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NA OBÁLKE / ON THE COVER:
Cetina (Chorvátsko), Kostol Najsvätejšieho Spasiteľa, neskoré 9. storočie. / Cetina (Croatia), Savior's Church, late 9th century.
(Pozri s. 14, obr. 10 / See p. 14, fig. 10)
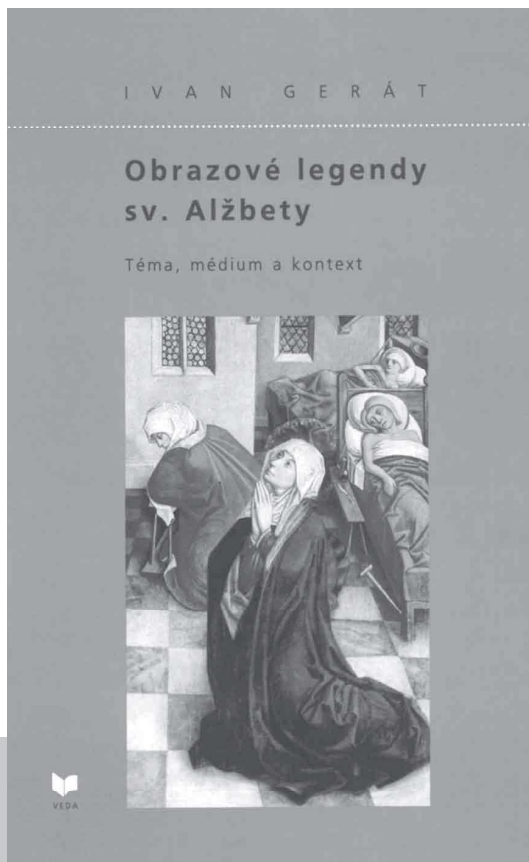
Ivan Gerát:

OBRAZOVÉ LEGENDY SV. ALŽBETY. TÉMA, MÉDIUM A KONTEXT
(Pictorial Legends of St. Elizabeth. Theme, Medium and Context)

Bratislava : Veda, 2009, 254 pp., ISBN: 978-80-224-1083-0, www.veda.sav.sk

This richly illustrated book deals with pictorial legends of one of the most important Central European medieval saints – St. Elizabeth, the patron of hospitals and nurses. The methodologically oriented introduction focuses on relations between images and texts. The first chapter is aimed at themes – images, texts and changes in views on the saint's life, the second one at mediums – their structure, function and form, and the third chapter at relevant historical contexts.

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The "Croatian Westwork" Revisited

Vladimir P. GOSS

When I published my article "The Southeastern Border of Carolingian Architecture" in the *Cahiers archéologiques* in 1978, I considered the matter mostly closed. It was evident that within the core of the early medieval Croatian state, the Dalmatian Highlands around Knin, there existed a group of buildings displaying some characteristics of the contemporary Carolingian architecture, including one of the most innovative and impressive features of medieval architecture in general, the westwork. The buildings could be related to the ruling family and the highest officials of the state, and the best preserved example, the church at the source of the Cetina, even bore a dedication to the Savior.[1] Of course, my younger colleagues have made some useful amendments, chronology has been refined, one more church was discovered in the Dalmatian Highlands, and an impressive related building is being right now explored at the other end of the country, at Lobor in Transmontane Croatia to the northwest of Zagreb.[2] The magnificent exhibition *The Croats and the Carolingians* held in Split in 2000 made amply manifest the Caro-

lingian presence in the entire 9th century Croatia, i.e., the lands inhabited by the Croats, from Slavonia, to Dubrovnik, to Dalmatia, to Istria, to western Bosnia, in history, archeology, architecture, art, inscriptions, and historical sources. But as I started revising the second edition (2006) of my 1996 book on Croatian Pre-Romanesque architecture, it dawned upon me that in spite of my own books and articles, in spite of fine efforts by my colleagues, in spite of the Croats and the Carolingians, there are quite a few points worth reconsidering.[3] Then Professor Barral i Altet asked me if I had anything to contribute to the *Francia Media* gathering in Gent in 2006, and I did. This was followed by a long discussion between the two of us at the gathering, to be continued ever since. Thanks to Professor Barral i Altet, who forced me into very serious rethinking, I believe I have made some steps forward in looking at the issue from two points of view previously unavailable to me, those of cultural anthropology and linguistics.[4] The fact that in the course of our everyday research my team seems to be uncovering traces of a pre-Christian, pa-

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[1] GOSS, V. P.: The South-Eastern Border of Carolingian Architecture. In: *Cahiers archéologiques*, 27, 1978, pp. 133-148. The text also contains a list of standard features adopted by the Croats from their Frankish overlords.

[2] Especially JURKOVIĆ, M.: Crkve s westwerkom na istočnom Jadranu. In: *Prilozi povijesti umijetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 26, 1986 – 1987, pp. 61-86; JURKOVIĆ, M.: Sv. Spas na vrelu Cetine i problem wetwerka u hrvatskoj predromanici. In: *Satrohrvatska prosvjeta*, 22, 1995, pp. 55-80; JURKOVIĆ, M.: L'église e l'état en Croatie au IXème siècle – le problème du massif occidental carolingien. In: *Hortus artium medievalium*, 3, 1997, pp. 23-40. Also MARASOVIĆ, T.: Westwerk u hrvatskoj predromanici. In: *Starhrvatska spomenička baština*. Eds. M. JURKOVIĆ – T. LUKŠIĆ. Zagreb 1996, pp. 215-223; MARASOVIĆ, T.: *Graditeljstvo starohrvatskog doba u Dalmaciji*. Split 1994, pp.

193-209; PETRICIOLI, I.: Prilog diskusiji o starohrvatskim crkvama s oblim kontraforima. In: *Izdanja HAD*, 8, 1980; and PETRICIOLI, I.: Crkva Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 22, 1995, pp. 19-28, to list the most important ones. On Lobor, see FILIPEC, K.: 10 Jahre archäologischer Grabung in Lobor (1998 – 2007). In: *Hortus artium medievalium*, 13, 2007, pp. 411-422.

[3] GOSS, V. P.: *Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia*. Zagreb 2006.

[4] Some of the materials published in this article have been also used in my contribution submitted for the proceedings of the *Francia Media*. As the future of that project remains uncertain, Professor Barral i Altet has given me his permission to use them in this article, for which I am extremely grateful.

gan Slavic cultural landscape in Continental Croatia provided another stimulus for reconsidering what, as I said at the beginning, I had considered a dead issue.[5] It led me to reconsider some other aspects of the Pre-Romanesque, in Croatia as well as elsewhere, some fruits of that labor having already been committed to press.

I published my first book on Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia in 1969, and so its theoretical premises, which at the time of writing did not strike me as fundamental, served as the basis for my doctoral dissertation at Cornell University (1972), wherein I proposed a tripartite classification of the Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia, which, with some modifications, seems to be by now mostly, albeit somewhat tacitly, accepted: 1. Traditional Pre-Romanesque group of mostly small buildings that follow local pre-Slavic traditions; 2. Royal Pre-Romanesque group – essentially Croatian version of contemporary Carolingian architecture sponsored by the court and high gentry; and 3. Early-Romanesque group, a Croatian version of the "First Romanesque Art", in which forms of both groups undergo changes comparable to what was happening in Lombardy, the Alps, and Catalonia. With some useful amendments on groups 2 and 3, this is where the matter rests today.[6]

If I were totally satisfied with the scheme, I, of course, would not be writing this paper. Already in 1972, I noted that Croatian Pre-Romanesque architecture displays a strong predilection for straight lines and square angles, and also a very pronounced "will-to-vault". A comparative study of all West European Pre-Romanesque groups revealed a very similar predilection for straight lines, and also for vaulting. In 1982, I summed up my research on the topic in an article in the *Peristil* entitled "Is there a Pre-Romanesque Style in Architecture?". There I proposed, on the basis of an analysis of Early Croatian material, five characteristics of Pre-Romanesque as an architectural style:

1. Bi-axiality or bi-polarity of the Pre-Romanesque as opposed to mono-axiality and mono-polarity of the Romanesque;
2. Lack of correspondence between the organization of space and exterior wall-surfaces;
3. Lack of correspondence in form between the space units and their external shells;
4. Hidden interior units undistinguishable from the outside;
5. Spatial discontinuity as opposed to spatial continuity.

I noted that those characteristics are shared by practically all groups of Pre-Romanesque architecture, and are also found in the architecture of Eastern Christianity (beyond classical Byzantium area). Could one speak of the Pre-Romanesque as an "Oriental architecture transposed to the West"? Josef Strzygowski noticed similarities between some Early Croatian buildings and those of Asia Minor. An entire book by Ante Šonje was dedicated to oriental sources of early medieval architecture of Istria.[7]

As opposed to the Pre-Romanesque, the Romanesque represents a way toward increasing clarity of concept and structure. Such tendencies could be traced back as far as the 9th century (Asturias), and they fully blossom out in the 12th century. Most of the buildings of the "First Romanesque Art" of the Mediterranean still share some of the Pre-Romanesque characteristics. The final "fulfillment" of the Romanesque is in fact the Gothic with the absolute clarity of the High Gothic structure, the mono-axiality of space, and supreme continuity of Gothic interior. Thus a change from the Pre-Romanesque to the Romanesque (and further on to the Gothic) should be seen as long process taking over three centuries, in which the West creates its "own" architecture. Needless to say, there are many

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[6] GVOZDANOVIĆ, V. [GOSS, V. P.]: *Starohrvatska arhitektura.* Zagreb 1969; GVOZDANOVIĆ, V. [GOSS, V. P.]: *Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia.* [Ph.D. Diss.]

Ithaca : Cornell University, 1972. It was published in an amended form and entitled *Early Croatian Architecture* (London 1987). On M. Jurković's valuable contributions, please see note 2.

[7] GOSS, V. P.: Is There a Pre-Romanesque Style in Architecture. In: *Peristil*, 25, 1982, pp. 33-51; STRZYGOWSKI, J.: *Starohrvatska umjetnost.* Zagreb 1927; ŠONJE, A.: *Bizant i crkveno graditeljstvo u Istri.* Rijeka 1981.

currents and undercurrents, and exceptions to the rule. For example, there is a large group of truly wonderful domed churches in central/southwestern France actually never systematically explored and explained ever since they were highlighted by Felix de Verneilh some 150 years ago. This is because they, as "deviant" buildings, do not fit the scheme of linear growth which still plagues much of our thinking. This is a brief summary of what I said in 1982 and elaborated further in the conclusion of my 1996 and 2006 books.[8]

These proposals of mine were not received with applause, but as time went by most among distinguished Croatian students started to apply the above mentioned "rules", as they proved to be a good lead toward classification of buildings based on empirical testing of hundreds and hundreds of architectural works between ca. 800 and ca. 1200, i.e., one can empirically test this model by applying it to any mature Romanesque building, or, in fact, realize that it fully matures in the High Gothic.[9] This is, of course, a very, very abbreviated version of my reasoning, so please accept it as such. I emphasize, as I have always done, that this system should be applied with maximum flexibility as we are dealing

not with sudden and clear-cut changes, but a *process* (I call it a process of structuralization) taking several centuries (roughly from 800 until 1200), and definitely not linear. If judged in that light, Carolingian buildings quite regularly display all or some of the characteristics listed above as Pre-Romanesque.

A dissenting voice has been raised, however, by Magdalena Skoblar,[10] who has questioned my distinction between the Pre-Romanesque and the Romanesque without actually describing it, saying why, or offering substitution of her own.[11] The architects of the Pre-Romanesque and the Romanesque had the right to express their concepts, feelings, and visions ("*the intangibles of history*", as once wisely said by Ernst Kitzinger[12]), and they could express them only through form, i.e., the architecture they produced. Yet my concept of style is not formalist, as it embodies content ("*meaning*", "*embodied meaning*", as nicely put recently by no one less than Arthur Danto[13]) leading, eventually, to placing the work of art within its material and spiritual (cultural) context. I also repeat that my "tool" must be applied with a high degree of flexibility, and it primarily measures change, as for me a style is a dynamic, not a static category.[14] This needs to be reiterated as the main

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[8] GOSS, V. P.: *Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia*. Zagreb 1996 and 2006. In particular 2006, pp. 211-220.

[9] E.g., FISKOVIĆ, I.: Crkveno graditeljstvo dubrovačke regije u svjetlu povijesti, od IX. do XII. stoljeća. In: *Tisuću godina dubrovačke nadbiskupije*. Dubrovnik 2000, p. 420; JURKOVIĆ, M. – MARAKOVIĆ, N.: La nascita del primo romanico in Croatia nel contesto delle grandi riforme ecclesiastiche del secolo XI. In: CALZONA, A. et al. (eds.): *Immagine e ideologia. Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*. Parma 2007, pp. 96-102, especially pp. 96, 98-99, notes 2 and 8 (references to my works); and GOSS, V. P.: What Josef Strzygowski did not Know. In: Ibidem, pp. 583-593, especially p. 587 (SS. Peter and Moses); MARASOVIĆ, T.: *Dalmatia praeromanica*. Vol. 1. Split – Zagreb 2008, pp. 11, 54. I would like to point out that T. Marasović (p. 54, note 75) has committed an error attributing to P. Vežić the observation that my system is not perfect, a conclusion Vežić has reached analyzing the 12th century church of St. Krševan in Zadar. Vežić must have not read my texts carefully, as I already in 1982 had used the same example as a building that does not fit my system, and listed the reasons why. Please see my work cited in note 7, and VEŽIĆ, P.: Bazilika sv. Ivana Krstitelja (sv. Nediljica) u Zadru – prilog poznavanju ranoromaničke arhitekture u Dalmaciji. In: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 23, 1999, p. 8, note 15.

[10] SKOBLAR, M.: Još jednom o predromaničkoj arhitekturi u Hrvatskoj. In: *Kvartal*, 4, 2007, No. 3, pp. 25-28. The piece does not warrant a response but as it cuts, most inexpertly, into some important methodological issues, I feel obliged not to "hide" it from the reader. An answer to some factual errors in the text will be presented elsewhere when appropriate.

[11] M. Skoblar calls my reasoning "*Winckelmannian*". I wonder if she had ever read any works by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, but being a "*Winckelmannian*" I consider a compliment as Winckelmann was, as recently demonstrated by Marko Špikić, dealing exactly with Croatian materials, one of the first scholars who studied the work of art within its context. – ŠPIKIĆ, M.: Život i djelo antikvara Ivana Josipa Pavlovića-Lučića. In: *Peristil*, 51, 2008, pp. 47-71.

[12] KITZINGER, E.: Gregorian Reform and the Visual Arts: A Problem of Method. In: *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 22, 1972, pp. 57-102.

[13] DANTO, A.: *Abuse of Beauty*. Chicago 2006, in particular pp. 139-142.

[14] May I just add that in a recent article two leading experts on the Romanesque in Croatia, Miljenko Jurković and Nikolina
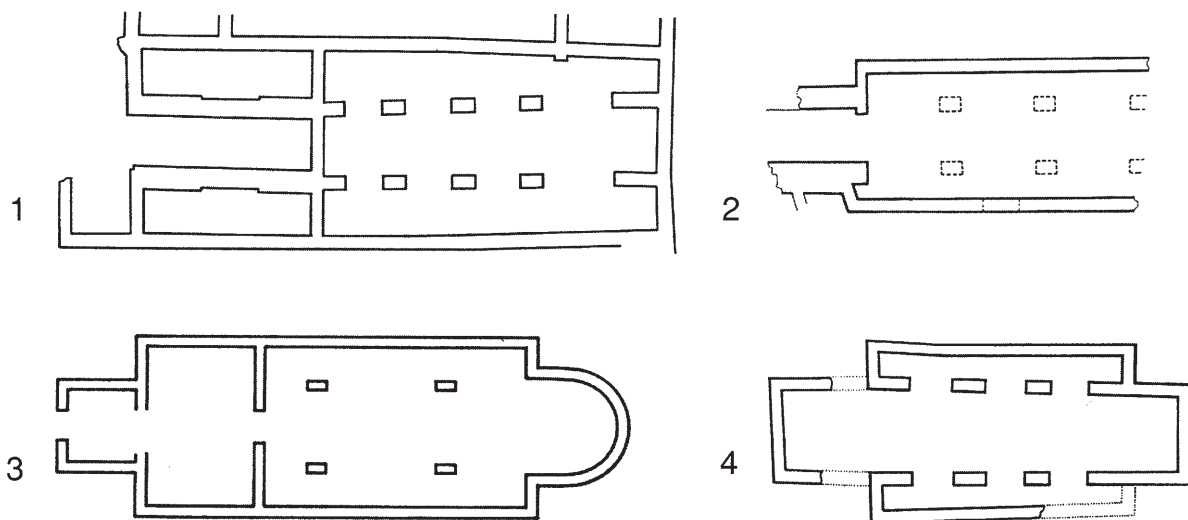
1. Croatian Pre-Romanesque churches with a westwork, earlier group (probably early 9ᵗʰ century): 1. SS. Mary and Stephen at Crkvina in Biskupija; 2. Church at Koljani; 3. Church at Žažvić; 4. St. Martha in Bijaći. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

topic of our discourse, the westwork, is not just a "technical" (formal), but, as we shall argue, a spiritual and cultural issue (i.e., also an issue of content).

Running a risk of boring an informed reader, I have to outline at least very briefly the story of the westwork in Croatia. Carolingian aspects in architecture, primarily linked to the westwork, were for the first time seriously considered by Tomislav Marasović, and were systematically treated in my doctoral dissertation at Cornell University (1972). As the vast majority of the building activity in Croatia between 800 and 1100 consists of relatively small buildings modeled, presumably, on Early Christian or, to a lesser extent, Early Byzantine forms, the small group of Carolingian buildings took quite some time to be recognized. Today, after the studies by Miljenko Jurković who since the late 1980s has been amplifying my work, its importance is fully acknowledged.[15]

In Croatia, there are 11 churches with a western massif as a common feature datable with some certainty to the 9ᵗʰ or early 10ᵗʰ century. Today, four of them, at Bijaći, Koljani, Žažvić and Crkvina in Biskupija, are dated toward the earlier 9ᵗʰ century [Fig. 1]. Crkvina in Biskupija ("Villa regale") near Knin, dedicated to SS. Mary and Stephen, was a royal mausoleum, as a tomb of a "*dux gloriosus et praeclarus*" was found in the westwork along with more than a dozen other distinguished graves. The earlier 9ᵗʰ century dating is far from certain, but it is probably correct for St. Martha at Bijaći, and the church at Koljani, while somewhat questionable for Crkvina, and the poorly known church at Žažvić [Fig. 1.3]. At Bijaći [Fig. 1.4], where a *curtis* of Croatian dukes stood in the first half of the 9ᵗʰ century, we have epigraphic evidence of a Frankish (or Langobard) cleric, most likely a missionary, Gumpertus [Fig. 2], and we can follow his progress from a diaconus to presbyter. There must have been more such men, primarily clerics, who gave advice to their new local patrons. A western massif signifies royal power as well as that of Christ. In a still rather crude and primitive stage

Maraković, explicitly rely on my system in establishing, in my opinion very successfully, the first layer of the Romanesque in Croatia. It is worth noting that their analysis of the key building, SS. Peter and Moses in Solin, is almost verbatim the same as mine published in an article in the same volume as theirs. Of course, the conclusions have been reached

independently, but they rely on the same method. Please see note 9, reference to their article.

[15] Please see notes 2 and 6; also MARASOVIĆ, T.: Carolingian Influences in the Early Medieval Architecture in Dalmatia. In: *Actes du XIXᵉ Congrès international d'histoire de l'art*. Paris 1958, pp. 117-121.
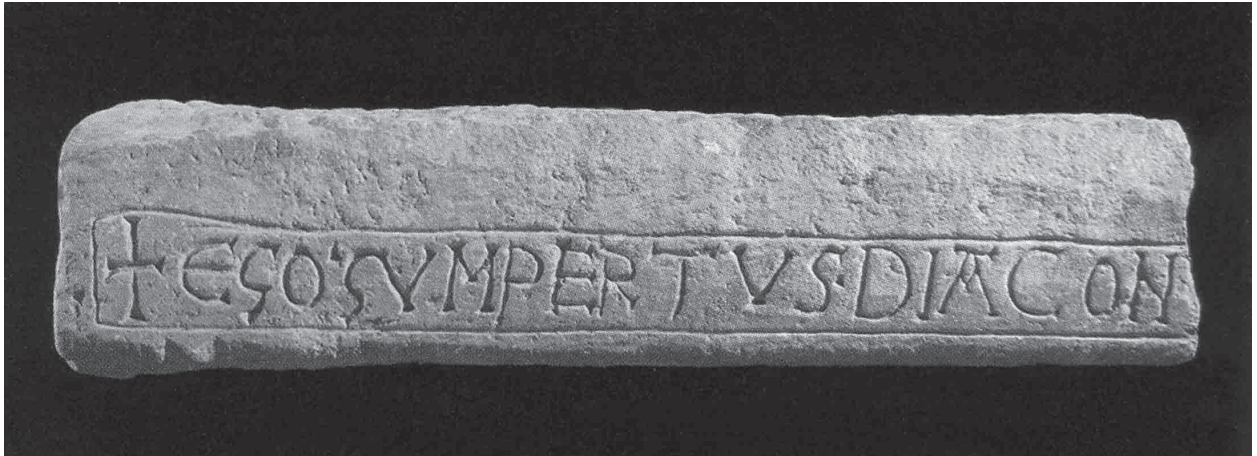
2. Bijaći, Fragment "Gumpertus Diaconus", early 9ᵗʰ century. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

just after the Frankish conquest and conversion, ca. 800, a very simple tower was added to an equally crude aisled structure built in a local tradition of straight lines and flat chevets, what is, however, also in harmony with typology of some Early Carolingian achievements. Crkvina in Biskupija [Fig. 1.1] and the church at Koljani (according to the newest revision of the latter) [Fig. 1.2] may have had flat chevets. Bijaći and Koljani had simple square towers, whereas at Crkvina a more complex, two-storey aisled west-work preceded the nave. At Bijaći, A. Milošević has identified, in my opinion successfully, a considerable group of reliefs datable around the year 800, one of which bears an inscription "…*atoru(m) et iupa*…" ("… *Croatorum et iupanus*…") quite likely referring to a "iupanus" (count) of the Croats, the earliest mention of the national name in history.[16]

Some of the elements of the above mentioned group seem to be common to other Pre-Romanesque families of buildings. In a recent book on Pre-Romanesque architecture, Charles McClendon has paid a very careful attention to the earliest phases of Christian architecture on the British Isles. His fine summary leads to a conclusion that a wooden Anglo-Saxon post-built hall is not an unlikely prototype for early attempts at religious building (Chalton). One should not overlook the undertakings by the Irish monks whose monasteries were built on the model of Celtic circular forts, surrounded by dry wall or earthen ramparts, and consisting of a series of circular beehive huts, be it of wood or of stone in which case they were covered by corbel vaulting. The only rectangular building was the oratory. Here we have two basic architectural types joining hands in producing a fairly sophisticated element of a cultural landscape, and a framework for existence of a fairly complex social group. In passing, we note a similar coexistence of an elongated hall and a circular area used as sanctuary in early Slavic architecture, an offshoot of which is, I believe, a building such as the church/palace at Ostrow Lednicki in Poland. McClendon goes on to show how some key Anglo-Saxon sites featured buildings of elongated rectangular plan – nave plus sanctuary, even with some sort of aisles, as in the case of Monkwearmouth, founded in 675, and Jarrow, founded in 680. The forms of these two important Northumbrian foundations are reflected in a well preserved church at Escomb from ca. 700, as well as by the forms of the mid-7ᵗʰ century wood-frame church traces of

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[16] To avoid overburdening the text with references, I suggest that the interested reader consult relevant entries (*sub nomine*) in MILOŠEVIĆ, A. (ed.): *Hrvati i Karolinzi*. [Exhib. Cat.] Vols. 1-2. Split 2000, with extensive bibliography; also GVOZDANOVIĆ, V. [GOSS, V. P.]: A Note on Two Early

Croatian Royal Mausolea. In: *Peristil*, 18-19, 1976, pp. 5-13; MILOŠEVIĆ, A.: Prva ranosrednjeovjekovna skulptura iz crkve Sv. Marte u Bijaćima. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 26, 1999, pp. 237-264; DELONGA, V.: *Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj*. Split 1996, p. 52.
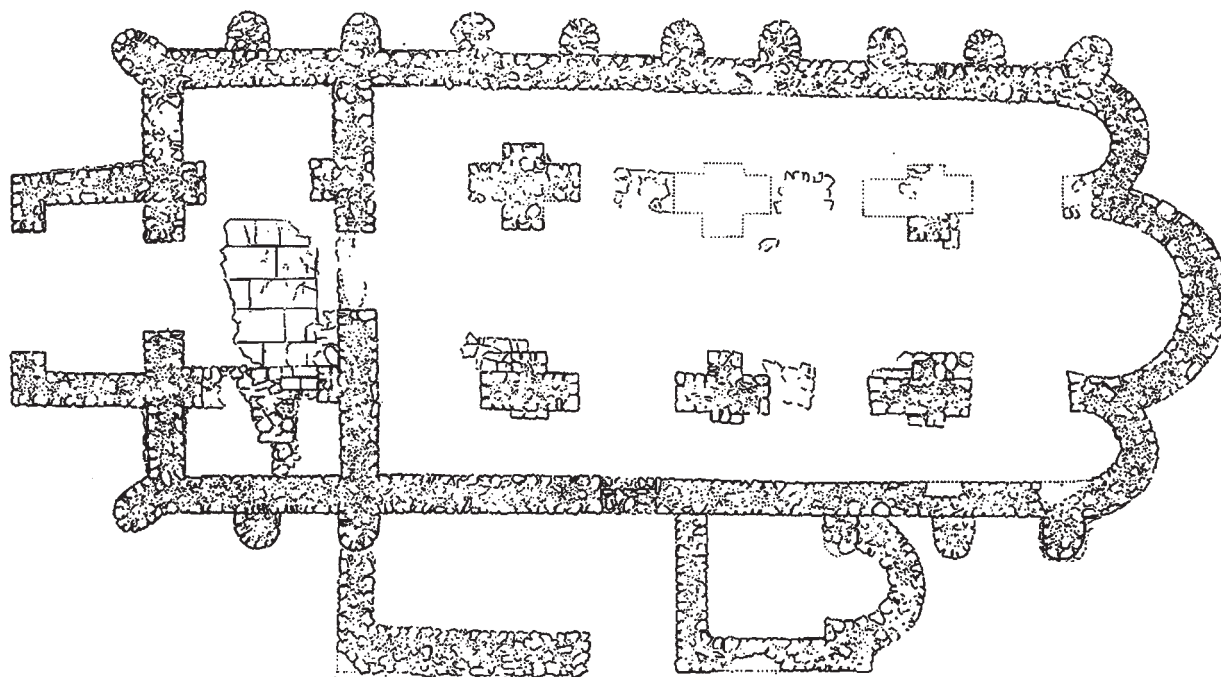
3. Biskupija, St. Cecilia, late 9ᵗʰ century, ground plan. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

which were excavated at the royal villa at Yeavering. McClendon is extremely cautions not to omit the fact that the "barbarian" component had its role in the formation of the Christian architecture on the British Isles. He also highlights a general predilection for rectilinear building which he had also noted in the chapters on the Visigothic Spain (San Pedro de la Nave) or Merovingian France (St. Jean, Poitiers), and the same phenomenon may be observed among the earliest of important monastic foundations of the Carolingian times – at Lorsch (765 – 774, aisleless church with a rectangular apse), Centula (790 – 799, aisled, double-transept plan with a square presbytery), or, a few decades later, at St. Gallen (830 – 836, large rectangular block with an equally rectangular western annex). A similar situation can be observed within royal estates, as witnessed by the audience hall (elongated rectangle) and the church at Paderborn (under construction in 777, aisleless church with a short rectangular sanctuary and equally rectangular side spaces). In fact, a reevaluation in the light of McClendon's conclusions of the presumably earliest large Croatian Pre-Romanesque buildings in Dalmatia as mentioned above – St. Martha in Bijaći, SS. Mary and Stephen at Crkvina in Biskupija, the church at Koljani (?) – is absolutely indicated. St. Martha [Fig. 1.4] in outline indeed is not far from Lorsch, and Crkvina and Koljani [Figs. 1.1, 1.2] from St. Gallen. Thus, whereas there may be a local tradition, the early group of Carolingian buildings seems to have had a fairly direct effect, too, and our Gumpertus [Fig. 2] may have indeed known some such structures before arriving to Croatia.[17] More light may also be shed on such buildings as the church at Zalavár – Récéskút [Fig. 13], as well as on the newly discovered large Pre-Romanesque building at Lobor in northwestern

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[17] McCLENDON, C.: *The Origins of Medieval Architecture*. New Haven – London 2005, pp. 60-65, 72-83, 104-105, 152-153, 153-158, 171-172. See also SŁUPECKI, L. P.: *Slavonic Pagan Sanctuaries*. Warszawa 1994, fig. 5, pp. 108-116, 135-137. On combination of centralized chapel and a palace-hall, see WA-

LICKI, M. (ed.): *Sztuka Polska – przedromanska i romanska do schylki XIII vieku*. Warszawa 1968, pp. 76-77 (Ostrow Lednicki, Giecz, Przemysl, Wislica). As opposed to the Irish examples, at the presumed Slavic sites we have a sort of a reverse, i.e., the secular building is rectangular and the sacred precinct rounded.
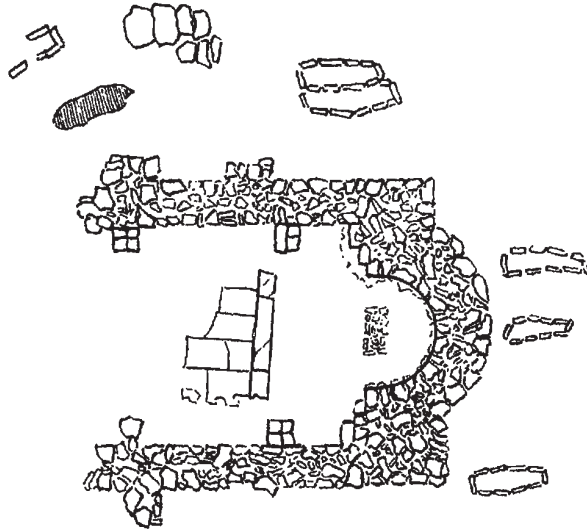
4. Biskupija, Church at Bukurovića podvornice, late 9ᵗʰ century, ground plan. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.
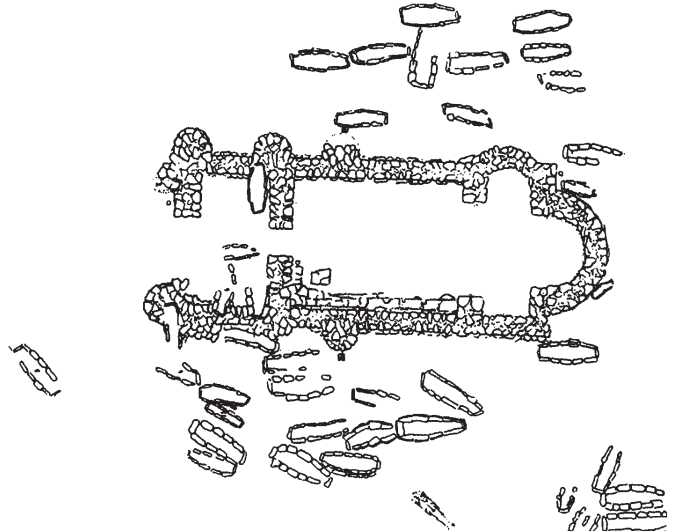
5. Biskupija, Church at Lopuška glavica, late 9ᵗʰ century, ground plan. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

Croatia [Fig. 12].[18] Investigations by Ivan Stopar in Slovenia also highlight the Carolingian type of an aisleless building with a rectangular sanctuary, be it in wood or in permanent building material.[19]

Another significant wanderer might have also been more instrumental than we have thought. Was the famous Saxon Gottschalk, present at Trpimir's court from 846 to 848, a perennial traveler from one important Carolingian monastery to another – Corbie, Corvey, Hautvillers, Orbais – among the transmitters of architectural ideas, too? It is known that Gottschalk had some influence on the Duke, and he even tried to teach Trpimir the idea of predestination![20]

The second, more coherent group, today usually dated to the second half of the 9ᵗʰ century, includes the church of St. Cecilia at Stupovi in Biskupija [Fig. 3], the churches at Bukurovića podvornice and Lopuška glavica, all in Biskupija [Figs. 4, 5], the Savior's Church at Cetina [Figs. 7-10], St. Mary at Blizna [Fig. 6], and the cathedral of the royal city of

Biograd [Fig. 11]. The common feature of the buildings is rounded buttresses, complete vaulting, and a western massif. The buildings represent a compact stylistic group, and as such they must have come into being within one generation or so. The western massif can be best studied at the only reasonably preserved building – the Savior's Church at Cetina. It appears as a reduction of a "Voll-Westwerk" – a tall, tapering tower with a two-storey annex opening onto the single nave. The upper storey [Figs. 8, 10] was almost certainly reserved for the "župan" – the administrator of the county of Cetina, Gastica (Gastiha), recorded in an inscription on the choir-screen. The eastern end of the church is trefoil [Fig. 7], which could be seen as a reference to numerous small centralized buildings built in Croatia between the 9ᵗʰ and the 11ᵗʰ century. The most developed westworks, such as at Cetina and St. Cecilia, were reflected in the westwork of otherwise much more traditional church at Žažvić [Fig. 1.3].

