult balancing act, because, until 1911, the Central Commission was only active in an advisory capacity, supported by a network of – honorary – local conservators and correspondents in the individual crown lands of the monarchy, who for their part mostly thought and acted in national categories.

This was also the case in Galicia, where the social structures of the Polish-Lithuanian noble republic persisted

even after its partition in the late 18th c. and the annexation of its southern part by the Habsburg monarchy: key positions in the intellectual and cultural spheres as well as in state administration and regional politics were filled by Poles. Their influence grew with the establishment of the Diet (*Sejm Krajowy/Landtag*) of Galicia and Lodomeria in 1861 and the granting of full autonomy in 1873.³ In the eastern parts, especially in Lemberg (pl. Lwów, ukr. Lviv), the capital of the crown land, the representatives of the Ukrainian interests – until the later 19th c. still called Rusyns (pl. Rusini, ukr. Rusyny) – tried to assert their political and cultural demands against Polish dominance.⁴ The historic Polish royal city of Cracow with the venerable Jagiellonian University and the Academy of Arts and Sciences (*Akademia Umiejętności*), founded in 1872, developed into the focal point of Polish intellectual life, including across the partition borders.⁵

³ See D. GAWRECKI, 'Der Landtag von Galizien und Lodomerien', in: *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, Vol. 7: *Verfassung und Parlamentarismus*, part II: *Die regionalen Repräsentativkörperschaften*, eds. H. RUMPLER, P. URBANITSCH, Wien 2000, pp. 2131–2170.

⁴ On that issue, see the chapter *Lemberg und Galizien im Habsburger Reich* in CH. MICK, *Kriegserfahrungen in einer multiethnischen Stadt: Lemberg 1914–1947*, Wiesbaden 2010, here pp. 28–68.

⁵ See F. ZIEJKA, "'Tu wszystko jest Polska...'" (o roli Krakowa w życiu duchowym Polaków w wieku XIX), *Rocznik Krakowski*, 62, 1996, pp. 31–51; W. BAŁUS, *Krakau zwischen Traditionen und Wegen in die Moderne*, Stuttgart 2003. On the self-positioning of Poles and Ukrainians in the Habsburg Monarchy and the changes appearing during WWI, P. SZLANTA, 'Der lange Abschied der Polen von Österreich', in: *Die Habsburger Monarchie und der Erste Weltkrieg, Teilband 1: Der Kampf um die Neuordnung Mitteleuropas*,

¹ Fundamental publications on the history are TH. BRÜCKLER, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege. Die Ära Helfert, Teil I, 1863–1891*, Wien 2020; M. FINGERNAGEL-GRÜLL, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege. Die Ära Helfert, Teil II, 1892–1910*, Wien 2019.

² B. EULER-ROLLE, 'Zum genetischen Code der österreichischen Denkmalpflege', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 73, 2019, no. 1/2: *100 Jahre Republik. Denkmalpflege zwischen Monarchie und Republik*, ed. P. MAHRINGER, pp. 25–34, here p. 26.

In 1856, the Central Commission appointed the first honorary conservators for Western and Eastern Galicia in Cracow and Lviv, respectively. Since the staff proposals came out of the respective crown lands, the positions in Galicia were always filled by Poles until the end of the monarchy.⁶ This did not mean that the preservation of synagogues, or of the characteristic wooden churches of the Greek Catholic Church, whose believers mostly belonged to the Ukrainian population group, would be neglected – this was precisely what the system of the Central Commission was supposed to take care of.

Undoubtedly, however, the ‘Polish’-coded cultural heritage was in the foreground. In 1889, at the latest, when both Western and Eastern Galicia were merged into a Board of Conservators (Grono Konserwatorów),⁷ the Polish conservators began to pursue an autonomous course vis-à-vis the Viennese Central Commission. Polish publications on the subject, for example by Marzena Woźny and Leszek Sobol on the West Galician Board,⁸ and the recent study on the Lviv Conservator Mieczysław Potocki by Agnieszka Groniek,⁹ keep stressing the achievements of the Boards for the preservation of the national cultural heritage. Their attempts at emancipation are presented as necessary steps for the safeguarding of their own interests vis-à-vis ‘Vienna’.

Based on archival records in the Austrian State Archives,¹⁰ I would like to contrast this with the perspective of the Viennese leadership of the Central Commission, where the Polish activities were critically observed from the very beginning: ‘Galician conservators have a plan to break away from the Central Commission, and form their own Galician Board of Conservators under the

authority of the Diet,’ commented Heinrich von Zeißberg (1839–1899), a member of the Central Commission and a specialist on Polish history, who had spent several years in Lviv, on the news of the Galician Board founding.¹¹ My reflections will extend to the aftermath of the First World War; the *Kunstschutz* activities during the War will play a special role here.

‘CONSERVATION INSTEAD OF RESTORATION’

In the context of the restoration of the Royal Castle on the Wawel Hill in Cracow, tensions grew in particular between the West Galician Board of Conservators and the Central Commission under Conservator General Max Dvořák (1874–1921).¹² The Wawel area, which had been misused as barracks by the Austrian military, was acquired as a symbol of the unity of the nation through a fundraising campaign in all three partition territories of Poland. In 1908, the plans for the restoration of the Royal Castle, which had been developed under the leadership of the architect Zygmunt Hendel (1862–1929), a member of the Board of Conservators, were presented.¹³ The aim was to restore the castle to the condition of the first half of the 16th c., the heyday of the Polish Jagiellonian dynasty. For this purpose, the changes of the 19th c. were to be reversed: The characteristic, disproportionately long columns of the upper floor in the chateau courtyard, which were walled in for structural reasons, were to be uncovered and the original roof shape reconstructed according to historical views. About two thirds of the columns were to be replaced by reconstructions because the originals had become brittle; this also concerned some of the window and portal frames of the early Renaissance – this history is well known from the research on the restoration history of the Royal Castle.¹⁴

Nevertheless, in our context it is important to recall Max Dvořák’s public objection to the Polish plans in the 1908 yearbook of the Central Commission.¹⁵ Dvořák followed the line of his predecessor in office, Alois Riegl,

part II: *Vom Vielvölkerstaat Österreich-Ungarn zum neuen Europa der Nationalstaaten*, ed. H. RUMPLER, Wien 2016, pp. 813–851; H. BINDER, ‘Die Ukrainer – von enttäuschter Staatstreue zum Kampf um Selbständigkeit’, in: *ibidem*, pp. 853–885.

⁶ See TH. BRÜCKLER, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege*, pp. 465–479 (as in note 1).

⁷ The founding idea emerged in May 1888; elections to the respective boards took place in November and December 1889; see M. WOŹNY, ‘Początki Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej w świetle krakowskich materiałów’, *Rocznik Krakowski*, 77, 2011, pp. 77–88, here p. 82.

⁸ *ibidem*; L. SOBOL, ‘Zarys głównych kierunków działań Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej z lat 1888–1905’, *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie*, 24, 2008, pp. 95–102.

⁹ A. GRONEK, *Mieczysław Potocki. W służbie przeszłości. Z dziejów konserwacji zabytków w Galicji Wschodniej*, Warszawa 2023.

¹⁰ In the records of the Viennese Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv [OeStA/AVA], Unterrichts-, Bundesdenkmalamt, Karton 20: Galizien, Gemälde Rest., Kunst, Kärnten, bundle 37 ‘Konservatoren Galizien’, and bundle 40 ‘Kunsttopographie Galizien’, there are extensive files from the years 1889 to 1914, documenting the conflict between the Central Commission for the Preservation of Monuments and the Polish ‘Grono Konserwatorów’.

¹¹ *ibidem*, bundle 40: Kunsttopographie Galizien, P Nr. 349 CC, letter draft by Zeißberg, commenting on the plans of the Polish conservators, 02.12.1889. On the stance of the Central Commission see also M. WOŹNY, ‘Początki Grona Konserwatorów’, p. 84 (as in note 7).

¹² P. DETTLOFF, M. FABIAŃSKI, A. FISCHINGER, *Zamek Królewski na Wawelu. Sto lat odnowy (1905–2005)*, Kraków 2005, *passim*.

¹³ The journal *Architekt* dedicated two issues to the presentation of the projects: [several authors] ‘Z Wawelu’, *Architekt*, 9, 1908, nr 11, pp. 119–134, pl. 31–34; [several authors]: ‘Wzgórze Wawelskie’, *Architekt*, 9, 1908, nr 12, pp. 137–152, pl. 35f.

¹⁴ P. DETTLOFF, M. FABIAŃSKI, A. FISCHINGER, *Zamek Królewski na Wawelu* (as in note 12).

¹⁵ M. DVOŘÁK, ‘Restaurierungsfragen. II. Das Königsschloß am Wawel’, *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentralkommission*

whose *Denkmalwerte* (monument values) contributed decisively to the turn away from the historicizing restoration practice of the 19th c. – according to the motto coined at the same time by Georg Dehio: ‘Conservation instead of restoration.’ Although Dvořák expressed understanding for the national motivation of the Polish conservators, he saw in the planned project ‘the greatest danger that ever threatened the castle’, called his Polish colleagues ‘romantics’ whose ideas belonged ‘long ago to the past’, and criticized *en passant* the reconstructive treatment of the Collegium Maius that had taken place shortly before.¹⁶

In May 1909, Dvořák convened a meeting of experts from Vienna and Galicia on the subject of the Wawel, at which the ‘president’ of the West Galician Board of Conservators, Stanisław Tomkowicz (1850–1933), ultimately stood alone in the open. In the end, the decision was taken to work out a new project ‘which, avoiding all attempts at historicizing reconstruction, will be limited only to the safeguarding and dignified restoration of the building.’¹⁷

As we can still see today, Dvořák and the Central Commission did not prevail, and Hendel’s plans remained the basis for restoration of the Wawel. Nevertheless, the restoration measures were supported by Emperor Franz Joseph with an annual endowment of 100,000 crowns (ca. € 717,430) until the outbreak of WW I; the Galician Diet contributed the same amount. Only the political network in the Diet made possible the operational existence of the two Galician boards of conservators, whose offices were financed from the funds of the crown land, as was the bulk of the realised monument preservation projects.¹⁸

This strengthened the self-confidence of the Polish conservators and their desire to free themselves from the directives and interference of the Vienna headquarters. In 1913, there eventually was an *éclat* over a draft statute that was supposed to upgrade the Galician bodies to a ‘National Council for Monuments’, combined with serious accusations against the Central Commission.¹⁹ Its secretary general, Fortunat von Schubert-Soldern, spoke of open hostility on the part of the authors of this draft around Stanisław Tomkowicz, and he accused his Polish colleagues of hubris in an internal letter:

für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale, 2, 1908, pp. 105–112.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

¹⁷ ‘Die Restaurierung des königlichen Schlosses auf dem Wawel’, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* (MZK), 8, 1909, pp. 269–277.

¹⁸ Lists of the budgets granted by the Galician Diet from 1911 to 1913 in the records OeStA/AVA Unterricht Bundesdenkmalamt, Karton 20: Galizien [...], bundle 38, ‘1914–1918 Landeskonservatoren-Ämter Galizien’, Z 4528.

¹⁹ OeStA/AVA Unterricht, Bundesdenkmalamt, Karton 20: Galizien [...], bundle 37 ‘Konservatoren Galizien’, Z. 5090. See also TH. BRÜCKLER, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand als Denkmalpfleger. Die ‘Kunstakten’ der Militärkanzlei im Österreichischen Staatarchiv (Kriegsarchiv)*, Wien 2009, pp. 471–473.

[...] the enormously high sum of 350,000 to 500,000 Crowns, which the poor country spends annually ‘for the purposes of historical monuments’, is astonishing and alarming. Just compare that the credits of the C.C., which are intended for the preservation of monuments in all [...] crown lands of the monarchy [...], amount to a total of only about 280,000 Crowns. And as for the quality and quantity of monuments, Galicia (with the exception of Cracow and a few other art sites) cannot even be compared with the western crown lands.²⁰

Count Karl/Karol Lanckoroński (1848–1933), a Pole with family roots in Galicia, who had made a political career in Vienna and served as Vice President of the Central Commission between 1910 and 1917,²¹ also opposed the claims of his compatriot colleagues – which they would not forgive him for.²²

ESTABLISHMENT OF A STATE CONSERVATOR IN WESTERN GALICIA

With the establishment of the State Monuments Office (Staatsdenkmalamt) in 1911 and the gradual installation in the crown lands of civil servant Provincial Conservators (Landeskonservatoren) accountable to the Vienna headquarters, Dvořák had initiated a fundamental reform of the Central Commission.²³ In order to maintain control

²⁰ OeStA/AVA, Unterricht, Bundesdenkmalamt, Karton 20: Galizien [...], bundle 37 ‘Konservatoren Galizien’, Z. 4528: Kreierung und Statut eines Landes-Konserv.-Rates in Galizien, 20.09.1913.

²¹ On Lanckoroński see TH. BRÜCKLER, *Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Denkmalpflege* (as in note 1), p. 475–476. About the influence of politicians and intellectuals from Galicia in Viennese politics H. BINDER, *Galizien in Wien. Parteien, Wahlen, Fraktionen und Abgeordnete im Übergang zur Massenpolitik*, Wien 2005. Lanckoroński was also on Dvořák’s side at the meeting on the restoration of the Wawel Castle; see *Die Restaurierung des königlichen Schlosses* (as in note 17), pp. 274–275.

²² Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (ANK), 29/560/0/2/24, Grono Konserwatorów Galicji Wschodniej (1913–16), fol. 1, letter from the Board of Conservators of Western Galicia to Lanckoroński, 21.01.1914, informing him that the Board had lodged a complaint with the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Education and Culture against the warning issued towards them by Lanckoroński. Tensions between the Board and Lanckoroński are reflected in the correspondence between Lanckoroński and Szydłowski (1915–1922) in the Archive of Science of Polish Academy of Science (PAN) and Polish Academy of Arts and Science (PAU) in Cracow, AN PAN i PAU, K III – 150, VI/56 (Legacy of Karolina Lanckorońska).

