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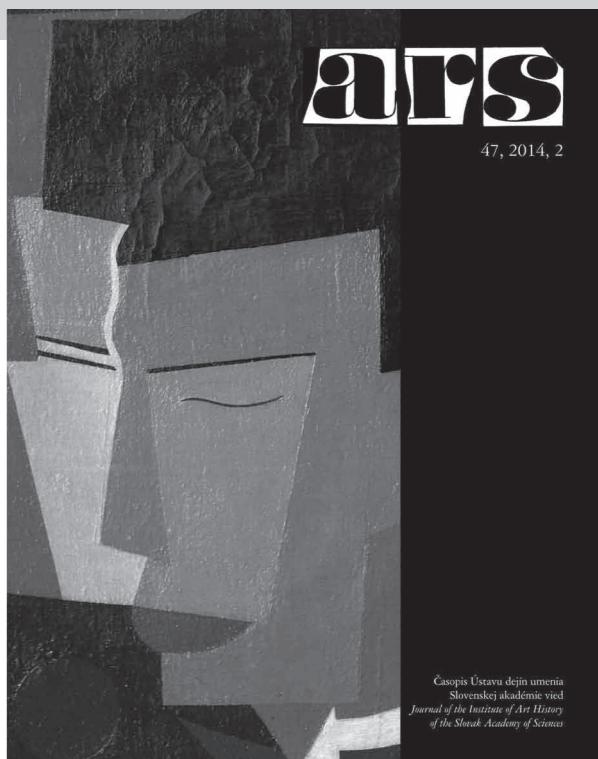
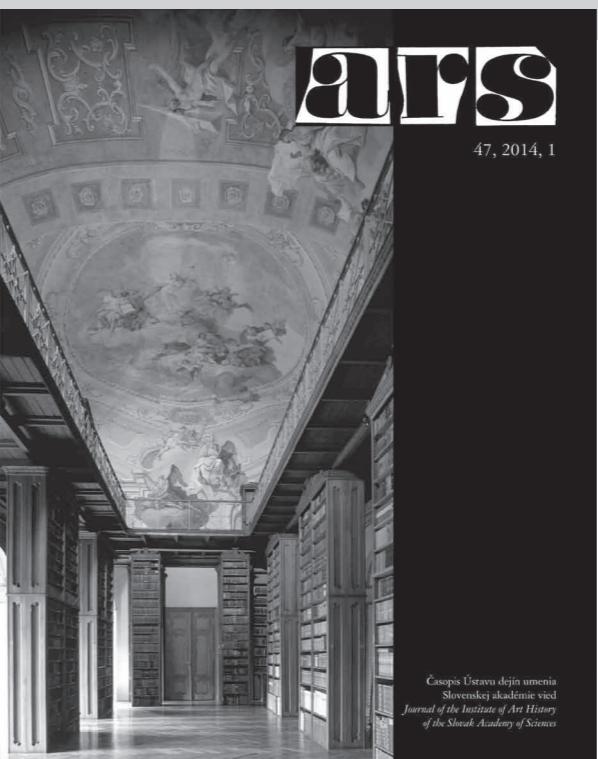
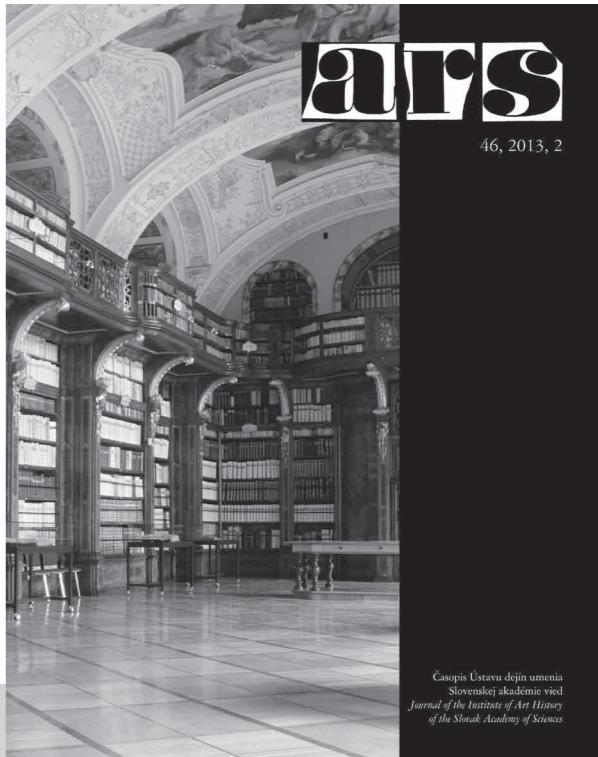
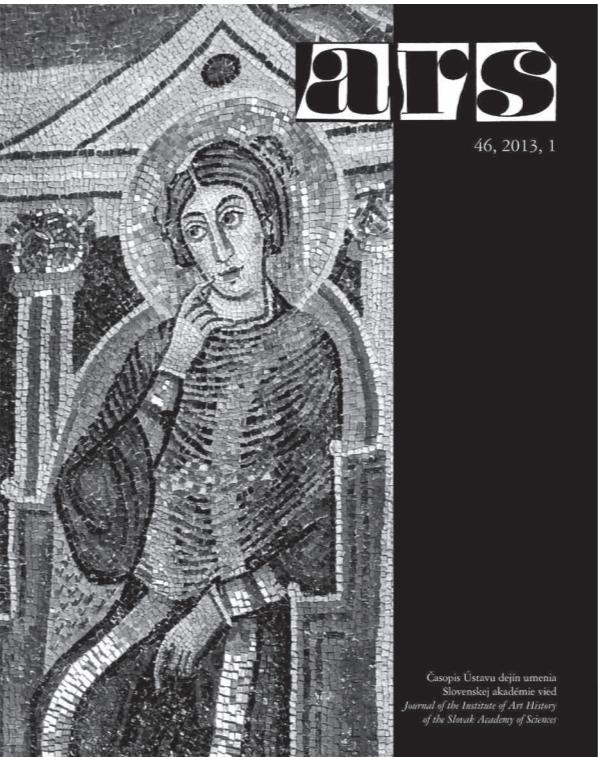
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NA OBÁLKE / ON THE COVER:
Antonín Pelc, There is no Joy without Freud! ink on paper, 1936, Národní galerie, Praha
(Pozri s. 83, obr. 1 / See p. 83, fig. 1)



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Towards Understanding Visual Styles As Inventions Without Expiration Dates

How the View of Architectural History as Permanent Presence Might Contribute to Reforming Education of Architects and Designers¹

Jan MICHL

“... the axe invented by historians to divide ancient from modern architecture never existed in the minds of users of architecture, but only in the minds and intentions of the ‘employees’.”
– Paolo PORTOGHESI, 1980

“Modern architecture is like Esperanto, an attempt to invent and impose a common ‘rational’ language and succeeding only in being incomprehensible and alien to the majority of people.”
– Louis HELLMAN, 1986.

“Scared of being just the design department of the construction industry, [modernists have] created a monstrous delusion of self-importance.” – Robert ADAM, 2009²

¹ This essay adds to the sizable work of many writers who have felt, during the past 50 years or so, that something was seriously amiss with the foundations of the modernist architecture, and who searched for alternatives to the reigning modernist concepts. The present paper has in various ways drawn from them all. I listed many of these authors in the penultimate section of MICHL, J.: A Case Against the Modernist Regime in Design Education. In: *Archnet-IJAR*, Vol. 8, Issue 2, July 2014/A (36-46) (online at <http://janmichl.com/eng.apartheid-ijar.pdf>). – The present text develops further some themes discussed in the following articles of mine: MICHL, J.: On Seeing Design as Redesign: An Exploration of a Neglected Problem in Design Education. In: *Scandinavian Journal of Design History* 2002, no. 12, pp. 7-23 (online at <http://janmichl.com/eng.redesign.html>); MICHL, J.: *The Modernist Idea of Architecture – or Please, Do Not Disturb: Busy Producing Art Historically Correct Expressions of the Modern Epoch*. 2011 (unpublished; online at <http://janmichl.com/eng.modernism-plymouth.html>); MICHL 2014/A (see above); MICHL, J.: Taking Down the Bauhaus Wall: Living Design History as a Tool for Better Design. In: *The Design Journal* 2014/B, vol. 17, issue 3, pp. 445-454 (online at <http://janmichl.com/eng.livingdesign>).

pdf). What is new here are twin concepts from Karl Popper’s late philosophy: his theory of “objective knowledge”, and his concept of “world 3”. As far as I know, they are employed here for the first time with the aim of establishing a realistic philosophically sound alternative to the modernist view of the past. – A shorter version of the present text was read at the International Karl Popper Symposium, *The Written Word*, at the University of Klagenfurt, Austria, in February 2015. – The title of the text was inspired by Martin Horáček’s path-breaking article on what he labelled “the problem of expiration of style”; cf. HORÁČEK, M.: The Problem of Expiration of Style and the Historiography of Architecture. In: Lepine, A. – Lodder, M. – McKeever, R. (eds.): *Revival: Memories, Identities, Utopias*. London 2015, pp. 86-99 (online at <http://courtauld.org.uk/pdf/books-online/revival/7.%20HORACEK.pdf>).

² The three mottoes come from PORTOGHESI, P.: The End of Prohibitionism. In: *The Presence of the Past. First International Exhibition of Architecture*. La Biennale di Venezia 1980, p. 9; MILLAIS, M.: *Exploding the Myths of Modern Architecture*. London 2009, p. 1; and ADAM, R.: “Healing the Healthy.” In: *Building Magazine*, 22 May 2009, p. 25.

1. Does the art of the past dwell in the past?

During the previous hundred or so years, a strange disjunction has emerged between how the public perceives the architecture and design of the past and how contemporary architects and designers do – a disjunction that did not seem to exist during the time of revival styles in the 19th and early 20th century. To put it simply, in the eyes of the general public, art of the past is perceived as a natural part of the present, while in view of the architects of the modernist persuasion – the absolute majority of the profession – the present is defined, somehow, as absence of the art of the past, that is, as the modernist architecture minus the pre-modernist past. So for the modernists, past and present are two separate entities. Because they saw it as their aim to bring about an “authentic” style of the modern epoch, the modernists viewed the aesthetic world of past architecture as an impediment, standing in the way of their plans. There was to be no trace of it in the architecture of the present.

No comparable separation seems to exist in other contemporary art fields, be it music, literature, theater or film. There the repudiation of past stylistic idioms is just one of many stylistic options, while in today's architecture, because of the modernists' near-total monopoly on architectural and design education, the dismissive attitude towards the pre-modernist past has dominated the profession.³ The part of the public that does not belong to the art world,⁴ that is, a large majority, simply does not understand why in architecture only a single type of aesthetic idiom – the

modernist one – is considered legitimate, and why, as a consequence, all other architectural styles are excluded from the architectural curriculum. This monopoly of the modernist aesthetic seems to be the main reason why the public and the architectural profession of today do not see eye to eye. Or, to put it less mildly, why the public rather often dislikes, and sometimes intensely loathes, contemporary architecture.

The arguments we have been hearing in this conflict of opinions belong almost exclusively to the modernist side. That is not surprising, since the architectural profession is a closely-knit, guildlike body, and the mainstream media in general embrace the modernist cause. The modernist position – that the past is simply past and the present is simply present – has always had an immediate plausibility that proved difficult to argue against. On the other hand, the common-sense feeling here ascribed to the public, that art of the past is a natural part of the modern present, has been seldom clearly articulated, and is usually limited to short frustrated utterances relegated to newspaper comment columns.⁵ The main reason why a voiced support for the point of view of the public – the principal audience for the visual presence of buildings in public space – has been rare is probably simple. It has been incomparably more prestigious to side with the modernist cause and to applaud the “avant-garde” positions than to espouse the perspective of the “philistine” public.⁶ For contemporary artists and intellectuals to embrace and defend the modernist point of view has been almost an automatic reaction, as if irreversibly imparted during their extended higher education.

³ Robert Adam in his essay of 2011 commented on the “logical mismatch” between the preferences of the architects and those of the public. He pointed out that while “...traditionalists number at most 2% of the UK profession”, repeated surveys indicate “a public preference for traditionally designed houses of somewhere around 85%.” ADAM, R.: Progress Isn't Always Modernist. www.ribajournal.com, May 2010, p. 40.

⁴ In referring to ‘the public that does not belong to the art world’, I take my cue from Ortega y Gasset’s 1925 essay “The Dehumanization of Art” where he cogently argued that the emerging modernist art was really “*an art for artists and not for the masses*.” In the same vein I speak then about “art public”, or “art people” comprising architects and artists and most of contemporary intellectuals, and about “non-art public”, or non-art people”, i.e. the great majority. Cf. ORTEGA Y

GASSET, J.: The Dehumanization of Art. In: *The Dehumanization of Art and Other Essays on Art, Culture, and Literature*. Trans. Helene Weyl. Princeton 1968 [1925], pp. 3-54.

⁵ However, the notion of a freestanding world of *objective knowledge*, discussed below in section 9 and onwards, seems to give support to that commonsense feeling.

⁶ There are exceptions to this rule, though; e.g. BOGART, M. H.: *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art*. Chicago 1995; CAREY, J.: *The Intellectuals and the Masses : Pride and Prejudice Among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1939*. New York 1993; CAREY, J.: *What Good are the Arts?* London 2010; HORÁČEK, M.: *Za krásnější svět. Tradičionalismus v architektuře 20. a 21. století / Towards a More Beautiful World: Traditionalism in Architecture of 20th and 21st Centuries*. Brno 2013.

This appears to be the main reason why the common-sense view of the public, for whom the art of the past dwells in the present, has gone undefended. A vindication of that view is long overdue.

2. Modernism is historicist in a special, Popperian, sense

In this paper I attempt to bring the thinking of the late British philosopher Karl Popper to bear on the disjunction described above. I will first clarify the logic of the modernist architectural vision, and its problems, mainly in the framework of Popper's critique of what he called *historicism*, by which he meant a belief in a predetermined course of history. From section 9 on, I will outline Popper's concepts of "objective knowledge" and of "world 3" that I believe suggest a way of mending the aforementioned disjunction.

I take the modernist theory of architecture and design to be based on a historicist belief, one that is in many ways similar to the Marxist concept of historical development, which Popper in his book *The Open Society and its Enemies*⁷ (1945) explicitly criticized and rejected.⁸ To illustrate the implications for human actors, of the historicist idea that the course of history is set, that it has a plot, I provide three exemplifying quotations, two from historicists Karl Marx and José Ortega y Gasset, and one from Karl Popper, who condemned that philosophy.

The historicist standpoint was, according to Popper, pithily summarized in Marx's 1867 preface to *Das Kapital*, where Marx wrote: "... it is the ultimate aim of this work, to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society — [this modern society] can neither clear by

bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs." According to Marx, the course of history is, in other words, set. The only right thing an individual can do is to assist, like a midwife, the birth of the new order of things.

In 1925, the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset spelled out the historicist attitude to arts in his essay "The Dehumanization of Art"⁹ where he stated: "*In art, as in morals, what ought to be done does not depend on our personal judgment; we have to accept the imperative imposed by the time. Obedience to the order of the day is the most hopeful choice open to the individual.*"

Karl Popper, distancing himself from such positions, emphasized, in 1957, that for a historicist, "[o]nly such plans as fit in with the main current of history can be effective. (...) Only such activities are reasonable as fit in, and help along, the impending changes. Social midwifery is the only perfectly reasonable activity open to us ..." ¹⁰ Both Marx and Ortega y Gasset had in common a belief that a new epoch had arrived, in which an entirely different kind of economic system, an entirely new style of art, even a new man, Modern Man, were historically due.

Popper's critique implicitly rejected what can be called the sequentialist concept of art history and cultural history¹¹, built on the belief that the course of history is predetermined. Popper argued, to put it shortly, that the idea that direction of human history is set, and that men can discern and detect its future course, had its modern roots in an infallibilist view of knowledge, based on the mistaken idea that induction was the method of science. His critique contended that the historicist belief was groundless.

⁷ Cf. POPPER, K.: *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. London 1995.

⁸ Here I list some writers who have discussed modernism in architecture in terms of Popper's critique of historicism, and (in the case of Hillier) in terms of Popper's theory of conjectural knowledge: JARVIE, I.: Utopian Thinking and the Architect. In: *Planning for Diversity and Choice*, edited by Stanford Anderson, 8-31. Cambridge, Mass. 1968; HILLIER, B. et al.: Knowledge and Design. In: W. J. Mitchell (ed.) *Environmental Design: Research and Practice*. Edra 03 conference, Los Angeles 1972, pp. 29-3; WATKIN, D.: *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement*. Oxford 1977; O'HEAR, A.: *Historicism and Architectural Knowledge*. In:

Philosophy, no. 68, 1993, pp. 127-144; WATKIN, D.: Epilogue. *Morality and Architecture Revisited*. London 2001, pp. 139-53. Watkins's book of 1977 was the first to introduce Popper's critique of historicism into the discussion of the modernist historiography of architecture.

⁹ See note 4, above.

¹⁰ POPPER, K. R.: *The Poverty of Historicism*. London 1969, p. 49.

¹¹ GOMBRICH, E. H.: In Search of Cultural History. In: *Ideals and Idols: Essays on Values in History and in Art*. Oxford 1979, pp. 24-59.

Neither the Marxist political leaders nor, ipso facto, the modernist architects, had any defensible reasons to see themselves as instruments of a “historical necessity” as they suggested, because there simply was no such thing as “historical necessity”.¹² According to Popper, the course of history cannot be predicted the way natural science can predict astronomic events such as solar or lunar eclipses. What, in Popper’s view, happens next in any human society depends on the future state of knowledge, and since our future state of knowledge is, in principle, unpredictable (science in his view is a system of not yet refuted conjectures, rather than a body of unshakable truths), the future is also unpredictable. The only thing we can be sure of is that what happens will surprise us.¹³ Neither human history – nor art history – can therefore be seen as a part of a predesigned process, suggested by neo-Hegelian art historians, and taken for granted by key modernist theorists and historians such as Nikolaus Pevsner or Sigfried Giedion.¹⁴ Popper considered such historicist beliefs quasi-scientific superstitions.

3. For our purposes, “periodism” is a less confusing name than “historicism”

In discussing the historicist nature of modernism, it is important to avoid a terminological confusion that might be caused by Popper’s term *historicism*. I will therefore refer to Popper’s *historicism* in gen-

¹² “I guess, indeed, that it is the suppressed sense of our own fallibility that is responsible for our despicable tendency to form cliques and to go along with whatever seems to be fashionable: that makes so many of us howl with the wolves.” POPPER, K.: Towards an Evolutionary Theory of Knowledge. In: *All Life is Problem Solving*. London 1999, p. 61.

¹³ This is an almost verbatim reproduction of Ian Jarvie’s condensation of Popper’s 1968 “Preface” to his *Poverty of historicism*; cf. JARVIE, I.: Utopian Thinking and the Architect. In: *Planning for Diversity and Choice*, edited by Stanford Anderson, 8-31. Cambridge, Mass. 1968. p. 12; see also JARVIE, I. C.: Popper on the Difference between the Natural and the Social Sciences. In: *Thinking About Society: Theory and Practice*, Boston studies in the philosophy of science ; v. 93. Dordrecht; Boston, Hingham, MA. 1986, p. 76.

¹⁴ Cf. WATKIN, D.: *Morality and Architecture Revisited*. London 2001; and MOWL, T.: *Stylistic Cold Wars: Betjeman versus Pevsner*. London 2000.

eral, as well as to the *modernist* kind of historicism, as “periodism”¹⁵. My justification for employing a different term is that in post-1940s modernist parlance, the term “historicism” had become an accepted critical (and contemptuous) term reserved for the practice of 19th century stylistic revivals of earlier architecture. All those revivals, results of the politically and economically liberal 1800s, were seen by the adherents of modernism as paradigms of artistic backsliding. On account of its alleged failure to express the “true” character of its own era, the 19th was even branded “a diseased century”¹⁶. The *historicist* label was also later censoriously applied to the work of those architects and designers in the 20th and 21st centuries who eschewed the modernist idiom.¹⁷ Modernists simply saw all “historicisms” as examples of inadmissible “period imitations”.

The reason all such “historicisms” were considered inadmissible was because modernists firmly – but, as we shall see, mistakenly – believed that there was a method of design that was free from the “historicist” approach. That method, of course, was their own periodist approach. Taking their cues from the new, 19th century Hegelian discipline of art history, they saw the history of architecture as sequences of stylistic expressions, each pertaining to a bygone period. They claimed that the modern era, the latest in the historical sequence, had to have an art all of its own, just as each previous epoch supposedly had.

¹⁵ In opting for the term “periodism”, I am taking my cue from Ernst Gombrich. At the beginning of his lecture “Styles of art and styles of life”, he uses the word “periodism” as a critical term for conceiving of art styles as expressions of an age. The word seems to be largely synonymous with Popper’s “historicism”. GOMBRICH, E. H.: *The Styles of Art and Styles of Life*. London 1991, p. 1.

¹⁶ Pevsner, in his book *An Outline of European Architecture* (1943), quoted in Watkin 1977, wrote: “...it was a grave symptom of a diseased century that architects were satisfied to be story-tellers instead of artists. (...) Architects believed that anything created by the pre-industrial centuries must of necessity be better than anything made to express the character of their own era.” See WATKIN, D.: *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement*. Oxford 1977, p. 105.

¹⁷ Cf. PEVSNER, N.: The Return of Historicism. In: *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design; vol. II, Victorian and After*. London 1968, pp. 243-259.

While the new architecture was to be entirely unlike anything that came before, in one respect it still had to follow – in order to be historically correct – a purportedly fundamental feature of the art of the past epochs. It had to be as aesthetically homogeneous, as distinct from past styles, as those earlier epochs supposedly were.¹⁸ That was why this new, “period-correct” art, rejected the reuse of any aesthetic idioms or features of the pre-modernist past.

4. The problem is not the modernist idiom as such, but its periodism-based educational monopoly

It was this periodist conception of the present, as aesthetically isolated from the allegedly defunct past, which became since the late 1940s the basis of architectural education in the industrialized world¹⁹ – much on the lines of the Bauhaus school of design, which pioneered this approach two decades earlier. Nowadays, there is very little of the periodist rhetoric, but that is only because the periodist perspective has become an unquestioned educational norm. As a result, during the past seventy years or so, practically all Western schools of architecture and design have taught their students only one aesthetic idiom: the modernist, abstract, non-figurative, minimalist language of form. Since contemporary education has confined all would-be architects within this abstract

idiom it has resulted, as one critic cogently said, in “*buildings designed with no reference to the past, except to other buildings of the past that have no reference to the past.*”²⁰

It is important to clarify, however, that the problem has not been the modernist abstract idiom itself. Indeed the minimalist, abstract, nonfigurative aesthetic that emerged in the 1920s²¹ has indisputably become an enrichment of the modern stylistic lexicon. In connection with scores of new industrial products, as well as many types of buildings, it became a welcome aesthetic option. But such appraisal of the modernist contribution would be, I am afraid, deeply offensive to modernists, because it implies that the modernist idiom has been more of a chosen way of *styling* the shapes of buildings and products than something unavoidable, mandated by history, as modernists still believe. Due to their periodist persuasion, modernist architects and designers have been simply unable to accept that even if their new abstract aesthetic fitted many tasks, it did not, and could not, fit each and every one of them. The new idiom could not satisfy every single solution “from the spoon to the city”, as the modernist saying went. That probably was the most destructive idea of modernism. Because of the irreducible diversity of aesthetic preferences in modern heterogeneous society, the demand for non-minimalist, non-modernist idioms would never disappear. The new aesthetic could suppress the phenomenon of stylistic diver-

¹⁸ Ernest Gombrich questioned the assumed homogeneity of periods, epochs, ages or eras with the following skeptical remarks, explaining at the same time how the problem of heterogeneity of the modern period was “solved” by the concept of *avant-garde*. “*It is a commonplace, that at any time the stage of history is crowded with several generations of people of infinitely diverse views, influence, power and taste. Here the theory of progress could come to rescue by postulating that those who remain stuck in the past, do not count. The age is identified by the avant garde which alone represents the march of history. It was no doubt this persuasive creed that led to that deification of history which Popper has called historicism*” Ian Jarvie in his article on “Cultural Relativism” (1995) is as skeptical of the heterogeneity claims as Gombrich. Jarvie writes: “... societies and cultures are not homogeneous and integrated. Or, more precisely, societies and cultures are homogeneous and integrated only under certain descriptions. Conformity to custom seldom if ever reaches one hundred per cent. Even a description of a language, the backbone of culture, is a simplification of diversities of usage, vocabulary cluster, and idiolect. The same is true of generalisations about the ideas held in a culture concerning the world and human conduct. No

society is homogeneous in these matters, and in almost all societies they are the subject of incessant discussion and dispute.” GOMBRICH 1991 (see in note 15), p. 15; JARVIE, I. C.: *Cultural Relativism*. (Written in 1995, unpublished; online at http://www.yorku.ca/jarvie/online_publications/CultRel.pdf).

¹⁹ Though not in the Soviet Union and its satellite states before 1960s.

²⁰ Bill Dennis quoted in BRUSSAT, D.: Dissertation on Modern Architecture. In: *Providence Journal*, Thursday, April 15, 2004 (online at http://www.projo.com/opinion/columnists/content/projo_20040415_15bruss.14347e.html)

²¹ As to the modernist view of the relation between abstract art and architectural aesthetic, cf. HITCHCOCK, H.-R.: *Painting Towards Architecture*. New York 1948; for a non-modernist view, see MICHL, J.: *Modernismens to designdoktriner: funksjonalisme og ‘abstraksjonisme’*. In: HALEN, W. (ed.): *Art Deco – Funkis – Scandinavian Design*. Oslo 1996.

sity only if the mechanism of supply and demand was dictatorially controlled. In the absence of such controls, the new idiom was bound to become a contribution to the pre-existing diversity of styles, and that is what it has been all along.

So in spite of the modernist dreams about an aesthetically homogeneous epoch, stylistic diversity has remained a permanent trait of architecture and design during the modernist reign as well.²² The fact that nearly all large and prestigious commissions in today's architecture are designed by modernist architects in the modernist idiom alone should therefore be seen more as a result of modernism's political clout,²³ plus its educational monopoly, than construed as a sign that now the stylistic pluralism is on the wane. Because architectural education has refused to acknowledge the essential heterogeneity of the modern time, architects and designers who graduated during the past seventy years or so acquired no practical knowledge of idioms other than the modernist one.²⁴ What they acquired instead was a mindset that made the idea of embracing a non-modernist idiom, in a straightforward rather than ironic manner, an almost unspeakable abomination.

5. The allure of the modernist periodism has been its self-promoting and self-serving capacity

Now, how could this persuasion, so obviously ill-adapted to society's pluralist reality, acquire such

enormous staying power? The answer seems to be that it both facilitated and sanctioned the already mentioned modernist aesthetic monopoly. In other words, the periodist belief has shown extraordinary self-serving and self-promoting potential.

My own longtime suspicion of the self-serving nature of the modernist periodism²⁵ was reinforced by Popper's remark on the nature of Hegel's philosophy. In Popper's view, Hegel, the modern father of periodism, deemed man *not* to be a creative agent. Paradoxically, this denial appears to be the key to the appeal of the periodist thinking. What, according to Hegel, ultimately moves man is the hypostasized Objective Spirit, the divine self-consciousness of the Universe.²⁶ In Hegel's view, which modernists embraced, individuals were not creative in their own right, but "only" as instruments of the Spirit of the Period, or Epoch. They were creative solely on behalf of the particular *Zeitgeist*. It was this theory of "world-historical men" conceived as instruments "already formed in the womb of time"²⁷, that provided architects with roles much more attractive than those pertaining to ordinary professionals: those of midwives, channels, mediums, or instruments of the Spirit of Time. In this way, modernist architects participated in developments purportedly designed by History with capital H. In mediating and expressing the plans and intentions of that elevated non-human Client, the modernist architects felt they had not only a right, but an obligation, to jettison the rank-and-file user with his hopelessly "anachro-

²² Cf. HORÁČEK 2013 (see in note 6); POSTREL, V. I.: *The Substance of Style: How the Rise of Aesthetic Value is Remaking Commerce, Culture, and Consciousness*. New York 2003.

²³ Robert Adams reports that British adherents of modernism succeeded in making the anti-traditionalist word "pastiche" a part of official language of administration when decisions were made about how public buildings should and should not look. As Adam put it, it has become a code word for "modernism good, traditional bad." ADAM, R.: The Idiot's Guide to Architecture. In: *Building Magazine*, 2008, p. 25.

²⁴ Joseph Agassi has indirectly commented on the present guild-like architectural education: "It is no accident that the most advanced individuals in our society, the intellectuals, the academics, the members of the free professions, are organized in semimedieval guilds and educated in schools with limited access, where entry to the guild is usually possible only through its educational system. (...) the guild justifies the

school by making schooling essential, and the school justifies the guild by pretending that its leaders produce [quality]." Cf. AGASSI, J.: The Functions of Intellectual Rubbish. In: *Research in Sociology of Knowledge, Science and Arts*, vol. II, 1979, pp. 209-227 (225).

²⁵ Cf. MICHL, J.: Form Follows *WHAT?* The Modernist Notion of Function as a *Carte Blanche*. 1:50 – Magazine of the Faculty of Architecture & Town Planning [Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa] (10, Winter) 1995: 31-20 [sic] (online at <http://www.janmichl.com/eng/fff-hai.html>).

²⁶ POPPER, K. R.: *Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach*. Revised ed. Oxford 1979, pp. 125-126.

²⁷ HEGEL, G. W. F.: Introduction to Lectures on the Philosophy of History. In: *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, 1-107. Trans. J. Sibree. London 1881, p. 32.

nistic” preferences.²⁸ This “jettison pass”, felt to be issued by History itself, is, I submit, the reason for the undying appeal among architects of thinking in terms of periods. At the same time, this periodism-given right to disregard the user must be seen as the main reason for practically all problems modernism has been criticized for.²⁹

6. The form-follows-function “method” was to legitimize a clean separation of present from past

The jettison pass was handily summarized in the three-word slogan “form follows function”, considered by friend and foe alike as the gist of the modernist approach to design. It was coined in 1896 by the Chicago architect Louis Sullivan but came into full use only after the Second World War. The slogan appeared in an article written by Sullivan, where he argued against the earlier revivalist solutions of the facades of new, tall office buildings later known as skyscrapers.

In the article, as a way of introducing his approach to design, thereafter summarized in his slogan, Sullivan stated: *“It is my belief that it is of the very essence of every problem that it contains and suggests its own solution. This I believe to be natural law.”*³⁰ This formulation seems to explain much better than “form follows function” itself, what Sullivan had in mind. He was

suggesting that the aesthetic solutions the architect was supposed to arrive at were simply *inherent* in “problems”, or “functions”. That is, both “functions” and the issuing formal solutions were to be seen as something preordained, or predestined. Such supposedly intrinsic aesthetic solutions, conceived of as expressions of those “functions” were, of course, not to be invented, but discovered. They were to be found in *non-aesthetic* factors, such as construction or production processes, the nature of materials and the practical use of the building, all often loosely designated “functions”. The designer was always supposed to start the search for his formal solutions at a *zero level* – not from precedent solutions, as all architects and designers before modernism took for granted – but from inside those “functions”.

The reason why it is necessary here to put quotation marks around the word function is that “function”, as used by Sullivan, was not a practical, down-to-earth term it seemed to be, but an *otherworldly* notion. No science, natural or social, uses the term function as something that precedes form. If anything is said to have a function, it must necessarily be a function of something that is, or was, there. Even when we think of a completely novel “function”, we invariably think of improving an earlier but unsatisfactory solution. From the point of view of a realistic design theory, Sullivan’s “function” without a form should therefore be seen as an empty word. It

²⁸ In his Lectures on the *Philosophy of History*, Hegel temptingly characterized the “world-historical men” – the very opposite of rank and file – as “...thinking men, who had an insight into the requirements of the time – what was ripe for development. This was the very truth for their age, for their world; the species next in order, so to speak, and which was already formed in the womb of time. It was theirs to know the nascent principle; the necessary, directly sequent step in progress, which their world was to take; to make this their aim, and to expand their energy in promoting it. World-historical men – the Heroes of an epoch – must, therefore, be recognized as its clear-sighted ones; their deed, their words, are the best of that time. Great men have formed purposes to satisfy themselves, not others. (...) They are great men because they willed and accomplished something great; not a mere fancy, a mere intention, but that which met the case and fell in with the needs of the age.” HEGEL 1881 (see in note 26), pp. 31-33. David Hume’s essay “Of miracles” published in 1748, that is, some 90 years earlier, has a passage that can be read as an *avant la lettre* critique of the self-serving nature of Hegel’s periodist reasoning in the quotation above. Hume writes: “But what greater temptation than to appear a missionary, a prophet, an ambassador from heaven? Who would not encounter many

dangers and difficulties, in order to attain so sublime a character? Or if, by the help of vanity and a heated imagination, a man has first made a convert of himself, and entered seriously into the delusion; who ever scruples to make use of pious frauds, in support of so holy and meritorious a cause?” HUME, D.: *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, Oxford ; New York 1999, pp. 182-183.

²⁹ For a recent discussion of the formalist, unpractical, dysfunctional, and often staggeringly expensive, solutions in a long line of often renowned modernist buildings, see SILBER, J.: *Architecture of the Absurd: How “Genius” Disfigured a Practical Art*. New York 2007; and MILLAIS 2009 (see in note 2); Millais’ book, with its incisive critical analyses of key modernist buildings, constructions and ideas, would make a highly instructive introduction for the first year students of architecture.

³⁰ SULLIVAN, L. H.: The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered. In: *Kindergarten Chats (revised 1918) and Other Writings*. Ed. I. Athey. New York 1979 [1896], pp. 202-13.

was a “fantasy”³¹ that made sense only as something predesigned, that is, as a periodist idea.³² The design philosophy of Sullivan and all later modernists then boils down to a kind of rhetoric, aimed at marketing a novel, purportedly non-revivalist (i.e. “non-historicist”) approach to architecture and design. So the form-follows-function argument makes sense only as a rhetorical justification of the modernist solutions where nothing is left from the pre-modernist precedents.³³ The primary aim of Sullivan’s claim – that forms *follow* (that is, that they *inhere in*) functions – seems to have been to disqualify the 19th century revivalist and eclectic styles as valid aesthetic options by insinuating that the 19th century architecture and design were based on misunderstanding of the most elementary principles of design.

7. Buildings, where aesthetic solutions are understood as expressions, tend to be one-addressee buildings

Since modernists saw their new forms as expressions of various given factors, rather than as solutions addressing the user, this “expressionist” approach resulted in buildings that were, aesthetically speaking, left without human addressees. Or rather, without human addressees other than the modernist architects themselves. That the goal of an aesthetic solution is primarily to captivate the architect himself might, admittedly, be considered unproblematic as all architects, in order to judge their own solutions, are in a sense their own first addressees. But with modernism, the architects became the first and only addressees. In agreement with the modernist dogma, the architect was seen as the only reliable liaison with “functions” and with the “New Epoch”, while the rank and file user, as already suggested, was felt to be something of a nuisance, standing in the way.

This one-addressee kind of design seems also to explain why modernists, while talking incessantly of functions, have had no use for the notion of *aesthetic* function. To be an *expression* has been the only task of the modernist form. This is just another way of saying that modernists have had no concept of audience for their design – architects themselves remained the only important audience. To put it differently, with the theory of forms as expressions of “functions”, and of “the Epoch”, modernist architects ceased to have a use for the user or the public, in spite of the fact that architecture is the most public of all art forms –the only kind of art the public cannot willingly avoid.

8. The prime attraction of the modernist approach was that it made architecture the concern of architects alone

To summarize, the ultimate reasons for the staying power of the modernists’ fairytale-like concept of design aesthetic can be formulated as follows. What was, and remains the prime attraction of modernist periodism is its success in removing mental hurdles that had stood in the way of making architecture the concern of architects alone. The right of the user to have a say in stylistic decisions was abolished in the name of the architect’s higher Historical calling. Periodism provided the modernists with the most august client they could dream of: Art History Itself. With such a dream client (in both meanings of the term) architects and designers became instruments of Historical Forces, now feeling they were operating on a “world-historical” plane. But since the idea of History as *the* true client was hardly more than a piece of wishful thinking, it in reality provided the modernists with a complete *carte blanche* – an aesthetic mentality of free artists, constrained only by the rules of their chosen abstract idiom.

³¹ The British designer David Pye was one of the first to point out that the notion of function, as used by designers, was as a hollow term. Cf. PYE, D.: *The Nature and Aesthetics of Design*. London 1978, ch. 1, where appears his suggestion that “function” is just fantasy. William J. R. Curtis, in his widely used course book on the history of modern architecture, comments on Sullivan’s 1896 article and submits that Sullivan “tended to look at the situation in ‘organic’ terms, meaning that the function must have an inherent and specific identity, striving for

direct and honest expression.” However, he leaves this chimerical concept of function without comment. CURTIS, W. J. R.: *Modern Architecture Since 1900*. London 1996, p. 47.

³² Cf. also MICHŁ 1995 (see in note 25).

³³ Sullivan considered his own ornaments as independent of historical precedents and would probably argue that, as such, they too were examples of forms following functions.

Because the idea of modern plurality of aesthetic and stylistic choices was seen as illicit and therefore not to be allowed – and certainly not promoted – a logical consequence was the restriction of architectural education to a single stylistic idiom. Periodism, in other words, provided an effective rhetorical defense against the validity of aesthetic demands of people other than architects, designers, artists and fellow intellectuals. Now, the question is whether this entrenched modernist concept of architecture, built on an otherworldly approach to design, and continuing to inform the architectural education, can ever be reformed.

Be that as it may, the first condition for reform is a realistic alternative to the modernist thinking in terms of periods, a revision of the established strict separation of present and past. Here, I believe Karl Popper's late philosophy can be of cardinal help.

9. Popper's term *world 3* postulates the existence of a vast realm of publically accessible products of human minds

Popper's critique of periodism implied, as I tried to show, that the modernist philosophy of design rested largely on a flight of fancy.³⁴ However, his critique, though highly clarifying, did not alone provide a palpable alternative that had bearing on the modernist separation of past and present – a separation which I believe is *the* single nail on which practically all pro-modernist arguments are hanging. It was only in Popper's later philosophy that such an

alternative appeared, one that can perhaps, in effect, cause the nail to give.

This later philosophy of what Popper called *objective knowledge*, or *world 3*,³⁵ represents a truly bold attempt to conceptualize a fact known or at least suspected by every productive person. Namely, that our human creativity is anchored in, and incessantly draws upon, a realm outside the individual creator's head. Although Popper's conceptualization of *world 3* seems to be in parts sketchy and not entirely easy to grasp (mainly, I assume, because of the profundity of his novel approach), I submit that it implies a powerful alternative to the governing modernist "timekeeping", and simultaneously a more realistic view of the nature of creativity in the field of architecture and design.

The philosophical background of the term *world 3* can be outlined in the following way. According to Popper, in order to comprehend reality, it is not helpful to reduce that reality to just a single principle – whether that of matter or of mind – as was, for example, characteristic for Marx, the materialist monist, or Hegel, the idealist monist. But neither dualism captures, in Popper's view, the pluralistic nature of reality.³⁶ Popper accepts the separate existence of both matter and mind, but in addition to these two realms, he postulates an ontologically freestanding third dimension, *world 3* of *objective knowledge*, a realm of products of human minds that exist independently of their makers. This is the dimension that makes human creativity possible. For Popper, the universe – reality – is in other words better understood as consisting of three ontologically distinct but

³⁴ *Flight of Fancy: The Banishment and Return of Ornament* was the title of an exceptionally incisive book, critical of modernism, written by the US architect Brent C. Brolin; cf. BROLIN, B. C.: *Flight of Fancy: The Banishment and Return of Ornament*. 1. ed.. London 1985.

³⁵ My information on these twin concepts and on their implications is based on the following sources: ECCLES, J. C.: *Facing Reality*. New York 1970, chs. X and XI; POPPER, K. R.: Indeterminism is Not Enough. In: *Encounter* (April) 1973 : 20-25 (online at <http://www.unz.org/Pub/Encounter-1973apr-00020>); POPPER, K. R. – ECCLES, J. C.: *The Self and Its Brain*. Berlin 1977; POPPER, K.: Three Worlds. The Tanner lecture on human values, delivered at the University of Michigan, 1978 (online at http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/p/popper80.pdf); POPPER, K. R.: *Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach*. Revised ed. Oxford 1979; JARVIE, I. C.: *The Rationality of Creativity. Thinking About Society: Theory and Practice, Boston studies in the philosophy of science, v. 93*. Dordrecht ; Boston, Hingham, MA. 1986, pp. 282-301; NIINILUOTO, I.: *World 3: A Critical Defense*. In: *Karl Popper: A Centenary Assessment*, vol. 2. Ed. by K. Milford – I. Jarvie – D. Miller. London 2006, pp. 59-69 and on CHAMPION, R.: *A Guide to Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach* (The Popular Popper: A Series of Karl Popper Readers for a General Audience.). Kindle eBooks 2013.

³⁶ Popper lists various objections to his concept of world 3 by both monists and dualists in POPPER 1978 (see in note 35).

interacting sub-universes, each of which is the result of a singular evolutionary development.³⁷

I will now briefly describe how Popper sees the making of these three worlds. The earliest is the “world 1” of *physical* events, states or processes, or physical things, such as stones or stars or the bodies of animals and humans (or materiality of architecture) – that is, the traditional world of “matter”. Next there emerged the entirely novel biological world of human *mental* states, an evolutionary product that developed from the world of organisms.³⁸ This is the psychological realm of conscious experience – feelings, thoughts, decisions and observations (the traditional “mind”) – that Popper designates “world 2”. Then, through an evolutionary process from world 2, there came into existence a third, again entirely novel, non-biological and non-material realm consisting of *products* of the human mind, such as languages, religious myths, stories, scientific theories, symphonies, works of painting, sculpture, architecture, or feats of engineering. This *world 3* is then conceived as a product of our mental world 2, embodied in the material world 1. The *world 3* objects are “objective contents of thoughts” – objective because they exist separately from our subjective minds and bodies in the form of “exosomatic”, that is extra-bodily, man-made things. That realm of *world 3* objects is what Popper describes as *knowledge in an objective sense*, *knowledge without a knower, without a knowing subject*,³⁹ or simply *objective knowledge*. This objective, or objectified, exosomatic character of knowledge makes it possible to expose all products of the human mind to criticism – in contrast to our own unembodied world 2 thoughts. As a consequence, objects in *world 3* keep changing as they are rejected, improved upon, recombined and developed further. This explains the rapid rate of the non-biological,

cultural or technological changes, compared to the slow pace of biological evolution.⁴⁰

10. The concepts of *world 3* and of *objective knowledge* rethink the notion of culture – and of human creativity

If the *world 3* objects are different both from the world 2 of human mind and from the world 1 of physical things, however, what kind of existence do they actually possess? What are they, and where are they?

Popper obviously found it difficult to come upon a more comprehensible name than the rather nondescript term *world 3*, one that would be close to established understandable terms such as *matter* or *mind*. He held mostly to pure philosophical terminology, characterizing the *world 3* objects, alternatively, as *objective contents of thoughts*, as *the world of intelligibles*, or *knowledge in the objective sense*, as *abstract objects* (while their physical realizations are concrete objects), as *ideas in the objective sense*, as the world of *possible objects of thought: world of theories in themselves, of arguments in themselves; of problems in themselves, and of problem situations in themselves*.⁴¹

There are, nevertheless, two significant remarks by Popper that may clarify the immaterial nature of *world 3* and help us to see it in more recognizable terms. In one, Popper points out that his *world 3* has much in common with the Platonic world of Forms or Ideas and therefore also with Hegel’s Objective Spirit.⁴² But he immediately adds that *world 3* differs radically from both: it is neither something eternal nor divine, but entirely man-made, just as birds’ nests and spiders’ webs are created by birds and spiders. It is a world 2-independent reality, though the physical world 1 is both temporally and ontologically a precondition of *world 3*.⁴³

³⁷ Popper argued that his postulation of three separate worlds provided a pluralistic approach to reality. Each of these realms could be, according to him, further subdivided, if we so wished. *Ibidem*, p. 143.

Cf. also POPPER, K. R.: A Pluralist Approach to the Philosophy of History. In: Popper’s *The Myth of the Framework: In Defence of Science and Rationality*. Ed. M. A. Notturro. London 1994, pp. 130-153.

³⁸ POPPER 1978 (see in note 35), p. 166.

³⁹ Cf. POPPER 1979 (see in note 26) p. 109.

⁴⁰ MEDAWAR, P. B.: Technology and Evolution. In: *Pluto’s Republic*, 184-90. Oxford and New York 1982.

⁴¹ POPPER 1979 (see in note 26) pp. 116, 156, 154, 145; POPPER 1978 (see in note 35), pp. 156.

⁴² POPPER 1979 (see in note 26), p. 106.

⁴³ NIINILUOTO 2006 (see in note 35), p. 63.



1. As these contemporary “selfies”, and the picture of crowds besieging Mona Lisa remind us, architecture and art of the past are, at the same time, architecture and art of the present.

The other important clarification is Popper's remark that his notion of *world 3* is “*very nearly the same*” as the term culture. What is called cultural evolution, Popper says, covers very much the same as *world 3* evolution. But here he again adds an all-important qualification: “*anthropologists are inclined not to distinguish the world 1 embodiments of world 3 objects from the world 3 objects themselves.*”⁴⁴ Culture in the sense of *world 3* then, is not the same as either physical objects of culture (*world 1*), nor as “cultural” thoughts in

our heads (*world 2*) as it is often interpreted.⁴⁵ It is something immaterial, though objective, existing outside our heads, out there.⁴⁶

From all this follows an important conclusion: our individual creativity, in whatever field, is always anchored in theories, or problems, or artistic or technological solutions, dwelling in the exosomatic *world 3* of objective contents of thought. Creativity, in Popper's view, is a *world 3* matter.⁴⁷ A *world 3* of objective knowledge provides a way of understanding

⁴⁴ POPPER 1978 (see in note 35), p. 166.

creativity and a common pool of knowledge.

⁴⁵ Popper perhaps reasoned that from seeing cultures as collections of *world 1* objects produced by *world 2*, there was only a short step to conceiving of cultures as *expressions* of the respective cultural periods. That would make products of cultures bound to the place and time of their origin, that is, it would tend to deny the cultural objects their status of objective knowledge. Such view would collide with Popper's idea of *world 3* that takes culture as a shared realm of human

⁴⁶ Rafe Champion speaks about the three worlds as the worlds of “bodies, minds and *ideas*”. Cf. CHAMPION 2013 (see in note 35), loc. 528.

⁴⁷ In this context, Ian Jarvie states: “*The status of creativity as a property in its own right [that is, without the notion of objective knowledge] is highly questionable*”. JARVIE 1986 (see in note 35), p. 290.

human creativity without need for notions such as self-expression⁴⁸ and without explanatory recourse to metaphysical entities such as Spirits of Time, or to supernaturally warranted “functions”. From the Popperian perspective, creativity is a socially defined event in the world of ideas, or of art. That is, in the realm Popper called the world of the objective mind, or *world 3*. What makes a theory a new theory or a work of art an original work of art is the objective relationship it bears as a *world 3* object to other *world 3* objects, other theories and other works of art.⁴⁹

Had Popper been still alive and active today, he would have probably resorted to up-to-date analogies in order to make the concept of *world 3* more widely understandable, such as, for example, “World Wide Web”, “Public Domain”, “Open Source”, or “Creative Commons”. *Creative Commons* in particular might serve as an accessible synonym for Popper’s *world 3*.⁵⁰

11. In the *world 3* there are no zero starting points – everything there is contemporaneous with everything else

For our purposes, the autonomous ontological status of *world 3*, understood as a realm of ideas in the objective sense, implies a radical departure from

the modernist perception of past works of art and past stylistic periods. While modernists saw the pre-modernist architectural idioms as time-bound visual expressions, forever fixed to past epochs, as if copyrighted by their “Spirits”, Popper’s notion of *world 3* implies a permanent presence of all denizens of that world, in a realm transcending time and space.⁵¹ In relation to our problem, outlined in the first section it means that all products of human minds, as intelligible *world 3* objects, are *contemporaneous* with each other. Not only that: as such, they are always contemporaneous with ourselves.