[18] On Lobor, see FILIPEC 2007 (see in note 2); on Zalavár – Récéskút, see MORDOVIN, M.: The Building History of Zalavár – Récéskút Church. In: *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 12, 2006, pp. 9-34.

[19] STOPAR, I.: *Karolinška arhitektura na Slovenskem.* Ljubljana 1987, pl. 2-7, 10.

[20] On Gottschalk, see KATIĆ, L.: Saksonac Gottschalk na dvoru kneza Trpimira. In: *Bogoslvoska smotra*, 22, 1932, pp. 1-28; and MILOŠEVIĆ 2000 (see in note 16), Vol. 1, pp. 293-295.

6. Blizna, St. Mary, late 9th century. Photo: V. P. Goss.

I would suggest that in the case of the second group we have a local style developing on the basis of earlier attempts, and continuing by now well-absorbed Carolingian practices even after the Carolingian overlordship and Aquileian ecclesiastic preeminence were gone in the 870s. This group of massive, vaulted churches with heavy rounded buttresses and westworks is probably Croatia's most important contribution to the history of Pre-Romanesque architecture.[21]

The third group is represented by the large 9th century church being excavated at Lobor in northwestern Croatia [Fig. 12], to which one might add an apparently similar church at Zalavár – Récéskut [Fig. 13], the seat of Slavic princes of Lower Pannonia, nowadays in Hungary. This is no surprise, as the Pannonian Slavs to the north of the Drava were certainly closely related to those in the areas to the south of the river, and, possibly in the course of the 9th century, experienced from time to time common leadership.[22] What all the churches from Bijaći at the coast near Split, through the Dalmatian Highlands, to Lobor, and to Zalavár indeed share is that they were related to the high society. St. Martha at Bijaći was a church of a ducal *curtis*, the churches at Biskupija stood in a "Villa regale", the churches at Cetina and Blizna were "župans'" *eigenkirchen*, not unlikely also those at Koljani and Žažvić. Biograd was one of royal residences. Lobor, on a fortified hill inhabited at least from the Late Bronze Age, with now a well established Roman and Early Christian phases (large basilica with a baptistery), was an important yet unidentified ruler's seat; dukes Pribina and Kozil called Zalavár (Blatnograd) their home. One needs to add that along with the just mentioned stone church, traces of a smaller church in wood were also found

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[21] As in the case of the first group, the reader is referred to relevant numbers and bibliographies in MILOŠEVIĆ 2000 (see in note 16). See also BUŽANČIĆ, R.: Nalaz Gospine crkve iz starhorvatskog doba na groblju sela Blizna Gornja. In: *Vartal*, 10, 2001, pp. 5-7; GOSS 2006 (see in note 8), p. 186. In addition to "Voll-Westwerks" of St. Spas and St. Cecilia, we encounter a tower in the width of the western facade (Lopuška glavica, Blizna, and, possibly, Bukurovića podvornice), and a simple western tower (Biograd Cathedral).

The complex tripartite westwork at Lobor is yet to be fully explored. Westworks and western towers continued to be built in Croatia in later centuries; in fact, they appear in village churches down to the 19th century.

[22] See note 18. Duke Braslav who was, according to sources, a ruler of Western Pannonia (ancient Pannonia Savia) toward the end of the 9th century also ruled the Balaton/Blatnograd area. See MILOŠEVIĆ 2000 (see in note 16)*,* Vol. 1, pp. 262-263.
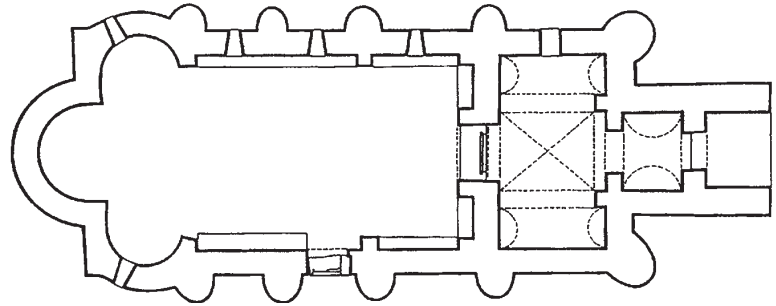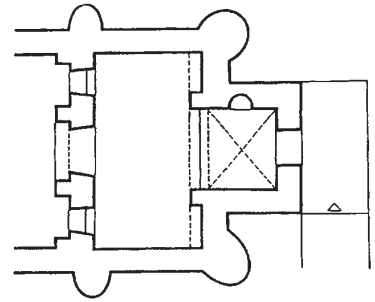
7. Cetina, Savior's Church, late 9ᵗʰ century, ground plan. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

at Lobor. It is, according to the investigator, related to Carolingian architecture in wood from Bavaria, and, in terms of its rectilinear forms, also to some examples of Carolingian period architecture in stone, in particular in the border regions, such as the neighboring Slovenia, as demonstrated by Stopar.[23]

Is it possible to define the ways the "Carolingian westwork" reached Croatia more precisely? The first preserved written document of a Croatian ruler, issued by Duke Trpimir at Bijaći, is dated to the times of Lothair I, the King of Franks (r. 840 – 843). After the Treaty of Verdun and the division of the Empire, Lothair I became the first ruler of Francia Media. As Croatia was subject to the Patriarch of Aquileia and the marchgraves of Furlania, one would expect impulses to come from northern Italy. But where do we find the idea of a Carolingian westwork in northern Italy? Northern Italy certainly possesses architecture of Carolingian times, but without those most prominent, innovative features. It fails as a possible source of Croatian westworks.[24]

One might argue that in Croatia a local Carolingian type was formed by the second half of the 9ᵗʰ

century, on the basis of earlier experiments. These themselves were based on an interplay of what was brought in by Frankish missionaries, what the rulers themselves learned about "rulers' churches", or what they and their companions saw by themselves while visiting the centers of the Empire, and on how all this was absorbed by the local tradition steeped in rich Roman and Early Christian legacy. If we compare the developed Croatian westwork of the later 9ᵗʰ century to anything within the Empire, we will find limited analogies, the closest being, apparently, around the very center of the Empire – at Steinbach or Inden, or, in a more monumental form, at Corvey, i.e., a facade with an emphasis on a single tower and a central protrusion. The problem with Steinbach and Inden is that their apparently more modest height does not correspond to what we find in Croatia, whereas Corvey is much too monumental and complex. Still, this reinforces the idea that the Croatian dukes and their entourage visiting Carolingian state gatherings learned by autopsy what was "right" for them, and continued doing the same after they severed all political ties with the Empire in 870s. Croatian early

[23] Please see notes 18, 19, and 22; also FILIPEC, K.: *Arheološko--povijesni vodić po svetištu Majke Božje Gorske u Loboru.* Zagreb 2008, fig. 21.

[24] KOSTRENČIĆ, M. (ed.): *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae.* Vol. 1. Zagreb 1967, pp. 3-8.

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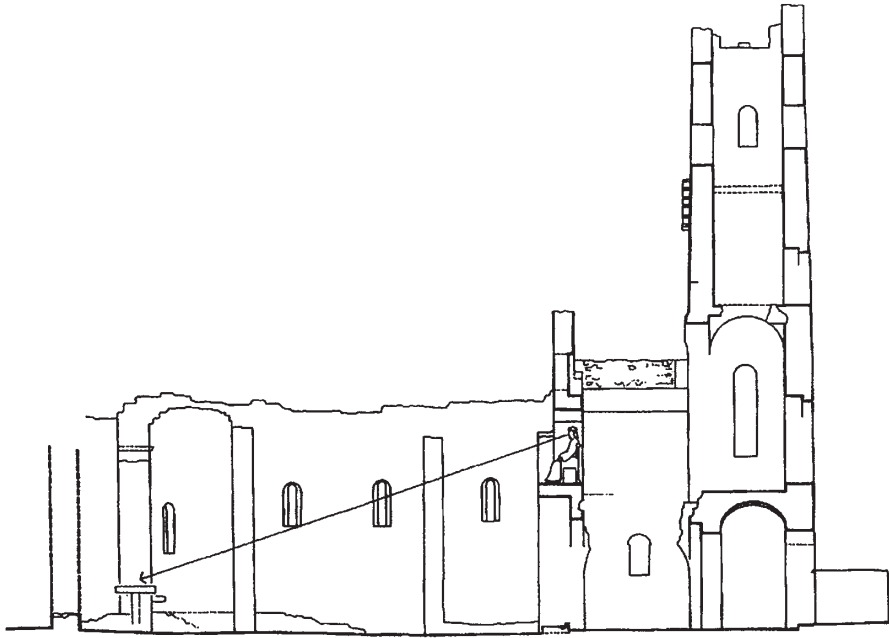
8. Cetina, Savior's Church, late 9th century, section. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

9th century dukes – Borna (of Dalmatian Croats), later on Braslav (of Pannonia), or their emissaries – in case of Duke Ljudevit of Pannonia and also of Borna – participated in Frankish imperial councils; so did also the rulers of Lower Pannonia around the Balaton Lake, Pribina and Kozil. This presence is especially notable during the rule of Louis the Pious and the rebellion (819 – 823) of the above mentioned Ljudevit, when Borna sided with his Frankish overlords.[25] They would have also seen another very important westwork linked however to a building of a very different sort – the Palatine Chapel at Aachen. Indeed, this structure constructed for and by Charlemagne is by its position, bulk, and height not incompatible with the "Croatian westwork".

Also, according to Lobbeday, a reduced version of the westwork – a tower plus a gallery – seems to appear in Westphalia as early as around 900, the earliest such datable example being Sankt Walburga at Meschede (ca. 900). Here we indeed find a tall tower in front of a facade of an aisled church having a gallery at its western end, a solution strikingly similar to the Savior's Church, and, even more so, to the aisled St. Cecilia in Biskupija [Figs. 3, 7].[26]

How what we have said so far relates to what we usually call "Carolingian architecture"? What is really "Carolingian", and what is "Pre-Romanesque"; or, as it was lucidly stated decades ago, in 1937, by Josef Zykan, "anti-Carolingian"?[27]

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[25] McCLENDON 2005 (see in note 17), pp. 138-141, 173-174. Milošević quotes references to State Councils (in Aachen and Frankfurt) of 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, and the rule of Braslav, 884 – 896. – MILOŠEVIĆ 2000 (see in note 16), pp. 258-261, 262-263.

[26] LOBBEDAY, U.: *Westphalie romane*. La Piere-qui-Vire 1999, pp. 356-358.

[27] ZYKAN, J.: Die Karolingisch-Vorromanische Malerei in Österreich. In: GINHART, K. (ed.): *Die Bildende Kunst in Österreich – Vorromanische und Romanische Zeit*. Wien 1937, pp. 46-50,

especially p. 48. Zykan makes his distinction by comparing the frescoes at Mals ("Carolingian") and at Naturns ("anti-Carolingian"). The frescoes according to most authors date from the 9th century, although some doubts have been raised about Naturns. A somewhat similar distinction was made by Brozzi and Tagliaferi, who, speaking of the Langobard metalwork (but also of stone reliefs) distinguish between a "barbarian" or "Langobard" art and an art "contaminated" by Carolingian art, which they see as linked to "conservative currents". – BROZZI, M. –TAGLIAFERI, A.: *Arte Longobarda. La scultura figurativa su marmo e su metallo*. Vols. 1-2. Cividale 1961, Vol. 2, p. 44.

9. Cetina, Savior's Church, late 9th century, view from the south. Photo: V. P. Goss.

The art and architecture of the Carolingians is explicitly an art of the "*Renovatio imperii Romani (Christiani)*". Carolingian architecture revives the idea of the monumental rotunda, a form with somewhat limited future; by building "*more romano*", it seeks to go back to the Constantinian models of basilican arrangement, but its key idea, the double choirs, would have little reception outside the core of the Imperial lands where it merges with another vision of bi-polar building, the church with a western and eastern tower; and, thirdly, it creates a new basilican form with a powerful western massif, in some cases balanced by a similar grouping at the eastern end of the building. This westwork and eastwork would prove crucial for the future of European architecture. The ultimate triumph of such buildings as St. Riquier at Centula lies in the monumentalization of the two key portions of the building: its entrance facade, literally, its face, culminating in the Gothic two tower facades, and its heart, the sanctuary where

an often multistory eastwork with a crypt would also culminate in the High Gothic sanctuary which, with its semicircular ambulatory and contiguous radiating chapels, constitutes in fact a semi-rotunda, shimmering with light in front of a pilgrim's eyes as he travels through the lofty, longitudinal nave.[28] So it would seem that "the southeastern border of Carolingian architecture" is, I must admit, a sort of misnomer. It is certainly a document of the presence of forms of the Carolingian time, but those in fact are not from the *Renovatio* circle; they belong to the innovative, bold new trend within the architecture of the Carolingian times, and, as far as one could conclude from the material at hand, they demonstrate, albeit on a modest scale, a higher degree of boldness than the center itself. This trend is future-oriented, Pre-Romanesque in the best sense of the word when meaning "leading toward the Romanesque".

The architectural New Jerusalem of reawakened Europe was not one of the humble. It boldly an-

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[28] LOBBEDAY, U.: Die Beitrag von Corvey zur Geschichte der Westbauten und Westwerke. In: *Hortus artium medievalium*, 8, 2002, pp. 83-98. Lobbeday, as we will see in a moment, makes a useful distinction between westwork ("Westwerk") and western annex ("Westbau"), and eloquently shows how difficult it is to define what exactly a westwork is. Need-

less to say, there is a good number of western annexes in Croatian Pre-Romanesque (and later) which are difficult to classify, or which should be classified as "Westbau". See also ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG, A.: Autel des reliques et la sanctuarisation du chevet. In: *Hortus artium medievalium*, 11, 2005, p. 183-188.

10. Cetina, Savior's Church, late 9ᵗʰ century, interior toward the west. Photo: V. P. Goss.

western massif, evidently fired up the imagination of both the Imperial and the borderland princes. In architecturally most interesting frontier areas, Asturias and Croatia, the result was a hard, massive and powerful architecture; an architecture of an early "will-to-vault", which in itself led in Asturias to the first inklings of the Romanesque structuralization, and in Croatia to vaulting rather large buildings while strictly staying within the Pre-Romanesque esthetics. And then, toward the end of the 10ᵗʰ century, in those same Mediterranean lands, from Dalmatia to Catalonia, there emerged a new art of sturdy buildings in durable materials, experimenting both with vaulting and decorating of external faces of the walls – the so-called "First Romanesque" of the Mediterranean circle. But this is another story.

If the key theme of the "Carolingian Revival" is harking back, i.e., "reviving" earlier styles, imperial styles – Early Christian, Early Byzantine –, then the less innovative forms of Carolingian architecture are truly *Carolingian* (the monumental rotunda, the basilica with a western transept, or, "*more romano*" and "*more constantinopolitano*"). The innovative aspect of the Carolingian architecture, the one which would have a profound impact on the architecture of the next half a millennium, the westwork, the western massif, is in fact "anti-Carolingian", or at least "un-Carolingian"! I do admire Carol Heitz's wonderful analysis of the westwork at Centula, and his conclusions that the westwork is linked to the Holy Sepulcher ("*more hierosolimitano*"), yet the Holy Sepulcher was not a tower but a rotunda. The westwork, as Hietz correctly remarks, is a centralized structure, but what a difference between the *turris* at Centula or Corvey, and the Early Christian and Early Byzantine rotundas.[29] Thus, the most innovative, the most revolutionary

nounces itself as a City, a Fortress of the Lord. It will take time and Martin Luther to remind Europe that only the Lord is a fortified city, not pieces of rock or brick piled up by the hands of the sinning mortals. In the meantime, however, the tower, the

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[29] The reader is certainly aware of the fact that westwork is a vast area of research with an equally vast bibliography, so our observations will remain fragmentary, centering on what is recognized as crucial. In my opinion, C. HEITZ's profound study, *Les recherches sur les rapports entre l'architecture et la liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris 1963), expanded by the same author's book *L'architecture carolingienne* (Paris 1980), remains one of the crucial bases for any study of the westwork issue. Heitz's reasoning (i.e., in a nutshell, westwork – area reserved for the liturgy of the Savior, the model being the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, see pp. 77 ff., 91 ff., 102-106 ff., 121 ff.) is best applicable to the central lands of the Empire (see

also GOSS, V. P.: *Early Croatian Architecture*. London 1987, pp. 74-75). Germanic scholars paid more attention to the westwork as the "Kaiserkirche", claiming that the frequent dedication to the Savior is a consequence of the merging of the cults of the Savior and the Emperor. The contentions are not mutually exclusive, as Heitz allows for the role of the ruler in the westwork iconography, whereas the German thesis recognizes the importance of the liturgy of the Savior. In those terms, especially useful are FUCHS, A.: *Die Karolingischen Westwerke und Andere Fragen der Karolingischen Baukunst*. Paderborn 1929; FUCHS, A.: Enstehung und Zweckbestimmung der Westwerke. In: *Westfallische Zeitschrift*, 100,
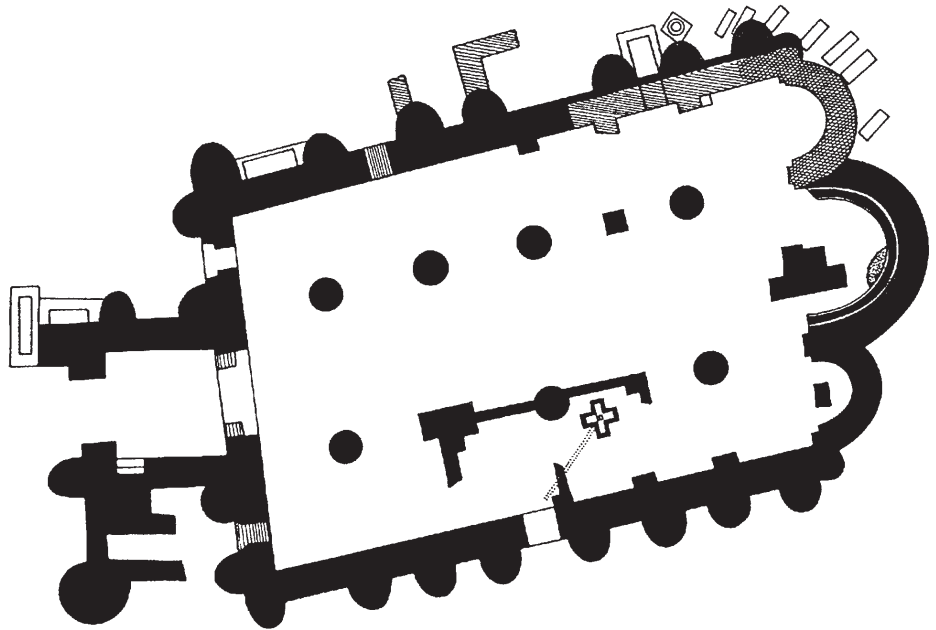
11. Biograd, Cathedral, late 9th century (?), ground plan. Repro: Museum of Croatian Archeological Monuments, Split.

aspect of the architecture of the Carolingian period had little to do with the idea of *Renovatio*! As one writes these words, one is immediately reminded that similar dichotomy rules the painting and sculpture of the Carolingian period – there are obvious *Renovatio* pieces (The Coronation Gospels, The Charlemagne from Metz), but even within the art of the Palatine School, the renovational models almost immediately give way to a more structured, more planar, and more decorative solutions. Is it an accident that to the place with the probably first monumental Carolingian west-work church, St. Riquier at Centula, are also linked the Centula Gospels? Should we, therefore, now turn our contention about what is Carolingian and what is not upside down? Lobbeday has demonstrated that the westwork had no identifiable antecedent. The same may be said of the Romanesque towers and *campanili*, as foreign to Classical architecture as the Carolingian *turris*. I would dare postulate that the "intellectuals" may have had their visions of the

past, but as soon as this visions turned into reality, the "people" did their best to redirect them toward what the "people" knew best: their own artistic "barbarian" tradition, although already "contaminated" by Carolingian or some other "renovational" trend.[30] Once that "contaminated" art, bringing together both the classical and the barbarian tradition, assumed a monumental scale within a monumental architectural framework, the Romanesque would emerge from the Pre-Romanesque.

As just stated above, Lobbeday has pointed out that we really do not know the source of the Carolingian *turris,* that marvelous invention which turned the boring, low-lying Early Christian basilica into an exciting asset to the landscape, profoundly changing its expressive content in the process. By proposing a very useful distinction between a proper westwork and a "Westbau", Lobbeday has reminded us that western annexes existed along the facades of Christian churches from a much earlier period. Only,

1950, p. 227-291, in particular pp. 227, 253-255, 259-274; and FUCHS, A.: Zum Problem der Westwerke. In: *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst.* Eds. A. ALFÖLDI et al. Wiesbaden 1957, pp. 109-127. The old classic – EFFMANN, W.: *Centula.* Münster 1912 – is still recommended reading, especially in terms of Effmann's discussion of the defensive functions

of the westwork. Another important study on the defensive function is STENGEL, E. E.: Über Ursprung, Zweck und Bedeutung der Karolingischen Westwerke. In: *Festschrift Adolf Hofmeister.* Ed. U. SCHEIL. Greiswlad 1956, pp. 283-311. For some more recent suggestions, see LOBBEDAY 2002 (see in note 28).

they mostly complied with the simple silhouette of the building's body. Many western burial chambers of Pre-Romanesque churches, from Asturias to Croatia, follow that principle. Once a *turris* rises over that "crypt", we have a westwork.[31] In what is still in my opinion the most thorough discussion of the western massif issue, Carol Heitz has explained the full westwork as a place reserved for the liturgy of the Savior (Christmas and Easter), topping a "crypt" with an altar.[32] As the westwork does not seem to have any precedents in Classical architecture of the Mediterranean, one could speculate about potential pre-historic or "barbarian" sources, such as menhirs, stelae on top of burial tumuli, some forms of Celtic religious architecture, postulated wooden forms, early medieval tower like structures containing a tomb or an altar allegedly existing in the Eastern Alps, but there is at this point, as far as I can see, no single convincing source.[33] Let us not forget, either, that the westwork is in principle a centralized structure. Thus, putting together a westwork and a rotunda would seem to be a tautology.

Yet, it did occur. Here, the Palatine Chapel at Aachen may indeed be a very distinguished model. As opposed to the exactly contemporary St. Riquier at Centula, where a centralized western annex was attached to a longitudinal nave, the sequence in Aachen is (atrium equals nave): western *turris* – centralized (polygonal) "nave" – rectangular sanctuary. That sequence – tower, rotunda, sanctuary – is well-known from Eastern Europe, where, no doubt, the Aachen model was applied on local level.[34] The

[30] See notes 27 and 28.

[31] See note 28.

[32] See note 29.

[33] GINHART, K.: Die Karolingisch-Vorromanische Baukunst in Österreich. In: GINHART 1937 (see in note 27)*,* pp. 5-23, especially pp. 16-22; BALDASS, P. von et al.: *Romanische Kunst Österreichs.* Wien [s.a.], pp. 6-7; KÜHNEL, H. et al. (eds.): *Romanische Kunst in Österreich.* [Exhib. Cat.] Krems an der Donau 1964, p. 235. This is a phenomenon which I would like to explore in some more detail in the future. In those terms, there are two interesting monuments in Slovenia: the rectangular choir, once a free standing structure of St. Lawrence at Dravsko polje – see STOPAR 1987 (see in note 19), p. 39 (Pre-Romanesque according to the author); and the apse of St. Nicolaus at Otok pri Dobravi which is, according to the investigators, founded upon a "*Pre-Romanesque burial building*" – see ŠRIBAR, V. – STARE, V.: *Otok pri Dobravi.* Ljubljana 1981, p. 14.

[34] The researchers of the issue of the rotundas in Eastern and Central-Eastern Europe have almost unanimously chosen the Palatine Chapel in Aachen as a model for hundreds of centralized churches in the areas they studied. E.g., MERHAUTOVÁ-LIVOROVÁ, A.: *Einfache mitteleuropäische Rundkirchen.* Prague 1970, pp. 60-62; VANČO, M.: *Stredoveké rotundy na Slovensku (Medieval Rotundas in Slovakia).* Bratislava 2000, pp. 177-178; GERVERS-MOLNAR, V.: Les rotondes de l'époque romane dans Hongrie médiévale. In: *Cahiers de civilisation médiéval,* 9, 1968, p. 521. One finds such ideas also in the most up-to-date studies, e.g., POLÁČEK, L. (ed.): *Terénní výzkum v Mikulčicích.* Brno 2006, Vol. 1, p. 28. For the vastness of the matter, see also GERVERS-MOLNAR, V.: Középkori magyarország rotundái. In: *Művészettörténeti füzetek,* 4, 1972, pp. 84-90; GERVERS-MOLNAR, V.: Origins of Romanesque Rotundas in East-Central Europe. In: *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies,* 2, 1975, pp. 123-129; and GERVERS-MOLNAR, V.: Romanesque Round Churches of Medieval Hungary. In: *Actes du XXIIᵉ Congrès international d'histoire de l'art.* Budapest 1972, pp. 386-401. There are more than 80 rounded churches in Hungary alone. I vividly remember the words of Dr. Gervers-Molnar after my lecture at the Scarborough College of the University of Toronto in 1977 that the rotunda is such a frequent form in Central-Eastern Europe that it should be seen as a regular type and not an exception. Yet there is technically little in common between the complex and monumental imperial structure in Aachen and the little rounded churches of Central-Eastern Europe. One does not claim that on human psychology level the Aachen church was not an august and unrepeatable model, a shining image reflected in the eastern outskirts of the Empire by the little, modest, rounded church. One has heard of Aachen, one has been informed about its essential form (centralized building), one knows that such a building is proper for a ruler, one finds a builder to repeat the model on a very reduced scale commensurate with the stature and means of the patron. But why *rounded*? The ruler's church in Croatia and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe is even more frequently an aisled or aisleless building with a westwork or westbau. The model is, of course, universal European and can be traced from Scandinavia to Kosovo, and from the lower Rhine to Transylvania. This does not mean, in technical terms, rejecting the Palatine Chapel as an ideal model. But we doubt that it would have had such a success, if it had not had a very receptive (i.e., prepared) audience, used to centralized form sanctified by their own pagan tradition. I have been dealing with this issue in a number of studies, e.g., GOSS, V. P.: Landscape as History, Myth, and Art. An Art Historian's View. In: *Studia Ethnologica Croatica,* 21, 2009, pp.133-166; and GOSS, V. P.: Memories, Sources, Models. In: *Medioevo: Immagine e memoria.* Parma 2009, pp. 169-174.

12. Lobor, St. Mary of the Snow, 9th century, southwestern corner, site of the wooden church next to the arcade in the background. Photo: V. P. Goss.

turris at Aachen is relatively simple compared to St. Riquier at Centula, or the magnificent westwork at Corvey, yet more assertive than other chronologically close achievements such as at Inden or Steinbach. In a careful analysis, Braunfels has distinguished the functions of the several areas of the Chapel. The "Palatine Chapel" is the octagonal space in the middle, the upper storey is reserved for the ruler and his retinue, with a throne of the Emperor at its western side, next to the tower which contained another Emperor's throne, facing the atrium, and above, on the upper storey, there was the chamber storing the relics.