²³ On the reform of the Central Commission, with reference to the tasks of monument protection during WWI M. DVOŘÁK, ‘Einrichtungen des Kunstschutzes in Österreich’, in: *Kunstschutz im Kriege. Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Maßnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung, Rettung, Erforschung*, ed. P. CLEMEN, vol. 2: *Die Kriegsschauplätze in Italien, im*

over Galicia, a salaried Conservator with civil servant status, which would keep him loyal to the state and its institutions,²⁴ was installed here, too. In April 1914, thirty-one-year-old Tadeusz Szydłowski (1883–1942) was appointed Provincial Conservator for western Galicia, based in Cracow.²⁵ Szydłowski had studied in Cracow with Marian Sokołowski (1839–1911) and Georg/Jerzy Mycielski (1856–1928),²⁶ and had also completed a guest semester with Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945) in Berlin.

With this personnel decision, the Central Commission seemed to have made broad concessions to the Board of Polish Conservators, whose influence it actually wanted to curtail: Szydłowski came from precisely this environment; it had been Mycielski, since 1902 chairman of the Society for the Protection of Polish Art and Cultural Monuments at the Cracow Academy of Arts and Sciences, who had recommended him to the Central Commission.²⁷ In the Vienna headquarters, Szydłowski found a mentor in Vice President Lanckoroński. In him, the protection of Poland's artistic heritage had an influential advocate; without Lanckoroński's interventions on the relevant Imperial and Royal institutions, Szydłowski would not have been able to act so effectively, especially during the coming wartime.

However, for the Board of Conservators under Tomkovicz's leadership, the Provincial Conservator was just the representative of the detested Vienna headquarters, and it took time until they finally acknowledged his work: Szydłowski was not invited to the meetings of the Board until the second year of his term of office, and he was not accepted as a Board member until the beginning of 1917.²⁸

Osten und Südosten, Leipzig 1919, pp. 1–10, here p. 1; see F. LEITNER, "Causa Infinita" – die Verländerungsdebatte in der österreichischen Denkmalpflege, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 73, 2019, nr 1/2, (as in note 2), pp. 35–41, here pp. 35–38.

²⁴ ÖStA/AVA Unterricht, Bundesdenkmalamt Karton 20: Galizien [...], Z. 186, letter from the Vice-President of the Central Commission, Karl Lanckoroński, to the Chancellery of Archduke Franz Ferdinand as the Protector of Monument Conservation, 10.01.1914.

²⁵ Bundesdenkmalamt Wien, Archiv (BDAA), personal files Szydłowski, Z 127 14/1914: Appointment letter to Szydłowski by the Minister for Culture and Education Max Hussarek von Heinlein, 20.04.1914.

²⁶ In the correspondence with the Central Commission, the German variants of the first names and surnames is used, i.e. Karl Lanckoronski, sometimes also Thaddäus von Szydłowski. On Mycielski see TH. BRÜCKLER, U. NIEMETH, *Personenlexikon zur österreichischen Denkmalpflege (1850–1990)*, Horn 2001, p. 186.

²⁷ Letter from Karl Lanckoroński to Archduke Franz Ferdinand, 10.01.1914 (as on note 24).

²⁸ ANK, 29/560/0/2/24, Grono Konserwatorów Galicji Wschodniej (1913–16), fol. 315: For the first time, Szydłowski's name appears on the invitation to the Board's meeting on 17 August 1915. One issue on the agenda was the 'Relationship between the Conservators'

It is noteworthy that, until the end of the monarchy, no salaried Provincial Conservator was appointed for Eastern Galicia, although there was a pressing aspirant in the person of the Lviv art historian Josef/Józef Piotrowski (1873–1939), who had been working in the Vienna office of the Central Commission.²⁹ In the end, however, Dvořák and Schubert-Soldern did not consider him suitable for this position.³⁰

'ART PROTECTION IN WAR TIME'

Only three months after taking office, Szydłowski was confronted with the consequences of war on cultural property. Archival records show him to be the driving force in the establishment of art protection structures throughout the crown land and later also in the Military General Governorate Lublin (MGG) under Austro-Hungarian military administration. At the beginning of October 1914, when military tensions seemed to be easing after the heavy losses of the first weeks of the war, Szydłowski immediately requested an official appointment with the Central Commission in order to define his field of activity in the safeguarding of cultural heritage.³¹ The work was difficult: without the permission of the military authorities, heritage protection activities in the liberated combat zones were not possible, not even in Galicia, although it was part of the Habsburg Monarchy.

At the end of August 1915, when the German and Austro-Hungarian armies had finally pushed the Russian army out of 'Russian Poland', Szydłowski was immediately also 'entrusted with the agendas of monument

Office and the Board of Conservators'; as well as at the meetings on 30 August 1915 (fol. 421) and 3 November 1915 (fol. 427). Szydłowski's nomination for the Board in January 1917 is documented in ANK, 29/560/0/2/25, Grono Konserwatorów Galicji Wschodniej (1917–20), fol. 7, pp. 11–14.

²⁹ Vgl. TH. BRÜCKLER, *Thronfolger Franz Ferdinand*, pp. 334, 356 (as in note 19).

³⁰ BDAA, personal files Josef Piotrowski, Z. 128, letter from Schubert-Soldern to the Ministry of Culture and Education, with a commentary by Max Dvořák, 25.10.1915. Piotrowski complained to Lanckoroński about his demotion; ibidem, Z. 256, letter from Piotrowski to Lanckoroński, 24.12.1915. In independent Poland, Piotrowski held the post of the Voivodeship Conservator in Lviv from 1920 to 1929; see P. LASEK, *Inwentaryzacja zabytków architektury w lwowskim okręgu konserwatorskim 1920–1939. Szkice z dziejów*, Warszawa 2020, pp. 7–62.

³¹ BDAA, personal files Szydłowski, Z 82, letter from Szydłowski to Schubert-Soldern, 09.10.1914. For a broader view on the circumstances of heritage protection in wartime see B. STÖRTKUHL, *Galizien im Ersten Weltkrieg – Kunstschutz an der Heimatfront*; *kunsttexte.de*, nr 4, 2023, Sektion Ostblick, special issue *Kunstschutz-Initiativen im Ersten Weltkrieg in Ostmitteleuropa*, eds. R. BORN, B. STÖRTKUHL (14 pages), www.kunsttexte.de. <https://doi.org/10.48633/ksttx.2023.4>.

preservation' in the newly formed MGG.³² However, the measures there were not financed from the funds of the Central Commission, but through the military administration.³³ The structures of the Central Commission were geared to state affiliation – the MGG was consequently treated differently from Galicia. Szydłowski and his Polish fellow campaigners, on the other hand, were driven by concern for the national heritage across all border demarcations.³⁴ At Szydłowski's insistence and with Karl Lanckoroński's political contacts, a separate monument conservator was appointed for the MGG in May 1916: Stefan Komornicki (1887–1942), a former staff member of Szydłowski.³⁵

For Galicia, Szydłowski tried hard to get support for his activities. In particular, he was looking for a specialist in Ukrainian cultural heritage, partly in order to accommodate the demands of the Ukrainian community in the Eastern parts of the crown land. He eventually succeeded in late 1917 by recruiting Josef/Yosip Pelenskyi (1879–1957), an archaeologist affiliated with the Ukrainian Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv. At the same time, Pelenski was not unknown in the Cracow milieu: Before the outbreak of the war, he had published his research on the medieval art of the Halicz region, which was meant to be his habilitation at the Jagiellonian University.³⁶ Furthermore, the art historian Jerzy Remer and the painter Wiesław Zarzycki from the Cracow School of Applied Arts were employed as 'scientific auxiliary workers'.³⁷

³² BDAA, Allgemein Karton 6 (1915/16), Z. 157: 'Schutz in Russisch Polen, Entsendung von Lk. Konserv. Szydłowski nach Russisch-Polen', letter from Friedrich Franz Freiherr von Mor-Merkl zu Sunegg und Morberg to the Central Commission, 04.08.1915.

³³ Ibidem, letter from Schubert-Soldern to Szydłowski, 07.08.1915.

³⁴ See E. MANIKOWSKA, 'Wielka Wojna i zabytki', in: *Polskie dziedzictwo kulturowe u progu niepodległości wokół Towarzystwa Opieki nad Zabytkami Przeszłości*, eds. E. MANIKOWSKA, P. JAMSKI, Warszawa 2010, pp. 21–91.

³⁵ BDAA, Allgemein Karton 6 (1915/1916), Z. 85, letter from Szydłowski to Lanckoroński, 23.03.1916; ibidem, Z. 115, letter from Szydłowski to the Executive Committee of the Central Commission, 26.05.1916.

³⁶ Pelenskyi published in Polish, under the Polish variant of his name: JÓZEF PEŁEŃSKI, *Halicz w dziejach sztuki średniowiecznej. Na podstawie badań archeologicznych i źródeł archiwalnych*, Kraków 1914; see N. BULYK, R. BEREST, 'The Lviv Archaeological Milieu During World War I', *Archaeologia Polona*, 61, 2023, pp. 75–104, here 83–84.

³⁷ ÖStA/AVA Unterricht, allg. Akten 3336 (Denkmalamt [Sign. 15 B2a], 1916–1926), Z. 37261, Z. 37263.

Remer had also been among the names discussed for the position of the Conservator of the MGG, but Szydłowski did not consider him suitable for this task (as in note 35). Later on, Remer became one of the leading monument conservators of the 20th century c. in Poland; see *Wokół dziedzictwa. Historycy sztuki, muzealnicy i konserwatorzy w 40. rocznicę śmierci prof. Jerzego Remera*, ed. M. PSZCZÓŁKOWSKI et. al., Toruń 2020.

MITTEILUNGEN DER K.K. ZENTRAL-KOMMISSION FÜR DENKMALPFLEGE

BAND XIV, NR. 8 III. FOLGE WIEN, AUGUST 1915

DIE VERHEERUNGEN DES KRIEGES AN KUNSTDENKMÄLERN IN GALIZIEN. AN DER DUNAJECLINIE UND IN DEN BEZIRKEN TARNÓW UND GORLICE. – VON TADEUSZ SZYDŁOWSKI.

Wie bekannt, kam es Anfang Mai an der westgalizischen Front, die den ganzen Winter ziemlich unverändert verblieben war, zum Durchbruch der feindlichen Stellungen, worauf eine siegreiche Offensive unserer verbündeten Armeen weit nach Ostgalizien hinein erfolgte. Diese westgalizische Kampflinie, die vom unteren Dunajec in südöstlicher Richtung bis zu den Karpathen verlief und an der sich so lange Positionskämpfe abspielten, ist durch Trümmer und Brandsstätten gekennzeichnet. Es gibt an diesem Wege kein Städtchen, kein Dorf, an dem der Krieg nicht deutliche Spuren hinterlassen hätte, indem dort die meisten Häuser sowie Wälder und Fluren weit und breit der Verwüstung und Vernichtung anheimfielen.

Einige Städtchen und Dörfer gingen gänzlich zugrunde und bieten heute nur ein Bild des schrecklichsten Verfalls dar. So wurde fast jede Kirche, die sich mitten in der Kampflinie fand, mehr oder weniger beschädigt und in der Städtarchitektur ging manches charakteristische, ammutige Haus verloren. Die längs der Straßen errichteten, manchmal sehr interessanten Bildstöcke liegen meistens zertrümmert und wie durch



Fig. 1. Radłów, Pfarrkirche, Chorseite.

Wunder verschont ragen noch einige wenige mitten in der Öde empor. Was an kleineren Kunstobjekten zugrunde gegangen ist, läßt sich im ganzen Umfange nicht leicht ermesen und wird in diesem allgemeinen Überblick nicht mehr erwähnt.

Ich beginne die Aufzählung der wichtigeren Architekturendenkmäler, die in diesem schmalen Landstreifen Galiziens der Kriegsverheerung zum Opfer fielen, mit der Kirche in Radłów, die schon im vorigen Berichte erwähnt wurde. Es

1. Report by Tadeusz Szydłowski on war damages in Western Galicia, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* 14, 1915, nr 8, p. 169

An overview of the measures taken and how they were financed is provided by Szydłowski's regular reports published in the *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission* [Fig. 1].³⁸ They reflect the wide range of tasks and problems of cultural property protection during the war, from emergency protection through temporary roofing or shuttering of sculptures and evacuation of movable objects, up to complex reconstruction as in the case of the Gothic church in Felsztyn³⁹ – the latter, however, remained rather the exception. These reports were not propaganda-motivated exaggerations: The measures taken can be counter-checked in the archival records.⁴⁰

A particular challenge was the recording of losses of movable cultural property that was deliberately taken to Russia, looted by soldiers, sometimes also by the local population, or disappeared in the illegal art trade. The

³⁸ E.g. T. SZYDŁOWSKI, 'Galizien. Jahresbericht 1916. I. Die Sicherungsarbeiten an den infolge der Kriegereignisse beschädigten Kunstdenkmälern in West- und Mittelgalizien', *MZK*, 15, 1916/17, nr 7/8, pp. 168–171; idem, 'Tätigkeitsbericht für das zweite Halbjahr 1917. Galizien. Die Sicherungsarbeiten an den infolge der Kriegereignisse beschädigten Kunstdenkmälern', *MZK*, 16, 1918, nr 1, pp. 31–35.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 31.

⁴⁰ For Szydłowski's full bibliography in the *MZK* and the archival sources see B. STÖRTKUHL, *Galizien im Ersten Weltkrieg* (as in note 31).



Fig. 151. Sękowa. Kościółek przed wojną.

kiem», względnie zburzyć starą cerkiew, a na murańm pudle wzniesić wysoko kilka kopuł obitych blachą.