Just as the philosophies of Plato or Aristotle or Hegel or Marx are all alive today, because they exist as *world 3* objective contents of thought,⁵² so are the surviving monuments and artefacts of the past – increasingly so thanks to growing numbers of art books and pictures and photographs and recently through billions of images on the internet. Of course, it is in one sense correct to claim that the pre-modernist architecture is a part of bygone ages. However, it is correct in a sense that is largely trivial. If that was the whole story, how would it be possible that scores of people, at this very moment, take their “selfies” in front of the Coliseum in Rome, or in front of thousands and thousands of other works of art of past epochs?

⁴⁸ Popper’s critique of the theory of self-expression, taken as the key to understanding art, can be found above all in POPPER, K. R.: *Unended Quest: An Intellectual Autobiography*, London 2002, chs. 13 and 14; and in POPPER 1978 (see in note 35), section VII. Cf. also Ernst Gombrich’s critique of the idea of self-expression in GOMBRICH, E. H.: Art and Scholarship. In: *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art*. London and New York 1978, pp. 106–119. Castigating the “expressionist” art historians, Gombrich summed up the problem in this way: “The art historian who sees the styles of the past merely as an expression of the age, the race or the class situation, will torment the living artist with the empty demand that he should go and do likewise and express the essence and spirit of his time, race, class or, worst of all, of the self.” (p. 119).

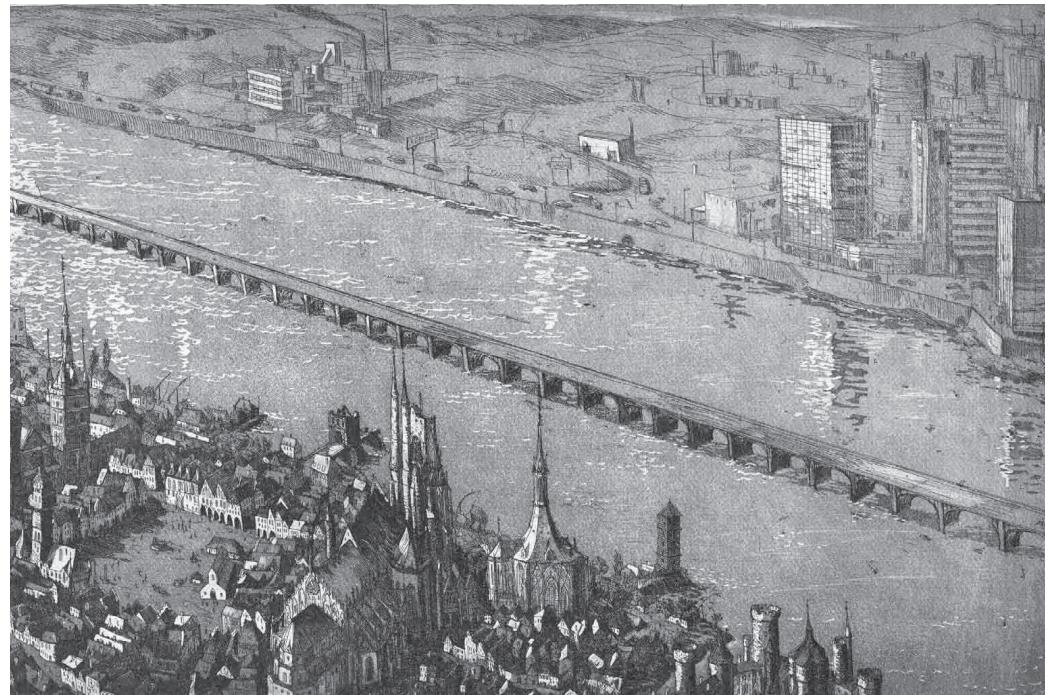
⁴⁹ The three preceding sentences are almost verbatim reproductions of Ian Jarvie’s masterful précis of Popper’s perspective. The consequences of the idea of objective knowledge for the received notion of creativity implies, in my view, an annihilation of both the modernist, periodism-based theory of architecture as well as of the modernist self-understanding. Cf. JARVIE 1986 (see in note 35), pp. 282–301.

⁵⁰ My own proposal for a graspable alternative to the term “world 3” would be *Great Mental Rental*.

⁵¹ According to JARVIE 1986 (see in note 35), p. 295.

⁵² The fact of contemporaneity of all surviving human products, that the notion of *world 3* in my view implies, seems to explain why Popper, in his 1945 book *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, discussed and argued with the above-mentioned philosophers as if they were his contemporaries – which they, from the perspective of *world 3*, indeed were. The contemporaneity implication of the idea of objective knowledge also throws light on why Gombrich, the art historian closest to Popper’s thinking, and always critical to the periodist philosophy of modernism, could write, in 1950s, that “... every picture owes more to other pictures painted before than it owes to nature.” Cf. POPPER 1995 [1945] (see note 7); and GOMBRICH, E. H.: “André Malraux and the Crisis of Expressionism.” In: *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art*, 78–85. London and New York 1978, p. 82.

2. In the periodist view of the modernist architects, the past and the present are seen as two separate worlds, and that is why they ought not to be connected in any manner. In his 1976 etching "The Bridge", the Czech artist Jan SOUČEK (1941-2008) deemed such a conviction preposterous.



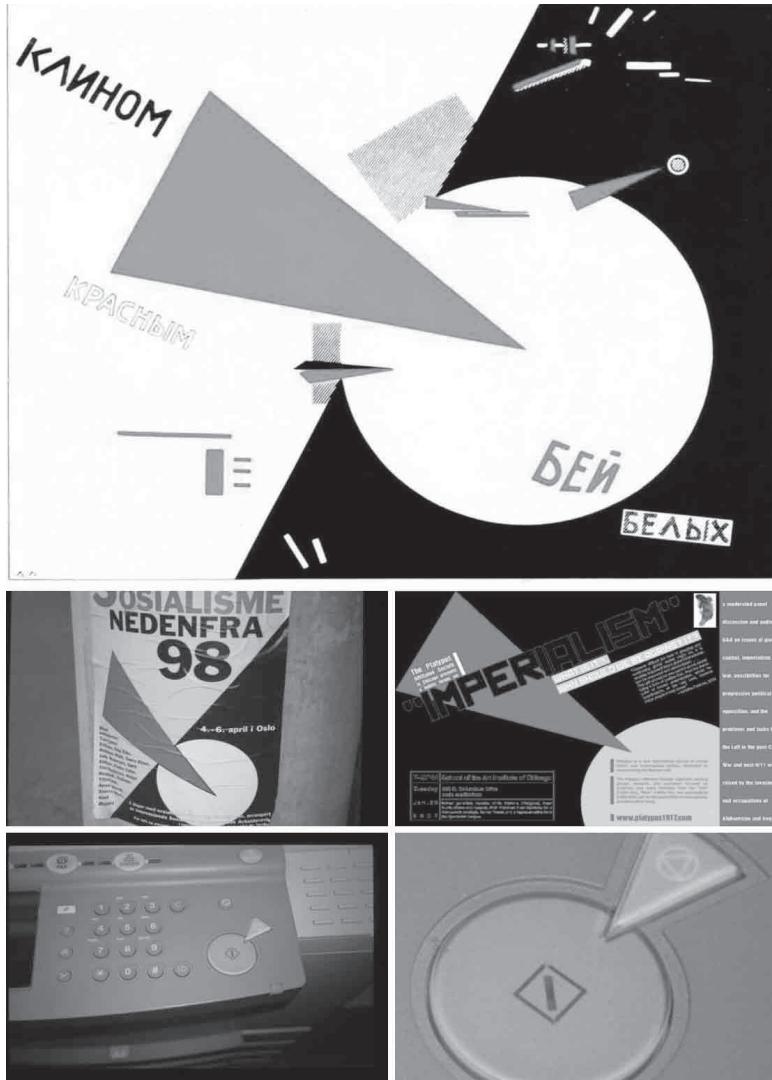
The answer, as not only Popper's concept of *world 3*, but any lowly tourist postcard reminds us, is that buildings of the past are in fact buildings of the present. They are sought after not as piles of stones but as objectively significant *world 3* artefacts. They are a part of the present because they reside in the world of *objective knowledge*. As such they have been contemporary with people living in entirely different eras, contemporary in fact with whoever happens to be alive. Modernist architecture, as well as the modernist architectural education, is, however, founded on ignoring the *world 3* dimension of past works of art in which they continue to exist in the present. So, except for monuments and art works destroyed before the advent of graphic or photographic techniques, or unless never mentioned in literature, all artefacts ever created exist, as *world 3* objects, in the now. For most people these "past" artefacts are as alive as things created today. All this seems to suggest that the idea of *world 3* of objective knowledge, and the perceptions of the non-modernist public, that

sees past stylistic epochs as a part of the presence, are on a similar track.

From the *world 3* perspective, the notion of "contemporary art", used pragmatically to distinguish the art of "today" from the art of "yesterday"⁵³ acquires too a novel meaning. All of art history, all art of the past, becomes – when seen from the perspective of *world 3* – a *contemporary* art. To understand this in connection with architecture, it is enough to take a stroll in the center of almost any European town. The modernist practice of seeing expiration dates on every building and artefact style from before the Bauhaus makes sense only when one subscribes to the periodist view, based on the aforementioned fanciful idea that the course of history is set. For any doer, creator, or practitioner unbound by the modernist strictures, the decisive point is not that things were born in the past, but the fact that they are not inaccessible crag-fast in that past, bound to and circumscribed by the time of their origin and thus rendered forever aesthetically impotent. The

⁵³ "Today" and "yesterday", except when referring to a calendar date, are endlessly stretchable and contractible notions; they stretch or contract, depending on the problem, we at any

time have in mind. For a short discussion of "present" and "past" as such context-dependent notions, see MICHL 2002 (see in note 1), section IV:1.



3. Modernist visual inventions that emerged after the First World War have been living on, reclaimed, redesigned and recontextualized all the time until today. Just as all other past visual inventions and stylistic solutions, also the modernist ones are a part of the vast “Creative Commons”, or what Popper called *World 3*, the realm that makes human creativity possible. The original poster ‘Beat the Whites with the Red Wedge’, by El Lissitzky, was designed in 1919.

idea of *objective knowledge* leads, in other words, to emancipation from the periodist embrace. Works of art do hail from the past – but they all exist in the present. There is therefore no zero point to go back to and to start from, contrary to what Sullivan’s slogan suggested and what the modernist educators still seem to believe.

12. Concepts like *anachronism* and *pastiche* cease to apply when architects’ working base expands from “zero” to infinity

If we accept what I believe is the contemporaneity implication of *world 3* thesis, practically all

modernist arguments for the legitimacy of only one modern style fall flat. They turn out to be little more than different forms of marketing (“hard sell” might be a more fitting term) of a starkly anti-revivalist design position that was bound to have difficult birth in a world still controlled by the traditional, revivalist approaches to architecture. But difficult birth or not, after the rejection of periodism and with the development of the idea of *objective knowledge*, critical modernist notions such as “historicism”, “anachronism”, “pastiche” or “faux” (that all stood for failing to belong to the “modern period”, for not being “authentically modern”, for not being “of one’s time”) have no longer any ground to stand on. From



4. Popper's idea of World 3, of the enormous realm of "objective knowledge" outside our heads, can perhaps be likened to the world of public sculptures. They exist out there, entirely independent of ourselves and therefore accessible to anybody interested. We can engage with them, among other things, in the witty ways that each person in these pictures chose – relating to them as if they were alive, rather than an inanimate matter. Just like the world of "objective knowledge", the sculptures too offer surprising possibilities, different from their original purposes. Observant, inventive persons can discover such novel dimensions of the content of world 3, and in that way add to it.

the point of view of a non-modernist architect or designer (all non-modernists appear to be instinctive supporters of the idea of contemporaneity of all art), each and every solution may be criticized as functionally unsatisfactory, aesthetically or visually out of place, or simply unfashionable, but not stigmatized as *historicism*, or *anachronistic* or branded as *pastiche* or as something *faux*. In other words, there can be many reasons for finding a formal solution objectionable, but not the one that points out that it hails from a past epoch – which is what the modernist critical arguments against the contemporary non-modernist stylistic idioms invariably boil down to. As already

suggested, such branding makes sense only when one subscribes to the periodist belief that there is an intrinsically correct aesthetic expression pertaining to the modern period and that this correctness can be discovered only by designers and architects that have turned their back on the past.⁵⁴

I submit that in postulating a non-periodist view of culture, the idea of *world 3* offers a philosophically robust platform for a realistic theory of design. Since what we call history – of whichever human achievement – is in the *world 3* perspective a permanently present past, the architect's and designer's working base has come to be radically expanded – in fact

⁵⁴ Hannes Meyer, shortly before he was put in charge of the newly established department of architecture at the Bauhaus in 1927, wrote: "Each age demands its own form. It is our mission to give our new world a new shape with the means of today. But our knowledge of the past is a burden that weighs upon us, and inherent in our advanced education are impediments tragically barring our new paths.

The unqualified affirmation of the present age presupposes a ruthless denial of the past." MEYER, H.: The New World. In: Benton, T. – Benton, C. – Sharp, D. (eds.): *Form and Function: A Source Book for the History of Architecture and Design 1890-1939* (pp. 106-109). London 1975, p. 197.



5. This fairly ordinary but charming public square in a Czech town can be used to show why a central assumption of modernism was deeply misguided. Modernists believed that their novel type of aesthetic idiom, taken to be a “historically necessary expression of the new epoch”, would meet every single design situation, or, as their slogan had it, fit everything “from the spoon to the city”. However, if the task was to design a new public square in a small town, the modernists, equipped only with their abstract, minimalist visual vocabulary, would have no chance of creating a common space with such unassuming, pleasant qualities, as this one. To solve this kind of task, only a willingness to embrace straightforward historical references would do. But for modernists, such solution has always been unacceptable in principle.

from “zero” to infinity.⁵⁵ The illusory, unfeasible zero level starting point demanded by the modernist theory of design (and still largely informing architectural education, though impossible to practice) is now, with the idea of *objective knowledge*, replaced by a permanent access to all kinds of cultural ready-mades, modernist and non-modernist alike, present as *world 3* objects.⁵⁶

Let me, nevertheless, add again that this aesthetic expansion of the architect’s and designer’s working platform does not preclude or invalidate the modernist kind of aesthetics as such. What it does invalidate is both the periodism-anchored, now seventy years

long educational monopoly of the non-figurative idiom, and its standard periodist defense. In the *world 3* qua *world 3* there are simply no periods to resort to, neither in order to defend one’s own solutions, nor in order to criticize the solutions of others.

13. Future education of architects ought to realign with public perception of permanently present past

The concept of art history, implied in Popper’s idea of *world 3*, seen as collection of works of art that all have simultaneous existence in the now, seems to

⁵⁵ No architect or designer has ever really started from zero. The reason, as Popper put it, is simple: “...if anybody were to start where Adam started, he would not get further than Adam did ...”. All architects and designers, including the modernist ones, always start where others, or themselves, left off – that is from earlier solutions. That is why the modernist zero has always been a “zero”. POPPER 1979 (see in note 26), p. 122.

⁵⁶ The architectural book that is, in my view, entirely periodism-free, and in its attitude probably closest to Popper’s notion of the world 3 of objective knowledge, is Christopher Alexander’s *A Pattern Language* of 1977. Alexander’s work influenced another important contemporary anti-modernist architectural

theorist, Nikos Salingaros. Among non-periodist architectural writers of the recent past, I would like to mention Brent Brolin, Witold Rybczinski and Anthony Sully. The 2013 book by Martin Horáček also belongs here. Cf. ALEXANDER, C., et al.: *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction*. New York 1977. SALINGAROS, N. A. – MEHAFFY M. W.: *A Theory of Architecture*. Solingen 2006; SALINGAROS, N. A.: *Unified Architectural Theory: Form, Language, Complexity*. Kathmandu 2013; BROLIN 1985 (see in note 34); RYBCZYNISKI, W.: *Home: A Short History of an Idea*. London 1986; RYBCZYNISKI, W.: *Looking Around: A Journey Through Architecture*. New York 1992; SULLY, A.: *Interior Design: Theory and Process*. London 2012; HORÁČEK 2013 (see in note 6).

vindicate the way the general public perceives pre-modernist architecture. Popper admittedly claimed, as late as in mid-1990s, that greater part of people were steeped in historicist (i.e. periodist) thinking,⁵⁷ and in that he was no doubt right. Nevertheless, as far as the diversity of aesthetic idioms, and the attitude towards past works of art is concerned, most people do not seem to be periodists at all. They tend to take the pervasive presence of all stylistic idioms for granted. Non-art people distinguish, of course, between the chronologically old and chronologically new aesthetic idioms, but in contrast to modernist architects and designers, and the art-public in general, they do not tend to see flashing best-before dates on every pre-modernist idiom. On the contrary, the general understanding characteristic for the non-art public seems to be that all aesthetic inventions and discoveries of the past stylistic periods, including the modernist inventions, are here right now, for everybody to see and enjoy – and use. That is probably the explanation of why the demand for non-modernist stylistic idioms has never disappeared. As against the modernists, who mentally keep to their periodist single-idiom house, the non-art public seems to take the diversity of existing aesthetic demands and plurality of existing stylistic positions joyously for granted. Here a future theory of design, based on the idea of a permanently present past, will hopefully help to realign the future architects' perceptions of past and present with those of the public.

14. Towards the concept of stylistic idioms with no expiration dates

The idea of a *world 3* of exosomatic, objectified knowledge shows above all why the conception of art as expression is misguided. The “expressionist”

understanding of art, a by-product of the modernist periodism,⁵⁸ takes art and culture in general to be a kind of epoch-generated discharge, where validity and usefulness of aesthetic solutions expires with the epoch's end. Such view of validity of styles is almost identical with approaches to fashions, which in fact might enrich our understanding of the nature of stylistic periods.⁵⁹ But style idioms, conceived of as expressions, are seen as something beyond fashions because such idioms are purportedly not results of choices of men in the marketplace. They are products of various non-human factors with volitions of their own, expressing themselves, as already mentioned, through the medium of architects, all those who, in Hegel's words “*had an insight into the requirements of the time [and] what was ripe for development.*”⁶⁰ The problem with such periodist understanding of one's work is that it entails a one-way-street approach to artistic creation, an uncritical take-it-or-leave-it attitude. According to Popper, the expressionist understanding of art is misguided because artists, like everyone else, are engaged in solving problems. In whatever we do, Popper writes, “... everything depends upon the give and take between ourselves and our task, our work, our problems, our world 3; upon the repercussion upon us of this world; upon feedback, which can be amplified by our criticism of what we have done.”⁶¹

The notion of a *world 3* of objective knowledge defuses the expression-based, periodist concept of art and offers instead a view of stylistic idioms as visual inventions with no expiration dates. This may solve two problems at once. (1) By offering an evolutionary, that is, non-expressionist explanation of culture in general, and of art in particular, it makes it difficult to conceive of oneself as a one-way creator of final solutions. (2) The concept of *world 3*, in denying the architect, or anybody else, an elevated role as instru-

⁵⁷ As he put it in 1994, they “believe ... that the good, right, wise politician is the one who foresees what will happen next, who has a gift of prophecy in the realm of politics. But in my opinion this is a fantastic prejudice, a kind of madness. You cannot predict the future. The future is not fixed, it is open.” CHMIELEWSKI, A. J. – POPPER, K. R.: The Future is Open. A Conversation with Sir Karl Popper. In: Jarvie, I. – Pralong, S. (eds.): *Popper's Open Society After Fifty Years: The Continuing Relevance of Karl Popper*. London 1999, pp. 28-38 (32).

⁵⁸ For the Romantic roots of the “expressionist” understanding

of art, see WOODMANSEE, M.: *The Author, Art, and the Market: Rereading the History of Aesthetics*. New York 1994.

⁵⁹ Cf. GOMBRICH, E. H.: The Logic of Vanity Fair: Alternatives to Historicism in the Study of Fashions, Style and Taste. In: *Ideals and Idols: Essays on Values in History and in Art*. Oxford 1979, pp. 60-92.

⁶⁰ HEGEL 1881 (see in note 27), p. 31.

⁶¹ POPPER 2002 (see in note 48), p. 229.

ment of some Superhuman Force, provides again, as a consequence, room for the user – that is, for the diversity of the market demands in a pluralist society – that architectural modernism spirited away.

The modernist periodism firmly glued pre-modernist visual cultures to their respective periods, making them illegitimate to reclaim. When they become unglued again – and Popper's idea of a world of *objective knowledge* promises a powerful solvent – it is possible to expect inventive uses and surprising

innovative developments within not only modernist but also non-modernist idioms, until now left largely fallow.⁶² Of course, nobody can know what concrete results might emerge when the Bauhaus Wall⁶³, still standing in the minds of most of contemporary designers and architects, as well as historians, is finally leveled. This may, however, be a fair prediction: more and more, architects and designers are going to understand that all existing aesthetic idioms, not only the modernist one, are in principle equally legitimate starting points for aesthetic considerations.⁶⁴

Proč lze přistupovat ke stylovým idiomům minulosti jako k výtvarným vynálezům s neomezenou platností Pohled na dějiny architektury jako na permanentní přítomnost minulosti a jeho důsledky pro vzdělávání architektů a designérů

Resumé

Hlavní tezí článku je, že existují dobré důvody proč chápat předmodernistické idiomy jako časově neomezené a stále platné a použitelné výtvarné vynálezy, na rozdíl od modernistického názoru, který předmodernistické stylové idiomy chápala a doposud chápe jako mrtvé výtvarné výrazy minulých dob. Tuto tezi autor obhajuje pomocí argumentů, které se opírají o filozofii britského myslitele rakouského původu Karla Poperra.

Text napřed probírá hlavní rysy modernistické teorie architektury z hlediska kritiky toho, co Popper nazval historicismus, tj. víry, že chod historie je předurčen a že její směr jsou lidé s to rozeznat a podle toho správně jednat. Autor chápe modernismus jako přístup k tvorbě architektury, založený na právě takové víře, a modernistickou teorií odmítá jako sled argumentů sloužících vlastním zájmům přívrženců modernismu. Modernistická teorie architektury

⁶² "...architects are divided up into hostile camps. (...) This means that a good idea from one side never finds its way to the other." "If the establishment could make a more welcoming moral and intellectual space for traditionalists... , who knows what each could learn from the other?" ADAM, R.: The Dialogue of the Deaf. In: *Building Magazine*, 11 September 2009, p. 29; ADAM 2010 (see in note 3), p. 42. Both articles are accessible online at <http://www.adamarchitecture.com/publications.htm>.

⁶³ Cf. MICHL 2014/B (see in note 1).

⁶⁴ The prediction and hope expressed here differ, I suggest,

from the ethos of the post-modernist program of the 1980s and 90s. Its aim seemed to be the replacement of modernism with other stylistic idioms – as the prefixes Post-Modern and Late-Modern seemed to suggest. That was to a large extent still a periodist program. The present text does not propose to replace any style with any other style. What it does propose is a thoroughly non-periodist, or rather anti-periodist approach to architecture and design, where every existing stylistic idiom is taken to be contemporaneous with every other idiom. It proposes, in other words, to treat all existing stylistic possibilities, including the modernist ones, as inventions without expiration dates.

byla postavena na argumentu, že přišla nová doba, a ta že žádá stylový výraz, který musí být úplně jiný než dosavadní stylové idiomy, ale historicky stejně nutný jako byly údajně nutné stylové výrazy minulých historických epoch. Obrovský úspěch tohoto programu mezi architekty autor vysvětluje tím, že nabídl etablované heteronomní profesi novou identitu vykonavatelů intencí mimolidských „klientů“ označovaných jako „Moderní Doba“ či „Historie“. Přívrženci modernismu tak byli zprostření povinnosti vyhovovat estetickým preferencím všech lidských objednavatelů či uživatelů, kteří preferovali tradiční, tj. nemodernistické výtvarné polohy a řešení před nefigurativní, minimalistickou estetikou modernismu. V důsledku své nové identity se modernisté začali vnímat jako téměř autonomní tvůrci.

Text dále konfrontuje modernistický postoj k architektonické minulosti s Popperovou převratnou tezí postulující existenci objektivního vědění, které Popper charakterizuje jako poznání „bez vědoucího subjektu“, tj. druh vědění, které je na subjektu nezávislé, protože existuje mimo něj, v samostatném, každému přístupném světě. Jako příklad objektivního vědění lze uvést knihovnu s knihami, obsahujícími existující teorie, hypotézy, diskuze, problémy a jejich řešení, ale podle Poppera sem mimo mnoho jiného patří stejnou měrou také všechny kategorie uměleckých děl včetně architektury.

Tato teze vrhá podle autora radikálně nové světlo na povahu lidské tvořivosti a tím i na modernistický postoj k minulosti. Popper vidí lidskou tvořivost jako cele zakotvenou v objektivním světě vždy už existujícího vědění, a bez tohoto zakotvení jako v podstatě nemožnou. (Elegantně to shrnuje jeho věta: „...kdyby chtěl někdo začít od Adama, dál než Adam by se nedostal...“). Klíčovým rysem světa objektivního

vědění je podle autora to, že každá jeho jednotlivost existuje v přítomném čase, současně se všemi ostatními jednotlivostmi; svět objektivního vědění je tudíž neustále přítomný, přístupný a osvojitelný pro všechny, kdo mají zájem si jeho obsahy osvojit. Tento svět je zároveň také kritizovatelný a právě jeho kritizovatelnost umožňuje, aby byl dále tvořivě rozvíjen. Z teze o existenci světa objektivního vědění tedy plyne, že veškerá umělecká díla včetně architektury, ač diachronického původu, existují všechna v synchronní dimenzi, v jediné neustálé přítomnosti. Ve světě objektivního vědění tedy rozdíl mezi „architekturou minulosti“ a „architekturou přítomnosti“ neexistuje, protože obě existují ve stejně časové dimenzi – totíž právě teď.

Pokud tezi o samostatném světu objektivního poznání přijmeme, bude zřejmé, že modernistická architektura nemohla nebýt součástí tohoto světa a že tudíž celou dobu operovala uvnitř tohoto světa existujících teorií, problémů a estetických řešení, jako ostatně kterákoli jiná tvorba. Modernistické tvrzení, že architektura minulosti je nepoužitelná, protože je uzamčena v minulosti, je proto třeba vidět jako účelovou argumentaci, jejímž cílem bylo prosadit radikálně nový výtvarný idiom. Takový strategicky podmíněný názor na předmodernistickou architekturu nutně kolidoval s tím, jak architekturu minulosti vnímala a stále vnímá velká většina lidí, která modernistický cíl nikdy nesdílela.

Autor uzavírá, že neexistuje žádný rozumný důvod, proč by školy architektury a designu měly i nadále stavět na neudržitelné argumentaci svých modernistických předchůdců a vyučování budoucích architektů a designérů omezovat pouze na jediný, modernistický, výtvarný idiom.

The superstructure of Master Paul's Altarpiece in Levoča with the figures of apostles An act of artistic commemoration?

Zoltán GYALÓKAY

In the retable erected at the beginning of the 16th century in the workshop of Paul of Levoča for the Church of Saint James the Greater in Levoča one can see a group of statues representing the twelve disciples of Christ (fig. 1). Having been placed high, they were not easily accessible to researchers, and it was the conservation that the altarpiece underwent between 1952 and 1954 that allowed for a closer inspection of the statutes¹. This event, which was crucial to the study of the whole altar, started a discussion on some issues concerning the figures of the apostles. The first researcher who studied the statues more closely was Vladimír Wagner, who published his observations while the conservation work was

still in progress². The main issues in the discussion were the questions concerning the dating and the artistic beginning of the sculptures, and, most of all, the site where the figures were originally placed³.

Wagner's suggestion that the figures are the remnants of the sculptures of the oldest retable of the high altar seems to be the most probable. This thesis has been accepted by most scholars⁴.

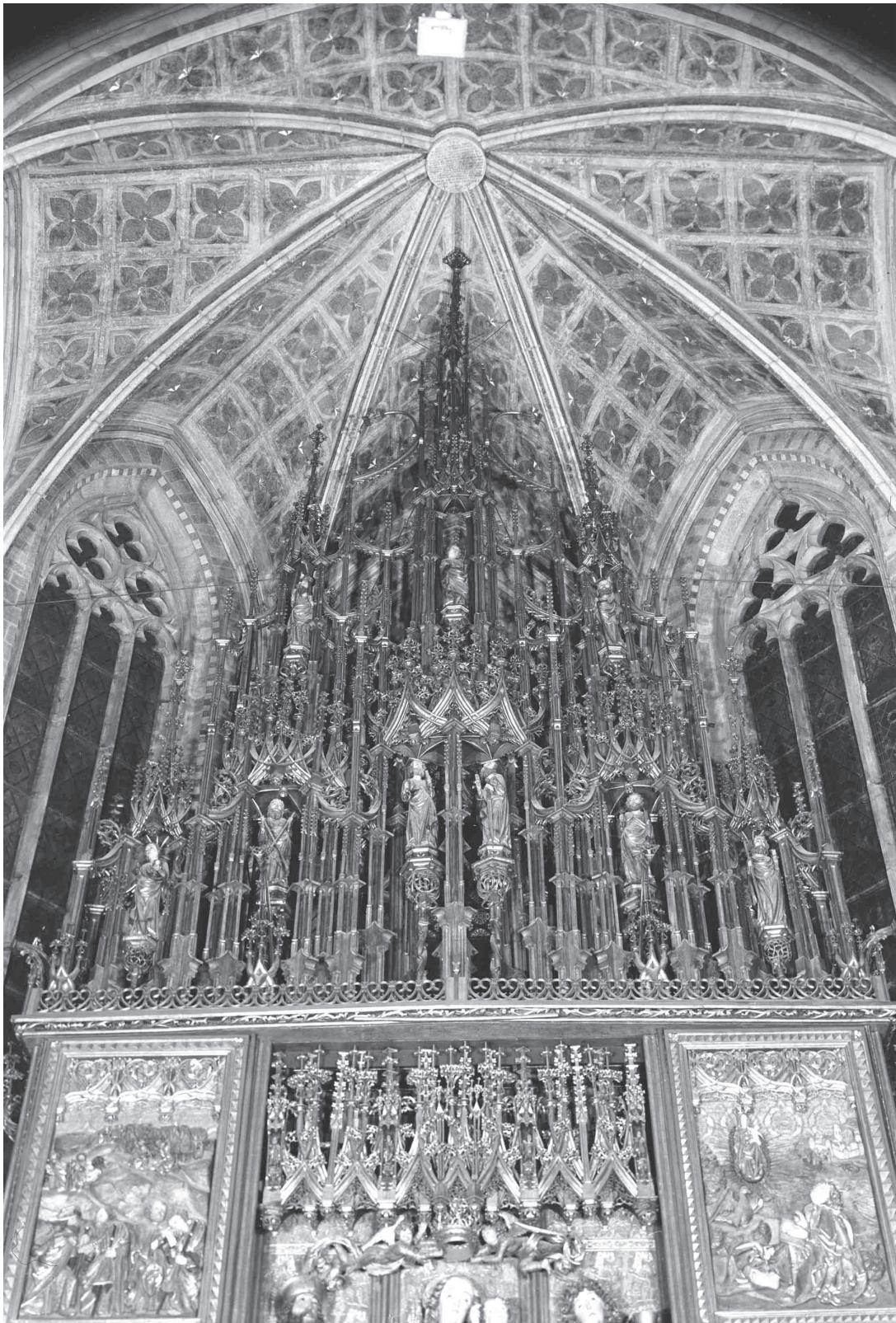
Even if we consider the 14th century retable of the high altar of the parish church in Levoča to be the most probable location of the statues, there are still a number of questions concerning, first of all the, appearance of the retable and the circumstances in which it was created. Jaromír Homolka concentrated

¹ KOTRBA, V. – KOTRBA, F.: Konzervácia a reštaurácia oltára, In: HORVÁTH, P. et al.: *Majster Pavol z Levoče. Tvorca vrcholného diela slovenskej neskorej gotiky*. Bratislava 1964, pp. 115–127. The conservation of all of the retable began in 2013 and it has not finished at the time of writing this text. However, the first stage of the works, which insisted in renovating the figures of the apostles being discussed in this article, has already finished. The conservation works were a chance to examine the statues. I would like to thank Eva Spaleková and Juraj Maták from the conservation bureau in Levoča (*Pamiatkový Úrad SR – Oblastný Reštaurátorský Ateliér Levoča*) for letting me access the statues and study the documentation of the first stage of the conservation process.

² WAGNER, V.: Príspevok k umeniu Levoče v XV. a XVI. storocí. In: *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 2, 1953, pp. 215–230. Before the conservation of the altar, the figures were only briefly mentioned by Erich Wiese in SCHÜRER, O., WIESE, E.: *Deutsche Kunst in der Zips*. Brünn-Wien-Leipzig 1938, p. 61.

³ The state of the research is presented in a detailed way in HOMOLKA, J.: Plastická výzdoba oltára. In: HORVÁTH, P. et al. (see in note 1), pp. 64–87; VÉGH, J.: Die Apostelfiguren im Gesprenge des Leutschauer Hochaltars: ein Fall des >Historismus<?. In: WETTER, E. (Ed.): *Die Länder der böhmischen Krone und ihre Nachbarn zur Zeit der Jagiellonenkönige (1471–1526). Kunst, Kultur, Geschichte*. Ostfildern 2004, pp. 235–240.

⁴ R. Suckale and D. Buran were of a different opinion: SUCKALE, R. – BURAN, D.: Apoštoli štítu hlavného oltára v Levoči. In: BURAN, D. (Ed.): *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*. Bratislava 2003, catalogue nr 4.12.2, p. 695. They thought that the figures might have been created outside Spiš. The authors have not excluded the possibility that the figures, coming from an unknown place and being ‘homeless’ already at the beginning of the 16th century, might have been ‘on stock’ in Master Paul’s workshop, which was used for building the retable that has existed up to now.



1. Levoča, the superstructure of the high altar retable in the church of St James the Greater, ab. 1360 – 1380, and 1508 – 1517, Photo: Archív Pamiatkového úradu Slovenskej republiky, Author: Ján Sláma, 1988.

on the time when the bulding of the church was finished, i.e. the end of the 14th century. In his opinion the high altar, which includes the group of the apostles' figures, must have been created at that time⁵. The vaulting of the naves was completed in the middle of the 14th century⁶. The eastern parts could have been finished at that time, so it is difficult to imagine that the church was not already in use even in this incomplete state and, consequently, that it was not decorated. The remnants of the wall paintings coming from about 1360 -1380 prove that the choir started to be decorated with polychromy already in the second half of the 14th century. The latest conservation examinations confirmed the existence in those years a vast wall painting covering the whole choir, which had just been erected. Nowadays the colorful adornment covers the vault and decorates all the architectural elements inside the apse. Also, a series of wall paintings showing farming activities and being allegories of the twelve months were painted beneath the windows of the apse at that time as well⁷. The stylistic characteristics of the statues do not exclude the creation of the retable at the same time. It is quite likely that all the decoration of the choir, the most important element of which was the retable with the group of the apostles' figures, was

created at that time. Following that, the figures can be dated at 1360-1380.

The wide but relatively low retable was probably erected on a predella put on the altarstone of the high altar. With the retable located this way, it was high enough to enable seeing the abovementioned series of paintings below as well as the stained glass windows above.

According to the Kotrba brothers the fact that the superstructure of the late gothic retable included only the apostles and not any other sculptures proves that the decoration of the retable of the older altar consisted only of a group of Christ's disciples, all placed in one line⁸. The structure of such a retable must have been enormous, which is indicated by the height of the statues equalling with the pedestal from 110.5 to 112 cm⁹. In Slovakia there remains only one group of sculptures which used to be an ornament of that kind of retable. The retable comes from Šiba in Šariš region and three of its figures are as tall as the apostles in Levoča, but the other ones are much smaller¹⁰. Among the best preserved 14th century retabiles only the biggest ones have statues as big as the figures of the apostles in Levoča. Norbert Wolf in his work about the retabiles of that time included all the retabiles that have been preserved

⁵ HOMOLKA 1964 (see in note 3), note 25 on p.143.

⁶ POMFYOVÁ, B.: Levoča. Rím. kat. farský kostol sv. Jakuba. In: BURAN 2003 (see in note 4), catalogue No. 1.3.12, pp. 627-628.

⁷ BURAN, D.: *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei. Die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus in Poniky*. Weimar 2002, pp. 24-26 dated at about 1370 - 1400. The conservation work on the paintings lasted from 2010 to 2012. The allegories of the twelve months were only partly uncovered. However, thanks to in situ examinations executed by conservators in some places we know that the whole cycle, now hidden under later layers of paintings, covers all the width of the apse; SPALEKOVÁ, E.: Nástenné maľby v presbytériu Chrámu sv. Jakuba v Levoči. In: *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 52, 2013, No. 3, pp. 21-27 informs about the literature and dates the paintings at 1360-1380.

⁸ KOTRBA, V. – KOTRBA, F.: Architektonika oltára. In: HORVÁTH 1964 (see in note 1), pp. 34-63, particularly note 5. Anton C.Glatz shared this opinion concerning the layout of the figures: GLATZ, A., C.: Ikonografické a motivistické inšpirácie a vzory skulptúr a tabuľových malieb levočského

hlavného oltára. In: *ARS*, 34, 2001, No. 2-3, pp. 153-201.

⁹ The data concerning the height of the figures: MATÁK, J. – SPALEKOVÁ, E.: *Návrh na reštaurovanie pamiatky. Hlavný oltár sv. Jakuba v r. k. kostole sv. Jakuba v Levoči*. Levoča 2013, p. 13. (A computer printout from the archive *Pamiatkový Úrad SR – Oblastný Reštaurátorský Ateliér Levoča*).

¹⁰ St Nicholas: 112 cm, St Cosma: 91 cm, St Damian: 92,5 cm, the further figures: 59,7-69,5 cm, the width of the whole retable is 301 cm. Today the retable belongs to the collection of East Slovak Museum in Košice ; GLATZ, A. C.: *Gotické umenie z košických zbierok*. Košice 1995, pp. 24-26 contain the technical data and an extensive literature list. In a later article Anton C.Glatz decided that the three central figures of the retable from Šiba refer in their composition to the apostles' figures discussed in this paper.; GLATZ 2001, (see in note 8), p. 181. However , the way in which the central figures were inserted in the composition of the retable from Šiba cannot unanimously impute the probable look of the retable from Levoča. The differences in the height of the three central figures in relation to the others may result from the shape of the retable, which is different in Levoča where all the figures are of a similar height.

until now in northern regions of Germany. Among the retables there are structures which contain one row of figures just like, most probably, the altarpiece in Levoča. The height of the figures that adorn the biggest of the retables is not more than 80-90 cm (without the pedestal), while the width of the horizontally accentuated retable is, in some cases, more than seven meters¹¹.

Such a vast structure for holding a dozen or so statues of, in fact, not a big size is not surprising because they were placed in the architectural frame of the retable and surrounded by rich ornamentation. The basic component of the extensive structure is the *microarchitecture* surrounding the figures, which consists of a pedestal at the bottom and a canopy supported by columns and adorned with tracery ornamentation at the top. In some places there are tall pinnacles rising from the canopy. Taking into account the same proportional ratio of the statues in relation to the whole of the typical German retable at that time one may conclude that the retable in Levoča was more than 8 meters wide. Such a structure could have fit a choir of a 9.75 – meter- wide church though it would have occupied all of its space¹².

As it has been shown, the history of the altar has been a mystery until today. Recently, more about the altar has been said by Dušan Buran. The scholar claimed that the size of the apostles' figures allows only for a hypothetical reconstruction of their location within the retable of the high altar in the choir of the church. Buran thought that the altar might have been destroyed during the Hussite raid on Levoča in 1431 when a great number of buildings in the city were burnt. The sculptures of the retable might have been saved and hidden in an unknown place until

the time they were placed again in the superstructure of a new retable made in the workshop of Paul of Levoča¹³.

Such a hypothesis concerning the destruction of the altar and a new use of the figures, which has been appearing since the publication of the Kotrba brothers' work until recently¹⁴ has also raised some doubts. It would mean that after the destruction of the altar, the citizens of Levoča were forced to build a new high altar. Considering the width of the choir and the significance of the church , the retable would have been fairly sizeable and its construction would have lasted several years. That retable would have existed only several dozen years , after which it would have been dismantled to make space for the enormous work that has been preserved until now. So if there had been a 15th century retable, the 14th century sculptures would have been kept in a place still unknown today, from which they had been taken to be put in the superstructure of the present altar¹⁵. However, it is difficult to imagine that even if the sculptures had been taken off the retable and hidden at the news of an upcoming danger, they would not have been put on the retable again after the Hussite retreat. The church could have avoided a greater destruction , and its choir cannot have been burnt as it is indicated by the preserved wall paintings.

The historical records that have lasted up to now inform about the destruction of houses and damage done in the city as a result of the already mentioned raid of 1431. The raid was led "durch einen Polnischen Edelmann mit Namen Pukalo" (by a Polish nobleman named Pukalo)¹⁶. The nobleman was Dobiesław (Dobek) Puchała, well known in Polish

¹¹ WOLF, N.: *Deutsche Schnitzretabel des 14. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin 2002, pp. 73-79 (Bosau), pp. 184-188 (Varlar), pp. 208-219 (Arendsee, Petersdorf).

¹² The width of the middle nave , which is equal to the width of the choir, is given by KOMPANYIK, C.: *Sz. Jakabról czímvégett Lőcsei plébánia templom rövid leírása* [A short description of the parish church of St Jacob in Levoča]. Lőcse 1891, p. 8. in : HORVÁTH, P.: Spoločenské a kultúrne pozadie stredovekej Levoče. In: HORVÁTH 1964 (see in note 1), pp. 9-20.

¹³ BURAN 2002 (see in note 7), pp. 108-109. A summary of the events in 1431 with the sources cf. ibidem, pp. 42-43. In

a later work the author considered it unlikely that the apostles' figures belonged to the composition of the 14th century retable of the high altar in Levoča. Cf. note 4.

¹⁴ KOTRBA, V. – KOTRBA, F.: *Levočský oltár Majstra Pavla*. Bratislava 1955, p. 60; Recently VÉGH 2004 (see in note 3), p. 237.

¹⁵ BURAN 2002 (see in note 7), p. 109.

¹⁶ BAL, J. et al. (Ed.): *Hain Gáspár Lőcsei krónikája*. Lőcse 1910-1913, p. 14.

historiography¹⁷. For many years he served the Polish king Władysław Jagiełło, taking part in war expeditions against the Teutonic Knights in the northern territories of Poland, starting with the Battle of Tannenberg (Grunwald) in 1410 in which he showed great bravery. In 1420s he ran military operations on the Silesian-Moravian-Hungarian border having his base in Kluczbork in Silesia. It was also the time that he got related with the Hussites, still being in the service of the Polish king Władysław Jagiełło. His military raids were seemingly his own idea, but in fact he had the king's secret support¹⁸.

Puchała's activities have to be considered in the context of complicated political relations at the time of the Hussite Wars and the wars between the Teutonic Knights and the Kingdom of Poland waged at the same time. This context sheds new light on the raid of Levoča in 1431. The plundering and burning of an important royal town – and the most important town in Spiš – was a blow for Sigismundus of Luxemburg himself, and he supported the Teutonic Knights, the enemies of the Polish king. The raid might have been political in nature, and it was definitely predatory.

At the time of the Hussite Wars raids on towns or monasteries occurred from time to time. They were carried out not only by the Hussites themselves but also by noblemen who, in search for political or financial benefits, joined the Hussites for a short time – like Puchała did – or who were not related with them at all. The war turmoil was just an excuse to plunder. It is

worth mentioning here the records of Caspar Hain's chronicles, in which the author describes armed raids of the Hussites or Bohemians on Spiš several times, but in case of the raid on Levoča in 1431 he writes only about 'a Polish nobleman Puchała'¹⁹. An example of a raid which was purely predatory is the raid on a Carthusian monastery in Lechnica in Spiš in 1431, several days before plundering Levoča²⁰.

Another significant event in this context is the best known in Polish historiography act of damaging a cult icon, which is traditionally ascribed to the Hussites. A year before the events described above, on Easter Sunday 1430 there was a raid on the Pauline monastery in Częstochowa, during which the most revered Polish cult painting, *Hodegetria*, was badly damaged. Initially they were the Hussites that were accused of the attack but it soon turned out that the perpetrators were a group of robbers led by three Polish noblemen : Jakub Nadobny of Rogowo, Jan Kuropatwa of Łancuchowo and Rogala Wyszel of Kozolin. They were accompanied by a Hussite, Fryderyk Ostrogski, the son of Ruthenian prince, Fedor Danilovich²¹. The Hussites officially denied the accusation emphasising that they were unaware of the raid ,which was made by "scoundrels, out of greed"²². Polish art historians have long had a discussion whether the damage visible on Virgin Mary's face was done during the attack, or whether it is a part of the original iconography of this miraculous image, representing a type of "wounded painting"²³.

¹⁷ NOWAK, Z. H.: Puchała Dobiesław. In: ROSTWOROWSKI, E. (Ed.): *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish biographical dictionary] vol. 29, Wrocław 1986, pp. 323-325. I would like to thank Bożena Czwojdrak (The Institute of History at the University of Silesia in Katowice) for the consultation and her valuable remarks concerning Dobiesław Puchała.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 323-324.

¹⁹ BAL 1910-1913 (see in note 16), p. 14.

²⁰ Jan Długosz refers to this fact in his *Historiae Polonicae Libri XII* emphasising that the "heretics" (as for the leaders Długosz mentions their names and stresses the fact that there were both Czechs and Poles among them) expected to find *maximum thesaurum fortunarum multarum* in the monastery. The robbers took liturgical vessels, vestments and books and other "decorations" with the aim of selling them. According to Długosz, the invaders got furious when they found out

that their loot was not as valuable as they had expected. Cf. PRZEZDZIECKI, A. (Ed.): *Joannis Dlugossii Senioris Canonici Cracoviensis Opera omnia*, vol. 13, Cracoviae 1877, p. 437.

²¹ Ibidem, p. 399. SPERKA, J.: Nieznane fakty dotyczące napadu na klasztor Paulinów w Częstochowie w 1430 roku (Sum.: Unknown facts concerning the attack on the Pauline monastery in Częstochowa in 1430). In: *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechnne*, 1 (5), 2009, pp. 152-175.

²² SPERKA 2009 (see note 21), p. 162.

²³ RÓŻYCKA-BRYZEK, A.: Obraz Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej. Pochodzenie i dzieje średniowieczne (Sum.: The image of the Virgin Hodegetria of Częstochowa. Origin and Medieval History). In: *Folia Historiae Artium*, 26, 1990, pp. 5-26. Recently: KURPIK, W.: *Częstochowska Hodegetria* (Sum.: Hodegetria of Częstochowa). Łódź-Pelplin 2008, pp. 141-149.

Recent conservation works have confirmed that the scars did not result from hitting, but from cutting the icon with a sharp object done, however, before the renovation of the icon, which took place a short time after the attack²⁴. Even if the icon was damaged by the robbers, it is still not clear why they did it. Surely, the icon was ripped of its valuable ornamentation, perhaps its silver covering and precious gems with which it was studded. Those and other precious objects stolen from the monastery might have been needed by the three robbery leaders whose financial situation at that time was very bad²⁵.

In the light of recent research the raid on the monastery in Częstochowa and damaging the cult icon can be considered a robbery rather than a symptom of the Hussite iconoclasm. Of course one cannot rule out that the armed band that invaded Levoča at Easter 1431 stealing valuables and burning houses, did not spare sacred images in churches. The historical context presented here suggests, however, that also in this case destroying an object of religious cult was not the main aim of the raid.