The throne that faced the atrium was placed so the Ruler could receive the *laudes* of the public. It was above the tomb of Charlemagne, which was so well hidden that the Normans missed it when sacking Aachen in 881, and Otto III barely managed to find it in 1000. The central area, surmounted by a dome showing Christ and the Elders of the Apocalypse, was the earliest preserved "sacred space" to the north of the Alps. What is, according to Braunfels, absolutely new, is the appearance of the tribune with the throne (although one may have stood at the "Westbau" of St. Denis). What is also worth noting is the *separation* of the sacred (central space) and the *turris* zone. This does not seem to have been the case at St. Riquier, an argument for the role of local and individual factors in the creation of individual westworks.[35]

The early history of the site of the Palatine Chapel is also not without interest. Aachen, *Aquae Grani*, is a place dedicated to a Celtic deity of water. It continued to be a popular spa and a pilgrimage spot. St. Mary duly inherited the place, and in the 5th century her sanctuary was built over Grano's springs. The place is for the first time mentioned in written sources when Pepin restored the Chapel in 761 – 766. It was apparently a rotunda with rectangular annexes, something like a hall plus a sanctuary.[36]

[35] BRAUNFELS, W. (ed.): *Karl der Grosse*. Vols. 1-5. Düsseldorf 1965, Vol. 3, texts by G. BANDMANN, F. KREUSCH, L. HUGOT, and W. SAGE, pp. 424-590. One notices that there are great, even fundamental differences of opinion among the listed top experts, which make a proper understanding of the Chapel ever so more difficult. For this reason, I find the summary by Wolfgang Braunfels extremely useful. – BRAUNFELS, W.: Aquisgrana. In: *Encyclopedia dell'arte medievale*. Ed. A. M. ROMANINI. Rome 1991, Vol. 2, pp. 210-216.

[36] BRAUNFELS 1965 (see in note 35), p. 427.

Allow me a digression. In the summer of 2006, I revisited the Savior's Church at Cetina in the company of my colleague and friend, distinguished early medieval archeologist Ante Milošević. Walking around the church bathed by warm summer sun offset against the rocky sides of the Dinara Mountain [Fig. 9] and under the limpid blue sky, we both mused over the question: Is there anything analogous anywhere else in Europe? The massive wall surfaces of the Savior's Church recall Asturias. So do also the buttresses, but in Asturias, as anywhere else, they are rectangular, as, for example, also at the Roman buildings in Tillurium (Gardun/Trilj) nearby. And Asturias has no towers! Nor there are any local antique precedents! No wonder that one gets tempted to succumb to quasi-mystic musings of Strzygowski about the "Nordic" – German/Slavic – art and architecture in wood, or the already invoked prehistoric menhirs, such as used to stand at the top of the macro-tumulus at Jalžabet in northwestern Croatia. Transmitted through some suspected Celtic practices in the Eastern Alps and picked up by the earliest Christian architecture of the area?[37] Or?

I maintain that the research by cultural anthropologists and linguists can help us, if not solve the problem, then at least open a new, so far neglected avenues of investigation.

That place names constitute an important evidence in historical studies is nothing new. The areas inhabited by Southern Slavs are full of places bearing old Slavic references – names of gods, of rituals, of old obsolete words long gone from the language, etc. What, however, was done over last two decades, and here the Southern Slavic area seems to be in the forefront of research, is to stop seeing individual place names in isolation, but to relate them within a system. This in itself was made possible by the research of the Russian scholars, Ivanov and Toporov, who, some forty years ago, recognized structural relationships between the elements and thus enabled researchers to establish the importance of certain points in the landscape. It became possible to recognize the essential elements of the fundamental myth centering on the clash between Perun, the thunder-god, whose place is "up there", on a mountain, and Veles, the snake, the god of the "down there", the underworld, who is chased back by Perun's lightnings into the depths of the water whenever he dares attempt to climb the mountain. The interested reader is referred to anthropological literature for details of the myth which is common to many groups of both Indo-European and Non-Indo-European nations, and has even pre-Indo-European roots, and is related to the cycle of the year, the change of seasons, and rituals contained therein. In a nutshell, Perun's son Juraj/Jarylo is abducted by Veles's agents in the dead of winter and spends his youth as a shepherd of Veles's wolves. He escapes, crosses the river, changes his name into Ivan and at mid-summer marries his sister Mara. He is unfaithful to her and is killed to be born again in the midst of winter. And so on, year in, year out. An additional bone of contention between the Thunderer and the Snake is Perun's wife, Mokoš, who spends half of a year with her husband and another half with her lover, the god of the underworld. I apologize to my anthropologist colleagues for this drastic oversimplification.[38]

The outstanding Croatian linguist, Radoslav Katičić, has identified several "stages" where the segments of the myth have been played out, including place names such as *Perun*, *Perunsko* (Perun's place), *Vidova gora* (St. Vid's Mountain), *Gora* (Montain), as opposed to *Veles*, *Volosko* (Veles's place), *Dol* (Hollow). Between them there is often an oak forest, *Dubrava*, *Dubac*, where the conflict between Perun and Veles takes place. Building upon Katičić's insights, the Slovene archeologist Andrej Pleterski, Croatian ethnologist and cultural anthropologist Vitomir Belaj, and his son, archeologist Juraj Belaj, started searching for patterns within such clusters of place names. The conclusion by V. Belaj is as follows: "*These are not just points in the landscape any more... Mythically interpreted landscape transforms itself into an ideogram, read by those who within the culture were trained to do so. As ideogram is in fact script, the structured points in the landscape represent a written source about the early Slavic paganism.*"[39]

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[37] See note 33.

[38] BELAJ, V.: *Hod kroz godinu*. Zagreb 2007, pp. 63-135.

[39] Ibidem, pp. 450-454. For bibliographies of authors mentioned, see Ibidem, pp. 471-472, 478; also KATIČIĆ, R.: *Božanski boj*. Zagreb 2008.

13. Zalavár – Récéskút, Pribina's Church, 9th century, view of the nave. Photo: V. P. Goss.

The pattern that has emerged is that of a sacred triangle the characteristics of which are:
1. Of the three points usually in a visual contact with one another, two are occupied by male deities (Perun, Veles, Juraj) and the third by Mokoš;
2. One of the angles measures ca. 23 degrees (representing the deflection between the imagined orbits of the Sun on the equinox and the solstice, in Croatia 23 degrees 27 minutes);
3. The two shorter sides form a ratio of 1 to square root of 2;
4. The longest side usually links the two key opponents;
5. Perun's point is always on an elevated ground;
6. The female point is usually next to water;
7. There is usually water between Mokoš and Veles.

In conclusion, Belaj underlines the tremendous practical impact of the "myth in the landscape": "*There is something even more important. The incorporation of the myth into the newly occupied territories was, obviously, an essential part of making the new land one's own... This is what us, who live here nowadays, albeit we have been blown together by many a wind of history, makes in a mythical and ritual way its legitimate owners.*"[40]

If this view of the "myth in the landscape" is correct, then, first of all, the Croats and the other Southern Slavs brought along to the Roman and Greek world within which they had settled a fairly sophisticated culture. Also, beyond, this may apply to any "barbarian" nation – Slavic, Germanic, Asian by origin – that settled within the Mediterranean world, or that without moving away from its homeland became a part of European civilization by accepting Christianity. The Croats and other Southern Slavs imprinted some of their essential mythical features on the new land in the process of taking it as they perpetuated some of their deepest experiences about the self and the world. They re-made the picture of their old country. Among the newcomers to the Mediterranean, only the Slovenes, Croats, and Montenegrins did preserve their "barbarian" Slavic tongue. They stuck to their tradition.

So, in many respects did, I believe, all other "barbarians" that eventually became members of "Europe". While the "humanists" among European scholars have done an outstanding job in illuminating the Mediterranean component of the European culture, the "barbarian" side has argued its case poorly or not at all. In fact, we do not yet know how to really approach a serious search for, e.g., Slavic pagan

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[40] BELAJ 2007 (see in note 38), pp. 423-424, 454.

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sanctuaries, as, we are told, they mostly did not exist, i.e., they were just a place *trouvé*, minimally – if at all – adjusted to serve its function.[41]

Cultural anthropology tells us that there was culture. Linguistics teaches us how to look for and reconstruct forms that are no more. I am referring to those strange clusters of sounds with an *, so mystifying and baffling to the non-expert. Together they should help us presume, at least tentatively, an existence of an * art form, and enable us to describe it on the basis of what we have. So as the linguists invoke non-existing but presumed verbal forms referring to Indo- and pre-Indo-European past, it would be equally legitimate to do so in the area of visual forms.

If you visit the Spiš (Zips) region in eastern Slovakia, you will discover one of the greatest assets of an anyhow delightful landscape, a medieval village church, aisleless with a rectangular sanctuary and a sturdy tower at the entrance. Just like in Polish, the tower is called "veža", somewhat confusing for a speaker of Croatian who associates the same word with a "porch", or "entrance hall". The word appears to derive from the Indo-European root *aug* indicating "light", in pre-Slavic *weg-* which with a suffix *-ja* gives "wegja", i.e., "veža". We know that the early Slavs made a big use of "zemunicas", half-buried dwellings, a rectangular areas dug into the ground, covered by some kind of a gable roof. We have a description of such a building from the White Croatia beyond the Carpathians by the Arab traveler Ahmed ibn Omar ibn Rosteh (early 10th century): "*In the Slavic land of Gurab [that is the White Croatia], the winters are very cold, so they dig holes which they cover with pointed roofs such as one can see in Christian churches upon which they put clay...*" Thus the "zemunicas" (at least some) bore a certain not negligible superstructure which recalled "pointed" church roofs (gable or pyramid?). The Czech scholar Šimun Ondruš has suggested that one type of Slavic home was a half-buried building with an added entrance structure constructed from logs. The hole is the Veles's world of "down there", dark-

ness and winter, the superstructure is the "wegja", Perun's world of "up there", summer and light.[42] It would be nice to have an exact reconstruction of an early Slavic "veža", but even this may suffice to raise a very intriguing question: Do we have in the "wegja" the source of one of the most fascinating and revolutionary inventions of Pre-Romanesque architecture, the westwork?

Thus, to the already listed potential and postulated "northern" sources, I would add the "veža". A view of Perun's court "on a mountain", or the tree, the pine on the dry top of which Perun sits, while Veles hides among the wet roots, is easily applicable as an image to the westwork, having a place of distinction at the top (Savior, Emperor, nobleman, relics, St. Michael…) and a tomb/altar at the ground floor.

To illustrate this further, here is a list of opposites V. Belaj assigns to Perun and Veles respectively:

Perun	Veles
Up	Down
High	Low
Light	Dark
Above ground	Underground
Summer	Winter
"Veža" – above ground construction	"Jama (Jata)" – underground space
Mountain, Hill	Water, River
Dry	Wet
Ruler and his retinue	Peasants, Servants
Weapons, War etc.[43]	Cattle, Material wealth,

The most frequent images are the tree (e.g., dry pine) as Perun's seat opposed to the wet and dark root area as Veles's seat, or a hill (mountain) opposed to a wet plain, marshland, water. The westwork clearly belongs to the same sphere of imagery. Also,

[41] SŁUPECKI 1994 (see in note 17), p. 159 ff.

[42] BELAJ 2007 (see in note 38), pp. 136-139.

[43] Ibidem, pp. 69, 136, 137, 139. I beg the reader to notice a big question mark a few lines up the page. I am not naive, and I am not proposing that a ghost form nobody has ever seen *is* the source of one of the key elements of western architecture. But without raising questions and making hypotheses, even incorrect ones, we would still be in the cave today.

please, note that in Slovene "vežica" means a mortuary chapel.[44]

I believe that we have here a situation where a form and concept exist and are accommodated within the framework of the tradition, collective memory of the adopting side. The ground floor, the crypt, is the netherworld of Veles. The heights belong to the Resurrected Savior, St. Michael, the angels, and the live terrestrial ruler; to Perun, Thor, Perkunas, and their court.

Coming back to the issue of the Croatian westwork, one should note that two Croatian towers, at Bijaći and Koljani [Figs. 1.4, 1.2], seem to pose additional problems. Namely, their date is believed to be early 9th century, and thus they would represent reductions of the Croatian full-westwork before there was anything to reduce. Tower like porches are, of course, known from some of the outskirts of Europe, e.g., England (Wearmouth, Jarrow, Escomb, late 7th century). The western tower of the Palatine Chapel at Aachen stood by ca. 800. Delegates of the Coastal Croatian Prince Borna were present at the state gathering in Aachen in 818.[45] The towers at Bijaći and Koljani would be a very early example of the appearance of the western tower at the southeastern end of the Carolingian Europe. Could their precocity also be accounted for because the Croats knew, or kept the memory, of the "veža" they used in the old country, and so they readily accepted the suggestion that the prince's church should be prefaced by a tower? There is no evidence I could offer to substantiate this suggestion, but I think that this is a way of investigation worth pursuing.

Charlemagne's empire was the *Imperium Romanum* resurrected, Aachen was a new, little, Rome, Charlemagne a new Constantine. But neither the Empire nor its art were Roman. Even among the bronze masters of the Chapel, along with almost impeccable Classicism of some pieces, there are works which look into the future, toward the art of High Middle Ages.[46] To repeat, the same is true of the figured arts of the Court School, as the step from the Coronations Gospels to the Centula or Ada Gospels eloquently testifies. In that, the Palatine Chapel, we submit, plays an enormous creative role. It seems to bring together practically all themes available at the times. The fact that some of them have not been sufficiently, or at all, recognized does not diminish the need to expose them to critical review and see where such a review is taking us.

I.e., while not denying the Classical sources of the Palatine Chapel, each of its parts could and we believe should be seen as anchored within another, native Northern European memory. We have a "veža", a centralized "sacred space" based on the number eight, and the rectangular sanctuary of the northern architecture in wood. The Chapel's "westwork" is a very specific structure, the inner throne is in fact within the second storey ambulatory, at its western end backing up to the tower.

Reading grand synthetic studies about the westwork, such as Effmann's, Fuchs's, or Heitz's, we seem to have been led to believe that we must look for analogies and see one overwhelming theme for all western massifs. The "veža" of the Palatine Chapel shows that such an approach is not good. The tower is intimately linked with the figure of Charlemagne; it is ruled by his iconography.[47] But what all those tower like structures or images have in common is that they are linked to a person of distinction, be it Christ, St. Michael, Perun, Thor, the Emperor, or a petty village noble who curls up with his swine and his dogs. In some rural parts of Europe, for example in northwestern Croatia, a western tower continues to be built into the 19th century! After all, the Turks are just across the Sava and the Una rivers, and the tower keeps up its historical role of a refuge or fortress. It is sometimes difficult to tell a Romanesque from a 19th century tower! But it is always an image of strength, an image of power, and, in the case of

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[44] Ibidem, p. 210. Prof. Belaj has kindly drawn my attention to the word "vežica" and its meaning.

[45] See notes 19 and 25.

[46] McCLENDON 2005 (see in note 17), p. 112 ff.

[47] See note 35. Let us recall that Pepin's building consisting of a centralized chapel and an oddly aligned rectangular building (a hall?) stands rather firmly within a German/Slavic pre-Christian architecture. Sacredness of the number eight is well-established. For Germanic and Slavic sphere, see my works listed in note 34. See also MILOŠEVIĆ, A. – PEKOVIĆ, Ž.: *Predromanička crkva Svetoga Spasa u Cetini*. Dubrovnik – Split 2009.

the Carolingians, a beacon of a New Europe asserting itself after an interregnum of several centuries, and paving the way for yet another New Europe of the High Middle Ages. An image which creates a new landscape where there is no more place for a low, boxlike Christian temple. In that, as we have already stated, the westwork is "anti-renovational",

"anti-Carolingian". In that the Palatine Chapel in Aachen is a shining example of that "*methamorphsis in progress, where principal vector was still art*", invoked by Francois Pinault in his introductory words to the catalogue of the exhibition *Rome and the Barbarians* in the Palazzo Grassi in Venice.[48]

Návrat k „chorvátskemu westwerku"

Resumé

V predkladanej štúdii sa V. P. Goss vracia k problematike westwerku, a to predovšetkým vo vzťahu k územiu Chorvátska. Autor tému po prvýkrát systematicky spracoval (11 príkladov) v rámci svojej doktorskej dizertačnej práce *Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque Architecture in Croatia* (Predrománska a ranorománska architektúra v Chorvátsku) (Ithaca : Cornell University, 1972). O nové poznatky obohatenú verziu potom publikoval v článku „The South-Eastern Border of Carolingian Architecture" (Juhovýchodná hranica karolínskej architektúry) (*Cahiers archéologiques*, 27, 1978, s. 133-148), kde na základe formálnych znakov jednotlivých westwerkov argumentoval, že predrománska architektúra ranostredovekého Chorvátskeho kráľovstva reprezentovala rozšírenie karolínskych tendencií.

Viacero novších štúdií, v prvom rade od U. Lobbedaya a C. McClendona, vyjadrilo pochybnosti o existujúcich interpretáciách westwerku. Ukázalo sa, že k dispozícii nie sú žiadne jednoznačné precedensy tohto kľúčového a revolučného prvku karolínskej architektúry, ktorý zmenil siluetu kresťanského chrámu. A tiež, že westwerk je obsahom aj formou výrazne individuálna štruktúra, interpretovateľná viac než iba jedným spôsobom.

Vo svetle týchto skutočností autor navrhuje vziať do úvahy výskumy kultúrnych antropológov a lingvistov, predovšetkým z oblasti slovanských štúdií, a preskúmať literárny a vizuálny význam prvkov vystupujúcich z prírodnej a ľuďmi modifikovanej krajiny, napríklad hory, stromy, či štruktúry zachytené v cestopisoch, no nikdy skutočne nerekonštruované, napríklad ranoslovanské „veže", zjavné superštruktúry vtedajších obydlí. Tieto prvky možno považovať za predobrazy westwerku; ich obsah korešponduje s výrazom moci reprezentovaným karolínskou *turris*.

Autor, plne si vedomý toho, že takýto predpoklad potrebuje k potvrdeniu množstvo dôkazov, sa aspoň pokusne zamýšľa nad existenciou predpokladanej architektonickej formy a opisuje ju na základe vedomostí získaných kultúrnymi antropológmi a lingvistami.

Sú tu však aj omnoho zjavnejšie závery, t. j., že westwerk je vždy výrazom sily formujúcej novú krajinu, v ktorej už nie je miesto pre skromný, podsaditý kváder kresťanského chrámu; že westwerk nie je karolínsky, ale anti-karolínsky, keďže sa odvracia od aspektu *renovatio* karolínskej „renesancie" a otvára nové cesty umeleckého vývinu smerom k originálnej stredovekej forme. Napokon, autor netvrdí, že našiel riešenie starého problému, verí však, že identifikoval komplex skutočností, v rámci ktorého je možné hľadať nové, bohatšie a prijateľnejšie interpretácie hodné spojenej, ale zároveň aj diferencovanej Európy.

Preklad z angličtiny M. Hrdina

Sv. Josef Kalasanský, kardinál Dietrichstein
a Dominik à Jesu Maria (Domingo Ruzola). Poznámka na okraj
freskové výzdoby kostela piaristů v Prievidzi

Pavel ŠTĚPÁNEK

I.

Kult zakladatele řádu piaristů, sv. Josefa Kalasanského (Calasanz), je dosti pozdní; svým výstupem na české nebe roku 1748 patří k posledním barokním světcům. Tato malá úvaha se bude zabývat zejména jeho vztahy k českým zemím a ke Slovensku; jako záminku použiji zobrazení tohoto světce na fresce v piaristickém kostele v Prievidzi na Slovensku z důvodu, který za chvíli objasním komplexněji. Piaristický řád sice vznikl v Římě, ale jeho zakladatel byl Španěl, přesněji aragonský rodák. Významem a počátečními osudy připomínají piaristé tak trochu Tovaryšstvo Ježíšovo, založené rovněž v tomto

italském městě, které mělo převážně španělský ráz díky svému zakladateli (sv. Ignác z Loyoly) a jeho pomocníkům. Piaristé byli někdy nazýváni či chápáni jako „reformovaní jezuité".[1]

Přestože řády byly svou povahou nadnárodní, v žádném případě nelze opomíjet složku národnostní, zejména v zakladatelské generaci.[2] V období katolické protireformace (16. – 17. století) se tak vytvářel velmi častý trojúhelník: nejsilnější katolický stát Evropy – Španělsko[3] – dodával impulsy, které dostávaly zřetelné obrysy v Itálii a pak se šířily do střední Evropy, popřípadě i dále, v našem případě na území Čech, Moravy a Slezska. To mistrně postihl už Zdeněk Kalista, jenž jako první a zatím poslední

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[1] GIORDANO, F.: *Sv. Jozef Kalazanský. Životopis.* Prievidza 1994 (italský originál 1960), s. 92. Také jejich heslo vychází z ignaciánského.

[2] O piaristech nemáme žádnou početnou novější literaturu, zatímco o jezuitech vychází jedna kniha za druhou. Viz BARTŮŠEK, V.: *Snahy o založení piaristické koleje v Praze v 17. a v 1. polovině 18. století.* Praha 2002, 32 s.; *Svatý Josef Kalasanský a Zbožné školy: Informátor o Řádu piaristů.* Strážnice 2004. Velmi stručnou informaci podává VLČEK, P. – SOMMER, P. – FOLTÝN, D.: *Encyklopedie českých klášterů.* Praha 1997. K jezuitům viz mimo jiné naposledy BRODRICK, J.: *Rozšíření jezuitů.* Olomouc 2005. Ohledně jezuitů v českých zemích viz ČORNEJOVÁ, I.: *Tovaryšstvo Ježíšovo. Jezuité v Čechách.* Praha 2002 (1. ed. 1995). Dnes už je česká literatura o jezuitech a jejich zakladateli tak rozsáhlá, že vytváří samostatnou knihovnu. Připomenu jen práce z poslední doby, včetně klasických knih v novém překladu jako je FÜLÖP-MILLER, R.: *Moc a tajemství jezuitů. Kulturní a duchovní dějiny.* Praha 2000. Španělskou stránku zdůrazňuje zejména MATT, L. von – RAHNER, H.: *Ignác z Loyoly.* Velehrad 2004. O jezuitských světcích zejména

Rok s jezuitskými svatými. Ed. M. ALTRICHTER. Velehrad 2002. Pokud jde o působení v mimoevropských oblastech viz zejména *František Xaverský (1506 – 1552). Výběr z korespondence jezuitského misionáře Dálného Východu.* Velehrad 2005; SCHATZ, K.: Jezuitský stát v Paraguayi. In: *Teologický sborník*, 1998, č. 4, s. 74-83; KAŠPAR, O.: *Jezuité z české provincie v Mexiku.* Olomouc 1999; KOLÁČEK, J.: *Šimon Boruhradský.* Velehrad 1997; KOLÁČEK, J.: *Samuel z Trutnova.* Velehrad 2001. Expanzi v Čechách mapuje např. KOLÁČEK, J.: *Jezuité na sv. Hoře.* Velehrad 1998. Z vlastních spisů sv. Ignáce viz *Poutník. Vlastní životopis sv. Ignáce z Loyoly.* Velehrad 2002; Ignác z Loyoly: *Duchovní cvičení.* Velehrad 2002. Korespondenci v ukázkách viz KYRALOVÁ, M.: *Ignác z Loyoly.* Praha 1992. Inspiraci dílem sv. Ignáce ukazuje např. HEVENESI, G.: *Jiskry sv. Ignáce. Citáty a reflexe.* Praha 1994; LONSDALE, D.: *Oči k vidění, uši k slyšení. Úvod do ignaciánské spirituality.* Kostelní Vydří 2003.

[3] Španělskými vlivy jakožto zásadní záležitostí se zabývá DICKENS, A. G.: *The Counter Reformation.* London 1968, zvl. kapitola „II. The medieval Sources of Catholic Revival", s. 19-28.

věnoval pozornost českému baroku ze zorného úhlu daleko širšího: dohlédl nejen na Pyrenejský poloostrov, ale dokonce i za oceán.[4] Jak to definoval Christopher Dawson,[5] bezmoc Itálie proti faktu španělské moci vedla naopak ke kosmopolitním vlivům italské kultury.

Podnětem k této studii byla moje nedávná návštěva v Prievidzi, kde jsem měl možnost shlédnout obnovené nástěnné malby v tamním piaristickém kostele.[6] Odpovídá totiž mému dlouhodobému záměru sledovat problematiku toho, čemu říkám Čechy španělské (resp. Morava španělská a Slovensko španělské) a v čem mě nedávno publikačně předběhl v sousedním Rakousku můj španělský kolega Xavier Sellés-Ferrando objemnou knihou *Spanisches Österreich*,[7] v níž se také nezbytně objevují i české reálie. V rovině náboženské kráčí tato hispanizace – rozuměj myšlenková a ikonografická – ruku v ruce s italskými průniky do střední Evropy.

I když nechybí výrazné hlasy o hispanizaci Čech,[8] není pochopitelně myšlena jazykově a nelze pochopitelně tvrdit, že bychom byli jakousi přímou součástí španělského světa, i když španělské dynastické vztahy s vídeňským dvorem, řídícím se španělským protokolem po většinu své existence, by k tomu opravňovaly. Španělské myšlení politické,[9] a zejména vliv společného náboženství katolického, sehrálo v tomto životním prostoru daleko větší roli, než se dnes zdá. Odpovídá to postavení národa, který stál mocensky a myšlenkově v čele katolického světa až do osvícenství, přinejmenším v rozhodujícím období zámořských objevů a evropské expanze – byly to vlivy zejména konceptuální –, a který tak podstatně

spoluutvářel vývoj moderního světa ještě dlouho potom co skončila jeho mocenská pozice. Ne zbytečně datujeme novověk španělským objevem Ameriky v roce 1492. Samozřejmě, vzhledem ke geografickým a dalším podmínkám byl formální rozvoj umění od renesance podmíněn všudypřítomnými Italy, rozhodující složkou v šíření nových uměleckých forem.

II.

Pro většinu barokních mystiků, zvláště španělských, kteří předjímali a určovali evropskou úroveň této tendence (Luis de León, Terezie z Ávily, Jan od Kříže, atd.), popřípadě i u prakticko-meditativních řádů, je příznačná velká úcta k osobnosti a důraz na praktické jednání. Vrcholem této složky jsou právě jezuité vedení sv. Ignácem z Loyoly. Ovšem nejen známá duchovní cvičení jezuitská, ale i neméně vlivná kapucínská[10] spoluutvářely literární myšlení baroka, dokonce i v protestantských oblastech. V oblasti praxe to byly i další řády založené či reformované v 16. století Španěly. Stručně řečeno s Jordanem Aumannem, v době kdy se „*severní Evropa zmítala v bouřích, papežství ztratilo prestiž, obnova křesťanské spirituality se posunula na jih od Pyrenejí, do Španělska*".[11]

Odmyslíme-li si starý řád dominikánů, založený Španělem sv. Dominikem Guzmánem, a připomene-li pouze řády soudobé či v oné době se rozvíjející díky španělskému impulsu, které u nás (ve Vídni i Praze a v Čechách obecně) začaly intenzívně působit (a působí – až na výjimky – prakticky dodnes), pak musíme uvést ještě řád montserratských benediktinů, reformovaných bosých augustiniánů, španělskou

[4] „… *můžeme jen litovat, že vnější okolnosti nedovolily Kalistovi věnovat více pozornosti fenoménu baroka v zámoří.*" – KOZELKA, V.: Zdeněk Kalista, Tvář Baroka, Garamond 2005 [Recenze]. In: *A2*, 2005, č. 1, s. 28.

[5] DAWSON, Ch.: *Rozdělení nebo reforma západního křesťanstva?* Praha 1998, s. 60.

[6] Ve vedlejších Bojnicích zorganizoval jsem výstavu španělského umění ze slovenských sbírek. Viz *Španielske umenie zo slovenských zbierok*. SNM – Múzeum Bojnice, Zámok Bojnice, 21. 5. – 30. 8. 2005; ŠTĚPÁNEK, P.: Španielske umenie zo slovenských zbierok. In: *Pamiatky a múzeá*, 54, 2005, č. 4, s. 49-52.

[7] SELLÉS-FERRANDO, X.: *Spanisches Österreich*. Wien – Köln – Weimar 2004.

[8] VOPĚNKA, P.: *Podivuhodný květ českého baroka*. Praha 1998, kapitola „Españolizar Bohemia!", s. 86-111.

[9] Zejména prostřednictvím publikací Saavedry Fajarda. Viz ŠTĚPÁNEK, P.: Resonancias de Saavedra Fajardo en Bohemia (Emblemas barrocos en el palacio checo de Doudleby nad Orlicí). In: *Monteagudo*, 1984, č. 86, s. 63-68.

[10] SOUSEDÍK, S.: *Valerián Magni. Kapitola z kulturních dějin Čech 17. století*. Praha 1983.

[11] AUMANN, J.: *Křesťanská spiritualita v katolické tradici*. Praha 2000, s. 167. Také Dawson zdůrazňuje „*velkou mystickou obrodu*" včetně karmelitánské reformy, a že Trident byl skladbou svých členů převážně italský a španělský. – DAWSON 1998, c. d. (v pozn. 5), s. 134.

odnož trinitářů, milosrdných (řád sv. Jana z Granady) a bosých karmelitánů,[12] rovněž španělského původu, abychom si uvědomili hluboké konceptuální španělské vlivy na českou náboženskou a tím i všeobecnou kulturu, přestože se k nám dostávaly převážně nepřímo – přes Řím (neboť byly vázány na procedurální záležitosti papežské kurie) nebo i Vídeň jakožto centrum rakouského soustátí.[13]

Toto poukazování na španělské kořeny řádů, zvláště řádu jezuitského, není ani samoúčelné ani projevem snahy dokázat za každou cenu váhu španělské přítomnosti u nás. Víme totiž, že právě česká katolická strana požádala samotného Ignáce z Loyoly o vyslání Tovaryšstva do Čech.[14] Připomeňme zde jen, že španělští jezuité založili olomouckou univerzitu; prvním rektorem byl Hurtado de Mendoza, jenž ale působil i v Praze.[15]

III.