Co z dymem poszło w ciągu wojny, to nas może przejmie o tyle mniej, niżby powinno, że nie wiemy, ileśmy stracili. W wyjątkowych wypadkach posiadamy o spalonych kościołach czy cerkwiach bliższe informacje, tj. zdjęcia fotograficzne i pomiary, które nam pozwalają zdać sobie sprawę z ich wartości artystycznej i zabytkowej. Jest to temat, który dotąd ledwo zaczęto naukowo opracowywać i choćby inwentaryzować dorywczo niektóre okolice. Prawie ani jeden z kilkunastu kościółków drewnianych, a z około stu starszych cerkwi, które obecnie splonęły, bodaj że żadna, nie były niestety rzeczowo zbadane, pomierzone i opisane. Mogły więc niepostrzeżenie uleść zagładzie wybitne dzieła sztuki, jakies specjalnie typowe i interesujące objawy budownictwa, jakies cenne rzeźby, obrazy i sprzęty o dużej wartości. Może niejako stanowiło niezmiernie rzadki i ważny okaz kultury i dla nauki byłoby niesłychanie doniosłym ogniwem. Dekonując przegląd strat wojennych, doznaje się tyłkrotnie przykrego uczucia, jak skarbów swej sztuki nie umiemy cenić, żeśmy dotąd poznaniu ich nie poświęcili więcj uwagi.

Rozpoczynając tym razem od okolic Krakowa, stwierdzamy ubytek takiego nieznanego bliżej kościoła w Pobiedzianku Małym naprzeciw Niepolomic. Szematyzm kościelny mówi o nim,

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Fig. 152. Sękowa. Kościółek w roku 1915.

że zbudowany został w roku 1327 kosztm kasztelana Jakóba Bonara. (W dzwonnicy wisiał dzwon, pochodzący podobno z roku 1327.) Czy pierwotna, tak bardzo stara struktura, przetrwały miała aż do naszych czasów, wydaje się wątpliwe, a raczej prawdopodobne, że kościółek był rekonstruowany w późniejszym nieco czasie, co nie odbierałoby mu jeszcze wartości artystycznej i zabytkowej. Kościółek ten został doszczętnie spalony przez wojska węgierskie w jesieni 1914 roku.

Niedaleko stamtąd położony kościół w Grabiu ucierpiał dosyć przez ostrzelanie. Pociśki wyrwały kilka dziur w gontowym dachu, nadwyrzyły jedną ze ścian, przebiły powalę i wywolały wewnątrz dużo spustoszenia. Rozbitu uległy ołtarz boczny, ambona, organy i szereg sprzętów, także stojąca obok dzwonnica miała poszarpane pokrycie. Kościół w Grabiu należy do późniejszych (z połowy XVIII wieku) i architektonicznie mniej interesujących, jednak wraz z starym parkanem drewnianym i dzwonnica tworzy wcale dobrą, malowniczą całość, a jako jeden z nielicznych w okolicach Krakowa ma pewne zabytkowe znaczenie).

Utkoszeń doznał podobno kościółek w Wicławicach na północ od Krakowa. W południowej zaś części dawnego krakowskiego województwa mamy do zanotowania w Rajbronicie w okolicy Wsienica kościół, który nie posiada wybitniejszej wartości, lecz jak każda stara drewniana budowla lepiej harmonizuje z charakterem wsi, niż nowoczesna, murańana i banalna. Pociśki nadrzaskowały dach i ściany, zburzyły kruchtę, a wewnątrz rozbiły ołtarz boczny i chór organowy.

) Fotografie kościoła patrz sprawozdanie autora w *Mitteilungen der Zentralkommission*. XIV. Nr. 4/5 Wiedeń 1915.

Ruiny Polski

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2. Pages from: Tadeusz Szydłowski, *Ruiny Polski*, Kraków 1919, with photos taken during the author's mission as k. k. Landeskonservator in wartime, 1915 – see the footnote on p. 145

information converged at the Landesdenkmalamt in Cracow, which by 1918 had compiled a comprehensive 'Register of Art Monuments Carried Off by Russian Army Detachments During the Invasion of Galicia'.⁴¹

To summarise: The practical work of cultural heritage protection – the *Kunstschutz im Kriege* – in the Polish territories under Austro-Hungarian rule was in Polish hands, and Szydłowski's office in Cracow served as the headquarters for the whole of Galicia and the Military General Governorate of Lublin.

EPILOGUE

The *de facto* measures taken to save and preserve cultural property during the war were overshadowed by the metal requisitions for armament purposes. Although these actions were carried out in all crown lands, including Inner Austria,⁴² they particularly shaped the Polish perspective on dealing with cultural heritage in the Habsburg

Monarchy – in line with the general anti-Austrian sentiment that had developed as a result of the war events.⁴³

Szydłowski continued to work on an interim basis after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, before being appointed by the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Poland as the Conservator for the Cracow district in March 1920. At the beginning of 1919, he had declined the appointment as General Conservator of the re-established Polish state.⁴⁴

In the meantime, he worked on an indictment against the partitioning powers that had fought 'their' war on Polish soil⁴⁵ – a reckoning not only with the tactics of 'scorched earth' and the art theft of the Russian troops, but also with the actions of the Austro-Hungarian and German military: In 1919, the volume *Ruiny Polski* [Ruins of Poland] was published with photos that Szydłowski had taken as a public servant of the Habsburg Empire. For his book, he even took over the layout of the representative volumes *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, which were to propagate the German and Austro-Hungarian commitment to

⁴¹ BDAA, Allgemein Karton 8 (1918), Z. 258, letter from Szydłowski to the Central Commission (resp. the State Monuments Office), 01.10.1918, accompanying the 'Verzeichnis der durch russische Heeresabteilungen während der Invasion in Galizien verschleppten Kunstdenkmäler'.

⁴² F. VON SCHUBERT-SOLDERN, 'Metallbeschlagnehmung in Österreich', in: *Kunstschutz im Kriege 1919*, vol. 2, pp. 215–221 (as in note 23).

⁴³ See P. SZLANTA, 'Der lange Abschied' (as in note 5); A. CHWALBA, *Der Krieg der anderen: Die Polen und der Erste Weltkrieg 1914–1918*, Berlin u.a. 2021.

⁴⁴ Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warszawa, Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego w Warszawie, Sign. 2/14/0/6/6115: Personal files Tadeusz Szydłowski, fol. 15–29.

⁴⁵ A. CHWALBA, *Der Krieg der anderen* (as in note 43).

cultural heritage in all theaters of war [Fig. 2].⁴⁶ As the central figure of the *k. k. Kunstschutz* in Galicia, Szydłowski had certainly been involved in the conception of that publication. Now, he wrote an explicitly national history of art. The accusations of lack of concern for Polish cultural heritage on the part of the institutions of the Habsburg Monarchy, which run through the text, are somewhat at odds with the final chapter of the volume, in which Szydłowski outlined his own successful efforts as a representative of the Vienna Central Commission during the war. Thus, Szydłowski's book represents the pressing need to cut the cord with the former hegemonic powers, to which art historiography in the newly formed states of East Central Europe also paid tribute.⁴⁷

In the German-Austrian publication *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, the report on the efforts taken by the Habsburg Monarchy in the Polish theaters of war was taken over by Fortunat von Schubert-Soldern. He, who had remained in his position in the Austrian State Monuments Office, showed high esteem for his former colleague Szydłowski.⁴⁸

SUMMARY

Beate Störtkuhl

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE IMPERIAL AND ROYAL CENTRAL COMMISSION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MONUMENTS AND THE CONSERVATOR MILIEUS IN GALICIA

The paper examines the complex relationship between the Vienna headquarters of the Imperial and Royal Central Commission for the Preservation of Monuments and the milieus of Polish conservators in the Crown Land of Galicia. One focus is on the role of the first state conservator Tadeusz Szydłowski, who shortly after his appointment in May 1914 had to manage the protection of cultural heritage in wartime in the Polish territories under Austro-Hungarian rule.

⁴⁶ *Kunstschutz im Kriege* (as in note 23). E. MANIKOWSKA, 'Polska historia sztuki a Wielka Wojna', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 40, 2015, s. 9.

⁴⁷ See J. BAKOŚ, 'From Universalism to Nationalism. Transformation of Vienna School Ideas in Central Europe', in: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs*, eds. R. BORN, A. JANATKOVÁ, A. S. LABUDA, Berlin 2004, pp. 79–101.

⁴⁸ F. VON SCHUBERT-SOLDERN, 'Kunstdenkmäler und Denkmalpflege im Generalgouvernement Lublin und in Galizien', in: *Kunstschutz im Kriege*, vol. 2, pp. 127–136 (as in note 23).

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ON LVIV ART HISTORIANS AND A SCHOOL THAT NEVER WAS

*Being set on the idea
Of getting to Atlantis,
You have discovered of course
Only the Ship of Fools is
Making the voyage this year...*¹

- W.H. Auden, *Atlantis*

Apart from the 150th jubilee of the Commission of Art History at the Academy of Sciences and Arts in Cracow - acknowledged by the conference where this paper was first presented - the year 2023 marked yet another anniversary: 130 years since the establishing of the first professorship of art history (1893) at Lviv University for Jan Bołoz Antoniewicz.² During its short history this academic chair educated several generations of Polish art historians, associated many prominent scholars and turned into a potent place for scientific research. Then it was extinguished along with the Jan Kazimir University and Polish Lviv altogether by the tragic currents of the Second World War. What interests me is its afterlife - at this point more lengthy than its actual presence - and the historiographical writings on the matter, out of which a concept of a scientifically coherent and distinctive 'Lviv school of art history' gradually emerged. Fully developed in the works of Adam Małkiewicz, the term characterizes Lviv academics' intellectual output by their interest in European and contemporary art, art theory, and interdisciplinary and formalist methodology, while emphasizing its modernity and receptivity in contrast to that of the first representa-

tives of the so-called 'Cracow school'. With a closer look at this retrospective re-calling, I would like to question its two key narratives: that of Lviv scholars' scientific consonance and their opposition to art history in Cracow.

*

The simple fact that Cracow and Lviv universities held the two first - and for some time only - Polish chairs of art history, accounts for their initial juxtaposition in the earliest overviews of the discipline's history and institutionalization. That comparison, in turn, drew attention to an apparent contrast between the professors who ran them: Marian Sokołowski and Jan Bołoz Antoniewicz. Władysław Podlacha - aptly a student of both - compared them in an obituary to the latter.³ Of the two Sokołowski was described as an academic who devoted himself to studying Polish art and in his evaluation of the artistic material never relied solely on the objects, but strove to present the most detailed historical findings on their subject. Bołoz, on the other hand, was renowned for his interest in the Italian Renaissance and contemporary art, an emotionally engaged approach to art works and an interdisciplinary take on art historical methodology. Since both had been set to educate future colleagues in accordance with their own views, those approaches were often treated as formative for their respective academic circles.

Such an assumption was made by Adam Bochnak in one of the first comprehensive overviews of Polish academic art history, *Zarys dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*,

¹ W.H. AUDEN, 'Atlantis', in *Selected Poems*, ed. E. MENDELSON, London 2009, p. 125.

² W. WALANUS, 'Powstanie Komisji Historii Sztuki Akademii Umiejętności - karta z dziejów instytucjonalizacji dyscypliny', *Folia Historiae Artium*, s.n., 21, 2023, pp. 5-23

³ WŁ. PODLACHA, *Jan Bołoz Antoniewicz 1858-1922*, Lwów 1923 [Osobne odbicie z I-go tomu Prac Sekcji Historii Sztuki i Kultury Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie], pp. 1-21.

published in 1948.⁴ There he identified two of its directions dominant at the turn of the 20th c. as the 'Bołoz programme' and the 'Sokołowski programme', with the former favouring European and world art, while the latter concentrated on objects located in Poland, and was said to have been chosen 'even by some of Bołoz's students'.⁵ Other than that, Bochnak didn't note any particular differences between the two chairs and when he occasionally used the word 'school' it described merely an affiliation (as in 'Cracow school', 'Lviv school', 'Warsaw school') or a personal association (as in 'Batowski's school in Warsaw', denoting the department he ran⁶). The term was used in a similarly colloquial fashion a few years later by Juliusz Starzyński in his *Badania nad sztuką. Dorobek, stan i potrzeby* (1951), which was already a forthrightly socialist critique of Polish art history's erstwhile development.⁷ For him, what was distinctive about the academics of the 'Lviv school' (and he mentioned only the oldest among them: Władysław Łoziński, Kazimierz Chłędowski and Bołoz) was not so much 'wider horizons', as compared to the school in Cracow, but rather 'an idealistic outlook, reactionary ideology and aristocratically-manorial slant'.⁸ He sharply criticized Bochnak's study for its lack of such value judgements.⁹ This direct reproof, along with the general cultural and political climate, discouraged attempts to publish similar surveys for some time.

The subject made a comeback in 1967 in an article written by Ksawery Piwocki and dedicated exclusively to the Lviv art historians' milieu (*Lwowskie środowisko historyków sztuki*).¹⁰ Piwocki was a Lviv-educated scholar himself: he had attended Bołoz's lectures on contemporary art in the years 1921-1922 and later studied under Bołoz's pupil Władysław Podlacha.¹¹ With his article he sought to describe the 'Lviv milieu of Polish art historians' – fields of research and methodological paradigms, 'which clearly distinguished it from Cracow and Warsaw'.¹² It was Bołoz's take on the role of art history, which moved it further away from a factographical investigation and towards a 'philological' and 'psychological' examination of a work of art as a historically independent entity, that Piwocki saw as precursory for later research advances in Lviv.¹³ Tracing

Bołoz's 'personal influence' on his pupils, he noted his interest in Renaissance and modern art being passed on to Władysław Kozicki, Karolina Lanckorońska and Helena Schorrówna in the case of European art heritage, to Zbigniew Hornung and Antonina Betterówna for the Polish early modern, and to Kozicki and Mieczysław Treter in contemporary art criticism.¹⁴ Aside from this lineage Piwocki also pointed to an interest in medieval period among Lviv academics: Podlacha, Władysław Terlecki, Władysław Stoner, and Mieczysław Gębarowicz.¹⁵ After Bołoz, Podlacha was a second centerpiece figure in Piwocki's recollection: in terms of methodology, he was the most prominent 'representative of the [...] views that developed in this milieu'.¹⁶ However, as Ryszard Kasperowicz has pointed out, when comparing the methodological positions of the two professors, he emphasized the consistency of their perspectives, rather than their uniformity.¹⁷ Piwocki's motives for writing the article remain unknown, although by the end of the 1960s Polish art history was entering a period of theoretical and methodological 'revival',¹⁸ while in Wrocław a Memorial for the Lviv University Professors killed in World War II had finally been unveiled in 1964.¹⁹ Piwocki's text was timely, but moreover personal, articulated in a register of subtle nostalgia – and eventually revived the interest in Lviv art historians.

