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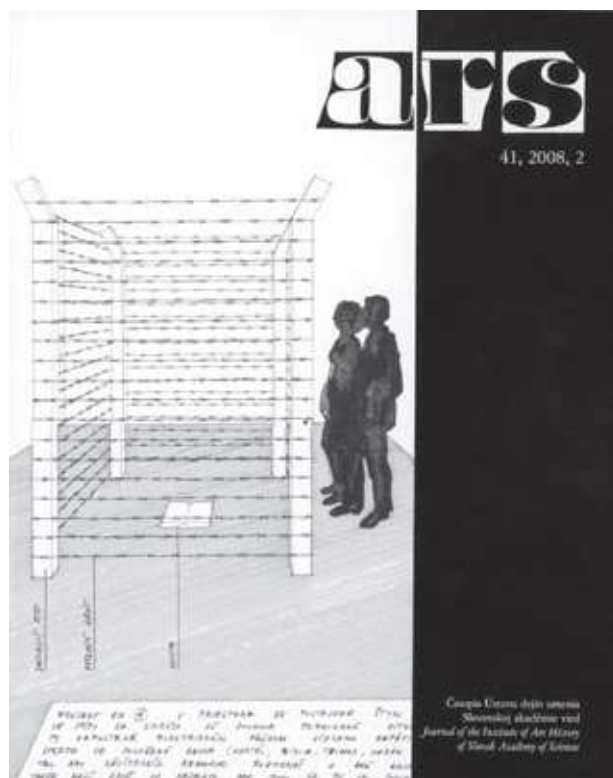
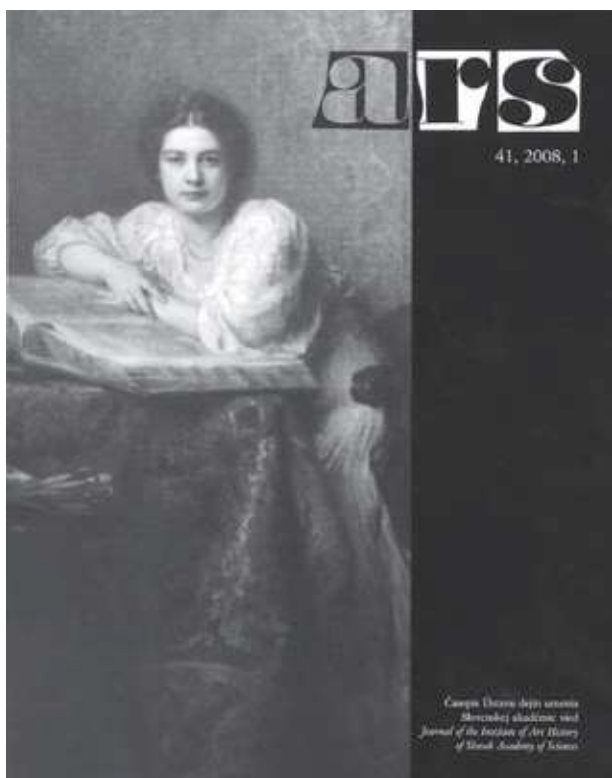
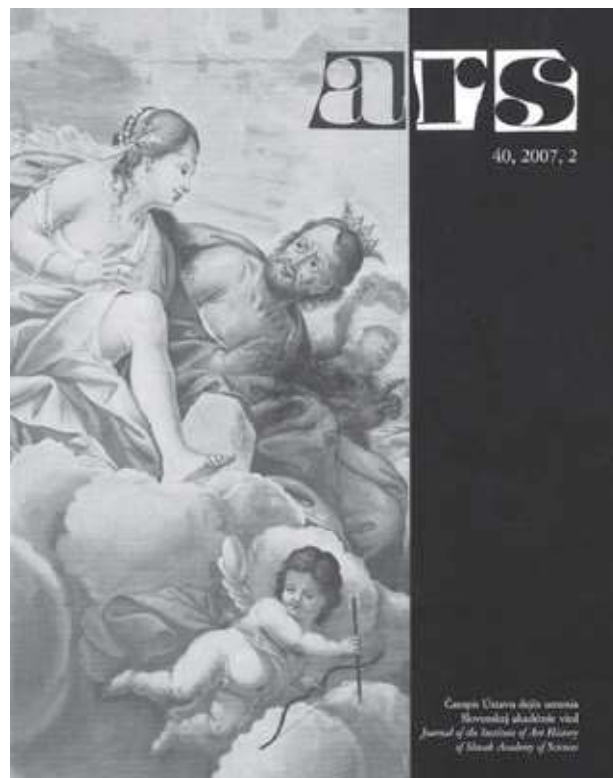
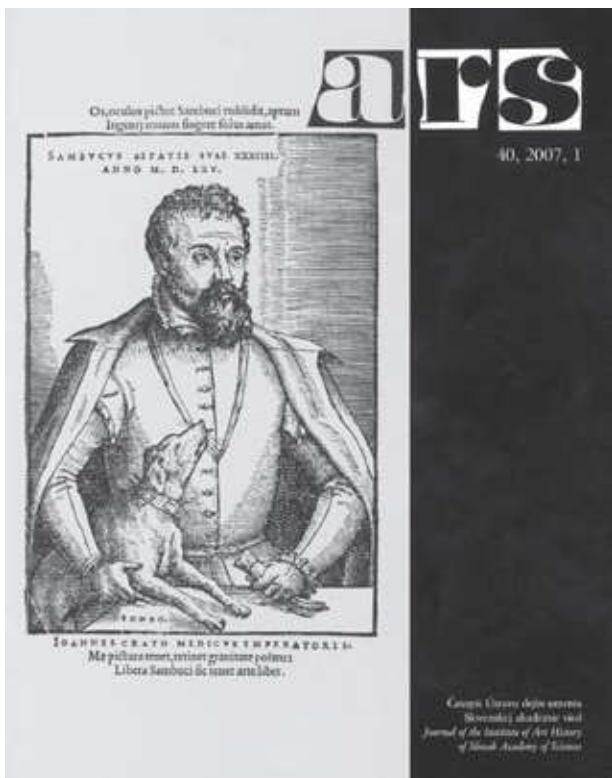
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NA OBÁLKE / ON THE COVER:

Náhrobná tabuľa Filippa Buonaccorsiho, Krakov. / The sepulchral plaque of Filippo Buonaccorsi, Cracow.
(Pozri s. 38, obr. 2 / See p. 38, fig. 2)



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Úvod / Editorial

Od roku 1989 prešla stredovýchodná Európa radikálnou geopolitickou redefiníciou, ktorá prišla významný posun tak v perspektíve jej obyvateľov, ako aj v perspektíve ľudí žijúcich mimo nej. Označenie „stredná Európa“ sa znova raz stalo aktuálnym ako možná alternatíva namiesto politicky zdiskreditovanej východnej Európy. Po mnohých desaťročiach, keď bolo kultúrne dedičstvo regiónu fyzicky aj intelektuálne neprístupné, sa zahraniční intelektuáli opäť zamerali na strednú Európu. Umeleckohistorický výskum sa stal integrálnou súčasťou tohto procesu. Avšak spôsob, ktorým sa bádatelia pozerajú na umelcov a ich diela, závisí od miesta a času. Preto neprekvapuje, že uhol pohľadu zahraničných a stredoeurópskych bádateľov sa od seba často značne odlišuje. Stredoeurópski bádatelia sa zameriavajú takmer výlučne na témy vzťahujúce sa k národným tradíciám. Vskutku, dedičstvo rakúsko-uhorskej monarchie ovplyvnilo ich snahy písať národné dejiny umenia.

Avšak už na začiatku deväťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia sme boli svedkami prvých pokusov domácich historikov umenia propagovať umenie strednej Európy v širšom európskom kontexte, a súčasne aj niektorých počiatočných reflexií stredoeurópskeho umenia z pera zahraničných expertov. Niektoré publikácie a výstavné projekty posledných dvoch desaťročí priniesli inšpiračné prístupy a užitočné metodologické modely ako prvé dôležité kroky v snahe vybalansovať, aspoň čiastočne, dve odlišné tradície umeleckohistorického výskumu. Napriek rastúcemu počtu publikácií je však tento proces pomalý a náročný. Je ťažké pre bádateľov na oboch stranách vzdať sa tradičných predpokladov, alebo znovu napísať dejiny umenia akceptujúc nové, viac

Since 1989 East-Central Europe has undergone a radical geo-political redefinition, one that has brought a significant shift in the perspectives of both insiders and outside observers. The new label “Central Europe” was reinvented as a tentative alternative to the politically discredited “Eastern Europe”. After many decades in which the cultural heritage of the region was physically and intellectually inaccessible, foreign intellectuals are focusing once again on Central Europe. Art historical research has become an integral part of this process. The way that scholars have looked at artists and their works, however, depends on place and time. Not surprisingly, the points of view employed by foreign experts often differ considerably from those of Central European scholars, who have focused almost exclusively on topics related to national traditions. Indeed the Austro-Hungarian Empire’s legacy has influenced their efforts to write national art histories.

Nevertheless, the early 1990s witnessed the first attempts of local art historians to promote Central European art within the broader European context and, concurrently, some initial reflections on Central European art written by foreign experts. Some publications and exhibition projects of the last two decades have displayed inspiring approaches and useful methodological models while making essential steps to balance, even partially, two distinct traditions of art historical research. In spite of the growing number of publications, this process remains slow and challenging. It is difficult for scholars on both sides to abandon traditional assumptions or to rewrite the history of art to accommodate a new, suddenly more inclusive understanding of European, rather than just Western or Central European, culture.

komplexnejšie chápanie európskej, namiesto západnej alebo stredoeurópskej, kultúry.

To boli dôvody, ktoré viedli k príprave tohto čísla. Moje úprimné poďakovania patrí všetkým prispievateľom, ktorí láskavo prijali moje pozvanie. Hlavne tým, ktorí súhlasili „zacestovať si“ až do stredovýchodnej Európy, ktorú iní stále vnímajú ako územie medzi civilizáciou a barbarizmom. Toto číslo je venované všetkým, ktorí veria, že „Republika učencov“ je stále živá.

This is why this current issue has been prepared. My sincere thanks go to all contributors who kindly accepted my invitation. Namely to those who agreed “to travel” as far as to East-Central Europe, which others still view as comprising lands caught between civilization and barbarism. The publication is devoted to all who believe that “la République des Lettres” is still alive.

Ingrid Ciulisová
Bratislava, Máj/May 2009

Albrecht Dürer and Eastern Europe*

Jeffrey Chipps SMITH

“Like his relatives, Albrecht Dürer the Elder was born in the kingdom of Hungary, in a village named Eytas [Ajtós], situated not far from a little town called Gyula, eight miles below Grosswardein; and his kindred made their living from horses and cattle. My father’s father was called Anton Dürer; he came as a lad to a goldsmith in the said little town and learnt the craft under him. The first son he named Albrecht; he was my dear father. He too became a goldsmith, a pure and skilful man. The second son he called Ladislaus; he was a saddler. His son is my cousin Niklas Dürer, called Niklas the Hungarian, who is settled at Köln. He also is a goldsmith and learnt the craft at Nürnberg with my father. The third son he called Johannes. Him he set to study and he afterwards became parson at Grosswardein, and continued there thirty years. So Albrecht Dürer, my dear father, came to Germany.”¹

Albrecht Dürer the Younger (1471 – 1528) wrote this genealogical account in 1524 after reading through some of his father’s papers. Ambition prompted Albrecht the Elder (1427 – 1502) to travel

from eastern Hungary to the Low Countries and then to Nuremberg, where he settled in 1455. Nuremberg was indeed a logical choice since the imperial free city was one of Europe’s foremost goldsmith centers.² Artists, like merchants, scholars, and soldiers, traversed the continent in their quests for professional opportunities. Albrecht the Elder simply traveled a bit farther and from a more peripheral land than most of his peers. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, German scholars touted Albrecht the Younger (hereafter referred to as Dürer) as the quintessential German artist and quickly dismissed the relevance of his paternal Hungarian origins.³ For their part, one of the burning issues for nineteenth-century Hungarian scholars was whether Dürer and his father spoke Hungarian together.⁴

Both approaches overlook a far more interesting question: what was the actual impact of Dürer and his art on Eastern Europe? There have been detailed studies of his influence on art in Italy, the Low Countries, England, France, and Spain, among other lands.⁵ Yet

* I wish to thank Ingrid Ciulisová for the invitation to write this essay and Lisa Kirch who read my text. I also thank Jan Harasimowicz, Piotr Oszczanowski, Agnieszka Madej-Anderson, and Tomasz Torbus who on other occasions patiently have tried to educate me about the artistic patrimony of Eastern Europe.

¹ CONWAY, M. (ed.): *The Writings of Albrecht Dürer*. New York 1958, p. 34; RUPPRICH, H. (ed.): *Dürer. Schriftlicher Nachlass*. 3 vols. Berlin 1956 – 1969, Vol. 1, p. 28. On Albrecht the Elder and his origins, see SCHWOB, U. M.: *Kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Nürnberg und den Deutschen im Südosten im 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert*. Munich 1969, pp. 28-30.

² KOHLHAUSSEN, H.: *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters und der Dürerzeit 1240 bis 1540*. Berlin 1968; MAUÉ, H.

et al. (eds.): *Quasi Centrum Europae. Europa kauft in Nürnberg 1400 – 1800*. [Exhib. Cat.] Nuremberg : Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2002.

³ BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: *Dürer and His Critics*. Baden-Baden 1986, esp. pp. 219-242.

⁴ TIMÁR, A.: Dürer-Literatur in Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts. In: *Acta Historiae Artium*, 24, 1978, pp. 391-396, esp. p. 393.

⁵ MÉSZÁROS, L.: *Italien siebt Dürer. Zur Wirkung der deutschen Druckgraphik auf die italienische Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Erlangen 1983; HERRMANN FIORE, K. (ed.): *Dürer e l’Italia*. [Exhib. Cat.] Rome : Scuderie del Quirinale, 2007; HELD, J.:

his direct and indirect dealings with artists and patrons from Poland and Prussia to Hungary and Romania remain to be examined. Dürer's designs, disseminated via his prints, reappear on the occasional altarpiece or mural painting. The following essay is intended merely as an introduction to the topic and to some of the issues the subject raises. To a degree, twentieth-century political divisions in Europe coupled with linguistic challenges long discouraged most Western European and North American scholars from looking farther east than Vienna until recently. This failure is especially unfortunate in the case of Dürer since his art, much like other commercial products from Nuremberg, traveled freely and far throughout Eastern Europe.

Points of Contact

Albrecht the Elder chose wisely when he decided to settle in Nuremberg. It was a cosmopolitan city with trading ties across most of Europe. In fact, in 1471 the astronomer Johannes Regiomontanus wrote Matthias Corvinus (1443 – 1490), King of Hungary and Bohemia, that in Nuremberg he could find skilled metalworkers who excelled in the production of precision instruments for observing and measuring the heavens as well as publishers for his books. He refers to Nuremberg as the “*Quasi Centrum Europae*”.⁶ Although I assume that Dürer would have thrived in most reasonable-size German towns, his birth in Nuremberg provided him with the inherent advantages of this political, economic, and intellectual hub.

Erhard Etzlaub's *Roadmap of Central Europe* [Fig. 1], created to guide pilgrims to Rome (placed at the top) for the 1500 jubilee, locates Nuremberg at the very heart of the continent. Ofen (Budapest), Cracow, and, at the bottom, Danzig (Gdańsk) are marked prominently with tiny building symbols along the left (or eastern) border as counterparts



1. Erhard Etzlaub: *Roadmap of Central Europe*. Photo: Courtesy of National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection.

to Paris to the west. Prague stands out far more conspicuously than Vienna. The map, printed in Nuremberg, reminds us that the city's commercial ties extended eastward as well as to the west. The names of towns with which its merchants traded, such as Posen (Poznań) or Breslau (Wrocław), liberally dot the map. Although spices and other products from the Black Sea, which historically passed through Lemberg (Lviv) to Cracow to Silesia and eventually to Nuremberg, declined after the 1453 Turkish conquest of Constantinople, Nuremberg maintained a brisk trade of goods and cultural exchanges with Eastern Europe.⁷ Hungary supplied grain, cattle, and copper. Bohemia offered silver, tin,

Dürers Wirkung auf die niederländische Kunst seiner Zeit. The Hague 1931; LEVEY, M.: Dürer and England. In: *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1971, pp. 157-164; MILAGROS, O.: Dürer in Spanien. In: *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 2002, pp. 253-263; KARLOWSKA-KAMZOWA, A.: Die Rezeption von Dürers Apokalypse in der französischen Druckgraphik des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. In: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 46-47, 1993-1994, pp. 267-273.

⁶ MAUÉ 2002 (see in note 2), pp. 11-13. See the essays in this catalogue for the different specialty products made in Nuremberg and then sold across Europe.

⁷ SCHWOB 1969 (see in note 1); WENDEHORST, A.: Nuremberg, the Imperial City: From Its Beginnings to the End of Its Glory. In: *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300 – 1550*. [Exhib. Cat.] New York : Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986, pp. 11-26.

brass, and other metals. Poland sent cattle while wax, furs, and leathers arrived from farther east. Silesia and Bohemia exported linen. These raw materials were creatively transformed into finished products in Nuremberg and then sold across Europe. From the twelfth century onward, rulers from Poland and Lithuania to Bohemia to the Siebenbürgen (Saxon Transylvania) encouraged Germans to settle in their sparsely populated lands.

The direct relevance for Dürer of Nuremberg's international ties, including Eastern Europe, may be observed in the sales distribution system created by Anton Koberger, the city's leading book publisher and our artist's godfather. He had many reciprocal agreements to market books with publishers in other towns. Koberger and his partners, including Michael Wolgemut, Dürer's teacher, produced Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum* (*Nuremberg Chronicle*) in 1493.⁸ When settling the project's financial affairs on June 22, 1509, Koberger listed 29 cities where his agents sold copies. These included Danzig, Posen, Breslau, Cracow, Prague, Vienna, and Budapest. Other partners are known farther east in Lemberg and Hermannstadt (Sibiu). The *Liber Chronicarum* is illustrated with innovative city views though of these only 16 are considered accurate, within the standards of the time, and based upon direct observation. Reliable depictions exist for Breslau, Cracow, Prague, Vienna, and Budapest along with Rome, Florence, and Genoa among the towns outside of the central German lands. This suggests that either someone in Wolgemut's workshop traveled to these towns or that Koberger or Wolgemut commissioned drawings made by artists from these locales, which were then sent to Nuremberg. In either case, these woodcuts demonstrate the sorts of creative links joining Nuremberg with its foremost trading partners. Dürer

subsequently utilized Koberger's network for selling his own books and prints.

Dürer's Direct Links

The Nuremberg master worked only rarely for Eastern European patrons or, at least, that is what the available documentation suggests. Even though scholars possess more records for Dürer than for any of his contemporaries, much survives by chance and much more is lost. For instance, the artist's relationship with Johannes Thurzó (Turzó), bishop of Breslau (r. 1506 – 1520), is known through chance references in letters and in the comments of the bishop's acquaintances. Among his correspondence with Jakob Heller, the Frankfurt merchant for whom he was painting a large *Coronation of the Virgin Altarpiece*, Dürer twice mentions a *Madonna and Child*.⁹ On August 24, 1508, he writes: "... it is about the Madonna that you saw at my house; if you know of any one near you who wants a picture pray offer it to him. If a proper frame was put to it, it would be a beautiful picture, and you know it is nicely done. I will let you have it cheap. I would not take less than 50 florins to paint one like it. As it stands finished in the house it might be damaged by me, so I would give you full power to sell it for me cheap for 30 florins – indeed rather than that it should not be sold I would even let it go for 24 florins. I have certainly lost much food over it."¹⁰ Dürer informs Heller in his letter of November 4, 1508: "You need not look about for a purchaser for my Madonna, for the bishop of Breslau has given me 72 florins for it, so I have sold it well."¹¹ The artist was obviously pleased by his good fortune since he sold the picture for a much higher price than he expected. Dürer's euphoria would soon be tempered because he had to wait until mid-1511 to receive payment from the bishop.¹² This *Madonna and Child* painting is presumably lost.¹³

⁸ WILSON, A.: *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*. Amsterdam 1976, pp. 229-236; SLENCZKA, E.: Die Weltchronik des Hartmann Schedel aus Nürnberg. In: MAUÉ 2002 (see in note 2), pp. 285-303, esp. p. 300. On Nuremberg and Schedel's book trade with Hungary and the Siebenbürgen towns around 1500, see SCHWOB 1969 (see in note 1), pp. 209-212.

⁹ On the Heller *Altarpiece*, see ANZELEWSKY, F.: *Albrecht Dürer. Das malerische Werk*. 2 vols. Berlin 1991 (rev. ed.), Nos. 107V-115K.

¹⁰ CONWAY 1958 (see in note 1), p. 65; RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, p. 66, No. 14.

¹¹ CONWAY 1958 (see in note 1), pp. 65-67, here p. 67; RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, pp. 67-68, No. 15.

¹² On July 30, 1511, the bishop instructed Wolfgang Hoffmann in Nuremberg to pay Dürer. He writes: "Es hat vns vor etzlichen jarn Albrecht Thürer zu Nornbergk ein tafeln ynes Marienbildes gemalt, zugesant, derhalbenn er vns jtzunder vmbt geldt vormanet." – RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, p. 256, No. 19.

The bishop came from a distinguished family in Cracow.¹⁴ He was the eldest of three sons of Johann, a highly successful merchant who originally hailed from Leutschau (Levoča) in eastern Slovakia. The father grew prosperous from mining, including the separation of copper from lead and other metals, smelting, and distance trading. Settling in Cracow in 1463, he became active in local government and was one of the patrons of Veit Stoss' monumental *Mary Altarpiece* (1477 – 1489) in St. Mary's, the city's main parish church where his family had its own chapel. Johannes, the son, studied in Cracow before earning his doctorate in law at the University of Padua. In 1498 – 1499 he was the rector of the University of Cracow and held various clerical posts before becoming the administrator (1503 – 1506) and then bishop of Breslau. Johannes attended to both the spiritual and economic well-being of his bishopric. He embellished Breslau cathedral by constructing its attractive, Renaissance-style carved sacristy portal (1517) and by acquiring reliquary shrines.¹⁵ The bishop especially prized his library and painting collection. Johannes had two accomplished younger brothers. Building upon his father's business specializing in trade, especially in copper and silver, between Cracow, Hungary, and Venice, Georg entered a business partnership with the Fuggers of Augsburg in 1494. Three years later he married Anna, Ulrich Fugger's daughter, and settled in Augsburg. The youngest brother, Stanislaus, was the bishop of Olmütz (Olomouc) (r. 1497 – 1540), a noted humanist, and an avid patron of the arts.¹⁶ Stanislaus officiated at Johannes' investiture in 1506.

Georg, perhaps impressed by his brother's *Madonna and Child*, tried to commission a painting from Dürer. In another letter to Jakob Heller, dated August 24, 1509, the artist writes: “No one shall ever compel me to paint a picture again with so much labor. Herr Georg Tausy [Thurzó] himself besought me to paint him a *Madonna in a landscape with the same care and of the same size as this picture* [Heller's altarpiece] and he would give me 400 florins for it. That I flatly refused to do, for it would have made a beggar of me. Of ordinary pictures I will in a year paint a pile which no one would believe it possible for one man to do in the time. But very careful nicety does not pay. So henceforth I shall stick to my engraving, and had I done so before I should today have been a richer man by 1000 florins.”¹⁷

Bishop Johannes had had earlier dealings with Dürer. He owned and likely commissioned the life-size *Adam and Eve* panels, today in Madrid [Fig. 2].¹⁸ The patron may have been inspired by the artist's 1504 engraving of this theme. Yet in the interim between the creation of the print and the picture, dated 1507, Dürer had spent well over a year living in Venice. The nudes, the largest he ever painted, are far more sensuous and believable than in his print. He combines anatomical accuracy, Vitruvian proportional theory, and a sculptural presence with subtle shading and color modulations. Dürer develops the couple's growing psychological awareness, as Adam seems to yearn, if naively, for Eve who, in turn, seems increasingly conscious of the implications of her actions.

Unlike the *Madonna and Child*, with its obvious devotional function, the Adam and Eve panels, which hung in the library of his residence in Breslau, were

¹³ On the now lost painting, see ANZELEWSKY 1991 (see in note 9), No. 106V.

¹⁴ GATZ, E. (ed.): *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1448 bis 1648*. Berlin 1996, pp. 713-714; also LIEB, N.: *Die Fugger und die Kunst*. Munich 1952, pp. 54-56, 68-69; and STROMER, W. von: Krakau und Nürnberg zur Zeit des Veit Stoß 1447 – 1533. In: KAHSNITZ, R. (ed.): *Veit Stoß. Die Vorträge des Nürnberger Symposions*. Munich 1985, pp. 9-18, here pp. 16-18.

¹⁵ On the portal with the kneeling bishop witnessing the decapitation of St. John the Baptist, see DRWIEGA, A.: *Der Breslauer Dom*. Dülmen 1994, pp. 59-61.

¹⁶ GATZ 1996 (see in note 14), pp. 714-717.

¹⁷ CONWAY 1958 (see in note 1), pp. 69-70; RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, pp. 72-73. Albert Gumbel incorrectly identified one of Dürer's portraits as depicting Georg. – GÜMBEL, A.: *Dürers Bildnisse des Ehepaars Thurzo*. Strasbourg 1928; ANZELEWSKY 1991 (see in note 9), No. 97.

¹⁸ Museo del Prado. Each panel measures 2.09 × 0.81/83 meters. ANZELEWSKY 1991 (see in note 9), Nos. 103-104, who doubts the bishop's ownership. Also see PANOFSKY, E.: *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*. 2 vols. Princeton 1948 (3rd ed.), Vol. 2, pp. 168-169, No. 1; and, above all, SCHOEN, C.: *Albrecht Dürer: Adam und Eva: Die Gemälde, ihre Geschichte und Rezeption bei Lucas Cranach d. Ä. und Hans Baldung Grien*. Berlin 2001.



2. Albrecht Dürer: *Adam and Eve*, 1507. Prado Museum, Madrid. Photo: Courtesy of Art Resource, New York.

intended for the bishop's aesthetic delectation. Three texts link *Adam and Eve* with Bishop Johannes. In 1516 Johannes Dubravius included a long description of the panels in his edition of Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, published in Vienna.¹⁹ It begins: "Not long ago I saw a panel painted by a certain Albert, a German by nationality, which, so far as I can judge, and as the painters themselves confirm, is most perfectly brilliant." Although he mistakenly says there was a tree between the figures, he mentions their blond hair "blown back by a breeze, and intense, shining eyes. Finally, both bodies possess an inbred beauty which the artist has made wonderfully pleasing, with careful preservation of the

difference in constitution and sex; for, in the Adam he has widened the breast and shoulders to a certain virile breadth, whereas of the Eve he has, on the contrary, broadened only those parts that are beneath the belly and round the thighs." Dubravius concludes that the artist must have visited bathhouses "so that he might render in his picture whatever most praiseworthy he observed in each body. Nor was this industry without reward for himself. For, Johannes Thurzó, Bishop of Breslau, whom I shall always count among the foremost patrons, such is his generosity, his liberality, and his good taste, bought the picture from the artist for 120 ducats and placed it in his study; and there it not only holds the eyes of princes and aristocratic visitors but also incites the hands of painters and sculptors to imitation."

Caspar Ursinus Velius, a humanist poet in Breslau, composed a short epigram to the painting, which was published in 1522.²⁰ After praising a *Madonna and Child* by Lucas Cranach the Elder, he lauds the *Adam and Eve* by "Albert Dürer, the first among painters of our time". Velius is especially fascinated by Eve as he wonders whether the two figures were made by the painter or created by God. Around 1522 Johann Hess, a native Nuremberger who served as Bishop Johannes secretary from 1513 until 1518, transcribed an anonymous poem, perhaps by Dubravius, again touting the artist's ability to create beautiful figures and, like Apelles and Pygmalion before him, to make them come alive.²¹

After Bishop Johannes' death in 1520, Dürer's *Adam and Eve* apparently was owned by Duke Karl I von Münsterberg (d. 1536). According to Hess' handwritten note in his personal copy of Velius' book, the painting was then in Burg Frankenstein, not far from Breslau.²² Hess was then working as a teacher and from 1522 preacher for Duke Karl. In 1569 Burg Frankenstein became part of Bohemia and its ownership, including presumably also Dürer's painting, passed first to Emperor Maximilian II (r. 1564 – 1576) and then into Emperor Rudolf II's (r. 1576 – 1612) renowned collection in Prague. The subsequent provenance is clearer.²³ Swedish

¹⁹ PANOFSKY 1948 (see in note 18), Vol. 2, p. 168 (English translation); SCHOEN 2001 (see in note 18), pp. 292-293 (Latin original and German translation).

²⁰ SCHOEN 2001 (see in note 18), pp. 143, 294-300.

²¹ Ibidem, pp. 143, 301-304. On July 13, 1529 Hess mentioned Dürer's death in a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer, his and the artist's mutual friend. See RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, p. 283, No. 134.

²² SCHOEN 2001 (see in note 18), p. 143.

troops captured Prague on August 5, 1648. What remained of the imperial art collection, including *Adam and Eve*, was seized as war booty and shipped to Stockholm where it arrived in May 1649. The panels became the property of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626 – 1689) who in 1654 gave them to King Philip IV of Spain (r. 1621 – 1665). The pictures have hung in Madrid since 1655.

Bishop Johannes was the first prince of the Catholic Church for whom Dürer worked. About a decade later, he portrayed and made other items for Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg, the Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz (r. 1513/14 – 1546), Cardinal Matthäus Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg (r. 1519 – 1540), and Georg III Schenk von Limburg, Bishop of Bamberg (r. 1505 – 1522). His direct personal contact with these church leaders is documented; however, it is not known whether Dürer ever met Bishop Johannes. It is quite possible that Georg Thurzó served as his brother's intermediary in the purchasing of paintings from the artist.

The Nuremberg patrician Hans Harsdörfer purchased “*ein hiebsche gelümynrte taffell*” (an attractive illuminated panel) by Dürer in 1504 for Vladislav (Wladislaw) II, King of Bohemia and Hungary (r. 1490 – 1516).²⁴ At a cost of 45 Rhenish florins, it was worth more than the price that the artist initially had envisioned for the *Madonna and Child* that he later sold to Bishop Johannes. Painted by Dürer with the help of an assistant, this small picture (“*täfelein*”) was likely of high quality. Harsdörfer was one of many Nurembergers who had extensive business and professional ties with Eastern Europe. His family owned silver mines in Bohemia and lands at Malesitz (Malesice) near Mies (Mže) in western Bohemia. Between 1496 and 1499, he served as the chief mint master of the kingdom of Bohemia, an office that included a residence in Kuttenberg (Kutná Hora), the important silver mining town east of Prague. Upon returning to Nuremberg, he was often active

in diplomatic missions. The painting is mentioned in Harsdörfer's account of his expenses while journeying on behalf of Nuremberg's government to Vladislav's court in Budapest. Yet it seems to have been a gift from Harsdörfer to the king, who already may have known Dürer's prints. Unfortunately, somehow the painting was lost before it arrived in Budapest. Harsdörfer and Dürer remained friends. In his letter from Venice of February 7, 1506, the artist closes by asking Pirckheimer to convey his good wishes to Harsdörfer.²⁵

Given his father's Hungarian origins, Dürer must have felt honored to create a painting for Vladislav. Over the next two decades, Hungary was increasingly threatened by the Ottoman Turks. Dürer, like many of his contemporaries, watched uneasily as the Turks occupied large portions of southeastern Europe. In 1521 Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I the Magnificent (r. 1520 – 1566) captured Belgrade and boasted that he would soon conquer Europe. Nervous delegates attending the 1522 imperial diet in Nuremberg debated how to combat the growing Turkish threat. Süleyman's forces next defeated and killed Lajos II (Ludwig or Louis), King of Hungary (r. 1516 – 1526), at the battle at Mohács on August 29, 1526. Dürer suspended work on his *Four Books on Human Proportion*, which was subsequently published in 1528, to author a much shorter book – the *Treatise on Fortification* (Nuremberg, 1527).²⁶ The 27 folios of text and 21 woodcuts convey his ideas about building modern bastions, sturdy walls to protect troops, and other defensive ramparts to safeguard cities from enemy, specifically Turkish, artillery and soldiers. The book also includes two designs for ideal fortified cities.

Dürer dedicated his book to Ferdinand I, younger brother of Emperor Charles V (r. 1519 – 1558) and grandson of Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493 – 1519). Ferdinand succeeded the slain Lajos II as King of Bohemia in 1526 and King of Hungary in 1527. A

²³ Ibidem, pp. 145-149.

²⁴ RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, pp. 245-246, No. 3; ANZELEWSKY 1991 (see in note 9), No. 80V. On Harsdörfer, see *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg* (see in note 7), No. 77.

²⁵ RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, p. 44.

²⁶ *Etlüche vnderricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schlosz vnd flecken*. Nuremberg : Hieronymus Andreae, 1527. – RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, pp. 121-123; Vol. 3, pp. 369-423; SCHOCH, R. – MENDE, M. – SCHERBAUM, A. (eds.): *Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk*. 3 vols. Munich 2001 – 2004, Vol. 3, No. 276.

full page woodcut of the Ferdinand's coat of arms appears on the reverse of the dedication facing folio A 1 recto. In the text Dürer mentions his service to Maximilian I and stresses the practicality of his designs for defending towns and small places. Ferdinand visited Nuremberg in 1521 and 1524, and it is quite possible that he met Dürer even if no meeting is documented. One of the artist's close friends and correspondents was Johann Tschertte of Brno (Brünn) in Moravia, who was an imperial architect, fortification designer, and city councilor in Vienna.²⁷ He was responsible for constructing the city's and region's defenses against the Turks who unsuccessfully besieged Vienna from September 19 to October 14, 1529. Dürer and Tschertte shared an interest in geometry. It is entirely possible that their correspondence, now largely lost, included discussions of fortification design and siege theory. The immediate impact of the *Treatise on Fortifications* was limited though the book stands as the earliest published German treatise on the topic.

King Ferdinand's response is unknown. In the gift-giving economy of early modern Europe, artists, composers, and authors, among others, often dedicated their creations to powerful nobles, wealthy patrons, or political authorities with the explicit expectation that their gifts would be reciprocated. For example, Dürer presented his *Four Apostles* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) to Nuremberg's city council in 1526.²⁸ After accepting the panels and discussing their value, the officials rewarded the painter with 100 gulden plus tips for Agnes Dürer and an assistant. No records survive to tell us whether Ferdinand ever either acknowledged receiving the treatise or offered appropriate compensation to the artist.

During the 1520s Dürer authored numerous portraits, including one of the Danzig merchant Bern-

hard von Reesen (dated 1521; Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen) whom he painted in Antwerp on March 16 during his Netherlandish trip.²⁹ In 1525 Dürer was paid 100 pounds for painting five portraits of Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1490 – 1568), Grand Master (*Hochmeister*) of the Teutonic Knights.³⁰ Typically Dürer first sketched his sitter in charcoal, silverpoint, or ink. From this model he and assistants prepared five possibly identical, small-scale portraits. As *Hochmeister* since 1511, Albrecht ruled the Teutonic Knights' territories in eastern Prussia.³¹ Between 1522 and 1525, he was often in Nuremberg. The Treaty of Cracow of 1525 settled the Prussian-Polish war. Sigismund I, King of Poland (r. 1506 – 1548), approved the transformation of Teutonic Knights' domain into a new secular and hereditary duchy of Prussia, as a Polish fiefdom, with Albrecht as the first duke. Albrecht, once a Catholic canon, embraced Lutheranism, married, and labored to turn Königsberg (Kaliningrad) into a fitting Prussian capital. Although the portrait session was likely brief and strictly professional, one wonders if the artist and prince discussed religion. Dürer was a member of Nuremberg's Greater Council, which in 1525 debated and then authorized the city's official adoption of Lutheranism.

Undoubtedly, Dürer had far more direct encounters with Eastern Europe than just these few examples. Merchants and diplomatic missions passed through Nuremberg frequently. Pirckheimer and other friends corresponded with a wide network of humanists, such as Johann Hess in Breslau or Tschertte in Vienna. The possibilities for commercial and personal contacts with individuals from Cracow to Budapest could easily be realized without leaving Nuremberg.³² Dürer is not documented traveling anywhere in Eastern Europe unlike his brother

²⁷ RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, pp. 94-95, 264, 273-275, 283-288.

²⁸ ANZELEWSKY 1991 (see in note 9), Nos. 183-184; RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, pp. 242-243, 246.

²⁹ ANZELEWSKY 1991 (see in note 9), No. 163.

³⁰ RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 3, p. 456; ANZELEWSKY 1991 (see in note 9), Nos. 173V-177V.

³¹ *Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach und die Kultur seiner Zeit*. [Exhib. Cat.] Bonn : Rheinisches Landesmuseum, 1968; HERRMANN, C.: Einige Überlegungen zu den kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschordensland bzw. Herzogtum Preußen und dem Jagiellonenreich. In: POPP, D. – SUCKALE, R. (eds.): *Die Jagiellonen: Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit*. Nuremberg 2002, pp. 201-206.

³² SCHWOB 1969 (see in note 1), pp. 39-45; and see our text below.

Hans (1490 – 1534/35), who settled in Cracow in 1527, and other artists in his immediate circle, notably Hans von Kulmbach (c. 1480 – 1522).³³ In 1505 the artist made two sketches of Wendish peasant women (*“Vna vilana Windisch”*), now in London (British Museum) and Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen).³⁴ This has prompted speculation that his trip south to Venice in that year took an easterly route through Klagenfurt or Gurk in Carinthia (Kärnten) or further southeast into the Wendish Mark of Slovenia rather than traveling the more direct passage over the Brenner Pass south of Innsbruck.³⁵ One sixteenth-century document, published by Hans Rupprich, reads: *“Albrecht Dürer, auf der Reise nach Italien in Stein (bei Laibach) erkrankt, hat bei einem dortigen Maler freundliche Aufnahme gefunden und ihm dafür als dankbare Erinnerung ein Gemälde auf sein Haus gemalt.”*³⁶ According to this account, while undated and of highly questionable authenticity, Dürer journeyed to the vicinity of Ljubljana in Slovenia. Unfortunately, there is no corroborating evidence and, as others have noted, Dürer just as easily could have seen Wendish women selling their wares in Venice.

The Influence of Dürer's Prints

Knowledge of Dürer's art in Eastern Europe, as in other areas, came primarily from his prints. Tens of thousands of impressions of his prints circulated across the continent (and beyond) during his lifetime and still more were posthumously printed from his

woodblocks and metal plates.³⁷ Early in his career, Dürer hired sales agents. He commissioned young men, such as Konrad Schweitzer in 1497 or Jakob Arnolt in 1500, each with their own sales territories, to travel from town to town hawking the artist's woodcuts and engravings. Dürer instructed them to seek the best prices and not to linger where sales prospects were poor. Another agent died suddenly in Rome in about 1506 causing a financial loss. Information about contemporary artists employing sales agents is rare. At the very least, Dürer's actions reveal his commercial and artistic ambitions. He worked to create a market for his prints. His wife, Agnes, and mother, Barbara, sold his prints locally, regionally, and at the great fairs in Frankfurt and, most likely, Leipzig. In his Netherlandish diary, Dürer records that a toll taker at Lahnstein on the Rhine River gave the artist a present of wine because he knew Agnes, who had passed down the Rhine before.³⁸ The Nuremberg master used the distribution system of Anton Koberger, his godfather, to disseminate his own books, beginning with the *Apocalypse* (1498), to distant towns. Nuremberg merchants sometimes purchased his prints and then shipped these to Rome and other cities. There were many ways that his art spread outward from Nuremberg.

Wenzel von Olmütz was among the first print-makers to copy Dürer.³⁹ A goldsmith, active in Olmütz who earlier was a journeyman along the Rhine, Wenzel has been described, perhaps unfairly, as *“the first major pirate of the profession”*.⁴⁰ Over half of his known oeuvre from the 1480s and 1490s replicates

³³ Nicolaus Busch proposed that Dürer journeyed to Livonia (mostly modern Latvia) during the winter of 1521 – 1522. The artist's three drawings of Livonian women's costumes of 1521 are likely based on sketches he encountered while in Antwerp. – BUSCH, N.: *Untersuchungen zur Lebensgeschichte Dürers*. Riga 1931. On the drawings, see WINKLER, F.: *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*. 4 vols. Berlin 1936 – 1939, Nos. 826-828.

³⁴ WINKLER 1936 – 1939 (see in note 33), Nos. 375 and 371; BARTRUM, G. (ed.): *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy*. [Exhib. Cat.] London : British Museum, 2002, No. 96; BORCHERT, T.-H.: *Rondom Dürer / Dürer and His Time*. [Exhib. Cat.] Maasticht : Bonnefontenmuseum, 2000, No. 14.

³⁵ ANZELEWSKY, F.: *War Dürer in Kärnten?* In: ANZELEWSKY, F.: *Dürer-Studien*. Berlin 1983, pp. 169-178 (with older literature). Also WINZINGER, F.: *Umstrittene Dürerzeich-*

nungen II: Die ‘Wilana Windisch’. In: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 29, 1975, pp. 28-43.

³⁶ RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, p. 246.

³⁷ SCHMID, W.: *Dürer als Unternehmer*. Trier 2003, pp. 122-128.

³⁸ RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, p. 150.

³⁹ WILCKENS, L. von – STRIEDER, P. (eds.): *Vorbild Dürer*. [Exhib. Cat.] Nuremberg : Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1978, pp. 24-25, Nos. 23, 33, 37, 50, 56; VOGT, C.: *Das druckgraphische Bild nach Vorlagen Albrecht Dürer (1471 – 1528)*. Munich 2008, pp. 163-176, Nos. 18-27.

⁴⁰ LANDAU, D. – PARSHALL, P.: *The Renaissance Print, 1470 – 1550*. New Haven 1994, pp. 54-55.

engravings by Martin Schongauer. Wenzel soon recognized the economic potential of the young Dürer's engravings. He duplicated at least nine of the latter's prints from 1496 to 1498 including the *Dream of the Doctor* (B. 76), the *Promenade* (B. 94), *Four Naked Women* (B. 75), *Sea Monster* (B. 71), and *Hercules at the Crossroads* (B. 73). In each instance, he replaced Dürer's monogram with his own and thereby claimed authorship. A decade later Dürer would take legal steps, however ineffective, to maintain ownership of his intellectual property.⁴¹ The case of Wenzel, however, demonstrates that Dürer's prints reached and were admired in Olmütz in Moravia soon after being created in Nuremberg.

For most artists, Dürer's prints served as iconographic and compositional models, a repertory of designs that they could translate into their own media, notably in painting and sculpture. This phenomenon happened repeatedly from Danzig to Transylvania.⁴² Although one finds many examples of individual prints by Dürer functioning as artistic prototypes, his series proved most popular. Artists frequently drew upon the scenes from his *Large Passion*, *Small Passion*, and *Life of the Virgin*, each published in 1511, and the *Engraved Passion* of 1512. The *Apocalypse* (1498 and 1511) was copied too though less frequently.⁴³ The same borrowing pattern can be observed in other European countries as well as in Dürer's own account about the sale and gifting of his prints while in the Low Countries in



3. Master Michel: *Christ Carrying the Cross and Crucifixion*, wing, High Altar, 1511 – 1517. Marienkirche, Danzig (Gdańsk). Repro: DROST, W.: *Die Marienkirche in Danzig und ihre Kunstschätze*. Stuttgart 1963, plate 31.

1520 – 1521.⁴⁴ The visual and devotional appeal of these series combines with the popularity of their subjects. The lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary are the most frequently rendered themes in Christian art.

⁴¹ SCHULTHEISS, W.: Albrecht Dürers Beziehungen zum Recht. In: *Albrecht Dürers Umwelt*. Nuremberg : Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1971, pp. 220-254.

⁴² A detailed listing of examples is beyond the intention of the present article. For a sampling see the following: WALTERAND, W.: *Altarkunst des Deutschordensstaates Preußen unter Dürers Einfluß*. Danzig 1940; BERKOWITZ, I.: *Illuminated Manuscripts in Hungary*. New York 1969, pp. 80, 82; MARICA, V. G.: Dürer-Werke als Vorbilder für die Gemälde eines Siebenbürgischen Flügelaltars. In: *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts*, 8, 1971, pp. 13-23; *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458 – 1541*. [Exhib. Cat.] Schallaburg 1982, Nos. 768-769, 773, 787-788; *Polen im Zeitalter der Jagiellonen 1386 – 1572*. [Exhib. Cat.] Schallaburg 1986, Nos. 65, 68-69, 74; DELUGA, W.: The Influence of Prints on Painting in Eastern Europe. In: *Print Quarterly*, 10, 1993, pp. 219-231, esp. pp. 222-223; GLATZ, A. C.: Ikonografické a motivické inšpirácie a vzory skulptúr a tabuľových malieb levočského

hlavného oltára [Iconographical and Motivical Inspirations and Models for Sculptures and Panel Paintings of the High Altar in Levoča]. In: *Arx*, 34, 2001, No. 2-3, pp. 153-203; and LUBUDY, A. S. – SECOMSKIEJ, K. (eds.): *Malarstwo Gotyckie w Polsce* [Gothic Painting in Poland]. 3 vols. Warsaw 2004, Vol. 2, pp. 261-263, fig. 634. I have not been able to consult SIKORSKA, J. – KOZAK, A.: *Albrecht Dürer: znaczenie i oddziaływanie jego grafiki w XVI wieku* [Albrecht Dürer: Significance and Impact of His Graphics in the 16th Century]. [Exhib. Cat.] Warsaw : Muzeum Narodowe, 2002.

⁴³ See the *Woman of the Apocalypse* panel (1510s) from Szentbenedek (Mănăstirea), now in Budapest (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria). – *Mátyás király öröksége: Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (16. – 17. század)*. [Exhib. Cat.] Budapest : Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2008, No. I-8.

⁴⁴ RUPPRICH 1956 – 1969 (see in note 1), Vol. 1, pp. 146-202.



4. Anonymous: *Apocalyptic Virgin and Child Epitaph*, c. 1520?. Photo: Courtesy of Slovenská národná galéria, Bratislava.

Thus when a manuscript illuminator in Cracow or Budapest needed a convenient source for a specific episode from the infancy of Christ, he or she could find it in the *Life of the Virgin*.

Pictorial appropriations generally take two forms: direct borrowing, in which the model is faithfully replicated, and adaptive borrowing, in which portions of the composition or just selected figures

are used. In the latter case, it is sometimes difficult initially to recognize Dürer's contribution embedded within the later artist's own invention. For example, Master Michel and his workshop created numerous painted and carved altarpieces for churches in and around Danzig between about 1510 and 1526. His finest retable is the high altarpiece (1511 – 1517) for the city's Marienkirche.⁴⁵ The painted wings draw heavily upon prints from Dürer's *Passion* series and the *Life of the Virgin* though the artist also used a few single woodcuts. The double scene of *Christ Carrying the Cross and the Crucifixion* [Fig. 3] on the inner wing illustrates both modes of borrowing. On the left, Christ falters beneath the weight of the cross as he passes through the gate of Jerusalem. Most of the composition, including the architecture and landscape, faithfully replicates Dürer's woodcut from the *Large Passion* (B. 10) though Master Michel's Christ looks down rather than at St. Veronica.⁴⁶ Master Michel replaced the sadistic tormentor jabbing Christ with his pike with a rather indifferent rider. A fanciful figured column divides the two stories. The Crucifixion derives from Dürer's single woodcut of the *Small Crucifixion* (B. 59, c. 1503/04).⁴⁷ Master Michel rearranges parts of the composition. He pushes Christ on his cross, which is held by the grieving Mary Magdalene, up into the foreground where it joins Dürer's gambling soldiers. The poses of the two thieves follow the woodcut too. Most of the remaining figures, notable the Virgin Mary and other mourners, and the landscape are the Danzig master's invention. Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* woodcuts also inspired the altar's accompanying sculpted reliefs.

Direct borrowing should not be always equated with a lack of originality or creativity. Consider the *Apocalyptic Virgin and Child Epitaph* (c. 1520?) [Fig. 4], now in the Slovak National Gallery in Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony).⁴⁸ The anonymous painting, made for the Franciscan monastery in Skalitz (Skalica) in western Slovakia, combines features from several of Dürer's prints. The Virgin and Child faith-

⁴⁵ WALLERAND 1940 (see in note 42), pp. 9-18; DROST, W.: *Die Marienkirche in Danzig und ihre Kunstschatze*. Stuttgart 1963, pp. 73-90.

⁴⁶ SCHOCH – MENDE – SCHERBAUM 2001 – 2004 (see in note 26), Vol. 2, No. 160.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, Vol. 2, No. 131.

⁴⁸ Inv. No. O 385, tempera on wood. The lower portion of the panel was overpainted in 1622 and not restored until 1973 – 1974. – GLATZ, A. C.: *Gotické umenie v zbierkach Slovenskej národnej galérie* [Gothic Art in the Collections of the Slovak

fully replicate the figure types, poses, and draperies of the *Virgin on the Crescent Moon* (B. 31) [Fig. 5] of 1508.⁴⁹ Yet the scale of the respective works is strikingly different as the engraving measures just 11.6 × 7.3 cm while the painting, at 2.15 × 1.35 m, is huge. The clear black lines on white of the print contrast with the painting's bold colors. Mary wears a gold brocaded dress with a bright red robe. The sun rays and the background are a more muted gold. The vivid angels crowning Mary in the painting are close adaptations of Dürer's *Two Angels Holding the Sudarium* (B. 25, 1513), while the pair supporting Mary's body are reminiscent of though not identical to the angels hovering in the sky in Dürer's *Adoration of the Magi* (B. 87, c. 1503) from the *Life of the Virgin*.⁵⁰ The armored knight lying at the bottom of the painting has been identified as Emmericus I Czobar, whose family founded the monastery in 1467. From 1492 to 1497 Czobar was an envoy between King Vladislav II of Bohemia and Hungary and Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481 – 1512). He also participated in the Hungarian diplomatic mission in Cracow in 1503. The form of his armor is modeled after Dürer's *St. George on Foot* (B. 53, c. 1502/03).⁵¹ Thus the anonymous artist of this painting borrows from as many as four of Dürer's prints yet creates a novel and, in spite of subsequent damage, still highly appealing composition.

Dürer's designs sometimes surface in unusual places. The architectural frame, without any of its figural details, in his *Marriage of the Virgin* (B. 82, c. 1504) from the *Life of the Virgin* inspired the south portal (after 1505) of Tarnów Cathedral, in southeastern Poland.⁵² His *Owl Attacked by Four Birds* woodcut (c. 1515) reappears as a wall painting (1542) inside a house on the main market in Leutschau (Levoča) in eastern Slovakia.⁵³ Since this print is unsigned, it was



5. Albrecht Dürer: *Virgin on the Crescent Moon*, 1508. Photo: Courtesy of author.

the image rather than Dürer's authorship that appealed to the owner. In 1548 Thomas Jaroš of Brno cast *Sigismund*, the main bell for St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague. *Sigismund*, reportedly then the biggest bell in

National Gallery]. Bratislava 1983, No. 64; *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn* (see in note 42), No. 764; and especially GERÁT, I.: Das Epitaph des jagiellonischen Diplomaten in Preßburg: Jagiellonische Bildproduktion und Marienverehrung. In: POPP – SUCKALE 2002 (see in note 31), pp. 159-165.

⁴⁹ SCHOCH – MENDE – SCHERBAUM 2001 – 2004 (see in note 26), Vol. 1, No. 62.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, Vol. 1, No. 68; Vol. 2, No. 177.

⁵¹ Ibidem, Vol. 1, No. 34.

⁵² Ibidem, Vol. 2, No. 172; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe*. Ithaca (NY) 1976, p. 12, figs. 24-25.

⁵³ SCHOCH – MENDE – SCHERBAUM 2001 – 2004 (see in note 26), Vol. 2, No. 245 (not recorded in Bartsch); MEDVECKÝ, J.: 'Der Welt Lauf' – egy 1543-ból származó lócsei falfestmény és Nürnbergi előképe. In: *Ars Hungarica*, 16, 1988, pp. 181-187, figs. 35, 37-38.

Bohemia, is adorned with medals, images of saints, figural friezes, kneeling portraits of King Ferdinand I and Queen Anne Jagiello, and castings after Dürer's *Annunciation* (B. 173, c. 1503) and *Holy Trinity* (B. 122, 1511) woodcuts.⁵⁴ The Martinic Palace (Hradčany 8) was constructed during the second half of the sixteenth century just a few blocks from St. Vitus Cathedral.⁵⁵ Besides its rusticated portal and figural sgraffito on the walls of the facade and courtyard, the house contains over-life-size paintings of Adam and Eve flanking the portal to its chapel. The murals (c. 1600?), in poor condition and only rediscovered in about 1971, copy Dürer's famous engraving (B. 1) of 1504. The orientation of the two figures is reversed so Eve stands on the left facing Adam opposite. The surrounding walls are covered with leaves and branches.

Contemporary Contacts. Nuremberg's Artists in Eastern Europe

Dürer was neither the first nor the last Nuremberg artist who enjoyed close professional ties to Eastern Europe. These associations facilitated Dürer's contacts and, in some cases, the further dissemination of his art. Cracow provides the best case study.⁵⁶ The talented sculptor Veit Stoss (1447 – 1533) worked briefly in Nuremberg before moving to Cracow in 1477 where he resided until settling back in Nuremberg in 1496. He authored the monumental (13 m high) *Mary Altar* (1477 – 1489) in the St. Mary's church and the Tomb of Kasimir IV Jagiellon, King of Poland (r. 1447 – 1492), in 1492 in the Wawel Cathedral, among other works.

His style, spread through the sculptures of assistants and followers, had a tremendous impact throughout Poland and much farther south. Stoss had ten sons, most of whom were artists.⁵⁷ Stanislaus took over his father's workshop in Cracow in 1496. Three brothers labored in Siebenbürgen towns: Veit the Younger was in Braşov (Kronstadt) from 1522 to 1531; Johann worked from about 1510 to his death in 1530 in Sighişoara (Schäßburg); and Martin, who trained as a goldsmith with his brother Florian in Görlitz, was active in Mediaş (Mediasch) and Sighişoara until moving to Cracow in 1541, and finally back to Sighişoara in 1544. Another son, Matthias, settled in Plzeň (Pilsen) in Bohemia.

The Vischer family workshop, led by Peter the Elder (c. 1460 – 1529), was Northern Europe's leading creator of brass tombs and epitaphs. Peter the Elder collaborated with Dürer on several occasions including the casting of figures based on the latter's designs.⁵⁸ The atelier produced memorials for Breslau, Danzig, Posen, Szamotuly, and Tomice.⁵⁹ Eight more can be seen today in Cracow.⁶⁰ These include the monument of royal secretary Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus, 1500 – 1505), after a model by Veit Stoss, in the Dominican church, and the tomb plate of Cardinal Friedrich Kasimir Jagiello (1510), brother of King Sigismund I, in Wawel Cathedral.

I mention Stoss and the Vischers since the high quality of their works strengthened the artistic bonds between Nuremberg and Cracow. Polish patrons looked to Nuremberg more than to any other German city for their artists. Albrecht Glimm, for whom Dürer painted a *Lamentation* epitaph (c. 1500, Munich, Alte Pinakothek), was a skilled gold-

⁵⁴ HOŘEJŠÍ, J. et al.: *Renaissance Art in Bohemia*. London 1979, p. 157; SCHOCH – MENDE – SCHERBAUM 2001 – 2004 (see in note 26), Vol. 2, Nos. 173 and 231.

⁵⁵ LEJSKOVÁ-MATYÁŠOVÁ, M.: Ohlas Albrechta Dürera ve výzdobě Martinického paláce na Hradčanech [Response to Albrecht Dürer in Decorations of the Martinic Palace in Hradčany]. In: *Umění*, 22, 1974, pp. 153-156; DMITRIEVA-EINHORN, M.: Rhetorik der Fassaden: Fassadendekorationen in Böhmen. In: LANGER, A. – MICHELS, G. (eds.): *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart 2001, pp. 151-170, here p. 165; SCHOCH – MENDE – SCHERBAUM 2001 – 2004 (see in note 26), Vol. 1, No. 39.

⁵⁶ STROMER 1985 (see in note 14).

⁵⁷ SCHWOB 1969 (see in note 1), pp. 39-45; FOLBERTH, O.: *Gotik in Siebenbürgen: Der Meister des Mediascher Altars und seine Zeit*. Vienna 1973, pp. 85-87; MARICA 1971 (see in note 42), pp. 14 and 23.

⁵⁸ HAUSCHKE, S.: *Die Grabdenkmäler der Nürnberger Vischer-Werkstatt (1453 – 1544)*. Petersberg 2006, pp. 68-75.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, Nos. 8, 11-12, 46 (Posen); 25 (Szamotuly); 28 (Tomice); 44 (Bishop Johann IV. von Roth, Bishop Johann von Thurzó's predecessor, located in the cathedral), 87 (Breslau).

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, Nos. 20-22, 49 (Buonaccorsi); 59-60, 63, and 97 (Cardinal Friedrich Kasimir).

smith.⁶¹ King Sigismund commissioned Glimm's *Stanislaus-Altar* (1509 – 1512 but destroyed in the seventeenth century) for Wawel Cathedral.⁶² Hans von Kulmbach collaborated frequently with and was strongly influenced by Dürer even if clear proof is lacking to place him in the latter's workshop. In 1511 and again in 1514 – 1516, Kulmbach traveled to Cracow where he painted several altarpieces, including two major pictures for St. Mary's church.⁶³

The closest connection, however, is Dürer's own brother, Hans.⁶⁴ Last documented in Nuremberg in 1510, Hans' activities prior to settling in Cracow in 1527 are rather uncertain. A *Virgin and Child Altarpiece*, dated 1524 and monogrammed H.D., in the Jakobskirche in Nysa (Neisse) is attributed to Hans.⁶⁵ Nysa was a residential seat for the bishops of Breslau. The altar's central image is based upon Dürer's 1516 *Apocalyptic Virgin and Child* engraving (B. 32). Appointed court painter by King Sigismund in 1529, Hans worked primarily upon the decorations of the Wawel Palace in Cracow.⁶⁶ Hans' reliance on his more famous brother's compositions is best observed in the *Silver Altar* (1531 – 1538) [Fig. 6] in the Sigismund Chapel in Wawel Cathedral.⁶⁷ A team of Nuremberg artists collaborated on the creation of this celebrated altar commissioned by the king. Hans was paid for the overall design. The 12 scenes of the open setting are based loosely on Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* series. These designs were sent to Nuremberg where Peter Flötner carved the wooden models, which Pankraz Labenwolf cast in bronze and Melchior Baier then chased in silver. The painted scenes of Christ's Passion on the exterior wings by Georg Pencz, another artist strongly influenced by Dürer,



6. Hans Dürer and others: *Silver Altar*, 1531 – 1538. Sigismund Chapel, Cracow Cathedral. Photo: Courtesy of Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

draw select features from the *Small Passion* series.⁶⁸ Thus a masterpiece of Nuremberg craftsmanship, with close links to Dürer, adorns the Polish king's burial chapel.⁶⁹

⁶¹ ANZELEWSKY 1991 (see in note 9), No. 70.

⁶² KOHLHAUSSEN 1968 (see in note 2), pp. 237 and 526.

⁶³ *Meisters um Albrecht Dürer*. [Exhib. Cat.] Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1961, pp. 97-138, esp. Nos. 152, 158, 164, and 168.

⁶⁴ MEINERT, G.: Hans Dürer in Schlesien. In: *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 58, 1937, pp. 128-136; HENTSCHEL, W.: Ein Frühwerk von Hans Dürer. In: *Festschrift Friedrich Winkler*. Berlin 1959, pp. 213-220; *Meister um Albrecht Dürer* (see in note 63), pp. 92-93, Nos. 142-145.

⁶⁵ KOEPLIN, D.: *Neue Werke von Lukas Cranach und ein altes*

Bild einer polnischen Schlacht – von Hans Krell? Basel 2003, pp. 88-93, esp. p. 89.

⁶⁶ Painted friezes with numismatic portraits in the Hall of Heads (1532) and another of knights jousting are attributed to Hans. – MAŁKIEWICZÓWSKA, H.: Wandmalerei im Polen der Jagiellonen-Zeit. In: POPP – SUCKALE 2002 (see in note 31), pp. 159-171, esp. p. 166.

⁶⁷ 2.48 × 1.75 m. – KOHLHAUSSEN 1968 (see in note 2), No. 458.

⁶⁸ In 1550 Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, Duke of Prussia, appointed Pencz to be his court painter in Königsberg; however, the Nuremberg artist died in either Leipzig or Breslau on the way to his new post.

The Collectible Dürer

In the century after his death in 1528, Dürer's art remained highly influential and avidly collected. This phenomenon is mostly beyond the scope of the present article. Occasionally, claims to own paintings by the Nuremberg master arose in Eastern Europe. Johann Ernst Schroer, Danzig's Bürgermeister in 1638 – 1639, possessed "a famous picture by Albrecht Dürer, which shows a man, surely a scholar, who is holding a sheet of paper in his hand".⁷⁰ The description strongly recalls the *Portrait of Bernhard von Reesen*, the Danzig merchant, mentioned earlier, whom Dürer painted in 1521 while in Antwerp.

For a few decades around 1600 Prague housed the greatest collection anywhere of Dürer's art. Emperor Rudolf II moved from Vienna to Prague in 1583. He energetically expanded the existing imperial holdings of works by Dürer.⁷¹ In 1585, after lengthy negotiations, Rudolf purchased the master's *Adoration of the Holy Trinity* (*Landauer Altarpiece*) from the Zwölfbrüderhaus, an alms house for aged craftsmen, in Nuremberg. The city required the emperor to pay for a replica of the painting that would remain in the original chapel. In the same year, he hired Hans Hoffmann, a Nuremberg artist who was noted for his skill in copying drawings and watercolors by Dürer as well as creating new compositions in his style. Hoffmann moved to Prague and became the emperor's resident Dürer expert. His intimate knowledge of the collection of Willibald Imhoff (d. 1580) in Nuremberg was critical to Rudolf's acquisition of paintings, drawings, and prints by Dürer from Imhoff's heirs in 1588. In 1606 the emperor obtained the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* from San Bartolomeo in Venice. To minimize potential damage to the altarpiece, Rudolf



7. Daniel Fröschl: *Madonna and Child*. Photo: Courtesy of Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

ordered it carried suspended from poles by porters, rather than carted, from Venice to Prague. This is only Dürer picture still in Prague. The core of his holdings are today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Albertina in Vienna while other works, such as *Adam and Eve* [Fig. 2], were scattered widely over the centuries.

⁶⁹ Hans Vischer, Peter the Elder's son, created a brass candlestick (1534) while Baier authored a silver candlestick (1536) and, with Flötner, the *Sigismund-Reliquary* (1533) for this royal chapel. – KOHLHAUSSEN 1968 (see in note 2), No. 464; and TEBBE, K.: *Sakrales Gerät und fromme Stiftungen*. In: MAUÉ 2002 (see in note 2), pp. 199-215, here pp. 204-207.

⁷⁰ BOGUCA, M.: *Das alte Danzig: Alltagsleben von 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*. Munich 1980, p. 127 citing OGIER, K. [Charles]: *Dziennik podróży do Polski 1635-36* [Travel Diary from Poland 1635-36]. Gdańsk 1950 – 1953, Vol. 2, p. 199.

⁷¹ The literature is extensive. Particularly good sources include FUČÍKOVÁ, E.: *Umělci na dvoře Rudolfa II. a jejich vztah k tvorbě Albrechta Dürera* [Artists at the Court of Rudolf II and Their Relations to the Work of Albrecht Dürer]. In: *Umění*, 20, 1972, pp. 149-166; SCHÜTZ, K. (ed.): *Albrecht Dürer im Kunsthistorischen Museum*. Vienna 1994, pp. 49-57; BUBENIK, A.: *The Art of Albrecht Dürer in the Context of the Court of Rudolf II*. In: *Studia Rudolphina*, 5, 2005, pp. 17-27; KOTKOVÁ, O.: *The Feast of the Rose Garlands in the Imperial Collections in Prague: 1606 – 1782*. In: KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.): *Albrecht Dürer. The Feast of the Rose Garlands*. [Exhib. Cat.] Prague : Národní galerie v Praze, 2006, pp. 117-127.

Rudolf's taste for Dürer's art inspired Hoffmann and other artists gathered in Prague to replicate existing works, to imitate his style in their own creations, and, not surprisingly, to forge new "Dürers".⁷² A particularly attractive example is Daniel Fröschl's *Madonna and Child* [Fig. 7]. Fröschl, an Augsburg miniaturist, worked in Florence before arriving in Prague around 1601.⁷³ Two years later he became one of Rudolf's court painters. This watercolor depends on two Dürer drawings owned by the emperor. The Madonna and Child are based closely upon a charcoal sketch (Vienna, Albertina), dated 1512, showing Mary nursing her son. Fröschl delicately colored the figures, their clothes, and the added blue and white sky behind. The young Dürer, in the form of a portrait miniature, appears at the lower right. This derives from the Nuremberg master's *Self-Portrait at Age 13* silverpoint drawing (1484, Vienna, Albertina), which Rudolf had acquired from Willibald Imhoff's collection.⁷⁴ Fröschl includes painted gold tracery in the four corners. This framing device, coupled with the insertion of Dürer's likeness, accents the watercolor's artistry rather than its inherent devotional character. Fröschl links himself (and his skills) with Dürer while crafting a new painting. This conforms well to contemporary theories of artistic imitation and historical awareness. Aegidius Sadeler did something similar when he created new engravings, such as the *Head of an Apostle with Beard and Cap* (1597).⁷⁵ Sadeler grafted selected Dürer drawings in Rudolf's possession with the compositional formula, including an inscribed foreground parapet, that the Nu-

remberg master employed in his portrait engravings of the mid-1520s.

The so-called Dürer-Renaissance, which flourished in Prague, Munich, and Nuremberg in particular during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, extended to Rudolf's nobles and courtiers. In 1607 Prince Karl von Liechtenstein commissioned Adrian de Vries' *Christ in Distress* (Vienna, Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein).⁷⁶ This exquisite bronze, cast in one piece in Prague, is modeled upon the pose of Christ on the title page of Dürer's *Large Passion* (1511). To this de Vries incorporated a classical reference by using the *Behedere Torso* (Vatican Collection) for Christ's back and his own invention for Christ's expressive head. This conveys de Vries' virtuosity and his awareness of ancient and Renaissance canons of excellence. Prince Karl served as the imperial *Obersthofmeister* since 1600 before retiring to be the governor of Moravia in 1607. De Vries' *Christ in Distress* was likely intended for the prince's chapel in Schloss Feldsberg (Valtice). The *Adam and Eve* painted inside the Martinic Palace, mentioned earlier, further exemplifies the prevailing appeal of Dürer's art in Prague.

There was a thriving market in Prague for Dürer's prints. In Vienna and Prague Bartholomäus Spranger, one of Rudolf's favorite court painters, was able to acquire a huge collection of Dürer's woodcuts and engravings as well as their matrices.⁷⁷ The 1638 Amsterdam sale of the estate of Gommer Spranger, the painter's nephew and heir, contained over 3500 prints, 33 woodblocks, and 3 engraved

⁷² Other artists in Prague responding to Dürer's art include Bartholomäus Spranger, Jeremias Günther, Aegidius Sadeler, Adrian de Vries, Hans von Aachen, Johann Geminger, Joris and Jacob Hoefnagel, Martino Rota (an engraver from Šibenik in Dalmatia), and, later, Jan Jiří Hering. See DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, T.: *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II*. Chicago 1985, Nos. 1.3, 3.2, 4.1, 9.1, 10.3, 11.1-2, 11.4, 20.21, 20.51, 20.56, 20.82; FUČÍKOVÁ, E. (ed.): *Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City*. London 1997, pp. 23, 39, 42, 54, 159, 172, 175, 209, 363, 367, 460, 462, 464.

⁷³ SCHÜTZ 1994 (see in note 71), No. 49; DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, T.: *Hermeneutics in the History of Art: Remarks on the Reception of Dürer in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*. In: SMITH, J. C. (ed.): *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg: Five Essays*. Nuremberg 1985, pp. 23-39, esp. 25-28.

⁷⁴ Fröschl omitted the right arm at the bottom of the original. In 1576 Hans Hoffmann created an almost exact copy of Dürer's drawing when it was in Willibald Imhoff's collection. The copy is now in the British Museum in London. – BARTRUM 2002 (see in note 34), No. 2.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, Nos. 229-230.

⁷⁶ SCHOLTEN, F. et al.: *Adriaen de Vries 1556 – 1626*. [Exhib. Cat.] Amsterdam : Rijksmuseum, 1998, No. 19.

⁷⁷ SCHAUERTE, T.: *Dürer und Spranger: Ein Autographenfund im Spiegel der europäischen Sammlungsgeschichte*. In: *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, 93, 2006, pp. 25-69.

plates by Dürer. The collection included 85 complete impressions of the *Life of the Virgin* plus all of the series' woodblocks, 220 impressions and the woodblock of the *Trinity* (B. 122), and 140 impressions of the *Last Supper* (B. 53). Even if some of these impressions postdate Bartholomäus' death in 1611, the artist's stock of prints and possession of woodblocks and copper plates suggest that he supplied the local market. Spranger was at once collector, dealer, and, in his own paintings and drawings, consumer of Dürer's prints.

Interest in Dürer in Eastern Europe may have peaked during Rudolf II's years in Prague. Nevertheless, it periodically resurfaces as it did in the first half of the nineteenth century in Hungary. In 1805 information about Albrecht Dürer the Elder's origins, which had been published originally in 1675 in Joachim von Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie*, first appeared in Hungarian scholarship.⁷⁸ Much to the dismay of serious specialists, notably Imre Henszlmann, who wrote about the artist in 1843, this prompted considerable nationalistic speculation about the younger Dürer's Hungarian-ness and whether his father had taught him the Hungarian language. Here and across much of Eastern Europe, older German paintings were invariably attributed in inventories and collection catalogues to the hand of the Nuremberg master.⁷⁹ The Romantic movement in Germany, especially in Munich and Nuremberg, with its artistic cult of Dürer spread to Prague.⁸⁰

Artists, scholars, and tourists alike visited Prague's Strahov monastery, which then owned the *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, once its Picture Gallery opened in the mid-1830s. The altarpiece was thoroughly restored, albeit disastrously, in 1839 – 1841. Czech artists authored paintings in which Dürer figures as both an icon of artistic excellence and as a narrative subject, such as Vilém Kandler's *Emperor Maximilian I in Dürer's Studio in Nuremberg* (1841), in the Strahov Picture Gallery.⁸¹ The fame of Dürer and the *Feast of the Rose Garlands*, however, did not deter periodic and fortunately unsuccessful efforts from the 1830s to the 1930s by different abbots to sell off their damaged treasure to a German museum or to an American client.⁸² Today this altarpiece is the only secure painting by Dürer in Eastern Europe.⁸³

The upheavals of World War II and the Cold War impacted the greatest concentration of Dürer's drawings in Eastern Europe since the time of Rudolf II. In 1823 Prince Henryk Lubomirski, a Polish noble, gave his library and art collection, including 27 drawings on 24 sheets by the Nuremberg master, to the Ossolinski National Institute in Lemberg.⁸⁴ Looted by the Nazis in 1941, the drawings were recovered by American soldiers at the end of the war and were awarded in 1950 to Georg Lubomirski, Henryk's grandson. The issue of legal ownership was clouded by the post-war partition of Poland with Lemberg becoming Lviv in the Ukraine and by the dissolution of the Ossolinski National Institute before its later rebirth in Breslau. Georg Lubomirski sold Dürer's

⁷⁸ TIMÁR 1978 (see in note 4).

⁷⁹ Ibidem, pp. 393-394.

⁸⁰ VLNAS, V.: The Romantic Cult of Albrecht Dürer and the Fleeting Fame of The Feast of the Rose Garlands in the 19th Century. In: KOTKOVÁ 2006 (see in note 71), pp. 167-179.

⁸¹ KOTKOVÁ 2006 (see in note 71), No. III./14.

⁸² VLNAS, V.: 'The Father Abbot fears that we shall come into too much fortune': The Feast of the Rose Garlands, the Strahov Premonstratensians and the Czechoslovak State. In: KOTKOVÁ 2006 (see in note 71), pp. 235-247.

⁸³ The attribution to Dürer of the *Portrait of a Man* (c. 1500 – 1510) in Budapest (Szépművészeti Múzeum) is highly

doubtful in spite of arguments of some scholars. See URBACH, Z.: Ein Burgkmairbildnis von Albrecht Dürer? Probleme des Budapester Bildes. In: *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1985, pp. 73-90; ANZELEWSKY 1991 (see in note 9), pp. 36-37; SCHROEDER, K. – STERNATH, M. (eds.): *Albrecht Dürer*. [Exhib. Cat.] Vienna : Albertina, 2003, No. 126.

⁸⁴ The legal ownership of Dürer's drawings, once in the Ossolinski National Institute in Lemberg (formerly Poland but now Ukraine) and today in museums in Europe and North America, remains disputed. See AKINSHA, K. – HOCHFELD, S.: Who Owns the Lubomirski Dürers? In: *ARTnews*, 100, October 2001, pp. 158-163; and AKINSHA, K. – HOCHFELD, S.: Poland Pushes for Lost Dürers. In: *ARTnews*, 104, April 2005, p. 64. Also see KURTZ, M. J.: *America and the Return of Nazi Contraband: The Recovery of Europe's Cultural Treasures*. Cambridge 2006, pp. 184-185.

drawings separately to major museums and private collectors in North America and Europe, who acquired the sketches in good faith. The governments of the Ukraine and, above all, Poland continue to seek the return of the drawings. As important as the legal maneuverings are to all involved, this

case demonstrates the artistic and financial value of Dürer's drawings today. From his paternal origins in eastern Hungary to the restitution demands of the Ossolinski National Institute, Dürer, his art, and his legacy remain a noteworthy and open-ended chapter in the cultural history of Eastern Europe.

Albrecht Dürer a východná Európa

Resumé

Vzťah Albrechta Dürera (1471 – 1528) k východnej Európe sa zdá byť prirodzenou témou výskumu. Nakoniec, jeho otec, zlatník Albrecht starší (1427 – 1502), sa narodil v Ajtósi vo východnom Uhorsku a emigroval do Norimbergu. Hoci existujú detailné štúdie o dopade diela mladšieho Dürera na nizozemské, talianske a španielske umenie, medzi iným, dôkladné zhodnotenie jeho vplyvu v prácach stredoeurópskych majstrov od Gdanska po Budapešť zostáva nenapísané. Politické rozdelenie Európy počas veľkej časti 20. storočia a jazykové bariéry zaiste odradili mnohých bádateľov. Predložená krátka esej pristupuje k tejto téme štyrmi spôsobmi.

Otázky kontaktu. Dürer mal šťastie, že vyrástol v Norimbergu, veľkom umeleckom a obchodnom centre. Umiestnenie franského mesta v srdci Európy napomáhalo obchodu po celom kontinente. Norimberskí obchodníci importovali suroviny z východu. Tunajší zlatníci a zruční remeselníci spracovávali české striebro a ďalšie kovy na luxusný tovar a precízne nástroje. Extenzívny obchodný network spájajúci Norimberg s východnou Európou možno demonštrovať obchodným distribučným systémom Antona Kobergera, popredného vydavateľa v meste a Dürerovho kmotra. Je zdokumentované, že Koberger mal agentov predávajúcich jeho knihy, vrátane *Norimberskej kroniky* (1493), v Gdansku, Poznani, Vroclavi, Krakove, Prahe, Viedni, Budapešti, a ďalej na východe, v Lembergu (Lvove) a Hermannstadte (Sibiu).

Dürerove priame spojenia. Hoci dokumentácia je žalostne nekompletná, Dürer príležitostne maľoval pre patrónov vo východnej Európe. Johannes Thurzó (Turzó), vroclavský biskup (1506 – 1520), vlastnil teraz stratenú *Madonu a dieťa*. Roku 1508 sa umelec snažil získať obchodníka z Frankfurtu nad Mohanom, Jakoba Hellera, či už ku kúpe, alebo k pomoci pri predaji tohto obrazu. Bol potešený, keď biskup kúpil obraz za vysokú cenu. Podobne Thurzó objednal obrazy *Adama a Evy* (Madrid, Prado) v životnej veľkosti, datované k roku 1507, pre svoju biskupskú rezidenciu vo Vroclavi. Dürer odmietol Juraja Thurza, biskupovho brata, ktorý sa roku 1509 neúspešne snažil objednať veľkú maľbu *Madony s dieťaťom v krajine*. Vyčerpaný prácou na oltári Jakoba Hellera, Dürer projekt odmietol. Roku 1504 kúpil norimberský patricij Hans Harsdörfer od Dürera „*ein hiebsche gelümyrinerte taffel*“ (atraktívnu iluminovanú tabuľu), ako dar pre Vladislava II., českého a uhorského kráľa (1490 – 1516). Nanešťastie, tento obraz sa stratil na ceste do Budína. Zvažujúc otomanskú hrozbu vo vzťahu k juhovýchodnej Európe, dedikoval norimberský majster svoje *Pojednanie o fortifikácii* (Norimberg 1527) Ferdinandovi I., českému a uhorskému kráľovi (1526/1527 – 1564). Dürer tiež maľoval portréty Bernharda von Reesena (1521) z Gdanska a Albrechta von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1525), veľmajstra rádu nemeckých rytierov, ktorý neskôr sídlil v Königsbergu (Kaliningrade).

Umelcov mladší brat, Hans (1490 – 1534/1535), sa usadil roku 1527 v Krakove, kde sa stal maliarom poľského kráľa. Cestoval Dürer niekedy do východnej Európy? Máme na to málo dôkazov, hoci niektorí bádatelia argumentovali, že kresby dvoch dedičanov z roku 1505 potvrdzujú, že umelec prešiel Lužickosrbskú marku Slovinska na svojej ceste do Benátok.

Vplyv Dürerových grafičiek. Dost' skoro vo svojej kariére si Dürer najal agentov na predaj svojich grafičiek. Zaiste mal výhody z Kobergerových kontaktov vo východnej Európe. Jeho grafiky široko cirkulovali, používané v mnohých médiách ako ikonografické a kompozičné vzory. *Život Panny Márie a tri Pašiové série* boli obzvlášť vplyvné. Medzi rokmi 1496 a 1498, Václav z Olomouca (Wenzel von Olmütz) reprodukoval deväť z Dürerových grafičiek. Avšak monogram norimberského majstra nahradil svojím vlastným. Niektorí umelci si požíčovali celé scény, kým iní použili iba niekoľko figúr, resp. jednotlivú pózu. V prípadoch Majstra Michalovho veľkého oltára (1511 – 1517) pre mariánsky kostol v Gdansku a *Epitafiu Apokalyptickej Márie s dieťaťom* (c. 1512?),

teraz v Bratislave, sú Dürerove pôvodné vzory adaptované voľne a kreatívne.

Dürer ako zbierkový predmet. Dürerovo umenie je príležitostne dokumentované v zbierkach východnej Európy. Najväčšia koncentrácia Dürerových diel bola vo vlastníctve cisára Rudolfa II. (1576 – 1612) v Prahe. On a jeho agenti agresívne hľadali Dürerove diela. V roku 1606 cisár kúpil *Ružencová slávnosť* zo San Bartolomea v Benátkach. Rudolf tiež patrónoval Hansa Hoffmanna, Daniela Fröschla a ďalších umelcov, ktorí tvorili nové maľby, grafiky a kresby v štýle Dürera. Bartholomäus Spranger, ďalší z Rudolfových dvorných umelcov v Prahe, sústredil veľkú kolekciu Dürerovho diela, zahŕňajúcu 3500 grafičiek, 33 drevených blokov a 3 ryté medené platne. Tzv. „Dürerova renesancia“ v Prahe ovplyvnila Rudolfových súčasníkov. Roku 1607 si Princ Karl von Liechtenstein objednal u Adriana de Vries *Krista v mukách* (Viedeň, Zbierka princa z Liechtensteinu). Kristova póza vychádza s titulnej strany Dürerových *Veľkých pašii* (1511). Nanešťastie, dnes je *Ružencová slávnosť* (Praha, Národní galerie) jediným obrazom bezpečne pochádzajúcim od Dürera, ktorý sa zachoval vo východnej Európe.

Preklad I. Ciulisová

Bruyn's *Ascension of Christ* from the Cycle done for the Benedictine Convent in Cologne in the National Gallery in Prague

Olga KOTKOVÁ

The National Gallery in Prague's collection of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German painting includes works from most major art centres. Some regions are represented by works of well-known masters whose names afford a broad awareness of the character of German painting of the late Middle Ages,¹ painters such as Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Baldung Grien, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein the Elder. Most local schools are represented by lesser-known painters whose renown never extended beyond the territories in which they lived and worked. Understandably, local schools are also evoked by many workshop paintings and works by followers and unknown artists, whose attribution, more exact geographic determination and date of origin depend on a thorough art history analysis. The National Gallery in Prague also houses five unique paintings from the Lower Rhineland region (whose major centre was Cologne).² More were classified as such in the past, but the number of

works associated with the region was reduced after an analysis of technology and style, which resulted in a change in artist or school attribution for several works previously believed to belong to the Lower Rhineland school. Such was the case of the relatively well-known paintings *The Descent from the Cross* and *The Lamentation* from the former Černín Collection, which had been attributed to a Lower Rhineland artist, but after a detailed examination proved to be a work of the Swabian school from ca. 1480.³

Nevertheless, the Lower Rhineland painting in the National Gallery in Prague's German art collection bears further examination. In Central Europe, paintings from this region were seen primarily as harbingers of the innovative Netherlandish influence, bringing the work of the first and second generations of great masters in the Low Countries (especially Dirck Bouts, Rogier van der Weyden or Master of Flémalle) to Bohemia and Moravia via the German lands.⁴ With a few exceptions, the Rhineland work

¹ PEŠINA, J.: *German Paintings of the 15th and 16th Centuries*. Praha 1962 (German edition: *Alt-Deutsche Meister von Tübingen bis Dürer und Cranach*. Hanau 1962); PEŠINA, J.: Mistři kolem Albrechta Dürera [Masters around Albrecht Dürer]. In: *Umění*, 10, 1962, pp. 369-338; PEŠINA, J.: Ještě k otázkám německého malířství 15. – 16. století v československých sbírkách [Once again to the Questions about the German Painting of the 15th – 16th Centuries in Czechoslovak Collections]. In: *Umění*, 18, 1970, pp. 486-505; KOTKOVÁ, O.: *National Gallery in Prague. German and Austrian Painting of the 14th – 16th Centuries. Illustrated Summary Catalogue II/1*. Praha 2007.

² Besides Stange's compendium (STANGE, A.: *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*. 11 vols. München – Berlin 1934 – 1961), see es-

pecially GOLDBERG, G. – SCHEFFLER, G.: *Altdeutsche Gemälde. Köln und Nordwestdeutschland. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen Alte Pinakothek*. 2 vols. München 1972; ZEHNDER, F. G.: *Katalog der Altkölner Malerei*. Köln 1990.

³ Inv. No. NG O 8657 (*The Descent from the Cross*), linden wood, 72 × 35 cm, panel cradled; O 8656 (*The Lamentation*), linden wood, 72 × 35.5 cm, panel cradled. First recorded in the Černín family's possession in ca. 1669. See the review of known written sources and literature: KOTKOVÁ 2007 (see in note 1), pp. 154-155, Cat. No. 102.

⁴ The role of the Cologne milieu was seen this way – quite justifiably in terms of the development of the Gothic in

of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries remained marginal in the study of the late Gothic period in Bohemia,⁵ though, as recent research has shown, it is also represented by the work of the prominent Cologne-based painter Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder who sustained the fame of the Cologne school until the mid-sixteenth century.⁶ It may be the reason why the most important example of Rhineland painting in the National Gallery in Prague – the small *Ascension* – remained unnoticed until recently and is now the focus of this contribution.

We should mention the other National Gallery artworks associated with Rhineland art production in order to provide a complete picture. The panel *Virgin and Child with St Anne*⁷ evokes the distinctive style of the Master of St Bartholomew Altar (active ca. 1480 – 1510 in Cologne). It is a copy of a painting of the same size housed in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (Alte Pinakothek) in Munich.⁸ The painting, which the Gallery acquired from the František Ringhoffer collection in 1947, was long recorded as a sixteenth-century work modelled after the eponymous panel of the Master of St Bartholomew Altar. A 2004 chemical analysis clearly showed that the copy,⁹ which could have been produced to falsify the original, was made in the nineteenth century (no earlier than 1850). The

technological examination thus confirmed that item Inv. No. DO 5071 should immediately be removed from the collection of old Cologne paintings.

On the other hand, the panel depicting *Jesus before Annas*, a less frequently seen episode of the Passion of Christ, was most probably painted in the Rhineland.¹⁰ The theme indicates that the National Gallery picture was originally part of a rather extensive Passion cycle. A photograph of the painting *Arrest of Christ*, which was mentioned by Stange, further confirms this fact.¹¹ The figural typology, attire and use of identical objects (a lamp and shield), as well as the dimensions of the support, suggest that the two panels were part of a single unit, likely an altarpiece. As the unknown artist's expression is very special and the cycle originally consisted of even more panels, it is possible that more paintings from the cycle will be identified in the world's museums and private collections. Stange attributes the painting *Arrest of Christ* to Jan Joest (1455/1460, Wesel? – 1519, Lower Rhineland or Haarlem)¹² but this attribution does not hold due to discrepancies in style and brushwork. Affinity with contemporary Cologne painting can be observed in the panel, particularly with the work of the Master of the Legend of St Ursula and his workshop.¹³ Also typical of Cologne painting is the lavish use of the so-called press brocades employed

Bohemia – by, among others, PEŠINA, J.: *Česká malba pozdní gotiky a renesance* [Bohemian Late Gothic and Renaissance Painting]. Praha 1950, pp. 11, 29-32.

⁵ SEIFERTOVÁ, H.: Kölner Bildnisse in Böhmen. In: *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 50, 1989, pp. 321-327. The paintings of Bartholomäus Bruyn are included in the book on Netherlandish painting by VACKOVÁ, J.: *Nizozemské malířství. Československé sbírky* [Netherlandish Painting. Czechoslovak Collections]. Praha 1989, pp. 84, 88, 140, 157. Vacková regards Bruyn as a follower of Flemish portrait painting.

⁶ His significance is assessed in this manner by e.g. LÖCHER, K.: Bartholomäus Bruyn der Ältere und das Renaissanceornament. In: *Kölner Domblatt*, 72, 2007, p. 183.

⁷ Inv. No. NG DO 5071, thinned wooden panel fixed to plywood, 42 × 30.5 cm. See KOTKOVÁ 2007 (see in note 1), p. 173, Cat. No. 120, incl. figure and brief summary of research.

⁸ Inv. No. NG 10738; oak wood, 22.9 × 30.3 cm, see e.g. GOLDBERG – SCHEFFLER 1972 (see in note 2), Vol. 1, pp. 223-226; Vol. 2, fig. 116.