Uvedu jako příklad jedno výmluvné svědectví doby. Kardinál František z Dietrichsteina zřídil roku 1616 jezuitskou residenci v Holešově a pak v dalších moravských městech, ale ještě dříve, roku 1611, nechal vystavět klášter kapucínům v Mikulově. Je rovněž příznačné, že když údajně chtěl postavit protiváhu proti monopolnímu postavení jezuitů, povolal roku 1631 na Moravu řád piaristů, založený Josefem Kalasanským roku 1597.[16] Piaristé byli řádem chudých kleriků Matky Boží Zbožných škol (*Ordo Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum*)[17] podle reguíí sv. Augustina. Není náhodou, že jak řád piaristů, tak jezuitský řád, založené a vedené Španěly, soustřeďovaly své úsilí na oblast výchovy.[18] Spíše než o konkurenci lze přitom hovořit o vzájemném doplňování, protože piaristé se věnovali zejména základnímu a střednímu školství, zatímco jezuité vysokému a lišili se i v metodách výuky.

Po zrušení jezuitského řádu piaristé prakticky převzali jejich vzdělávací funkce. Své základní a v menší míře i střední školy budovali pod ochranou světských i církevních vrchností převážně v malých městech, a to tam, kde byl evangelický odpor proti rekatolizaci nejúpornější, na Moravě například právě v Mikulově (mikulovská kolej byla ovšem vůbec první piaristickou kolejí v celé středoevropské oblasti), ve Strážnici (1633), v Lipníku nad Bečvou (1634),[19] v Čechách

[12] Viz JIRÁRSKO, L.: *Církevní řády a kongregace v zemích českých*. Praha 1991.

[13] Bylo by na místě přezkoumat souvislosti mezi liturgickou nádherou, která dosáhla v baroku svého vrcholu, a malebností a okázalostí veřejného i soukromého života a její vliv na lidové umění. S barokními chrámem, jeho liturgií a lidovými pobožnostmi, zvláště zpěvem, byli věřící spjati bratrstvy, jejichž počet je pro baroko příznačný. Také bratrstva dala celé době osobitý ráz. Jezuité rozšířili i kult jesliček právě ze Severské koleje v Olomouci. Viz MEDEK, V.: *Cesta české a moravské církve staletími*. Praha 1982, s. 227 a 229. Zd. Kalista připomíná, že ještě silněji než prostřednictvím aristokratických rodin, které vytvářely v Čechách i na Moravě španělskou stranu, pronikala na českou půdu španělská religiozita v řeholních ústavech řádu jezuitského. – KALISTA, Zd.: *Ctihodná Marie Elekta Ježíšova*. Kostelní Vydří 1992, s. 76. L. F. Piperek připomíná Pekařův názor, že příklon ke srozumitelnému, lidovému zpěvu v kostelích vedl k tak výraznému úspěchu katolické církve při opětovném sjednocení národa. – PIPEREK, L. F.: Václav nebo Jan. In: *Prostor, 3, 1995, s. 10-11.*

[14] ČORNEJOVÁ 2002, c. d. (v pozn. 2), s. 32. Průzkumem terénu byl sv. Ignácem pověřen Petr Canisius, aby se k záměru vyjádřil. Ten vhodnost působení jezuitů potvrdil. Jeho katechismus *Summa doctrinae christianae* se dočkal 28 vydání a používal se až do 19. století.

[15] *Jezuitský konvikt. Sídlo uměleckého centra Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci. Dějiny – Stavební a umělecké dějiny – Obnova a využití.* Ed. J. FIALA. Olomouc 2002. O činnosti pražských jezuitů např. KAŠPAROVÁ, J. – MAČÁK, K.: *Utilitas Matheseos. Jezuitská matematika v Klementinu (1602 – 1773).* Praha 2002; Misiones jesuitas. In: *Artes de México*, 2003, č. 65. O jejich filosofii a novoscholastice viz JANSEN, B.: *Jezuité v přírodních vědách a ve filosofii 17. a 18. století.* Olomouc – Velehrad 2004.

[16] MEDEK 1982, c. d. (v pozn. 13), s. 206.

[17] JIRÁSKO 1991, c. d. (v pozn. 12), s. 80-81. Kromě toho existuje i nově založený řád kalasantinů, kongregace pro křesťanské dělníky sv. Josefa Kalasanského (*Congregatio pro operarii christianis a S. Josepho Calasantio*), založená ve Vídni roku 1889, kteří působili v Kladně – Kročehlavech od roku 1931 do zrušení řádu. – Ibidem, s. 94.

[18] Sv. Josef Kalasanský (Calasanz) se vysloveně inspiroval jezuitskou pedagogikou i heslo řádu převzalo část hesla jezuitského.

[19] MLČÁK, L.: Malířské dílo Josefa Fr. Pilze (1711 – 1797). In: *Sborník památkové péče v Severomoravském kraji, 5.* Ostrava 1982.

(kam je přivedli Pernštejnové) zejména v Litomyšli (1640), v Rychnově nad Kněžnou, v Kosmonosech (1688) a ve Slaném (1658). Do konce století založili ještě svá gymnázia v Kroměříži (1687), ve Staré Vodě (1690) a v Příboře (1694).[20] Právě v těchto oblastech bylo nutno ukázat pedagogické mistrovství, což piaristický řád, řád po výtce školský a učitelský, dokázal.

Do Prahy pronikli piaristé dosti pozdě, neboť proti tomu stáli právě jezuité. Až Gelasius Dobner dosáhl toho, že se koncem roku 1752 Menhartův palác v Celetné ulici stal piaristickou kolejí, která ovšem až do roku 1776 měla pouze čtyři triviální třídy, a to školu čtení, psaní, počtů a základů latiny. V Celetné se udržela čtrnáct let. V roce 1766 se přemístila do nové budovy v Panské ulici na Novém Městě a po zrušení jezuitského řádu v roce 1773 (rozhodnutí zveřejněno 16. 8. 1773)[21] převzali piaristé dědictví proslulého jezuitského novoměstského akademického gymnázia. Škola se stala nejlepší svého druhu u nás.[22]

Zatím stále nedoceněný význam piaristů pro rodící se syntézu barokní kultury v českých zemích, zejména v oblasti výchovy, výuky a školství, a konec konců i umění, vyzvedl v minulosti především Arne Novák: „... *z ostatních řádů největší význam měli Otcové pobožných škol čili piaristé, jimž jejich zakladatel, sv. Josef Calasanz, uložil péči především o školství střední a nižší, ale i o písemnictví*.[23]

<div align="center">

IV.

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Osobnost sv. Josefa Kalasanského. Tento španělský světec patří mezi významné osobnosti, přesto jeho osudy a dílo téměř upadlo v zapomnění.

Dostalo se mu pozornosti teprve v nedávné době v souvislosti s připomenutím významu řádu piaristů, který založil. Jak dále uvidíme, působení řádu mělo nesmírný význam od samého jeho ustavení zejména v Čechách, na Moravě a v Horním Uhersku (Slovensku). Životopisné údaje Josefa Kalasanského (řádové jméno Josef od Boží Matky) byly shrnuty několikrát, pro naše potřeby je zcela vyhovující práce italského autora Francesca Giordana.[24]

Osobnost, osudy zakladatele a jeho díla jsou v mnohém ohledu zajímavé, ba v určitých okamžicích i napínavé. Josef Kalasanský se narodil roku 1556 nebo 1557 v malé dědině Peralta de la Sal na svazích pyrenejské Ribagorzy, na rozhraní Aragonska a Katalánska, kde byl jeho otec starostou. Společensky patřil do rodiny *hidalgů*, tedy nižší šlechty, převážně chudší (srovnatelné se zemany v českých zemích), a de facto se živil jako kovář. Josef už od dětství jevil zájem o náboženské úkony, takže se mu přezdívalo *el santet*, t. j. malý světec či „světeček“, a byl proto často terčem posměchu. V katalánské Léridě, hlavním městě stejnojmenné provincie (katalánsky Lleida), vystudoval filosofii a právo na úrovni bakaláře. Tam se stal mluvčím aragonského národa v rektorské radě. Tonzuru přijal v roce 1575. Jako dvacetiletý odešel studovat teologii na univerzitu ve Valencii, kde se jeho patronem stal arcibiskup a místokrál valencijský, blahoslavený Juan Ribera.[25] Na kněze byl vysvěcen roku 1582 v aragonské Huesce. Jeho další osudy vedly k tomu, že byl nazván nejen putovním klerikem, ale naprosto oprávněně i bludným rytířem.[26] Z jeho španělské kariéry nutno připomenout, že byl vizitátorem (inspektorem) montserratského kláštera a z tohoto důvodu podstoupil další sebevzdělání, doktorát. Doktorát

[20] Felix Ivo Leicher: *Sv. Josef Kalasanský před Marií*, kolem 1764. Příbor, okr. Nový Jičín, bývalý piaristický kostel sv. Valentina. K tomu viz SLAVÍČEK, L.: Příspěvky k poznání díla Felixe Ivo Leichera na severní Moravě. In: Ibidem.

[21] *Jezuité v historickém přehledu*. Velehrad 2002; KETTNER, J.: *Dějiny pražské arcidiecéze v datech*. Praha 1993, s. 105.

[22] Viz *Dějiny Prahy v datech*. Ed. Zd. MIKA. Praha 1988, s. 141; HAUBELT, J.: *České osvínství*. Praha 1986, za s. 240 vyobrazení piaristické koleje v Ostrově, v Praze v Celetné a Benešově, foto z roku 1955.

[23] Citované dle KRATOCHVÍL, A.: *Oheň baroka*. Brno 1990, s. 16, pozn. 9. Jejich zásluhy o český mateřský jazyk se však přecházely mlčením. Viz také NEUMAN, A.: *Piaristé a český barok*. Přerov 1933.

[24] GIORDANO 1994 (1960), c. d. (v pozn. 1). Dnes už existuje i důkladnější španělská studie, viz GUERRI, S. G.: *San José de Calasanz. Maestro y fundador*. Madrid 1992.

[25] Po Juanovi de Ribera zůstalo ve Valencii významné muzeum, Museo del Patriarca.

[26] GIORDANO 1994 (1960), c. d. (v pozn. 1), s. 29 a kapitola „V. Bludný ritier“, s. 30-36.

byl v tehdejší době záležitostí pro uchazeče velmi drahou, ba představoval téměř celý majetek, protože bylo třeba platit různé poplatky, zplnomocnění, konzultace a tak podobně. Když roku 1592 odjel z Barcelony do Říma, už byl držitelem tohoto titulu. V nynějším italském hlavním městě bydlel v domě kardinála Marcantonia Colonny spolu s kanovníkem tarragonským Baltazarem Comtem a stýkal se s početnou a silnou španělskou kolonií. Rodina Colonnů byla totiž spjata se Španělskem. Navíc chodíval do římského kostela Panny Marie Montserratské, kde se Španělé scházeli na bohoslužbách.[27]

Habitus nové kongregace oblékl Josef Kalasanský dne 25. 3. 1617, složil slib *somma poverta*, t. j. nejvyššího stupně chudoby, a oblékl si habit pokání a pokory: sutana z obyčejného plátna s černým pásem, krátká pelerína, velký klobouk, otevřené sandály a bosé nohy. Do té doby nosil tuniku podle španělské módy. Dne 8. 8. 1621 byla kongregace chudých kleriků Matky Boží Zbožných škol povýšena na řeholi se slavnostními sliby, dekret schválení byl vydán 31. 1. 1622. Jeho titul zněl *Ministro Generale dei Chierici Regolario Poveri della Madre di Dio*. Přijal řádové jméno Josef od Boží Matky.[28]

Již 16. 3. 1592 máme k dispozici dopis, v němž píše faráři rodné obce Teixidorovi, že prostřednictvím sekretáře tajemníka španělského vyslance, knížete Sessa, a tajného papežského rady u Klementa VIII., Františka z Dietrichsteina, mu byl přiřčen kanonikát v Urgellu, který mu ale nakonec nebyl papežským *datariem* (vedoucím papežské kanceláře) kvůli příliš krátkému pobytu v Římě schválen. Přestože pak v následujících letech papež několikrát přikázal, aby bylo odpovězeno „*Fiat ut petitur*" („*Staniž se, jak žádáno*", rozuměj v záležitosti kanovnictví v Urgellu), v důsledku různých zájmových střetů a intrik nakonec tento kanonikát nedostal, ale bylo navrženo kompromisní řešení: zvolený kandidát kapituly se měl dělit o příjmy s Josefem Kalasanským a dalším uchazečem.

Vzhledem k tomu, že Josef Kalasanský byl už necelé dva roky po svém příchodu do Říma jme-

nován do funkce vizitátora farností Trevi, Monti, Campo Marzio, Regola a Trastevere, měl denní kontakt s lidovými vrstvami, i jako člen různých bratrstev. V roce 1600 mu byla svěřena péče o školu, s níž spolupracoval už od roku 1597; ta se pak stala nástupištěm pro vznik budoucích Zbožných škol. Přestože mu ve stejné době španělský vyslanec kníže Sessa nabízel kanovnictví v Seville, Josef jej zdvořile odmítl a poukázal na to, že se zamýšlí věnovat malým dětem v Římě (zachoval se o tom i jeho španělský výraz *pequeñuelos*).[29] Stal se tak iniciátorem a původcem školy v dnešním významu, t. j. školy otevřené všem, všeobecné a bezplatné (jezuité postupovali podobně, ale věnovali se především školství vyššímu – univerzitnímu). Tak se stalo skutkem přesvědčení sv. Josefa Kalasanského: potřeba pozdvihnut vzdělanost a zbožnost mezi mládeží z nejnižších a nejchudobnějších společenských vrstev. S podporou kompetentních vysokých církevních hodnostářů založil v Římě roku 1597 školy, jež řídil podle zásady „*Škola bez hole, disciplína bez rákosky*". Vládl v nich vždy pořádek, kázeň a čistota a v metodice vyučování i zbožnost (modlitbou se začíná a končí vyučovací hodina, což se udrželo v katolických školách dodnes; piaristé se ale neomezovali na tuto formální stránku, nýbrž kladli důraz na celkový duchovní růst), takže se tato charakteristika dostala i do názvu – Zbožné školy (italsky *Scuole Pie*, španělsky *Escuelas Pías*). Řád piaristů a jejich školský systém se rozrostl a na základě pozvání a potřeb společnosti se postupně šířil po celé katolické Evropě. Hlavními pomocníky Kalasanského v první etapě byli dva Španělé: López a Méndez. Od roku 1612 působili jako hlavní pomocníci Kalasanského další čtyři Španělé: Martín Tovar, Simón de Flores, Juan García del Castillo a velmi známý Tomás Vitoria.[30]

O tom, jak si v Římě vážili Josefa Kalasanského, svědčí skutečnost, že když dominikáni a jezuité, oboji pod vedením Španělů (první Moliny a druzí Báñeze), rozpoutali spor o účincích milosti a podílu svobodné vůle, který se tak rozvinul a vyostřil, že Klement VIII. ustanovil samostatnou kongregaci na rozřešení toho-

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[27] Řešení španělského montserratského kostela v Římě ovlivnilo jezuitský kostel *Il Gesú* svým pojetím bočních průchozích kaplí.

[28] Giuseppe della Madre di Dio.

[29] GIORDANO 1994 (1960), c. d. (v pozn. 1), s. 51. Později Josef Kalasanský dokonce dostal nabídku, aby přijal roli funkci španělského vyslance, což odmítl.

[30] Ibidem, s. 71.

to sporu (*De Auxilis*); komise požádala o vyjádření i doktora teologie Josefa Kalasanského.[31]

Piaristé používali čítanku, jejíž základy položil španělský pedagog 16. století Juan Luis Vives (na něhož navázal v některých ohledech Komenský),[32] podle nějž se třída nazývala třída *Vives*. Existovala španělská a latinská verze, potom byla pořízena i italská. Pro výuku latiny se používala příručka *Coloquia, seu lingua latinae exercitatio*, což jsou živé dialogy, podávající volnou formou příhody mládence, které překypují neobvyklým bohatstvím slovní zásoby, takže absolvent kurzu se naučil velké množství latinských slov a slovních druhů. V souladu s Vivesovou didaktikou se cvičili v překládání z národního jazyka do latiny a doplňovali si gramatické dovednosti.[33]

I když Kalasanský nezavádí žádné výrazné novoty ve výuce, novost a originalitu najdeme v duchu, který ovládá kalasanskou didaktiku. Svědčí o tom jedna z vět *Konstituce řádu* (část II, kapitola IX, odstavec 14): „*Protože téměř ve všech státech je většina obyvatel chudobná a může jen na krátký čas posílat své děti do školy, představený má dbát, aby takovým dětem poskytl usilovného učitele, který by je naučil umění skládat písmena a počítat tak, aby si potom každý mohl lehčeji vydělat na živobytí.*“[34] To souviselo i s novými požadavky na pedagoga, který měl být poslušný k představeným, přesný a vždy ochotný pracovat. Nesmí nadržovat žádnému žákovi, přijímat žádné pozornosti, atd. Od učitele se vyžaduje co největší zainteresovanost a příprava. Velký důraz se kladl i na krasopis, což bylo významné v době analfabetismu a v době, kdy se kladl důraz na formu. Dalším znakem bylo upřednostňování fyzikálních a matematických věd, což byl trend, který nasadil sám zakladatel. Záliba v počtech však nešla na úkor humanitních věd, zejména latiny, která byla jazykem učenosti a církve a tvořila neodmyslitelný základ kultury.[35] Do kláštera sv. Pantaleona přijal

také slavného portugalského filologa Andrea Baiana, který tam zůstal až do své smrti v roce 1639.

V.

O příchod piaristů do Prievidze[36] se zasadila grófka Františka Khuen-Pálffyová. Obrátila se na polského provinciála Václava Opatovského a s ním se 17. 2. 1666 dohodla na podmínkách usazení piaristů na Bojnickém panství. Ve smyslu dohody založila nadaci v hodnotě 25 000 zlatých ve prospěch budoucího kláštera a školy. Piaristická řehole v následujícím období měla velký vliv na školský, kulturní a náboženský život nejen v Prievidzi, ale i v oblasti Horní Nitry.

Provinciál Václav Opatovský poslal do Prievidze dva piaristické kněze, a to Pavla Frankoviče, Slováka ze Skalice (zemřel roku 1683 ve Vídni) a Čecha Františka Hanáka (narodil se 1637, zemřel v Prievidzi 1. 6. 1710), jehož matka byla Slovenka. Piaristi se původně ubytovali na Bojnickém hradě. Frankovič měl na starosti výstavbu kláštera a školy a Hanák s Matoušem Sobeliem začali vyučovat syntax a aritmetiku a také misijně působit na Bojnickém panství. Do dostavby kolegia v roce 1674 vyučovali v městské kurii. O rok později byla dokončena i škola; pojala 330 žáků, kteří se učili psaní, matematiku, rétoriku, hudbu, filosofii a dějepis.

Piaristé se věnovali také pastoraci a do konce 17. století spravovali všechny opuštěné katolické farnosti na Horní Nitře. Od roku 1673 se prievidzští piaristé začali usazovat i v jiných městech na Slovensku, v Maďarsku a v Sedmihradsku. Založili samostatné koleje v Brezně, ve Sv. Jure u Bratislavy, v Nitře a postupně se usazovali ve všech důležitých centrech tehdejšího Uherska, například v Trenčíně roku 1722. Už v roce 1721 se vytvořila samostatná uherská piaristická provincie v podstatě slovenská;

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[31] Ibidem, s. 61.

[32] FORBELSKÝ, J.: Comenius y América. In: *Utopías del Nuevo Mundo/Utopias of the New World. International Symposium.* Prague 1992, s. 111-115.

[33] GIORDANO 1994 (1960), c. d. (v pozn. 1), s. 87.

[34] Ibidem, s. 88.

[35] Ibidem, s. 91.

[36] Využito též textů *Piaristi v Prievidzi, 1666 – 1996. História a súčastnosť. K 330. výročiu piaristov vydalo Kolégium piaristov v Prievidzi.* Ed. P. KOLLÁR. Prievidza 1996 a http://www.piaristi-pd.sk/kol/index.html. Slovensky vyšel první životopis sv. Josefa Kalasanského z pera P. Hyacinta HANGKEHO v trnavské tiskárně roku 1768, t. j. hned rok po svatořečení zakladatele piaristů. K trnavským tiskům viz *Trnavské tlače v historickom knižnom fonde Západoslovenského múzea.* Trnava 1988.

1. Piaristický kostel Nejsvětější Trojice v Prievidzi, čelní pohled. Foto: P. Štěpánek.

2. Piaristický kostel Nejsvětější Trojice v Prievidzi, boční pohled. Foto: P. Štěpánek.

požadavky na nové kněze byly národnostní, žádali se „Slované" („quinque slavis patribus"). Nábožensko-pedagogickou činnost piaristů ovšem často přerušovaly nepokoje a povstání, probíhající na území Slovenska koncem 17. a začátkem 18. století. Tato nepokojná doba piaristům příliš nepřála. Tak například roku 1678 Thökölyho vojska táhnoucí na Moravu vyplenila řadu míst a vypálila i Prievidzu. Zůstal jen Mariánský kostel na Skále a klášter piaristů. Vojáci přitom umučili dva členy piaristické řehole. V letech 1704 až 1711 byla piaristická škola zavřena, pak v školním roce 1711/1712 otevřeli čtyři třídy s celkovým počtem 100 žáků, který se postupně zvyšoval až na 300 a navazovalo se na přerušené tradice. Pod vedením Hanákovým se už od roku 1670 nacvičovala divadelní představení na biblické náměty a pracoval hudební a zpěvácký sbor. Nebudeme se zde zabývat zajímavými peripetiemi školy a výuky, ani jejími dalšími osudy, jen připomeneme, že největší rozkvět zaznamenala prievidzská škola piaristů koncem 19. a začátkem 20. století, až k de-

finitivnímu úpadku a likvidaci za komunistů a následnému znovuvzkříšení (dnes jsou piaristé zpět), a přejdeme k tomu, co nás v tomto okamžiku zajímá. Z hlediska dějin umění a zejména s ohledem na náš specifický ikonografický zájem je nutno připomenout, že prievidzští piaristé začali roku 1740 stavět barokní kostel [Obr. 1, 2] podle plánů člena řádu P. Hyacinta Hangkeho, jenž sám vedl stavební práce. Dokončili ho v roce 1753, vnitřní zařízení v roce 1765. Kromě hlavního oltáře má kostel ještě osm bočních oltářů a na stěnách malby s výjevy ze života svého zakladatele sv. Josefa Kalasanského od vídeňského malíře Johanna Stephana Daniela (Jana Štěpána Daniela) Bopovskeho-Bujaka asi z let 1751 – 1753 [Obr. 3].

Kdo byl Johann Stephan Daniel Bopovsky, zvaný též Bujak,[37] Polák, narozený ve Vratislavi, jenž

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[37] Saur. Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker. Band 13. Bordalejo – Braun. München – Leipzig 1996, s. 449. Uvádí následující varianty jmen: Boyowski, Bo-

zemřel nedlouho po návratu ze Slovenska ve Vídni v roce 1754 (kde žil od roku 1737)? Od roku 1747 byl malířem císařského divadla ve Vídni; v této funkci spolupracoval s rodinou Bibienů. Do Prievidze přišel na pozvání P. H. Hangkeho roku 1751. Tehdy totiž došlo k překvapujícímu procesu: na kupoli se začaly odlupovat části fresek, které rok předtím provedl Anton Schmidt. Svou spolupráci s prievidzskými piaristy započal malbou hlavního oltáře.

Pozdně barokní hlavní oltář s mramorovou sloupovou architekturou znázorňuje jednu z nej-důležitějších myšlenek barokní teologie, *Nanebevzetí Panny Marie*, přičemž pochopitelně dochází k vzájemnému prolínání malířské a sochařské výzdoby, jejímž ústředním motivem je právě okamžik, jak Pannu Marii odnášejí andělé do nebe. Komplex je výsledkem spolupráce zmíněného malíře a sochaře Dionisia Stanettiho. Na tuto část navazuje v kupoli motiv, jímž se budeme bezprostředně zabývat.

Poté, co namaloval hlavní oltář, pustil se Bopovsky během roku 1752 do výzdoby presbytáře a chrámové lodě (obě části jsou odděleny vítězným obloukem) iluzivními freskami a nakonec na jaře 1753 vymaloval ještě další čtyři obrazy pro boční oltáře.[38]

Jeho slovenská tvorba (v letech 1751 až 1753) se nese v duchu pozdního baroka s dobrými výkony ilusionistické malby v architektuře, i když figury jeho kompozic se vyznačují jistou neohrabaností, loutkovitostí. Jde o vzdušnou freskovou malbu, poměrně nedávno obnovenou, takže dnes můžeme ocenit její výtvarné kvality. Sama malba vytváří iluzi hloubky nebeského prostoru. Celkové freskové řešení kostela tu rozebírat nemůžeme, protože tyto malby jsou příliš komplexní a složité, než abychom je zde mohli v krátkosti analyzovat.

Připomeňme alespoň základní údaje nutné pro orientaci. Bopovsky na klenbě lodi vytvořil trium-

3. Piaristický kostel Nejsvětější Trojice v Prievidzi, interiér, průhled k oltáři. Foto: P. Štěpánek.

fální iluzivní architekturu v duchu principů konstrukce Andrey Pozza, jíž se přidržoval v některých detailech velmi věrně [Obr. 4, 5]. Přinejmenším se inspiroval grafickými ilustracemi, doprovázejícími Pozzovu knihu *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*,[39]

povsky, Boyofzky, Bujak, Pojack, Pojoffsky, Johann Stephan Daniel. Narodil se ve Vratislavi a zemřel roku 1754 ve Vídni. Tento slovník uvádí i následující literaturu: HAJDECKI 1908; ŠÁŠKY, L.: Stavebný denník Hyacinta Hangkeho z 18. storočia. Tl. 2. In: *Zborník SNM. História*, 57, 1978, č. 18, s. 179, 185, 187, 194; PETROVÁ-PLESKOTOVÁ, A.: *Maliarstvo 18. storočia na Slovensku*. Bratislava 1983, s. 73; PETROVÁ-PLESKOTOVÁ, A.: Adalékok Anton Schmidt festő életútjához és pályakezdéséhez. In: *Annales de la Galerie Nationale Hongrois*, 1991, s. 199-204.

[38] Poté pracoval také v Nitře, kde roku 1753 vyzdobil loď katedrály (horní kostel) freskou s námětem *Oslavy sv. Jimrama* (Emmerram), a pak se vrátil do Vídně.

[39] POZZO, A.: *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*. Roma 1693, 1698, 1717 a další vydání; *Der Mahler und Baumeister Perspectiv. Erster Theil (und Zweiter Theil), worinnen gezeiget wird wie mann auf das allergeschwindest und leichteste alles was zur Architectur und Bau-Kunst gehöret ins Perspectiv bringen solle... in diesem bequemen Format gebracht von Johann Boxbarth, Kupferstechern in Augspurg*. Augspurg 1706 – 1709. Všechny ilustrace vyryl Johann Boxbarth.

5. *Piaristický kostel Nejsvětější Trojice v Prievidzi, detail malby na klenbě lodi s iluzionistickou architekturou. Foto: P. Štěpánek.*

4. *Piaristický kostel Nejsvětější Trojice v Prievidzi, malba na klenbě lodi. Foto: P. Štěpánek.*

skutečného bestselleru své doby. Můžeme předpokládat, že Bopovsky používal pozdější německé vydání.

Ústředním motivem a výjevem freskové malby na klenbě lodi je *Adorace Beránka čtyřiadvaceti starci*, tedy vlastně starý, středověký motiv Apokalypsy, Zjevení sv. Jana, kde v duchu tradice románské a gotické doby jsou znázorněni starci s citerami a miskami s kadidlem, jak zpívají chvalozpěvy. Původně to byl sbor andělů, který symbolizoval dvanáct proroků

nebo patriarchů a dvanáct apoštolů, čili postavy Starého a Nového zákona.[40]

Motiv beránka koresponduje s motivem na svatostánku. Připomeňme jen podle Bible,[41] že Beránkem Božím nazval Krista Jan Křtitel („*Ecce Agnus Dei*"), protože Kristus přijal rozsudek ukřižování v době, kdy býval obětován velikonoční beránek. Sám se tak stal novým velikonočním Beránkem, který svou krví zpečetil novou smlouvu mezi Bohem a lidmi, Beránkem oslaveným, vítězem nad smrtí; byla mu dána všechna moc, je soudcem, o kterém se hovoří v Apokalypse. Pod motivem adorace jsou ztvárněny výjevy za života sv. Josefa Kalasanského a na patkách klenby pak najdeme portréty významných piaristických pedagogů.[42] U varhan byl zobrazen erb patronů prievidzských piaristů, rodiny Pálffyů.

Naopak, snadnější a jednoznačná je interpretace maleb v presbytáři, kde je zobrazen sám sv. Josef Kalasanský, duchovní otec myšlenky škol pro chudé děti. Kupole je pokryta výjevem *Apoteózy sv. Josefa Kalasanského*, jehož andělé unášejí k sedící Panně Marii s Ježíškem na klíně. V pendantivech jsou ztvárněny postavy evangelistů [Obr. 6, 7].

Nás tu však zaujme zejména skutečnost, že zakladatel je zobrazen jako světec ještě v době, kdy byl pouze blahořečen. Připomeňme, že zemřel ve

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[40] V popisu se přidržuji *Piaristi v Prievidzi*, c. d. (v pozn. 36), s. 10-11.

[41] Jan, 1.29; popř. FOUILLOUX, D. a kol.: *Slovník biblické kul-*

tury. Praha 1992, s. 35-36; STUDENÝ, J.: *Křesťanské symboly*. Olomouc 1992, s. 37-41.

[42] Viz např. PICANYOL, L.: *Brevis Conspectus Historico-Statisticus Ordinis Scholarum Piarum*. Roma 1932.