The retable with the apostles' statues might have persisted in the choir of the church until the beginning of the 16th century. The fact that they were reused by Master Paul's workshop may be treated as a part of a natural process of changing the decoration of this spiritually most precious part of the church. It is also worth considering whether the structure of the broad multilevel superstructure does not refer to the architecture of the previous retable. Analysing the structural principles of the altar in Levoča Viktor and František Kotrba stressed the fact that the superstructure is not only the highest but also the widest structure of that kind known to scholars. They valued highly the artistic merits of the structure, whose function they compared to that of a gothic cathedral spire dominating its surrounding. Yet, as far as the apostles' sculptures are concerned, the scholars thought they were of a secondary

importance being, as they said, an expression of "Levoča patricians' conservatism". According to Viktor and František Kotrba, Master Paul's ability to use the sculptures to adorn the superstructure without interfering with its clear structure truly proves his skills²⁶. Still, the superstructure, emerging above the central shrine and the adjoining wings and being characterised by clear apportionment, resembles the 14th century architecture of retables, in which each statue was placed in a real interior constructed by means of a set of columns and pinnacles and topped by an elaborated canopy (fig. 2).

The superstructures of late gothic retables are more loose in structure, and their statues, which are often a larger representation of the Crucifixion or the Last Judgement, are of primary importance, with the whole of the structure taking the form of ornamentation surrounding the sculptures. Here, two retables are worth a mention: the altarpiece by Veit Stoss, and another one having been influenced by his art, just like Master Paul's *œuvre* was. The former is the altarpiece in St Mary's Church in Cracow, and the latter the retable of the high altar in Church of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Martin in Schwabach near Nuremberg. The superstructure of the retable in Cracow has not been preserved as a whole²⁷. One cannot rule out that the pinnacles once reached the vaulting of the choir. The statues forming *Mary's Coronation* and the figures of Saint Stanislaus and Saint Adalbert were placed beneath spacious baldachins, which is similar to the positioning of the apostles in Levoča. However, the statues in Cracow dominate the surrounding architecture of columns and pinnacles. Like the one in Levoča, the superstructure in Schwabach near Nuremberg is so tall that it reaches the keystone in the vault and is as wide as the whole of the retable. But, unlike in its counterpart in Levoča, the structure is much looser and just creates a delicate frame for the representation of the Last Judgement and the figures of

²⁴ KURPIK 2008 (see in note 23), p. 145.

²⁵ SPERKA 2009 (see in note 21), p. 154, 174.

²⁶ KOTRBA 1964 (see in note 8), pp. 46-48.

²⁷ The present day appearance results from a partial recon-

struction carried out in 1868 as a part of the conservation of the whole retable, which was executed between 1866 and 1871; WALCZY, L.: *Dzieje konserwacji ołtarza Wita Stwosza w Kościele Mariackim w Krakowie*. Kraków 2012, pp. 74-85. For more details about the lack of information concerning the original appearance of the whole retable see ibidem, p. 74.



2. St Paul in the superstructure of the high altar retable in the church of St James the Greater in Levoča, ab. 1360 – 1380, photographed by Z.Gyalókay

Madonna and Child with St Anne placed above the scene²⁸. The construction of the superstructure in Levoča, unlike in the examples presented above, is as important as the statuary and creates the framework without which the row of the apostles would have been suspended in the air.

The composition comprises nearly the whole of the retable : the sculptures of the apostles are not only in the superstructure but there is a figure on

each side of the retable. In this composition Master Paul might have been inspired by the previous retable. Another example of placing the figures not only in the central shrine but on its sides as well , and even on its back wall , is the 1424 retable in the Parish Church of Saint Martin in Landshut²⁹. Taking this example into account we may assume that also in Levoča only some of the statues were put at the front, while the others (two or four) were placed on the sides.

²⁸ For more information on how the works of Paul of Levoča refer to the composition idea of the retable and the style of its figures see GYALÓKAY, Z.: Der Hauptaltar in der Jakobskirche zu Leutschau und der Hauptaltar der Schwabacher Stadtkirche. Zur Herkunftsproblematik der Kunst des Bildschnitzers Paul von Leutschau. In: WETTER 2004 (see note 3), pp. 403-413.

²⁹ KOBLER, F.: Hochaltar der Stadtpfarrkirche St. Martin. In: NIEHOFF, F. (Ed.): *Vor Leinberger. Landshuter Skulptur im Zeitalter der Reichen Herzöge. 1393 – 1503*, t. 1. Landshut 2001, catalogue no. 17, pp. 256-260. Only some of the figures have been preserved ; today they are in the city museum in Landshut (Museen der Stadt Landshut). The retable carved in sandstone has been preseved *in situ*, the missing sculptures were added during the conservation of the altar carried out in the 19th century. Cf. also: Idem, Statuetten vom Hochaltar der Stadtpfarrkirche St. Martin. In: Ibidem, catalogue no. 18, pp. 264-268.

If we presume this was the inspiration at the beginning of the 16th century for building a wide and elaborated superstructure so unusual at that time and putting two sculptures on either side of the retable, then such an act might be considered a kind of *commemoration* of the 14th century predecessor. Therefore Master Paul re-used not only the statues themselves but was inspired by the previous retable in planning the layout of the sculptures and designing the composition framework.

An issue that seems crucial in tracing back the history of the 14th century retable is the extensively discussed question concerning the originality of the heads of the figures. During the conservation work executed in 1950, the restorers noticed that in each sculpture the head is separated from the torso by a sharp V- or U-shaped cut (fig.3). The manner in which the head was put on the trunk made the restorers conclude that at some stage of work the heads were detached from the trunk and then attached again. The marks of chisel on the back side of the sculptures indicate that the heads were embedded after the trunks had been hollowed out, but still before being painted. It was also ascertained that the heads had been carved from the same wood³⁰. The assumption of the originality of the heads was adopted by Jaromír Homolka³¹. Dénes Radocsay also thought there is little probability that the heads were created later than the other parts of the statues. Thus he disagreed with the opinion of László Gerevich, who, in his review of Radocsay's book, believed the heads to be completions from the time of building the late gothic retable. Radocsay's argument against Gerevich's view stemmed from the stylistic differences between the heads and Master Paul's work³². This issue reappeared several dozen years later in the catalogue of an exhibition organised by the Slovak



3. The figure of St Andrew from the superstructure of the high altar retable in the church of St James the Greater in Levoča, ab. 1360 – 1380, during conservation, photographed by J. Maták

National Gallery. Milena Bartlová in her essay considered it possible that the heads were additions which appeared in the third decade of the 15th as a result of repairs done after the damage caused by the Hussite raid in 1431³³. The authors of the catalogue entry in the same publication, while pointing out the stylistic difference between the heads and the trunks shifted the time when the heads were embedded even more. In their opinion it cannot be ruled out that the heads were attached to the trunks when the figures were used anew in the retable created in the workshop of Paul of Levoča. On the other hand, the authors did not exclude the possibility that the heads come from a much later time and they were not even created in the gothic period³⁴.

However, an excellent argument for the assumption that the heads were attached to the trunks at

³⁰ KOTRBA 1955 (see in note 14), p. 57. Eva Spaleková and Juraj Maták, the authors of the conservation programme and the documentation that followed, recently have made observations similar to those of their predecessors'; MATÁK, J. – SPALEKOVÁ, E.: *Dokumentácia vykonaných reštaurátorských prác. Hlavný oltár sv. Jakuba v r. k. kostole sv. Jakuba v Levoči. I. etapa – oltárny nadstavec*. Levoča 2014, pp. 6-7. (A computer printout in the archive Pamiatkový Úrad SR – Oblastný Reštaurátorský Ateliér Levoča).

³¹ HOMOLKA 1964 (see in note 3), p. 66.

³² RADOCSAY, D.: *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai* [Wooden sculptures of medieval Hungary]. Budapest 1967, p. 34, note 110 on p. 135.

³³ BARTLOVÁ, M.: Skulptúra a tabuľové maliarstvo 1400-1470. In: BURAN 2003 (see in note 4), pp. 251-272.

³⁴ SUCKALE – BURAN 2003 (see in note 4), p. 695.

the time the sculptures were created is the fact that the polychromy described by the restorers as ‘homogeneously gothic’ covered the whole statues³⁵. The gothic layers were revealed beneath later layers of oil paints. The tempera polychromy of both the apostles’ figures in the superstructure and the monumental sculptures in the shrine, which are a century younger, has the same typically gothic structure. However, the layers of the paints coming from two different periods differ from each other. To paint the complexion of the 14th century figures the painter used a uniform shade of pink, while the complexion of the monumental sculptures from the shrine was differentiated by using various shades of pink. The eyes, mouths and eyebrows of the twelve apostles were brought out by skillfully painted lines, whereas in the later statutes these facial features were rendered by paint only³⁶.

Nevertheless, it is the difference in the thickness of the ground that is a decisive factor in that debate. On the older figures the chalk ground and brownish bole under the gilding are much thinner, which also influenced the condition in which they were preserved: when the ground was uncovered it appeared to be cracked. The ground of the later sculptures is thicker, the bole is light red, and the color of the leaves of gold is deeper yellow than the gold which was laid on the apostles’ figures. Following these observations we may unequivocally reject the hypothesis stating that the figures underwent extensive repairs in the workshop of Paul of Levoča which might have included changing the heads. The fineness of the layers on the 14th century statues demonstrates that the polychromy must be original and was not repainted during the repairs after the Hussite raid (if there had been any damage at all). If the heads had been embedded at that time, the paint layers would have been renewed as well to give such a homogenous texture as the texture discovered by the restorers. It clearly follows from the above that the heads were created simultaneously

with the the figures themselves , i.e. still in the 14th century and were a part of the original concept of their makers.

The aforementioned stylistic discrepancy between the head and the torso of all the figures shows that they were made by several woodcarvers. Jaromír Homolka thinks that the master who ran the workshop was the carver who carved the figures of Saint James (the author did not specify whether he meant Saint James the Greater or Saint James the Lesser), Saint Paul and Saint Andrew, which , as Homolka claims, are at the highest artistic level³⁷. Yet a close inspection of the statutes, which was enabled by the latest conservation of the retable , does not really confirm Homolka’s view on the differing artistic levels. The Czech art historian did not develop his arguments further, but his analysis indicates that he compared the whole figures. However, the division of responsibilities in the workshop might have been different from what Homolka suggested. One carver may have made only the heads , and another one carved the trunks of the figures. This peculiar approach could be justified by technological needs, namely, the necessity to harden the wood for the heads separately. This way it was possible to prevent from cracking the fragment which could not be hollowed because of its small size and round shape³⁸. It does not explain the stylistic differences between the heads and the trunks , but can be accepted as an additional argument for the separation of the heads being just a stage in their making.

Arguably, the apostles’ sculptures carved in the workshop constituted only a part of the figurative programme of the retable. Even though a group of sculptures showing Christ’s disciples was a frequently used component of the programme, the centre was always occupied by a more important representation. Végh supposed that in Levoča the centre figure was a sculpture of Christ³⁹. Yet it is quite probable that there were other figures, for example Madonna with the Child.

³⁵ KOTRBA 1955 (see in note 14), p. 57; MATÁK – SPALEKOVÁ 2014 (see in note 30), p. 7.

³⁶ KOTRBA 1964 (see in note 1), pp. 123-124.

³⁷ HOMOLKA 1964 (see in note 3), p. 66.

³⁸ MATÁK – SPALEKOVÁ 2014 (see in note 30), p. 6-7 considered this workshop practice to be the reason why the heads were separated from the trunks and then fixed to them again.

³⁹ VÉGH 2004 (see in note 3), p. 238.

Among all the sculptures that have been preserved until today only one stirred art historians' interest in reference to the retable. It is a sculpture of Madonna from Ľubietová (Hungarian : Libetbánya, German: Libethen) near Banská Bystrica⁴⁰ (fig. 4). Jaromír Homolka considered the sculpture to be the product of the same workshop that made the apostles' figures⁴¹. Anton C. Glatz developed Homolka's assumption even further and ascribed the figure not only to the apostles' workshop but a broader Spiš tradition. He thought that the genesis of the figures of both Madonna of Ľubietová and the apostles is to be traced back to the cathedral sculptures of the Rhineland. Such origins seem to be indicated by the way the robes are arranged or the form of the pedestal.⁴² Suckale and Buran believed that the figure is "a derivation from Czech Madonnas on a Lion", a style stemming from the figure of Madonna of Michle. Though Suckale and Buran agreed that both Madonna of Ľubietová and the apostles' figures came from the same workshop, they did not, however, follow Glatz in ascribing the figures to Spiš sculpture tradition but they thought they were all brought to Spiš from one of Bohemian workshops⁴³. Hungarian art historians did not contribute to the considerations concerning the relationship between the Levoča figures and Madonna of Ľubietová⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ The figure belongs to the collection of Central Slovakian Museum in Banská Bystrica; GLATZ, A. C.: Gotické sochárstvo v zbierkach Stredoslovenského múzea. 1. časť. In: *Stredné Slovensko. Vlastivedný zborník Stredoslovenského múzea v Banskej Bystrici*, 2, 1982, pp. 214-253, it is also there that a detailed literature about this work has been gathered. Recently: SUCKALE, R. – BURAN, D.: Madona z Lubietovej. In: BURAN 2003 (see in note 4), catalogue no. 4.12.1, p. 695.

⁴¹ HOMOLKA 1964 (see in note 3), p. 66; Idem: *Gotická plastika na Slovensku*, Bratislava 1972, p. 339.

⁴² GLATZ 1982 (see in note 40), pp. 220-221 does not list, however, any examples from the Rhineland that would support the hypothesis on the artistic roots of the figures.

⁴³ SUCKALE – BURAN 2003 (see in note 40), p. 695.

⁴⁴ RADOCSAY 1967 (see in note 32), pp. 33-34, 38 did not address these relationships when discussing the figures of the apostles and the Madonna in his synthesis of the sculpture of medieval Hungary; EISLER, J.: *Faszobrászat [Wooden sculpture]*. In: MAROSI, E. (Ed.): *Magyarországi művészet 1300-*



4. Madonna of Ľubietová, ab. 1360 – 1380, Banská Bystrica, Stredoslovenské múzeum, photographed by Z.Gyalókay



5. St Bartholomew in the superstructure of the high altar retable in the church of St James the Greater in Levoča, ab. 1360 – 1380, photographed by Z.Gyalókay



6. St Thomas from the superstructure of the high altar retable in the church of St James the Greater in Levoča, ab. 1360 – 1380, photographed by Z.Gyalókay



7. St John the Evangelist in the superstructure of the high altar retable in the church of St James the Greater in Levoča, ab. 1360 – 1380, photographed by Z.Gyalókay



8. Madonna of L'ubietová, ab. 1360 – 1380, Banská Bystrica, Stredoslovenské múzeum, a fragment, photographed by Z.Gyalókay

When comparing the Levoča figures and Madonna of L'ubietová, the first striking similarity is the almost identical height of the sculptures, which is 112 cm with the pedestal. The drapery of the robes is also similar, especially in the figure of Madonna and the relevant fragments of the figures of St Bartholomew (fig. 5) and St Thomas (fig. 6). Also the faces look similar: they all have high, prominent forehead, prominent cheekbones and big eyes and

mouth; in particular, these are the features of Madonna's (fig. 4) and St John's the Evangelist (fig. 7).

Yet one can also identify certain differences between the apostles' statues and the figure of Madonna of L'ubietová. Madonna's body axis is more inclined than the axes of the apostles' figures, which has been indicated by Anton C. Glatz⁴⁵. Such an inclination of the axis was a frequently used means of counterbalancing the weight of the Child's body.

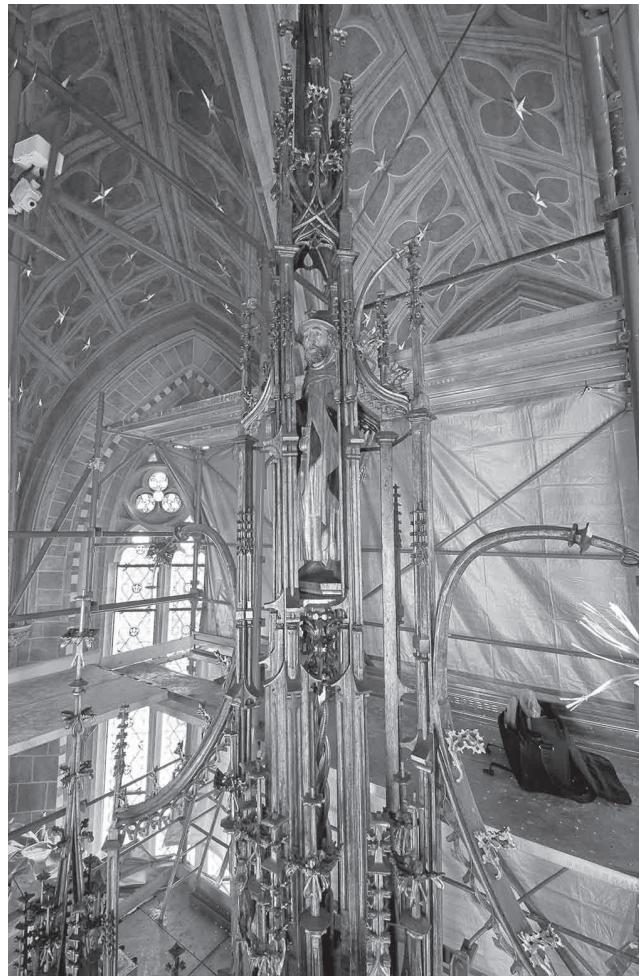
1470 könyl [Art in Hungary from 1300 to about 1470], vol. 1. Budapest 1987, p. 468 in his summary of the research into the Madonna of L'ubietová and the apostles' figures he did acknowledge the appearance of such a thread in works written

by Czech and Slovak scholars but he did not take any stand as far as the similarity between the figures is concerned.

⁴⁵ GLATZ 1982 (see in note 40), p. 220.



9. St Thomas from the superstructure of the high altar retable in the church of St James the Greater in Levoča, ab. 1360 – 1380, photographed by Z. Gyalókay



10. St James the Greater in the superstructure of the high altar retable in the church of St James the Greater in Levoča, ab. 1360 – 1380, photographed by M. Fiľa

In the sculpture from Ľubietová the weight of little Jesus is noticeable because Mary is not holding him high in her arm but has put him on her right hip. What needs to be emphasised, however, is that despite the differences in the inclination of the axis, the Madonna's figure looks as dynamic as the apostles' sculptures.

Unlike Madonna's, the apostles' hair was very finely carved. The carving of Madonna's hair is crude and marks only locks of hair, which were covered with undercoat and a layer of paint in which long lines were carved to imitate strands of hair (fig. 8 and 9).

The abovementioned observations indicate the nature of the differences which make it impossible

to ascertain that Madonna of Ľubietová and the apostles' figures came from the same workshop: the sculptures differ significantly in *the very manner* in which they were made. The carvers who made the apostles' figures harmoniously combined the composition idea and the way they used the material in which they carved. They rendered the dynamics of the figures both through the inclination of the axis and draping the robes. The figures are full of internal movement, a kind of internally opposing dynamics. The same kind of dynamics characterises the edges of the folds. The carver made them round in some places and sharp in others, gently shifting from one way of folding the cloth to the other even

on the edge of the same fold. The subtle details of the face, hair and the robes were carved in wood in Levoča , and polychromy was not the only way to express a specific style.

The sculpture of Madonna of Ľubietová seems to follow the same way of rendering the dynamics of the figures, the design of the face and the composition of the robes, but unlike in Levoča, these features are not that completely integrated with the way they were carved. Nevertheless, Madonna of Ľubietová and the apostles' figures surely belonged to similar structures of retables. They are all works created in the same artistic circle which may have influenced a larger area of the Kingdom of Hungary.

The wide retable from Levoča with the figures of the apostles and a now unknown sculpture in its central part might have been located on the altar stone already at the turn of the third and fourth quarter of the 14th century as the church had been nearly complete by then. A great number of smaller retables filling the church were created in the following decades⁴⁶.

When Master Paul started dismantling the already old retable of the main altar, he used the apostles' figures to adorn his own work, adopting, as I have been trying to prove, the previous composition idea to create the architecture of the superstructure. The new construction of the superstructure with the sculptures of the apostles and the two figures placed on the sides became an important element of the whole retable. The superstructure stands out because of its size as it takes over a half of the height of the retable , and is 2.5 times higher than the shrine itself. The superstructure contains the apostles' figures without the central sculpture presentation, which appears to have been a deliberate attempt to draw attention to the figures of St Peter and St Paul, located antithetically on the axis of the altar. Another figure that was emphasised is the sculpture of St James the Greater, the saint patron of the church : in the pyramid-like construction of the superstructure the figure is placed on the very top, just beneath the keystone of the vault (fig. 10)⁴⁷.

*Translated from Polish
by Małgorzata Wojczak-Olejnik*

⁴⁶ CHALUPECKÝ, I.: *Chrám sv. Jakuba v Levoči*. Martin 1991, pp. 28-71 enumerates also retables that have not been preserved.

⁴⁷ Anton C. Glatz noticed the fact that the figure of St James was on the highest tier of the crowning superstructure of the

retable of Madonna of the Snow in the church of St James the Greater in Levoča; GLATZ 2001 (see in note 8), p. 180. This fact may indicate that there was a tradition among the townsmen to honour in this way St James the Greater , the saint patron of the church.

Oltárna nadstavba z dielne Majstra Pavla z Levoče s postavami apoštolov. Čin umeleckej pripomienky?

Resumé

Štúdia sa zaoberá skupinou 12 postáv znázorňujúcich apoštolov, ktorá sa nachádza na retábule v Kostole sv. Jakuba staršieho v Levoči. Na úvod približuje samotný vznik postáv. Autor zastáva názor, ktorý je v príslušnej literatúre dobre známy, že postavy boli súčasťou výzdoby retábulu, ktoré bolo do Kostola sv. Jakuba v Levoči umiestnené v 14. storočí. Je len málo pravdepodobné, že retábulum bolo zničené v dôsledku husitského nájazdu na Levoču na Veľkú noc roku 1431. Hoci tento názor v odbornej literatúre pretrváva dlhé roky, zdokumentovanie okolností nájazdu na Levoču a ich porovnanie s popismi podobných nájazdov známych v poľskej historiografii ho nepodporilo. Na základe reštaurátorského výskumu, ktorý sa uskutočnil v posledných rokoch, sa tiež podarilo zistíť, že hlavy apoštolov neboli odrezané a neskôr umiestnené na pôvodné miesto v dôsledku ich poškodenia pri nájazde a následnej opravy, ale že bez akýchkoľvek pochybností išlo o časť postupu pri ich vyrezávaní v dielni. Retábulum bolo umiestnené na svoje miesto začiatkom druhej polovice 14.

storočia a zrejme tam zostało približne 150 rokov, kým ho nenahradila monumentálna socha, ktorá sa zachovala dodnes.

Hlavnou tézou štúdie je domnieka, že Majster Pavol z Levoče pri tvorbe nového retábulu nielen využil postavy apoštolov, ale pri návrhu sa aj inšpiroval stavbou predošlého retábulu. Súčasná nadstavba vlastne vôbec neprispomína neskorogotické diela tohto typu s dominantnou sochárskou výzdobou. Svojou detailne prepracovanou kompozíciou prispomína skôr retábulá zo 14. storočia. Tento postreh dokladáme príkladmi relevantných prác zo 14. storočia.

Rozhodnutie dielne Majstra Pavla použiť už existujúce postavy s najväčšou pravdepodobnosťou nebolo náhodné. Umiestnenie postáv sv. Petra a sv. Pavla do najnižšieho radu a sv. Jakuba, patróna kostola, na samý vrch, svedčí o premyslenej kompozícii. Odkaz na predošlé retábulum mohlo byť chápane ako jeho pripomienka, vďaka čomu autor (alebo autori) návrhu zachovali myšlienkovú kontinuitu.

Selbstbildnis von Baccio Bandinelli aus dem Schloss Jabłonna bei Warschau

Tadeusz J. ŻUCHOWSKI

1961 ist eine kurze Note über das Marmorreliefporträt von Baccio Bandinelli (eigentl. Bartolommeo Brandini geb. 1488 in Gaiole, Chianti – gest. 1560 in Florenz) in der Monographie des Schlosses Jabłonna von Stanisław Lorentz veröffentlicht worden¹. Es war in der Wand des Nebenkorridors eingemauert. Das aus Carrara-Marmor geschaffene Werk (Abb. 1) soll sich spätestens seit der Vorkriegszeit dort befunden haben. Die Spuren der Beschädigungen weisen darauf hin, dass das Werk während des Brandes, der 1945 ausbrach und das Schloss vernichtete, gering, aber doch unverkennbar infolge der hohen Temperaturen beschädigt wurde. Seine Einmauerung in der Wand hatte zusätzliche bedeutende Folgen. Es bestehen keine Kenntnisse darüber, was sich auf seiner anderen Seite befindet. Wir sind sogar nicht imstande festzustellen, wie dick die Marmorplatte ist. Auch die frühere Geschichte des Werkes verschwindet in der Vergangenheit. Die Haken, die zur Befestigung der Platten benutzt worden waren, stammen aus dem 19. Jahrhundert. Das Schloss wurde ohne intensivere Forschungen nach 1945 zu einem Sitz der PAN (Polnische Akademie der Wissenschaften) wiederaufgebaut und diese Bestimmung hat es bis heute behalten.

Das Marmorwerk aus Jabłonna wurde viele Jahre lang in der Literatur kaum erwähnt. Als einzige tiefergehende Monographie sind zwei Texte eines Kunsthistorikerinnen-Teams, Galicka und Sygietyńska, der Erwähnung wert. Der erste wurde in englischer, in *Burlington Magazine*, der andere in polnischer Version im *Buletyn Historii Sztuki*² veröffentlicht. Die beiden Texte unterscheiden sich kaum voneinander. Es ist hervorzuheben, dass die Autorinnen trefflich das Werk der späteren Schaffensphase Baccio Bandinellis eingeordnet haben. Sie reihten das Relief aus Jabłonna in die Serie von Selbstbildnissen Bandinellis ein und schlugen einige Varianten zur Provenienzfrage vor.

Bandinelli wurde wegen der kritischen Charakteristik von Giorgio Vasari und Benvenuto Cellini für Jahrhunderte mit der Etikette eines zweitrangigen Bildhauers des Cinquecento versehen und wurde lange Zeit von den Forschern unterschätzt.³ In den letzten Jahren, gefolgt von der Welle der steigernden Forschungen über Bandinelli, sind die Bücher von Fiorentini und Hegener zum Thema seiner Kunst erschienen, bei denen das Relief in Jabłonna einem kritischen Urteil unterworfen wurde.⁴ Nicht alle For-

¹ LORENTZ, S. – WOŁOWSKI, A.: *Jabłonna*. Warszawa 1962.

² GALICKA, I. – SYGIETYŃSKA, H.: A newly discovered self-portrait by Baccio Bandinelli. In: *Burlington Magazine*, 134, 1992, S. 805–807; GALICKA, I. – SYGIETYŃSKA, H.: Autoportret Bandinellego z Jabłonny. In: *Buletyn Historii Sztuki*, 57, 1995, S. 105–111.

³ VENTURI, A.: *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Bd. 10.2. Milano 1936, S. 192–195.

⁴ FIORENTINI, E.: *Ikonographie eines Wandels. Form und Intention von Selbstbildnis und Porträt des Bildbauers im Italien des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Diss.). Bonn – Berlin 1999. Kat. Nr. 28e; HEGENER, N.: *Divi Iacobi Eques. Selbstdarstellung im Werk des Florentiner Bildbauers Baccio Bandinelli*. München – Berlin 2008, S. 302–305, 613, 667. Beide Autorinnen besprechen alle Selbstbildnisse von Baccio Bandinelli und bilden ihre Kataloge.



1. Baccio Bandinelli, *Selbstporträt*, 1555-1558, Jabłonna, Polnische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Aufnahme des Verfassers)



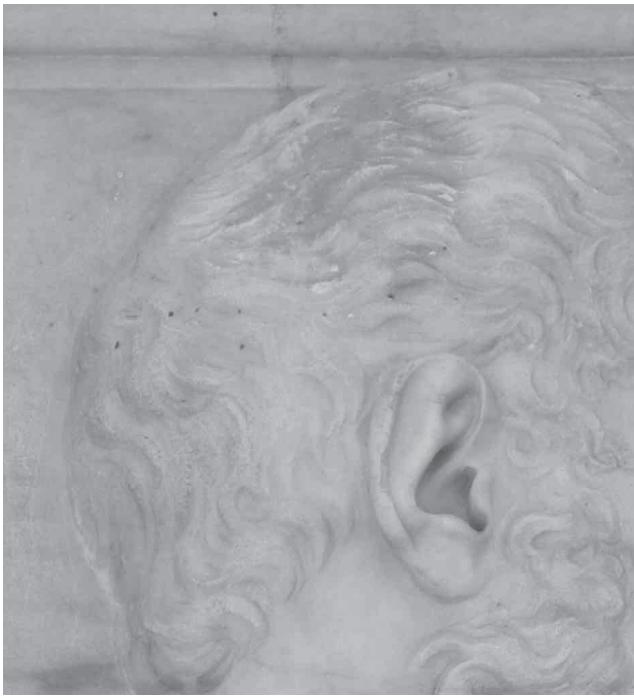
2. Baccio Bandinelli, *Selbstporträt*, Auschnitt von Abb. 1 (Aufnahme des Verfassers)

schungsvorschläge scheinen – meiner Meinung nach – akzeptabel. Im vorliegenden Text weise ich auf einige Details hin, dank deren sowohl unser Wissen zum Werk aus Jabłonna ergänzt als auch die schon gestellten Hypothesen verifizieren werden können.

Das Werk aus Jabłonna (Abb. 1-4) stellt die nackte menschliche Büste vom rechten Profil dar. Es hat die rechteckigen Außenmaße von 65 x 43,5 cm, die gleichzeitig den Rahmen für das Relief bilden. Der untere Teil der Büste wurde so ausgearbeitet, dass eine Suggestion entsteht, wir haben es mit einer richtigen auf antike Art arrangierten Bildhauerbüste zu tun. Der unterste Teil der Büste wurde also in Seitenansicht aus zwei Flächen zusammengestellt, die in einer leichten Schrägen angelegt sind und von links nach rechts herabsinken. Eine ähnliche Lösung hat

Bandinelli schon bei beiden bildhauerischen Selbstporträtsreliefs aus Florenz (das erste aus der SS. Annunziata und das andere aus dem Museo dell'Opera del Duomo) und bei dem marmornen Selbstbildnisrelief aus Straßburg angewendet (Abb. 5-8). Die Skulptur aus Jabłonna ist in dieser Hinsicht am konsequentesten realisiert worden. Wesentlich scheint hier vor allem das Prinzip zu sein, sie ganzheitlich zu komponieren, insbesondere bei der Einlassung der Büste in das Rechteck des charakteristisch von der Innenseite profilierten Rahmens. Dazu bestehen Analogien nur mit dem Selbstbildnis aus Straßburg (Abb. 9 und 10), obwohl ein ähnlicher Profiltypus u. a. bei Giovanni Angelo da Montrosoli (1499–1563), z. B. bei seinen Werken für die Genuener Kirche San Matteo (1543) anzutreffen ist.

Es ist also eine Art der tiefen Skulptur in einem flachen Relief; diese Verbindung schafft ein deuten- des Spiel zwischen der Voll- und Halbskulptur, mit anderen Worten: das Werk ist wegen seiner formalen Lösung zwischen zwei und drei Dimensionen suspendiert. Das Ganze wird durch den Rahmen umfasst; er ist profiliert und aus drei Hauptelementen



3. Baccio Bandinelli, *Selbstporträt*, Ausschnitt von Abb. 1 (Aufnahme des Verfassers)

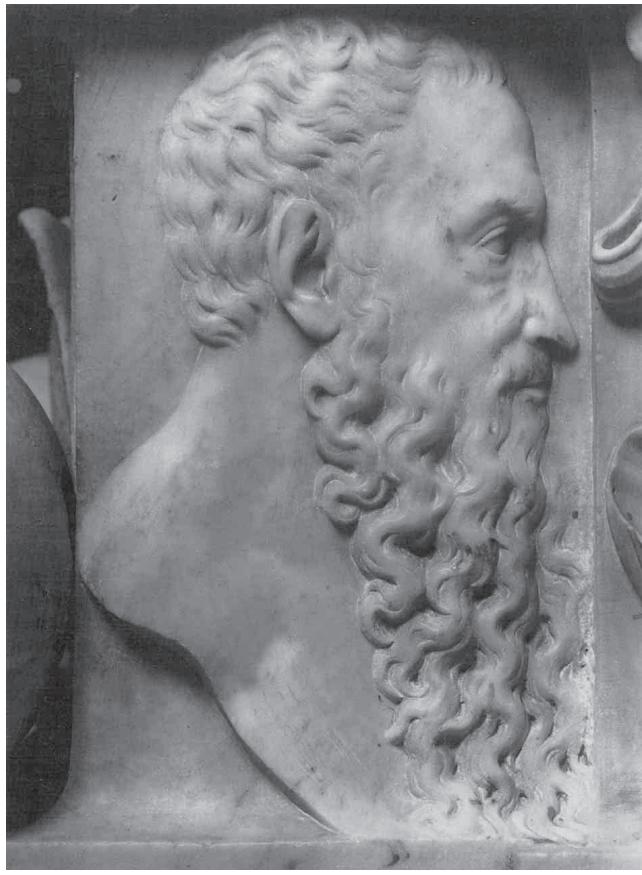


4. Baccio Bandinelli, *Selbstporträt*, Ausschnitt von Abb. 1 (Aufnahme des Verfassers)

zusammengesetzt: die im Durchschnitt rechteckige Leiste umfasst ihn von außen, dann – in der Mittelzone - kommt die Viertelwelle, die von innen in eine flache Leiste verschmilzt. Diese Leiste grenzt die Umrahmung vom flachen Hintergrund ab. Auf der auf diese Weise organisierten Komposition wird die Profilbüste erst aufgelegt. Die Brust- und Nackenpartie ist entblößt, auf dem Hals tritt deutlich die Drosselvene (Lat. *vena jugularis*) hervor, was auf die Blutkreislaufprobleme des Dargestellten hinweist. Das Gesicht strahlt eine bestimmte Strenge aus, die jeweils mit der Würde der Präsentation assoziiert wird. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist die Haarpartie, die mit der akribisch bearbeiteten Oberfläche des Gesichts kontrastiert wird. Der mit dem großer Sorgfältigkeit wiedergegebene Bart mit charakteristischen krausen Haaren (Abb. 4), die sowohl auf den Selbstbildnissen Bandinellis als auch auf ihren Nachahmungen vorzufinden sind, umhüllt den Kopf und dekoriert ihn gleichzeitig. Auch der Kinnbart ist ähnlich sorgfältig bearbeitet, was dem Gesicht die Lebendigkeit verleiht. Die dynamische etwas ornamentierte Partie des Bartwuchses und der Haare

bildet einen Kompositionsrahmen für die präzis und graphisch ausgeführte Partie der Augen und der Nase. Die Augen mit kleinen Falten in ihren Eckchen verraten das reife Alter des Porträtierten.

Für das analysierte Relief ist die Überschreitung des Bildfeldes charakteristisch, das durch den profilierten Rahmen festgeschrieben wird und was das Werk aus Jabłonna von dem Straßburger Selbstbildnis unterscheidet. Eigentlich ist es eine Weiterentwicklung der Idee, die bei den Evangelisten-Quadri aus dem so genannten Pergamo (Kanzel) von da Montrosoli, in der Genueser Kirche S. Matteo, zu sehen ist. Genau gesagt wurde die Büste aus Jabłonna nicht ins Zentrum des vom Rahmen festgelegte flachen Feldes, einer Sohle von flachreliefierten Becken, hineinkomponiert. Die Hauptkomposition des Bildnisses überschreitet das zentrale Feld bei der Spitze der Kopfpartie, noch mehr bei der rechten Partie des Bartes und sogar beim Unterteil der Büste und interagiert mit dem Reliefgrund. Damit wird die Autonomie des profilierten Unterteils der Büste gegenüber dem bestehenden rechteckigen Rahmen angedeutet. Diese Denkweise zu der Fläche weist auf die malerische Behandlung der Skulptur hin und ist ohne Zweifel ein Effekt von Bandinellis Interesse für die Malerei. Man vergisst oft, dass Bandinelli ein ganz guter Maler und sehr gute Zeichner gewesen ist.



5. Baccio Bandinelli, *Selbstporträt auf dem Sockel des Altars*, Florenz, SS. Annunziata (Bildarchiv IHS UAM)



6. Baccio Bandinelli, *Selbstporträt aus SS. Annunziata in Florenz*, Ausschnitt von Abb. 6.

Ausdruck des Künstlers waren, und die aus der ausgedachten selbst sich kommentierenden Behandlung und ästhetischen Manifestation resultierten, wurden als Aspekte der übermäßigen fast krankhaften Megalomanie betrachtet.⁶

Die Studien des eigenen Gesichtes verdienen jedoch der besonderen Beachtung überhaupt, denn das Selbstbildnis des Künstlers seine bedeutendste Überlieferung über das Verstehen der Kunst und des Kunstwerkes ist. Es ist einem Hinweis gleich, wie der Künstler die Deutung des Werkes überhaupt versteht. Auch die Autopromotion spielt hier eine wesentliche Rolle und diese Neigung Bandinellis zur Selbstpräsentation haben schon die Zeitgenossen bemerkt. Es ist jedoch interessant, dass alle Anzeichen von Interesse Bandinellis an sich selbst zur nachteiligen Beurteilung des Künstlers geführt worden sind, und bis heute worden, trotz der frischen Betrachtung seiner Kunst in letzter Zeit von Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, und trotz dass Nicole Hegner in ihrem monumentalen Werk, das diesem florentinischen Bildhauer gewidmet ist, eine neue Perspektive der Selbstpräsentationsfrage vorangestellt. Obwohl er intensiv für sich selbst und sein Gesicht warb, war Bandinelli weit entfernt von der Megalo-

Wissenschaftlich wird Baccio Bandinelli seit Jahren unterschätzt, darauf weist Hegner hin.⁵ Dabei soll vor allem die Wirkung der ideologischen Konstruktion betrachtet werden, die vor Jahrhunderten von Vasari geschaffen worden war. Vasari kreierte Bandinelli als einen eifersüchtiger Gegner des großen Michelangelo. Die geschichtliche Betrachtung von Bandinelli kann seit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr von der sie niederdrückende Betrachtung Michelangelos losgelöst betrachtet werden. Man vergisst oft, dass Bandinelli einer der bedeutenden italienischen Künstler des 16. Jh. gewesen ist. Die Selbststudien seiner Gesichter, die der selbstbewusste

⁵ HEGENER 2008 (wie Anm. 4), S. 14-15.

⁶ WEIL-GARRIS BRANDT, K.: The Self-Created Bandinelli. In: LAVIN I. (Hrsg.): *World Art. Themes of Unity in Diversity*.

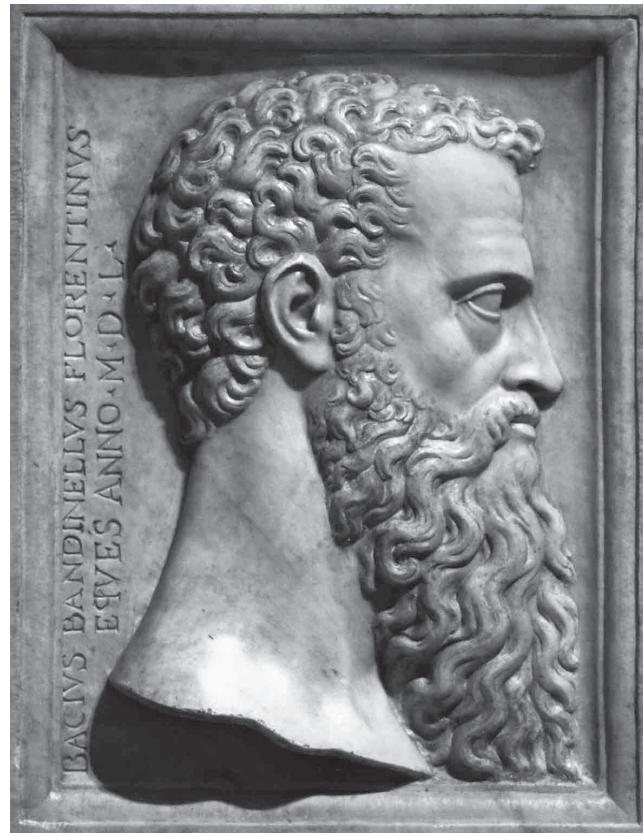
Acts of the XXVIIth International Congress of the History of Art. University Park [Pa.] 1989, S. 497-501; HEGNER 2008 (wie Anm. 4), S. 195-288.



7. Baccio Bandinelli, Selbstporträt, Florenz, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo (Archiv des Verfassers)

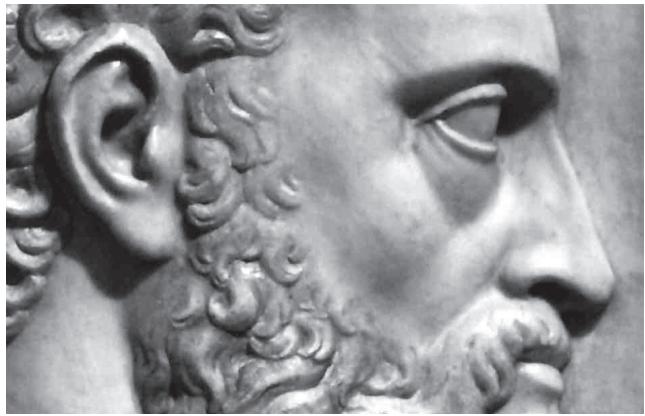
manie eines Albrecht Dürers oder dem Interesse von Micheangelo an seiner Person, die aus ihren Werken abzulesen sind. Ohne Zweifel nutzte Bandinelli seine Gesicht sowohl in vielen Maler- als auch Bildhauerwerken. Die bekanntesten sind die Reliefbildnisse mit der charakteristischen Nase und dem Bart. Es bestehen auch vollplastische Bildwerke.

Meiner Meinung nach hat diese von Missgunst geprägte Einstellung der Kunstkritiker zu den Selbstbildnissen und den Kryptoselbstbildnissen Bandinellis mit ihrer Form zu tun, genau gesagt mit ihrem Profilcharakter. Das Selbstbildnisrelief im Profil verleiht dem Porträtierten einen überzeitlichen Charakter. Es reißt den Lebendigen aus der täglichen Welt heraus und trägt ihn ins symbolische Sein über.

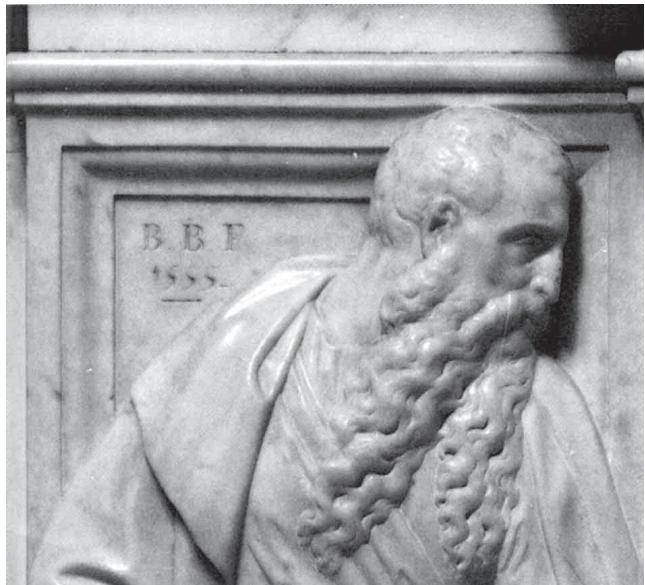


8. Baccio Bandinelli, Selbstporträt, Straßburg, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Strasbourg (Aufnahme von Ji-Elle, Wikimedia Commons)

Deswegen wird das Studium des eigenen Gesichtes ein wesentliches Element des Interesses für das Porträt. Das Decorum lässt jedoch nicht das Intime im Profilporträt zu. Das Profil war von Anfang an für die offizielle Repräsentation reserviert, was die Darstellungen des Hauptes auf den Medaillen und Münzen vielmals bestätigen. Und die weitgehende Sorge um die Einzelheiten lässt vermuten, im Fall des Bildwerkes aus Jabłonna haben wir es mit der Kunstarbeit von ausgesprochenem Privatcharakter zu tun. Das Private bezeugt ihr Verismus und die ursprünglich fehlende Inschrift. Das Werk aus Jabłonna ist in enger Verbindung mit der Pietà Bandinellis zu SS. Annunziata in Florenz zu sehen, den Bildhauerarbeiten zum Chor im dortigem Dom (heute im Museo dell'Opera dell' Duomo, weiter im Text als Duomo bezeichnet) und vor allem mit der Straßburger Reliefbüste, die, wenn es sich um die formale Reife handelt, dem polnischen Objekt direkt vorausgeht (Abb. 5-9). Einerseits sollte man auf den



9. Baccio Bandinelli, *Selbstporträt*, Ausschnitt von Abb. 8



10. Baccio Bandinelli, *Prophet aus dem tornacoro des Domes Santa Maria del Fiore in Florenz* (Ausschnitt), 1555, Florenz, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, Repro: POESCHKE, J.: *Die Skulptur der Renaissance*, Bd. 2, München 1992

ungewöhnlichen Ausschnitt der Büste von unten hinweisen (Florenz, SS. Annunziata; Straßburg). Anderseits geht um die Behandlung des Rahmens (Florenz, Duomo; Straßburg) und besonders um das charakteristische Überschreiten der Grenze des Bildfeldes, von einem wie in Jabłonna ähnlich bestimmten Rahmen, durch eine Komposition der Figur (Abb. 10), die auf diesem Feld aufgelegt wird (Florenz, Duomo). Alle diese Merkmale führen zu

der Feststellung, dass das Bildwerk aus Jabłonna zwischen 1555 und 1559 entstanden ist.

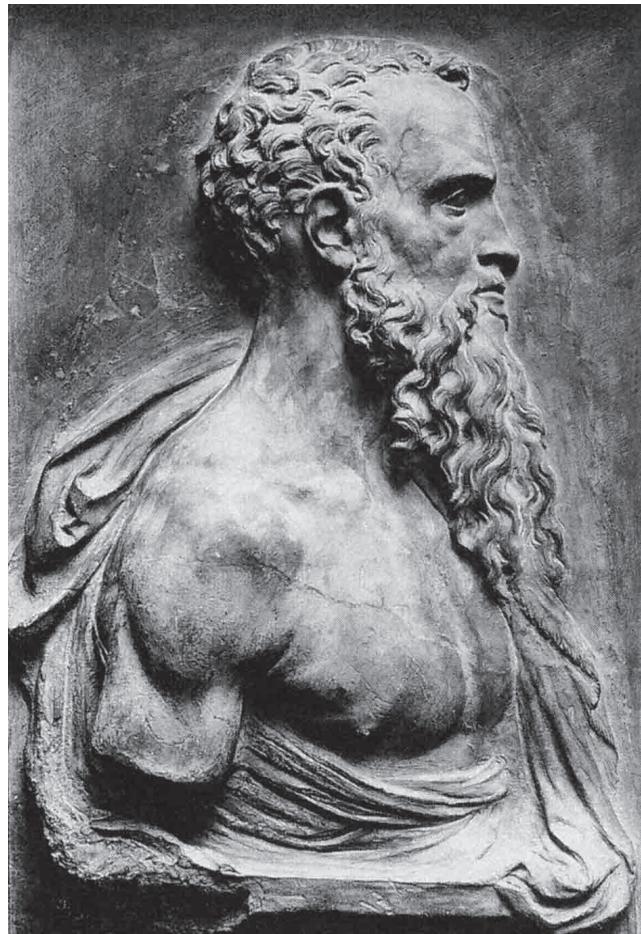
Der Marmor aus Jabłonna hatte ursprünglich, wie schon gesagt wurde, keine Inschrift, was im Fall der Werke eine Besonderheit zu sein scheint. Die Inschrift, obwohl der Buchstabenduktus anderen Werken Bandinellis ähnelt, wurde nach meiner Meinung später und nicht besonders geübt ausgemeißelt. Wertvoll ist die Beobachtung, dass die Inschrift die Verbindung des Porträtierenden mit Florenz ausdrücklich hervorhebt. Das lässt die Vermutung zu, dass sie nach dem Tod des Künstlers hinzugefügt worden ist, vielleicht erst in dem Moment als das Werk Florenz verlassen sollte. Die in der unteren Rahmenleiste eingemeißelte Inschrift ist fast identisch mit der Signaturinschrift, die den Gottvater auf der Marmorplatte im Chor des florentinischen Doms darstellt. Der Maiuskeltext aus Jabłonna lautet: BACIVS BANDINELLVS CIVIS FIORENTINO, wobei der letzte Buchstabe, also das „O“ auf der unteren Leiste schon keinen Platz gefunden hat und deswegen auf die untere Partie der rechten Leiste eingemeißelt worden ist.