⁹ See Archives of the Laboratory of the National Gallery in Prague, report by Ivana Vernerová, 2004/33. The panel support contains artificial plaster (gypsum) and its colour layer contains numerous synthetic pigments (for example, zinc white and cobaltous stannate), i.e. substances that were non-existent prior to c. mid-19th century.

¹⁰ Inv. No. NG O 2815, linden wood, 89.3 × 72.2 cm, panel treated in dark varnish on the reverse; acquired for the National Gallery in Prague in 1944 from the Dorotheum auction house, Vienna. See KOTKOVÁ 2007 (see in note 1), p. 138, Cat. No. 82, p. 179 (results of the dendrochronological examination by Peter Klein), p. 206 (details of infrared reflectography).

¹¹ *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik. Nordwestdeutschland in der Zeit von 1450 – 1515*. Vol. 6. München – Berlin 1954, fig. 116; STANGE, A.: *Die deutsche Tafelbilder vor Dürer. Kritisches Verzeichnis*. Vol. 1. München 1967, p. 125, No. 400.

¹² *Ibidem*. For Joest von Kalkar see WOLFF-THOMSEN, U.: *Jan Joest von Kalkar: ein niederländischer Maler um 1500*. Bielefeld 1997.



1. Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder – Workshop: *Portrait of a Man*. Prague, National Gallery. Photo: National Gallery in Prague.



2. Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder – Workshop: *Portrait of a Woman*. Prague, National Gallery. Photo: National Gallery in Prague.

to decorate garments and curtains. Considering the current state of the research, the panel *Christ before Annas* can be attributed to the Lower Rhineland school around 1480 – 1490.

The panel *Adoration of the Shepherds* is clearly influenced by Netherlandish models.¹⁴ The composition, with a view of a mountainous landscape, highlighted verticality, hybrid architectural forms, the use of iconographic motifs (a fallen column fragment in the

foreground) and the figures' look suggest that the work was influenced by the so-called *Antwerp mannerism*, as can be seen, for example, when compared with the painting *Nativity of Christ* depicted on the reverse side of the dated (1516) scene with Sts Nicholas and Paul with donors, which is attributed to the Antwerp school (today in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum).¹⁵ Nevertheless, as is particularly suggested by the stiff and linear system of folds and almost caricatured

¹³ ZEHNDER 1990 (see in note 2), figs. 249 and 256 of the painting *An Angel Appearing to St Ursula and St Lawrence Distributing Alms*.

¹⁴ Inv. No. NG O 11662, oak wood, 93.5 × 72, panel cradled; acquired for the National Gallery in Prague from a private collection in Prague in 1962. See KOTKOVÁ 2007 (see in note 1), p. 139, Cat. No. 83.

¹⁵ See HILLER, I. – VEY, H. – FALK, T.: *Katalog der deutschen und niederländischen Gemälde bis 1500 im Wallraf-Richartz-Museum und Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Köln*. Köln 1969, p. 14, No. 593, fig. 3. See also BORN, A.: *Antwerp Mannerism: a fashionable style*. In: BELKIN, K. L. – HOUT, N. van (eds.): *Extravagant! Forgotten chapter of Antwerp painting, 1500 – 1530*. [Exhib. Cat.] Antwerpen : Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, Bonnefantenmuseum Maastricht, 2005, p. 12 (also includes the characteristics of the so called *Antwerp mannerism*).

faces of the shepherds, we believe that the panel was produced in Germany. The flying angels resemble the angels that Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder painted in his early period.¹⁶ The conspicuous influence of the so called *Antwerp mannerism* and the use of linden wood suggest the north-western region. In our view, however, the panel was painted neither in Cologne nor any other Rhineland art centre. It can be attributed to the Rhineland school around 1525 with some reservations (due to the absence of a more detailed stylistic comparison).

A pair of portraits of a man and woman [Figs. 1, 2] is associated with the major portrait painting of Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder or his workshop.¹⁷ Based on an interpretation of the quotation from the Gospel of Matthew written on a piece of paper in the man's right hand (and only partly legible today), Hana Seifertová concluded that the portraits had been done on the occasion of the couple's wedding.¹⁸ An analysis of the paintings (especially of the figures' costumes) and a dendrochronological examination confirmed that the portraits could be dated to the 1550s. However, uncertainty surrounds the attribution of the two paintings. Their superficial execution, absence of detail and unvarying light make it impossible to attribute the panels to Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder (1493, Rhineland? – 1555, Cologne). It is possible, therefore, that they were produced in his workshop or by his son Bartholomäus Bruyn the Younger (1523/1525, Cologne – 1607/1610,

Cologne) to whom the paintings have also been attributed.¹⁹ Bruyn the Younger, however, undoubtedly worked in his father's workshop and was not professionally independent until after his death (1555). We believe that the Prague paintings could have been done before 1555 and that their attribution to Bruyn the Elder or his workshop includes the involvement of Bruyn the Younger, who played a major part in the venture.²⁰

Jarmila Vacková also associated the dramatically conceived *Lamentation* [Fig. 3] with the circle of Bruyn the Elder.²¹ The excited gestures and expressions of the protagonists retain the pathos of Rogier van der Weyden, whose influence extended not only to the Low Countries, but also the Cologne region. According to Didier Martens, however, the Prague panel can be viewed as a *pasticcio*, composed of Van Cleve's painting.²² Although van Cleve's influence is detectable in Bruyn's work, the typology of the faces (long, large-nosed faces are typical of Bruyn's mature period), distinctive colours and landscape characteristic of the south-Netherlandish tradition echoing Joachim Patinir speak against *Lamentation's* origination in the Rhineland. For example, the bottom right half resembles Van Cleve's *The Descent from the Cross* (Edinburgh, The National Gallery of Scotland)²³ and some of the figures (particularly Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea) are reminiscent of scenes in *Lamentation* housed in the Städel in Frankfurt or the Louvre in Paris.²⁴ The composition and brushwork

¹⁶ See the panel *Nativity of Christ* in a private collection in Ghent, by Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder, 1512 – 1515. – TÜMMERS, H.-J.: Zwei unbekannte Tafelbilder von Bartholomäus Bruyn dem Älteren. In: *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 43, 1982, p. 116, fig. 1.

¹⁷ Inv. No. DO 6327 (*Portrait of a Man*), oak wood, top edge segmentally curved, 46.5 × 33 cm (format not original); DO 6326 (*Portrait of a Woman*), oak wood, top edge segmentally curved, 46.3 × 32 cm (format not original). The two paintings were acquired for the National Gallery in Prague in 1950. See KOTKOVÁ 2007 (see in note 1), pp. 22-23, Cat. No. 5, fig. and other literature.

¹⁸ SEIFERTOVÁ 1989 (see in note 5), pp. 321-322.

¹⁹ See the summary of attribution in KOTKOVÁ 2007 (see in note 1), p. 22, a summary analysis of the dendrological examination on p. 178 (Peter Klein).

²⁰ For basic biographical data about the Bruyn family, see most recently LÖW, A.: *Bartolomäus Bruyn. Die Sammlung im Städtischen Museum Wesel. Bestandskataloge des Städtischen Museums Wesel*. Vol. 4. Wesel 2002, particularly pp. 21-40.

²¹ VACKOVÁ 1989 (see in note 5), pp. 84, 88. Inv. No. NG O 9848, oak wood, top edge segmentally curved, 112.5 × 72.2 cm. Acquired for the National Gallery in Prague in 1964 from a private collection. See KOTKOVÁ 2007 (see in note 1), p. 171, Cat. No. 116, fig.

²² Oral report in 2004.

²³ FRIEDLÄNDER, M. J.: *Early Netherlandish Painting. Vol. IX/1. Joos van Cleve, Jan Provost, Joachim Patenier*. Leyden – Brussels 1972, plate 28.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, plates 31 and 41.



3. Joos van Cleve – Netherlandish Follower: *The Lamentation*. Prague, National Gallery. Photo: National Gallery in Prague.

seem akin to painting attributed to the circle of Joos van Cleve, whose depiction is included in a publication by the Städel.²⁵ In the case of the National Gallery's *Lamentation*, the affinity with van Cleve's work is much greater than with Bruyn's, which is why we attribute the painting to an anonymous Netherlandish follower of Joos van Cleve working in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

²⁵ SANDER, J.: *Niederländische Gemälde im Städel 1400 – 1550. Kataloge der Gemälde im Städelischen Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main*. Vol. 2. Mainz am Rhein – Frankfurt am Main 1993, p. 199, fig. 117 (the paintings' whereabouts are currently unknown).



4. Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder: *The Ascension*, 1512 – 1515. Prague, National Gallery. Photo: National Gallery in Prague.

While we have thus far moved among the works of workshops, circles and anonymous artists, the following item can be attributed with a great deal of certainty to a specific master. The National Gallery in Prague purchased the small panel *Ascension* [Fig. 4] from a private collection in 1949, and the work remained unnoticed by experts for half a century. Its recent examination and a subsequent art historical analysis revealed²⁶ that the long-forgotten painting in the Gallery depository, which had been recorded as the work of a late-fifteenth-century West Ger-

²⁶ Inv. No. O 2875, oak wood, 50 × 35.5 cm, panel cradled. See KOTKOVÁ 2007 (see in note 1), p. 21, Cat. No. 4, fig. Also see p. 178 with results of the dendrological examination by Peter Klein (the oak which came from western Germany was cut in 1501, at the earliest; the assumed year of the painting's production, including two years necessary for the wood to dry, is 1513).

man master, was done by Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder, a major Cologne painter of the first half of the sixteenth century whose work represented a culmination of the famous Cologne school tradition. Its theme is based on the New Testament (Matthew 28.16-17; Lucas 24.50-52 and especially Acts 1.9-12): the twelve apostles and the Virgin Mary are assembled around the Mount of Olives while Christ reveals himself in a cloud. His full figure, illuminated by a Mandorla, blesses his friends and family.

Even a perfunctory examination of the painting betrays its affinity with the Rhineland painting, as suggested by its similarity to Netherlandish painting and figural typology. An examination of the oak wood support, too, led the research in the same direction.²⁷ The painting is characterised by a well-arranged symmetrical composition and simple but distinct colour pallet. An empty shield is located in the bottom centre. A more detailed examination disclosed that the white colour is original, e.g. neither overpainting nor secondary interventions had been made in that spot. That means that the coat of arms was never completed. Besides the distinct brushwork and panel's size, it is the shape of the shield, its location and incompleteness that suggest that the Prague artwork can be attributed to Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder. Experts rank ten paintings of similar dimensions (ca. 48 × 34 cm of painted surface) with shields placed at the bottom among the early works of this master. Most of these shields are empty and only three of them contain coats of arms. To this group of three, Tümmers (1982) added seven paintings depicting scenes from the Life and Passion of Christ, namely: 1. *Annunciation* (Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum), 2. *Visitation of the Virgin Mary* (Wiesbaden, Städtisches Museum), 3. *Nativity of Christ* (Ghent, private collection), 4. *Adoration of the Magi* (Ghent, private collection), 5. *Christ Among*

the Doctors (Koblenz, Mittelrhein-Museum der Stadt Koblenz), 6. *Resurrection of Christ* (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten), 7. *The Throne of Grace* (art market). The group also includes two panels depicting the saints: 8. *Martyrdom of St Ursula* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum) and 9. *Martyrdom of the Maccabee Brothers and Their Mother* (formerly Kreuzlingen, Kisters collection, today probably an unknown collection) and, finally, 10. *Madonna with Sts Benedict and Scholastica* (Mönchengladbach, Otten collection).²⁸ The Prague artwork is an iconographic continuation of the Passion scenes and also corresponds in terms of style, figural typology (typical oval heads with small almond-shaped eyes and characteristic radial halos) as well as in technological terms (the oak wood support and similar dimensions). These common features suggest that *Ascension* is part of the cycle mentioned above, its eleventh piece thus far discovered. The conclusion that the National Gallery scene is part of the cycle comes especially to the fore when compared with the panel *Resurrection of Christ* in Antwerp²⁹ [Fig. 5] – in these two paintings, Bruyn painted an almost identical Christ and landscape. Some of the group's compositional schemes and motifs conspicuously reflect the influence of Netherlandish art, particularly *St Columba Altarpiece* (ca. 1455) by Rogier van der Weyden, which was done for the Church of St Columba in Cologne.³⁰ That was why Rogier's triptych influenced a number of artists in Cologne and the entire Rhineland. The cycle panels under examination also betray a detailed knowledge of Jan Joest von Kalkar's work – Bruyn had been an apprentice in his workshop in Kalkar. It was there that he met Joos van Cleve, whose painting also greatly influenced Bruyn.³¹ On the other hand, the scene of the *Martyrdom of St Ursula* draws inspiration from Cologne painting (where a number of artworks with the same theme were done, as the

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ TÜMMERS 1982 (see in note 16), pp. 115-122 with figures of all panels; ZEHNDER 1990 (see in note 2), p. 26.

²⁹ Also see VANDAMME, E. et al: *Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten – Antwerpen. Catalogus Schilderkunst Oude Meester*. Antwerpen 1988, p. 78 (inv. No. 527, wood, 48 × 34 cm).

³⁰ See e.g. LÖW 2002 (see in note 20), pp. 54-55; VOS, D. de: *Rogier van der Weyden: das Gesamtwerk*. Antwerpen 1999, pp. 276-284, No. 21.

³¹ Particularly TÜMMERS, H.-J.: *Die Altarbilder des Älteren Bartholomäus Bruyn*. Köln 1964, pp. 11-26; WOLFF-THOMSEN 1997 (see in note 12); HAND, J. O.: Jan Joest and his relationship to Joos van Cleve and Bartholomäus Bruyn. In: KAMMEL, F. M. (ed.): *Begegnungen mit alten Meistern: altdeutsche Tafelmalerei auf dem Prüfstand*. Nürnberg 2000, pp. 139-145.



5. Bartolomäus Bruyn the Elder: *The Resurrection of Christ*, 1512 – 1515. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Photo: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

theme was “local”), e.g. from the œuvre of the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend or Master of Saint Severin.³² The Prague painting *Ascension* shows that Bruyn had thoroughly studied Joest’s altarpiece with scenes from the Life and Passion of Christ (Kalkar), particularly the identically-themed panel adorning the left inner wing of the retable in St Nicholas

Church.³³ Bruyn’s Prague painting is based on Joest’s arrangement of the *Ascension* scene in Kalkar (1505 – 1508) as well as the symmetrical composition, the figures of the Virgin Mary and Apostle Peter and background landscape. However, the young Bruyn (he was some twenty years old then) simplified the scene and suppressed the spatial depth. But unlike his master, he did not know how to curtail movement – his mastery of the figure did not come until the late 1520s – 1530s.³⁴ Also, Bruyn’s early inclination to various works of his predecessors and contemporaries suggests that he was gradually looking for and creating his own style.

Three completed coats of arms in the cycle’s panels were identified earlier – the one at the feet of the two female donors in *Nativity of Christ* is probably the coat of arms of Count Manderscheid-Blankenheim’s family.³⁵ Countess Elisabeth von Manderscheid (1518 – 1544), abbess of the Convent of St Cecilia in Cologne, was from this family. The panel *Martyrdom of St Ursula* (which, in our view, differs from the other panels of the cycle as its style is slightly advanced and the nimbus has a different form) bears the alliance coat of arms of Cologne’s mayor Adolf Rinck (b. 1472) and Margaretha von Hardenrath.³⁶ The panel *Martyrdom of the Maccabee Brothers and Their Mother* [Fig. 6] is the most significant in terms of research of original provenance as the coats of arms are depicted together with the donor, while he or she is missing in the other panels (with the exception of *Nativity of Christ*). The coat of arms with the horse on the left was probably overpainted,³⁷ while the one with the crescent moon on the right is the coat of arms of Helias Mertz (d. 1527), humanist and confessor of the *Zu den Hill. Makkabäern* Convent of Benedictines in Cologne.³⁸ Mertz, who also used the Latinized form of his name Helias Marcaeus de Luna (hence his coat of arms with the crescent moon), is credited with the convent’s development

³² ZEHNDER 1990 (see in note 2), pp. 25-27, No. 232, fig., with earlier stages of style.

³³ Cf. depiction in FRIEDLÄNDER 1972 (see in note 23), plate 5.

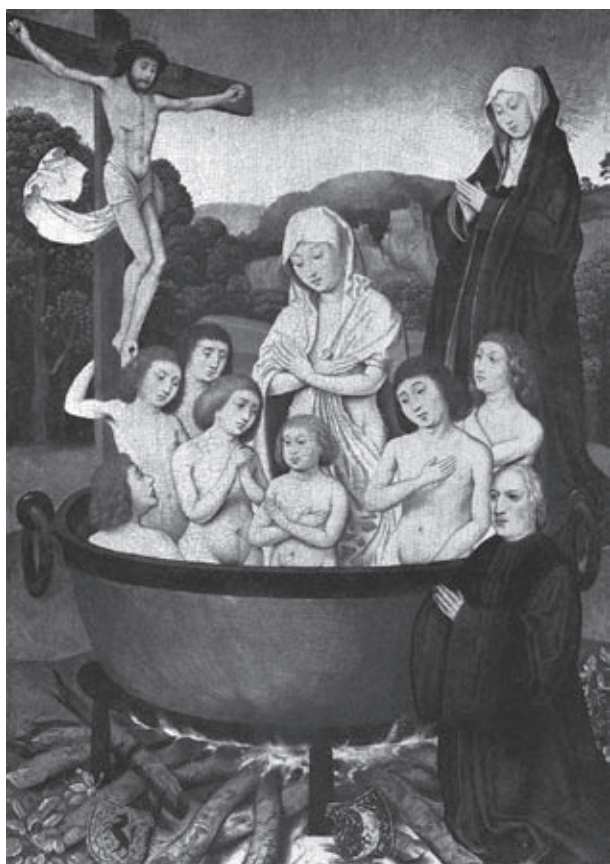
³⁴ Cf. particularly the Xanten Altarpiece – TÜMMERS 1964 (see in note 31), fig. A94-101 – and other paintings from this period.

³⁵ TÜMMERS 1982 (see in note 16), p. 115.

³⁶ ZEHNDER 1990 (see in note 2), p. 25.

³⁷ LÖW 2002 (see in note 20), p. 97, note 389.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, particularly pp. 92-96 with more literature on identification of the donor.



6. Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder: *The Martyrdom of the Maccabee Brothers and Their Mother*, 1512 – 1515. Formerly *Kreuzlingen*, Kisters collection (whereabouts unknown). Repr.: LÖW, A.: Bartolomäus Bruyn. Die Sammlung im Städtischen Museum Wesel. *Wesel* 2002, p. 93.

(it was secularized in 1803 and torn down in 1808) and ordered a significant number of commissions for the convent and church, such as that of the well-known reliquary case for the relics of Sts Maccabee brothers (today, in the Church of St Andrew in Cologne).³⁹ His crescent moon coat of arms also appears in the illumination (fol. 39r) with *Martyrdom*

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 92.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, pp. 92-96, 193-194, No. 4, fig. 33, colour fig. 12. The author explains that the painting probably had an epitaphic or commemorative function (a tribute to the great patron of the convent) because at the time that *The Lamentation* was made, Mertz was already dead.

of the Maccabee Brothers and Their Mother in Manuscript No. 271 dated ca. 1525 (today Cologne, Dombibliothek). Mertz is also depicted at an advanced age in *Lamentation*, which was painted by Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder around 1527 – 1532 (today Wesel, Städtisches Museum Wesel). The coat of arms with the crescent moon can be seen at his feet.⁴⁰ The coats of arms localize the panels of the cycle under examination to Cologne (to which Bruyn relocated in approximately 1512 – 1515).

What function did this painting serve and what is its relationship to Bruyn's ten other early paintings? The empty shields may suggest that Bruyn prepared paintings in advance to customize and sell later with a given client's coat of arms.⁴¹ The surviving eleven panels, however, point to an elaborate concept which – in addition to their very similar dimensions and style – suggests that the paintings were part of a single unit. The choice of the scene *Madonna with Sts Benedict and Scholastica* is certainly also connected with the Benedictine order. The placement of the coats of arms in each scene contradicts the argument that the cycle formed an altarpiece. Tümmers offered a likely hypothesis about the cycle's arrangement in 1982 – the plentiful collection comprising the panels could serve to decorate the convent's church, as was the case of Bruyn's cycle of 57 panels (1547). This later cycle, of which only two panels have survived, decorated the ambulatory of the Carmelite Monastery in Cologne. Carmelite Superior Everhard Billick won over numerous dignitaries in Cologne to co-finance it and their coats of arms modified the pertinent parts of the cycle. The cycle of 1512 – 1515 entailed an apparently similar situation.⁴² Helias Mertz, whose portrait and coat of arms can be found in the panel with the Maccabee brothers in the scene whose theme is related to the dedication of the Benedictine Convent, seemed to be a main patron. The coats of arms in *Nativity of Christ* and *Martyrdom of St Ursula* seemed to belong to others who contrib-

⁴¹ See e.g. I. Krueger's entry in GOLDKUHLE, F. – KRUEGER, I. – SCHMIDT, H. M.: *Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn. Gemälde bis 1900*. Bonn 1982, p. 111.

⁴² TÜMMERS 1982 (see in note 16), pp. 115-122. Also see the figure of the panels in the Carmelite Monastery. – TÜMMERS 1964 (see in note 31), A 165-166.

uted to the panels or the monastery.⁴³ The selection of the surviving scenes of Jesus Christ's childhood and Passion suggests that the set consisted of many more items than the currently known eleven. We can only hope that the cycle is further enriched by new discoveries in museums and private collections. The unfinished coats of arms could also suggest that the set was not completed as planned. In any case, the cycle of 1512 – 1515, to which the Prague painting can also be added, was produced at the outset of the barely twenty-year-old Bruyn's prolific output. This commission certainly helped establish him in Cologne, where his activities are documented by his artwork dated from 1515, but it is most likely that he arrived in this city as early as 1512.⁴⁴ He gradually became well-known, though the competition among the local masters was great. Like the other parts of the cycle, the Prague painting plays a major

role in the formation of the style that significantly affected Cologne painting for the next fifty years. Therefore, the National Gallery in Prague houses an early artwork made by Bruyn himself, one showing how he fumbled somewhat while searching for models and developing his own style. It also houses the workshop-made pair portraits mentioned above, representing the later and somewhat routinized phase of portrait production that spread after Bruyn the Elder's death (1555) especially in the work of Bartholomäus Bruyn the Younger. Between these two extreme positions, compositions of religious themes and individual elaborate portraits of a very original character were made, helping propel Bruyn to the position of Cologne painting school protagonist in the late Middle Ages and allowing his art to spread the school's fame.

English translation by G. Zbavitelová

⁴³ TÜMMERS 1982 (see in note 16), pp. 118-121.

⁴⁴ TÜMMERS 1964 (see in note 31), pp. 11-14.

Bruynův obraz *Nanebevstoupení Krista* z cyklu pro benediktinský klášter v Kolíně nad Rýnem v Národní galerii v Praze

Resumé

V Národní galerii v Praze je v rámci středověkých děl německých škol zastoupena i svěbytná produkce dolnorýnská, jejíž hlavním centrem byl Kolín nad Rýnem. Jádrem tohoto souboru tvoří obrazy, spojené s autorstvím významného kolínského malíře Bartholomäa Bruyna, a to dva portréty, *Oplakávání Krista* a nevelká deska *Nanebevstoupení Krista*, jež zůstala až do nedávné doby zcela nepovšimnuta, a proto se na ni přítomný příspěvek zaměřuje.

Zmiňovaným podobiznám se věnovala Hana Seifertová, která na základě interpretace dnes již pouze částečně čitelného nápisu v mužově pravici dovodila, že obrazy byly pořízeny při příležitosti sňatku zobrazených. Jak rozbor obrazů, tak i dendrochronologický průzkum potvrdil, že portréty lze datovat do 50. let 16. století. Povšechné provedení, absence detailu i jednolitě vedené světlo neumožňují připsat dvojici desek Bartholomäu Bruynovi staršímu (1493, Porýní? – 1555, Kolín), v úvahu proto připadá jeho dílna, či jeho syn Bartholomäus Bruyn mladší (1523/1525, Kolín – 1607/1610, Kolín), jenž pracoval v otcově dílně.

S okruhem Bruyna st. spojovala Jarmila Vacková i autorství dramaticky pojatého *Oplakávání Krista*. Excitovaná gesta i výrazy protagonistů děje v sobě uchovávají pathos Rogiera van der Weyden, jehož vliv zasáhl kromě Nizozemí i kolínskou oblast. Didier Martens však v pražské desce vidí *pasticcio*, poskládané z podnětů Joose van Cleve na nizozemské půdě. Vazby k tvorbě Van Cleve jsou v případě *Oplakávání* z Národní galerie zjevně daleko těsnější než k Bruynovi, a proto jej určujeme jako práci anonymního nizozemského následovníka Joose van Cleve z 2. čtvrtiny 16. století.

V roce 1949 Národní galerií zakoupila obraz *Nanebevstoupení Krista*, který půl století zůstal stranou veškerého odborného zájmu. Teprve nedávný průzkum desky a umělecko-historické zhodnocení prozradil, že zapomenutá malba, jež v evidenci Národní galerie figuruje jako práce západoněmeckého mistra z konce

15. století, je vlastnoruční práce nejvýznačnějšího kolínského malíře 1. poloviny 16. století, Bartholomäa Bruyna staršího. Obraz se vyznačuje přehlednou, symetrickou kompozicí a jednoduchou, výraznou barevnou paletou. V prostřed dole je umístěn prázdný štít, který nikdy nebyl domalován. Kromě výrazného rukopisu a velikosti desky přispívá právě tvar štítu, jeho umístění i nedokončenost k připsání pražské práce k ōuvre Bartholomäa Bruyna staršího. Mezi raná díla tohoto mistra badatelé zařazují 10 maleb podobných rozměrů (o velikosti zamalované plochy ca. 48 × 34 cm), které dole mají umístěný štít. U většiny z nich zůstal prázdný, u třech z nich jsou umístěny erby. Tümmers (1982) k této skupině přiřadil sedm maleb líčící scény ze života a utrpení Krista: 1. *Zvěstování* (Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum), 2. *Navštívení P. Marie* (Wiesbaden, Städtisches Museum), 3. *Narození Krista* (Gent, soukromá sbírka), 4. *Klanění tři králů* (Gent, soukromá sbírka), 5. *Kristus mezi učiteli* (Koblenz, Mittelrhein-Museum der Stadt Koblenz), 6. *Zmrtvýchvstání Krista* (Antverpy, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten), 7. *Trůn Boží Milosti* (registrováno na uměleckém trhu). Dále k tomuto souboru náležejí dvě desky zobrazující skony svatých: 8. *Umučení sv. Uršuly* (Kolín nad Rýnem, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum) a 9. *Umučení bratří Makabejských a jejich matky* (dříve Kreuzlingen, sbírka Kisters, nyní patrně v neznámé soukromé sbírce) a konečně 10. *Madona se sv. Benediktem a sv. Scholastikou* (Mönchengladbach, sbírka Otten). Pražská práce navazuje ikonograficky, odpovídá slohově, typologií postav i po technické stránce. Tyto společné rysy napovídají, že *Nanebevstoupení* patří k uvedenému souboru a tvoří jeho 11. dosud známou součást. Pražská malba *Nanebevstoupení* prozrazuje, že Bruyn důkladně studoval Joestův oltář se scénami ze života a pašijí Krista (Kalkar), a to zejména desku stejného námětu, jež zdobí levé vnitřní křídlo retáblu v kostele sv. Mikuláše.

Tři dokončené erby na deskách cyklu se podařilo již dříve identifikovat: znak u nohou dvou donátorek

na *Narození Krista* patří pravděpodobně rodu hrabat Manderscheid-Blankenheim. Z jejich rodu pocházela Elisabeth hraběnka von Mandersheid (1518 – 1544), abatyše kláštera sv. Cecílie v Kolíně nad Rýnem. Na desce *Umučení sv. Uršuly* se objevuje alianční znak kolínského starosty Adolfa Rincka (narozen 1472) a Margarety von Hardenrath; na *Umučení bratří Makabejských a jejich matky* je znak s půlměsícem patřící humanistu a zpovědníku kolínského kláštera benediktinek *Zu den Hill. Makkabäern*, Heliasu Mertzovi (zemřel 1527). Mertz byl i významným objednavatelem vybavení klášterního domu a kostela – stál například za vznikem známé relikviářové skříňky pro ostatky sv. bratří Makabejských (nyní v kolínském kostele sv. Ondřeje). Znaky lokalizují desky diskutovaného cyklu do Kolína nad Rýnem, kam Bruyn přesídlil kolem 1512 – 1515.

Prázdné štíty by mohly naznačovat, že si Bruyn maloval obrazy do zásoby pro následný prodej a konkrétní znaky se domalovaly pro určitého kupujícího. Dochovaných 11 desek však poukazuje k vypracovanému konceptu, což naznačuje, že malby tvořily jeden celek. S benediktinským řádem souvisí i volba výjevu *Madona se sv. Benediktem a sv. Scholastikou*.

Umístění erbů na každém výjevu protirečí tomu, že cyklus tvořil oltář. S pravděpodobnou hypotézou o někdejší uspořádání cyklu přišel Tümmers v roce 1982: početná kolekce složená z jednotlivých desek mohla sloužit k výzdobě kostela kláštera, obdobně jako tomu bylo u Bruynova souboru určeného pro karmelitány sestávajícího z 57 desek (1547). Hlavním mecenášem diskutovaného cyklu byl patrně zmíněný Helias Mertz, jehož podoba a erb jsou umístěny přímo na desce s makabejskými bratry, t. j. na výjevu, jehož námět se vztahuje k patrociniu kláštera benediktinek. Erb na *Narození Krista a Umučení sv. Uršuly* náležely patrně dalším, kteří k realizaci přispěli či kteří se zasloužili o klášter. Výběr dochovaných scén z Kristova dětství a pašijí naznačují, že celek se původně skládal z daleko většího počtu než je v současné době známých 11 položek. Nedokončené erby by také mohly signalizovat, že zamýšlený celek nebyl dokončen v plánovaném rozsahu. V každém případě cyklus z let 1512 – 1515, k němuž nově můžeme přiřadit i pražskou malbu, stojí na počátku bohaté činnosti tehdy sotva dvacetiletého Bruyna, jenž si později získal pozici významného protagonisty slavné kolínské malířské školy pozdního středověku.

Stoss, Callimachus and Florence*

Ingrid CIULISOVÁ

Giorgio Vasari in the second edition of his *Vite* of 1568 noted that there is a remarkable statue of *St Roche* in SS. Annunziata in Florence whose author lived in Florence, which he had chosen as his home. Vasari wrote: ‘... He lived in Florence, which he had chosen as his home, and in disegno – which he always delighted in – he adopted the Italian manner and, with the skill he possessed in working wood, made of limewood a life-size figure of *St Roche*; and he executed its drapery with most subtle carving, so soft and hollowed, and as it were paper-like, and with such a fine movement in the arrangement of the folds, that nothing more wonderful is to be seen. [...] and, what is more, so that one may see the craftsman’s excellence in all parts, this figure is preserved to this day in Sma. Annunziata at Florence under the pulpit, without any covering of colours or pigment, in the very colour of the wood itself...’¹

This astonishing figure of *St Roche* remains on display in the Servite friary church of SS. Annunziata

[Fig. 1]. Documented for the first time in the 1523 as in the chapel of *St Roche* (later Capella dell’Assunta de’Palli), the first chapel on the left side of the nave, in 1631 the statue of a plague saint and at the same time the object of a special devotion was registered in the chapel of the Savior. In the period of the restoration of the church in 1857 the figure of *St Roche* was transferred to the chapel of S. Sigismund. Another statue associated with *St Roche* survived in Ognissanti. It is a *Crucifix*, formerly in S. Salvatore al Monte in Florence, which with the Franciscan Observantists passed to Ognissanti in 1561. Both Florentine works had been ascribed on purely stylistic grounds to Veit Stoss, and this attribution has never been seriously disputed.²

This article concerns Veit Stoss’s works associated with Italy. His possible relationships with Italians in Cracow are discussed here, and suggestions are of-

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¹ I quote using the translation of the text enclosed in BAXANDALL, M.: *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*. New Haven 1995, p. 191.

² On the statue of *St Roche* see VASARI, G.: *Le vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*. Ed. G. MILANESI. Firenze 1878

– 1885, Vol. 1, p. 167; VOSS, H.: Zwei unerkannte Werke des Veit Stoss in Florentiner Kirchen. In: *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 29, 1908, pp. 20-29; KRIEGBAUM, F.: Deutsche Kunstwerke in Italien. Der Hl. Rochus von Veit Stoss in der SS. Annunziata in Florenz. In: *Jahresberichte des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, 1935-36 – 1936-37, n.p.; SALAS, X. de: The origins of the sculptor, Juan de Juni. In: *Studies in Renaissance & Baroque art: presented to Anthony Blunt on his 60th birthday*. London 1967, pp. 75-77; RASMUSSEN, J.: “... far stupire il mondo”: zur Verbreitung der Kunst des Veit Stoss. In: *Veit Stoss: die Vorträge des Nürnberger Symposiums*. Ed. R. KAHSNITZ. München: Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte München, 1985, pp. 107-122; BAXANDALL 1995 (see in note 1), pp. 191-202, 273, 289; ESER, T.: Ein Leuchter, drei Rätsel, ein Kartenspiel. Nürnberger Kunst in Italien. In: *Quasi centrum Europae: Europa kauft in Nürnberg, 1400 – 1800*. Eds. H. MAUÉ – T. ESER – S. HAUSCHKE – J. STOL-



1. *Saint Roche*, attributed to Veit Stoss, SS. Annunziata, Florence. Photo: Courtesy of Conway Library, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

ferred for the broader context within such contacts might have taken place. We know that Veit Stoss came to reside in Cracow in 1477 and that between 1477 and 1489 he created there his first reliably documented work, the opulent new high altar of St Mary for Cracow's main parish church, by far the largest late Gothic retable in its time. He soon became a

respected and prosperous citizen, also employed by the Polish royal court.³ In addition to the astonishing St Mary altar and the magnificent marble tomb of King Casimir IV Jagiello of 1492 in Wawel Cathedral, Stoss created a third masterpiece in Cracow – the sepulchral plaque of the Italian humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi, cast by the Vischers [Fig. 2].⁴ Like the

ZENBERG. Nürnberg : Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2002, pp. 45-71, esp. pp. 56-62; MARKSCHIES, A.: "Un miracolo di legno" – der Rochus des "Janni Francese". In: *Wege zur Renaissance: Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen neuzeitlicher Kunstauffassung im Rheinland und in den Nachbargebieten um 1500*. Eds. N. NUSSBAUM – C. EUSKIRCHEN. Köln 2003, pp. 341-363. On the *Crucifix* from Ognissanti see VOSS 1908 (see in this note), pp. 20-29; RASMUSSEN 1985 (see in this note), pp. 107-122.

Since there is no documentation known for the figure of *St Roche* (limewood, height 170 cm) before 1523, the work's dating varies from the very beginning to the late twenties of the sixteenth century. In 1911 Wilhelm Vöge called attention to the figure of *St James* (limewood, height 232 cm) from the main altarpiece of the parish church of St James in Levoča (Löcse, Leutschau, Eastern Slovakia) as a work closely related to *St Roche*. He wrote: *Im Schrein des Hochaltars der Jacobskirche zu Leutschau, der von B. Dann, Veit Stoss und seine Schule, Leipzig 1903, 113 ff. als ein Werk eines Stosschülers, des 'Meisters Paul', erwiesen ist, steht links der Madonna ein hl. Jacobus der Ä., der nach Stand- und Bewegungsmotiv wie auch in der Erfindung der kunstvoll-komplizierten Draperie und im Typus des Kopfes mit dem Florentiner Rochus ohne alle Frage aufs engste zusammenhängt...* – VÖGE, W.: Zu Veit Stoss. In: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 4, 1911, p. 278. Since the accessible archive material suggests that the main altar of St James church was conceived in the period from 1508 to 1515, the figure of *St James* appears to play a significant role in relation to the dating of *St Roche*. See HOMOLKA, J.: *Gotická plastika na Slovensku* [Gothic Sculpture in Slovakia]. Bratislava 1972, pp. 266, 268, 406-407; GLATZ, A. C.: Ikonografické a motívické inšpirácie a vzory skulptúr a tabuľových malieb levočského hlavného oltára [Iconographical and Motivical Inspirations and Models for Sculptures and Panel Paintings of the High Altar in Levoča]. In: *Arx*, 34, 2001, No. 2-3, pp. 153-203, esp. pp. 159-161; GYALÓKAY, Z.: Najlepší uczeń Wita Stwosza – Mistrz Paweł z Lewoczy [The Best Apprentice of Veit Stoss – Master Pavol from Levoča]. In: *Wokół Wita Stwosza* [Around Veit Stoss]. [Exhib. Cat.] Eds. M. WALCZAK – A. ORGANISTY. Kraków : Muzeum Narodowe, 2005, pp. 195-199.

³ There is an extensive art historical literature on Veit Stoss (c. 1445/50 – 1533, Feyt, Veydt, Vit, Wit, Stosz, Stuosz, Stwosz) and his *oeuvre*. The best survey still remains ISPHORDING, E.: Bibliographie zu Leben und Werk des Veit Stoss. In: *Veit Stoss: die Vorträge des Nürnberger Symposiums* (see in note 2), pp. 297-345, and all papers published in the proceedings. See

also *Veit Stoss in Nürnberg: Werke des Meisters und seiner Schule in Nürnberg und Umgebung*. Ed. R. KAHSNITZ. München : Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, 1983; *Wit Stosz. Studia o sztuce i recepcji* [Veit Stoss. Studies about Art and Reception]. Ed. A. S. LABUDA. Warszawa – Poznań 1986; SELLO, G.: *Veit Stoß*. München 1988; *Wokół Wita Stwosza* 2005 (see in note 2); *Wokół Wita Stwosza*. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie [Around Veit Stoss. Proceedings from the international conference held in the National Museum in Cracow]. Ed. A. ORGANISTY. Kraków 2006. For the broader artistic context see namely MÜLLER, T.: *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, Spain, 1400 – 1500*. Baltimore 1966; DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, T.: *Court, Cloister & City. The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450 – 1800*. London 1995; and SMITH, J. C.: *The Northern Renaissance*. London 2004.

⁴ The memorial, today placed upright on a wall of the presbytery of the church, was attributed to Veit Stoss and to the Vischer family workshop already by Marian Sokolowski. See SOKOŁOWSKI, M.: Zagadkowy nagrobek katedry gnieźnieńskiej. Wit Stwosz i marmury naszych pomników w XV i XVI wieku [Mysterious Tombstone in the Gniezno Cathedral. Veit Stoss and Marbles of Our Memorials in the 15th and 16th Centuries]. In: *Sprawozdania Komisji do badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce (SKHS)*, T. 6, 1900, p. 162. The earlier literature on the sepulchral plaque of Buonaccorsi was carefully evaluated by Piotr Skubiszewski. – SKUBISZEWSKI, P.: *Rzeźba nagrobna Wita Stwosza* [Memorial Sculpture of Veit Stoss]. Warszawa 1957, pp. 77-80. Furthermore see DETTLOFF, S.: *Wit Stosz*. Wrocław 1961; KOKOSZKA, M.: Ikonografia bordiury płyty nagrobnej Kallimacha i treści ideowe tego dzieła [Iconography of the Bordure of Callimachus's Tombstone and Ideas connected with the Work]. In: *Rocznik krakowski*, 68, 2002, pp. 75-103, esp. pp. 75-78; JANICKI, M.: Datowanie płyty nagrobnej Filipa Kallimacha [Dating of the Callimachus's Tombstone]. In: *Studia Źródloznawcze*, 41, 2003, pp. 19-43; HAUSCHKE, S.: Das Grabdenkmal des Filippo Buonaccorsi, gen. Callimachus, von Veit Stoß und der Vischer-Werkstatt: Beziehungen zwischen Nürnberg, Krakau und Italien. In: *Wanderungen: Künstler, Kunstwerk, Motiv, Stifter*. Eds. M. OMILANOWSKA – A. STRASZEWSKA. Warszawa 2005, pp. 15-26; HAUSCHKE, S.: *Die Grabdenkmäler der Nürnberger Vischer-Werkstatt (1453 – 1544)* (=Denkmäler deutscher Kunst. Bronzezeit des Mittelalters, 6). Petersberg 2006, pp. 229-234. The plaque (158 × 118.5 cm, upper border is missing) is frequently listed as being made of bronze. See e.g. SELLO

figure of *St Roche* in SS. Annunziata and the *Crucifix* in Ognissanti, this undated and unsigned plaque offers additional evidence of Stoss's artistic associations with Italy. Szczesny Dettloff and Jörg Rasmussen suggested that it might have been this exiled Tuscan scholar, diplomat, and secretary of two Polish kings, Filippo Buonaccorsi, who facilitated Stoss's possible contacts with Italy.⁵

Filippo Buonaccorsi of San Gimignano, known by his classical name Callimachus Experiens (1437 – 1496), was undoubtedly one of the most prominent exiled Italian humanists living in Central Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. He belonged to the distinguished *academia Romana* established in the 1460s by Giulio Pomponio Leto (1427 – 1498) along with Bartolomeo dei Sacchi (1421 – 1481), called Platina, who later became Librarian of the Vatican Library, and Marco Antonio Sabellico (1436 – 1506/1508), later Prefect of the Library of San Marco in Venice. However, Pope Paul II viewed this humanist community with suspicion, for savouring of neopaganism, irreligion, heresy, and republicanism. In 1468 Platina and several other academicians were arrested, imprisoned and tortured in the Castel S. Angelo. Callimachus, who was accused of calling for the establishment of a republic after the model of ancient Rome, fled from Rome. He left for Naples and later travelled extensively in Greece, Cyprus,

Rhodes, Egypt, the islands of the Aegean, Thrace, and Macedonia. In the 1470s he finally found a safe and successful exile in Poland, where he played an important role at the courts of the Polish Kings Casimir IV Jagiello (1447 – 1492) and John I Albert (1492 – 1501), being appointed royal secretary and ambassador. He died in 1496 and following a magnificent funeral was buried, as he wished, in the Dominican friary church in Cracow.⁶

It seems plausible that Veit Stoss would have known Buonaccorsi, who also lived in Cracow from the early 1470s until 1496. Both men worked for the royal court and Buonaccorsi consulted on Stoss's tomb of Peter of Bnin in Włocławek. Moreover, as the most outstanding artist of the city, Stoss was commissioned to design the funeral memorial of the Italian expatriate. This is thought to be the first tomb plaque made for a humanist north of the Alps and, at the same time, the most telling example of an Italian humanist epitaph created by a Northern artist. Stoss's full-length funerary portrait of Filippo Buonaccorsi shows the humanist as a scholar, linguist and man of letters.

Realistically depicted facial features of the sitter suggest that Stoss sketched Buonaccorsi at an earlier date. The artist seemingly included a disguised portrait of Buonaccorsi in his St Mary altar in the parish church. The facial features of the humanist seem

1988 (see in note 3), p. 21; KOKOSZKA 2002 (see in this note), p. 75, note 2; GADOMSKI, J.: Wit Stwoszw w Krakowie – pytania bez odpowiedzi [Veit Stoss in Cracow – Questions without Answers]. In: *Wokół Wita Stwosza* 2005 (see in note 2), p. 63. In the earlier Polish literature however, the work is mentioned as being made of brass. See *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Zmudzka i wszystkiej Rusi... Macieja Strzykowskiego*. Warszawa 1846 (1st ed. 1582), Vol. 2, p. 304. The work is registered as being made of brass also by HAUSCHKE, S.: Auftraggeber-Netzwerke und temporäre Werkgemeinschaften: Nürnberger Kunstwerke in Krakau zur Zeit des Veit Stoss. In: *Wokół Wita Stwosza* 2006 (see in note 3), p. 222.

⁵ RASMUSSEN 1985 (see in note 2), p. 116. On Buonaccorsi's involvement in the Veit Stoss's tomb of Peter of Bnin in Włocławek see DETTLOFF, S.: Das Grabmal des Bischofs Peter von Bnin in Włocławek. In: *Aspekte zur Kunstgeschichte von Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Karl Heinz Clasen zum 75. Geburtstag*. Eds. H. MÜLLER – G. HAHN. Weimar 1971, pp. 31-53.

⁶ On the Roman Academy see namely BURCKHARDT, J.: *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. London 1878, pp. 394-395;

DUNSTON, A. J.: Pope Paul II and the Humanists. In: *The Journal of Religious History*, 7, 1973, No. 4, pp. 287-296, esp. pp. 294-295; PALERMINO, R. J.: The Roman Academy, the Catacombs, and the Conspiracy of 1468. In: *Archivum historiae pontificiae*, 18, 1980, pp. 117-155; D'AMICO, J. F.: *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome. Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation*. Baltimore – London 1983. For the broader context namely HANKINS, J.: *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*. Vols. 1-2. Rome 2003 – 2005. On Filippo Buonaccorsi see chiefly COSENZA, M. E.: *Biographical and bibliographical dictionary of the Italian humanists and of the world of classical scholarship in Italy, 1300 – 1800*. Vol. 5. Boston 1962, p. 101; GRANT, W. L.: The Italian in Poland. In: *Manuscripta*, 10, 1966, No. 1, pp. 28-38; PAPARELLI, G.: *Callimaco Esperiente (Filippo Buonaccorsi)*. Salerno 1971, esp. pp. 201-203; *Callimaco Esperiente poeta e politico del'400*. Convegno internazionale di Studi (San Gimignano, 18-20 ottobre 1985) a cura di Gian Carlo Garfagnini, Atti di convegni Istituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento 16. Firenze 1987. The best survey of Buonaccorsi's achievements still remains the entry written by D. CACCAMO in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. Vol. 15. Roma 1972, pp. 79-83.



2. The sepulchral plaque of Filippo Buonaccorsi, Veit Stoss and the Vischer family workshop, the Dominican friary church in Cracow. Photo: M. Grychowski.

to correspond with those of another male figure displayed in the relief with the scene 'Christ among the Doctors'. Both men may have even discussed the details of the design sketch and Stoss may have also been given direct instructions including some models.⁷ Renaissance humanists were known to be preoccupied with portraits, emblems and epitaphs. Such contemporary memorial artifacts held special significance for them. Some humanists devoted even considerable time to such kinds of sophisticated artistic projects. It is true for the famous German humanist Conrad Celtes who in 1489 visited Cracow and became professor of the university in Vienna where he died. His carved stone epitaph of 1508 in St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna, which inspired Hans Burgkmair's well known woodcut print, provides a good example of such a kind of a passion.⁸ However, while Celtes's epitaph, with its prominent display of books, recalls classical Roman models, Buonaccorsi's memorial is quite different.

Let's have a closer look at Stoss's plaque itself. The main body of the work is based upon the central picture with the figure of the Italian humanist. The picture is embellished by flanking decorative borders inhabited by plants, flowers, human figures and animals. The third part of the artwork appears to be a panel bearing a Latin dedicatory inscription installed beneath the central picture. Stoss represented Buonaccorsi as a man with long curling hair wearing a coat with sleeve slits for his arms over an embroidered robe. He has a tightly fitting cap on his head and wears two rings on his right hand. The humanist sits on a frontally-placed, cushioned bench and is fully engaged in his work. In contrast with the frontal position of the bench he is depicted from the three-quarters view that gives more detailed information about his physiognomic features. Looking down he seems to read a document bearing a clearly-displayed round heraldic seal that he holds

in his hands. His desk with of all writing equipment is situated close by him and comfortably beneath a glazed window. It consists of a diagonally positioned small cupboard with open doors at the front, in which appear vertically standing books. On the wall a tape holding various carefully folded documents is fixed beneath a convex mirror used to concentrate light and as an aid in reading. Both the cushioned bench and meticulously designed cupboard are richly decorated. Behind Buonaccorsi a patterned brocade cloth with borders is hanging associating a backrest of a bench. The intimate room where the Italian scholar is working has wood-panelled walls. On a horizontal wooden shelf various vessels and a book are casually arranged while a fur hat hangs near a cushioned bench on the left. A book with a decorated cover binding is displayed on a shelf under the window.

The sepulchral plaque alludes to the humanist's social status at the Polish royal court. As 'secretarius regis', Buonaccorsi performs his duties in an elaborately furnished Renaissance *studiolo*. The tablet with Roman script in the lower part of the plaque describes him as an excellent scholar, diplomat and royal secretary of two Polish kings. Instead of expectations for the future of the soul, the plaque calls attention to the intellectual achievements and academic merits of the deceased humanist as a claim for his earthly glory and immortalisation. Even though the plaque reveals commemorative, secular and humanistic attitudes, it remains a hybrid work mediating two diverse fashions. While the borders, arch and the tablet's Roman script are classically inspired, the central picture with Buonaccorsi follows the tradition of Christian art. From this point of view the plaque seems to reflect a fundamental question of the early humanists: the respective roles of Greco-Roman and Christian civilization.

⁷ On the supposed disguised portrait of Buonaccorsi included in Stoss's St Mary altar in Cracow see KOPERA, F.: Wit Stwoszw w Krakowie [Veit Stoss in Cracow]. In: *Rocznik Krakowski*, 10, 1907, p. 36; KOWALCZYK, J.: Filip Kallimach i Wit Stosz [Callimachus and Veit Stoss]. In: *Biuletyn historii sztuki*, 45, 1983, pp. 4-5; HAUSCHKE, S.: Auftraggeber-Netzwerke und temporäre Werkgemeinschaften: Nürnberger Kunstwerke in Krakau zur Zeit des Veit Stoss. In: *Wokół Wita Stwosza* 2006 (see in note 3), pp. 222-225.

⁸ On the humanist tomb see namely POPE-HENNESSY, J. W.: *Italian Renaissance sculpture*. London 1958, pp. 41-54; PANOF-SKY, E.: *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*. Ed. H. W. JANSON. New York 1964; OY-MARRA, E.: *Florentiner Ehrengräbmäler der Frührenaissance* (=Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst, 18). Berlin 1994. On the Celtes's carved epitaph that initiated the printed portrait see recently WOOD, Ch.: *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*. Chicago 2008, pp. 102-104.

Max Lossnitzer stressed that the monument shows ‘a mixture of Northern and Upper Italian art’. Also Jan Bialostocki pointed out that ‘the style of the effigy [...] is rather close to Northern realism [...] while [...] classical motifs appear on the ornamental borders’. Moreover, Bialostocki called attention to the memorial’s similarities with representations of St Jerome, particularly the subject *A Scholar in his Study* popular with Early Modern humanists. Indeed, Stoss depicted Buonaccorsi according to a compositional scheme frequently used for representations of *St Jerome in his study*. Thus, the reference to the respected Father of the Church highly praised by the Dominicans would have been clear to many contemporary visitors to the Dominican church of St Trinity in Cracow where Buonaccorsi’s memorial was located from the very beginning. The theme is basically Italian in origin but numerous Franco-Flemish and German images of the saint demonstrate St Jerome’s appeal to intellectuals and artist in Northern Europe. Buonaccorsi, who travelled extensively in his position of a royal ambassador both to Italy and to Northern Europe, had close relationships with many humanists. Through these contacts, he may have seen some specific models that appealed to him.¹⁰ It is difficult to trace a direct model today. What is clear, however, is the Northern character of the Buonaccorsi effigy. The humanist is slightly turned to confront the view presented in three-quarters view that conforms to the Netherlandish models associated with Van Eyck, Campin and Van der Weyden. The celebrated Saint Jerome in the Medici collection, which was the most seminal Flemish painting in fifteenth century Florence, presumably played a significant role.

Veit Stoss might have been acquainted with another well-connected Italian living for a longer time in Poland. It was Ainolfo Tedaldi, one of Buonaccorsi’s blood relatives. Like Philippus Calimachus de Thedaldis poeta de Florentia is Buonaccorsi registered at the University of Cracow in 1472. Ainolfo Tedaldi, a son of Pierozzo di Talento Tedaldi and Octavia Pazzi, was born in 1428 in Florence as a member of a prosperous Florentine patrician family originating in Fiesole. He made his fortune mostly in finance. Ainolfo came to Poland around 1458 as an agent of the Medici bank, perhaps the most powerful banking house of the fifteenth century in Europe. Achieving its zenith in the years from 1429 to 1464, when Cosimo was in charge, the bank established branches in many important trading centres of Europe. The firm also served as the financial agent of the Roman Catholic Church, including in its dealings with Poland. Ainolfo Pierozzi Tedaldi married to Dorotea Herburt di Felsztyn in Poland where he spent a rest of his life as a successful salt merchant. He died in 1495 in Cracow and was buried at the same chapel of the Dominican friar’s church where, one year later, Filippo Buonaccorsi was interred. In Florence the Tedaldi family possessed tombs in Santa Croce, S. Giovannino dei Cavalieri (in via S. Gallo) and SS. Niccolò a Calenzano. At SS. Annunziata, the same church where Veit Stoss’s statue of *St Roche* was documented in 1523, the Tedaldi family had earlier established its chapel. As Vasari’s ground plan of SS. Annunziata shows, the Tedaldi chapel dedicated to St John the Evangelist was located on the east side of the north transept of the church. The presumed patron of the chapel’s altarpiece,

⁹ LOSSNITZER, M.: *Veit Stoss: die Herkunft seiner Kunst, seine Werke und sein Leben*. Leipzig 1912, pp. 89-90; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Review of Erwin Panofsky, Tomb sculpture. Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini. Ed. H. W. JANSON. New York 1964. In: *The Art Bulletin*, 49, 1967, p. 260; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Hungary, Bobemia, Poland*. Oxford 1976, pp. 47-48.

¹⁰ On the subject ‘St Jerome in his study’ see namely PÄCHT, O.: Zur Entstehung des Hieronymus im Gehäus. In: *Pantheon*, 21, 1963, pp. 134-142; MEISS, M.: Scholarship and Penitence in the Early Renaissance: The Image of St. Jerome. In: *Pantheon*, 32, 1974, pp. 134-140; THORNTON, D.: *The Scholar in His Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven 1997; EVANS, M.: The afterlife of Saint Jerome, Giovanni

Bilivert’s portrait of Neri Corsini. In: *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*. Eds. J. F. HAMBURGER – A. S. KORTEWEG. London 2006, pp. 189-196.

On Buonaccorsi as a diplomat see GARBACIK, J.: *Kallimach jako dyplomata i polityk* [Callimachus as a Diplomat and Politician]. Krakow 1948; VIII, P.: Un convegno su Callimaco Esperiente poeta e politico del Quattrocento. In: *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia*, 42, 1987, No. 1, pp. 147-151. Buonaccorsi was entrusted with many diplomatic missions: he was e.g. Polish envoy to Constantinople in 1475, to Venice and Rome in 1477 and he was an ambassador to Emperor Frederick III and the Venetian Republic in 1486. In 1490 he represented Poland at the Congress of Rome, where he urged a league between Poland and Sixtus IV.

painted by Piero di Cosimo at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was Pierozzo Domenicano di Baldo di Pierozzo Tedaldi (b. 1476), known as 'Fra Pietro', who assumed the Dominican habit in 1505. Little else is known of Pierozzo other than his recommendation to the king of Poland by the Signoria of Florence. Furthermore, there are also mentioned Pierozzi Tedaldi and Giovanni Tedaldi, two sons of Ainolfo's brother Baldi, involved in salt business with Ainolfo and at the outset of the sixteenth century Giovanni (Jan) Battista di Lattanzio Tedaldi, the son of Buonaccorsi's friend Lattanzio Tedaldi. Giovanni Battista died in 1575 and was buried at the Tedaldi family chapel of SS. Annunziata in Florence.¹¹ With their wide-ranging Italian links both Filippo Buonaccorsi and the Tedaldi family may have helped Stoss to build contacts and obtain commissions with elite Florentine patrons.

In addition to the figure of *St Roche* in SS. Annunziata, the *Crucifix* in Ognissanti and the memorial of Filippo Buonaccorsi in Cracow, there is another Veit Stoss work closely associated with Italy. It is *Archangel Raphael and Tobias* of around 1516, now in the German National Museum in Nuremberg. Documented in 1737 in the Dominican church in Nuremberg as being on a column in the nave, the wooden figures are believed to have been commissioned by a Florentine silk merchant, Raffaello Torrigiani, who lived in the

Franconian town between 1516 and 1518. The story of Tobias and the angel taken from the apocryphal Book of Tobit was a rare subject in German art but popular in fifteenth century Italy. The classicising head of the angel as well as the twice-belted gown also recall Italian prototypes. It is generally assumed that the group reveals close connections with Italian art, such as Francesco Botticini's painting *Tobias with the three Archangels* of around 1467 registered in San Spirito in Florence where the Torrigiani had their family chapel. Stoss could be inspired by some Italian drawings; however, Torrigiani may also have given Stoss very specific instructions.¹²

As we know, the famous Albrecht Dürer's *The Feast of the Rose Garlands* (1506) painted for the Church of San Bartolomeo di Rialto in Venice was commissioned by the German confraternity, the *Brotherhood of the Rosary*. There is, however, no reliable evidence linking Veit Stoss's statues in SS. Annunziata and Ognissanti and the *tedeschi* confraternity of St Barbara (*Compagnia di Sancta Barbara*) in Florence, whose members were mostly from Low Countries and northern Germany. They met at SS. Annunziata where they had a chapel and separate room. The artistic patronage of the Confraternity was mostly of Florentine artists, and even the commission of an altarpiece for the chapel of St Barbara at SS. Annunziata was given to Cosimo Rosselli in the late 1460s.¹³

¹¹ On Vasari's ground plan of SS. Annunziata see TEUBNER, H.: Das Langhaus der SS. Annunziata in Florenz: Studien zu Michelozzo und Giuliano da Sangallo. In: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 22, 1978, No. 1, p. 37; PAATZ, W. und E.: *Die Kirchen von Florenz: ein kunstgeschichtliches Handbuch*. Frankfurt a. M. 1940, Vol. I, p. 107. On Ainolfo Tedaldi and the Tedaldi family see CIAMPI, S.: *Bibliografia critica delle antiche reciproche corrispondenze ecclesiastiche, scientifiche, letterarie, artistiche dell'Italia colla Russia, colla Polonia ed altre parti settentrionali*. Vol. 2. Firenze 1839, p. 83; FOURNIER, L.: *Les Florentins en Pologne*. Lyon 1893, pp. 216-219; ZEISSBERG, H.: *Dziejopisarstwo polskie wieków średnich* [Polish Medieval Historiography]. Warszawa 1877, Vol. 1, pp. 207, 239, 256; PTAŚNIK, J.: *Kultura włoska wieków średnich w Polsce* [Italian Medieval Culture in Poland]. Warszawa 1959, pp. 103-116; KOZŁOWSKI, K. – KUCZMAN, K.: Włoska fundacja krakowskiego malowidła cechowego. Epitafijny obraz Ainolfa Tedaldiego v muzeum diecezjalnym w Tarnowie [Italian Background of the Cracow Masterly Painting. Epitaph of Ainolfo Tedaldi in the Diocesan Museum in Tarnow]. In: *Folia Historiae Artium*, 20, 1984, pp. 41-61; GERONIMUS, D.: *Piero di Cosimo: Visions Beautiful and Strange*. New Haven 2006,

pp. 207-208, 331, concerning Pierozzo's recommendation to the king of Poland see p. 331, especially note 182; BECK, J.: An Effigy Tomb Slab by Antonio Rossellino. In: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 95, 1980, pp. 213-217.

¹² On *Archangel Raphael and Tobias* (limewood, Angel 99.5 × 48 cm, Tobias 84.5 × 34.5 cm, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. No. O 2 720) see namely J. RASMUSSEN'S entry in *Veit Stoss in Nürnberg* (see in note 3), pp. 142-149, esp. p. 146; VETTER, E. M. – OELLERMANN, E.: Raphael und Tobias von Veit Stoß: ein Nachtrag zum Gedenkjahr 1983. In: *Pantheon*, 42, 1984, p. 311-319; *Kunst der Gotik und Renaissance. Nürnberg 1300 – 1550*. [Exhib. Cat.] Ed. R. KAHSNITZ. Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1986, Cat. No. 93; ESER 2002 (see in note 2), pp. 59-60.

¹³ VOSS 1908 (see in note 2), pp. 22-23; BATTISTINI, M.: *La Confrérie de Sainte-Barbe des Flamands à Florence: documents relatifs aux tisserands et aux tapissiers, Commission Royale d'Histoire*. Bruxelles 1931, esp. pp. 13-14; NUTTALL, P.: *From Flanders to Florence: the impact of Netherlandish painting, 1400 – 1500*. New Haven 2004, pp. 93-96. However, what is the most interesting

Unlike Albrecht Dürer, Stoss showed little interest in Italian artistic novelties around 1500. While Dürer's exposure to Venetian painting, and especially to the paintings of Giovanni Bellini, had a profound effect on his works, Stoss 'conservatively' continued on his own way. Both the group of *Archangel Raphael and Tobias* in Nuremberg and the sepulchral plaque of Filippo Buonnacrosi in Cracow, which reveal some Italian formal aspects, remain exceptional in Stoss's surviving oeuvre.

If Vasari was correct in his assertion that Veit Stoss had close contacts with Italy and even visited Florence, this experience had little impact on his works. Stoss was strong enough to resist what he may have possibly seen of Italian art. Rather he seems to have remained faithful to the tradition in which he was trained and which is displayed not only in his magnificent St Mary altar in Cracow but also in both his surviving statues in Florence. Stoss's lack of a strong response to contemporary Italian art, however, was not so exceptional among the fifteenth century Northern artists who travelled to Italy. In his well-known account of Gentile da Fabriano in *De viris illustribus*, Bartolomeo Facio, who is indubitably more trustworthy than Vasari, notes that Rogier van der Weyden travelled to Rome for the Jubilee in 1450 where he admired the fresco

by Gentile in St John Lateran.¹⁴ Despite some similarities of several Rogier's works with Florentine models, namely with those of Fra Angelico, he remained untouched by contemporary Italian innovations. And since the experience of Italian art did not affect his works and there was a complete lack of response to his presence in the city, one can question whether Rogier van der Weyden ever journeyed south to Italy.

What is worth noting, however, is the fact that Rogier's 'resistance' perfectly coincided with a taste for Netherlandish art among Florentine patricians, which became pronounced in the second part of the fifteenth century. Contemporary Netherlandish paintings were highly valued collector's pieces in cultivated circles of Florence. Furthermore, the works of Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and Hugo van der Goes also had a considerable impact on contemporary Florentine artists.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the registration of the works in most of the surviving inventories of the time has been very vague. The terms used interchangeably to denote such works of art are: *di Fiandra, fiandrescho, fiammingo, alla fiamminga, francese, alla francese* and *di ponente*.¹⁶ Similarly, Italian commentators were hazy in their characterization of 'national schools'. For example, Giorgio Vasari grouped German and Flemish artists into a single

in this context is the fact that there was also the confraternity dedicated to San Roccho. We know that in 1502 the confraternity bought their burial rights in SS. Annunziata. – BULMAN, K.: *Artistic Patronage at SS. Annunziata 1440 – c. 1520*. PhD Thesis, University of London (Courtauld Institute of Art). London 1971, chapter II, p. 46, note 56. As Luca Landucci reported in his diary, Florence was under the serious threat of plague from May 1496 to March 1501, though a full-scale epidemic like that of 1479 never occurred. – LANDUCCI, L.: *A Florentine diary from 1450 to 1516*. London – New York 1927, pp. 106-177.

¹⁴ The literature on Rogier's supposed travel to Italy is rather extensive. See namely KANTOROWICZ, E.: The Este portrait by Roger van der Weyden. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 3, 1939-1940, pp. 165-180; SULZBERGER, S.: Relations artistiques italo-flamandes: autour d'une œuvre perdue de Roger van der Weyden. In: *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 26, 1950-1951, pp. 251-262; BAXANDALL, M.: Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting: a fifteenth-century manuscript of the De Viris Illustribus. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 27, 1964, pp. 90-107, esp. pp. 100-101; DAVIES, M.: *Rogier van der Weyden: an essay, with a critical catalogue*

of paintings, assigned to him and to Robert Campin. London 1972, pp. 19-20; ROHLMANN, M.: Antigisch art Alemannico more composita: deutsche Künstler, Kunst und Auftraggeber im Rom der Renaissance. In: *Deutsche Handwerker, Künstler und Gelehrte im Rom der Renaissance*. Eds. S. FÜSSEL – K. A. VOGEL. Wiesbaden 2001, pp. 103, 107; CAMPBELL, L.: *Van der Weyden*. London 2004; NUTTALL 2004 (see in note 13), pp. 4-5.

¹⁵ See namely WEISS, R.: Jan van Eyck and the Italians. In: *Italian studies*, 11, 1956, pp. 1-15; WEISS, R.: Jan van Eyck and the Italians. In: *Italian studies*, 12, 1957, pp. 7-21; ROHLMANN, M.: Flanders and Italy, Flanders and Florence: early Netherlandish painting in Italy and its particular influence on Florentine Art; an overview. In: *Italy and the Low Countries – artistic relations: the fifteenth century*. Eds. V. M. SCHMIDT – G. J. van der SMAN. Firenze: Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte, 1999, pp. 39-67; ROHLMANN, M.: Arte da lontano: pittura fiamminga nella Firenze rinascimentale. In: *The art market in Italy: 15th – 17th centuries*. Eds. M. FANTONI – L. C. MATTHEW – S. F. MATTHEWS-GRIECO. Modena 2003, pp. 401-412.

¹⁶ NUTTALL 2004 (see in note 13), p. 105.

‘school’ and in his *Vite* he referred to Albrecht Dürer as ‘*Alberto Duro fiammingo*’.¹⁷

As is well known, Vasari’s canonical book, written in the middle of the sixteenth century, profoundly shaped the hierarchy of art and artists. It was namely due to Giorgio Vasari that the great masters of the Italian Renaissance gained their super-canonical status in art history. For several centuries thereafter Italian and especially Florentine artists were regarded as supreme not only in respect of their own period and country but also in respect of art in general. Furthermore, as Thomas Puttfarken emphasized, Vasari established not only the normative canon in art but he also designated a supposedly canonical way of writing art history, a narrative that marginalized Northern Renaissance works of art.¹⁸ From this point of view, it is quite understandable that works of art created by Northern artists and preserved in Italian art collections have been later on ascribed namely to Albrecht Dürer, an artist who greatly admired Venetian painting and who was praised by Vasari. ‘Vasari canon’ presumably left its mark even on art historian’s marginal approach to supposed visits to Italy of Northern artists who, despite their personal experiences with art in Italy, remained faithful to the Northern tradition.

In the twentieth century Vasari’s normative canon found its response explicitly in the publications of Erwin Panofsky. It was chiefly due to his influential

publications that Albrecht Dürer gained his exceptional position of the foremost German artist who personally experienced the Italian Renaissance and its humanist ideals and who succeeded in synthesizing two cultures viewed as distinct ones.¹⁹ The writings of Aby Warburg also played a crucial role. Warburg was fascinated with the relation between Northern realism and Italian borrowings from antiquity and, as Ernst Gombrich properly noted, he was aware of the problem of the taste in Florence for Gothic devotional art imported from Flanders. Despite the fact that the drapery style of Filippino Lippi and Sandro Botticelli had little to do with realism, praised by Vasari, Warburg, however, never considered the works of both artists in the wider context of Gothic art. Nevertheless, according to Gombrich, all these fluttering garments and flying locks that came into fashion among Florentine painters of the last decades of the fifteenth century perfectly corresponded to certain works of Northern sculpture and painting of the time.²⁰ Veit Stoss expressive sculptures with all typical ornamental flourishes of wind-blown items of clothing seem to prove it. Even Vasari in his note on the figure of *St Roche* praised particularly the drapery executed ‘*with most subtle carving, so soft and hollowed, and as it were paper-like, and with such a fine movement in the arrangement of the folds, that nothing more wonderful is to be seen.*’²¹

Put in this way, it is no surprise that neither Veit Stoss’s ‘conservative’ Florentine works nor his possi-

¹⁷ VASARI (see in note 2), Vol. 7, p. 433; EVANS, M.: Northern Artists in Italy during the Renaissance. In: *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, 3, 1985, No. 2, pp. 7-23.

¹⁸ PUTTFARKEN, T.: Thoughts on Vasari and the Canon. In: *Renaissance Theory*. Eds. J. ELKINS – R. WILLIAMS. New York 2008, pp. 333-342.

¹⁹ PANOFSKY, E.: *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*. 2 vols. Princeton 1943. See also BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: *Dürer and his critics. 1500 – 1971. Chapters in the history of ideas including a collection of texts*. Baden-Baden 1986; and recently SMITH, J. C.: La configuración de Alberto Durero a través de la historia del arte: de Wölfflin a Panofsky. The art historical shaping of Albrecht Dürer: from Wölfflin to Panofsky. In: *El siglo de Durero: problemas historiográficos*. Ed. a cargo de M. BOROBIA. Madrid 2008, pp. 286-301.

²⁰ Gombrich wrote: ‘... *Warburg was subsequently confronted with the problem of the taste in Florence for Gothic genre, and Gothic devotional art*

*imported from Flanders. But however much he struggled with this historical situation that looked to him so paradoxical, he never asked himself how far Botticelli, too, might be seen in this context of Gothic fashions. Had he done so, he might have interpreted the bias of certain Quattrocento artists for ancient statuary of expressive rather than of serene quality as a symptom of the taste and the artistic problems of that time and place... [..] It is very unlikely that earlier versions of the sprightly girl, such as we find her in Filippo Lippi or in a fresco of the Prato Master unknown to Warburg, are directly related to classical sculpture. [..] Why did these billowing forms come into fashion among Florentine painters of the last decades of the fifteenth century? Put in this way the first answer would have to be that the fashion was not confined to Florence. In fact it is particularly marked in certain schools of Northern sculpture and painting, where it is described as ‘late Gothic’...’ – GOMBRICH, E. H.: *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography; with a memoir on the history of the library*. Oxford 1986, pp. 311-312.*

²¹ BAXANDALL 1995 (see in note 1), p. 191. Worth noting in this context is Alberti’s practical advice to artists to let locks and garments flutter in the wind and reveal the shape of

ble close contacts with Florence has been, in my view, considered satisfactorily. We know almost nothing of who commissioned them and why, where they were created and how these sculptures found their way to Florence. In the absence of any surviving documentation, Vasari misleadingly noted that the figure of *St Roche* in SS. Annunziata was carved by certain maestro *Janni franzese*. This, together with the lack of clear Italian motifs in Stoss's works, have obscured his Italian, specifically Tuscan, ties. Yet if we are prepared to accept outstanding individuals (both artists and patrons) as pursuing their individual intentions

and electing their own models, even against 'Vasari canon', then we are possibly on the right way to reconstruct more comprehensively the visual culture within which the Northern artworks of around 1500 were produced, displayed and collected. A slight shake of the kaleidoscope of '*art history's normative Renaissance*'²² and its values might help not only to understand Veit Stoss '*conservative*' works (including the sepulchral plaque of Buonaccorsi in Cracow) but also to throw new light on the complexities of late fifteenth-century artistic fashions in Florence to which Stoss's works seem to correspond.

the body. See e.g. DIDI-HUBERMAN, G.: 'The Imaginary Breeze: Remarks on the Air of the Quattrocento'. In: *Journal of Visual Culture*, 2003, pp. 275-289.

²² I refer here to WOOD, Ch.: 'Art history's normative Renaissance'. In: *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century*. Eds. A. J. GRIECO – M. ROCKE – F. GIOFFREDI SUPERBI. Florence 2002, pp. 65-92.

Stoss, Callimachus a Florencia

Resumé

Giorgio Vasari v druhej edícii svojich *Vite* z roku 1568 uviedol, že v kostole SS. Annunziata sa nachádza nevhľadná socha *Sv. Rocha*, ktorej autor žil vo Florencii, ktorú si zvolil za svoj domov. Ďalšia socha, blízka soche *Sv. Rocha*, sa zachovala vo florentskom kostole Ognissanti. Je to *Krucifix*, pôvodne umiestnený vo florentskom kostole S. Salvatore al Monte vo Florencii. Obidve nedatované a nesignované florentské práce boli na štýlovom základe spojené v odbornej literatúre s Vitom Stossom (c. 1445/50 – 1533, Feyt, Veydt, Vit, Wit, Stosz, Stuosz, Stwosz). Štúdiá sa zaoberá sochárskymi dielami pripísanými Stossovi a súvisiacimi s Talianskom. V širšom kultúrno-historickom kontexte diskutuje možné vzťahy tohto umelca s Talianmi, etablovanými v Krakove.

Vieme, že Stoss prišiel do Krakova v roku 1477. V rokoch 1477 – 1489 v tomto meste vytvoril svoje prvé, spoľahlivo dokumentované dielo – hlavný oltár P. Márie pre tunajší farský kostol. Stal sa vážnym a prosperujúcim krakovským občanom, ktorého zamestnával aj poľský kráľovský dvor. Popri mariánskom oltári a náhrobku kráľa Kazimíra IV. Jagellovského v krakovskej katedrále tu Stoss vytvoril aj svoje tretie majstrovské dielo – náhrobnú dosku talianskeho humanistu Filippa Buonaccorsiho, odlievanú vo vischerovskej norimberskej dielni. Tak ako socha *Sv. Rocha* v SS. Annunziata a *Krucifix* v Ognissanti, je toto nedatované a nesignované dielo ďalším príkladom Stossových vzťahov s Talianskom. Je viac ako pravdepodobné, že Stoss osobne poznal Buonaccorsiho, ktorý v tom istom čase, od začiatku sedemdesiatych rokov 15. storočia až do roku 1496, žil v Krakove. Obaja muži pracovali pre kráľovský dvor a Buonaccorsi spolupracoval na Stossovom projekte náhrobku Petra z Bniny vo Włocławeku. Navyše, ako najvýznamnejší umelec mesta, dostal Stoss objednávku na vytvorenie náhrobku slávneho talianskeho učenca. Buonaccorsiho náhrobná doska, dnes v presbytériu krakovského dominikánskeho kostola, je považovaná za prvý náhrobok humanistu severne od Álp. A zároveň aj za vynikajúci príklad „epitafu“ talianskeho humanistu vyhotoveného severským umel-

com. Realisticky vykreslené črty Buonaccorsiho tváre naznačujú, že Stoss mal možnosť zaznamenať podobu humanistickej tváre už skôr. Obaja muži mohli diskutovať detaily Stossovej prípravnej kresby a Buonaccorsi mohol norimberskému umelcovi priamo poskytnúť viaceré predlohy, vhodné pre zamýšľaný náhrobok. Renesanční humanisti boli známi svojím záujmom o portréty, emblémy a epitafy a diela spomienkového charakteru mali pre nich osobitný význam.

Max Lossnitzer bol medzi prvými, ktorí zdôrazňovali, že Buonaccorsiho náhrobná doska je mixom severského a talianskeho umenia. Jan Bialostocki rovnako položil dôraz na skutočnosť, že kým štýl postavy zosnulého je blízky severskému realizmu, na rámoch sa objavujú klasické motívy. Upozornil tiež na podobnosti scény z Buonaccorsiho náhrobnej dosky s vyobrazeniami Sv. Hieronyma, osobitne s výjavom *Učenec v pracovni*, ktorý bol obľúbený medzi humanistami ranného novoveku. Téma je v základe talianskeho pôvodu, ale početné obrazy s týmto svätcom, vytvorené severskými umelcami potvrdzujú, že Sv. Hieronym priťahoval pozornosť aj umelcov a intelektuálov na severe Európy. Je známe, že Buonaccorsi, ktorý vo svojej pozícii kráľovského veľvyslanca veľa cestoval, mal dobré osobné vzťahy s mnohými významnými súvekými humanistami, tak v severských krajinách, ako aj v Taliansku. Aj ich prostredníctvom mohol získať konkrétne predlohy, z ktorých Stoss pri svojej práci čerpal.

Okrem Buonaccorsiho sa Vit Stoss mohol osobne poznať aj s ďalším Talianom, etablovaným v Poľsku. Bol to Ainolfo Tedaldi, jeden z Buonaccorsiho pokrvných príbuzných. Ainolfo Tedaldi, syn Pierozza di Talento Tedaldi a Octavie Pazzi, sa narodil roku 1428 vo Florencii v prosperujúcej florentskej patricijskej rodine, ktorá mala svoj pôvod vo Fiesole. Do Poľska prišiel Ainolfo okolo roku 1458 ako agent mediciovského bankového domu. Banka pôsobila aj v službách rímskej katolíckej cirkvi a mala svoje pohľadávky i v Poľsku. Ainolfo Pierozzi Tedaldi sa oženil s Doroteou Herbert di Felsztyn a v Poľsku strávil zvyšok života ako úspešný

obchodník so soľou. Zomrel roku 1495 a pochovaný bol v kaplnke krakovského dominikánskeho kostola, kde o rok neskôr spočinul aj Filippo Buonaccorsi. V SS. Annunziata, v tom istom florentskom kostole, kde bola roku 1523 evidovaná socha *Sv. Rocha*, mala rodina Tedaldi svoju kaplnku. Rovnako Filippo Buonaccorsi, ako aj Ainolfo Tedaldi, s ich dobrými florentskými vzťahmi, mohli byť Stossovi nápomocní pri kontaktoch s florentskou elitou a následne aj pri získaní objednávok.

Okrem sochy *Sv. Rocha* v SS. Annunziata (s ktorou súvisí aj socha *Sv. Jakuba* z hlavného oltára farského kostola v Levoči), *Krucifixu* v Ognissanti a náhrobnej dosky Filippa Buonaccorsi v Krakove, je známe ďalšie Stossovo dielo súvisiace s Talianskom. Je to skupina *Archanjel Rafael a Tobiáš*, z obdobia okolo roku 1516, vyhotovená pravdepodobne na objednávku florentského obchodníka s hodvábom Raffaella Torrigiani. Dielo súvisí s takými prácami ako je napr. obraz Francesca Botticiniho *Tobiáš s tromi archanjelmi* z doby okolo roku 1467, pôvodne v San Spirito vo Florencii, kde mala rodina Torrigiani svoju rodinnú kaplnku.

Pozoruhodné je, že ak Vit Stoss skutočne niekedy navštívil Florenciu, jeho dielo ostalo talianskym umením nedotknuté. Rezistencia voči talianskym umeleckým podnetom však nebola medzi tými severskými umelcami 15. storočia, ktorí navštívili Taliansko, až tak výnimočná. Ako príklad môžeme uviesť známy príklad Rogiera van der Weyden. Na druhej strane Rogierovu „nevšímavosť“ voči súvekému talianskemu renesančnému umeniu sprevádzal záujem súvekej florentskej elity o nizozemské umenie. Je známe, že práce Jana van Eycka, Rogiera van der Weyden, či Huga van der Goes tu patrili k vyhľadávaným zberateľským objektom.

Vasariho *Vite*, napísané v polovici 16. storočia, zásadne prispeli k sformovaniu hodnotovej hierarchie v umení. Bolo to predovšetkým vďaka Giorgiovi Vasari, že veľkí majstri toskánskej renesancie získali svoj hodnotový super-štatút. Vasari však „ustanovil“ nielen normatívny kánon v umení svojej doby, ale aj v umení ako takom. Určujúcim spôsobom prispel aj k schéme písania dejín umenia ako rozprávania, ktoré marginalizovalo severské umelecké diela. V dejepise umenia 20. storočia našiel Vasariho normatívny kánon odozvu najmä v prácach Erwina Panofského. Predovšetkým jeho publikáciám vďaka Albrecht Dürer za svoje výnimočné postavenie umelca, ktorý, majúci osobnú skúsenosť s talianskou renesanciou a jej humanistickými ideálmi, sa úspešne pokúšal syntetizovať dve kultúry, vnímané ako vzdialené. Práce Aby Warburga však tiež zohrali kľúčovú rolu. Je dobre známe, že Warburga dlhodobo fascinoval vzťah medzi severským realizmom a talianskymi výpožičkami z antiky. Zároveň, ako upozornil Ernst Gombrich, si však bol dobre vedomý aj záujmu florentskej elity o nizozemské umenie. Napriek tomu skúmal štýl takých umelcov ako Filippino Lippi, či Sandro Botticelli, výlučne v súvislosti s antikou. Prítom podľa Gombricha, typické rozviate drapérie oboch spomínaných umelcov dobre korešpondovali aj s určitými dielami severských sochárov a maliarov posledných desaťročí 15. storočia. Patrili k nim aj také Stossove práce, ako je socha *Sv. Rocha* vo Florencii, či náhrobná doska Filippa Buonaccorisho v Krakove. Ďalší výskum inej ako „normatívnej renesancie“ v dejinách umenia (Ch. Wood), včítane spomínaných Stossových sochárskych prác, môže komplexnejšie osvetliť súveké módné trendy vo florentskom umení 15. storočia.

Frans Floris and *disegno*. A Return to the Question *

Edward H. WOUK

When Lodovico Guicciardini praised Frans Floris as first among the Flemish painters in 1567, he singled out among Floris's many skills his mastery of *disegno*,¹ invoking a multivalent term that in contemporary usage could refer to drawing, design, or the act of drawing after other works of art.² From his early training with Lambert Lombard at Liège through his establishment of a large, hierarchic workshop at Antwerp, a practice of *disegno* built upon these three overlapping meanings lay at the heart of Floris's enterprise. Despite the centrality of *disegno* to Floris's work, no aspect of his œuvre has proven more difficult to reconstruct than the artist's body of drawings.³ The complexity of the corpus was noted in the seminal monograph on Floris by Carl Van de Velde, who classified the artist's drawings into four categories according to function: studies after Ancient or contemporary Italian art, *modelli*, designs for prints, and designs for the decorative arts.⁴ Floris's conception of drawing,

however, is not always so easily categorized and its underlying unity runs deeper than these groupings might suggest.

This paper offers an evaluation of the fundamentals of Floris's theory of *disegno* by considering four drawings that do not fit comfortably into any of the aforementioned categories. Following his return from Italy,⁵ Floris broadened the scope of Lombard's practice of *disegno*. The works analyzed here suggest that although Floris remained indebted to Lombard's vision of the creative process of drawing, he also retooled its uses to ensure a degree of uniformity in workshop production and a successful and prolific dissemination of personal style. By exploring new techniques that would transcend functional boundaries to serve the demands of a large atelier under the direction of a single creative mind, Floris in turn helped to shape both the conception and use of *disegno* for subsequent generations of Northern artists.

* The author wishes to thank Henri Zerner, Godelieve Denhaene, Beatrice Kitzinger, and Ingrid Ciulisová for their comments on earlier drafts. This text draws upon a portion of the research for my doctoral thesis.

¹ GUICCIARDINI, L.: *Descrittione di Tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore...* Antwerp 1567, p. 99: "pittore tanto eccellente nella sua propria professione d'inventione & disegno".

² See BARZMAN, K.: *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State*. Cambridge 2000, pp. 145-148.

³ On Floris's drawings see ZUNTZ, D.: *Frans Floris: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der niederländischen Kunst im XVI. Jahrhundert*. Strasbourg 1929, pp. 7-9; and VAN DE VELDE, C.: *Frans Floris (1519/20 – 1570): leven en werken*. Brussels 1975, Vol. 1,

pp. 84-98 and 335-387, and the reviews of BOON, K.: Frans Floris (Carl Van de Velde). In: *The Burlington Magazine*, 119, 1977, pp. 509-511, esp. pp. 510-511; and RENGER, K.: Carl Van de Velde, Frans Floris... In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 41, 1979, pp. 299-304, esp. pp. 300-301; and, most recently, MEIJER, B.: Frans Floris: een addendum. In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 38, 1987, pp. 266-232; VAN DE VELDE, C.: Frans Floris en de Italiaanse Schilderkunst. In: *Italia-Belgica. Études d'histoire de l'art*. Vol. 9. Ed. N. DACOS. Brussels – Rome 2005, pp. 149-162.

⁴ VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 91.

⁵ The *terminus ante quem* for Floris's return to Antwerp is fixed at the date of his marriage on 29 October 1547. See *Ibidem*, p. 42.

Lambert Lombard and *disegno*

In both technique and philosophy, Lambert Lombard subscribed to a Roman-Florentine tradition of *disegno* in use since about the second decade of the sixteenth century.⁶ He gave primacy to the stroke of the pen often complemented by the application of wash that, according to his biographer Dominicus Lampsonius, was a practical and agile means of rendering volume without the minute cross hatching that is largely absent from the graphic work of both Lombard and Floris.⁷ While Lombard's approach was not unique, his use of *disegno* stands apart for its consistency across boundaries of function and subject and thus represents a break with the contemporary Northern conception of drawing which has been described by Walter Melion as a "*labored transcription*."⁸ It was this approach to *disegno*, as a means of enquiry and a technical apparatus, that the Liège master sought to impart to his young pupils, none more successful in this art than Frans Floris de Vriendt.

Floris's early approach to *disegno* may be traced to his formative experience in the workshop of the Liège *pictor doctus* Lambert Lombard sometime in the autumn of 1539.⁹ There is little to suggest that Floris traveled to Lombard's atelier to refine his painterly technique when Lombard himself had earlier come to Antwerp to learn how to paint.¹⁰ Rather, Floris appears to have been attracted to a new vision for Northern art that Lombard had conceived, as well as to Lombard's intellectuality, which was basically unrivaled among Netherlandish artists at mid-century.¹¹ By the time he welcomed Floris, Lombard had built upon his early study of local antiquity¹² through a period of direct exposure to Italian art during his trip to the peninsula in the retinue of the English Cardinal Reginald Pole.¹³ For the sheer quantity and scope of his graphic oeuvre, Lombard may be considered the first Northern practitioner of *disegno* as a tool of artistic enquiry and practice as described at the time by theorists such as his celebrated correspondent Giorgio Vasari,¹⁴ and later by his own friend Lampsonius.¹⁵

⁶ See N. DACOS in *Fiamminghi a Roma*. Ghent 1995, pp. 248-249, under No. 132; see also BARZMAN, K.: Perception, Knowledge and the Theory of Disegno in Sixteenth-Century Florence. In: *From Studio to Studiolo*. Ed. L. FEINBERG. Seattle 1992, pp. 37-48.

⁷ LAMPSONIUS, D.: *Lamberti Lombardi apud Eburones pictoris celeberrimi vita*... Bruges 1565, p. 20: "... colore aquaceo, quem facillè charta susciperet..." Trans. HUBAUX, J. – PURAYE, J.: Dominique Lampson. Lamberti Lombardi... Vita. In: *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 18, 1949, p. 70 as "*couleur à l'eau laquelle adhérait facilement au papier*". On Lampsonius's text see BECKER, J.: Zur niederländischen Kunstliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts: Domenicus Lampsonius. In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 24, 1973, pp. 45-61.

⁸ MELION, W. S.: *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck*. Chicago – London 1991, p. 166.

⁹ Van de Velde dates this period of study to the summer or fall of 1539. – VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 28-29, 42.

¹⁰ On Lombard and his contact with Jan or Arnould de Beer, see DENHAENE, G.: *Lambert Lombard, Renaissance et humanisme à Liège*. Antwerp 1990, p. 43; and DENHAENE, G.: Lambertus Lombardus Pictor Eburonensis: Biographie. In: *Lambert Lombard, Peintre de la Renaissance, Liège, 1505/06 – 1566*. [Exhib. Cat.] Ed. G. DENHAENE. Brussels 2006, p. 31.