It was no earlier than the 1990s, however, when the studies on historical identities of particular academic chairs and overall Polish art history peaked. Finally reviewed without censorship limitations, some topics could be properly assessed for the first time in decades. That was the case of the Polish scholars' forced deportation from Lviv and the interwar intellectual traditions of Polish art research, which had previously been written off as bourgeois. The 1995 seminar on the history of the discipline in Poland, organized by Poznań University, seems to be evidence of a general interest in the topic at the time.

There, in his paper on the first years of art history at Wrocław University, Mieczysław Zlat drew a direct lineage between the Lviv art history chair and the Wrocław post-war department.²⁰ Admittedly, many refugee scholars of the former Jan Kazimir University found positions

⁴ A. BOCHNAK, *Zarys dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, Kraków 1948 [=Historia Nauki Polskiej w Monografiach, 22].

⁵ Ibidem, p. 62.

⁶ Ibidem, pp. 31, 40, 52.

⁷ J. STARZYŃSKI, *Badania nad sztuką. Dorobek, stan i potrzeby. Z powodu 1. Kongresu Nauki Polskiej*, Warszawa 1951.

⁸ Ibidem, pp. 20-21.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 51.

¹⁰ K. PIWOCKI, 'Lwowskie środowisko historyków sztuki', *Folia Historiae Artium*, 4, 1967, pp. 117-125.

¹¹ R. KASPEROWICZ, 'Ksawery Piwocki (1901-1974)', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 36, 2011, pp. 103-104.

¹² K. PIWOCKI, 'Lwowskie środowisko historyków sztuki', p. 117 (as in note 10).

¹³ Ibidem, pp. 119-120.

¹⁴ Ibidem, pp. 120-121.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 121.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ R. KASPEROWICZ, *Ksawery Piwocki (1901-1974)*, p. 104 (as in note 11).

¹⁸ M. BRYL, 'Czy samobójstwo teorii historii sztuki? O "Bildwissenschaft", bałkanizacji, polskim kontekście i suwerenności sztuki', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 26, 2001, p. 7.

¹⁹ Even though for the time being the government authorities preferred to interpret it as a memorial to the 'victims of Hitlerism' among all Polish academics. R. MIERZECKI, 'Budowa wrocławskiego pomnika w latach 1956-1964 ku czci polskich profesorów zamordowanych we Lwowie w 1941 roku', *Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki*, 16, 2017, 1-2 (31-32), pp. 341-352.

²⁰ M. ZLAT, 'Pierwsze lata historii sztuki na Uniwersytecie i Politechnice we Wrocławiu', in *Dzieje historii sztuki w Polsce. Kształtowanie*

at the newly staffed Polish university in the so-called 'Recovered Lands', with a couple of art historians among them. In 1946 Władysław Podlacha arrived to take over the recently established university unit, three years later joined by his pupil Zbigniew Hornung.²¹ However in 1951 Podlacha died, the next year the chair was reduced to only two positions and by the time the art historical courses were finally reinstated in 1957, among the Lviv scholars only Hornung remained. Zlat emphasized, nevertheless, that in Wrocław the 'organizational shape, academic collective and the work atmosphere [...] were almost entirely brought from Lviv'²² and 'the content of Podlacha's lectures was Lviv throughout.'²³ At its origin the Wrocław art history department was being identified as a 'spiritual successor' of the Lviv one.

Another speaker who decided to talk about Lviv art historians at the Poznań seminar was Adam Małkiewicz. At this event he was presenting alongside his mentor Lech Kalinowski, who had first sparked his interest in the history of art history in 1982, asking him to prepare Adam Bochnak's biography for an upcoming celebration of the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the art history chair in Cracow.²⁴ The glove fit, and during his academic career Małkiewicz wrote overall more than twenty studies on Polish art history. Concentrating on the discipline's institutionalization in Galicia and Poland, for a while he was the only expert and thus an authority on the subject. Back in 1995 he presented his first paper on art history in Lviv.²⁵ It opens with the thesis that in the years 1893-1939 'the Lviv milieu of academic art history formed and maintained a specific attitude to the discipline and its scholarly practice, which distinguished it from other university centers in Poland, creating a clearly outlined, local scientific school.'²⁶ To buttress his argument Małkiewicz singled out prominent scholars from 'three generations of Lviv art historians' (a systematization resembling that of the 'older' and the 'younger' generations of the Vienna school) and stressed common points in their intellectual legacy. The first was Bołoz, driven to 'a particular ahistorical formalism' by his interdisciplinary methodological approach and concentrating on the Italian renaissance, modern and contemporary art. The second was Podlacha, with 'methodology inspired by the works of Dessoire, Utitz, Wundt, Dilthey and Twardowski', a teacher for most Lviv scholars

and later the founder of art history in Wrocław.²⁷ From the 'third generation' he chose Mieczysław Gębarowicz and Karolina Lanckorońska. Gębarowicz was interested in 'enriching' art historical investigation with historical methods, somewhat contrary to the previously described tradition of Lviv art history, as Małkiewicz had to admit.²⁸ Lanckorońska, although correctly categorized by Bochnak in 1948 as 'a Polish scholar educated abroad'²⁹ (in Vienna), for Małkiewicz was the one who during a 3-year-long tenure at Lviv University 'transplanted, onto ground prepared by Podlacha, the methodological attitude of the Vienna school of art history'.³⁰ The legacy of those scholars was continued 'especially in Wrocław' after the Second World War.³¹ The article concludes with a list of features distinctive to the 'Lviv school of art history', which in this instance should be quoted *in extenso*:

1. deep interest in the methodology of the discipline (Bołoz Antoniewicz, Podlacha, Gębarowicz) [...];
2. constant contact with the European humanities [...] (Bołoz Antoniewicz, Podlacha, Lanckorońska) [...];
3. moving away from the archaeological treatment of art within a framework of cultural history, recognizing art's full autonomy and focusing on the form of the artwork, understood as a symptom of human thought and feeling, as a manifestation of a creative genius [...];
4. going beyond local themes and taking up issues of current relevance to European science [...] (Bołoz Antoniewicz, Kozicki, Lanckorońska [that point referred to research on the Italian Renaissance - V. K.]);
5. an interest in modern art, including contemporary art [...] (Bołoz Antoniewicz, Kozicki).³²

The key conclusion of Małkiewicz's argument was that at the time in question Lviv art historians were the only ones who 'practiced art history in accordance to international scientific standards'.³³

The extreme degree to which it simplified the whole picture is easily traced in an article by another participant of the Poznań seminar, Elżbieta Gieysztor-Miłobędzka (there she presented a paper on art history at Warsaw University). In the aftermath of the event, five years later,

się instytucji naukowych w XIX i XX wieku, ed. A.S. LABUDA, Poznań 1996 [=Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki, 25], pp. 224-236.

²¹ Ibidem, pp. 226, 230.

²² Ibidem, pp. 228-229.

²³ Ibidem, p. 231.

²⁴ A. MAŁKIEWICZ, 'Wstęp', in idem, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki. Studia i szkice*, Kraków 2005 [=Ars Vetus et Nova, 18], p. 9.

²⁵ A. MAŁKIEWICZ, 'Historia sztuki na uniwersytecie Lwowskim 1893-1939', in *Dzieje historii sztuki w Polsce*, pp. 58-73 (as in note 20).

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 58.

²⁷ It is likely that his relation to Wrocław art history was emphasized in the published paper after Małkiewicz learned more about it from Zlat's presentation at the seminar, as we know from the footnotes to this text that the two scholars exchanged some remarks on Lviv scholars. See: A. MAŁKIEWICZ, *Historia sztuki na uniwersytecie Lwowskim*, p. 69, fn. 33 (as in note 25).

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 68.

²⁹ A. BOCHNAK, *Zarys dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, p. 38 (as in note 4).

³⁰ A. MAŁKIEWICZ, 'Historia sztuki na uniwersytecie Lwowskim', p. 68 (as in note 25).

³¹ Ibidem, pp. 70-72.

³² Ibidem, pp. 69-70.

³³ Ibidem, p. 70.

she published an article with the telling title *Polish art history – its conservatism and the attempts to overcome it*.³⁴ Dividing the text into smaller thematic sections, she titled the one dedicated to the 'Lviv school of art history' no less explicitly: *Breaking out of the positivist-nationalist 'jams', 'europeanness' – or the Lviv milieu*.³⁵ Bołoz, Podlacha and the Lviv school as a whole were declared to be anticipating the New Art History and a «postmodern and anthropological post-postmodern paradigm» *avant la lettre*.³⁶ For Miłobędzka-Gieysztor the 'Lviv school' was 'an explosion of cutting-edge art history' – unlike Cracow or Warsaw – with a post-war 'Wrocław continuation'.³⁷

In the year 2005 some of the studies on the history of Polish art history produced by Małkiewicz were reissued in a special thematic publication.³⁸ Older texts were revised and partly rewritten, and footnotes updated.³⁹ It is in this volume, that the author's concept of Lviv art history got its final touch in the chapter entitled 'Cracow school' and 'Lviv school' of Polish art history.⁴⁰ Both terms soon lose the prudish title quotes, as Małkiewicz proceeds with 'extraction of the tendencies prevalent [in each] milieu'.⁴¹ He finds those tendencies already in Sokołowski and Bołoz and traces them onwards, since 'the institutionalization of scientific life stimulated a transmission, by the founders of these two environments, of their own attitudes to colleagues, students and continuators and thus stimulated the crystallization and consolidation of environmental distinctiveness'.⁴² The differences between the two academic milieux, according to Małkiewicz, 'showed themselves from the first programme publications of Bołoz'.⁴³ Describing the 'Lviv school' he repeats his earlier findings. It is its juxtaposition with the 'Cracow school' that is the essence of the argument this time. The latter is characterized as practicing 'traditional', 'patriotic' and 'pragmatic' art history, while the former is portrayed as open to external influences and, rather vaguely, to an 'abstract improvement of the theoretical research apparatus'.⁴⁴ A lack of quality that is found characteristic of one 'school' becomes in itself a characteristic quality of the other, in a comparison drawn out though subsequent pages and which includes such criteria as understanding

of art history as a discipline, interest in contemporary art and methodology, and ways and platforms of art historical practice.⁴⁵ In conclusion this opposition turns into complementarity: 'both these schools complemented each other, representing two main components of Polish art history before 1939'.⁴⁶

It is hard to agree with Małkiewicz's take on the Lviv scholars. Limiting their intellectual biographies to better fit his description simplifies them considerably, allowing Małkiewicz to present them merely as a repetition of Bołoz's original scholarly predilections. In any case, understood *sensu stricto* these predilections can refer only to Bołoz himself, while *sensu largo* they cannot be denied for the majority of Polish interwar art historians. There is no doubt about the great influence of Bołoz's personal views or Podlacha's pioneering teaching work on their immediate disciples. These two scholars, however, did not determine the uniformity of attitudes and interests of the Lviv scholars, most of whom had been educated at more than one university and had been in contact with various eminent art historians of their epoch. Conclusions like these seem inevitable when analyzing the views of the those scholars individually. As Mariusz Bryl concluded, referring to Piwocki's dissertation on the 'Lviv milieu' in an article on Bołoz:

The author [Piwocki] was absolutely right when he emphasised the formative influence of Bołoz on a whole pleiad of outstanding research individuals: Władysław Kozicki, Zygmunt Batowski, Mieczysław Gębarowicz, Mieczysław Treter, Tadeusz Mańkowski, Helena Schorrówna, Władysław Żyła, Władysław Podlacha. [...] Formative, however, does not mean strictly defined. On the contrary, Bołoz as a scholar-creator was a fullness (even before he became an 'art historian'), and it was from this fullness – by way of a natural differentiation, so to speak – that particular research individualities emerged, sometimes continuing Bołoz's interests (Italian and Polish Renaissance, 18th- and 19th-c. art, contemporary art, Armenian art) and his attitude to art and sometimes, on the contrary, choosing other areas and research approaches.⁴⁷

As to the very use of the term 'scientific school', within the philosophy of science it is conditioned by criteria never met by the Lviv scholars, such as 'an awareness [among the members of a given school] of unity and a feeling of separateness from other orientations in a given discipline' or 'a common ideological core, constituting the essence of theoretical assumptions', or 'common methodological approaches'.⁴⁸ Another option for identifying an informal

³⁴ E. GIEYSZTOR-MIŁOBĘDZKA, 'Polska historia sztuki — jej konserwatyzm i próby jego przewyciężenia', *Problemy współczesnych nauk o kulturze*, 26, 2000, no. 4, pp. 58–76.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 68.

³⁸ A. MAŁKIEWICZ, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki* (as in note 24).

³⁹ *Idem*, 'Wstęp', pp. 10–12 (as in note 24).

⁴⁰ *Idem*, "'Szkoła krakowska" i "szkoła lwowska" polskiej historii sztuki', in *idem*, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, pp. 10–12 (as in note 24).