Die Anfänge Bandinellis Interesses für sein eigenes Gesicht sind mit den Zeichnungs- und Terrakottareliefsstudien verbunden.⁷ Zwei Werke sind von besonderer Bedeutung: eine Londoner Zeichnung und eine Berliner Tonskizze (Abb. 11 und 12). Auf der Zeichnung aus dem British Museum hebt der Künstler Bandinelli den Zeitverlauf und das Asketische der Form hervor. Der dynamische, nervöse Strich verleiht der Darstellung eine Intensität. Das Ganze wird von einer rechteckigen Komposition umfasst, die ausdrücklich reliefartige Effekte suggeriert, ähnlich wie bei der während des Krieges vernichteten Terrakotta aus dem Berliner Museum. Hierbei entlarvt der Künstler infolge der genauen Betrachtung des Gesichtes auch solche Züge wie Lebenskraft und Nervosität. Ebenfalls zu unterstreichen ist, dass die profilartige Komposition den Effekt der Abwesenheit des Dargestellten betont und zugleich dadurch ihm eine heroische Qualität verleiht. Die Lösung eines solchen Typus, die anfänglich auf Münzen und Medaillen zurückgeht, ist in der Plastik von Leone Battista Alberti

⁷ MYSSOK, J.: *Bildhauerische Konzeption und plastisches Modell in der Renaissance* (Diss.). Münster 1996 – 1999.



11. Baccio Bandinelli, *Selbstporträt*, Zeichnung, London, British Museum
© Trustees of the British Museum

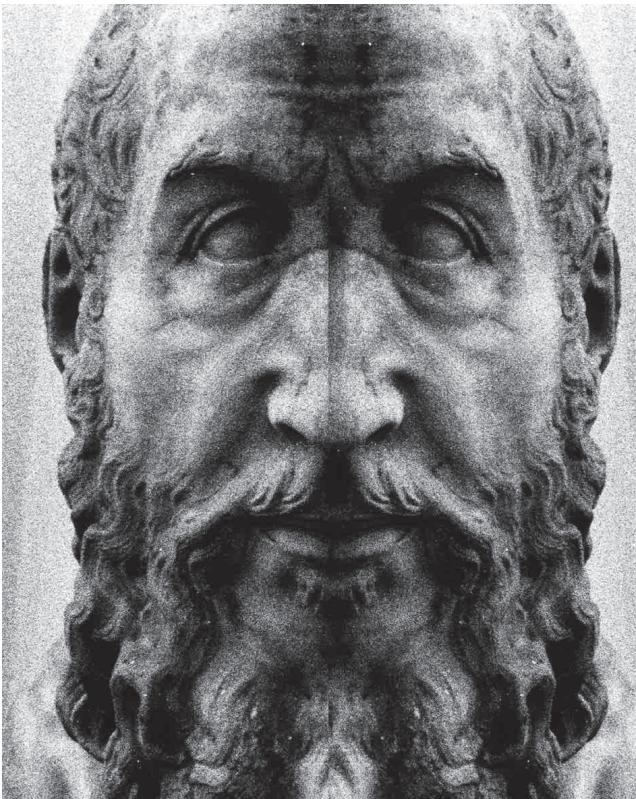


12. Baccio Bandinelli, *Selbstporträt*, Terrakotta, ehemals Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, (vernichtet 1945), repro: HEGNER 2008

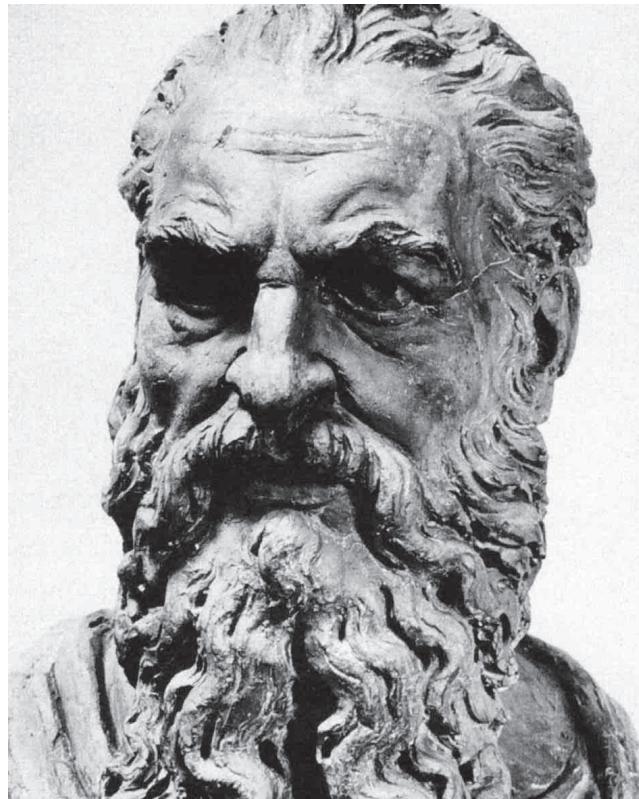
eingeführt worden, und Bandinelli selbst nutzte jene medaillonsartige Komposition unter anderen in der Reliefbüste Cosimo I de Medici. Wahrscheinlich von Bandinelli beeinflusst, begann Francesco Ferruci del Tada (1497-1585) seine Porphyrmedaillons, darunter auch die Selbstbildnisse, zu bearbeiten.

Die einzelnen Selbstbildnisreliefs analysierend sind folgende Bemerkungen über das Jabłonnaer Bildnis zu formulieren. Erstens, das Werk aus Jabłonna ist im technischen Sinn ausgesprochen präzis ausgeführt. Der Bartwuchs wurde mit dem Bohrer und dem Flacheisen (scalpello) bearbeitet und die Technik scheint den Hinweisen von Benvenuto Cellini zu folgen (Abb. 2, 4). Zweitens, das Werk ist sehr plastisch d. h. dreidimensional und den Effekt der Plastizität erreichte der Künstler durch die relativ

hohe Reliefierung, was besonders gut bei der Seitenbetrachtung zu sehen ist. Jedenfalls lassen die von der Seite gemachten Aufnahmen eine Rekonstruktion des Gesichtes en face (Abb. 13) durchführen, was im Fall der Profilreliefs eine sehr schwere Angelegenheit ist. Dadurch soll auch die malerische Faktur des Ganzen bei gleichzeitiger Erhaltung der außenordentlichen Bearbeitung der Einzelheiten betont werden. Eben diese Merkmale verursachen, dass das Gesicht und die damit verbundene Bearbeitung so viel Aufsehen erregt. Das Gesicht ist im Vergleich zu den florentinischen Reliefs Bandinellis nicht besonders idealisiert, es ist zudem kaum graphisch bzw. trocken, was bei dem Bandinelli zugeschriebenen Londoner Bildnis zu beobachten ist. Das Porträt aus London scheint nur eine Nachahmung seines Stils zu sein und keines



13. Das Gesicht Bandinellis en face. Eine Computerrekonstruktion auf dem Basis der Seitenaufnahme des Jabłonnaer Selbstporträt. (Aufnahme von Witold Kanicki, Computerbearbeitung vom Verfasser)



14. Baccio Bandinelli, Selbstporträt, Terrakotta, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Repro: MYSSOK 1999

seiner Orginalwerke; dagegen ist das Bildnis aus Jabłonna, ähnlich wie das Krypto-Selbstporträt aus Terrakotta im Ashmolean-Museum (Abb. 14), eine im technischen Sinne ausnehmend gute Schöpfung im Oeuvre von Bandinelli.

Ich habe keine Zweifel, wenn es sich um die Authentizität handelt, dass das Werk aus Jabłonna von Baccio Bandinelli selbst geschaffen worden ist, und von keinem Künstler aus seinem Kreis, so wie sein Sohn Clemente (gestorben 1555) oder sein Schüler, Giovanni Bandini. Es zeigt alle wesentliche Züge seiner Hand und die Reduktion der Ausdruckformen vor allem. Deswegen versteh ich nicht die von Fiorentini formulierten Vorbehalte bezüglich der Authentizität des Jabłonnaer Werkes.⁸ Die Werke der Bildhauer aus seinem Kreis zu analysieren, ist es zu vermuten, dass sie ihm vorwarfen zur Idealisierung zu neigen und den Körper zu synthetisieren. Die Nachahmer Baccio Bandinellis arbeiteten allgemein sagend mehr

dekorativ. Der erwähnte Bandini ornamentisiere z.B. oft übermäßig die Kleidung und die Haare in seinen Werken. Die Künstler aus dem Bandinelli-Kreis bearbeiteten auch die Augen anders. Die Behandlung einiger Anatomiefragmente von Bandinelli ist nach meiner Meinung besonders beachtenswert. Die Analyse der einzelnen Partien des Körpers, etwa wie bei Methode von Giovanni Morelli, kommt zugute, wenn noch andere Faktoren berücksichtigt werden, so wie beispielsweise bei der Analyse, auf welche Weise die Ohren bearbeiten worden sind. Bei Bandinelli sei die „y“-Gestalt des inneren Ohrknorpels charakteristisch (Abb. 3). Sie wiederholt sich auf vielen Werken Bandinellis, dieses Element fehlt allerdings bei der Reliefbüste im Louvre; dagegen scheint der Ohrknor-

⁸ FIORENTINI 1999 (wie Anm. 4), S. 144. Auch Hegner hält die Stellung von Fiorentini für „unverständlich“. HEGNER 2008 (wie Anm. 4), S. 303.



15. Giovanni Bandini genannt dell'Opera(?), Kopie eines Porträts von Baccio Bandinelli (Ausschnitt) Paris, Louvre (Aufnahme von Sailko, Wikimedia Commons)



16. Unbekannter Meister (vielleicht François Coudray), Eine Nachahmung eines der Bandinelli-Porträts, London, Victoria & Albert Museum (Aufnahme des Verfassers)

pel beim Londoner Bildnis eine steile Wiederholung dieses Details zu sein (Abb. 15-17). Das Bildnis aus dem Victoria & Albert-Museum, hat Hegener, eben wegen dieser Steilheit – meiner Meinung nach zu Recht – als eine spätere Fälschung erkannt. Die Authentizität dieses Werkes wurde unter den Forschern lange Zeit nicht bezweifelt.

Die Analyse der Drosselvene als anderes Beispiel bestätigt, dass Bandinelli sehr eindringlich fast wie ein Forscher seine Physiognomie betrachtet hat. Auf die zu deutende anatomische Genauigkeit der Abbildung der Ader machten bereits Galicka und Sygietyńska aufmerksam⁹. Auch Sołtys beschrieb die ausgezeichneten anatomischen Kenntnisse des Bildhauers des Jabłonnaer Werkes.¹⁰ Hier ist die Ader leicht geschwollen, was eine Blutkreislauferkrankung des Porträtierten suggeriert. Ein ähnliches Element ist bei einem anderen Porträt Bandinellis, dem Werk im Victoria & Albert-Museum wiedergegeben (Abb. 15, 16). Dem Londoner Werk fehlt es aber an der Natürlichkeit der Bearbeitung der Drosselvene, sie ist steif und künstlich. Man könnte meinen, der Bildhauer verstehe kaum dieses anatomische Fragment. Es erweckt den Eindruck, dass es sich

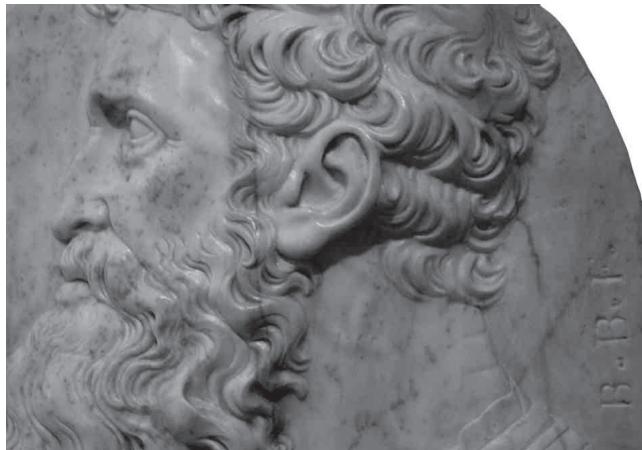
um eine Nachahmung anderer Werke Bandinellis handelt. Das Londoner Bildnis hat die für Bandinelli charakteristische Signatur: B. B. F. Die Buchstaben sind jedoch flach gemeißelt ohne eine scharfe Kante und im Endeffekt geben sie das Helldunkel kaum wider. Hegener macht auch auf die verdächtige Bearbeitung der Rüstung aufmerksam.¹¹ Ich sehe viele Ähnlichkeiten zwischen diesem Werk und den medaillonsartigen Porträts des französischen Bildhauers, François Coudray (1678-1727), wie beispielsweise sein Bildnis von August dem Starken aus dem Muzeum Historyczne in Warschau.

Das Londoner Werk scheint nicht das einzige verdächtige Bildnis von Bandinelli zu sein. Außer-

⁹ GALICKA – SYGIETYŃSKA 1992 (wie Anm. 2), S. 807; GALICKA – SYGIETYŃSKA 1995 (wie Anm. 2), S. 107.

¹⁰ SOŁTYS, A.: *Opat z San Michel. Grand Tour prymasa Poniatowskiego i jego kolekcje*. Warszawa 2008, S. 283.

¹¹ HEGENER 2008 (wie Anm. 4), S. 426-428.



17. Unbekannter Meister, Ausschnitt von Abb. 16 (Aufnahme des Verfassers)

dem ist vielleicht noch ein anderes Porträt im Kreis der Nachfolger von Bandinelli und nicht von ihm selbst entstanden. Meiner Meinung nach ist dieses zweifelhafte Werk das Bildnis aus dem Louvre, dass das Museum 1868 erworben hat. Zu seiner Zeit hat Louis A. Waldman die Authentizität dieses Werkes in seiner Dissertation in Frage gestellt.¹² Gegen die Handschrift Bandinellis spricht die sonderbare Draperie, die Bandinelli beim Medaillon im Terrakottarelief mit der Szene der Kreuzabnahme aus dem Museum in San Marino genutzt hat. Untypisch für Bandinelli sind auch die flache Ausmeißelung, der ornamental ausgeführte Bart und vor allem die flache Ohrmuschel. Diese Elemente lassen meiner Meinung darauf schließen, dass wir es vielleicht

mit einem in der Werkstatt wiederholten existierenden Selbstbildnis zu tun haben. Es ist schwer etwas über die Entstehungszeit des Pariser Werkes zu sagen, aber ich wäre sehr vorsichtig die Wende der 20-ger und 30-ger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts als Datierungsdatum vorzuschlagen, so wie in den letzten Forschungen angeregt.¹³ Meiner Meinung nach ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass der Autor des Bandinelli-Bildnisses in der Louvre-Sammlung ein Schüler von Baccio Bandinelli Giovanni Bandini ist, der dell'Opera genannt wird.

Wie ist die Jablonnaer Skulptur nach Polen gelangt?¹⁴ Diese Frage ist ausgesprochen faszinierend, und die Antwort braucht zusätzliche Studien. In diesem Fall fehlt es den Forschern an Quellen, und die existierenden weisen auf zwei Versionen auf, die sich einander ausschließen, was die Sache noch interessanter macht. Entweder sei das Werk von den Erben Bandinellis nach Polen gebracht worden, oder es sei vom polnischen Fürsten Michał Jerzy Poniatowski, dem Bruder des Königs, während seiner Grand Tour in Italien gekauft worden und auf diese Weise sei das Werk ins Jablonnaer Schloss gelangt.

Zu Version eins. Es ist zu vermuten, dass sich die Jablonnaer Büste bis 1625 in den Händen der Nachkommen des Künstlers in seinem Familienhaus zu Florenz befand. Wie sich aus dem Inventarverzeichnis ergibt, das im Dezember dieses Jahres angefertigt worden ist, habe der Urenkel des Bildhauers, Roberto Bandinelli, zusammen mit anderen Objekten auch die Skulpturen auch das marmorne Bildnis von seinem Urgroßvater, Baccio, nach Polen genommen. Das entsprechende Fragment bezüglich der Objekte,

¹² WALDMAN, L. A.: *The Choir of Florence Cathedral: Transformations of sacred Space, 1334-1572* (Diss.). New York Univ. 1999, S. 295. Die Information nach HEGNER 2008 (wie Anm. 4), S. 296, sehe auch ebenda S. 612 (Kat. A1). Dort auch die Literatur.

¹³ HEGNER 2008 (wie Anm. 4), S. 296, dort die Literatursprechung bez. der Datierung des Pariser Werkes.

¹⁴ GALICKA – SYGIETYŃSKA 1992 (sehe Anm. 2) S. 807; GALICKA – SYGIETYŃSKA 1995 (wie Anm. 2), S. 105. HEGNER 2008 (wie Anm. 4), S. 613. Nach dem Tod des Primas von Polen, Michał Jerzy Poniatowski, ging das Gut Jablonna in die Hände seines Neffen, des Fürsten Józef Poniatowski genannt Pepi (1763-1813) über, einem guten

Soldat und bekannten Lebemann. Zwanzig Jahre lang hatte er kaum Zeit, sich um das Erbe ernsthaft zu kümmern. Nach dem tragischen Tod des Fürsten Józef Poniatowski im Fluss Elster während der Leipziger Schlacht 1813 erbte Anetka Dunin Wąsowiczowa die Jablonnaer Güter. Gräfin Anetka [Anna] geb. Tyszkiewicz (1779-1867) war eine Urenkelin vom Fürsten Kazimierz Poniatowski, einem anderen Bruder des Königs Stanislaus August. Sie heiratete zuerst den Grafen Aleksander Potocki und dann den Grafen Stanisław Dunin-Wąsowicz. Galicka und Sygietyńska vermuten, noch keine der hier angeführten Quellen kennend, die Skulptur sei vielleicht auf ihr Betreiben hin ins Schloss gekommen. Anetka Dunin Wąsowiczowa sammelte auch italienische Kunst, aber das Wissen über ihre Kollektion ist besonders enigmatisch.

die aus dem zur Straßenseite gelegenen Saal aus dem Haus der Bandinelli-Familie entnommen worden sind, heißt es: „2 quadri di marmo, Nostro Signore [Christo] e ‘l Cav.^{re} Bandinelli“.¹⁵

Roberto Bandinelli war höher Beamter für das Postwesen in der Adelsrepublik Polen unter Sigismund III Vasa und dem Ahnherr des polnischen Zweiges der Familie gewesen. Zuerst lebte er in Krakau, danach in Lemberg, wo die Lubomirskis und Koniecpolskis seine Protektoren waren. Seine Geschäfte liefen nicht besonders, vielleicht verkaufte er sein Vermögen oder verschenkte es seinen Gönern. Roberto starb 1650, 140 Jahren nach dem Tod seines Urgroßvaters.

Robertos Sohn, Michał Anioł (Michelangelo) war der königliche Sekretär von Johannes II Casimir Vasa und beschäftigte sich auch mit Postangelegenheiten. Seit 1662 bis 1679 war er der Superior der polnisch-litauischen Post. Beim Sejm (Parlamentstagung) 1726 bekamen seine Enkeln, Robert Franciszek und Mikołaj Bandinelli dank der Empfehlung des Großfürsten der Toskana, des letzten Medici, das so genannte Indigenat (in Polen war dies eine Bezeichnung für die Anerkennung des Adelstandes für Fremde). Der aus dem polnischen Zweig letzte Bandinelli, der in Archivalien erfasst ist, scheint Franciszek Aleksander, der Hauptmann (bzw. der Starost) von Badów gewesen zu sein, der 1777 sein Gut Krzysce verkaufte. Wenn die Geschichte des polnischen Sprosses von Bandinelli verfolgen, scheint das Geheimnis der Provenienz vom Jablonnaer Werk zu lüften. Aber obwohl sich daraus eine

konsequente Folgerung ergibt, lassen spätere Quellen diese Rekonstruktion fraglich erscheinen.

Zu Version zwei. Es sollte nicht vergessen werden, dass das Schloss Jabłonna nach den Plänen von Domenico Merlini für Michał Jerzy Poniatowski (1736-1794) errichtet worden ist. Er war der Kunstmäzen, Bischof von Plotzk und erlangte später die Würde des Gnesener Erzbischofs und des Primas von Polen. Sein Bruder war Stanislaus August Poniatowski, König von Polen in Jahren 1764-1795. Die Biographie des Erzbischofs ist seit einigen Jahren von Sołtys aufs Neue recherchiert worden. Besonders die Zeit seines Lebens, die mit dem Bau des Schlosses Jabłonna verbunden ist, ist lückenhaft. Die Interessen von Michał Jerzy und seinem Bruder zu ihren Sammlungen waren ein Teil des weit zu konzipierenden königlichen Projektes. Das Landsitz Jabłonna nahm dabei einen besonderen Platz ein. Michał Jerzy Poniatowski war einer der wichtigeren Kunstsammler der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Er erhielt als erster Pole die Mitgliedschaft der Society of Antiquaries und war auch Ehrenmitglied der römischen Accademia di San Luca. Vor allem sammelte er mit großer Kennerschaft die italienische Kunst. Der Primas Poniatowski machte 1789-1791 seine Grand Tour, unter anderem nach Italien, woher er auch Kunstwerke nach Polen mitbrachte. In dem Inventarverzeichnis der Werke, die der Primas in Italien erwarb, wird unter anderem das Bildnis von Bandinelli aufgezählt: „1 Ditt^o [d.h. Portret] Bandinelli większy d[itt]^o [d.h. en basrelief z marmuru białego]“.¹⁶ Es befand sich 1792 in der Wohnung

¹⁵ Archivio di Stato (ASF), Florenz, Acquisiti e Doni 141/1/16: Inventario de' mobili trovati nell'eredità del Sig.re Michelangelo Bandinelli, così nella casa dela via de' Ginori, come nelle ville – data questo di primo di dicembre a Ruberto Bandinelli per portare in Pollonia – Anno 1625, fol. 1: Casa in via de' Ginori, Sala. Zit. Nach: WALDMAN, L. A.: *Baccio Bandinelli and art at the Medici Court. A corpus of early modern sources*. Philadelphia 2004, S. 866 (Dok. 1588); sehe auch: HEGENER, N.: [Rezension] WALDMAN, L. A.: *Baccio Bandinelli and art at the Medici Court. A corpus of early modern sources*. Philadelphia 2004. In: *Kunstchronik*, 59, 2006, S. 113-127.

¹⁶ „Ein wie oben [Porträt] von Bandinelli größer wie oben [en basrelief aus weisem Marmor]“. Das Inventar bewahrt: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (AGAD). AEP, sygn. 78: Inwentarz Meblów i różnych tak w Korpusie Pałacu Prymacyjnego Warszawskiego, iako Appartamentach i Officynach do

tegoz pałacu należących, znajdujących się, to jest: w Kaplicy, Pokojach Paradnych, Ekonomicznych, Apartamentach JO Pana, i innych, Garderobie, Kredensie, Cukierni, Kawiari, Kuchni, Piwnicy, Wozowni, Rayszuli, Ogrodzie, Altanie etc: z przyłączeniem Regestru sprowadzonych in A[nn]º 1791 z Zagranicy także różnych Meblów i Rzeczy, diebus Januar, 1792 spisany. Das Inventar von Möbeln und anderen sowohl im Hauptgebäude des Warschauer Primas-Palastes als auch in den Apartments und Diensträumen zu diesem Palast zugehörig, wie: Kapelle, Prachträume, Wirtschaftsräume, Appartements des Erlauchten Herrn und anderer, Garderobe, Kredenz, Zuckerraum, Kafferaum, Küche, Keller, Remise, Reitschule, Garten, Altane u. s. w., mit den beigefügten Regesten von den verschiedenen Möbeln und Sachen, die 1791 aus dem Ausland herbeigeführt wurden, geschrieben in den Januartagen 1792]. f. 26: Rzeczy różne u P[an]a Cukiernika Nopp z Zagranicy przywiezione. Portrety i obrazy

des Zuckermeisters Nopp im Warschauer Palast des Primas Poniatowski. Das Werk wahrscheinlich in kurzen nach Jabłonna transportiert worden.

Es stellt sich die Frage: Wie lange befand sich das Werk, das das Thema des vorliegenden Textes ist, in den Händen der Bandinelli-Familie? Ist es identisch mit dem im Inventar erwähnten Bildnis? Dies bleibt offen. Wir verfügen über zwei Quellen. Nach der ersten soll das Bildnis von Bandinelli schon 1625 nach Polen gekommen sein, der zweiten folgend sei das

Selbstporträt Bandinellis 1789-1791 von Poniatowski im Ausland erworben worden. Wie lassen sich diese beiden Quellen miteinander in Einklang bringen? Entweder ist das 1625 erwähnte *quadro* doch nicht nach Polen geschickt worden oder das marmorne Bildnis kam unter unklaren Umständen nach Florenz zurück. Oder es gab noch ein unbekanntes Bildnis von Bandinelli, worüber wir kaum etwas wissen, das vorher sich im Besitz des polnischen Zweigs der Bandinellis befunden hat.

Autoportrét Baccia Bandinelliho z kaštieľa Jabłonna pri Varšave

Resumé

V kaštieli Jabłonna pri Varšave sa nachádza mramorová, do steny vymurovaná reliéfna busta, s autoportrétom známeho florentského umelca Baccia Bandinelliho. Na základe dôkladnej analýzy umeleckého diela datuje autor jeho vznik do rokov 1555 – 1559 a spája ho s niektorými autoportrétnymi tohto umelca z Florencie a Štrasburgu. Zároveň poukazuje na formálne rysy reliéfu, ktoré sú charakteristické aj pre Bandinelliho mramorové platne pre chór vo

florentskej Santa Maria del Fiore (dnes Museo dell'Opera del Duomo). Autor spochybňuje aj jestvujúce tvrdenia týkajúce sa autorstva reliéfneho portrétu z Louvre a Victoria & Albert Museum. Prvé z diel pochádza podľa jeho názoru z Bandinelliho dielne, druhé vzniklo pravdepodobne už po smrti umelca.

Osobitnou otázkou, ktorú autor nastoľuje, sú okolnosti, ktoré doviedli toto dielo do Poľska. Existujúce pramene ponúkajú dve hypotézy.

[Die verschiedenen Dinge aus dem Ausland mitgebracht, bei den Herrn Nopp Zuckermeister bewahrt, die Porträts und

die Bilder. Das Dokument zitiert nach: SOŁTYS 2008 (sehe Anm. 10), S. 256.

A Curious Collection of Curious Deaths in *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* by Johann Weichard Valvasor: Context, Sources, Invention

Tine GERM

Scholarly literature most often deals with the *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* (1682)¹ by the Carniolan polymath Johann Weichard Valvasor (1641–1693) from the viewpoint of the iconography of Death or, in a narrower sense, the Dance of Death, because the latter covers the largest part of

the book.² The motif of “a dance with Death” or encounters with Death also acts as a special common thread of the entire *Theatrum*, a hybrid and at the same time an original work, which can be classified under the genre of allegorical moral-didactic poetry, very popular in the Baroque age.³ As the title shows,

¹ A copy of Valvasor's *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* is kept in the Manuscript Collection and a Collection of Rare Prints at the National and University Library (NUK) in Ljubljana (R 12471). The NUK copy is digitalized and available at: <http://www.dedi.si/virtualna-knjiga/24745>; pages cited in the article refer to this copy. The format of the book is octavo (8°) and the size of engravings (with the exception of the full-page introductory illustration) varies from 89x76 to 91x78 mm. In 1969 a modern edition was published, with the addition of Slovene translation by Jože Mlinarič and an afterword by Emilijan Cevc (VALVASOR, J. W.: *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum / Prizorišče človeške smrti v treh delih*. Maribor – Novo mesto 1969). In 2004 a facsimile with an afterword by Hartmut Freytag, was published in the German series Emblematisches Cabinet: VALVASOR, J. W.: *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum. Das ist: Schau-Bühne dess Menschlichen Todts in drey Theil. Mit schönen Kupffer-Stichen gezeiht vnd an Tag gegeben. Mit einem Nachwort von Hartmut Freytag*. Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2004. Among earlier descriptions of Valvasor's *Theatrum* see in the first place: RADICS, P.: *Johann Weikhard Freiberr von Valvasor*. Ljubljana 1910, pp. 174–184. The work is briefly presented also in: REISP, B.: *Kranjski polihistor Janez Vajkard Valvasor*. Ljubljana 1983, pp. 133–137. For a shorter presentation of the book's iconographic aspect see: GERM, M.: *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum: iconographie de la Mort dans le livre de Janez Vajkard Valvasor*. In: CRES-CENZO, R. (ed.): *Espaces de l'image*, (Europe XVI-XVII, 10). Nancy 2002, pp. 77–99. The question of stylistic clarification and integration into the European context, with a list of

earlier bibliography, is presented in: GERM, T.: *Zapoznala renesansa v bakrorezih grafične delavnice Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja: provincialnost ali vpetost v evropski kontekst?*. In: WEISS, J. (ed.): *Studia Valvasoriana*. Ljubljana 2014, pp. 285–308.

² For the recentmost findings about Valvasor's Dance of Death, with a list of earlier bibliography, see: GERM, M.: *Saltus mortis in Valvasor's Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum: A Copy of Holbein's Dance of Death?*. In: *Ikon*, No 7, 2014, pp. 313–326.

³ According to the title and the author's foreword, the *Theatrum mortis humanae* can be understood as an allegory – a metaphorical theatre stage on which we can contemplate tableaux of life and death. In the structure of his book as a combination of an image, device and verses, Valvasor relies on the tradition of emblem books, although his is not a true emblem book. The author defines his *Theatrum* as an edifying work at which people should reflect upon the transience of life, and he compares human existence and his own book to the theatre stage. In his study to the facsimile edition of the *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, Hartmut Freytag, too, defines Valvasor's work as an allegorical poem in which *memento mori* is the central motif. See: FREYTAG, H.: *Nachwort*. In: VALVASOR, J. W.: *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum: das ist: Schau-Bühne dess Menschlichen Todts in drey Theil: mit schönen Kupffer-Stichen gezeiht vnd an Tag gegeben*. Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2004, pp. 265–274.

the *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* is composed of three chapters, mutually associated by the idea of transience and the inevitability of death. The first part, entitled *Saltus mortis*, is followed by the *Varia genera mortis*, featuring images of death of famous and less famous people, and the *Poenae damnatorum*, where infernal torments of the damned are depicted. Valvasor's verses,⁴ in combination with suggestive copperplate engravings executed by Andreas Trost (1643–1708),⁵ are a unique literary-and-visual *memento mori*, and the chapter on various deaths also presents, in an encyclopaedic spirit, the author's broad knowledge of picturesque death cases from classical antiquity to his time.⁶

From the iconographic viewpoint the chapter *Varia genera mortis* is interesting both as the writer's idea to confront the viewer with a variety of death cases and as a source of investigation into the deliberations and stimuli that guided him in his selection of motifs. The long-established tradition of moral-didactic literature strung images of death fates in the spirit of the medieval *ars moriendi* in order to illustrate exemplary and unworthy deaths, the ones that led to redemption and the others that resulted in eternal damnation. Instead, Valvasor's book conveys a peculiar gallery of images of dying, which follow a

more complicated pattern. It is not easy to identify the criteria the author used in his conception of this chapter: the selection includes famous historical personages, a few legendary figures, but also the so-called common man and completely anonymous figures. The protagonists belong to different classes and various cultural-historical backgrounds: we can see sovereigns and princes, poets and philosophers, peasants and soldiers, virtuous men and villains from classical antiquity to Valvasor's day. They come from everywhere: from ancient Greece and Rome, from Egypt, Byzantium and the Kingdom of the Franks, from Sicily, from the German lands, and also from the nearby Hungary, Slavonia and Dalmatia. There are old men among them, men of mature age, women in the flower of their youth, teenagers and even children, and their deaths are so varied and extraordinary that the entirety gives an impression of a "curious collection of curious deaths", as was noted by art historian Emilijan Cevc, who has been the only one to give an outline of the contents and a brief commentary on the chapter *Varia genera mortis*.⁷

It seems quite unbelievable that the thirty-five images of death, originally designed by the Slovenian draughtsman Johann Koch (c. 1650–1715),⁸ have been almost completely ignored by native as well as foreign

⁴ In composing Latin verses Valvasor was helped by Pavel Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713), a Croatian poet, linguist and historian of an all-round education. As a long-time friend of Valvasor, Vitezović lived for some time at Wagensperg Castle, participated in the creation of the *Theatrum*, shared in numerous interests of his friend, and to a minor degree he was even active as an occasional engraver of individual graphic prints.

⁵ Andreas (Andrej) Trost (c. 1643–1708), the leading copperplate engraver in Carniola in the last quarter of the 17th century, was head of Valvasor's printmaking workshop all from its inauguration in 1678 until 1688 and participated in all graphic ventures of Valvasor. See: LISAC, L. A. – REISP, B.: Trost, Andrej. In: *Slovenski biografski leksikon* 4. Ljubljana 1971, pp. 186–187; available also at: <http://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi724835/>.

⁶ The images of death, consisting of a versified description of the death case and an accompanying graphic illustration, appear in the following order: Poet Aeschylus, Queen Cleopatra, Arius of Alexandria, Wedding Guests, Tyrant Procopius, Prince's Concubine, Regulus Atilius, Polydamas, Seneca, Dirce, Porcia, Reapers, Jakob Vojnić, Bishop Hatto, Vestal

Oppia, Soothsayer Amfiaraos, Dragon, Perilaus, Maxentius, Metius, Teuthebert, Agazo, Basilius, Maiden of Okučani, Asclepiades, Death in Hides, Democles, Jordanus, Servius, Cyrsilus, Youth of Senj, Captain, Death in Raisin, Death on the Gallows, Death by impalement.

⁷ Cevc's description of the chapter in his afterword to the modern edition of Valvasor's *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* and a few shorter comments are the only attempts at an interpretation of the content, which, however, do not go beyond mere enumeration of the presented death cases and a short conclusion. Cevc says that the concept of the chapter *Varia genera mortis* does not contain the idea of *ars moriendi*, as it would be reasonable to expect, but instead Valvasor "lists an encyclopaedic catalogue of a variety of modes of death". See: CEVC, E.: Ob Valvasorjevem Prizorišču človeške smrti. In: VALVASOR 1969, (see in note 1), pp. 279–319.

⁸ Drawings by Koch for the second and third parts of the *Scenes of Human Death* are owned by the Metropolitan Library of the Archdiocese of Zagreb, but are now housed in the Croatian State Archives, Zagreb. They are bound into a booklet with the shelf mark MR 11948; the verso of the frontispiece bears an inscription by Valvasor's hand: "Delineationes Joannis

scholars. The cause might lie in the commonly shared belief that the iconography of the copperplate engravings is relatively straightforward and easy enough to read. At the same time their literary sources appear to be well-known, since Valvasor himself names history books on which he drew for the subject matter, so there seems to be no special reason to waste time on this issue.⁹ Because Valvasor had the majority of the cited books in his own library at Wagensperg Castle, the problem of written sources for the chapter *Various Modes of Death* has not been questioned by scholars. Nor have questions been raised about the author's motives for such a collection of popular and less popular death cases, about the criteria of his choice, about the iconographic context, and about the relations to European literary tradition.

Literary context of the *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* and Valvasor's sources for the *Varia genera mortis*

The assumption that the original sources Valvasor employed in his choice of the subject matter in the *Various Modes of Death* are entirely familiar proves to

Koch pictoris Rudolphswerti in Carniola". Among recent papers on Johann Koch, with earlier literature, see: CER-KOVNIK, G.: Med dokumentom in umetnino: bakrorezne ilustracije v Slavi vojvodine Kranjske. In: WEISS, J. (ed.), *Studia Valvasoriana*, Ljubljana 2014, pp. 309-353.

⁹ With scientific approach, Valvasor adds his source to each description of a death case. Only when he relates a story from oral tradition, e.g. the *Death of Jakob Vojnić* or the *Death of a Youth of Senj*, which he most likely heard from his friend Pavel Ritter Vitezović, he only reports on the location of the event: "in Croatia" or "in Dalmatia". He does likewise in the cases when he writes about widely known modes of capital punishment, thus in the stories *Death on the Gallows*, in which he adds "in Europe", or *Death by Impalement*, in which he adds "in Hungary and Croatia".

¹⁰ Similar inconsequences regarding the citation of the sources appear also in his most famous work *Die Ehre dess Hertzogthums Crain* (1689). See: JAVOR BRIŠKI, M.: Pogled z različnih perspektiv – podoba mest v Valvasorjevi Slavi vojvodine Kranjske, *Ars & Humanitas*, 6, No 2, 2012, p. 154.

¹¹ In his study, Cevc lists sources which, as he believes, were used by Valvasor, but in fact it is only a list of sources that Valvasor himself cites, therefore it is misleading. CEVC 1969 (see in note 7), pp. 272-273.

be erroneous. The list of works the author names as his sources reveals that his statements are often mistaken, that the books to which he refers do not contain the quoted episodes or that these can be found at places which differ from his information.¹⁰ Therefore, it is necessary to raise a question of primary sources actually used by Valvasor.¹¹ An analysis shows that he did not always read original works to which he refers, but he often took his stories from secondary sources, generally from the book *Historische Chronik* by Johann Ludwig Gottfried (1584-1633)¹² and the encyclopaedic work *Officina* by the French Renaissance humanist Jean Tixier de Ravis (latinized Joannes Ravisius Textor, c. 1470-1542).¹³ The type of mistakes Valvasor makes when citing works shows that he often took the story from one of the above-mentioned books, whereas he indicates as his source the work referred to by the German or the French author in their writing. The mistakes occurred because Valvasor copied the sources from wrong places in Gottfried's and Textor's works.¹⁴

However, the finding that Valvasor cited classics from secondary sources, thus creating an impression that he was well familiar with the works

¹² Gottfried, J. L.: *Historische Chronica oder Beschreibung der Fürnembsten Geschichte, so sich von Anfang der Welt bis auff das Jahr Christi 1619 zugetragen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1629-1634). The book was very popular and several revised editions are available. Valvasor owned the Frankfurt edition published in 1674: *Job. Ludov. Gottfridi Historische Chronica, oder Beschreibung der Fürnembsten Geschichten/ so sich von Anfang der Welt/ biß auff das Jahr Christi 1619. zugetragen: Nach Auftheilung der vier Monarchien/ und beygefügter Jahr-Rechnung/ auffs fleissigste in Ordnung gebracht/ vermehret/ und in acht Theil abgetheilet. Mit viel schönen Contrafacturen/ und Geschichtmessigen Kupfferstückchen [...] geziert/ an tag gegeben/ unnd Verlegt/ Durch Weiland Matthaeum Merianum*. Digitalized and available at: <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/content/titleinfo/1306495>.

¹³ *Io. Rauisii Textoris niuernensis Officina, partim historicis, partim poeticas referta disciplinis*, Basel 1503. Paris edition of 1532 is digitalized and available at: <http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/urn:nbn:de:hbz:061:1-9258>. Valvasor refers to the edition revised and complemented by Johann Jakob Grasser: *Job. Rauisii Textoris Nivernensis poetae celeberrimi. Officina sive Theatrum Historicum et Poeticum* (Basel 1663). Digitalized and available at: http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10765584_00005.html.

¹⁴ It is indicative that Valvasor cites Gottfried's chronicle as his source only thrice and Textor's encyclopaedia only twice.

by classical authors, is not of central importance. Far more significant for the understanding of the iconography of *Varia genera mortis* is the new perspective: the chapter on various modes of death is not an isolated case as regards the iconographical aspect – a “curious collection of curious deaths” –, a case that could not be placed in a well-established iconographical context. Valvasor’s presentation of uncommon human fates in the *Theatrum* is directly related to the literary genre of moral-didactic literature of curious, picturesque, edifying and witty stories that are demonstrated to the reader as if on the stage. This type of collections, which are often of an encyclopaedic character, became a highly popular literary genre in the seventeenth century, the so-called “theatre” (Latin: *Theatrum*, German: *Schau-Bühne* or *Schau-Platz*, French: *Théâtre*), and they served as examples (*exempla*) of conduct which may be either exemplary, and hence worth imitating, or disgraceful, thus serving as a warning.¹⁵ Valvasor is a part of the above-mentioned European literary context both in the sense of modelling his work on the existing sources and in his content-related scheme. He devised the *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* as a stage on which a show is unfolding in three parts: if the leading theme of the first part (*Saltus mortis*) is the inevitability of death irrespective of the position, class, riches or age, and the lesson of the third part (*Poenae damnatorum*) is that the sinners will suffer torments in hell after death, in proportion to their sins, then in the second part, in which the author presents different modes of death, the two ideas are intertwined. Death awaits the great and the average, the wise and the unwise, the good and the bad. The king and the emperor will die as well as a simple reaper or a maid-servant, neither a philosopher nor a prophet will escape it, heroes and benefactors equally fall prey to it as do villains, brigands, thieves or murderers. In numerous examples of death fates the idea of a just punishment can be recognized,

which in the Christian tradition of moral “*exempla*” illustrates the equivalence between the sin and the punishment. Dirce (*Theatrum mortis*, 140–141), for example, who demanded that the innocent Antiope be tied to a wild bull’s horns, meets her end in the same way; an evil princess who had the children of her rival killed, is buried alive along with them; the hard-hearted bishop Hatto¹⁶ (*Theatrum mortis*, 148–149), who compared the cries of the dying poor to mouse squeaking, is devoured alive by mice; Perilaus (*Theatrum mortis*, 156–157), who invented the Brazen Bull as a torture contraption, becomes the first victim of his invention. As mentioned before, in the second chapter of the *Theatrum* the leading ideas of the first and the third chapters – namely the inevitability of death and a just punishment for our sins – coexist. In addition they are marked by an interesting encyclopaedic note, typical of the intellectual climate of the early modern period, and influenced by the literary genre of moralistic horror stories which can be regarded as a sort of predecessor of the Gothic novel and crime stories. The encyclopaedic character is evident in the basic structure of the chapter: a balanced series of different death cases presented tersely in eight-line epigrams and complemented by instructive illustrations. Valvasor had a number of models available for presenting the deaths of historical personages, but his principal source was the set of death cases in the above-mentioned *Officina* by Ravisius Textor in the revised edition by the German polymath Johann Jakob Grasser (1579–1627), published in Basel in 1617. The book is, in the proper sense of the word, an encyclopaedia of famous death cases: in the first part the author, with a genuine interest in the most varied ways of dying, presents systematically a wide range of celebrities and the stories of their death. The content is neatly arranged into chapters, sub-chapters and groups: first suicides and murderers, then others who died in various ways. Death cases are grouped with regard

¹⁵ The image of the world as a kind of theatre was a popular *topos* in literature of the early modern period, and the metaphor of the theatre is used in a variety of ways. One of these is a special type of literary or pseudo-literary works of moral-didactic character, to which also Valvasor’s *Theatrum mortis humanae* belongs. Identical titles are even more frequent in various encyclopaedic works and compilations. The two genres are often closely intertwined. See among others:

FRIEDRICH, M.: Das Buch als Theater. Überlegungen zu Signifikanz und Dimensionen der *Theatrum*-Metapher als frühneuzeitlicher Buchtitel. In: STAMMEN, T. – WEBER, W. E. J. (eds.): *Wissenssicherung, Wissensordnung und Wissensverarbeitung. Das europäische Modell der Enzyklopädien*. Berlin 2004, pp. 205–232.

¹⁶ Usually identified with Hatto II, the Archbishop of Mainz.

to their sort, mode, place, special circumstances, etc. In this way sensibly rounded off groups are formed of those who were drowned; those who were killed by different animals (with sub-chapters according to the animal species that was fatal for them); those who met their death in fire, or froze to death, or died of different diseases (precisely arranged as to the type of disease); those who died of thirst and starvation, of poison, of different ways of torture (again with several sub-chapters), and so on. In short: an excellent reference book for anyone who is interested in all sorts of death cases from classical antiquity to the 16th century, clearly classified and described succinctly; and in the majority of examples sources are carefully provided. The bulk of death cases – as many as twenty-one out of thirty-five – presented by Valvasor can be found in this attractive collection, but, as has already been noted, the author of the *Theatrum* cites it only twice.¹⁷

Valvasor's wish for a picturesque, dramatic character of the book and for inclusion of particularly strange and horrifying death cases is more than evident in the selection of the subject matter. Moreover, an expressly moralizing note is constantly present, which is here and there enlivened by a witty flirtation with the reader. In this aspect Valvasor relies on the genre of edifying stories about strange, generally more or less horrifying death cases which combine literary elements of the tragic, the morbid and the grotesque, with the intention to conjure up, so to speak, documentary immediacy and genuineness, since in their introductory words the authors

usually emphasize that true events are presented or even that the stories draw on documented crimes, court reports and eyewitnesses' testimony. The collections *L'Amphithéâtre sanglant*¹⁸ and *Les Spectacles d'horreur*¹⁹ by Jean Pierre Camus (1584-1652), the French author, theologian and bishop of Belley, are perhaps the best known and most influential examples of this type of narratives.²⁰ In his address to the reader, Camus defines his stories as edifying and illustrative examples (*exempla*) of how sin and crime are punished and how such deeds have to be avoided and the path of virtue has to be followed.²¹ He also encourages the readers not to be frightened by the horrors described but to face them bravely, because they will find a lot of interesting and edifying issues. Camus, like Valvasor later on, metaphorically regards his work as a reflection of the world in which we live. In his address to the reader, the author of the *Theatrum* says that life is like a stage “... on which a great number of various dances are danced and various comedies and tragedies are played”²² and that his work tries to imitate this reality. The bishop of Belley explains to the reader the title of his book in the same way and says that the world in which we live is like a bloody amphitheatre where horrible things happen every day.²³

Camus's book was very popular and was reprinted several times, and its influence was remarkably far-reaching. Of cardinal importance for the German cultural space was the work *Der Grosse Schauplatz Jämerlicher Mordgeschichte* by Nuremberg poet and translator Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607-1658).

¹⁷ Valvasor quotes Textor's work as his source for the chapters on *Procopius* and *Democles* (T.M., 174 and 130).

¹⁸ *L'Amphithéâtre sanglant, où sont représentées plusieurs actions tragiques de notre temps* par J. P. Camus, Evesque de Belley, Paris 1630. Digitalized and available at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k729847>.

¹⁹ *Les Spectacles d'horreur, où se découvrent plusieurs tragiques effets de notre siècle* par Jean-Pierre Camus, Paris 1630.

²⁰ For the theme of Camus's stories about murders, tragic death cases and their function see: PECH, Th.: *Conter le Crime. Droit et littérature sous la Contre-Réforme: Les histoires tragiques (1559-1644)*. Paris 2000; SHOEMAKER, P.: Violence and Piety in Jean-Pierre Camus's ‘histoires tragiques,’ *The French Review*, vol. 79, No. 3, 2006, pp. 549-60.

²¹ *L'Amphithéâtre sanglant*, L'autheur au lecteur, fols. 3r-4v. For the moral-didactic aspect of presentation of violence in Camus's stories see: VERNET, M.: Jean-Pierre Camus: Priere pour demander a dieu le bon usage de la violence. In: DEBAISIEUX, M. – VERDIER, G. (eds.): *Violence et fiction jusqu'à la Révolution: Travaux du IXe colloque international de la Société d'Analyse de la Topique Romanesque* (Milwaukee - Madison, septembre 1995). Tübingen 1998, pp. 89-98.

²² *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, An den Leser, fol. 9v.