6. *Piaristický kostel Nejsvětější Trojice, malba kupole v presbytáři. Foto: P. Štěpánek.*

7. *Piaristický kostel Nejsvětější Trojice v Prievidzi, detail malby kupole v presbytáři se sv. Josefem Kalasanským. Foto: P. Štěpánek.*

věku 92 let, po 56-letém pobytu v Římě, dne 25. 8. 1648, v roce vestfálského míru. Přesně za sto let po smrti byl beatifikován papežem Benediktem XIV. (Prospero Lambertini), který se podílel na vypracování nových norem kanonizace. Během svého života musel snést různá příkoří a falešná obvinění, kterých byl nakonec vždy zproštěn a po určité krizi a mnoha peripetiích se jeho řád piaristů prosadil. Proces svatořečení se rozběhl poměrně rychle: v roce 1748 byl Josef Kalasanský prohlášen za blahoslaveného, za světce o dvě desetiletí později, 16. 7. 1767. Znamená to, že v době, kdy Bopovsky maloval fresky i oltáře, byl Kalasanský pouze blahoslaveným. Toto „předbíhání" úcty zaznamenáváme na počátku 18. století nejednou, mimo jiné i u našeho sv. Jana Nepomuckého o půlstoletí dříve. Předčasná devoce

na Slovensku byla asi usnadněna tím, že dokonce v bazilice sv. Petra v Římě osadili sochu sv. Josefa Kalasanského už bezprostředně po beatifikaci roku 1748 (1753) a nečekali až na kanonizaci, čímž porušili zásadu, podle níž tam mohou být umístěny jen sochy kanonizovaných světců.[43]

Světec je v Prievidzi znázorněn ještě na obraze na jižní straně lodě (jako protějšek oltáře sv. Jana Nepomuckého). Bopovsky zachycuje na oltáři zakladatele řehole jak se klaní Panně Marii, která mu uděluje požehnání, sedíc s Ježíškem na klíně (v horní části obrazu). Společně s ním jsou zobrazeni piaristé se svými žáky, kteří přijímají vědomosti za pomoci

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[43] SPIOLEK, E.: Predhovor k poľskému vydaniu. In: GIORDANO 1994 (1960), c. d. (v pozn. 1), s. 10.

andělů z nebe. Oltářní obraz je lemován sochami sv. Josefa a dalšího španělského světce, sv. Dominika Guzmána, zakladatele řádu dominikánů.[44]

Do třetice se setkáváme se zobrazením sv. Josefa Kalasanského na obraze *Panny Marie, matky dobrých studií*, patronky dobrých studentů; tento motiv se na piaristických školách těší mimořádné úctě. Jde o kopii obrazu, který si sv. Josef Kalasanský přinesl pravděpodobně ze Španělska a dnes se nachází ve vídeňském kostele Maria Treu.[45]

VI.

Shora uvedené skutečnosti vybízejí k otázce, jež se sama od sebe nastoluje: proč se piaristická řehole dostala daleko dříve na Moravu, do Čech a na Slovensko, než například do Německa či do vlasti zakladatele, do Španělska?[46]

Je nám známo, že bezprostředně poté, co se myšlenka španělského mnicha zřizovat školy pro děti prostých a chudých rodin rozšířila po Itálii, žádal vídeňský kardinál Khlesl Josefa Kalasanského opětovaně v letech 1612 – 1618, aby v Rakousku, podobně jako v Itálii, zřídil piaristické školy; podobnou žádost podal i pražský kardinál arcibiskup hrabě Harrach roku 1622.[47] Chtěl, aby se piaristé usadili v Praze, nedostatek učitelů v tom však zabránil. Ovšem až když se k žádostem připojil počátkem třetího desetiletí olomoucký arcibiskup kníže František z Dietrichsteina, dosáhl téměř obratem, že první piaristé vyrazili do Mikulova.

Čím lze vysvětlit úspěch Dietrichsteinův? Dietrichstein byl vlastně poloviční krajan Kalasanského. Kardinál se narodil v Madridu jako syn habsburského vyslance Adama z Dietrichsteina, šlechtice rakouské-ho původu, který se usadil v Mikulově, kde vytvořil větev mikulovskou; jeho matka byla Margarita z Cardony, šlechtična, jejíž vlastí byla oblast Ribagorzy, odkud pocházel zase rod Kalasanských. Vzhledem k tomu, že Aragonci mají dodnes ve Španělsku pověst tvrdošíjných a vytrvalých lidí, kteří navíc drží pospolu (podobně jako Galicijci), není divu, že kardinál Dietrichstein přesvědčil svého téměř krajana, aby mu vyhověl jako prvnímu mimo území Itálie a vyslal zástupce svého řádu do Mikulova. Připomeňme, že v té době se znali už asi třicet let osobně. (Moravský arcibiskup a kardinál se za Kalasanského přimluvil už v mládí, kdy jej doporučil jako kandidáta na místo kanovníka v Urgellu.) Hovoří se o „*jejich vzájemné náklonnosti*",[48] aniž by se specifikovaly důvody. Jejich přátelství bylo velkorysé a opíralo se o vzájemný obdiv, který ani navzdory času, rozdílné činnosti a odlišným životním cestám nikdy neochabl.

Dne 2. 5. 1631 první výprava řeholníků Zbožných škol odcestovala: nejprve plula lodí z Ancony ke břehům Istrie a odtud se vydala pěšky do Mikulova. Bylo jich cekem osm: tři kněží, jeden klerik a čtyři bratři. Až na jednoho Španěla a jednoho Tyrolana šlo o Italy, mezi nimiž byl i vynikající matematik Ambroggio Ambrosi. Španěl Antonio si nemohl zvyknout na tvrdší klima a toužil po návratu do Říma. Tato mise byla úspěšná a tak se na řád obracela Vídeň, Vratislav, Varšava, Opava, Litomyšl, Strážnice, Lipník a řada slezských měst. Druhá výprava, posila té první, se vydala na Moravu na podzim roku 1633; bylo v ní šest řeholníků: dva kněží, tři klerici a jeden laický bratr.[49] I po smrti kardinála Dietrichsteina v roce 1636 jeho rod nadále piaristům pomáhal; škola prosperovala a roku 1638 ji navštívil s velkou suitou též císař Ferdinand III.

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[44] Oltář věnoval Ján Majthény s manželkou roku 1755 (?).

[45] Na Slovensku jej najdeme ještě na řadě obrazů, např. na farním úřadě v Breznu. Viz Felix Ivo Leicher: *Vidění sv. Josefa Kalasanského*, konec 70. let 18. století, olej, plátno, 320 × 172,5 cm, nezn. Barevná foto viz PETROVÁ-PLESKO-TOVÁ, A.: K dílu Felixe I. Leichera na Slovensku. In: *Ars*, 1985, č. 1, s. 79.

[46] Josef Kalasanský se aktivně zaměřil na sicilskou a neapolskou oblast, která byla též v držení Španělů. Na Sardinii vyslal jako zakladatele Španěla Francisca Salazara Maldonado a odtud pak expandovali do vlastního Španělska.

[47] HAUBELT 1986, c. d. (v pozn. 22), s. 59, kapitola „Zápas s jezuity". Viz též KRÁSL, F.: *Arnošt hrabě Harrach, kardinál sv. církve římské a kníže arcibiskup pražský. Pilná, byť ne vždy kritická monografie* (=Dědictví sv. Prokopa, 25). Praha 1886. Vztahy Harracha, pocházejícího z rodiny, která plnila diplomatické poslání v Madridu, ke Španělsku nejsou ovšem touto knihou postiženy v plné šíři.

[48] GIORDANO 1994 (1960), c. d. (v pozn. 1), s. 137.

[49] Ibidem, s. 140.

Z Mikulova piaristé dosti brzo překvapivě expandovali a postupně se rozšířili na více než třicet míst na Moravě a v Čechách (viz III. kapitola). Do Čech se dostali piaristé nejprve do Litomyšle (1640), kam je pozvala Frebonie z Perštejna (zde nutno připomenout, že i Pernštejnové byli díky sňatku Vratislava z Pernštejna s Marií Manrique de Lara y Mendoza také, ač vzdáleně, spřízněni s rodem Cardonů). Do Prahy dorazili až v době, kdy Bopovsky maloval v Prievidzi zakladatele řádu jako světce. Do Německa přišli roku 1716.[50]

Aragonských vazeb najdeme v případě Kalasanského povícero. Jeho hlavní podporovatel v Římě, kardinál Ascanio, byl shodnou okolností jmenován Filipem III. místokrálem aragonským. Kalasanského podporovali přímo ze Španělska, přesněji z rodného Aragonska. Zachoval se dopis z roku 1592, kdy psal faráři v Peraltě, že kdyby nedošlo zboží ze Španělska, bylo by se třeba obávat špatného jara. (Řím byl nejdražším městem v Itálii.)[51]

Propojení Aragonců doplňuje ještě návaznost na další klíčovou osobnost, Dominika à Jesu Maria, vlastním jménem Domingo Ruzola López, převora řádu karmelitánského v Římě.[52] Máme doloženo,[53] že Ruzola a Kalasanský se znali už někdy před rokem 1607. Ruzola jako převor kláštera della Scala zprostředkoval prodej jedné budovy patřící v Římě Španělovi P. de Torres piaristickému řádu, pro řád velmi výhodný. Roku 1612 se sem piaristé odstěho-

vali a Josef Kalasanský zde zůstal ještě dalších 36 let.[54] Kromě toho Ruzola nasměroval do Zbožných škol oba shora zmíněné Španěly (Lópeze a Méndeze), když přišli do Říma. Ruzola byl zřejmě skutečně velkým příznivcem Kalasanského, protože byl například ručitelem dohody při ustavení Zbožných škol v italské Lucce. Když došla zpráva z Čech o vítězství katolíků na Bílé hoře, napsal Josef Kalasanský ekonomovi svého řádu (Španěl P. García del Castillo, italsky zvaný Castigli, zástupce Kalasanského, pocházel ze segovijské diecéze): „*Zpráva z Prahy je velkou útěchou pro katolíky. Nechť jim Pán vždy dopřeje vítězství.*"[55] Pochopíme to ještě více, když připomeneme, že Ruzola byl Josefův zpovědník.

Každých šest let se svolávala generální kapitula piaristů, která volila i nového generála. V roce 1627 byl na generální shromáždění pozván jako host právě generál karmelitánů Domingo Ruzola, který byl jednou z nejslavnějších osobností tehdejšího katolického světa. Ruzola se nemalou měrou zasloužil i o rozšíření španělské nové zbožnosti v Itálii, a to před svým příchodem do Čech. Historie Ruzolova vystoupení předbělohorského patří především do české historie duchovní.[56] U nás se obvykle neví, že byl později blahoslaven.

Ruzola měl podle některých historiků rozhodující podíl na vítězství císařské strany v bitvě na Bílé hoře. Jeho podoba se zachovala v mnoha variantách, dokonce v obraze připisovaném Rubensovi.[57] Ruzo-

[50] Vznikla tak provincie Ultramontana (Zaalpská), zatímco Itálie a Španělsko tvořily provincii Cismontana (Předalpská). Podle *Piaristi v Prievidzi*, c. d. (v pozn. 36), s. 35-37, to byly následující provincie: římská, ligurská, neapolská, etruská, česká, polská, maďarská, katalánská, aragonská, rakouská, kastilská, valencijská, rumunská a slovenská. Slovensko se odpojilo od německé provincie roku 1691. Roku 1906 existovalo na světě 9 samostatných provincií: 1. Itálie, 2. Čechy, Morava a Slezsko, 3. Polsko, 4. Rakousko, 5. Uhersko, 6. Španělsko, 7. Argentina, 8. Chile; 9. Střední Amerika. Na Slovensku bylo první kolegium založeno v Podolínci (1642) a teprve pak v Prievidzi (1666). Do roku 1815 se na Slovensku rozšířili do 11 míst. Děti tu studovali psaní, matematiku, rétoriku, hudbu, filosofii, historii. Národnostní ani náboženské složení nebylo jednotné; kromě katolíků se tu učili i evangelíci, včetně kalvinistů, a dokonce i židé.

[51] GIORDANO 1994 (1960), c. d. (v pozn. 1), s. 59.

[52] Byl priorem kláštera della Scala. Viz KNOLL, A. M. – WINTER, E. K. – ZESSNER-SPITZENBERG, H. K. von (ed.):

Dominicus à Jesu Maria, O. C. D. Seine Persönlichkeit und sein Werk. Wien 1930, zejména kapitola „Die Schlacht am Weissen Berg", s. 147-157.

[53] GIORDANO 1994 (1960), c. d. (v pozn. 1), s. 66.

[54] Budova byla pak přejmenována podle lékaře-mučedníka sv. Pantaleona.

[55] Kalasanský napsal na deset tisíc listů, z nichž 4500 dopisů bylo už publikováno. Viz GIORDANO 1994 (1960), c. d. (v pozn. 1), s. 180, 103, 143.

[56] VOPĚNKA 1998, c. d. (v pozn. 8), s. 90, 94.

[57] VOJTÍŠEK, V.: *Výstava Staroměstská radnice a její památky, 1338 – 1938*. Praha 1938, s. 105, č. kat. 380, podobizna P. Dominika de Jesu Maria, mnicha karmelitána, jenž v bitvě na Bílé hoře povzbuzoval vojsko císařské, 127 × 182 cm, s opisem *R. Pater Fr. Dominicus de Jesu Maria Tarraconensis ord. B. Virg. De Monte Carmelo, que pugnae Pragensi interfuit*, s vyobrazením bělohorské

la, narozený v aragonském Calatayudu, kázával jen italsky a francouzsky a pro své rodáky španělsky, přestože němčinu ovládal. To proto, že v císařských oddílech byla čtvrtina Němců a Čechů a tři čtvrtiny Italů a lotrinských a belgických Francouzů a Flámů. Španělé bývali téměř výhradně velitelé, například Felipe de Areyzaga a Verdugo. V osobě karmelitána Dominika à Jesu Maria zasahuje tedy Španělsko rozhodným a osudovým stylem do našich českých dějin, a to ani tak v samotné bitvě, jako zejména při

porádě velitelů císařského a ligistického vojska v noci ze 7. na 8. 11. 1620.[58]

Závěrem můžeme shrnout, že přednostní příchod piaristů na Moravu, do Čech a na Slovensko byl výsledkem nerozlučného přátelství aragonského světce Josefa Kalasanského a kardinála Dietrichsteina a současně jsme svědky jejich velmi osobních kontaktů s osobou, která sehrála značnou roli v bitvě na Bílé hoře, blahoslaveným Domingem Ruzolou, rovněž pevně zakořeněným v rodném Aragonsku.

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bitvy; *Dominicus à Jesu Maria*, c. d. (v pozn. 52), Rubensův portrét na titulní straně; *Leben des… Dominici von Jesu Maria*. Wien 1678, Sv. Josef, Panna Maria, pastýři, krajina v pozadí; *Lexikon fuer Theologie und Kirche*. Freiburg 1931 (2. ed.), 3. zv., s. 396; Ildephonsus a Transverberatione Cordis S. Theresiae: Die Gnadenbilder des ehrw. Dominicus a Jesu Maria. In: *Dominicus à Jesu Maria*, c. d. (v pozn. 52), s. 57-64; María Gabriela Del Santísimo Sacramento: *Leben des ehrwürdigen, durch den wunderbaren Sieg auf dem Weißen Berge bei Prag 1620 berühmten Dieners Gottes Dominikus a Jesu Maria, gewesenen General des Ordens der Unbeschuhten Karmeliten*. Innsbruck 1902; MÜLLER, B: *Leben und Wirken des Dieners Gottes Dominikus a Jesu Maria aus dem*

Orden der reformierten Karmeliter. Wien 1878; RIEZLER, S.: Der Karmeliter P. Dominikus a Jesu Maria und der Kriegsrat vor der Schlach am Weissen Berge. In: *Sitzung-Berichte der phil. und hist. Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. München 1897, s. 423-444. Viz též *Bibliografía sobre Calatayud y sus Gentes. Bibliografía sobre Bilbilitanos y Comarcanos*, http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Forum/8915/pag2d_7.html.

[58] K tomu viz zejména novou práci FORBELSKÝ, J.: *Španělé, Říše a Čechy v 16. a 17. století. Osudy generála Baltazara Marradase*. Praha 2006.

San José de Calasanz, el cardenal Dietrichstein y Domingo à Jesu Maria (Domingo Ruzola). Notas al margen de la decoración al fresco en la iglesia de la Orden de Las Escuelas Pías en Prievidza (Eslovaquia)

Resumen

El culto del fundador de la orden de las Escuelas Pías, San José de Calasanz, es relativamente tardío. Pertenece a los últimos santos barrocos entrando en el cielo checo y eslovaco el ano de 1748. Entre sus más atrayentes representaciones pertenece aquella que observamos en los frescos recién renovados en la iglesia de las Escuelas Pías en la ciudad de Prievidza, en Eslovaquia. La orden surgió en Roma, pero su fundador fue español. Tanto por su importancia como por sus destinos iniciales, las Escuelas Pías recuerdan la Compañía de Jesús, fundada ahí mismo. Tuvo un carácter español gracias a sus fundadores. Los piaristas fueron llamados o entendidos como "jesuitas reformados". Fue el cardenal Francisco de Dietrichstein quien estableció una residencia jesuita en Holešov en 1616 y luego en otras ciudades de Moravia, pero aún antes, en 1611 permitió edificar un monasterio a los capucinos en Mikulov, movido, según la afirmación tradicional, por el intento de poner un contrapeso al cada vez creciente posición monopolista de los jesuitas, haciendo llamar a Moravia en 1631 la orden fundada por José de Calasanz en 1597.

Es que, Francisco de Dietrichstein fue casi un compatriota de Calasanz. El cardenal nació en Madrid como hijo de Adán de Dietrichstein, Embajador imperial ante la corte de sus parientes españoles. Al asentarse en la localidad morava de Mikulov, fundó la rama que perteneció al Reino de Bohemia; su madre fue Margarita de Cardona, dama noble procedente de la región de Ribagorza, de donde procedía también la familia de los Calasanz. No puede extrañar que el cardenal Dietrichstein convenciera a su paisano que le saliera al paso enviando los primeros representantes de su orden fuera de Italia, a Mikulov. Recordemos que en aquella época se conocías desde hace treinta anos personalmente.

Fue una orden de clérigos pobres de las Escuelas Pías (*Ordo Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum*) según las reglas de San Agustín. Tanto esta orden como la de los jesuitas, fundados y dirigimos en el momento de su explanación por españolas, concentraron su esfuerzo en la educción. Piaristas dedicaron sobre todo a la escuela básica y media, mientras que los jesuitas a la superior.

La llegada de los piaristas la impuso la condesa Khuen-Pálffy. El provincial Václav Opatovský mandó a Prievidza dos sacerdotes piaristas: primero, Pavel Frankovič, eslovaco oriundo de Skalica (murió en 1683 en Viena), y segundo, el checo František Hanák (nació en 1637, murió en Prievidza, el 1 de junio de 1710), cuya madre era eslovaca.

Desde el punto de vista de la historia del arte y en especial con vista a la importancia específica iconográfica cabe recordar que los piaristas de Prievidza comenzado a edificar en 1740 una iglesia barroca según planes de un miembro de la orden, Hyacint Hangke, al mismo tiempo director de la obra; fue terminada en 1753, el interior en 1765. Aparte del retablo mayor, la iglesia dispone de ocho retablos laterales, y frescos que ilustran escenas de la vida de su fundador, San José de Calasanz, obra del pintor vienés Johann Stephan Daniel Bopovsky-Bujak (polaco, nacido en Wrocław/Breslau), de los anos 1751 – 1753. Recordemos que Bopovsky legró crear en la bóveda de la nave una arquitectura triunfal ilusiva dentro del espíritu de los principios de la construcción de Andrea Pozzo (se habrá inspirado por una de las numerosas ediciones de su libro ilustrado con grabados, *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*. Roma 1693, 1698, 1717, y otras ediciones), un auténtico bestseller de su época. En nuestro caso llama la atención el hecho de que el fundador de la orden está presentado como santo aún antes de ser canonizado, solo beatificado, exactamente cien años tras su muerte (murió a sus 92 años, tras/después de pasar 56 anos en Roma, el día 25 de agosto de 1648), por el papa Benito XIV. (Prospero Lambertini), quien había participado en las nuevas normas de la canonización. Que ocurrió el día 16 de julio de 1767.

Este adelanto a la canonización se nota también en el caso de San Juan Nepomuceno. La devoción anticipada en Eslovaquia ha sido facilitada, entre otros factores, porque en la basílica de San Pedro de Roma había sido instalada una escultura de San José de Calasanz ya podo después de la beatificación, en 1753, con lo cual había sido violada la regla de que solo pueden ser colocadas las esculturas de santos canonizados.

Concluyendo, podemos resumir que la llegada de miembros de las Escuelas Pías a Moravia, a Bohemia y Eslovaquia fue resultado de la amistad inquebrantable del aragonés José de Calasanz y de su medio compatriota, el cardenal Dietrichstein.

Versión española P. Štěpánek

Public Monuments in Changing Societies*

Edit ANDRÁS

As Boris Groys argues in his new book *Art Power*, post-Communist Eastern Europe is still a blind spot for contemporary cultural studies. The field has a "*tendency to see historical development as a road that brings the subject from the particular to the universal, from premodern, closed communities, orders, hierarchies, traditions, and cultural identities towards the open space of universality, free communication, and citizenship in a democratic modern state. …in the case of radical political and artistic program* [where he situates the utopia of communism and the actually lived socialisms as well] *we have to travel a different historical road than the one described by standard cultural studies. It is not a road from a premodern community to an open society of universal communication. Rather it is a road from open and diverse markets toward utopian communities based on a common commitment to a certain radical project. These artificial, utopian communities are not based on the historical past; they are not interested in preserving its traces, in continuing a tradition.*"[1] As he describes, the October Revolution effectuated such a complete break with the past, that consequently the Russian avant-garde artists situated themselves in the future. As a further outcome of this situation, "*the post-communist subject travels this route in the opposite direction, not from the past to*

the future, but from the future to the past, from the end of history, from posthistorical, postapocalyptic time, back to historical time. Post-communist life is life lived backward, a movement against the flow of time."[2] In my essay, I wish to follow this reversed journey alongside a "trail of pebbles", namely, unmissable huge public monuments.

Going back to the roots of the socialist public sphere leads us to Lenin's favourite pet-project, the Plan for Monumental Propaganda from 1918 that "*was a component of those schemes which Lenin set in motion after the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, prior to the full-scale mobilization of all resources to fight the Allied Intervention and the Civil War*".[3] According to Christina Lodder, realizing the potential of visual propaganda was part of the "*multi-media propaganda machine*" of the Bolsheviks.[4] Lenin dreamed about a city telling history by monuments, relocating and adapting Campanella's Mediterranean *City of the Sun* into the Nordic Moscow and Petrograd.[5] As explained by Lunacharski, Lenin recognized, that the climate "*hardly allows for the frescoes of which Campanella dreamed and thus replaced frescoes with statues*".[6] Late 19th century Paris with its self-celebratory statue-mania[7] and its claim to equate the achievements of the French Revolution with the

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*   A public lecture "Public Monuments in Changing Societies", given by the author at Vysoká škola výtvarných umení in Bratislava (Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Bratislava) on 6 May 2010, was the basis of this paper.

1   GROYS, B: *Art Power*. Cambridge (Mass.) – London 2008, p. 149.

2   Ibidem, p. 155.

3   LODDER, C.: Lenin's Plan for Monumental Propaganda. In: *Art of the Soviets: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in a*

One-Party State, 1917 – 1992. Eds. M. CULLERNE BROWN – B. TAYLOR. Manchester – New York 1993, p. 18.

4   Ibidem, pp. 19, 26.

5   STITES, R.: *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution*. New York – Oxford 1989, pp. 88-92.

6   LODDER 1993 (see in note 3), p. 22.

7   MICHALSKI, S.: *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage, 1870 – 1997*. London 1998, pp. 13-55.

universalist concept of progress served as his model and guideline. What happened was that the Bolshevik leaders appropriated the idea of self-promotion, replacing the French Revolution with the so-called Great Russian Revolution, and shifting the universalist claim for leading the World into a brighter future, now on the path of communism, a bit farther East. Or, we can put it otherwise, referring to Susan Buck Morse: in realization of this utopia they adapted a nationalist art form for socialist ends with the aim of placing the October Revolution within the context of world history, and securing its position with the help of art. "*Whereas in 19th century monument-building became an obsession of nation-states as a means of celebrating (and creating) their own particular pasts, Lenin's monuments evoked an international heritage.*"[8] However, both the nationalist monument-building-fever and the Bolshevik-led monumental propaganda aimed to fabricate a smooth line of tradition and history by narrowing the various interpretations of the past and the future into a single-channel conception. That is why nationalism looked (and still looks) for invading the public space excluding all those having different visions and self-perceptions, as well as Bolsheviks were eager to gain hegemony not only of the political but also of the cultural discourse. Therefore the decree embodying the Plan for Monumental Propaganda consisted of two parts, the demolition of Tsarist monuments and their replacement with "*monuments to outstanding persons in the field of revolutionary and social activity, philosophy, literature, science and art*".[9] On the whole, both the nationalists and communists were (and are) about to appropriate the public space and gain control of those visions different from their own.

As for the socialist intervention of the public sphere after Lenin's death, his figure cast in bronze or carved in stone became pervasive, and were put into service of the religion-setting machinery. With the reign of Stalin, the propaganda became monumental, indeed, as statues grew colossal in scale. The

1. Statue Park, Budapest. Tourist photo.

19th century French statue mania rule, which opposed erecting statues for living people, was simply set aside.[10] Monstrous figures of Stalin permeated the Soviet Union and, after World War II, expanded into the Soviet bloc countries.

Toppling monuments has been almost an obligatory concomitant phenomenon of every political change in the course of history. The 1956 upheaval in Hungary started also with the collective dismantling of Stalin's statue in Budapest.[11] As well as the downfall of statues was the very first sign of the upcoming changes in 1989.[12] The former totalitarian space was reclaimed and was being transformed again into public spaces of open negotiation. Or at least this was the great illusion of the first years of transition as the population was mesmerized by the euphoria of the political changeover.

As soon as the satellite countries became free from the colonizing foreign power, Soviet-type socialism, the new democratic countries were keen to "clean up" the ideologically polluted public sphere. A process of "de-Sovietization" got started by demolishing statues, removing icons of the former socialist culture and renaming streets, squares, etc. In

[8] BUCK MORSE, S.: *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West*. Cambridge (Mass.) – London 2002, p. 42.

[9] LODDER 1993 (see in note 3), p. 20.

[10] MICHALSKI 1998 (see in note 7).

[11] See JAMES, B. A.: *Imagining Postcommunism: Visual narratives of Hungary's 1956 Revolution*. College Station (TX) 2005, pp. 39-60.

[12] VERDERY, K.: *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*. New York 1999, p. 5.

2. *Grūtas Park, Lithuania. Photo: E. András.*

Hungary, socialist statues were placed in the Statue Park on the outskirts of Budapest [Fig. 1], a local version of Madame Tousseaud's Museums, mostly for Western tourists, secluded from the local public sphere. The rigidly structured park, considered as an autonomous aesthetical project by itself, could not really provide proper site for memory work for local inhabitants.[13] I would argue that more likely this is the reason of profound ignorance of the Statue Park by local inhabitants and not selective memory abandoning politics inherent in the monuments, as it is frequently argued by Western scholars.[14] Likewise, Soviet monuments were collected into a remote field, Grūtas Park in Lithuania [Fig. 2] and elsewhere in the region.

Meanwhile, memorial museums, the official sites of memory, were established in several countries of the region well before their societies could have come to terms with their recent past. All in all, elements of the socialist past were collected and put aside in quarantines. The ready-made, pre-packaged public spaces for remembering the past excluded the public.

The very first reflection on the issues in play came from outside of the geopolitical terrain, from Komar and Melamid, Russian émigré artists who had stayed in New York since the late seventies. They proposed an exhibition in 1992, with the initial call for projects: "What is to be done with monumental propaganda?"[15] They asked artists to give ideas of

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[13] See TURAI, H.: Past Unmastered: Hot and Cold Memory in Hungary. In: *Third Text*, 23, 2009, No. 1 (Socialist Eastern Europe. Ed. R. FOWKES), pp. 97-106.

[14] This argument was used by Bill Hirst and Jonathan Bach in the discussion after the section "Everyday memory" of

The Limits of Memory. The Third Annual NSSR Interdisciplinary Memory Conference. The New York School for Social Research, New York, 4 – 6 March 2010.

[15] *Monumental propaganda*. Ed. D. ASHTON. New York 1994.

how to adapt, how to utilize the militia of suddenly unemployed statues, the losers and social outcasts of the political transformation. Among the many proposals was their own suggestion of a Lenin statue left dangling from a crane in the air, and an oil painting, *Lenin Hails a Taxi*. I would argue that, despite the artists' claim to stand up as champions and saviours of the Soviet past,[16] what they really did was a conversion of the socialist icons into commercial goods, mere products of the capitalist consumer culture. In this transformation, the past became a mere thing, a fetishized trash similar to other commodities. However, I would not interpret this attitude as a retrospective critic of the totalitarian regime either, even less as the critic of capitalist commodity culture, but rather as being in complete alignment with the mainstream Western mind-set of the early nineties in "beating a dead horse when it's down" so to say. Just a few years after the collapse of the socialist system, the message of the falling monuments was quite obvious; that is, the real victory holder was the West, celebrating the collective dismantling of the symbols of its Cold War ideological rival on the front-pages of newspapers and on the covers of magazines.[17] No doubt, Komar and Melamid were well aware of the market value in the West of toppling communist icons. Accordingly, they provided satisfaction and amusement for Western audiences as a kind of effective shortcut to getting back their attention, which had threatened of being lost by the end of the Cold War. At the same time, irony was wildly used in their project as a sort of "backtalk" fuelled by the desire to take mental revenge[18] on the once so powerful official culture, an attitude plainly in correspondence with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder symptoms. Yet, aspects of memory work, or even the need for working through the Socialist past, were not really proposed in this early reflection.

In Russia, one could find a strong craving for consumption and material culture after the long course of collectivist asceticism. In the climate of "everything is for sale", this attitude resonated greatly. Lenin and other socialist symbols quickly became consumerist products, mixed side-by-side with the icons of consumerist capitalism. Undergoing "Mickeymousation" and "Macdonaldization" of the elements of Soviet official culture seemingly became very popular. Actually, the attitude of high art and low art is far from being as different as one might expect. The very same phenomenon towards the remains of the past has been captured in the supplies of street vendors of the Arbat in Moscow, as well as in the caricatures of posh magazines, like *The New Yorker*.

The once so important and so obvious context of these monuments seems to have been totally obscured, or better yet, rubbed out in the interpretation of British artist, Liane Lang [Fig. 3], as if the socialist past were a mere fiction, which provided a ready-made stage design for her seductive performances. And again, the attitude of high art and low art is far from being as different as one might expect. The inhabitants of the Hungarian Statue Park were used for commercial advertisements in local hands too.