¹¹ DENHAENE 1990 (see in note 10), pp. 217-236, 245; VAN DE VELDE, C.: Les élèves anversoïses de Lambert Lombard. In: *Lambert Lombard...* 2006 (see in note 10), pp. 299-304; see also DENHAENE, G.: Ainsi se renouvelle la tradition... In: *Lambert Lombard...* 2006 (see in note 10), pp. 329-331.

¹² KEMP, W. – KEMP, E.: Lambert Lombards antiquarische Theorie und Praxis. In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 36, 1973, pp. 122-152.

¹³ On Lombard's Italian itinerary, see DENHAENE 1990 (see in note 10), pp. 65-76.

¹⁴ See VASARI, G.: *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*. Florence 1568 (Ed. G. MILANESI, 1878), Vol. 1, pp. 168-169, subsequent references to VASARI – MILANESI 1878. See also WILLIAMS, R.: *Art, Theory, and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy: From Techne to Metatechne*. Cambridge – New York 1997, esp. pp. 29-72; and BARZMAN 2000 (see in note 2), esp. pp. 143-151. On the broader theoretical context of Lombard's awareness of these terms, see BECKER 1973 (see in note 7), pp. 48-49. Lombard's letter to Vasari of 27 April 1565 (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Cart. Art. II, V, No. 3) is transcribed in FREY, H.-W.: *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*. Munich 1930, Vol. 2, pp. 163-167, No. XDIII.

¹⁵ See BECKER 1973 (see in note 7), pp. 47-49 on Lampsonius's knowledge of the theoretical writings of Alberti, Pino (1548) and Doni (1549).

As regards Lombard's actual drawing technique, Lampsonius is quite specific.¹⁶ In brief, Lombard drew in black and red chalk, but loved the use of his pen above all else, embracing an enthusiastic draftsmanship based upon the principles set forth in Pliny's *Naturalis Historiae*, the first ancient text that Lombard encountered in his own period of study with Jan Gossaert at Middleburg in Zeeland.¹⁷ Gossaert had earlier traveled to Italy in the retinue of Philip of Burgundy,¹⁸ and by 1516 had established his reputation as a foremost practitioner of the antique style in the North.¹⁹ Encouraged by Wilhelmus Zagere known as Zagrius, a local humanist with a profound interest in archeology and the visual arts,²⁰ Lombard discovered a new model for drawing in Pliny's text. The eager Lombard gravitated toward Pliny's description of Parrhasius, an artist possessed of an extraordinary ability to delineate figures' contours in a manner that expressed the boundaries of the human form in stasis or motion while successfully disclosing the inner structure that those boundaries conceal. Through mastery of the contour line (circumscription) and the technique of rapid hatching, Lombard sought to use Parrhasius's model as a means to achieve the perfect study of human anatomy at the core of *disegno*.²¹ Lombard's prodigious body of figural drawings – especially his numerous studies of contorted, muscular fig-



1. Lambert Lombard: *Two Wrestling Nudes*. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Inv. No. 1944. Photo: Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.

ures often derived from Antique and Renaissance examples [Fig. 1] – demonstrates the Liège artist's preoccupation with the constant refinement of the practice of *disegno*.²²

¹⁶ HUBAUX – PURAYE 1949 (see in note 7), pp. 60-61. See NATIVEL, C.: La tradition latine dans la pensée de l'art: La Lamberti Lombardi... vita (1565) de Dominique Lampson (1532 – 1599). In: *La littérature et les arts figurés de l'antiquité à nos jours: actes du XIV^e congrès de l'Association Guillaume Budé*. Limoges, 25-28 August 1998. Paris 2001, pp. 555-566.

¹⁷ On Gossaert, see most recently MENSGER, A.: *Jan Gossaert: die niederländische Kunst zu Beginn der Neuzeit*. Berlin 2002; and SCHAEDEER, S.: *Jan Gossaert's Art of Imitation: Fashioning Identity at the Burgundian Court*. PhD diss., University of California. Santa Barbara 2006.

¹⁸ On the patronage of Philip of Burgundy, see STERK, J.: *Philips van Bourgondië (1465 – 1524) Bischof van Utrecht als protagonist van de Renaissance. Zijn leven en maecenaat*. Zutphen 1980.

¹⁹ MENSGER 2002 (see in note 17), p. 96.

²⁰ LAMPSONIUS 1565 (see in note 7), pp. 6-7; HUBAUX – PURAYE 1949 (see in note 7), pp. 63-64; DENHAENE 1990 (see in note 10), pp. 43-44. Pupil of Barlandus at Louvain,

Zagrius served as *pensionaris* of Zieriksee in Zeeland from 1521 to 1533. See DENHAENE 2006 (see in note 10), p. 32; and C. G. VAN LEIJENHORST in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*. Ed. P. G. BIETENHOLZ – T. B. DEUTSCHER. Toronto 1985, Vol. 3, p. 467. Zagrius's knowledge of a range of humanist and legal texts, including those of Andrea Alciato, author of the *Emblematum libellus*, is documented in his *Lex lecta intellecta digestis*. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er}, ms. 2769.

²¹ PLINY THE ELDER: *Naturalis Historiae*. Ed. H. RACKHAM. Cambridge (Mass.) 1968, 35.67-68. See also BECKER 1973 (see in note 7), pp. 48, 56-57, n. 28; and BERT, M.: Pline l'Ancien et l'art de la Renaissance. Balises pour une étude de réception entre le Nord et le Sud. In: *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 75, 2006, pp. 44-47, on the importance of Parrhasius's contour for Lombard's conception of *disegno*. Estelle Lingo has recently drawn a connection between this passage from Pliny and Lombard's belief in the persistence of ancient culture in local history and antiquities that prompted the artist's desire to revive the forgotten rules of art. See LINGO, E.: *François Duquesnoy and the Greek Ideal*. New Haven – London 2007, pp. 168-170.

Floris and the art of drawing

Lombard's influence on Floris's nascent draftsmanship is most pronounced in the drawings that Floris produced after ancient statuary and friezes as well as contemporary Italian art during his protracted visit to Italy in the 1540s.²³ The extant drawings from these years may be divided into roughly two groups: a set recorded in copies in the Album Dansaert, lost and known only through a number of surviving photographs published, in small part, in 1911,²⁴ and the so-called Roman Sketchbook, examined by Carl Van de Velde in an article of 1969.²⁵ Although the latter group of drawings, in Basel since the late

sixteenth century, had been dismissed as copies by earlier scholars,²⁶ Van de Velde posited a core of sixteen sheets by Floris and two groups of copies after Floris's lost originals.²⁷ To these Van de Velde added autograph drawings after the antique at Bruges²⁸ and Brussels,²⁹ as well as a sheet of slightly larger dimension than the Basel sketches depicting what Van de Velde considered to be the only example of Floris's drawings after contemporary Italian art by the followers of Raphael.³⁰

In his brief discussion of Floris's drawings, Van Mander notes that the artist drew with red chalk after the antique and Michelangelo, specifically after the *Sistine Ceiling* and the recently-completed *Last Judgment*.³¹

²² For extant examples of Lombard's studies of wrestling nude figures, often depicting Hercules and an adversary, see DENHAENE 1990 (see in note 10), p. 146, fig. 164; p. 148, fig. 167; p. 301, fig. 131, drawings from the Album d'Arenberg, preserved in the Cabinet des Estampes of Liège, Nos. N.9a (pen and brown ink, 198 × 203 mm) and N.15a (pen and brown ink, three fragments, each approx. 70 × 39 mm). Another such drawing by Lombard with an illustrious provenance [Fig. 1] has been incorrectly attributed to Michelangelo and, more recently, to Niccolò Tribolo as a primo pensiero for his lost statue of Hercules and Anteus at Castello. Although separated from the corpus of the artist's sketches at an early date, this drawing of Hercules and Anteus is clearly by Lombard and is a vivid example of his mastery of the figure study (pen and brown ink, 64 × 44 mm; Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Inv. No. 1944). See WALDMAN, L.: A Drawing by Tribolo for Montorsoli's Lost Hercules and Antaeus at Castello. In: *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, 105, 2006, pp. 93-100, fig. 3. I wish to thank Monroe Warsaw for bringing this drawing to my attention and Dr. Godelieve Denhaene for discussing it with me in detail.

²³ See DACOS, N.: *Les peintres belges à Rome*. Brussels – Rome 1964, p. 44; and VAN DE VELDE 2006 (see in note 11), pp. 300-302.

²⁴ DANSZAERT, G. – BAUTIER, P.: Notes sur quelques dessins attribués à Frans Floris et à son école. In: *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, 25, 1911, pp. 319-33.

²⁵ VAN DE VELDE, C.: A Roman Sketchbook of Frans Floris. In: *Master Drawings*, 7, 1969, pp. 255-285 and 312-326. The drawings in this Album were first attributed to Lambert Lombard by MICHAELIS, A.: Römische Skizzenbücher nordischer Künstler des 16. Jahrhunderts III. Das Baseler Skizzenbuch. In: *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 7, 1892, pp. 83-89. The attribution was reiterated with reservation by REINACH, S.: *L'album de Pierre Jacques*. Paris 1902, p. 17, who dated the drawings to ca. 1540.

²⁶ See HÜBNER, P.: *Le Statue di Roma*. Vol. 1. Quellen und Sammlungen. Leipzig 1912, p. 57; reviewed by HÜLSEN, Ch.: P. G. Hübner, Le Statue di Roma. In: *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 176, 1914, p. 279; and DACOS 1964 (see in note 23), p. 42.

²⁷ See VAN DE VELDE 1969 (see in note 25), pp. 257-259; and VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 335-339. A study of a decorative frieze compiled from Antique motifs may also have been drawn in Rome; although not part of the original sketchbook it shares a common provenance from the collection of Basilius Amerbach (1535 – 1591). Pen and brown ink over black chalk, inscribed in brown ink in the middle *putallia Antica*, 149 × 395 mm; Basel, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Inv. No. U.IV.6. See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 364, No. T28; Vol. 2, fig. 127.

²⁸ Pen and brown ink with brown wash, 191 × 235 mm; Bruges, Steinmetzkabinet, Inv. No. O.1778.II. See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 361-362, No. T26; Vol. 2, figs. 122-123.

²⁹ Pen and brown ink with brown wash, 192 × 262 mm; Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er}, Cabinet des Estampes, Inv. No. F 11791. See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 353-356, No. T17; Vol. 2, fig. 126.

³⁰ This drawing depicts two Mantuan frescoes by Giulio Romano and several celebrated facades of Polidoro da Caravaggio, monumental compositions by two followers of Raphael whose work was particularly important in the formation of Floris's own style. Pen and brown ink, 220 × 318 mm; Paris, École nationale supérieure de Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. M 2171. See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 50, 52, 92, 97, 362-367, No. T27; Vol. 2, figs. 124 and 125; and *Renaissance et maniérisme dans les Écoles du Nord*. Ed. E. BRUGEROLLES. Paris 1985, p. 134, No. 66. On Floris's only known drawing after Raphael, the *Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law* from the Vatican Logge, see VAN DE VELDE 2005 (see in note 3), p. 155, fig. 2.



2. Frans Floris: Drawing after a bas-relief of the upper story of the west side of the Arch of Constantine. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20618. Photo: Réunion des musées nationaux.

While two pen drawings of the ceiling are recorded,³² neither finished chalk drawings nor studies of the *Last Judgment* in any medium is known to survive. Instead, the majority of Floris's Italian sketches show that the artist was still working with the technique and conception of drawing that he had studied from Lambert

Lombard. Floris's debt to his teacher is most evident in his pen and wash drawings of the Roman Sketchbook and in a copy after a Trajanic battle frieze high on the west face of the Arch of Constantine [Fig. 2], a monument of particular importance to Lombard.³³ The crisper handling of the pen and apparent “*spon-*

³¹ VAN MANDER, K.: *Het Schilder-boek*. Haerlem 1604, fol. 239v; see in MIEDEMA, H. (ed.): *Karel Van Mander. The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*. Doornspijk 1994 – 1999, Vol. 1. Cited as VAN MANDER 1604 unless reference is to commentary.

³² Two drawings after Michelangelo's *Sistine Ceiling* appear in the Basel Sketchbook, on fol. 7r (copy; VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 356-357, No. T18; Vol. 2, fig. 322) and fol. 19v (Ibidem, Vol. 1, pp. 346-347, No. T10; Vol. 2, fig. 115).

³³ Pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk, 267 × 391 mm, inscribed at upper left: *fransis(cus?) floris*; Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20618. See WESCHER, P.: *Römische Eindrücke des Frans Floris*. In: *Sitzungs-Berichte der kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft Berlin*, Oct. 1926 – May 1927, p. 13; DACOS 1964 (see in note 23), p. 44, pl. 15; and LÜGT, F.: *Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord, Maîtres des anciens Pays-Bas nés avant 1550*. Paris 1968, No. 20.618. For the frieze on the west of the Arch of Constantine, see BOBER, P. P. – RUBINSTEIN, R.: *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of*

taneous restoration” of missing elements of the frieze³⁴ lead Van de Velde to question the inclusion of this drawing in Floris’s œuvre.³⁵

In a more recent study of this drawing, Rolf Stucky has noted that although Floris’s sketches after the antique place aesthetic interests over archaeological precision they yet remain important documents of the contemporary appearance of the ancient monuments that Floris drew. Floris may have chosen the subjects that he sketched with a selective eye, but he respected the integrity of the statuary and friezes in his examination.³⁶ Notwithstanding Floris’s probable knowledge of the original frieze high on the arch, it remains quite possible that the apparent neatness of this drawing may indicate that while Floris drew various Roman monuments *in situ*, the artist was perhaps looking at another artist’s drawing in producing this more detailed study of an antique narrative composition full of movement. To that end, Floris simultaneously records the details of the ancient history while experimenting with the technical apparatus for depicting a complex antique frieze on paper. Stucky does not mention this possibility, but numerous artists including Raphael had drawn the same portion of the frieze.³⁷ The copying of drawings was, moreover, central to Lombard’s

workshop practice as a means of transmitting important compositions for future use and imparting the skills of *disegno*.³⁸

Although Floris sought to learn and practice draftsmanship as Lombard taught, his much more modest body of drawings betrays little of the incessant curiosity ubiquitous in Lombard’s prolific graphic œuvre. For Floris, the works of the ancients and his contemporaries were all sources of inspiration for the new manner of painting or, to employ the vocabulary that Lombard chose in addressing Giorgio Vasari, a new “*maniera*,” that he would seek to pioneer as a painter of “*istoria*” at Antwerp.³⁹ Floris therefore adopted his master’s technique as a basis for a *disegno* that could transcend function and subject. He then adapted that same insistence upon the descriptive line with wash in order to mobilize the skills he honed in Italy and the subjects that he recorded on that formative trip to serve the needs of a massive workshop in which he produced paintings on a scale and in a quantity that were foreign to his teacher’s more intellectual pursuits.⁴⁰

Comparing Floris’s drawing of the frieze on the Arch of Constantine with an early *modello* such as the drawing of the *Christ on the Cross* in the Národní galerie at Prague [Fig. 3]⁴¹ suggests that Floris used a

Sources. London – New York 1986, No. 182c. On Lombard’s affinity for the Arch, see Lambert Lombard... 2006 (see in note 10), pp. 375-377, Nos. 36, 37. The drawing is conserved in Liège, Cabinet des Estampes, N.130; pen and brown ink, 83 × 93 mm.

³⁴ DACOS 1964 (see in note 23), p. 44.

³⁵ VAN DE VELDE 1969 (see in note 25), p. 277. Paul Wescher later equivocated on his earlier attribution of the drawing to Floris. See POPHAM, A. E.: *Catalogue of drawings by Dutch and Flemish artists... in the British Museum. Dutch and Flemish drawings of the XV and XVI centuries*. London 1932, Vol. 5, p. 154, under No. 2.

³⁶ STUCKY, R.: Frans Floris’ Baseler Skizzen und das Problem der Antikenergänzung im mittleren 16. Jahrhundert. In: *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock*. Mainz 1989, pp. 215-216, fig. 1.

³⁷ On other Renaissance depictions of the same frieze, see SCHWEIKERT, G.: *Der Codex Wolfegg: Zeichnungen nach der Antike von Amico Aspertini*. London 1986, p. 85, fol. 33v-34b; for Aspertini’s drawing of the frieze, see fig. 17. On Raphael’s

drawing of the frieze (silver-point drawing, heightened with white chalk, 150 × 214 mm; Munich, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. No. 2460), see FISCHER, O.: *Raphael*. London 1948, Vol. 1, p. 194; Vol. 2, fig. 217; and JOANNIDES, P.: *The Drawings of Raphael*. Oxford 1983, No. 348. Significantly, Fischer describes the impression of Raphael’s drawing of “*this Antique motif of panic... rather to create an atmosphere than as an archaeological borrowing.*”

³⁸ ALLART, D. – OGER, C.: Matériel d’artiste et pratiques d’atelier: les dessins de Lambert Lombard et de son entourage. In: *Florissant: Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden (15de-17de eeuw). Liber Amicorum Carl Van de Velde*. Ed. A. BALIS. Brussels 2005, pp. 79-92.

³⁹ FREY 1930 (see in note 14), Vol. 2, pp. 163-167.

⁴⁰ See DENHAENE, G.: Lambert Lombard: œuvres peintes. In: *Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge de Rome*, 57, 1987, pp. 71-110.

⁴¹ Pen and brown ink with blue wash in two tones and traces of squaring in black, 463 × 341 mm, inscribed at lower left on a stone: *FF IV* and beneath that in a later hand: *1577.78*. In the lower right in brown ink: *Fr Floris* and *a-R*. Prague, Národní



3. Frans Floris (?): Christ on the Cross. Prague, Národní galerie, Inv. No. 31816. Photo: Národní galerie v Praze.

similar technique to express the compositional qualities of his drawn inventions in much the same way that he had approached the ostensibly documentary study of objects in Italy.⁴²

In both compositions the boundaries of a shallow pictorial space are carefully delimited and all action is pressed close to the picture plane. In the Louvre drawing especially, the artist demonstrates his ability to render contour, musculature (*muscoli*), and foreshortening (*scorvi*); these salient characteristics of Floris's practice of *disegno* derive from Lombard's example and were praised explicitly by both Guicciardini and Van Mander, two early critics familiar with Floris's work. Recent discussion of the Prague drawing underscores the important role that it played within the creative process of Floris's development of a compelling iconography for the depiction of *Christ on the Cross*.⁴³ Two paintings of *Christ on the Cross* survive, one at Arnstadt, Germany, originally painted for the Nieuwe Kerk of Delft,⁴⁴ and one at Wiesbaden, possi-

bly formerly in the collection of Cardinal Granvelle,⁴⁵ a lost version attributed to Floris was in the Church of St. Martin at Alost,⁴⁶ and another derivative was formerly in the Sint-Jacobskapel at Lierre.⁴⁷ Whereas the Arnstadt work may be dated precisely based on documents establishing its commission in 1553,⁴⁸ the date of the Wiesbaden composition is uncertain, although it was probably completed before a third, simplified version of the subject, datable to 1555, was produced for the Church of Saint-Léonard at Léau, where it remains.⁴⁹ This third version maintains certain elements from the Arnstadt composition while pushing the cross parallel to the picture plane; despite its very poor state of conservation, the painting's more staid character may result from the dictates of an aesthetic established in Pieter Aertsen's earlier commissions for that church.⁵⁰

Ingrid Jost first suggested that the Prague drawing and Wiesbaden painting might have both functioned as preparatory works for the Arnstadt triptych,⁵¹ but

galerie, Inv. No. 31816. See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, No. T36; Vol. 2, fig. 135. I am grateful to Dr. Anna Rollova for her assistance in procuring a high-quality reproduction of this drawing.

⁴² On the "archeological" value of these drawings, see DACOS 1964 (see in note 23), p. 44; and STUCKY 1989 (see in note 36).

⁴³ Guicciardini used these terms to praise Floris's ability to render muscles and achieve foreshortening in an Italian manner. See GIUCCIARDINI 1567 (see in note 1), p. 99. On Floris's ability to foreshorten and delineate contours, see also VAN MANDER 1604 (see in note 31), esp. fol. 241v. See CIULISOVÁ, I.: The 'Crucifixion' from Frans Floris' Workshop in Slovakia. In: *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis. Neerlandica II: Emblematica et iconographia*, 81, 2003, pp. 97-99.

⁴⁴ On the triptych, see VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 202-206, Nos. S54-S58; Vol. 2, figs. 21-22. On central painting of *Christ on the Cross*, oil on panel, 295 × 185.5 cm, see *Ibidem*, pp. 204-206, No. S55. Described in 1604 by VAN MANDER 1604 (see in note 31), fol. 237r.

⁴⁵ Oil on panel, 130 × 105 cm, signed at lower left: *FF IV ET F*; Städtisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Wiesbaden, acquired 1960, ex col. Del Monte, Brussels. – VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 227-228, No. S79; Vol. 2, fig. 32. For a color illustration, see DENHAENE 1990 (see in note 10), p. 224, fig. 296.

⁴⁶ The painting, "*d'un dessein correct & très-bien rendu par F. Floris dans le goût de Raphaël*," is described in MENSAERT, G.: *Le peintre amateur et curieux*. Brussels 1763, Vol. 2, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁷ See MONBALLIEU, A.: De reconstructie van een drieliuk van Adriaen Thomasz. Keij bestemd voor het hoogaltar van de Antwerpse Recollettenkerk. In: *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1971, pp. 99-101, fig. 10.

⁴⁸ VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 440, doc. 9.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, Vol. 1, pp. 228-232, No. S81.7; Vol. 2, fig. 33; painted on the same support as the other six scenes of *The Seven Instances of Christ Shedding his Blood*, oil on panel, 280 × 208 cm; the work is badly damaged.

⁵⁰ On Aertsen's triptychs of *The Seven Joys of Mary* and the *The Seven Sorrows of Mary*, see KLOEK, W.: Register van het werk van Pieter Aertsen en zijn atelier. In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 40, 1989, p. 294, with full bibliography.

⁵¹ JOST, I.: *Studien zu Anthonis Blocklandt, mit einem vorläufigen beschreibenden Oeuvre-Verzeichnis*. PhD diss. Cologne 1960, p. 19. If indeed the painting is belonging to Granvelle, then the work should date to before 1564, in which year Christiaan van de Perre was paid to copy the painting for the Granvelle's secretary, the numismatist Maximilien Morillon. Morillon wrote the cardinal on 6 February 1565 in gratitude for the cardinal's permission to allow the work to be reproduced. See PIQUARD, M.: *Le cardinal de Granvelle, les artistes et les écrivains d'après*

Van de Velde argues convincingly that the Prague drawing must be preparatory to the Arnstadt work and that the Wiesbaden painting must have come after these two. As Van de Velde has noted, the upturned head of Christ in the Wiesbaden panel actually denotes a different moment in the Passion narrative from that depicted in the Prague and Arnstadt compositions, where Christ's head is cast down and a soldier beneath the cross gestures toward him.⁵² Because Floris's drawing does not take into account the rounded shape of the top of the substrate of the commission, Van de Velde suggests the drawing must have been made before 5 July 1553, the date on which the Antwerp Saint Luke's guild approved the wood panels for the work.⁵³

Yet upon close examination, it appears that the Prague drawing differs in certain respects from Floris's autograph drawings, although it is clearly based upon Floris's design and probably derives from an earlier compositional sketch of much smaller dimensions. The framing of the composition, the figure-to-space relationship and the wash over pen and ink technique clearly respond to Floris's own practice as seen in the Louvre sketch. However, the heavy reliance on multiple tones of opaque wash, the almost mechanical treatment of the figures' features, the absence of the typical black chalk underdrawing, and the presence of the transfer squares all suggest that the Prague drawing may not be by Floris himself, or at least not in its entirety.⁵⁴ The lack of force and schematic strokes in the application of the fluid



4. *Triumph of Mordecai*, after Frans Floris. Göttingen, *Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen*, Inv. H. 282. Repr.: *Katalog der Zeichnungen. Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen. Munich 1999, CD-ROM*.

media give parts of the drawing a stiff appearance unlike, although clearly dependent upon, the precedent of Floris's more forceful drawings such as the celebrated *Tactus*,⁵⁵ a preparatory drawing in pen and ink with wash for an engraving in one of his more popular print series.⁵⁶

The dramatically large size and atypical use of wash in the Prague *Christ* call to mind another drawing of similar dimension and media at Göttingen [Fig. 4],⁵⁷ previously described as an unknown scene from the Old Testament but probably a depiction of the Triumph of Mordecai as recounted in the Book

les documents de Besançon. In: *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 17, 1947 – 1948, p. 141; and VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 450, doc. 35. On the variant in Bratislava, see CIULISOVÁ 2003 (see in note 43); and CIULISOVÁ, I.: *Paintings of the 16th century Netherlandish masters. Slovak art collections*. Bratislava 2006, pp. 66-67, fig. 7.

⁵² VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 228. See RÉAU, L.: *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*. Vol. 2. Paris 1958, pp. 475-479, Nos. 2A, 2, 3.

⁵³ VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 440, doc. 9.

⁵⁴ The lost original may be related to a drawing of Christ copied in the lost Album Dansaert. See DANSAERT – BAUTIER 1911 (see in note 24), p. 326, pl. 1. The authors describe the drawing as “*un superbe Christ en Croix, d'une perfection très détaillée et étonnante*” (p. 76).

⁵⁵ Brush and grayish-brown ink with white heightening on blue paper; contour lines incised with stylus, 204 × 268 mm; Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Inv. No. 1333. See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 378-379, No. 46; Vol. 2, fig. 145; *Renaissance et maniérisme aux Pays-Bas. Dessins du musée des Beaux-Arts de Budapest*. [Exhib. Cat.] Ed. T. GERSZI. Budapest : Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2008, pp. 48-49, No. 12.

⁵⁶ Engraving, 206 × 267 mm. See *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Woodcuts and Engravings*. Cornelis Cort. Ed. M. SELLINK – H. LEEFLANG. Rotterdam 2000, No. 206.

⁵⁷ Pen and brush and brown ink with over black pencil, brown wash and white heightening on four assembled sheets, 408 × 603 mm; *Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen*, Inv. H. 282. See *Katalog der Zeichnungen. Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen*. Munich 1999, CD-ROM, illus.

of Esther.⁵⁸ The work was first published by Konrad Renger as a “*Kopie (?) nach Frans Floris*” in his 1979 review of Van de Velde’s monograph.⁵⁹ The recent discovery of the original Floris drawing in the Hermitage State Museum confirms Renger’s hypothesis.⁶⁰ The Hermitage drawing is an autograph work by Floris, executed in his customary pen and ink technique with light brown fluid lines and wash over black chalk, and it is roughly equivalent in size to his more typical *modelli*. The artist responsible for the Göttingen drawing copied Floris’s composition and imitated his technique with a mechanical precision reminiscent of the Prague drawing; the losses at left and right are presumably the result of subsequent damage.

Both measuring almost half a meter in height, the Göttingen and Prague works suggest categories of compositional drawings that remain unexplored. Van de Velde proposes that Floris may have brought the Prague drawing with him to meet his Delft clients on a trip described by Van Mander.⁶¹ The horizontal fold at its center may support this hypothesis, although it also seems possible that the drawing may have been produced after Floris’s lost design by a workshop assistant and sent to the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross at Delft for inspection before work on the painting began; the heavy wash clearly

seeks to imitate the tones of chiaroscuro that Floris sought in the final painted work. The drawing may subsequently, or instead, have functioned as a sort of intermediary cartoon for use in the studio as the squaring suggests.⁶²

Although purely speculative, it is possible to imagine that the Göttingen work served a similar function for an unexecuted or lost painting. Alternatively, this massive drawing on at least four attached sheets of paper may be the remnant of a sort of ephemeral substitute for a painting. The heavy use of opaque wash and heightening on prepared ground appear to imitate, even in the drawing’s faded condition, the qualities of an oil painting of muted tones. The drawing may resemble the general appearance of the twenty-six lost canvases – of similar size to the sheet at Göttingen – that Floris and his assistants produced in record time for the Arch of the Genoese in the triumphal entry of Philip II into Antwerp in 1549.⁶³ Floris also designed chiaroscuro woodcuts on a similar scale such as *David Playing the Harp before Saul*⁶⁴ and the massive *Hunts*,⁶⁵ both dated 1555, that likewise may have functioned as substitutes for actual paintings. The fact that some were even printed on cloth may provide additional evidence for this largely forgotten phenomenon.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ Esther 6.6-11.

⁵⁹ RENGGER 1979 (see in note 3), p. 302, fig. 1.

⁶⁰ Pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk, 150 × 232 mm; St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, Inv. No. OP 8080. This drawing will be illustrated in the forthcoming catalog of Netherlandish drawings in the State Hermitage Museum by Dr. Alexei Larionov. I express my gratitude to Dr. Larionov for sharing the discovery of this drawing with me.

⁶¹ VAN MANDER 1604 (see in note 31), fol. 237r: “*te Delft was ontboden, om in de Kerck in de Cruys-Capelle te maken een Crucifix, en de plaetse quam besichtigen.*” See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 371.

⁶² On the use of the cartoon in the north, see VAN DAALEN, C. M.: Preparations and Materials: Methods of Compositional Transfer. In: *La peinture ancienne et ses procédés: copies, répliques, pastiches. Colloque XV pour l’étude du dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture, Bruges, 11-13 septembre 2003*. Ed. H. VEROUGSTRAËTE et al. Louvain – Paris 2006, pp. 212-217, esp. p. 215 on Pieter Aertsen’s full-size cartoon for the

Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam as discussed in VAN MANDER 1604 (see in note 31), fol. 244r.

⁶³ See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 159-185, Nos. S7-S33. A *Diana and her Nymphs* at Christ Church, Oxford merits consideration here although the author was unable to see the work in time for publication. Pen and brush with brown ink and white heightening on parchment on panel, 415 × 585 mm. See BYAM SHAW, J.: *Paintings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford*. Oxford 1967, pp. 122-123, No. 238, pl. 166; VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 383-384, No. T51; Vol. 2, fig. 150.

⁶⁴ Chiaroscuro woodcut of three tone blocks and one line block, 336 × 482 mm. See BIALLER, N.: *Chiaroscuro Woodcuts. Hendrick Goltzius (1558 – 1617) and his time*. Ghent 1992, pp. 35-37, No. 3.

⁶⁵ Chiaroscuro woodcut of three tone blocks each in six parts, approx. 431 × 2625 mm as mounted together. – BIALLER 1992 (see in note 64), pp. 40-46, No. 5

⁶⁶ An impression of the *David* on linen is conserved at Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Inv. No. 1981-P.41. – BIALLER 1992 (see in note 64), p. 37, fig. 3b.

Executed fairly shortly after Floris's return from Italy, the *Christ on the Cross* composition – like the nearly contemporary woodcuts⁶⁷ – reveals both formal and stylistic influences of the artist's Italian years and in particular his interest in the art of Michelangelo. Van de Velde notes the deliberate quotations from the *Sistine Ceiling* in the work, most clearly evident in the figures of the Good and Bad Thieves, which quote two of the *ignudi*.⁶⁸ These clear references to the work of Michelangelo corroborate Van Mander's assertion that Floris had drawn after the *Sistine Ceiling* when in Rome and that the use of these drawings formed a fundamental source for his subsequent construction of a compelling narrative image or *istoria*.⁶⁹ As in the study of the Arch of Constantine, this drawing clearly establishes and works within the limits of a shallow pictorial space, and the subsequent addition of wash respects the circumscribed field.

In early studies of Floris's oeuvre, Friedrich Antal,⁷⁰ Dora Zuntz,⁷¹ and G. J. Hoogewerff⁷² all argued for the formative influence of Tintoretto's early work on Floris's stylistic development. Van de Velde

downplayed the importance of this source of inspiration, noting that many of the comparisons Zuntz drew to Tintoretto's work were not chronologically plausible.⁷³ In light of Bert Meijer's research into the relationship of Northern artists to the Tintoretto workshop, however, the specific question of the young Tintoretto's influence on Floris has returned to the fore.⁷⁴ In a recent publication on a number of works associated with Floris in Slovak collections, Ingrid Ciulisová re-examined the influence of Tintoretto's *Deposition* of Santa Maria del Rosario in Venice on Floris's *Christ on the Cross* as depicted in Prague, drawing attention to the representation of mourners at the base of the cross in the works of these two artists.⁷⁵ Chronology might again appear to confound this analysis, although as Ciulisová notes, the dating of Tintoretto's *Deposition* varies greatly in the literature.⁷⁶

Tintoretto's vision of the mourners, moreover, bears strong comparison with a similarly-constructed group in Daniele da Volterra's earlier fresco of the *Deposition* from the Orsini Chapel of Santa Trinità dei Monti at Rome,⁷⁷ and even if Tintoretto's painting

⁶⁷ BIALLER 1992 (see in note 64), pp. 34-37, notes that the figure standing at the center of the composition between David and Saul in *David Playing the Harp before Saul* quotes an engraving by Nicolas Beatrixet of figure by Michelangelo from the Pauline Chapel in Rome (engraving, 375 × 202 mm, trimmed). The print is not described in BARTSCH, A.: *Le peintre-graveur*. Vienna 1803 – 1821; see DAVID, B. (ed.): *Mannerist prints: international style in the sixteenth century*. Los Angeles 1998, pp. 50-51, No. 7.

⁶⁸ TOLNAY, Ch. de: *Michelangelo*. Princeton 1949, Vol. 2, pp. 63-67, figs. 101 and 106. For a more complete study of Michelangelo's influence on Floris, see DE CONINCK, É.: *L'influence de Michel-Ange dans l'œuvre peinte, dessinée et gravée de Frans Floris*. Mémoire, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1993. In: *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain*, 26, 1993, pp. 219-220.

⁶⁹ VAN MANDER 1604 (see in note 31), fol. 239v.

⁷⁰ ANTAL, F.: *The Problem of Mannerism in the Netherlands*. In: *Classicism and Romanticism with other studies in art history*. New York 1966 (annotated translation of *Zum Problem des Niederländischen Manierismus. Kritische Berichte zur Kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*. Leipzig 1928 – 1929), p. 88.

⁷¹ ZUNTZ 1929 (see in note 3), pp. 39-40 and p. 68, under group a.

⁷² HOOGEWERFF, G. J.: *Vlaamsche Kunst en Italiaansche Renaissance*. Malines – Amsterdam 1935, p. 184.

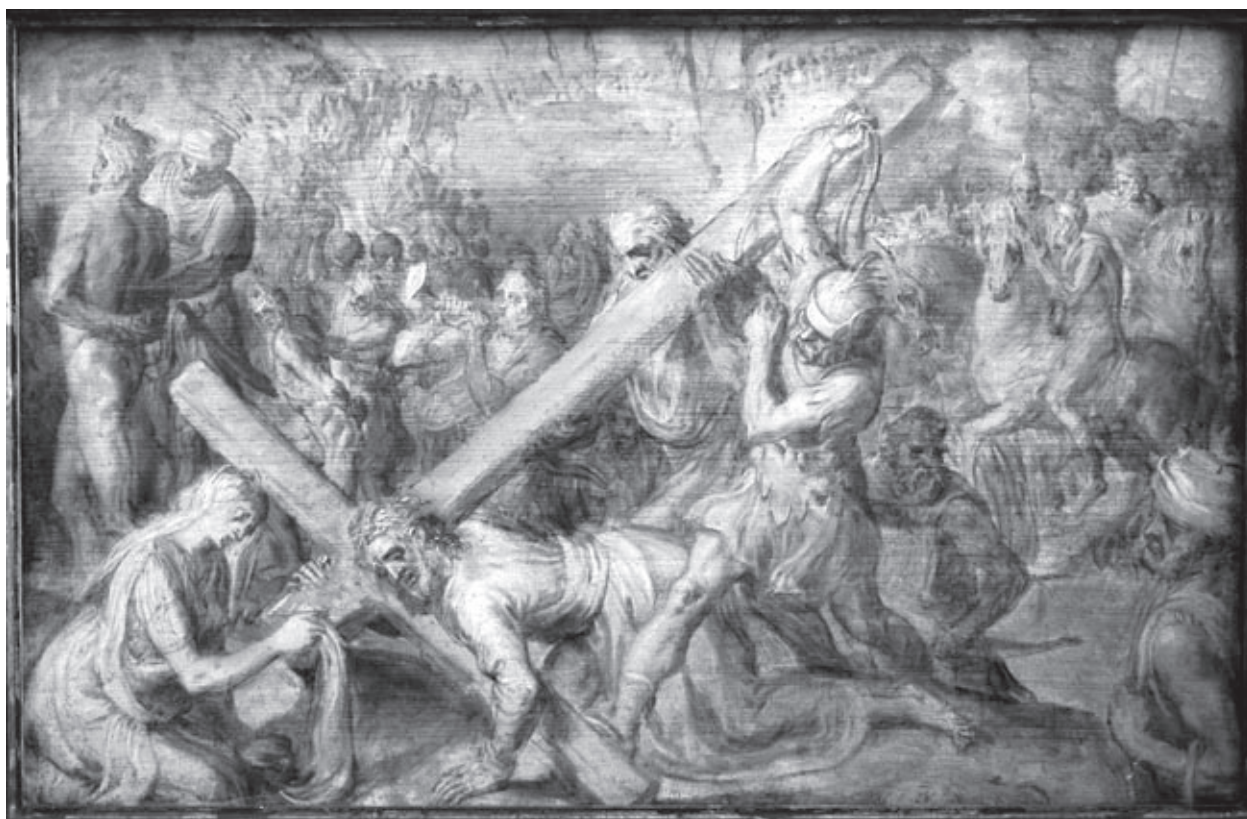
⁷³ VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 30, 81, and p. 154, under No. S2. On Tintoretto's early work, see ECHOLS, R.: *Beginnings: until 1546*. In: *Tintoretto*. [Exhib. Cat.] Ed. M. FALOMIR. Madrid 2007, pp. 181-185.

⁷⁴ MEIJER, B. W.: *Flemish and Dutch Artists in Venetian Workshops: The Case of Jacopo Tintoretto*. In: *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer and Titian*. [Exhib. Cat.] Palazzo Grassi, Venice. Milan 1999, pp. 135-137.

⁷⁵ CIULISOVÁ 2003 (see in note 43), p. 96.

⁷⁶ Venice, Church of Santa Maria del Rosario; oil on canvas, 297 × 165 cm. According to Ciulisová, dating of the work ranges from 1548 to 1570. See VENTURI, A.: *Storia dell'arte italiana*. Milan 1901 – 1940, Vol. 9, pt. 4, p. 618n; TIETZE, H.: *Tintoretto: The Paintings and Drawings*. New York 1948, pp. 370-371, fig. 50; PALLUCCHINI, R. – ROSSI, P.: *Tintoretto. Le opere sacre e profane*. Vol. 1. Milan 1982, pp. 168-169, No. 171, fig. 224; NICHOLS, T.: *Tintoretto: Tradition and Identity*. London 1999, pp. 167-169, fig. 146. Nichols dates the work to 1563 – 1565 whereas Tietze suggests 1555 – 1560.

⁷⁷ Although NICHOLS (see in note 76), p. 165, fig. 45, has more recently dated this fresco to 1551, the traditional date,



5. *Workshop of Frans Floris (?), possibly Crispijn van den Broecke: Christ Carrying the Cross. Boston (Mass.), Private Collection. Photo: Author, by permission of the owner.*

did not serve as an intermediary, Floris clearly knew of Tintoretto's manner of painting and his sources; Daniele's Roman work and the prints after it may have provided both Floris and Tintoretto with a new pictorial lexicon for this traditional subject.⁷⁸ While

Floris's decision to emphasize Mary's suffering by aligning the axis of the cross directly with her breast may have a complex iconographic motivation, the artist's skill as a draftsman enabled him to assimilate disparate influences to produce a compelling image.⁷⁹

as discussed by Venturi, is a decade earlier, as deduced from a payment cited by Milanesi. – VASARI – MILANESI 1878 (see in note 14), Vol. 7, p. 53, n. 1; see VENTURI 1901 – 1940 (see in note 76), Vol. 9, pt. 6, p. 238. Daniele had first begun to work in the Trinità as an assistant to Perino, finishing his compositions after the latter was forced to flee Rome because of the sac. See BAROLSKY, P.: *Daniele da Volterra: a catalogue raisonné*. New York 1979, pp. 55-59, No. 6, who dates the work to ca. 1545. Venturi recounts that the work may have been made with the direct assistance of Michelangelo (VENTURI 1901 – 1940 (see in note 76), Vol. 7, pt. 6, p. 252), a notion supported by TOLNAY, Ch. de: *La Deposizione di Cristo attribuito a Michelangelo a Haarlem*. In: *Pantheon*, 25, 1967, pp. 20-26. Barlosky acknowledges a close influence but rejects the notion of direct assistance. Barolsky records preparatory

drawings in the Uffizi, the British Museum, seven at the Louvre, and one lost, as well as several painted copies. Daniele da Volterra is one of the Florentine-Roman Mannerists whom Zuntz singles out for his influence on Floris. See ZUNTZ 1929 (see in note 3), p. 67, under group b.

⁷⁸ On the print by Giovanni Battista Cavallieri or Cavalleriis (ca. 1525 – 1601), undated in the first state, see ZANI, P.: *Enciclopedia metodica critico-ragionata delle belle arti*. Parma 1817 – 1825, Vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 173-174; and LE BLANC, Ch.: *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*. Paris 1854 – 1890, Vol. 1, p. 616, No. 15.

⁷⁹ The unusual gesture of supporting Mary's breast also appears, though in a less pronounced manner, in Floris's painting of the *Lamentation* (Meaux, Musée Bossuet; oil on panel, 155 × 214 cm),



6. *Workshop of Frans Floris (?), possibly Crispijn van den Broeck: Christ Carrying the Cross, detail. Boston (Mass.), Private Collection. Photo: Author, by permission of the owner.*

As the Prague drawing attests, Floris subsequently used these techniques of drawing as a means to experiment with and ultimately promulgate a successful composition within his studio and beyond.⁸⁰

The Oil Sketch

A recently discovered grisaille panel of *Christ Carrying the Cross* sold in 2007 as the work of Floris's collaborator Crispijn Van den Broeck may add an important dimension to our understanding of the role of preparatory drawing in Floris's workshop and should prompt further reconsideration of Venetian influence [Fig. 5].⁸¹ The scale and tonal use of oil in

this mono chrome work are evocative of the Göttingen and Prague drawings; the figural types clearly derive from Floris's models and the handling of opaque glazes of oil paint evokes Floris's manner of painting; although abraded, the work appears to bear Floris's monogram as *inventor* of the composition [Fig. 6]. Justus Müller Hofstede first described Floris's decisive role in the development of the preparatory drawing in the North and considered his *modelli* to be one of the artist's foremost successes in the importation of a robust Italian *disegno* to the North;⁸² the existence of this panel may bolster that assertion.

The panel's iconography is intricately bound to that of the commission for the *Christ on the Cross*

where it is John who appears to uphold the Virgin with such intimacy. See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 207-208, No. S60; Vol. 2, fig. 25. This gesture was also explored by Lambert Lombard in his equally massive *Descent from the Cross* (pen and brown ink with brown wash over red chalk, 510 × 410 mm; Liège, Cabinet des Estampes, Inv. No. K/341/25); see DENHAENE 1990 (see in note 10), p. 106, fig. 122; BERT 2006 (see in note 21), p. 45, fig. 15; *Lambert Lombard...* 2006 (see in note 10), pp. 430-431, No. 83, fig. 402; possibly preparatory to a painted altarpiece for the Tornaco family in the Church of Saint-Jean l'Évangeliste, Liège.

⁸⁰ One derivative of Floris's treatment of the theme of *Christ on the Cross* is in the Slovak National Gallery at Bratislava, Inv. No. O 4693; oil on panel, 125.5 × 97.8 cm. See CIULISOVÁ

2006 (see in note 51), pp. 64-67, with bibliography.

⁸¹ Oil on panel, 31.5 × 49 cm, signed lower right: *FF IV* (?); Boston (MA), Private Coll. Sold, London, Emanuel von Bayer, 2007. In the sales catalogue, a tenuous connection was made to the iconography of a print by Johan Wierix after Gerard van Groeningen illustrating Benito Arias Montano's 1573 *Christi Iesu vita...* See *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts. Gerard van Groeningen*. Eds. Ch. SCHUCKMAN – G. LUIJTEN. Rotterdam 1997, No. 351.

⁸² HOFSTEDÉ, J. M.: Aspekte der Entwurfszeichnung bei Rubens: Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes. In: *Akten des 21. Internationale Kongress für Kunstgeschichte*. Bonn 1964, p. 199.

discussed above.⁸³ The depiction of Christ with one arm heavily planted on the ground beneath him and the helmeted soldier with his right hand raised and ready to strike with the whip all appear on the left inner shutter of the Arnstadt triptych, although the unusual angle of the cross is specific to this image.⁸⁴ The procession to Calvary in the triptych takes place before a gate that is reminiscent of a Roman arch; in the grisaille the procession appears to be set before a loose interpretation of the Castel Sant'Angelo much as it appears on the left outer shutter of the triptych at Léau.⁸⁵ The posture of the soldier with the whip is one that appears frequently in Floris's oeuvre: in the executioner on the left inner shutter of the Léau triptych,⁸⁶ and in other contemporary works such as *Hercules and the Hydra of Lerna* painted for Nicolaas Jongelincx.⁸⁷ The groups of horses leading up the rear of the procession are markedly similar to those other Floris compositions, and the bound thieves and their executioners also derive from Floris's muscular types, such as those in his

Mucius Scaevola before Porsenna.⁸⁸ Because many of the elements of this successful pastiche of motifs originate in different treatments of the same subject in Floris's workshop, it is perhaps possible to imagine that a panels such as this assumed a function in the development, presentation, modification and ultimately recording portions of those successful variations on a theme.

Floris's oil-on-panel head studies have been documented for their important role in the functioning of the artist's studio.⁸⁹ According to Van Mander, "*Frans set his journeymen to do the dead-colouring after he had indicated to them his intention somewhat with chalk, letting them get on with it, after having said: Put in these or those heads; for he always had a few of those to hand on panels.*"⁹⁰ Although painted on an entirely different scale, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* is equivalent in size to many of Floris's head studies.⁹¹ In the absence of any technical examination to assess the extent of Floris's chalk drawing on the substrate itself,⁹² the *Christ Carrying the Cross* may offer a glimpse into another way in

⁸³ Mark 15.21; Luke 23.26-31; John 18.17; see RÉAU 1957 (see in note 52), pp. 463-469. Floris painted a *Way to Calvary* dated by Van de Velde to 1553 – 1554 (oil on panel, 114 × 81 cm, signed on the cross: *FFF ET IV*; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. F. 7). See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 197, No. S48; Vol. 2, fig. 17. A drawing attributed to Floris's circle depicts on its verso the *Way to Calvary* in horizontal format (pen and brown ink with brown wash, 153 × 207 mm; Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Inv. No. Z.198). The recto depicts the *Arrest of Christ*.

⁸⁴ Oil on panel, 286 × 76 cm. See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 204, No. S54; Vol. 2, fig. 21.

⁸⁵ *The Raising of Lazarus*, left half, 270 × 101 cm. See Ibidem, Vol. 1, p. 233, No. S84; Vol. 2, fig. 33.

⁸⁶ *The Martyrdom of Saint Catherine*, oil on panel, 270 × 101 cm. See Ibidem, Vol. 1, p. 231, No. S80; Vol. 2, fig. 33.

⁸⁷ Lost. VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 222, No. S73, known from the print by Cornelis Cort. Engraving, 224 × 283 mm; *The New Hollstein... Cornelis Cort* (see in note 56), No. 176; which itself is derived from a print of the same subject that Floris must have known by Caraglio after Rosso Fiorentino; see BARTSCH 1803 – 1821 (see in note 67), Vol. 15, pp. 85-86, No. 46.

⁸⁸ Engraving, 329 × 422 mm; *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Woodcuts and Engravings. Philips Galle*. Ed. M. SEL-

LINK – M. LEESBERG. Rotterdam 2001, Vol. 3, No. 487. Preparatory drawing in red chalk, 441 × 556 mm; Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 15.121. See VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, p. 382, No. T50; Vol. 2, fig. 149. Van de Velde notes that the drawn composition predates the print, seeming more in keeping with Floris's style of the mid-1550s.

⁸⁹ See SUTTON, P. – WIESEMAN, M.: *Drawn by the Brush: Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens*. New Haven – London 2004, pp. 24-25.

⁹⁰ VAN MANDER 1604 (see in note 31), fol. 242v; MIEDEMA 1994 – 1999 (see in note 31), p. 229.

⁹¹ Numerous recorded head studies and copies are of nearly the same dimensions as this panel. See, for instance, the head study for the Vienna *Christ Bearing the Cross* at Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, Inv. No. 1098; oil on panel, 48 × 35 cm (VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 196-197, No. S47; Vol. 2, fig. 16); or the *Head of a Sea Goddess*, original lost but recorded in copies at Berlin, Gemäldegalerie; oil on panel, 52 × 36 cm (Ibidem, Vol. 1, pp. 276-277, No. S137) as copy 1; Friedrichshafen, Coll. Grzimek; oil on panel, 49 × 36 cm (Ibidem, Vol. 1, pp. 276-277, No. S136) as copy 2; and in Martin, Slovak National Museum, Inv. No. KH 526; oil on panel, 45 × 25.5 cm (CIULISOVÁ 2006 (see in note 51), pp. 60-63, fig. 6).

⁹² On techniques of design transfer to panel and canvas support, see VAN DAALEN 2006 (see in note 62), pp. 212-217.

which Floris's *disegno* functioned within the creative atmosphere of his Antwerp workshop.

Otto van Veen is generally credited with pioneering the monochrome oil sketch in the North before Rubens perfected the technique.⁹³ The *Christ Carrying the Cross* may indicate that the genealogy of the oil sketch in the North reaches back at least a generation earlier to the era of Van Veen's teacher, Isaac van Swanenburg, who is named by Van Mander as one of Floris's pupils and may have encountered an early attempt at the technique in his master's workshop.⁹⁴ As in many of Van Veen's oil sketches, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* also includes a pen and ink underdrawing in areas of the human figure,⁹⁵ and while Van Veen painted his sketches on paper, Floris also produced detailed painted head studies on paper, perhaps for subsequent mounting on canvases or panels.⁹⁶

This is not the first suggestion that Floris may have pioneered the use of the oil sketch in the North. Dora Zuntz accepted a panel depicting *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis* in the Schlesisches Museum at Breslau as an autograph work by Floris and termed it a "*Skizze*". Zuntz did not remark, however, that such a panel, if indeed by Floris, would represent the earliest recorded oil sketch in Flemish art.⁹⁷ Van de Velde rejected the work from Floris's oeuvre, highlighting the implausibly late date of 1565 that Zuntz had assigned it and reiterating that the Italian conception of the oil sketch did not reach

Antwerp until Rubens's return to that city.⁹⁸ Extant photographs of the destroyed Breslau work are not of sufficient quality for a thorough consideration of attribution. But the size of the panel, the scale of the figures, and the similarity of Venus's pose to those of Mary and the Magdalene in the Léau and Arnstadt paintings, as noted by Zuntz,⁹⁹ all suggest that the work may have been made in the same artistic circle as the *Christ Carrying the Cross*. If these sketches were not produced in Floris's own workshop, they clearly originate in an atelier intimately aware of Floris's iconographic, stylistic, and practical innovations.

The existence of an oil sketch within Floris's milieu, even if not in his own hand, may further reflect Floris's contact with Venetian art and possibly even the early works of Tintoretto – himself a prominent innovator of the oil sketch technique¹⁰⁰ – although an exact point of contact remains unclear. The genesis of Floris's *disegno* in Lombard's studio marked a departure from the use and conception of drawing in the Low Countries at mid-century. The drawings considered here underscore Floris's own innovations in the multifaceted practice of *disegno* as an aid to recollection, a medium of intellectual inspiration, a means of artistic expression, and a workshop implement. Floris's approach to drawing left a powerful but still largely unexplored heritage for the generations of Antwerp artists up to and including Rubens.¹⁰¹

⁹³ HELD, J.: *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue*. Princeton 1980, Vol. 1, p. 8; and SUTTON – WIESEMAN 2004 (see in note 89), pp. 17-18.

⁹⁴ VAN MANDER 1604 (see in note 31), fol. 242v; and MIEDEMA 1994 – 1999 (see in note 31), Vol. 4, pp. 43-44; VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 110-111.

⁹⁵ LOGAN, A.-M. – PLOMP, M. C.: *Peter Paul Rubens: The Drawings*. New Haven – London 2005, p. 20, n. 83.

⁹⁶ Two such examples are recorded, both in oil on paper: Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. No. 1967-52; 172 × 153 mm, unmounted; another, sold, Colnaghi, New York, illustrated in May-June 1998 catalogue, No. 8, cover ill.; oil on paper laid down on canvas, 294 × 333 mm.

⁹⁷ Oil on panel, 48.5 × 36.5 cm, signed FFF; Breslau, Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste, Inv. No. 210. See ZUNTZ 1929 (see in note 3), pp. 89-90.

⁹⁸ VAN DE VELDE 1975 (see in note 3), Vol. 1, pp. 68-69, No. 2.

⁹⁹ ZUNTZ 1929 (see in note 3), p. 89.

¹⁰⁰ HELD 1980 (see in note 93), pp. 7-8.

¹⁰¹ See Ibidem, p. 6; and SUTTON – WIESEMAN 2004 (see in note 89), pp. 110-113, Cat. No. 10, for the *Head of a Negro* of same dimensions as many Floris head studies (oil on panel, 45.6 × 36.8 cm; Hyde Collection, Glenn Falls, New York).

Frans Floris a *disegno*. Návrat k otázke

Resumé

Frans Floris (1519/1520 – 1570) bol oceňovaný za svoje majstrovské *disegno* už pred rokom 1567. V súčasnom ponímaní sa termín *disegno* vzťahuje ku kresbe, návrhu alebo kresbám podľa iných umeleckých druhov. *Disegno*, ako viacznačný umelecký koncept, skutočne leží v centre Florisovej práce, počnúc jeho ranými štúdiami u liègskeho umelca Lamberta Lombarda, cez jeho predĺženú návštevu Talianska v roku 1540 až po založenie jeho rozsiahlej dielne v rodných Antverpách po roku 1547. Carl Van de Velde rozdelil v základnej monografii o Florisovi umelcove kresby do štyroch rozdielnych kategórií: štúdie podľa starovekého alebo súdobého talianskeho umenia, *modelli*, návrhy pre grafiky a návrhy pre dekoratívne umenia. Na základe výskumu štyroch kresieb, ktoré nabádajú k ľahšej klasifikácii podľa týchto funkcií, ponúka tento príspevok prvé zhodnotenie *disegna* ako legitímnej súčasť Florisovej umeleckej praxe a teórie.

Kresby Florisovho učiteľa Lamberta Lombarda ponúkajú kľúč ku koncepcii kresby ako kreatívnej a intelektuálnej činnosti, ktorá bola na severe Európy novinkou. Lombard mal záľubu v archeológii a starožitnostiach a angažoval sa pri znovuzrození „pravidiel“ umenia neznámych v krajinách Nizozemska. Lombard sa prvýkrát stretol s novým štýlom maliarstva podľa *antického* spôsobu, keď cestoval do Zeelandu študovať s Jánom Gossaertom, dvorným maliarom Filipa Burgundského. Keď ponecháme bokom to, čo sa Lombard naučil od Gossaerta, od Lombardovho biografistu Dominica Lampsoniusa sa dozvieme, čo Lombard, s pomocou ďalšej osobnosti Filipovho dvora, menovite humanistu Wiliama Zagriusa, objavil. Zagrius odhalil Lombardovi základné antické spisy – najmä Plíniou *Naturalis Historiae* –, ktoré podnietili Lombardu zvedavosť a jeho túžbu po obnove severskej tradície maliarstva podľa starovekých a renesančných modelov.

Inšpirovaný svojou cestou do Talianska, počas ktorej vytvoril množstvo kresieb podľa relikto antického Ríma a diel renesančných umelcov, Lombard

založil v Liège akadémiu. Práve tam privítal množstvo severských humanistov a ponúkol umelecký návod, ktorý zdôrazňoval koncept umeleckej invencie oproti manuálnej zručnosti. Úloha *disegna* nie ako „právej transkripcie“ v duchu severskej tradície, ale skôr ako procesu štúdia a uvažovania [Obr. 1], bola hlavným aspektom Lombardovho návodu. Florisov prvý kontakt s Lombardom bol tak vrcholne dôležitý pre jeho ďalšie formovanie. Florisove najranejšie kresby, vytvorené po jeho odchode z Liège a ceste do Talianska, ukazujú Lombardov hlboký vplyv na mladého flámskeho maliara [Obr. 2]. Dôraz na kontúry, plynulosť a štúdie ľudskej formy tak s drapériou, ako aj nahého tela, to sú charakteristické črty fragmentu Florisovho korpusu talianskych kresieb.

V Antverpách Floris vložil svoje rané lekcie *disegna* a výdobytkov zo svojich talianskych ciest do založenia rozsiahlej, umelecky hierarchizovanej dielne vytvorenej podľa modelu tej, ktorú viedol Rafael. Kreativnosť a zmysel pre praktickosť tu znamenali ešte viac inovácií v úlohe kresby v ateliéroch severských umelcov. Štúdia skúma rozsiahlu kresbu *Kristus na kríži* z Prahy (463 × 341 mm) [Obr. 3], vytvorenú technikou pera a vymývaného tušu, ktorá bola typická pre Florisove diela. Pražská kresba je úzko spätá prinajmenšom s tromi dôležitými zákazkami Florisovej dielne: s triptychom pre Nieuwe Kerk v Delfte (teraz v Arnstadte), s triptychom v Léau a s obrazom z Wiesbadenu, ktorý mohol patriť kardinálovi Granvellovi. Tak z hľadiska ikonografie, ako i štýlu, mohli byť tieto kompozície odvodené z raných prác Tintoretta, ako predpokladá Ciulisová. Florisove inovatívne a efektne zaobchádzanie s témou sa stretlo s veľkým úspechom, ako dokladajú početné verzie tejto témy. Ale kde presnejšie chronologicky patrí pražská kresba, je zatiaľ menej jasné.

Veľkosť a charakter pražskej kresby ju umožňujú dať do vzťahu k funkcii a možno aj atribúcií s ďalšou pozoruhodnou prácou na papieri zo zbierky Univerzity v Göttingene [Obr. 4], ktorá môže byť považovaná za kópiu Florisovho strateného ori-

ginálu. Objav kresby v zbierke Ermitáže, ktorá je kópiou göttingenského diela – kresba perom a tušom omnoho typickejšieho rozmeru pre Florisa –, nám dovoľuje identifikovať tému göttingenského diela a vysloviť hypotézu o tom, kto mohol vytvoriť tieto rozmerné kresby. Téma môže byť špecifikovaná ako *Mordechaiov triumf* zo Starého Zákona, z Knihy Ester. Otázka autorstva je ale predsa len viac komplikovaná. Ak sa spoľahneme na techniku vymývania tušu, efekt chiaroscuro a veľkosť kresby, dospejeme k záveru, že göttingenské dielo, a možno aj pražská kresba, boli vytvorené Florisovým asistentom v jeho ateliéri a obe slúžili ako prípravné kartóny pre finálne maľby, ktoré mohli byť, tak ako v prípade göttingenskej maľby, dočasnými náhradami pre tabuľovú maľbu.

Florisov biografista Karel van Mander upozornil na viacero detailov týkajúcich sa použitia kresieb vo Florisovej dielni. V poznámke Van Mander zmiňuje

fakt, že Floris maľoval štúdie hláv, z ktorých mnohé sa zachovali a konštatoval, že boli pôvodne dané Florisovmu asistentovi, ktorý ich použil pri vzniku diel, vďaka ktorým Florisov ateliér získal slávu. Vzhľadom na dielo v súkromnej zbierke s tými istými rozmermi ako tieto štúdie hláv [Obr. 5], sa štúdia vracia k staršej hypotéze navrhnutej Dorou Zuntz, ale neskôr opustenej, a to, že Floris mohol tiež používať druh olejových škíc ako nástroj pri kreatívnom procese. Vo vzťahu k ikonografii tých istých variácií témy *Kristus na kríži*, toto malé olejové dielo na doske, pokiaľ je Florisove, zdôrazňuje akú dôležitú úlohu zohrávali kresby v umelcovej dielni. Frans Floris sa tak ukazuje ako významný praktikant *disegna*. Jeho inovatívne použitie kresby ako intelektuálneho cvičenia a prospešnej praxe malo významný vplyv na severských umelcov, vrátane Rubensa.

Preklad M. Vančo

Epistemische Stile der Vergegenwärtigung. Französisches und ungarisches Mittelalter auf der Pariser Weltausstellung 1900

Bernd CARQUÉ

Zwei monumentale Inszenierungen von Geschichte standen dem vor Augen, der im Jahre 1900, als Paris Schauplatz der Weltausstellung war, auf dem Pont de l'Alma die Seine überquerte. Richtete er seinen Blick flußabwärts, so gewährte er entlang des Quai de Billy ein vielteiliges Gebäudeensemble, das unter dem Rubrum *Le Vieux Paris* architektonische Zeugnisse der vorrevolutionären Stadtgeschichte in Nachbauten und Rekonstruktionen zu einem ephemeren Stadtviertel vereinte [Abb. 1].¹ Wandte er sich flußaufwärts, so fiel sein Blick auf die am Quai d'Orsay errichteten Pavillons der *Rue des Nations*, unter denen derjenige des Königreichs Ungarn hervorstach, da nur dieser weder ein einzelnes Bauwerk noch einen bestimmten Baustil als Wahrzeichen und Inbegriff des Landes zur Anschauung brachte,² sondern Monumente aus sieben Jahrhunderten in Teilnachbildungen und Motivzitate zu einem Gebäudekomplex verschmolz [Abb. 2].³

Le Vieux Paris und der ungarische Pavillon beruhten gleichermaßen auf dem Strukturprinzip der simultanen Verdichtung von zeitlich wie räumlich auseinanderliegenden Bauten oder Gebäudeteilen zu einem hybriden Ensemble, beider Erscheinungsbild wurde trotz des weitgespannten Zeithorizonts seiner Bestandteile unverkennbar von Motiven des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters dominiert. Wiewohl diese Inszenierungen von Geschichte daher den Eindruck engster konzeptioneller Verwandtschaft erwecken mußten, hätten sie einander doch fremder kaum sein können. Unter ihrer historisierenden Oberfläche, durch die beide Ausstellungsbauten in einem komplexen Zusammenhang mit dem künstlerischen Historismus⁴ wie vor allem mit den Wahrnehmungen, Deutungen und Darstellungen des Mittelalters in der Moderne⁵ standen, verbargen sich fundamentale Abweichungen politisch-kultureller, programmatischer, wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher und epistemologischer

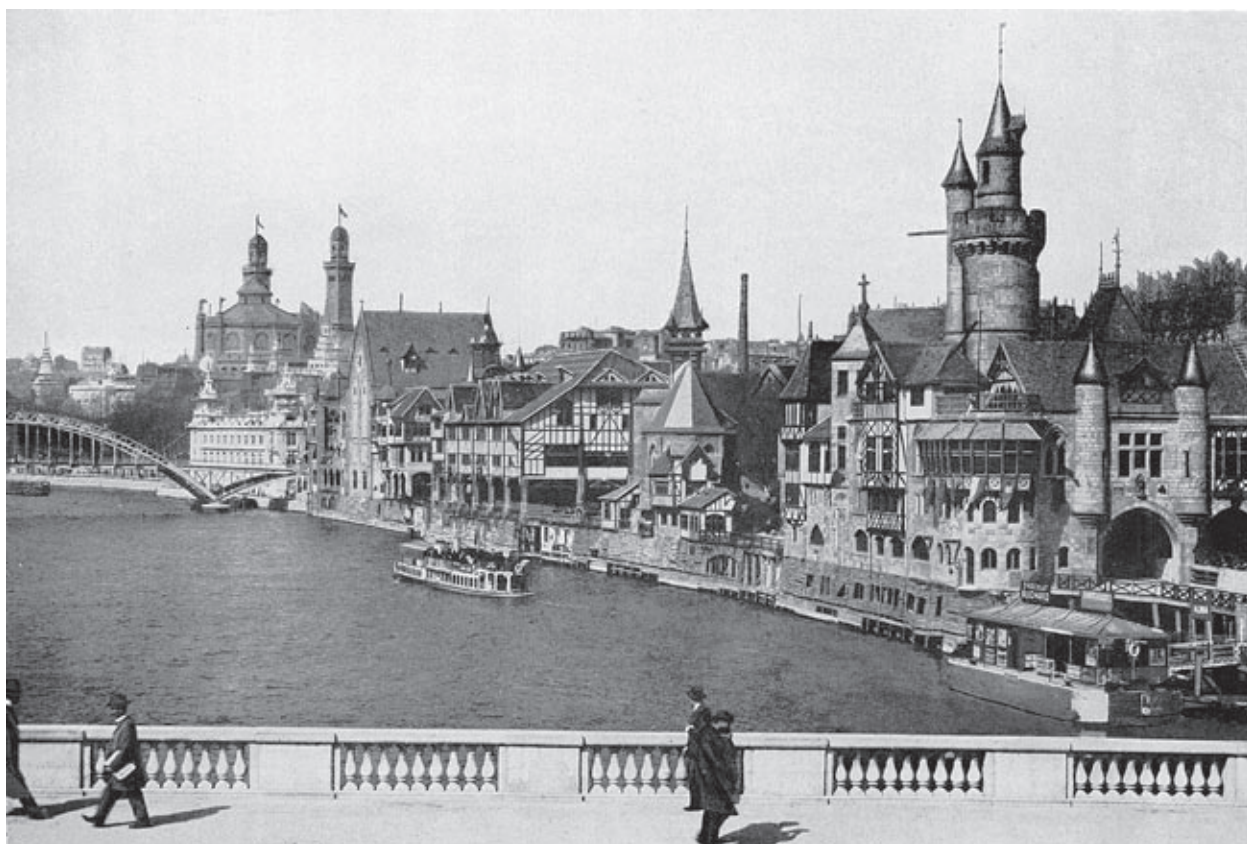
¹ ROBIDA, A.: *Exposition universelle de 1900. Le Vieux Paris. Guide historique, pittoresque et anecdotique*. Paris 1900. Siehe weitere Literatur unten in Abschnitt II.

² Zur Typologie der Länderpavillons MEIER-GRAEFE, A. J.: Die Architektur der Weltausstellung. In: MEIER-GRAEFE, A. J. (Hrsg.): *Die Weltausstellung in Paris 1900*. Paris – Leipzig 1900, S. 21-40, hier S. 25-37.

³ RADISICS, E. de: *Le Pavillon historique de la Hongrie à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris en 1900. Ouvrage [...] rédigé avec le concours de Émeric de SZALAY et Árpád de GYÖRY*. Paris (1902). Siehe weitere Literatur unten in Abschnitt III.

⁴ Grundlegend orientiert FILLITZ, H. (Hrsg.): *Der Traum vom Glück. Die Kunst des Historismus in Europa*. Wien 1996.

⁵ Jüngere Überblicke geben DE MAEYER, J. – VERPOEST, L. (Hrsg.): *Gothic Revival. Religion, Architecture and Style in Western Europe 1815 – 1914*. Leuven 2000; OEXLE, O. G. – PETNEKI, Á. – ZYGNER, L. (Hrsg.): *Bilder gedeuteter Geschichte. Das Mittelalter in der Kunst und Architektur der Moderne*. 2 Bde. Göttingen 2004; CASTELNUOVO, E. – SERGI, G. (Hrsg.): *Arti e storia nel Medioevo. Bd. IV: Il Medioevo al passato e al presente*. Torino 2004; CARQUÉ, B. – MONDINI, D. – NOELL, M. (Hrsg.): *Visualisierung und Imagination. Materielle Relikte des Mittelalters in bildlichen Darstellungen der Neuzeit und Moderne*. 2 Bde. Göttingen 2006; BAK, J. M. – JARNUT, J. (Hrsg.): *Gebrauch und Mißbrauch des Mittelalters, 19. – 21. Jahrhundert*. München 2009.



1. *Alt-Paris*. Repr.: MEIER-GRAEFE 1900 (wie Anm. 2), S. 38.

Natur, die der vorliegende Beitrag in unterschiedlicher Gewichtung zur Sprache bringt.

Die Repräsentation Ungarns auf der Weltausstellung stand im Brennpunkt der staatlichen Kultur- und Geschichtspolitik, wohingegen *Le Vieux Paris* zwar mit Billigung öffentlicher Institutionen, jedoch allein von privater Seite initiiert und realisiert wurde. Verbanden sich am Quai de Billy kommerzielle mit stadteschichtlichen, nostalgische mit denkmalpflegerischen Interessen, so hatte man am Quai d'Orsay nichts weniger als die Symbolisierung nationaler Identität und Eigenständigkeit im Sinn. Dabei spielte das Mittelalter eine tragende, weil untrennbar mit den Gründungsmythen Ungarns verbundene Rolle, während es für die monumentale Selbstdarstellung der Troisième République weithin ohne Bedeutung blieb. Die Mittel und Wege schließlich, die den historischen Imaginarien zu ihrer öffentlichkeitswirksamen Gestalt verhalfen, fanden in Ungarn breiten

Rückhalt in der geschichtswissenschaftlichen wie in der kunsthistorischen Forschung, derweil sie in Frankreich keine fachwissenschaftliche Legitimation und Akzeptanz besaßen.

Daß visuelle Vergegenwärtigungen mittelalterlicher Bau- und Bildkunst um 1900 allen Gleichförmigkeiten ihrer äußeren Gestalt zum Trotz solchermaßen divergieren konnten – daß sie in Ungarn im Zentrum kulturpolitischer und wissenschaftlicher Diskurse standen, in Frankreich dagegen an deren Rändern –, ist nicht von vornherein selbstverständlich und verlangt nach Erklärung. Daher soll der vergleichende Blick auf die monumentalen Mittelalterbilder der Weltausstellung und ihren weiteren Kontext Aufschluß darüber geben, welche Faktoren jeweils auf die Prozesse der Aneignung und Bedeutungszuweisung, namentlich aber auf die Praktiken und Medien der Visualisierung eingewirkt haben. Zunächst ist (I.) nach den Wandlungsprozessen zu



2. Das ungarische Palais am Quai d'Orsay. Repr.: MALKOWSKY 1900 (wie Anm. 69), S. 263.

fragen, die in Frankreich zur Folge hatten, daß dort seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts die nationale Semantik des Mittelalters ebenso einer fortschreitenden Marginalisierung unterlag wie dessen historisierende Vergegenwärtigung vermöge der künstlerischen Imagination. Vor diesem Hintergrund sind sodann (II.) die Inszenierungsformen, Deutungsleistungen und Sinnangebote des *Vieux Paris* genauer zu verorten, bevor von dort aus schließlich (III.) der ungarische Pavillon und dessen Vorgeschichte in Gestalt der

Bauten zur Budapester Millenniumsausstellung 1896 näher in Augenschein genommen werden.

I.

Eine Tafel aus Anatole de Baudots *La sculpture française* (1884)⁶ führt uns auf scheinbar vertrautes Terrain [Abb. 3]. Entspricht die Art und Weise ihrer Objektpräsentation doch vollkommen dem, was uns in jenen zahlreichen Mappenwerken und Foliobänden vor Augen steht, die in den Dezennien um 1900 im Medium der Heliogravüre oder Autotypie photographische Aufnahmen zu Tableaus arrangierten, die bau- und bildkünstlerische Belegstücke für die je eigene Stilphysiognomie der Jahrhunderte versammeln: Die Objekte zeigen sich bevorzugt nahsichtig in den Blick genommen, meist bildparallel ausgerichtet, in Schärfe und Ausleuchtung gleichmäßig erfaßt sowie zuweilen freigestellt. Stutzig macht freilich, was diese Tafel auf solche Weise zur Anschauung bringt und ganz selbstverständlich als „*Sculpture française – Île-de-France – XIII^e siècle*“ deklariert. Denn bekanntlich handelt es sich bei den Monstren und Chimären um eben jene Skulpturen, welche die Equipe um den Bildhauer Victor-Joseph Pyanet auf Veranlassung und nach den Entwürfen des Architekten und Restaurators Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc gegen 1850 für die Balustrade der Pariser Kathedraltürme geschaffen hat.⁷

Umfassend dokumentiert finden sich diese Figuren unter den über 6000 Aufnahmen, die der Photograph Séraphin-Médéric Mieusement seit 1876 im Auftrag der *Commission des Monuments historiques* und anderer Denkmalpflegebehörden von Bau- und Bildwerken insbesondere des Mittelalters angefertigt hat.⁸ 400 dieser um höchste Präzision und Objektivität der Darstellung bemühten Bilder wählte das Kommissionsmitglied Anatole de Baudot⁹ für sein Tafelwerk aus, das im visuellen

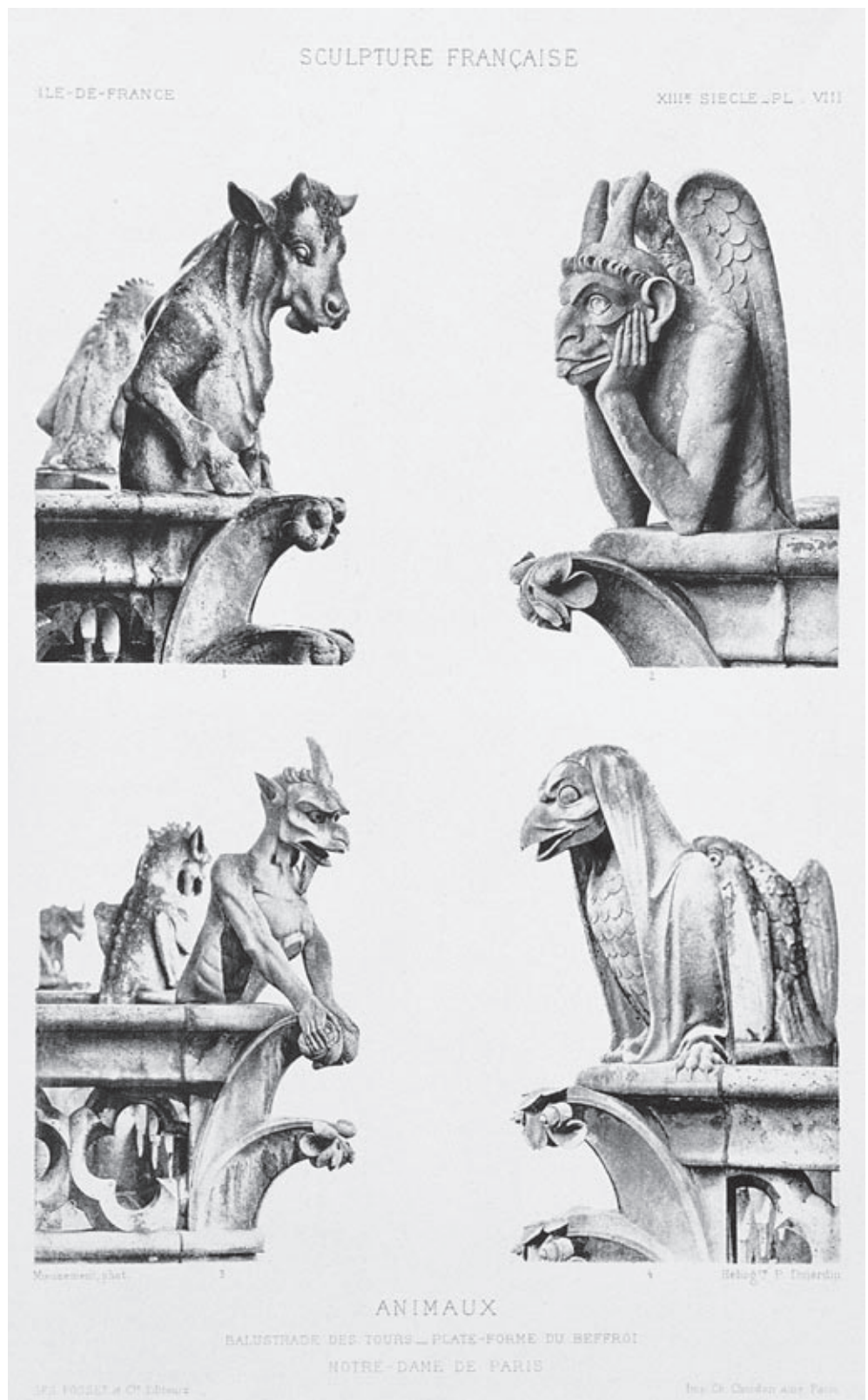
⁶ BAUDOT, A. de (Hrsg.): *La sculpture française au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*. Paris 1884.

⁷ MACÉ DE LÉPINAY, F.: Geoffroy-Dechaume et la restauration de la sculpture de Notre-Dame de Paris (1848 – 1867). In: *De Plâtre et d'Or. Geoffroy-Dechaume, sculpteur romantique de Viollet-le-Duc*. Nesles-la-Vallée 1998, S. 157-171; künftig umfassend zu diesen Figuren und ihrem Imaginarium CA-

MILLE, M.: *The Gargoyles of Notre-Dame. Medievalism and the Monsters of Modernity*. Chicago 2009 (im Druck).

⁸ Mieusement, *cathédrales de France. Photographies du XIX^e siècle*. Paris 1988; *Regards objectifs. Mieusement et Lesueur, photographes à Blois*. Paris 2000.

⁹ Zur Person LENIAUD, J.-M.: *Les cathédrales au XIX^e siècle*. Paris 1993, S. 119 ff., 612 ff. und passim.



3. Sculpture française — Île-de-France — XIII^e siècle.
Repro: BAUDOT 1884
(wie Anm. 6), XIII^e siècle:
Taf. VIII.

Habitus ganz dem Exaktheitsideal der empirischen Naturwissenschaften zu entsprechen suchte. Viollet-le-Duc hingegen war es um Deutung zu tun, als er drei Jahrzehnte früher mit den Figuren Pyanets den enzyklopädischen Zuschnitt der Bildwelten gotischer Kathedralen¹⁰ unterstreichen und ihre Modernität aufweisen wollte. Pate stand dabei die von Victor Hugo im Vorwort zum *Cromwell* (1827) einflußreich propagierte Verschränkung des Erhabenen mit dem Grotesken: Solch unreduzierte Lebenstotalität kennzeichne, so Hugo, die nachantike, genuin mittelalterliche Ästhetik ebenso wie jene romantische, die in der Gegenwart die klassische abgelöst habe.¹¹

Mithin steht uns in Gestalt des Balustradenschmucks von Notre-Dame eine bildgewordene Deutung des Mittelalters durch die Moderne vor Augen, die beide Epochen zueinander in Beziehung setzt. Namentlich der sogenannte *Stryge*¹² darf als eine der wirkmächtigsten Bildprägungen des im 19. Jahrhundert erdachten Mittelalters gelten. Charles Meryon hat ihn durch die Beischrift seiner berühmten Radierung von 1853 zur Chiffre für den Moloch der modernen Großstadt erklärt.¹³ Im Vis-à-vis zur flamboyanten Tour Saint-Jacques ließ er sich auf diesem Blatt auch als Zerrbild einer Gegenwart lesen, die im Zuge der von Napoléon III. befohlenen „*Transformation de Paris*“¹⁴ im Begriff stand, die monumentalen Spuren des Mittelalters aus dem Stadtbild

zu tilgen.¹⁵ Durch solche Bedeutungszuweisungen verkörperten die Balustradenfiguren das historische Imaginarium der Moderne bald auf so vollkommene Weise, daß sie nicht mehr anders denn als mittelalterliche Originale wahrgenommen werden konnten. Viollet-le-Duc selbst ließ den Leser und Betrachter seines *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture* unter dem Stichwort „*Balustrade*“ (1856) im Unklaren darüber, welcher Zeit das dort im Holzstich vorgeführte Mischwesen angehört.¹⁶ Und in Thomas Wrights *History of Caricature and Grottesque* (1865) ist der *Stryge* bereits zum mittelalterlichen Mephistopheles schlechthin geworden.¹⁷

Ebenso unvermittelt wie freilich auch unbeabsichtigt treffen also in Anatole de Baudots Tafelwerk zwei divergierende Modi der Aneignung mittelalterlicher Bau- und Bildkunst aufeinander: Bemächtigt sich bei Mieuxement ein sachlich-präzise dokumentierender Blick der Kathedrale Notre-Dame, so ist es bei Viollet-le-Duc die künstlerische Imagination, die an ihr eine bestimmte Deutung evoziert. Als komplementäre Pole markieren diese Modi der empirischen Erfassung und der interpretativen Evokation ein für die Mittelalterrezeption des 19. Jahrhunderts charakteristisches Spannungsfeld, innerhalb dessen sich Praktiken wie Medien der Aneignung und Bedeutungszuweisung ausgerichtet finden.¹⁸ Diese Orientierung der Erkenntnisinteressen und Darstellungsabsichten wirkte maßgeblich auch auf

¹⁰ Zu dieser Vorstellung Viollet-le-Ducs BARIDON, L.: *L'imaginaire scientifique de Viollet-le-Duc*. Paris 1996, S. 163-170; MICHON, S.: Viollet-le-Duc et le bestiaire médiévale. In: *Utilis est lapis structura. Mélanges offerts à Léon Pressouyre*. Paris 2000, S. 283-300, hier besonders S. 292-297.

¹¹ *Œuvres complètes de Victor Hugo. Drame I: Cromwell*. Paris 1881, S. 4-75, hier besonders S. 17 f.

¹² Die Tafel bei Anatole de Baudot [Abb. 3] zeigt ihn im oberen Register rechts.

¹³ HOLCOMB, A. M.: Le Stryge de Notre-Dame. Some Aspects of Meryon's Symbolism. In: *Art Journal*, 31, 1971/1972, S. 151-157; *Charles Meryon – Paris um 1850. Zeichnungen, Radierungen, Photographien*. Frankfurt am Main 1975, Kat.-Nr. Z 2-3 und R 7; LE MEN, S.: *La Cathédrale illustrée de Hugo à Monet. Regard romantique et modernité*. Paris 1998, S. 122 ff.

¹⁴ EARLS, I. A.: *Napoléon III. L'Architecte et l'Urbaniste de Paris*. Levallois 1991; DES CARS, J. – PINON, P. (Hrsg.): *Paris*

– *Haussmann*. „*Le Pari d'Hausmann*“. Paris 1991; BOWIE, K. (Hrsg.): *La modernité avant Haussmann. Formes de l'espace urbain à Paris, 1801 – 1853*. Paris 2001.

¹⁵ Zur Auseinandersetzung um den Erhalt der Tour Saint-Jacques O'CONNELL, L. M.: Afterlives of the Tour Saint-Jacques. Plotting the Perceptual History of an Urban Fragment. In: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 60, 2001, S. 450-473, hier S. 459-462.

¹⁶ VIOLLET-LE-DUC, E.-E.: *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*. 10 Bde. Paris 1854 – 1868, Bd. 2 (ca. 1856), S. 67-98, hier S. 73.

¹⁷ WRIGHT, T.: *A History of Caricature and Grottesque in Literature and Art*. London 1865, S. 73 f.

¹⁸ Exemplarisch NOELL, M.: „Standards of taste“. Augustus Charles Pugin und die „Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandie“. In: CARQUÉ – MONDINI – NOELL 2006 (wie Anm. 5), S. 417-464.

den epistemischen Stil¹⁹ der Visualisierungen ein – auf die je spezifische Art und Weise also, in der künstlerische Techniken und bildnerische Mittel als Instrumente der visuellen Bedeutungsproduktion eingesetzt wurden. Für das Verständnis der eingangs erwähnten Mittelalterinszenierungen ist es daher von heuristischem Nutzen, sich die Grundzüge jener Wandlungsprozesse in Erinnerung zu rufen, denen der Gebrauch solcher Darstellungsmodi im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts unterlag.

Um zu ermitteln, wie tiefgreifend sich die Deutungsleistungen und Sinnangebote der Bilder bis zu den Tafelwerken der Jahrhundertwende verändert haben, ist ein Blick in die vielbändigen, zwischen 1820 und 1878 in Lieferungen erschienenen *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*²⁰ aufschlußreich – der Blick in eine jener Publikationen also, deren Abbildungen noch eigens angefertigt und nicht, wie später etwa bei Anatole de Baudot, aus einem bereits existierenden Bestand ausgewählt wurden, der ohne dezidierte Zweckbestimmung für das Bildarchiv und den freien Markt²¹ entstanden war. Aufschlußreich sind die *Voyages* auch in anderer Hinsicht, denn darin spielt die für Hugos Ästhetik oder Viollet-le-Ducs Gotikverständnis wie generell für die Mittelalterdeutungen des 19. Jahrhunderts so fundamentale Verschränkung von Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Mittelalter und Moderne bereits eine tragende Rolle. Um 1900 werden wir ihr im Stadium der Auflösung begegnen, zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts war sie dagegen eine weithin relevante Reflexionsform historisch begründeter Modernität.

In politisch-gesellschaftlicher wie in ästhetischer Hinsicht schlug die Stunde des Mittelalters nach der zweifachen Zäsur durch den revolutionären

Umsturz und das Ende des Kaiserreichs. Als genuine Frühzeit der französischen Nation versprach es nun in restaurativer ebenso wie in liberaler Lesart identitätssichernde respektive identitätsstiftende Orientierung für das historische Selbstverständnis der Gegenwart. Als ureigenes Kulturerbe der Nation bot es außerdem ein willkommenes Gegengewicht zur verpönten Heteronomie des Klassizismus und der antikisierenden Ästhetik der Revolutionszeit und des Empire. Im Blick zurück hinter die umfassende Zäsur der Revolution wurden die *Voyages* als „*un ouvrage complet et un corps entier de documents sur l'histoire et les arts du moyen âge*“²² konzipiert. Sie sollten die materiellen wie mentalen Spuren vaterländischer Geschichte dem Vergessen entreißen, vor weiterem Verlust bewahren und die lebendige Gegenwart der Vergangenheit in Sitten und Gebräuchen bekunden. Dieser programmatischen Ausrichtung entspricht nicht nur das breite Spektrum der Bildgegenstände, sondern ebensowohl das der Bildstrategien, die zu ihrer Repräsentation aufgeboten wurden.²³ Künstlerische Techniken und bildnerische Mittel zeigen sich umfassend der visuellen Bedeutungsproduktion dienstbar gemacht.

Durch die Lichtführung wie durch die Begleitmotive dräuender Wolken und Vogelschwärme dramatisiert, durch Proportions- und Maßstabsverschiebungen monumentalisiert, wird die Tour de l'Horloge in Evreux [Abb. 4] gleichwohl in ihrer städtebaulichen Einbettung zur Anschauung gebracht. Auch das von traditionsbezeugenden Volkstrachten geprägte Alltagsleben der Gegenwart vollzieht sich in diesem geschichtlich erwachsenen Umfeld und ist mit ihm durch die feinkörnige Textur der Kreidelithographie und den Detailreichtum der Zeichnung zu einem

¹⁹ Zur Übertragung dieses Beschreibungsmodells der Wissenschaftsforschung auf die kunsthistorisch fundierte Bildanalyse CARQUÉ, B.: Epistemische Dinge. Zur bildlichen Aneignung mittelalterlicher Artefakte in der Moderne. In: OEXLE – PETNEKI – ZYGNER 2004 (wie Anm. 5), S. 55-162, hier besonders S. 59-62.