²³ “Le monde est le Sanglant Amphitheâtre de semblables actions qui arrivent tous les iours devant nos yeux... » *L'Amphithéâtre sanglant*, L'autheur au lecteur, fol. 3v.

His book is divided into eight parts in which two hundred different stories are presented.²⁴ The first and the second parts consist of freely translated, summarized or reworked stories from Camus's collection *L'Amphithéâtre sanglant*, with the addition of several new ones, brought together from a variety of sources – partly from other books by the French bishop and partly from books by other authors, particularly those by the French humanist and theologian Simon Goluart.²⁵ In his introduction, Harsdörffer repeats Camus's metaphor of the amphitheatre and expressly says that the respectable French author wrote his stories with the purpose that people could recognize evil and different vices and would turn away from them. This, he continues, is his purpose, too.²⁶ Like the French author, he himself believes that examples of the punishment of crime affect humans more profoundly than the preaching of virtues, therefore they are a more successful instrument of instruction. Even more markedly than in Camus, a note of curiosity, search for special, strange, rare events, worthy of interest and wonder, is expressed in Harsdörffer, as can also be traced in

Valvasor, who was well acquainted with the latter's book *Der Grosse Schauplatz Jämerlicher Mordgeschichte*. It is worth noting that Valvasor's friend and associate Erasmus Francisci (1627-1694) also relied on Harsdörffer for the subject matter of his work *Die lustige Schau-Bühne von allerhand Curiositäten*, which is otherwise conceived in a different, more jovial and light-hearted style. A copy of Francisci's book, which was first published in Nuremberg in 1663, was also included in Valvasor's library. The same tradition was followed by Eberhard Werner Happel (1647-1690) in his work *Kern-Chronica der merckwürdigsten Welt- und Wunder-Geschichte*,²⁷ which Valvasor found so interesting that he bought a copy at the time when he was already on the verge of bankruptcy. This type of books can also be regarded as a literary counterpart of the collections of rare, unusual, precious and frequently bizarre objects, the so-called cabinets of curiosities,²⁸ which were fashionable among aristocratic collectors already in the Renaissance, whereas in Valvasor's time their number was rapidly increasing, since also intellectuals of bourgeois origin would afford them.²⁹

²⁴ *Der Grosse Schauplatz Jämerlicher Mordgeschichte, Bestehend in CC. traurigen Begebenheiten mit vielen merkwürdigen Erzählungen neu üblichen Gedichten Lehrreichen Sprüchen scharffsinnigen artigen Scherzzfragen und Antworten / etc. Verdolmetscht und mit einem Bericht von den Sinnbildern wie auch hundert Exempeln derselben als einer neuen Zugabe auf den berühmten Autoribus*, Hamburg 1678. (The book was first published in Hamburg in 1649/50.) Valvasor owned a copy of the Nauman edition *Grosse Schauplatz Jämerlicher Mordgeschichte*, which was published in 1678 in Hamburg.

²⁵ For the sources that served Harsdörffer for his stories (apart from the above-mentioned Camus's works) see: ECSEDY, J. M.: Thesen zum Zusammenhang von Quellenverwertung und Kompilationsstrategie in Georg Philipp Harsdörffers Schau-Plätzen. In: KEPPLER-TASAKI, S. – KOCHER, U. (eds.): *Georg Philipp Harsdörffers Universalität. Beiträge zu einem uomo universale des Barock*. Berlin 2011, pp. 115-146.

²⁶ *Der Grosse Schauplatz Jämerlicher Mordgeschichte*, Nothwendige Vorrede an den Neugierigen Leser, 6–13. The moral-didactic aspect is even more clearly expressed in Harsdörffer than in Camus. For the didactic note in Harsdörffer's work see: GEMERT, G. van: Geschichte und Geschichten. Zum didaktischen Moment in Harsdörffers „Schauplätzen“. In: BATTAFARANO, I. M. (ed.): *Georg Philipp Harsdörffer. Ein deutscher Dichter und europäischer Gelehrter*. Bern 1991 (et alia), pp. 313–331; MANNS, S., Die wahre und merckwürdige Geschichte lehret.“ Zum Erzählen in Georg Philipp Harsdörffers

Schau-Plätzen. In: KEPPLER-TASAKI – KOCHER 2011, (see in note 25), pp. 147–165. For Harsdörffer as a forerunner of the genre of crime stories see: SIEBENPFEIFFER, H.: *Narratio criminis – Georg Philipp Harsdörffers Der Grosse Schau-Platz jaemmerlicher Mord-Geschichte und die frühneuzeitliche Kriminalliteratur*. In: JAKOB, H. J. – KORTE, H. (eds.): *Harsdörffer-Studien. Mit einer Bibliografie der Forschungsliteratur von 1847 bis 2005*. Frankfurt am Main 2006, pp. 157–176; DANE, G.: »Zeter und Mordio«. *Vergewaltigung in Literatur und Recht*. Göttingen 2005, pp. 175–179.

²⁷ *Kern-Chronica der merckwürdigsten Welt- und Wunder-Geschichte; mit beygefügten nöthigen Registern und Anweisungen; zusammen getragen von Everardo Guernerio Happelio*. Hamburg 1690.

²⁸ German scholarly literature uses the technical term “Text-Kunstkammer” for books that are devised as a succession of curiosities. See among others: SCHOCK, F.: *Die Text-Kunstkammer. Populäre Wissenssammlungen des Barock am Beispiel der „Relationes Curiosae“ von E. W. Happel*. Köln – Weimar – Wien 2011.

²⁹ In the German cultural milieu the term *Wunderkammer* or *Kunstkammer* (French: *cabinet de curiosités*) has come to be used for this type of collections; they contained a variety of items, from antiques and works of art to mechanical devices and instruments, rare minerals, plants, exotic animals (particularly “monsters” or their bodily parts), fossils, conch shells, etc. Of recent works dealing with this field, with comprehensive

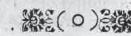
PORTIA.

Quod fuerit Bruto consors fidissima mortis,
Portia non solito monstrat amata modo:
Tristia sublati vix legit fata mariti,
Fata sibi arrepto mox pugione parat:
Commovamus ait pariter qui viximus ante
Stricta at amicorum subtrahit arma cohors:
Quid facit? ardentes avido vocat ore favillas,
I, dicens ferrum turba molesta nega.

Plutarch. & Marcial. lib. I. Epif.

Portia.

Baldum Portia vom Todt
Ihrs Brutt leß das Schreiben/
Ergriff sie auch den Dolch/
Wolt nicht beym leben bleiben/
Als dß die Freund verwünscht/
Hast sie erst großen Muth/
Und frisest häufig ein/
Vom Hert die frische Glut.



Modi-

Modicum plora supra mortuum, quoniam requievit.
Eccl. cap. 22.



Man soll nicht zu sehr trauen über den Todten/ dann er
ist zur Ruhe kommen. Eccl. cap. 22.

MES.

Fig. 1(a and b): Johann Weichard Valvasor, *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, 1682, The Death of Porcia, pp. 142-143.

Varia genera mortis and Valvasor's contribution to the iconography of Death in the early modern period

In spite of being modelled on moralistic works of the *Schan-Bühne* type, Valvasor's *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* is by no means an imitation of any of the existing books. It introduces several novelties and is also an original contribution to the iconography of Death in the early modern period. The principal difference in comparison with earlier models is evident in the very structure: in the *The-*

atrum, the content is succinctly conveyed in Latin and German verses³⁰ which are printed on the verso of the folio, and on the adjacent page, i.e. the recto of the next folio, a graphic illustration is added which is furnished with a short biblical saying (likewise in Latin and German). With the juxtaposition of text and illustration and with the combination of verses, a short saying and an image, the *Theatrum* apparently comes close to emblem books. The catalogue entries and descriptions in libraries actually often define it as an emblem book or a book of emblematic character.³¹ However, it is by no means a book of

bibliography, see: BESSLER, G.: *Wunderkammern – Weltmodelle von der Renaissance bis zur Kunst der Gegenwart*. Berlin 2012.

³⁰ Except for the introductory pages with dedications and address to the reader, the entire book is bilingual: the verses are written in Latin and German in all three parts of the book.

³¹ Thus, for example, in the description by Susanna Warda which accompanies the digitalized book in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, where the book is classified into the category "Emblematica". It is equally classified in the library of the University of Illinois, where it is placed in the group "Emblem books at the University of Illinois", and also in some other libraries. When the *Theatrum mortis*

Patientia autem vobis necessaria est, ut voluntatem Dei facientes reportetis promissionem.
Hebr. cap. 10.



Gedult aber ist euch vomöhten / auf daß ihr den willen
Gottes thut / vnd erlange die Verheißung.
Hebr. cap. 10.

JOR

Fig. 2: Johann Koch, *The Death of Democles*, J. W. Valvasor, *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, 1682, p. 175.

emblems: the copperplate engravings are classical illustrations which act as complements to verses in the sense of instructive visual counterparts. At the same time they try to underline visually the moral message or enhance the dramatic aspect of the story. In Valvasor's book the images, furnished with short sayings and epigrams, do not have an emblematic character. After all, Valvasor himself, who was perfectly familiar with Baroque emblematics and kept a greater number of emblem books in his library at Wagensperg Castle, did not consider the *Theatrum* as an emblem book. The impression that the engravings perform the function of emblem images arises mainly from the above-mentioned structure of the

book and the fact that figural compositions are very simplified and straightforward (Fig. 1).

In terms of contents, the copperplate engravings in the second chapter of the *Theatrum mortis* prove that Koch, as a rule, read Valvasor's verses very precisely and his visual complements are as tangible as possible. A major discrepancy between the content of the epigram and its illustration occurs only rarely, for example in the depiction of the tragic story about a maiden of Okučani, in which Koch replaces the cruel master who tortures his maid-servant with a female figure (*Theatrum mortis*, 169). The reasons may be only guessed at, but it seems that by doing so, the artist wanted to enhance the expressive power and dramatic charge of the scene, since from the psychological standpoint, an image of a heartless woman who tortures a helpless girl produces an even more brutal and inconceivable effect. If in the case of the maiden of Okučani at least a potentially possible explanation can be found for the illustrator's deviation from the text, no reasonable excuse can be found for the image of the death of Democles (*Theatrum mortis*, 175). Valvasor tells the familiar story of the beautiful Athenian youth who finds himself alone in a public bath with Demetrius, king of Macedonia, who has courted him, but Democles kept refusing his attentions. Cornered in the room with no possibility of escape, Democles chooses to jump in a hot water cauldron rather than succumb to the king's lust. For an unknown reason, Koch sets the cauldron in an open plain, in front of architectural background, and, instead of a youth, an adult bearded man jumps into it (Fig. 2).

Minor deviations or awkward solutions in terms of content also occur in those cases in which Valvasor is not sufficiently precise in his description of the circumstances of the event, and Koch, who did not know the story and its historical or literary context (and did not additionally consult the sources), conjured up his own image of it. He thus presents the death of Cleopatra (*Theatrum mortis*, 125) in an open landscape setting, although she committed suicide with the asp when she was in detention in her palace.³² Likewise, the death of Porcia, the daughter

³² *humanae* is not directly classified as emblem book in libraries' catalogues, it has at least the category of emblem among its subject headings.

³² It is also unusual that Koch depicts Cleopatra almost completely nude. Her bosom being bare in the moment of her death is otherwise a traditional motif, related to the fact that

Te ipsum castum custodi.
1. Tim. cap. 5.



Halt dich selber Reusch.
1. Tim. c. 5.

A M-

Fig. 3: Johann Koch, The Death of Vestal Oppia, J. W. Valvasor, *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, 1682, p. 151.

of the notable Roman statesman Cato Uticensis, is set in an open landscape, although the young woman, who committed suicide by swallowing live coals, died at home, by an open fireplace (*Theatrum mortis*, 143, see fig. 1).³³ A similar slip can be observed in the image of the suicide of Seneca (*Theatrum mortis*, 139). Koch sets the scene with the philosopher, who cut his veins in a bath of hot water, in the open air, in

she supposedly put the snake on her breast and to the idea of the privacy of the event. Koch's queen, almost completely nude, holding a snake in her hand and standing outdoors in full view, is an iconographic *novum* without any proper content-related justification.

³³ According to historical sources, Porcia swallowed live coals from her home fireplace after her friends had prevented her from committing suicide with a sword and then kept watch lest some dangerous gadget might come into her hands to enable her suicide. The story is told by Valerius Maximus

Repurgabit enim quasi paleas ferrum, & quasi lignum
putridum, &c. Job. cap. 41.



Er achtet Eysen wie Stroh / und Aertz wie faull Holz,
Job. cap. 41.

X 3 BASI-

Fig. 4: Johann Koch, The Death of Agazo, J. W. Valvasor, *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, 1682, p. 165.

front of architectural scenery of classical appearance, and also includes Emperor Nero, who witnesses Seneca's death with his retinue. As regards historical accuracy the illustration is entirely false, because the philosopher committed suicide at home, in a close circle of his nearest friends and family.³⁴ Bishop Arius (*Theatrum mortis*, 127), who died of dysentery in the very heart of Constantinople, not far away from

(*Facta et dicta memorabilia*, IV, 5, 6) and Martial (*Epigramata*, I, 42) among others. It is also mentioned by Plutarch in his *Life of Brutus* (*Bioi parálleloí* [lat. *Vitae parallelae*], Marcus Brutus, 53), but he doubts it is true. Valvasor refers to Plutarch and Martial but does not cite the source in the former case, and in the latter case he erroneously notes that the story is found in Martial's letters.

³⁴ Valvasor quotes as his source *The Twelve Caesars* by Suetonius (*De Vita XII Caesarum*, Nero, 35).

the Forum of Constantine, is set in a landscape with a few trees and a minor architectural scenery in the distance.³⁵ In his presentation of the death of the Vestal Oppia (*Theatrum mortis*, 151), who was buried alive, Koch believed, contrary to historical facts, that she was buried up to her neck.³⁶ Only her head is seen above the ground, similar to the head of the infamous army leader Agazo (*Theatrum mortis*, 165), whom Croatian soldiers captured and buried up to his neck, thereupon crashing his head with cannon-balls, as Valvasor's account tells us. Koch inventively presented the scene as a grotesque bowling game (Figs. 3 and 4). Yet another example is the death of Emperor Maxentius (*Theatrum mortis*, 159). Koch depicted it by placing the emperor as a horseman on a stone bridge which collapses under the weight. Since Valvasor does not specifically mention that the emergency bridge across the Tiber was composed of boats, thus having been a pontoon bridge, the draughtsman reasonably depicts a common masonry bridge which collapses – somewhat illogically – under the weight of a single horseman.³⁷

In a way, Koch's "errors" are welcome for the understanding of the genesis of the illustrations:

³⁵ The modest architecture in the background can by no means be understood as an allusion to Constantinople which is not mentioned in Valvasor's Latin verses at all, whereas it is only indicated as a "big city" in the German verses.

³⁶ Valvasor does not tell how Oppia was buried, therefore Koch's interpretation is pure fantasy – the Vestal is buried up to her neck, with only her head above the ground. Such a mode of punishing Vestals was unknown in Rome. What exactly was the punishment for the Vestals who broke their covenant of virginity is in detail described by Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives* (Numa Pomphilius, 10, 4-6). If a priestess of Vesta was found guilty, she was buried alive in an underground cell with some food and water in it, which masked the fact that a consecrated person was executed.

³⁷ The emergency bridge composed of boats is reported by several Roman writers. Valvasor quotes as his source the biography of Emperor Constantine in the book *De Caesaribus* by Sextus Aurelius Victor and *Epitome de Caesaribus*, which is no longer attributed to Victor today. Of the early authors, Lactantius (*De mortibus persecutorum*, 44) and Eusebius of Caesarea (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, IX, 9 in *Vita Constantini*, xxvii; xxxviii) also report on Maxentius's death.

³⁸ The Valvasor Print Collection, housed in the department of the Metropolitan Library at the Croatian State Archives,

they call attention to the fact that the drawings that served as models for the engravings were indeed original inventions and did not copy some already existing visual presentations of historical motifs, which the artist could have found in Valvasor's substantial print collection or in illustrated books in his library.³⁸ This becomes very clear if the engravings of the *Theatrum* are compared to illustrations that were designed by Mathäus Merian the Elder (1593–1650) for Gottfried's *Historical Chronicle*. Let us take the engraving featuring a dragon (*Theatrum mortis*, 155) as an example: in his concept of the design, Koch follows Valvasor's verses which say that a dragon that lived in the Bagradas River in Tunisia devoured several soldiers who were trying to quench their thirst on its banks. A wider context – the mention that the soldiers, under the command of an unnamed king, were besieging a city and had set up their camp by the river where the dragon lived – is left out by the draughtsman. The motif of the army's encounter with the dragon, in which the beast is destroyed after all, is not included either. The illustration is focused on the dramatic moment when the dragon attacks the soldiers, but the river where the beast has supposedly

Zagreb, numbers 6690 prints and 931 drawings and water-colours, which Valvasor grouped into eighteen volumes. Volume IV was missing already in 1815, in the era of bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovec, thus seventeen volumes survive today. The entire Valvasor Print Collection is available in a facsimile edition: GOSTIŠA, L. (ed.): *Icoontheca Valvasoriana* 1–18. Ljubljana 2004 – 2008. The prints in Valvasor's collection and the question of their influence on the artists of the polymath's circle were most extensively studied by the Croatian art historians Stella Ubel, Renata Gotthardi-Škiljan and Mirna Abaffy. The recentmost contribution to this field, with earlier literature: PELC, M.: *Theatrum humanum. Ilustrirani letci i grafika 17. stoljeća kao zrcalo vremena. Primjeri iz Valvasorove grafičke zbirke Nadbiskupije zagrebačke*. Zagreb 2013. Also Valvasor's library is now owned by the Metropolitan Library of the Archdiocese of Zagreb and is housed in the Croatian State Archives, Zagreb. A catalogue of books in the Valvasor Library is available in a modern edition: KUKOLJA, B. – MAGIC, V. (eds.): *Bibliotheca Valvasoriana, katalog knjižnice Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja*. Ljubljana – Zagreb 1995. For the Valvasor Library see also: MAGIC, V.: Die Bibliothek Valvasors. In: FÜSSEL, S. (ed.): *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 72. Mainz 1997, pp. 331–341. For the minor part of Valvasor's library (about 100 books) which was not sold to Zagreb but kept by the original owner until his death, see: POTOČNIK, M.: Valvasorjeva navezanost na nekatere svoje knjige ob koncu življenja. In: *Zgodovinski časopis*, 67, No. 1/2, 2013, pp. 28–58.

Repente flavit in eos, & aruerunt.
Ezai. cap. 40.



Dann so bald er siemur angeweh̄t hat / seynd sie verborret.
Ezai. cap. 40.

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Fig. 5: Johann Koch, The Dragon, J. W. Valvasor, *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, 1682, p. 159.

been hiding is not shown. In accord with tradition, the dragon is depicted as a huge, lizard-like monster with webbed wings, in the moment of his attack on one of the soldiers (Figs. 5 and 6).

In the corresponding illustration in the *Historical Chronicle* (III, 204), Merian decides to combine the motif of the dragon attacking the soldiers with the manoeuvre of the army forcefully falling upon the beast. His decision is reasonable within the context of the story which Gottfried recounts much more precisely than Valvasor. He explains that the attacked soldiers belonged to the Roman troops under the command of Consul Atilius Regulus. His army clashed with an enormous beast and shot at it even from catapults. By combining the two episodes Merian intensifies suspense and adds a rich



Fig. 6: Mathäus Merian the Elder, Roman army fights the dragon, J. L. Gottfried, *Historische Chronica*, 1674, p. 204.

scenographical context to the clash. Even though the two approaches and their final results differ greatly, it is interesting that Koch's dragon fairly resembles Merian's both in its appearance and posture. In view of the fact that Valvasor kept a copy of Gottfried's chronicle with Merian's engravings in his library, a question arises: Could it be possible that Koch was not familiar with Merian's illustrations? Or did he deliberately decide on simpler compositions, better suited to the *Theatrum*? Judging from the character of Koch's work it seems more likely that he intentionally decided on a different approach and created illustrations on the likeness to emblems, adapted to a new function and context.

However, this does not exclude the fact that, in preparing drawings for copperplate engravings for the *Theatrum*, Koch occasionally modelled them on certain preceding examples, but such cases are rare. It should be pointed out that, as a rule, the artist only adopted the basic composition, or just part of it, and applied it to a new iconographic context. The most instructive case seems to be the *Death of Jordanus* (*Theatrum mortis*, 177), who was forced to sit on a heated throne and was crowned with a red-hot iron crown.³⁹ (Fig. 7) Koch's compositional scheme and the modelling of figures obviously imitate the

³⁹ The Sicilian nobleman Jordanus, a lover of Empress Constance of Sicily, wife of Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor,

tried to rise to power with the help of his mistress. His plans were uncovered in time and his punishment was intended to

Quid ergo prodest ei, quod laboravit in ventum.
Ecclesiasticus cap. 5.



Was hülft es ihn dann / daß er in den Wind gearbeitet hat. Ecclesiasticus cap. 5.

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Fig. 7: Johann Koch, *The Death of Jordanus*, J. W. Valvasor, *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, 1682, p. 177.

famous painting *Christ Crowned with Thorns* by Titian (c. 1543, Louvre). The motif was copied several times and disseminated throughout Europe by means of reproductive prints made after Titian's original – thus Koch evidently had a chance to see a copy of these prints.⁴⁰

Valvasor's *Theatrum* also contains a few iconographic novelties, namely some newly added death cases which cannot be found in earlier records and are thus a literary and iconographic *novum* in the full meaning of the word. Their choice and manner of presentation particularly clearly demonstrate the

be a lesson to other aspirants: he was put on a heated throne and crowned with a red-hot iron crown. Valvasor cites as his source the *Chronica Slavorum* by Arnold of Lübeck, a copy of which he had in his library, but the story can also be found in Gottfried's *Chronicle* (VI, 560-561), where an illustration is also added.

Sed & serpens erat callidior cunctis animalibus terrae.
Genes. cap. 3.



Vnd die Schlang war lustiger denn alle Thier auff Erden.
Genes. cap. 3.

C A

Fig. 8: Johann Koch, *The Death of a Youth of Senj*, J. W. Valvasor, *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, 1682, p. 183.

author's concept of the *Varia genera mortis*, which combines horror and eccentricity, documentary accounts and exoticism, edification and moralizing, all of these spiced up with a dash of humour. Each of the three original stories – *The Death of a Youth of Senj* (*Theatrum mortis*, 182-183), *The Death of Jakob Vojnić* (*Theatrum mortis*, 146-147) and *The Death of a Maiden of Okučani* (*Theatrum mortis*, 168-169) – is exceptional in its own way, all of them have a local flavour (they took place in the near vicinity, in Croatia) and they were also topical in terms of temporal proximity, since they had happened not long before.

⁴⁰ For the echoes of Titian's composition, which was disseminated by reproductive prints, see: TOMIĆ, R.: Slikarska djela u Dalmaciji nastala prema grafičkim predlošcima. In: PELC, M. (ed.): *Klovićev zbornik. Minijatura – crtež – grafika 1450. – 1700. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa povodom petstote obljetnice rođenja Jurja Julija Klovića*, Zagreb 2001, pp. 161-169.

The *Death of a Youth of Senj* combines typical components of its genre: oddity and rarity, horror and tragedy, and addition of mythical admixture.⁴¹ (Fig. 8) The event is extremely weird, implying that a giant snake killed a young man in a garden near the town of Senj: he marched out of the town only “*two times two hundred steps*”, and an “extraordinarily large” snake “*seized*” him, that is to say, it wrapped several coils around him, as is typical of boa constrictors and pythons which kill their prey by constriction. Although giant snakes are not venomous, Valvasor says that it bit the youth several times “*with its venomous fang*” and adds that it killed him with its breath. Thus the author combines two facts from natural science which are completely incompatible and enlivens this with his comment that the snake had two tails. Furthermore, he adds a fairy-tale dimension because he compares the snake to the mythical basilisk, which can kill with its deadly breath. Doing so, he deliberately enhances the horror of the event, which is even more terrifying because Valvasor leaves no place for doubt about its truth and even locates it in a familiar setting. Even more: the death did not occur in a faraway country or in a wild forest of a closer-lying land, but in a garden on the fringe of Senj, the well-known and relatively nearby town. So, it can happen to us too – this point effectively helps the reader to experience the young man’s death as a thrilling and horrifying event. Valvasor moreover adds a tragic motif of the mother who finds her dead son, by which he skilfully plays on the emotions of the readers and further brings this unusual death case closer to them. Unlike other stories, this one contains no directly articulated moralistic note; nevertheless, it teaches us a lesson that death can come at any time and at any place, in the prime of life, in a pleasant and apparently safe environment, where it is least expected.

⁴¹ »*Segniaci exierat puer hospitis unus ad hortum,
Vix quadrigenitis passibus urbe procul;
Prendit eum subito praegrandi corpore serpens,
Qui fuit & caudas visus habere duas,
His veluti binis miserum implicat undique spiris,
Atque venenato dente, halituque necat,
Deinde suum reperit genitrix maestissima natum,
Tot tamen ex monstri morsibus exanimem.*«
(Theatrum mortis, p. 182.)

In diem perditionis servatur impius, & ad diem furoris
ducetur. Job. cap. 21.



Der Völe wird behalten an den Tag des Verderbens / vnd
auf den Tag des Grimmen wird er bracht werden,
Job. cap. 21.

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Fig. 9: Johann Koch, *The Death of Jakob Vojnić*. J. W. Valvasor, *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, 1682, p. 147.

Besides weirdness, rareness and horror, which the author relates with an almost documentary unconcern of a court stenographer, the story about the terrible end of the brigand *Jakob Vojnić* also contains moralizing and a belief, typical of such stories, that crime should be punished without mercy, and the cruelty of the punishment should be in proportion to the brutality of the offence.⁴² Fig. 9 According to the belief of the authors of collections of horror

⁴² »*An melior Voynitsch milesve latrove Croata,
Lis manet: eximie primus & alter erat:
Qui quod bissenas Comiti succenderit arcis,
Non procul a Gazga flumine forte sitas,
Illijs & raptam Turcae paulo ante sororem,
Vendiderit: positis prenditur insidiis.
Atque veru infixus lento circumdatur igne,
Sic miser assatus vociferando perit.*«
(Theatrum mortis, p. 146.)

Anima viri impij desiderat malum, non miserebitur proximo suo. *Prov. cap. 21.*



Die Seele der Gottlosen wünscht arges / vnd ist dem
Nächsten nicht barmherzig.
Prov. cap. 21.

Y ASCLE.

Fig. 10: Johann Koch, *The Death of a Maiden of Okučani*, J. W. Valvasor, *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum*, 1682, p. 169.

death stories, such exemplary punishments should discourage people from crime and vice – potential offenders can thus be saved from eternal damnation. In the case of the death of Vojnić, as described by Valvasor, the count made the brigand's life a true “hell on earth”, since slow roasting on a gridiron is a motif which European culture and art had known from the ideas of how the damned souls were tortured in hell. The parallel is even more direct because in the third part of his *Theatrum*, i.e. *The Torments of the Damned*, Valvasor presents an identical punishment for those who were, when still alive, full of vengeance (*Theatrum mortis*, 239).

⁴³ »Sol nec adhuc cursu, lustrum properante peregit,
Mors quod ad Okitchim edita rara fuit:
Vir fuit, hic famulam furti, insimulaverat unam,
Sive insons fuerit, nescio, sive rea:

The *Death of a Maiden of Okučani* is comparable only to the worst brutalities reported in criminal records and told in horror stories known in 16th- and 17th-century literature.⁴³ (Fig. 10) In this sense it is a true rarity – to use the expression in the spirit of collectors of morbid narratives – which must have been particularly valuable to Valvasor: it was not only unique because of the unthinkable human cruelty it describes, but also because it was true and because it happened at a familiar place. Besides, it was quite fresh, since not even five years had elapsed since the event, as the author of the *Theatrum* explains. Valvasor completely refrains from the usual moralizing note in this case, he does not condemn the doings of the master nor pity the unfortunate maiden. From the moralistic viewpoint, which is otherwise very important to him, it seems surprising at first sight that he distances himself even from the question whether the girl did or did not commit the theft for which she was so sadistically punished by her master. He indifferently skips the key moment of the story, which drastically heightens the tragedy of the maiden's death, and makes a comment: “*Whether she was innocent or guilty, I really cannot tell.*” The maltreatment is described in the manner of a concise, unconcerned report of how the master punished his maid-servant: in a winter night he roped her to a pole in front of the house and poured cold water over her until she froze to death and turned into a “*stalagmite of ice*”. And the author of the *Theatrum* adds dispassionately: “*The death here described indeed was cold .*”

The today's reader might be surprised at the lack of concern and the carefree attitude of Valvasor's report on the event, and his cynical remark about the cold death could today appear to be imprudent. But the surprise is not really justified. As a matter of fact it expresses a misunderstanding of the spirit of the age which rated human life and death in an essentially different way than we do today. The conclusion of the report about the maiden of Okučani vividly illustrates a characteristic feature of Valvasor's

*Ante domum ad palum hanc hyemali nocte ligatam,
In poenam gelida, tam diu inundat aqua,
Donec eam glacie, concretam herus ille peremit,
Haec merito dici frigida mors potuit.*

(*Theatrum mortis*, p. 168.)

selection of various death cases: this was an excellent chance for the author, who was obviously an admirer of the genre of curious and horror stories, to show his composure and wittiness, stoic unconcern and cosmopolitan easy-going attitude, which he valued in the great French and German forerunners.⁴⁴ Witty flirtation with the reader within this context is a characteristic feature of the literary genre of “theatres” with edifying and picturesque death stories. It demonstrates in an unobtrusive way the author’s

erudition, mastery of subject matter and unbiased view on the excesses of human nature. It is also in this respect that Valvasor proves to be a man of his time, a cosmopolitan, polymath and writer, who with his *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* enters into a clearly recognizable mainstream of Baroque popular literature. At the same time his work represents an interesting contribution to the iconography of Death in the early modern period both in the fields of literature and visual arts.

Nezvyčajný súbor kurióznych úmrtí v diele Johanna Weicharda Valvasora *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum: kontext, zdroje, prínos*

Resumé

Dielo *Theatrum mortis humanae tripartitum* (1682) od kraňského polyhistora Johanna Weicharda Valvasora (1641 – 1693) môžeme zaradiť do žánru alegorickej morálno-didaktickej poézie, ktorý bol v období baroka veľmi oblúbený. Pozostáva z troch kapitol, ktoré spája myšlienka ľudskej pominutelnosti a nevyhnutnosti smrти: *Saltus mortis*, *Varia genera mortis* – obrazy smrti známych aj menej známych ľudí od antiky až po autorovu súčasnosť, a *Poenae damnatorum*, kde sú znázornené pekelné muky zatratených. Kniha je bohatou ilustrovanou medirytinami Andreasa Trosta. V druhej kapitole *Varia genera mortis* Valvasor v krátkych epigramoch, ilustrovaných rytinami vytvorenými podľa kresieb slovinského kresliara Johanna Kocha, opísal 35 úmrtí. Napriek svojej zaujímavej

ikonografii však táto kapitola doteraz nebola predmetom vedeckého výskumu. Vzhľadom na absenciu náležitej ikonografickej analýzy bola jednoducho opísaná ako „nezvyčajný súbor kurióznych úmrtí“. Štúdia sa zameriava na ikonografiu kapitoly *Varia genera mortis*, jej umelecký kontext a vznik. Prvýkrát sa tiež podarilo určiť priame literárne zdroje autorevej inšpirácie a jeho vzťah k tradícii renesančného a barokového žánru poetických príbehov o smrti. Analýza veršov a rytín odhaluje špecifické kritériá, ktoré Valvasor použil pri výstavbe tejto kapitoly, charakteristické znaky jeho popasovania sa s danou téhou a jeho originálny príspevok k ikonografii smrti začiatku novoveku v oblasti literatúry, ako aj výtvarného umenia.

⁴⁴ For a brief outline of this genre and its roots see: SCHENDA, R.: Jämerliche Mordgeschichte: Harsdörffer, Huber, Zeiller und französische Tragica des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts.

In: HARMENING, D. – WIMMER, E. (eds.): *Volkskultur – Geschichte – Region. Festschrift für Wolfgang Brückner zum 60. Geburtstag*. Würzburg 1990, pp. 530–551.

Johann Georg Stengg und sakrale Werke in der slowenischen Steiermark

Metoda KEMPERL

Einleitung

Johann Georg Stengg (1689 – 1753) ist zweifelsohne ein wichtiger Name in der steirischen und österreichischen Kunstgeschichte – als Autor herausragender Werke, wie die Barmherzigenkirche in Graz, die Zisterzienserstiftskirche von Rein, die Schlösser Schielleiten und Gösting und auch als Mitglied der Baumeistersippe, die in Graz vom Ende des 17. bis Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts (bzw. bis zum Jahr 1782) tätig war. Daher ist es ungewöhnlich, dass er erst vor sechs Jahren monographisch erfasst wurde.¹

Sein Name trat im Zusammenhang mit dem Bau der Kirche in Rein in der Literatur bereits sehr früh in Erscheinung, und zwar im Jahr 1883 in Wastlers Künstlerlexikon.² Kurz danach veröffentlichte Pranger auch die archivalische Angabe, dass Stengg auch für den Bau der Barmherzigenkirche in Graz zuständig war.³ Walter Koschatzky berücksichtigte in der Dissertation über den Baumeister Joseph

Hueber auch die Sippe Stengg und gab dabei einige Neuzuschreibungen an, wie beispielsweise das Schloss Gösting.⁴ Archivdaten über die Tätigkeit der steirischen Baumeister, die Rochus Kohlbach veröffentlichte und die noch heute eine unverzichtbare Quelle für jeden Forscher darstellen,⁵ beinhalteten auch einige Angaben über die Sippe Stengg sowie Vorschläge für weitere Zuschreibungen. Johann Georg Stengg wurde in die erste kunsthistorische Studie im Jahr 1968 in der Dissertation von Günter Brucher über die Kirchenfassaden in der Steiermark aufgenommen,⁶ in der im Zusammenhang mit Stengg die Fassaden der Pfarr- und Wallfahrtskirche Mariatrost, der Barmherzigenkirche in Graz und der Zisterzienserstiftskirche in Rein behandelt wurden. Bald darauf erlangte er einen eigenständigen Beitrag auch in der Dissertation von Elke Mischan über die Palais und Bürgerhäuser in Graz.⁷ Dieselbe Autorin schrieb Johann Georg Stengg auch den Bau des

¹ RUST, S. M.: *Der steirische barockarchitekt Johann Georg Stengg (1689–1753)*. Wien 2009 (phil. Diss.).

² WASTLER, J.: *Steirisches Künstlerlexikon*. Graz 1883, S. 162.

³ PRANGNER, V.: *Geschichte des Klosters und des Spitals der Fr. Fr. Barmherzigen Brüder in Graz und der innerösterreichischen Ordensprovinz zum heiligsten Herrn Jesu*. Graz 1908, S. 290.

⁴ KOSCHATZKY, W.: *Leben, Werk und Stil des Barockbaumeisters Joseph Hueber*. Graz 1951, Exkurs, I–IX. phil. Diss. (ms.), 2 Bde.

⁵ KOHLBACH, R.: *Die Barocken Kirchen von Graz*. Graz o. J. (1951). KOHLBACH, R.: *Die Stifte Steiermarks*. Graz o. J.

(1953). KOHLBACH, R.: *Steirische Baumeister, Tausendundein Werkmann*. Graz 1962.

⁶ BRUCHER, G.: *Die Fassaden der Barockkirchen in der Steiermark von 1690-1760*. Graz 1968 (phil. Diss. ms.). BRUCHER, G. Die Entwicklung barocker Kirchenfassaden in der Steiermark, Teil 1. In: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Graz* 5, 1970, S. 34–76. BRUCHER, G. Die Entwicklung barocker Kirchenfassaden in der Steiermark, Teil 2. In: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Graz* 7, 1972, S. 60–95.

⁷ MISCHAN, E.: *Die Fassaden des barocken Bürgerhauses und Palais in Graz von 1670 bis 1740*. Graz 1971 (phil. Diss. (ms.)

Schlosses Schieelleiten zu.⁸ Beide Autoren hinterfragten den Ursprung des Stenggschen Stils und fanden Vorbilder in der italienischen und böhmischen Architektur. Bedeutende Feststellungen über den Stil von Johann Georg Stengg sind auch dem umfangreichen Artikel *Architektur des Barock in der Steiermark*, einem Werk von Renate Wagner-Rieger, zu entnehmen.⁹

Die Anfänge der kunsthistorischen Forschung der steirischen Architektur auf der slowenischen Seite reichen bis in die frühen sechziger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts zurück. Die stilkritische Analyse von Nace Šumi deutete auf eine Gruppe sakraler Architektur mit besonderer Qualität hin, die er nach der Pfarr- und Wallfahrtskirche auf Sladka Gora (1743 – 1751) als „sladkogorska“ Gruppe bezeichnete. Dabei berücksichtigte Šumi auch die Kirchen auf der österreichischen Seite der Steiermark, wie beispielsweise die Pfarrkirchen in Ehrenhausen/Ernovž und St. Veit am Vogau/Sv. Vid na Vogavi.¹⁰ Im Jahr 1969 veröffentlichte derselbe Autor die Monografie *Baročna arhitektura na Slovenskem [Barockarchitektur in Slowenien]*, in der zum ersten Mal die These erwähnt wurde, dass die zwischen den Jahren 1732 und 1735 erbaute Dreifaltigkeitskirche in Slovenske gorice (Gradišče)/Windisch Büheln unter dem Einfluss von Johann Georg Stengg entstand.¹¹ Zu jener Zeit sahen sich die Forscher der barocken Kunst auf dem Gebiet der Steiermark mit Schwierigkeiten konfrontiert, die durch die Teilung des ehemaligen Landes und die Grenze zwischen den neuen Staaten hervorgerufen wurden. Obwohl die Grenze nicht geschlossen war, wurde erst nach dem Fall der Berliner Mauer im Jahr 1989 und der Selbstständigkeitserklärung Sloweniens im Jahr 1991 die Möglichkeit für eine ganzheitlichere Behandlung der einst auf beiden Seiten der



1. Golika, Filialkirche der bl. Agnes, Außenansicht

Grenze tätigen Künstler geschaffen. Als ich bei der Erstellung der Dissertation einen Teil auch der steirischen Architektur widmete, versuchte ich daher, sie möglichst ganzheitlich zu behandeln.¹² Dabei stellte ich fest, dass der Autor der Denkmalgruppe „sladkogorska“ der Architekt Joseph Hoffer¹³ aus Maribor/Marburg an der Drau ist und widerlegte die

⁸ MISCHAN 1971 (wie Anm. 7). MISCHAN, E.: Schloß Schieelleiten, ein Werk des steirischen Baumeisters Johann Georg Stengg. In: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Institutes der Universität Graz*, 7, 1972, S. 93-96.

⁹ WAGNER-RIEGER, R.: *Architektur des Barock in der Steiermark*, in: *Tagungsbericht Dreiländer-Fachtagung der Kunsthistoriker in Graz*, Graz 1972, S. 9-43.

¹⁰ ŠUMI, N.: Pregled baročne arhitekture v Sloveniji. In: *Kronika Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*, VIII/3, Ljubljana 1960, S. 172. ŠUMI, N.: *Ljubljanska baročna arhitektura*. Ljubljana 1961, S. 67, 70, 94-103.

¹¹ ŠUMI, N.: *Baročna arhitektura*. Ljubljana 1969 (*Ars Sloveniae*), S. 38. Die These wurde noch wiederholt in ŠUMI, N.: *Ljubljanska baročna arhitektura*. Ljubljana 1961, S. 96.

¹² KEMPERL, M.: *Romarske cerkve - novogradnje 17. in 18. stoletja na Slovenskem. Arhitekturni tipi, poslikave, oprema*. Ljubljana 2001 (phil. Diss.). Die Dissertation wurde in teilweise abgeänderter und ergänzter Form im Jahr 2012 veröffentlicht (KEMPERL, M.: *Arhitekturna tipologija romarskih cerkva v 17. in 18. stoletju na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana 2012).

¹³ KEMPERL 2001 (wie Anm. 12), S. 167-185. KEMPERL, M.: Josef Hoffer: Ein neuer Name unter den steirischen Ar-

These über Janez N. Fuchs als Autoren der Kirchen in St. Johann im Saggatal/Šentjanž, Ehrenhausen/Ernovž usw.¹⁴ In der Dissertation bestätigte ich Šumis Vermutung, dass die Dreifaltigkeitskirche in Slovenske gorice (Gradišče)/Windisch Büheln unter dem Einfluss von Johann Georg Stengg entstand und erwähnte die Möglichkeit, dass auch die Filialkirche der Hl. Agnes auf dem Berg Golika oberhalb von Zreče/Ober-Rötschach bei Gonobitz in diesem Zusammenhang behandelt werden sollte.¹⁵ Gleichzeitig wies ich darauf hin, dass die Dreifaltigkeitskirche in Slovenske gorice (Gradišče)/Windisch Büheln dem Typus, den Proportionen und auch der Profilierung des Gebälks und der Kapitelle der Pfarrkirche des Hl. Bartholomäus in Slovenska Bistrica/Windisch-Feistritz sehr ähnlich sei, nur dass die Emporenbrüstungen immer noch gerade sind, denn sie wurden um das Jahr 1722 erbaut. Ebenfalls äußerte ich die Vermutung, dass in diese Gruppe auch die Kirche der Hl. Hyazinth in Rogatec/Rohitsch aus dem Jahr 1732, gehöre.¹⁶

Trotz den vielen Studien kann immer noch behauptet werden, dass die Architektur in der Untersteiermark bis zum Antritt des Marburger Architekten Josef Hoffer Ende der dreißiger Jahre des 18. Jahrhunderts stark von den Leibnitzer und Grazer Meistern abhing oder aber die lokalen Meister ahmten diese nach. Und die Dreifaltigkeitskirche in Slovenske gorice (Gradišče)/Windisch Büheln ist nur ein Beispiel dafür. Jakob Schmerleib, ein Baumeister

aus Leibnitz/Lipnica, ist Gestalter des Umbaus der Pfarrkirche in Ljutomer/Luttenberg (1688-90).¹⁷ Ihm wurden auch noch die Pfarrkirchen des Hl. Nikolaus bei Ormož/Friedau (1683-1692) und des Hl. Anton in Pohorje/Bachern (1681-1684) zugeschrieben.¹⁸ Die Votivkirche des Hl. Rochus und Sebastian in Cezanjevci (1675-1679) wurde vom Meister Johann Pozzo aus Graz erbaut und er ist möglicherweise auch Gestalter der Kirchen des Hl. Geistes auf dem Stara gora pri Vidmu ob Ščavnici/Alte Berg bei Videm an der Stainz (1674-1678).¹⁹ Bei der Rekonstruktion der Pfarrkirchen von Velika Nedelja/Groß-Sonntag (1674-1698) und Ormož/Friedau (höchstwahrscheinlich Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts) zeigt sich ebenso, dass die Meister aus Graz bzw. St. Lambrecht, Cyprian und Domenico Sciassia, als Vorbilder dienten.²⁰ Dreischiffige Freipfeileremporenhallen oder Emporenwandpfeilerkirchen wie die Marienkirche in Brezje nad Žetalam/Bresiach oben Schiltern (1713(?)-1723), die Pfarrkirche in Slovenska Bistrica/Windisch-Feistritz (bis 1722), die Marienkirche auf dem Svete gore nad Bistrico ob Sotli/Heiligen Berg oberhalb von St. Peter bei Königsberg (1727-32), die Pfarrkirche in Malečnik/St. Peter (bis 1730, Stuckatur 1736) und die Wallfahrtskirche der Hl. Dreifaltigkeit in Slovenske gorice/Windisch Büheln (1732-1735), sind unter dem Einfluss der Grazer Meister entstanden, z. B. von Bartholomäus Ebner und seinen Nachfolgern sowie von Andreas und Johann Georg Stengg.²¹

chitekten des 18. Jahrhunderts. In: *Österreichisches Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 56/2-3, 2002, S. 261-271. KEMPERL, M.: Jožef Hoffer - arhitekt brez meja. In: *Podravina*, 7, 2005, S. 33-46; KEMPERL 2012 (wie Anm. 12), S. 145-158.

¹⁴ RIEHL, H.: Die Baukunst in Steiermark von etwa 1690 bis um 1780. In: *Die bildende Kunst in Österreich, Barock und Rokoko (von etwa 1690 bis um 1780)*. Red. K. Ginhart. Baden bei Wien 1939, S. 135, 136. KRAFT, E.: Wolfgang Hagenauer und eine Gruppe nordosttirolischer Kirchenräume: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Raumtypusbildung im Spätbarock. In: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XIV (XVIII) 1950, S. 177-184. REUTHER, H.: Eine Gruppe elliptischer Zentralraumkirchen des 18. Jahrhunderts in Steiermark. In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 19, 1956, S. 237-258. BRUCHER 1972 (wie Anm. 6), S. 81-88. BRUCHER, G.: Die barocke Baukunst in der Steiermark. In: *Lust und Leid*. Graz 1992, S. 123. SCHWEIGERT, H.: *Die Pfarrkirche und das Eggenberger Mausoleum in Ehrenhausen*. Salzburg 1996, S. 4-5. LORENZ,

H.: Architektur. In: *Die Kunst des Barock in Österreich*. Salzburg-Wien 1994, S. 71. LORENZ, H.: Architektur. In: *Barock Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich* 4. Red. H. Lorenz. Wien 1999, S. 291-292.

¹⁵ KEMPERL 2001 (wie Anm. 12), S. 67. KEMPERL 2012 (wie Anm. 12), S. 52, 57, 75-76.

¹⁶ KEMPERL 2012 (wie Anm. 12), S. 57-58.

¹⁷ KOHLBACH 1962 (wie Anm. 5), S. 359.

¹⁸ KEMPERL 2012 (wie Anm. 12), S. 42-44.

¹⁹ Ibidem, S. 74.

²⁰ KEMPERL 2012 (wie Anm. 12), S. 73-75.

²¹ Ibidem, S. 54-59. Sandra Rust schreibt die letzte Kirche dem Kreis von Johann Georg Stengg, und nicht Stengg selbst, zu.



2. Golika, Filialkirche der hl. Agnes, Innenraum

Aufgrund der mangelnden ganzheitlichen Betrachtung des Architekten Johann Georg Stengg entschloss sich Sandra Rust, ihn und seine Tätigkeit in einer Dissertation zu untersuchen, die sie im Jahr 2009 erfolgreich verteidigte.²² Sie durchstöberte erneut alle bereits veröffentlichten Archivquellen und versuchte neue zu finden, mit dem Schwerpunkt, aufgrund einer formalen bzw. stilistischen Analyse ein neues Verzeichnis Stenggs dokumentierter und im zugeschriebener Werke zu erstellen. Darüber hinaus beschäftigte sie sich intensiv mit dem Zeitraum der

Formierung seines Stils und stellte fest, dass er von Beginn an, d. h. seit dem Jahr 1716, als er sich in Graz niederließ, im Rahmen seiner Werkstatt tätig war. Unter Berücksichtigung der Tatsache, dass Johann Georg Stengg im Jahr 1722 in seiner Werkstatt bereits 45 Gesellen hatte²³ bleibt die Anzahl Stenggs archivalisch nachgewiesener und zugeschriebener Werke dennoch verhältnismäßig klein, nur 37.²⁴ Mit der Suche nach neuen Architekturen in der slowenischen Steiermark, die ihm zugeschrieben werden könnten, beschäftigte sich Sandra Rust nicht. Sie erwähnte nur,

RUST 2009 (wie Anm. 1), S. 234, 290-291. In der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts und Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts war in Celje/Cilli die Baumeisterfamilie Allio tätig, für die archivalisch nachgewiesen ist, dass sie neben stilistisch unauffälliger Werke zwischen den Jahren 1671 und 1675 die Kirche der hl. Anastasia in Samobor in Kroatien gebaut haben. Stilistisch kann mit dieser Kirche auch der Bau der Klosterkirche in Olimje/Ulimje (1675-1688), der Bau der Pfarrkirche in Šentjur/St. Georgen (1708-1721) und der Umbau der Pfarrkirche in Šmarje pri Jelšah/St. Marein bei

Erlachstein (1721) in Verbindung gebracht werden KEMPERL 2012 (wie Anm. 12), S. 69-71.