"*Symbols of the masses*" and "*spectacles for the masses*" which together form the foundation of "*two complementary economies of desire*",[19] relying on Susan Buck Morse's typology, could no longer be divided, as they had been in their pre-history in the thirties. Back then, King Kong represented the escapist strategy of the entertainment industry of capitalism during the Great Depression, while the goliath-size Lenin statue on top of the never-built Palace of Soviets in Moscow represented the forced ecstasy of building socialism in the time of the purges and show trials in Stalinist Russia. Referring again to Buck Morse, "*the meaning of dream images are ambivalent and vacillating between desire and fear that holds it in check*".[20]

Getting closer to the interpretation of our case, we could greatly utilize Mitchell's metaphor, the "*King Kong syndrome… in which a body of the white woman sutures… between enlightened instrumental reason and*

[16] ERLANGER, S.: Mocking Socialist Realism to Save It. In: *The New York Times*, 3 August 1993. See also BOIME, A.: Perestroika and the Destabilization of the Soviet Monuments. In: *Ars*, 1993, Nos. 2-3, p. 211-226.

[17] BOIME 1993 (see in note 16).

[18] ERLANGER 1993 (see in note 16).

[19] BUCK MORSE 2002 (see in note 8), p. 176.

[20] Ibidem.
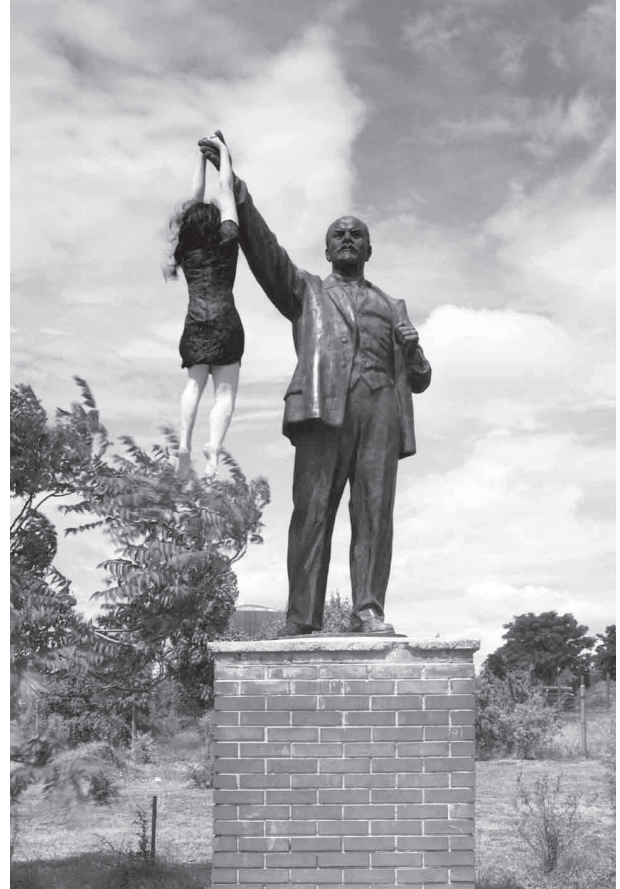
3. Liane Lang's intervention in Statue Park, Budapest, 2009. Photo: Courtesy of the artist.

barbarism".[21] In this construction, white man stands for production and the monster for destruction. With this theoretical framework in mind, I would argue that in Liane Lang's performances the roles are simply shifted, and the defeated beast comes to be equated with the Eastern European socialist monuments, which were thus rendered into a cultural hierarchy, of course at a quite low position.

Let's get tested, what was the reaction of the local artists' in the satellite countries, where it was mostly perceived that the Soviet-type socialism had been imposed on them and hadn't been their own product, and, after all, what was at stake? In the first years of the transition, a sort of exorcism of socialism was the foremost attitude of art. As a very effective method for coping with the trauma of being oppressed for almost half a century, Tamás StAuby

covered the *Monument of Liberation* in Budapest with a white shroud, leaving holes just for the eyes, thus transforming the statue from the symbol of occupation into the symbol of the Spirit of Freedom. In the same way, David Černý converted the negative message of a Soviet tank in Prague into its opposite by covering it with pink paint. His statue (*Man Hanging Out*), hanging on the end of a pole, provided a delicate metaphor of both the transitional nature and the ambiguous and fragile position of memorials and monuments of a lost empire in a changing society.

The honeymoon was quite short, and the euphoria of freedom quickly evaporated as the so-

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[21] MITCHELL, W. J. T.: The Violence of Public Art: Do the Right Thing. In: *Art and the Public Sphere*. Ed. W. J. T. MITCHELL. Chicago 1992, p. 75.

4. Little Warsaw: Instauratio, 2004. Photo: Courtesy of the artists.

called New Europe confronted harsh reality: the newly-launched predatory capitalism carried heavy economical, financial and social burdens, partly as the leftovers of the previous decades. Heading to

the future, the socialist past was soon forgotten, and the region sank into collective amnesia. The memory work, to which memorials and monuments are touchstones, got started just a couple of years ago and is booming nowadays region-wide. Artists are the advocates who demand the return of memory and an opening up of the public space for discussion, arguing that the unassimilated past haunts us. Deimantas Narkevičius, in his work *Once in the 20ᵗʰ Century* (2004), relies on the observation that both the construction of monuments and their demolition have the same purpose, as monuments are essential to social self-esteem and the identity of a community. He reverses the process of the demolition of a huge statue of Lenin in Vilnius, and converts it into scenes of erecting one. In the course of shedding light on the taboo issue of the socialist past, he pushes the memory machinery to get into motion. Narkevičius contemplates the distinction between mere political relics to be forgotten or destroyed and those artefacts which qualify as art and should, therefore, be saved.[22] Craving for an answer, he revisits the art-making process of Karl Marx's giant head still on display, today in Chemnitz, then Karl Marx Stadt, using official propaganda footage in his video *The Head* (2007). His work is a close encounter with the sculptor, trapped in a time of worshipping political and ideological leaders. His original intention was to work with the "existing context" of the post-socialist public space and to move the head from Chemnitz to the Münster Sculpture Show. As he explained, it "*would allow people to see the place deprived of its focal point*".[23] As his act was not approved by the authorities, he adjusted his focus to video making.

Actually, a few years earlier a Hungarian artistic duo named Little Warsaw had a similar idea and even realized it. Their original plan was to collect abandoned pedestals and to assemble them into a memorial commemorating lost monuments. In the next phase of their project, entitled *Instauratio* [Fig. 4], they wished to elaborate the issue of specific, ideologically charged sites. Their first target was the very place of the already mentioned designated site of the Palace of Soviets, a past site of the demolished orthodox

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[22] Deimantas Narkevičius in Conversation with Krzysztof Kościuczuk. In: *Working Title: Archive, No. 1*. Eds. M. ZIOŁKOWSKA – A. LEŚNIAK. Łódź 2008, p. 37.

[23] Ibidem, p. 36.

5a. Intercultural Orientation: Be a Tourist on the Architect's Desk!, Dunaújváros. Photo: CEU Summer School, 2009.

5b. Postcard produced during the project "Be a Tourist on the Architect's Desk!". Photo: Courtesy of the artist.

cathedral, having been re-erected after the political turnover. The project they finally realized was taking the *statue of János Szántó Kovács* made by József Somogyi from its home town, Hódmezővásárhely, into Amsterdam.[24] Their intention was to investigate the displacement, but now from the other side. They wished to test the compatibility of different contexts, namely of the socialist art making practice in the public space and the arcane art-world-context of a trend-setting Western museum. Their project stirred up still water and brought into play a whole range of obliterated issues, among them the issue of the buried, but not properly worked through past. As for the local reception of the project, a peculiar post-socialist constellation was taking shape as the left and right wings of the ex-counter culture stood shoulder to shoulder in this crusade. What is even more bizarre is that the representatives of the ex-dissident culture formed an alliance with the ex-official culture in their fierce attack on the project. So, the conceptual gesture of scratching the surface of obscured socialist memories reunited the otherwise deeply divided fractions of the current scene.[25]

Little Warsaw, the name of the collaboration of two artists, which they have kept for themselves even

until today, was actually the title of their exhibition held in the Polish Institute in Budapest in 1996, centred around the infamous Palace of Culture, a Soviet gift given to Warsaw, the symbol of oppression for their teachers and a product of a failed utopia for themselves. Arthur Żmijewski takes up the voice of Oscar Hansen regarding this tension over the heritage of the past from the Soviet era proposing a sort of poetic polemization with the building in the video *A Dream for Warsaw*, declaring that "*this is our past anyway*". At the same time, from David Maljković, a Croatian artist, comes a strong warning that the most effective iconoclast is Time. He stands up against the erasure of the past by excavating and preserving the artefacts of a sinking culture. In his video series, *Scene for New Heritage* (2004 − 2006), aliens from the future, from 2045, visit Petrova Gora monument of the Tito-era in ex-Yugoslavia, and a mere thirty years from now have no clues at all about the meaning and function of the emptied out "Godless Temple".

A more participatory approach to the same set of controversial problems is facilitated by the project *Be a Tourist on the Architect's Desk!* [Fig. 5a], a guided tour program proposed by the collaboration of two artists (Tamás Kaszás, Csaba Farkas) based in Dunaújváros,

[24] HLAVAJOVA, M. – WINDER, J. (eds.): *Who if not We Should at Least Try to Imagine the Future of all This?* Amsterdam 2004; *Time and Again*, episode 2.

[25] See the case more detailed in ANDRÁS, E.: Transgressing Boundaries (Even Those Marked Out by the Predecessors) in New Genre Conceptual Art. In: *Art after Conceptual Art*. Eds. A. ALBERRO – S. BUCHMANN. London – Vienna 2006, pp. 163-178.

Hungary, under the name of Intercultural Orientation. They initiated informal excursions for small groups in the ex-socialist model town, once named Sztálinváros. As they declare it in their project description, "*the goal of the trips was to acquaint the wider public with the curiosities and values of the socialist model town. We try to show what have remained of the Utopian ideas on the basis of which the town was born after realization. If you feel like visiting a town without tourism, history or natural rarities, please participate in one of our trips!*" As they promise, "*they intend to focus on subjective details rather than follow a list of sights*".

With their other project – proposing to plant wheat into the pedestal of the public statue of *Harvesters* by the same artist József Somogyi – they provided not just mental support and solidarity to fellow artists Little Warsaw, whose similar social consciousness had come under attack, but they simultaneously offered work for the unemployed agricultural workers who "had lost their jobs" both metaphorically and literally after the fall of socialism. On the walking tours, visitors are encouraged to take pictures of statues, buildings and sites they feel compelled by and to contribute their private photos into a pool of photographs, an ever-growing collective archive of the city. These amateur snapshots are transformed into "official" postcards of the town [Fig. 5b], in which personal experiences and the shared past are interwoven.

The dark side of the landscape is that in the shadow of being busy with blocking and gate-keeping memories of the past, and on the other side warning against erasure, the extreme nationalist forces and the church made an aggressive claim of the public space. Although a process of denationalisation did get started with the very construction of the European Union, the states within still remain the spaces for collective memory. Especially the newcomers within the transnational formation are still obsessed with their national, ethnic and religious homogeneity that is based on a self-contained understanding of culture. Invented heritage and the distorting or mythologizing of the past for fitting it to the present political needs are very much part of the memory landscape, as well as part of the conflicts over the public space, intended to be monopolized. In this scenario of competing narratives about the past and competing memories intending to establish a

hierarchy of suffering, memory could be used for violation. The mythic, imagined past is frequently mobilized against memories of different groups whose memories are not considered in the homogeneous conception of culture. Therefore memory sites are terrains for fight.

In Hungary, tons of statues dedicated to St. Stephan, the first king of Hungary, who converted the country into a Christian one, mushroomed in the emptied out public space. Nobody actually protested against this massive invasion, including those who protested against Little Warsaw.

In contrast, the process enjoyed state support in raising similar statues in towns with vast Hungarian population even outside of the border, in neighbouring countries, as in Komárno, Slovakia. The planned ceremony of unveiling to be conducted by the Hungarian president was obstructed, as the "gesture" was rather perceived as interventionist aggression in the internal affairs of another country. On the other hand, in the time of the inauguration of the *St. Stephan statue* the neuralgic question of the site of the *SS. Cyril and Methodius statue* in Komárno was brushed up as a reply from the Slovak nationalism, as Ján Slota and Anna Belousovová wreathed the statue on the balcony of Matica slovenská. As they interpreted the situation, they managed the action in undeserving conditions threatening their own life in the wind up on the ladder. As for the rhetoric, the dramatized ritual was about to stir up the Slovak nation and to gain control over the public space wishing to put the authority for raising statues into the hand of the government instead of the city council. In both cases, the public monuments were put into service of opposing political interests, the public space became a struggle field.

Along with a flurry of nationalism, racism, and xenophobia in the region came Liane Lang's other local art intervention, that of putting a plastic hand into the beak of a mythical bird, Turul, the symbol of the Hungarian extreme right wing [Fig. 6]. It was perceived by them as an attack and "*humiliation of national pride*", and the overwhelming response was scapegoating; that is, anti-Semitism was mobilized, and one of the Holocaust memorials was brutally vandalized [Fig. 7].

"*Shared memory*", a wonderful concept coined by Jan Assmann and utilized by Irit Keynan (a peace

6. Liane Lang's intervention in Budapest, 2009. Photo: Courtesy of the artist.

7. Vandalizing the Holocaust Memorial made by Can Togaj and Gyula Pauer in Budapest, 2009. Press photo.

activist and scholar from Israel) for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,[26] is seemingly totally out of question in our region, poisoned by constant conflicts due to the clash between different uncured traumas of the recent and distant past constantly triggering the scapegoat device.

The fight of competing memories and competing narratives of the past are frequently mobilized for pure political purposes and channelled into violence. In agreement with Rosalyn Deutsche, the democratic public space is about conflicts and negotiation and not about harmony;[27] however, it is strictly not to provide a forum for the speech of hatred. In the urgent need of empathy, of public narration, of public participation in the memory work as opposed to statues and the public sphere being used and abused in the hands of political forces, artists could serve as agents of reconciliation and social healing going against the grain of homogenizing tendencies.

In Poland, the Roman Catholic Church attempts to use its strong influence on the masses to keep the ball rolling, that is, to maintain its active political role it played in the time of socialism despite the changed conditions. In 1981, a monument was staged by the Trade Union of Solidarność to commemorate the failed uprising in Poznań in June 1956 [Fig. 8]. As Piotr Piotrowski argues: "*It was so because 'Solidarność'*

8. Monument of Poznań June 1956. Press photo.

fought not only, as the workers of Poznań in 1956, for 'bread and freedom' but also for memory which − as everything else − was 'appropriated' by the communists. […] Unveiling of the monument was done by Lech Wałęsa and Anna Strzałkowska, a mother of a teenage boy murdered during the events. A mass was celebrated. Numerous bishops of the Roman Catholic Church present at the ceremony consecrated the monument…; one of them read a letter from Pope John Paul II." Analysing the importance of the monument,

[26] KEYNAN, I.: Collective Memory as a Prism to Evaluate Reconciliation. In: *The Limits of Memory. The Third Annual NSSR Interdisciplinary Memory Conference*. The New School for Social Research, New York, 4 – 6 March 2010.

[27] DEUTSCHE, R.: Public Art and Its Uses. In: *Critical Issues in Public Art. Content, Context, and Controversy*. Eds. H. F. SENIE – S. WEBSTER. New York 1993, pp. 158-170.

9. Bronze Soldier, Tallinn. Photo: G. Uhl.

10. Column for Liberation War, Tallinn. Photo: G. Uhl.

Piotrowki states, that it "*played a significant role in the political consciousness of Poznań. […] For inhabitants of this city it became a symbol of resistance towards communism. […] Propagating the slogans of democracy, 'Solidarność' assumed ideological unification, based on Polish Catholicism. […] Paradoxically, however, both sides, i.e. the communists and 'Solidarność', functioned within the same paradigm of social mechanisms – the mechanism of dominance of a chosen (one) ideology, which does proclaim equality of difference, and does not accept the necessary for the functioning of democracy – i.e. ideological conflict.*"[28] As for now, the monument is a symbol of a victory over the dictatorship. "*Is it, however, a symbol of democracy, of democratic thinking, respect for the right of the minority (non-Catholics) to voice its rights in a public space?*" – raises the question Piotrowski and gives a negative answer. As he explains: "*The rights of the minorities are not always respected, the freedom of individual violated and subjected to the so-called general social interest, governed by a Christian system of values and the dominant political discourse. […] The monument of* Poznań June 1956 *was built in a different reality, in a totalitarian reality, and reacted to the totalitarian reality*

using the other totalitarian language; opposing the dominance of communist ideology showed another dominance – national-Catholic one."[29]

Within the post-socialist condition, the post-Soviet one is even more harsh and violent, and the triggers of suppressed and never explained away tensions are, once again, monuments. These monuments carry different meanings for different parts of those societies where the ex-suppressed population has suddenly become the governing, as in the successor states of the disintegrating Soviet Union.

Kristina Norman, an artist of the youngest generation of Russian and Estonian origin, but raised in the newly established Estonia, faces this set of problems tied to a public monument nicknamed *Bronze Soldier*: a monster, a symbol of oppression for Estonians, but a sacred cultic memorial for minority Russians [Fig. 9]. She takes it as a site of projection and also as a platform for communication and reconciliation in her video *Monolith* (2007).[30] It starts with the dramatic music of Stanley Kubrick's 1968 cult movie, *2001 – Space Odyssey*, as the statue

[28] PIOTROWSKI, P.: Między totalitaryzmem i demokracją. Pomnik "Poznańskiego Czerwca 1956". In: *Kronika Miasta Poznania: 'Pomniki'*. Poznań 2001, pp. 195-210; in German: Zwischen Totalitarismus und Demokratie. Das Denkmal zum "Posener Juni 1956". In: *Denkmäler in Kiel und Posen. Parallelen und Kontraste*. Kiel 2002, pp. 250-264; in English: Between Totalitarianism and Democracy. The Monument of "Poznań June of 1956". Courtesy of the author.

[29] Ibidem.

[30] See *Kristina Norman: After-War*. [Exhib. Cat.] Estonian Exhibition at the 53rd International Art Exhibition – La Biennale di Venezia. Tallinn : Center for Contemporary Arts, Estonia, 2009.

of the Soldier moves with high speed from space to the Earth, hesitating a bit above the Baltic states, seeking where to land, and, finally, touching down in the heart of Tallinn. Further on, the spectator is confronted by a collage of hot-tempered interviews from both sides, cuts from TV news about the neo-Nazi demonstration for its removal and about pro-protesters for saving it, and the involvement of the mother-state, Russia. All provide evidence that the monuments are widely used and abused for political purposes. The video is about the consequences of the uncured wounds and scars, injuries of the past, which haunt even the next "innocent" generation.

She does not yearn to take sides, instead proposing to confront the traumatic memories and to open a nationwide discussion allowing the healing process to get started. In relation to Tallinn's nationalistic statue mania with its newest product, *Column for Liberation War* (Vabadussõja sammas) [Fig. 10], an aggressive cross referring to a military award in the interwar period, nearby the site of the *Bronze Soldier* in the city's main square towering and overshadowing the Orthodox Church, her video and all the other works mentioned carry an important message that silence, suppressed secrets, and taboos simply toxify communication, or, to put it otherwise, without critical examination and the proper mourning of past injuries, one is not able to deal with the present predicament of culture, that is, the rise of nationalisms and extreme politics.

Verejné pamätníky v meniacich sa spoločnostiach

Resumé

Štúdia sa snaží opísať zložitý príbeh verejných pamätníkov vztýčených vo východnej Európe v priebehu moderných dejín – od Leninovho plánu Monumentálnej propagandy (1918) využívajúceho moc vizuálnej propagandy vo verejných priestoroch pri budovaní komunizmu, cez vlnu demolácií celého radu bronzových či mramorových sôch lojálnych prisluhovačov sovietskeho režimu v jeho bývalých satelitných štátoch od konca 80. rokov, až po ich nedávne nahradenie sochami reprezentujúcimi národnú ideu zameranú na fabrikovanie jednotného prístupu pri interpretácii minulosti. Nacionalizmus dychtivo siaha po plnohodnotnej invázii verejného priestoru, vylučujúc pritom všetkých, ktorí majú odlišné názory, a to veľmi podobným spôsobom, ako to robili boľševici, ktorí sa chceli stať hegemónmi tak politického, ako aj kultúrneho diskurzu.

Článok sa zaoberá spoločensko-kritickými umeleckými praktikami v regióne východnej Európy a jednotlivými umelcami, ktorí na seba preberajú role sprostredkovateľov kultúrnej pamäti, vzbudzujúcich povedomie o citlivých otázkach alebo kritizujúcich extrémne politické línie. Prináša komparatívne analýzy rozličných stratégií týchto umelcov, pochádzajúcich nielen z krajín bývalého východného bloku, ale aj z krajín mimo neho. Štúdia sa dotýka tvorby nasledujúcich osobností: Komar and Melamid, ruskí emigranti pracujúci v New Yorku; Liane Lang, britská umelkyňa intervenujúca v predmetnom regióne; český umelec David Černý; Tamás StAuby, umelecké duo Little Warsaw, Tamás Kaszás a Csaba Farkas z Budapešti a Dunaújvárosu v Maďarsku a napokon Deimantas Narkevičius a Kristina Norman, zastupujúci pobaltské krajiny.

Preklad z angličtiny M. Hrdina

O závislostiach maľby.
Fotografia v maľbe 60. a 90. rokov 20. storočia

Jana GERŽOVÁ

Štúdia, ktorá je časovo rámcovaná dvomi dekádami 20. storočia, 60. a 90. rokmi, je venovaná analýze špecifických relácií medzi maľbou a fotografiou.[1] Na rozdiel od kontroverzného vzťahu oboch médií, ktorý poznačil rôzne historické fázy dejín umenia, počnúc vynájdením fotografie, cez objavenie neikonického, nezobrazujúceho umenia,[2] až po koniec 70. rokov, kedy sa v kontexte nastupujúcej postmoderny obe média voči sebe opakovane vymedzovali negatívne,[3] v predkladanej štúdii analyzujem maliarsku tvorbu, ktorá existenciu fotografie nielen zobrala na vedomie, ale stala sa na nej istým spôsobom závislá. Ide o typ maľby, ktorá napriek tomu, že nesie stopy reality, nevychádza z bezprostredne videného, pretože medzi svet a obraz, ktorý ho zrkadlí, bol vložený technický filter – fotografia. Prostredníctvom modelových autoriek a autorov 60. a 90. rokov 20. storočia budem porovnávať dva principiálne odlišné prístupy

k realite, ktoré sa premietli do odlišných koncepcií obrazu a súvisia na jednej strane so zmenou režimu videnia, na druhej strane s tzv. *obratom k obrazu*.

Zmena režimu videnia[4]

„*Vo vzťahu k médiám a v narábaní s nimi sa nám stále viac ako kedykoľvek predtým ozrejmuje principiálny konštruktivistický charakter nášho chápania skutočnosti.*" (Wolfgang Welsch)[5]

Ak zasadíme úvodný citát Wolfganga Welscha do širších súvislostí jeho úvah o osobitostiach elektronicko-mediálnych svetov a o ich spätnom vplyve „*na naše každodenné chápanie skutočnosti a našu každodennú skúsenosť sveta*",[6] nájdeme v jeho texte tvrdenia, ktoré sumarizujú názory viacerých filozofov a teoretikov druhej polovice 20. storočia, ktorí sa problému no-

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[1] Štúdia je parciálnym výsledkom môjho výskumu v Sekcii vizuálnych a kultúrnych štúdií Centra výskumu Vysokej školy výtvarných umení v Bratislave, ktorý bude prezentovaný v samostatnej publikácii *Ontológia maľby. Úvahy o bytí maľby v kontexte plurality, eklektizmu a hybridizácie.*

[2] Tento problém som riešila v štúdii „Niekoľko poznámok k mýtu konca maľby" v publikácii *Vysoká škola výtvarných umení, 1949 – 2009.* Bratislava 2009, s. 81-90.

[3] Ide o konštrukcie kritikov združených okolo časopisu *October*, ktorí vetvu tzv. poststrukturálneho alebo kritického postmodernizmu, reprezentovanú tvorbou amerických umelcov ťažiskovo pracujúcich s privlastnenou fotografiou (Sherrie Levine, Richard Prince, Barbara Kruger a Cindy Sherman), dávali do priamej opozície s vtedy rovnako aktuálnym medzinárodným prúdom neoexpresívnej maľby, ktorú zastupovali nielen mladí americkí maliari ako David Salle

a Julian Schnabel, ale aj európski umelci reprezentujúci nemecký neoexpresionizmus alebo taliansku transavantgardu, pričom táto maliarska tvorba získala pejoratívnu nálepku neokonzervatívneho a antimodernistického postmodernizmu. Problému som sa venovala v štúdii „Koniec konca maľby". Ide o nepublikovaný rukopis, ktorý bude súčasťou pripravovanej publikácie *Ontológia maľby. Úvahy o bytí maľby v kontexte plurality, eklektizmu a hybridizácie.*

[4] Názov kapitoly bol inšpirovaný úvahami Paula VIRILIA v knihe *La machine de vision* (Paris 1988). Slovenský preklad *Stroj videnia* vydal Slovenský filmový ústav v Bratislave v roku 2002.

[5] WELSCH, W.: *Umelé rajské záhrady? Skúmanie sveta elektronických médií a iných svetov.* Bratislava 1995, s. 6.

[6] Ibidem, s. 4.

vého chápania reality venovali. Jedným z takýchto tvrdení je, že v dôsledku objavenia sa nových médií dochádza k „*virtualizácii resp. derealizácii nášho chápania skutočnosti*".[7] Podľa Welscha to znamená, že skutočnosť vo svete poznačenom médiami „*stráca naliehavosť, závažnosť a záväznosť. Čoraz viac sa chápe ako ľahká, premenlivá, posúvateľná. Skutočnosť už nepokladáme za až tak skutočnú.*"[8] Welsch sa odvoláva na Derridu a Deleuzea, zdôrazňujúc, že títo autori už od konca 60. rokov konštatovali, že „*skutočnosť a zmysel majú prechodný charakter, vyznačujú sa zreťazením sietí, neustálymi posunmi a principiálnou neuzavretosťou*", pričom tieto formulácie, ktoré boli kritikou tradičnej filozofie, sú podľa Welscha ovplyvnené aj ich skúsenosťou s médiami.[9] Na rozdiel od metafyziky, ktorá „*kládla dôraz na ideál čistého, od médií oslobodeného zmyslu*", reprezentanti poštrukturalizmu, podľa Welscha predovšetkým Derrida, zdôrazňujú, že zmysel je „*vždy konštituovaný médiom (ústnym, písomným alebo elektronickým), bez neho by zmysel vôbec nemohol existovať*".[10]

Ak by sme chceli v dejinách 20. storočia hľadať miesto obratu, kde došlo k vedomej reflexii novej skúsenosti z videnia sveta a dôraz by sme chceli položiť na nástroj videnia – oko, alebo jeho technickú extenziu, ktorou je aparát –, museli by sme sa obrátiť na teoretikov fotografie a mediálnych expertov, ktorých rodokmeň začína Walterom Benjaminom. Ten už v roku 1931 v *Malých dejinách fotografie* zdôraznil, že „*príroda, ktorá prehovára ku kamere, je predsa iná než tá, čo hovorí k oku; iná najmä tak, že miesto priestoru, ktorý človek popretkával vedomím, vstupuje priestor popretkávaný nevedome*".[11] Na ilustráciu ruptúry medzi tým, čo vidíme, a tým, čo sa odohráva v reálnom čase, ana-

lyzuje ľudskú chôdzu, ktorej fázy podľa Benjamina môže človeku sprostredkovať len fotografia svojimi pomôckami – „*spomalenými záznamami, zväčšeninami*".[12] Ešte v 60. rokoch McLuhan prirovnáva naše videnie ku camere obscure, čiernej skrinke, kde sa obraz vonkajšieho sveta premieta hore nohami a z toho vyvodzuje: „*Naše normální vidění je také vzhůru nohama; svůj vizuální svět obracíme v duchu správnou stranou vzhůru tím, že překládáme vizuální vjem na rohovce do vjemu taktilního a kinetického. Svět postavený na nohy je zřejmě něčím, co můžeme cítit, ale co nemůžeme vidět.*"[13] Napriek tomu, že výskum v oblasti neurofyziológie vnímania a videnia priniesol pozoruhodné výsledky,[14] v nami sledovanom kontexte platí, že fotoaparát sa od vynájdenia fotografie považoval nielen za stroj na videnie, ale za stroj dokonalejší ako samo oko. V roku 1901 Èmile Zola, francúzsky spisovateľ a príležitostný fotograf, vyhlásil: „*... nemôžete tvrdiť, že ste niečo skutočne videli, pokiaľ ste to neodfotografovali.*"[15] V 30. rokoch 20. storočia avantgardný ruský filmár Dziga Vertov tvrdil: „*... úlohou filmu a kamery nie je imitovať ľudské oko, ale vidieť a zaznamenať to, čo ľudské oko normálne nevidí.*"[16] A v 60. rokoch vyslovil podobný, i keď sofistikovanejší názor taliansky režisér kultového filmu *Zväčšenina* Michelangelo Antonioni: „*Fotografovaním a zväčšovaním povrchu vecí vyskytujúcich sa v mojom okolí som sa snažil objaviť to, čo sa skrýva za nimi.*"[17]

Predstava fotoaparátu ako nástroja na precíznejšie videnie, či dokonca jeho identifikácia priamo so strojom na videnie, sa objavuje aj neskôr v druhej polovici 20. storočia a to rovnako v úvahách teoretikov, ako aj v tvorbe výtvarníkov, ktorí však túto tézu kriticky prehodnocujú. V roku 1971 britský

[7] Ibidem.

[8] Ibidem, s. 6.

[9] Ibidem, s. 3. V poznámke 5 odkazuje na Derridovu knihu *De la grammatologie* z roku 1967 a Deleuzeho *Différence et répétition* z roku 1968.

[10] Ibidem.

[11] BENJAMIN, W.: Malé dějiny fotografie. In: CÍSAŘ, K. (ed.): *Co je to fotografie?* Praha 2004, s. 11.