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 57.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 64.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 58–62.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 64.

⁴⁷ M. BRYL, 'Jan Bołoz Antoniewicz (1858–1922)', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 36, 2011, p. 17.

⁴⁸ Z. MUSZYŃSKI, 'Siedem cech głównych szkoły naukowej', *Filozofia Nauki*, 3, 1995, no. 1–2 (9–10), pp. 65–67.

group of academics as a scientific school, as Zbysław Muszyński proposes, is to invoke a prototype designate of the term.⁴⁹ For Małkiewicz the Vienna school of art history could have served as an intuitive example for such a comparison, but instead its very concept seems to have served him as an inspiration. Retrospectively it is easier, perhaps, to perceive as integral small chairs and departments, whose history usually extended for no more than two or three generations of scholars. Adam Redzik, a leading historian of Jan Kazimir University, identified in Polish academic historiography a long list of scientific schools affiliated to it. With the two most prominent of these being the Lviv mathematical school and the Lviv-Warsaw school of philosophy, one can also find mention of Lviv schools of anthropology, ethnology, history, geography, organic chemistry, zoology, one of geophysics and meteorology, surgery, internal diseases and pathology, ophthalmology, pharmacology, economic history, history of ecclesiastical, criminal, private, political, administrative and international law, economics and history of education.⁵⁰

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However, if the concept of the 'Lviv school' proves one thing, it is that for some reason, at some point the Lviv art historians were chosen to be recalled in this way.

One of the many things history does, according to Franklin R. Ankersmit, is make myths. As he argues, a traumatic experience, when it pertains to only a part of the collective identity, can be both forgotten and remembered: 'forgotten in the sense that it is successfully expelled from conscious memory; remembered in the sense that the subject of a traumatic experience will be seriously handicapped by it'.⁵¹ In this instance 'telling the right story' about the past may lead to 'a reconciliation between the traumatic experience and identity'.⁵²

Not only the chair of art history, but the whole university and Polish Lviv itself were lost in the Second World War, Soviet occupation and post-Yalta reality and that loss could hardly be fully mourned in a socialist Poland. A 2002 conference entitled *Cracow and Lviv in European civilization*,⁵³ though demonstrating interest in the topic, drew a somber conclusion: 'such Lviv, dear Ladies and Gentlemen, no longer exists and will never exist again'.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 67.

⁵⁰ *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie*, ed. A. REDZIK, Kraków 2015, p. 28.

⁵¹ F. R. ANKERSMIT, 'The Sublime Dissociation of the Past: or How to Be(come) What One is No Longer', *History and Theory*, 40, 2001, no. 3, p. 300.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 305.

⁵³ *Kraków i Lwów w cywilizacji europejskiej. Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji zorganizowanej w dniach 15-16 listopada 2002*, ed. J. PURCHLA, Kraków 2005.

⁵⁴ L. UNGER, 'Kraków i Lwów w Europie jutra' [panel discussion], in ibidem, p. 20.

Who then reclaimed the Lviv art historical tradition as part of their identity? Scholars like Mieczysław Zlat and Jan Wrabec were not unwarranted to consider themselves its heirs, with both having studied under Lviv professors – Podlacha and Hornung respectively. For them Wrocław art history was a continuation of that taught in Lviv and both Małkiewicz and Miłobędzka-Gieysztor supported this optimistic notion of the 'Lviv school's' fate. Nevertheless, it does not seem to be the historical legacy that modern-day Wrocław scholars cultivate, which once again poses the question of whether there was anything other than a personal inspirational example, that these Lviv professors had passed on. No programme or set of methodological guidelines is to be found in Wrabec's recollection of Hornung, where he writes that 'Lviv about him' was the legacy of the 'Austrian monarchy court culture', manifested in professor's 'courtesy [...] to university administration, cleaning-ladies, assistants and students'.⁵⁵ Zlat's recollections of Podlacha paint a similarly vague picture.⁵⁶

Instead the Lviv scholars' newly-created identity – 'Lviv school of art history' – was appropriated by a Cracow-centered narrative, justifying its research as traditionalistic, concrete and meticulous by choice, not limitation. The legacy of the Lviv scholars proved methodological modernity to be an innate feature of the Polish art history: 'for creating the mental roots of current Polish art history, the Lviv milieu should be awarded the highest laurel'⁵⁷ stated Miłobędzka-Gieysztor – and Małkiewicz agreed.⁵⁸

In the end the whole concept seems more telling of the desires and fears of the art history of Małkiewicz's times, than those of Sokołowski and Bołoz. Howbeit, its instrumentality left no one to subsequently advocate against the term (unlike the 'Cracow school', challenged recently by

Even for the contemporary historians the city became an unwelcoming 'place of nationalized memories', whose overall Polishness was now being questioned by the Ukrainian or Jewish narratives. J. PURCHLA, 'Lwów: przestrzeń znacjonalizowanych pamięci', in *Lwów nowoczesny = Lviv and modernity* [katalog wystawy], ed. Ł. GAŁUSEK, J. PURCHLA, Kraków 2017, p. 6-13.

⁵⁵ J. WRABEC, 'Profesor Zbigniew Hornung – lwowski historyk sztuki we Wrocławiu', *Sobótka*, 3-4, 1997, p. 258.

⁵⁶ M. ZLAT, 'Wspomnienia pośmiertne. Władysław Podlacha', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 24, 1962, no. 1, p. 418-419; idem, 'O twórczości i poglądach Władysława Podlacha (1875-1951)', in *Mysł o sztuce. Materiały Sesji zorganizowanej z okazji czterdziestolecia istnienia Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki Warszawa*, listopad 1974, Warszawa 1976, p. 295-311; idem, 'Pierwsze lata historii na Uniwersytecie i Politechnice we Wrocławiu' (as in note 20), p. 227-230; idem, 'Władysław Podlacha (1875-1951)', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 36, 2012, p. 21-38.

⁵⁷ E. GIEYSZTOR-MIŁOBĘDZKA, 'Polska historia sztuki — jej konserwatyzm', p. 65 (as in note 34).

⁵⁸ A. MAŁKIEWICZ, "'Szkola krakowska' i "szkola lwowska'", p. 57, fn. 93 (as in note 40).

Magdalena Kunińska⁵⁹), celebrate the 130th jubilee or advance research on particular Lviv scholars. For all its conjugating of *Lviv* through every possible clause, the concept of 'Lviv school of art history' left us with very little knowledge about particular persons and achievements of this milieu, forsaking Podlacha's first Polish handbook on art historical methodology, Lanckorońska's Lviv lectures or Gębarowicz's post-war theoretical reflections, to name only the most obvious gaps. Fortunately, that leaves us with a lot to discover.

SUMMARY

Violetta Korsakova
ON LVIV ART HISTORIANS AND A SCHOOL
THAT NEVER WAS

The article deals with the concept of Lviv school of art history, used with regard to Polish art historians working at Lviv University from 1893 till 1939. Tracing the historical development of the term, fully formed in the works of Adam Małkiewicz, I identify and subsequently question two of its key narratives: that of the Lviv scholars' scientific consonance and their opposition to contemporary art historical practices in Cracow. This critical revision brings attention to the meaning of the 'Lviv school' concept for the historical identity of the discipline as well as for the modern-day Polish art history.

⁵⁹ M. KUNIŃSKA, 'Identity Built on Myth. Fact and fiction in the foundational narrative of the "Cracow School of Art History" and its relations to Vienna', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 25, 2021, p. 1-20.

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CULTIVATING ITS OWN ROOTS: CZECH ART HISTORY IN THE 1980S IN SEARCH OF ITS OWN BEGINNINGS

In 1986 and 1987, a team of researchers at the Institute of Art History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences published two volumes of *Chapters from Czech Art Historiography*.¹ The project had been conceived and led from the beginning of the seventies by one of the key personalities of Czech art history, Josef Krása. The mission of the publication was to be, in his words,

to orient the general reading public in art historical issues, to interest future students of art history, to serve as the first dictionary of its kind and, last but not least, to address the issues of periodization of the field, methodological traditions and the context of domestic and international art history.²

Self-constructing the field of art history's own identity is not among the declared goals, but in retrospect it is clear that it was a major function of both volumes. Krása was unable to see the final realization of the project because he died in 1985 at the age of only fifty-two, but the manuscripts of both volumes had already been handed over to the publishing house in 1981 and 1983.

The work is a typical product of the last phase of the regime of really existing socialism in Czechoslovakia during the period of so-called perestroika, when the Institute of the Academy of Sciences could produce, under the direction of three members of the Communist Party, a publication that ignored most of the official rhetoric and Marxism-Leninism. It had been in preparation at the Institute since the middle of the 1970s as the most

important contribution of the Institute's department of art history towards the output in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory, which was favored by the management. One of the co-editors of *Chapters*, Rudolf Chadraba, had planned for more than a decade to write a handbook for art history students. Another plan was to prepare a dictionary of art historical terminology. Some older-generation archivists were supported by contracts to summarize relevant excerpts from pre-modern literature.³ All these plans morphed into the *Chapters* that were, however, published while they yet lacked some necessary editing. In a certain haste to complete the project, some of the Institute personnel were simply ordered to write the biography chapters, which did not refer to original archival research.

Neither the Introduction nor other official materials mentioned it, but the somewhat hurried completion of the two volumes was a reaction to an imminent threat to the existence of the scientific field of art history in our country, i.e. in the Czech part of the then Czechoslovakia (by the way, the existence of Slovak culture and art history is not even mentioned at all in either volume). The radical reduction in the number of students in university departments in both Prague and Brno since the late 1970s was one dimension of this threat.⁴ More subtle but no less

¹ *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu umění I.–II*, ed. by R. CHADRABA et al., Praha 1986–1987.

² Quoted by R. CHADRABA in the preface to *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu I.*, p. 11 (as note 1).

³ Oddělení dokumentace ÚDU AV ČR, fond Josef Krása, k. 3, i.č. 1 'Výkazy práce 1971–1982'; Masarykův ústav – Archiv Akademie věd, fond ČSAV – Ústav teorie a dějin umění 1970–1990 (neuspořádané), 'Zprávy o plnění ústavních úkolů 1976–1982'; 'Hodnocení neperiodických publikací nakladatelství Academia 1987–1988'.

⁴ T. JOHANIDESOVÁ, J. BACHTÍK, 'Řízený útlum. Katedra dějin umění (a estetiky) na FF UK v období normalizace 1970–1989', in *Století ústavu pro dějiny umění na Filozofické fakultě Univerzity*

menacing was the official renaming in 1982 of the field of study from art history to ‘Marxist art theory’ and then even to ‘aesthetics with a focus on the visual arts’. This move was justified by a leading Communist figure with the pronouncement that ‘we do not need historians dealing with feudal culture, but experts who can help our artists to create properly in the direction of socialist realism.’⁵ The identification of its own origins and pedigree thus was an urgent task in Czech art history around 1980: it was no longer enough to have a habitual identity, it had to be clearly described and interpreted. In this paper I will ask what identity model Czech art history had construed for itself at the end of the modernist era.

NORMATIVE AMBITIONS

In the Introduction to *Chapters*, Chadraba defined the normative criterion of what is already ‘the real one’, i.e. modern art history: it is ‘the search for and improvement of a developmental model’. The first chapter opens with the statement that ‘Art history, this *Herzenskind des Dilettantismus* (according to Max Dvořák), took shape as a special branch of history about a hundred years ago.’⁶ Such a temporal demarcation is not repeated, and we can see clearly in this and other details that the project lacked a unifying program and even proper editing. The central founding father figure of Czech art history in this logic is, of course, Max Dvořák, and it is with a detailed discussion of him and the Vienna School that editor-in-chief Chadraba opened the second volume. Nevertheless, it was still deemed necessary to include the first volume, with its subtitle *Predecessors and Founders*.

Both volumes are conceived as histories of ideas and of great men. In the first volume just one woman is mentioned: Renata, the wife of professor of art history Miroslav Tyrš. Although she was an important art critic, and the actual book on Tyrš states that ‘today we would not hesitate to label publications with the names of both husband and wife as co-authors’, she is credited here merely with the preservation of her husband’s estate.⁷ The contents of the first volume can be divided into three parts: first, it discusses the precursors of modern art history in

the late Middle Ages, Humanism, the Baroque, the Enlightenment and Romanticism; second, it includes monographs of the first university professors of Czech-language art history, Vocel and Tyrš; and third, it contains a rather chaotic summary of the representatives of positivist cultural history and aesthetics from the 1870s to the 1890s.

The construction and consciousness of continuity in *Chapters* is almost never connected to institutions; in the first volume, any institutional basis of the art historical field is mentioned only in references. The reason for this was a complication that was never spoken about publicly in the 1980s, namely that scientific institutions of universities and museums were bilingual in the territory of the present-day Czech Republic until 1945. Charles University was divided into Czech and German institutions in 1882. The continuity from its foundation in 1862 was on the part of the German-speaking Institute of Art History, while the Czech-speaking one became permanent only in 1911. After all, even Max Dvořák did not work at a domestic, let alone a Czech-language university. Jindřich Vybíral discusses the topic of the precarious relationship between the Czech and German speakers in art history in his contribution to this volume, so I may return to the analysis of the first volume of *Chapters*.