²⁰ NODIER, C. – TAYLOR, J. – CAILLEUX, A. de: *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*. 21 Bde. Paris 1820 – 1878. Dazu mit der älteren Literatur CARQUÉ, B.: Repräsentationsräume des „patrimoine“. Visualisierungen des Mittelalters in den „Voyages pittoresques et romantiques de l'ancienne France“ (1820 – 1878). In: *Acta Historiae Artium*, 47, 2006, S. 271-301; CARQUÉ, B.: Wissensraum

Normandie. Zur bildlichen Konstruktion einer Gedächtnislandschaft unter der Restauration. In: *Unsere Heimat. Zeitschrift für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, 78, 2007, S. 235-257, hier S. 240-257.

²¹ Mit der *Commission des Monuments historiques* kamen Mieuxement und andere Photographen darin überein, ihre Aufnahmen auch frei vermarkten zu dürfen.

²² NODIER – TAYLOR – CAILLEUX 1820 – 1878 (wie Anm. 20), Bd. 1, S. 179.

²³ Dazu im einzelnen CARQUÉ 2006 (wie Anm. 20); CARQUÉ 2007 (wie Anm. 20), S. 245-253.



4. *Tour du gros Horloge, Évreux*. Repro: NODIER – TAYLOR – CAILLEUX 1820 – 1878 (wie Anm. 20), Bde. 1-2, Taf. 226.

atmosphärisch dichten Gesamteindruck verwoben. Durch solche Merkmale weisen die Bilder der *Voyages* auf den unzertrennbaren Zusammenhang des Kulturganzes hin, den vor allem es herauszustreichen galt. Enge Verbindungslinien zeichnen sich darin zur Historiographie ab, wo in den zwanziger Jahren

die „*école narrative*“ vehement einen evokatorischen Lokal- und Zeitkolorit vertrat und sich eine „*histoire de la civilisation*“ zu formieren begann, deren Bestreben, das Geschichtliche in der Gesamtheit seiner Erscheinungsformen zu erschließen, zum Leitkonzept bürgerlich-liberaler Geschichtsschreibung unter der Julimonarchie aufsteigen sollte.²⁴

Dem Modus bildkünstlerischer Deutung haben die *Voyages* freilich von Beginn an einen zweiten, nämlich den der sachlich-präzisen Erfassung zur Seite gestellt, denn in Rissen, Schnitten und Detailansichten suchten sie den materiellen Bestand der Monumente umfänglich zu dokumentieren. Damit entsprachen sie neuen, auf seiten der entstehenden Mittelalterarchäologie und Bauforschung erhobenen Forderungen an die bildliche Vergegenwärtigung der Objekte. Arcisse de Caumont²⁵ und Viollet-le-Duc²⁶ sind als wichtigste Exponenten dieser empirisch-exakten und analytischen Visualisierung zu nennen. Letzterer hat denn auch im *Dictionnaire* die Tour de l’Horloge ihres Kontextes enthoben, auf nüchterne graphische Angaben reduziert und als isoliertes Belegstück für den Bautypus des „*Beffroi*“ zur Darstellung gebracht [Abb. 5]²⁷ – wenige Jahre nachdem in Paris die Tour Saint-Jacques, die Meryon noch als integralen Teil der Altstadt ins Bild gesetzt hatte, durch den Abriß der sich anschließenden Bebauung denkmalhaft freigelegt worden war.

Wiewohl der Anteil sachlich-präzise dokumentierender Tafeln im Erscheinungsverlauf allmählich zunahm, änderte sich zunächst nichts am fundamentalen Anliegen der *Voyages*, dem Betrachter durch die Art und Weise der Darstellung historische Sinnangebote zu unterbreiten, die weit über die Belange empirischer Erfassung hinausgingen. Erst in den nach der Mitte des Jahrhunderts erschienenen Bänden mehrten sich Anzeichen eines Umbruchs ihrer Bilderwelt. Wurden die Vorlagen der lithographischen Tafeln bis dahin im Medium der Zeichnung übermittelt, so war es nun in wachsendem Umfang

²⁴ STADLER, P.: *Geschichtsschreibung und historisches Denken in Frankreich 1789 – 1871*. Zürich 1958, S. 92-117, 141-160; REIZOV, B. G.: *L’historiographie romantique française 1815 – 1830*. Moscou 1962; VOSS, J.: *Das Mittelalter im historischen Denken Frankreichs*. München 1972, S. 312-368.

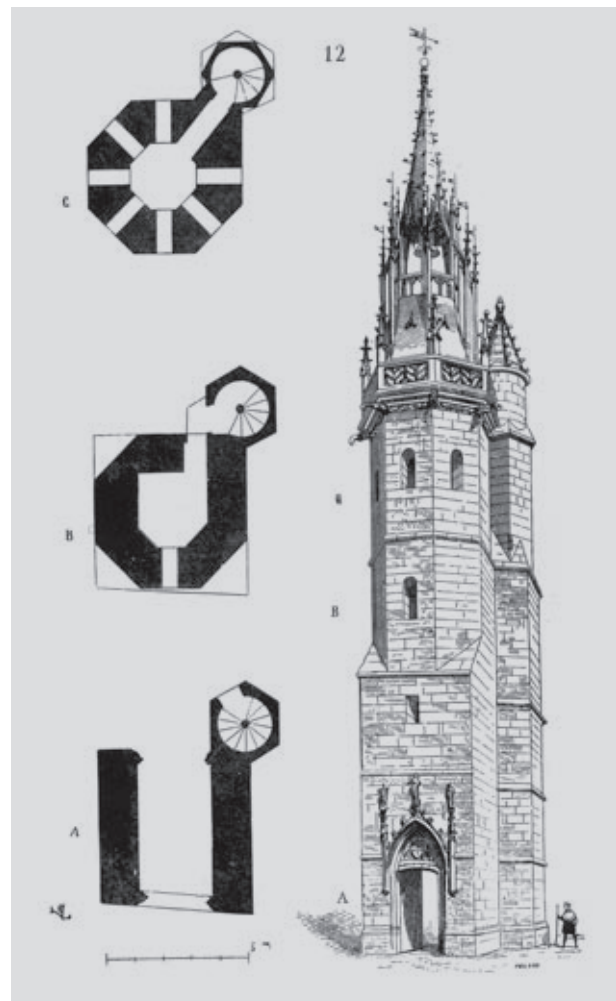
²⁵ JUHEL, V. (Hrsg.): *Arcisse de Caumont (1801 – 1873). Érudit normand et fondateur de l’archéologie française*. Caen 2004.

²⁶ BOUDON, F.: Le réel et l’imaginaire chez Viollet-le-Duc: les figures du Dictionnaire de l’architecture. In: *Revue de l’art*, 58-59, 1982 – 1983, S. 95-114; LENIAUD, J.-M.: *Viollet-le-Duc ou les délires du système*. Paris 1994; BARIDON 1996 (wie Anm. 10), S. 125-136. Siehe auch Anm. 28.

²⁷ VIOLLET-LE-DUC 1854 – 1868 (wie Anm. 16), Bd. 2, S. 186-200, hier S. 196.

die Photographie, die als Vorlage diente. Zugleich tritt jetzt ein anderer, stärker der objektivierenden Dokumentation verpflichteter Modus beherrschend in Erscheinung. Ausschlaggebend war freilich nicht der Medienwechsel selbst, sondern der tiefgreifende Wandel jener Erwartungen und Interessen, von denen auch er getragen und vorangetrieben wurde. Denn der seit den fünfziger Jahren weithin dominierende Empirismus und Objektivismus der Naturwissenschaften²⁸ hatte für die Photographie zur Folge, daß sie das Spektrum ihrer Möglichkeiten namentlich im Bereich der Denkmalinventarisierung auf die vielfach postulierte Indexikalität verkürzte.²⁹

Bezeugt wird diese Formung eines zweckdienlichen epistemischen Stils etwa von Praktiken der Bildretusche, wie sie jene Kalotypien zu erkennen geben, die 1851 im Zuge der *Mission héliographique*, der ersten staatlichen Kampagne photographischer Dokumentation entstanden sind.³⁰ Motive der traditionellen Bildrhetorik wurden zwar vereinzelt auf dem Papiernegativ hinzugefügt, doch hat man überwiegend gerade Wolkengebilde und andere aus der Malerei vertraute Stimmungsträger manuell entfernt, um die Monumente uneingeschränkt zur Geltung zu bringen. Derselben Orientierung an strikter Objekt- und Quellennähe begegnen wir seit der Jahrhundertmitte mit besonderer Vehemenz auch in der Historiographie, denn dort ging die massive Kritik an der älteren, noch durch die „*école narrative*“ geprägten Zivilisationsgeschichtsschreibung mit einer rigiden Trennung von Literatur und Wissenschaft einher.³¹ Unter den Leitbegriffen strenger Rationalität und Nüchternheit der Darstellung richtete sich die neue „*école méthodique*“ an der vorgeblichen Authentizität von Textquellen und Sachüberresten



5. Die Tour de l'Horloge in Évreux. Repr.: VIOLLET-LE-DUC 1854 – 1868 (wie Anm. 16), Bd. 2, S. 196.

²⁸ Grundlegend DASTON, L. – GALISON, P.: *Objektivität*. Frankfurt am Main 2007, besonders S. 133-183 zur Photographie; ZIMMERMANN, A.: *Ästhetik der Objektivität*. Bielefeld 2009. Zu den dadurch beeinflussten Paradigmenwechseln der Architekturgeschichtsschreibung TALENTI, S.: *L'histoire de l'architecture en France. Émergence d'une discipline (1863 – 1914)*. Paris 2000, S. 163-169, 185-235; *L'architecture, les sciences et la culture de l'histoire au XIX^e siècle*. Saint-Étienne 2001. Exemplarisch zur prägenden Wirkung des naturwissenschaftlichen Denkens auf Viollet-le-Duc BARIDON 1996 (wie Anm. 10); NIEHR, K.: Die perfekte Kathedrale. Imaginationen des monumentalen Mittelalters im französischen 19. Jahrhundert. In: OEXLE – PETNEKI – ZYGNER 2004 (wie Anm. 5), S. 163-221.

²⁹ BUSCH, B.: *Belichtete Welt. Eine Wahrnehmungsgeschichte der Fotografie*. Frankfurt am Main 1995; STIEGLER, B.: *Philologie des Auges. Die photographische Entdeckung der Welt im 19. Jahrhundert*. München 2001.

³⁰ MONDENARD, A. de: *La Mission héliographique*. Paris 2002, besonders S. 199 f.

³¹ BECHER, U.: *Geschichtsinteresse und historischer Diskurs*. Stuttgart 1986, S. 26-68; DELACROIX, C. – DOSSE, F. – GARCIA, P.: *Les courants historiques en France, 19^e – 20^e siècle*. Paris 1999, S. 53-104.

aus. Entsprechend haben sich in den Illustrationen historiographischer Werke die ikonischen Mittel dem unbedingten Anspruch dokumentierender Sachtreue gefügt – bahnbrechend etwa in der *Histoire de France* von Henri Bordier und Édouard Charton von 1859 – 1860.³² Interpretative Evokationen szenisch verlebendiger Herrscherporträts oder frei erfundener Historienbilder, die noch mit Prosper de Barantes *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne* (1824 – 1826)³³ ein Gründungswerk der „*école narrative*“ begleitet haben, sind in die Bildwelten der popularisierenden und der didaktischen Literatur³⁴ abgewandert.

Von der szientistischen Ernüchterung, die in den instrumentellen Bildwelten der Mittelalterforschung um sich griff, wurden auch andere Praktiken und Medien der Rezeption erfaßt. So rückte die museale Präsentation der Objekte vom Konzept gattungsübergreifender Epochensäule ab, das Alexandre Lenoir zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts mit dem *Musée des Monuments Français*³⁵ richtungsweisend entwickelt und Alexandre Du Sommerard im Hôtel de Cluny³⁶ aufgegriffen hatte. Anstelle der Inszenierung des Kulturganzen durch maximale Verdichtung wurde nun die Entwicklungsgeschichte einzelner Gattungen durch parataktische Reihung zur Anschauung gebracht. Kritik am zerstörten Kulturzusammenhang, welche die 1882 im Palais du Trocadéro als *Musée de sculpture comparée* eröffnete Abgußsammlung³⁷ ebenso auf sich zog wie die 1893 im Louvre neu eingerichteten Abteilungen mittelalterlicher Kunst,

speiste sich aus dem Bildgedächtnis, in das sich die atmosphärischen Qualitäten einer zivilisationsgeschichtlichen Zusammenschau der Objekte durch entsprechende Ansichten der älteren Epochensäule³⁸ eingeschrieben hatten. Evokatorische Arrangements finden sich fortan bevorzugt in den Bildkompositionen populärer Veröffentlichungen.³⁹

Nicht von ungefähr sind es im letzten Jahrhundertviertel vor allem Medien an den Rändern oder jenseits der wissenschaftlichen Bilddiskurse, die noch Praktiken der Evokation mit ikonischen Mitteln zu erkennen geben,⁴⁰ denn der Prozeß einer Ernüchterung des Visuellen erfuhr zu dieser Zeit eine jähe Radikalisierung. Mit der Dritten Republik und ihrem Gründungstrauma des verlorenen Deutsch-französischen Krieges 1870 – 1871 wurden auf breiter Front die wissenschafts- und kulturpolitischen Anstrengungen intensiviert, eine ganz den Normen der Rationalität und Objektivität gehorchende Geschichtsforschung zu etablieren.⁴¹ Und noch ein zweiter Faktor hat die Mittelalterdeutung alten Stils in ein bestandskritisches Stadium versetzt: Durch die rapide gesellschaftliche und technisch-industrielle Modernisierung verlor die interpretative Verschränkung von Mittelalter und Moderne ihre Überzeugungskraft und damit zugleich ihre Orientierungsfunktion für das Selbstverständnis der Gegenwart – einer Gegenwart, die sich nun wesentlich als eine aus der revolutionären Zäsur hervorgegangene Moderne begriff.

³² BORDIER, H. – CHARTON, E.: *Histoire de France, depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours, d'après les documents originaux et les monuments de l'art de chaque époque*. 2 Bde. Paris 1859 – 1860.

³³ BARANTE, P. de: *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois 1364 – 1477*. 12 Bde. Paris 1824 – 1826; illustriert seit der 5. Aufl., Paris 1837 – 1838; hier konsultiert in der 6. Aufl., Paris 1842.

³⁴ AMALVI, C.: *Les héros de l'Histoire de France. Recherche iconographique sur le panthéon scolaire de la troisième République*. Paris 1979.

³⁵ HASKELL, F.: *History and Its Images*. New Haven – London 1993, S. 236-252; PLATO, A. von: *Präsentierte Geschichte*. Frankfurt am Main 2001, S. 35-62.

³⁶ PLATO 2001 (wie Anm. 35), S. 63-96.

³⁷ *Le Musée de sculpture comparée*. Paris 2001.

³⁸ *Vues pittoresques et perspectives des salles du Musée des Monuments Français. Gravée [...] par MM. Réville et Lavallée, d'après les dessins de M. Vauzelle [...]*. Paris 1816; DU SOMMERARD, A. de: *Les Arts au moyen-âge, en ce qui concerne principalement [...] l'Hôtel de Cluny [...]*. 5 Bde. und Alben. Paris 1838 – 1846.

³⁹ Exemplarisch DUCUING, F. (Hrsg.): *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée*. 2 Bde. Paris 1867, Bd. 2, S. 120 (Arabeskenrahmen zur Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes).

⁴⁰ Im Überblick EMERY, E. – MOROWITZ, L.: *Consuming the Past. The Medieval Revival in fin-de-siècle France*. Aldershot 2003.

⁴¹ Neben der in Anm. 31 aufgeführten Literatur auch DIGEON, C.: *La crise allemande de la pensée française (1870 – 1914)*. Paris 1959; BOURDÉ, G. – MARTIN, H.: *Les écoles historiques*. Paris 1983, S. 181-214.

Zur Weltausstellung 1889, mit der zugleich das Centenarium der Revolution begangen wurde, schuf man in Gestalt des Eiffelturmes die fraglos wirkmächtigste Symbolisierung dieser Moderne.⁴² In einer der damals zahlreich verfaßten Elogien ist es „la Tour“ höchstselbst, welche die Türme von Notre-Dame über ihren unwiderruflichen Bedeutungsverlust im Angesicht des Fortschritts der Gegenwart in Kenntnis setzt.⁴³ Verabschiedet wird hier ein weitläufiges historisches Imaginarium, in dessen Zentrum ein halbes Jahrhundert lang jenes Bild der Kathedrale beherrschend in Erscheinung trat, das Victor Hugo mit seinem Roman *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831 – 1832) maßgeblich geprägt hatte.⁴⁴ Von dieser Evokation des Bauwerks als eines geschichtlichen Sediments der Nation, ihrer Gesellschaft und ihres Volkes⁴⁵ hat auch Viollet-le-Duc entscheidende Impulse empfangen. Noch 1863 konnte er daher in den *Entretiens sur l'architecture* die Baukunst der Gotik nach Strukturprinzip und Formgesetz in ein inneres Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zu den Dampflokomotiven seiner Gegenwart setzen⁴⁶ – in der festen Überzeugung, auch die mittelalterliche Gesellschaft beruhe wesentlich auf Rationalität und Logik, Laiengeist und Bürgersinn.⁴⁷

Zu dieser Konstruktion historischer Kontinuität und Wesensentsprechung findet sich an unerwarteter Stelle ein schlagender bildlicher Kommentar. Im Zukunftsroman *Le Vingtième Siècle*, mit dem der Zeichner

und Schriftsteller Albert Robida⁴⁸ 1883 einen visionären Blick ins mittlere 20. Jahrhundert warf, zeigen sich Mittelalter und Moderne auf unmißverständliche Weise zueinander in Beziehung gesetzt: Unter den mittelalterlichen Artefakten im *Musée de Cluny* ist nun auch die letzte Dampflokomotive zu bestaunen, da sie gleichfalls und endgültig der Vergangenheit angehört.⁴⁹ Zu einer nur noch ironisch gebrochen denk- und darstellbaren Zeitenspiegelung degradierte Robida auch ein anderes, von Viollet-le-Duc einst epochemachend formuliertes Theorem, dem nicht zuletzt die oben erwähnten Balustradenfiguren von Notre-Dame geschuldet sind: das der restauratorischen Perfektionierung aus dem Geiste des Mittelalters,⁵⁰ der sich in der Moderne erneuert habe. Vollenden könne man die Bauten der Gotik, so Robida ganz im Sinne der Fortschrittsideologie der Dritten Republik, einzig im radikalen Gegenwartsbezug – etwa als himmelragende Bahnhöfe für Luftomnibusse.⁵¹

II.

Nun ist es freilich eben dieser Robida gewesen, der zur Weltausstellung 1900 mit einer entschieden retrospektiven Mittelalterinszenierung in Erscheinung trat, denn auf ihn gehen Initiative, Konzept und Entwürfe zu jenem *Vieux Paris* zurück, von dem eingangs die Rede war.⁵² Zu einer raum-zeitlichen

⁴² LOYRETTE, H.: La Tour Eiffel. In: NORA, P. (Hrsg.) *Les lieux de mémoire*. Paris 1992, Bd. III/3, S. 474-503; ORY, P.: Le Centenaire de la Révolution française. In: *Les lieux de mémoire*. Paris 1984, Bd. 1, S. 523-560; KOHLE, H.: Der Eiffelturm als Revolutionsdenkmal. In: GERSMANN, G. (Hrsg.): *Frankreich 1871 – 1914. Die Dritte Republik und die Französische Revolution*. Stuttgart 2002, S. 119-132.

⁴³ VOGÜÉ, M.-M. de: *Remarques sur l'Exposition du Centenaire*. Paris 1889, S. 24 f.

⁴⁴ MALLION, J.: *Victor Hugo et l'art architectural*. Paris 1962, besonders S. 61-78, 533-552; LE MEN 1998 (wie Anm. 13); RECHT, R. (Hrsg.): *Victor Hugo et le débat patrimonial*. Paris 2003.

⁴⁵ HUGO, V.: *Notre-Dame de Paris*. Paris 1831 (8., erweiterte Auflage 1832); Ibidem. Nouvelle édition illustrée. 2 Bde. Paris 1876 – 1877, Bd. 1, S. 143 f.

⁴⁶ VIOLLET-LE-DUC, E.-E.: *Entretiens sur l'architecture*. 2 Bde und Atlas. Paris 1863 – 1872, Bd. 1, S. 186.

⁴⁷ STEINHAUSER, M.: Gotik und Moderne. Zu Viollet-le-Ducs Architekturverständnis. In: MECKSEPER, C. – SIEBENMORGEN, H. (Hrsg.): *Die alte Stadt: Denkmal oder Lebensraum?* Göttingen 1985, S. 27-66; LENIAUD 1994 (wie Anm. 26), S. 44-59.

⁴⁸ BRUN, P.: *Albert Robida (1848 – 1926). Sa vie, son œuvre*. Paris 1984; Albert Robida 1848 – 1926. In: *Le téléphonoscope. Bulletin des Amis d'Albert Robida*, 12, 2005.

⁴⁹ ROBIDA, A.: *Le Vingtième Siècle*. Paris 1883, Abbildung auf S. 9 sowie zur atavistischen Dampfkraft S. 47.

⁵⁰ VIOLLET-LE-DUC, E.-E.: Art. „Restauration“. In: VIOLLET-LE-DUC 1854 – 1868 (wie Anm. 16), Bd. 8, S. 14-34. Zur Verfahrensweise NIEHR 2004 (wie Anm. 28).

⁵¹ ROBIDA 1883 (wie Anm. 49), S. 90 sowie Tafeln nach S. 52 (Tour Saint-Jacques) oder S. 84 (Notre-Dame).

⁵² Wichtigste Quelle ist ROBIDA 1900 (wie Anm. 1). Literatur in Auswahl: WÖRNER, M.: *Vergnügung und Belehrung. Volkskultur*

Synopsis komprimiert, fand sich die monumentale Stadtgeschichte in diesem Ensemble nach dem Beispiel musealer Epochensäle zu Quartieren geordnet, an denen sich annähernd die Jahrhundertfolge vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des Ancien Régime ablesen ließ. Da aber mit der Porte Saint-Michel, einem Turm des Château du Louvre, der Kapelle Saint-Julien-des-Ménétriers oder der Grand'Salle des Palais de la Cité gerade die das Erscheinungsbild prägenden Rekonstruktionen der Hoch- und Spätgotik galten, stand dem Betrachter eine unzeitgemäße Epochenimagination vor Augen [Abb. 1]. Infolge des Chocs von 1870 – 1871 war ein nationalistischer Tonfall zwar auch in der mediävistischen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung deutlich zu vernehmen,⁵³ doch besaß deren Gegenstand längst nicht mehr das hohe nationale Identifikationspotential wie noch zur Zeit der Restauration oder der Julimonarchie. Und auch die von Viollet-le-Duc favorisierte Allianz von Mittelalter und Moderne, Gotik und Eisenbau⁵⁴ vermochte sich nicht gegen jene historisierenden Wege zu behaupten, welche die staatliche Repräsentation eingeschlagen hatte.

Das öffentliche Bauen des Second Empire⁵⁵ und der Troisième République⁵⁶ stand im Zeichen einer neo-klassizistischen wie vor allem in dem einer neo-barocken Formensprache. Von der Opéra

Garnier (1861 – 1875)⁵⁷ bis hin zum Grand Palais⁵⁸ und anderen Gebäuden der Weltausstellung 1900 zeigt sich das moderne Bauen in Eisen mit einem Historismus verquickt, der dem glorreichen Zeitalter des Absolutismus galt. Das Mittelalter hingegen wurde nur vereinzelt als Medium aristokratischer Retrospektion aktualisiert – etwa mit dem von Viollet-le-Duc für Napoléon III. perfektionierend wiederhergestellten Schloß von Pierrefonds⁵⁹ – und blieb ansonsten weitgehend auf kirchlich-restaurative Milieus⁶⁰ beschränkt. Zum Zwecke der nationalen Selbstdarstellung wurde es ausnahmsweise auf der Pariser Weltausstellung 1889 eingesetzt, wo man dem Eingangsbereich des militärgeschichtlichen und kriegstechnischen Ausstellungsareals⁶¹ die Gestalt eines Befestigungswerkes verliehen hatte, das sich im Sinne einer „*architecture parlante*“ als monumentale Drohgebärde an die vis-à-vis gelegenen Pavillons der Kolonien wandte.

Oggleich also das Mittelalter um 1900 keine staatstragende Relevanz besaß, billigten Handelsministerium und Ausstellungskommissariat das Konzept Robidas und vermieteten das Gelände am Quai de Billy an dessen Finanzier Arthur Heulhard⁶² – offenbar, weil sie um die großen Publikumserfolge wußten, die stadtgeschichtliche Inszenierungen auf früheren Welt-, Landes- und Gewerbeausstellungen

auf den Weltausstellungen 1851 – 1900. Münster 1999, S. 86-92; *Le téléphonoscope. Bulletin des Amis d'Albert Robida*, 2002, Nr. 9: Robida, créateur du Vieux Paris à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris; EMERY – MOROWITZ 2003 (wie Anm. 40), S. 190-208; EMERY, E.: Protecting the past. Albert Robida and the Vieux Paris exhibit at the 1900 World's Fair. In: *Journal of European Studies*, 35, 2005, S. 65-85.

⁵³ Exemplarisch DU CLEUZIOU, H.: *L'Art National*. 2 Bde. Paris 1882 – 1883; COURAJOD, L.: *Leçons professées à l'École du Louvre (1887 – 1896)*. Hrsg. von H. LEMONNIER – A. MICHEL. 3 Bde. Paris 1899 – 1903; GONSE, L.: *L'Art Gothique*. Paris 1890; *Exposition des Primitifs Français*. Paris 1904.

⁵⁴ LEMOINE, B.: Viollet-le-Duc et l'architecture métallique. In: *Viollet-le-Duc*. Paris 1980, S. 248-259; LENIAUD 1994 (wie Anm. 26), S. 142-146, 159 f.

⁵⁵ LOYER, F.: *Histoire de l'architecture française de la Révolution à nos jours*. Paris 1999, S. 133-151.

⁵⁶ DAUSS, M.: *Identitätsarchitekturen. Öffentliche Bauten des Historismus in Paris und Berlin (1871 – 1918)*. Dresden 2007.

⁵⁷ STEINHAUSER, M.: *Die Architektur der Pariser Oper*. München 1969; EARLS 1991 (wie Anm. 14), besonders S. 157-175 zur Oper; CHÂTELET, A.-M. (Hrsg.): *Autour de l'Opéra. Naissance de la ville moderne*. Paris 1995.

⁵⁸ PLUM, G.: *Le Grand Palais. Un palais national populaire, architecture et décors*. Paris 2008; PLUM, G.: (Hrsg.): *Le Petit Palais. Chef-d'œuvre de Paris 1900*. Paris 2005.

⁵⁹ VIOLLET-LE-DUC, E.-E.: *Description du château de Pierrefonds*. Paris 1857. Dazu EARLS 1991 (wie Anm. 14), S. 198-205; LENIAUD 1994 (wie Anm. 26), S. 101 ff.

⁶⁰ LENIAUD, J.-M.: *La révolution des signes. L'art à l'église (1830 – 1930)*. Paris 2007.

⁶¹ MONOD, É.: *L'Exposition Universelle de 1889*. 3 Bde. Paris 1890, Bd. 2, S. 1-86.

⁶² ROBIDA, A.: Le Vieux Paris à l'Exposition de 1900. In: *Encyclopédie du Siècle. L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*. 3 Bde. Paris 1900, Bd. 1, S. 65 f. (sowie zahlreiche andere Artikel Robidas in dieser Publikation).

erzielt hatten.⁶³ Auch die jüngere Pariser Stadtgeschichte konnte Garant solcher Erfolge sein, denn wie in anderen europäischen Metropolen, so hatte der Modernisierungsschub der zweiten Jahrhunderthälfte auch an der Seine tiefe Spuren im Stadtbild hinterlassen⁶⁴ und damit zugleich eine Flut von kritischen Dokumentationen und nostalgischen Rückbesinnungen freigesetzt.⁶⁵ Als Apotheose des Fortschritts wie als „*Bilan d'un siècle*“⁶⁶ gefeiert, verlangte die Weltausstellung gleichsam nach einer historisierenden Kontrastfolie, die außerdem geeignet war, die unübersichtliche Gemengelage nostalgischer, denkmalpflegerischer oder sensationsheischender Bedürfnisse und Interessen zu kanalisieren. Schon zur Weltausstellung 1889 war mit dem Nachbau der Bastille ein privatwirtschaftlich organisiertes Projekt genehmigt worden, das als mediävialisierende Evokation des Ancien Régime zuvörderst den Hang zum Spektakulären und Schaurig-Schönen bediente.⁶⁷ Dieser Form der Mittelalterinszenierung entsprachen elf Jahre später die *Cour des Miracles*⁶⁸ oder der *Manoir à l'emvers*⁶⁹, die als Gegenbilder zur bürgerlichen Normalität der Gegenwart beträchtliche Wirkung entfalten konnten.

Auch Robidas Strategie des nostalgischen Effekts galt nicht den Monumenten selbst, sondern den Stimmungen und Assoziationen, die deren Vergegenwärtigung heraufbeschwor. Für die Konzeptualisierung des historischen Materials hatte dies zur Folge, daß sie nicht den von der Mittel-

terarchäologie vorgezeichneten Weg der kritischen Rekonstruktion einschlug, sondern sich am epistemischen Stil und den Leitmotiven evokatorischer Geschichtsdeutung orientierte. Bereits in Robidas fundamentalstem Anliegen, keine „*froide archéologie*“ zu betreiben, sondern „*tout le mouvement de la vie*“ zur Anschauung zu bringen,⁷⁰ sind die Paradigmen der „*école narrative*“ unverkennbar gegenwärtig. Und mit dem mittelalterlichen „Volk“ zeigt sich ein Kardinalthema schon der bürgerlich-liberalen „*histoire de la civilisation*“ unter der Julimonarchie⁷¹ umgesetzt – in folkloristische Maskeraden und Marketenderei oder in die vollständige Rekonstruktion von Saint-Julien, der Kapelle der Pariser Spielleute-Bruderschaft. Herrschaftsarchitektur hingegen stand dem Betrachter in Gestalt des Louvre-Turmes oder der Grand’Salle nur fragmentiert vor Augen.

Auch der epistemische Stil der Vergegenwärtigung wurzelt tief in der Tradition solcher Epochenimaginationen, denn ihn bezog *Le Vieux Paris* nicht aus den Handbüchern der Kunstgeschichte, sondern aus literarischen und bildkünstlerischen Quellen. An erster Stelle steht Hugos Roman *Notre-Dame de Paris*, der namentlich mit dem Kapitel „Paris à vol d’oiseau“ und dem darin entfalteten Panorama der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt⁷² auf das am Quai de Billy realisierte Bild hoch aufragender Türme inmitten verwinkelter Gassen eingewirkt hat. Hinzu kommt eine ikonische Tradition, die mit den Illustrationen Gustave Dorés zu Rabelais und Balzac⁷³ sowie mit

⁶³ Beispiele bei WÖRNER 1999 (wie Anm. 52), S. 78 f., 82-85 und 108-113.

⁶⁴ Zum „*éventrement du vieux Paris*“ unter Napoléon III. siehe Anm. 14 und 15; zu den Zerstörungen während der Commune und unter der Dritten Republik RÉAU, L.: *Histoire du vandalisme*. Paris (1959) 1994, S. 790-837.

⁶⁵ Im Überblick KAMPMeyer-KÄDING, M.: *Paris unter dem zweiten Kaiserreich. Das Bild der Stadt in Presse, Guidenliteratur und populärer Graphik*. Marburg 1990; GERKEN, R.: „Transformation“ und „Embellissement“ von Paris in der Karikatur. Hildesheim 1997; FOURNIER, E.: *Paris en ruines. Du Paris haussmannien au Paris communal*. Paris 2008.

⁶⁶ PICARD, A.: *Le Bilan d'un siècle (1801 – 1900)*. 6 Bde. Paris 1906 – 1907.

⁶⁷ RÉMY, G.: *Histoire de la Bastille et de la Rue Saint-Antoine avant 1789*. Paris 1888, S. V-XV und S. 95-124.

⁶⁸ COMBES, P.: *Les Merveilles de l'Exposition. Paris en 1400. La Cour des Miracles*. Paris 1899; *Exposition de 1900. Paris en 1400. Reconstitution de la Cour des Miracles*. Paris 1900. Dazu EMERY – MOROWITZ 2003 (wie Anm. 40), S. 172-175.

⁶⁹ MALKOWSKY, G. (Hrsg.): *Die Pariser Weltausstellung in Wort und Bild*. Berlin 1900, S. 474 f.

⁷⁰ ROBIDA 1900 (wie Anm. 62), S. 65.

⁷¹ Exemplarisch VIALLANEIX, P.: *La Voie royale. Essai sur l'idée de peuple dans l'œuvre de Michelet*. Paris 1959.

⁷² HUGO 1876 – 1877 (wie Anm. 45), Bd. 1, S. 147-178. Dazu STIERLE, K.: *Der Mythos von Paris. Zeichen und Bewußtsein der Stadt*. München 1993, S. 520-544.

⁷³ *Œuvres de François Rabelais contenant la vie de Gargantua et celle de Pantagruel*. Paris 1854 (erweiterte Prachtausgabe 1873); BALZAC, H. de: *Les Contes drôlatiques [...]*. Paris 1855.

zahllosen Visualisierungen der noch erhaltenen oder bereits imaginativ rekonstruierten Altstadt⁷⁴ Bildwelten hervorgebracht hatte, die Robida auch als Illustrator aufgegriffen hat.⁷⁵ Schließlich haben, um der folkloristisch inszenierten „*vie d'autrefois*“ Gestalt zu verleihen, auch Werke wie die *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques* Pate gestanden. Unmittelbar zu greifen ist deren prägendes Vorbild in der Serie *La Vieille France*,⁷⁶ mit der Robida die Bildtechnik der Lithographie und die Bildsprache ihrer Tafeln ebenso anachronistisch wie freilich auch zitathaft aktualisierte.

Mithin ist die stadtgeschichtliche Inszenierung des *Vieux Paris* weitgehend jenseits der herrschenden politisch-kulturellen und wissenschaftlichen Diskurse zu verorten. Der epistemische Stil ihrer Vergegenwärtigung rührt von visuellen und literarischen Bildern her, welche sich die historische Imagination des 19. Jahrhunderts in evokatorischer Absicht vom Mittelalter gemacht hatte. Daher zeigt sich die bildhafte Geschichtsinzenierung am Quai de Billy durch komplexe mediale Interferenzen wiederum mit anderen Bildern verwoben, während ihr Zusammenhang mit den Monumenten selbst nur ein indirekter, vielförmig gebrochener war. Dies unterscheidet *Le Vieux Paris* und den ungarischen Pavillon nicht weniger fundamental als der Umstand, daß dort die alte Stadt als nostalgisches Gegenbild zur modernen Großstadt aufgeboten wurde, hier aber die Kontinuität einer genuin nationalen Entwicklung vom Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart zur Anschauung gebracht werden sollte.

III.

Der ungarische Pavillon an der *Rue des Nations* war „Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee“⁷⁷ – einer Staatsidee, die den österreichisch-ungarischen Ausgleich von 1867 zur Voraussetzung hatte, denn durch die Umwandlung des Kaisertums in eine Doppelmonarchie errang Ungarn jene relative, staatsrechtlich vor allem im Inneren gewährleistete Eigenständigkeit, die es auch im Sinne einer nationalen Identität zu definieren galt. Die erste von Österreich unabhängige Präsentation auf einer Weltausstellung nahm man zum Anlaß, solch ein distinktes Selbstbild vorzuführen. Während sich das neo-barocke Palais Österreichs allgemein dem Zeitalter Maria Theresias verpflichtet zeigte, bot Ungarn Teilnachbauten konkreter Monumente auf, um sieben Jahrhunderte seiner Geschichte zu vergegenwärtigen [Abb. 2]. Überlagert wurde diese raumzeitliche Synopsis nationaler Kulturentwicklung freilich von einer signifikanten Gewichtung der Stile, denn mit dem Turm der Katharinenkirche in der Stadtburg zu Kremnica (Körmöcbánya/Kremnitz), einem Abschnitt der Erkerfassade am Palas der Burg von Hunedoara (Vajdahunyad/Eisenmarkt) und dem Chorhaupt der Szapolyai-Kapelle in Spišský Štvrtok (Csütörtökhely/Donnersmarkt) gab sich gerade die zur Seine hin gelegene Schaufront des Pavillons dezidiert mittelalterlich. Vorausgegangen war dem ein von Kunsthistorikern wie von Denkmalpflegern getragener Deutungsprozeß, der die Gotik als genuin patriotischen Stil zu sehen lehrte.⁷⁸ Ihren monumentalen Niederschlag fand diese Sichtweise etwa in dem 1885 – 1904 nach den Plänen Imre Steindls errichteten Parlamentsgebäude in Budapest,⁷⁹ aber

⁷⁴ Zu jenen im Überblick KAMPMEYER-KÄDING 1990 (wie Anm. 65), S. 117-140; exemplarisch zu diesen HOFFBAUER, E.: *Paris à travers les âges*. 2 Bde. Paris 1875 – 1882. Zur Bildwelt der Rekonstruktionen CARQUÉ, B.: Orte und Zeichen der Herrschaft im spätmittelalterlichen Paris. In: EHLERS, C. (Hrsg.): *Places of Power – Orte der Herrschaft – Lieux du Pouvoir*. Göttingen 2007, S. 101-153, hier S. 101-116.

⁷⁵ Robidas Illustrationen zu Rabelais und Balzac bei BRUN 1984 (wie Anm. 48), Kat.-Nr. 1.061 und 1.152; in der Tradition von HOFFBAUER 1875 – 1882 (wie Anm. 74) steht Robida besonders mit ROBIDA, A.: *Paris de siècle en siècle*. Paris 1895; ROBIDA, A.: *Le cœur de Paris*. Paris 1896.

⁷⁶ ROBIDA, A.: *La Vieille France*. 4 Bde. Paris 1890 – 1893.

⁷⁷ Nach MALKOWSKY, G.: *Die Kunst im Dienste der Staats-Idee*. Berlin 1912.

⁷⁸ MAROSI, E.: Der Triumph des Historismus im ungarischen Denkmalwesen. In: MAROSI, E. (Hrsg.): *Die ungarische Kunstgeschichte und die Wiener Schule 1846 – 1930*. Wien 1983, S. 32-37; CIULISOVÁ, I.: Dreaming about the Past: The Story of Count Pálffy and Others. In: MAROSI, E. – KLANICZAY, G. (Hrsg.): *The Nineteenth-Century Process of „Musealization“ in Hungary an Europe*. Budapest 2006, S. 181-195.

⁷⁹ GÁBOR, E. – VERŐ, M. (Hrsg.): *Az Ország Háza. Buda-pesti országháza tervek 1784 – 1884. The House of the Nation. Parliament Plans for Buda-Pest 1784 – 1884*. Budapest 2000.

auch an der Schaufront des Pavillons, denn die dort vergegenwärtigten Bauten waren bereits einer in diesem Sinne perfektionierenden Restaurierung unterzogen worden,⁸⁰ bevor man sie als ein ebenso nationales wie anti-habsburgisches Manifest im Nachbau aufgerufen hat.

Diese frappierende Selbstbezüglichkeit des historischen Imaginariums weist auf einen grundsätzlichen Unterschied zur Situation in Frankreich hin. Während Robidas Inszenierung Teil einer populären, nur lose mit dem Staat und seinen Forschungsinstitutionen verbundenen Geschichtskultur war, ist diejenige Ungarns aus dem engen Wechselspiel von Kulturpolitik und Wissenschaftsbetrieb hervorgegangen. Präsentiert wurde dem Publikum in Paris nämlich eine Abbeviatur dessen, was vier Jahre zuvor den historischen Teil jener Landesausstellung gebildet hatte, die im Rahmen der ungarischen Millenniumsfeierlichkeiten in Budapest ausgerichtet worden war.⁸¹ Entsprechend verschmolz der von Zoltán Bálint und Lajos Jámbor entworfene, von József Vágó ausgeführte Pavillon der Weltausstellung⁸² markante Ausschnitte des aus mehreren epochenspezifischen Gebäudetrakten bestehenden Ensembles, das Ignác Alpar 1895 – 1896 im Budapester Stadtwaldchen als ephemere Architektur errichtet hatte – und 1901 – 1907 wenig abgewandelt dauerhaft erbauen sollte.⁸³ Für das Gesamtkonzept zeichnete in Budapest wie

in Paris mit Béla Czobor der Vorsitzende der Landesdenkmalkommission⁸⁴ verantwortlich, dem bei der forschenden Auswahl und Beschaffung des historischen Materials Vertreter zahlreicher staatlicher und kirchlicher Institutionen zur Seite standen.

Das elementare Anliegen der Ausstellung bestand darin, die tausendjährige Geschichte des ungarischen „Staates“ zu commemorieren und dessen kulturelle Hervorbringungen umfassend zu dokumentieren.⁸⁵ Besonderes Gewicht lag dabei auf dem Mittelalter, da es die historische Tiefenerstreckung der Nationalgeschichte unterstrich und zugleich geeignet war, mit dem Christentum unter der Stephanskronen einen integrativen Faktor hervorzuheben.⁸⁶ Denn gegen die zeitgenössischen Tendenzen eines völkisch und hegemonial gedachten Magyarentums galt es, die „Einheit in der Vielheit“, das liberale Bild einer multiethnischen Staatsnation zu betonen.⁸⁷ Da mit der Fülle kunstgewerblicher, bau- und bildkünstlerischer Exponate in Budapest wie in Paris stets der Zusammenhang des Kulturganzen ins Auge gefaßt wurde, wählte man eine Präsentationsform maximaler Verdichtung in historisierend gestalteten Themenräumen, die in Frankreich längst aufgegeben worden war. Inmitten dieser evokatorischen Arrangements wurden mit großem Erfolg freilich auch ausgewählte Bestände des Planarchivs der Landesdenkmalkommission gezeigt, die zu belegen vermochten, daß

⁸⁰ CIULISOVÁ, I.: *Historizmus a moderna v pamiatkovej ochrane*. Bratislava 2000 (englisches Resümee S. 201-215); speziell zur Burg Hunedoara SISA, J.: Vajdahunyad. In: *Burgen und Schlösser*, 45, 2004, S. 143-147.

⁸¹ KLEIN, H.-J.: Die Millenniumsfeiern in Ungarn. In: DAHLMANN, D. – POTTHOFF, W. (Hrsg.): *Mythen, Symbole und Rituale. Die Geschichtsmächtigkeit der Zeichen in Südosteuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main – Berlin 2000, S. 141-162; BARCSAY, T.: The 1896 Millennial Festivities in Hungary: An Exercise in Patriotic and Dynastic Propaganda. In: FRIEDRICH, K. (Hrsg.): *Festive Culture in Germany and Europe from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*. Lewiston 2000, S. 187-211.

⁸² RADISICS (1902) (wie Anm. 3); LAMBRICHS, A.: *József Vágó 1877 – 1947*. Bruxelles 2003, S. 35 f.

⁸³ BÁLINT, Z. (Hrsg.): *Die Architektur der Millenniums-Ausstellung*. Wien 1897; *Das Schloß Vajdahunyad. 100 Jahre Landwirtschaftsmuseum*. Budapest 1996; ROSCH, G.: *Alpar Ignác építészete*. Budapest 2005, S. 41-58.

⁸⁴ SZAKÁCS, B. Z.: Modernization and Musealization: Monument Protection in Hungary in the Time of Béla Czobor (1889 – 1904). In: MAROSI – KLANICZAY 2006 (wie Anm. 78), S. 259-273, hier besonders S. 272 f.

⁸⁵ LAURENCIC, J. (Hrsg.): *Das tausendjährige Ungarn und die Millenniums-Ausstellung*. Budapest 1896. Programm, Katalog und Geschichtswerk in einem ist CZOBOR, B. – SZALAY, E. von: *Die historischen Denkmäler Ungarns in der 1896er Millenniums-Landesausstellung*, 2 Bde. Budapest – Wien 1897 – 1903.

⁸⁶ Eine Zusammenschau von Mittelalterbildern gibt BAK, J. M.: Die Mediävisierung der Politik im Ungarn des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. In: BOCK, P. – WOLFRUM, E. (Hrsg.): *Umkämpfte Vergangenheit. Geschichtsbilder, Erinnerung und Vergangenheitspolitik im internationalen Vergleich*. Göttingen 1999, S. 103-113.

⁸⁷ KLIMÓ, A. von: *Nation, Confession, Geschichte. Zur nationalen Geschichtskultur Ungarns im europäischen Kontext (1860 – 1948)*. München 2003, S. 131-157.

die empirische und analytische Erfassung der Monumente in der ungarischen Kunstgeschichte und Denkmalpflege seit der bahnbrechenden Arbeit Imre Henszlmanns über die Elisabethkirche in Košice (Kassa/Kaschau)⁸⁸ höchsten, maßgeblich auch durch das Vorbild Viollet-le-Ducs geformten Ansprüchen genügte.⁸⁹

Kaum ein Beispiel ist besser geeignet, dieses selbstverständliche Ineinandergreifen von dokumentierenden und evozierenden Modi der Aneignung zu veranschaulichen, als die Rezeption des Westportals der Abteikirche zu Ják⁹⁰ in Budapest und Paris. Den Spezialisten durch das okulare Studium wie durch die präzise graphische und photographische Erfassung seit langem vertraut, wurde dem Portal im Zuge der vorbereitenden Forschungen zur Millenniumsausstellung gesteigerte Aufmerksamkeit zuteil. Man entschied sich, es in Gips abzuformen, um mit Hilfe

eines rekonstruktiv ergänzten Nachbaus die romanische Stilstufe kirchlicher Denkmäler im Budapester Ensemble prominent zu vergegenwärtigen. Zu einem profanen Portal umgedeutet, bildete es sodann in Paris den zur *Rue des Nations* hin gelegenen Haupteingang des ungarischen Pavillons, der auf das hohe Alter der dort repräsentierten Nation verwies. Unterdessen hatten die gewachsene Popularität des Portals und die vertiefte Kenntnis seines Zustands zur Folge, daß in Ják mit einer bestandsichernden Restaurierung begonnen wurde. Einmal mehr begegnen uns hier also die epistemischen Stile empirischer Erfassung und interpretativer Evokation gleichsam in Gestalt zweier rhetorischer Stillagen, die dem Anlaß, der Absicht und dem Zielpublikum entsprechend eingesetzt wurden. In Frankreich dagegen trennte sie zur selben Zeit ein epistemologisches Entweder-Oder.

⁸⁸ HENSZLMANN, I.: *Kassa városának ó német stíli templomai*. Pesten 1846.

⁸⁹ BECHER, M.: *Imre Henszlmann und die Denkmalpflege in Ungarn 1846 – 1881*. München 2007; MAROSI, E.: Die Reproduktionstechnik zu Anfang der Kunstgeschichte in der zweiten

Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. In: MAROSI – KLANICZAY 2006 (wie Anm. 78), S. 317-334.

⁹⁰ SZENTESI, E.: Das Westportal von Ják: Historiographie und Restaurierungsgeschichte bis 1904. In: *A jáki apostolszobrok. Die Apostelfiguren von Ják*. Budapest 1999, S. 157-190.

Epistemické štýly sprítomňovania. Francúzsky a uhorský stredovek na svetovej výstave v Paríži roku 1900

Resumé

Dve efemérne stavby parížskej výstavy roku 1900 sprítomnili dejiny zdanlivo zhodným spôsobom: v čiastočných dostavbách a citáciách motívov sa v oboch pamiatkach do jedného súboru zlievajú rôzne epochy, pričom sa osobitne vyzdvihuje stredovek. Podobnosť postupu a celkového dojmu však zastiera podstatné rozdiely, pretože stredovek pri uhorskom pavilóne stelesňoval základy politicko-kultúrneho sebapochopenia národa, kým v súbore budov *Vieux Paris* slúžil čisto nostalgickému záujmu o dejiny mesta. Tiež imaginatívna reprezentácia dejín v Uhorsku mala široký základ v historických disciplínach. Vo Francúzsku však nepatrila k vedecky uznávaným praktikám vizualizácie, lebo tam sa už v druhej polovici 19. storočia presadilo prísne empirické chápanie pamiatok proti ich evokujúcemu výkladu. Tento obrat predviedza pred očami obrázkov v *La sculpture française* (1884) od Anatola de Baudot, ktorý spôsobom objektívneho dokumentovania znázorňuje diela, zdanlivo pochádzajúce zo stredoveku, no v skutočnosti vytvorené až okolo roku 1850 na podnet Viollet-le-Duca, aby sa podčiarkla modernosť gotickej katedrály, zodpovedajúca romantickej estetike. Takéto formy výkladu dejín prostredníctvom umeleckej imaginácie sa zreteľne nachádzajú už vo *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques* (1820 – 1878), ktoré chceli rané obdobie moderného národa vizualizovať prostredníctvom monumentálneho dedičstva stredoveku. Epistemický štýl obrázkov – teda spôsob, akým sa umelecké techniky a výtvarné prostriedky nasadzujú ako nástroje produkcie vizuálnych významov – zodpovedá najskôr evokujúcemu dejepisectvu „*école narrative*“. Po polovici storočia však prevládlo vecne presné znázorňovanie pamiatok.

K tomuto obratu v rozhodujúcej miere prispeli prírodovedecké normy empirizmu a objektivizmu, ktoré sa začínali presadzovať aj v historických vedách. Tieto normy sa odrazili aj vo fotodokumentácii objektov a v ich muzeálnej prezentácii. Na snímkach z *Mission héliographique* (1851) sa už len ojedinele dajú

rozoznať retuše v štýle tradičnej rétoriky obrazu, zato však mnohokrát zaznamenávame dodatočné izolovanie objektov. V múzeách ustúpili sály argumentujúce civilizačno-historicky po epochách takým formám prezentácie, ktoré sa podriadili deleniu na druhy a modelu dejín štýlov. Aj dejepisectvo sa po polovici storočia vybralo cestou prísnej blízkosti k prameňom a prostredníctvom „*école méthodique*“ propagovalo prísnu racionalitu a triezvosť výkladu.

Ako dôsledok zmeny paradigmy stratil výklad pamiatok prostredníctvom výtvarných prostriedkov vizualizácie svoju vedeckú legitimitu a uznanie. Navyše, s ohľadom na rýchlu spoločenskú a technicko-priemyselnú modernizáciu, stratilo svoju presvedčivosť aj základné spojenie stredoveku a moderny, ktoré bolo základom pre *Voyages* alebo pre Viollet-le-Duca. Ani národná kontinuita, ktorú zdôrazňovali *Voyages*, ani Viollet-le-Ducov postulovaná podstatná zhoda sa nemohli presadiť proti sebapochopeniu prítomnosti, ktorá sa chápala ako moderna, vychádzajúca z revolučnej prerovy. Kresliar a spisovateľ Albert Robida podrobil vo svojom fantastickom románe *Le Vingtième Siècle* (1883) satirickej kritike tak Viollet-le-Ducov postulát príbuznosti stredoveku a moderny, ako aj z neho odvodenú možnosť reštaurátorského vylepšenia stredovekých pamiatok. Napriek tomu vystúpil Robida pri svetovej výstave roku 1900 s nečasovou predstavou epoch. *Le Vieux Paris*, postavený podľa jeho návrhov, posunul prostredníctvom stredoveku do popredia epochu, ktorá ostala bezvýznamnou v monumentálnej reprezentácii druhého cisárstva a tretej republiky. Verejné stavitelstvo namiesto toho uprednostňovalo reč novobarokových foriem, ktoré pripomínali slávne časy absolutizmu. Veľký úspech *Le Vieux Paris* u publika teda spôsobili iné príčiny. Ako monumentálna reprezentácia premoderných dejín mesta poskytol súbor kontrastné pozadie k apoteóze pokroku, inscenovanej ostatnými budovami výstavy. Súčasne pripomenul aj nesmierne straty, ktoré obraz mesta Paríža utrpel v dôsledku

modernizačných procesov 19. storočia. Robidova stratégia nostalgického efektu však predsa skôr než samotné pamiatky evokovala nálady a asociácie, ktoré ich sprítomnenie vzbudzovalo. Nie kritická archeologická rekonštrukcia, ale atmosférické obrazy „*école narrative*“ a tradície literárnej a výtvarnej imaginácie sa ukazujú byť prameňom tohto súboru budov. Ten preto spočíval práve na takých médiách historického znázornenia, ktorých epistemický štýl už nepožíval žiadnu reputáciu vo vedeckej kultúre okolo roku 1900. *Le Vieux Paris* sa práve týmto zásadne odlišuje od uhorského pavilónu.

V ňom sa stredovek tesne spájal so štátnou politikou reprezentácie a jej základným cieľom demonštrovať národnú identitu a svojbytnosť Uhorska. Hlavne gotika sa hodila ako vlastenecký štýl, ktorý podčiarkoval nezávislosť od Rakúska, vybojovanú roku 1867, tým, že sa rozhodne dištancovala od jeho novobarokového historizmu. Kresťanský stredovek navyše predstavoval integratívny faktor národných dejín, zameraný na „jednotu v rozmanitosti“ mnoho-

etnického štátneho národa. Pre politickú sémantiku pavilónu, ktorý navrhli Zoltán Bálint a Lajos Jámbo, bol rozhodujúci súbor budov, navrhnutý podľa plánov Ignáca Alpára pre historickú krajinskú výstavu v rámci miléniových osláv roku 1896. V oboch prípadoch zodpovedal predseda Krajinskej pamiatkovej komisie Béla Czobor za zostavenie koncepcie, ktorá mala vyzdvihnúť súvislosť kultúrneho celku. V súlade s tým sa vedecky pripravené výstavy prezentovali v tematickom rámci, ktorý aktualizoval koncept evokujúceho prehľadu, vo Francúzsku už dávno opustený. Predsa však bol prítomný aj epistemický štýl vecne presného podania, pretože v Budapešti aj Paríži s veľkým úspechom ukázali aj vybrané dokumenty z archívu plánov krajinskej pamiatkovej komisie. V zmysle rétorických štýlových polôh, odlišujúcich médiá podľa príležitosti a úmyslu, sa tu kombinovali formy vizuálnej reprezentácie dejín, ktoré sa vo Francúzsku nasadzovali už iba nezávisle od seba v navzájom oddelených sférach dejinnej kultúry.

Preklad I. Gerát

Jesus Christ as the Divine Mercy
by Eugeniusz Kazimirowski. The Most Influential
Polish Painting of the Twentieth Century?

Ivan GASKELL

Modern and contemporary Western art has little place for organized religion. In the accepted scheme, serious artistic endeavor, rattling unconstrained and at full tilt to impressionism, through cubism, and on to abstraction, has no time for the stifling institutional demands of churches. Art, as understood within Western institutions principally concerned with art as such, no longer serves Christian cult practices. Those who meet such needs have equivocal roles at best within the artworld of artists, critics, gallerists, curators, collectors, and art historians.¹ Perhaps the last prominent canonical Western artists to produce devotional works for ecclesiastical use in the normal course of their careers were J.-A.-D. Ingres,² and Eugène Delacroix.³ Their younger contemporary Édouard Manet is the painter anointed by art historians as the true founder of modern art. His few religious paintings, including his first, *The Dead Christ with Angels*, 1864 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), seem more than faintly anomalous, fitting only awkwardly into a narrative of the progress of Western art towards modernity.

Examples in the twentieth century of Western works of art with overtly religious themes that have been accepted, usually equivocally, into the art historical canon are few and far between. Several are the result of patronage arranged or inspired by one remarkable Dominican priest, Marie-Alain Couturier (1897 – 1954), who was able to persuade free-thinking and even Jewish artists to contribute to ecclesiastical projects, notably the church of Notre-Dame de Toute Grâce du Plateau d'Assy, France (1938 – 1949).⁴ Couturier was also involved in the realization of the Chapel of the Rosary, designed, built, and outfitted (including with vestments) to designs by Henri Matisse between 1947 and 1951 for the Dominican sisters in Vence, France.⁵ We should also acknowledge that several twentieth-century canonical artists produced Christian religious works for personal reasons, among them Salvador Dalí and Andy Warhol;⁶ yet pious artists, and perceptive priests who could work with doubting artists, were the exception in the twentieth century, and remain

¹ I use the term *artworld* in the sense employed by such analytical philosophers as George Dickie and Arthur Danto to denote an entire institutional framework.

² For instance, *The Vow of Louis XIII*, 1824 (Montauban Cathedral), and *The Martyrdom of Saint Symphorien*, 1834 (Autun Cathedral).

³ Including the murals for the Chapel of the Angels, Church of Saint-Sulpice, Paris, 1857 – 1861.

⁴ With contributions by Jean Bazaine, Pierre Bonnard, Georges Braque, Marc Chagall, Fernand Léger, Jaques Lipchitz, Jean

Lurçat, Henri Matisse, and Georges Rouault, among others. See RUBIN, W. S.: *Modern Sacred Art and the Church of Assy*. New York 1961.

⁵ The project was the result of a personal request from Matisse's former nurse, Monique Bourgeois, who had entered the order in 1943. See her account: SOEUR JACQUES-MARIE: *Henri Matisse, la Chapelle de Vence*. Vence 1992.

⁶ One of the most popularly celebrated examples is Salvador Dalí's *Christ of St. John of the Cross*, 1951 (Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow), which in 2005 was voted Scotland's favorite painting in a newspaper poll. – Scotland's

so. Indeed, many leading twentieth-century Western artists were skeptical or openly hostile towards Christianity. “*What do you mean by religious art? It is an absurdity,*” exclaimed Pablo Picasso, a Communist from 1944 until his death in 1973.⁷ Although Georges Braque designed stained glass windows in the 1950s for two churches in Varengeville-sur-Mer on the Normandy coast, where he lived, he summed up the suspicions of many twentieth-century artists towards religious art: “*The moment that religious art is reduced ‘to the level of the common man,’ it’s no longer an act of faith, it’s an act of propaganda.*”⁸

For Braque, as well as for many other artists, critics, and curators, art itself had become the bearer of transcendence.⁹ The Dominican Marie-Alain Couturier may have helped to inspire John and Dominique de Menil to commission what is now known as the Rothko Chapel in Houston (dedicated in 1971), dominated by a series of abstract paintings by Mark Rothko, but in the words of its website it is an “*intimate sanctuary available to people of every belief.*”¹⁰ In the Rothko Chapel, art is not in the service of organized religion, but has taken its place. Such a faith in the independent power of art can be traced back at least to Kazimir Malevich (1878 – 1935), who treated his *Black Square*, 1915 (State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow) as a sacred icon.¹¹ In contrast, members of the artworld tend to view most visual

art created in the service of organized religion in the twentieth century and later at “*the level of the common man*” (in Braque’s phrase) as no more than kitsch.¹² Once artists had so stylized figuration as to render it unfamiliar or unrecognizable, or abandoned it entirely, they could no longer meet the devotional and liturgical needs that depend on the clearly evocative representation of sacred figures in accordance with a longstanding set of visual conventions. The progressive visual clarification of such figures and their actions had long been a feature of Western religious art.¹³ Obfuscation from the early twentieth century onwards ran counter to the needs of organized religion.

Not all artists, by any means, were or are artworld artists. Many could and still can be found to serve the needs of ecclesiastical authorities by producing stylistically traditional and readily recognizable religious images “at the level of the common man.” Art historians understandably ignore such works, but to cultural historians they can help to reveal elements of the changing social fabric. This article concerns one such work, a celebrated twentieth-century painting, and some of its copies, derivatives, and reproductions. Although not painted by a famous artist, and certainly not within the Western art historical canon, the fact that it is among the most widely venerated images in contemporary Roman Catholicism means

Favourite Painting. In: *The Herald*, August 17, 2005, p. 6. Another example of a critically accepted body of work with a religious subject is Andy Warhol’s *Last Supper* series (1986), the artist, to the surprise of many, having been a devout Catholic. See COOKE, L.: *Andy Warhol, The Last Supper Portraits*, <http://www.diaart.org/exhibits/warhol/lastsupper/essay.html> (accessed December 20, 2008).

⁷ PENROSE, R.: *Picasso. His Life and Work*. Berkeley 1981, p. 373 (3rd ed.). See also UTLEY, G. R.: *Picasso: the Communist Years*. New Haven 2000, p. 154.

⁸ Quoted by DANCHEV, A.: *Georges Braques: A Life*. New York 2005, p. 99.

⁹ For another example, see BRENNAN, M.: Illuminating the Void, Displaying the Vision: On the Romanesque Church, the Modern Museum, and Pierre Soulages’ Abstract Art. In: *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 52, 2007, pp. 116-127.

¹⁰ See <http://www.rothkochapel.org/aboutthechapel.htm> (accessed December 20, 2008).

¹¹ In the “Zero-Ten” Futurist Exhibition in St. Petersburg in 1915, Kasimir Malevitch declared his *Black Square* to be an inalienably sacred icon by placing it diagonally across the corner of a room towards the ceiling, a claim that he sustained consistently throughout his life.

¹² I use kitsch in the sense defined and popularized by KUNDERA, M.: *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. New York 1984, p. 248: “*the absolute denial of shit.*”

¹³ See, for instance, the case of what may be the earliest known likeness of St. Dominic (Harvard Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts) painted by an unidentified artist in about 1240 in Siena, probably for the high altar of the church there dedicated to him. The facial features were apparently revised twice in the thirteenth century at twenty-year intervals to conform to stylistic innovations that would make the saint appear more empathetic and accessible to those venerating the image. See HOENIGER, C.: *The Renovation of Paintings in Tuscany, 1250 – 1500*. Cambridge 1995, pp. 88-100.

that it is undoubtedly one of the best known and socially influential paintings of the twentieth century.

Jesus Christ as the Divine Mercy was painted in 1934 by Eugeniusz Kazimirowski, a relatively obscure Polish artist. Kazimirowski was born in 1873. Between 1892 and 1899 he studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Kraków, with periods at art schools in Munich and Paris. He spent part of 1900 at the Academy of St. Luke in Rome. Thereafter he lived first in Kraków, and later in Vilnius, making regular visits to Lviv.¹⁴ He served in the Polish army against Russia under the sponsorship of the Central Powers during World War I. This experience gave rise to one of his best known paintings (a relative term), *Russian Prisoners of War*, 1916 (Muzeum Historyczne, Białystok). His more usual subject matter consisted of landscapes, garden scenes, and portraits in a vigorously yet decorously brushed, pastel, central European realist manner. He also decorated two theaters in Vilnius, and a vestibule in the railroad station in Lviv. In 1936 he moved to Białystok, where he died in 1939. During his career he participated in various group exhibitions in Warsaw, Vilnius, Lviv, and Białystok. Much of his work was lost in World War II. His work has been largely ignored by the artworld. Not until 2008 was he accorded a modest, one person exhibition held at the Muzeum Podlaskie, Białystok: “Eugeniusz Kazimirowski (1873 – 1939): Znajomy Świętychi” (Eugeniusz Kazimirowski (1873 – 1939): Friend of Saints).¹⁵ The exhibition was organized as part of the festivities celebrating the beatification in Białystok on September 28, 2008 of Kazimirowski’s most unusual patron, Father Michał Sopoćko.

Michał Sopoćko was born in 1888 within what was then imperial Russia. He attended the seminary in Vilnius, where he was ordained in 1914. After service as a parish priest, military chaplain, and hav-

ing completed doctoral studies at the University of Warsaw, he became co-ordinator of regional military chaplaincies in Vilnius in 1924. He was subsequently appointed spiritual director of the Vilnius seminary, and began a teaching career in pastoral theology at Stefan Batory University. As rector of the Church of St. Michael,¹⁶ he served as confessor to the Congregation of Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy. In 1933, he became spiritual director of the member of that congregation who would posthumously achieve worldwide fame, Sister, subsequently Saint Maria Faustyna of the Most Blessed Sacrament.

Who was the visionary sister whose mystical experiences were championed by Father Sopoćko, then doubted by the Catholic Church in Poland, and by the Vatican, before being triumphantly rehabilitated? Helena Kowalska was born in 1905 in that part of Poland then in the Russian Empire.¹⁷ She took her final vows in the convent of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy in Plock in 1926. Within five years, she was experiencing visions of Christ, which she later recorded in a diary. By her own account, on February 22, 1931, Jesus Christ appeared to her. Of her vision she wrote: “*In the evening, when I was in my cell, I saw the Lord Jesus clothed in a white garment. One hand [was] raised in the gesture of blessing, the other was touching the garment at the breast. From beneath the garment, slightly drawn aside at the breast, there were emanating two large rays, one red, the other pale. In silence I kept my gaze fixed on the Lord; my soul was struck with awe, but also with great joy. After a while, Jesus said to me, Paint an image according to the pattern you see, with the signature: Jesus, I trust in You. I desire that this image be venerated, first in your chapel, and [then] throughout the world.*”¹⁸

Sister Faustyna recorded that Jesus explained to her that the imagery in her vision derived from his future appearance as the King of Mercy, shortly

¹⁴ Place names can vary according to national borders at any given time. Present-day Vilnius (in Lithuania) was known officially as Vilna while in the Russian Empire, and Wilno when in Poland. Similarly, present-day Lviv (in Ukraine) was known in Russian as Lvov, as Lemberg in German, and as Lwów in Polish.

¹⁵ Much of the above information is derived from the web page of Polskie Radio Białystok devoted to the 2008 exhibition: <http://www.radio.bialystok.pl/polecamy/index/k/6/n/8246> (accessed December 19, 2008).

¹⁶ Michał in Polish, Mykolo in Lithuanian.

¹⁷ Accounts of Saint Faustyna are predominantly devotional. See TARNAWSKA, M.: *Blessed Sister Faustina Kowalska: Her Life and Mission*. Trans. A. HARGEST-GORZELAK. London 1993; and *Pillars of Fire in my Soul: The Spirituality of Saint Faustina*. Ed. R. STACKPOLE. Stockbridge (Mass.) 2003.

¹⁸ *Diary of Saint Maria Faustina Kowalska: Divine Mercy in My Soul*. Trans. A. PASICKI – D. PASICKI – G. PEARCE. Stockbridge (Mass.) 2007 (3rd ed., 1st English ed. 1987), p. 24, *Diary*, 47.

before his arrival as Just Judge in the Last Days.¹⁹ She recorded that he further directed that a Feast of Mercy should be instituted on the first Sunday after Easter, when the image should be displayed.²⁰

Sister Faustyna was sent to the convent at Vilnius where her new confessor, Father Michał Sopoćko, investigated the status of her visions. Eventually, he was convinced of their veracity. He happened to lodge in the same house as Eugeniusz Kazimirowski, so it was to Kazimirowski that Sopoćko turned when he decided that Sister Faustyna's vision of Jesus Christ as the Divine Mercy should be depicted in accordance with the instructions she had received in her vision. They began work in January, 1934, Kazimirowski adapting a canvas to fit a frame that had been given for the purpose by a parishioner. The artist may have used Father Sopoćko to model for the figure of Jesus, whose hands ostensibly resemble those of the priest.²¹ Repeatedly not satisfied with the face of the figure, Sister Faustyna reputedly had the artist change it at least ten times before the painting was completed in June. He inscribed the words specified in Sister Faustyna's vision, "*Jezu Ufam Tobie*" (Jesus, I trust in You), on the frame. The painting was shown publicly for the first time during the rites marking the close of the Jubilee Year of the Redemption of the World between April 26 and 28, 1935. It was exposed in a chapel window above the Eastern or Dawn Gate of the city of Vilnius. Two years later, the image was placed in Father Sopoćko's Church of St. Michael, Vilnius. In the mean time, Sister Faustyna, who had moved to her congregation's convent in Łagiewniki on the outskirts of Kraków, had fallen seriously ill. She died in October, 1938. For Eugeniusz Kazimirowski, whatever his private beliefs, the commission had been a commercial transaction: he was remunerated by Father Sopoćko. As we have seen, in 1936 Kazimirowski moved to Białystok where he died in 1939.

The subsequent history of the painting is scarcely separable from that of the devotion its making helped to inaugurate and encourage. These histories are in turn entwined with national identity and ethnic pride, Cold War politics, and the reinvigoration of

the Roman Catholic Church as an internationally influential body during the pontificate of John Paul II (1978 – 2005).

The road to the present acceptance and ecclesiastically sponsored spread of the Divine Mercy cult was far from smooth. Father Michał Sopoćko did all he could to promote it after Sister Faustyna's death, even under the challenging circumstances first of the war years, second, under Communism, and third, in the face of hostility from the Vatican. The German and Soviet invasions of Poland in 1939 thwarted his attempt to build a church dedicated to the Divine Mercy in Vilnius. He survived the German occupation, spending two years in hiding near Vilnius, and thereafter promoted the foundation of the congregation devoted to the Divine Mercy, as stipulated by Sister Faustyna in her revelations, writing its constitution in 1947. In that year he moved to Białystok to teach at its diocesan seminary. He used his position to promote the Divine Mercy devotion, writing prolifically and tirelessly on the subject. However, his efforts were received with skepticism among the highest ranks of the Catholic Church. In 1959, the Blessed Pope John XXIII followed the advice of the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office by placing the published edition of Sister Faustyna's diary on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Father Sopoćko was disciplined.

Only after Karol Józef Wojtyła became Archbishop of Kraków in 1963 did matters change. The new archbishop instituted an investigation that eventually confirmed the devotion. Father Sopoćko died in 1975, but the elevation of Archbishop Wojtyła to the papacy in 1978 as John Paul II signaled an acceleration of the new ecclesiastical commitment to the cult. The Church's ban on spreading the cult was lifted in that year. The Congregation of the Sisters of Merciful Jesus was recognized. Sister Faustyna was beatified in 1993, and canonized in 2000.

In 2005, Cardinal Audrys Bačkis, Archbishop of Vilnius, consecrated the house in Vilnius in which Michał Sopoćko and Eugeniusz Kazimirowski had lived, and in which the artist had collaborated with Saint Faustyna and her confessor to paint *Jesus Christ*

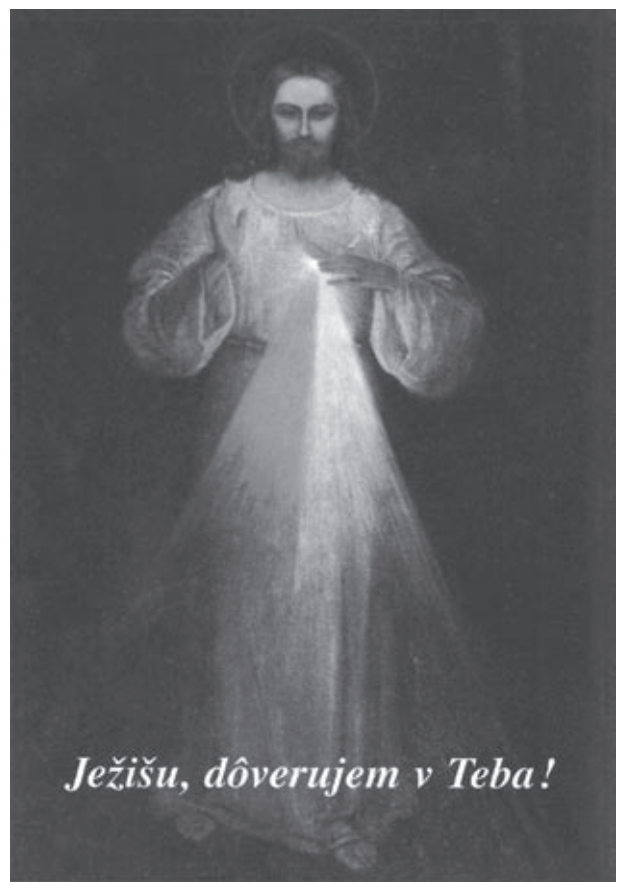
¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 42, *Diary*, 83.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 44, *Diary*, 88.

²¹ A claim repeated by Polskie Radio Białystok: <http://www.radio.bialystok.pl/polecamy/index/k/6/n/8246> (accessed December 19, 2008).

as *the Divine Mercy* in 1934. It thereby became a convent of the Sisters of Merciful Jesus, the congregation that had been founded by Michal Sopoćko. Its chapel was dedicated to Saint Faustyna.²² As we have seen, Sopoćko was beatified on September 28, 2008. The official Vatican online biography of the Blessed Michal Sopoćko omits all mention of the vicissitudes of the Divine Mercy cult.²³ The ban is now a source of embarrassment to the Catholic Church, and, in so far as it has offered any explanation, it alludes to mistakes in the Italian translation of Saint Faustyna's diary and other material written in Polish on which the Holy Office had relied. This is most likely disingenuous. Any claim, such as Saint Faustyna's, to be conveying instructions directly received from Jesus Christ threatens the intermediary authority of the Church, which usually investigates such claims, when seriously made, with great care. The Holy Office is more likely to judge as genuine those instructions that are compatible with existing Church doctrine than those that are at odds with such doctrine. Saint Faustyna had relayed Jesus Christ's command that the Feast of Mercy should be instituted on the first Sunday after Easter, but with the stipulation "that whoever approaches the Fount of Life on this day will be granted complete remission of sins and punishment."²⁴ Members of the Holy Office investigating the devotion in the 1950s may have inferred that this undermines the role of the sacraments, and therefore may have concluded by 1959 that the devotion was heterodox.

What of Kazimirowski's painting? In April, 1937 it was hung in the Blessed Michal Sopoćko's church of St. Michael in Vilnius in accordance with an instruction given by Jesus Christ through Saint Faustyna. There it remained until 1948, when Communist authorities closed the church. After a short stay at another church in Vilnius, a friend of Father Sopoćko, Father Józef Grasewicz, took it to the parish church in Novaya Ruda in that part of Poland that had been annexed by the Soviet Union



After Eugeniusz Kazimirowski (1873 – 1939): *Jesus Christ as the Divine Mercy*, photolithograph with inscription "Jesus, I trust in You" in Slovak (after the original painting of 1934, oil on canvas, in the Sanctuary of the Divine Mercy, Vilnius, Lithuania).

(now in Belarus).²⁵ In about 1970, local authorities in Novaya Ruda decided to convert the church into a warehouse. Learning of this new threat, Father Sopoćko, still in Białystok, suggested moving the painting to the site of its first exposure in 1935, the chapel above the Eastern Gate of the city of Vilnius. The priest in charge of the chapel rejected the idea, but suggested the Church of the Holy

²² For the consecration of the convent, with photographs, see the website of the Congregation of the Sisters of Merciful Jesus: http://www.faustina-message.com/informacje_ang.htm (accessed December 19, 2008).

²³ See http://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/saints/2008/ns_lit_doc_20080928_sopocko_en.html (accessed December 19, 2008).

²⁴ *Diary of Saint Maria...* (see in note 18), p. 139, *Diary*, 300.

²⁵ Called in Polish Nowa Ruda, but not to be confused with either town of the same name in present-day Poland.

Spirit as a more discreet setting. The parish priest, Father Aleksander Kaszkiewicz, agreed to receive the painting, so Father Grasewicz passed on the painting to his colleague in Vilnius. Vilnius, previously in Poland, had been incorporated into Lithuania, itself then part of the Soviet Union, so although under this proposal the painting would return to its city of origin, it would not have to cross any international border. However, a subtle sense of Polish identity underlies these moves. The Polish Father Grasewicz, who had looked after the painting in Novaya Ruda, passed it on to the church in Vilnius most identified with the Polish community in that city.

In 1986, Father Kaszkiewicz arranged for the painting to be conserved and amended. The face was reportedly repainted. It was provided with a new, more elaborate gilded frame with a scalloped and arched top shaped to fit the altar embrasure, so the canvas was extended to fit. Finally, the words of the inscription on the original frame, “*Jeżu Ufam Tobie*” (Jesus, I trust in You), were painted directly onto the lower part of the canvas. The original frame had reportedly been lost when the painting was hidden prior to being sent to Vilnius. These changes made, the painting was hung above a side altar in the Church of the Holy Spirit in 1987.²⁶ Tumultuous times were just ahead.

In 1990, Lithuania, a predominantly Catholic country, asserted its independence from the disintegrating Soviet Union, receiving international recognition the following year. As we have seen, these were years of renewed attention to the cult of the Divine Mercy and its founder, leading to her beatification in 1993, and canonization in 2000. In July, 2001, the Sisters of the Merciful Jesus, a predominantly Polish congregation, returned to Vilnius, and were given special access to the painting by the parish priest of the Church of the Holy Spirit. They petitioned for its conservation, and in 2003 the painting was treated at their convent in Vilnius by a Polish conservator, Edyta Hankowska-Czerwińska from Włocławek.²⁷

She removed varnish and overpaint (including the inscription added in 1986), stabilized the paint surface, retouched losses, and restored the work to its original form, removing the arched and scalloped top. In the following year, the Church of the Holy Trinity in Vilnius was rededicated as the Sanctuary of the Divine Mercy. Kazimirowski’s original painting of *Jesus Christ as the Divine Mercy* was transferred there in September, 2005, where it remains.

This move was highly controversial because it entailed its removal from the church identified as the focus of the local Polish community in Vilnius. The move of the painting, sanctioned by the archbishop, Cardinal Bačkis, was vociferously resisted by some in that community who interpreted the transfer as an assertion of Lithuanian control over a Polish image. Cardinal Bačkis decreed that daily prayer services should be held in both Lithuanian and Polish.²⁸ This incident raises a matter as closely associated with the painting and the cult of the Divine Mercy as religion itself: national and ethnic identity. To examine this more closely, we should begin with the iconography of Kazimirowski’s painting.

The image of Christ stepping forward, right hand raised in blessing, left hand to his breast, conforms to a type made familiar by the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus that grew enormously in the nineteenth century, especially after the institution of the Feast of the Sacred Heart as obligatory throughout the Catholic Church in 1856, and the beatification in 1864 of its proponent, Saint Marguerite Marie Alacoque (1647 – 1690), a French nun who, like Saint Faustyna, had been a visionary. Rather than his heart, Saint Faustyna’s Jesus reveals two rays of light, one red, the other pale, emanating from his breast. These explicitly derive from the blood and water that came from Jesus’s side when pierced on the cross by a soldier’s spear, as described in Gospel of St. John (19.34). Long the subject of patristic interpretation, the blood of Christ continually atones for the sins of humankind, while water is the vehicle of spiritual

²⁶ See the website of the Congregation of the Sisters of Merciful Jesus: http://www.faustina-message.com/informacje_ang.htm (accessed December 19, 2008).

²⁷ See the documentation, with photographs, at http://www.faustyna.eu/obraz_krakow.htm (accessed December 22, 2008).

²⁸ See The Image of Merciful Jesus Replaced to the Sanctuary of Divine Mercy. In: *Catholic Church in Lithuania*, September 28, 2005, <http://www.lcn.lt/en/bl/news/?newsid=1647> (accessed December 23, 2008).

adoption at baptism. Both prefigure sacraments, and are necessary for redemption. Saint Faustyna clearly associated the two rays in her vision with the blood and water of Christ's sacrifice. In words that she claimed were conveyed to her by Jesus, she wrote: "*The pale ray stands for the Water which makes souls righteous. The red ray stands for the Blood which is the life of souls.*"²⁹ Further, she specifically associated the blood and water with Christ's mercy, this being the appearance of Jesus, as we have seen, as King of Mercy prior to his arrival as Just Judge in the Last Days.³⁰ She continued: "*These two rays issued forth from the very depths of My tender mercy when My agonized Heart was opened by a lance on the cross. These rays shield souls from the wrath of My Father. Happy is the one who will dwell in their shelter, for the just hand of God shall not lay hold of him.*"³¹ She recorded the words of a prayer she allegedly received from Jesus that he told her would grant the grace of conversion: "*O Blood and Water, which gushed forth from the Heart of Jesus as a Fount of Mercy for us, I trust in You.*"³² The mercy of Jesus Christ towards those who turn to him is the central focus of the devotion. The rays, though, have another connotation, one that is not commented on in the devotional literature.

To Poles, the red and pale (actually white) rays emanating from Jesus Christ's breast in the Divine Mercy image cannot but evoke the national flag. These colors derive from the arms of Poland and Lithuania, and had been adopted during the failed Polish uprising against Russian imperial rule in 1830 – 1831. They were retained by Polish nationalists thereafter in their struggles for independence. Two equal horizontal stripes, white above red, became the flag of the reborn country in 1919. The contrast between the robustness of Polish national identity and the fragility of Poland as a polity during the twentieth century have contributed to a considerable emotional investment on the part of many Poles, and members of the Polish diaspora, in these colors. Devotion to the Divine Mercy may have become a world-wide phenomenon among Roman Catholics

irrespective of ethnicity and national identity, but for many Poles the prominence of their national colors in the image serves as a reminder of the Polish origin of the cult, and all that this might imply in terms of favored status and grace in the face of hostility and persecution. We should not overlook the fact that the rehabilitation and enthusiastic adoption of the cult within the Catholic Church began under an archbishop of Kraków who in 1978 became pope, and has spread thanks to the efforts of Polish regular congregations. The revived cult of the Divine Mercy was one means by which Poles resisted Soviet domination, ultimately successfully. However, this Polish image, painted to the specifications of a Polish nun by a Polish painter in a city in Poland, was no longer in that country from 1940 onwards. Poland was partitioned between Germany and the Soviet Union following its invasion in 1939, and the following year Lithuania, reunited with its historic capital, Vilnius, was annexed by the Soviet Union. Following the defeat of Germany in 1945, the new postwar borders left Vilnius and Novaya Ruda, where Kazimirowski's painting was taken in 1948, within the Soviet Union. By 1991, the independence of Lithuania was recognized internationally, by which time, as we have seen, the painting was back in Vilnius, though in the care of a predominantly Polish congregation. We have already seen that its transfer to a Lithuanian church rededicated as the Sanctuary of the Divine Mercy in 2005 caused ill-feeling and protests among members of Vilnius's ethnic Polish community. However, the production of other painted versions in Poland from 1943 onwards served both to deflect attention from Kazimirowski's original, and to give Poles an opportunity to claim possession of the image, albeit in derivative form.

The Kraków artist, Adolf Hyla painted two versions of *Jesus Christ as the Divine Mercy*, one of which is in the vast Sanctuary of the Divine Mercy in Łagiewniki on the outskirts of Kraków, consecrated in 2002.³³ This pilgrimage site includes the convent chapel of the Sisters of our Lady of Mercy, which

²⁹ *Diary of Saint Maria...* (see in note 18), p. 139, *Diary*, 299.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 42, *Diary*, 83.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 139, *Diary*, 299.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 102, *Diary*, 187.

³³ Hyla offered to paint a work as a thank-offering to the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy in 1942. They requested a version of the Divine Mercy image, which he completed the following year.

contains the remains of Saint Faustyna. Ignoring and implicitly displacing the original painting in Vilnius, its website declares the Łagiewniki sanctuary to be the “*World center of veneration of the Image of the Divine Mercy.*”³⁴ The sanctuary not only has the much reproduced and popular Hyla version of the Divine Mercy image, but Saint Faustyna’s remains. In addition, the sanctuary has already accrued fame among Catholics as the site of pilgrimage on two occasions by Pope John Paul II (in 1997 and 2002), as well as his successor, Pope Benedict XVI in 2006. The Łagiewniki sanctuary is making a bid for status as a major international pilgrimage site, emphasizing the Polish origins of the cult of the Divine Mercy. In this light, the conservation of the original painting in 2003 at the petition of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Merciful Jesus, and its removal in 2005 by the Archbishop of Vilnius to the Church of the Holy Trinity, rededicated as the Sanctuary of the Divine Mercy, can be seen as moves to counter the eclipse of the original image in Lithuania threatened by the promotion of the Polish sanctuary.

How can a later derivation – the painting by Adolf Hyla in Łagiewniki –, which is not even an accurate copy of the original painting, be its devotional equivalent, or even threaten to displace it? Let us first examine the status of Kazimirowski’s original painting. That it had ostensibly been commanded by Jesus himself, acting directly through Saint Faustyna, would appear to be the guarantee not only of its authenticity but of its efficacy. The painting is the principal means of asserting the truth of the revelation, for by accurately representing Saint Faustyna’s vision at the command of Jesus, it supposedly gives devotees immediate access to that vision, and, by extension, to Jesus himself. Saint Faustyna recorded in her diary the instructions from Jesus that she received on this matter: “*By means of this Image I shall be granting many graces to souls; so let every soul have access to it.*”³⁵

It was too large for the intended altar, so the convent commissioned a second painting, completed in 1947, which remains in Łagiewniki, while Hyla’s first painting was sent to the Church of the Sacred Heart, Wrocław, which is associated with the congregation. See http://www.jesusmiseriordieux.org/ed/ojmm_developpimage.htm (accessed December 27, 2008).

³⁴ See <http://www.milosierdzie.pl/jezyki/en/index.php> (accessed December 26, 2008).

Saint Faustyna and the Blessed Michal Sopoćko appear to have believed that the painting had to be absolutely faithful to the nun’s vision in order to function as Jesus had specified. This is why she was reportedly obsessed with the precise details of the figure’s facial features. Others have since sought confirmation of their accuracy by comparing them with the ostensible face of Christ on the Shroud of Turin, allegedly the shroud in which the dead Jesus was entombed, having thereby directly received an impression of his body and facial features. In spite of questioning of its status, many Roman Catholics continue to accept the Shroud of Turin as a true relic rather than a medieval copy. For them, it is therefore an unimpeachable record of Christ’s features. The home page of the website of the Sisters of the Merciful Jesus, the congregation founded by the Blessed Michal Sopoćko to spread and foster the devotion introduced by Saint Faustyna, prominently displays an animation that fades between the two superimposed images of the face of Christ, one from Kazimirowski’s Divine Mercy painting and the other from the Turin Shroud. Their apparent congruence, much commented on, supposedly guarantees the accuracy and veracity of Christ’s facial features in Kazimirowski’s painting.³⁶

All these factors point to the status of the image for believers as not that of a mere painting, but as embodying the miraculous real presence of its prototype. For believers, Christ was the author of the image as well as its subject. Saint Faustyna and Eugeniusz Kazimirowski were mere vessels through which the vision and the resulting image no more than passed. The theologian Robert Stackpole, a leading proponent of the Divine Mercy devotion, notes that “*to the best of my knowledge, the Image of the Divine Mercy is the only image of Jesus Himself that Jesus expressly commanded to be painted in a particular manner, and disseminated throughout the world in a particular form.*”³⁷

³⁵ *Diary of Saint Maria...* (see in note 18), p. 242, *Diary*, 570.

³⁶ See <http://www.faustina-message.com/index.htm>; see further http://www.faustina-message.com/zgromadzenie_anga.htm (accessed December 26, 2008).

³⁷ STACKPOLE, R.: The Only Image He Commanded? In: *The Divine Mercy*, <http://thedivinemercy.org/news/story.php?NID=2549> (accessed December 26, 2008)

In this it differs from both the Mandylion of Edessa, and the Veil of St. Veronica, images of Jesus that were ostensibly produced by the direct contact of the cloths concerned with his face.³⁸ It is therefore an image vested with an extraordinary authority in the eyes of its devotees, fully sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church.