[12] Ibidem. Túto tézu by mohli ilustrovať dobové chronometrie Eadwearda Muybridga zo 70. rokov 19. storočia, analyzujúce pohyb zvierat a ľudí, alebo francúzskeho vedca Étienna-Julesa

Mareya z 80. rokov 19. storočia napriek tomu, že Benjamin ich vo svojej štúdii nespomína.

[13] McLUHAN, M.: *Jak rozumět médiím*. Praha 1991, s. 179.

[14] Pozri napr. KESNER, L.: *Muzeum umění v digitální době*. Praha 2000, s. 128-137.

[15] Citované podľa SONTAGOVÁ, S.: *O fotografii*. Praha 2002, s. 82.

[16] BRIK, O.: What the Eye does not See. In: WELLS, L. (ed.): *Photography Reader*. New York 2003, s. 90.

[17] ANTONIONI, M.: *Kuželník u Tiberu*. Praha 1989, s. 11.

konceptuálny umelec John Hilliard vytvoril dielo so symptomatickým názvom – *Fotoaparát zaznamenavajúci svoju vlastnú situáciu*,[18] ktoré pozostávalo zo sedemdesiatich fotografií urobených siedmimi aparátmi, kde bolo použitých desať rôznych expozičných časov. Prostredníctvom systému dvoch zrkadiel Hilliard zaznamenal akt vlastného fotografovania, takže výsledkom nebol obraz nejakej reality nachádzajúcej sa pred objektívom, ale vizuálna analýza činnosti samotného aparátu. Parafrázujúc Petra Szczepanika by sme mohli povedať, že fotoaparát videl a zaznamenal vlastné videnie.[19]

Skúmanie nových relácií medzi aparátom a fotografom, ktorý je principiálne odlišný od tradičného vzťahu medzi umelcom a jeho nástrojom, napríklad maliarom a jeho štetcom, sa stal jednou z tém filozofa a mediálneho experta Viléma Flussera. V štúdii *Za filosofii fotografie*[20] sa pýta: *„Je... fotoaparát strojem, protože se zdá, že simuluje oko, a protože využívá teorie optiky? Tedy „stroj na vidění"?"*[21] V jeho odpovediach nájdeme jeden dôležitý moment, ktorý vychádza z predpokladu, že fotoaparát, ako všetky technické aparáty, je konštruovaný na báze programu.[22] Práve táto skutočnosť ho vyčleňuje z predchádzajúcej tradície, pretože fotoaparát nie je jednoduchým nástrojom v zmysle extenzie nejakého ľudského orgánu, ale sám človek sa stáva časťou aparátu: *„Na rozdíl od řemeslníka obklopeného nástroji a dělníka stojícího u stroje je fotograf uvnitř aparátu a je s ním nerozlučně spjat. To je nová funkce, v níž člověk není ani konstantou, ani variabilní veličinou, ale v níž splývá s aparátem v jednotu."*[23] To znamená, že fotograf ovláda aparát tým, že kontroluje jeho „input" a „output", vie čo má do aparátu vložiť, aby výstupom bola fotografia, ale je ním súčasne ovládaný, lebo nemôže poznať jeho vnútro. Z toho potom pre Flussera vyplýva dôležitý záver, ktorý je v opozícii

k názorom z čias objavenia fotografie, kedy bol aparát heroizovaný. Podľa neho fotografia nie je ani výsledkom činnosti prístroja a ani výsledkom zámeru fotografa, ale je postavená na spolupráci, a čo je ešte dôležitejšie, na súperení medzi aparátom – jeho programom a samotným fotografom. Aby nedošlo k odcudzeniu človeka od jeho obrazov, na ktorých vytváraní sa podieľa program, v závere svojej štúdie vyzýva fotografov, aby vedome pracovali s programom aparátu, aby ho prekonávali a snažili sa „*vytvářet nepředvídané informace, to znamená dostat z aparátu a pak do obrazu něco, co v programu aparátu není*".[24] Na opísanie tohto postoja k fotoaparátu používa slovné spojenie „*hrať proti aparátu*", čo je strategickou opozíciou voči tým prístupom k fotoaparátu, ktoré sa objavili súčasne s komercializáciou jeho výroby a pretrvávajú až do súčasnosti. Nie je to však len reklamný slogan – „*Vy stlačíte spúšť, my zariadime ostatné*"[25] – na prvý fotoaparát značky Kodak z roku 1883, ktorý ohlasoval pasívnu podriadenosť „čiernej skrinke". Na rafinovanejší stupeň závislosti na objektíve upozornil francúzsky filozof Paul Virilio v širšom kontexte jeho úvah o zmenách režimu videnia, v rámci ktorého priamoúmerne k nedôvere v bezprostredné videnie sveta narastala až otrocká závislosť na pohľade sprostredkovanom cez objektív aparátu: „*Avšak čo vidíme, ak sa pohľad, zotročený zameriavaním, zredukuje až na stav prísnej a takmer nemennej štrukturálnej nehybnosti? Vidíme len okamžité výsledky, zachytené kyklopím okom objektívu, pričom videnie prestáva byť substanciálnym a stáva sa akcidentálnym.*"[26] Táto zmena režimu videnia spôsobila, že tak ako „*ľudský pohľad tuhol a strácal prirodzenú rýchlosť a citlivosť, zábery sa naopak čím ďalej, tým viac zrýchľovali*".[27] „*Dnes,*" konštatuje v roku 1988 Virilio, sa fotografi spokojujú s tým, že „*fotoaparátom iba ostreľujú, poddávajú sa jeho rýchlosti a veľkému počtu*

[18] Tony Godfrey analyzuje dielo v kontexte konceptuálnych stratégií. – GODFREY, T.: *Conceptual Art*. London 1998, s. 309.

[19] SZCZEPANIK, P.: Filmy, které vidí vlastní vidění. In: *Iluminace*, 12, 2000, č. 3, s. 41-63.

[20] FLUSSER, V.: *Za filosofii fotografie*. Praha 1994, s. 21. Originál *Für eine Philosophie der Fotografie* vyšiel v roku 1983 v Göttingene.

[21] Ibidem, s. 21.

[22] Ibidem, s. 23.

[23] Ibidem, s. 24.

[24] Ibidem, s. 72.

[25] SONTAGOVÁ 2002, c. d. (v pozn. 15), s. 53.

[26] VIRILIO, P.: Topografická amnézia. In: VIRILIO, P.: *Stroj videnia*. Bratislava 2002, s. 25.

[27] Ibidem.

fotografií ako i nadužívaniu kontaktných snímok a sú radšej svedkami svojich vlastných fotografií než akejkoľvek reality."[28] Tento „stav závislosti na objektíve" ilustroval príkladom fotografa Jacquesa-Henri Latiguea, ktorý „*bez toho, aby pozrel do hľadáčika, vedel, čo vidí jeho Leica*[29] *v jeho ruke – takže aparát nahrádzal zároveň pohyby oka i presuny tela*".[30] Ak by sme pokračovali v analýzach ďalších Viriliových textov, kde sa venoval otázkam zmeny režimu videnia, mohli by sme sa pýtať, či proces, ktorý začal objavením fotografie a pokračoval rozvojom nových technológií numerickej výroby obrazov, vyústi do reálneho stroja na videnie, ktorý bude produkovať syntetické videnie, ktoré je videním bez pohľadu.[31]

Strata nevinnosti

„*Fotografie nespodobňují realitu – realisticky. Právě realita je posuzována a hodnocena na základě fotografie.*" (Susan Sontagová)[32]

Fotografia bola od svojho objavenia interpretovaná ambivalentne, ako paradoxný obraz, ktorý vznikol mechanicky, ako záznam vytvorený prostredníctvom technického aparátu, ako „*výtvor ľudskej industrie*",[33] ale súčasne sa tomuto obrazu od počiatku pripisovali vlastnosti indexu, to znamená, že sa chápal ako priamy odtlačok reality, ako jej stopa, v tom zmysle, ako je stopou odtlačok šľapaje v piesku, prsta na pohári alebo maska sňatá z tváre mŕtveho.[34] Túto ambivalentnú podstatu fotografie najprecíznejšie formuloval Hubert Damisch vo svojich *Piatich poznámkach*

k fenomenológii fotografického obrazu, kde konštatuje, že fotografia je „*obraz bez tloušťky a hmoty... obraz veskrze 'ireálný'* ", keď ale o ňom uvažujeme, „*musíme se bránit představě, že tento obraz podržel cosi z reality, z níž na základě své fyzikálně-chemické povahy pochází*".[35] Napriek tejto paradoxnosti, vo veľkej časti dejín fotografie od jej objavenia až do polovice 20. storočia prevláda téza, že fotografia, na rozdiel od tradičného obrazu – maľby, si vo vzťahu k realite zachováva vyššiu mieru objektivity a pravdivosti.[36]

Prvé trhliny do tohto všeobecne zdieľaného názoru sa objavili už veľmi skoro po objavení fotografie, keď sa na Svetovej výstave v Paríži v roku 1855 prezentovali dva fotografické portréty toho istého subjektu, pričom jeden bol retušovaný a druhý nie.[37] Prvýkrát sa tu obnažila klamlivosť fotografie, nie v tom zmysle, že by bola spochybnená jej pravdivosť vo vzťahu k portrétovanému, ale zavádzanie diváka vyplynulo z dodatočných zásahov do negatívu. Už tu sa vytvoril precedens k celému radu neskorších stratégií, ktoré na jednej strane reprezentuje manipulovaná výtvarná fotografia využívajúca rôzne zásahy do negatívu i pozitívu v zmysle výtvarnej štylizácie, na druhej strane mocenské zneužitie fotografie v rámci autoritatívnych policajných režimov, ktoré sa pohybuje od manipulácie na úrovni selekcie vhodných tém, cez koncipovania záberov, až po cenzorské zásahy vymazávaním nežiaducich osôb z dobových fotografií. Takmer inštruktážnu analýzu takýchto manipulačných postupov odhaľuje fotoséria konceptuálneho umelca Johna Hilliarda so symptomatickým názvom *Príčina smrti?*[38] z roku

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[28] Ibidem.

[29] Leica je značka fotoaparátu, ktorý distribuuje nemecká spoločnosť rovnakého mena, pôvodne založená Ernstom Leitzom.

[30] VIRILIO 2002, c. d. (v pozn. 26), s. 25.

[31] Ibidem, s. 88.

[32] SONTAGOVÁ 2002, c. d. (v pozn. 15), s. 82.

[33] DAMISCH, H.: Pět poznámek k fenomenologii fotografického obrazu. In: CÍSAŘ 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 11), s. 47.

[34] Susan Sontagová a Rosalinda Kraussová hovoria zhodne o šľapaji, pričom Sontagová register metafor rozširuje

o posmrtnú masku. – SONTAGOVÁ 2002, c. d. (v pozn. 15), s. 138; KRAUSSOVÁ, R.: Obraz, text a index: poznámky k umění 70. let. In: CÍSAŘ 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 11), s. 257. Vilém Flusser prirovnáva fotografiu k odtlačku prsta. – FLUSSER 1994, c. d. (v pozn. 20), s. 13.

[35] DAMISCH 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 33), s. 47-48.

[36] Na druhom póle názorov na fotografiu stoja reprezentanti obhajujúci ideu fotografie ako umenia. K sporom medzi tzv. realistami a ich oponentmi pozri napr. KRACAUER, S.: Fotografie. In: CÍSAŘ 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 11), s. 27-44.

[37] SONTAGOVÁ 2002, c. d. (v pozn. 15), s. 81.

[38] Tony Godfrey analyzuje dielo v kontexte konceptuálnych stratégií. – GODFREY 1998, c. d. (v pozn. 18), s. 309-310.

1974. Ide o sériu štyroch fotografií toho istého záberu mŕtveho muža ležiaceho na zemi, kde autor demonštroval, ako minimálna zmena výrezu, môže zmeniť samotný obsah správy.[39] V tomto zmysle je rovnako dôležité konštatovanie Susan Sontagovej, ktorá hovorí: „*Padělaný obraz... překrucuje dějiny...*“ a „*Padělaná fotografie (jež byla retušována, pozměněna nebo má falešný titulek) překrucuje skutečnost.*“[40] Táto línia postupného spochybňovania „*prezumpcie reality*“[41] vrcholila koncom 80. rokov, keď sa objavili nové digitálne technológie, ktoré na rozdiel od tradičnej fotografie, založenej na mechanickej reprodukcii a chemickom procese, môžu vznikať ako výsledok počítačového programu bez toho, aby sa digitálne produkovaný a distribuovaný obraz vzťahoval k realite ako východisku.

Iný typ otázok vzťahujúcich sa k problému pravdivosti fotografie vyplýva z filozofického kontextu. Mohli by sme sa pýtať, akú pozíciu má fotografia v rámci platónskej tradície, kde je každý obraz chápaný ako ontologický klam, pretože je len kópiou kópie idey.[42] Na prvý pohľad sa môže zdať, že fotografia sa v kontexte opozít pravda a klam, realita a zdanie, originál a kópia vymyká z tohto rámca. Už len tým, čo Roland Barthes označuje termínom „*správa bez kódu*“, ktorý vyjadruje, že vzťah označovaného k označujúcemu, je tautologický,[43] a čo Rosalinda Kraussová ďalej špecifikuje, keď hovorí: „*Tím, co se vtiskuje do fotografické emulze a následně na fotografickou kopii, je uspořádaní přirozeného světa. Tento element přenosu či stopy poskytuje fotografii charakter dokumentu, nepopiratelnou pravdivost... Pojivá tkáň, která k sobě váže předměty*

obsažené na fotografii, nepochází z kulturního systému, nýbrž ze samotného světa.“[44] Na druhej strane tu máme konštatovanie Susan Sontagovej, ktorá tvrdí, že to boli práve fotografie, ktoré „*odplatonizovali*“ naše chápanie skutočnosti, pretože na ne nemôžeme uplatňovať kritériá podobnosti, či rozdielu medzi vecami a ich obrazmi, originálmi a ich kópiami. Podľa Sontagovej Platónovi v jeho „*znevažujícím vztahu k obrazům vyhovovalo jejich přirovnání ke stínum – přechodným, minimálně informativním, nehmotným a bezmocným protějškům skutečných věcí, které je vrhají*“. Sontagová však tvrdí, že fotografie sú „*mocným nástrojem odvety proti skutečnosti tím, že ji samu proměňují ve stín*“.[45] Magický rozmer tohto tvrdenia sa ukáže, ak si spomenieme na Talbotov text z roku 1839, v ktorom svoju metódu opísal ako „*umenie, ako zafixovať tieň*“,[46] analytický, ak si ho spojíme s tvorbou americkej autorky Sherrie Levine, ktorá prefotografovala zábery Walkera Evansa[47] a apokalyptický, keď sa nám vybaví Hirošima po výbuchu atómovej bomby a tieň jednej z obetí katastrofy, ktorý zostal ako doklad jej bývalej existencie.

Fotografia ako východisko maľby – 60. roky

„*Myslíme si, že technikou svet prenasledujeme. Svet sa nám však technikou vnucuje...*“ (Jean Baudrillard)[48]

V 60. rokoch 20. storočia sa na scéne objavilo viacero maliarov, ktorí pracovali s fotografiou ako východiskom svojich obrazov. Na rozdiel od historických predchodcov, počnúc Delacroixom a končiac súčasníkom Baconom, ktorí používali fotografiu ako

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[39] Podľa toho, aké indície sa na tom-ktorom zábere nachádzajú, autor zvolil aj príznačné názvy: *Fell/Spadol* (v zábere je časť mosta), *Drowned/Utopený* (v zábere je okraj rieky), *Burned/Spálený* (v zábere je časť ohniska).

[40] SONTAGOVÁ 2002, c. d. (v pozn. 15), s. 81.

[41] Pojem zaviedol Hubert Damisch. – DAMISCH 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 33), s. 47-48.

[42] Pre Platóna sa v jeho najvýznamnejšom spise *Štát* stal príkladom tohto radu maliar, ktorý namaľoval stôl ako kópiu stola vytvoreného remeselníkom na základe kópie idey stola.

[43] To znamená, že „*fotografie sice implikuje určité uspořádaní scény (zarámovaní, redukce, zploštění), avšak tento přechod není transformací (jako může být kódování); dochází zde ke ztrátě ekvivalence (vlastní*

skutečným znakovým systémům) a postuluje se zdánlivá identita. Jinak řečeno: znak tohoto sdělení není převzat z nějaké institucionalizované zásobnice, není kódovaný...“ – BARTHES, R.: Rétorika obrazu. In: CÍSAŘ 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 11), s. 53.

[44] KRAUSSOVÁ 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 34), s. 264.

[45] SONTAGOVÁ 2002, c. d. (v pozn. 15), s. 160.

[46] Citované podľa BATCHEN, G.: Ektoplazma. In: CÍSAŘ 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 11), s. 344.

[47] Ide o cyklus fotografií *After Walker Evans* z roku 1979, ktoré vznikli prefotografovaním 22 fotografií, ktoré urobil Evans v 30. rokoch 20. storočia.

[48] BAUDRILLARD, J.: Fotografie. In: *Profil*, 13, 2006, č. 3, s. 6.

vizuálnu pomôcku, ako náhradu za živý model, alebo ako alternatívu prípravnej kresby, táto generácia maliarov využívala fotografiu principiálne odlišným spôsobom,[49] ktorý vyplýval z paradigmatickej zmeny samotného vzťahu k realite. Ak porovnáme výpovede troch modelových autorov tejto generácie, ku ktorým nesporne patrí Gerhard Richter (nar. 1932), Richard Hamilton (nar. 1922) alebo Franz Gertsch (nar. 1930), zistíme isté príbuzné formulácie, vysvetľujúce spôsob, akým pristupovali k fotografii. „*Fotografia bola pre mňa dôležitejšia ako dejiny umenia: bola obrazom mňa, nás, každodennej reality. Nevybral som si ju preto, aby som nahradil realitu, ale preto, aby mi bola oporou a pomohla mi dostať sa do reality.*" (Gerhard Richter)[50] „*Robil som abstraktnú maľbu až do okamihu, keď som sa v polovici 50. rokov nevrátil k figurácii. Tento návrat prišiel akoby z druhej ruky, pretože som sa neinšpiroval reálnou krajinou a existujúcimi objektmi a nerobil som ani maľby ľudí z reálneho života, ale vychádzal som z časopisov. V 50. rokoch sme si začali viac uvedomovať možnosť dívať sa na celý svet cez veľkú vizuálnu maticu, ktorá nás obklopovala, cez syntetický 'instantný' pohľad.*" (Richard Hamilton)[51] „*Na jeseň roku 1968 som robil moju prvú naturalistickú maľbu založenú na fotografii. Pochopil som, že v tomto veku sa môžeme zmocniť reality len prostredníctvom fotoaparátu, pretože... fotografická realita nám dáva najvyššiu možnosť ako interpretovať realitu.*" (Franz Gertsch)[52]

Na prvý pohľad by sa mohlo zdať, že Richter, Hamilton a Gertsch používajú fotografiu ako východisko maľby preto, lebo jej dôverujú viac ako vlastným očiam. Hoci fotografia a jej vzťah k realite hrá v ich postojoch dôležité miesto, nejde o paralelu s názormi, ktoré boli aktuálne v čase objavenia tohto média. V 60. rokoch títo umelci nevidia fotografiu ako okno do sveta, nepristupujú k nej tak, ako re-

nesančný človek k obrazom, keď ich videl ako „*čisté transparentné otvory, cez ktoré [by] videl to, čo by videl, keby stál vonku, pozerajúc sa na to, čo namiesto toho ukazuje obraz*".[53] Fotografia pre Richtera, Hamiltona, Gertscha a ďalších podobne zmýšľajúcich maliarov nie je identická s realitou, a hoci si vo vzťahu k realite zachováva „*status očitého svedectva*",[54] je vnímaná predovšetkým ako obraz, ako reprodukcia sveta. Ak vychádzame zo skutočnosti, že fotografia je reprodukciou reality, potom maľby vznikajúce podľa fotografie by mali byť reprodukciou reprodukcie. Otázkou je, prečo títo umelci, ktorí sa vo svojej tvorbe odvrátili od predchádzajúceho abstraktného expresionizmu, ktorý na scéne dominoval ešte na prelome 50. a 60. rokov, a presunuli svoj záujem na každodennú, často banálnu realitu, nevychádzali z vlastných skúseností, z bezprostredného videnia, ale siahali po realite z druhej ruky. Jedna z možných odpovedí súvisí s tým, že tak robili preto, lebo nedôverovali realite, jej bezprostrednému videniu. Tieto pochybnosti sú najzreteľnejšie artikulované u Gerharda Richtera, ktorý svoje názory prezentoval nielen prostredníctvom viacerých rozhovorov s mienkotvornými kritikmi, ale aj formou vlastných poznámok.[55] V textoch z raných 60. rokov sa opakovane objavuje nedôvera voči našim nedokonalým zmyslom a preto sa autor viac ako na vlastné oči spolieha na fotografiu, ktorú považuje za „*jediný obraz, ktorý nám hovorí absolútnu pravdu, pretože vidí 'objektívne'*",[56] a dokonca jej dôveruje aj vtedy, ak „*je technicky chybná a obsah je len ťažko identifikovateľný*".[57] Fotografia, ako píše Richter v roku 1964, zmenila nielen „*spôsoby, akými sa dívame a myslíme*", ale, čo je ešte významnejšie, oslabila dôveryhodnosť maľby, ktorá sa oproti pravdivosti fotografie javila ako vykonštruovaná skutočnosť. Keďže Richter opakovane

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[49] V centre ich záujmu nebola umelecká fotografia, ale dokumentárna, často amatérska fotografia, alebo dokonca jej časopisecká reprodukcia.

[50] Rozhovor Gerharda Richtera s Petrom Sagerom bol zaradený do publikácie *Gerhard Richter. The Daily Practice of Painting: Writings and Interviews, 1962 – 1993*. Ed. H.-U. OBRIST – D. BRITT. Cambridge (Mass.) – London 1995, s. 66. Citované podľa *The Painting of Modern Life: 1960s to Now*. London 2007, s. 59.

[51] *The Painting of Modern Life*, c. d. (v pozn. 50), s. 87.

[52] Ibidem, s. 101.

[53] DANTO, A. C.: *Zneužitie krásy*. Bratislava 2008, s. 118.

[54] JOST, F.: *Realita/Fikce – říše klamu*. Praha 2006, s. 11.

[55] Bližšie pozri OBRIST – BRITT 1995, c. d. (v pozn. 50).

[56] RICHTER, G.: Notes 1964 – 1965. In: HARRISON, Ch. – WOOD, P. (ed.): *Art in Theory, 1900 – 2000. An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Blackwell Publishers, 2000, s. 757.

[57] Ibidem.

oceňuje fotografiu pre jej schopnosť podávať spoľahlivejší a dôveryhodnejší obraz sveta, než to robí priame videnie a iné zobrazovacie médiá, vrátane maľby, mohli by sme sa pýtať, čím sú jeho maľby robené podľa fotografie.

V roku 1977 označil B. H. D. Buchloh Richterove obrazy vznikajúce v 60. rokoch podľa fotografií ako foto-maľby a prirovnal ich k Duchampovým ready-made. Táto paralela vychádzala z predpokladu, že fotografie a iné mediálne obrazy, ktoré Richter použil ako východisko (napr. novinové s časopisecké výstrižky), sú podobne ako pisoár, sušič na fľaše alebo bicyklové koleso masovo produkované predmety/obrazy, ktoré sú súčasťou nášho každodenného života. Na prvý pohľad sa zdá, že táto interpretácia je blízka samotnému Richterovi, ktorý, ako je známe, povedal: „*Všetko po Duchampovi je ready-made dokonca aj vtedy, ak je to ručne namaľované.*"[58] Dá sa však stratégia ready-made aplikovať na Richterove maľby bezo zvyšku? Zatiaľ čo Duchamp konštruuje umeleckú hodnotu predmetov každodennej spotreby tým, že ich vytrháva z pôvodného utilitárneho kontextu a deklaruje ako umenie, Richterova stratégia je menej jednoznačná. Ak aj pripustíme, že fotografia je ready-made, stále nemáme odpoveď na otázku, čím je samotná maľba. V zmysle Duchampovho gesta by maľba mala byť vehiklom, prostredníctvom ktorého sa fotografia (ready-made) povyšuje na umenie. V Richterovej tvorbe má dôležité miesto nielen obraz, ako výsledok činnosti, ale, alebo predovšetkým, akt maľovania, ktorý nie je redukovaný na vytváranie maliarskej kópie fotografie. Keďže maľba je nástrojom skúmania podstaty a možností oboch vzájomne sa prestupujúcich médií, mohli by sme sa prikloniť k názoru, že zatiaľ čo fotografia si

uchováva charakter ready-made, akt maľovania je analogický prekladu z jedného jazyka do druhého, v rámci ktorého sa súčasne mení status fotografie, ako aj maľby. Na jednej strane sa oslabuje primárna informačná hodnota fotografie v prospech jej špecifických vizuálnych znakov, ktoré Richter prenáša do obrazu (čierno-biela farebnosť, rozostretie dosiahnuté zásahmi do mokrej maľby), na druhej strane maľba, fotografiou obecne vytláčaná do oblasti arteficiálna, získava stratenú priamu väzbu na realitu. To, čo je stratené v preklade z média do média, je jednoznačným ziskom maľby.

Obrat k obrazu

„*Západná kultúra dlhodobo privilegovala hovorené slovo ako najvyššiu formu intelektuálneho vyjadrenia a obrazové reprezentácie videla ako druhoradú ilustráciu ideí.*" (Nicholas Mirzoeff)[59]

Obrat k obrazu (*Pictorial Turn*) je kľúčový výraz, ktorý sa prvýkrát objavil v roku 1992, keď W. J. T. Mitchell publikoval v časopise *Artforum* štúdiu s identickým názvom.[60] Nie je náhodné, že autor sa v úvode odvoláva na Richarda Rortyho, pretože nielen vedome parafrázuje pojem *obrat k jazyku* (*Linguistic Turn*), ktorý do dejín filozofie zaviedol práve Rorty,[61] ale *obrat k obrazu* je súčasne symptómom paradigmatickej zmeny, ďalším stupňom v dejinách kultúry a filozofie, ktorý ohlasuje obrat od jazyka späť k obrazu. Na rozdiel od štrukturalizmu a poštrukturalizmu, filozofických smerov, ktoré sa opierali o lingvistické metódy a pracovali s modelom sveta ako písaného textu, pretože predpokladali, že „*všetky otázky filozofie sa dajú previesť na otázky jazyka*",[62] Mitchell sa vracia ku skúmaniu

[58] Citované podľa PERRY, G. – WOOD, P.: *Themes in Contemporary Art*. London 2004, s. 112. Pozri tiež BUCHLOH, B. H. D.: Readymade, Photography, and Painting in the Painting of Gerhard Richter; prvýkrát publikované v ABADIE, D. (ed.): *Gerhard Richter*. [Kat. výst.] Paris : Musée National d'Art Moderne, 1977, s. 11-58; znovu publikované v BUCHLOH, B. H. D.: *Neo-Avantgarde and Culture Industry. Essays on European and American Art from 1955 to 1975*. Cambridge (Mass.) 2000, s. 365-403.

[59] MIRZOEFF, N.: What is Visual Culture? In: MIRZOEFF, N. (ed.): *The Visual Culture Reader*. London 1998, s. 5. Pre podrobnú recenziu citovanej publikácie pozri RUSINOVÁ,

Z.: The Visual Culture Reader. In: *Profil*, 2002, č. 4, s. 74-111; 2003, č. 1, s. 6-45.

[60] Reprint eseje bol zaradený do publikácie MITCHELL, W. J. T.: *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago 1994, s. 11-34.

[61] Bližšie pozri RORTY, R. (ed.): *The Linguistic Turn: Recent Essays in Philosophical Method*. Chicago 1967.

[62] MICHALOVIČ, P. – MINÁR, P.: *Úvod do štrukturalizmu a poštrukturalizmu*. Bratislava 1997, s. 12.

obrazov, ktoré hrajú v súčasnom postmodernom svete a vizuálnej kultúre[63] stále dôležitejšiu úlohu. Stavia sa tak do istej opozície k filozofom, ktorí voči vizuálnej reprezentácii prechovávali nedôveru, v krajnom prípade ústiacu do ikonofóbie.[64] Mitchell snahu aplikovať lingvistický model reprezentovaný jazykom, textom a diskurzom nielen na spoločnosť, prírodu a jej vedeckú reprezentáciu, ale dokonca aj na podvedomie, podrobuje kritike.[65] Východiskom jeho výskumu sa stala hypotéza, že „*vizuálna skúsenosť, 'vizuálna gramotnosť' nemusí byť plne vysvetliteľná prostredníctvom modelu textuality*".[66] Vzťah obrazu a slova, ktorý dlhodobo skúmal, videl ako napätie medzi vizuálnou a verbálnou reprezentáciou, medzi „*inštitúciami viditeľného*", kde zahŕňa vizuálne umenie, vizuálne médiá, praktiky predvádzania a sledovania, a „*inštitúciami verbálneho*", ku ktorým priraďuje literatúru, jazyk, diskurz, praktiky verbálneho a písomného prejavu, počúvanie a čítanie.[67] V tomto zmysle slovo a obraz u neho vystupujú nielen ako symboly dvoch typov reprezentácie, ale ich prostredníctvom pomenováva aj rozdiely medzi základnými kultúrnymi modelmi, medzi kultúrou čítania a kultúrou dívania sa.

Aj keď jedným z ťažísk Mitchellovej štúdie z roku 1992 bolo nové čítanie a ocenenie ikonológie Erwina Panofskeho, ktorú považuje za východisko toho, čo sa dnes volá vizuálna kultúra, pre kontext mnou skúmaného problému je rovnako dôležitý spôsob, akým Mitchell kladie elementárne otázky súvisiace s povahou súčasných obrazov a s okolnosťami, ktoré spôsobili aktuálny nárast ich významu. Prečo „*vo veku, ktorý je často charakterizovaný ako vek 'spektáklu' (Guy Debord), 'sledovania' (Michel Foucault), kde je všetko prestúpené tvorbu obrazu, ešte stále presne nevieme, čo sú ob-* razy, *aký je ich vzťah k jazyku, ako pôsobia na divákov a na svet, ako má byť pochopená ich história a ako by sme mali s nimi zaobchádzať*".[68] V hľadaní odpovede na otázku prečo sa *obrat k obrazu* uskutočnil práve v dobe, ktorá býva označovaná ako postmodernizmus, nachádza zvláštny paradox. „*Na jednej strane... vek videa a kybernetických technológií, vek elektronickej reprodukcie vyvinul nové formy vizuálnej simulácie a iluzionizmu, ktoré majú bezprecedentnú moc. Na druhej strane je strach z obrazu, starý ako tvorba obrazov samotných, obava z toho, že 'moc obrazov' môže v konečnom dôsledku zničiť tých, ktorí ich vytvorili.*"[69] Týmto obavám sa dá lepšie porozumieť ak si ich spojíme napríklad s globálnymi televíznymi spravodajstvami, napr. CCN, ktoré nám v posledných desaťročiach sprostredkovali viaceré svetové katastrofické udalosti v priamom prenose.