The first chapter, which I have already cited, was written by Ivo Kořán, and on the very first page he normatively stated the national moment of Czech art history:

[...] the verbal commentary on art in the Baroque era was not just a bitter lament for the faded glory of Bohemia, but became an enchanted testimony to its undying beauty, power, and strength. An uncritical, often superstitious, not infrequently contradictory, but always cordial, kind and often even affectionate testimony. This approach to art in Bohemia is imprinted in the whole of Czech art history, basically down to our own days. The Czech art historian cannot – as his Western colleagues do – simply state the artistic quality of a work ‘in itself’, but is inwardly bound to the life of his people and necessarily views art through it, to better understand the life of his own country through art.⁸

This strong nationalistic concept was cited approvingly in a review of *Chapters* written by a representative of the young generation of Czech art historians, Vojtěch Lahoda, for the first issue of a new journal published by the official Union of Visual Artists.⁹ In another brief review, which I wrote for the illegally published ‘samizdat’ *Lidové noviny* under a code name, I stressed the concealment of German speaking art historians.¹⁰ The third, longest and most critical review was published by Jiří Kroupa from Brno, who pointed to the unsatisfactory way Moravia was

Karlovy, ed. by R. PRAHL et al., Praha 2020, pp. 485–573, esp. 526. – The topic will be discussed in a wider context and in more depth in my *Dějiny českých dějin umění 1970–1990* (forthcoming in 2025); this contribution is a preliminary outcome of the research project ‘History of Czech Art History II. 1970–1990’ supported by the Czech Science Foundation in 2022–2024 (Nr. 22-14620S).

⁵ My own recollection of Dušan Konečný speaking at the conference ‘Place of art history in the framework of social sciences’, in October 1979.

⁶ I. KOŘÁN, ‘Obraz a slovo v našich dějinách’, in *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu I.*, pp. 15–34, quote p. 15 (as note 1).

⁷ K. STIBRAL, *Sokol mezi obrazy. Teorie umění, estetika a umělecká kritika Miroslava Tyrše*, Praha 2022, p. 165; R. CHADRABA, ‘Miroslav Tyrš’, in *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu I.*, pp. 160–170 (as note 1).

⁸ I. KOŘÁN, ‘Obraz a slovo’ (as note 6).

⁹ V. LAHODA, ‘Záslužné dílo naší uměnovědy’, *Ateliér*, 1988, Nr. 1, p. 5.

¹⁰ M. BERGMANNOVÁ [cover for M. BARTLOVÁ], ‘Dějepis příkladně opatrný’, *Lidové noviny** 1, 1988, č. 5, p. 18.

dealt with in the *Chapters*.¹¹ The three reviews prove that nationalism was already at the time of publication the most delicate topic.

PREDECESSORS AND FOUNDERS

Somewhat unexpectedly, Kořán began his interpretation with a discussion of Hussite iconoclasm at the turn of the 15th c. and continued with a treatment of Humanist texts. Most of the first chapter is, however, taken up with Baroque Catholic historiographers of the 17th and 18th centuries, who are presented as the primary source of Czech art history. For Kořán, such an emotional nationalist approach is part of the above pronounced patriotism, and the criterion of Czechness is neither ethnicity nor language, but 'love of the nation' conceived as a component of Roman Catholic religious faith. The revival of the idea of Austrian provincial patriotism was effectively promoted in the 1980s in the historical fields of Czech humanities as one of the efforts to find a substitute for historical materialism. Kořán himself, however, made no attempt to differentiate his emotional concept from the ethnic and linguistic nationalism that prevailed in the Czech lands for most of the 20th c.

What is much more surprising on a contemporary reading is that the opening chapter of this self-identifying work of Czech art history rejects both the rationality of scientific methodology and the demand for international relevance in art historical scholarship. The questions of national identity, international relevance, and explicitly also that of the place of scientific rationality in art history research are likewise addressed in the second chapter of the first volume, with different results. Its author, the medievalist Vlasta Dvořáková, was among the scholars who were aware of Western Marxism and semiotics in the 1970s and 1980s and she sought to integrate some of these approaches into the domestic art historical context. The tenor of her account of the Enlightenment and Romanticism is a recognition of the opposition between the journalistic and scholarly modes of writing about art. She first asks how texts devoted to art monuments operated in the process of the transition to modern scientific rationality, and then critically explores the question of the national, Slavic specificity of artistic expression, or esthetics.¹²

PROBLEMS WITH PROFESSORS

The biographical chapter on Miroslav Tyrš, the first professor of art history at the Czech-speaking Charles University, was written by the main editor Chadraba and

¹¹ J. KROUPA, 'Kapitoly z českého dějepisu umění [rewiev]', *Studia minora facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis (SPFFBU)*, 32–33, 1988–1989, pp. 109–112.

¹² V. DVOŘÁKOVÁ, 'Osvícenci a romantikové', in *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu I.*, pp. 35–74 (as in note 1).

thus formed a sort of counterbalance to his chapter on Dvořák.¹³ However, Tyrš could not be given an important place in the beginnings of Czech art history because, contrary to the developmental norm, he held a normative idea of the absolute value of the arts of antiquity. In the 1870s, he consistently emphasized the Neo-Renaissance over Romanticism and Realism, and he also promoted idealized Classical values as a co-founder of Sokol, the national gymnastic and quasi-military popular movement. Tyrš died only one year into his professorship in 1884 during a mountaineering expedition in the Alps.

Karel Chytil, who in 1911 resumed work at the chair of art history at Charles University, could not stand as a founding figure, either. Since the 1920s he had been personally attacked and his work disparaged because of a personal animosity that was mainly motivated by his anti-Viennese political stance after the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic, and the younger graduates of the Vienna School who formed the Prague art historical establishment of the newly created state.¹⁴ Although he was roughly a contemporary of Dvořák, Chytil is included in the first volume of *Chapters*, giving the impression that he belongs to the distant past. Rostislav Šváchka wrote an important essay on so-called cultural history as one of the possibilities of art historical thinking, with the intention of rehabilitating both this research direction and Chytil personally. Unfortunately, however, the chapter made the whole situation rather unclear when Šváchka, another from the four co-editors, followed rather too literally E. H. Gombrich in his identification of the cultural-historical direction with the Hegelian model of development.¹⁵ Šváchka shied away from calling it more accurately positivism, whose aim was to overcome the one-sidedness of formalism. *Chapters* includes Chytil's biography by Krása, in which he described the best of Chytil's texts as high-quality domestic precursors of iconology and discussed at least briefly the role of positivism.¹⁶

POSTMODERN PLURALITY?

Let us now summarize the results of current reading of the first volume of *Chapters*. The main characteristic of the construction of the roots presented here is its postmodern plurality – not surprising from the point of view of its publication date, although perhaps unexpected in retrospect. Coherently with the period ideological situation, though, the plurality lacks openness. Some of the texts contain authoritatively formulated statements that contradict other parts of the book. It is thus a hybrid plurality.

¹³ R. CHADRABA, 'Miroslav Tyrš' (as in note 7).

¹⁴ K. CHYTIL, 'O příštích úkolech dějin a historiků umění ve státě československém', *Naše doba* 26, 1918, pp. 753–756.

¹⁵ R. ŠVÁCHA, 'Historikové kultury', in *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu I.*, pp. 141–159 (as in note 1).

¹⁶ J. KRÁSA, 'Karel Chytil', in *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu I.*, pp. 172–178 (as in note 1).

Moreover, it remains unnamed; it emerges from the whole of both volumes and is compromised by their unfortunate disarray. As we have seen, objective scientism and international relevance of the art historians discussed not only do not contradict radical nationalism but may easily integrate with it. True openness and pluralism would be, of course, also difficult to reconcile with the authoritative positioning of Max Dvořák and the Vienna School. A nice example of the postmodern orientation is when the theorist, architectural historian, and co-editor of the volumes Švácha compares the so-called law of convergence promoted by Tyrš with Robert Venturi's contemporary texts, noting that they are 'essentially the same'.¹⁷ Tyrš conceived this 'law' as an adaptation of all the components of an artwork to the main idea, arriving at a stylistically uniform Gesamtkunstwerk as the highest artistic achievement. Also unnamed remains the conflict that appears in *Chapters* between the incipient, unreflected interpretive tool of constructivism and the desire to suppress noetic relativity and restore normativity.

Another moment we get from our reading is recognition that German-speaking art history was still the 'significant Other' for Czech art history in the 1980s, one hundred years after division of the Prague university and four decades after the forced displacement of the Czechoslovak German minority. We can see this clearly in the way the Germans are represented in the book: from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, German-language authors are singled out and collectively marginalized. If they are mentioned, it is only in overview; they are not given biographical medallions. The fact that the Prague University was one of the first ten universities to establish a regular professorship of art history in 1862 is therefore completely lost.¹⁸ The sole and very unsystematic exception is Anton Springer, to whom Anděla Horová, the fourth co-editor of *Chapters*, devoted a rather long individual contribution. A native of Prague, Springer lectured on art history at the Academy of Arts and at the still undivided Prague university in 1848. He had to leave for Germany for political reasons after the defeat of the revolution. Johann Erazim Wocel, who took over the post, was, on the other hand, a political conservative and it was this reason, not the national dimension of the confrontation, that was decisive at the time. It is noteworthy that the significant criterion used to differentiate between 'us', i.e. the Czechs, and 'the others', i.e. the Germans, in the conception of *Chapters*, is place of birth according to the boundaries of today's modern states, not the self-identification

of the scholars concerned. Thus, alongside Dvořák, Josef Daniel Böhm, the 'forerunner' of the Vienna School, and the personalities of its first generation, Rudolf Eitelberger and Moritz Thausing, are included in Czech art history.¹⁹ Due to the identification of Czech art history with Czech-language art history and the consequent exclusion of German-language art historians from its framework it was – and remains – difficult to address the question of an international relevance for Czech art history.

The conception of art history formulated in *Chapters* failed to achieve its goal in the last years of the really existing socialism in Czechoslovakia, but it became an effective foundation for the decades after its fall – if only because the publication became a compulsory university textbook. We can check this up by comparison with the recently published monumental work *Centenary of the Institute of Art History at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University*. Here, the German speaking art history is included, and the methodological plurality of Czech art history is emphasized and praised. The claim of methodological pluralism, however, remains unanalyzed and undefined, in contrast to the programmatic and normative inclusion, once again, of the tradition of the Vienna School of art history. I understand it to denote the relationship between a more theoretical conception of art history and its descriptive, perhaps positivist concept. *Chapters* clearly legitimizes patriotic and inventory writing as a full-fledged form of art history because it brings a crucial contribution to the construction and maintenance of national identity. The value of such a descriptive but nationalist concept of art history is confirmed by the identification of Wocel – and not Woltmann, Tyrš or Springer – as the central legitimizing figure of the field before Dvořák. We can even read in the current volume that the mistake of Miroslav Tyrš was 'theorizing too much'.²⁰

Kořán spoke about *love* in his introductory chapter, and so did Švácha in his final paragraphs of the two volumes: 'The loving look at art is not the main task of art historians. It is, rather, to bring it about that readers of their writing would look at art with same, or even better love'.²¹ Perhaps a fitting summary would be St Augustine's dictum 'Love and do whatever you will.' The precarious balancing on the edge of rationalism, the willingness to readily admit the emotionally simplified *Einfühlung* as its substitute, as well as the recognized status of inventory and descriptive writing, are a legacy that too large a portion of Czech art history continues to cherish.

¹⁷ R. ŠVÁCHA, 'Historikové kultury', p. 149 (as in note 15).

¹⁸ A proper elaboration of the Institute of Art History at the German Prague University is given only in J. KOUKAL, 'Katedra "těch druhých"? Dějiny umění na Německé univerzitě v Praze 1882–1945', in *Století ústavu pro dějiny umění*, pp. 234–299 (as in note 4). In my opinion, the inclusion of the German institute in the history of the Czech one is, to say the least, insensitive towards the identity of Bohemian Germans.

¹⁹ R. CHADRABA, 'Max Dvořák a vídeňská škola dějin umění', in *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu II.*, pp. 9–56 (as in note 1).

²⁰ R. PRAHL, J. HORÁČEK, 'Od umělecko-historické praxe k univerzitní výuce. Emancipace dějepisu umění od poloviny 19. století do roku 1894', in *Století ústavu pro dějiny umění*, pp. 20–71, quote p. 58 (as in note 4).

²¹ R. ŠVÁCHA, 'Dějepis umění v současnosti', in *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu II.*, pp. 349–370, quote p. 370 (as in note 1).

SUMMARY

Milena Bartlová
CULTIVATING ITS OWN ROOTS:
CZECH ART HISTORY IN THE 1980S
IN SEARCH OF ITS OWN BEGINNINGS

The contribution examines the significance of the two-volume publication *Chapters from the History of Czech Art History* (1986–1987). It was published by the Institute of Theory and History of Art of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences as its official task, but also to support the existence of the field of art history, which was threatened in the 1970s and 1980s for ideological reasons in what was then the Czech Socialist Republic. Although the book identifies Max Dvořák as the founder of Czech art history and defines its mode normatively as a history of historical development, the first volume, subtitled *Predecessors and Founders*, describes the history of the field from the 15th to the end of the 19th c. The main characteristics of the publication can be summarized as a description of the constitutive features of Czech art history, with which it is still identified in its mainstream: Czech art history is made up of the ideas of great males who were born in Bohemia and Moravia and overwhelmingly wrote in Czech; the norm is the developmental model and the unquestioned patriarch is Max Dvořák; the descriptive mode of art historical work is legitimate and proper because it shapes the national history of art; plurality involves inconsistency of ideas and art history can well do without paying attention to its own philosophical foundations.

KRONIKA KOMISJI HISTORII SZTUKI POLSKIEJ AKADEMII UMIEJĘTNOŚCI ZA ROK 2023

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ODCZYTY W ROKU 2023

12 I dr Agnieszka Smołucha-Sładkowska, *Padovano czy nie Padovano? Caraglio czy nie Caraglio? Rewizja oeuvre medalierskiego artystów włoskich na dworze ostatnich Jagiellonów*

Tekst opublikowany jako: A. Smołucha-Sładkowska, *Giovanni Maria Mosca (Called Padovano) and Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio. A Revision of the Oeuvre of Italian Medallists at the Court of the Last Jagiellons*, „Notae Numismaticae”, 18, 2023, s. 251–272.