To repeat our question, how can Adolf Hyla's version, among others, of the Divine Mercy image, painted at a distance from its origins, and criticized by the Blessed Michał Sopoćko, assume a position of authority? Sopoćko valued Kazimirowski's painting because of its demonstrable fidelity to Saint Faustyna's vision. However, in accordance with the ecclesiastically sanctioned view that the author of the image is neither Kazimirowski nor Saint Faustyna who instructed him, but Jesus Christ himself working through his saint, the efficacy of the image does not reside in any one token of it, not even the first painting executed by Kazimirowski, but potentially in any. To draw an analogy from contemporary art, the image is properly conceptual, vested in Christ's stipulation rather than in any particular physical manifestation of it. Saint Faustyna, the Blessed Michał Sopoćko, and Eugeniusz Kazimirowski were under an obligation to realize that stipulation as accurately as possible, but once achieved, any recognizable token of it could act as a channel for grace. Thus a prayer card of the Divine Mercy, hidden in the clothing of a concentration camp prisoner, could be credited with miraculously preserving her life during the Holocaust.³⁹ On this understanding, Adolf Hyla's versions, among others – notably the one accorded such prominence in the sanctuary in Łagiewniki –, could therefore be as efficacious as the original.

The spread of the devotion to the Divine Mercy has been brought about in large part by the proliferation of the image in various versions. The Congregation of Marians of the Immaculate Conception (Marian Fathers) has been among the most active orders in promoting the cult. Originally founded in Poland in 1673, the Marian Fathers had declined by the early twentieth century, but were refounded in 1909 after which they spread internationally while retaining strong Polish roots. They championed the cult of the Divine Mercy, founding an apostolate of the Divine Mercy at their house in Stockbridge, Massachusetts in 1944, which has since become the U.S. National Shrine of the Divine Mercy. The Blessed Michał Sopoćko had given a photograph of Eugeniusz Kazimirowski's painting to Józef Jarzębowski, a Marian Father who collected Polish historical documents and material culture items. During his wartime peregrinations with his huge collection across the breadth of the Soviet Union, through Japan and North America, and eventually to England, Father Jarzębowski stayed at the Stockbridge house of his congregation, and in 1945 arranged for a Mexican artist, Maria Gama, to paint a version of *Jesus Christ as the Divine Mercy* using the photograph as her source.⁴⁰ This painting is the devotional heart of the U.S. National Shrine of the Divine Mercy. The annual feast of Divine Mercy on the Sunday after Easter attracts about 10 000 pilgrims to Stockbridge each year. Many bring their own reproductions of the image. In recognition of their contribution to church rebuilding in Vilnius, the archdiocese, while retaining copyright,⁴¹ reportedly granted reproduction and distribution rights in the Kazimirowski painting to the Marian Fathers. They distribute copies to newly founded Divine Mercy shrines worldwide,

³⁸ For the Mandylion and the Veil of St. Veronica, see in particular FREEDBERG, D.: *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago – London 1989, pp. 207-209; BELTING, H.: *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Trans. E. JEPHCOTT. Chicago – London 1994, pp. 208-224; and WOLF, G.: From Mandylion to Veronica: Picturing the 'Disembodied' Face and Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West. In: *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*. Ed. H. L. KESSLER – G. WOLF. Bologna 1998, pp. 153-179, with further references.

³⁹ See <http://www.divinemercysundayusa.com/shopping.shtml> (accessed December 26, 2008).

⁴⁰ See <http://www.divinemercypictures.com/images/large/Shrine.htm> (accessed December 29, 2008); also *Diary of Saint Maria Faustina Kowalska*, caption to unnumbered color plate of the sanctuary of the National Shrine of the Divine Mercy, Stockbridge.

⁴¹ The image is published with the notation: "© *Obraz – Kuria Metropolitalna w Wilnie*." See http://www.faustyna.eu/obraz_maly_67x119mm.pdf (accessed December 27, 2008).

with the words “*Jesus, I trust in You*” in any of fourteen languages.⁴² The Congregation of Sisters of our Lady of Mercy in Łagiewniki owns the copyright in the Hyla painting in the sanctuary, which was assigned to the convent by the artist before his death in 1968, and grants licenses to reproduce it.⁴³ Reproductions of this version are actively being distributed no less than those of the Kazimirowski painting.⁴⁴

For personal devotional use, the image can also be downloaded from the Web. Anyone with access to the Internet can download high quality digital versions of the Divine Mercy image of their choice to their computers from the website, “rayofmercy.org.” It states that “*this website was created mainly in response to the surprising lack of quality Divine Mercy images available on the Internet for download.*”⁴⁵ Most remarkable is that each of these digital images, as well as each printed photographic reproduction, shares the character of the original, so by means of any them Christ can ostensibly grant graces to souls anywhere in the world. Several purported miracles have been popularly ascribed to the image, and some have even been captured photographically. One instance is the “Divine Mercy Tabernacle Alight”, in Smithtown, New South Wales, Australia, found on the website of the Purgatory Project for the registration of souls for masses for the remission of Purgatory.⁴⁶ When Jesus Christ dictated to Saint Faustyna: “*By means of this Image I shall be granting many graces to souls; so let every soul have access to it,*”⁴⁷ the image concerned was potentially not only the painting made by Eugeniusz Kazimirowski, but any representation of the vision granted to the saint. No wonder that devotees cling to their personal reproductions of the image.

What, then, are we left with? Is the image of the Divine Mercy, in its various manifestations, an example of religious art reduced “to the level of the common man,” and an act of propaganda? Or should we risk blasphemy and cast Jesus Christ as a conceptual artist, orchestrating an outpouring of visual material that wholly bypasses conventional twentieth and twenty-first-century artworld values in order to promote religious devotion? The devotional effectiveness worldwide of this imagery cannot be denied. Further, its success suggests that values associated with artworld art and values associated with Catholic Christianity have been decoupled in spite of the efforts of a few priests such as Marie-Alain Couturier. Does this matter? For a cultural historian, this decoupling is of interest. It suggests that socially, the artworld has been marginalized, whereas the ever-developing devotional practice of the Roman Catholic Church, of which the Divine Mercy cult is but one example, affirms its role as powerfully influential in the lives of many all over the world. Its use of images, therefore, is worth studying. That use depends on picture making according to premises to which few artists in the artworld would subscribe. In the case of the Divine Mercy image, the individual creativity of the artist counts for little or nothing, even if the nuances that ultimately define the appearance of an image depend on that artist’s skills. Eugeniusz Kazimirowski’s role in the creation of *Jesus Christ as the Divine Mercy* in 1934 was ostensibly self-effacing, not self-affirming. He had no opportunity to exercise what capacity for originality he might have had, for the only originality that counts is what could be ascribed to the origina-

⁴² See <http://www.mercyimages.com/> (accessed December 19, 2008).

⁴³ Information regarding copyright from Sister Maria Elżbieta Siepak of the Sisters of our Lady of Mercy in Łagiewniki, posted at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Commons:Deletion_requests/Divine_Mercy_paintings (accessed December 19, 2008). Because of copyright considerations, Wikimedia has deleted both versions, though expects to post the Kazimirowski painting on the expiration of copyright, seventy years after the death of the artist, on January 1, 2010.

⁴⁴ Ingrid Ciulisová wrote: “*Please find attached the image of the Divine Mercy with the signature ‘Jesus, I trust in You’ in Slovak enclosed*

as an attachment. The picture is already on display in many Slovak churches and attracts great attention” (email message to the author, December 18, 2008).

⁴⁵ See http://rayofmercy.org/index.html?middle=image_download.html (accessed May 8, 2008). Attempts to access this site in December, 2008 failed. Have copyright issues caught up with it?

⁴⁶ See <http://www.holysouls.com/divinemercytabernaclealight.jpg> (accessed May 8, 2008).

⁴⁷ *Diary of Saint Maria...* (see in note 18), p. 242, *Diary*, 570.

tor of the saint's vision that the artist was striving to convey, that is, Jesus Christ. Authenticity only counts insofar as the painting successfully captures that authentic vision. The uniqueness of the artwork counts for nothing once its efficacy as a vehicle for grace is vested in all tokens of the vision in whatever medium, whether paint on canvas, photolithography, or pixels on a computer screen. Artworld concerns, then, are marginal if not irrelevant. They have no bearing on whether images of the Divine Mercy

have played a role in the transformations of Poland in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and the transformations of swathes of the world through the actions of a reinvigorated Roman Catholic Church under a Polish pope. Whether art or not, whether kitsch or not, whether propaganda or not, Eugeniusz Kazimirowski's *Jesus Christ as the Divine Mercy* remains one of the socially most influential paintings of the twentieth century. This is why it is worth examining.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ I should like to thank Ingrid Ciulisová for the invitation to contribute to the current volume. This article is a development of some ideas initially expressed in a paper "In Search of Christian Miraculous Images in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction, and Beyond," delivered at the Global Center

of Excellence: Death and Life Studies conference *Miraculous Images in Christian and Buddhist Culture*, University of Tokyo, in June, 2008. My thanks to Akira Akiyama, David Carrier, and Gerhard Wolf.

Ježiš Kristus ako Božie Milosrdenstvo od Eugeniusza Kazimirowského. Najvýznamnejšia poľská maľba 20. storočia?

Resumé

Od polovice 19. storočia západoeurópske umenie tak, ako bolo chápané a hodnotené vo svete umenia, umelcov, kritikov, galeristov, kurátorov, zberateľov a historikov umenia, dávalo málo priestoru umeniu súvisiacemu s organizovaným kresťanstvom. Presvedčenia niektorých umelcov boli nekompatibilné s kresťanstvom (Picasso); iní sa domnievali, že ak je raz „*umenie redukované na úroveň bežného človeka, už nie je aktom viery, ale aktom propagandy*“ (Braque). Pre niektorých práve moderné umenie vytlačilo organizovanú vieru ako cestu k transcencii (Rothko). Keď už raz umelci disponovali takým štylizovaným zobrazovaním, ktoré bolo schopné znázorňovať bez toho, aby to bolo rozpoznateľné, alebo znázorňovanie celkom opustili, nemohli už dlhšie uspokojovať devocionálne a liturgické potreby, ktoré záviseli od jasnej reprezentácie posvätných postáv.

Napriek všetkému, niektorí „tradiční“ alebo „provinční“ umelci naďalej naplňali požiadavky kresťanských kostolov. Táto štúdia sa dotýka jednej takejto maľby: *Ježiš Kristus ako Božie Milosrdenstvo* od poľského umelca Eugeniusza Kazimirowského (1873 – 1939). Kazimirowski maľoval krajiny, záhradné scény a portréty v sviežej, avšak predsa len pastelovej stredoeurópskej realistickej maniere. Jeho ojedinelým, nanajvýš vplyvným dielom bol religiózny obraz vyhotovený pre otca Michała Sopočka (1888 – 1975).

V roku 1933 sa Sopočko stal vo Vilniuse duchovným tútorom mníšky, ktorá zaznamenávala vízie Krista, sestry Márie Faustíny (1905 – 1938). Jej kľúčová vízia sa objavila 22. februára 1931, keď Maria Faustína oznámila, že sa jej zjavil Ježiš ako Kráľ Milosti, oblečený v bielom, dva široké líče, jeden červený a druhý svetlý, vyžarujúce z jeho hrude. Ježiš Faustínu inštruoval, aby svoju víziu dala namaľovať, nechala opatrit' nápisom so slovami „*Ježiš, verím v Teba*“ a obraz poskytla k uctievaniu (pozn. 18). Presvedčený o vierohodnosti tejto vízie, otec Sopočko v roku 1934 poveril vytvorením

takéhoto obrazu Eugeniusza Kazimirowského, a to s požiadavkou dôsledne nasledovať inštrukcie sestry Faustíny. Obraz bol po prvýkrát verejne uctievaný o rok neskôr a následne umiestnený v kostole otca Sopočka. Sestra Faustína zomrela roku 1938, ale otec Sopočko neúnavne šíril kult Božieho Milosrdenstva, nasledujúc inštrukcie, ktoré sestra Faustína údajne získala priamo od Krista a zaznamenala vo svojom zápisníku. Obraz, nachádzajúci sa v časti Poľska anektovanej Sovietskym zväzom, bol počas vojny i neskôr v ohrození a skončil vo Vilniuse (od roku 1991 v nezávislej Litve). Viacerí umelci čoskoro vytvorili kópie alebo derivácie Kazimirowského obrazu. Najpozoruhodnejšia bola druhá z dvoch prác, ktoré v roku 1941 vytvoril poľský umelec Adolf Hyla (zomrel v roku 1968). V roku 1947 bola táto kópia umiestnená v konvente v Łagiewnikach pri Krakove, kde sestra Faustína zomrela.

Ešte predtým, ako sa niektorý z oboch spomínaných obrazov stihol stať slávnym, bol kult Božieho Milosrdenstva v päťdesiatych rokoch preskúmaný vatikánskou Svätou stolicou. Jeho zbožnosť bola v takom podozrení, že publikovaná edícia denníka sestry Faustíny (záznam jej vízií a zdroj kultu) bola v roku 1959 daná na *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Situácia sa zmenila, keď sa Karol Józef Wojtyła stal roku 1963 krakovským arcibiskupom. Bol to on, kto zariadil skúmanie prípadu, ktoré potvrdilo zbožnosť. Jeho zvolenie za pápeža Jána Pavla II. v roku 1978 bolo signálom nového záväzku voči kultu. Cirkevný zákaz jeho šírenia bol v tomto roku zrušený. Kongregácia Sestier Milosrdného Krista, založená otcom Sopočkom, bola uznaná. Sestra Faustína bola roku 1993 beatifikovaná a v roku 2000 kanonizovaná. Otec Sopočko bol beatifikovaný v roku 2008.

V roku 2002 bola vysvätená nová rozľahlá pútnická svätyňa s pozostatkami sestry Faustíny a verziou obrazu Božieho Milosrdenstva od Adolfa Hylu. Jej webová stránka deklaruje, že sanktuárium v Łagiewnikach v Poľsku je „*svetovým centrom uctievania obrazu*

Božieho Milosrdenstva“ (pozn. 34). Ako odpoveď bol v roku 2003 obraz Kazimirowského profesionálne konzervovaný, a v roku 2005 prenesený z kostola spojeného s poľskou komunitou vo Vilniuse do iného kostola v meste, vysväteného ako Svätostánok Božieho Milosrdenstva.

Ikonografia obrazu vo všetkých svojich verziách pomáha vysvetliť intenzívnu identifikáciu Poliakov s obrazom, ako aj s kultom Božieho Milosrdenstva, ktorý reprezentuje. Červené a svetlé (vlastne biele) lúče vychádzajúce z Ježiša môžu symbolizovať krv a vodu rinúcu sa z jeho rany po bodnutí kopijou na kríži, ale môžu tiež evokovať poľskú národnú zástavu. Rímsko-katolícka cirkev, ktorá znovu ožila pod poľským pápežom, využila zbožnosť pripísanú tomuto obrazu a samotný kult ako súčasť opozície voči komunizmu v Poľsku. Cirkevné kongregácie poľského pôvodu dominujú pri šírení uctievanie oboch verzií obrazov Božieho Milosrdenstva v mnohých krajinách.

Obraz zaujíma medzi kresťanskými devočnými obrazmi výnimočné postavenie. Teológ Robert Stack-

pole poznamenáva, že „obraz *Božieho Milosrdenstva* je jediným obrazom Krista, ktorý si výslovne Ježiš žiadal namaľovať osobitným spôsobom, a šíriť vo svete osobitnou formou“ (pozn. 37). Kazimirowského úloha pri vzniku tohto diela musela byť celkom zatienená, za účelom pôsobivého podania milosti, ako to popisuje Sv. Faustína, ktorej víziu musel obraz presne reprezentovať. Každý ďalší obraz opakujúci jeho ústredné charakteristiky, či už maľovaný, fotografovaný, tlačný, alebo dokonca v pixeloch na počítačovej obrazovke, môže údajne tiež prenášať milosti, keďže autenticita sídli vo vízii darovanej Ježišom, a nie v jej jednotlivom znázornení. Úvahy o umení sú potom marginálne, ak nie irelevantné. Nesúvisia s tým, či obrazy Božieho Milosrdenstva zohrávali úlohu v transformáciách Poľska v 20. a na začiatku 21. storočia, ako aj v transformáciách svetových prúdov, či sa už jedná o umenie alebo nie, či už ide o gýč alebo nie, o propagandu, alebo nie, *Ježiš Kristus ako Božie Milosrdenstvo* Eugeniusza Kazimirowského je jedným zo spoločensky najvplyvnejších obrazov 20. storočia. Preto je hodný skúmania.

Preklad I. Ciulisová

Výtvarná diskusia o tvorbe Antona Jaszuscha v roku 1924. „Mravné popravenie jedného Slováka“ alebo „gigantická práca a tvorba jedného slovenského umelca“

Zsófia KISS-SZEMÁN

Bohato rozvrstvená, niekoľkými periódami sa vyznačujúca vyše polstoročná tvorba Antona Jaszuscha (1882 – 1965) patrí medzi vrcholné výtvarné prejavy umenia 20. storočia na Slovensku.

Prvá svetová vojna – ktorú maliar prežil najprv na talianskom a ruskom fronte, neskôr v zajateckých táboroch na Ďalekom východe, odkiaľ sa oneskorene, až v roku 1920 vrátil domov do Košíc – otriasla Jaszuschovým duchovným svetom, bytostne zmenila jeho myslenie, vnútorné presvedčenie a zároveň i maliarovo poslanie a umelecký program: v rokoch 1920 – 1924 vytvoril obsiahly súbor tematických obrazov týkajúcich sa existenčných otázok človeka, zmyslu života a miesta človeka na zemi i v kozme, ako aj povahy i etického poslania človeka. Jaszuschov obrovský duchovný rozmach si našiel vhodné médium na sprostredkovanie veľkolepých myšlienok vo veľkoryso komponovaných expresívne-dynamických, vzletných obrazoch

s ideou o gigantickej snahe ľudstva nájsť si svoje miesto v univerze.

Účelom tejto štúdie je priblížiť dielo A. Jaszuscha v tomto období, ďalej pokus o rekonštrukciu veľkého cyklu s interpretáciou a o ikonografické určenie diel, a poukázať na rozporuplnosť prijatia tvorby Jaszuscha na rôznych úrovniach a problémových okruhov v dobe vzniku pojednávaných diel.

S tvorbou Antona Jaszuscha pravdepodobne kvôli naznačeným nejednoznačnostiam sa zaoberalo pomerne málo odborníkov tak v slovenskej ako aj v maďarskej histórii umenia. O jeho tvorbe sa v odbornej literatúre dočítame takmer výlučne vo všeobecnosti alebo v rámci rozsiahlejších prác o umení daného obdobia. Keďže tu pojednávanej téme sa nikto okrem Tomáša Štrausa z roku 1966 bližšie nevenoval, a takisto hodnotenie odbornej literatúry nie je predmetom našej state, tu iba upozorním na niektoré publikované zhrnujúce práce.¹

¹ Používanie mena autora v rôznych prepisoch a zneniach sa menilo počas jeho života. Pôvodné meno autora „Jaszusch Antal“ sa prekladom krstného mena a čiastočným prepisom do slovenčiny menilo na znenie „Anton Jasusch“, ktoré aj sám autor neskôr používal. Niekedy sa však stretávame so signatúrou – okrem obvyklého značenia „Jaszusch“ – aj s menej častou podobou „Jassusch“, a v tlači z rôznych období s bohatou obmenou prepisov: „Jaszuch“, „Jasusch“, „Jassusch“, „Jasszusch“, dokonca ako karikatúra „Jasuš“. Pre informáciu pozri napr. BAJCUROVÁ, K. – HRABUŠICKÝ, A. – MÜLLEROVÁ, K.: *Slovenský obraz (anti-obraz). 20. storočie v slovenskom výtvarnom umení*. Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2008; RUSINOVÁ, Z. a kol.: *Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia 20. storočia*. Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 2000; BARTOŠOVÁ, Z.: *Národná verzus*

európska podoba výtvarného symbolizmu (s prihliadnutím na dielo Martina Benku, Antona Jaszuscha, Arpáda Murranna, Jána Koniarka a jeho interpretáciu). In: *Arx*, 1998, č. 1-3, s. 226-238; ABELOVSKÝ, J. – BAJCUROVÁ, K.: *Výtvarná moderna Slovenska*. Bratislava 1997; ABELOVSKÝ, J.: Fenomén secesie a moderné maliarstvo. In: *Arx*, 1997, č. 1-3, s. 3-64; ŠTRAUS, T. – HAŠČÁKOVÁ, G.: *Apokalypsa XX. storočia*. [Kat. výst.] Košice: Galéria Júliusa Jakobyho, 1996; ILEČKOVÁ, S.: *Maliarstvo 1900 – 1948*. In: *Umenie Slovenska*. [Kat. výst.] Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, 1994, s. 206-277; ŠTRAUS, T.: *Slovenský variant moderny*. Bratislava 1992; ABELOVSKÝ, J.: K počiatkom slovenskej maliarskej moderny (1890 – 1935). In: *Arx*, 1992, č. 1, s. 33-35; VAŠKOVIČOVÁ-PETROVÁ, H.: Niekoľko poznámok k umeniu 1900 – 1918 na Slovensku. In: *Arx*, 1990, s. 29-41;

Anton Jaszusch vychádzal z postimpresionistických premís a charakter tvorby pred prvou svetovou vojnou určil predovšetkým maliarov záujem o čisto výtvarné problémy, najmä o vzťah plochy a línie, ako aj o nezvyčajnú, maliarom precítenú farebnosť v maľbe. Následkom ich riešenia si Jaszusch vytvoril svojsky chápaný maliarsky prejav, ktorý sa skladal zo secesných prvkov, napájal sa v prvom rade z plošného dekoratívizmu a z reminiscencií plenéristickej a impresionistickej maľby.

Jaszusch v rokoch 1904 – 1908 študoval v Budapešti, Mníchove a krátko v Paríži, kde si osvojil základy techniky tradičnej maľby i práce s figúrou, priestorom a svetlom. Stretol sa s poňatím plenéristickej maľby, avšak zrejme už od začiatku menej inklinoval k naturalistickému zobrazeniu a hnal ho zrejme aj jeho netrpezlivý sklon k ďalším pokusom. Na začiatku roka 1908 sa Jaszusch vrátil do Košíc a stál pred veľkou výzvou: výsledky takmer štvorročného štúdia sa snažil pretaviť do vlastnej vyzretej tvorivej metódy. Už v týchto skorých dielach definitívne opustil pôdu akademickú maľbu aj v technike, aj v tematike, či interpretácii zobrazeného: na jeho maľbách sa presadili jednoduchá kompozícia, spontánne videnie, výjavy bez pátosu, motívy každodenného života a spolu s tým väčšie farebné plôšky pozostávajúce z hrubých ťahov štetca. Základnú charakteristiku i stavbu jeho maľby určovali hlavne maliarske otázky plošného dekoratívizmu, vďaka ktorým sa jeho maľba posunula smerom k prekonaniu cieľov tradične chápaného zobrazujúceho umenia. Autorova snaha oslobodiť sa od konvenčného, zaužívaného poňatia figurálnej

maľby na začiatku 20. storočia je jasná už v skorej fáze tvorby. Prejavili sa aj niektoré posuny v spôsobe zobrazenia: hoci prerušovaný, pastózný spôsob maľby a prejav plný napätia ostávali aj naďalej základným charakteristickým prvkom diel, maľby sa naplnili symbolickým významom a mystickou náladou. Ich kolorit je natoľko nezvyčajný a neskutočný, že ich môžeme jednoznačne vyhlásiť za vnútornú transformáciu zážitku umelca. Jaszusch vo svojich najlepších dielach z tohto obdobia uplatňuje zásadu postimpresionistickej maľby a nestavia na odzrkadlení dojmov a nálady skutočnej krajiny na základe fyziologických vnemov, ale smeruje k výrazu poetických až mystických zážitkov prežitých prostredníctvom krajiny. Tento spôsob videnia, prežitia a zobrazovania sa u Jaszuscha do roku 1914 v plnej miere vystupňoval a opätovným posunom v jeho dielach sa premenil do expresívneho spôsobu prejavu, ktorý najviac vyhovelo jeho povahe plnej tvorivého exaltovaného napätia.

Obrazový cyklus Antona Jaszuscha v rokoch 1921 – 1924

Anton Jaszusch sa po piatich rokoch vojny na fronte a vojnového zajatia vrátil domov do rodných Košíc na jeseň roku 1920.² V rozpätí troch-štyroch nasledujúcich rokov vystavil aspoň päťsto nových obrazov, vytvoril svoje ohromujúce obrazové cykly, ktoré vyvolali jednu z najrozsiahlejších a zanietených výtvarno-umeleckých diskusií 20. storočia na Slovensku.

Ide o väčší komplex maliieb, ku ktorému patril cyklus dvadsiatich až dvadsiatich štyroch diel³ v roz-

GROŠKO, I.: *Košický výtvarný okruh 20. rokov*. [Kat. výst.] Košice : Východoslovenská galéria, 1984; ILEČKOVÁ, S.: *Slovenské výtvarné umenie 20. storočia (1900 – 1948)*. [Kat. výst.] Bratislava : Slovenská národná galéria 1981; GROŠKO, I.: *Košice vo výtvarnom umení*. Košice 1980; ŠTRAUS, T.: Die slowakische Variante der Moderne. In: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen*, 26, 1979, č. 4-5, s. 405-413; VÁROSS, M.: *Výtvarný život na Slovensku začiatkom 20. storočia. Maliarstvo a grafika rokov 1900 – 1918*. Bratislava 1971; SAUČIN, L.: *Výtvarné umenie na východnom Slovensku 1918 – 1938*. Košice 1964; VÁROSS, M.: *Slovenské výtvarné umenie 1918 – 1945*. Bratislava 1960; BROGYÁNYI, K.: *Festőművészet Szlovénországon* [Maliarstvo na Slovensku]. Košice 1931; WAGNER, V.: *Dejiny výtvarného umenia na Slovensku*. Trnava 1930.

² Jaszusch narukoval už roku 1914, v roku 1915 bojoval na talianskom fronte, roku 1916 na ruskom, kde sa dostal do

zajatia. O jeho príchode domov pozri *Kassai Napló*, 36, 1920, č. 249 (27. október), s. 3: „*Antal Jaszusch, košický maliar s dobrým menom, sa vrátil domov po piatich rokoch sibírskeho zajatia*.“ Správu o ruskom zajatí, o príchode domov a ceste pozri v *Kassai Napló*, 36, 1920, č. 252 (31. október), s. 3.

³ Dnes vieme o 20 maľbách, čo je možno aj plný počet (vo Východoslovenskej galérii v Košiciach (VSG), Slovenskej národnej galérii v Bratislave (SNG) a v súkromnom majetku, avšak z toho veľa sa zničilo pri požiari v Košiciach v roku 1985): *Žena, Na kanóne, Láska, Veľká kompozícia, Golgota, Skeč lásky, Na colnici, Na trnu, Hudba, Veľká kompozícia III., Žiarlivosť, Umeľcovo vyznanie (Moji predchodcovia), Obdiv, Adam a Eva, Veľká kompozícia II., Voľná kompozícia II.* (VSG), *Žltý mlyn II.* (SNG), *Maliar a model, Moc slnka, Zvedavosť* (v súkromnom majetku).

meroch asi 150 × 172 cm a veľký cyklus desiatich malieb v rozmeroch takmer 3 × 3 metre. Diela tvoria natoľko jednotný celok, že o nich môžeme hovoriť ako o cykle voľne sa viažucich obrazov. Základná idea obrazov, ideál o poslaní a mieste človeka vo svete, sa miestami objavuje v satirickom alebo ironickom sformulovaní témy alebo v zobrazení scén s didaktickým, morálno-výchovným podtextom, inokedy zas ako obraz vízií prírodných alebo historických, spoločenských i vesmírnych katastrof. Otázky etiky po prvej svetovej vojne beztak vystupovali do popredia a zamestnávali mnohých, keďže dovtedajšia hodnotová orientácia a poriadok boli vojnou narušené. Zmeny po svetovej vojne, prežitých hrôzostrašných trápeniach a neľudských ukrutnostiach a neskôr eufória z konca vojny, vyvolali pocit nároku na morálnu spravodlivosť a zadost'činenie, ktoré v skutočnosti, prirodzene, nemohli nastať. Jaszuschove očakávania jednak voči sebe, jednak voči svojmu okoliu vyvolali nesmierne napätie. Nemilosrdne odhaľoval vo svojich dielach ľudské slabosti a zvrátenosti: pretváрку, pokrytectvo, žiarlivosť, všetečnosť, chlipnosť, ale aj bezmocnosť, nehanebnosť, márnivosť, túžbu po moci atď.⁴ Silný moralizujúci smer Jaszuschovho umenia určoval čoraz viac aj témy jeho obrazov a jeho ironia sa rozšírila aj na narušenie obrazových konvencií, tradičného obrazového sveta a ikonografiu. Jeho tvorbu charakterizuje svojský pohľad na svet, ktorý formovali jeho morálne presvedčenie pochádzajúce z filozofických a náboženských poznatkov, jeho etické princípy a jeho silný kritický zmysel. Tento náhľad sveta – vytváraný sarkastickým prístupom k životu a jeho charakterom napomínať a vychovávať ľudí – formovalo túto časť

tvorby, ktorá stojí bližšie ku skutočnému životu. Tak následkom deformácií foriem i groteskným javom postáv vznikali dvojsečné diela s viacerými možnými významami, ktoré sa na plátnach zjavujú ako scény absurdnej drámy. „Úlohou spisovateľa [i maliara – pozn. autorky] *nie je to, aby skomponoval brdinské osudy, ale aby pomáhal ľuďom spoznať samého seba, vlastný osud – a na základe tohto pochopenia ukázať smerovanie jeho skutkov*“,“ písal Jaszusch v roku 1924.⁵

Častou a neustále sa vracajúcou Jaszuschovou témou bol vandrovník, človek vrhnutý do tohto sveta. Táto vízia potácajúceho sa bludára sa objavuje v rôznych podobách: jednak v podobe tuláka, ktorý tvorí jednotu s kozmom v plnom súlade na hranici identifikovateľnosti,⁶ jednak v podobe túlajúceho sa človeka na koni naháňajúceho šťastie a pravdu, ktorý prichádza po svojej životnej púti do cieľa, k nirváne.⁷ Fantazijný jazdec týchto diel vyrastá v symbol márneho hľadania a úmorného boja človeka o šťastie.

Jaszusch vo svojich dielach podal aj svoju verziu na historický obraz ľudstva podľa svojho presvedčenia i skúseností ako metaforu mlyna a gigantickej postavy naháňajúcej mlyn. Každý jednotlivec tvorí len malú kvapku, penu vody v moriach dejín a bezmocne, bez ľudskej dôstojnosti sa podriaďuje pohybu más vo víre veľkého kolesa. Ľudia neschopní usmerňovať vlastný osud, zbavení svojich práv, istoty i sebavedomia sú nútení skloniť svoju hlavu pod zničujúce koleso. Mlyn ako nástroj osudových tragických síl lomcuje človekom.⁸ Človek tu vystupuje ako obeť zbavený svojských charakteristík a vystavený napospas totálnej moci, silám lavíny, mlyna, valca, zmetúcim všetko zo zemského povrchu.

⁴ Myšlienková paralela sa dá sledovať predovšetkým so sériou *Caprichos* od Francisca Goya.

⁵ Rukopis sa dnes nachádza v Archíve SNG. Jaszusch napísal divadelnú hru v troch dejstvách, v maďarskom jazyku, ktorej prvá verzia s názvom *A Szellem komédiája* [Komédia ducha] pochádza z roku 1925 (pôvodný názov *A majom* [Opica]. – Archív SNG, Fond Antona Jaszuscha, 426/85, Osobné doklady 15A19/487/86/28).

⁶ *Symfónia*, 1922 – 1924, lepenka, olej, 61,2 × 75,5 cm, neznačené. SNG Bratislava, O 2701.

⁷ *Nirvána*, známa v dvoch verziách *Nirvána I*, okolo 1920 – 1921, olej, plátno, 110 × 130 cm, značené vpravo dole:

Jaszusch. VSG Košice, O 1333; *Nirvána II*, okolo 1922, plátno, olej, 80,5 × 95,7 cm, značené vpravo dole: Jaszusch. SNG Bratislava, O 2698.

⁸ *Žltý mlyn I.*, 1920 – 1921, olej, plátno, 100 × 120 cm, značené vpravo dole: Jaszusch. VSG Košice, O 1448; *Žltý mlyn II.*, 1921 – 1924, olej, plátno, 148 × 172,5 cm, značené vpravo dole: JASZUSCH PINX. XX. SNG Bratislava, O 2697.

Metafora veľkého kolesa, ktoré prevalcuje jednotlivca, sa tu objavuje ako symbol ľudských dejín, vojny a osudu. Tento motív sa ťahá celými dejinami umenia 20. storočia, pozri napr. dielo Lászlóa Moholy-Nagya s názvom *Veľké koleso*, alebo – aby sme spomenuli aspoň jedno zo súčasných diel – objekt s názvom *Stojaca figúra s kolesom* Magdalény Abakanowicz.

Veľký cyklus – pokus o rekonštrukciu a ikonografické určenie

Séria diel Antona Jasuscha pozostávajúca z desiatich obrovských, takmer 3 × 3 metrových kompozícií sa zrodila za necelého poldruha roka. V súčasnosti je známa polovica tohto cyklu, päť z týchto veľkorozmerných plátien, štyri vo Východoslovenskej galérii v Košiciach a jedno v Slovenskej národnej galérii v Bratislave. Dnes si z nich môžeme nasledujúce identifikovať: *Putovanie duší*, *Život človeka*, *Posledný súd*, *Zánik planéty*, *Revolúcia*. Rekonštrukcia celej série ani po Jaszuschovej rozsiahlej výstave a výskumu⁹ nie je ešte stále možná, keďže sa diela roztratili, ale o to zaujímavejšia a fascinujúcejšia je výskum okolo nich.

Vieme, že Jaszusch začal pracovať na tejto sérii na konci roku 1922, a že prvé štúdie vznikali k maľbám *Vojna (Vojny)*.¹⁰ V októbri 1923 boli hotové tri z týchto veľkých plátien: *Vojna*, *Golgota* a *Revolúcia (Revolúcie)*.¹¹ Ostatných sedem obrazov maliar musel dokončiť len za štyri mesiace, do 4. mája 1924 – vtedy sa otvárala maliarova výstava v Košiciach. Okrem už spomenutých troch obrazov bezpečne sa podarilo stotožniť ďalšie kompozície, resp. názvy ďalších kompozícií z cyklu: *Putovanie duší (Vandrovanie duší / Blúdenie duší / Kolobeh života)*, *Prameň života (Pri prameni života / U prameňov života)*, *Život človeka*, *Posledný súd (Súd / Súdný deň / Deň posledného súdu / Voľná kompozícia IV.)*, *Zánik planéty (Voľná kompozícia III.)*. Z dobovej literatúry na základe dedukcie pred-

pokladám, že ide ešte o maľby *Tragédia človeka (?)*, *Potopa (?)*¹² alebo *Vláda slnca (?)*.¹³

V diele *Vojna* spomedzi vírivých postáv ľudí a zvierat navzájom zápasiacich vyčnieva postava jazdca, mýtického víťaza na bielom koni. Originálnu maľbu nepoznáme, len jej autorské varianty z 50. a 60. rokov. Podľa J. K. Matejova na pôvodnej maľbe na koni sedel jednoznačne oslobodený černochoch.¹⁴ Je viac než pravdepodobné, že sugestívna sila pôvodnej maľby – ktorá sa, žiaľ, vytratila z neskoršieho variantu maľby – skutočne zapôsobila na Jaszuschových rovesníkov a svojou atmosférou verne pripomínala chaotický, nezmyselný a ničivý svet vojny: „*V cvale vojny s ľuďmi spolu beží v cvale celý svet.*“¹⁵

Maľbu doteraz s názvom *Voľná kompozícia V.*, ktorá sa nachádza vo Východoslovenskej galérii v stave reštaurovania, som jednoznačne identifikovala ako maľbu *Revolúcia*¹⁶ z tohto veľkého cyklu. Dielo – aj s ostatnými dielami série okrem *Putovania duší* – v čase vzniku Štrausovej monografie bolo pokladané za zničené a uvádzal sa len Matejov opis. Na rozdiel od ostatných maliieb v tomto prípade už poznáme aj čierno-bielu reprodukciu maľby.¹⁷ Podľa opisu Matejova postava stojaca bokom udalostí – individuálny intelektuál – sleduje dej: na továrenskom nádvorí uprostred práve sa rúcajúcich budov sa zhromažďuje a buráca dav okolo postavy agitátora. Anonymná skupina ľudí bez individualít bola predsa len nositeľkou historických udalostí. Pôvodný tmavomodrý kolorit poukazuje na odev robotníkov.

⁹ KISS-SZEMÁN, Zs.: *Anton Jasusch. Maliar a vizionár*. [Kat. výst.] Bratislava : Galéria mesta Bratislavy – Východoslovenská galéria, 2007.

¹⁰ MERÉNYI, Gy.: Jaszusch Antal. In: *Kassai Napló*, 38, 1922, č. 289 (10. december), s. 5.

¹¹ JARNO, J.: Három kép. Golgota, Háború, Forradalom [Tri obrazy. Golgota, Vojna, Revolúcia]. In: *Kassai Napló*, 39, 1923, č. 234 (14. október), s. 10. József Jarno píše aj o týchto troch nových maľbách vo svojom článku. Dokonca vieme, že Jaszusch predstavil tieto tri obrazy košickému obecnstvu na svojej ateliérovej výstave v decembri 1923 v Košiciach. Pozri *Kassai Napló*, 39, 1923, č. 284 (14. december), s. 3.

¹² Rekonštrukcia bola možná na základe dobových článkov a informácií, ďalej spomienok podporovateľa a nadšenca Jaszuschovej tvorby Jura Kozu Matejova (list cituje ŠTRAUS, T.: *Anton Jasusch a zrod východoslovenskej avantgardy dvadsiaty*

rokov. Bratislava 1966, s. 70-72, pozn. 2), ako aj na základe maliarových nanovo spracovaných podobných motívov.

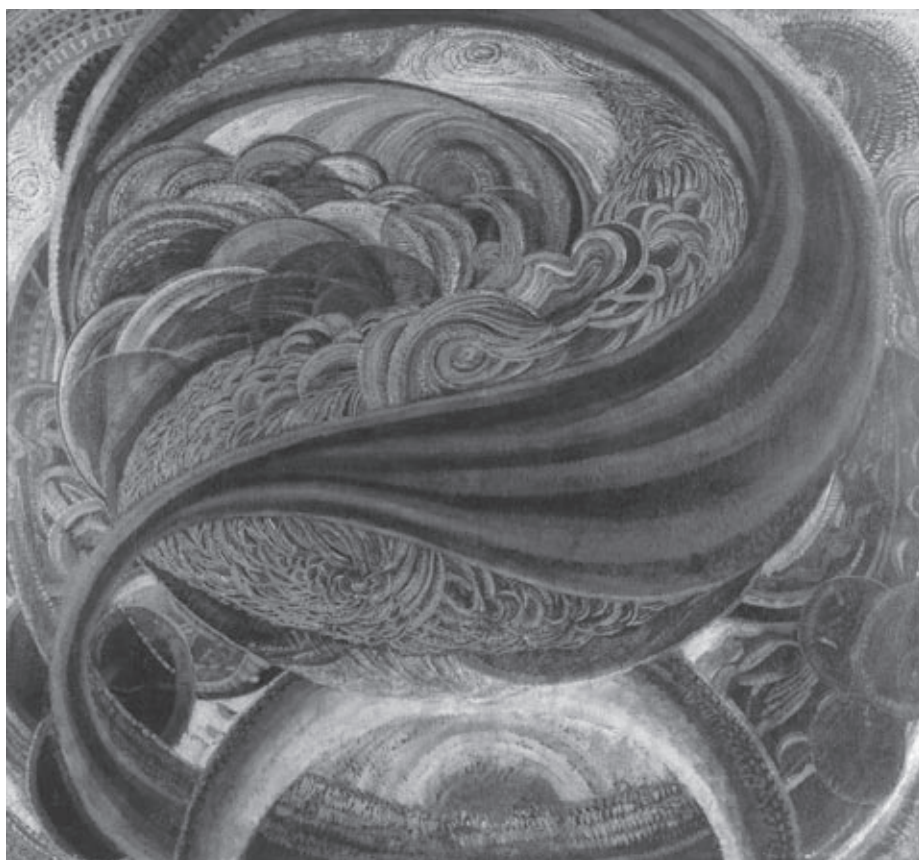
¹³ Porovnaj SMREK, J.: Maliar – metafyzik. In: *Slovenský denník*, 7, 1924, č. 157 (12. júla), s. 1-2.

¹⁴ Cituje ŠTRAUS 1966, c. d. (v pozn. 12), s. 72, pozn. 2/g. Na jazdca čiernej alebo bielej pleti som nenašla v dobovej literatúre nijakú narážku, avšak koňa istý kritik nazval „*zelenou hydrou*“. Pozri ďalej *Z prvej svetovej vojny*, O 834, lepenka, olej, 50 × 61,5 cm, neznačené. VSG Košice.

¹⁵ JARNO 1923, c. d. (v pozn. 11), s. 10.

¹⁶ *Revolúcia (Voľná kompozícia V.)*, 1923, plátno, olej, 223 × 290 cm, neznačené. VSG Košice, O 2345.

¹⁷ ŠTRAUS 1966, c. d. (v pozn. 12), s. 71, pozn. 2/f, obr. 63.



1. Anton Jaszusch: Zánik planéty (Volná kompozícia III. / Konec planéty), 1924, plátno, olej, 266 × 268 cm, značené vľavo dole: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2343.

Podobne ako v prípade maľby *Vojna* sa aj tu objavilo nezmyselné úsilie ľudstva, ničivý, násilný čin človeka, ktorý vedie k záhube.

Tretou maľbou hotovou ešte v roku 1923 bola *Golgota*, ktorá je podľa našich výskumov aj dnes stratená, možno aj zničená. Jej menší dobový variant sa zachoval do roku 1985, keď sa zničil pri požiari v Košiciach.¹⁸ Maľba v čase výstavy roku 1923 zrejme tiež veľmi zapôsobila na publikum: v dobovej tlači sa zdôrazňovalo maliarove použitie farieb, zobrazenie postáv, ktoré sú schopné sa zjaviť vo farbách ich vnútorného života a jeho svojská filozofia.

V súvislosti s maľbou *Golgota* osobitne sa upozorňuje na priestor okolo postáv: priestor na *Golgote* okolo dvoch lotrov a ich krížov vyjadroval beznádejnú ničotu, kým okolo Krista aj na stromoch, aj v ovzduší bolo cítiť spásu.¹⁹

Anton Jaszusch na svojej výstave v decembri 1923 v Košiciach vystavil aj tieto tri spomenuté diela a košickým publikom i tlačou boli bezprostredne nadšene prijaté: „Čistá metafyzika“, „jeho umenie je univerzálne“, „vyráža dych, nádhera, spred našich očí dvíha oponu krásy a večných zákonitostí existencie“, výstava je „prechádzka očistcom“.²⁰

¹⁸ *Golgota*, 1922 – 1923, plátno, olej, 149 × 172 cm, značené vpravo dole: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 1460, zničené. Opis, resp. reprodukciu väčšej a menšej maľby nespomína ani Matejov, ani Štraus. Pri požiari v depozitári VSG 12. januára 1985 sa zničilo 23 Jaszuschových diel. Pozri MARKOVIČ, P. a kol.: *Východoslovenská galéria Košice 1985*.

Súbor dokumentov k požiariu vo Východoslovenskej galérii. Košice 2005, s. 52-55.

¹⁹ JARNO 1923, c. d. (v pozn. 11), s. 10.

²⁰ MERÉNYI 1922, c. d. (v pozn. 10).

2. Anton Jaszusch: *Život človeka* (*Volná kompozícia*), 1924, plátno, olej, 266 × 286 cm, značené vľavo dole: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2341.



K jednej z najzávažnejších tém cyklu, k životu človeka, sa viažu ďalšie maľby, a to *Prameň života*, *Život človeka* a *Tragédia človeka*. *Prameň života* dnes v origináli nepoznáme. Podľa opisu Matejova so svojím dekoratívnym vírivým kolobehom elipsoidných foriem symbolizujú vznik ľudského života, narodenie človeka. Splývavé, vzájomne sa prenikajúce telá vytvárajú elipsoidné a okrúhle formy pripomínajúce bunky. Je isté, že olejomaľba s nie veľmi výstižným názvom *Kompozícia*²¹ vo VSG je novšou podobou maľby *Prameňa života*, ktorý podľa Matejova mal symbolizovať pohlavný život človeka: „*Dekoratívny*

vírivý kolobeh elipsoidných útvarov symbolizuje pohlavný život človeka. Pospletané ženské a mužské telá (cínovo hnedá a ružová farba) vytvárajú z odstupu štylizovaný bunecný útvar.“²² Samozrejme, ako aj pri ďalších obrazoch, tento novodobý variant sa tiež v mnohom líši. Je však kompozične i štýlovo podobne riešený ako ďalšie reminiscencie autora zo 60. rokov.

V roku 2007 reštaurovanú druhú maľbu vo VSG, ktorá bola zaevidovaná ako *Volná kompozícia*, som identifikovala ako maľbu *Život človeka*.²³ Ústredné postavy ženy a muža (pramatky a praotca) uprostred kompozície sú prameňom zástupu postáv. V popredí

²¹ *Prameň života* (*Kompozícia / Dekoratívna kompozícia s figúrami*), okolo 1960, lepenka, olej, 50 × 67 cm. VSG Košice, O 915. Vo výrazových prostriedkoch sa však podobá na reminiscenciu veľkého plátna *Život človeka* (*Kompozícia*), pozri v pozn. 23.

²² Citované podľa ŠTRAUS 1966, c. d. (v pozn. 12), s. 71, pozn. 2/c.

²³ *Život človeka* (*Volná kompozícia*), 1924, plátno, olej, 266 × 286 cm, značené vľavo dole: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2341. Novodobým variantom obrazu je *Život človeka* (*Kompozícia*), 1958 – 1960, kartón, olej, 48,5 × 61 cm, značené uprostred dole: Jaszusch. VSG Košice, O 2279.

vidno pramatku s obnaženými prsiami, na ktorých visia dojčatá, hneď za ňou sedí ako ochranca praotec. Za dojčatami sa nachádzajú do špirály rytmicky usporiadané postavy, spočiatku menšie a postupne sa zväčšujúce, ktoré nakoniec – v popredí maľby – padajú do tmavého neznáma, do hrobu. Na tejto púti jedna postavička hneď na začiatku vyniká veselosťou a hravosťou, trocha ďalej sa z davu vynárajú objímajúci sa milenci, za zenitom sa vyníma typická maliarova štylizovaná hlava v podobe masky so smutným úsmevom, na konci životnej púte postavy strácajú akúkoľvek príznačnú črtu. Farby sa symbolicky menia od pestrých a svetlejších, charakterizujúcich postavy detí, po pochmúrne, až tmavé tóny pre dospelých a starých.

O ďalšej maľbe cyklu s názvom *Tragédia človeka* nemáme žiadne dobové správy, fotografiu alebo opis okrem názvu.

Ďalšie dielo cyklu doteraz známe pod názvom *Volná kompozícia IV.* je rozhodne zhodné s maľbou, ktorú som určila ako *Posledný súd*.²⁴ Obrovské plátno bolo zreštaurované v rokoch 2007 – 2008 vo VSG. Jaszuschovo ponímanie Posledného súdu je jednoznačne skeptické. Hlavnú os obrovskej kompozície tvoria tri postavy: hore s rozprestretými všeobjímajúcimi rukami duch (najvyššia bytosť), ktorý vládne tomuto svetu. Pod ním kráča postava, letmo naznačená červenou kriedou, jej poslanie, žiaľ, nepoznáme. Pravdepodobne ide o človeka budúcnosti, ktorý mimo pozemských záležitostí hrdo a sebavedome kráča svetom. V popredí na zemi sedí schúlená postava, ktorá si beznádejne skláňa hlavu na kolená, je uzatvorená len do seba, nekomunikuje s ostatným svetom, je však zrejmä jej zúfalosť. Izoláciu zdôrazňuje aj markantná červená línia okolo siluety postavy. Na

oboch stranách podobne vraždiace, revoltujúce a zlatu holdujúce zatratené duše. Podľa opisu Matejova na dvoch stranách vládne dvojica: „človek – predstaviteľ vzbury a vzdoru, a kňaz, ktorý slúži omšu mešcu zlata“.²⁵ Nosnú myšlienku diela spoznáваме na rovnako ironicky komponovaných verziách spracovania klasickej témy zo 60. rokov (*Pretvárka, Posledný súd*).²⁶ Na týchto neskorších obmenách obrazu sa však za schúlenou postavou ťahá rad ďalších podobných postáv, a tým je vlastne kontinuita k najvyššej bytosti nenarušená. Postava, človek budúcnosti, je tu nahradená radom rozmýšľajúcich, v podstate už menej bezútešných ľudí, ktorí nepodliehajú mamonárstvu, vražde, násiliu a beznádeji, ale sa dívajú pred seba a majú spojenie s najvyššou múdrosťou.

Víziu katastrofy ľudských dejín i príbehu človeka Jaszusch doplnil svojou predstavou o katastrofe našej planéty. O maľbe *Potopa* nemáme nijaké správy, dokonca aj samotný názov je iba odôvodniteľnou hypotézou na základe dobovej tlače, ale téma by rozhodne dobre zapadala do maliarovej koncepcie veľkolepého cyklu. Druhú maľbu, ktorá sa viaže k téme kozmickej živelnéj pohromy, v zbierkach VSG s názvom *Volná kompozícia III.* sa mi podarilo identifikovať ako maľbu *Zánik planéty*.²⁷ Podľa spomienok J. K. Matejova: „*Ide o fantastickú víziu vesmírnej katastrofy, ktorú vyvolala náhla premena gravitačnej zákonitosti. Vírny kolotoč planétových diskov spája v príznačnej kompozícii kompaktnú hmotu zeme, vodu a rastlinný porast.*“²⁸ Cez celú kompozíciu sa ťahá široký pás valiacej sa vody v esovitej krivke, okolo ktorej sa chaoticky rútia kotúče planét a zvyšky vegetácie. Ako sa píše v dobovej tlači, Jaszusch namaloval „*zánik planéty so všetkým obňom i potopou*“.²⁹

Na veľkorozmernom plátne s pôvodným názvom *Putovanie duší*³⁰ po línií nepravidelnej

²⁴ *Posledný súd (Volná kompozícia IV. / Súd / Súdny deň)*, 1924, olej, plátno, 286 × 266 cm, značené vľavo dole: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2344.

²⁵ Citované na základe ŠTRAUS 1966, c. d. (v pozn. 12), s. 71, pozn. 2/e.

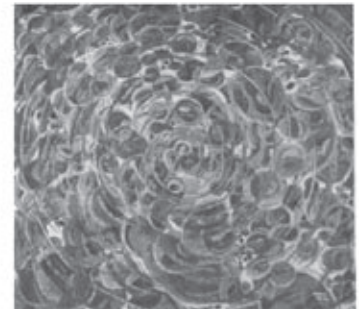
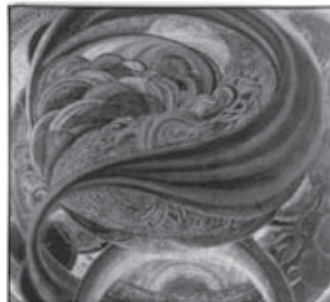
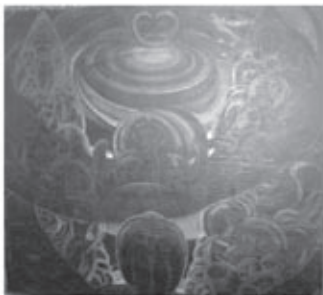
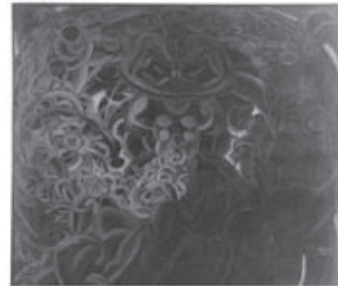
²⁶ *Pretvárka*, 1958 – 1962, plátno, olej, 140 × 160 cm, značené vpravo dole: Jaszusch. VSG Košice, O 2600; *Posledný súd*, okolo 1960, kartón, olej, 50,3 × 62,9 cm. SNG Bratislava, O 4429.

²⁷ *Zánik planéty (Volná kompozícia III., Koniec planéty)*, 1924, plátno,

olej, 266 × 268 cm, značené vľavo dole: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2343.

²⁸ Citované na základe ŠTRAUS 1966, c. d. (v pozn. 12), s. 71, pozn. 2/a pod názvom *Koniec planéty*.

²⁹ IGNOTUS [VEIGELSBERG, H.]: Jaszusch Antal. In: *Kassai Napló*, 40, 1924, č. 103 (4. máj), s. 3. Ignotus bol vedúcou osobnosťou a známym kritikom pokrokového časopisu *Njugat* [Západ], okolo ktorého sa združovali najprogressívnejší autori doby z pred 1. svetovej vojny, a v 20. rokoch pravidelne písal svoje kritické články do denníka *Kassai Napló*. Umením Jaszuscha bol nadšený.



3. Rekonštrukcia Anton Jaszuscb: *Velký cyklus* (v poradí zľava doprava):

a. *Z prvej svetovej vojny*, okolo 1960, lepenka, olej, 50 × 61,5 cm, neznačené (autorov menší a neskorší variant obrazu). VSG Košice, O 834.

b. *Revolúcia (Volná kompozícia V.)*, 1923, plátno, olej, 223 × 290 cm, neznačené. VSG Košice, O 2345, stav pred reštaurovaním.

c. *Golgota*, 1922 – 1923, plátno, olej, 149 × 172 cm, značené vpravo dolu: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 1460, zničené pri požiarí v roku 1985.

d. *Prameň života (Kompozícia / Dekoratívna kompozícia s figúrami)*, okolo 1960, lepenka, olej, 50 × 67 cm, neznačené (autorov menší a neskorší variant obrazu). VSG Košice, O 915.

e. *Život človeka (Volná kompozícia)*, 1924, plátno, olej, 266 × 286 cm, značené vľavo dolu: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2341.

f. *Posledný súd (Volná kompozícia IV. / Súd / Súdný deň)*, 1924, olej, plátno, 286 × 266 cm, značené vľavo dole: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2344.

g. *Zánik planéty (Volná kompozícia III., Koniec planéty)*, 1924, plátno, olej, 266 × 268 cm, značené vľavo dole: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2343.

h. *Putovanie duší (Vandrovanie duší / Blúdenie duší / Kolobeh života)*, 1924, plátno, olej, 268 × 290 cm, značené vpravo dole: JASZUSCH PINX-XX-. SNG Bratislava, O 2699.

špirály vytvárajú farebné kruhové škvrny víriaci, dynamicky a centricky zužujúci priestor, v ktorom plávajú, vznášajú sa pretiahnuté ľudské postavy takmer splývajúce so spleťtým prostredím. Maliarova sugestívna vízia o dokonalej harmónii ľudstva

a kozmu sa tu prejavuje ako orfický radostný tanec. Rytmicky veľkoryso členená plocha tu slúži ako pozadie na oslavu života. Na základe tejto maľby a tohto cyklu maliieb musíme konštatovať, že Jaszuscbovo umenie v tomto období patrí

skutočne medzi najoriginálnejšie a najkvalitnejšie v strednej Európe.

Spomínaný cyklicky komponovaný celok sa riadi témami kozmu, dejín kozmu a príbehu človeka (*Zánik planéty, Potopa, Život človeka, Prameň života, Tragédia človeka*), vrátane histórie ľudstva (*Vojna, Revolúcia, Golgota*), končí *Posledným súdom*, po ktorom nastáva splnutie a harmónia univerza a človeka (*Putovanie duší*).

Rekonštrukcia Veľkého cyklu (na obrázku v poradí zľava doprava):

- a. *Z prvej svetovej vojny*, okolo 1960, lepenka, olej, 50 × 61,5 cm, neznačené (autorov menší a neskorší variant obrazu). VSG Košice, O 834.
- b. *Revolúcia (Volná kompozícia V.)*, 1923, plátno, olej, 223 × 290 cm, neznačené. VSG Košice, O 2345, stav pred reštaurovaním.
- c. *Golgota*, 1922 – 1923, plátno, olej, 149 × 172 cm, značené vpravo dolu: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 1460, zničené pri požiari v roku 1985.
- d. *Prameň života (Kompozícia / Dekoratívna kompozícia s figúrami)*, okolo 1960, lepenka, olej, 50 × 67 cm, neznačené (autorov menší a neskorší variant obrazu). VSG Košice, O 915.
- e. *Život človeka (Volná kompozícia)*, 1924, plátno, olej, 266 × 286 cm, značené vľavo dolu: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2341.
- f. *Posledný súd (Volná kompozícia IV. / Súd / Súdný deň)*, 1924, olej, plátno, 286 × 266 cm, značené vľavo dolu: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2344.

- g. *Zánik planéty (Volná kompozícia III., Koniec planéty)*, 1924, plátno, olej, 266 × 268 cm, značené vľavo dole: JASZUSCH PINX XX. VSG Košice, O 2343.
- h. *Putovanie duší (Vandrovanie duší / Blúdenie duší / Kolobeh života)*, 1924, plátno, olej, 268 × 290 cm, značené vpravo dole: JASZUSCH PINX-XX-. SNG Bratislava, O 2699.
- i. *Potopa* (?) alebo *Vláda slnca* (?)
- j. *Tragédia človeka* (?)

Výtvarná diskusia o výstave a tvorbe Antona Jaszuscha v roku 1924

Anton Jaszusch svoje diela formou samostatnej výstavy prezentoval prvýkrát v roku 1912 v Košiciach.³¹ K výstave bol vydaný aj malý katalóg s úvodným slovom a so zoznamom vystavených diel. Text v katalógu znie pochvalne a zdôrazňuje priaznivé prijatie Jaszuschovho umenia obecnosťou a dobovou tlačou.³² Výstava rozhodne znamenala pre mladého maliara dobrý začiatok, väčšinu malieb, predovšetkým krajinomaľby predal a tým si vytvoril svoje miesto v umení Košíc. Po dlhom putovaní sa Jaszusch z vojny a zo zajatia vrátil domov na jeseň 1920 – podľa miestnych novín – ako „maliar s dobrým menom“.³³ Po mesiaci začal pracovať vo vypätom tempe a už vo februári 1922 mnohí kúpili pastelý priamo z jeho ateliéru.³⁴ V decembri 1922 usporiadal svoju výstavu v budove Právnickej akadémie, kde vystavoval takmer 300 svojich obrazov, podľa novín oleje, „samé obrazy metrového rozmeru“, kým dvadsať svojich

³⁰ *Putovanie duší (Vandrovanie duší, Blúdenie duší, Kolobeh života)*, 1924, plátno, olej, 268 × 290 cm, značené vpravo dole: JASZUSCH PINX-XX-. SNG Bratislava, O 2699.

³¹ O výstavách Jaszuscha sa často objavovali aj v odbornej literatúre nepresné údaje, podľa ktorých Jaszusch okrem prehliadky diel v roku 1912 po výstavu v Bratislave roku 1924 nemal žiadnu výstavu v rodných Košiciach. Maliar však organizoval svoje úspešné a navštevované výstavy v rokoch 1922, 1923, aj 1924, ešte pred bratislavskou výstavou. Skoro všetky diela z prvých dvoch spomenutých výstav predal, diela z výstavy v roku 1924 v Košiciach – pred plánovanými výstavami v Bratislave, Prahe a po Európe – nemal záujem predávať. Jaszusch vo svojom rodnom meste bol dobre známym a uznávaným maliarom, hoci je pravda, že sa skôr cenili jeho krajinomaľby.

³² Pozri REITER, B.: *Jaszusch Antal gyűjteményes kiállításához* [K retrospektívnej výstave Antala Jaszuscha]. [Kat. výst.] Originál, n. p. – Archív SNG, Fond Antona Jaszuscha, 15A26. Pozri ďalej Képkiallítás [Výstava obrazov]. In: *Kassai Újság*, 3, 1912 (10. október); DR. H.: Jaszusch Antal képkiallítása [Výstava obrazov Antala Jaszuscha]. In: *Kassai Újság*, 3, 1912 (15. október).

³³ *Kassai Napló*, c. d. (v pozn. 2), s. 3.

³⁴ *Kassai Napló*, 38, 1922, č. 31 (8. február), s. 6: „...pastelové obrazy s revolučnou silou, s dojmavou, dramatickou krásou... [Jaszusch] ...za posledné dva mesiace predal viac ako 100 pastelov väčších rozmerov zo svojho ateliéru na Mlynskej ulici.“



4. Nové gigantické umenie – alebo – košícké Jaszuschove salámy sú najlepšie na celom svete. Repró: Jež. Humoristický časopis, 3, 1924, č. 5, s. 5. Karikatúra na maľbu Antona Jaszuscha s názvom Na kanóne, olej, plátno, 146 × 172 cm, značené vľavo dole: Jaszusch pinx. XX. VSG Košice, O 1457, zničená pri požári v roku 1985.

väčších plátien zostalo v jeho ateliéri. Dobová tlač venovala výstave mimoriadnu pozornosť i priestor a s uznaním písala o Jaszuschovom umení: „čistá metafyzika“, „jeho umenie je univerzálne“, jeho umenie je „pohľadom básnického vizionára, nielen virtuóznou tvorbou maliára“, „obdivuhodná sugescia, symbolická sila i význam“ atď.³⁵

Výstava znamenala veľký úspech a takmer všetky vystavené diela sa predali. O rok neskôr, v decembri 1923 maliar zorganizoval verejnú ateliérovú výstavu. Aj tejto výstave predchádzal dobre načasovaný pochvalný článok na stránkach časopisu *Kassai Napló*.³⁶

Počas trvania výstavy o Jaszuschovom umení vyšli viaceré pozitívne kratšie správy i dlhší článok: jeho krajinomaľby „sú absolútne lyrické diela“, „jeho figurálne maľby sú dielami absolútneho individualizmu: jaszuschovský obraz zladí človeka s vecami okolo neho, akoby ho doladil k večnému a plynulému rytmu kozmického sveta“, „umenie Antona Jaszuscha je prejavom schopnosti všetko vidieť a všetko namaľovať“. Autor príspevku ďalej vyzdvihuje jednotu Jaszuschových kompozícií, farebnú harmóniu a dokonalosť malieb.³⁷

Môžeme skonštatovať, že umenie Jaszuscha už aj pred výstavou 1924 dobre poznalo i vysoko

³⁵ MERÉNYI 1922, c. d. (v pozn. 10), s. 5. Výstava sa uskutočnila na 1. poschodí v budove Právnickej akadémie na Kováčskej ulici v dňoch od 8. do 29. decembra 1922. O výstave a o predaji diel pozri nasledovné články: *Kassai Napló*, 38, 1922, č. 288 (8. december), s. 4; *Kassai Napló*, 38, 1922, č. 296 (19. december), s. 6; *Kassai Napló*, 38, 1922, č. 300 (23. december), s. 3; *Kassai Napló*, 38, 1922, č. 301 (24. december), s. 6; *Kassai Napló*, 38, 1922, č. 304 (30. december), s. 4.

³⁶ JARNO 1923, c. d. (v pozn. 11), s. 10.

³⁷ *Kassai Napló*, 39, 1923, č. 292 (23. december), s. 4. Ďalšie správy v *Kassai Napló*, 39, 1923, č. 284 (14. december), s. 3; *Kassai Napló*, 39, 1923, č. 286 (16. december), s. 3.

cenilo košické obecnstvo, vtedy zvyknuté na avantgardné umenie, a takisto malo veľký záujem o jeho maľby – samozrejme, predovšetkým krajinomaľby. Jaszusch sa však neuspokojil s týmto uznaním a záujmom o krajinomaľby, čím skôr chcel debutovať za hranicami Košíc a v zahraničí, plánoval putovnú výstavu po Európe. Počas výstavy v Košiciach sa uverejnilo viacero výstižných článkov, na základe ktorých môžeme usúdiť, že Jaszuschovo umenie bolo pre chápaté obecnstvo prístupné, dobre prijaté dokonca i niektorými správne interpretované: „Zjavil sa umelec, ktorý nastavil neidealizované zrkadlo povojnového človeka – človeka doráňaného, zbaveného ilúzií a veľkých ideálov, človeka nedôverčivého a zotrpknutého. Nie poetizácia videného, ale röntgenové osvetlenie a zveličenie tvorí základ Jaszuschovej estetiky.“³⁸ Prvý deň výstavy v Košiciach jeho tvorbu analyzoval jeden z najznámejších maďarských kritikov, Ignotus: „...umenie Jaszuscha je toto: umenie povrchu [...] dekorácia a ornamentika v maľbe [...] Svet, ktorý Jaszusch vytvorí na svojich plátnach aj na svojich naturalistických obrazoch [t. j. krajinomaľbách – pozn. autorky] je iba dvoj- a nie trojrozmerný. [...] Ale ako taký tvorí osobitý svet, ktorý nesmiernou intenzitou, ba násilím vytvára na plátnach [...] smerom k divákovi sa tak vracia tieto farebné a pohybové orgie, v ktorých tmavé vzplanie svetlé, iskrenie a vibrovanie vybuchne v požiar, a oblúkovité línie na obrazoch spustia taký pohyb, tlkot, ba rotáciu, čo oči skutočne vidia a vnímajú ako takýto pohyb a nemôžu uveriť, že stoja pred nehybnými farebnými škvŕkami.“ Nakoniec Ignotus vyslovil svoje presvedčenie, že „...aj vo Viedni, v Berlíne, ale aj v Paríži sa zaražia a sa im hlava zatočí pri tolkej opitej sile, bohatstve a bujnosti“.³⁹ Údiv však o dva mesiace neskôr vypukol v Bratislave, kde výstava bola prezentovaná v Csákyho škole.⁴⁰

Jaszuschova výstava vyvolala rozsiahlu a zanietenu debatu na stránkach bratislavských denníkov, jednu z najväčších v dejinách výtvarného umenia a výstav na Slovensku. Opakovalo sa zaujatie protikladných

postojov košických denníkov, *Kassai Napló* a *Slovenského Východu*, ktoré počas výstavy v Košiciach tiež stáli proti sebe, avšak v Bratislave sa diskusia diala s inými aktérmi a v oveľa rozsiahlejšom meradle. Tu sa hlavná debata odohrala medzi denníkmi *Slovák* a *Slovenský denník* a ich prívržencami a počas výstavy sa prehlbovala, resp. sa stávala čoraz schematickejšou vo vojne medzi dvoma tábormi. Hoci v *Slovenskom denníku* prvýkrát vyšiel z pera Jána Smreka pozitívne hodnotiaci článok na titulnej strane – a to v deň, kedy aj J. K. Matejov uverejnil svoj v denníku *Slovák* –, na druhý deň sa zmenila rétorika *Slovenského denníka* a posunula sa na stranu opozície voči tvorbe Jaszuscha ako aj jeho prívržencov. Tento dialóg plný vášní rôzneho charakteru sa rozvíjal na viacerých rovinách: na výtvarno-umeleckej, ideologickej, ideovej a obsahovej (tematickej), ďalej sa venoval otázkam národnej a národnostnej príslušnosti autora, prítomnosti morálky a v neposlednom rade erotizmu v Jaszuschovej tvorbe. Samozrejme sa nevyhlo ani vzájomným osobným útokom prívržencov a odporcov Jaszuschovej tvorby.

Dovtedy nevídanú debatu vyvolal predovšetkým oduševnený, s nadšením, dokonca pátosom napísaný článok Jura Kozu Matejova uverejnený bezprostredne po otvorení výstavy na titulnej strane denníka *Slovák*, v ktorom vyzdvihol nový smer, nové formy, nové náboženstvo, vôbec novátorstvo Jaszuschovej tvorby: „Z tejto izby vystupuje pred verejnosť ako tvoriteľ nového smeru, novej formy, nového obrodu a nového vierovyznania v maliarstve. [...] Všetko povystupuje z pút materializmu a prejde do mysticizmu metafyziky. [...] Pred nami sa valí, krúti a pohybuje akýsi panteistický svet; hnaný neznámu večnou silou, opanovaný akýmsi všemohúcim duchom v nekonečnom vesmíre. [...] Toto je gigantická práca a tvorba jedného slovenského umelca. [...] Páni, meteor sa nám zjavil. Či chcete, či nechcete, predsa ho musíte obdivovať!“ A dodal: „Vždy som závidel veľkým mužom cudzích národov. Dnes prestanem im závidieť.“⁴¹

³⁸ FARAGÓ, S.: Jaszusch. In: *Reggel*, 4, 1924 (8. júl); slov. preklad v ŠTRAUS 1966, c. d. (v pozn. 12), s. 52.

³⁹ IGNOTUS 1924, c. d. (v pozn. 29), s. 3. V súvislosti s košickou výstavou v roku 1924 pozri ďalšie príspevky v *Kassai Napló*, 40, 1924, č. 107 (9. máj), s. 5; *Kassai Napló*, 40, 1924, č. 108 (10. máj), s. 4; *Kassai Napló*, 40, 1924, č. 109 (11. máj), s. 4; *Kassai Napló*, 40, 1924, č. 113 (16. máj), s. 4; *Kassai Napló*, 40, 1924, č. 114 (17. máj), s. 6; *Kassai Napló*, 40, 1924, č. 115 (18. máj), s. 5. Pozri ďalej Umelecká výstava Jaszuscha. In: *Slo-*

venský Východ, 6, 1924 (6. máj), s. 3; -da-: Výstava prác Antala Jaszuscha. In: *Slovenský Východ*, 6, 1924 (10. máj), s. 3-4.

⁴⁰ Výstava sa otvárala 1. júla 1924 v telocvični rímskokatolíckej strednej školy (Csákyho školy) na Ružovej ulici, kde v medzivojnovom období často usporiadali významné výstavy a prehliadky výtvarného umenia i umeleckých spolkov. Výstava trvala do 29. júla 1924.

⁴¹ MATEJOV, J. K.: Jaszusch. In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 157 (12. júl), s. 1.



5. *Svornosť vlády (dla Jaszuscha)*. *Nikto ich nerozlúči*. PINX XX. Repro: Koza. (Vychodí keď chce), 2, 1924, č. 7, s. 8-9, karikatúra pod menom „Jasus-Kováčik“.

Jaszuschova výstava rozdelila obecnosť i publicistov kultúrneho života na dve veľké skupiny. Z hľadiska posúdenia maľby Antona Jaszuscha sa debata viedla predovšetkým o originalite: prívrženci Jaszuschovho umenia vyzdvihovali jeho objavný prístup, neobvyklý spôsob i náhľad maľby, kým jeho protivníci ho pokladali za epigóna nemeckého expresionizmu, smeru v tom čase už podľa nich za zenitom. V súvislosti s touto otázkou sa vynorila neinformovanosť bratislavského publika, keďže tu absentovali zahraničné výstavy a kontakty s umeleckým svetom moderny a hlavne avantgardy, ako to

naznačoval aj nadpis príspevku „Slovenská nekritičnosť“.⁴² (Je fakt, že v Bratislave v tom čase sa prijímal skôr konzervatívnejší a tradičnejší názor na umenie.) Jedna zo strán pokladala za veľmi dôležitý ideový obsah diel Jaszuscha, jeho univerzálnosť a vzťah k vesmíru, k metafyzike, kým druhá strana považovala jeho umenie za neúspešný pokus pretlmočiť literárne alebo filozofické problémy prostriedkami maliarstva. Jaszuschovo umenie vyhlásili za „niečo absolútne nestraviteľné a príliš odťažité: literatúra a nie výtvarné umenie“.⁴³ Nato Matejov argumentoval Jaszuchovou inteligenciou i vzdelaním a vyzdvihoval, že

⁴² Slovenská nekritičnosť. In: *Slovenský denník*, 6, 1924, č. 160 (16. júl), s. 1.

⁴³ Ibidem. Ďalšie príspevky v *Slovenskom denníku*. J.Š.: Ešte Jaszusch. In: *Slovenský denník*, 6, 1924, č. 161 (17. júl), s. 1;

Jaszusch je rozmýšľajúci človek, a keby ním nebol, ináč by tvoril, a to podľa očakávania módnych trendov. Jaszusch „je človek dúmavý. Hodne do seba zatvorený. Akosi vyzdvihnutý z rytmu každodenného života, z istej vyššej diaľky sa díva na svet, na problémy života, na zem, na nebo a na všetko, čo je okolo neba.“⁴⁴

Jaszuschovi protivníci pochybnili aj jeho slovenskosť (čiastočne samozrejme oprávnene), ale aj jeho maľbu, keďže ju odmietli a odvrhli ako názorný príklad „germánskeho umenia“, a jeho kultúru označili za „cudzziu“ slovenskej kultúre. Matejov prirodzene bránil Jaszuscha („syn Murínovej z Oravy nemôže byť Slovákom“) a ďalej poznamenal, že byť Slovákom neznamená výhodu, lebo členovia väčších národov by nemuseli bojovať s toľkými predsudkami. Vo vyostrenej debate Matejov neváhal v glose k tejto téme označiť protivníkov Jaszuschovho umenia dokonca za katov: „Pride jeden umelec. [...] Ale má silu a energiu slovenské maliarstvo jedným krokom napred stisnúť do prvého radu dnešného moderného svetového výtvarníctva. [...] A hneď sa začne mravné popravenie jedného Slováka! Sypú sa články. Útok za útokom. A zabíjajú ho literou, olovom a písaným slovom.“⁴⁵ Zároveň súhlasil s tvrdením, že Jaszuschovo umenie – čo sa týka obsahu – nie je slovenské: „Je

Európanom v opravdivom slova zmysle,“ tvrdil Matejov v roku 1924.⁴⁶

Protitábor v neposlednom rade Jaszuschovi vyčítal, že je nemorálny: „Jaszuschovo umenie je nestudným ospevaním ľudského koitu, jeho plátna sú stelesnením drzej chlipnosti a krvavého smilstva. Keď človek vkročí do výstavnej miestnosti, cíti sa byť priamo – v nevestinci.“⁴⁷ Humoristický časopis *Jež* priniesol prvoplánovú karikatúru Jaszuschovej maľby *Na kanóne*.⁴⁸ Ďalší humoristický časopis *Koza* uverejnil karikatúru Andreja Kováčika, ktorý – treba uznať, dobrým citom – využil spôsob maľby, kompozičnú schopnosť a vírivú jednotu maľby Jaszuscha na vytvorenie kritiky vlády.⁴⁹ Polovica divákov pohoršene opúšťala výstavné priestory a nepochopila Jaszuschov ironický podtón, jeho sarkazmus, navyše maliarovi neuznala ani právo, aby súdil druhých.

Jaszuschova výstava vyvolala mnohotvárnú a obsiahly dialóg o umení a umeleckom dianí na Slovensku, ktorý sa vyznačoval raz komickosťou a malichernosťou, raz vážnosťou a aktuálnosťou, v niektorých prípadoch dodnes pretrvávajúcou nadčasovosťou.⁵⁰ Umenie a výstava Jaszuscha sa týkali množstva, často dodnes aktuálnych, aj tabuizovaných

TRAKA, Š.: Umenie a technická zručnosť. In: *Slovenský denník*, 6, 1924, č. 160 (16. júl), s. 1-2; KOVÁČIK, A.: Drahý Koza! In: *Slovenský denník*, 6, 1924, č. 163 (19. júl), s. 3; Na Jaszuschovej výstave. In: *Slovenský denník*, 6, 1924, č. 165 (22. júl), s. 1; Maliar Kováčik: Moje stretnutie so zelenou múzou. In: *Slovenský denník*, 6, 1924, č. 166 (23. júl), s. 3.

⁴⁴ MATEJOV, J. K.: Okolo Jaszuscha. In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 166 (23. júl), s. 1.

⁴⁵ MATEJOV, Jur Koza: Katovia v politike. In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 167 (24. júl), s. 1-2.

⁴⁶ MATEJOV, Jur Koza: Hozanna a či Ukrižuj? In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 161 (17. júl), s. 2.

⁴⁷ Slovenská nekritičnosť, c. d. (v pozn. 42), s. 1.

⁴⁸ *Jež*: Humoristický časopis, 3, 1924, č. 5, s. 5, text: „Nové gigantické umenie – alebo – košické Jaszuschove salámy sú najlepšie na celom svete.“ Karikatúra na maľbu Antona Jaszuscha s názvom *Na kanóne* (olej, plátno, 146 × 172 cm, značené vľavo dole: Jaszusch pinx. XX. VSG Košice, O 1457), ktorá sa zničila pri požiari vo VSG. Pozri MARKOVIČ 2005, c. d. (v pozn. 18), s. 55.

⁴⁹ „Svornosť vlády (dľa Jaszuscha). Nikto ich nerozľúči. PINX XX.“ In: *Koza (Vychodí keď chce)*, 2, 1924, č. 7, s. 8-9, karikatúra pod

menom „Jasuš-Kováčik“. Autorom je Andrej Kováčik, ktorý sa inde venoval výstave a negatívnej kritike Jaszuschovho umenia. – KOVÁČIK 1924, c. d. (v pozn. 43), s. 3.

⁵⁰ Pozri aj nasledujúce články: Malé obrázky s Jaszuschovej výstavy. Dobrá rada. In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 162 (18. júl), s. 1; Malé obrázky s Jaszuschovej výstavy. Dole klobúkom! In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 163 (19. júl), s. 1-2; Okolo Jaszuscha. In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 164 (20. júl), s. 3; Okolo Jaszuscha (Pokračovanie). In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 165 (22. júl), s. 1-2; Okolo Jaszuscha (Pokračovanie). In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 166 (23. júl), s. 1; Okolo Jaszuscha (Pokračovanie). In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 167 (24. júl), s. 1-2; Okolo Jaszuscha (Pokračovanie). In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 168 (25. júl), s. 1; Okolo Jaszuscha (Pokračovanie). In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 169 (26. júl), s. 1; Okolo Jaszuscha (Pokračovanie). In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 170 (27. júl), s. 1; Okolo Jaszuscha (Konec). In: *Slovák*, 6, 1924, č. 171 (29. júl), s. 1-2. Pozri ďalšie príspevky: GAŠPAR, T. J.: Jaszusch pinx... (Anno 1924). In: *Vatra*, 6, 1924, č. 3, s. 51-55; NEMO: Legenda (Venujem Jaszuschovi a jeho kritikom). In: *Vatra*, 6, 1924, č. 3, s. 65-66; -h-: Bilderausstellung Anton Jaszusch. In: *Pressburger Zeitung*, 161, 1924, č. 190 (12. júl), s. 4; F.H.: Jaszusch. In: *Pressburger Presse*, 27, 1924, č. 1357 (21. júl), s. 3; PRÍBÍK, Z. V.: Feuilleton o výstave Jaszuschovej. In: *Robotnícke noviny*, 21, 1924, č. 164 (19. júl), s. 5-6; j.s. [SMREK, J.]: Jaszusch. In: *Mladé Slovensko*, 6, 1924, č. 9 (november), s. 274-276; Na Jaszuschovej výstave. In: *Slovenská politika*, 4, 1924, č. 164 (22. júl), s. 4. Príspevky

tém. Nebol a ani dnes nie je samozrejmosťou univerzalizmus a duchovnosť umenia, jeho nadnárodný alebo európsky charakter. Umenie, ktoré tieto otázky kládlo – ako objavenie sa nových tém v novom duchu a v novom spôsobe v umení, ďalej skutočné a fiktívne miesto i úloha umelca a jeho poslanie v spoločnosti, móda a epigónstvo alebo oprávnenosť netradičného ponímania obrazového sveta – svojou aktuálnosťou vyvolalo dovtedy nevídaný, mimoriadne zanietený a obsiahly ohlas a dnes je dôkazom nesmierne odvážneho, vášnivého a tvorivého spôsobu myslenia Jaszuscha.

Jaszuschova obrazová estetika v 20. rokoch 20. storočia je zložitá, komplikovaná, viacvrstvová, a v dobrom slova zmysle pretiažená ideou. „*Literárna*“, označovali ju niektorí, avšak lepšie ju vystihuje slovo ideová. V každom obraze nájdeme základnú ideu, myšlienku, ktorej sú podriadené kompozícia, farebnosť a takisto štýlové prvky. V rámci svojho osobitého formálneho základu Jaszusch využíva predovšetkým expresionistický prístup k maľbe, t. j. s obľubou sa necháva uniesť svojimi citmi, pocitmi i pudmi, a vznikajú diela rýchlo, pričom neváha kvôli výrazu použiť prostriedky typické pre expresívne zobrazenie ako deformáciu, zveličenie i výstižnú

farebnosť, ktorá je tiež často nositeľom symboliky. Hoci aj formálny zjav Jaszuschových diel je osobitý a mimoriadne zaujímavý, jeho tvorbu môžeme označiť za avantgardnú hlavne po obsahovej stránke, revoltu a vzburu nachádzame predovšetkým v nosných ideách týchto diel, ďalej v narušení tradičnej ikonografie, v zavedení nových tém v novátorskom duchu a v nevídanom podaní.

Vyššie polstoročná maliarska tvorba Antona Jaszuscha tvorí neodmysliteľnú súčasť histórie výtvarného umenia na Slovensku a rozhodne patrí medzi vrcholné prejavy v druhej dekáde 20. storočia u nás. Jeho nástup a pôsobenie nielen dotvárali, ale do rozhodujúcej miery aj utvárali výtvarný jav, ktorému dnes hovoríme „košická moderna“, resp. „východoslovenská avantgarda“. Maliarova veľkolepá a strhujúca vízia o poslaní a údele človeka v tomto svete, o jeho úlohe a mieste na tejto planéte i vo vesmíre je ojedinelým vyznaním umelca obdarovaného smelou, ohromujúcou fantáziou a je maliarskou ars poeticou moderného človeka, na jednej strane doráňaného a osudom bitého, na strane druhej človeka civilizovaného, vzdelaného intelektuála plného skepsy a existenčných obáv s vynikajúcim citom pre krásu a krutosť prírody a života.

informatívneho charakteru: *Kassai Napló*, 40, 1924, č. 149 (1. júl), s. 4; *Kassai Napló*, 40, 1924, č. 159 (13. júl), s. 4; *Pressburger Zeitung*, 161, 1924, č. 187 (9. júl), s. 5.

**Artistic Discussion about the Work of Anton Jaszusch in 1924.
“Moral Execution of a Slovak Man” or “Gigantic Work of a Slovak Artist”**

Summary

Richly layered and marked out by a few periods is the more than a half-century lasting creation of Anton/Antal Jaszusch (1882 – 1965), which belongs among the top fine art manifestations of the 20th century in Slovakia.

Jaszusch was inspired by postimpressionist premises and character of the creation before World War I was set mainly by the painter's interest in problems exclusively in fine art, mainly about the relation of space and a line but also his interest in the unusual, sensed through the painter – it means not natural colour-scheme in painting. As a result Jaszusch created his personally understood painter's expression, comprised of art deco segments, fed mainly by the art of two-dimensional decor and reminiscences of plain-air and impressionistic painting.

World War I – the painter survived first the Italian and Russian front, later prisoner of war camps in the Far East from where he belatedly, only in 1920, returned home to Košice/Kassa/Kaschau – shook up Jaszusch's spiritual world, it changed in a subsistent way his thinking, internal persuasion together with his mission as a painter and his artistic program: in the years 1920 – 1924 he created a large collection of thematic paintings concerning existential questions of man, meaning of life and a man's place on Earth and also in the Universe as well as of the character and also ethical mission of a man. Jaszusch's humongous spiritual upswing found a suitable medium for intercession of great thoughts in generously composed expressively dynamic, poetic pictures with the idea about gigantic effort of humans to find their dignified place in the universe.

The basic idea of the paintings locally appears in a satiric or ironic formulating of the theme or in picturing of scenes with didactic, moral-educational sub text, other times as a picture of visions of natural or historical, social catastrophes. Cyclically composed ensemble of 10 paintings with dimensions almost 3 × 3 metres (!) is directed by themes of cosmos, history of cosmos and the story of man (*Termination of the planet, Flood, Life of a man, Spring of life, Tragedy of a man*), including the history of humans (*War, Revolution, Golgotha*), ends with the *Last judgement*, after which sets in merger and harmony of the universe and a man (*Migration of souls*).

Painting style of Anton Jaszusch in the 1920s century presents the painters view, which is determined mainly by personal survival. After the events of World War I, Jaszusch could not consider art to be only a form of personal expression, but he had to understand it as an answer for existential questions and also a possibility to find his own identity.

The art of Jaszusch was concerned with many, often until now actual and also tabooed themes. Universalism and spirituality in art, its supranational or European character was not and even today is not a certainty. Art, which was asking these questions, like appearing of new themes in a new spirit and in a new way in art, further real and a fictive place and role of an artist and his mission in society, fashion and imitating or approval of non-traditional capturing of the world of pictures, with its actuality it caused until then unseen response and it is a prove of an immense daring, involved and innovatory way of Jaszusch's thinking.

English translation by A. Antalová

Connoisseurship and Art History. Reflections on a Problematic Relationship

Frédéric ELSIG

“One could say that traditional connoisseurship as the one core skill of art history died a natural death after a full life of some one hundred and fifty years. [...] Connoisseurship, which was once necessary to discern and categorize works of art, has thus become a secondary skill, or even an attitude reserved for art dealers and art lovers. What once was a critical approach has become a jargon and a ritual of art appreciation.”¹ Recently expressed in a stimulating paper, this judgement conforms to a general opinion diffused in the academic world, where the word “connoisseurship”, rather highly regarded everywhere else, comes to summarize all negative and old-fashioned aspects of the discipline. In order to understand the reasons of this semantic shift, it seems to be useful to take a closer look at the problematic relationship between connoisseurship and Art History.

If the term “connoisseurship” appeared in the 18th century, it designates a much older activity. It may be defined as an ability induced by the necessity to distinguish genuine works of art from fakes and to establish their identity, their economic value. It is then inseparable from the rise of the speculative art market which, practiced and described during Antiquity by Cicero among others, was replaced by a commission system during the greater part of the Middle Ages but developed again from the 14th

century.² Focused on the notion of personality, the art market imposed at each period the name of a particularly quoted artist, whose inventions inspired copies and pastiches, sometimes conceived with a fraudulent intention. In Florence during the Trecento, the new formulas of Giotto, celebrated by the connoisseurs (the *savi*), were adopted by generations of painters. During the 15th century, the illusionistic language of Jan van Eyck provoked the admiration of Mediterranean humanists and collectors such as Alfonso V of Aragon who bought numerous paintings of the secondary market and whose taste gave rise to the fakes of the Neapolitan painter Colantonio: we could recognize one of them in a curious copy (private collection) after the *Saint Francis receiving the stigmata* by Jan van Eyck (Turin, Galleria Sabauda).³ In Antwerp during the 16th century, the original ideas of Jheronimus Bosch, appreciated by the Habsburg court, created a demand, to which a lot of imitators answered.

We could isolate a first stage of the speculative art market, characterized by a growing demand between the 14th century and the middle of the 16th century.⁴ The proliferation of the production required the activity of connoisseurs able to discern the quality, as attested by the severe critics of the Czech

¹ LOCHER, H.: Talking or not talking about Art with a capital A: Gombrich-Schlösser-Warburg. In: *Leitmotiv*, 5, 2005 – 2006, pp. 20-21.