²² RUST 2009 (wie Anm. 1).

²³ Diese Angabe wurde von R. Kohlbach veröffentlicht. KOHLBACH 1962 (wie Anm. 5), S. 179.

²⁴ RUST 2009 (wie Anm. 1), S. 287-372.



3. Golika, Filialkirche der
hl. Agnes, Innenansicht,
Detail

dass die Kirche der Hl. Dreifaltigkeit in Slovenske gorice (Gradišče)/Windisch Büheln kein Werk von Stengg sei, sondern handle es sich um einen Meister, der lediglich die Kirche der Barmherzigen Brüder in Graz nachahmte.²⁵

Daher habe ich mich entschlossen, diesen Artikel zu verfassen und durch die Formalanalyse und den stilkritischen Ansatz festzustellen, welche Architekturen in der slowenischen Steiermark zum Werk von Johann Georg Stengg gehören bzw. in seinen Kreis eingestuft werden können.

Golika, Filialkirche der Hl. Agnes

Die Kirche der Hl. Agnes wurde noch keiner kunsthistorischen Betrachtung unterzogen. Avguštin Stegešek beschrieb sie zwar in der Topographie des

Dekanats Slovenske Konjice/Gonobitz mit der Auffassung, es handele sich um »einen Plan und Ausführung eines erfahrenen Meisters«,²⁶ während sich Nace Šumi, der über Jahrzehnte führende Barockarchitekturforscher, mit dieser Kirche nicht beschäftigte. Erst die Autorin dieses Artikels berücksichtigte sich in ihrer Dissertation über die Typologie der barocken Wallfahrtskirchen auf dem Gebiet Sloweniens damit. Das Gebäude stufte ich als einschiffige Kirche mit Pilastern ein und schrieb, dass der Einfluss auf den Bau bei den Grazer Architekten Stengg zu suchen ist, allerdings ohne eine detailliertere formale oder stilistische Analyse.²⁷

Die Kirche der Hl. Agnes befindet sich auf einem Hügel namens Golika (608 m) oberhalb von Zreče/Ober-Rötschach unweit vom Berg Brinjeva gora, wo die etwas bekanntere Marienwallfahrtskirche steht.

²⁵ Ibidem, S. 234, 290-291.

²⁶ STEGENŠEK, A.: *Konjiška dekanija*. Maribor 1909 (Cerkveni spomeniki lavantske škofije II). S. 87.

²⁷ KEMPERL 2001 (wie Anm. 12), S. 67. KEMPERL 2012 (wie Anm. 12), S. 75-76. Die Vermutung wurde von Igor Sapač wiederholt (SAPAČ, I.: Baročni arhitekti na Slovenskem. In: SAPAČ, I. - KREČIČ, A.: *Arhitektura 18. stoletja na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana 2007, S. 266. Ebenso ohne Begründung.

Die Kirche ist nordöstlich ausgerichtet. Sie besteht aus dem Presbyterium mit der angebauten Sakristei im Süden, dem Schiff und dem Kirchturm. Die Kirche ist nicht besonders lang (24 m), aber sehr breit (9 m) und sehr hoch (11 m im Schiff, 10 m im Presbyterium).²⁸ Das Gebäude ist nach außen einfach gehalten, un gegliedert. Der Kirchturm ist mit einem Pyramidendach gedeckt. Das Schiff hat im Norden keine Fenster und im Süden hat es jeweils drei Fenster in zwei Stockwerken; im Untergeschoss sind sie rechteckig und im Obergeschoss halbrund abgeschlossen. Das dreiseitig abgeschlossene Presbyterium verfügt auf jeder Seite über jeweils zwei rechteckige Fenster. Die Fenster sind rahmenlos. Das Hauptportal ist rechteckig und reich profiliert. Das Portal befindet sich noch in der Südwand des Schiffes, der Eingang von der östlichen Seite des Presbyteriums hingegen ist seit mehr als hundert Jahren zugemauert. Die Qualität der Bauweise offenbart sich erst im Inneren, wo eine interessante Gliederung der Wände beobachtet werden kann. Drei Joche im Schiff und zwei im Presbyterium werden nämlich durch auf Pilastern gestützte Halbsäulen abgetrennt. Diese bestehen aus einer Basis und einer Art toskanischem Kapitell, allerdings sind sie im Querschnitt eigentlich halbelliptisch und nicht ganz halbrund. Die Halbsäulen sind mit doppeltem stark profiliertem Gebälk miteinander verbunden, das über die gesamte Länge des Schiffes und des Presbyteriums verläuft. Es ist im mittleren Joch der Nordwand des Schiffes unterbrochen, denn es scheint, dass dieser für den Altar vorbereitet war bzw. sind hier Malereireste zu finden. Alle Joche sind mit dem Kreuzgratgewölbe versehen. Der Triumphbogen ist auf der Seite des Presbyteriums konkav eingebuchtet.

Die Kirche der Hl. Agnes war Bestandteil der umfangreichen Urpfarrei Slovenske Konjice/Gonobitz, die in den Archivquellen erstmals im Jahr 1146 erwähnt wurde. Zwischen den Jahren 1704 und 1737 wurde die Urpfarrei durch die Kartäuser aus dem nahe gelegenen Kloster Žiče bzw. Dolina



4. Golika, Filialkirche der hl. Agnes, Innenansicht, Detail

sv. Janeza/Seitz verwaltet, daher verfügten die Kartäuser auch über die Herrenrechte an der Kirche der Hl. Agnes.²⁹

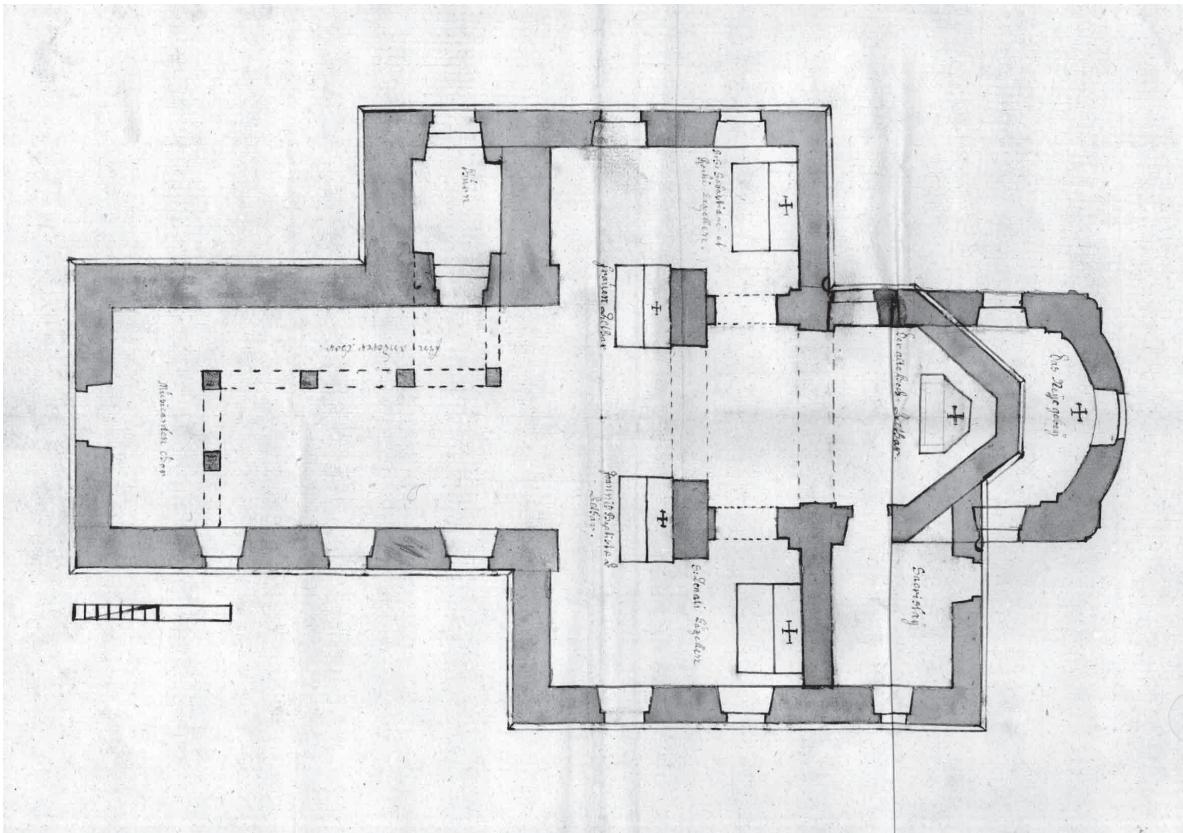
Die Kirche steht am Standort einer illyrischen und römischen Siedlung sowie einer altslawischen Grabstätte. Die jetzige Kirche wurde zwischen den Jahren 1723 und 1724 (Datierung an den Rahmen der seitlichen Türen, die sich jetzt in der Marienfilialkirche auf Brinjeva gora befinden) errichtet, wo einst die Kapelle aus dem Jahr 1717 stand.³⁰ Im Jahr 1727 wurden der Kirche bereits mehrere Ablässe verliehen,³¹ daher kann gefolgert werden, dass es sich um eine Wallfahrtskirche handelte. Bald aber wurde

²⁸ STEGENŠEK A.: 1909 (wie Anm. 26), S. 87-88.

²⁹ OŽINGER, A.: *Vizitacije Savinjskega arbidiakonata gorische nadškofije 1751-1773. Atti delle visite pastorali nell' Archidiaconato di valle Saunia 1751-1773. Die Berichte der Pastoralvisitationen im Archidiakonat von Sauen 1751-1773.* Ljubljana 1991, S. 406.

³⁰ STEGENŠEK 1909 (wie Anm. 26), S. 85.

³¹ Ibidem, S. 85.



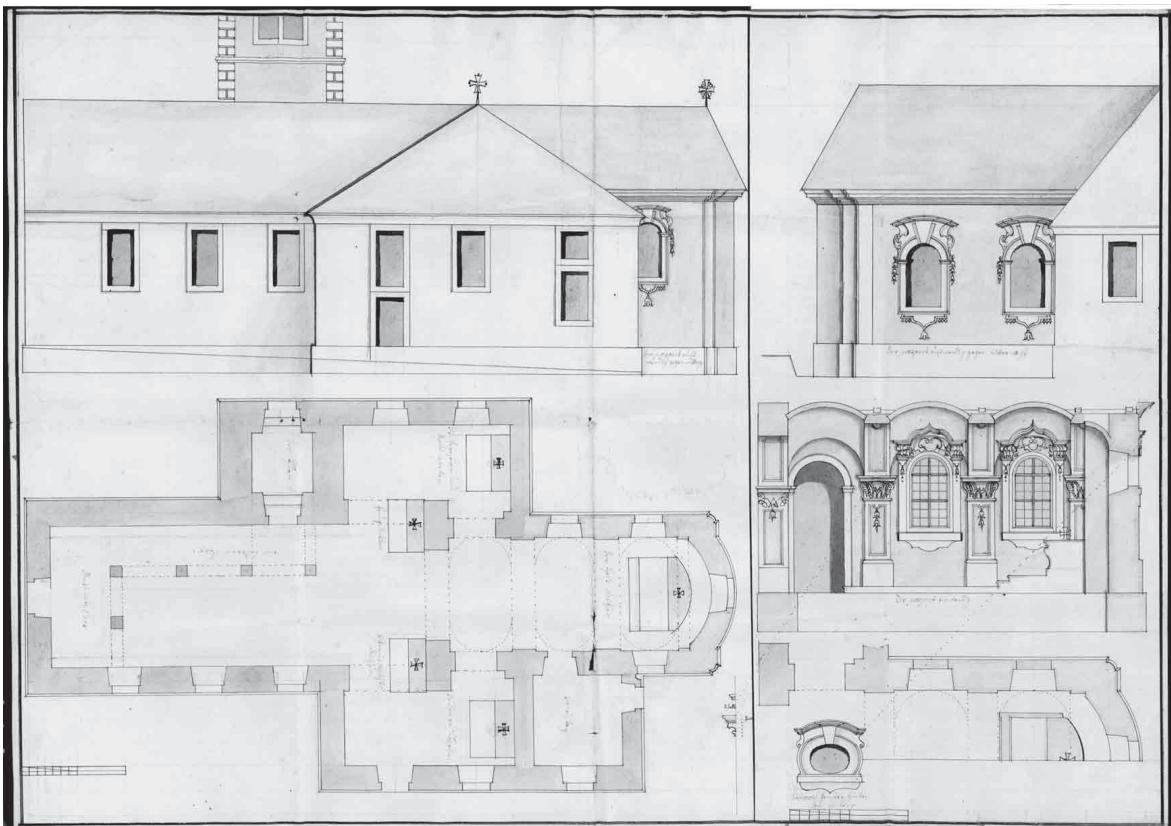
5. Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah / St. Jakob in Windisch Bühl, Pfarrkirche des hl. Jakob, Plan zur Vergrößerung des Presbyteriums, Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor

sie von der Marienkirche, die auf dem nahe gelegenen Berg Brinjeva gora im Jahr 1769 erbaut wurde und in der die Kopie der Mariengnadenstatue von Višarje geehrt wurde, in den Schatten gestellt. Die Kirche der Hl. Agnes wurde weder bei der Visitation im Jahr 1751, die durch den Görzer Erzbischof Karl Michael Attems erfolgte, noch bei der Visitation im Jahr 1756, die durch den städtischen Pfarrer von Celje/Cilli und den Archidiakon Martin Sumpicher erfolgte, und auch nicht im Jahr 1760 eingeweiht; sie verfügte über vier Altäre: Der große war der Hl. Agnes gewidmet, die seitlichen der Hl. Apollonia, dem Hl. Donatus und Hl. Maria.³² Heute sind neben dem Hauptaltar noch zwei Seitenaltäre am Triumphbogen erhalten. Alle Altäre wurden Franc Zamlík, einem Bildhauer aus Slovenske Konjice/Gonobitz,

zugeschrieben und entstanden in den dreißiger oder vierziger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts.³³ Der Hauptaltar wurde an die Architektur angepasst, denn sein Gebälk befindet sich auf derselben Höhe wie das Gebälk des Presbyteriums und passt sich auch im Hinblick auf die Höhe und Breite schön dem Raum an. Der linke Altar, der heute das Bild der Rosenkranzmadonna trägt, war vermutlich der erste Marienaltar. Der rechte Altar, den das Bild vom Hl. Josef schmückt, war vermutlich ursprünglich Altar der Hl. Apollonia, denn auf dem Altar stehen die Statuen der Heiligen. Die jetzigen Altarbilder sind Werke von Tomaž Fantoni aus dem Jahr 1877. Der vierte Altar des Hl. Donatus wurde vermutlich an die Wand gemalt, denn an der Nordwand des Schiffes, dort wo das Gebälk unterbrochen ist, befinden

³² OŽINGER 1991 (wie Anm. 29), S. 172, 406.

³³ VRIŠER, S.: *Baročno kiparstvo na slovenskem Štajerskem*. Ljubljana 1992, S. 106-108, 204.



6. Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/ St. Jakob in Windisch Bübeln, Pfarrkirche des hl. Jakob, Plan zur Vergrößerung des Presbyteriums, Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor

sich Reste der Malerei.³⁴ Zamlík ist wahrscheinlich auch der Gestalter der barocken Kanzel, die an der Südwand der Triumphbogenwand angebracht ist. Darüber hinaus befinden sich in der Kirche nur noch ein bescheidenes Weihwasserbecken, das älter als die Kirche ist und offensichtlich von einem anderen Ort hierher gebracht wurde, sowie ein Sakristeischrank aus der Zeit der Entstehung der Kirche.³⁵

Der Kircheninnenraum ist einzigartig in Slowenien, denn der Innenraum wird nicht wie üblich durch Pilaster, sondern durch Halbsäulen mit elliptischen Querschnitt, untergliedert. In der Steiermark ist ein solcher Typus der Gliederung aus dieser Zeit für die Werke der Grazer Architekten Stengg charakteristisch. Zum ersten Mal tritt dies in der Steiermark bei der Fassade des Grazer Stadtpalais Willdenstein in

Erscheinung, für die die bisherigen Studien zeigen, dass es umgebaut und um das Jahr 1702 herum mit neuer Fassade versehen wurde und deshalb nicht zu den Werken von Johann Georg, sondern ausschließlich zu den Werken seines Vaters Andreas Stengg, zählen konnte.³⁶ Das Motiv wiederholt sich auf der Fassade der Kirche und des Klosters Mariatrost bei Graz, deren Urheberschaft genauso wenig geklärt ist. Der Baubeginn der Kirche war im Jahr 1714. Der Bauleiter zwischen den Jahren 1718 und 1721 war Andreas Stengg. Johann Georg Stengg wurde archivalisch nur einmal nachgewiesen, allerdings ist im betreffenden Dokument nicht genauer erläutert, um welches Werk es sich handelt. Laut Sandra Rust handelt es sich bei dem Kirchturm, der Pilastergliederung im Innenraum und dem Chor um Werke von

³⁴ CURK, J.: *Topografsko gradivo IV. Sakralni spomeniki na območju občine Slovenske Konjice* 1967, S. 6-7.

³⁵ CURK 1967 (wie Anm. 34), S. 6-7.

³⁶ RUST 2009 (wie Anm. 1), S. 301-302.



7. Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/ St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln, Pfarrkirche des hl. Jakob, Presbyterium, Außenansicht

Johann Georg Stengg. Bei der Gliederung des Äußeren ist die Urheberschaft jedoch nicht geklärt.³⁷ Das Motiv der Halbsäule erscheint auch auf der Fassade der Heiligen Stiege am Grazer Kalvarienberg, die Johann Georg Stengg zugeschrieben wird und zwischen den Jahren 1718 und 1723 erbaut wurde.³⁸

Somit muss auch bei dem Bau der Kirche der Hl. Agnes damit gerechnet werden, dass der Plan aus Graz kam, vielleicht ebenso der Polier und die Maurer. Die Halbsäulen in der Kirche der Hl. Agnes erwecken zwar nicht den Eindruck, als ob sie in die Fassade eingetaucht wären, wie dies an der Fassade der Kirche Mariatrost der Fall ist, wo die Halbsäulen von den Pilastern unten getrennt sind. Hier sind die Pilaster und Halbsäulen ohne Einschnitt zusammen geschlossen. Ebenso handelt es sich nicht um echte Halbsäulen, sondern diese haben tatsächlich einen halbelliptischen Querschnitt. Daher ähnelt diese Gliederung noch am meisten der Gliederung der Fassade der Heiligen Stiege am Grazer Kalvarienberg, die ein Johann Georg Stengg zugeschriebenes Werk

(1718 und 1723) ist. Hier befindet sich an der Hauptfassade ein Halbsäulenpaar links und rechts vom Haupteingang in die Heilige Stiege. Beim Vergleich der Profilierung der Kapitelle und des Gebälks in der Kirche der Hl. Agnes mit denjenigen an der Heiligen Stiege stellt sich heraus, dass es sich um denselben Typus der Gliederung und eine sehr ähnliche Profilierung handelt. Ebenso deuten die Proportionen der Kirche der Hl. Agnes und die Ausführungsart auf die Qualität eines herausragenden Meisters hin, wie es Johann Georg Stengg war.

Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln, Pfarrkirche des Hl. Jakob

Auch die spätbarocke Phase der Kirche des Hl. Jakob in Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/ St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln wurde in der kunsthistorischen Literatur sehr spät bemerkt. Erstmalig erwähnte ich sie in meiner wissenschaftlichen Monographie *Korpus poznobaročne sakralne architektury na slovenskem*

³⁷ Ibidem, S. 147-163.

³⁸ Ibidem, S. 334-335.



8. Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Bücheln, Pfarrkirche des hl. Jakob, Presbyterium, Außenansicht



9. Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Bücheln, Pfarrkirche des hl. Jakob, Presbyterium, Außenansicht, Detail

Štajerskem [Corpus der spätbarocken sakralen Architektur in der slowenischen Steiermark] erwähnt. Im Katalog dieser Monographie schrieb ich die Kirche bzw. ihr Presbyterium Johann Georg Stengg zu. Aufgrund der erhaltenen Archivdokumente konnte dieser Umbau ebenso auf das Jahr 1740 datiert werden.³⁹ In der Monographie erschienen auch die erhaltenen Pläne für den Umbau, detailliertere stilkritische Analysen wurden jedoch nicht durchgeführt.⁴⁰

³⁹ KEMPERL, M.: *Korpus poznobaročne sakralne arhitekture na slovenskem Štajerskem*. Ljubljana 2007, S. 37, 84-85.

⁴⁰ Die Pläne wurden auch von Polona Vidmar veröffentlicht, obwohl sie im Artikel die bildhauerische Ausstattung der

Die Kirche steht am Hang oberhalb des Dorfes. Sie besteht aus dem Presbyterium mit der Sakristei auf der Südseite, dem Schiff mit einem Kapellenpaar und dem Kirchturm, der an der Nordseite des Schiffes steht, so dass er an die Westwand der Nordkapelle angrenzt.

Das rechteckige Presbyterium endet im Osten mit einem elliptischen Abschluss und halbrund geformten Ecken. Den Rundungen passt sich auch das stark profilierte Hauptgesims an. Im Abschluss befindet sich ein querovales Fenster, in der Nordwand sind zwei aufrecht gestellte, große, halbrund abgeschlossene Fenster und in der Südwand befindet sich ein gleiches Fenster. Alle Fensteröffnungen sind reich dekoriert. Der Fensterrahmen hat zwischen dem senkrechten und halbrunden Teil ein stilisiertes

Kirche und nicht die Architektur behandelt. VIDMAR, P.: Kajetan Freiherr von Langenmantel und St. Jakob in Windisch Bücheln/Jakobski dol, Slowenien: Ein steirischer Postmeister als Auftraggeber zweier Barockstatuen. In: *Blätter für Heimatkunde*, 84/3, 2010, S. 98-99.



10. Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Bübeln, Pfarrkirche des hl. Jakob, Innenraum

Kapitell. Der Rahmen verfügt über einen Fenstersturz, der mit einem großen, mehrfach abgestuften Schlussstein, dessen Grundlage fast die ganze Breite des Fensters einnimmt, elliptisch verbunden ist. Das Dekor ist symmetrisch. Die beiden seitlichen Flächen des Schlusssteins sind mit Laubwerk umfasst und dieses endet in der Mitte des Fensters mit einer Glöckleinengirlande. Das östliche querovale Fenster verfügt noch über eine Fensterbank mit verstärkt stilisierter glocken- und troddelförmiger Ornamentik. Im Inneren ist das Presbyterium dreijochig, mit Platzgewölbe ausgestattet und elliptisch abgeschlossen. Die Joche sind untereinander getrennt durch Gurtbögen, die aus den Pilastern mit polsterartigen Kapitellen hervorgehen. Die Kapitelle sind mit einer troddel- und schuppenförmigen Dekoration versehen. Das erste Joch öffnet sich auf beiden Seiten arkadenartig in

die Kapelle. Die Fenster sind mit einem Pilasterpaar mit polsterartigen Kapitellen dekoriert, welche in der Höhe, die sich bereits kuppelartig wölbt, über lanzenförmige oder glatte profilierte Stürze verfügen. Diese Stürze sind mit stilisierten Kapitellen versehen. In der Südwand oberhalb des Übergangs in die Kapelle und des Übergangs in die Sakristei sind auf diese Weise auch zwei Bilderrahmen geformt.

Das Gebiet war ein integraler Teil der Salzburger Erzdiözese.⁴¹ Als Filialkirche der Pfarrei bzw. Urpfarrei Jarenina/Jahring war die Kirche des Hl. Jakob dem Kloster Admont inkorporiert, das über die Patronats- und Herrenrechte verfügte. Bis zum Jahr 1770, als sie einen ständigen Kaplan bekam,⁴² wurden die Messen jeden Sonntag von den Kaplanen aus Jarenina/Jahring abgehalten.⁴³ Eine selbständige Pfarrei wurde im Jahr 1785 gegründet.⁴⁴

⁴¹ CURK, J.: Umetnostna podoba severnega dela Podravja v očeh vizitatorjev 17. in 18. stoletja. In: *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje*, 66, 1995, S. 12-13.

⁴² OROŽEN, I.: *Das Bistum und Diözese Lavant. I.* Marburg, Marburg 1875, S. 154. CURK 1995, S. 13.

⁴³ KOVAČIČ, F.: *Zgodovina lavantske škofije (1228–1928)*. Maribor 1928, S. 70.

⁴⁴ OROŽEN 1875 (wie Anm. 42), S. 154; KOVAČIČ 1928 (wie Anm. 43), S. 333.



11. Jakobski dol v Slovenskib goricab/St. Jakob in Windisch Bübeln, Pfarrkirche des bl. Jakob, Innenansicht, Detail

Die Kirche des Hl. Jakob wird in den Archivquellen erstmals im Jahr 1532 erwähnt, als das Gebäude von den Türken beschädigt wurde.⁴⁵ Dieses Gebäude, das höchstwahrscheinlich gotisch war, wurde im Jahr 1535 erbaut und darin wurden drei Altäre eingeweiht. Auf der linken Seite stand der Marienaltar und der Altar der Hl. Sebastian und Anna, auf der rechten Seite befand sich der Altar des Hl. Johannes des Täufers.⁴⁶ Laut Orožen und Cerk sollten die beiden Seitenkapellen im Jahr 1686 erbaut worden sein,⁴⁷ allerdings ist das nicht zutreffend. Damals wurde vielleicht nur eine (südliche) Kapelle errichtet. Im Bericht des Kaplans aus Jarenina/Jahring, Michael Anton Stänzer, aus dem Jahr 1740, der für die Versorgung dieser Kirche verantwortlich

war, wurde nämlich erwähnt, dass sich in der Kirche neben dem Hauptaltar noch drei Altäre befanden, und zwar der Marienaltar, der Altar des Hl. Johannes des Täufers und der Bruderschaftsaltar der Hl. Sebastian und Rochus.⁴⁸ Demzufolge könnte ein Altar (höchstwahrscheinlich der Bruderschaftsaltar) in der Seitenkapelle gestanden sein. Die zweite Kapelle, die zum Ehren des hl. Wetterpatronen Donatus errichtet wurde, wurde erst zwischen den Jahren 1733 und 1739 erbaut. Das erfahren wir ebenfalls aus dem genannten Bericht des Kaplans. Der Kaplan hat nicht vergessen zu erwähnen, dass die Kapelle mit Genehmigung der geistlichen Hoheit, auf eigene Kosten, erbaut wurde, denn die Ernte war gut.⁴⁹ Gleichzeitig wurden auch drei neue Altäre in Auf-

⁴⁵ OROŽEN 1875 (wie Anm. 42), S. 155.

⁴⁶ Ibidem 1875 (wie Anm. 42), S. 155. CURK, J.: *Vodnik po mariborski okolici*. Ljubljana 1994, S. 7.

⁴⁷ OROŽEN 1875 (wie Anm. 42), S. 155; CURK 1994 (wie Anm. 46), S. 7.

⁴⁸ Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor, Gospoščina Jareninski dvor 1605-

-1871, 1911007/8, škatla 14, ovoj 109. Es handelt sich um ähnliche Patrozinien wie im Jahr 1535 bei der Einweihung. Damals standen auf der linken Seite der Marienaltar und noch ein Altar, der dem hl. Sebastian und der hl. Anna geweiht war, und auf der rechten Seite der Altar des hl. Johannes des Täufers. OROŽEN 1875 (wie Anm. 42), S. 155.

⁴⁹ Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor, Gospoščina Jareninski dvor 1605-1871, 1911007/8, škatla 14, ovoj 109. Diese fünf Altäre ver-

trag gegeben und aufgestellt.⁵⁰ Bei diesem Anbau der Kapelle und der Ausstattung mit neuen Altären stellte sich jedoch heraus, dass das Presbyterium klein und schlecht beleuchtet war, denn es verfügte nur über ein Fenster auf der Nordseite. Daher war es bei schlechtem Wetter und Dunkelheit schwierig, die hl. Messe zu lesen. Ebenso ärmlich und klein wirkte der Hochaltar. Deshalb bat der Kaplan Stänzer die Vorgesetzten, ob noch ein neues Presbyterium und ein großer Altar errichtet werden dürfe, denn das nötige Material und Geld war bereits gesammelt worden. Der Verwalter in Jarenina/Jahringshof war mit dem Bau allerdings nicht einverstanden bzw. untersagte den Bau sogar. In Stänzers Bericht steht jedoch, dass trotz dieses Verbots völlig unerwartet nach Pfingsten im Jahr 1740 zwanzig Bauern auf der Baustelle erschienen und sozusagen an einem Tag das neue Presbyterium erbauten.⁵¹

Beim Abreißen des alten Presbyteriums wurden auch die östliche und ein Teil der südlichen Wand der Sakristei abgerissen und neu gebaut. Den Plan hatte Stänzer offensichtlich schon spätestens im Jahr 1739 gehabt. Beim Besuch des Visitators im Jahr 1760 war die Kirche zwar noch nicht eingeweiht, ebenso nicht die Altäre, aber der Visitator war vom Gebäude begeistert, denn er schrieb: »Structura ecclesiae elegans et amaena, ita ut undequaque nihil deesse animadversum sit.«⁵² Auch der Kirchturm war zu jener Zeit in einem guten Zustand.⁵³ Im Jahr 1801 wurde die gesamte Kirche erneuert und im Jahr 1850 wurde der Kirchturm aufgestockt und neu überdacht.⁵⁴

Neben Stänzers Berichten ist auch der Plan der Vergrößerung des Presbyteriums erhalten.⁵⁵ Im

Hinblick auf die Dekoration an den Fenstern im Außenbereich und die Dekoration der Stürze über den Fenstern im Innenbereich kann dieser sehr detaillierte Plan dem Grazer Meister Johann Georg Stengg zugeschrieben werden. Der erste Plan zeigt die Situation der alten Kirche mit den eingezeichneten Altären und der vorgesehenen Erweiterung des Presbyteriums in Richtung Osten. Der zweite Plan beinhaltet Pläne für den Neubau und zwar den Grundriss, den Aufriss der Innenwand des Presbyteriums mit sehr detailliert gezeichneter Dekoration, den Aufriss der Südwand und den Aufriss der Nordwand mit sehr detailliert gezeichneter Dekoration in Bereich der Fenster. Enthalten ist auch das Profil des Fenstersturzes in der Innenwand und ein detailliert gezeichnetes ovales Fenster an der Rückwand des Presbyteriums. Die genaue Einhaltung des Plans legt die Vermutung nahe, dass Stenggs Werkstatt an der Ausführung beteiligt war. Diese weicht nur beim ovalen Fenster an der Ostwand geringfügig vom Plan ab. Das Fenster war nämlich fast ohne Dekoration geplant, in der Tat aber verfügt es über eine Dekoration, wie sie für größere Fenster an der Nord- und Südwand vorgesehen war. Im Gegensatz zu diesem ovalen Fenster wurde bei den größeren Fenstern während der Ausführung auf die Dekoration unterhalb des unteren Rahmens verzichtet. Die Innendekoration wurde etwas bescheidener als vorgesehen ausgeführt, beispielsweise fehlen die glockenförmige Dekoration an den Pilastern und die Dekoration zwischen dem Fensterrahmen und Fenstersturz.

Das reiche Dekor der Fensterportale (Pflanzenornamentik auf beiden Seiten, die in einer Glöck-

blieben in der Kirche bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. MLINARIČ, J.: Župnije na slovenskem Štajerskem v okviru salzburške nadškofije v vizitacijskih zapiskih arhidiakonata med Dravo in Muro 1656-1661, 1760-1764 in 1773-1774. In: *Acta ecclesiastica Sloveniae* 9. Ljubljana 1987, S. 98, 287. Mehr über den Marienaltar siehe VIDMAR 2010 (wie Anm. 40).

⁵⁰ Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor, Gospoščina Jareninski dvor 1605-1871, 1911007/8, škatla 14, ovoj 109. Zu Zeiten von Orožen hatte die Kirche den Altar des hl. Jakobus, hl. Donatus, hl. Sebastian und Rochus und den Rosenkranzaltar im Schiff. OROŽEN 1875 (wie Anm. 42), S. 155.

⁵¹ Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor, Gospoščina Jareninski dvor 1605-

1871, 1911007/8, škatla 14, ovoj 109.

⁵² MLINARIČ 1987 (wie Anm. 49), S. 98. Dass der Kaplan und die Wohltäter zwischen den Jahren 1739 und 1740 das dunkle Presbyterium durch ein neues, geräumigeres und helleres ersetzen, ist auch in dieser Visitation erwähnt. Siehe auch CURK 1995 (wie Anm. 41), S. 19.

⁵³ MLINARIČ 1987 (wie Anm. 49), S. 98.

⁵⁴ OROŽEN 1875 (wie Anm. 42), S. 156.

⁵⁵ Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor, Gospoščina Jareninski dvor 1605-1871, 1911007/8, škatla 14, ovoj 109.

12. Jakobski dol v Slovenskib goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln, Pfarrkirche des bl. Jakob, Innenansicht, Detail



leingirlande mündet), der Sturze und Kartuschen unterhalb der Fensterrahmen sind in den dreißiger und vierziger Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts gerade für Johann Georg Stengg charakteristisch, sowohl bei profanen als auch bei sakralen Gebäuden. Reich verziert sind die Fenster der Hauptfassade sowohl bei der Grazer Kirche der Barmherzigen Brüder als auch bei der Kirche in Rein. Reiches Dekor im Fensterbereich weisen sowohl die Fassaden der ihm zugeschriebenen Schlösser (Gösting, Schielleiten), als auch alle ihm zugeschriebenen Stadtpalais und Häuser in Graz auf. Die Dekoration der Fenster an den Außenwänden der Kirche in Jakobski dol v Slovenskib goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln ist mit der Stenggschen Dekoration an der Fassade der Kirche der Barmherzigen Brüder in Graz und der Fassade der Klosterkirche in Rein vergleichbar, die Fensterstürze an der Innenwand der Kirche in Jakobski dol v Slovenskib goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Bücheln, die sich weiter über das Gewölbe schwingen, erinnern ebenso an die Dekoration des Gewölbes der Kirche der Barmherzigen Brüder in Graz. Kein anderer, mir bekannter Autor gestaltete zu jener Zeit die Dekoration auf diese Weise. Josef

Hoffer verwendete in seinen profanen Werken solche Abschlüsse oberhalb der Fenster, allerdings immer im Außenbereich.⁵⁶ Die Laubwerkdekoration, die in Form einer Glöckleingirlande beidseitig entlang des Fensterrahmens verläuft, ist bei der Dekoration der Fenster am Stadtpalais Sackstrasse 14 in Graz (Kellersperg'sches Stadthaus) anzutreffen, das überzeugend Stengg zugeschrieben wird und zwischen den Jahren 1728 und 1734 entstand,⁵⁷ sowie bei der Dekoration der Fenster am Stadtpalais Sackstrasse 15 in Graz (Kleines Palais Attems), bei dem es sich ebenso um ein Stengg zugeschriebenes Werk von ca. 1720 handelt. Die Dekoration der Kirche in St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln/Jakobski dol ist im Außenbereich sehr hochwertig und gemäß dem Plan ausgeführt, wobei eine reichere Dekoration auch an dem östlichen Fenster hinzugefügt wurde. Nur die troddelförmige Dekoration unterhalb der Fenster fehlt. Im Innenraum scheint es, als sei die Dekoration später von den lokalen Meistern ausgeführt worden. An allen Pilastern und Fensterrahmen fehlen die glockenförmige Dekoration sowie die Dekoration zwischen den Fenstern und Stürzen, der Pilaster beim Hauptaltar verfügt aber kein Kapitell. Hinzugefügt

⁵⁶ KEMPERL 2007 (wie Anm. 39), S. 167, 171-172.

⁵⁷ RUST 2009 (wie Anm. 1), S. 304-305.

wurden hingegen zwei stuckierte Rahmen oberhalb des Übergangs in der Kapelle. Aus diesem Grund ist der mittlere Rahmen oberhalb des Fensters nicht lanzenförmig, sondern gerade.

Die Dekoration in Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln ist zwar flacher, als an den erwähnten Stenggschen profanen Gebäuden in Graz, aber raffinierter ausgeführt, denn sie ist mehrschichtiger. Vom Schlussstein bis zum seitlichen Dekor verfügt sie sogar über vier Schichten. Diese Mehrschichtigkeit ist beispielsweise auch am Hauptportal der Kalvarienkirche in Heiligenkreuz am Waasen anzutreffen, bei dem es sich um ein dokumentiertes Werk von Johann Georg Stengg handelt, das um das Jahr 1750 entstand.⁵⁸ Hier ist der Stock ziemlich massiv und darunter befindet sich eine dünne Schicht des Rahmens, der oben bis zum elliptisch gebogenen, zusätzlich betonten Sturz verlängert ist. Auf dieselbe Weise sind auch der Fensterrahmen und der darüber liegende Fenstersturz in der Kirche des Hl. Jakobus in Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln verbunden. Mehrschichtig ist auch die komplette Dekoration der Hauptfassade der Klosterkirche in Rein, bei der es sich ebenso um ein Werk von Stengg handelt. Das Hauptgesims der Kirche in Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln hat die gleiche Profilierung wie die Fassade der Kirche der Barmherzigen Brüder in Graz, bevor diese in den Kirchturm übergeht. Sandra Rust stellte fest, dass für Johann Georg Stengg typische und an vielen Gebäuden nahezu identisch ausgeführte Gebälkprofile charakteristisch sind. Ihrer Meinung nach ist dieser Umstand auf die von seinen Mitarbeitern verwendeten Schablonen zurückzuführen.⁵⁹ Solche Kapitelle mit Voluten, wie sie bei der Bogendekoration in Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln vorkommen, sind an den Innenwänden der Grazer Barmherzigkeitskirche und ebenso seitlich am Kirchturm der Barmherzigenkirche zu finden. Hier kommt auch das Motiv der Palmette vor, das sich am Kapi-

tell der Presbyteriumswand der Kirche in Jakobski dol v Slovenskih goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln befindet. Die troddelförmige Ornamentik unterhalb des Fensterrahmens, die für die großen Fenster nur geplant und bei dem querovalen Fenster auch ausgeführt wurde, ist an der Chorbrüstung der Kirche der Barmherzigen Brüder zu finden. Und die seitliche Dekoration mit Glöckchen ähnelt sehr derjenigen an den Pilastern der Fassade des Schlosses Schielleiten.

Offensichtlich gab der Kaplan Andreas Schmütz die Planung für die Vergrößerung des Presbyteriums in Graz in Auftrag und von dort kamen auch die Mauerer. Die stilistische Analyse zeigt, dass es sich um den Grazer Meister Johann Georg Stengg handelt, daher sind diese Pläne eigentlich die einzigen bisher bekannten bzw. erhaltenen Pläne dieses Meisters.

Bukovje/Pukštajn pri Dravogradu/Buchenstein bei Unter-Drauburg, ehemalige Schlosskapelle des Hl. Vid

Die Kapelle wurde in die kunsthistorische Literatur von Jože Curk eingeführt, als er sie im Jahr 1986 dem Architekten Janez N. Fuchs aus Maribor/Marburg an der Drau zuschrieb.⁶⁰ Curk nahm in diesem Verzeichnis der Werke von Fuchs sehr unterschiedliche Denkmäler auf, daher habe ich das Verzeichnis mehrfach revidiert.⁶¹ Aus dem Verzeichnis habe ich auch die Kapelle in Bukovje/Buchenstein/Pukštajn entnommen, allerdings beschäftigte ich mich mit der Urheberschaft nicht.⁶²

Die Kapelle liegt abgelegen, westlich vom Schloss. Mit dem Presbyterium ist sie in Richtung Süden ausgerichtet, so dass die Hauptfassade in Richtung des Weges, der zum Schloss führt, zeigt. Die Kapelle besteht, von Norden gesehen, aus einem rechteckigen Eingangsbereich, einem fast rechteckigen Schiff, an welches an beiden Seiten symmetrische halbrunde Kapellen anschließen, gefolgt von einem schmaleren,

⁵⁸ RUST 2009 (wie Anm. 1), S. 142-146.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, S. 204.

⁶⁰ CURK, J.: Mariborski gradbeniki v času baroka in klasicizma. In: Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje, 57, 1986, S. 308-309.

⁶¹ KEMPERL, M.: Fuchs (Fux), Johann Nepomuk. In: *Saur Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker* 46. München – Leipzig 2005, S. 56-57. KEMPERL 2007 (wie Anm. 39), S. 52-56.

⁶² KEMPERL 2007 (wie Anm. 39), S. 56, 76.



13. Bukovje pri Dravogradu/Buchenstein bei Unter-Drauburg, ehemalige Schlosskapelle, Außenansicht

ziemlich langen Presbyterium mit einem elliptischen Abschluss. An dieses ist im Osten eine Sakristei und an der Westseite eine größere halbrunde Kapelle angebaut. Dieser ungewöhnliche Grundriss und die Form dieser größeren Kapelle auf der Nordseite, wo die Wand an die kleinere Kapelle des Schiffes angepasst ist, lassen den Gedanken aufkommen, dass diese größere Kapelle später angebaut wurde. Die Fassade ist mit Lisenen gebildeter Bänderung versehen, die einen einfach profilierten Balken trägt, über dem sich ein spätbarocker Giebel erhebt. Im Giebel befinden sich eine volutenförmige Stuckdekorations und Kartusche. Jeweils eine Lisene befindet sich auch an den Seitenpartien der Fassade. Das Hauptportal schließt elliptisch ab, darüber befindet sich ein queroval geöhrtes Oculus. Der Kirchturm (Dachreiter) ist mit einer Eckbänderung eingefasst und mit einer Zwiebelhaube bedacht. Die Fensteröffnungen der Kapelle sind rechteckig und die Fenster

im Kirchturm sind oben halbrund abgeschlossen. Der Eingang in die Sakristei ist in gleicher Weise ausgeführt wie der Eingang in die Kapelle. Das Schiff ist mit einem Kreuztonnengewölbe ausgestattet. Vom Presbyterium ist es durch ein geschmiedetes Geländer und einen Gurtbogen getrennt, auf dem zwei Wappen und der Heilige Geist in Gestalt einer Taube abgebildet sind. Das Presbyterium ist mit einem Tonnengewölbe ausgestattet. Das Gebälk ist wenig ausgeprägt. Im Boden des Schiffes befindet sich ein entweihetes Grab und in die Wände der Kapellen sind Grabmale der Familienmitglieder Kometer aus dem 19. und der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts eingemauert.

Über die Architekturgeschichte der Kapelle sind keine Daten verfügbar, nur in der Kartusche über dem Haupteingang stand einst die Jahreszahl 1739. Es handelt sich um die Kapelle des Schlosses Bukovje/Buchenstein/Pukštajn. Das Schloss sollte

von den Khößlers aufgebaut worden sein, nachdem das alte Schloss im Jahr 1706 bereits das zweite Mal niederbrannte. Sie waren Eigentümer bis zum Jahr 1745, danach folgte Jabornegg als Besitzer bis zum Jahr 1789. Die Eigentümer zwischen den Jahren 1789 und 1794 waren Josef von Mossmüller und bis zum Jahr 1817 Dizma Popp. Seitdem und bis zum Jahr 1926 war das Schloss im Besitz der Barone Kometer, die das Gebäude im Jahr 1870 gründlich umbauten. Im Jahr 1932 wurde das Gebäude mit samt der wertvollen Sammlung von Kunstwerken und Antiquitäten auf einer Auktion verkauft. Heute befindet sich im Gebäude der Sitz der Öffentlichen Anstalt *Dravit Dravograd*, einst war dort Sitz der Grundherrschaft und Bezirkshauptmannschaft.⁶³ Im Hinblick auf die nicht mehr erhaltene Jahreszahl in der Kartusche über dem Hauptportal kann gefolgert werden, dass die Kapelle im Jahr 1739 erbaut wurde. Auf den Fotografien aus dem Jahr 1990, die beim Denkmalamt der Republik Slowenien hinterlegt sind, ist noch sichtbar, dass die Kartusche auf der Fassade auch die Jahreszahl 1739 enthielt. Diese Jahreszahl wurde beim Wiederaufbau im Jahr 2005 nicht erneuert oder rekonstruiert, ebensowenig ein Teil der Stuckatur auf der Giebelfassade, somit ist die Dekoration nicht mehr in der ursprünglichen Form erhalten.⁶⁴ Der ungewöhnliche Grundriss und die Form der größeren Kapelle auf der Nordseite, wo sich die Wand an die kleinere Kapelle des Schiffes anpasst, legen den Gedanken nahe, dass diese größere Kapelle nachträglich angebaut wurde.

Curks Zuschreibung des Werks an Janez N. Fuchs⁶⁵ kann schon durch die frühere Entstehung der Kapelle widerlegt werden. Auch die Dekoration und Form des Fensters an der Hauptfassade gehören nicht zum stilistischen Repertoire von Fuchs. Für Fuchs, der schon dem spätbarocken Klassizismus zugeordnet wird, sind zwar ebene Fassaden mit Dachreiter und ebenso elliptisch abgeschlossene

Portale charakteristisch.⁶⁶ Das elliptische, querovale Fenster gehört allerdings auf keinen Fall zu seinem Werk, ebenso nicht die Dekoration mit Voluten und die konkav abgerundeten Fassadengiebel. Am Gebäude sind auch Elemente sichtbar, die für das erste Quartal des 18. Jahrhunderts charakteristisch sind. Dies betrifft die Lisenengliederung, welche auf keinem dokumentierten, Fuchs zugeschriebenen Gebäude vorkommt. Die Kapelle kann mit der Stengg zugeschriebenen Kapelle des Hl. Ulrichs in Graz verglichen werden, die im Jahr 1736 vergrößert wurde. Der Innenraum ist zweijochig und mit einem Kreuzgratgewölbe versehen. Das durch das verkröpfte Gesims vom Hauptgeschoss getrennte Giebelgeschoss wird durch zwei zarte Pilaster auf kleinen Sockeln dreigeteilt. Die beiden Außenseiten werden durch stilisierte Voluten verziert, im Mittelfeld befindet sich ein Rundfenster. Über dem Giebelgeschoss erhebt sich der zweigeschossige Dachreiter mit Zwiebelhaube.⁶⁷

Die Kapellen sind insbesondere durch das Kreuzgratgewölbe im Inneren,⁶⁸ das Konzept der ebenen Fassade mit Dachreiter sowie die stilisierten Voluten im Giebel miteinander verbunden. Die queroval geührten Fenster sind ebenso ein charakteristisches Element in Stenggs Repertoire: das querovale Fenster ist an der Hauptfassade der Barmherzigenkirche zu finden, solche queroval geührten Fenster kommen am Nebengebäude des Schlosses Schielleiten (1717–1731?) und beim Gartenpavillon des Schlosses Gösting vor, solche hochgestellten Fenster und auch ein Mittelrisalit sind auf beiden Seiten der Straßenfassade und Gartenfassade des Schlosses Gösting (1724 – 1728) zu finden. Wie Sandra Rust feststellt, ist für Stengg gerade diese Variation der gestalterischen Lösungen spezifisch.⁶⁹ Die Gliederung im Innenraum ist bescheiden, die Pilasterkapitelle sind wenig ausgeprägt, ebenso wenig ausgeprägt sind die Pilasterkapitelle im Innenraum der Kalvarienbergkirche

⁶³ STOPAR, I.: *Grajske stavbe v vzhodni Sloveniji. Knj. 4, Med Solčavskim in Kobanskim*. Ljubljana 1993, S. 71-72.

⁶⁴ KEMPERL 2007 (wie Anm. 39), S. 56, 76.

⁶⁵ CURK 1986 (wie Anm. 60), S. 309.

⁶⁶ KEMPERL 2007 (wie Anm. 39), S. 52-56.

⁶⁷ *Dehio-Handbuch, Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs. Graz*, Ed.. H. Schweigert. Wien 1979, S. 229. RUST 2009 (wie Anm. 1), S. 343-344.