9 III mgr Justyna Kamińska, *Nowe spojrzenie na najstarsze fazy budowy kościoła i klasztoru Dominikanów w Sandomierzu*

Tekst w zmienionej wersji opublikowany jako:

J. Kamińska, M. Doroz-Turek, A. Gołębniak, *Uwagi na temat faz budowy dominikańskiego kościoła św. Jakuba w Sandomierzu – wyniki badań interdyscyplinarnych*, „Wiadomości Konserwatorskie”, 76, 2023, s. 98–114.

J. Kamińska, *Środkowoeuropejskie źródła architektury i dekoracji kościoła oraz klasztoru Dominikanów w Sandomierzu – nowe hipotezy badawcze*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, 86, 2024, nr 2, s. 5–30.

13 IV dr Andrzej Kompa, *Freski martyrium św. św. Karposa i Papylosa w Konstantynopolu i ich identyfikacja*

W południowo-zachodniej części starego Konstantynopola, w dzielnicy nazywanej Samatya (średniobizantyńska Psamatia), pomiędzy ulicą Abdurrahmana Nafiza Gürmana

i zaułkiem Bestekar Hakkı znajduje się zaniedbany klejnot późnoantycznej i średniowiecznej architektury sakralnej, martyrium św. św. Karposa i Papylosa. Orientowana rotunda z absydą oraz obejściem i obszerną kaplicą boczną stanowią pozostałość bardziej złożonej struktury, której zwieńczeniem był kościół usytuowany powyżej poziomu ulicy. Historia obiektu znajduje śladowe odzwierciedlenie w bizantyńskich źródłach pisanych, zaś ostatni kościół pamiętający czasy sprzeczności podboju tureckiego spłonął najpewniej pod koniec XVIII w. i został po kilku dekadach popadania w ruinę zastąpiony kościołem św. Menasa, zbudowanym na początku lat 30. XIX w. Choć plan kościoła i granice posesji pokrywają się w znacznej mierze z partią dolną, połączenie funkcjonalne między nimi zostało zablokowane i obecne wejście do martyrium prowadzi od ul. Gürmana, tj. od strony absydy rotundy, niezgodnie z pierwotnym założeniem. W okresie osmańskim i w XX w. dolne przestrzenie budowli pozostawały zaniedbane, były wykorzystywane na sklepy, składy, warsztaty i zaplecza przylegających punktów usługowych (ambulatorium), a przejścia pomiędzy poszczególnymi częściami obiektu zablokowano. Dopiero w 2. dekadzie XXI w. wszystkie części zabytku połączono, oczyszczono, a wewnątrz urządzono restaurację (Helena Cak Stones, w 2023 r. nieczynna). Opisany stan zachowania i sposób wykorzystywania w ostatnich kilku stuleciach wpłynął na niemal zupełne pominięcie zabytku w badaniach archeologicznych i bizantynologicznych, a martyrium, choć wyróżniające się metryką (prawdopodobnie V w. n.e.) i stołecznym położeniem było jedynie z rzadka jedynie przywoływane jako przykład architektury wczesnochrześcijańskiej, z oddaniem mu jego należnej rangi. Zidentyfikowane na podstawie repertoriów kościołów Konstantynopola i opisane w kilku krótkich tekstach przez Alfonsa-Marię Schneidera w latach 30. XX w., a następnie uwzględnione w leksykonie Wolfganga Müllera-Wienera (1977), martyrium dopiero w ostatnich dwudziestu latach doczekało się większego zainteresowania. Badania nad obiektem, jego historią, architekturą i znaczeniem w topografii bizantyńskiego Konstantynopola prowadzili m.in. Ayca Beygo, Ferudun Özgümüş, Anestis Vasilakeris i autor niniejszego wystąpienia.

Północno-wschodnia kaplica boczna martyrium zachowała dwa wielkopowierzchniowe, niemal zatarte freski, datowane na XIII/XIV w. Pierwszy z nich, znajdujący się na ścianie bocznej, przedstawia świętego wojownika ujętego konwencjonalnie konno, atakującego włócznią znajdującego się u dołu obrazu, niewidocznego wroga. Drugi fresk znajduje

się na kolebkowym, ceglany sklepieniu kaplicy i przedstawia Chrystusa w majestacie, w okręgu wpisanym w prostokątną bordiurę. Na podstawie sporządzonej w 2009 r. dokumentacji fotograficznej zdołałem częściowo odczytać i zidentyfikować inskrypcję wpisaną w otok fresku sufitowego (publikacja w „Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Historica”, 87, 2011) – jest to fragment psalmu (Ps. 102[101], 20-21). Opowiadałem się wówczas za ostrożnością w interpretacji fresków, poddając kilka możliwych identyfikacji. Z kolei w swoim artykule z 2017 r. („Istanbuler Mitteilungen”, 67) Ferudun Özgümüş (wraz ze współautorami) opublikował pełną inskrypcję, pominął jednak fakt jej o sześć lat wcześniejszego odczytania i identyfikacji. W tym samym tekście, idąc za dotychczasowymi założeniami, rozpoznał w świętym wojowniku św. Demetriusza, nie wskazał natomiast, jaki wizerunek Chrystusa stanowi centrum fresku na sklepieniu (tymczasem w o rok wcześniejszym abstrakcie swojego wystąpienia na XXIII Międzynarodowym Kongresie Studiów Bizantyńskich w Belgradzie opowiadał się za przedstawieniem Pantokratora).

Przeprowadziwszy dalszą analizę zachowanej dokumentacji, w tym fotograficznej, wzbogaconej o lepsze niż którekolwiek wcześniej dostępne zdjęcia kolorowe fresków, zamieszczone w tekście F. Özgümüşa, sądzę nadal, że moje poprzednie obserwacje pozostają aktualne. Identyfikacja postaci przedstawionej w fresku ściennym, choć św. Demetriusz pozostaje prawdopodobnym rozwiązaniem, nie może również wykluczać św. Jerzego ani św. Menasa – obie propozycje znajdują uzasadnienie w późnobyzantyńskiej tradycji ikonograficznej i odniesieniach topograficznych w Psamatii, w tym w najbliższym otoczeniu zabytku i historii stojącego w tym miejscu kościoła. Z kolei fresk umieszczony na sklepieniu wymaga dalszych szczegółowych badań. Opublikowana w 2017 r. fotografia, poza szczegółami już wcześniej opisanymi (cztery postaci cherubinów/serafinów w narożach pomiędzy otokiem a prostokątną bordiurą, postać Chrystusa w centrum), pozwalają zauważyć detale dotąd niezauważone i przez F. Özgümüşa pominięte. Najważniejszą jest mandorla typu „karo”, a więc rombu o wklęsłoliniowych bokach, dotykająca otoku inskrypcyjnego, zawierająca w sobie postać Chrystusa w ujęciu do pasa. W przestrzeniach pomiędzy mandorlą a otokiem, choć ledwo widoczne, znajdują się postaci symbolizujące czterech Ewangelistów, ujęte konwencjonalnie jako *zodia* (NW – uskrzydłona postać, NE – orzeł, SW – lew, SE – wół). Z kolei w identyfikacji postaci Zbawiciela zamiast Pantokratora należy brać pod uwagę wyobrażenie Chrystusa Najdawniejszych Dni (*Palaios tōn hēmerōn*). Uważna obserwacja fresku pozwala dostrzec także nimb wokół głów Chrystusa i tetramorfa. Warto zauważyć, że niemal identyczne przedstawienie Chrystusa Najdawniejszych Dni i zodiów zachowało się w tzw. Ewangeliarzu Konstantynopolańskim, datowanym na XIII w. i przechowywanym w bibliotece uniwersyteckiej w Cambridge (Ms. Dd. 9.69, fol. 139r; Cambridge University Library).

Taka identyfikacja fresku, o ile dałoby się ją potwierdzić w toku dalszej szczegółowej inspekcji zabytku, pozwoliłaby na wyprowadzenie dalszych wniosków na temat użytkowania martyrium / substrukturu kościoła w okresie późnobyzantyńskim. Mogłaby posłużyć za wzmocnienie identyfikacji kaplicy jako prothesis – poszukiwanie ewentualnego diakonikonu wymagałoby naruszenia ulicy poniżej budynku i jest

trudno wykonalne; tymczasem przedstawienie Chrystusa *Palaios tōn hēmerōn* występuje m.in. w pochodzących z tego samego mniej więcej okresu kościołach Mistry czy Arty. Odpowiedzi na dalsze pytania badawcze – np. o związek pomiędzy freskami a funkcją kaplicy w późnym Bizancjum, ewentualne powiązanie fresków ze wzmożeniem religijnym w kontekście hesychazmu, poszukiwanie potencjalnych fundatorów malowideł – wymagają dalszych badań archeologicznych na miejscu oraz ostatecznego potwierdzenia identyfikacji przedstawień.

11 V prof. dr hab. Piotr Krasny, *Unde origo inde salus. Rola i formy architektoniczne szpitali epidemicznych w czasach nowożytnych*

Praktyka całkowitego separowania chorych na trąd od zdrowego społeczeństwa, zalecona w *Księdze kapłańskiej*, została złagodzona przez Chrystusa, który okazywał miłosierdzie tym nieszczęśnikom. Od VI wieku postawa taka została zinstytucjonalizowana przez Kościół, który zaczął wznosić szpitale w celu izolacji trędowatych, naśladujące Bazyliadę, założoną przez św. Bazylego w Cezarei Kapadockiej. W roku 1079 Sobór Laterański III określił funkcje i kształt takich założeń, nazywanych lazaretami w nawiązaniu do wielkiego Szpitala św. Łazarza w Jerozolimie. Większość lazaretów w Europie łacińskiej była skromnymi budowlami, ponieważ trąd nie osiągnął nigdy na tym obszarze wielkiego zasięgu. Katastrofalnych rozmiarów zaczęły jednak nabierać od połowy wieku XIV kolejne fale epidemii dżumy, które starano się ograniczać, izolując coraz liczniejszych chorych w dawnych szpitalach dla trędowatych. Kiedy budynki te okazywały się zbyt ciasne, podejmowano się najpierw ich prowizoryczne rozbudowy o drewniane skrzydła, pawilony lub chaotyczne zespoły chatki. Skromny, a często wręcz ubogi wygląd przekształconych w ten sposób szpitali epidemicznych pokazywał w dosadny sposób, że zarządcy tych gmachów nie troszczyli się zbyt wiele o ludzi dotkniętych zarazą, ale dążyli do ich bezwzględnej odseparacji od zdrowego społeczeństwa i skazania na samotną agonię. Dość powszechne było więc przekonanie, że trafiać do lazaretu jest gorsze od śmierci, toteż wielu zainfekowanych ukrywało swój stan, co prowadziło do dalszego rozprzestrzeniania epidemii.

Taki stan rzeczy postanowiły zmienić władze Werony po jej spustoszeniu przez dżumę w roku 1539, kierując się z jednej strony postępem wiedzy o mechanizmach rozprzestrzeniania zarazy, wykształconym przede wszystkim w środowisku uniwersyteckim pobliskiej Padwy, z drugiej zaś – dążeniem do rozumnego praktykowania miłosierdzia wobec bliźnich, zalecanego gorąco przez werońskiego biskupa Gian Mattea Gibertiego. Nowy weroński lazaret zaprojektowany przez Michela Sanmicheliego został zbudowany na planie kwadratu, zarysowanego przez skrzydła podzielone na izby, dostępne z rozległego dziedzińca i skomunikowane arkadowym krużgankiem. Pośrodku dziedzińca usytuowano centralną, kopułową kaplicę o arkadowych prześwitach w ścianach, dzięki którym ksiądz celebrujący mszę mógł być widziany przez chorych odizolowanych w izbach, a przeciąg oczyszczał otaczające go powietrze z miazmatów dżumy. Schemat werońskiego założenia został powtórzony w innych północnowłoskich lazaretach, m.in. w wyjątkowo okazałym szpitalu epidemicznym, zbudowanym po roku 1576 z Mediolanie

z inicjatywy Karola Boromeusza przez Pellegrina Tibaldiego, oraz w lazarecie w Bergamo, wzniesionym w latach 1577–1581.

Włoskie szpitale posłużyły za wzór dla paryskiego *Hôpital de Saint-Louis*, zbudowanego przez Claude'a Chastillona i Claude'a Vellefauxa w latach 1607–1612. Olbrzymi kwadratowy dziedziniec tego lazaretu jest otoczony piętrowymi skrzydłami, mieszczącymi na piętrze obszerne sale dla chorych i izolatki, a na parterze pomieszczenia pomocnicze. Dookoła tego założenia zostały usytuowane budynki gospodarcze, a także znacznych rozmiarów kościół i cmentarz z precyzyjnie wyznaczonymi polami grzebalnymi. Założenie otoczono wyniosłym murem, spajającym je i podkreślającym jego starannie przemyślany kształt przestrzenny. Wszystkie budynki szpitala zostały wzniesione z nietynkowanej cegły, wzmocnione ciosami kamiennymi na narożnikach i ozdobione bogatym detałem kamieniarskim. Skala i bogate formy architektoniczne tego założenia (naśladowane na francuskiej prowincji, m.in. w *Hôpital de Saint-Roch* w Rouen) manifestowały, że zostało ono ufundowane przez Henryka IV jako wyraz jego troski o zachowanie zdrowia publicznego w królestwie. Taka demonstracja była przyjmowana z podziwem przez wielu pisarzy, ale Charles Le Petit dopatrywał się nie stosowności w bogatym ukształtowaniu *Hôpital de Saint-Louis*, pytając w satyrycznym opisie Paryża „dlaczego to szalone państwo musi dawać zarazie pałac”, podczas gdy każdy rozsądnie myślący człowiek odwraca przestraszony wzrok od nawiedzonych przez nią miejsc.