² WIRTH, J.: *Sur le statut de l'objet d'art au Moyen Age*. Geneva 2007. For a general vision of the art market, see *Artwork through the Market. The Past and the Present*. Ed. J. BAKOŠ. Bratislava 2004.

³ NATALE, M. (ed.): *El Renacimiento Mediterraneo. Viajes de artistas e itinerarios de obras entre Italia, Francia y España en el siglo XV*. [Exhib. Cat.] Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, January 31 – May 6, 2001. Madrid 2001, p. 256-260.

⁴ NORTH, M.: Art markets. In: BORCHERT, T.-H. (ed.): *The Age of Jan van Eyck. The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting 1430 – 1530*. [Exhib. Cat.] Groeningemuseum, Bruges, March 15 – June 30, 2002. London 2002, p. 52-58.

theologian John Hus against this kind of public, seduced more by the formal beauty than by the devotional function.⁵ Among the connoisseurs, a small group of humanists such as Bartolomeo Fazio (ca. 1456) or Marcantonio Michiel (ca. 1521) described the works of art through the categories and the vocabulary inherited from antique authors such as Pliny the Elder. In the same tradition, Giorgio Vasari proposed to classify them in *Le Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti* (published in 1550 and 1568). He inaugurated the art history which presupposed a complete mastery of the connoisseurship and whose main task was the classification of the production with the notions of personality, school and period, refined during two centuries by art historians such as Karel van Mander (1604), André Félibien (1666) or Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1672).⁶

This first phase of Art History corresponds to a new stage of the art market which between the middle of the 16th century and the middle of the 18th century was characterized by the progressive transfer of the pole from Antwerp – Amsterdam to Paris – London and by the specialization of public sales, accompanied by catalogues.⁷ In 1728, Bernard Mandeville made explicit the four criteria for the estimation of the works of art: the name of the artist, the period in his evolution, the rarity of the object and its pedigree, that is its provenance.⁸

During this period, the ability of the connoisseur was principally assumed by the practitioner, able to recognize the material quality. In a famous drawing (Vienna, Albertina), Pieter Bruegel the Elder represented himself in front of his easel with a client whose ignorance is symbolized by ridiculous glasses. In his *Schilderboek* (1604), Karel van Mander developed the same idea. On one hand, he celebrated the expert eye of artists such as Aertgen van Leiden

who recognized at first sight the hand of his colleague Frans Floris in the drawings sketched on the walls of his own studio during his absence. On the other hand, he regularly denounced the pretensions of non-practitioners, as attested by the episode of the peasant who thought to identify an Annunciation in a Danae painted by Cornelis Ketel. The proliferation of these art lovers who aspired to be connoisseurs as a social distinction⁹ encouraged the practitioners to establish more precise criteria and a common vocabulary, as attested by the *Sentiments sur la distinction des diverses manières de peinture, dessin et gravure* (Paris 1649) by the engraver Abraham Bosse or *An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur* (London 1719) by the painter Jonathan Richardson.¹⁰ Particularly developed in Great Britain, it provoked virulent critics and caricatures, like those of Thomas Rowlandson, in which the art lovers are excited by the erotic subjects rather than by the aesthetic contemplation.

In the time of Rowlandson the phenomenon was accentuated by the widening of collectors, to which a new stage of the art market answered with the foundation of the London sale houses Sotheby's in 1744 and Christie's in 1766. This provoked two kinds of reaction. The first was the rise of the museums which, intended to guarantee the preservation of the works of art, determined the professionalization of different abilities assumed hitherto by the practitioner: in particular the restoration and the connoisseurship. The curator became a professional connoisseur in an institutionalized collection. His attributions aimed to define the individual spirit of the artist, whose style was seen as a kind of writing, which explains the success of the graphic arts. Consciously grounded either on the global impression, or in the comparison of details,¹¹ they allowed

⁵ LAVICKA, J.: *Anthologie bussite de la Scolastique à la Réforme*. Paris 1985, p. 122.

⁶ ELSIG, F.: The Categories of Renaissance Art and their Impact on Art History. In: ELKINS, J. – WILLIAMS, R. (eds.): *Renaissance Theory*. Chicago 2007, p. 313-321.

⁷ NORTH, M. – ORMROD, D. (eds.): *Art Markets in Europe, 1400 – 1800*. Aldershot 1998.

⁸ VAN MIEGROET, H. – DE MARCHI, N.: Art, Value, and

Market Practices in the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands. In: *The Art Bulletin*, 75, 1994, p. 451-464.

⁹ PEACHAM, H.: *The Complete Gentleman*. London 1622, chapter 9.

¹⁰ GIBSON-WOOD, C.: *Jonathan Richardson: art theorist of English Enlightenment*. New Haven 2000.

¹¹ CASTELNUOVO, E.: Attribution. In: *Encyclopaedia Universalis*. Paris 1971, Vol. 2, p. 782.

to reconstruct numerous anonymous or identified personalities, as attested by Johann Adam Bartsch, who in 1791 became the head curator of the print collection at the Royal Court in Vienna, or Gustav Friedrich Waagen, who in 1822 published the first scientific monograph on the Van Eyck brothers before becoming in 1830 the director of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin.¹² They contributed to affine the classifications into periods and schools, generally conditioned by political borders and nationalisms. This good use of connoisseurship was shared by distinguished collectors and art dealers such as John Smith, whose repertory on Dutch, Flemish and French painters remains a reference.¹³

A second reaction against the proliferation of pseudo-connoisseurs and the suspect practices of the art market was expressed by a new conception of the notion “art”, which then aimed to free itself from the material condition in order to enter a spiritual sphere, determined by the aesthetic philosophy of Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten.¹⁴ In this context, Johannes Winckelmann applied it to the field of the art history of which he established the doctrinal ground, creating an interaction between the empirical level of the connoisseurship and the theoretical level of the aesthetic categories. He is then generally considered as the father of the discipline, as Giorgio Vasari could be viewed as its grandfather.

The theoretical dimension was accentuated from the middle of the 19th century with the institutionalization of art history. Taught at University, the discipline found its scientific justification either in the positivist archive research (*Quellenforschung*), attached to the History, or in the theoretical speculation on the evolution of collective styles, in particular periodiza-

tion. Its ambition was to define the specific identity of Art History against the aesthetic philosophy and the subjective verbiages, which characterized numerous texts on art. Despite a certain suspicions regarding the intuition of connoisseurs such as Waagen, the discipline was fundamentally grounded on the results of the connoisseurship conceived as the specific critical method, as attested by Moritz Thausing, Anton Springer or Julius von Schlosser who considered the monograph focused on a personality as the highest achievement of the discipline.¹⁵ In the same perspective, Erwin Panofsky defined the art historian as a loquacious connoisseur and the latter as a laconic art historian, whose theoretical presuppositions remain implicit.¹⁶

In fact, the constitution of Art History as a university discipline corresponds to the golden age of connoisseurship which, determined by the extraordinary success of old painting on the art market and the development of reproduction photography, was characterized by important discoveries (Vermeer, Robert Campin, Georges de la Tour, etc.) and represented by eminent personalities who could exercise an independent activity, such as Giovanni Morelli, Bernard Berenson or Cornelis Hofstede de Groot. In his book on connoisseurship, Max J. Friedländer defended the primacy of the global and immediate impression, considering the comparison of insignificant details, that is Morelli's method, as a justification afterthought.¹⁷ His repertory of early Netherlandish paintings constitutes a concrete result of his experience and remains an incontournable instrument of research.¹⁸

During this golden age of connoisseurship and Art History, new approaches were developed and

¹² REYNAUD, N.: Les maîtres à noms de convention. In: *Revue de l'Art*, 42, 1978, p. 41-52.

¹³ SMITH, J.: *A Catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French painters*. 8 vols. London 1829 – 1837.

¹⁴ ABRAMS, M. H.: Art-as-such. The Sociology of Modern Aesthetics and From Addison to Kant. Modern Aesthetics and the Exemplary Art. In: FISCHER, M. (ed.): *Doing Things with Texts. Essays in Criticism and Critical Theory*. New York – London 1989, p. 135-187.

¹⁵ SCHLOSSER, J. von: „*Stilgeschichte*“ und „*Sprachgeschichte*“ der bildenden Kunst. Ein Rückblick. Munich 1935, p. 20, 22.

¹⁶ PANOFSKY, E.: *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. New York 1955, p. 22, 36.

¹⁷ FRIEDLÄNDER, M. J.: *Der Kunstkenner*. Berlin 1919; and *Echt und unecht: aus den Erfahrungen des Kunstkenners*. Berlin 1929. See also CONSTABLE, W. G.: *Art History and Connoisseurship*. Cambridge 1938.

¹⁸ FRIEDLÄNDER, Max J.: *Altniederländische Malerei*. 14 vols. Berlin 1924 – 1937.

were conjugated with the traditional instruments of the connoisseur in order to replace the work of art in its context. They were continued and refined after World War II with happy results. Inaugurated by Jakob Burckhardt, a social history of art focused not only on the mechanisms of production (for example the organization of the artistic professions) but also on the conditions of the reception (for example the function of the work of art and its perception by the public) was defined by the exemplary work of Michael Baxandall.¹⁹ Amorcéd by Hanns Floerke among others, an economical History of Art, focused on the art markets and the relationship between the artist, the merchant and the collector, was elaborated by art historians such as Erik Duverger, Michael Montias or Antoine Schnapper.²⁰ Initiated by Julius von Schlosser, an historiographical approach was transformed into a history of artistic literature or into a history of taste by Francis Haskell.²¹ The anthropological approach of Aby Warburg finds an echo in the work of Hans Belting.²² We could multiply the examples demonstrating the constant enrichment of our discipline which evolves like cell division.

However, during these last three decades, we have noticed a curious phenomenon peculiar to the academic world, a crisis of the discipline linked with the proliferation of Art Historians. Different approaches tend to specialize and to acquire autonomy. They create impermeable networks with their own conferences. In concurrence for academic power, each among them claims its supremacy. In this context, the historiographical approach plays a leading part. It tries to give to Art History a new identity, inspired by other disciplines such as literature or

philosophy with the justification of a relativism, which has become an end in itself. General and fashionable concepts, first used for contemporary art, are transferred onto the “images” of the past, in which the new kind of Art Historian can see all his fantasies. So as to distance itself from the traditional Art History, this potential discipline has to fight what always constituted the ground, the spine of the latter: the connoisseurship.

The strategy consists in reducing the notion of connoisseurship. On one hand, it is generally viewed as a temporary phenomenon, reduced to a brief period (from the 18th century to the middle of the 20th century), while it is an ability which cannot be dissociated from the rise of art markets from the 14th century and whose implicit “critical frame” constantly evolves. On the other hand, it is reduced only to the moment of the immediate impression, the “*Bauchfühlung*” of Friedländer, and perceived as a kind of magic act producing arbitrary results. In addition, the persistence of a pseudo-connoisseurship, not only induced by the profits of the art market but also maintained by confused Art Historians, contributes to the depreciation of connoisseurship, judged as old-fashioned and unworthy of academic reflexion. Such partisan simplification could be surprising from Art Historians reflecting on the discipline and preaching the “transverse openness”, if it was not motivated by the intention to bury traditional Art History and to replace it by another discipline whose definition remains vague.

Could we really “say that traditional connoisseurship as the one core skill of art history died a natural death”? It would mean that the Art History discourses would be

¹⁹ BURCKHARDT, J.: *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*. Leipzig 1860; see for example BAXANDALL, M.: *Painting and Experience in 15th Century Italy*. Oxford 1972; and BAXANDALL, M.: *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*. New Haven 1980.

²⁰ FLOERKE, H.: *Studien zur niederländischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte: die Formen des Kunsthandels, das Atelier und die Sammler in den Niederlanden vom 15. – 18. Jahrhundert*. Munich – Leipzig 1905; see for example DUVERGER, E.: *Nienve gegevens betreffende de Kunsthandel van Mattheijs Musson en Maria Fourmenois te Antwerpen tussen 1633 en 1681*. Gent 1969; MONTIAS, J. M.: *Artists and artisans in Delft: a socio-economic study of the Seventeenth century*. Princeton 1982; SCHNAPPER,

A.: *Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVII^e siècle*. 2 vols. Paris 1988 – 1994.

²¹ SCHLOSSER, J. von: *Die Kunstliteratur: ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte*. Vienne 1924; see for example HASKELL, F.: *History and its images: art and the interpretation of the past*. New Haven – London 1993.

²² WARBURG, A.: *Italienische Kunst und internationale Astrologie im Palazzo Schifanoia zu Ferrara*. In: *L'Italia e l'Arte straniera. Atti del X Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte in Roma*. Rome 1922; see for example BELTING, H.: *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft*. Munich 2006.

based on a closed and congealed group of works of art, whose properties would be ignored. In reality, we can notice a continuous movement, in which new elements don't stop rushing and modifying our knowledge of the past. Works of Art constantly appear on the market or are rediscovered in a private collection, in the storeroom of a museum or in a church, eventually thanks to a restoration. The discovery or the reinterpretation of documents allows throwing new light on the artistic production, its perception and its reception. There are still so many unexplored issues that we can say that the Art History in a traditional sense remains to do. In the academic world, it seems

to me important to defend a complete and organic Art History focused on the object, which allows to conjugate the different approaches (from connoisseurship to a social and economic History of Art or to a History of Taste) and to articulate constantly empirical and theoretical levels, determining the dynamics of research. In this perspective, we should emphasize a technical or material Art History which, focused on the study and conservation of the object, would give to the students the sense of responsibility, the sense of the role that the Art Historian has to assume in our society.

Znalectvo a dejepis umenia. Reflexie problematického vzťahu

Resumé

V akademickom svete sa slovo „znalectvo“, ktoré je všade inde vysoko vážené, stalo sumárom všetkých negatívnych a staromódnych aspektov dejepisu umenia. Príspevok sa snaží pochopiť dôvody tejto divnej nemilosti, a to tak, že sa pozrie bližšie na dejiny tohto javu. Znalectvo možno definovať ako schopnosť určiť identitu nejakého objektu. Súč vyvolané špekulatívnym umeleckým trhom, znalectvo bolo praktizované počas antiky a znovu rozvíjané od 14. storočia, ako o tom – medzi iným – svedčí ostrá kritika českého teológa Jana Husa namierená proti znalcom. Znalectvo skonštituovalo základ dejín umenia, keď v prvom štádiu bolo ponímané Giorgiom Vasarim ako klasifikácia narastajúcej umeleckej produkcie pomocou kategórií zdedených od antických autorov (takých pojmov ako osobnosť, škola a perióda); v druhom chápané Johannom Winckelmannom ako periodizácia založená na estetických postulátoch; a v treťom považované za univerzitnú disciplínu, usilujúcu sa nájsť svoje oprávnenie reflexiou historiografie a metodológie. Toto štádium (cca. 1850 – 1950) korešpondovalo so zlatým vekom nielen dejepisu umenia, ale aj umeleckého trhu sústredeného na starých majstrov. Ten upevnil autonómiu takých znalcov ako Giovanni Morelli či Bernard Berenson, ktorí sa usilovali nájsť

pozitivistické oprávnenie svojej metódy. Založené na znalectve, vyvolalo to nové a plodné prístupy, vyvinuté po 2. svetovej vojne, ktoré venujú narastajúcu pozornosť pojmu kontext.

Nuž, počas troch posledných desaťročí môžeme pozorovať krízu dejepisu umenia, ktorý sa snaží nájsť novú identitu v iných disciplínach, ako je literatúra alebo filozofia. Stratégia tu spočíva v prenášaní pojmov vlastných súčasnému umeniu na staršiu tvorbu a v redukovaní dôležitosti znalectva. To je v akademickom svete všeobecne vnímané ako mikrofenomén, ktorý je obmedzený na krátke obdobie a späť so subjektívnymi, ľubovoľnými výsledkami. V tejto súvislosti sa zdá byť nevyhnutné znovu potvrdiť dôležitosť znalectva, ktorého teoretické postuláty sa implicitne a konštantne vyvíjajú, a ktoré musí zostať prvou schopnosťou historika umenia. V akademickom svete sa zdá dôležité obhájiť úplný a organický dejepis umenia zameraný na predmet a artikulujúci všetky prístupy, od znalectva až po socio-ekonomický dejepis umenia a dejiny vkusu. Mali by sme zdôrazňovať technické a materiálne dejiny umenia, ktoré, súc sústredené na štúdium a konzervovanie objektov, by študentom dali zmysel pre zodpovednosť a vedomie úlohy, ktorú historik umenia musí vziať na seba v súčasnej spoločnosti.

Preklad J. Bakoš

Gefühle und Symbole im Mittelpunkt des Interesses. Anmerkungen zur Warburg-Rezeption in den Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften

Katharina SCHERKE

Einleitung

Wie die Arbeiten der Wissenschaftssoziologie zeigen, erfolgt wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnisgewinn nicht in Form eines kontinuierlichen Wachstums, sondern es gibt eine ganze Reihe anderer (sozialer und institutioneller) Faktoren, die die Ausgestaltung wissenschaftlicher Praxis bestimmen.¹ ‚Sichtfeldbeschränkungen‘ in der Wissenschaft, in der Art, dass die Weiterverfolgung zunächst erfolgreich aufgegriffener Themen oder Ansätze behindert wird, sind daher keine Seltenheit, sondern gehören zur gängigen, jedoch häufig übersehenen wissenschaftlichen Praxis. Anhand der Rezeption Aby M. Warburgs in den Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften können sehr gut einige Phänomene derartiger wissenschaftlicher Sichtfeldbeschränkungen und ihrer Überwindung aufgezeigt werden.

An dieser Stelle ist keine umfassende Aufarbeitung der Rezeption Warburgs möglich und zudem existieren insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte der Bibliothek Warburg bereits eine Reihe einschlägiger Überblickswerke zur Einordnung Warburgs in den zeitgenössischen kultur- und kunsthistorischen Diskurs.² Vor allem innerhalb der ikonologischen Tradition und der Aufarbeitung ihrer interdisziplinären Bezüge wurde der Rezeption Warburgs immer wieder Aufmerksamkeit zuteil.³ Ich möchte mich in den folgenden Ausführungen daher auf einen Aspekt konzentrieren, der geeignet erscheint die seit einigen Jahren neuerlich auftretende Beschäftigung mit dem Werk Warburgs bzw. der Warburg-Tradition in den Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften zu erklären.

In den jüngsten Dekaden lässt sich ein verstärktes Interesse an Emotionen in wissenschaftlichen Kon-

¹ Zur historischen Entwicklung der Wissens- bzw. Wissenschaftssoziologie verweise ich auf BÜHL, W. L.: *Einführung in die Wissenschaftssoziologie*. München 1974; STORER, N. W.: *The Social System of Science*. New York – Chicago – San Francisco – Toronto – London 1966, S. 5-9; MERTON, R. K.: *The Sociology of Knowledge*. In: MERTON, R. K.: *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York – London 1968, S. 510-542; WEINGART, P.: *Wissenschaftsforschung und wissenschaftssoziologische Analyse*. In: WEINGART, P. (Hrsg.): *Wissenschaftssoziologie I. Wissenschaftliche Entwicklung als sozialer Prozeß*. Frankfurt am Main 1972, S. 11-42, hier S. 26-38.

² Ich verweise an dieser Stelle nur auf SCHÄFER, H. M.: *Die Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg. Geschichte und Persönlichkeiten der Bibliothek Warburg mit Berücksichtigung der Bibli-*

otheklandschaft und der Stadtsituation zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts. Berlin 2003, vor allem S. 1-9; MICHELS, K.: *Transplantierte Kunstwissenschaft. Deutschsprachige Kunstgeschichte im amerikanischen Exil*. Berlin 1999, vor allem S. 28-34, 145-163; HABERMAS, J.: *Die befreiende Kraft der symbolischen Formgebung. Ernst Cassirers humanistisches Erbe und die Bibliothek Warburg, Vorträge aus dem Warburg Haus*. Bd. 1. Berlin 1997, S. 3-29; KANY, R.: *Die religionsgeschichtliche Forschung an der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg*. Bamberg 1989.

³ Zu verweisen wäre etwa auf den von Volker Breidecker herausgegebenen Briefwechsel zwischen Erwin Panofsky und Siegfried Kracauer. Vgl. BREIDECKER, V. (Hrsg.): *Siegfried Kracauer – Erwin Panofsky. Briefwechsel 1941 – 1966. Mit einem Anhang: Siegfried Kracauer 'under the spell of the living Warburg tradition'*. Berlin 1996, insbesondere S. 151-156.

texten sowie der alltäglichen Lebenswelt feststellen.⁴ Hervorzuheben ist hierbei insbesondere die durch die Erkenntnisse der Neurowissenschaften aufgebrachte Infragestellung des lange Zeit in der Philosophie und den Sozialwissenschaften dominant gewesenen Menschenbildes, das von einer klaren Unterscheidbarkeit rationaler und emotionaler Verhaltensdispositionen ausgegangen ist. Aktuelle neurobiologische Befunde legen demgegenüber eine enge Wechselwirkung zwischen Denken und Fühlen nahe.⁵ Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts waren bereits Fragen der Entwicklung der europäischen Zivilisation und des Psychohaushaltes der Menschen intensiv innerhalb der Sozial- und Geisteswissenschaften diskutiert worden. Warburgs Schriften lassen sich in diese Debatte nahtlos einfügen, sie weisen aber auch darüber hinausweisende Aspekte auf, die auf das heutige Bild einer wechselseitigen Durchdringung von Rationalität und Emotionalität hindeuten.

An anderer Stelle habe ich gezeigt, inwieweit das aktuelle Interesse an den Emotionen des Menschen von institutionellen Voraussetzungen des Wissenschaftssystems profitiert hat (etwa einem erfolgreichen Etablierungsgrad verschiedener Wissenschaftsdisziplinen), die die Bearbeitung von eigentlich nur interdisziplinär sinnvoll zu erforschenden Themen erleichtert haben.⁶ Auch der *cultural turn* in den Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften hat von diesen institutionellen Hintergründen profitiert.⁷ Die ikonologische Ausdeutung von Bildprogrammen

und die Aufdeckung ihrer gesellschaftlichen Hintergründe erhielt im Zuge dieses ‚turns‘ seit den 1970er Jahren neue Aufmerksamkeit.⁸ Bemerkenswert ist, dass sich in Warburgs Werk eine frühe nahezu paradigmatische Verknüpfung beider Aspekte – bildwissenschaftlicher und (kollektiv-)psychologischer Fragestellungen – finden lässt, die erklären könnte, weshalb Warburg auch für die aktuellen Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften von Interesse ist. Bevor dieser Gedanke näher ausgeführt wird, folgt zunächst ein kurzer Überblick über Leben und Werk Aby M. Warburgs.⁹

Leben und Werk Aby M. Warburgs

1866 als ältester Sohn einer Hamburger Bankiersfamilie geboren, interessierte Warburg sich nicht für die Bankgeschäfte und überlies diese seinem jüngeren Bruder Max. Er selbst studierte zunächst in Bonn bei Carl Justi Kunstgeschichte; gleichzeitig besuchte er Vorlesungen Hermann Useners über mythologische Themen, in denen er zum ersten Mal mit dem Akt der Mythenbildung als psychologischem Problem und dem Weiterleben mythologischer Vorstellungen in der Gedankenwelt späterer Jahrhunderte konfrontiert wurde.¹⁰ Daneben waren auch die Vorlesungen Karl Lamprechts, vor allem seine Idee des dokumentarischen Wertes von Kunstwerken – auch ästhetisch unbedeutender Kunstwerke – sowie seine kollektivpsychologischen

⁴ Zum ‚neuen‘ Interesse an Emotionen in der alltäglichen Lebenswelt vgl. WILLIAMS, S. J.: *Emotion and Social Theory. Corporeal Reflections on the (Ir)Rational*. London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi 2001, S. 8-12.

⁵ Vgl. DAMASIO, A. R.: *Descartes' Irrtum. Fühlen, Denken und das menschliche Gehirn*. München 2001 (6. Auflage), insbesondere S. 123-161; LeDOUX, J.: *Das Netz der Gefühle. Wie Emotionen entstehen*. München 2001, insbesondere S. 149-183.

⁶ Vgl. SCHERKE, K.: Emotionen in aller Munde? Zum Wandel wissenschaftlicher Interessen. In: *Moderne. Kulturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, 3, 2007, Themenschwerpunkt: Emotionen (Hrsg. H. MITTERBAUER – K. SCHERKE), S. 19-33.

⁷ Zur inhaltlichen Entwicklung des *cultural turn* in den Sozialwissenschaften vgl. auch RECKWITZ, A.: *Die Transformation der Kulturtheorien. Zur Entwicklung eines Theorieprogramms*. Weilerswist 2000.

⁸ Zum ‚iconic turn‘ vgl. auch MERSMANN, J.: Iconic Turns. Die Wende zum Bild in Bildern von Wenden. In: *Moderne. Kulturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, 2, 2006, Themenschwerpunkt: Iconic Turn? (Hrsg. H. MITTERBAUER – U. TRAGAT-SCHNIG), S. 19-35.

⁹ Zum Folgenden vgl. auch SCHERKE, K.: Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte und die Warburg-Schule. Anmerkungen zur geistigen Infrastruktur zweier Großstädte. In: STACHEL, P. – SZABO-KNOTIK, C. (Hrsg.): *Urbane Kulturen in Zentraleuropa um 1900* (=Studien zur Moderne, 19). Wien 2004, S. 383-408.

¹⁰ Vgl. GOMBRICH, E. H.: *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography*. London 1970, S. 28 f. Vgl. auch SCHERKE, K.: *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen eines ikonologischen Ansatzes in der Soziologie*. Diss. Graz 1997, S. 22 f.

Vorstellungen, von Interesse für Warburg.¹¹ Fragen der Psychologie beschäftigten Warburg seine gesamte Studienzeit hindurch und sollten auch sein weiteres wissenschaftliches Werk prägen.¹² Nach einem kurzen Intermezzo an der Universität in München im Jahr 1888, in dem sich Warburg mit der Kunst der Renaissance (Vorlesungen von Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl) und der zeitgenössischen Kunst (Ausstellungen der Werke von Fritz von Uhde und Max Liebermann) auseinandersetzen konnte, besuchte er Florenz. August Schmarsow, Professor für Kunstgeschichte in Breslau, hatte sich für die Gründung eines deutschen Institutes für Kunstgeschichte in Florenz eingesetzt und hielt zu diesem Zweck 1889 probeweise ein Seminar über Masaccio und die italienische Plastik in Florenz ab, an dem auch Warburg teilnahm. Diese Beschäftigung mit der florentinischen Renaissancekunst, insbesondere mit deren Bewegungsdarstellungen, hatte nachhaltigen Einfluss auf Warburgs weitere Forschungen.¹³ Nach der Rückkehr nach Bonn formulierte Warburg sein Dissertationsthema, das allerdings von Justi abgelehnt wurde. Er beabsichtigte über Botticellis mythologische Gemälde zu arbeiten und hierbei vor allem das Gewandmotiv, das zur psychologischen Charakterisierung der Figuren herangezogen werden kann, zu beachten.¹⁴ Warburg setzte daraufhin seine Studien in Straßburg bei Hubert Janitschek fort, der im Jahr 1892 auch seine Doktorarbeit approbierte. 1895/1896 trat Warburg eine Reise nach Mexiko zu den Puebloindianern an, die ihm wertvolle Anregungen für seine spätere Beschäftigung mit dem Akt der Symbolbildung verschaffte. Nach seiner Rückkehr aus Amerika ließ er sich 1897 mit seiner jungen Familie in Florenz nieder, wo er sich dem Studium der Originalquellen der florentinischen Frührenaissance widmete, was ihn bis 1904 beschäftigen sollte.¹⁵ Zurück in Hamburg war das Hauptziel von Warburgs

Aktivitäten der Aufbau einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek, die die Gebiete der menschlichen Kulturgeschichte verbinden und durch umfangreiche Vergleichsmöglichkeiten impulsgebend für verschiedene Einzeldisziplinen wirken sollte. Mit der finanziellen Hilfe seiner Familie gelang ihm der Aufbau einer bei seinem Tod bereits circa 60 000 Bände umfassenden Bibliothek.¹⁶ Zeit seines Lebens hatte Warburg psychische Probleme und musste deshalb auch die Jahre 1918 bis 1924 in einem Sanatorium verbringen. Die Bibliothek wurde währenddessen von seinem späteren Nachfolger Fritz Saxl geführt und, im Zusammenhang mit der Universitätsgründung in Hamburg, 1920 in ein Forschungsinstitut umgewandelt. Die im Forschungsinstitut vorhandenen Materialien sollten möglichst vielen Wissenschaftlern unterschiedlicher Disziplinen zugänglich gemacht werden; unter anderem arbeiteten Ernst Cassirer (Philosophie), Karl Reinhardt (Klassische Philologie), Helmut Ritter (Orientalische Sprachen) und Erwin Panofsky (Kunstgeschichte) im Warburg-Institut. Nach der Rückkehr von seinem Sanatoriumsaufenthalt in Kreuzlingen widmete sich Warburg noch der Verfassung eines Bilderatlas *Mnemosyne*, der die vergleichende Betrachtung der Ausdruckswerte der Antike und der Renaissance ermöglichen sollte und damit eine nochmalige Zusammenführung der primären Forschungsinteressen Warburgs dargestellt hätte. Dieses Projekt konnte Warburg, der bereits 1929 verstarb, nicht mehr beenden. Die Bibliothek Warburg blieb als Forschungsinstitut erhalten und wurde 1933 vollständig nach London transferiert. 1944 wurde sie der *University of London* eingegliedert, wo sie auch heute noch Wissenschaftlern aus aller Welt, die sich vor allem mit Problemen der Renaissance beschäftigen, zugänglich ist.¹⁷

Warburg wirkte, wie man aus der Sekundärliteratur weiß, äußerst befruchtend auf andere

¹¹ Vgl. GOMBRICH 1970 (wie Anm. 10), S. 34; TANNER, J.: Unfassbare Gefühle. Emotionen in der Geschichtswissenschaft vom Fin de siècle bis in die Zwischenkriegszeit. In: JENSEN, U. – MORAT, D. (Hrsg.): *Rationalisierungen des Gefühls. Zum Verhältnis von Wissenschaft und Emotionen 1880 – 1930*. München 2008, S. 35-59, hier S. 41-44.

¹² Vgl. GOMBRICH 1970 (wie Anm. 10), S. 67.

¹³ Ibidem, S. 40 f.

¹⁴ Ibidem, S. 50 f.

¹⁵ Ibidem, S. 96.

¹⁶ Ibidem, S. 137 f.

¹⁷ Zur Biographie Warburgs vgl. BING, G.: *Aby M. Warburg* (1958), hier zit. n. WUTTKE, D. (Hrsg.): *Aby M. Warburg. Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen*. Baden-Baden 1979, S. 456-459; GOMBRICH 1970 (wie Anm. 10); ROECK, B.:

Wissenschaftler, er selbst hat aber nur sehr wenige Arbeiten publiziert.¹⁸ Erst die Zusammenfassung der wenigen veröffentlichten Arbeiten durch Saxl machte Warburgs Ideen einem breiteren Publikum zugänglich.¹⁹ Die Hauptarbeitsgebiete Warburgs sollen im Folgenden kurz präsentiert werden.

Voraussetzung für Warburgs Studien war die Überlegung, daß es sich bei Kunstwerken um gesellschaftliche Produkte handelt: Kunstwerke sind Teil der Gesamtkultur und stehen deshalb in ständiger Wechselwirkung mit anderen kulturellen Phänomenen, wie etwa Religion, Mythos, Politik oder Wissenschaft und sind auch nur im Zusammenhang mit diesen anderen Phänomenen zu analysieren und zu verstehen. Warburg wandte sich mit diesem Grundverständnis gegen jene Bestrebungen der Kunstgeschichte, die versuchten, das Kunstwerk als autonomes Produkt zu behandeln, es somit unter Absehung von seinen Wechselbeziehungen zur Gesellschaft zu analysieren (wie etwa der formale Ansatz Heinrich Wölfflins).²⁰ Warburg vertrat demgegenüber einen im Prinzip interdisziplinären Ansatz, für den das kulturwissenschaftliche Werk Jacob Burckhardts beispielgebend wirkte.²¹

Im Zentrum von Warburgs Forschungen steht die Frage nach den Gründen für das Wiederaufleben antiker Bildformen in der florentinischen Frührenaissance. Insbesondere das Wiederaufleben der antiken Ausdrucksgebärden – der *Pathosformeln* – ist ein zentrales Thema seiner Forschungen: Weshalb tauchen diese bildlichen Vorprägungen in der Renaissance wieder auf, nachdem sie im Mittelalter so gut wie vergessen waren? Was besagt dieses Wiederauftauchen über den Menschentyp der Früh-

renaissance und seine religiösen Einstellungen?²² Zur Klärung dieser Fragen zog Warburg Dokumente unterschiedlicher Art heran: Kunstwerke, Briefe, Testamente, Gedichte, kunsthandwerkliche Gegenstände und so weiter.²³ Hinzuweisen ist auch darauf, daß er bei den als Quellenmaterial verwendeten Kunstwerken vorher keine ästhetische Beurteilung vornahm, sondern im Gegenteil bewußt auch Werke unbedeutender Künstler als Zeitdokumente verwendete.²⁴ Neu an Warburgs Überlegungen zur Renaissance war der Hinweis auf das „Wilde“ und „Bewegte“ der Antike, das von den Renaissancekünstlern aufgegriffen worden sei. Er befand sich damit im Gegensatz zum bis dahin vorherrschenden, durch Johann Joachim Winckelmann geprägten, Antikenbegriff. Winckelmann hatte das „Edle“ und „Ruhige“ der Antike hervorgehoben – den olympischen Aspekt –, während Warburg auf den dionysischen Aspekt hinwies. Die Polarität des Frührenaissancemenschen bestehe, laut Warburg, gerade in der gleichzeitigen Übernahme des olympischen und des dionysischen Aspektes der Antike. „Neben antikischer Bewegtheit und Pathetik steht in der Kunst der Frührenaissance die antikische Ruhe und stille Größe, neben den astrologischen und magischen Dämonen die olympische Götterwelt.“²⁵

Allgemeiner formuliert war es vor allem der Vorgang der Prägung und Weitergabe von Symbolen – die Geschichte der Ausdruckssymbole – die Warburg interessierte. Die Wiederaufnahme antiker Darstellungsmodi in der Renaissance erklärte Warburg durch die symbolische Kraft der in der Antike entworfenen Gebärdendarstellungen, die direkt an das kollektive Gedächtnis appellieren und

Der junge Aby Warburg. München 1997; CHERNOW, R.: *The Warburgs. A Family Saga*. London 1993. Zur Geschichte der Bibliothek Warburg vgl. SAXL, F.: Die Geschichte der Bibliothek Aby Warburgs (1943/1944), hier zit. n. WUTTKE 1979 (wie diese Anm.), S. 335-346.

¹⁸ Vgl. BING 1958 (wie Anm. 17), S. 455 f.

¹⁹ Vgl. SAXL, F.: *Rinascimento dell'antichità*. Studien zu den Schriften Aby Warburgs (1922), hier zit. n. WUTTKE 1979 (wie Anm. 17), S. 347-399, insbesondere S. 347 f.

²⁰ Vgl. WIND, E.: Warburgs Begriff der Kulturwissenschaft und

seine Bedeutung für die Ästhetik (1931), hier zit. n. WUTTKE 1979 (wie Anm. 17), S. 401-417, insbesondere S. 401 f.

²¹ *Ibidem*, S. 405 f.

²² *Ibidem*, S. 407.

²³ Vgl. BING 1958 (wie Anm. 17), S. 459 f.

²⁴ Vgl. SCHMIDT, P.: Aby M. Warburg und die Ikonologie. In: WUTTKE, D. (Hrsg.): *Gratia. Bamberger Schriften zur Renaissanceforschung*, 20, 1989, S. 30 f.; sowie WIND 1931 (wie Anm. 20), S. 416.

²⁵ SAXL 1922 (wie Anm. 19), S. 363.

somit auch zu späteren Zeiten verstanden werden.²⁶ Die Schaffung eines Symbols kann, laut Warburg, als ein Aufklärungsakt gesehen werden. Symbole dienen dazu, einen formlosen Schrecken greifbar zu machen und abzuwehren. Durch ihre Mittelposition zwischen Furcht und Logos, sind sie oft auch noch für spätere Generationen verständlich und ansprechend.²⁷ Beispielsweise wurden in der Antike Ausdrucksmotive geschaffen, die derart eindrucksvoll waren, daß sie auch noch in späteren Zeiten Verwendung finden konnten – wenn auch in anderen Zusammenhängen. Das Wiederaufgreifen antiker Darstellungstopoi für (körperliche und psychische) Bewegung und das parallel dazu vorhandene wiedererwachte Interesse an der hellenistischen Astrologie und Magie ist für Warburg beides als Ausdruck der mythisch-fürchtenden Orientierung des Menschen im „*Pendelgang des Menschengeschlechts zwischen der mythisch-fürchtenden und der wissenschaftlich-errechnenden Orientierung sich selbst und dem Kosmos gegenüber*“²⁸ zu verstehen. Die Spannung zwischen beiden Orientierungen wird besonders deutlich anhand des Frührenaissancemenschen, der beides zu vereinen suchte.²⁹

Die Renaissance als Geburtsstunde des modernen Menschen wurde von Warburg in seinem Aufsatz über Francesco Sassetti (1421 – 1499) behandelt.³⁰ Im Vordergrund dieser Arbeit steht die ‚letztwillige Verfügung‘ eines florentiner Kaufmannes und Kunstmäzens. Die ikonographische und ikonologische Analyse der von Sassetti für seine Grabkappelle in Auftrag gegebenen Kunstwerke und anderer Dokumente aus dem Leben des Kaufmannes, bildete die Basis für Warburgs Darstellung der Mentalität dieses

Mannes und seiner Zeitgenossen. Auffallend ist das gleichzeitige Vorhandensein heidnisch-antiker und christlicher Symbole in der Grabkappelle und im Ex libris Sassettis. Warburg deutete dies als Ausdruck eines modernen Selbstbewußtseins, das um einen gefühlsmäßigen Ausgleich zwischen mittelalterlicher Schicksalsfurcht und neuzeitlicher Weltbejahung bemüht war.³¹ Er unterstrich damit die ambivalente Situation des Menschen der Frührenaissance, der in seiner Persönlichkeit rationale wie gefühlsmäßige Dimensionen vereinen mußte, und nahm damit ein Motiv heutiger Analysen des Modernisierungsprozesses vorweg.

Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Anknüpfungspunkte I

Der ikonologische Ansatz Warburgs lieferte bereits zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts einige Anknüpfungspunkte für eine breitere Resonanz in den Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften. An der Verbreitung des Ansatzes waren vor allem einige Vertreter der Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte beteiligt. Im Folgenden soll diese erste Rezeptionsphase Warburgs, die noch zu seinen Lebzeiten begann, skizziert werden.

Trotz seiner vielfältigen Arbeitsgebiete und Studien³² hat Warburg seine *ikonographische* beziehungsweise *ikonologische* Vorgehensweise nicht explizit dargestellt. Erst Erwin Panofsky nahm eine Systematisierung des Warburg-Ansatzes vor und wurde somit prägend für die Warburg-Schule. Warburg verwendete die Begriffe Ikonographie und Ikonologie in allen seinen Arbeiten synonym. Erst seine Nachfolger versuchten die ikonogra-

²⁶ Seine Überlegungen zum Symbolbegriff entwickelte Warburg in Anlehnung an die Arbeiten Friedrich Theodor Vischers. Vgl. WIND 1931 (wie Anm. 20), S. 408 f; vgl. auch POCHAT, G.: *Der Symbolbegriff in der Ästhetik und Kunstwissenschaft*. Köln 1983, S. 77.

²⁷ Vgl. SAXL, F.: Warburgs Besuch in Neu-Mexiko (1929/1930), zit. n. WUTTKE 1979 (wie Anm. 17), S. 318 ff; sowie GOMBRICH 1970 (wie Anm. 10), S. 307 f.

²⁸ WARBURG, A. M.: *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg. Vor dem Kuratorium* (1929), zit. nach WUTTKE 1979 (wie Anm. 17), S. 307.

²⁹ Vgl. SAXL 1922 (wie Anm. 19), S. 391.

³⁰ Vgl. WARBURG, A. M.: *Francesco Sassettis letztwillige Verfügung* (1907), zit. nach WUTTKE 1979 (wie Anm. 17), S. 137-163. Vgl. auch SCHOELL-GLASS, Ch.: *Aby Warburg und der Antisemitismus. Kulturwissenschaft als Geistespolitik*. Frankfurt am Main 1998, S. 116-117.

³¹ Vgl. WARBURG 1907 (wie Anm. 30), S. 149.

³² Etwa über „Bildniskunst und florentinisches Bürgertum“ (1902), „Dürer und die italienische Antike“ (1906), „Arbeitende Bauern auf burgundischen Teppichen“ (1907) oder „Heidnisch antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten“ (1920). Vgl. WUTTKE 1979 (wie Anm. 17).

phische Vorgangsweise von der ikonologischen zu unterscheiden. Der holländische Kunsthistoriker Hoogewerff war der erste, der 1928 eine derartige begriffliche Trennung vornahm. Ikonographie wurde von ihm als beschreibend und analytisch bezeichnet, während die Ikonologie erklärend ausgerichtet sei.³³ 1930 legte Panofsky im Aufsatz *Herkules am Scheideweg* zum ersten Mal seine Systematisierung des ikonologischen Ansatzes vor.³⁴ Auch Panofsky bestimmte die Ikonographie als deskriptiv und analytisch, während die Ikonologie auf Synthese ausgerichtet sei. Ebenso wie Warburg fordert Panofsky bei der Analyse zur interdisziplinären Zusammenarbeit und zur Heranziehung unterschiedlicher Arten von Dokumenten auf.³⁵ Panofsky bezog sich bei der Ausformulierung seines dreistufigen ikonologischen Schemas sowohl auf Überlegungen Karl Mannheims zum Weltanschauungsbegriff als auch auf die Vorstellungen Ernst Cassirers zur Symbolik.

Sowohl Panofsky als auch Cassirer erhielten durch die Arbeiten Aby M. Warburgs entscheidende Impulse. Während seiner Hamburger Zeit arbeitete Cassirer häufig in der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburgs. Die Auswahl und Zusammenstellung der Bücher war von Warburg mit dem Ziel der Erforschung des Nachlebens der Antike getroffen worden. Neben kunsthistorischen Abhandlungen im engeren Sinne waren in der Bibliothek auch Sachgebiete wie Mythologie, Rechtsgeschichte oder Volkskunde vertreten. Die grundlegende Idee zu seinem Werk *Die Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (1923–1929) dürfte Cassirer bereits vor seiner Hamburger Zeit gehabt

haben, in der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburgs fand er jedoch empirisches Material für seine Arbeiten über den Mythos.³⁶ Eine symbolische Form ist für Cassirer eine „*universale Energie des Geistes*“, durch die ein „*geistiger Bedeutungsgehalt an ein konkretes sinnliches Zeichen geknüpft und diesem innerlich zugeeignet wird*“.³⁷ Mythos, Sprache, Religion und Kunst sind für Cassirer „Grundformen des Weltverständnisses“, wobei er bei diesen symbolischen Formen zwischen der *Ausdrucks-*, der *Darstellungs-* und der *Bedeutungsfunktion* unterscheidet. Ihr Äquivalent findet diese Dreiteilung in Panofskys Schema von vorikonographischer Beschreibung, ikonographischer Analyse und ikonologischer Interpretation.

Von dem kulturwissenschaftlichen Arbeitsprogramm der Bibliothek Warburg fühlten sich vor allem auch einige jüngere Wiener Kunsthistoriker angezogen. Zu erwähnen wäre hier etwa Fritz Saxl, der in Wien studiert hatte, jedoch, fasziniert von Fragestellungen im Zusammenhang mit der Entschlüsselung astrologischer Bildprogramme der Renaissance, die Zusammenarbeit mit Warburg suchte. Saxl erhielt eine Anstellung an der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek und führte während Warburgs Sanatoriumsaufenthalts die Geschäfte der Bibliothek weiter.³⁸ Er war maßgeblich an der Umwandlung der Bibliothek in ein Forschungsinstitut beteiligt. Neben ihm wäre etwa auch Ernst H. Gombrich, der spätere Direktor des Warburg-Institutes in London, als einer der zunächst in Wien tätig gewesenen Kunsthistoriker zu erwähnen. Im universitären Umfeld der stark an formal-ästhetischen Fragen orientierten Wiener Schule

³³ Ibidem, S. 34 f.

³⁴ Ibidem, S. 13 f. Im Folgenden werde ich mich allerdings auf PANOFSKY, E.: Ikonographie und Ikonologie. Eine Einführung in die Kunst der Renaissance. In: PANOFSKY, E.: *Sinn und Deutung in der bildenden Kunst*. Köln 1978 und die dortige Darlegung der ikonologischen Methode beziehen. Eine Zusammenfassung derselben findet sich unter anderem auch bei STRATEN, R. van: *Einführung in die Ikonographie*. Berlin 1989, S. 15–36. Vgl. hierzu auch BÄTSCHEMANN, O.: Logos in der Geschichte. Erwin Panofskys Ikonologie. In: DITTMANN, L. (Hrsg.): *Kategorien und Methoden der deutschen Kunstgeschichte 1900–1930*. Stuttgart 1985, S. 89–112.

³⁵ Vgl. PANOFSKY 1978 (wie Anm. 34), S. 38–42.

³⁶ Vgl. PAETZOLD, H.: *Ernst Cassirer – Von Marburg nach New York. Eine philosophische Biographie*. Darmstadt 1995, S. 68–85; sowie FERRARI, M.: Das Problem der Geisteswissenschaften in den Schriften Cassirers für die Bibliothek Warburg (1921–1923). Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Philosophie der symbolischen Formen. In: BRAUN, H.-J. u. a. (Hrsg.): *Über Ernst Cassirers Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*. Frankfurt am Main 1988, S. 114–128. Vgl. auch GRAESER, A.: *Ernst Cassirer*. München 1994, S. 17; PCHAT 1983 (wie Anm. 26), S. 128–130.

³⁷ PAETZOLD 1995 (wie Anm. 36), S. 76 f.

³⁸ Vgl. McEWAN, D. (Hrsg.): *Ausreiten der Ecken. Die Aby Warburg – Fritz Saxl Korrespondenz 1910 bis 1919* (=Kleine Schriften des Warburg Institute London und des Warburg Archivs im Warburg Haus Hamburg, 1). Hamburg 1998, S. 55.

der Kunstgeschichte³⁹ konnten sich inhaltsorientierte kulturwissenschaftliche Ausrichtungen, wie sie etwa bei Max Dvořák oder Josef Strzygowski zumindest ansatzweise vorhanden waren, zunächst nicht durchsetzen. Daran interessierte Forscher, wie etwa Fritz Saxl, waren gezwungen in den kreativen außeruniversitären Wiener Diskussionszirkeln⁴⁰ oder überhaupt in anderen Städten Unterstützung für ihre Forschungsvorhaben zu suchen. Das kulturwissenschaftliche Forschungsinstitut Warburgs in Hamburg bot jüngeren Wissenschaftlern die Möglichkeit, sich eingehender mit ikonologischen und auch psychologischen Fragestellungen zu befassen und wirkte somit auch als Anlaufstelle für manche der Wiener Kunsthistoriker.

Carl Schorske sieht in der durch die Krise des Liberalismus verursachten Desillusionierung und in dem Rückzug weiter Teile des Bürgertums ins Privatleben einen Grund für die Beschäftigung der Wiener Moderne mit dem Seelenleben des Menschen.⁴¹ Die Wiener Moderne läßt sich durch die Polarität von positivistisch-rational begründeter Erforschung der Welt und gleichzeitiger Infragestellung dieser wissenschaftlichen Weltauffassung kennzeichnen. Die Spannung zwischen diesen beiden Ansprüchen, verbunden mit dem durch die politischen Verhältnisse ausgelösten Krisengefühl um die Jahrhundertwende, bildete den Hintergrund für die von der Wiener Moderne inspirierten neuen Ansätze auf wissenschaftlichem und künstlerischem Gebiet. Zu nennen wäre hier etwa das 1886 von Ernst Mach vorgelegte Werk *Beiträge zur Analyse der Empfindungen*.⁴² Machs Versuch, die Erkenntnistheorie auf eine empirisch-psychologische Grundlage zu stellen und die teilweise erfolgte Fortführung dieser Gedanken durch den *Wiener Kreis*, können als Beispiele für die wissenschaftlich-rational

begründete Beschäftigung mit dem Individuum und seiner Wahrnehmungsleistung innerhalb der Wiener Moderne angeführt werden. Als ein weiteres Beispiel für die intensive Beschäftigung mit dem Seelenleben im Umkreis der Wiener Moderne wäre die Psychoanalyse Sigmund Freuds zu erwähnen. Innerhalb der „Wiener“ Kunstgeschichte werden die psychologisierenden Interessen von Ernst Kris und Ernst H. Gombrich repräsentiert, die eine psychologische beziehungsweise psychoanalytische Interpretation der Kunstentwicklung vorlegten. Beide Kunsthistoriker hatten ihre Ausbildung in Wien erhalten, konnten aber erst später, im Umkreis des Warburg-Institutes, ihre psychologisierenden Ansätze weiter entfalten.

Hamburg besaß, im Gegensatz zu Wien, bis 1919 noch keine Universität und es gab daher auch keine starre Tradition, die sich dem neuen Ansatz Warburgs entgegenstellen konnte.⁴³ Aufgrund des Fehlens einer etablierten kunstgeschichtlichen Disziplin an der Universität mußte Warburg auch nicht auf inneruniversitäre Abgrenzungsdiskussionen Rücksicht nehmen. Die Ikonologie Warburgs erhebt zwar den Anspruch, eine wissenschaftlich exakte (Inhalts-)Analyse von Kunstwerken vorzunehmen, sie erfordert aber, wie oben dargelegt, interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit. Bei der Ikonologie handelt es sich somit um einen Ansatz, der sich nicht zur Abgrenzung und Zementierung fachspezifischer Territorien eignet. Das von vielen Mitgliedern der Wiener Schule gewählte formorientierte Arbeiten kann hingegen weitgehend kunstimmanent erfolgen, ohne auf die Hilfe anderer Disziplinen angewiesen zu sein. Die Formanalyse eignet sich daher wesentlich besser für Abgrenzungszwecke zwischen verschiedenen universitären Disziplinen als der ikonologische Ansatz.⁴⁴ Die Chancen sich auf eine neue interdisziplinäre

³⁹ Zu erwähnen wären hier u. a. auch Giovanni Morellis formale Methode der Werkanalyse oder Robert Zimmermanns formale Ästhetik, die nachhaltig die Ansätze der Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte geprägt hatten. Vgl. hierzu SCHERKE 2004 (wie Anm. 9), S. 384-389.

⁴⁰ Zum außeruniversitären intellektuellen Milieu in Wien um 1900 vgl. PRIGGE, W.: *Urbanität und Intellektualität im 20. Jahrhundert*. Wien 1900, Frankfurt 1930, Paris 1960. Frankfurt am Main – New York 1996, S. 43 f.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, S. 8.

⁴² Vgl. LeRIDER, J.: *Das Ende der Illusion. Die Wiener Moderne und die Krisen der Identität*. Wien 1990, S. 57.

⁴³ Vgl. SCHERKE 2004 (wie Anm. 9), S. 397-403.

⁴⁴ Vgl. OEXLE, O. G.: Auf dem Wege zu einer Historischen Kulturwissenschaft. In: KÖNIG, Ch. – LÄMMERT, E. (Hrsg.): *Konkurrenten in der Fakultät. Kultur, Wissen und Universität um 1900*. Frankfurt am Main 1999, S. 105-123, insbesondere S. 109. Zur konsequent interdisziplinären Ausrichtung Warburgs vgl. DIERS, M.: Von der Ideologie- zur Ikonologiekritik. In: BERNDT, A. (Hrsg.): *Frankfurter Schule und*

Ausrichtung einzulassen, waren, wie aus den genannten Gründen zu vermuten ist, im universitären Feld Wiens wesentlich geringer als in Hamburg.⁴⁵ Dies dürfte einer der Gründe sein, warum die inhaltsorientierte und psychologisierende Kunstgeschichte, obwohl auch im kulturellen Klima Wiens um 1900 verwurzelt, erst in Hamburg entsprechenden Nährboden finden konnte. Die Entfaltung des ikonologischen Ansatzes im Warburg-Institut wurde zudem nicht durch antisemitische Vorurteile behindert. Auch aus diesem Grund dürfte sich die Attraktivität des Warburg-Institutes für einige jüngere Mitglieder der Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte, die zum Teil jüdischer Herkunft waren und aus diesem Grund im traditionellen universitären Umfeld Wiens keine Aufstiegschancen hatten, erklären lassen.⁴⁶

Aby M. Warburg selbst hatte aufgrund seiner eigenen Lebensgeschichte und seiner von Usener und Lamprecht beeinflussten Studien, Interesse für die psychologisierende Betrachtung von Kunstwerken geschöpft. Die Interessen Warburgs deckten sich mit den vor dem Hintergrund der spezifischen Krisensituation Wiens zur Jahrhundertwende entstandenen Interessen der jüngeren Wiener Kunsthistoriker. Hinzu kam die in Hamburg, im Gegensatz zu Wien, zur Verfügung stehende Infrastruktur, die von Warburg für seine Forschungsinteressen genutzt werden konnte. Hamburg als aufstrebende Stadt und seine Führungsschicht suchten nach einer kulturellen Legitimierung ihres Aufstiegs. Der ikonologische Ansatz konnte sich vor diesem Hintergrund zunächst erfolgreich etablieren.

Ein Großteil der Mitarbeiter der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek war allerdings nach der Machtübernahme der Nationalsozialisten zur Emigration gezwungen; sie trugen in weiterer Folge nicht

unerheblich zur Ausformung der Kunstgeschichte als universitärer Disziplin im anglo-amerikanischen Sprachraum bei. In aller Kürze sei hier nur noch erwähnt, daß sich eine Verschiebung der Fragestellungen, hin zu ikonographischen Arbeiten unter Vernachlässigung der weitergreifenden ikonologischen Interpretation, bereits im Spätwerk Panofskys und auch bei seinen Schülern, feststellen läßt. Im deutschen Sprachraum wurde der ikonologische Ansatz, aufgrund der Vertreibung seiner Hauptvertreter durch den Nationalsozialismus, erst verspätet wieder aufgegriffen. Aktualität erhielt Warburgs kulturwissenschaftliches Forschungsprogramm, wie Michael Diers ausführt, erst wieder in den 1970er Jahren. Die aus der Beschäftigung mit der *Kritischen Theorie* resultierende Zuwendung der Kunstwissenschaften zu gesellschaftspolitischen Themenbereichen, führte zu einer Renaissance des ikonologischen Ansatzes im Sinne Warburgs: „*Ikonologie, so ließ sich bei Warburg erkennen, reduzierte sich nicht auf gelehrte Bildprogramm-Dechiffrierung oder ikonographische Motinforschung, sondern hatte sozialgeschichtliche und sozialpsychologische, gesellschaftliche und politische Fragestellungen zu umfassen. [...] Via Ikonologie erschloß sich Warburgs Aufsätzen zufolge auch die Weltanschauung einer Gesellschaft.*“⁴⁷

Im Unterschied zu dieser ersten Welle der Wiederentdeckung Warburgs im deutschsprachigen Raum in den 1970er Jahren, knüpft die aktuelle Debatte weniger an seinem bildwissenschaftlichem Programm an, sondern an Warburgs Einschätzung des Verhältnisses von Rationalität und Emotionalität im Verlauf des Modernisierungsprozesses. Im Folgenden soll gezeigt werden, inwieweit sich Warburgs Beschäftigung mit den Ausdruckssymbolen in den Modernisierungsdiskurs der Zeit um 1900 und heute einfügt.⁴⁸

Kunstgeschichte. Berlin 1992, S. 19-39, hier S. 22; und ROECK 1997 (wie Anm. 17), S. 234.

⁴⁵ So scheiterten auch die ursprünglich von Saxl und Dagobert Frey gehegten Pläne, eine Filiale des Warburg-Institutes in Wien zu errichten; vgl. McEWAN 1998 (wie Anm. 38), S. 56.

⁴⁶ Vgl. FEICHTINGER, J.: *Wissenschaft zwischen den Kulturen. Österreichische Hochschullehrer in der Emigration 1933 – 1945*. Frankfurt am Main – New York 2001, S. 339-368.

⁴⁷ DIERS 1992 (wie Anm. 44), S. 30 f. Zum Verhältnis zwischen ‚Frankfurter Schule‘ und ‚Warburg-Schule‘ vgl. auch BREIDECKER 1996 (wie Anm. 3), S. 143-144.

⁴⁸ Zum Folgenden vgl. auch SCHERKE, K.: Aby M. Warburg und der Erste Weltkrieg. In: ERNST, P. – HARING, S. – SUPPANZ, W. (Hrsg.): *Aggression und Katharsis. Der Erste Weltkrieg im Diskurs der Moderne* (=Studien zur Moderne, 20). Wien 2004, S. 139-161. Die Einordnung Warburgs in die geistigen Strömungen seiner Zeit sowie in gegenwärtige kulturwissenschaftliche Debatten stellt derzeit noch ein Forschungsdesiderat dar. Erste Ansätze einer solchen Verortung

Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaftliche Anknüpfungspunkte II

Die Entwicklung der europäischen Zivilisation und des Psychohaushaltes der Menschen waren Fragen, die zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts von Autoren unterschiedlicher Disziplinen aufgegriffen wurden.⁴⁹ So verschiedene Denker wie Max Weber, Sigmund Freud oder Norbert Elias haben sich mit den Konsequenzen des Modernisierungsprozesses für den menschlichen Gefühlshaushalt auseinandergesetzt. Von Interesse war für sie dabei auch die Frage, inwieweit es zu einer dauerhaften Zurückdrängung der Leidenschaften und des Irrationalen in der Moderne kommen werde.

Besonders prononciert vertrat Max Weber die These von einer zunehmenden Rationalisierung in der Moderne. Weber konstatierte eine umfassende „Entzauberung der Welt“.⁵⁰ Das allgemein verbreitete Bewußtsein von der wissenschaftlich-technischen Lösbarkeit aller Fragen, würde metaphysische Erklärungen zunehmend verdrängen. Unter dem Einfluß des Protestantismus sei zudem eine umfassende Rationalisierung der Lebensführung erfolgt, die letztlich auch eine Grundlage für das Erstarken des Kapitalismus im Abendland gebildet habe.⁵¹ Weber sah die rationale Lebensführung als wesentliches Kennzeichen des modernen Menschen an.⁵²

Warburg kannte Webers Arbeit ‚Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus‘ (1905) und schätzte diese sehr, was er auch Weber in einem Brief mitteilte. Warburg sah eine Parallele zu seiner eigenen Arbeit über den Florentiner Kaufmann Francesco Sassetti, der am Übergang zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit, hin und hergerissen zwischen Aberglauben und neuzeitlicher Vernunft, systematisch ein neues, weltbejahendes Selbstgefühl entwickelt hatte.⁵³ Darüber hinaus faszinierte Warburg, wie anhand der Korrespondenz mit seiner Frau Mary deutlich wird,⁵⁴ die von Weber beschriebene Pflichtethik des Protestantismus; eine ähnliche Haltung glaubte Warburg im kaufmännischen Milieu seiner Familie und im eigenen Streben nach Beherrschung dämonischer Impulse durch wissenschaftliche Ratio beobachten zu können.⁵⁵

Weber dankte Warburg für die Zusendung des Sassetti-Aufsatzes und unterstrich dessen Leistungen. Er las Warburgs Arbeit offenbar als Bestätigung seiner These, daß erst mit dem Protestantismus eine Grundlage für die moderne, von innerweltlicher Askese gekennzeichnete Lebensführung geschaffen worden sei. Weber betonte die Zerrissenheit Sassettis; der Übergang zu einem neuen, planvollen Lebensstil sei ohne die ethische Grundlage des Calvinismus für die florentiner Kaufleute nicht möglich gewesen: „Das macht ja auch nach meiner Empfindung,

Warburgs im kulturwissenschaftlichen Denken seiner Zeit finden sich bei Bernd Roeck; vgl. ROECK, B.: Psychohistorie im Zeichen Saturns. Aby Warburgs Denksystem und die moderne Kulturgeschichte. In: HARTWIG, W. – WEHLER, H.-U. (Hrsg.): *Kulturgeschichte heute* (=Geschichte und Gesellschaft Sonderheft, 16). Göttingen 1996, S. 231-254.

⁴⁹ Vgl. hierzu auch JENSEN, U. – MORAT, D.: Die Verwissenschaftlichung des Emotionalen in der langen Jahrhundertwende (1880 – 1930). In: JENSEN, U. – MORAT, D. (Hrsg.): *Rationalisierungen des Gefühls. Zum Verhältnis von Wissenschaft und Emotionen 1880 – 1930*. München 2008, S. 11-34.

⁵⁰ Vgl. WEBER, M.: Wissenschaft als Beruf (1919). In: MOMMSEN, W. J. – SCHLUCHTER, W. (Hrsg.): *Max-Weber-Gesamtausgabe*. Bd. 17. Tübingen 1992, S. 87.

⁵¹ Vgl. WEBER, M.: Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus (1905). In: WEBER, M.: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. Bd. 1. Tübingen 1947 (4. Auflage), S. 17-206.

⁵² An dieser Stelle sei nur kurz angemerkt, dass Weber, trotz der Betonung der Rationalisierung, die Leidenschaften des Menschen nicht völlig aus seinen soziologischen Überlegungen ausklammerte, wie etwa seine Arbeiten zum Idealtypus der charismatischen Herrschaft zeigen. Vgl. WEBER, M.: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriß der verstehenden Soziologie*. 2 Bde. Hrsg. J. WINCKELMANN. Tübingen 1956 (4. Auflage), Bd. 1, S. 140-148; vgl. hierzu auch FLAM, H.: *Soziologie der Emotionen. Eine Einführung*. Konstanz 2002, S. 46-47, sowie S. 51-52.

⁵³ Vgl. SCHOELL-GLASS 1998 (wie Anm. 30), S. 110-111.

⁵⁴ Vgl. WIA, (FC), Brief von Aby Warburg an Mary Warburg, 29. 3. 1907.

⁵⁵ Vgl. ROECK, B.: Aby Warburg und Max Weber. Über Renaissance, Protestantismus und kapitalistischen Geist. In: RUDOLPH, E. (Hrsg.): *Die Renaissance und ihr Bild in der Geschichte*. Bd. 3: *Die Renaissance als erste Aufklärung*. Tübingen 1999, S. 189-205.

den wunderbaren Schimmer aus, die über diesem [?] liegt, daß er nicht wie ein Calvinist, auf festem ethischen Boden steht, daß er nicht mit gutem Gewissen den Übermenschen spielt, das Bewusstsein der Zerrissenheit und des Zweifels, des Streits unter dem Einbruch von ökonomischen Gewalten, die einen eigenen neuen Lebensstil fordern, aber auf diesem Boden nicht gewinnen können. Und dieses kommt bei Ihnen ganz glänzend zum Ausdruck. Und dass dies sich im Ringen mit künstlerischen Problemen nachweisen lässt – das ist es, was mich so freudig überrascht hat“ (Hervorhebungen im Original).⁵⁶

Warburg hatte in seinem Aufsatz zwar den Zwiespalt zwischen Neuem und Altem, in dem sich Sassetti befand, betont, hatte aber auch das Streben dieses florentiner Kaufmannes nach einem weltzugewandten Selbstbewußtsein aufgezeigt und Sassetti damit implizit zu einem Vorläufer der von Weber beschriebenen Protestanten gemacht, was weder von ihm noch von Weber in dieser Art wahrgenommen wurde. Weber und Warburg dürften, bei aller gegenseitigen Wertschätzung, die Schriften des jeweils anderen hauptsächlich im Hinblick auf ihre eigenen Arbeiten interpretiert und insofern aneinander vorbei geredet haben, wie auch Bernd Roeck betont.⁵⁷ Der Kontakt zwischen Weber und Warburg fand keine weitere Fortsetzung.

Auch Sigmund Freud widmete sich dem Rationalisierungsprozeß und der damit einhergehenden Verdrängung der Gefühle. Für Sigmund Freud bildete die Feststellung der Triebverdrängung in der Moderne den Ausgangspunkt für seine weiterführenden Überlegungen zu den psycho-pathologischen Konsequenzen einer fehlgeleiteten Verdrängung und gescheiterten Sublimierung der Triebe.⁵⁸ Freud kannte offensichtlich Warburg, wie Chernow aus einer

Anfrage Freuds an den Arzt Ludwig Binswanger im Jahre 1921 schließt. Freud erkundigte sich in diesem Schreiben bei seinem Kollegen nach dem Befinden des Patienten Warburg; darüber hinaus dürfte es aber keine weiteren persönlichen Kontakte gegeben haben. Interessant ist jedoch die Parallelität des Denkens von Warburg und Freud, die auch in der Literatur immer wieder angeschnitten wird.⁵⁹ Bei Freud findet sich, neben der These von der zunehmenden Triebverdrängung in der Moderne, auch der Hinweis auf das Fortleben der Triebe im Unbewußten und das mögliche (Wieder-)Ausbrechen der verdrängten Komponenten des Seelenlebens. Gerade diese Möglichkeit des Wiederdurchbrechens gefühlsmäßiger Orientierungen des Menschen im Rahmen des durch Rationalisierung gekennzeichneten Zivilisationsprozesses hatte auch Warburg interessiert.

Norbert Elias setzt sich ebenfalls mit der Verdrängung des Irrationalen in der Moderne auseinander. Die Verlängerung der Handlungsketten im sozialen Austausch geht nach Elias einher mit der Entwicklung eines Systems rigider Selbstzwänge, die eine weitgehende Zügelung der Leidenschaften und Triebimpulse bewirken.⁶⁰ Webers Rationalisierungstheorie wird von Elias gewissermaßen auf den Psychohaushalt angewandt und anhand verschiedenster Dokumente (wie zum Beispiel Benimmbüchern) zu belegen versucht. Elias, der erst 1919 sein Studium der Philosophie aufnahm, dürfte über die Arbeiten Ernst Cassirers, mit denen er sich früh auseinandergesetzt hatte, auf die Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg aufmerksam geworden sein.⁶¹ Inwieweit Elias die Arbeiten Warburgs kannte, läßt sich nicht sagen; Kontakte auf der persönlichen Ebene dürfte es jedenfalls nicht gegeben haben.⁶²

⁵⁶ WIA, (GC), Brief von Max Weber an Aby Warburg, 10. 9. 1907.

⁵⁷ Vgl. ROECK 1999 (wie Anm. 55), S. 17.

⁵⁸ Vgl. FREUD, S.: *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*. Wien 1930.

⁵⁹ Vgl. CHERNOW 1993 (wie Anm. 17), S. 260. Es wurde verschiedentlich auf die Nahestellung des freudschen und warburgschen Denkens verwiesen; vgl. unter anderen SCHOELL-GLASS 1998 (wie Anm. 30), S. 23-25; sowie BREDEKAMP, H. – DIERS, M. – SCHOELL-GLASS, Ch. (Hrsg.): *Aby Warburg. Akten des internationalen Symposiums Hamburg 1990*. Weinheim 1991.

⁶⁰ Vgl. ELIAS, N.: *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation: soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*. 2 Bde. Frankfurt am Main 1998 (22. Auflage).

⁶¹ Cassirers Werk wurde, wie bereits erwähnt, stark durch die Arbeit in Warburgs Bibliothek geprägt. Vgl. PAETZOLD 1995 (wie Anm. 36), S. 68-85.

⁶² Im Warburg Archiv London befindet sich lediglich eine aus dem Jahr 1939 stammende Anfrage von Norbert Elias an die Bibliothek, mit der Bitte, ihm bei der Beschaffung einiger Bücher behilflich zu sein. Im Elias Nachlaß, im Deutschen Literaturarchiv in Marbach, gibt es keinerlei Hinweise auf eine Korrespondenz zwischen Elias und Aby M. Warburg

In der Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg hätte Elias allerdings reichhaltiges Material zur Bestätigung seiner Thesen finden können.

Die erwähnten Autoren, auf deren Arbeiten hier nicht näher eingegangen werden kann, gehen von einer zunehmenden Rationalisierung und Triebverdrängung in der Moderne aus; nur vereinzelt finden sich bei ihnen Hinweise auf irrationale Restbestände, die eine dauerhafte Zivilisierung des Menschen zumindest fraglich erscheinen lassen. In Zeitdiagnosen gegen Ende des 20. Jahrhundert wird die Ambivalenz des Modernisierungsprozesses in den Vordergrund gestellt. Zygmunt Bauman⁶³ beispielsweise stellt die Moderne als gekennzeichnet von zwei Gesichtern dar. Die sozialtechnologischen Bestrebungen der Moderne führen letztendlich zur Barbarei; wobei die Barbarei nicht als etwas durch noch weitere Modernisierung zu Verdrängendes – als irrationaler Restbestand – gilt, sondern als untrenn-

bar mit dem Modernisierungsprozeß verbunden aufgefaßt wird.⁶⁴ Auch Wolfgang Welsch gelangt zu einer ähnlichen Definition der Moderne als eines stets von Gegenmodernen begleiteten Phänomens. Die Neuzeit zeigt, laut Welsch, stets „eine Doppelfigur von Rationalisierungskur einerseits und Anti-Rationalisierungstherapie andererseits“.⁶⁵ Eben jene Haltung wurde auch von Warburg vertreten – etwa in seiner Analyse des Sassetti oder auch in seinen Arbeiten zur Bildpropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg.⁶⁶ Das Denken des Kulturwissenschaftlers Aby M. Warburg war, wie diese wenigen Hinweise zeigen sollten, somit sowohl eingebettet in das sozialwissenschaftliche Klima und die Modernisierungsanalysen seiner Zeit und trug – in der Betonung der Ambivalenz des modernen Menschen – auch darüber hinaus weisende Züge, die in der heutigen Debatte über Emotionalität und Rationalität an Attraktivität gewinnen können.⁶⁷

(diese Auskunft verdanke ich Heidrun Fink vom Deutschen Literaturarchiv).

⁶³ Vgl. BAUMAN, Z.: *Moderne und Ambivalenz. Das Ende der Eindeutigkeit*. Hamburg 1992.

⁶⁴ Zur aktuellen Debatte über den Zusammenhang von Moderne und Barbarei vgl. auch MILLER, M. – SOEFFNER, H.-G. (Hrsg.): *Modernität und Barbarei. Soziologische Zeitdiagnose am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt am Main 1996.

⁶⁵ WELSCH, W.: *Unsere postmoderne Moderne*. Weinheim 1987, S. 74.

⁶⁶ Vgl. SCHERKE 2004 (wie Anm. 48), S. 144-152.

⁶⁷ Vgl. auch TANNER 2008 (wie Anm. 11), S. 47-50.

City a symboly v stredobode záujmu. Poznámky k recepcii Warburga v sociálnych a kultúrnych vedách

Resumé

V predložennom článku bude bližšie prediskutovaná recepcia diela Aby M. Warburga v sociálnych a kultúrnych vedách s ohľadom na dva tematické okruhy. Prvá vlna recepcie Warburga, ktorá začala už za jeho života, a bola potom zintenzívnená predovšetkým v 70. rokoch 20. storočia, sa orientovala na jeho práce o pojme symbolu resp. na ikonologickú tradíciu v užšom zmysle slova. Druhý prúd recepcie, ktorý získava na význame predovšetkým v posledných rokoch, sa vzťahuje na obraz človeka vo Warburgových prácach, ktorý postuluje vzájomný prienik racionality a emocionality.

V centre Warburgových výskumov je otázka po dôvodoch znovuoživenia antických obrazových foriem v ranej florentskej renesancii. Centrálnou témou jeho výskumov je predovšetkým znovuoživenie antických výrazových gest – *formulí pátosu*. Prečo sa v renesancii znovu vynárajú tieto vzorce, ktoré boli v stredoveku temer zabudnuté? Čo vypovedá toto znovuvynorenie o type človeka ranej renesancie a jeho náboženských postojoch? Na objasnenie týchto otázok Warburg využil dokumenty rôzneho druhu: umelecké diela, listy, testamenty, básne, umeleckoremeselné predmety a tak ďalej. Novotou Warburgových úvah o renesancii bol poukaz na to „divoké“ a „pohyblivé“ v antike, ktorého sa znovu chopili renesanční umelci. Tým sa ocitol v protiklade k dovtedy prevládajúcemu pojmu antiky, ktorý sformuloval Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Winckelmann vyzdvihol v antike to „šľachetné“ a „pokojné“ – olympijský aspekt –, zatiaľ čo Warburg poukázal na dionýzovský aspekt. Polarita ranorenesančného človeka spočívala, podľa Warburga, v súčasnom preberaní olympijského a dionýzovského aspektu antiky. Povedané všeobecnejšie, bol to predovšetkým proces formovania a odovzdávania symbolov – dejiny výrazových symbolov –, čo Warburga zaujímalo. Vytvorenie symbolu môže byť, podľa Warburga, pokladané za akt objasnenia. Symboly slúžia na to, aby robili nesformovaný strach uchopiteľným a pred

ním chránili. V dôsledku svojej medzipozície medzi bázňou a logom sú symboly často zrozumiteľné aj pre neskoršie generácie a oslovujú ich. Oboje, znovuvyužitie antických znázorňovacích topoi pre (telesný a psychický) pohyb, a paralelne s tým znovu prebudovaný záujem o helenistickú astrológiu a mágiu, bolo podľa Warburga možné chápať ako výraz mýtologickej orientácie človeka v „pendlovaní ľudského rodu medzi mýticko-bázňovou a vedecko-kalkulatívnou orientáciou človeka voči sebe samému i voči kozmu“ (pozn. 28). Napätie medzi oboma orientáciami je zvlášť zreteľné na ranorenesančnom človeku, ktorý sa usiloval oboje spojiť, t. j. snažil sa o citové vyrovnanie stredovekého strachu z osudu s novovekým pritakaním svetu.

Warburgov ikonologický prístup poskytol už na začiatku 20. storočia isté oporné body pre širšiu rezonanciu v sociálnych a kultúrnych vedách. Na rozšírení tohto prístupu sa zúčastnili predovšetkým niektorí predstavitelia Viedenskej školy dejín umenia. V univerzitnom prostredí Viedenskej školy dejín umenia silne orientovanom na formálno-estetické otázky sa obsahovo orientované kultúrnovedné zamerania, ktoré boli prinajmenšom v náznaku prítomné u Maxa Dvořáka alebo Josefa Strzygowskeho, nemohli spočiatku presadiť. Bádateľia, ako napríklad Fritz Saxl, ktorí sa o to zaujímali, boli nútení hľadať pre svoje zábery podporu v iných mestách. Warburgov kultúrnovedný bádateľský inštitút v Hamburgu ponúkol mladým vedcom možnosť zaoberať sa podrobnejšie ikonologickými a psychologickými otázkami a pôsobil tým aj ako miesto rozbehu mnohých viedenských historikov umenia. Aby M. Warburg sám čerpal na základe svojho vlastného života a svojich štúdií ovplyvnených prácami Usenera a Lamprechta záujem o psychologizujúce ponímanie umeleckých diel. Warburgove záujmy sa kryli so záujmami mladších viedenských historikov umenia, ktoré vznikli na pozadí špecifickej krízovej situácie Viedne na zlome storočí. K tomu pribudla infraštruktúra, ktorá bola v Hamburgu, v protikla-

de k Viedni, k dispozícii, a ktorú mohol Warburg využiť pre svoje bádateľské záujmy. Hamburg ako rýchlo sa rozvíjajúce mesto sa usilovalo o kultúrne legitímovanie svojho vzostupu. Ikonologický prístup sa na tomto pozadí mohol úspešne etablovať. Doba nacionálneho socializmu však ukončila túto prvú recepčnú fázu Warburga v Nemecku. Až v priebehu takzvaného *cultural turn* v sociálnych a kultúrnych vedách od 70. rokov 20. storočia pritiahol aj ikonologický výklad obrazových programov a odkrývanie ich spoločenského pozadia – a tým aj Warburgovo dielo – novú pozornosť. V nedávnom čase bol tento nový záujem podporený aj obrazom človeka, ktorý je obsiahnutý vo Warburgových prácach, a ktorý naznačuje vzájomné prenikanie racionality a emocionality.

Vývoj európskej civilizácie a psychická výbava človeka boli otázky, ktoré už na začiatku 20. storočia začali skúmať autori rôznej orientácie. Tak rozdielni myslitelia ako Max Weber, Sigmund Freud, alebo Norbert Elias sa zaoberali dôsledkami procesu modernizácie na ľudskú citovú výbavu. Zaujímavou bola pre nich pritom otázka, nakoľko v moderne dôjde k trvalému potlačeniu vášní a iracionálna. Uvedení autori vychádzajú z predpokladu pribúdajúcej racio-

nalita a potlačania pudov v moderne; iba ojedinele sa u nich nájdu poukazy na iracionálne pozostatky, ktoré robia otáznym trvalé civilizovanie človeka. V dobových diagnózach koncom 20. storočia sa dostala do popredia ambivalentnosť modernizačného procesu. Napríklad Zygmunt Bauman predstavuje modernu ako vyznačujúcu sa dvomi tvármi. Sociálnotechnologické snahy moderny vedú nakoniec k barbarstvu, pričom barbarstvo sa nechápe ako to, čo pokračujúca modernizácia vytesňuje – ako iracionálne rezíduum, ale ako neoddeliteľný prvok modernizačného procesu. Aj Wolfgang Iser dospel k podobnej definícii moderny ako fenoménu permanentne sprevádzaného antimodernami. Novovek stále ukazuje, podľa Welscha, „*dvojitú figúru racionalizačnej kúry na jednej strane a antiracionalizačnej terapie na strane druhej*“ (pozn. 65). Takéto hodnotenie novoveku má pozoruhodnú paralelu v prácach Aby M. Warburga, ktorého dielo bolo súčasťou sociálnovednej klímy a analýz modernizácie tej doby, ako aj – zdôrazňovaním ambivalentnosti moderného človeka – nieslo presahujúce črty, ktoré môžu získať atraktivitu v dnešnej debate o emocionalite a racionalite.

Preklad J. Bakoš

American Voices. Remarks on the Earlier History of Art History in the United States and the Reception of Germanic Art Historians¹

Thomas DaCOSTA KAUFMANN

A wave of studies in the historiography of art history has recently swept over both sides of the Atlantic, bringing with it a vogue for scholarship on German art historians who were active in America.² Much information has been accumulated as a result. Nevertheless, the resulting picture of both the earlier history of art history in the United States and of the role of Germanic art historians in America remains faulty in several significant respects.

This essay offers a revised view of some aspects of the earlier history of art history in the United States that have previously been ignored, downplayed, or represented inaccurately. It presents that story as it unfolded before 1933 as providing precedents and accordingly a context for the reception of Germanic scholarship, among other things for the origins of current interests in a broader, globalized view of art history. It also offers a critique of some outstanding interpretations of the importance and identity of German scholarly émigrés.

¹ This paper draws upon two lectures. The first was given as “The American Voice. Deutsche Kunsthistoriker im Exil in den Vereinigten Staaten”, Annual Meeting, Deutscher Kunsthistorikerverband, Hamburg, Germany, March 23, 2001, and then in English as “German Art Historians in the United States and Paul Frankl”, Moravská galerie, Brno, Czech Republic, June 26, 2001, and as “German Art Historians in the United States”, Speed Museum of Art, Louisville, Kentucky, September 27, 2001. This lecture has been published in slightly different form as The American Voice. German Historians of Art and Architecture in Exile in the United States. In: *Wolkenkuckucksheim*, 2007, No. 1: Heaven and Earth. Festschrift to Honor Karsten Harries, www.theo.tu-cottbus.de/wolke/cloud_1.html. The second lecture was given as the introduction to a symposium, *Pasts, Presents, Futures*, at Princeton University on December 7, 2007. The material presented in this paper has been considerably enlarged, however. I would like to thank Jennifer A. Morris for her assistance.

² For the study of German émigré art historians, see most comprehensively MICHELS, K.: *Transplantierte Kunstwissenschaft: deutschsprachige Kunstgeschichte im amerikanischen Exil*. Berlin 1999; and WENDLAND, U.: *Biographisches Handbuch deutschsprachiger Kunsthistoriker im Exil*. 2 vols. München 1999.

See particularly for the discussion carried on here WOOD, C. S.: Art History's Normative Renaissance. In: *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century*. Acts of an International Conference, Villa I Tatti, Florence, 1999. Eds. A. J. GRIECO – M. ROCKE – F. GIOFFREDI SUPERBI. Florence 2002, pp. 65-92; WOOD, C. S.: Strzygowski und Riegl in den Vereinigten Staaten. In: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 53, 2004, pp. 217-234; and, though clearly more general than just an account of the immigrants and their reception, CROW, T.: The Practice of Art History in America. In: *Daedalus*, 135, 2006, No. 2, pp. 70-90. Earlier accounts are PANOFISKY, E.: Three Decades of Art History in the United States: Impressions of a Transplanted European. In: *College Art Journal*, 14, 1954, No. 1, pp. 7-27; and EISLER, C.: “Kunstgeschichte” American Style: A Study in Migration. In: FLEMING, D. – BAILLYN, B. (eds.): *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America 1930 – 1960*. Cambridge (Mass.) 1969, pp. 544-629. Signs of more general interest in historiography, with pertinence for the discussion here, are HOLLY, M. A.: *Past looking: Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image*. Ithaca (NY) 1996; HOLLY, M. A.: *Panofsky and the foundations of art history*. Ithaca (NY) 1984; SOUSSLOFF, C.: *The Absolute Artist: the Historiography of a Concept*. Minneapolis 1997; and SOUSSLOFF, C. (ed.): *Jewish Identity in Modern Art History*. Berkeley (Calif.) 1999.

The Earliest American Art Theory and Historiography

While the history of German-speaking exiles (and visiting scholars) involved with art history (and theory) is usually associated with the period starting in the 1930s, the beginnings of this story start long before the twentieth century: they can be traced back before the foundation of the United States of America in the eighteenth century. The first original treatise on art that was written in any part of the western hemisphere was composed in German by someone who was in effect an émigré for religious reasons.³ Between the years 1762 and 1770 Johann Valentin Haidt (1700 – 1780) laid down his thoughts on art in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. They are preserved in a manuscript written in German by an amanuensis that remains unpublished in the Moravian Archives in that city.⁴

Johann Valentin Haidt (known as John Valentine Haidt in America) was the offspring of a family of goldsmiths from Augsburg, where his grandfather had obtained a certain amount of fame.⁵ His father was prominent in this profession, and became royal Prussian goldsmith. Johann Valentin Haidt was himself born in Danzig (Gdańsk). When he was two years old he was taken by his father with his family to Berlin, when the elder Haidt assumed his duties there. Johann Valentin was first trained as a goldsmith, but then attended the newly founded Berlin academy of art. The younger Haidt also spent a number of years in Italy. According to his own information, he became familiar with the art scene in Rome around the year 1720. In Rome Johann

Valentin Haidt joined a group of Pietistic Lutherans, and then moved to England.

In England Haidt converted to the beliefs of the *Mährische Einbeit*, what is known in Czech as the *Jednota bratská*. In the United States this religion is called Moravian. Haidt became a member of the community of the Moravian brotherhood that Count Zinzendorf had refounded from the tradition of the *Jednota Bratská*, the religion of Jan Comenius among others. Haidt went to the Moravian community in Herrnhag in Germany, and then to Herrnhut. There he became a painter. Because the *Herrenbutter*, as the Moravians are called in German, were only allowed to live in Saxony under the protection of Count Zinzendorf, and were not officially tolerated, Haidt's return to England and his subsequent voyage to America may be regarded as a form of emigration; he was certainly an immigrant to what became the United States.

In the year 1754 Haidt came to the Moravian community in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he lived until his death in 1780. He was a sort of missionary, who purportedly used his paintings as a means for proselytizing, and was named *Gemeinmaler* of Bethlehem. In this capacity he painted many portraits, Biblical histories, and historical events; there exist approximately 275 paintings from his hand. He also offered instruction in drawing to the youth of Bethlehem. While Haidt was living in Philadelphia in the year 1755, he also taught the famous Anglo-American painter Benjamin West.⁶

It was probably in connection with his activity as a teacher that Haidt conceived of writing a treatise on art. Haidt's treatise is a small manuscript, thirty-seven

³ The situation of art theory in New Spain is well discussed in ORTS, P. M.: *El Arte Maestra: traducción novohispana de un tratado pictórico italiano. Estudio introductorio y notas*. In: *Estudios en torno al arte*, 1, 2006. The main title discussed is however, as indicated, a translation; other well known works, such as those by CABRERA, M.: *Maravilla Americana*. Mexico 1756, are not properly art history. The treatise on painting by Manuel Samaniego, found in manuscript in Quito, seems to be the earliest produced in South America, but dates probably c. 1800, see VARGAS, J. M.: *Manuel Samaniego y su Tratado de Pintura*. Quito 1973.

⁴ I am grateful to Vernon Nelson of the Moravian Archives, who discovered this manuscript, for supplying me with a

transcript of the document. I leave full publication of the document to Elder Nelson.

⁵ For biographical information on Haidt, see NELSON, V. H.: *John Valentine Haidt*. [Exhib. Cat.] Williamsburg (Va.) 1966; ENGEL, C.: *Paintings by John Valentine Haidt*. [Exhib. Cat.] Bethlehem (Pa.) 1992; and most recently, with fuller annotation, NELSON, V. H.: *Johann Valentin Haidt und Zinzendorf*. In: *Graf ohne Grenzen. Leben und Werk von Nikolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf*. [Exhib. Cat.] Herrnhut 2000, pp. 152-158.

⁶ ABRAMS, A. U.: *New Light on Benjamin West's Pennsylvania Instruction*. In: *Wintherthur Portfolio*, 17, 1982, No. 4, pp. 243-257.

pages long, which exists only in the handwriting of an amanuensis or secretary. In it Haidt attempts to communicate the bases of drawing and painting. The tract is quite typical for the time. It deals with drawing, proportion, perspective, and other fundamentals. It is also of interest here because Haidt devotes a few pages to the history of art among the various aspects of art with which he deals. Although his words are relatively few in number, his comments on the subject are also completely in keeping with the character of the historiography of art history before Johann Joachim Winckelmann. In this regard, though not of course in its size, Haidt's treatise may be compared to the mammoth volumes of Joachim von Sandrart. While Sandrart's tomes are immense, his section on art history forms only a part of a much larger work, which includes lives of artists and remarks on art history in its three giant folios.⁷ Haidt's remarks on art history also appear standard in content, if they be compared with treatments offered in other works of their time. He talks about the failure of Roman painting to survive from antiquity, praises the painters of the Italian Renaissance, and regards their paintings as exemplary.

Given the understanding of art history that existed before Winckelmann, whose tracts he probably could not have known, Haidt may therefore also be considered to be an art historian. Thus he may be regarded as the first German art historian, also the first German art historian in exile, who worked in the United States.