⁶⁸ Für dieses stellt S. Rust fest, dass das für Stenggs frühe Werke charakteristisch ist und auch an der Kapelle Heilige Stiege in Graz zu finden ist. RUST 2009 (wie Anm. 1), S. 161.

in Heiligenkreuz am Waasen. Die Lisenenbänderung mit angedeuteten Kapitellen ist auch an den längs verlaufenden Fassaden der Kalvarienbergkirche in Heiligenkreuz am Waasen anzutreffen. Wegen der etwas robusteren, nicht so feinen Ausführung, erstellte Stengg vermutlich nur den Plan, erbaut wurde sie aber von lokalen Maurern.

Ergebnisse

Johann Georg Stengg prägte wesentlich die steirische spätbarocke Architektur. Sandra Rust hat im Jahr 2009 sämtliche bis dahin verfügbare Literatur und Archivquellen durchforstet und aufgrund einer stilistischen Analyse sein Werk profaner und sakraler Architektur vervollständigt. Eine planmäßige Erforschung seiner Werke in der slowenischen Steiermark ist allerdings noch nicht erfolgt. Somit stellt der vorliegende Artikel eine Erweiterung von Stenggs Werken um drei sakrale Gebäude in der slowenischen

Steiermark bzw. im slowenischen Kärnten dar, die in die Zeit vom Jahr 1723 bis zum Jahr 1740 reichen. Es handelt sich um die Wallfahrtskirche der Hl. Agnes am Berg Golika oberhalb von Ober-Rötschach bei Gonobitz/Zreče (1723), das Presbyterium der Kirche des Hl. Jakobus in St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln/Jakobski dol in Slovenske gorice (1739, 1740) und die Schlosskapelle des Schlosses Buchenstein/Pukštajn/Bukovje bei Unter-Drauburg/Dravograd (1739). Die stilkritische Analyse ergab nämlich große Ähnlichkeiten mit seinen Werken, sowohl im Sinne der Dekoration als auch im Sinne der Gewölbesysteme sowie der Profilierung der Hauptgesimse und der Gebälke. Der Plan für den Bau des neuen Presbyteriums der Kirche des Hl. Jakob in St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln/Jakobski dol ist noch erhalten und mittelbar mit einer Archivquelle datiert. Demzufolge handelt es sich um den bisher ersten bekannten bzw. erhaltenen Plan dieses wichtigen spätbarocken steirischen Architekten.

Johann Georg Stengg a sakrálné diela v slovinskom Štajersku

Resumé

Johann Georg Stengg sa významne podieľal na formovaní neskorobarokovej architektúry Štajerska. V roku 2009 prebádala Sandra Rust dostupnú literatúru a archívne pramene a na základe slohovej analýzy doplnila jeho dielo v oblasti profánnej a sakrálnej architektúry. Systematický výskum Stenggových diel v slovinskom Štajersku sa však doposiaľ neuskutočnil. Predložená štúdia tak predstavuje rozšírenie súboru jeho diel o tri sakrálné objekty z rokov 1723 až 1740 v slovinskom Štajersku resp. v slovinskom Korutánsku. Jedná sa o pútnický Kostol sv. Agnesy na kopci Golika nad mestom Zreče/Ober-Rötschach bei Gonobitz/ z roku 1723, presbyterium Kostola

sv. Jakuba /Jakobski dol v Slovenských goricah/St. Jakob in Windisch Büheln/ z rokov 1739 – 1740 a zámockú kaplnku zámku Bukovje/Pukštajn pri Dravogradu/Buchenstein bei Unter-Drauburg/ z roku 1739. Kritická analýza slohu ukázala totiž veľkú podobnosť so Stenggovými dielami, či už v duchu výzdoby a v klenbových systémoch, ako aj v profilácii hlavných ríms a trámov. Plán pre stavbu nového presbytéria Kostola sv. Jakuba v Jakobskom dole ostal zachovaný a je nepriamo datovaný archívnym prameňom. Tým sa jedná o doposiaľ prvý známy resp. zachovaný plán tohto významného neskorobarokového štajerského architekta.

⁶⁹ RUST 2009 (wie Anm. 1), S. 104.

Surrealist's Dreams and Classical Tradition

Jan BAŽANT

Surrealism, n. Psychic automatism in its pure state, by which one proposes to express ... the actual functioning of thought. Dictated by thought, in the absence of any control exercised by reason, exempt from any aesthetic or moral concern ... Surrealism is based on the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of previously neglected associations, in the omnipotence of dream, in the disinterested play of thought. It tends to ruin once and for all other psychic mechanisms and to substitute itself for them in solving all the principal problems of life.

André Breton, Manifesto of Surrealism, 1924¹

Surrealist painters distanced themselves ostentatiously from rationality, education, and the Western classical tradition. They mocked its aesthetics and formal repertoire, but their paintings were embedded in a conceptual framework inherited from ancient Greece and Rome and abounded in classical allusions. It is significant that Sigmund Freud, whose teachings inspired surrealists enormously, was a passionate collector of classical antiquities. His collection, as Louise A. Hitchcock stressed, was “no doubt, also a symbol of his achievement, just as in the estrangement he felt when visiting the Acropolis, for Freud, these were symbols of a place that had seemed unattainable in the poverty of his youth. For many, the study of classics continues to be a symbol of status and achievement.”² Freud was, however,

impressed not only by the ancient Greek and Roman art he collected, but also by the methodology of the pertinent scientific discipline, classical archaeology.

There was an inner affinity between psychoanalysis and classical archaeology. It stemmed from the fact that both disciplines were based on firm belief in the presence of the past in the present. In Freud's time, classical archaeologists still believed that the ancient Greek and Roman past dictated the shape of the world's future. Freud founded psychoanalysis by defining man as a being that continuously reacts to the events of his or her personal history. At the same time, art historian Aby Warburg founded a new discipline, the study of the classical tradition that analyses those elements of European culture that derive from the ancient world.³ It must not be

¹ Quoted after: *The Sources of Surrealism. Art in Context*. Ed. N. MATHESON. Aldershot 2006, p. 302 (translation R. Seaver, H. R. Lane).

² HITCHCOCK, L. A.: *Theory for Classics. A Student's Guide*. Oxford 2008, p. 9.

³ There is no comprehensive treatment of Freud and Warburg, cf. HARDING, K.: Warburgs 'Revenants' – psycho-ikono-graphisch gezähmt. In: *Kritische Berichte* 18, 1990, pp. 27-37; HARDING, K.: *Freuds Leonardo. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit*

psychoanalytischen Theorien der Gegenwart. München 1998; *Wie sich Gefühle Ausdruck verschaffen – Emotionen in Nabsicht*. Eds. K. HARDING - A. KRAUSE-WAHL. Taunusstein 2008; ZUMBUSCH, C.: „Gesteigerte Gesten.“ Pathos und Pathologie bei Freud und Warburg. In: *Übung und Affekt: Aspekte des Körpergedächtnisses*. Eds. B. BANASCH – G. BUTZER. Berlin 2007, pp. 269-289; PICHLER, W. et al.: Metamorphosen des Flussgottes und der Nymphe: Aby Warburgs Denk-Haltungen und die Psychoanalyse. In: *Die Couch. Vom Denken im Liegen*. Ed. L. MARINELLI. München 2006, pp. 161-186.

forgotten that classical archaeology had come into flower and served as a model for other humanistic disciplines at that time. According to Freud, the unconscious dominates people's feelings and behaviour in a similar way as the heritage of Greco-Roman civilization continues to dominate their worldview. In both cases, Freud argued, the past left enough traces to bring it out of oblivion. He explicitly used the archaeology of the city of Rome as a metaphor for psychic preservation.

In his "Civilization and its Discontents" of 1930 Freud asked, what traces of its history "a visitor to Rome may still find today if he goes equipped with the most complete historical and topographical knowledge ... Now let us make the fantastic supposition that Rome were not a human dwelling-place, but a mental entity with just as long and varied a past history: that is, in which nothing once constructed had perished, and all the earlier stages of development had survived alongside the latest ... where the Palazzo Caffarelli stands there would also be, without this being removed, the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, not merely in its latest form, moreover, as the Romans of the Caesars saw it, but also in its earliest shape, when it still wore an Etruscan design and was adorned with terra-cotta antefixa. Where the Coliseum stands now, we could at the same time admire Nero's Golden House; on the Piazza of the Pantheon we should find out not only the Pantheon of today as bequeathed to us by Hadrian, but on the same site also Agrippa's original edifice; indeed, the same ground would support the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva and the old temple over which it was built. And the observer would need merely to shift the focus of his eyes, perhaps, or change his position, in order to call up a view of either the one or the other."⁴

In classical archaeology excavations revived the past buried in the soil, in psychoanalysis and surrealism dreams were the "royal road" to the unconscious buried in each of us [Fig. 1].⁵ The leading Czech



1. Antonín Pelc, *There is no Joy without Freud!* (At the exhibition of Štyrský and Toyen), ink on paper, 1936, Národní galerie, Praha.

Surrealist, Jindřich Štyrský (1899–1942), systematically recorded his dreams and accompanied these texts with their visual representations. He analysed unconscious fantasies encoded in his dreams and thus unearthed his own history not only with the rigour of a classical archaeologist, but also with his bias. In this article, we shall try to demonstrate that he fused his own history with that of European culture in general and the classical tradition in particular in his last creations.

In 1941, year before his death, Štyrský prepared 33 of his illustrated dreams for publication, but only a fragment of it appeared as a private print at that time. It was only in 1970 that František Šmejkal edited and published Štyrský's opus, which is unique in

⁴ FREUD, S.: *Civilization and its Discontents* (trans. by James Strachey). New York 1962, p. 17.

⁵ Photo: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/calypsospots/sets/72157614168266938> (accessed 10th Nov 2014). In the drawing two art lovers study paintings of Štyrský and Toyen

with copies of the Czech translation of Freud's "Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis." Cf. *V okovech smíchu: karikatura a české umění 1900-1950*. Ed. O. CHROBÁK. Praha 2006, p. 71; BYDŽOVSKÁ, L. – SRP, K.: *Jindřich Štyrský*. Praha 2007, fig. 676 on p. 523 (there is a photograph of Štyrský reading a copy of this very book: p. 240).



2. Jindřich Štyrský, *Portrait of My Sister Marie*, charcoal on paper, 1941, private collection in Paris.

world literature and surrealist art.⁶ At the head of his book Štyrský placed the drawing entitled “Portrait of My Sister Marie” with a commentary that served as an introduction to the entire book [Fig. 2].⁷ In it, he wrote: “As a child I caught a glimpse of a magazine’s colour supplement displaying the image of a wom-

an’s head, exquisite with golden hair, whose pale hue will always suggest azure to me. Her lips, red from the lipstick, looked like a moist abyss, though silent, parted, and mute. Eyes of violet – in them pride, sin, and weakness – blazed in a pallid face. The head was perverse, and yet full of compassion, damned, yet full of kindness. It was the head of Medusa in a pool of blood. Blood streamed from its neck, and in its hair a cluster of vipers, erect, ready to penetrate the woman through her mouth, nose, and ears. As I paid no attention to who had painted the picture, the artist’s name has been effaced from my memory. But the horror depicted here has never left me. A ghastly horror, an alluring horror. The head of Medusa. It keeps returning in my dreams. I tried to place this head on those closest to me at that time: my mother and sister. The head was perfect fit on my sister. So I was madly in love with her. In the depth of my memories of my sister lies the memory of her death ... When remembering today, the woman appears to me like a foal sleeping in an alpine wilderness. She certainly knew the many ways of love. In this way I instinctively created my HALLUCINATIONS, my OBJECT-PHANTOM, on which I am fixated and to whom I dedicate this work.”⁸ Štyrský’s interest in Medusa is in no way surprising, “the male surrealists saw women as linked to death, as Medusa figures,” stressed Katherine Conley.⁹

Marie is shown as a girl with big breasts and slim waist emphasizing her femininity, which corresponds to Štyrský’s commentary (*she knew certainly the many ways of love*). Marie was his stepsister who died of heart failure when she was twenty-one, on May 31, 1905. Jindřich was only six years old, but he tells us that he created with the deceased stepsister very powerful erotic bond that accompanied him all his life.¹⁰ In the drawing, Marie has gently tilted head

⁶ BYDŽOVSKÁ – SRP 2007 (see in note 5), pp. 16-17, 425-450.

⁷ Photo: ŠTYRSKÝ 1970 (see in note 7), p. 8.

⁸ ŠTYRSKÝ, J.: *Sny*. Ed. F. ŠMEJKAL. Praha 1970, p. 9 (second edition: Praha 2003 with notes of J. Šmejkalová on pp. 148-149). English translation by J. Slast (ŠTYRSKÝ, J.: *Dreamverse*. Praha, forthcoming, cf. <http://www.twistedspoon.com/dreamverse.html> (accessed 10th Nov 2014).

⁹ CONLEY, K.: *Automatic Woman: The Representation of Woman in Surrealism*. Lincoln NE 1996, p. 110.

¹⁰ „I remember another incident from my childhood. It happened around the time I was expelled from Gymnasium. I was scorned by all and only my sister would have anything to do with me. I would secretly go to her room at night. Lying in each other’s arms, legs intertwined, by means of long periods of absolute bodily quiescence we dreamed up that state of exhaustion which overtakes all who move along the razor’s edge of shame. One night we heard quiet footsteps approaching. My

with big staring eyes; nose and mouth are completely missing. Bydžovská and Srp wrote: „he remembered above all his sister's eyes. The eyes remained with Štyrský. If the body had gone for good, the eyes still watched the world around them.”¹¹ Eyes were, however, the most important and most terrifying aspect of Medusa, to whom Štyrský assimilated his stepsister. Medusa transformed all life into dead stone by her look. However, in Štyrský's drawing, Marie-Medusa evidently turned her destructive power onto herself.

The surface of the body and the veil of Marie are cracked as if it was an old plaster wall. As Bydžovská and Srp stressed, in Štyrský's work there is an analogous text. “In the middle of that cemetery setting,” wrote Štyrský, “I would like to draw your portrait, the face of my sea girlfriend, her image engraved on a crumbling wall, soaked by the rain, saturated with water, cracked by the wind and lad waste by time.”¹² However, on the “Portrait of my Sister Marie” we do not find the cracks in the background, Štyrský did not paint a dilapidated picture but decayed depiction of his sister. In Štyrský's text “Emilie comes to me in a dream” written in 1933 he expressed the same idea as follows: “Emilie is in shreds, the fragments of her image have been dispersed by the wind to a place unknown to you, and therefore you cannot now choose her as the instrument of your tranquillity … Emilie's beauty was not created to fade, but to decay.”¹³

In depictions of Medusa, snakes, into which Athena transformed her hair according to ancient myth, always dominate. In his Pharsalia, the ancient Roman poet Lucan accents Medusa's feminine beauty by describing in detail that she treated the snakes on her head as if they were hair. “It pleased Medusa,”

sister motioned me to hide behind the couch. Father entered the room, carefully closing the door behind him, and without saying a word lay down with my sister. I finally had a chance to witness how one makes love” (ŠTYRSKÝ, J.: *Emilie comes to me in a dream*. In: NEZVAL, V. – ŠTYRSKÝ, J.: *Edition 69*. Trans. by J. Slast. Praha 2004, pp. 81-82). It was not, however, authentic memory, because in the year when Štyrský's sister died, he just commenced his elementary education and thus cannot be “expelled from Gymnasium.”

¹¹ BYDŽOVSKÁ – SRP 2007 (see in note 5), p. 17.

¹² Cf. ŠTYRSKÝ, J.: *Poesie*. Praha 1946, p. 37. English translation



3. Maxmilian Pirner, *Medusa*, pastel on paper, 1891, National Gallery, Prague inv. no. O-5839.

wrote Lucan, “when snakes dangled close against her neck; in the way that woman dress their hair, the vipers hang loose over her back but rear erect over her brow in front; and their poison wells out when the tresses are combed.”¹⁴ In Czech art, we find an allusion to the toilet of Medusa in the pastel of Maxmilian Pirner, which depicts Medusa washing lovingly her snake hair with a mischievous expression on her face [Fig. 3].¹⁵ On Štyrský's drawing, Marie has on her head and around it something large and indistinct, which we sense rather than see. It resembles a coiled tube with horizontal stripes evoking snakes, but it also resembles a Sunday best hat of the time when Marie died. We do not know whether Štyrský knew Lucan.¹⁶ It is, however, not an important question,

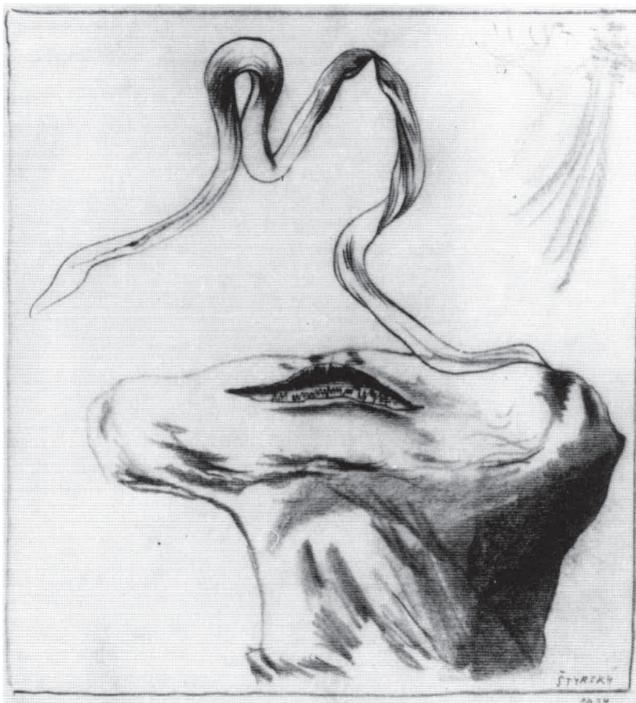
quoted after BYDŽOVSKÁ – SRP 2007 (see in note 5), p. 17.

¹³ ŠTYRSKÝ 2004 (see in note 10), pp. 81-82.

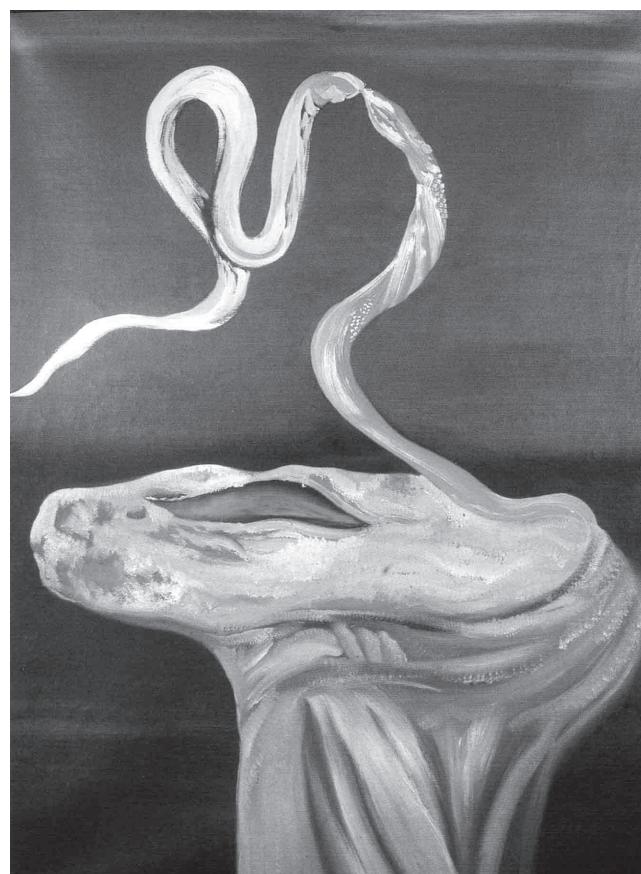
¹⁴ Lucan 9, 633-635 (translation by J. D. Duff).

¹⁵ Photo: <http://www.tfsimon.com/Maximilian-Pirner.html> (accessed 10th Nov 2014).

¹⁶ Štyrský studied, with apparent lack of concern, at the Teacher Training School in Hradec Králové (1914-1917) and the Academy of arts in Prague (1920-1922). During his lifetime, only German or French translations of Lucan's work were accessible.



4. Jindřich Štyrský, *Two Little Snakes*, pencil on paper, 1934, private collection in Paris.



5. Jindřich Štyrský, *Man-cuttlefish*, oil on canvas, 1934, private collection in Paris.

because Lucan's description of Medusa was part and parcel of European culture from 16th century on. In the Middle Ages, pictures inspired by the Bible became the "Bible of illiterates." In the same way, pictures inspired by the literary tradition inherited from ancient Greece and Rome transmitted this tradition independently of the literary tradition in subsequent centuries.

The dreams that Štyrský placed at the beginning of his eponymous book are closely related to Medusa discussed in the introductory caption. "Medusa's head," Bydžovská and Srp stressed, "became a number of themes, each operating independently, found in Štyrský's work. In addition to severed head and snakes he also used the motif of open mouth, where it was unclear if he depicted the final breath or if the monster was trying to devour all around it."¹⁷ There are three dreams about snakes described and illustrated in Štyrský's "Dreams" and in these

illustrations that which we see outlined dimly on the head of Marie receive a concrete form. In the introductory text to dreams about snakes, Štyrský writes that in the years 1925-1930, he had repeatedly had a dream about a snake: he often woke up in horror because it coiled around his neck and strangled him. The touch of snake was not disgusting; on the contrary, it aroused in him feelings of pleasure.¹⁸ In these dreams, we find the theme of horror associated with pleasure that Štyrský traced back to his "childhood memory."

In 1934, two small snakes, one green and one red, appeared in Štyrský's dreams. They danced in front of him, and sometimes even kissed each other.¹⁹ The

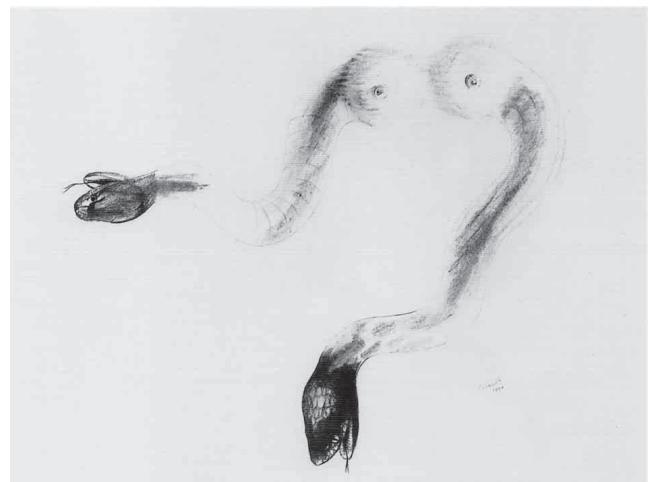
¹⁷ BYDŽOVSKÁ – SRP 2007 (see in note 5), p. 16.

¹⁸ ŠTYRSKÝ 1970 (see in note 7), p. 10.

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 14.

drawing “Two Little Snakes” is a representation of the human head that is cut in such a way that only the lower part remained with stressed lips [Fig. 4].²⁰ From the torso of the head grows a small snake that is kissing a snake that crawled on him from above. The half head with expressive lips out of which the snake emerges is clearly linked with the picture of Medusa’s severed head, which Štyrský described at the beginning of his book. We may note that according to Lucan, Medusa’s terrible transformation started at the part, which plays a prominent role in Štyrský’s drawing, namely the throat. “From her throat (faucibus),” wrote Lucan, “were born the snakes that poured forth shrill hissing with their forked tongues.”²¹ In the same year, 1934, Štyrský painted the “Man-Cuttlefish” in which the throat is even more prominent [Fig. 5].²² In this painting, he also highlighted the red colour of the lips, which played an important role in his description of the painting of Medusa (*Her lips, red from lipstick, looked like a moist abyss, though silent, parted, and mute*). In the painting “Man-Cuttlefish” the little snakes are differentiated by colour, in the same way as the snakes that Štyrský saw in his dreams. The one growing up out of the torso of the head is red, while that which is above, is partly red and partly pale green. In his records of dreams Štyrský pored over details with a scientist’s diligence and, as we shall see below, the colour differentiation of snakes might be crucial.

Štyrský’s allusions to the painting of Medusa underwent another transformation in 1940, when in his dream snakes reappeared, after a gap of a decade. In the drawings inspired by these dreams we find two snakes growing out of a woman’s breasts, a woman who is a snake from the waist, or other variations on the theme of the woman-snake [Fig. 6].²³ These drawings were created one year before the emergence of the “Portrait of my sister Marie,” and therefore it is not without significance that in the drawing “The dream of snakes II” a snake is shown with horizontal stripes, which can also be found on the serpentine formation at the head of Marie-Medusa. For Štyrský,



6. Jindřich Štyrský, *Dream of snakes II*, pencil on paper, 1940, private collection in Paris.

it was evidently vital that in the last sixteen years of his life, from 1925 to 1941, his “childhood memory” of the painting of Medusa again and again mingled with the memory of his stepsister. She became his private emblem of womanhood - lover, mother, and the principle of life and art. That is why he began his book on dreams by the description of the image of Medusa and recollections of his stepsister’s death.

Štyrský remembrance, which according to his words influenced him extremely, concerned the painting of Medusa by Rubens.²⁴ Štyrský’s description fits this painting very well. There are countless depictions of Medusa’s severed head, but only on that painted by Rubens do we find a combination of Medusa’s golden hair, blue eyes, open mouth and blood flowing from her neck. “It seems,” wrote Bydžovská and Srp, “he first recalled that experience ... in May 1941 when he was writing the introduction for his book Dreams.”²⁵ In the “Two Little Snakes” and the “Man-cuttlefish” created in 1934, Štyrský depicted, however, two kissing snakes, with heads turned in opposite directions. We find the same pair of snakes in Rubens’ painting, which means that the

²⁰ Photo: ibidem, p. 14.

²¹ Lucan 9, 631-632.

²² Photo: ibidem, p. 15.

²³ Photo: ŠTYRSKÝ 1970 (see in note 7), p. 18.

²⁴ BYDŽOVSKÁ – SRP 2007 (see in note 5), p. 16.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 16.



7. Petr Paul Rubens and Frans Snyders, *Medusa* (detail), oil painting on canvas, 1617-1618, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

year 1934 is the date before which Štyrský saw the Baroque painting of Medusa. We shall return to this pair of kissing snakes at the end of this paper.

Scholars agree that Rubens' painting fits the relevant text in Lucan's 1st century AD epos ‘*Pharsalia*,’ from which we already quoted.²⁶ It is in no way surprising, because it was compulsory reading in schools in Rubens's time. Lucan asks: “How looked the Gorgon then, when her head was severed by the stroke of the curving blade? What fell poison must I suppose was breathed forth by her mouth, and how deadly the discharge from her eyes!”²⁷ Rubens' painting answers Lucan's question and shows how horrified Medusa was when she realized that she would die in the next moment. Lucan inserted the story of Medusa into his narration of the operations of Cato's army in Libya, where it was decimated by

all kinds of snakes and insects. “Why the clime of Libya” writes Lucan, “abounds in such plagues and teems with death, or what bane mysterious Nature has mingled with her soil – this no study and pains of ours avail to discover; but a world-wide legend has taken the place of the true cause and deceived mankind. In the farthest parts of Libya, where the hot earth admits the Ocean heated by the sun when he sets, lay untilled the broad realm of Medusa.”²⁸

Lucan describes at length the appearance and terrible symptoms of venomous bites of Libyan snakes and insects.²⁹ In Rubens' painting, Medusa's head is lying on the bare yellow rock covered by various species of snakes and other poisonous animals - newts, spiders, and scorpions. Among them, we see also a mythical two-headed snake, which was mentioned in “*Pharsalia*” and in “*Natural history*” of ancient Roman writer Pliny [Fig. 7].³⁰ All these animals were painted by Rubens' collaborator Frans Snyders. Rubens' and Snyders' picture of Medusa illustrates not only the end of the monster, but also the beginning of a greater and far more lasting evil, namely the creation of the viper and other venomous creatures. When we take a closer look at the painting, we see how snakes are being born from the blood flowing from Medusa's severed neck, and the inspiration came again from Lucan.

When Perseus killed Medusa and flew home over the Libyan Desert, the blood dripped from the head of Medusa, which he carried with him. Out of these drops of blood venomous snakes were born. “Though that land is barren,” writes Lucanus, “and those fields give increase to no good seed, yet they drank in poison from the gore of the dripping Medusa head – drank in from that savage blood a ghastly dew, which was made more potent by the heat and burnt into the crumbling sand. In this land the blood, when it first stirred a head above the sand, sent up asp whose swollen neck puts men to sleep; in no snake is more poison condensed; for more

²⁶ Cf. PROCHASKA, W. – SCHÜTZ, K. et al.: *Peter Paul Rubens*. Wien 1977; PIETERS, J.: *Speaking with the Dead*. Edinburgh 2005, pp. 54-84.

²⁷ Lucan 9, 678-681.

²⁸ Lucan 9, 622-627.

²⁹ Lucan 9, 708-889.

³⁰ „Amphisbaena“: Lucan 9, 719; Plin. nat. 38.7.85. Photo: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rubens_Medusa.jpeg (accessed 10th Nov 2014).

blood and a drop of clotted venom fell down here.”³¹ We may read the same story in the third century BC Greek epic of Apollonius Rhodius³² and Ovid’s “Metamorphoses.”³³ Precisely this event, the mythical birth of Libyan snakes, is illustrated in Rubens’ and Snyders’ painting. On the yellow barren ground we see drops of Medusa’s blood and newly born snakes coming out of them. The land of Medusa was dead and poisonous.

Rubens’ and Snyders’ Medusa is a dreadful sight and the longer we look, the more it is dreadful. Constantin Huygens was the first to confess that he never forgot this painting. „Among these,” he wrote about works of Rubens in 1629-1630, “the one I have always before my mind’s eye is that which my friend Nic. Sohierus of Amsterdam sometimes displayed from among his magnificent Collection. It is the severed head of Medusa entwined with snakes which arise from her hair. In that head of a beautiful woman he has produced an appearance still pleasing – even in her recent death – and at the same time terrible due to the disgusting snakes. This is done with such indescribable skill that it delights the viewer who is overwhelmed with sudden terror (indeed, it is customarily concealed with a curtain) by the very richness of the piece, as it is lively and charming.”³⁴

Bydžovská and Srp believed that it was “one of the images that permanently engraved itself on Štyrský’s memory of his early childhood.”³⁵ However, Štyrský could not see a colour reproduction of Rubens’ painting at a time when his stepsister lived as



8. Petr Paul Rubens and Frans Snyders, *Medusa*, workshop copy, oil painting on oak panel, 1617-1618, Moravská galerie, Brno.

stated by him in the introduction to the book on his dreams. The reason is simple - none was published before her death in 1905, and none was available in the decades to come. In Štyrský’s childhood *a magazine’s colour supplement* reproducing an old painting did not exist. The pioneer in this field was the publishing house E. A. Seemann in Leipzig. It was only in 1907 that Seemann began to publish the revolutionary series of picture books entitled “Galleries of Europe” and a year later this publishing house started similarly conceived series of monographs on individual artists.³⁶ In 1923, Seemann published a list of all colour reproductions which this publishing house had produced so far, and Rubens’ and Snyders’ Medusa is not mentioned here.³⁷ The most probable explanation of the discrepancy in Štyrský’s narrative is that he did not see the reproduction, but its original hanging on the wall of the picture gallery.³⁸ He could see the painting either in Vienna or in Brno, where there is a workshop copy [Fig. 8].³⁹

³¹ Lucan 9, 696-703.

³² “When the godlike Perseus … flew over Libya … every drop of dark blood that fell from it to the ground produced a brood of these serpents” (Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1511-1515, translation E. V. Rieu).

³³ „As he hovered over Libya’s sands, the blood-drops from the Gorgon’s Head dripped down. The spattered desert gave them life as snakes, smooth snakes of many kinds, and so that land still swarms with deadly serpents to this day“ (Ov. met. 4, 617-620, translation A. D. Melville).

³⁴ HUYGENS, C.: *Mijn jeugd*. Translated and with commentary by C. L. Heesakkers. Amstredam 1987, pp. 80-81.

³⁵ BYDŽOVSKÁ – SRP 2007 (see in note 5), p. 16.

³⁶ Cf. TORCELLINI, D.: La riproduzione fotografica del colore nelle collane d’arte della prima metà del Novecento. In: Colore e Colorimetria: contributi multidisciplinari. Atti della 5° Conferenza Nazionale del Gruppo del Colore (Palermo, 7-9 Ottobre 2009). Ed. A. RIZZI. Firenze 2009, pp. 151-162.

³⁷ Farbige Gemälde wiedergaben. Systematisches Verzeichnis von 3000 farbentreuen Kunstdrätern nach den bedeutendsten Bildern aus allen europäischen Galerie. Leipzig 1923.

³⁸ In connection with another discrepancy between Štyrský’s statements and documented reality, Bydžovská and Srp stressed that he “tended to give his fantasy free rein”. BYDŽOVSKÁ – SRP 2007 (see in note 5), p. 495.

³⁹ Rubens’ painting was transferred from Prague (where it is recorded since 1685) to Vienna in 1876. The painting in

Bydžovská and Srp remarked, that “Štyrský’s experience in early childhood was a suitable subject for psychoanalysis. According to Freudianism, in childhood Štyrský saw something that prompted a fear of castration ... Medusa’s head went to the family member who was dear to him, and it can be assumed that the image of her genitals prompted a Freudian castration anxiety in him.”⁴⁰ The prospect of future psychoanalysis of his work might explain why Štyrský, who was an enthusiastic follower of Freud, stressed that his encounter with Rubens’ painting took place in his childhood. *A glimpse of a magazine’s colour supplement*, about which he writes in his “Dreams” can also be explained by Štyrský’s surrealist bias. The difference between a recollection of a visit to a picture gallery and a random paging in a magazine was evidently fundamental for him, the former was premeditated and culturally conditioned, the latter spontaneous and natural. We may presume that according to Štyrský, the accidental character of the unlooked-for encounter with a picture in a magazine guaranteed the authenticity of the emotional response. In their creative process, surrealists highlighted everything which, as they believed, arises from a subconscious source; they ostentatiously favoured unaffectedness, ignorance, naivety, and automatism.

It is instructive to compare in this respect Jindřich Štyrský with another Czech painter, Jan Zrzavý, who was only nine years older and was also impressed by Rubens’ painting of Medusa. Zrzavý also belonged to the avant-garde artistic movement, but he was differently oriented. He declared his admiration for old European art, especially Leonardo da Vinci, openly. It was, therefore, no problem for him to confess

Brno was given in 1818 by Joseph I. Nimpische to the Francis Museum, the forerunner of the Moravian Gallery. Another copy is in Dresden (inv. 1050). Photo: http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Paul_Rubens#mediaviewer/Soubor:MedusaRubens.jpg (accessed 10th Nov 2014).

⁴⁰ BYDŽOVSKÁ – SRP 2007 (see in note 5), pp. 16-17.

⁴¹ Jan Zrzavý vzpomíná na domov, dětství a mladá léta. Ed. D. MAXO-VÁ. Praha 1971, p. 42; SRP, K. – ORLÍKOVÁ, J.: Jan Zrzavý. Praha 2003, p. 30. Zrzavý writes (the recollection is dated to 1905): „In the picture gallery I found a copy of Leonardo’s (sic) Medusa.“ Zrzavý evidently confused the Medusa in Brno

how impressed he was when he saw, as a teenager, the painting of Medusa in the Brno art gallery. As regards the perception of Medusa’s painting, there was, however, no difference between Zrzavý and Štyrský. Zrzavý noted: “That head with snakes instead of hair frightened me, but I had to return to it to see it again.”⁴¹ Štyrský, as already quoted above, wrote in a similar vein: *The head was perverse and yet full of compassion, damned, yet full of kindness*. From the ancient Greek and Roman time, Medusa was a deeply ambiguous figure. It held for wickedness, as Karel van Mander put it in 1604: „Medusa was the wicked carnal desires or natural lusts which transform in mankind all reason, prudence and wisdom into unfeeling stones.“⁴² Simultaneously, Medusa was a powerful protector, her head was a well-known apotropaic sign; it protected goddess Athena and countless warriors and rulers. It was also the established emblem of stunning cultural achievements. Perseus with the head of Medusa that turned everything into stone was a powerful image of an artist astonishing his public. Medusa’s head stood for the work of art which forces viewers to stand still awestruck by its beauty and ingenuity.

From the second half of 19th century, the mythical monster invented by the ancient Greeks became an emblem of European avant-garde art. Medusa was repulsive and beautiful, aggressor and victim, her very existence demonstrated the absence of clear borders between life and death, being and object, reality and picture. The emblem of surrealist art, which we find visualized in numerous paintings, is a human being which is at the same time a statue or lifeless thing. Štyrský expressed it in a litany: “Petritied heart, petrified memories, petrified books, petri-

with the famous painting in Florence (Galleria degli Uffizi inv. 1890 n. 1479), which was considered to be the work of Leonardo da Vinci, cf. *Medusa. Il mito, l’antico e i Medici*. Ed. V. CONTICELLI. Firenze 2008, p. 66.

⁴² MANDER, K. van: Uutlegginghe, en sin-ghevende verclaringhe, op den Metamorphosis Publij Ovidij Nasonis. In: *Hetschilder-boeck*. Haarlem 1604, p. 39v: “en Medusa de vleescheлиcke quade ghenegentheyt, oft natuerlijcke wellusticheyt, die den Menschen allencx benemende alle redelijckheyt, voorsichticheyt, en wijsheyt doet veranderen, en worden gelijk onbevoelijcke steenen, in quade ghewoonten verhardt, ondeughend, end’ onnut tot eenigh eerlijck oft loflijck goet werk.”

fied stars, petrified black colours, petrified cheeses, petrified wrinkles, petrified velvet, petrified graves ... Petrified sky, petrified dreams, petrified lakes. Lakes commemorate death. Forests are powerless consolation over lakes.”⁴³ Štyrský, perhaps unknowingly, paraphrased Lucan’s description of the land of Medusa: “a realm not shaded by the foliage of trees nor softened by the plough, but rugged with stones that the eyes of their mistress had beheld (and thus turned into stone) ... she had the power to threaten sky and sea with strange paralysis, and clothe the world with stone. Birds grew heavy suddenly and fell down from sky; beasts remained motionless on their rocks; and whole tribes of the neighbouring Ethiopians were turned to statues.”⁴⁴

The land of Medusa is dead, and it produces only death. Medusa is deservedly the most famous femme fatale in European tradition, the embodiment of the vision that kills a man. The sight of feminine charm brings him both immense pleasure and destruction, the femme fatale seduces in order to destroy her lovers. The painting of Medusa by Rubens and Snyder differs from all other treatments of this subject in that it represents at the same time the vanquished monster and the procreator. It ingeniously combines the idea of death and decay with that of sex and reproduction. This may have been the reason Štyrský chose precisely Rubens’ and Snyder’s Medusa as the emblem of his “Dreams.” Medusa depicted in this painting is the slayer who begets life even after her death.

As already mentioned above, the drops of Medusa’s blood gave birth to venomous snakes and Snyder also depicted mating vipers [Fig. 9].⁴⁵ This pair dominates in the upper right corner of the painting with Medusa’s severed head; it is, in fact, one of its principal motifs. The vipers’ bodies are intertwined, and their maws touch. As noted above, the strikingly similar pair appeared in Štyrský’s dreams in 1934 [Figs. 4 and 5]. In the depiction by Snyder and in the Štyrský’s dreams and his drawings inspired by these dreams, the sex of mating snakes was differentiated



9. Petr Paul Rubens and Frans Snyders, *Medusa* (detail), oil on canvas 1617-1618, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

by size, attitude and colour. The male viper is bigger, aggressive, and green, female viper is smaller, seemingly submissive, and red. The male viper is on top and the female below, but that is just her deceit. A closer look at Snyder’s depiction shows that the female has a wide-open mouth in which she holds the head of a male. The ultimate source of this strange behaviour is again the ancient literature. In Pliny’s “Natural history” the strange event is described in detail and explained: “Snakes mate by embracing, intertwining so closely that they could be taken to be a single animal with two heads. The male viper inserts his head into female viper’s mouth, and the female is so enraptured with pleasure that she gnaws it off.”⁴⁶

She viper biting off the head of her lover was a common theme in medieval bestiaries and Renaissance and Baroque emblem books. In them, we find also illustrations of that which followed after the mating. In Pliny, we read that: “The viper is the only

⁴³ ŠTYRSKÝ, J.: *Poesie*. Praha 2003, p. 48.

⁴⁴ Lucan 9, 627-651.

⁴⁵ See note 34.

⁴⁶ Plin. nat. 10, 82 (translation by H. Rackham). Cf. Hdt. 3, 9; Plut. mor. 567F; Ail. nat. 1, 24. Cf. also Isid. Orig. 12, 4, 10-11.



10. Andreas Schlüter, the head of Medusa (detail), stone carving, 1696-1699, the northern facade of the former Armoury, on the left, Berlin (Unter den Linden 2).

land animal that bears eggs inside it; they are of one colour and soft like fishes' roe. After two days she hatches the young inside her uterus, and then bears them at the rate one a day, to the number of about twenty; the consequence is that the remaining ones get so tired of the delay that they burst open their mother's sides, so committing matricide.”⁴⁷ In this way, the child avenged the death of his/her father. The depictions of a snake which was blown apart when it gave birth to her young may be connected with Štyrský’s dreams and drawings of slit snakes (1928-1934).⁴⁸

The female viper gnawing off the head of a male described by Pliny had evidently stirred the imagination of seventeenth century Europe. We find it also

⁴⁷ Cf. note 47.

⁴⁸ Cf. ŠTYRSKÝ 1970 (see in note 7), pp. 10-13. We find the depictions of a snake biting off the head of her lover and a snake with open belly from which small snakes crawl away in the first illustrated publication of Horapollo’s Hieroglyphica (ORUS APOLLO, *De la signification des notes hiéroglyphiques des Aegyptiens*. Paris 1543, pp. 138-139, II, 59-60). This was the model for illustrations in emblem books (*Emblemata*. Eds. HENKEL, A. – SCHÖNE, A. Stuttgart 1996, columns 661-662).

⁴⁹ Photo MITUE: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/mitue/6755316729/in/photostream/> (accessed 10th Nov 2014). Cf. similar depiction in SANDRART, J. von: *Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mählerey-Künste*. Vol. 1, 2. Nürnberg 1675, p. 221.

in Andreas Schlüter’s sculpture of 1696-1699 in Berlin [Fig. 10].⁴⁹ It is in no way surprising that this macabre motif attracted Jindřich Štyrský. His photographs amply demonstrate that anything bizarre, especially if it was connected with sex and death, immediately caught his attention.⁵⁰ As a photographer, he was also lured by everything neglected, excessively attracted by human oblivion. He was forever curious about discarded and abandoned creations of human ingenuity, once admired, but now crumbling away in a long-abandoned corner. Rubens’ and Snyders’ painting of Medusa belonged to this category. Its size, sophisticated iconography and meticulous execution indicate that it was considered to be a valuable painting when it was created.⁵¹ In Štyrský’s time, it was, however, a mere curiosum, and it was never photographed. At that time, its admirers were exclusively eccentric artists like Zrzavý or Štyrský. It is only recently that the painting became the highlight of the Moravian gallery in Brno.⁵²

The aim of this paper was to demonstrate that ostensibly idiosyncratic images in Jindřich Štyrský’s dreams and works of art are, in fact, part of European literary and pictorial tradition and originate in ancient Greece and Rome. In the introduction to his book “Dreams” of 1941 Jindřich Štyrský identified his deceased stepsister Marie with the *perverse* image of the ancient Greek monster Medusa. In order to highlight this identification, he evoked *a glimpse of a magazine’s colour supplement* of the painting depicting Medusa, which he caught *as a child*. This painting created by Rubens and Snyders in 1617-1618 was inspired by classical literary texts, above all, Lucan and Pliny. Pliny’s story on mating of snakes, which

⁵⁰ For Štyrský’s photographs cf. Jindřich Štyrský. Ed. K. SRP. Praha 2001. Cf. FIJALKOWSKI, K. et al.: *Surrealism and Photography in Czechoslovakia. On the Needles of Days*. Farnham 2013, pp. 37-61.

⁵¹ The painting in Wien: 68,5 x 118 cm; the copy in Brno: 56 x 87 cm.

⁵² As in 17th century Amsterdam, „the painting was once, in its original installation at the Francis Museum, covered with a veil in order „not to frighten women and children““ (<http://www.moravska-galerie.cz/moravska-galerie/stale-expozice/ume-ni-od-gotiky-po-19-stoleti.aspx?lang=en> accessed 10th Nov 2014).

was illustrated in this painting, thus entered Štyrský's imagination, even though he had not been given a classical education. The strange motif of snakes that

kiss and kill thus interconnects provably Štyrský's recorded dreams and works of art with the Western classical tradition.

Sny surrealista a dědictví antiky

Résumé

Jindřich Štyrský, jeden z nejvýznamnějších malířů českého surrealismu, měl „dětskou vzpomínku“ na obraz Medusy velice intenzivně propojenou se vzpomínkou na zesnulou sestru. V komentáři ke kresbě „Podobizna mé sestry Marie“ [obr. 2] Štyrský napsal, že v „raném dětství“ spatřil „v nějakém časopise barevnou přílohu,“ na níž byla hlava Medusy. Uťatou hlavu nasadil ve svých představách sestře, které „padla jako ulitá.“ Štyrský umístil „Podobiznu mé sestry Marie“ i s příslušným komentářem na úvod knihy „Sny“, kterou připravil k vydání rok před svou smrtí. Ilustrované sny, které v knize bezprostředně následují po vzpomínce na sestru a obraz Medusy, s tímto mytickým monstrem úzce souvisejí. V letech 1925-1930 se mu opakovaně zdál sen o hadovi, který ho škrtíl, ale jemu to bylo příjemné. V těchto snech tedy pokračuje motiv hrůzy spojené s libostí, jehož emblémem byla pro Štyrského „dětská vzpomínka“ na obraz Medusiny hlavy. V roce 1934 se Štyrskému ve snech objevovali dva hádci, kteří před ním tančili a líbali se: „Jeden z nich byl zelený a druhý červený.“ Na kresbě „Dva hádci“ je zobrazena lidská hlava, která je useknutá tak, že zůstala jenom dolní část s výraznými rty. Z torza hlavy vyrůstá had líbající se s hadem, který se k němu připlazil seshora [obr. 4]. Tato hlava, z níž vyrůstá had, souvisí se vzpomínkou na uťatou Medusinu hlavu, na níž malého Štyrského zaujaly, jak píše v úvodním textu, právě výrazné rty. Ve stejném roce Štyrský motiv rozvedl na obraze „Člověk sépie,“ kde je zdůrazněna rudá barva rtů, která hrála důležitou roli ve vzpomínce na obraz Medusy [obr. 5]. Na obraze jsou hadi barevně odlišení, ten vyrůstající z torza hlavy je celý červený,

zatímco ten, který je nahoře, je zčásti červený a zčásti bledě zelený. Štyrského vzpomínka na obraz Medusy prošla další proměnou v roce 1940, kdy se v jeho snech po desetileté přestávce opět objevili hadi. Na kresbách inspirovaných témito sny najdeme dva hady vyrůstající z ženského poprsí, ženy, které vypadají od pasu nahoru jako hadi, či další variace na ženy-hady [obr. 6]. Začátek Štyrského knihy o snech měl demonstrovat, jak se mu od roku 1925 do roku 1941 „dětská vzpomínka“ na obraz Medusy znova a znova prolínala s dětskou vzpomínkou na sestru, která se mu stala emblémem ženy – milenky, matky i životního a uměleckého principu.