Wydaje się, że także magistraty holenderskich miast dopatrywały się nie stosowności w bogatej dekoracji *Hôpital de Saint-Louis*. Po ustaniu epidemii dżumy w Niderlandach w latach 1635–1636 podjęły budowę szpitali o układzie przestrzennym wzorowanym wyraźnie na głównym budynku paryskiego założenia. Owe Pesthuizen, wystawione m.in. w Amsterdamie i Delft, składały się bowiem z czterech dwukondygnacyjnych skrzydeł, ujmujących kwadratowy dziedziniec i mieszczących na piętrze sale dla chorych. Elewacji holenderskich szpitali nie układano jednak prawie zupełnie detałem kamieniarskim, nadając tym budowlom surowy wyraz, uzmysławiający obserwatorom, że „to instytucja dobroczytna upiększa swoją siedzibę blaskiem dobrych uczynków, a nie budynek uświetnia tę instytucję”. Gładkie ściany lazaretów nie były jednak widoczne dla przechodniów, ponieważ starano się je przesłonić podwójnym lub potrójnym szpalerem drzew. Rolę tych nasadzeń opisał poetycko Daniel Willink, stwierdzając, że „otaczają one budynek jak ogród, co sprawia tak przyjemne wrażenie, że wszystkie straszliwe cierpienia, które pchają ciało do grobu, zamykają się w jego przestronnych salach. Dzięki temu gaśnie lęk przechodniów, a ich przerażone dusze doznają ukojenia”.

Bardziej konfrontacyjną postawę wobec zarazy manifestowały lazarety wznoszone w śródziemnomorskich miastach portowych. W ośrodkach tych obawiano się przede wszystkim przywleczenia moru przez załogi i ładunki statków, toteż te osoby i przedmioty poddawano w okresach zagrożenia epidemicznego obowiązkowej kwarantannie w budynkach szpitalnych. Lazarety były zatem lokowane przy wejściu do portów i przybierały bardzo okazałe rozmiary, co sprawiało że stawały się niejako wizytówką miast. Konieczność włączenia lazaretów w infrastrukturę portową sprawiała, że nie można było oddzielić ich od uczęszczanych miejsc rozległymi niezabudowanymi terenami. Konieczne było zatem

otaczanie tych gmachów solidnymi murami i rowami, aby uniemożliwić izolowanym wychodzenie z nich, a także zabezpieczyć złożone w nich towary przed rabunkiem. Takie rozwiązanie powodowało dość oczywiste skojarzenie, które odnotował Francesco Sansovino w opisie Wenecji, opublikowanym w roku 1581, stwierdzając, że tamtejszy „Lazzaretto Nuovo wygląda z daleka jak zamek z powodu muru, który go otacza”. Bardzo okazałe *castelli della sanità*, umocnione potężnymi wieżami, wznoszono zwłaszcza w XVIII wieku, m.in. w Genui, Ankonie i Marsylii, manifestując poprzez ich formy, że bronią one miast przed straszliwymi chorobami.

Wysiłek włożony w różnorodne kształtowanie zewnętrznego wyglądu szpitali epidemicznych był niewspółmierny do zaangażowania w zarządzanie ich wnętrzem, mimo deklaracji władz sanitarnych, że starają się zrobić to „w taki sposób, żeby zainfekowani i podejrzewani o zakażenie, a także usługujący im mogli wygodnie mieszkać i umierać”. Wnętrza lazaretów, a zwłaszcza izolatek i sal dla zakażonych były z reguły pozbawione jakiegokolwiek dekoracji, ponieważ zdawano sobie sprawę, że żadne rozwiązania architektoniczne, malarskie lub rzeźbiarskie nie mogą ukoić dusz zapowietrzonych, zmagających się ze straszliwą chorobą. *Okazałe* „pałace zarazy” mogły dawać takie ukojenie wyłącznie zdrowym, ukrywając przed nimi cierpienia zakażonych oraz kojąc ich wyrzuty sumienia z powodu skazywania wielu chorych na śmierć w samotności. *Okazałe* szpitale epidemiczne miały też sugerować społecznościom, że w konfrontacji z zagrożeniem zarazą władze świeckie i duchowne nie szczędzą środków, aby chronić przed chorobami swoich poddanych.

15 VI dr Wojciech Walanus, *Powstanie Komisji Historii Sztuki Akademii Umiejętności – karta z dziejów instytucjonalizacji dyscypliny*

Tekst opublikowany jako: W. Walanus, *Powstanie Komisji Historii Sztuki Akademii Umiejętności – karta z dziejów instytucjonalizacji dyscypliny*, „Folia Historiae Artium. Seria Nowa”, 21, 2023, s. 5–23.

12 X dr Magdalena Garnczarska, „Złote obrazy”. *O grupie ikon synajskich z X–XIII w. i ich niezwykłych dekoracjach*

W bogatej kolekcji obrazów tablicowych klasztoru świętej Katarzyny na Synaju wyróżnia się grupa dzieł, które zawierają złote elementy wypolerowane na wysoki połysk. Są to przede wszystkim krążki – najczęściej pełnią rolę nimbów, nierzadko jednak także pokrywają tła lub wypełniają nadłuczca arkad – ale również mandorle, otoki medalionów, promienie oraz łuki. Znamienny jest sposób, w jaki zostały wypolerowane, bowiem dzięki niemu zdają się wirować, poruszać. Wszystko zależy od ruchu – patrzącego i światła. Elementy te wyraźnie też odróżniają się od złotego tła, na którym najczęściej występują. Zdarza się także, że nakładają się na siebie, tworząc na przykład trójlistne układy, lub przeplatają się w mniej regularny sposób – i wówczas nie ma problemów z rozróżnieniem poszczególnych części składowych. Za każdym razem efekt jest niezwykle atrakcyjny, przyciągający wzrok.

Zespół ten szacuję na około 120 obrazów, za podstawowe kryterium przyjmując przy tym obecność przynajmniej

charakterystycznych nimbów – datowanych od 2. połowy X w. do XIII w. Biorąc pod uwagę, że powstawały przez długi czas oraz to, że są dość liczne, nie dziwi, że różnią się pod względem stylu. Także poziom wykonania bywa zróżnicowany. Nie zawsze bowiem owe złote elementy spotykamy w obrazach najwyższej jakości, lecz także w takich, w których partie malarskie są przeciętnej klasy. Być może świadczy to o rozdzieleniu (przynajmniej w niektórych przypadkach) tych zadań pomiędzy dwóch wykonawców. Kwestii tej jednak nie sposób jednoznacznie rozstrzygnąć, ponieważ o bizantyńskich praktykach warsztatowych nie ma dokładnych informacji (te, które są, przeczą takiemu podziałowi pracy). Niemniej, choćby we wczesnonowożytnej Italii, taka sytuacja niejednokrotnie miała miejsce, o czym świadczą zapisy w dokumentach cechów.

Również pod względem tematyki nie da się uchwycić żadnej prawidłowości: złote i połyskujące elementy pokrywają zarówno reprezentacyjne wizerunki świętych, jak i przedstawienia narracyjne. Wśród tych ostatnich szczególnie wyróżnia się grupa epistylów, w których znajdujemy zarówno wypolerowane na wysoki połysk łuki arkad, jak i złożone układy zbudowane z krążków oraz otoków szczelnie wypełniające wolne przestrzenie nad arkadami. Wydaje się nadto, że im późniejszy obraz – dotyczy to nie tylko wspomnianych epistylów, ale i pozostałych dzieł grupy – tym więcej złotych elementów. Do tego nierzadko zupełnie swobodnie „rozrzucanych” na złotym tle, jak gdyby chodziło przede wszystkim o wizualny efekt i wykazanie się artystycznym kunsztem.

Problem tych złotych elementów nie został, jak dotąd, gruntownie opracowany. Wzmiankując je, badacze odnoszą się głównie do techniki ich polerowania, dociekając, jak mogłyby działać narzędzia wykorzystywane do uzyskiwania charakterystycznego połysku. Z drugiej strony bywa poruszany także problem znaczenia złotych krążków. W tym przypadku nacisk jest kładziony na wskazywanie sensów symbolicznych – jak na przykład próby powiązania ich z duchowością hezychastyczną (czy raczej, ściśle rzecz biorąc, z palamizmem), co wydaje się równie kłopotliwe, co generalnie doszukiwanie się jej bezpośredniego wpływu na sztukę późnobizantyńską. Sądzę, że większy potencjał badawczy ma przyjrzenie się tym „złotym” obrazom z perspektywy bizantyńskiej estetyki. Uważam bowiem, że w modelowy sposób spełniają jej główne założenie – różnorodność (ποικιλία). W tym przypadku związaną przede wszystkim z bogactwem efektów wizualnych.

9 XI dr hab. Mikołaj Getka-Kenig, prof. PAN, *Historyczne centrum Krakowa a polityka dziedzictwa w komunistycznej Polsce (1945–1978)*

Referat stanowi pokłosie projektu badawczego realizowanego w ramach grantu Narodowego Centrum Nauki pt. *Zabytki architektury i polityka historyczna w komunistycznej Polsce – przypadek Krakowa 1945–1978*. Celem tego projektu jest analiza wpływu czynników politycznych na opiekę nad zabytkami Krakowa w okresie Polski „ludowej”. Chodzi o wykazanie, w jakim zakresie władze komunistyczne interesowały się architektonicznym dziedzictwem Krakowa i jak wyglądała relacja pomiędzy tym zainteresowaniem a państwową polityką historyczną. Jest to więc próba spojrzenia na historię

konserwacji zabytków w powojennej Polsce (pomiędzy „wyzwoleniem” miasta, a wpisem historycznego centrum Krakowa na listę Światowego Dziedzictwa UNESCO) z politycznego punktu widzenia – jako elementu szerszej zakrojonych działań w zakresie budowania historycznej tożsamości Polaków w powojennych realiach.

Jak dotąd, tematyka związków polityki i konserwacji nie była zbyt często podejmowana w nauce polskiej, a jeżeli już była badana, dotyczyło to w szczególności odbudowy zabytków. Przykładem jest pionierska praca Piotra Majewskiego pt. *Ideologia i konserwacja. Architektura zabytkowa w Polsce w czasach socrealizmu*, Warszawa 2009, która wbrew tytułowi poświęcona jest przede wszystkim odbudowie Warszawy. Skupienie na Warszawie nie jest przypadkowe. Problem odbudowy zabytków warszawskich stanowił w interesującym nas okresie (od 1945 po drugą połowę lat 50. XX w.) podstawowe zagadnienie z zakresu konserwacji z punktu widzenia państwa. Był również źródłem wielu doświadczeń, które miały znaczenie dla formowania się teorii i praktyki konserwacji w skali ogólnopolskiej, jak i w dużej mierze międzynarodowej. Nie zmienia to jednak faktu, że opieka państwa nad zabytkami nie ograniczała się tylko do Warszawy, jak również innych odbudowanych miast (np. Gdańsk – odbudowie historycznego centrum tego miasta, z uwzględnieniem kontekstu politycznego, poświęcona jest książka Jacka Friedricha pt. *Odbudowa Głównego Miasta w Gdańsku w latach 1945–1960*, Gdańsk 2015). Mierzyła się bowiem również z problemem obiektów zachowanych, których nie trzeba było odbudowywać, ale za to konserwować i adaptować do nowych funkcji.

Należy podkreślić wyjątkową sytuację Krakowa na tle innych ośrodków miejskich w powojennej Polsce. Był to bowiem największy zespół architektury zabytkowej, który nie uległ w zasadzie poważniejszemu zniszczeniu, czy nawet dewastacji w okresie II wojny światowej, co tak silnie kontrastuje nie tylko z przypadkiem Warszawy czy Gdańska, ale również Poznania, Lublina, Wrocławia czy Białegostoku. Do tego dochodzi silny emocjonalny ładunek związany z historią Krakowa i ogólnopolskim znaczeniem jego architektonicznego dziedzictwa co najmniej od przełomu XVIII i XIX wieku. Badanie problemu konserwacji jako działania z zakresu polityki dziedzictwa okresu komunizmu należy więc moim zdaniem zaczynać właśnie od Krakowa, traktując go też jako punkt wyjścia w przyszłości do dalszych badań nad innymi, bardziej lokalnymi przypadkami.

W referacie skupiam się na polityce państwa wobec historycznego centrum Krakowa, w zasadzie tożsamego z powstałą w 1954 r. dzielnicą Stare Miasto (dawne Śródmieście, Wawel, Stradom i Kazimierz, bez części Wesołej). W 1978 r. ten obszar został wpisany jako pierwszy zespół urbanistyczny na listę Światowego Dziedzictwa UNESCO. Referat jest więc próbą prześledzenia genezy tego wpisu. Sama kandydatura Krakowa, wspierana przez władze PRL, stanowiła wyraz politycznych ambicji państwa w tym konkretnym czasie, ale miała również swoje dłuższe korzenie, sięgające początku komunistycznego reżimu. Analizuję więc drogę, jaką centralne władze powojennej Polski przeszły od początkowego lekceważenia tego obszaru (przełom lat 40. i 50.), którym interesowały się wówczas przede wszystkim władze lokalne. Następnie skupiam się na szeroko zakrojonych pracach konserwatorskich, finansowanych przez

rząd centralny i motywowanych polityką krajową (lata 60.). Kandydatura na listę UNESCO była już powodowana dalszą ewolucją tego procesu, a mianowicie dostrzeżeniem szczególnych walorów tego obszaru z punktu widzenia polityki zagranicznej (lata 70.). Historia konserwacji łączy się tutaj zarówno ze zmieniającą się oficjalną wizją narodowej przeszłości, jak i bardziej ogólnym zagadnieniem legitymizacji komunistycznej Polski.

14 XII prof. dr hab. Wojciech Bałus, *S. Wyspiańskiego i W. Ekielskiego projekt „Akropolis” na Wawelu. Fakty i fantazmaty*

Tekst opublikowany jako: W. Bałus, *Stanisława Wyspiańskiego i Władysława Ekielskiego projekt Akropolis*, w: *Wawel Wyspiańskiego* [katalog wystawy, 21 marca – 21 lipca 2024], Kraków 2024, s. 13–36.