The fate of Haidt's treatise is pertinent to a theme of the present essay as well: not all German utterances on the arts were heard, and his offers a good example of a German voice that in fact has remained largely unheard. Haidt's tract has remained largely unknown, since it has remained unpublished. With the exception of West (whose student days antecede the probable date of composition of the treatise) Haidt also seems to have had no immediate followers or known students of importance who worked as artists in the United States.

Possibly, however, Haidt's reputation did have some later effect, because two generations after his death the community of Bethlehem called Gustav Grünewald from Germany to come to Pennsylvania to become *Gemeinmaler*. Grünewald was a pupil of the famed painter Caspar David Friedrich. In America he painted landscapes depicting the Lehigh river valley which resemble some of Friedrich's works, but have traces of new economic developments in them.⁸ Grünewald's work in Pennsylvania appears to anticipate American luminist painting for which he may provide a hitherto unrecognized source (his pictures were exhibited during his lifetime in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston), and in any event he represents an early example of the impact of German art in the United States.

Haidt and Grünewald are thus harbingers of the advent of a more general Germanic influence in the cultural history of the United States. In the nineteenth century this was to be felt in many fields in addition to the visual arts. From the early nineteenth century Germany exercised an enormous influence on American education and scholarship, the main topics of this essay. Between the years 1820 and 1920 almost 9000 American students went to Germany in order to study in German universities. The seminar system and the ideal of higher education that was created in the German universities placed their stamp on the American system. German education enjoyed immense prestige in the United States before World War I: the president of Columbia College, New York, Frederick A. P. Barnard, after whom Barnard College is named, remarked in 1886 that success at an American university depended on study or residence in a German university.⁹

While the impact of Germany on American scholarship in the nineteenth and early twentieth century is relatively well known, it has not yet been noticed in this connection that Allan Marquand, the founder of Princeton's Department of Art and Archaeology in the 1880s, was one such student. After Marquand took his bachelor's degree at

⁷ See for these points DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, T.: Antiquarianism. The History of Objects, and the History of Art before Winckelmann. In: *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 62, 2001, pp. 523-541.

⁸ See BLUME, P. S.: *Gustav Grünewald*. Allentown (Pa.) 1992.

⁹ HERBST, J.: *The German Historical School in American Scholarship. A Study in the Transfer of Culture*. Ithaca (NY) 1965, p. 2; see Herbst in general for this sort of information.

Princeton in 1874, he studied in Berlin in 1876. But Marquand was a student of philosophy, not of art history. Although the concept of *Kunstgeschichte* and the first documented departments dedicated to it originated in Germany, some of the main sources of academic art history in the United States are not derived directly or solely from them.

Remarks on the Early History of the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University¹⁰

Although the impression may still persist that the discipline of art history was a largely Germanic invention that was developed largely in Europe until the mid-twentieth century, and that impulses from German immigrant scholars were necessary to invigorate the study of art history in the United States, a vigorous tradition of scholarship and teaching the subject already existed at some American universities and colleges well before émigrés from Hitler's Germany (and Austria) arrived. Both the reception of European scholarship and the self-conscious presentation and assimilation (or non-assimilation) of European scholars took place not just in what was virgin territory for the field, but also in some milieus that were already quite well established. And while the background established by earlier teaching of art history in the United States has been previously acknowledged, its significance must be reevaluated.¹¹

Aspects of the earlier history of art at Princeton are treated here at some length in order to correct some recent accounts of the historiography of art history. This particular focus seems justified not as a

panegyric or apologia, but because many important figures who taught at other universities and colleges until at least the mid-twentieth century were trained in Princeton, since very few graduate departments existed elsewhere in the United States until the last generation or two, and because many of the émigrés (including among others Erwin Panofsky, Paul Frankl, Charles de Tolnay, Kurt Weitzmann, William Heckscher) who taught, worked, and in some cases (Wolfgang Stechow) died in Princeton were important figures in the discipline. While study of other locales might lead to other emphases, the breadth of topics taught or studied in Princeton also provides a key context for reconsideration of the development of the field in the United States and the relation of German art history and art historians to it.

Already by 1831 the history of architecture was being taught at what was then called the College of New Jersey in Princeton.¹² This antedates the formal teaching of art history at colleges or universities elsewhere in the United States. Architectural history continued to be taught at Princeton in subsequent years during the nineteenth century. Even after a new department for art history and a new school for architecture had been established in the early twentieth century, architectural history continued to be taught at Princeton by art historians as well as by architects, and has been to the present.

During the academic year 1882/1883, fully a half-century before Hitler took power in Germany, a separate and independent Department of Art and Archaeology was moreover established in Princeton. In that academic year Marquand was formally appointed instructor of art history. By the end of the

¹⁰ The specific information on the history of the Princeton Department contained in this section relies on LAVIN, M. A.: *The Eye of the Tiger: the Founding and Development of the Department of Art and Archaeology, 1883–1923, Princeton University*. Princeton (NJ) 1983; LAVIN, M. A.: Princeton: The Beginnings under Marquand. In: SMYTH, C. H. – LUKEHART, P. (eds.): *The Early Years of Art History in the United States. Notes and Essays on Departments, Teaching, and Scholars*. Princeton (NJ) 1993, pp. 7-11; SMYTH, C. H. The Princeton department in the Time of Morey. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 37-42; ZANTEN, D. van: Formulating Art History at Princeton and the Humanistic Laboratory. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 175-182; SMITH, E. B.: *The study of the History of Art in the Colleges and Universities of the United States*. Princeton (NJ) 1912, reprinted in *Ibidem*, pp. 12-36. Other materials are however cited where pertinent.

¹¹ The background is mentioned particularly in EISLER 1969 (see in note 2), which however does not focus on Princeton, and errs in many details.

¹² This occurred a year before Samuel F. B. Morse, a painter who is better known as the inventor of the telegraph, was named the first Professor of Fine Arts at New York University (the name of the current art historical institute there, the Institute of Fine Arts, recalls this foundation), which is sometimes linked with the establishment of the teaching of art. However, it seems that Morse taught painting and sculpture, not their history.

academic year 1882/1883 President James McCosh could report to the board of trustees of the college that sufficient funds had been raised to establish a chair for the field, which eventually was named after Marquand's uncle, Frederick Marquand, who had died in 1882, and whose estate was its major benefactor. Allan Marquand was appointed full professor. A formal program in instruction in art was also started.

Princeton was to be sure not the first place in the world where art history was taught in an academic setting. Domenico Fiorillo began teaching art history at the university of Göttingen in Germany a full century earlier, during the 1780s, hence within only two decades of the appearance of Winckelmann's landmark *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* of 1764, which is often taken to mark the beginnings of the discipline. In 1799 Fiorillo was appointed *ausserordentliche Professor* in Göttingen, assuming the first position devoted to the subject at a university anywhere in the world. In 1813 he was made *Ordinarius*. Fiorillo thus began the long line of academic professors of art history to which Marquand belongs.¹³

Princeton may also not claim to have been the first place to have had a professor of art history in the United States. This distinction goes to Harvard University, where Charles Eliot Norton began teaching the history of Fine Arts in relation to poetry in the year 1874 or 1875. Until recently the teaching of art history at Harvard took place in a department that was still called the Department of Fine Arts. But while the teaching of art history may have been evoked at Yale in 1881, in the next academic year at Princeton Marquand became the first professor appointed to a chair specifically devoted to art and archaeology. This appointment of a professor with

an independent chair charged with the subject of the history of art (including the history of architecture, which Marquand taught from the start of his career in the department) and archaeology, the organization of the subject as a separate field of study, and the institution of regular instruction leading to granting degrees in the subject may be regarded as strikingly new in the United States.

Princeton also seems to have been the first American university to have offered graduate instruction (training for students pursuing degrees beyond the baccalaureate, or B.A.) in the field. Arthur Frothingham, one of Marquand's first hires, offered a graduate course in Babylonian and Assyrian Archaeology as early as 1886, some years even before Princeton began to award the doctoral degree. Princeton was also in any event certainly the first American university with a graduate department devoted to the subject; it had an independent department that had spun off from the Department of Philosophy in 1895.

The age of Princeton's department may be measured against both national, and an important point of comparison, international standards. For example, although Yale University has an old art school in which art history may have been taught, no independent department of art history existed until 1940, partly through the efforts of the distinguished French scholar Henri Focillon, who was teaching there at the time. James Ackerman (b. 1919) would thus have been one of the first holders of an undergraduate degree in the history of art from Yale College.¹⁴ It was impossible to obtain a doctorate in art history at Yale until approximately this time; other renowned scholars like George Kubler had previously had to take their degrees in the now defunct program of History, the Arts and Letters.¹⁵

¹³ For information on the earlier history of art in Germany especially in its disciplinary form, I rely on DILLY, H.: *Kunstgeschichte als Institution: Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin*. Frankfurt a. M. 1979; and PRANGE, R.: *Die Geburt der Kunstgeschichte: philosophische Aesthetik und empirische Wissenschaft*. Cologne 2004.

¹⁴ See KUBLER, G.: Arts at Yale University. In: SMYTH – LUKEHART 1993 (see in note 10), p. 70. Ackerman received his Bachelor's degree in 1941.

¹⁵ T. REESE, in his introduction to his edition of *Studies in Ancient American and European Art: The Collected Essays of George*

Kubler. New Haven – London 1985, pp. xvii-xviii, describes how the noted French art historian Henri Focillon, who had been teaching at Yale since the mid 1930s and was Kubler's supervisor – see the publication of his dissertation, KUBLER, G.: *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico in the Colonial Period and since the American Occupation*. Albuquerque (NM) 1990 (5th ed., 1st ed. 1940) – tried to persuade Yale's administrators to establish an art history department, and says how he began to “mold its future faculty” from the graduate students who were enrolled in Yale's interdisciplinary program in History, the Arts and Letters. Kubler was evidently one of the students who received a degree in this program and later became a member of Yale's Department of History of Art.

On the other side of the Atlantic, while individuals like John Ruskin, Slade Professor of Fine Art in Oxford, and teacher of Harvard's Norton, may have lectured on art history, no regular department existed in England until the Courtauld Institute was founded in London in 1932. Oxford itself did not have a regular chair specifically devoted to the history of art until Edgar Wind was appointed professor there in 1955. Only under the very recent tenure of Martin Kemp, the previous holder of the chair recently assumed by Craig Clunas, was it possible to earn an undergraduate degree specifically in this subject. In the Netherlands, where one might think the teaching of art history has long flourished, the oldest department, that at Utrecht, celebrated just recently the centennial of the appointment in 1907 of its first professor for the subject, Wilhelm Vogelsang.¹⁶

At the time of its founding the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton was comparatively new even in comparison with established institutions in the German-speaking world, where very few art history institutes existed in 1882, as distinct from places where there may have been some instruction or scholarship in the subject.¹⁷ Famous scholars like Jacob Burckhardt in Basel may have taught and written about the history of art, but Burckhardt was not a professor of art history, and he began to lecture exclusively on it only after 1886. After Fiorillo in Göttingen, and before the second half of the nineteenth century, art history was taught sporadically at German universities, and also probably (again in German) in Dorpat, then Russia, now Tartu, Estonia.¹⁸ Formal professorships for art history were however founded only in Bonn in 1860, in Vienna (Austria) in 1863, in Strassburg (now again

Strasbourg, France) in 1871, in Leipzig in 1872, in Berlin (as opposed to individual professors like Kugler who taught art history) in 1873, and in Giessen and Prague (now the Czech Republic) in 1874. The origins of most other European departments, not to mention those in other parts of the world, postdate Princeton's.

How did what happened at Princeton occur? Marquand had been educated in theology and philosophy. He had earned his doctorate in the subject of philosophy with a dissertation on ethics from Johns Hopkins University, and he first became an instructor in the Department of Philosophy at Princeton. He specialized in logic, publishing on the subject, and inventing a logic machine.¹⁹

However, according to an old oral tradition Marquand's teaching was found to be "unorthodox and un-Calvinistic". This seems to have led to his appointment to teach the subject of what may have initially been conceived of as "Christian art and archaeology". Though not formally trained, Marquand was well suited to teach art history, as he probably was already very familiar with works of art. He had grown up the son of Henry Marquand, who was president and benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which had been founded in 1870. Marquand's pursuit of a career in a field in which he was not formally trained is also comparable to that of many distinguished British art historians, including many of recent memory (Kenneth Clark, John Pope-Hennessy, Michael Levey, et al.). His involvement with art history and appointment as professor in the subject did not stem from emulation of *Kunstgeschichte*.

Allan Marquand also benefited from gifts to Princeton from his uncle's estate, as noted.²⁰ While

¹⁶ To celebrate this occasion an exhibition was held in Utrecht and a book published on the illustrative panels that Vogelsang used in his teaching; see HOOGENBOOM, A. (ed.): *De evolutie van de compositie: de kunsthistorische onderwijsplaten van Willem Vogelsang (1875 – 1954)*. Vianen 2007.

¹⁷ This information is based on DILLY 1979 (see in note 13). Art history may have been taught elsewhere, but chairs, hence an institutional structure, did not seem to exist. The claim made by WOOD 2002 (see in note 2), p. 167, that art history was taught at twenty-nine universities thus exaggerates the real institutional situation.

¹⁸ This would have been as a complement to instruction in drawing, for which see *Die Zeichenschule der Universität Dorpat: 1803 – 1891*. [Exhib. Cat.] 2 vols. Ostpreuß. Landesmuseum, Lüneburg. Husum 1993 and 1995.

¹⁹ See MARQUAND, A.: *Logical Diagrams for n Terms*, no publisher, 1881; MARQUAND, A.: *New Logical Machine*, no publisher, 1885.

²⁰ But this sort of alumni benefaction, and even the importance of family connections are by no means just Princeton matters: Charles Eliot Norton was a cousin of President Eliot of Harvard, who appointed him.

Marquand's position may thus be considered to have resulted in part from his being a scion of a family of great economic and social privilege, this family, like that of other Americans of his background, also used its wealth for the good of public institutions. Allan Marquand himself supported many organizations and institutions in the United States; for example, during his lifetime the art history library of Princeton, which now bears his name, was stocked with books he had purchased personally, and Marquand left a large bequest (much as his widow left his property to the borough of Princeton) through which in large part (and through other departmental faculty bequests) Marquand Library has continued to be able to purchase large numbers of books. In this regard Marquand may be compared to Aby Warburg, whose personal purchases led to the establishment of the *Kunstwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* in Hamburg, only Marquand's efforts began earlier than did Warburg's.

In any case, with Marquand as with Warburg something remarkable took root and bore fruit from seemingly idiosyncratic origins. Within three decades art history and archaeology were thriving at Princeton, indeed more than they were anywhere else in the United States. A report on the status of art history in U.S. colleges presented by Marquand to the International Congress of History of Art in Rome held in 1912 (famous for Warburg's lecture on the Palazzo Schifanoia) that was compiled by E. Baldwin Smith and published by Smith as a booklet in that year listed thirty-four courses being taught at Princeton.²¹ This number is much larger than that taught at any other college or university in the United States, even those with much larger student bodies than the 1500 men who were then studying in Princeton.²²

Not only the age and early establishment of art history at Princeton are noteworthy, but also the range of fields taught or studied. It has been observed that academic art history in the United States

was always more open to non-Western art than was European scholarship.²³ But it has not been noted how much a role Princeton has played in this development, in fact, how much the general expansion of the field in both a geographical and chronological sense has had to do with the history of the Department of Art and Archaeology.

Princeton provides precedents for a more global view of art history. In so doing it thereby sheds a different light on recent critiques that have contrasted the sort of art history represented by Marquand and one of his important successors at Princeton, Charles Rufus Morey, with supposedly "progressive" or "advanced" art history, or pointed to Morey's social and intellectual conservatism.²⁴ For whatever the merits of these critiques, the introduction of new fields, the expansion of the conception of art history, even the application of new methods, and, a point of recent debate to which we shall return later, an awareness and openness to the theories of supposedly advanced or leading European scholars may certainly be considered "progressive". The application of another measure of supposed recent developments in the field imposed by a recent critic, namely attention to modern art, reveals that this along with the other phenomena mentioned were present at Princeton often before they were anywhere else.²⁵

Developments at Princeton, which might accordingly be called cosmopolitan as well as progressive, remind us of some features of the earlier tradition of the Enlightenment. Here it might be recalled that in certain ways Princeton may be compared to the university of Göttingen. Institutions of higher learning were established in Princeton and Göttingen during the reign of the same ruler, George II, Göttingen in 1734, Princeton in 1746. Göttingen consequently used to like to regard itself as a sister institution to Princeton, sending representatives to celebrations of the founding of Princeton, for example. Both universities were in any event founded and flourished in the glow of the Enlightenment; they were

²¹ SMITH 1912 (see in note 10), pp. 21-23.

²² Based on comparison of data assembled by Smith. – *Ibidem*.

²³ See WOOD 2004 (see in note 2), p. 232, quoting Alfred Neumeier.

²⁴ WOOD 2002 (see in note 2), pp. 69-70; CROW 2006 (see in note 2), pp. 75-76, 79-81.

²⁵ Cf. *Ibidem* (both essays).

involved with what in the eighteenth century were intellectually innovative disciplines and discourses. Göttingen sponsored not just Fiorillo and art history, but the establishment of a modern approach to history and its introduction as a university discipline represented by J. C. Gatterer and others in the mid-eighteenth century.²⁶ This approach was echoed by the later establishment at Princeton of new studies in art history, archaeology, and related fields. During the eighteenth century itself the Enlightenment was represented at Princeton by men such as Samuel Stanhope Smith, who among other things introduced and stressed studies of science, seeking to demonstrate the compatibility of science and religion.²⁷ Marquand, with his training as a philosopher, his involvement with a logic machine, and his purported penchant for theological freethinking, seems to stand in this tradition as well.

The early connection of art history with archaeology at Princeton represents a broadening of the conception of the field of art history that also may be related to intellectual origins in the Enlightenment. The modern study of both may be traced to their synthetic reformulation in Winckelmann's history of ancient art. Many nineteenth-century scholars also regarded the subjects as inseparable, not just for the treatment of ancient remains and monuments. Yet because of present institutional structures in Europe, it might sometimes be thought that art history and archaeology are separate disciplines. At Princeton, however, the two subjects have been conjoined from the beginning, in a way that was distinctive; the connection between art history and archaeology is expressed in the name of the department itself.

From the beginning of his activity in the department Marquand was personally involved with both archaeology and art history. In June 1883 he was sent to explore potential sites for excavations in Europe and notably the "Orient," that is the Near East. This was to lead to the subsequent series of Princeton excavations. Marquand, and through him, Princeton, was also involved with the establishment of both the American School in Athens and what is now the American Academy in Rome, with the foundation of the Archaeological Institute of America, and, together with Arthur Frothingham, with establishing the premier national periodical for the field, the *American Journal of Archaeology*. In the field of ancient art history Marquand himself published several books on ancient architecture and silver.²⁸

Marquand's activity moreover indicates that from its beginnings interest in art history and archaeology at Princeton extended beyond the boundaries of Europe. Marquand's travel to the Orient, meaning the Near East, almost immediately on being appointed professor represents an initial expression of this interest. The early institution of instruction in Babylonian and Assyrian archaeology also speaks for this involvement, which of course had been stimulated by the discoveries of Henry Layard and others in the mid-nineteenth century. Expanding the range of instruction, Marquand also soon began a course on what was called Phoenician art.²⁹ In 1899 Howard Crosby Butler traveled to Syria to seek out sites for excavation,³⁰ leading to a series of campaigns in that region.³¹ These were followed later by Butler's digs in Asia Minor, and excavations sponsored by Morey in Antioch.³²

²⁶ See REILL, P. H.: History and Hermeneutics in the Aufklärung: The Thought of Johann Christoph Gatterer. In: *The Journal of Modern History*, 45, 1973, pp. 24-25; REILL, P. H.: *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism*. Berkeley (Calif.) 1975.

²⁷ NOLL, M. A.: *Princeton and the republic, 1768 – 1822: The Search for a Christian Enlightenment in the era of Samuel Stanhope Smith*. Princeton (NJ) 1989.

²⁸ Early examples of Marquand's scholarship in this area are MARQUAND, A.: *An Archaic Patra from Kourion*. Concord (NH) 1888; MARQUAND, A.: *Early Athenian-Ionic capitals found on the Akropolis*, no publisher, 1888.

²⁹ LAVIN 1983 (see in note 10), p. 14.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 15.

³¹ Early examples of Butler's work are provided in *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904 – 1905 and 1909*. Leiden 1907 ff. In March 1910 Butler began excavations at Sardis, in modern-day Turkey, see *Sardis: Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis*. Leiden 1925, and *Howard Crosby Butler, 1872 – 1922*. Princeton (NJ) 1923.

³² See MOREY, C. R.: *The Mosaics of Antioch*. London – New York 1938. Morey's Antioch expedition is documented in

From a relatively early date the study of later periods of art in the Near East was also pursued at Princeton. In art history as in other aspects of Near Eastern and especially Islamic studies, Princeton possesses an old tradition. Islamic art (in the form of Persian manuscripts) was taught at Princeton already in the 1920s;³³ Kurt Weitzmann also dealt with Islamic art in his writing and teaching during his long career in the United States.³⁴ In any event as early as 1949 Donald N. Wilber received what is probably the first American doctorate for a dissertation in Islamic architecture (albeit from the School of Architecture) that he completed under the direction of E. Baldwin Smith, then chairman of the Department of Art and Archaeology.³⁵ And although a position dedicated to instruction in Islamic art and architecture was established at Princeton only in the 1990s, Weitzmann reports that the Department of Art and Archaeology made efforts already in the 1950s to hire Oleg Grabar, who had received his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1955.³⁶

From the 1920s the purview of art history at Princeton was expanded even further eastwards. Under Morey's chairmanship George Rowley offered what were probably some of the first university courses on Chinese art taught anywhere in the West.³⁷ The case of Japanese art is even more remarkable: evidently the first (European or American) doctorate in that field was awarded by the Department of Art and Archaeology to Alexander Soper. Soper received his Ph.D. in Japanese art in 1944, while Morey was still chairman, in the midst of some of the worst fighting during World War II. In 1959 the first Ph.D. program in Chinese art and archaeology in the United States

was also established at Princeton by Wen Fong with the historian Frederick W. Mote. Fong had received his degree in art history in 1958, one of the first if not the first awarded in the United States on Chinese art, and had taught at Princeton since 1954. In 1962 Shujiro Shimada began teaching Japanese art, expanding the Far Eastern program.

At Princeton the canon of European and American art was also steadily expanded chronologically. The contributions of American scholars including those at Princeton to the study of medieval art have long been acknowledged, but, as noted, they have recently been criticized because of their conservatism, and also regarded as ersatz responses to Germanic domination of studies in ancient and Renaissance art. If, however, we look back to the origins of medieval studies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century academy, some of these endeavors may also be considered to have been in the forefront of scholarship: the scholarly study of medieval, as well as Early Christian, art, as distinct from their Romantic emulation, was still then in its infancy. Consequently when he began teaching in the late nineteenth century, Marquand could say that he was embarking into the “*unexplored fields of Romanesque and Gothic*.”³⁸ The situation of scholarship in what would seem to be even relatively better known fields of medieval art such as these highlights the fact that earlier medieval art and late antique art, in which much work was done at Princeton³⁹ were even less familiar. Hence turning to the study of medieval art in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century was not simply the result of seeking a field that was free of European domination, as has recently been

the records of the chair of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Mudd Library, Princeton University, No. AC140.

³³ This information comes from some remarks made (orally) in 2008 by Oleg Grabar.

³⁴ See for example WEITZMANN, K.: *The Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustration*, no publisher, 1951.

³⁵ See the later publication, WILBER, D. N.: *The architecture of Islamic Iran; the Il Kha'niid period*. Princeton (NJ) 1955.

³⁶ See WEITZMANN, K.: *Sailing with Byzantium from Europe to America: The Memoirs of an Art Historian*. Munich 1994, pp. 420-421.

³⁷ COOLIDGE, J.: The Harvard Fine Arts Department. In: SMYTH – LUKEHART 1993 (see in note 10), p. 52, reports that when he was an undergraduate at Harvard (1931 – 1935) Langdon Warner taught a seminar on Chinese and Japanese sculpture.

³⁸ LAVIN 1983 (see in note 10), p. 9.

³⁹ See for example MOREY, C. R.: *Christian Art*. London – New York 1935; MOREY, C. R.: *Early Christian Art: An Outline of the Evolution of Style and Iconography in Sculpture and Painting from Antiquity to the Eighth Century*. Princeton (NJ) 1953; SMITH, E. B.: *Early Christian Iconography*. Princeton (NJ) 1918; SMITH, E. B.: *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*. Princeton (NJ) 1956; BUTLER, H. C.: *Early Churches in Syria*,

argued.⁴⁰ This may also explain why the study of medieval art was an area in which many Americans, including many active elsewhere (Chandler Post, Arthur Kingsley Porter), made major contributions, as has long been noted.

Although a larger study of the historiography of medieval art would be necessary for further clarification, American scholarship on medieval art during the early twentieth century may not simply be described as a matter of fact gathering, either. The pursuit of facts was guided by what may be called theories about the development of medieval art, as is seen by a perusal of writings by Morey, among others.⁴¹ Morey's foundation of the Index of Christian Art did not consist merely of providing a tool for the study of medieval art, but one that in the context of the time may be seen as methodologically "progressive". In the early twentieth century focus on iconography had no less a theoretical agenda than did Warburg's contemporaneous creation of iconology, one that moreover was also pursued by such scholars as Emile Mâle.⁴² The system introduced by the Index of Christian Art has both enjoyed a long life and impact on other, later forms of approach that were even emulated in Europe.⁴³

Instruction and scholarship in earlier periods of art, including Byzantine, Early Christian, and early medieval art and architecture, together with classical and Near Eastern art and archaeology, may however have come to dominate instruction in the depart-

ment during Morey's chairmanship, and that of his immediate successors in his position. Lorenz Eitner, who developed Stanford University's art history department and museum on Princeton's model, once remarked that he had not had any courses on any subject later than early medieval art while a student at Princeton. He has joked that when he published his 1944 monograph on the "Flabellum of Tournus", a work of the Carolingian period, it was regarded as strikingly modern.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to argue that modern art was only considered at Princeton to have begun with the ninth century, and that later periods were ignored.

The study of Renaissance art was in fact carried on at Princeton from the first years of the Department, as it was for that matter elsewhere in the United States during the early years of education in art history, much as was the study of classical antiquity. As is the case with the engagement with classical antiquity, the volume and significance of studies of Renaissance art at Princeton independent of the arrival of émigrés such as Panofsky should not be underestimated.⁴⁵ Marquand himself was as much an important scholar of the Italian Renaissance as he was one of classical antiquity. He published numerous books on the Della Robbias and on the sculptors Buglioni.⁴⁶ Marquand's activities and interests in classical antiquity and in the Renaissance should therefore be considered to have made these topics "normative" already from the origins of the Department of Art and Archaeology.

fourth to Seventh Centuries. Ed. E. B. SMITH. Princeton (NJ) 1929; not to mention the abundance of books by Weitzmann written in Princeton, e.g. WEITZMANN, K.: *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*. London 1977.

⁴⁰ WOOD 2002 (see in note 2); CROW 2006 (see in note 2).

⁴¹ See MOREY, C. R.: The Sources of Medieval Style. In: *Art Bulletin*, 7, 1924, especially pp. 35-36.

⁴² MÂLE, E.: *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen age en France: étude sur l'iconographie du moyen age et sur ses sources d'inspiration*. Paris 1908; MÂLE, E.: *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trent: étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du X^e siècle*. Paris 1932.

⁴³ See the introduction and essays in HOURIHANE, C. (ed.): *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*. Princeton (NJ) 1999; HOURIHA-

NE, C. (ed.): *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*. Princeton (NJ) 2002.

⁴⁴ EITNER, L. E. A.: *The Flabellum of Tournus*. New York 1944. This story was told to me in a private communication by Eitner in 1984. Similar stories exist about other classes taught by Princetonians, or writings by them on "later" topics.

⁴⁵ CROW 2006 (see in note 2), p. 76; WOOD 2002 (see in note 2), p. 68.

⁴⁶ His many publications on the Della Robbia begin with MARQUAND, A.: *A search for Della Robbia Monuments in Italy...* New York 1893; and MARQUAND, A.: *The Madonnas of Luca della Robbia*. Concord (NH) 1894, and continue throughout his career; for the Buglioni, see MARQUAND, A.: *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*. Princeton (NJ) 1921.

In 1910 Marquand in fact brought Frank Jewett Mather to Princeton to teach later periods, which included the Renaissance. Mather was appointed Marquand professor in that year, a sign of recognition that indicates that the study of later periods, as they were called, was regarded as “normative”, since the only professor to hold a chair at the time was teaching them. Mather published prolifically on the Renaissance, both on “northern” and on Italian Renaissance artists.⁴⁷ And other Princeton professors of earlier times did so as well. For example, besides his work on China, Rowley published a major monograph on Ambrogio Lorenzetti.⁴⁸ In his later career Ernest DeWald, another Princeton luminary, turned to the study of Italian art.⁴⁹ Given this activity, it is mistaken to argue that it was the impact of émigré scholars that led to the creation of a view of the Renaissance as normative.

The introduction of a humanistic approach to Renaissance studies was also not due solely to émigrés. In the earlier twentieth century education in the classics was still strong in the United States. At Princeton the impact of humanism on studies of Renaissance literature was emphasized by Charles Grosvenor Osgood and Morris Croll; Croll’s publications indeed antedate many late twentieth-century studies of the importance of rhetoric for Renaissance conceptions of style by two generations.⁵⁰ Rensselaer W. Lee, chairman of the Department of Art and Archaeology and Marquand Professor from the mid-1950s, would have been educated in this environment. He wrote his dissertation under the direction of Osgood and Croll. Because of the similarity of their interests Lee has mistakenly been called a student of Erwin Panofsky,⁵¹ but Lee in fact received his B.A. from Princeton in 1920, and

his doctorate there in 1926. This was granted for a dissertation on “Platonism in Spenser”, a topic that would have fit in well with the Neo-Platonic readings of the Renaissance later offered by Panofsky, Edgar Wind, et al.

Lee is best known for the 1940 publication of the landmark essay, “Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting”.⁵² As much as any other single work this essay may be said to stand for a humanistic approach to Renaissance and Baroque art. It is perhaps because of the affinity of his approach that he became friendly with Wind while at Smith College, and also from the 1930s with Panofsky, whose advice and criticism he acknowledges in the first note of “Ut Pictura Poesis”, and whom he invited to teach in the department at Princeton on a regular basis while he was chairman. Lee certainly spoke with Panofsky about such matters on a common and probably equal basis: he once recalled that their first conversation in Princeton was about Spenser’s view of the Three Graces.⁵³

The shift toward the modern period, defined in this context of criticism as meaning from the mid-nineteenth century on, has recently been regarded as key for current developments in the historiography of the discipline.⁵⁴ But an interest in “modern art”, if not central, was nevertheless also present at Princeton quite early. At the time of his appointment Mather was among other things the art critic of the *New York Evening Post*; he thus anticipates the role of other art historians, at Princeton and elsewhere, who had previously been or simultaneously were critics of contemporary art. In 1910, the first year of his appointment, Mather began teaching a course on modern tendencies in art, meaning in this case developments in English and French painting from

⁴⁷ E.g. MATHER, F. J.: *Formative Influences on Giorgione’s Art*. Baltimore 1942; MATHER, F. J.: *A History of Italian Painting*. New York 1949 (1st ed. c. 1938); MATHER, F. J.: *Two Early German Painters, Dürer and Holbein*. New York 1914; MATHER, F. J.: *Venetian Painters*. New York 1936; MATHER, F. J.: *Western European Painting of the Renaissance*. New York 1939.

⁴⁸ ROWLEY, G.: *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*. Princeton (NJ) 1958; this book was evidently the result of long years of research, regardless of the eventual date of publication.

⁴⁹ E.g. DeWALD, E. T.: *Italian Painting 1200 – 1600*. New York 1961.

⁵⁰ As exemplified by CROLL, M. T.: *Style, Rhetoric and Rhythm*. Ed. J. M. PATRICK et al. Princeton (NJ) 1966.

⁵¹ MICHELS 1999 (see in note 2), pp. 103, 118.

⁵² First published in the *Art Bulletin* in that year, and then as a book (New York 1967).

⁵³ Personal communication to the author, c. 1981.

⁵⁴ CROW 2006 (see in note 2).

the mid-nineteenth century. This may have been one of the first such courses in art history ever offered at an American, even possibly at any university or college. Furthermore, since artists such as Monet were still alive at the time, it may be considered one of the first such courses ever offered on contemporary art. From the beginning of the twentieth century Mather published books on what was then contemporary art, and he, Morey, and others wrote about American art as well.⁵⁵

Mather had Alfred Barr as his student. Barr was the first director of the Museum of Modern Art. Barr received his B.A. from Princeton in 1923 and M.A. from the department the following year. In addition to studying modern art with Mather, Barr had studied medieval art with Morey.⁵⁶

While instruction in and the study of more recent, especially contemporary subjects may have occasionally met with some resistance at Princeton after Marquand and Mather, these subjects nevertheless could in the end be pursued and ultimately approved, especially when Baldwin Smith became chairman after Morey had left Princeton in 1945.⁵⁷ Despite his comments, Eitner himself was allowed to write his dissertation on the nineteenth-century French painter Géricault.⁵⁸ Eitner's dissertation was handed in and accepted in 1952. A year before William Seitz had been allowed to write his dissertation on a contemporary, post-World War II topic, albeit after some discussion, no doubt because of the novelty of the undertaking.⁵⁹ Regardless of questions about the validity of the project, Seitz was indeed allowed to proceed, and he was granted a degree for a thesis on abstract expressionism defended in 1955. Seitz's

dissertation represents the first scholarly treatment of Abstract Expressionism, and it is the first dissertation anywhere on contemporary, postwar art. Seitz was to become an important curator at the Museum of Modern Art.

Innovation in the study of newer media has also been part of Princeton's departmental history. The first endowed professorship devoted to the history of photography was established at Princeton in 1972, and held for a long time by a former curator from the Museum of Modern Art, Peter C. Bunnell.

Remarks on the Reception of European Art Historians in America

These local American developments provide the backdrop for consideration of the response to Germanic scholarship, which as noted was at its height just during the early years of the Princeton department. However, after its apogee in the early twentieth century, the prestige of Germanic scholarship in America diminished abruptly when the United States entered World War I in the ear 1917. Instruction in German ceased to be offered in many American schools and colleges. Another sign of the antipathy to Germany is the cancellation of subscriptions to German scholarly periodicals, which happened in many American libraries (as for example, at Princeton University). This change in fortunes has also been recognized in other accounts.⁶⁰

But after 1918 scholarly relations were resumed. The relatively young discipline of art history expressed much interest in the writings of German scholars. Several studies have traced the place of

⁵⁵ MATHER, F. J. – MOREY, C. R. – HENDERSON, W. J.: *The American Spirit in Art*. New Haven 1927. Mather's works on modern art include MATHER, F. J.: *Homer Martin, Poet in Landscape*. New York 1912; MATHER, F. J.: *Modern Painting, A Study of Tendencies*. New York 1927; MATHER, F. J.: *Sixteen Essays on American Painters of the Nineteenth Century*. New York 1931; MATHER, F. J.: *Charles Herbert Moor, Landscape Painter*. Princeton (NJ) 1957.

⁵⁶ See further KANTOR, S. G.: *Alfred H. Barr and the Intellectual Origins of the Museum of Modern Art*. Cambridge (Mass.) 2002, pp. 21 f. on Barr and Morey, pp. 27-29 on Mather. While Kantor notes Mather's conservative taste, she also cites Barr's comments on how important it was that Mather exposed him to modern art.

⁵⁷ Nevertheless, earlier in his career Morey also wrote MOREY, C. R.: *The Art of Auguste Rodin*, no publisher, 1910 (?).

⁵⁸ EITNER, L. E. A.: *The Work of Theodore Gericault, 1791 – 1824*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University. Princeton (NJ) 1952.

⁵⁹ As was pointed out in the website of an exhibition *William C. Seitz: Defending the Modern*, held at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, November 7 – December 30, 2007.

⁶⁰ EISLER 1969 (see in note 2); and especially WOOD 2002 (see in note 2), pp. 66-69.

German scholarship in twentieth-century America before and after 1933, noting for instance that Americans followed the work of their German colleagues, sent their students to study abroad with them, and invited prominent scholars to visit the United States.⁶¹

Adolph Goldschmidt and Joseph Strzygowski have been singled out as enjoying an important early reception in the United States.⁶² Recent scholarship has also often contrasted Strzygowski with Riegl in terms of their reception.⁶³ Strzygowski is thought to have had a relatively large impact in the United States, in contrast with Riegl, who is thought to have been almost completely unknown in America until the 1970s.⁶⁴ It has been argued that after this point Riegl has proved fruitful for recent art history, while Strzygowski has fallen into oblivion, yet while Riegl supposedly offered little for a globalized art history, Strzygowski's non-Eurocentric, anti-humanistic approach in some ways anticipates this interest, albeit in a problematic manner.⁶⁵

Recent accounts have also somewhat recognized the singular position of Princeton in respect to the reception of Strzygowski, Riegl, and Germanic scholarship in general. It has been observed that Morey sent his students to Germany, that Strzygowski lectured at Princeton, that Marquand wrote about him, and that Morey, while supposedly not fully understanding Riegl, was one of the few scholars to cite him. It has also been noted that Goldschmidt was given an honorary degree at Princeton.⁶⁶

More can be said, however. Goldschmidt was also offered a professorship in the Department of Art and Archaeology, which he turned down. There were

good reasons why Strzygowski, with his geographically broad approach, might have been well received and read at Princeton in particular. Marquand's own early trips to the Near East antedate Strzygowski's, including significantly even the latter's reception of the doctorate. The early emphasis on the importance of the "Orient" for ancient and medieval art at Princeton also anticipates that of Strzygowski, and the more global view available at Princeton is at least contemporaneous with that of the Germanic scholar. On the other hand, Strzygowski himself took a scholarly interest in what was being written in the U.S., specifically at Princeton: he reviewed a book by Morey in the *Art Bulletin*.⁶⁷

Significantly, Riegl's early reception at Princeton was moreover both broader and deeper than has hitherto been noticed. Two typescripts of an English-language outline of Riegl's *Spätromische Kunstindustrie* that date from 1928–1929, when they were made for the seminar in Medieval Illumination, still exist in Marquand Library at Princeton. A hand written note on one of them reads "Four Copies".⁶⁸ The existence of multiple copies also indicates that these outlines were being used in classes, and the variation in the pagination and hence composition of the outlines suggests that they had been utilized, and worked on, over a period of time: the outlines were in fact given to the library in 1938. They were probably used in seminars conducted by Morey, who, given his citation of Riegl's book in a publication of 1924,⁶⁹ is also the most likely person to have prepared the texts for his graduate seminar. In any case, Riegl's work was well known at Princeton, and read elsewhere. Because of the widespread impor-

⁶¹ Cf. EISLER 1969 (see in note 2); WOOD 2004 (see in note 2), pp. 218-220.

⁶² See for the recent reception of Goldschmidt BRANDS, G. – DILLY, H. (eds.): *Adolph Goldschmidt (1863–1944): Normal Art History im 20. Jahrhundert*. Weimar, 2007; WEITZMANN, K.: *Adolph Goldschmidt und die Berliner Kunstgeschichte*. Berlin 1985; WOOD 2004 (see in note 2); and WOOD 2002 (see in note 2).

⁶³ See most recently, with reference to earlier studies, VASOLD, G.: Riegl, Strzygowski und die Entwicklung der Kunst. In: *Arx*, 41, 2008, No. 1, pp. 95-111.

⁶⁴ Specifically Riegl's *Spätromische Kunstindustrie* (Vienna 1927) is said to have been untranslated and unread, see WOOD 2004 (see in note 2), pp. 220 ff.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁶ WOOD 2004 (see in note 2); WOOD 2002 (see in note 2).

⁶⁷ STRZYGOWSKI, J.: Review of Charles Rufus Morey, The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi. In: *Art Bulletin*, 7, 1924, pp. 71-73.

⁶⁸ Marquand Library, Princeton University, N5760.R671, p. 1.

⁶⁹ MOREY 1924 (see in note 41).

tance of Princeton's classes for the training of art historians at the time, familiarity with Riegl would have been disseminated through Princeton students who themselves became important professors, curators, and directors.⁷⁰

This is certainly the case with Riegl's resonance in studies of non-Western art in the United States. In the light of the invocation of Riegl by proponents of world art history, it is indeed puzzling that one critique has dissociated him from the possibility of envisioning a globalized view of the field because of the supposedly Eurocentric bias of his optical theories.⁷¹ Even before Riegl's texts had been translated into English Wen Fong was in fact alluding to Riegl's theories in his teaching and in his publications on Chinese painting.⁷² Many origins for an expanded view world art history exist in the historiography of art c. 1900,⁷³ and Riegl is one of them.

In an aphorism that has been made famous by Riegl's sometime critic Panofsky,⁷⁴ Walter Cook, the first director of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, compared the immigrants who came to New York with splendid apples that Hitler shook from the German tree and that fell into his lap. Although Panofsky himself lived in Princeton, and also was associated with the Institute for Advanced Study, the Department of Art and Archaeology and its members have been granted only a small role in this process. But if we use Cook's unfortunate, if ironic, metaphor, Morey may be said to have been involved with directing the apples' fall. Morey advised Cook, who had studied with him and remained close to him, and suggested immigrant scholars to be invited to New York. Similarly Morey was also

an adviser to Abraham Flexner, who was at the time setting up the Institute for Advanced Study: he suggested that Panofsky as well as other émigrés be hired. Morey was moreover responsible for bringing Panofsky to live in Princeton in the first place: in 1934, a year before he was appointed at the Institute, Panofsky was offered housing on Prospect Avenue in exchange for teaching in the Department of Art and Archaeology. Panofsky thus taught at Princeton University before he was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study.⁷⁵ Panofsky was also to teach regularly in the Department thereafter.

It was also Morey, perhaps on the recommendation of Albert Friend, who brought Weitzmann to Princeton to work on illustrations of the Septuagint, even though he had a different interpretation of the subject.⁷⁶ Morey also recommended him to the Institute for Advanced Study. Weitzmann suggests that Morey deliberately tried to have the Institute for Advanced Study create complementary positions to those in the university.⁷⁷

This suggests that other reasons may be sought for the reason why émigrés may not immediately been appointed as professors in the Department of Art and Archaeology, as distinct from visiting professors. More opportunities were available in a new institution with resources, like the Institute for Advanced Study or the Institute of Fine Arts in New York, than at Princeton University, which was under financial pressure during the Great Depression.⁷⁸ Despite its comparably great wealth at present, this wealth has largely come in more recent, post-war years. In any case, the well established and comparatively large faculty in the Department of Art and Archaeology

⁷⁰ There are other instances of early familiarity with Riegl, but this story should be sufficient to dispel the recent myth.

⁷¹ Cf. DAVIS, W.: *World Art Studies. What, Why, How*. Course offered at the University of California, Berkeley, webpage accessed January 20, 2009.

⁷² See for example FONG, W.: The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting; Part One. In: *Artibus Asiae*, 25, 1962, No. 2-3, p. 108; FONG, W.: Chinese Painting. A Statement of Method. In: *Oriental Art*, 9, 1963, p. 77.

⁷³ See PFISTERER, U.: Origins and Principles of World Art History: 1900 (and 2000). In: ZIJLMANS, K. – DAMME, W. van (eds.): *World Art Studies: Exploring Concepts and Approaches*.

Amsterdam 2008, pp. 69-89.

⁷⁴ PANOFSKY, E.: Der Begriff des Kunstwollens. In: *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, 14, 1920, pp. 321-339.

⁷⁵ See PANOFSKY 1954 (see in note 2), p. 8; WEITZMANN 1994 (see in note 36), p. 87.

⁷⁶ WEITZMANN 1994 (see in note 36), p. 77.

⁷⁷ Ibidem.

⁷⁸ See the various entries in LEITCH, A.: *Princeton Companion*. Princeton (NJ) 1978, passim.

at Princeton in the 1930s would have allowed for limited openings: Weitzmann was in fact offered a professorship in the Department by Morey's successor, Smith, when Morey retired in 1945.⁷⁹

At Princeton as elsewhere Panofsky and many other German scholars (especially Weitzmann) no doubt had a great impact on American scholars and students. This tale has often been told, and is probably correct in its outlines. What may be emphasized here is that there are many other tales that have largely gone untold heretofore: it is hard to say if many German art historians enjoyed a favorable reception similar to that of Panofsky and others like him.⁸⁰ While some immigrant scholars may have encountered positive conditions for scholarship and teaching, for example at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York, others, who taught in places like Iowa, namely Horst Jansen or William Heckscher, were not so favored by their circumstances. Jansen for example ran into conflict with the painter Grant Wood, the well-known artist of "American Gothic" because of Jansen's interest in contemporary art.⁸¹

It is also difficult to say what the undergraduates who heard such distinguished scholars as Richard Krautheimer, Janson, Heckscher, or Wind when they were teaching in such places as Louisville, Kentucky, Iowa City, Iowa, Ames, Iowa, or Northampton, Massachusetts actually took away from their classes. While Heckscher may have accomplished something magnificent when he taught young people in his interment camp in Canada – a Nobel Prize Winner for Chemistry remembered him fondly as a major early influence – it is unclear how much he or others brought to the formation of professional art historians in the United States. A variety of people have claimed to be Heckscher's students, but the evidence for such claims is slight. That is because the place where Heckscher was teaching at the end of his career, Duke University, had at the time he

was there no graduate program in art history, so did not form professional art historians. Rather Duke may be said to have been more of a regional southern college than a great national or international university, as it is now. One may well wonder what students then at Duke, or in the other places where similar luminaries worked, actually appreciated in his classes, beyond the fact, as one of Heckscher's undergraduate students at the end of career has told this author, that they did not understand Heckscher's jokes in Latin.⁸² Although Krautheimer may have impressed students at Vassar, when he taught there later, Wind does not seem to have left much of an impression at another young women's college, Smith, where he taught before going to England; one lasting impression was that Wind and his spouse swam naked.⁸³

There are other, more serious reasons why some scholars were not heard, or held their voices back. A good example is provided by Paul Frankl. Frankl was one of the two regular professors (*ordinarii*) of art history, along with Panofsky, who came to America after the Nazis took power in Germany.⁸⁴ In this regard he can be considered one of the most important German professors in this field who came to the United States. Frankl provides an important counterpoint to Panofsky, because although he did not have a permanent position at the Institute for Advanced Study, he was hired there on a yearly basis until his death.

Although his academic career was carried on in Germany before 1933, Frankl was not strictly speaking German. His family, like Sigmund Freud's, in fact came from Moravia, where his ancestors had been rabbis. Frankl was born in 1878 in Prague, and educated first at the university there, before he studied art history with Heinrich Wölfflin in Berlin. He then eventually became, as remarked, Goldschmidt's successor at the University of Halle. When the Nazis came to power, despite his "*deutsche Gesin-*

⁷⁹ WEITZMANN 1994 (see in note 36), p. 153.

⁸⁰ These are the stories told in EISLER 1969 (see in note 2), for example.

⁸¹ See CORN, W.: *Grant Wood: The Regionalist Vision*. New Haven – London 1983, pp. 58-60. This is of further note, in that Jansen is sometimes regarded as a proponent of the Renaissance as "normative art history".

⁸² Private communication of c. 1982 by Elizabeth Sears. SCHOELL-GLASS, C. – SEARS, E.: *Verzetteln als Methode: der humanistische Ikonologe William S. Heckscher*. Berlin 2008, do not discuss the impact of his teaching in America.

⁸³ Personal Communication of R. W. Lee, c. 1980.

⁸⁴ Wolfgang Stechow was Professor Extraordinarius.

nung” Frankl lost his position because of his Jewish roots. Because of difficulties in finding a German publisher, his great theoretical synthesis *Das System der Kunstwissenschaft* had to be published in Brno in the year 1938, and its first stock was largely burned. In 1938 Frankl did however have a bit of luck in that he could travel to the United States, where he stayed, later becoming first a guest at the Institute for Advanced Study, and then regularly being invited back, until his death.

In the United States Frankl published two important books. One of these is on Gothic art, a volume in the standard series of handbooks put out by the Pelican History of Art, the other an important compilation of sources on the Gothic.⁸⁵ But although Frankl published these works and lived in Princeton until his death in 1962, he never enjoyed the influence of Panofsky or for that matter of many other German-speaking art historians in the United States. One important fact is that although Frankl’s books in the United States were published in English, they were written in German, and then translated.

Frankl never found his own American voice. He belonged to German-speaking society in the United States.⁸⁶ Although he stayed in America for almost a quarter of a century, Frankl rebuilt bridges to Germany very early after the end of World War II in 1945, and seems to have retained his attachment there. It has been suggested that Frankl’s personal history, and the reasons why he did not adapt very well, are dependent on his own personal characteristics: his political, Germanophilic attitudes, the relatively advanced age at which he came to the States, and his lack of linguistic ability, at least as far as speaking English was concerned.⁸⁷

This last reason was undoubtedly very important for his fate. In comparison with Panofsky and many other German-speaking scholars, Frankl never really mastered English, in the sense that he was comfort-



Paul Frankl (1878 – 1962). Photo: Courtesy of Institut für Kunstgeschichte und Archäologien Europas, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg.

able writing or speaking it. It has even been said that Frankl was too little confident in his ability in English to obtain a regular position in an American university.⁸⁸ Frankl wrote his diaries in German, and evidence from them indicates that Frankl often spoke German in America.⁸⁹

There are other grounds why important utterances by Frankl remained largely unheard, and these have a broader relevance. Irving Lavin, one of Panofsky’s successors at the Institute for Advanced Study, has emphasized that in contrast to Walter Cook’s aphorism, intellectual exchange was no one-way street for immigrants. Following other remarks by Lavin on the training of Americans, it has more recently been suggested that: “*The first wave of European professors, as they stepped in to meet the demand for trained personnel, found their new American charges lacking the level of erudition they would have assumed in their European counterparts (and cultural misunderstandings doubtless led these professors to exaggerate both the norms they had known and the deficiencies they were discovering). Thus they tended to prune away many of the more complex and speculative ele-*

⁸⁵ FRANKL, P.: *The Gothic. Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries*. Princeton (NJ) 1960; FRANKL, P.: *Gothic Architecture*. Harmondsworth 1962.

⁸⁶ Memoirs, Princeton University Library.

⁸⁷ See OSTEN, G. van der: Paul Frankl 1878 – 1962. In: *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 24, 1962, pp. 7-12, which remains the best biography of Frankl.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, p. 10.

⁸⁹ The diaries are preserved in Princeton University Library; they are also the source for the comment about the German-speaking society to which Frankl belonged.

ments of art history in favor of conceptually simple and often mechanical tasks: decoding iconography, tracing fragments of dispersed ensembles, identifying hands, dating.”⁹⁰

While this picture may be correct in part, and is consonant with the interpretation of undergraduate instruction suggested above, some more comments may be offered. Lack of training may have characterized some American students in the post-war generation, yet course catalogues of the Institute of Fine Arts in New York in the later 1960s listed the prerequisites for Panofsky’s graduate seminars as knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, German, and Italian. Evidently these criteria could be met (he continued to attract students), and they have continued to be met by some scholars.

Better reasons for the “pruning away” therefore seem to be offered by other statements that Panofsky himself made. It was not simply Americans’ lack of culture or education that led Panofsky and other art historians like Frankl deliberately to hold themselves back. Panofsky described more positively some aspects of his move to America: “... it was a blessing to come into contact – and occasionally into conflict – with an Anglo-Saxon positivism which is, in principle, distrustful of abstract speculation; to become more acutely aware of the material problems which in Europe tended to be considered as the concern of museums and schools of technology rather than universities; and, last but not least, to be forced to express himself, for better or worse, in English.”⁹¹ As has been said elsewhere before, although Americans were interested in practical problems of art history, they lacked any interest in theoretical questions.⁹²

This argument may be further refined. The more reflective and philosophically oriented theories of Panofsky, as they had been proffered in German,

were not of the same character as those of Riegl, which could still engage Americans of an empirical bent. It has recently been written that Riegl’s was “a committed empiricism acutely centered on the discussion of objects, but always directed beyond the small questions.”⁹³ However, the earlier theoretical writings of Panofsky in German were heavily Neo-Kantian; the knowledge of the Germanic philosophical tradition which they assume, while attractive for more theoretically interested art historians of recent date, probably made them less accessible to Americans from the 1930s through the 1960s.

Panofsky for one seems to have recognized this. Students who attended Panofsky’s classes in the 1940s or studied with him or with other Germans then or in the 1950s say that they never heard him or other German professors talk about theoretical issues.⁹⁴ When he published versions of his previous German essays in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, or reformulated some of his ideas in an essay book *Studies in Iconology*, Panofsky left out many of the theoretical or philosophical points of his arguments, and expressed himself in a much simpler, clearer, and more object-oriented manner.⁹⁵ Besides a few essays on iconography, he mostly restrained himself from theoretical expression in his English-language essays and books, a remarkable contrast with his German publications.

Here the fate of another book that Frankl wrote in America is instructive. Frankl’s *Zu Fragen des Stils* is a revision of his monumental *Das System der Kunstwissenschaft*⁹⁶ that evinces critical views on style and changes of opinion from his earlier work. They are in particular to be contrasted with the ideas on style in relation to the geography of art expressed at

⁹⁰ CROW 2006 (see in note 2), p. 77.

⁹¹ PANOFSKY 1954 (see in note 2), p. 14.

⁹² This point has been made by EISLER 1969 (see in note 2), and repeated by more recent critics.

⁹³ ELSNER, J. A.: The Birth of Late Antiquity: Riegl and Strzygowski in 1901. In: *Art History*, 25, 2002, No. 3, p. 359.

⁹⁴ These were remarks made to the author in answer to questions about this point by David Coffin, John Rupert Martin, Lorenz Eitner, and James Ackerman.

⁹⁵ This is evident in many of his essays, even for instance in PANOFSKY, E.: *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. New York 1939, which may be contrasted with the German antecedents of the themes treated in these essays.

⁹⁶ FRANKL, P.: *Das System der Kunstwissenschaft*. Brno (Brünn) 1938; FRANKL, P.: *Zu Fragen des Stils*. Ed. E. ULLMANN. Leipzig – Weinheim 1988. See the recent comments by Stephan Hoppe, Matthias Müller, and Norbert Nußbaum, “Einleitung”, in HOPPE, S. – MÜLLER, M. – NUSSBAUM, N.: *Stil als Bedeutung in der nordalpinen Renaissance. Wiederentdeckung einer methodischen Nachbarschaft*. Regensburg 2008.

the time by other German scholars in exile, such as Nikolaus Pevsner in *The Englishness of English Art*,⁹⁷ or Panofsky in “The Iconological Antecedents of the Rolls Royce Radiator”.⁹⁸

During the period of the last years of Frankl’s life, the 1950s and early 1960s, a lively exchange of ideas about problems of style, about which he wrote, was occurring in the United States, even though only a few American scholars took part in it. Meyer Schapiro’s well known essay on style appeared in 1953;⁹⁹ James Ackerman’s important considerations of style appeared in 1962 and 1963;¹⁰⁰ George Kubler’s *The Shape of Time* was first published in the year 1962,¹⁰¹ the same year in which Frankl died.

In her introduction to *Fragen des Stils* Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler says that Kubler and Ackerman used Frankl’s *System von Kunstwissenschaft*.¹⁰² Ackerman himself has remarked that it was a struggle to read it, however.¹⁰³ It is also true that Meyer Schapiro cited Frankl in his essay on style of 1953.¹⁰⁴ Kubler also invited Frankl to be a visiting professor at Yale, but so far as may be determined, that was his only teaching activity in the United States.¹⁰⁵

However, Frankl’s *Zu Fragen des Stils* remained unpublished during his lifetime. Frankl died in 1962, and his work, which contains observations that could have been important if they had been published during his lifetime, remained long unknown. Although Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler, his long-time assistant on the book, tried to have his work published, only a quarter century after his death did it eventually see the light of day.¹⁰⁶ Frankl’s book appeared in print too

late to have been able to contribute to contemporary theoretical debates.

Moreover, as important as they may now appear, the essays of the American authors interested in these debates were also untimely. The scholars who cited Frankl are the only American art historians of their generation (Ackerman, who is often left out of the mix is a bit younger) who possessed any kinds of theoretical interests. They are at any rate the only ones who often expressed such concerns. Ackerman confirmed this impression when he said how at the time he had expressed “*disaffection from the absence of a theoretical base in American Art History – about its naïve positivist character, with the exceptions of Meyer Schapiro and George Kubler.*”¹⁰⁷

Ackerman is describing here a plenary lecture that he had delivered before the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association in Washington, D.C., in 1958, which was then published in the *Art Journal*.¹⁰⁸ Ackerman not only regretted the difference in training that Americans in the post-war era had in art history, but more important, politely if caustically criticized the specialization and overemphasis on the search for facts and on scholarly techniques that characterized the field. He complained about the lack of theoretical thinking in the United States, and called for a more theoretical posture in art history in America. Ackerman’s remarks support Gert van der Osten’s assessment of Frankl’s reception in America. In his obituary for Frankl Van der Osten explained the reasons for the failure for Frankl to have had much impact in the United States saying

⁹⁷ PEVSNER, N.: *The Englishness of English Art*. Harmondsworth 1964 (1st ed. 1962).

⁹⁸ PANOFSKY, E.: The Ideological Origins of the Rolls Royce Radiator. In: *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107, 1963, pp. 273-288.

⁹⁹ SCHAPIRO, M.: Style. In: KROEBER, A. L. (ed.): *Anthropology Today*. Chicago 1953, pp. 287-312.

¹⁰⁰ ACKERMAN, J. S.: Theory of Style. In: *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 20, 1962, No. 3, pp. 227-237; and his comments on style in ACKERMAN, J. S.: *Western Art History*. In: ACKERMAN, J. S. – CARPENTER, R. (eds.): *Art and Archaeology*. Englewood Cliffs (NJ) 1963, pp. 130 ff.

¹⁰¹ KUBLER, G.: *The Shape of Time*. New Haven 1962.

¹⁰² Ibidem, p. 8.

¹⁰³ Personal communication, c. 2000.

¹⁰⁴ SCHAPIRO, M.: Style. In: *Aesthetics Today*, 1953.

¹⁰⁵ FRANKL 1988 (see in note 96), p. 8.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem; see the foreword by J. Weitzmann-Fiedler, pp. 7-8.

¹⁰⁷ Profile of James Ackerman. In: *CAA News*, 26, 2001, No. 1, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁸ ACKERMAN, J.: On American Scholarship in the Arts. In: *College Art Journal*, 17, 1958, No. 4, pp. 357-362.

that in the Anglo-Saxon world of pragmatic thought Frankl's fundamental knowledge and views found almost no listeners.¹⁰⁹

Furthermore, Ackerman emphasized in another lecture before the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association of America in 2001 that if he sent a theoretical essay to one of his German teachers, either they did not acknowledge its receipt, or even asked him why he wasted his time with such questions. Ackerman says that the German exiles may have intentionally avoided theorizing when they came to America, because they believed that the innocent Americans should be kept untainted by the dangers of abstract thinking – what they thought had been one of the causes for the collapse of their own fatherland.

This lack of interest in theory among native-born Americans and lack of expression by German immigrants lasted for a long time. To this extent the account of the 1950s and 1960s offered by a recent critique of the practice of American art history is correct: more critical and theoretical reflection was necessary before the field could “grow up” to another level.¹¹⁰ During the 1960s and 1970s Ackerman often regretted the situation in public and private.¹¹¹ It is also significant that exactly at the same time that many German art historians retired, the early 1970s, the so-called new American Art history appeared.

The history of art history in the United States since the early 1970s is a large, complicated story that obviously demands fuller attention than can be offered here; only a few observations must suffice. First, the earlier lack of interest in theorizing has had further, unintended consequences that have continued to play a role to this day in American art history. In the United States a need existed to catch up on theory of a critical, philosophical character. Perhaps with the change in forms of education humanistic approaches also could not continue unabated. In any

case, as important as it may have been in many other regards, the sort of art history that European émigrés presented to Americans was one in which theoretical reflection was largely absent. At the time when this author became a graduate student in art history in America, in the early 1970s, theoretical approaches in the United States were still represented by only three scholars, those already mentioned – Ackerman, Kubler, and Schapiro. The great interest in theory, and along with it in the pre-American works of German-speaking authors, that became fashionable in art history the United States may be one result of trying to make up for the past, to catch up.

German scholars wrote and said much in America, but they did not bring over many of the theoretical interests and critically reflective aspects of the discipline that were already available in Europe. To that extent recent critiques are correct. German émigrés did not directly contribute in the United States to the development of theory or a more reflective, acclaimed as intellectually sophisticated, art history.

This newer art history also met with resistance, and in some places (at Princeton and elsewhere) was achieved at some personal cost. Nevertheless, a rather different critique now may be in order. Charges of Eurocentrism and the restriction of the canon are not to be leveled completely accurately, neither against earlier American scholars, at least not all those at Princeton, and certainly not against them exclusively. Many of the leading figures prominent for promoting advances in recent historiography have by no means led to an expansion of the canon even within European art history in any significant way, but instead reinforced discussion of some of the most familiar figures in the history of European art.¹¹² Certainly they have had little to offer to what is now seen as the most pressing issue in the field: the construction of a world art history.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹OSTEN 1962 (see in note 87), p. 9.

¹¹⁰CROW 2006 (see in note 2).

¹¹¹In his classes and personal remarks. Strikingly Ackerman is not mentioned by CROW 2006 (see in note 2).

¹¹²I have commented on this situation a number of times; see for example my response in Visual Culture Questionnaire. In: *October*, 77, 1996, pp. 45-48.

¹¹³See ELKINS, J.: On David Summers's Real Spaces. In: *Is Art History Global?* New York – London, 2007, pp. 41 f.

Coda: “German Jewish Identity in Art History”

Many, but by no means all, of the art historians who emigrated from Germany and elsewhere in Central Europe during the 1930s were fleeing because of the racially anti-Semitic policies of National Socialism. National Socialism discriminated against them, as it would persecute and exterminate others, because of their Jewish ancestry. It thus may seem more than a matter of irony that recent interpretations of these German scholars have stressed their possession of “German Jewish identity”.¹¹⁴

The notion of “Jewish identity” might be useful in other circumstances, the identification of Jewish manuscript illumination, for example. But eerie echoes are present if the discussion concerns not art, but art historians. Some historians have not only identified scholars as Jewish, but asserted that their Jewishness determined their interpretations, that for example the Jewishness of such scholars directs their view of the Renaissance.¹¹⁵ Others have suggested that scholars like Erwin Panofsky and Ernst Gombrich (who strictly speaking was not a refugee, since he left Austria for London before the *Anschluss* of 1938 in order to work on a biography of Aby Warburg) sought to evade their Jewish identity.¹¹⁶ And even more, the most comprehensive account of “transplanted” art historical scholarship has assigned a common “German Jewish identity” to all Germanic art historical émigrés.¹¹⁷

For many reasons these sorts of arguments are problematic at best. In the first place the application of the concept of “identity” is questionable. At the

same time that “identity”, a concept that originated in the social sciences, may have become prominent in cultural studies and identity politics, psychologists and sociologists have dismantled its usefulness.¹¹⁸ Feminist theorists and indeed historians of art history alike have also questioned the idea of any sort of unitary or consistent identity.¹¹⁹ Thus while arguments for “German Jewish identity” may be consonant with post-modern tendencies that deny the existence of individual subjectivity in favor of collective identity, they ignore another post-modern argument that avers that any individual identity is at best a patchwork construction.¹²⁰ As Charlotte Schoell-Glass has suggested, scholars like Aby Warburg had many other different identities, Jewish only one among them.¹²¹

To assign individuals a particular Jewish identity may thus well be to apply a “forced identity”, to use a term of Schoell-Glass, who has offered a powerful critique of this notion.¹²² For many individuals of Jewish background identification with being Jewish was not primary, or even significant in their makeup. Many Jews in Germany and accordingly German-Jewish immigrants may have regarded themselves first as German, as Berliners, or as cosmopolitan. As Peter Gay has suggested, it is the Nazis who defined them, negatively, as Jewish.¹²³

The problem becomes greater when the individuals discussed were Christian, or expressly identified with their Christian faith. This is obviously the case with those émigrés who, to use the term, had no “Jewish blood” at all, and yet are said without qualification to possess “Jewish identity” willy-

¹¹⁴Cf. SOUSSLOFF 1999 (see in note 2); MICHELS, K.: Deutsch-jüdische Identität und politischer Habitus. In: MICHELS 1999 (see in note 2), pp. 176-188.

¹¹⁵Cf. MICHELS 1999 (see in note 2), pp. 176-177, 161; WOOD 2002 (see in note 2), p. 92; MOXEY, K.: Panofsky’s Melancholia. In: *The Practice of Theory. Poststructuralism, Cultural Politics, and Art Theory*. Ithaca – London 1994, pp. 65-78.

¹¹⁶SOUSSLOFF 1997 (see in note 2), pp. 131-137; WOOD 2002 (see in note 2), p. 81; MICHELS 1999 (see in note 2), p. 178.

¹¹⁷MICHELS 1999 (see in note 2), especially pp. 176-179.

¹¹⁸As remarked by SCHOELL-GLASS, C.: Aby Warburg;

Forced Identity and Cultural Science. In: SOUSSLOFF 1999 (see in note 2), p. 227.

¹¹⁹See further for these points DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, T.: *Toward a Geography of Art*. Chicago – London 2004, pp. 109-113, with further references.

¹²⁰See GERGEN, K.: *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Everyday Life*. New York 1991.

¹²¹See SCHOELL-GLASS (see in note 118), pp. 227, 228.

¹²²Ibidem, p. 227.

¹²³GAY, P.: *My German Question. Growing up in Nazi Berlin*. New Haven 1998.

nilly.¹²⁴ The case of other scholars, who may have been persecuted as Jewish by the Nazis, but were in fact Protestant by confession, like Stechow, is also clearly more complicated than such simple Jewish identification allows. Moreover, when other scholars like Gombrich are said to evade their Jewishness, an even clearer objection may be made. As Gombrich himself said in reaction to this accusation, he remembered quite well what his religious identification was. A few years before his death he wrote in response saying that he was baptized a Lutheran, and could still recite portions of the catechism.¹²⁵

The example of Otto von Simson highlights the difficulties with arguments for “German Jewish identity”. Von Simson was one of the few émigrés who returned to Germany, dying in Berlin where he was born, after having served as a German diplomat and professor in the Freie Universität Berlin. Like many other Europeans, Von Simson had Jewish ancestors, in his case on both sides of his family, including Moses Mendelsohn in his mother’s family and the famed president of the 1848 Frankfurt assembly, Eduard von Simson. But his great grandparents were already practicing Christians, and Von Simson remarked that his family had been Christians for five generations on both sides of the family. Otto von Simson was thus Christian by birth, although he was brought up in circles, which certainly had many Jewish contacts. Otto himself converted to Roman Catholicism in 1937, and in his later years he was outspokenly a believing and practicing Catholic. Most important, he circulated among high Catholic nobility: his first wife was Princess Aloysia (Louise) Alexandra von Schönburg Hartenstein (1906 – 1976), and his second was Marie-Anne Altgräfin zu Salm-Reifferscheidt-Krautheim und Dyck, whose first husband (and therefore married name) had been Wolff Metternich zur Gracht. Otto von Simson worked in Catholic colleges when he first emigrated to the United States, Marymount College and St. Mary’s College, Notre Dame. Thus

to treat Von Simson as possessing Jewish identity (and to speak of his Jewish ancestry in this context) would seem to smack of the Inquisition, or even of the Nuremberg Laws. And regardless of the laws promulgated in 1938, Von Simson was drafted into the German army (*Wehrmacht*) in that year, and also, despite calling attention to his “non-Aryan” ancestry, joined the *NS Dozentenbund*.¹²⁶

To some extent some recent scholarship that has sought to speak of “German Jewish identity” has tried to deal with some of the complexities that are connected with the concept. Nevertheless, unless the issue touches upon some kind of specific religious question (Who is a Jew?), which can be complicated enough, outside of this realm the whole discussion seems tainted. As Gombrich himself suggested in response to the question of how you define a Jew: “*We lack a term to designate all individuals of Jewish ancestry, and thus we cannot but use basically racist terminology. In fact, I think it was precisely the diversity of language and culture among the Jews of the Diaspora that left race as the only distinguishing criterion, after religion had ceased to serve that purpose.*”¹²⁷

It is probably not the intention of recent scholars who have dealt with these issues of identity to repeat or promulgate racist ideology. Nevertheless, even if the notion of “German Jewish” émigrés is meant positively, to describe all émigré German art historians as Jewish is also to apply a kind of myth, or antimyth. To quote Gombrich again: “*In the Nazi propaganda of my youth [...] It was constantly asserted that the Jews were behind everything, and that it was they who were responsible for what the Nazis called ‘degenerate art’. Nazis, of course, were great myth-makers, and intentionally so. But even if you turn a myth on its head, you do not get the truth. What I have to contend with here is clearly a kind of antimyth which has to be exposed in the interests of truth.*”¹²⁸

The logic – and purpose – of arguments that determine that some scholars’ views are to be related to their Jewishness, but the opinions of their antago-

¹²⁴Cf. WENDLAND 1999 (see in note 2); MICHELS 1999 (see in note 2); and WOOD 2002 (see in note 2), p. 65, n. 1.

¹²⁵Letter to the author of 1999.

¹²⁶The information contained in this paragraph is based on interviews with Professor von Simson conducted in 1994

and recorded in transcripts kept in the Special Collections of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

¹²⁷The Visual Arts in Vienna: Gombrich on the Jewish Catastrophe. In: *The Arts Newspaper*, September 1997, p. 29.

¹²⁸*Ibidem*, p. 28.

nists are to be dissociated from their Nazi or racist ideology is also clearly open to question, to say the least. On the one hand, for example, some of the earlier ideas of Joseph Strzygowski and Hans Sedlmayr have been dissociated from their later, outspokenly Nazi pronouncements. Yet it has been convincingly demonstrated that Strzygowski held virulently racist and anti-Semitic views throughout his career, and that these determined even the “global” geographical beliefs expressed in his early writings that have been regarded as otherwise prophetic or progressive.¹²⁹ And while Sedlmayr’s theoretical writings, though criticized long ago, have also been translated and paid new attention in recent years, it has recently been revealed that he was an early member of the Nazi party, and that his reactionary views, as they were expressed during his openly Nazi period, remained remarkably consistent throughout his career.¹³⁰

Independent of these considerations, Strzygowski’s writings can be judged on their own merits. It is not because they were “Jewish émigrés” or particularly “positivist”, nor because they desired to “suppress” his writing as a deformation of empiricism that scholars may have ignored Strzygowski’s arguments about Armenian architecture.¹³¹ It is also not just because of the racist theories that are implicit in Strzygowski’s views of Armenian art that they may not have been considered seriously. The implications of Christina Maranci’s dissertation on Strzygowski’s contribution to Armenian architecture suggest rather that on almost every point of fact about Armenian architecture and archaeology that Strzygowski himself could have known (as distinct

from data with which he could not have been familiar at the time he wrote) his information was incorrect or presented in a distorted manner.¹³²

The notion of objectivity or historical validity implicit here might be questioned by some historians, who argue that history is constructed. But if history is constructed, why, if Strzygowski’s “facts” are wrong, should his work on Armenian architecture have been consulted, if his ideology is racist? And why is (German) Jewish identity not then also to be considered a construction, and a racist one at that?

Here the words of William Heckscher may be recalled: “*Sobald Kunstgeschichte spezifisch deutsch, jüdisch, marxistisch oder sonst irgendwie einseitig betont ist, ist es keine Kunstgeschichte mehr, sondern ein Abart volkischer, rassistischer weltanschaulicher Bemühungen.*”¹³³

The notion of “German Jewish” art historians in exile includes a wide variety of different sorts of individuals, among them many such as Heckscher who were not Jewish at all. As far as their writings or teachings are concerned, German-speaking art historians in the United States (including those who had visited or were read in the United States before 1933, but did not emigrate there, Jews and non-Jewish alike), like those who were born in the western hemisphere, expressed themselves in a wide variety of ways. This paper has sought to recall some significant utterances that have not been remembered, heard, or interpreted correctly in recent scholarship, to provide a fuller context for understanding them, and, finally, to offer a critique of the notion that some unitary identity may be applied to the many different sorts of German émigré scholars who came to America.

¹²⁹VASOLD 2008 (see in note 63). Vasold’s useful critique is perhaps however “superficial”, to use his word (“*oberflächlich*”), in his reading (p. 106) of DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, T.: *Toward a Geography of Art*. Chicago – London 2004, because this book does not in fact argue that Riegl was a proponent of nationalist writing of history: like the authors discussed in the essays by Ján Bakoš whom Vasold approvingly cites, it in fact argues that this is the product of later writers who drew upon Riegl.

¹³⁰Sedlmayr is for instance included in *The Vienna School Reader: Politics and Art Historical Method in the 1930s*. Ed. C. S. WOOD. New York 2000. AURENHAMMER, H. H.: Hans Sedlmayr 1896 – 1984. In: *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte*. Ed. U. PFISTERER. Munich 2008, Vol. 2, pp. 76-89; AURENHAMMER, H. H.: Zäsur oder Kontinuität? Das Wiener Kunsthistorisches

Institut in Ständestaat und im Nationalsozialismus. In: *Wiener Schule: Erinnerung und Perspektiven* (=Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 53, 2004). Ed. M. THEISEN. Wien 2005, pp. 11-54; and BINSTOCK, B.: Springtime for Sedlmayr? The Future of Nazi Art History. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 73-86, have pointed to continuities in Sedlmayr’s career and publications.

¹³¹Cf. WOOD 2004 (see in note 2), pp. 223, 232.

¹³²MARANCI, C.: *Medieval Armenian Architecture in Historiography: Josef Strzygowski and his Legacy*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University. Princeton (NJ) 1998.

¹³³Quoted in SCHOELL-GLASS – SEARS 2008 (see in note 82), p. 46.

Not every one of the voices of German émigrés spoke clearly: some European scholars did not fully express themselves, because they did not give voice to the entire range of their intellectual interests when they were in the United States. The voices of others remained unheard, were not listened to, or were heard by only a few people.¹³⁴ The history of

German art history in America is therefore a history of partially as well as fully heard voices, of heard and unheard expressions. And this applies to those scholars who were born in the United States as well. There are many sorts of American voices, German émigré and native born, that have contributed to the polyphonic, international, discourse of art history.

¹³⁴This subject deserves further attention. See most recently for example ROSAND, D.: Hans and Erica Tietze: A Belated

Tribute. In: *Studi Tizianeschi*, 5, 2007, pp. 11-17, especially p. 16.

Americké hlasy. Postrehy ku starším dejinám dejín umenia v Spojených štátoch amerických a k recepcii nemeckých historikov umenia

Resumé

Predložená štúdia prehodnocuje niektoré aspekty starších dejín dejín umenia v Spojených štátoch amerických, ktoré boli donedávna ignorované, podceňované, alebo prezentované nesprávne. História dejín umenia v Spojených štátoch amerických pred rokom 1933 poskytuje precedensy, a tým aj kontext pre neskoršiu recepciu nemeckej vzdelanosti, medzi iným aj pre počiatky súčasného záujmu o širšie, globalizované videnie dejín umenia. Štúdia tiež prináša kritiku niektorých súčasných interpretácií významu a identity nemeckých vzdelancov-emigrantov.

Počiatky písania o dejinách umenia vzdelancami v Spojených štátoch amerických možno nájsť v 18. storočí. Prvé pôvodné pojednanie o umení na západnej pologuli bolo napísané po nemecky okolo roku 1780 Johannom Valentinom Haidtom, maliarom činným v Bethleheme v Pensylvánii. Haidt sa narodil v Gdansku a po pobyte v Taliansku a Anglicku sa pripojil k Jednote bratskej. Haidtova činnosť predznamovala následný, omnoho známejší vplyv nemeckej vzdelanosti v Spojených štátoch amerických počas 19. a 20. storočia.

Aj keď vzdelanci narodení v Nemecku boli pre americkú historiografiu dôležití, nemožno prehliadať ani domácu tradíciu. Prejavom tejto tradície je odborná činnosť vykonávaná na mieste, kde sa nakoniec oba prúdy stretli, a to na Princetonskej univerzite. Dejiny umenia a architektúry boli na Princetone vyučované od skorého 19. storočia. Najstaršia formálna katedra v krajine, princetonská Katedra umenia a archeológie, bola založená Allanom Marquandom v akademickom roku 1882/1883, čím sa svojím vznikom kladie na roveň, alebo je dokonca staršia než mnoho európskych katedier.

Už pred príchodom európskych emigrantov v 30. rokoch 20. storočia sa štúdium dejín umenia na Princetone, reprezentované takými osobnosťami ako Charles Rufus Morey, Frank Jewett Mather a ďalší, vypracovalo na pozoruhodnú úroveň. Hoci boli títo vzdelanci vo viacerých nedávnych štúdiách

kritizovaní, mnoho tendencií, ktoré na Princetone presadzovali, možno považovať za progresívne a kozmopolitné, napríklad niektoré metodologické inovácie. Princeton je pozoruhodný predovšetkým pre rozšírenie rámca odboru, tak po stránke geografickej, ako aj chronologickej.

Vo svetle nárokov, že až príchod európskych emigrantov znamenal nástup záujmu o renesanciu a nástup humanistického vedeckého prístupu vôbec, je dôležité poznamenať, že vzdelanci ako F. J. Mather, George Rowley a R. W. Lee sa predmetnými otázkami zaoberali už skôr. Počas 20. rokov 20. storočia rozvíjal Lee vo svojich prednáškach na Princetone rétorickú a humanistickú tradíciu vzdelanosti. Na druhej strane, záujem o moderné umenie a dokonca o súdobé maliarstvo sa vo výučbe a absolventských prácach odrazil skôr, než takmer na akejkoľvek inej univerzite.

Prijatie nemeckých vzdelancov na Princetone v 30. rokoch 20. storočia tak mohlo byť omnoho priaznivejšie, než rozpoznali nedávne kritiky. Nielenže boli vzdelanci ako Josef Strzygowski na Princetone známi, Adolfovi Goldschmidtovi bola dokonca ponúknutá pracovná pozícia. Napokon, v rámci vyučovania na Princetone boli preberané aj diela Aloisa Riegla, čo popiera predpoklad, že Riegl ostal pre anglicky hovoriaci svet neznámy až do posledných desaťročí.

Príčiny a podmienky prijatia nemeckých vzdelancov v Spojených štátoch amerických sú preto omnoho rozmanitejšie a komplikovanejšie než sa doteraz pripúšťalo. Niektorí vzdelanci, napríklad Erwin Panofsky, boli nesmierne vplyvní. Avšak mnohí iní, vrátane Paula Frankla, ďalšieho riadneho profesora, ktorý prišiel do Spojených štátov amerických a rovnako ako Panofsky nakoniec v Princetone umrel, ostali vo veľkej miere nepovšimnutí. Veľa záležalo na pomeroch, v ktorých žili a pracovali. Príčinou odstupu nemeckých profesorov a Američanov nebol nedostatok vzdelania druhých, ale skôr zámerné vy-

hýbanie sa teoretickým diskusiám v novom prostredí zo strany prvých, čo neostalo bez dopadu na ďalší vývoj odboru v Spojených štátoch amerických.

Nakoniec je potrebné prehodnotiť otázku „nemecko-židovských“ historikov umenia. Tento pojem aplikuje „vnútenú identitu“ na ľudí s rozličnými vierovyznaniami a osobnými zázemiami. Použitie takejto identity je v prípade niektorých osobností úplne nesprávne (William Heckscher), v prípade ďalších neprimerané a zavádzajúce (Ernst Gombrich a Wolfgang Stechow) a úplne skresľuje príbehy emigrantov ako Otto von Simson, ktorý, aj napriek odmietnutiu nacistov a ich ideológie, bol naverbovaný do *Wehrmachtu* a vstúpil do *NS Dozentenbund*. Zdôrazňovanie židovskej identity tak môže

neúmyselne vyniesť na svetlo niektoré z obdobných predsudkov a nepochopení, aké so sebou prináša antisemitizmus.

Nie každý z hlasov nemeckých emigrantov prehovril jasne. Niektorí európski vzdelanci sa neprejavili naplno, pretože počas pobytu v Spojených štátoch amerických nenechali zaznieť celý repertoár svojho intelektuálneho záberu. Hlasy iných nebolo počuť, nebol záujem ich počúvať, alebo boli vnímané iba malým počtom poslucháčov. História nemeckej historiografie umenia v Amerike je preto históriou tak čiastočne, ako aj naplno vypočutých hlasov, históriou vypočutých aj nevypočutých výpovedí. Existuje mnoho amerických hlasov.

Preklad M. Hrdina

The Sigismund Chapel (1515 – 1533). Mausoleum of King Sigismund within the Circle of Humanist Ideas of the Jagiellons' Court in Cracow¹

Stanisław MOSSAKOWSKI

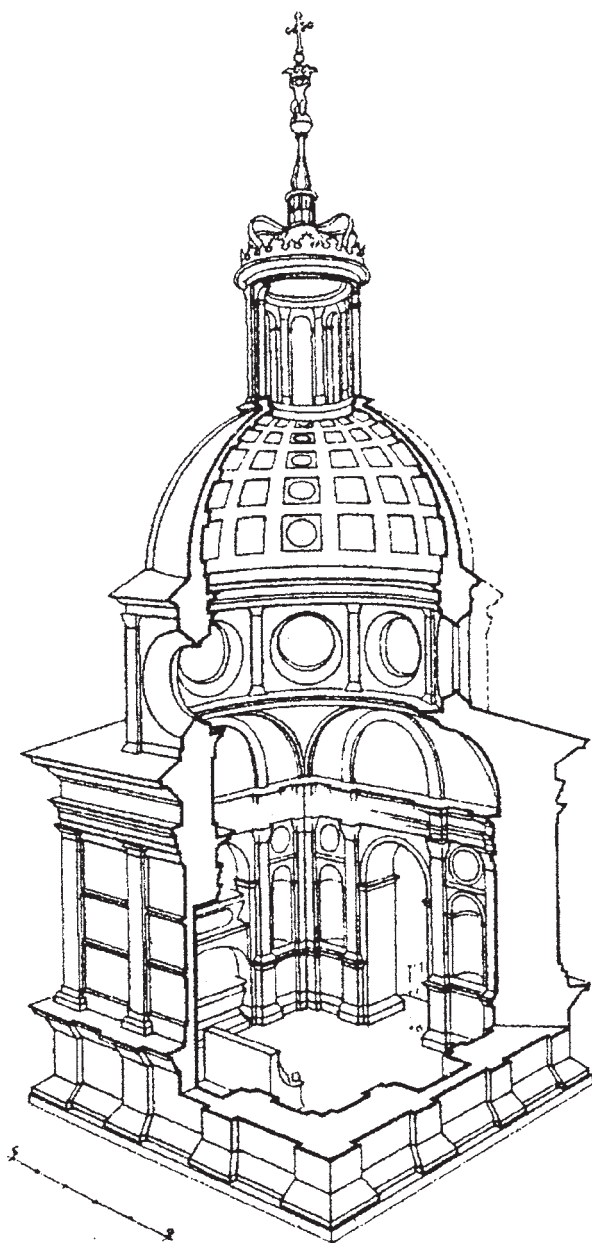
King Sigismund I (1467 – 1548), educated within the circle of Cracow humanists (Filippo Buonaccorsi, called *Callimaco Esperiente*, was one of his masters), convinced about the necessity to cultivate the virtue of magnificence (*magnificentia*) by monarchs, already when ascending the Polish throne (1507), next to the Renaissance modernization of the Royal Palace on Wawel Hill, initiated almost instantaneously, may have also been planning to raise a sumptuous mausoleum adjacent to the capital's Cathedral. At the initial stage, however, the project may have been hampered not owing to the wars against Muscovy, Moldova, and the Tartars (1507 – 1514), but first of all to the lack of an appropriately skilled artist capable of raising the edifice in the Italian *all'antica* style whose forms Sigismund had admired while living at the Hungarian court of his brother King Vladislaus (1498 – 1501), and whose principles he may have become acquainted with through reading the treatises of Alberti and Pomponio Gaurico. It was only in the course of the three-years' stay in Rome (1513 – 1515) of the Gniezno Archbishop and Primate of Poland Jan Łaski (1456 – 1531), acquainted with the Renaissance art, and participating as the King delegate in the 5th Lateran Council that the opportunity to find a suitable artist arose. All the premises prove that it was Łaski who found and brought to Cracow in 1515 the Tuscan sculptor and architect Bartolomeo Berrecci.

The author of the Sigismund Chapel Bartolomeo di Luca Berrecci da Pontassieve (ca. 1480 – 1537) may be most likely identified with the little known sculptor *Bartolomeo di* [...] recorded in the Florentine archives, in 1505 – 1506 employed at the initial works on the Mausoleum of St. John Gualbert in Florence and Carrara, that was to be featured in a church in Badia di Passignano; the work later implemented under Benedetto da Rovizzano. The first meeting of the artist after his arrival from Italy with the King in Cracow most likely took place by the end of October – beginning of November 1515.

All the preserved records (mainly bills) allow to precisely follow the process of raising and decorating of the royal Mausoleum [Figs. 1, 2a, 2b]. In 1516 – 1517, Berrecci executed a wooden model of his work, which he showed to the King in Vilnius in 1517. Following the preliminary works *in situ*, after the Gothic predecessor to the Chapel had been demolished, the tomb crypt raised (1517 – 1518), and the cornerstone consecrated (May 17, 1519), the construction and decoration reached as high as the drum in 1520 [Figs. 2b, 3a, 3b]. In 1521 – 1524, there came architectural and sculptural decoration of the interior lined with relief panels made of native greyish-green sandstone and partially dark brown-reddish marble imported from Hungary [Figs. 5a, 5b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 10a, 10b, 11a, 11b]. 1524 – 1527

¹ The present paper is based on the author's book *Kaplica Zygmuntowska (1515 – 1533). Problematyka artystyczna i ideowa mauzoleum Zygmunta I*. Warszawa 2007, whose English version (*King Sigismund's Chapel (1515 – 1533). Its Form and Ideology*) is

currently being prepared for publication by the Wawel Royal Castle. It contains all the references to the ample literature on the topic.



1. Axonometric projection of the Sigismund's Chapel. Designed by M. Kuzma.

witnessed in turn the raising and decoration of the drum and the cupola [Figs. 2a, 4a, 4b]; in 1526 – 1530, figural sculptures were executed of Hungarian marble [Figs. 2b, 3a, 3b, 9a, 9b, 12a, 12b], except for two of them to be located outside (unpreserved) and made of sandstone. The ceremonial consecra-

tion of the building took place on June 8, 1533, but it was only in 1538 that the Chapel was refurbished with a sumptuous altar of gilded silver and painted panels, an exquisite work of Nurembergian artists: the sculptor Peter Flötner, the bell-founder Pancraz Labenwolff, the goldsmith Melchior Baier, and the painter Jörg Pencz [Figs. 6a, 6b].