Štyrského „vzpomínka z dětství“ se týkala obrazu Medusy od Rubense a Snydersa. Jedině na tomto zobrazení má Medusa zlaté vlasy, modré oči, pootevřená ústa a z krku jí teče krev. Originál Rubensovy Medusy byl pro Štyrského snadno dostupný, protože je ve Vídeňském Uměleckohistorickém museu [obr. 7 a 9], v Moravské galerii v Brně je navíc dříve kopie, která vznikla současně s originálem [obr. 8]. Rubensova Medusa tradiční téma obohacuje o filosofickou reflexi. Konec monstra je začátkem ještě většího zla: z jeho krve se rodí jedovaté zmije, jimž dal podobu Rubensův spolupracovník, Frans Snyders. Rubensova mrtvá Medusa je zdrojem života, který rozseje smrt po celém světě. Podle antického mýtu byla totiž Libye plná jedovatých hadů, kteří se zrodili z krve, která kapala z hlavy Medusy, když s ní Perseus přelétal nad libyjskou pouští. Rubensova Medusa není jenom zabijákem, ale také ploditelkou, emblémem ženy. Je to první a nejslavnější femme fatale evropského umění, ztělesnění nebezpečí, které

mužům hrozí od žen, které je svádí, aby je mohli zničit. Klíčem k obrazu je pářící se pár zmijí v pravém horním rohu, které se v roce 1934 objevily ve Štyrského snu o dvou hádcích. Stejně jako v malířově snu i na Rubenově obraze je sameček zelený a samička červená [obr. 9]. Stejně jako v malířově snu i na Rubenově obraze je agresivní sameček nahoře, zdánlivě submisivní samička je dole, ale v tom je právě její zákeřnost. Při bližším pohledu na Rubensův obraz se ukáže, že samička v dokořán otevřené tlamě drží hlavu samečka. Na Rubense navázal Andreas Schlüter ve výzdobě berlinské zbrojnice [obr. 10]. Inspirací pro Rubenovy i Schlüterovi zmije byl Pliniův text - v „Kapitolách o přírodě“ totiž napsal, že samička zmije při páření ukousne samečkovi hlavu. To, že se Rubens Pliniem inspiroval, dokazuje nejen zobrazení polibku smrti, ale i to, jak Plinius popsal, co páření následuje: „samička nosí vajíčka v těle, dokud se nevyklubou, potom rodí jedno mládě denně. Jelikož může mít až dvacet mláďat, některá nenarozená mláďata nečekají a prorazí si cestu jejím bokem, čímž matku zabijí.“ Na Rubenově obrazu je zobrazeno

nejen páření zmijí, ale pod ním je zobrazeno tělo samičky, z něhož se právě vydralo netrpělivé mládě, které tak pomstilo smrt svého otce.

Štyrský „v raném dětství“ údajně náhodou spatřil barevnou reprodukci Rubenovy Medusy, která se mu prolnula se sestru. To však není možné, protože Štyrský se narodil v roce 1899 a během jeho dětství žádná barevná reprodukce Rubenova obrazu nebyla publikována. Štyrský tedy neviděl reprodukci, ale olejomalbu. Náhodné zhlednutí barevné reprodukce „v raném dětství“ však odpovídalo lépe surrealistickému postoji, který zdůrazňoval spontánost, nevědomost a silné zážitky z dětství, které určovaly další vývoj osobnosti. K autostylizaci surrealista patřilo rovněž odmítnutí tradičních společenských norem, včetně klasického vzdělání. Cílem této stati bylo prokázat, že i zdánlivě osobní představy Jindřicha Štyrského jsou součástí evropské literární a obrazové tradice, jejíž kořeny jsou v antickém Řecku a Římu. Neobvyklý motiv hada, který líbá a zabíjí, propojuje Štyrského sny a umělecká díla s kulturním dědictvím antiky.

The reconstruction of the Bratislava Franciscan Monastery's tower in the 19th century Pyramid or dome?

Zoltán BERECZKI

The tower of the Franciscan monastery in Bratislava was completely restored in the last decade of the 19th century under the supervision of Frigyes Schulek. It was first disassembled and then reconstructed. A garden pavilion was built in the Aupark (today Janko Kráľ Park) using the old stones. But there is an important difference between the tower of the monastery and the pavilion: while the aforementioned has a pointed, pyramid-like spire, the latter's termination is curved and dome-shaped.

Both terminations emerge from a wreath of gables and pinnacles. Above the gables runs a band of blind tracery with quatrefoil motifs drawn inside circles. Up to this height, the two towers are identical. Above this area, the edges on the spire of the monastery ascend to the top rectilinear, without bending, framing a hexagonal pyramid. The edges have crocketed ribs, and the surfaces surrounding them are decorated with blind tracery. In contrast, the edges of the other spire are curved above the tracery band and join each other at a relatively moderate height. The edge ribs are also crocketed, but the surfaces between them are plain and without tracery.

The difference between the two terminations led to a misunderstanding in academic literature about

the original shape of the rebuilt tower, a misunderstanding that has been inherited from decade to decade, from author to author. The history of this misunderstanding is worth our attention.

The first publication about the reconstruction is contemporaneous with the reconstruction itself. The Franciscan monk Viktor Maszárik summarised the history of the monastery on the occasion of its restoration in 1897.¹ About the garden pavilion he wrote the following:

'The dismantled stones of the old tower were offered to the city by the Provincial Superior. The city was thankful for the offering, and the 1st Savings Bank of Pressburg² erected a nice memorial for the 1000-year existence of Hungary (1896) in the Pressburg Park using the stones under the supervision of the architect László Gyarus.'

The 8th volume of *The Counties and Cities of Hungary* (edited by Samu Borovszky, published in 1904) discusses Pressburg. In it, Ödön Vutkovich writes the following about the reconstruction of the tower and about the garden pavilion:

'The construction of the tower, led by the teacher Frigyes Schulek, took from 16 June 1895 until 16 June 1896. The new tower is an exact copy of the old one.'

[...]

commonly used in the English language. That's the reason for using it in this paper discussing earlier events, instead of the current name, Bratislava. In Hungarian the city is called Pozsony.

¹ MASZÁRIK, V.: *A Szűz Máriaáról nevezett Sz. Ferenczrendű tartomány pozsonyi zárdájának, templomának, kápolnáinak és góth stílusú templom tornyának története. A zárdatemplom hatszáz éves felszentelésének emlékére 1297–1897*. Pozsony 1897.

² Before 1919 the German name of the city (Pressburg) was

³ MASZÁRIK 1897 (see in note 1), p. 120.

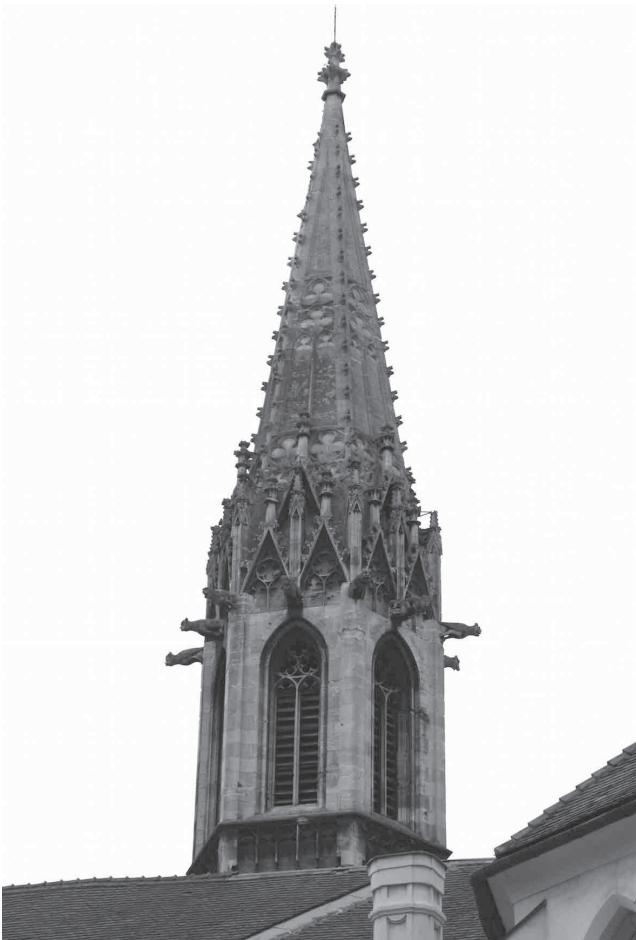


Fig. 1.: the present tower of the monastery. Photo by author



Fig. 2.: the garden pavilion in the Janko Kráľ Park. Photo by author

Using the stones of the old tower, the 1st Savings Bank of Pressburg erected a nice memorial in the Liget gardens commemorating the 1000-year-existence of Hungary.”⁴

Gyula Forster also mentions the garden pavilion in his book *Monuments of Hungary* published in 1905, but only in one sentence: “*The old spire was erected in the city park by the 1st Savings Bank of Pressburg at the cost of 5000 Ft.*”⁵ This laconic phrasing could have been the origin of the subsequent mistakes, despite Ödön Dümmerling’s article in 1941. Here the author quotes

Vutkovich almost exactly and publishes a photo of the tower’s condition before the reconstruction,⁶ but his work became lesser known than Forster’s.

Jaroslav Bureš mentions the tower in a few paragraphs in a 1968 article. He discusses the dome shape as original, and according to him, it was the product of local Austrian tradition.⁷

Two years later he published an important, comprehensive article about the possible works of Michael Chnab in the territory of Slovakia. It was

⁴ BOROVSKY, S. (ed.): *Pozsony vármegye, Pozsony sz. kir. város, Nagyszombat, Bazin, Modor és Szentgyörgy r. t. városok.* [Budapest] 1904, p. 155.

⁵ FORSTER, Gy. (ed.): *Magyarország műemlékei.* Budapest 1905, p. 32.

⁶ DÜMMERLING, Ö.: A ferencesrend középkori csúcsíves építészetének emlékei Magyarországon. I. Ferencesek. In: *Technika*, 22, 1941, No. 9-10, pp. 389-390.

⁷ BUREŠ, J.: On the Beginnings of Late Gothic Architecture in Slovakia. In: *Ars*, 2, 1968, No. 1, pp. 92-93.

written in English and has often been cited. He considers the dome shape as the original, mediaeval form, for which the tower of the church Maria am Gestade in Vienna could have served as a model.⁸

Milada Černá-Studničková analysed the artistic connections between Vienna and Pressburg during the reign of the king Sigismundus in a likewise comprehensive study in 1984. She also considers the dome shape as original and draws a parallel with the baldachins and tower of the Maria am Gestade. In the formal analysis of the dome shape, she mentions Deutsch-Altenburg too: “*the plain surface of the dome above the band of the circles is decorated only on its edges by crockets; in this aspect it is similar to the tower of the church in Deutsch-Altenburg, located close to Bratislava*”⁹.

Ernő Marosi published his synthesis in 1987 about the Gothic architecture of the Hungarian Kingdom. In this work he also considers the dome shape as original and expresses criticism of Schulek’s work:

“*The main characteristic of the octagonal¹⁰ spire, namely its termination with dome-like curved edges, whose Viennese parallels are known e.g. from the baldachins and tower of the Maria am Gestade, incurred the suspicion of the restaurateur, who »corrected« it to a »regular«, slender pyramid-like spire.*”¹¹

In an article published in 2004 he goes even further: he analyses the “correction” citing Forster’s 1905 book with the following conclusion: “*while*

designing the correction Schulek acted also as an architectural historian: recognising the tower’s similar shaping to the architecture of the Stephanskirche, he enforced on it the »regular« design of the Stephansturm and other towers in its circle.”¹²

As can be seen from the above, through the decades it has become widely accepted that the dome shape is the original, mediaeval form and that the pyramidal spire is modern. So not surprisingly Gergely Buzás,¹³ Norbert Nußbaum,¹⁴ and Pablo de la Riestra¹⁵ also accepted this statement in their conclusive works.

On the other hand, Elisabeth Hassmann makes a different statement in 2002 in her very thorough monograph entitled *Meister Michael*. According to her, the curved termination is not original. She refers to two survey drawings with a pyramidal spire from 1862 and mentions some stone fractions in the courtyard of the monastery, which can be identified as the remains of a pyramidal spire.¹⁶

The entry about the tower in the comprehensive catalogue of the Gothic on the territory of Slovakia accepts Hassmann’s statement, citing her 2002 work, without any further exposition of the subject.¹⁷

Most recently, Péter Buday published an article about the construction history of the monastery.¹⁸ In this article he also discusses the events of the tower’s reconstruction but without questioning whether the dome shape is the original.

⁸ BUREŠ, J.: The castle church in Kremnica and the problem of Michael Chnab’s architectural school in Slovakia. In: *Ars*, 4, 1970, No. 1-2, p. 136.

⁹ ČERNÁ-STUDNIČKOVÁ, M.: A művészeti élet és kapcsolatai Pozsonyban, Zsigmond király uralkodása idején. In: *Ars Hungarica*, 1984, No. 1, p. 41.

¹⁰ In fact hexagonal.

¹¹ MAROSI, E. (ed.): *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül*. Budapest 1987, p. 516.

¹² MAROSI, E.: Gótikus és neogótikus kupolák. In: *Romantikus Kastély. Tanulmányok Komárik Dénes tiszteletére*. Budapest 2004, p. 360.

¹³ BUZÁS, G.: *Gótika és kora reneszánsz*. Budapest 2001, pp. 66-67.

¹⁴ NUSSBAUM, N.: *Deutsche Kirchenbaukunst der Gotik*. Darmstadt 1994, p. 381.

¹⁵ BORK, R.: *Gotische Türme in Mitteleuropa*. Petersberg 2008, p. 43.

¹⁶ HASSMANN, E.: *Meister Michael: Baumeister der Herzöge von Österreich*. Wien 2002, p. 317.

¹⁷ POMFYOVÁ, B.: Bratislava, Kostol Nanebovzatia Panny Márie a veža františkánskeho kláštora. In: *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*. Bratislava 2003, pp. 622-624. I owe thanks to Viktor Karla for the translation from Slovak.

¹⁸ BUDAY, P.: K stavebným dejinám františkánskeho kostola v Bratislave. In: *Bratislava. Zborník Múzea mesta Bratislav*, 24, 2012, pp. 29-51.

The reconstruction led by Frigyes Schulek

The history of the tower's reconstruction was discussed in Péter Buday's aforementioned article.¹⁹ In the following I will discuss the events of the reconstruction, focusing mainly on the actual dismantling and construction works, relying on the files, drawings, and photos of the Commission for Historic Monuments (Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, MOB), which can be found in the collections of the Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management (Budapest).

Early in 1865, Flóris Rómer reported the bad condition of the Franciscan tower.²⁰ In the beginning of 1890, the minister of religion and education delegated Frigyes Schulek and Béla Czobor to examine the building. During the session of the MOB held on 13.3.1890, they called the attention of the ministry to the importance of starting the restoration works as soon as possible. The situation became even worse in October of the same year: two earthquakes hit the city a few days apart, further damaging the tower. In May 1891, the Provincial Superior Florid Skrobánek invited Schulek and Czobor for a new site inspection. As a result, they made the statement: “*nothing can be guaranteed for even one day*”.

In 1892 a countrywide fundraising campaign started, and thus the scaffolding work could begin in 1894. On 26.5.1894 the MOB held a new site inspection with the participation of the vice-president Dr. Gyula Forster, Professor Imre Steindl, the architect Ottó Pandor, chief engineer Gusztáv Zsigmondi, referent Béla Czobor, and the architect Frigyes Schulek.²¹

Schulek's “Report with Expertise” on the subject dated from 7.7.1894.²² He summarises the results of the site inspection. The damage to the lower parts of the tower was caused mainly by fire, on the upper parts (the bell-house and spire) by earthquake. It is mentioned right at the beginning of the report that there is a strong conflict between the archaeological and technical requirements. After that, the report

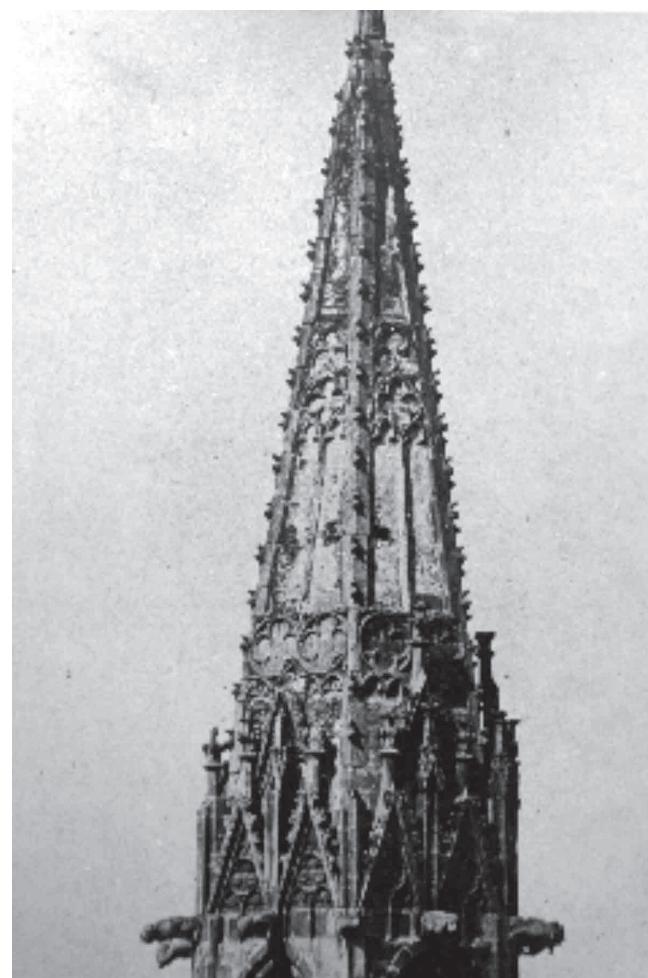


Fig. 3.: the tower before the reconstruction. Photo Collection, Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management, Budapest

discusses exhaustively the structural damage to the tower, with the conclusion – similar to Rómer's article cited above – that the spire had been rebuilt after a cataclysm using the original stones, but in a reckless way. This can be observed also on the archive photographs of the Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management in Budapest.

In the next part he dwelled long upon the technical difficulties of replacing the stones one-by-one. As it can be judged at this distance of time, his argu-

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ RÓMER F.: Pozsony régészeti műemlékei. In: *Pozsony és környéke: Egy földtani térképpel és több ábrával*, 1865, p. 287.

²¹ MASZÁRIK 1897 (see in note 1), pp. 116-118.

²² Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management, Archive for Plans, Schulek-legacy, Folder 1906.

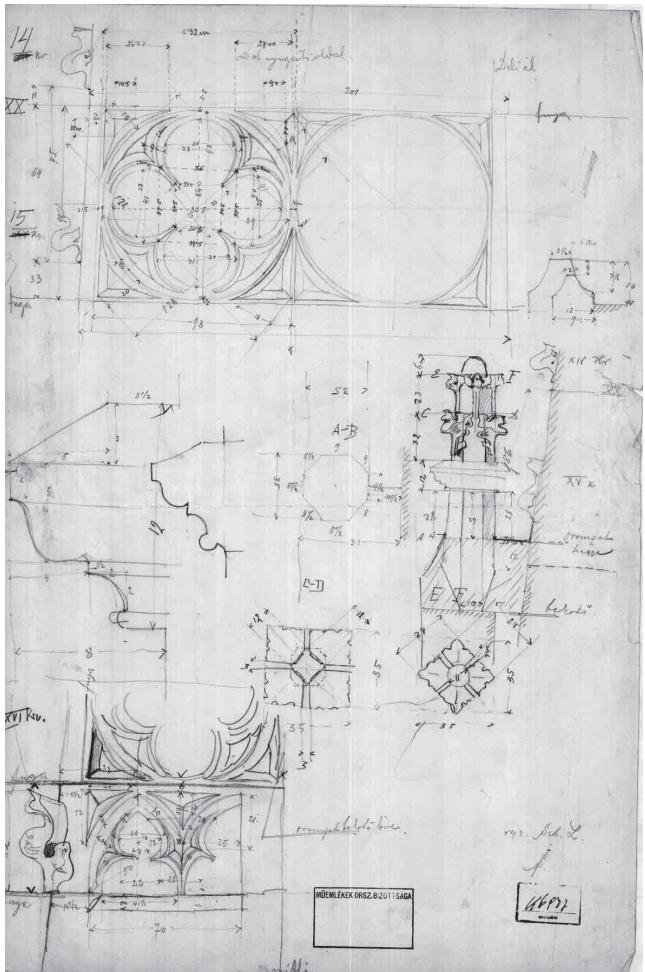


Fig. 4.: original survey drawing, Plan Collection, Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management, Budapest

ments seem technically convincing. He came to the following conclusion:

“Considering the impossibility of escape from a possible catastrophe which promises to be fast, finally taking into account the amount of damage, which is inevitable in a collapse, the possibility of preservation in the common way seems impossible to us. Thus it becomes necessary to lower the archeologic requirements to a faithful copy of the old structure, namely to the preservation of the old formal conceptions with new materials.

In our opinion, the tower needs to be dismantled from the top to the middle of the bell-house pillars. In the lower parts,

the conditions revealed by the dismantling will determine the place where the dismantling should stop.”

The MOB discussed the results of the site inspection during its extraordinary session held on 10 June. Gyula Forster and Béla Czobor accepted the “report with expertise” with the following minority report:

“Although if the tower’s spire, main cornice, and the topmost layers of the bell-house need to be dismantled due to severe damage, the other parts of the bell-house need to be preserved, even if the preservation will cost more than the reconstruction; and the still usable dismantled art pieces need to be used again.”²³

The report, the archive photos, and the survey drawings all make it clear that the original spire was pyramid-shaped. None of them mentions the dome shape and its “correction”. Schulek didn’t plan any new design; he let the superintendent László Gyalus build a more or less accurate copy of the old tower instead. This can also be proved by Gyalus’ detailed, accurate original survey drawings held in the collection of the Forster Centre. These drawings, the on-site examinations, and Schulek’s detailed report together are similar to a discipline which will be later called building archaeology.

The Revision Protocol of the Commission written by László Steinhausz dated from 30.8.1897 informs us about the actions of the construction.²⁴ The first dismantling works were carried out in the fall of 1894 on the charge and cost of the Franciscans, under the supervision of the master builder Sándor Feigler. By that time, the situation had become so untenable that in Pressburg the local police investigated the tower’s condition. As a result, the city of Pressburg applied to the minister for permission to start the demolition works.²⁵

First, the old spire was dismantled to half the height of the wimpergs above the gargoyle. The works approved by the MOB started on 9.6.1895, with the application of some tools and workers who had become superfluous on the construction site of the Coronation Church of Our Lady (Matthias Church) in Budapest. The bell-house had to be dismantled too (earlier it was judged as hypothetically

²³ MOB 1894/103.

²⁵ MOB 1894/122.

²⁴ MOB 1897/228.

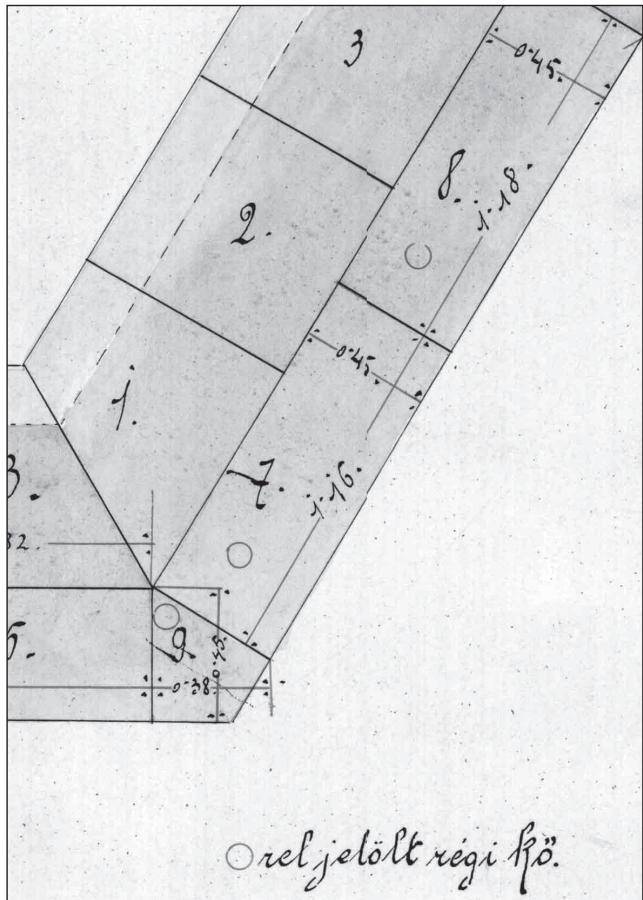


Fig. 5.: detail of a reconstruction drawing with labelled old stones. Plan Collection, Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management, Budapest

rescuable). The storey under the bell-house was partly dismantled, to the height of the window arches' springers. This storey was then rebuilt using mainly the old stones. The stones that had sustained fire damage inside the storey were replaced partly with new ones, partly with old ones recovered from the demolition. The pinnacles were totally recarved. By the end of 1895 the work was finished up to the height of the gargoyle, and by the end of June 1896 the construction of the spire was also carried out. It was followed by the cleaning of the whole tower and the disassembly of the scaffolding.

²⁶ “The new tower is a faithful reproduction of the old one.” MASZÁRIK 1897 (see in note 1), p. 115., the construction ended “in full accordance with the old tower” MASZÁRIK 1897 (see in note 1),

Not only the survey drawings but also the reconstruction plans buttress the argument that the forms of the new tower are almost accurate copies of the old ones. Also Maszárik (who certainly knew the old tower very well) underlined this fact several times.²⁶ However, a comparison of the archive photos, the reconstruction plans, and the existing tower shows several differences, as will be discussed later in this article.

Some drawings in the collection of the Forster Centre are labelled on several spots to show the exact place where the architects planned to use old stones. Whether the tower was indeed built this way could be judged only by a detailed site inspection from a scaffolding. These spots can be found dominantly on the lower octagonal storey.

Regarding the old stones that were not used for the reconstruction, Steinhäusz's Protocol reports as follows:²⁷

“The old stones from the dismantling which were not suitable for use in the reconstruction, namely the bell-house, the cornice, and the spire, complemented partly with new stones, were built together again in the park of Pressburg thanks to the sacrifice of the 1st Savings Bank of Pressburg at the cost of 5000 Ft and so preserved for the future.”

The question of the origin of the dome shape still exists. About this topic the MOB files are silent. It is obvious that the old stones were no longer in their jurisdiction. The site survey of the garden pavilion brought the result that the stones in it are not in the same arrangement as they were before in the tower, so the dismantling could have happened without the intention of the stones' later use. This could be increasingly true for the spire, which was dismantled not by the MOB, but the Franciscans themselves. It is likely that an unsorted mass of stones had to be used for the construction of the garden pavilion. Among the original stones, the ones in the spire could have been the most damaged. In sum, the most plausible explanation for the dome shape could be that Gyulus probably wanted to create a stylish termination for the pavilion at low cost, and the curved form is a plausible solution: significantly fewer stones are needed for it, and the moderate

height also needs less scaffolding and manpower.²⁸ It is also possible that he knew the similar Austrian tower terminations from the Middle Ages. Anyhow, his solution was so convincing that it could mislead generations of scholars.

The differences of the three structures

It is useful to examine the differences between the three structures (the dismantled tower, the reconstructed tower, the garden pavilion).

At first glance, it seems that the dismantled and the reconstructed towers are identical in their forms but not in their material; and the dismantled tower and the garden pavilion are identical in both form and material (except their termination). This is only partly true.

In the related plans of the Forster Centre, two different, large copies can be found of a drawing. This drawing was published originally in the journal *Wiener Bauhütte* in 1862. It appears that the reconstruction was based mainly on this drawing, although a detailed survey was also made by the MOB before the dismantling.

This statement can be proved mainly with one important formal difference between the original and the reconstructed tower. The blind tracery on the gables of the pinnacles above the squared storey forms a quatrefoil on the archive photos and on an original fragment,²⁹ while on the drawing of the *Wiener Bauhütte* and on the reconstructed tower it forms a trefoil.

Another difference is that on the archive photos the tower lacks the stone finial, but on the *Wiener Bauhütte* drawing and on the reconstructed tower it is present. This is more like a completion than a formal difference, because it is almost sure that the tower had had a stone finial in the Middle Ages, but it was demolished by the 19th century.

According to the archive photos, the window traceries of the bell-house have survived only in part. On the new tower they are completions, using the forms of the *Wiener Bauhütte* drawing.

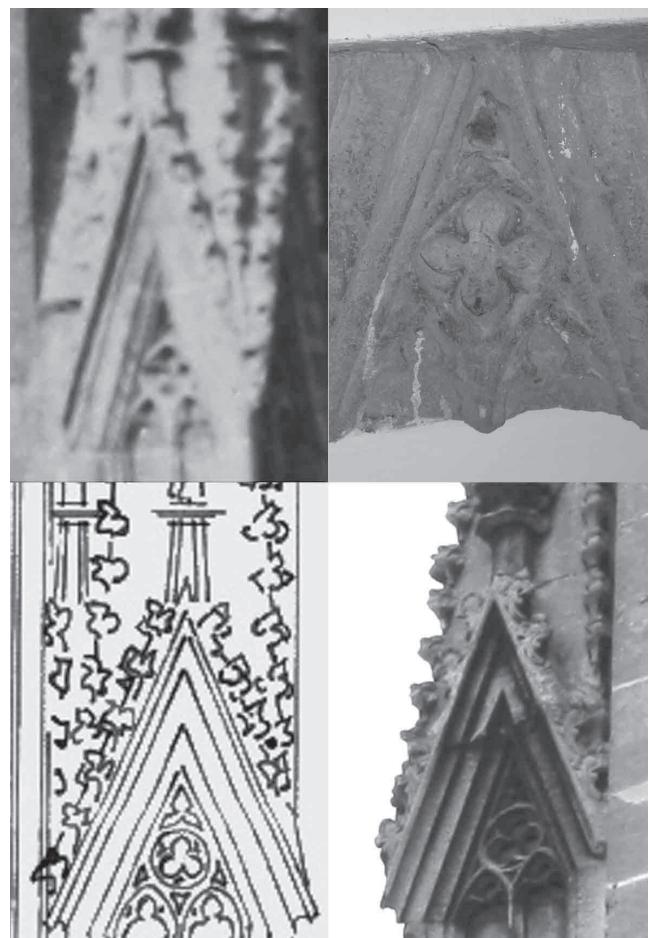


Fig. 6.: archive photo of the pinnacle, its fragment, the pinnacle on the drawing of the *Wiener Bauhütte*, the pinnacle on the reconstructed tower. Archive photo, drawing: Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management, other two photos: by author.

Examining the joint structure of the walls, it can be seen that the masonry isn't identical stone by stone on the old and the new tower, at least not on the bell-house. This can be observed mainly on the arches above the windows. It is interesting that the *Wiener Bauhütte* drawing displays the original masonry structure relatively accurately (the joints of the pointed arch are radial), while the reconstruction

²⁸ Regarding the relation between the dome-shaped spire form and the cost-saving Dehio provides an interesting hint: he presumed the curved termination of St. Bartholomäus in Frankfurt as makeshift until he got to know the original plans. MAROSI 2004 (see in note 11), p. 326.

²⁹ This fragment can be found in a doorway on the Biela ulica, Bratislava. For this information I owe thanks to Péter Buday.

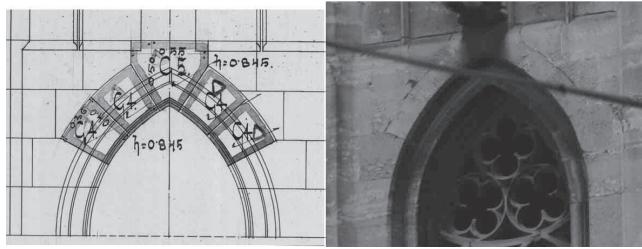
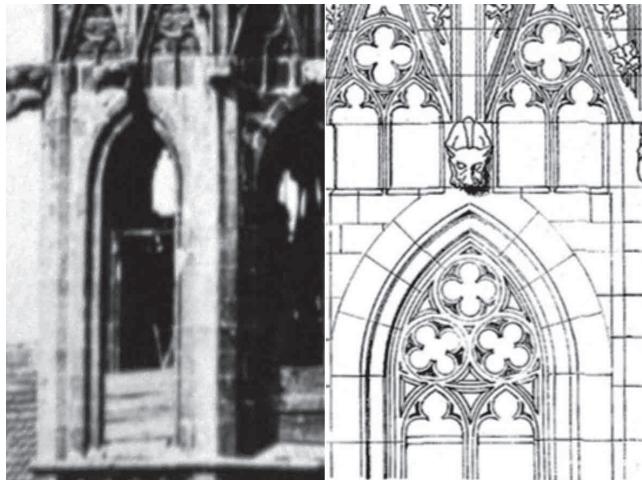


Fig. 7.: the bell-house window on archive photo, on the Wiener Baubüttte drawing, on a reconstruction drawing, on the reconstructed tower. Archive photo, reconstruction drawing: Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management, photo of the current tower: author

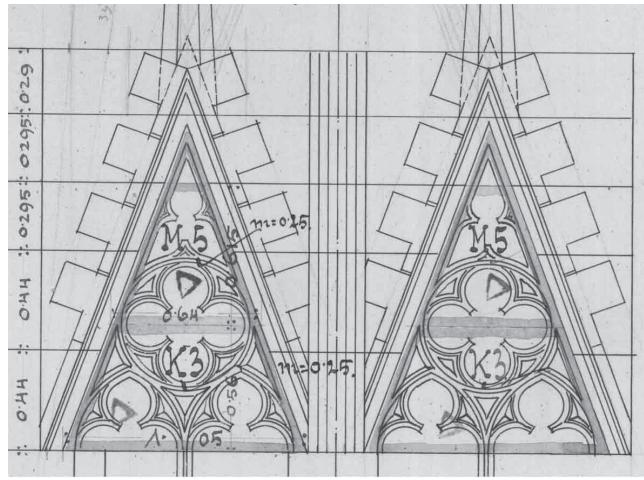


Fig. 8.: the joint structure of the gables on the reconstruction plan, the joint structure of the same part on the garden pavilion. Reconstruction plan: Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management, orthophoto and joint structure of the garden pavilion: author

plans – and so the reconstructed tower – do not (the lowest joint on the arch is horizontal).

In contrast, the joint structure is almost identical on the reconstruction plans and the garden pavilion in the area of the interlocking gables and the tracery circles above it (as far as it can be observed on the dirty surface at a relatively great height). The joint structure of the reconstructed tower cannot be examined without scaffolding because of the very large height, but it is almost sure that it is identical with the reconstruction plans, so this part is the most accurate copy of the old tower.

The most important, conceptual difference between the dismantled and the reconstructed tower can be observed on the spire. All the archive photos and the authors who have seen the original

tower³⁰ support the statement that the tower used to have an openwork spire before. This fact has great significance for the history of arts: this is the only known openwork Gothic spire on the territory of the one-time Hungarian Kingdom. The openwork was bricked up earlier, before the 19th century, but it is unknown exactly when.

The *Wiener Baubüttte* drawing displays these brick additions. On the reconstruction plans and on the reconstructed tower the spire is a closed stone pyramid.

³⁰ RÓMER 1865 (see in note 19), p. 287; HENSZLmann, I.: Magyarország csúcs-íves stílus műemlékei. Győr, Soprony, Pozsony,

Sz.-György, Bazin, Modor és Nagy-Szombat. Budapest 1880, p. 105.

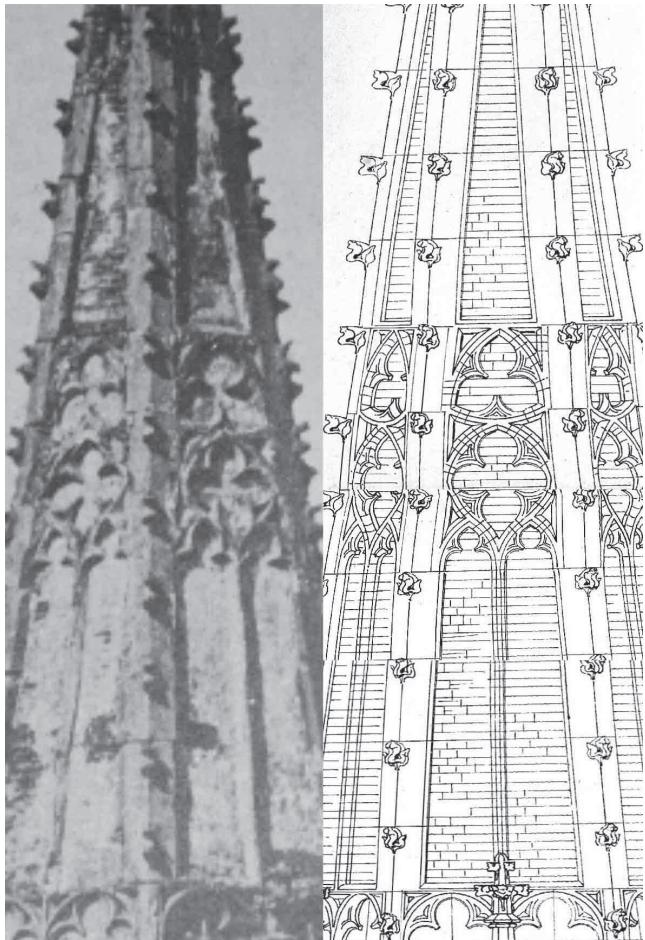


Fig. 9.: the spire with the brick additions on an archive photo and on the drawing of the 1862 Wiener Baubüttie. Photo: Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management

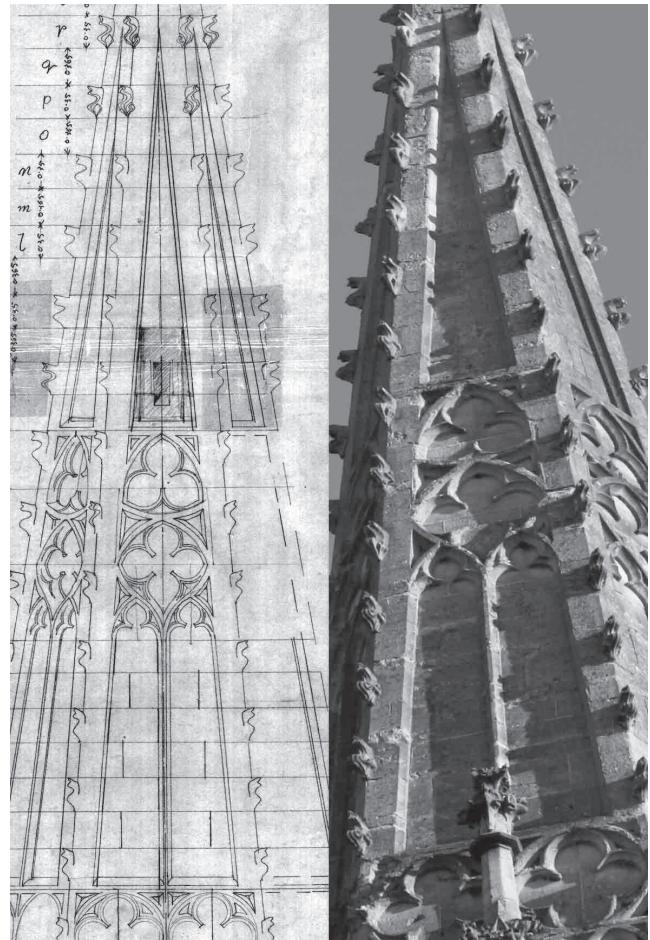


Fig. 10.: the reconstruction plan of the spire and the realised spire. Plan: Gyula Forster National Centre for Cultural Heritage Management, photo: author

In the MOB files there are no hints about why they have chosen the closed spire instead of the openwork. Probably structural reasons can explain the decision.

The main result of the detailed on-site survey of the garden pavilion is that this structure is also not identical in detail with the dismantled tower. It is instead a structure constructed partly from the old stones; in form it's almost identical to, but different in masonry, from the original. As I mentioned before, the dismantling occurred almost certainly without the intention of the later use of the stones,

so it was a difficult task to find out the original place of every stone, especially in the bell-house. On the orthophoto of the structure it can be observed that the horizontal joints are at different heights on the six pillars. In several places, brick rows were needed to equalise the heights.³¹ On the archive photos it is clearly recognisable that on the original tower the stone rows shared the same height, and the joints ran around the building at the same height.

On the garden pavilion only one gargoyle is in recognisable shape: a pig on the south-east corner.³²

³¹ The pavilion has at least three kinds of building materials: mediaeval stones, modern carved stones, brick; and some places maybe artificial stones can be also observed.

³² During the survey of the pavilion, an elder lady (she called herself “a pressburger”) told us that she still remembers that all of the gargoyles were recognisable earlier. This can be seen

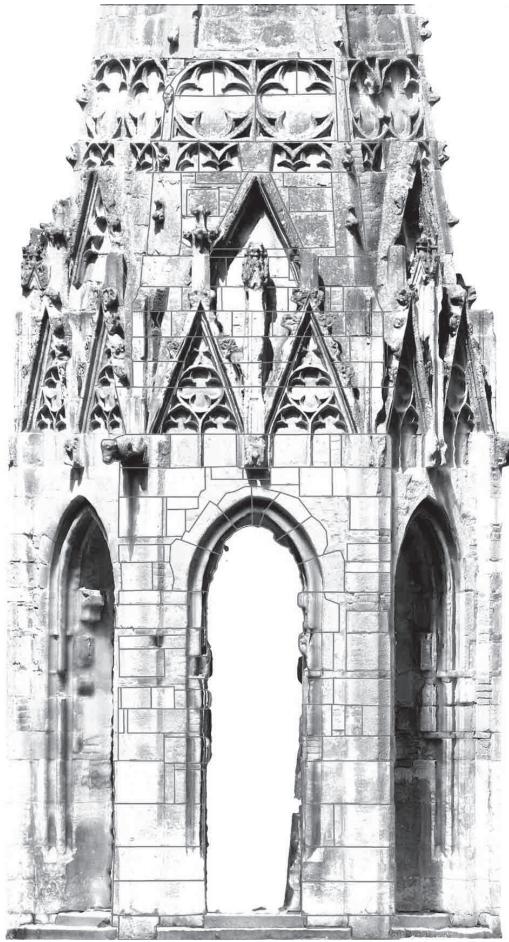


Fig. 11.: orthophoto of the garden pavilion with joint structure. By author

A pig-shaped gargoyle is on the new tower in the middle(!) of the north-west side, while on the archive photos it is in the middle of the north-east side. Maybe this phenomenon shows most strikingly that the theoretically identical three structures are, in fact, three different ones.

on the archive photos also. It appears that the stone material suffered serious damage in the last decades.

³³ HOFMAN, J.: Technická ochrana památek v Bratislavě. In: *10 rokov na Slovensku. Pamätnica bratislavského odboru Spolku čsl. inžinierov 1919 – 1929*. Bratislava 1929, p. 38. For the article and for the translation of the related part I owe thanks to Péter Buday.

Evaluation of the reconstruction

The reconstruction of the Franciscan tower has been mentioned in the (Czecho)slovak and Hungarian secondary literature also as a bad example. Jan Hofman, in an article in 1929, mentioned the reconstruction as the most radical example of purism.³³ We have seen that in the second part of the 20th century the Hungarian literature formulated a very bad opinion about the reconstruction, mainly because of the “correction” of the dome form (which was thought to be original). An excuse for this mistake is that this (presumed) correction would fit well in the contemporary practice of monument preservation, for example, the radical “correction” of the St. Elisabeth’s church in Košice or the almost complete demolition of the Coronation Church of Our Lady in Budapest and its reconstruction in a more decorated Gothic revival style.

The reconstruction of the Franciscan tower indicates a changing of principles in monument preservation: it is a more or less accurate copy of the unsustainable original. The two most important Gothic spires in Vienna (Maria am Gestade,³⁴ Stephanskirche south tower³⁵) were reconstructed in a similar way: both were dismantled and rebuilt as a copy. The Pressburg reconstruction differs from them (and the many other similar reconstructions) in one very important aspect: here the majority of the old stones were preserved, and a new structure was built using them, which is in its form almost identical with the old one. The life of the old stones goes on this way, and the old tower remained part of the life of the city, which is very important.

All in all, the reconstruction can be considered a good example of its age, in spite of all the differences discussed above, mainly because of the preservation of the old stones.

³⁴ WESSELY, Y.: *Wien - Innere Stadt, Maria am Gestade*. Wels 2011, p. 14.

³⁵ NIERHAUS, A.: Vollendung unerwünscht. In.: *Der Dombau von St. Stephan. Die Originalpläne aus dem Mittelalter*. Wien 2011, pp. 111-113.

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Rekonštrukcia veže františkánskeho kláštora v Bratislave v 19. storočí. Ihlan alebo kupola?

Resumé

Veža františkánskeho kláštora v Bratislave bola kompletne rekonštruovaná v poslednej dekáde 19. storočia pod dohľadom Frigyesa Schuleka. Najskôr ju rozobrali a potom nanovo postavili. Staré kamene sa použili na stavbu záhradného altánku v Auparku (dnes Sad Janka Kráľa). Medzi kláštornou vežou a altánkom je však významný rozdiel: kým veža mala špicatý, ihlanový vrchol, altánok je zakončený kupolou.

Ako sa píše v štúdii, postupne sa všeobecne ujal názor, že kupolovitý tvar je pôvodný stredoveký, kým ihlanový vrchol veže je moderný. Rekonštrukcia z 19. storočia býva v (česko)slovenskej a maďarskej sekundárnej literatúre uvádzaná aj ako zlý príklad obnovy. Predovšetkým maďarská literatúra sa v druhej polovici 20. storočia vyjadrovala o rekonštrukcii veľmi nepriaznivo, najmä z dôvodu „úpravy“ kupolovitého tvaru.

Štúdia sa však zaoberá aj samotnou rekonštrukciou, prícom sa sústredí u predovšetkým na rozobratie vrcholu veže a následné stavebné práce. Vychádza pritom zo záznamov, nákresov a fotografií Komisie pre historické pamiatky (*Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága*, MOB), ktoré sa nachádzajú v zbierke Centra Gyulu Forstera pre ochranu národného kultúrneho dedičstva v Budapešti. „Správa so znaleckým posudkom“, ktorú vypracoval Schulekov súčasník, archívne fotografie a nákresy svedčia jednoznačne o tom, že pôvodná veža mala tvar ihlanu. Nikto neuvádza kupolovitý tvar a jeho „úpravu“. Schulek nenavrhol žiadny nový dizajn; stavbyvedúceho László Gyalusa poveril, aby postavil viac-menej presnú kopiu starej veže.

Porovnanie archívnych fotografií, plánov pre stavby a súčasnej veže prinieslo viacero rozdielov, ktoré sú v štúdii podrobne opísané. Na základe toho sme dospeli k záveru, že tri teoreticky identické stavby (rozobratá veža, rekonštruovaná veža, záhradný altánok) sú v skutočnosti každá iná. Najvýznamnejší koncepcný rozdiel medzi rozobratou a novopostavenou vežou môžeme vidieť vo vrchole. Podľa archívnych fotografií aj podľa autorov, ktorí pôvodnú vežu videli na vlastné oči, mal vrchol veže kedysi otvory. Táto skutočnosť má pre dejiny umenia veľký význam: je to jediná známa gotická veža s otvormi na území niekdajšieho Uhorského kráľovstva.

Otzážka pôvodného kupolovitého tvaru je tu však stále. Výsledkom terénnego výskumu záhradného altánku bolo zistenie, že použité kamene nie sú spojávané v rovnakom poradí ako boli vo veži, takže je možné, že pôvodne sa neuvažovalo o ich neskoršom použití. Je pravdepodobné, že na stavbu záhradného altánku sa použila nevytriedená kopa kameňov rôznej veľkosti. Z pôvodných kameňov mohli byť najviac poškodené práve kamene z vrcholu veže. Celkovo najpriateľnejšie vysvetlenie kupolovitého tvaru je, že Gyalus zrejme chcel vytvorit' lacné štýlové zakončenie altánku a oblúkový tvar bol priateľným riešením.

Rekonštrukcia františkánskej veže naznačuje zmenu princípov ochrany pamiatok: ide o viac-menej presnú kopiu neudržateľného originálu. Celkovo možno rekonštrukciu – napriek všetkým rozdielom, ktorými sa zaoberá prítomná štúdia –, považovať za dobrý príklad svojej doby, najmä vďaka zachovaniu starých kameňov.

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