The records provide us with sufficiently ample information on Berrecci's co-workers. At the first initial stage four Italian sculptors (*scalpellini*) from a former team of another Tuscany artist were involved (the artists in question being Francis of Florence (d. 1516) working at the Wawel from 1502) as well as eight new artists brought for the purpose from Florence, Fiesole, and Siena. A detailed analysis of the sculpture grotesque decoration of the Chapel interior (namely its parts preserved in an original form), allowed to distinguish six slightly different stylistically "hands". However, it is impossible to attribute those works to the names appearing in the bills. Tracing the genesis of the decoration form revealed the artistic formation of Berrecci and his co-workers deriving broadly speaking from Guiliano da Sangallo's workshop. From there came the cupola coffers filled with rosettes, so unique in Italy (cf. the Madonna dell'Umiltà in Pistoia, reconstruction of the Antique mausoleum – drawing at the Uffizzi, A-2193), as well as various shapes of non-orthodox pseudo-composite capitals, revealing at the same good acquaintance with the analogical works of the Antiquity. Fascination with the Antiquity typical of Sangallo is also traceable in the Cracow Chapel, e.g. in the imitation of the motifs of the decoration of the Roman Arch of Constantine (winged figures with torches, the figure of Hercules) [Figs. 5a, 11b], figural reliefs of some 2nd-century sarcophagi, or reliefs of the famous Vatican candelabra (the motif of the so-called "Foliate Boy"). It seems very likely that the Wawel sculptors, apart from scarce graphic patterns, also used in their work drawings coming from the same source that served the authors of the famous *Codex Escorialensis* (El Escorial Library, manuscript 28.II.12, k. 11v, 12v, 15v, 44v, 59r); moreover, they also were familiar with ancient sculptures' collection by Roman Della Valle family (e.g. "Satyrs" and fragments of the floral decoration *Arae Pacis Augustae*).

When speaking of the sculptors in Sangallo's circle, Berrecci and his people were strongly influenced



2a. The external view of the Sigismund's Chapel. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.



2b. The interior of the Sigismund's Chapel. Repr.: BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: The art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Hungary, Bohemia, Poland. Oxford 1976.

by Andrea Sansovino and Benedetto da Rovezzano. The impact of the works of the first is revealed in some motifs such as a couple of youth with a plant runner (the tomb the Cardinal Basso Della Rovere in S. Maria del Popolo in Rome). The influence of the latter is visible both within the motifs (e.g. dolphins with heads seen from the top), as well as in the typical plasticity of the reliefs resembling the style of those in the Mausoleum of St. John Gualbert.

What astonishes in the Wawel Chapel is the impact of almost contemporary works of Raphael and Michelangelo. The fact that the authors were acquainted with the *School of Athens* (1509 – 1510) and *The Triumph of Galatea* (1511 – 1512) by the first can be found in the mythological motifs (reliefs with Triton, a sea monster, the Nereids). Meanwhile, Michelangelo's reliefs from the earliest stages of the works on the

Tomb of Julius II (1505 – 1506) both provided the Cracow artists with patterns for a number of motifs, and had an impact on the stylistic forms of certain fragments of the grotesque decoration. I mean here the sophisticated transformation of some zoomorphic elements into phytomorphic ones, paralleled with the transition from an almost full relief to a flat and delicate one nearly blending in with the background. Finally, the unprecedented application of a mathematically correct ellipse used in the vertical cross section of the Chapel's cupola may be hypothetically associated with the fact that Berrecci is said to have become acquainted with the correctly drawn ellipse of the tomb chamber in the wooden model of the Tomb of Julius II by Michelangelo (in Carrara, 1505 – 1506).

Analysis of stylistic forms, together with archival records, has allowed identifying four artists who ex-



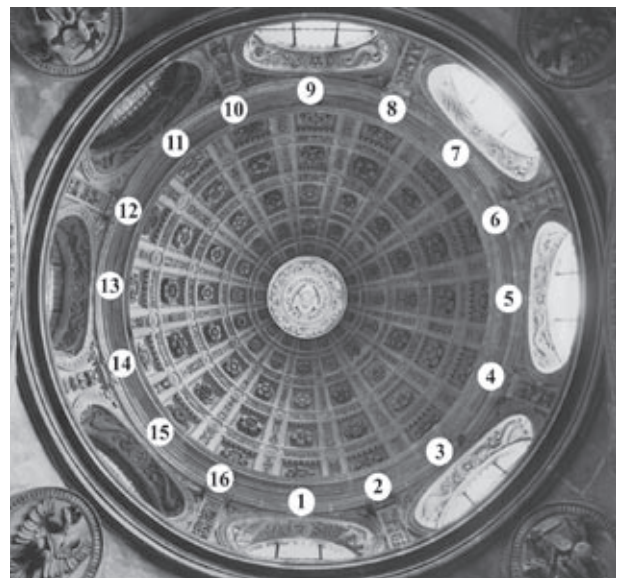
3a. The altar wall of the Chapel. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.



4a. The interior of the lantern of the Chapel. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.



3b. The throne wall of the Chapel. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.



4b. The drum and the cupola of the Chapel. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.

ecuted the figural sculptures of red marble. The tondi featuring the Evangelists and the figure of St. Peter can be attributed to the sculptor called Zoan, possibly from Venice. The most accomplished figures, those of St. Paul and St. Sigismund (the latter displaying acquaintance with Michelangelo's *David*), should be attributed to Bernardino Zanobi de Gainotis, called *Romanus*. The poorest figures, those of St. Wenceslas, St. Florian, and St. John the Baptist, were most likely sculpted by Filippo of Fiesole. Finally, the ideologically crucial tondi featuring David and Salomon, as well as the tomb statue of the founding King [Figs. 9a, 9b, 12b] are the works of Berrecci himself.

It remains unsolved whether the Marian dedication of the Chapel (of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary), taken after its Gothic predecessor, had the decisive impact on the central shape of the edifice, as the central domed form, owing to the ancient tombs studied in the Renaissance, had become a norm in the Italian sepulchral architecture of the period. It is hard to ascertain whether the authors of the work were aware of the cosmological symbolic meaning of the circle and square related to the Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic interpretations of the Vitruvius' thesis (III, 1) claiming the perfection of the proportions of a human body which can be inscribed into a circle and a square. Yet, a clear zone division of the Chapel's interior echoes some form of a cosmological approach. Up to the entablature level the dominating motifs are zoo- and phytomorphic; above, in the attic features representations associated with water [Figs. 10a, 10b, 11a], while both zones (filling the windowless and dim cube of the building mass) are associated with the first pair of elements, basic components of Nature, namely earth and water. The drum pierced with windows forcefully suggests, in turn, an association with the third element, air, whereas the rosettes of the cupola (traditionally serving as the symbol of stars) seem to refer not only to the astronomical sky, but also to the fourth element, that is fire [Fig. 4b]. Finally, the lantern illuminated with the Seraphim's head, symbolizing God, surrounded with nine angels' heads, symbolizes nine Seraphim' choirs and constitutes a symbolic representations of the above-star *empireum* [Fig. 4a]. This division of the chapel into zones becomes clear in view of the sepulchral character of the Chapel and may refer to



5a. *The genius with the torch over the entrance.* Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.



5b. *The pair of gryphons.* Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.

the ancient belief that the human soul wanders after death through four elements (e.g. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 724-751), which harmonizes with the supposition popular at King Sigismund I's court that the path of the dead human leads *ad astra*.

The eschatological thread in the contents of the building, expressing hope for the King's glory in the posthumous life, is continued through its decoration. Here also motifs of mythological origin were used, these including geniuses with lit up



6a, b. Altar of the Chapel. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.

torches (*Aeternitas*) [Fig. 5a], dolphins (*psychopompoi*), or sphinxes (guardians of the Roman sarcophagi tombs), obviously together with some strictly Christian topics. Among these mention should be made of the cherubs' heads on the pilasters framing the tomb (reference to the text of the exequies), figures of patron saints (protectors of the King, Cathedral, and the state), a medallion with the Virgin and Baby Jesus (traditionally a protector of the dead) [Fig. 12a], and a quote from the Apocalypse (14.13) on the wall above the sarcophagus (BEATI QVI IN DOMINO MORIVNTVR), as well as the main message of the altar pentptych [Figs. 6a, 6b]. Its Marian cycle is crowned with the *Dormition of Our Lady*, whereas the Passion one is concluded with the scenes of the *Resurrection* and *Ascension*.

Equally elaborate is the thread dedicated to the monarch and his glorification, enhancing the mem-

ory of the earthly accomplishment of the deceased, pointing to his positions as a monarch, and aiming at spreading Sigismund's fame among the future generations. Similarly as in the eschatological thread, present here are frequent references to the Antiquity. The very structure of the interior wall divisions in the form of triumphal arches is very expressive [Figs. 3a, 3b, 12a]. The portal decoration from the side of the Cathedral, which next to various ancient arms (*spolia hostium*), features instruments and vessels associated with the triumphal ceremony, introduces a strong *all'antica* triumph into this thread [Fig. 7a]. The portal heralds a mausoleum of a victorious ruler, comparable to Roman emperors, which is suggested by the effigy of ancient triumph placed among the militia [Fig. 7b]. Inside the Chapel, the triumphal thread is continued by laurel wreaths encircling windows, as well as panoply bunches, warriors' heads,



7a. Portal to the Chapel. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.

lion masks (*fortitudo*), rams' heads, and sacrificial vessels, filling the pilaster panels and the window frames. This is clearly emphasized by the medallion at the tomb's niche, bearing the inscription: D[IVUS] SIGISMVNDVS I R[EX] P[OLONIAE] MDXXII, and featuring the founder's head in scale armour (*lorica squamata*) wearing a Roman helmet decorated with ram's horns, resembling that of Alexander the Great [Fig. 8a].



7b. Fragment of the decoration of the portal. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.

Tasks of a victorious ruler most traditionally included safeguarding peace to the subjects, which yielded the abundance of goods to the state. Therefore, such motifs of the *all'antica* decoration as bunches of acanthus, the cornucopia, garlands of fruit, fruit in baskets, wreaths, and bunches, as well as figures carrying offering baskets, all constitute a certain kind of *felicitatis temporum*.

The contents related to the essence of the royal power, including the monarch's responsibilities and power exercising, are in turn conveyed by means of religious, Christian, and Old Testament representations, particularly clear in the decoration of the throne wall. Over the monarch's seat a pair of gilded angels are holding a closed crown topped with a little cross to emphasize the sovereignty of



8a. Medallion at the King's tomb. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.



8b. Fragment of the decoration. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.

the Polish King subdued only to God [Fig. 3b]. An ideological completion of this scene is to be found in a similarly closed crown surrounding on the outside the small cupola of the lantern serving as the base for an angel holding a smaller crown and a cross [Fig. 1, 2a]. Therefore, among the inscriptions on the outside Chapel walls one can also read the quote from Psalm 115: NON NOBIS DOMINE NON NOBIS SED NOMINI TVO (supposedly to be continued with “*da gloriam*”). On the sides of the throne there are statues of St. John the Baptist and St. Sigismund; the first serving as a symbolic likeness of the monarch’s anointment to the Baptism in the Jordan; the latter representing the founder’s patron

and his imperial great-great-grandfather from the Luxemburg dynasty.

The monarchical contents of this wall is completed with the effigies of the Old Testament Kings: David the Psalmist and just Solomon [Figs. 9a, 9b], traditionally considered to serve as models to follow by Christian rulers, and embodying two different aspects of exercising power, symbolized by the virtues: faith (*fides, religio*) and justice (*justitia*). It was not by accident that Solomon bears face features of the Chapel’s founder, since the Polish monarch was quite commonly compared to that Biblical king and he himself paralleled the raising of the sumptuously decorated and richly furbished Wawel sanctuary to



9a, b. Medallions with the effigies of David and Salomon. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.

the Jerusalem Temple being Solomon's accomplishment. This symbolical reference is suggested by the inscription on the outside of the Chapel paraphrasing Psalm 26: DOMINE DILEXISTI [sic!] DECOREM DOMVS TVE ("O Lord, You have loved [sic!] the glory of Thy house"), as well as by a signature of the artist: BARTHOLO FLORENTINO OPIFICE ("through the art of Barolomeo of Florence") placed within the rim between the head of the Seraph-God and a circle of nine little angels' heads [Fig. 4a]. This can be explained only by reference to the Old Testament texts speaking of raising the Tabernacle in the desert and the Jerusalem Temple. In both cases God inspired the builders, Moses and Solomon, and pointed to them those who were to execute the works, namely Besaleel and Hiram, the artist of origin from the distant Tyre. In view of this parallel, while raising the Wawel sanctuary, King Sigismund, just like Moses and Solomon, was becoming an instrument in God's hands, whereas Berrecci, brought from distant Italy, was just like the Biblical artists Besaleel and Hiram, the one to execute essentially the work of God and the monarch obeying Him. Therefore, the inscrip-

tion within the *empireum* zone should be most likely understood as an abbreviation of a fuller inscription of the type [DIVINO NVMINE COMMONITVS] BARTHOLO FLORENTINO OPIFICE [SIGISM-VNDVS REX CONDIDIT] ("raised by King Sigismund on God's reminder through the art of Bartolomeo of Florence"); what astonishes and deserves admiration in the inscription's wording is the exceptional modesty of the Polish monarch.

A separate explanation is required for the meaning of mythological representations woven into the grotesque decoration of the Chapel interior, as it is known that in the Renaissance mythological topics were most often resorted to in order to render moralizing and allegorical ideas, as well as to address current events and individuals. Undoubtedly, for instance, the figure of Cleopatra is to be interpreted in the moralizing spirit (as the *Venus Pudica* type), common in the era as the symbol of the virtue of valour; the same applies to the puttos fighting against excessively stylised dragons, cupids treading on bizarre monsters, and a naked couple attached to a leafy trunk and struggling against the



10a, b. *The water creatures with the nymphs.* Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.

tangles of greenery, thus expressing the struggle of man against uncontrollable forces of nature, of virtue against sin, of a positive element against the negative one. A similar thing can be said about a wild water monsters capturing the nymphs that are trying to break free [Figs. 10a, 10b], and which by analogy to the ethical connotation of a similar couple presented in Raphael's *School of Athens* below the statue of Apollo, the god of brightness, harmony, and the "teacher of ethics", should be considered as an expression of the struggle between the forces of good and evil.

Those wild water creatures with enhanced genitals, analogical to the representations on the Chapel walls, are also to be found on the tomb of the Cardinal-humanist Ludovico Podocataro in S. Maria del Popolo in Rome (after 1504). They refer to the origin of the dignitary coming from Cyprus endangered by the Turks, which allows one to assume that similar

Wawel representations also contain current references. An additional encouragement to continue the analysis in this direction can be found in the scene of the struggle of a pair of satyrs with a wild bearded water creature, joined by a youth made to resemble Hercules [Figs. 11a, 11b]. Bearing in mind the fact that the "water" part of the Chapel interior decoration was executed around 1522, and inserted in the interior walls in 1524 – 1525, it is hard not to perceive them as symbolical references to the events taking place on the Baltic, namely the Prussian war with the Teutonic Order (1519 – 1521), or more likely (as we are speaking of a decoration of a Catholic sacral building) to the early opposition of King Sigismund I to the Protestantism spreading in the Pomeranian towns (King's decrees from 1520 and 1523), as well as his crushing of the Lutheran revolt in Gdańsk (1525). Let us remind here that in the court literature of the period Luther's followers

were then described as “*monstra huius turbulenti seculi nostrum*”, and compared to the Hydra defeated by Hercules (Andrzej Krzycki, 1527).

As a matter of fact, the whole Wawel foundation was strongly anti-Protestant, since it was rooted in such ideas questioned by Luther as belief in purgatory and in achieving salvation thanks to the intercession of the Virgin, saint patrons, prayers of the living, and votive Holy Masses. Finally, in clear contradiction to the reformers’ postulates was the richness of the Chapel decoration and sumptuousness of its refurbishing. Thus in the situation of a multi-national Polish-Lithuanian state, faced with the additional thread of the religious antagonism, the paraphrase of the quotes of the Psalms incised in the interior walls in 1533 (Psalms 67, 138, and 144): CONFITEANTUR TIBI DOMINE OMNES GENTES QVI DAS SALVTEM REGIBVS (“*Let the peoples praise thee, O God, who gives victory to kings*”) should also be read as a call for unity in faith, in the spirit of Erasmian Irenism close to the King’s heart.

The main content’s threads of the Wawel Mausoleum, the glorifying and eschatological ones, are specifically concentrated in the ideological programme of the royal tomb. The very choice of the greyish-red marble from Hungary, resembling ancient imperial porphyry (in compliance with the Roman *lex purpurea*) cannot be accounted for only by aesthetical reasons. The composition of figure on the sarcophagus was arranged with particular care [Fig. 12b]. The fact that the monarch was shown wearing an armour (*rex armatus*) naturally harmonizes with the concept of the king as triumpher (*victor ac triumphator*) expressed in the tomb inscription. The triumph meant was naturally the *all’antica* type (in keeping with the contents of the decoration of the Chapel entrance), that is why the monarch’s armour was not covered with a coronation cloak, but a short military coat modelled on ancient commanders (*paludamentum*). The pose of the King leaning on the elbow with bent and crossed legs follows the ancient representations of water gods and resting Hercules (*Hercules cubans*), which together with other ideological references to that ancient hero allows to perceive Sigismund as a modern embodiment of the demigod (*Hercules redivivus*).

Similarly as in many above described cases, here too it may be assumed that the Polish monarch



11a, b. The struggle in water with Hercules. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.

intentionally instructed the Italian artists to model his mausoleum on the artistic examples of ancient Rome. This can be judged more than merely a humanist fashion. In our opinion, this phenomenon,



12a. The tomb wall of the Chapel. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.



12b. The statue of the King Sigismund I. Photo: Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw.

so astonishing in Poland, can be accounted for by a peculiar ethnogenetic myth, which served the learned tutor of young Sigismund, the historian Jan Długosz, to strengthen the origins of the new Lithuanian-Polish dynasty. According to his theory the alleged similarities between the pagan religion of the Lithuanians and the Romans, as well as noticeable likeness of Lithuanian and Latin demonstrate that the Lithuanians are descendants of the Roman

political exiles who left Italy in 714 *ab Urbe condita*. It is thus not surprising for the mausoleum of the monarch from the Lithuanian dynasty to so strictly harmonize with the works of Roman antiquity on his inspiration.

In his tomb the *all'antica* glorification of the monarch is simultaneously combined with clear eschatological references. The King's head, leaning backwards and resting on the shoulder features half-

closed eyes. This is the means to at least formally refer to the ancient tradition of sleeping figures. In this particular case, we might also have to do with a reference to Neo-Platonic and Stoic interpretations of the ancient myths of the brotherhood of sleep and death. However, Sigismund, being a pious Catholic, had to be familiar with the belief in the resurrection of the body, all the more as its interpretation was vividly discussed at the 5th Lateran Council (1512 – 1516); its theologians (e.g. Cardinal Egidius of Viterbo) claimed that everybody who reaches salvation shall enjoy the glory of the Lord both in the soul and the body resuscitated at the Last Judgment, thus showing human superiority in perfection to angels, pure spirits. The monarch's figure must thus be interpreted first of all as an effigy of an individual in a transition state, resembling sleep, when the body devoid of the soul is awaiting its final reunification with the latter.

Despite the fact that from the very beginning it was known that the body of King Sigismund's first Hungarian wife was to be buried there, too, the decoration of the Sigismund Mausoleum does not contain

any references to Barbara Zapolya (d. 1515). It was only the birth of the heir to the throne Sigismund Augustus (1520), born by the second of the King's wives Bona Sforza, and his exceptional coronation in his father's lifetime (1530) that introduced a new dynastic undertone to the ideological programme of the Chapel. That change was expressed in the verse from Psalm 72 (v. 1) incised in the throne wall in 1533: DEVS INVDTIVM TVVM REGI DA (with such putative ending: "*et iustitiam tuam filio regis*"), and in the placing of the crowned busts of the father and son in the decoration of the base of the silver altar from 1535 – 1538.

The fact that Sigismund's daughter Queen Anne Jagiellon (1523 – 1596) raised her father's tomb and placed underneath another analogical one of his son and heir Sigismund Augustus, while replacing the parapet of the throne stall with her own tomb executed (1574 – 1583) by a Florentine sculptor Santi Gucci (d. 1600), disturbed the artistic harmony of the Chapel's interior [Figs. 2b, 3b, 12a], though on the other hand it truly made it the Mausoleum of the last Polish Jagiellons.

**Žigmundovská kaplnka (1515 – 1533).
Mauzóleum kráľa Žigmunda v rámci okruhu humanistických myšlienok
jagellovského dvora v Krakove**

Resumé

Kráľ Žigmund I. (1467 – 1548), vzdelaný v kruhu krakovských humanistov (Filippo Buonaccorsi, prezývaný *Callimachus Experiens*, bol jedným z jeho učiteľov) a presvedčený o povinnosti kráľov pestovať cnosť veľkoleposti (*magnificentia*), sa už pri nastúpení na poľský trón (1507) mohol popri renesančnej modernizácii kráľovského paláca na Waweli, začatej takmer okamžite, zaoberať myšlienkou vybudovať pri katedrále prepychové mauzóleum. No už počiatočná fáza projektu bola zbrzdená. Príčinou tu neboli ani tak prebiehajúce vojny s Moskvou, Moldavskom a Tatármi (1507 – 1514), ako skôr nedostatok zručných umelcov, schopných vybudovať dielo v talianskom štýle *all'antica*, ktorého formy Žigmund obdivoval počas pobytu na uhorskom dvore svojho brata, kráľa Vladislava (1498 – 1501), a s princípmi ktorého sa mohol zoznámiť prostredníctvom traktátov od L. B. Albertiho a Pomponia Gaurica. Šancu nájsť vhodného umelca priniesol však až trojročný rímsky pobyt (1513 – 1515) hniezdenského arcibiskupa a prímasa Poľska, Jana Łaskiho (1456 – 1531), oboznámeného s renesančným umením, ktorý sa ako kráľovský delegát zúčastnil 5. lateránskeho koncilu. Všetky indície smerujú k tomu, že to bol práve on, kto v roku 1515 objavil toskánskeho sochára a architekta Bartolomea Berrecciho a priviedol ho do Krakova.

Tvorcu Žigmundovskej kaplnky, Bartolomea di Luca Berrecci da Pontassieve (asi 1480 – 1537), možno s najväčšou pravdepodobnosťou stotožniť s málo známym sochárom *Bartolomeo-m di [...]*, zaznamenaným vo florentských archívoch. Tento umelec sa mal v rokoch 1505 – 1506 zúčastniť prípravných prác na mauzóleu sv. Jána Gualberta vo Florencii a Carrare, črty ktorého sa neskôr objavili na kostole v Badia di Passignano, dokončenom pod vedením Benedetta da Rovezzano. Prvé stretnutie kráľa s umelcom po jeho príchode do Krakova sa pravdepodobne uskutočnilo niekedy koncom októbra, alebo začiatkom novembra 1515.

Všetky dochované záznamy (hlavne účty) nám umožňujú presne sledovať proces výstavby a výzdoby kráľovského mauzólea [Obr. 1, 2a, 2b]. V rokoch 1516 – 1517 Berrecci vytvoril drevený model stavby, ktorý v roku 1517 kráľovi predstavil vo Vilniuse. Po zbúraní gotickej predchodkyne budúcej kaplnky a príprave staveniska tu najprv vyrástla krypta (1517 – 1518), 17. mája 1519 bol posvätený základný kameň a v roku 1520 dosiahli konštrukčné a dekoratívne práce výšku nasadenia bubna kupoly [Obr. 2b, 3a, 3b]. V rokoch 1521 – 1524 bol architektonicky a sochársky dozdobený interiér, ktorý tak získal obloženie reliéfnymi panelmi z domáceho šedo-zeleného vápenca a čiastočne z hnedočerveného mramoru, importovaného z Uhorska [Obr. 5a, 5b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 10a, 10b, 11a, 11b]. Roky 1524 – 1527 priniesli vybudovanie a dekorovanie bubna a kupoly [Obr. 2a, 4a, 4b], roky 1526 – 1530 potom vytvorenie figurálnych sôch z uhorského mramoru [Obr. 2b, 3a, 3b, 9a, 9b, 12a, 12b], s výnimkou dvoch (nedochovaných), ktoré mali byť umiestnené na vonkajšej strane a boli vytvorené z pieskovca. Aj keď slávnostná vysviacka novostavby prebehla 8. júna 1533, prepychový oltár s maľovanými a vyrezávanými panelmi s postriebrením bol do kaplnky inštalovaný až v roku 1538. Toto výnimočné dielo vytvorili norimberskí umelci: rezbár Peter Flötner, zvonár Pancraz Labenwolff, zlatník Melchior Baier a maliar Jörg Pencz [Obr. 6a, 6b].

Hlavné obsahové súvislosti wawelského mauzólea, glorifikujúce a eschatologické, sú sústredené v ideovom programe kráľovskej hrobky s ústrednou sochou kráľa, vytvorenou samotným Berreccim. Výber uhorského hnedočerveného mramoru, podobného starovekému cisárskemu porfýru (v zhode s rímskym *lex purpurea*), nemožno pripisovať iba estetickým dôvodom. Postava kráľa na sarkofágu bola komponovaná s osobitnou starostlivosťou [Obr. 12b]. Skutočnosť, že monarcha bol zobrazený v brnení (*rex armatus*) je v súlade s konceptom

triumfujúceho kráľa (*victor ac triumphator*), vyjadrenom v hrobovom nápise. Triumf je tu prirodzene typu *all'antica*, a tak kráľ nebol prikrytý korunovačným plášťom, ale iba krátkym vojenským plášťom podľa vzoru starovekých veliteľov (*palludamentum*). Postoj ležiaceho kráľa opierajúceho sa o laket' a s pokrče-

nými a prekríženými nohami nadväzuje na staroveké zobrazenia vodných bohov a oddychujúceho Herkula (*Hercules cubans*), čo spolu s ďalšími ideovými odkazmi k starovekému hrdinovi dovoľuje vnímať Žigmunda ako novodobé stelesnenie poloboha (*Hercules redivivus*).

Výber a preklad M. Hrdina

The Bratislava Gratian and its position in the Tree of Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity*

Robert GIBBS

The *Decretum Gratiani* is the first and longest text of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, as the body of Catholic Church Law came to be established in the printed editions of the 16th century. In a small group of early illuminated copies the initial H that opens the text is formed by the bodies of Pope and Emperor standing side by side and extending hands. Among these the *Arras* and *Bratislava Gratians* stand out as artistically closely related: Arras, Bibl. Municip., ms. 585 (ancien 493) and Bratislava, Slovak National Archives, ms. 14 (Jur. 46) probably represent native Bolognese examples of a very early stage of introductory iconography to the *Decretum Gratiani* [Figs. 1-2].¹ The Arras manuscript has numerous examples of anthropomorphic (or animal-composed) initials among its frontispieces, a characteristic of early Bolognese illumination taken over from 11th/12th-century Central Italian Bible illumination.² Both manuscripts share

sufficient similarities of iconography and initial letter type with other early Gratians to suggest they are representative of Bolognese illumination as a whole, though presenting a local and rather coarse strand of it in most respects. Where the finest artists working in Bologna were probably Pisan, and others have been associated with Northern Italy, this workshop might be the nearest we have to the native art of the city.³ The ancient provenance of both manuscripts at opposite sides of Europe is itself indicative of their origin in this major centre.

The Arras/Bratislava frontispiece design itself reflects the anthropomorphic tradition long established in Germanic lettering since Merovingian times. Nevertheless, the Arras/Bratislava composition, as noted by Nordenfalk who drew attention to it, is a Byzantine representation of agreement to joint rule found on coins of the Empress Zoe and her son

* This paper derives from research on a study of early Bolognese illumination in legal manuscripts and bibles completed with Karl-Georg Pfändtner over many years. I am indebted to the librarians and archivists of Arras, Amiens, Beaune, Bratislava, the Marciana in Venice, Vercelli, and Nigel Rogers at Sydney Sussex College for supplying me with photographs or even allowing me to undertake my own, so valuable for the comprehensive understanding of an illuminated manuscript.

¹ For the Arras copy reproduced extensively by Melnikas see CARON, F. X.: *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Ville d' Arras*. Arras 1860, No. 585, p. 255, 'style Byzantin'; and *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements IV. Arras-Avranches-Boulogne*. Paris 1872, No. 493; for the Bratislava copy SOPKO, J.: *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach* [Medieval Latin Codices in Slovak Libraries]. Martin 1981; and GÜNTHEROVÁ, A. – MIŠIANIK, J.:

Stredoveká knižná malba na Slovensku [Medieval Book Illumination in Slovakia]. Bratislava 1961, p. 34.

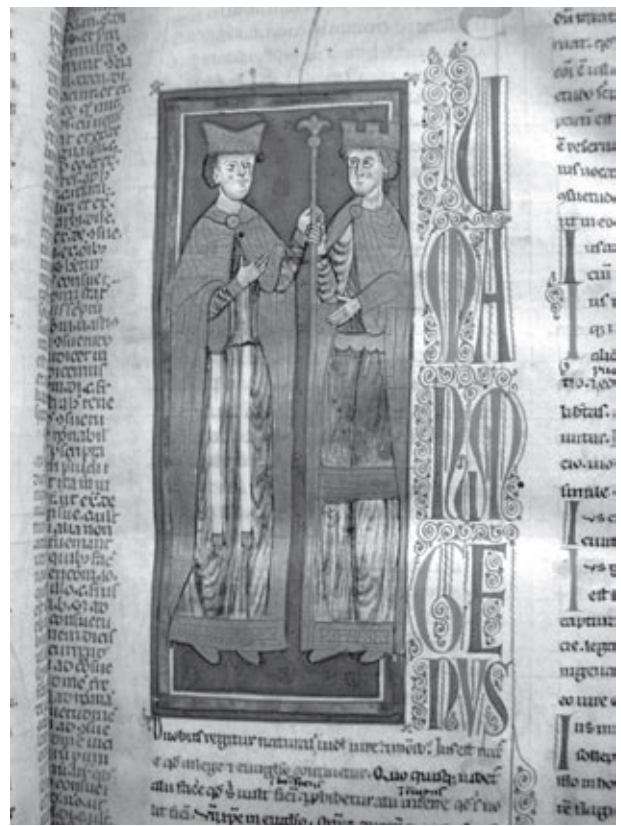
For the development of Gratian's text see primarily WINROTH, A.: *The Making of Gratian's Decretum*. Cambridge 2000; for its illumination MELNIKAS, A.: *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani* (=Studia Gratiana, 16-18). Rome 1975; and NORDENFALK, C.: Review of Melnikas's The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani. In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43, 1980, pp. 318-337.

² BERG, K.: *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination*. Oslo – Bergen – Tromsø 1968.

³ See for this period ZANICHELLI, G.: Thesaurii armarii aggregatus: il codice miniato a Bologna tra XI e XII secolo. In: *La Cattedrale Scolpita*. Ed. M. MEDICA. Bologna 2003, pp. 147-184, 241-252.



1. Bratislava, Slovak National Archives, ms. 14 (Jur. 46), Gratian, fol. 3r, Part I.



2. Arras, Bibl. Municip., ms. 585 (ancien 493), Gratian, fol. 6r, Part I.

Constantine VII, for instance,⁴ and such figurations have counterparts in Byzantine manuscripts by the 12th century, as in the *Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Canon. Gr. 103, circa 1100, in which the opening A is formed by Christ and Adam composing the Anastasis.⁵ The design

also appeared in 1202 on Venice's new larger silver coinage, the grosso, ducato or matapan, with Doge Enrico Dandolo sharing his ensign with St. Mark, and it may have been Venetian artists who brought the iconography to Bologna.⁶ Its meaning on Byzantine coinage is a natural inspiration for the intended

⁴ Byzantine coins depicting joint rulers include Theophilus with his wife or his daughters (829 – 842): SEAR, D. R.: *Byzantine Coins and their Values*. London 1987 (revised ed.), 1653, 1665; Michael III and Theodora (842 – 856): Ibidem, 1687; Basil I with his son Constantine both holding the patriarchal cross (867 – 886): Ibidem, 1704; the empress Zoe and her son Constantine VII (913 – 919): Ibidem, 1745, 1758; Constantine and Romanos I (920 – 944): Ibidem, 1762; Basil II and Constantine VIII (976 – 1025): Ibidem, 1796, 1800, 1806, 1810-1812; and Zoe and Theodora (1042): Ibidem, 1827. Joint rulers also appear in ivory: Christ crowning Romanos IV and Eudoxia (945 – 949), Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cabinet des Médailles, Inv. 300; and illumination: Christ crowning John II Komnenos (1118 – 1143) and his son

Alexios, Bibl. Apost. Vat. Urb., gr. 2, f. 10v: *Byzance: l'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*. [Exhib. Cat.] Paris : Musée du Louvre, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1992, No. 138, pp. 202-203; No. 148, pp. 232-233; *The glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843 – 1261*. [Exhib. Cat.] Eds. H. C. EVANS – W. D. WIXOM. New York : The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997, No. 144, pp. 209-210.

⁵ BUCKTON, D. (ed.): *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*. London 1994, No. 170, pp. 157-158; ornamented initials with figurative elements appear as common in 12th-century Greek manuscripts as in Western examples.

harmony between the spiritual and secular authorities which Gratian iconography continued to emphasise, even through the intense hostilities between them in the 13th and early 14th centuries. Of course, in Byzantine art the protagonists appear as themselves and not as components of a calligraphic letter as in our manuscripts.

The frontispieces of the *Bratislava* and *Arras Gratians* are clearly by the same workshop, which probably painted the rest of the modest programme of illumination in the Bratislava copy too. Either a different hand painted them, or more probably there was sufficient time between them for the artist to adjust his facial proportions to suggest the structure more confidently in the Arras copy. Both Pope and Emperor wear mantles executed in gold leaf, cope and cloak, over loose drapery folds, but in the Bratislava copy the Emperor's tunic is constructed of horizontal bands of roundels evoking imperial embroidery, probably copied from a Byzantine model. This would suggest that the Bratislava version is closer to its source, earlier and by a sufficient interlude for a shift towards an archaic Germanic type of dress for the Emperor to have taken place in the Arras copy. The Pope has a two-pointed mitre worn sideways, the Emperor a castellated crown. Their proportions are tall, their poses rather limp. They hold a tall banner-headed staff in the first copy, an elongated sceptre in the second. Between them in the Bratislava copy is a small crowd of half-length subjects, none notably clerical; these have disappeared from the Arras frontispiece which in several respects looks like a simplification of the original Byzantine-inspired model more faithfully reflected in the Bratislava manuscript.

The principal protagonists are tall and angular in both manuscripts, with triangular faces quite different from those of Central Italian 12th-century

art, especially the Pisan illumination found in the earliest and finest copies of the Gratian text that may be associated with Bologna.⁷ They differ also from the *Marciiana-Vercelli-Bamberg-Sydney* Sussex workshop, which produced the largest body of illustrated Gratians in this period, generally with a minimal programme confined to the frontispieces to Part I (*Humanum genus*), Causa I, and the Tables of Greek Numbers, Consanguinity and Affinity. The little crowd of acolytes in the Bratislava copy appears again in the frontispiece to Vercelli, Bibl. Capit. XXV (118), similar in character though different in composition and technique, and a link between the different workshops of a kind we will see elsewhere. The arms of Pope and Emperor in the Bratislava and Arras manuscripts are tiny, their legs extended but vaguely expressed by the amorphous flow of their tunics, sagging curves contrasting with the straight pleats of the golden cope and cloak they wear over them. Strikingly, even the papal mitre/tiara is conceived distinctively, set with its peaks sideways rather than frontally as in most other manuscripts.⁸ They are set within a gold frame and against a blue ground on which appear the constellations of much Bolognese and Central Italian illumination, giving the whole a distinctly barbaric splendour.

The Bratislava manuscript is primarily paginated rather than foliated. Its illumination is confined to the frontispiece for Part I (*Humanum genus*), Causa I (p. 126=62b), Causa XIII (p. 263=132a), Causa XIII (p. 269=136a), Causa XXVII (p. 401=200a) and a King embracing the Tree of Consanguinity (p. 515=259a) set between Questions 5 and 6 of Causa 35, its normal location within a 12th-century copy when included. Until the mid-13th century the Gratian text was divided naturally into two parts between the Distinctions, defining legal premises, and the 36 Causae (cases) that illustrate legal prac-

⁶ PORTEOUS, J.: *Coins in History*. London 1969, p. 84; CARSON, R. A. G.: *Coins Ancient, Medieval and Modern. Vol. II: Coins of Europe*. London 1971 (3rd ed.), fig. 590; STAHL, A.: *Zecca: The Mint of Venice in the Middle Ages*. Baltimore – London 2000, pp. 304–307. Porteous considers it a derivation of the doge's seal. Carson dates the coinage to the beginning of Dandolo's reign in 1192.

⁷ For instance the finest fragment surviving of the first recension of the text from Ripoll, Barcelona, Arxiu de la

Corona de Aragon, ms. S. Maria de Ripoll 78, and the copy in Beaune, Bibl. Municip., ms. 5 discussed below. The other manuscript certainly written, rubricated and illuminated by Pisans, possibly in Pisa, though certainly used later in Bologna where it was glossed, is Cracow, Bibl. Jagiellonska, ms. 356.

⁸ An exception among the *Marciiana*-group manuscripts is the frontispiece of the Vercelli Gratian, and the Troyes copy, Bibl. Municip., ms. 60, also presents this sideways mitre.



3. Bratislava, Slovak National Archives, ms. 14 (Jur. 46), Gratian, p. 126 (62b), Causa I.



4. Bratislava, Slovak National Archives, ms. 14 (Jur. 46), Gratian, p. 401, Causa XXVII.

tice. Subsequently the division of the *peciae* form which the text was copied led to the shifting of Part II forward to Causa II and a later further division into two more parts at the Treatises on Penance and Consecration (within Causae 33 and 36). The patron of the Bratislava manuscript was more extravagant if less realistic than usual: few of its initials were carried out, but these include the Cases that perhaps divide Part II most clearly between ecclesiastical matters and marriage legislation, the point where church law intruded upon secular society. In this respect its illumination went slightly further than normal among 12th-century manuscripts. Most of the initials realised in the Bratislava copy were framed in gold, however: only Causa XIII has the more modest choice of yellow for the letter frame that became standard in the Amiens and Arras manuscripts. This perhaps confirms the prior status of the Bratislava Gratian, and the piecemeal nature of its illumination, combining three figurative/narrative initials with a pair of foliate ones, anticipating the work of the first and third hands/workshops that undertook the illumination of the Arras copy.

Causa I, *QUIDAM habens FILIUM*, shows a father and son, the latter to be admitted under-age

and for the payment of £10 to the abbot, a matter taken as simony rather than the normal monastic dowry and damaging to the future monk's profession [Fig. 3]. The balls surrounded by dots like constellations in the corners of the frame are typical of the period; so are the foliate scallops that form panels within the letter, and the bird biting the tail of the Q represents a frequent element of such Tuscan-derived initials too. The completion of the opening phrase is realised in red and blue display capitals typical of Bolognese and other legal texts between 1170 and 1250. The narrative, however, is as simply defined as possible, excluding a major protagonist in the abbot, while the drawing, especially of the bird, is lively rather than stylish. This initial shows the artist's facial types more clearly than the opening, perhaps because less abraded. The father is nearly frontal, a typical angle, drawn in sharp red-brown pen lines, marked with red patches on the cheeks and a narrow mouth with pursed lips. The son is in profile with a large frontal eye, sharply pointed little nose and gaping mouth like a keyhole. Drapery is constructed in red or blue parallel curves of vaguely classical character, overlaid with sienna red body colour for the father's cloak.

Similar figures appear for Causa XXVII, *QUIDAM*, a husband and wife both in frontal-three-quarter view [Fig. 4]. The wife's close fitting dress with long trailing sleeves is filled in with blue hatching largely ignoring the drawing lines. Their faces are softer and more lightly drawn, even tender in the case of the woman who holds an ambiguous plant-like form with curved stem and a heart at the top, conceivably a distaff. The tail of the letter is swallowed by a human-headed dragon grotesque with large horns, a composite figure to become typical in Bolognese art. His sharp features repeat those of the son in Causa I, confirming the unity of hands despite the variations. The scalloping of the letter frame is now reduced to a simple line, a simplification in the interests of economy of effort normal in such manuscripts.

For Causa XIII, *Diocesani Cuisdam*, a distinctive symmetrical foliate display fills the initial, palmette-like but with a heart-shaped pair of spirals at the top with a minimum of wash shading and red linear hatching instead. Another bird forms the head of the letter. Here the artist shows his non-Tuscan character more clearly than elsewhere, while Causa XIII, *CLERICI*, returns to a more Tuscan shaded asymmetrical spray of foliage, yet another bird at its base.

Arras, ms. 585 is by the far the richer in pictorial decoration, the work of several different artists or workshops of a wide range of artistic styles, none of them 'Style Byzantin' as Caron's 1860 catalogue defines them. Such an extended series of illuminated frontispieces is unusual, though not as complete and certainly not as coherently conceived as in the Gratian Amiens, ms. 354, from Corbie, 37H. The Arras manuscript opens with the early summary of the *Decretum* known from its opening words as the *In Prima Parte*. This is compactly written within the first gathering, and unusually most of the manuscript is written in short gatherings of 6 leaves rather than the 8 typical of the 12th and earlier 13th century or

the 10-leaf gatherings that become normal in Italy later.⁹ The first letter of the *In Prima Parte* was to be illuminated but never completed. The capital Is to the rest are in alternate blue and red extended at the tail into scrollwork, and the filigree of the central margin ends with a vertical barley spray. Many of these features are present, slightly enriched and perhaps developed in Amiens, ms. 354, which has the fullest pictorial programme of any 12th/early 13th-century copy. The rubrication of the Arras copy with early rather stiff vertical sprays and seed-heads is very similar to that of the Amiens copy and probably dateable towards 1200. Neither manuscript allows space for the table of Greek numbers normal in the earlier Gratians. The *In Prima Parte* summary is missing from the Bratislava copy, and if ever present it was lost before 1425 when the manuscript was recorded in the Chapter Library in its present blue binding.¹⁰ The *Bratislava Gratian* is probably the earlier manuscript codicologically, with simple red and blue display lettering relatively unadorned and still using the vertically extended rubrics of mid-12th-century copies. Even the added gloss is of the earlier 13th century with sigla-lemmata, and some of the rubrication and barley-spray filigree enrichment, at Causa 36 and *De Consecratione* (pp. 520, 522) is probably of this later date.

Similar figures to the opening illumination of the text appear as *I(n infamiam)* for Causa V, a man preparing a secret accusation, and, Causa VII, a bishop as *I(n extremis agens)*, freestanding against the parchment and altogether more lively than the opening pair [Fig. 5]. But a very different artist, illuminated Causa I-II, setting very irregularly drawn initials against a purple-red frame with busy white filigree, in various combinations of gold leaf for the letter or central ground, blue and the purple [Fig. 6]. The stem of the opening Q is formed by a man holding up a small cleric; he stands on a foliage base and points to the text. The centre of the letter has irregular foliage and a leaping dog or lion, all drawn in a quavering red

⁹ In Northern Europe 12-leaf gatherings became the norm, as seems to have been more common also in Toulouse and Southern France. English production appears invariably written in seniones; Southern French production shows something like a 70% correlation with Northern practice, to judge from the manuscripts in the Vatican Library, while some 80% of

Italian manuscripts in that collection are in quiniones rather than seniones.

¹⁰ GÜNTHEROVÁ – MIŠIANIK 1961 (see in note 1), p. 34: 'Item librum decreti in pergamento in asseribus cum planeo coreo coopertum bene ligatum. Jurist. 46.'



5. Arras, Bibl. Municip., ms. 585 (ancien 493), Gratian, fol. 86v, Causa VII.



6. Arras, Bibl. Municip., ms. 585 (ancien 493), Gratian, fol. 57v, Causa I.

line, shaded with a line of dots, against the parchment ground. This workshop recurs at Causa XIII, XV and XXIII, most of them with a half length figure or figures, with a distinctive variant, a highly coloured nude for the Quidam Abbas of Causa XVI. The opening workshop reappears with a far more Tuscan character than before at Causa III and VII and frequently throughout the rest of the manuscript, while other Tuscan hands including one of possibly Pisan origin painted foliate initials at Causa XX-XXI, XXV-XXVI. The final Causae are shared between these three workshops and perhaps two more outsiders. The most unusual of them, however, the Causa I-II artist, appears also to have provided Causa XXVIII in red line alone, and may have intervened after the manuscript had left the original artists, since the bird heads biting the end frame of the letter are copied from Causa XXV by the Pisan-style artist.

The result of this complex division of hands is the complete absence of an overall programme despite the almost complete illumination of the Arras copy, each artist or workshop appearing to bring different ideas of suitable treatment for the frontispiece, and surely an indication of how complex the interaction of artistic traditions could be in the place where the manuscript was produced. The range of such ideas and evidence of echoes of other programmes suggest that Bologna is likely to have been the centre in question, though the manuscript may have left the city before the illumination was complete.

Amiens, Bibl. Municip., ms. 354 represents the top level of Central Italian type illumination, with a complete programme of historiation.¹¹ It is an alto-

¹¹ MEDICA, M.: *Duecento: Forme E Colori del Medioevo a Bologna*. Venice 2000, No. 39, pp. 168-70; MELNIKAS 1975 (see

gether more refined production than the Bratislava and Arras copies, and in the design of its frontispiece it presents an alternative full-length figure iconography for the opening initial H of the *Decretum*. Here the pope and emperor stand against the letter itself rather than composing it as in the purely anthropomorphic letters of the *Arras* and *Bratislava Gratians*. Three important manuscripts exemplify this treatment, the *Benediktbeuern Gratian*, Munich, BSB, ms. Clm 4505, Amiens, ms. 354 itself, and Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, ms. Lat IV 117=2435. Bamberg, ms. Can. 14 *Gratian* and Berlin, Staatsbibl., ms. Phil. 1742 have a variant of the design with the pope and emperor as half-length figures above the cross-bar, and foliage below, a significant sub-group of these designs closely related to the full-length version. The Munich, Amiens and Berlin frontispieces set their figures against a loosely drawn version of a Tuscan geometric-style initial.¹² Of this group Munich, ms. Clm 4505 and the *Marciana Gratian* are at the heart of a significant group of manuscripts and inserted Marriage Tables, though having only the restricted programme familiar from Beaune, ms. 5 (or even less illumination remaining), while the Amiens

manuscript which shares with them little more than this opening iconography has a full and elegantly economical figurative programme. Also from the Marciana workshop are Vercelli, Bibl. Capit. XXV (118), Bamberg, ms. Can. 14, and the closely related tables of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, ms. 101,¹³ making it the most productive atelier among these early Gratian illuminators and illustrators.¹⁴

The Amiens manuscript has been attributed to the Master of the Avila Bible or a hand close to him, defined by Garrison from his work in several North Italian bibles, of which the most important is that from Avila, now Madrid, BN, Vitr 15.¹⁵ Their illumination, however, he described as Umbro-Roman and datable 1150/1160. However, as Medica noted, there is another artist who is in fact the senior partner and provided the models for both the figure style and probably the compositions used by the other hand: he executed the frontispieces to Part 1 of the Gratian, Causa I, Causa XIII, Causa XXVII (opening the section on marriage issues) and the *Arbor Consanguinitatis*, most of the narratively significant initials and features in an early Gratian.¹⁶ For Medica his art is that of Northeast Italy, the Po Valley, *'un gusto tutto*

in note 1). An important aspect of manuscripts in French municipal libraries is their provenance, frequently from neighbouring major monastic libraries of European importance, Corbie in the case of Amiens, Citeaux in the case of Troyes, raising questions of internal copying as well as the ability to acquire manuscripts at an early date from Bologna and other centres of learning. The monastic origins of the surviving fragments of the First Recension discussed above confirm the importance of this association. While the monastic suppressions of France's Catholic neighbours were generally less dramatic unless imposed by the Napoleonic wars, similar forces and historical concerns arise among most major European libraries, as evinced by the major Benedictine copies in Munich.

¹² MELNIKAS 1975 (see in note 1), *Distinctiones* (Part I), figs. 11, 20.

¹³ Acquired from Durham Cathedral in the 17th century.

¹⁴ SCHADT, H.: *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis und der Arbores Affinitatis: Bildschemata in juristischen Handschriften*. Tübingen 1982, figs. 61-62, 57, pp. 141-162; L'ENGLE, S. – GIBBS, R.: *Illuminating the Law: Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections*. London 2001, pp. 105-110. Schadt considers the Cambridge Tables to be copied from the Bamberg manuscript, but since they are by the same artist or at least the same workshop, and closer to the Beaune model than the Vercelli example

or Bamberg, ms. Can. 15, it is difficult to establish priority. It seems unlikely that the evolutionary chain can be quite as tight as Schadt suggests, or the time-span as short, given that the Amiens manuscript seems to represent a certain evolutionary advance over some of the others, yet its Consanguinity Tree is one of the closest artistically to the presumed Beaune source. The Sydney Sussex *Gratian*, considered by Kuttner and Schadt a 12th-century manuscript, may be somewhat later than the dating of circa 1175 I gave it in 2001, since its type of fine red and blue display capitals persists at least into the 1220s, viz. the Morimondo Lectionary datable between 1218 and 1246 (probably before 1228); see Sotheby's [De HAMEL, C.]: *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*. London, 2 December 1997, lot 49; the manuscript formerly belonged to the Giovio family, possibly since the 16th century, sold at Christie's, London, 1 June 1977, lot 171, to H. P. Kraus, to Neil Phillips (638).

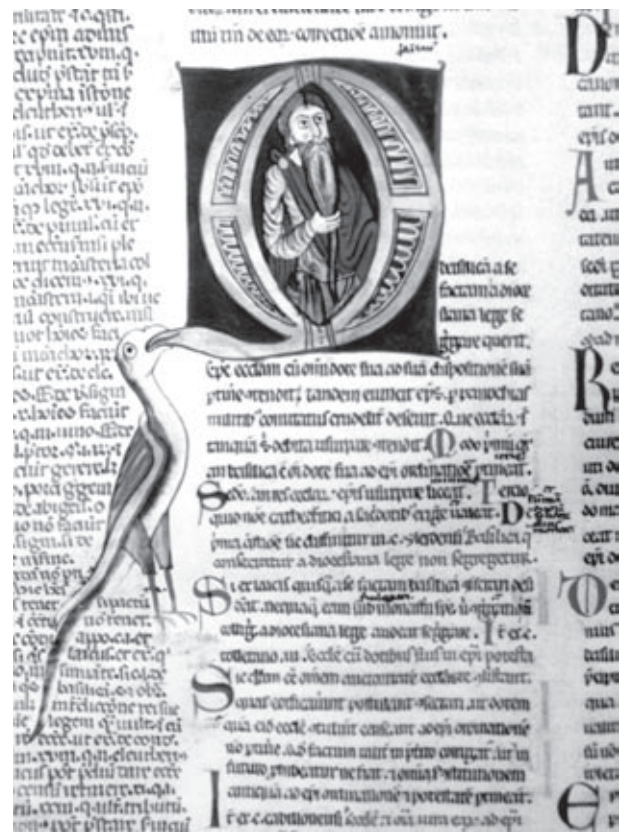
¹⁵ GARRISON, E. B.: *Pictorial Histories I. The Master of the Avila Bible*. In: GARRISON, E. B.: *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, 4 vols. Florence 1953 – 1963, Vol. 1, p. 110; and GARRISON, E. B.: *Twelfth-Century Initial Styles of Central Italy*. In: *Ibidem*, Vol. 2, pp. 37-68, 82-114. Knut Berg also considered the illuminator to be Roman. – BERG 1968 (see in note 2).

¹⁶ MEDICA 2000 (see in note 11), No. 39; MELNIKAS 1975 (see in note 1) illustrates most of the frontispieces.

padano, though without specific comparison. More likely, however, in view of the strong Byzantinism of his art and its affinity to both the Cracow Gratian and the group of manuscripts from Calci, is that he was actually Pisan, though working in a different and less classical or Greek idiom than the Beaune and Cracow artists.

The almost artless drawing of the *Bratislava Gratian* and the principal artist of the Arras copy appears to present a style local and primitive, in both senses, to Bologna's native artists, on whose limited training and skill the styles of Pisan Byzantine painting, Tuscan and North Italian Lombardo-Venetian Romanesque illumination, all made their mark. Both manuscripts have the Pope-Emperor H: the coarse stars on the background of the Bratislava manuscript's initial, a circle surrounded by a ring of dots, foretell the importance of white filigree detail on later Bolognese and Italian illuminated blue grounds. Numerous details connect the work of the principal workshop in both. The faces of the Infamous accuser, Causa V, and the languishing bishop of Causa VII are typical of both manuscripts, complete with the pointed profile of the bishop's physician. Causa X has a letter Q with a bird biting its tail very much as in the Bratislava Causa I, and the bearded man within is a rather more maturely drawn member of the same family of figures [Fig. 7]. In general both show historiated initials divided between a pair of figures creating a simple narrative, similar to the Amiens designs in principle, and a single figure; Arras combines both formats with foliate designs at Causa XVIII and Causa XVIV (sic), the latter using a tree to separate the two clergy vowed to monasticism of the Case. Taken together the distinctly local workshop can be seen to become steadily more confident in drawing Tuscan letter forms and foliate spirals and more assured also in figure drawing.

From Causa I, however, the manuscripts diverge in iconography and often in artistry: the Bratislava copy shows the father and son, the sort of two-person reduced narrative dominant later in the Amiens manuscript, while the Arras manuscript has a foliate/grotesque initial like Troyes, ms. 60 but by the second workshop from which Central Italian influences are entirely absent. The tail of the initial Q in the Arras copy is transformed into the protagonists themselves, father holding up a squatting son. For



7. Arras, *Bibl. Municip.*, ms. 585 (ancien 493), Gratian, fol. 92v, Causa X.

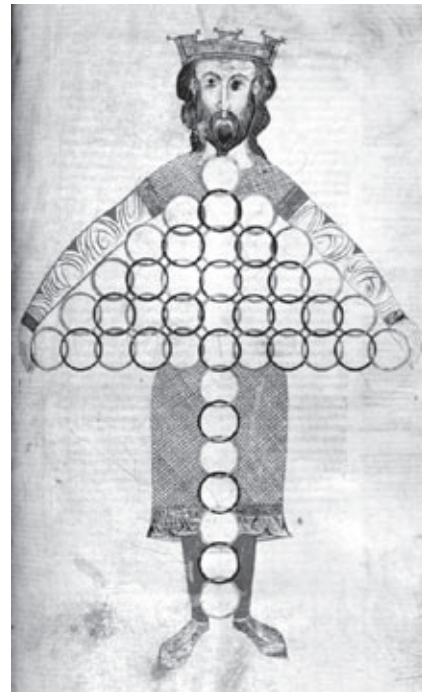
Causae XIV the relationship is reversed, *Bratislava* having foliate initials where *Arras* matches Amiens, ms. 354 closely. At Causa II *Arras* shows the torso of a standing bishop just as *Amiens* does, an iconography generally repeated for Causae III. But Causa V opens *'In infamiam'*, and here the capital I divides the Arras manuscript and certain others from the more formal Amiens copy: in the latter the improperly accused bishop is shown against a formal background, though he does, in fact, represent the I; in the Arras copy the accuser stands against the rest of the opening words as one of the letters, without any framing to disguise this double role. The early Bolognese or Italian copies are quite widely divided between these and even more formal treatments. Causa VIII repeats this division of treatments, the bishop forming the initial I (*n extremis agens*) but framed in the Amiens copy, unframed in the Arras and Troyes copies, a distinction that Ciardi Dupré sees as separating

the latter quite clearly from the Tuscan idiom. The Bratislava manuscript was designed by its scribe for a similar treatment never carried out.

Given the wide variation in style in the realisation of the Arras manuscript's illumination it is a possibility that it was completed elsewhere than Bologna, but the second hand of *Causa* I-II has sufficient aspects of facial type and drapery in common with the main artist for this to be unlikely. It is more probable that it is the product of a range of local loosely trained artists, and the unity of the Bratislava manuscript to result from its being taken into use before completion, as has proved to be the norm of Bolognese manuscripts, especially in the period 1160 – 1250.

Since no early legal manuscript has a specific colophon or other direct origin for its place of production the source of their production must be deduced from a comparison of the surviving copies. It goes without saying that the only centre for large-scale copying of the text was Bologna itself where Gratian supposedly composed it and where it was certainly taught and modified at a very early date. No extensive schools devoted to the study of law are known elsewhere during the dominance of Gratian's text despite some short-lived beginnings in Pavia and Modena. For copies to be produced an exemplar was needed, and by the mid-13th century the *pecia* system prevailed in both Bologna and Paris to allow multiple copying. The development of the gloss rendered the presence of a body of source material even more crucial. It may therefore be assumed that professionally produced Italian copies will normally emanate from Bologna, though the origins of the prominent 'Channel School' group of illuminated Gratians remain somewhat mysterious, and the illumination of others might not necessarily have taken place in Bologna itself. The many spaces left for later unrealised illumination demonstrates that this was often the case, at least in principle, though it is also relatively rare for a manuscript to receive illumination later.

The Bratislava manuscript has one feature missing from the Arras copy that is of considerable help in establishing the unity of origin for a widely diverse group of artists and associating the Bratislava/Arras pair with them. This is the 'Tree of Consanguinity' embraced by a regal/imperial figure and partnered



8. Bratislava, Slovak National Archives, ms. 14 (*Jur.* 46), Gratian, p. 515, *Arbor Consanguinitatis*.

in some other 12th-century copies by the 'Tree of Affinity' embraced by a married couple [Fig. 8]. The presence of a single table in the Bratislava manuscript is possibly in itself an indication of an early date among the group of manuscripts discussed here, while the Amiens copy has a single illuminated tree but also space for the Affinity Tree which has been added purely as a diagram. This reflects the evolution of the marriage tables throughout the group of pre-1215 copies as a whole. Just as it is possible to see the increasing stylistic impact of other artists working in the same centre (Bologna presumably) upon the Bratislava/Arras workshop, so the evolution of the 'Trees' and the interchanging of variant designs between the different ateliers is also evidence for their location in a single major centre.

The head of this evolution, along with several aspects of Bolognese Gratian illumination, is the Gratian in Beaune, ms. 5, in which a pair of tables was included already within *Causa* 35 but very different as a pair from those that came later. They form part of the minimal programme normal to early copies, frontispieces for Part I and *Causa* I,

plus three tables. The second table, however, is not the Affinity Tree introduced later to identify prohibited degrees of marriage between in-laws as well as within a single family but the Civil Law degrees of relationship within a single family, to 6 rather than 7 degrees, and whose representation had been banned in 1063 by Pope Alexander II. In the Beaune Consanguinity Table a Byzantine Emperor very faithfully depicted presents the 7-degree Canonical Tree, while a youthful prince forms the central focus of the Civilian Table, remarkable for the confident depiction of classical contrapposto. The emperor is similar to Byzantine representations of Basil II in pose and Nicephorus III in respect of his vestments: the diadem, stole (*loros*) and apparels of the tunic. The emperor holds a long imperial standard (*labarum*) and an orb of blue, a cross in its centre, the pale blue lower section suggesting the ocean against the heaven. It is clear that the artist has an essentially Byzantine training as well as Byzantine models of the highest quality, and it appears highly likely that the whole design represents the Greek treatment of these tables, unfortunately not preserved in any surviving example. For such a profoundly antique treatment of Byzantine art one must look to Pisa in this period.¹⁷

Several different artists took up the Beaune design for the Canonical Tree based upon the Byzantine Emperor. One of these was responsible for a detached example in Bamberg, ms. Can. 15, in which a similar figure holds a table laid out quite differently in radiating lines, and the *Benediktbeuern Gratian*, BSB, ms. Clm 4505, in which instead of holding aloft the standard and orb he drops his arms to hold the table, a design taken over from earlier images based probably on Adam, uncrowned, and appearing in such trees before Gratian's *Decretum* replaced earlier

legal compilations.¹⁸ This artist adopts a version of the densely pleated style associated with French and English art around 1200 in combination with Romanesque dampfold patterns. He preserves the Emperor's crown and the top and bottom of the apparels on his tunic but simplifies the red cushion into a rectangular base.

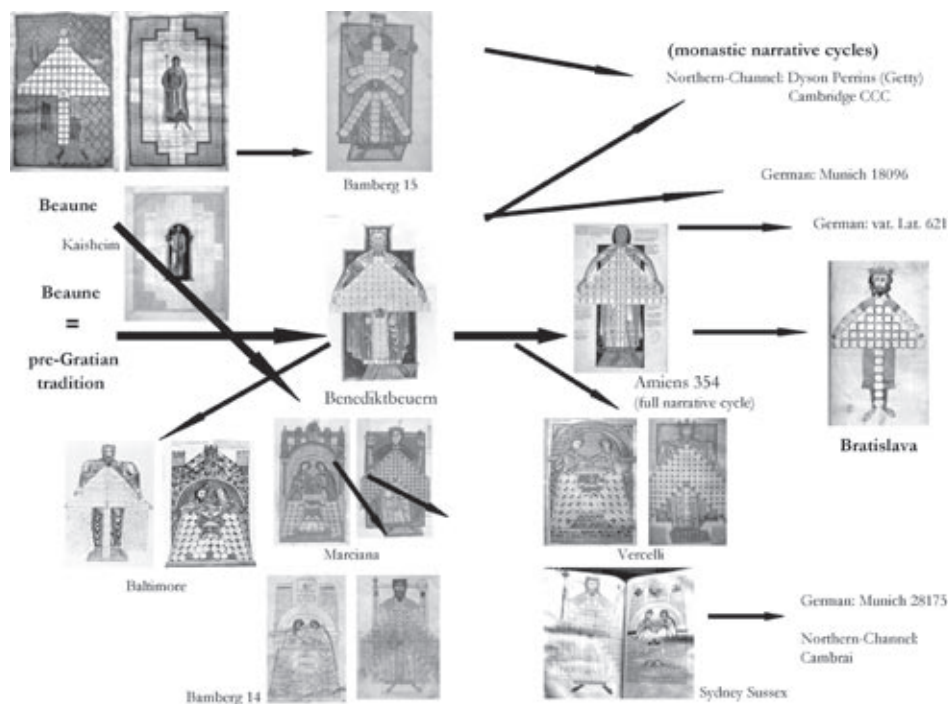
The other artist close to the model in spirit, perhaps also Pisan but working in a more Westernised version of Byzantine style sharing the greenish undertone for flesh and a classical sense of body movement, but stylising the drapery into more emphatically linear patterns, was the senior artist of Amiens, ms. 354 (Corbie). He, however, drops the shoulder apparels, though preserving the contrapposto of the model much better articulated than by the Benediktbeuern artist. While the latter cannot have got the design from the Amiens artist, the Amiens artist might have drawn it from the Benediktbeuern master, since he adopts the down-turned arms of that artist. Moreover, the table is constructed in arcades within a solid triangle in Beaune, ms. 5, the *Benediktbeuern Gratian* and Amiens, ms. 354, but not in any subsequent examples.

In the Venice-Vercelli copies, as well as Bamberg, ms. Can. 14 and Sydney Sussex, ms. 101, the Emperor retains his shoulder apparels, but the table becomes arrow-shaped, its compartments reduced to circles. In the latter pair the emperor raises his orb high, an urgent gesture not very classical in character. They derive either from the Beaune or Benediktbeuern masters rather than the Amiens one in the first instance, but the table is now coupled with a Tree of Affinity held by a married couple. The Cambridge copy has the orb turned into a plant-like form, a development subsequently followed by non-Italian copies, and probably showing it to be the

¹⁷ The great 4-volume Bible commissioned by the priest Gerardo of S. Vito, Pisa, on 6 October 1168 (1169 Pisan style), formerly Certosa di Calci, ms. 1, and now in the Museo di S. Matteo, Pisa, provides a secure basis for the attribution of a series of manuscripts to Pisan artists, as Berg and Dalli Regoli have shown; see BERG 1968 (see in note 2), pp. 146-168; DALLI REGOLI, G.: *Miniatura a Pisa fra I secoli XII-XIV*. In: *La miniature italiana in età romanica e gotica. Atti del I Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana, Cortona, 26-28 maggio 1978*. Florence 1979, pp. 23-50. See also GARRISON, E. B.: *Thirteenth-Century Survival or Revival in Tuscany*. In:

GARRISON 1953 – 1963 (see in note 15), Vol. 3, pp. 336 ff; and De HAMEL, C.: *The Book: A History of the Bible*. London 2001, pp. 88-91, pl. 62. For Pisan painting in this period see BURRESI, M. – CALECA, A.: *Medioevo a Volterra: Arte nell'antica Diocesi fino a Duecento*. Pisa – Volterra 2002, pp. 185-189; BURRESI, M. – CALECA, A. (eds.): *Cimabue a Pisa*. Pisa 2005, pp. 68-69, 100-101. The artist of the S. Vito Bible and the Beaune Gratian is probably not to be identified as Alberto da Volterra but perhaps Adalberto as a distinct person.

¹⁸ SCHADT 1982 (see in note 14), pp. 117-122, figs. 42-47.



9. *Tree of Trees*. The diagram shows the artistic reduction of the Beaufort design and its merging with different designs for the table itself.

later of the two, perhaps leading to the trans-Alpine examples.¹⁹ In the Marciana copy the sequence of the Trees is reversed, and so is the composition of the emperor who sways precariously to the left. This is presumably a traced design from the Bamberg-Sydney Sussex group. But the same workshop working in copies in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 777, and Vercelli, Bibl. Capit. XXV (118) adopted the Amiens design, without shoulder apparels and with his arms downturned in an awkwardly angular pose. The Baltimore table is still triangular, and it therefore probably provides the link between Amiens, ms. 354 and Vercelli, though exceptionally the emperor stands on steps rather than the diapered plinths of the Beaufort tradition. From the sequence of shifting designs gradually losing the classicism of Beaufort, ms. 5 and incorporating different designs for the tables probably drawn up by scribes or legists rather than artists it is clear that all are working in a common milieu shared by all three professions.

¹⁹ Ibidem, figs. 63-64, as French.

A single workshop may use at least two different designs, while several share the general conception of the same design.

The Bratislava artist fits into this tree of Trees but with characteristic eccentricity. His design falls somewhere between the Amiens, ms. 354 artist and Vercelli, Bibl. Capit. XXV (118). The single Arbor figure, a crowned king with no imperial attributes, a fine but over-large head on a rather truncated body, holding a table composed of unframed intersecting circles of red and blue alternately (never given their inscriptions), is artistically very loosely related indeed to the coherent evolution of the Beaufort-Amiens-Bamberg-Marciana lineage. The king wears a very short frock-like garment, enriched with the imperial apparels on the shoulders and hem but far too short and curved at the hips to be the imperial tunic. It has the same crosshatched treatment as the dress worn by the wife of Causa XXVII and is clearly by the same artist [Figs. 4, 8]. Only the red swirls of drapery on his arms suggest that he was vaguely acquainted with the *Arbores* of the other manuscripts, and perhaps only through an intermediary.

These Trees not only share significant design features but they provide one of the few precise *termini ante quam* that we have to date the early illuminated copies of the *Decretum Gratiani*. The first is the introduction of the *Arbor Affinitatis* whose absence from Beaune and the other early examples, on artistic grounds, of Benediktbeuern and Amiens shows it to be secondary. Consanguinity defines blood relationships, which we still today consider to be incestuous, at least in the first two or three degrees. Affinity defines relationships by marriage within which the Judaeo-Christian tradition forbade further inter-marriage, as our secular law does not. The Bratislava manuscript fits into our tree of Trees immediately after them and before the Marciana and Sydney Sussex groups.

The second *terminus* is the Lateran Council of 1215, which bowed to the prohibitively exclusive nature of canonical calculations by reducing the forbidden marital degrees from 7 to 4. The Canonical counting of degrees was more exclusive than the Civilian, excluding the marriage of second cousins whereas Civil Law allowed matrimony between first cousins.²⁰ In both systems marriage between direct descendants and ancestors were absolutely precluded: between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, etc. But the Civil Law counted degrees up to the common ancestor and back down to the partner. The Canonists, on the other hand, simply counted up to the common ancestor, hence the considerably greater degree of exclusion even after 1215. All the Trees so far discussed, including a pair of diagrammatic tables added to the flyleaves of the

Beaune copy and the Affinity tree added to Amiens, ms. 354 are of 7 degrees, additions emphasising the early nature of the original manuscript.

Remarkably none of the Bolognese Gratians so far published has a 4-degree table, and indeed the production of illuminated law books seems to have largely dried up in Bologna between 1200 and the 1240s despite this being the peak of the University's success. When the *Arbores* reappear in Bologna they no longer comment upon Gratian's text but the more recent volume of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Gregory IX's *Decretales* or *Liber Extra*, laid out and illuminated by specialists and after 1300 framed by Giovanni d'Andrea's brief treatise as the opening of the third volume, Boniface VIII's *Liber Sextus*. By now Bologna's artists were not only flourishing but developing a relatively unified style, at least in comparison to their 12th-century predecessors. The development of the Bratislava/Arras workshop anticipated this growing cohesion in its gradual absorption of the Central Italian style; however, not only the mysterious gap in Bolognese production but the mimetic revolution of the Gothic and the Paleologan Renaissance lie between them. The development of the Trees, on the other hand, shows the reduction of the classical/Byzantine ideal of the Beaune copy into the eccentricity of the Bratislava artist and the formalisation of the Marciana and Sydney Sussex workshops. The artists of the late 13th and early 14th century will once more reconcile the Byzantine ideal with Western perspectives, but now they will be informed by Aristotelian pragmatism and St. Francis's love of living things, and the *Arbores* will begin to look like trees with natural branches.

²⁰ *The Institutes of Justinian*. Trans. J. B. MOYLE. Oxford 1913 (5th ed.), Book I, X, cap. 4, p. 13.

Bratislavský Gracián, jeho miesto v rodostrome ,Stromov príbuzenstva' a jeho afinity

Resumé

Decretum Gratiani je prvý a najdlhší text *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. V bratislavskom rukopise 14 (Jur. 46) (Bratislava, knižnica Bratislavskej kapituly), ako aj v rukopise 585 z Arrasu (Bibliothèque Municipale d'Arras), je iniciála H, ktorá otvára text, tvorená postavami pápeža a cisára stojacich vedľa seba. Expandujúce ruky odrážajú antropomorfnú tradíciu etablovanú v nemeckom písomníctve od merovejského obdobia. Oba tieto rukopisy pravdepodobne reprezentujú prúd lokálnej bolonskej iluminácie, hoci bratislavská kópia predstavuje minimálny program výzdoby, zvyčajne prítomný v ranných graciánových dekrétach, Časti I a Cauze I, rozšírený o tri ďalšie iniciály pre Cauzu 13 a 14, fóliu a obrazy manžela a manželky, uvádzajúcich sekciu o manželskom práve v Cauze 27. Kópia z Arrasu sa zdá byť vyhotovená tým istým umelcom, alebo dielňou, ako bratislavská, avšak na mierne pokročilejšom stupni, absorbujúcom vplyv toskánskych a stredotalianskych iluminátorov, ktorí dominovali v tomto období, a to vrátane Bologne. Má takmer kompletný program maliarskej výzdoby, ktorý je spojitelný s viacerými odlišnými dielňami, toskánsku nevyvímajúc. Táto umelecká výmena podporuje názor, že obidva rukopisy, tak bratislavský, ako aj arraský, boli vyhotovené v jednom a tom istom centre právnických štúdií 12. storočia, v Boloni.

Oba spomínané rukopisy môžu byť dané do protikladu s rukopisom 354 z Amiens, ktorý je pravdepodobne prvým bolonským rukopisom s úplným epickým programom. Jedná sa asi o dielo pisanského umelca ovplyvneného byzantským umením a Majstrom Biblie z Avily, umbrijsko-rímskym umelcom, činným v severnom Taliansku, ale v tomto prípade nasledujúcim pisanský umelecký rozvrh. Bratislavský rukopis obsahuje tiež 'Strom príbuzenstva' podopieraného kráľom, obraz, ktorý je odvodený zo série vyobrazení byzantského cisára v tejto úlohe. Originálne vyobrazenie sa nachádza pravdepodobne v rukopise 5 z Beaune so štandardne minimálnym programom, ktorého autorom bol v byzantskom prostredí školený umelec, autor pisanskej biblie S. Vito. Sledujúc vzájomné pôsobenie odlišných vzorov 'Stromu príbuzenstva', ktoré vyplynulo zo zlúčenia beaunského obrazu so staršou tradíciou, založenou na patriarchovi (Adam?), ku ktorému došlo vo vnútri dielne a medzi dielňami, je možné usudzovať, že Bologna bola najpravdepodobnejším centrom pre takéto vývojové trendy. Z takéhoto pohľadu potom predstavuje bratislavská kópia odľahlé a snáď pôvodné bolonské podanie, hoci väčšina iluminátorov pochádzala z iných miest.

Preklad I. Ciulisová

Dmitrieva, Marina: *Italien in Sarmatien. Studien zum Kulturtransfer im östlichen Europa in der Zeit der Renaissance*

DMITRIEVA, Marina: *Italien in Sarmatien. Studien zum Kulturtransfer im östlichen Europa in der Zeit der Renaissance* (=Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa, Bd. 32). Stuttgart : Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008, 277 pp., numerous black and white and colour photographs, ISBN 978-3-515-08924-1.



16th-century Renaissance art and Europe will no doubt serve as a useful mine of information on a wide spectrum of cultural activities, from architecture to political ceremonies; it is well informed and its author's order of treatment must, however, bear in mind that this is not a systematic survey and that the methodology is not without flaws. The book's focus on barbarian Sarmatia is in principle laudable (the book on principle omits the "backward East"). The geographical and temporal coordinates are specified by the subtitle, but the book deals mostly with the half-century around 1550. The Rudolphine Prague of 1600 is mentioned several times, but no chapter is devoted to it. From the Eastern Central Europe the territory of former kingdoms of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary receives the greatest attention. From 1526 Bohemia and Hungaria were inseparably connected with the duchy of Austria, but from this region only Innsbruck of Archduke Ferdinand attracted Dmitrieva's attention. Bavaria is left out completely and from Saxony merely the Dresden castle is picked out in a chapter on sgraffitti. On the other hand, Russia is included.

The first chapter, "Die Kunstregion Ostmitteleuropa: kritische Betrachtung einer Forschungslandschaft", is a detailed survey of relevant scholarship, in which Jan Bialostocki dominates. Dmitrieva criticises at length the traditional identification of peripheral art with provincialism or backwardness and rightly concludes that the East (Central) European culture is a phantom (e.g.: "... stehen die Versuche, Ostmittel- bzw. Mitteleuropa als eine Kunstregion zu definieren, auf unsiche-

ren Füßen und führen meistens zur Erzeugung von Entitäten bzw. zu einer Absonderung oder Abkapselung dieser Region vom restlichen Europa. Die Kunstgeographie [...] basierte auf einer Herausfilterung von [...] Konstanten, die meistens nicht nachweisbar und eigentlich reine Impressionen geblieben sind." – p. 26).

So far so good, but thereafter came a Mannerist twist, which made me think that the opening methodological discussion came from another book. The second chapter is devoted to Italian artists in Poland, Bohemia, Hungary and Russia; in the third chapter Zamość, castle Ambras, ceremonies and sgraffitti decoration in Eastern Europe are discussed; the fourth chapter is devoted to Buda and Poland (Cracow, Lublin and funeral sculpture). In her discussions Dmitrieva repeatedly evokes local conditions and/or initiatives in her explanations; the concept of East (Central) European culture was thus surprisingly dusted off. According to her, for instance, the revival of Habsburg Prague, which begun in the 1530s, was due exclusively to local factors: Prague was safer than Vienna endangered by Turks, local noblemen were ambitious builders, and last but not least the Bohemian governor residing in Prague, archduke Ferdinand, loved art. That is why, Dmitrieva argues, he built for his father Belvedere in the Royal garden and for himself the Villa Star (p. 61). Later on she repeatedly insists on this idea (e.g.: "Die Präsenz des Hofstaates Erzherzog Ferdinands in Prag [...] führte zu einer Aufwertung der Nebenresidenz Prag von einer provinziellen Hauptstadt des königreichs Böhmen zu einem wichtigen kulturellen Zentrum in Europa, ja zu einer Metropole." – p. 139, similarly p. 168).

There is no doubt that at that time Czech nobility was self-confident, politically ambitious and very

rich. It is equally true that Archduke Ferdinand was great lover of art. But Dmitrieva did not explain how it came about that the most important architectural projects of Ferdinand I were not realised in Vienna, where this monarch resided, but in Prague, where he never stayed for a longer time. This anomaly cannot be explained by an allusion to Turkish threat and/or Ferdinand's son love of art. The most important of all projects of Ferdinand I, the Royal garden in Prague crowned with the Belvedere, begun to be constructed in 1534, when Archduke Ferdinand was only five years old. The Villa Star could be Archduke Ferdinand's initiative, but it was built for the future emperor. In 1555, when the villa was founded, it was already very probable that Ferdinand I would be emperor, which he de facto became the following year. We know that Archduke Ferdinand took enormous interest in the quick erection of the building, which was completed in surprisingly short time. On November 8, 1558, when Ferdinand I was festively received in Prague as newly elected emperor, the Villa Star was standing and the stucco relief decorations on ceilings were already completed in the most important rooms, the entrance corridor and the central hall.

The iconography of the Villa Star closely follows that of the arcades of the Belvedere (1537 – 1550) in which Ferdinand I is celebrated as a descendant of Venus, heir of ancient Roman emperors and predestined universal ruler.¹ Belvedere's sculptural decoration (175 scenes) and Villa Star's ceilings with equally rich stucco decoration represent the most extensive figural cycles north of Alps and their quality fully matches their Italian counterparts. Much more important is the fact that they were not copies but original creations, in which Italian Renaissance impulses were combined with local traditions. In this regard Ferdinand I entirely kept up with his brother and predecessor on the imperial throne, Charles V, as well as with the French royal court. In the number,

artistic quality and sophistication of Italianate works of art Ferdinand I actually left behind all rulers of transalpine Renaissance Europe. But Dmitrieva set at naught the lavish decoration of Ferdinand's Prague residences, with which only the Fontainebleau and Louvre of Frances I and Henry II can be compared. Cultural history cannot be, of course, reduced to outstanding works, but formal excellence and sophisticated iconography is very important indicator of patron's aims and ambitions and it also tells clearly whom these works of art addressed.

The Prague Belvedere and the Villa Star were sumptuously decorated state villas of pan-European importance, which Ferdinand I used as an argument for his imperial coronation, which he finally accomplished in 1558. Thanks to Emperor Charles IV, Prague had already had an imperial aura ever since the 14th century, which Ferdinand took programmatic advantage of. This was most markedly manifested in the fact that he had chosen precisely this city as the final resting place for himself and his descendants. The Belvedere at the Prague Castle and the suburban Villa Star did not address so much local people and Eastern Europe, as the West European political elite, above all potentates of the Holy Roman empire and its head, Emperor Charles V. The Prague Belvedere and the Villa Star demonstrate that culture of Eastern (Central) Europe cannot be studied in isolation; in this case any explanation from within distorts the historical evidence.

Dmitrieva's assertions that in the Bohemian kingdom the building activity of the ruler was overshadowed by that of nobility (p. 74, 90) is true only as concerns quantity. The quality of King Ferdinand's buildings by far surpassed that of his subjects and, what is even more important, they precede them in time. It was Ferdinand I and his Prague court, in which Florian Griespeck and Archduke Ferdinand dominated, who set the tone which noblemen and burghers followed. In this connection it must be re-

¹ Cf. BAŽANT, J.: The Prague Belvedere, Emperor Ferdinand I and Jupiter. In: *Umění*, 51, 2003, pp. 262-277; BAŽANT, J.: Emperor Ferdinand I, Boniface Wolmut and the Prague Castle. In: *Listy filologické*, 126, 2003, pp. 32-52; BAŽANT, J.: Le Belvédère Pragois de l'empereur Ferdinand I^{er}. Les aspects politiques du renouveau de la „maison antique“ du 16^{ème} siècle. In: *Eirene*, 41, 2005, pp. 161-210; BAŽANT, J.: *Pražský Belvédér*

a severská renesance [The Prague Belvedere and the Transalpine Renaissance]. Praha 2006; BAŽANT, J.: *The Prague Belvedere and the Transalpine Renaissance*. CD-ROM, Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Science of the Czech Republic. Prague 2008; BAŽANT, J.: Villa Star in Prague. In: *Arx*, 41, 2008, No. 1, pp. 55-72.

gretted that Dmitrieva's book only briefly mentions (p. 192) Italianate projects of Ferdinand's predecessors on the Bohemian throne, Vladislav II of Jagellon, because north of Alps Italian Renaissance influences appeared for the first time in Corvin's Hungary and Jagellon Bohemia and Moravia. Vladislav II had also imperial ambitions, which were stimulated by the death of Habsburg Emperor Fridrich III in 1493 (his successor Maxmilian started to use the imperial title only from 1508). Around 1500 Vladislav II and his court introduced to the Bohemian kingdom new architectural types (representative city palace, suburban villa), new genres in painting (landscape, *trompe l'oeil*, genre scene) and in sculpture (portrait medaillons *à l'antica*), etc.²

Dmitrieva's picture of 16th century Bohemian kingdom is, as is to be expected, wholly dependent on Czech historical scholarship, which has a tendency to play down the role of monarch and stress the importance of local nobility and cities, which is also to be expected. The reception of Italian Renaissance art in the Bohemian kingdom was, however, initiated and later on continually propagated by rulers, at first monarchs from the house of Jagellon and beginning with 1526 from the house of Habsburg. Their enthusiastic adoption of Italian Renaissance culture was politically motivated, for them it was above all an acknowledged attribute of the Holy Roman Empire. Massive implementation of Italianate forms and iconography in 16th century Bohemian kingdom, which makes it different from the rest of Europe, cannot be lifted out of this political context.

After these general remarks we may proceed to the way Dmitrieva handles the individual monuments. We shall concentrate on the Prague Belvedere, which the reviewer knows the best. As concerns the realisation of Ferdinand's plan, Dmitrieva writes: "*Paolo della Stella der gewöhnlich als Autor des Projektes gilt und vorher als Bildhauer an der St. Antonio-Basilika in Padua gearbeitet hatte, soll dem Kaiser ein model des Lustschlosses in Genua vorgelegt haben*" (p. 69). Ferdinand definitely was not at the genesis of the architectural concept

of the Prague Belvedere. According to a report from June 1, 1538, Stella was hired by an imperial delegate in Genoa, namely by Spanish banker Gomez Suarez de Figueroa. This fact is extraordinarily significant, because Suarez de Figueroa was a man of high standing, who worked his way up to the position of minister of finance for Charles V. He was undoubtedly well oriented with questions of the taste of the time, so he was able to further develop Ferdinand's conception and perhaps even formulate it better than the builder himself.

In the initial stage, Ferdinand's contribution was thus exclusively his ambition to build a Belvedere *à l'antica* in the Royal garden at Prague. The architectural form and system of sculptural decoration of the Prague Belvedere was the outcome of negotiations between Paolo della Stella, a pupil of Jacopo Sansovino, and the Spanish banker. The decisive impulse came not from north Italian cities, as Dmitrieva thinks, but from papal Rome, where Jacopo Sansovino was trained in the workshop of Raphael, and where the papal Belvedere (1484 – 1487), a counterpart to the Prague Belvedere, dominated the ancient Via Triumphalis. But the type of villa, which Ferdinand built at Prague Castle, could arrive from ancient Rome to Prague also via Madrid. No less significant was the fact that the model was ordered in Genoa, which was then famous due to its representative villa architecture and ever since 1533, the already famous Villa Doria stood here, the column arcades of which could have served as a model for the Prague Belvedere.

In Dmitrieva's analysis aspects, which transcend or contradict her self-imposed East (Central) European horizon, are unfortunately left out. Examples may be easily multiplied: as regards Ferdinand's 1558 triumphal entry to Prague, she asserts that the city of Prague used this occasion to make itself visible: "*Im Gegensatz zum Prager Fest, wo das städtische Selbstbewußtsein deutlich thematisiert wurde, trat in Krakau die Stadt hinter der Dynastie merklich zurück*" (p. 159). This is wholly unsubstantiated: the Prague procession was entirely under the baton of Archduke Ferdinand and

² Cf. BAŽANT, J.: „Bohemia“ and „Prague“. In: *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*. Ed. P. F. GRENDLER. New York 1999, Vol. 1, pp. 242-245 and Vol. 5, pp. 146-148; BAŽANT, J.: *Byl Vladislav II. mecenášem umění?* [Was Vladislav II a

Maecenas of Art?] In: SILAGIOVÁ, Z. – ŠEDINOVÁ, H. – KITZLER, P. (eds.): *Pulchritudo et Sapientia. Ad honorem Pavel Špunar*. Praha 2008.

its tone was decidedly pro-imperial with clear anti-Prague and anti-Bohemian allusions.³

As is to be expected in a book of this range, there are some inconsistencies, misleading formulations and errors, which could be easily corrected in the second edition. In the chapter devoted to Bohemia the author repeatedly writes about “imperial” projects in a period pre-dating the election of Ferdinand I as Holy Roman emperor in 1558, which might be confusing (pp. 61, 62, 69). The Ball House in the Royal garden in Prague (1567 – 1569) could not be built by Archduke Ferdinand II for Emperor Ferdinand I (p. 62), if only because Ferdinand died in 1564 and archduke left Prague forever in 1567. “*Beim Einzug Heinrichs II. in Rouen von 1550 wurden die Kinder als ‘anciens Romains’ gekleidet, um einen antiken Triumph vorzutäuschen*” (p. 152); this entry was the first French *entrée solennelle* imitating explicitly ancient Roman triumph; it was expressed not only by ancient costumes, but also by the triumphal carriage with monarch crowned by Victory, elephants, captives, soldiers carrying representations of captured cities, etc. It is to be noted that in this well produced book there are only few typos: “*Anghari*” instead of

“*Anghari*” (p. 11), “*Perykles*” instead of “*Perikles*” (p. 96), “*Kacerov*” instead of “*Kaceřov*” (p. 61), “*Bechyně*” instead of “*Bechyně*” (p. 72), “*Nové Zámky*” instead of “*Nové Zámky*” (p. 101), “*Giovanni Dalmata [...] 1588 bis 1590*” instead of “*1488 bis 1490*” (p. 189). The book is completed with a rich bibliography and useful indexes.

The critical remark expressed above does not affect in any way my initial statement that Dmitrieva wrote an impressive and useful book. She and Franz Steiner Verlag are to be congratulated to this important contribution, which significantly enriches our perception of 16th century culture in Eastern (Central) Europe. What is perhaps even more important, the book may open this region up to German students and all those interested in Renaissance culture.

Jan Bažant

³ BAŽANT, J.: Pompa in honorem Ferdinandi 1558. In: NECHUTOVÁ, J. (ed.): *Druhý život antického mýtu* [Second Life of the Antique Myth]. Brno 2004, pp. 195-205; BAŽANT,

J.: *Pražský Belvédér a severská renesance* [The Prague Belvedere and the Transalpine Renaissance]. Praha 2006, pp. 219-236.

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