Mitchellov ohlasovaný *obrat k obrazu* však nemôžeme dávať do súvislostí s návratom, ako sám zdôrazňuje, „*k naivnému chápaniu mimézis, kópie alebo k príbuzným teóriám reprezentácie, či dokonca k obnoveniu metafyzického obrazového 'bytia'; je to skôr postlingvistické, postsemiotické znovuobjavovanie obrazu ako komplexu, kde dochádza k vzájomnému pôsobeniu medzi vizualitou, aparátmi, inštitúciami, diskurzmi, telami a figurálnosťou. Je to uvedomenie si, že dívanie sa[70] (pohľad, uprené dívanie sa, zbežný pohľad), že praktiky pozorovania, sledovania a vizuálnej rozkoše môžu byť rovnako závažný problém ako rozličné formy čítania (dešifrovanie, dekódovanie, interpretácia a pod.).*"[71] V tomto zmysle *obrat k obrazu* nie je jednoduchým návratom k tradičnému obrazu, či dokonca k maľbe, pretože dnes, na rozdiel od modernistickej idey čistoty médií, sú „*všetky médiá mix médiami, každé zobrazenie je heterogénne; neexistujú 'čisté' verbálne alebo vizuálne umenia*".[72] Preto pod pojem

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[63] Bližšie pozri MIRZOEFF 1998, c. d. (v pozn. 59).

[64] Mitchell fóbiu z obrazov pripisuje Wittgensteinovi v kontexte jeho filozofickej kariéry, kde na začiatku bola teória obrazov a na konci istý druh ikonoklazu. – MITCHELL 1994, c. d. (v pozn. 60), s. 12. Sándor Hornyk za ikonofóbov označuje aj Adorna a Foucaulta. – HORNYK, S.: On the Pictorial Turn. In: *Exindex*, 25, 16 February 2002, www.c3.hu/index. html.

[65] MITCHELL 1994, c. d. (v pozn. 60), s. 11.

[66] Ibidem, s. 16.

[67] Bližšie pozri MITCHELL, W. J. T.: Slovo a obraz. In: NEL-

SON, R. S. – SHIFF, R. a kol.: *Kritické pojmy dejín umenia.* Bratislava 2004, s. 82.

[68] MITCHELL 1994, c. d. (v pozn. 60), s. 13.

[69] Ibidem, s. 15.

[70] Mitchell používa pojem *spectatorship*, ktorý sa prekladá aj ako *diváctvo*. Bližšie pozri OLINOVÁ, M.: Pohľad. In: NELSON – SHIFF 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 67), s. 369.

[71] MITCHELL 1994, c. d. (v pozn. 60), s. 16.

[72] Ibidem, s. 5.

vizuálnej reprezentácie zahŕňa celé spektrum veľmi odlišných obrazov vrátane fotografie, filmu, televízie, reklamy, digitálneho obrazu, dokonca sa zaoberá aj tzv. „*biopicture, a biodigital picture*"[73] pričom zdôrazňuje, že problémy súvisiace s *obratom k obrazu* sa riešia „*na všetkých úrovniach kultúry od sofistikovaných filozofických špekulácií až po najvulgárnejšie masmediálne produkcie*"[74].

W. J. T. Mitchell nebol jediný, kto sa začiatkom 90. rokov 20. storočia venoval fenoménu *obratu k obrazu*. Sándor Hornyk v štúdii *On the Pictorial Turn*[75] uvádza predovšetkým Gottfrieda Boehma, švajčiarskeho historika umenia, ktorý prišiel v rovnakom čase s vlastným pojmom *ikonische Wendung*.[76] Z Hornykovej dôležitej prehľadovej štúdie vypadol odkaz na ďalšieho ťažiskového autora, už zmieneného Viléma Flussera, ktorý sa už začiatkom 80. rokov intenzívne venoval vzťahu obrazu a textu. V štúdii *Za filosofii fotografie* vychádzal z hypotézy, že „*v lidské kultuře lze od samého počátku pozorovat dva zásadní mezníky. První může být vyjádřen heslem ,vynález lineárního písma' a datován přibližně do poloviny druhého tisíciletí př. Kr., druhý, jehož jsme svědky, heslem ,vynález technických obrazů'.*"[77] Na rozdiel od Mitchella, ktorý *obrat k obrazu* zasadzuje do obdobia postmoderny, Flusser sa dvom odlišným kultúrnym módom reprezentácie – textu a obrazu – venuje v širších historických súvislostiach. Východiskom jeho filozofie je pojem technického obrazu, ktorého históriu odvíja od vynájdenia fotografie, prvého obrazu, ktorý nebol vytvorený ľudskou rukou, ale prostredníctvom prístroja. Aby špecifikoval charakter technického obrazu, vymedzuje jeho pozíciu na jednej strane k tradičnému obrazu, na druhej strane k obecnejšej kategórii textov. Vychádza z predpokladu, že obrazy sú sprostredkovateľom medzi svetom a človekom, pretože svet nie je človeku prístupný bezprostredne. Podľa neho sú tradičné obrazy vo vzťahu k svetu

„*abstrakciami prvého stupňa*", zatiaľ čo technické obrazy sú „*abstrakciami tretieho stupňa*", pretože „*abstrahujú z textů, které abstrahují z tradičních obrazů, které zasa abstrahují z konkrétního světa*".[78] Napriek istej sofistikovanosti jeho uvažovania nás vedie k poznaniu, že pred časom lineárnej histórie, ktorý nastal s objavením písma, kedy sa artikulovala naša schopnosť pojmového myslenia, existoval čas magický, ktorý reprezentovali staré obrazy sveta. Podľa neho prvou zmenou paradigmy, ktorú spôsobilo objavenie písma, bol obrat od mágie k histórii, od obrazu k textu, ktorý sa prejavoval ako „*boj proti idolatrii*".[79] Druhú zmenu paradigmy spája Flusser s objavením fotografie, kedy sa pomer medzi tými dvoma módmi reprezentácie opäť prevracia: „*Fotografií začína ,posthistorie', a to jako boj proti textolatrii.*"[80] Na prvý pohľad by sa mohlo zdať, že ide o jednoduchý pohyb kyvadla, od textu späť k obrazu. Historický a technický obraz sú však zásadne iné typy obrazov, a ak ich aj Flusser spája s fenoménom mágie, práve cez tento aspekt ich súčasne diferencuje. Podľa neho je predhistorická mágia tradičných obrazov „*ritualizací modelů nazývaných ,mýtus'*", a súčasná mágia „*ritualizací modelů nazývaných ,program'*".[81] Práve tento typ programovanej mágie, ktorá je podľa Flussera magickým vedomím druhého stupňa, spôsobuje, že všadeprítomné „*technické obrazy se chystají naši ,skutečnost' magicky přestrukturovat a obrátit ji v globální obrazový scénař. V podstatě tu jde o druh ,zapomínání'. Člověk zapomíná, že on sám obrazy vytvořil, aby se podle nich orientoval ve světě. Už je nedokáže dešifrovat, a od tohto okamžiku žije ve funkci svých vlastních obrazů: Imaginace se změnila v halucinaci.*"[82]

Ukazuje sa, že v úvahách o *obrate k obrazu* má Flusser, napriek tomu, že je v západnej umenovede menej citovaný, rovnako dôležité miesto ako Mitchell. Jeho koncepcia dialektického boja medzi textami a obrazmi dokonca s Mitchellovými neskoršími

[73] MITCHELL, W. J. T.: Cloning Terror: The War of Images, 2001 – 2004. In: COSTELLO, D. – WILLSDON, D. (ed.): *The Life and the Dead of Images. Ethics and Aesthetics*. London 2008, s. 180-207.

[74] MITCHELL 1994, c. d. (v pozn. 60), s. 16.

[75] HORNYK 2002, c. d. (v pozn. 64).

[76] Bližšie pozri BOEHM, G.: Die Wiederkehr der Bilder. In: BOEHM, G.: *Was ist ein Bild?* München 1994.

[77] FLUSSER 1994, c. d. (v pozn. 20), s. 7.

[78] Ibidem, s. 13.

[79] Ibidem, s. 16.

[80] Ibidem.

[81] Ibidem, s. 15.

[82] Ibidem, s. 9-10.

úvahami priamo súvisí. Flusser v roku 1983 píše: „*Texty sice vysvětlují obrazy, aby je vyvrátily, ale obrazy také ilustrují texty, aby je učinili srozumitelnými. Pojmové myšlení sice analyzuje myšlení magické, aby je odstranilo z cesty, ale magické myšlení se vsouvá do pojmového, aby mu propůjčilo význam. V tomto dialektickém procesu se pojmové a imaginativní myšlení navzájem posiluje – to znamená: Obrazy jsou stále pojmovější, texty stále imaginativnější. V dnešní době nacházíme nejvyšší pojmovost v konceptuálních obrazech (například v počítačových obrazech) a nejvyšší imaginaci ve vědeckých textech. Tak, odzadu, se převrací hierarchie kódu. Texty, jež jsou původně metakódy obrazů, mohou mít samy obrazy jako svůj metakód.*"[83] Mitchell o trinásť rokov neskôr na základe predchádzajúceho výskumu dochádza k záveru: „*Slovo a obraz zrejme pochopíme lepšie vtedy, keď ho budeme chápať ako dialektický rečový zvrat... stručné vyjadrenie celej množiny vzťahov a rozlíšení, ktoré sa objavujú v estetike, semiotike, vo výkladoch percepcie, poznávania a komunikácie, ako aj v analýzach médií (sú to spravidla „zmiešané" formy, „obrazotexty", v ktorých sa slová spájajú s obrazmi).*"[84]

Fotografia ako východisko maľby – 90. roky

„*... fotografia tým, že zmnožovala „dôkazy" o realite, realitu vlastne vyčerpávala.*" (Paul Virilio)[85]

Koncom 90. rokov 20. storočia sa s drobným oneskorením za W. T. J. Mitchellom a ním ohlasovaným *obratom k obrazu* uskutočnila rozsiahla séria monotematických maliarskych výstav,[86] ktoré v roku 1999 otvoril projekt *Examinig Pictures: Exhibiting Paintings* v londýnskej Whitechapel Gallery. V rámci tohto *obratu k obrazu* sa objavilo niekoľko mladších autorov a autoriek, ktorí svoje maľby, majúce znaky tradičného závesného obrazu a maliarskych žánrov ako portrét alebo krajinomaľba, nevytvárali na základe

priameho videnia a bezprostrednej skúsenosti s realitou, ale konštruovali na základe predlohy, ktorou bola fotografia, či iný technický obraz. Modelovým príkladom sú melancholické maľby jedného z reprezentantov súčasnej britskej scény Georga Shawa (nar. 1966), ktoré zobrazujú krajinu maliarovho detstva takú, aká bola pred tridsiatimi rokmi, keď ju opustil. Autor, ktorý pracuje s fenoménom pamäti a rozpamätávania sa pri vytváraní týchto obrazov minulosti, nespoliehal na vlastné spomienky, ale na fotografiu. Paradoxom je, že fotografie, ktoré používa ako predlohy malieb, nepochádzajú z umelcovho rodinného albumu, ako by sme mohli očakávať, ale vznikli v súčasnosti. Shaw, ktorý sa prostredníctvom fotoaparátu díva na realitu okolo seba, nezaznamenáva jej aktuálny stav, ale zaostruje na minulosť. Zo stoviek súčasných záberov štvrte Tile Hill v Coventry, kde sa narodil a strávil detstvo, vyberá len tie fotografie, na ktorých sú exponované latentné stopy hľadanej minulosti.[87] Mohli by sme povedať, že vďaka súhre medzi maľbou a technickým obrazom majú Shawove maľby v sebe zakódované vyžarovanie, na ktoré by sme mohli bezproblémovo uplatniť viac ako sedemdesiat rokov starú Benjaminovu definíciu aury, akú ponúkol v *Malých dejinách fotografie* (1931) a neskôr v eseji *Umelecké dielo v epoche svojej technickej reprodukovateľnosti* (1935/1936): „*Zvláštne pradivo priestoru a času: jedinečné zjavenie diaľky, nech by bola hocako blízko.*"[88] Ak predpokladáme, že Shawove maľby majú vyžarovanie, ktoré sme spojili s aurou, tak ako ju definoval Benjamin, nie je to aura, čo by maľba vysávala z reality, nejde tu teda o tradične auratickú maľbu, ako ju poznáme z histórie. Pretože medzi namaľovaný obraz a realitu je vložený technický filter – fotografia, znamená to, že aura nie je apriórnou súčasťou pravosti umeleckého diela, neodráža jeho *Tu a Teraz*, ale vstupuje do neho sprostredkovane. Mohli by sme

[83] Ibidem, s. 11.

[84] MITCHELL 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 67), s. 86.

[85] VIRILIO 2002, c. d. (v pozn. 26), s. 37.

[86] *Painting at the Edge of the World.* Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 2001; *Urgent Painting.* Musée d'art Modern de la Ville de Paris, 2002; *Painting on the Move.* Kunstmuseum, Kunsthalle und Museum für Gegenwartskunst, Basel, 2002; *Cher Peintre.* Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 2002; *Painting*

Pictures: Painting and Media in the Digital Age. Kunstmuseum, Wolfsburg, 2003; *The Triumph of the Painting.* Saatchi Gallery, London, 2005; *Infinite Painting. Contemporary Painting and Global Realism.* Villa Manin, Centro d'arte contemporanea, Codroipo, 2006.

[87] Profil autora pozri napr. v STOUT, K: *Days like These.* [Kat. výst.] Tate Triennial Exhibition of Contemporary British Art. London 2003, s. 138.

[88] BENJAMIN, W.: *Iluminácie.* Bratislava 1999, s. 168 a 199.

dokonca povedať, že Shawove obrazy majú auru práve preto, že vznikli podľa fotografie a nie podľa skutočnosti. Na prvý pohľad sa môže zdať, že tu ide ak nie o pravý opak toho, čo v 30. rokoch tvrdil Benjamin, tak aspoň o významný sémantický posun. Kľúčom k pochopeniu tohto posunu by mohlo byť archetypálne spojenie fotografie s pamäťou, ktoré zdôrazňoval už sám Benjamin, ktorý videl vo fotografii „*posledné útočisko kultu spomienky*" a po ňom ďalší relevantní interpreti fotografie, predovšetkým Roland Barthes vo *Svetlej komore*: „*Realisté, mezi něž patřím a mezi něž jsem patřil již tehdy, když jsem tvrdil, že Fotografie je obraz bez kódu, jakkoli jisté kódy zjevně její čtení zakřivují, neberou fotografický snímek jako kopii „reality' – nýbrž jako emanaci minulé reality: tedy nikoli jako umění, nýbrž jako magii. Ptát se, je-li fotografie analogická či kódovaná, není dobrá cesta analýzy. Důležité je totiž to, že fotografický snímek má schopnost konstatovat a že se toto konstatování netýká předmětu, nýbrž času. Schopnost autentifikace předčí – z fenomenologické perspektivy – ve Fotografii moc reprezentace.*"[89]

Iný aspekt vzťahu súčasnej maľby a fotografie sa pre nás stane evidentný, ak si porovnáme komentáre dvoch ďalších súčasných maliarov, britského umelca Petra Doiga (nar. 1959) a americkej umelkyne Elizabeth Peyton (1965). „*Moje maľby,*" hovorí Doig, „*sú vždy robené z fotografických podkladov, ktoré som našiel, alebo ktoré som sám urobil... Fotografie, ktoré používam nie sú vždy zaujímavé alebo kvalitné... Mám rád to, že sú neurčité: nechávajú veľa priestoru pre invenciu...*"[90] Podobne sa vyjadruje Peyton: „*Uprednostňujem pracovať podľa fotografií, ktoré sú skôr príležitostné a neoficiálne než oficiálne, pretože majú viac informácií, ktoré sa dajú použiť pri vytváraní kompozície... mám problém pracovať s fotografiami, ktoré sú veľmi dobré. Pokúšala som sa robiť podľa fotografií Mapplethorpa, ale sú tak dokonalé, že k nim nemám čo dodať*."[91] Obidvaja maliari, Doig aj Peyton, pracujú so zvláštnym magickým priestorom, ktorý vznikol medzi realitou a fotografiou, pričom napätie, ktoré

cítia intuitívne, by mohlo byť analogické tomu, čo Jean Baudrillard v kontexte úvah o fotografii pomenúva kategóriami „*boja medzi vôľou subjektu nanucovať nejaký poriadok, videnie a vôľou objektu vnucovať sa vo svojej diskontinuite a vo svojej okamžitosti*".[92]

Záver

Ak by sme porovnávali generáciu maliarov, ktorí začali pracovať s fotografiou v 60. rokoch 20. storočia so súčasnými maliarmi a maliarkami, mohli by sme povedať, že pre obidve generácie platí konštatovanie Douglasa Crimpa: „*Ak sa doteraz zdalo, že obrazy interpretovali realitu, teraz sa ukazuje, že si realitu uzurpujú. My sami spoznávame realitu cez obrazy, ktoré o nej vytvárame. Oni sa stávajú našou realitou.*"[93] Rozdiel je v tom, že prvá generácia ako keby uverila tomu, čo konštatoval Vilém Flusser, keď zdôraznil, že „*zdánlivě nesymbolický, objektivní charakter technických obrazů vede diváka k tomu, že se na ně nedívá jako na obrazy, ale jako na okna. Důvěřuje jim jako vlastním očím.*"[94] Druhá generácia reaguje skôr na iné, na prvý pohľad protirečivé Flusserove tvrdenie, že objektivita technických obrazov je klam. „*Neboť jsou – jako všechny obrazy – pouze symbolické... Jsou metakódy textů, a jako takové... neznamenají svět „tam venku', ale texty. Imaginace, která je vytváří, je schopností překódovat pojmy z textů do obrazů.*"[95] Tento rozdiel sa ukáže ako logický, ak si uvedomíme, že prvá generácia prežívala zmenu videnia ovplyvnenú dominanciou mediálnych obrazov ako zmenu paradigmatickú s istou existenciálnou vážnosťou. Druhá generácia už vyrastala vo svete kontaminovanom mediálnymi obrazmi a rozpor medzi realitou a jej zdaním, medzi svetom a jeho reprezentáciami, prijala ako fakt. Stotožnila sa s názorom, že „*postnaturální svět je tyranizován lidskou kulturou, a v takovém světě, ovládaném a zasyceném kulturními artefakty a efekty, musí být i umělecká díla, podobně jako pojem já, formován prostředím: tedy kulturou, ne přírodou*".[96] Z toho dôvodu

[89] BARTHES, R.: *Světlá komora*. Bratislava 1994, s. 79.

[90] *The Painting of Modern Life*, c. d. (v pozn. 50), s. 127.

[91] Ibidem, s. 133.

[92] BAUDRILLARD 2006, c. d. (v pozn. 48), s. 9.

[93] Citované podľa SANDLER, I.: *Art of the Postmodern Era. From*
the Late 1960s to the Early 1990s. New York 1996, s. 319.

[94] FLUSSER 1994, c. d. (v pozn. 20), s. 14.

[95] Ibidem.

[96] DUNNING, W.: Pojem já a postmoderní malířství: konstrukce postkarteziánského diváka. In: KESNER, L. (ed.): *Vizuální teorie*. Praha 1997, s. 203.

si už nekladie priame otázky typu „Kde je pravda?". Jej existenciálna úzkosť sa prejavuje skôr podvedome, v nostalgickej atmosfére samotných obrazov. Tento kontext nájdeme výrazne prítomný v tvorbe súčasného belgického maliara Luca Tuymansa (nar. 1958), ktorý o svojich maľbách vytvorených prepisom z technických obrazov, predovšetkým reprodukcií, fotografií a filmu hovorí ako o „*autentických falzifikátoch*".[97] Hoci študoval maľbu, v roku 1982 ju opustil a tri roky sa intenzívne venoval experimentálnemu filmu. Keď sa k maľbe vrátil, jeho skúsenosť s technickým obrazom sa premietla do spôsobu, akým konštruuje svoje plátna. Na jednej strane je opakujúci sa princíp rozbitia homogénnosti rámom vymedzeného obrazového poľa (časté používanie výrezov, zväčšených detailov alebo sekvenčnosti), na druhej strane tlmená až monochromatická farebnosť, ktorá evokuje vyblednuté staré fotografie a odkazuje k Tuymansovej ťažiskovej téme pamäte, zabúdania a rozpamätávania.

Tuymansovi interpretátori, opierajúc sa o autorove komentáre k vlastnej tvorbe, sa zhodujú na tom, že každý jeden jeho obraz hovorí o nemožnosti zobrazenia.[98] Napriek tomu, alebo práve preto sú častými témami jeho obrazov holokaust, koloniálna minulosť Belgicka, terorizmus alebo rasizmus. Ako keby maliar súhlasil a súčasne polemizoval s Teodorom Adornom a pokúšal sa o prekonanie Adornovej skepsy k možnosti existencie umenia po Osvienčime.[99]

Jeden aspekt nemožnosti pravdivého zobrazenia a nedostatočnosti našej pamäte ilustrujú viaceré maľby reflektujúce udalosti 2. svetovej vojny, ktoré sa na prvý pohľad k týmto udalostiam vôbec nevzťahujú. Obraz *Architekt*, na ktorom vidíme banálny lyžiarsky výjav, vznikol prepisom obrazového políčka z amatérskeho filmu, ktorý urobila manželka Alberta

Speera, kľúčového architekta Tretej ríše, počas lyžiarskej dovolenky. Podobne aj druhý obraz s indiferentným názvom *Prechádzka* bol urobený podľa dobovej amatérskej fotografie, ktorá zachytáva Hitlera ako anonymnú postavu na prechádzke neďaleko jeho vily v Alpách. V oboch prípadoch môžeme povedať, že ide o maliarovu fascináciu „banalitou zla", a toto odvolanie sa na Hannah Arendtovú[100] nájdeme v autorových komentároch k vlastnej tvorbe,[101] ako aj vo výkladoch jeho interpretátorov.[102] Téme holokaustu sa Tuymans venoval v jednej z raných prác, ktorú urobil v roku 1986, keď sa od filmu zasa vrátil k maľovaniu. Ide o olej menších rozmerov, ponúkajúci pohľad do interiéru opustenej, zdevastovanej miestnosti. Obraz má aj bez toho, aby sme si prečítali jeho názov, v sebe znepokojujúcu neurčitosť dosiahnutú takmer monochromatickou farebnosťou evokujúcou fantómovú realitu zožltnutých starých fotografií. Maľba vznikla na základe fotografií, ktoré Tuymans urobil pri návšteve Osvienčimu a jej sila je v tom, že autor tému holokaustu reflektoval nespektakulárnym spôsobom. Paradoxne, v čase, keď sme pod tlakom permanentne stupňovaného pocitu ohrozenia civilizačnými chorobami, globálnymi ekologickými problémami, terorizmom či ekonomickou krízou, sa náš prah citlivosti na vysielané varovné signály rapídne znížil. Možno spôsob, ako prekonať naše znecitlivenie, nie je hovoriť viac a hlasnejšie, ale použiť opačné stratégie, teda nie hlas zvyšovať, ale stíšiť, dokonca sa dostať na hranicu mlčania. Tento odkaz k často citovanej sentencii Ludwiga Wittgensteina – „*O čom nemôžeme hovoriť, o tom musíme mlčať*".[103] – by sme mohli aplikovať na ďalšiu Tuymansovu maľbu, *Zátišie*, ktoré vyšlo z jednej zo Cézannových malieb a prvýkrát bolo vystavené na documenta 11 v roku 2002, ktorej témou bol politický a sociálny kontext umenia. Kurátor Okwui

[97] Bližšie pozri rozhovor, ktorý s autorom viedol Juan Vincente Aliaga. – LOOCK, U. – ALIAGA, J. V. – SPECTOR, N.: *Luc Tuymans*. London 2001, s. 8.

[98] STANISLAWSKA, O.: Mirror in Vampire Ball. In: *Luc Tuymans. Retrospective*. [Kat. výst.] Budapest : Műcsarnok, 2007, s. 60 a 79; MOSQUERA, G.: Painting on the Edge. In: *Parkett*, 2000, č. 60, s. 134.

[99] ADORNO, T.: *Negative Dialectics* [1966]. Transl. E. B. ASHTON. New York 1973.

[100] ARENDT, H.: *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on Banality of Evil*. London 1963.

[101] Pozri transkripciu rozhovoru pre BBC – http://www.bbc. co.uk/radio3/johntusainterview/tuymans_transcript.shtml.

[102] STANISLAWSKA 2007, c. d. (v pozn. 98), s. 63.

[103] WITTGENSTEIN, L.: *Tractatus logico-philosophicus*, 1921.

Enwezor výberom témy istým spôsobom reagoval na teroristický útok z 11. septembra 2001 ako na udalosť globálneho významu, ktorá by podobne ako holokaust u Adorna mohla vyvolávať otázky o zmysle a opodstatnenosti súčasného umenia. Tuymans si reagujúc na tento kontext prekvapujúco vybral zátišie. Hoci ide o maliarsky žáner, ktorý má dlhú, predovšetkým kresťanskú tradíciu s odkazmi na našu smrteľnosť, ako to dokumentujú typy zátiší memento mori alebo vanitas, Tuymans ho spracoval bez týchto odkazov ako desakralizovaný obraz s motívom banálnych predmetov. Napriek tomu v nás maľba môže vyvolať zdesenie, pretože zväčšením formátu do monumentálnych rozmerov takmer 4 × 5 metrov doviedol svoju skepsu v možnosť pravdivo zobraziť náš svet k jednému zo svojich vrcholov. Obraz je napriek svojmu formátu iba tieňom reality a táto monumentalizácia prázdna mu prepožičiava apokalyptický rozmer.

Interpretátori, ktorí analyzujú umenie druhej polovice 20. storočia vychádzajúce z fotografie, sa podľa autorov publikácie *Umenie po roku 1900*[104] delia na dva tábory. V jednom, tzv. poštrukturalistickom, dominuje predstava obrazu simulakra, ktorý je kópiou bez originálu, v druhom, tzv. referenčnom, vystupuje do popredia sociálny rozmer umenia, pre ktoré sa mediálne obrazy spoločnosti, jej konzumného a komoditného charakteru, ale aj sociálnych nerovností a politického násilia stali nástrojom kritiky. Napriek tomu, že ako modelový autor, na ktorého tvorbe sú demonštrované obidva oponujúce si interpretačné prístupy, je uvádzaný Andy Warhol, podobným spôsobom je možné sa pozrieť nielen na Luca Tuymansa, ale aj na tvorbu Gerharda Richtera, autora, ktorého som zaradila medzi modelových umelcov 60. rokov. Tento spôsob čítania, ktorý odhaľuje isté príbuznosti medzi tvorbou autorov patriacich k dvom rozličným generáciám, má svoje limity. V prípade Richtera sa dá uplatniť na jediný

maliarsky cyklus s názvom *Oktober 18, 1977*, ktorý vznikol v roku 1988 ako autorov ojedinelý návrat k stratégiám raných 60. rokov. Séria pozostáva z pätnástich olejomalieb urobených jedenásť rokov po údajnej samovražde členov nemeckej ultraľavicovej skupiny Rote Armee Fraktion vedenej Andreasom Baaderom a Ulrikou Meinhofovou, ktorí boli súdení a väznení v Stuttgarte – Stemmheime. Tak ako v raných 60. rokoch, aj tu sa východiskom malieb stali fotografie a novinové reprodukcie, ktoré si Richter privlastnil z dennej tlače referujúcej o tejto udalosti roku 1977, napríklad z predných stránok denníka *Stern*. Vzhľadom na tematiku viažucu sa k politickej situácii Nemecka, ako aj na nejasné okolnosti týchto udalostí, boli maľby „*považované za elegické vyjadrenie nemeckých pochybností a skepticizmu vo vzťahu k možnostiam utopickej politickej transformácie*", alebo boli dokonca interpretované ako „*alegória života a dejín povojnovej nemeckej generácie v jej pokuse dištancovať sa a súčasne sa spojiť s nemeckou históriou*".[105] Na druhej strane, ak by sme sa priklonili k poštrukturalistickej interpretácii, mohli by sme sa pýtať, ako sa majú Richterove maľby k úvahám Rolanda Barthesa o fotografii a fotografoch ako agentoch smrti. V súvislosti s portrétom mladého atentátnika Lewisa Payna, ktorý je vyfotografovaný v cele čakajúc na popravu, Barthes píše: „*Snímek je pěkný, mladík rovněž: to je studium. Ale je tu punctum: zemře. Současně tu tedy čtu: toto bude a toto bylo; s hrůzou pozoruji předbudoucí čas, v němž jde o smrt... Co mne zasahuje, je právě objev této ekvivalence. Před snímkem mé matky jako dítěte si říkám ,blíží se smrti'*".[106] Čoho sme svedkami v prípade, že Richter prepisuje do média maľby fotografiu, ktorá je nielen metaforickým agentom smrti, ale aj dokumentom reálneho, navyše násilného úmrtia? O aký druh zrkadlového prevrátenia sa tu jedná? O aký druh mágie? Richter tu totiž vystupuje viac v úlohe proroka ako svedka[107] a jeho maľby majú nepomerne nižšiu informačnú ako estetickú hodnotu. Ak sa pýtame týmto spô-

[104]FOSTER, H. – KRAUSS, R. – BOIS, Y.-A. – BUCHLOH, B. H. D.: *Umění po roce 1900*. Praha 2007, s. 486-488.

[105]Ibidem.

[106]BARTHES 1994, c. d. (v pozn. 89), s. 84.

[107]Tieto prirovnania sú parafrázou diferencií medzi dokumentárnou a umeleckou fotografiou, na ktoré poukázal Alan Sekula: „*... fotograf ako prorok verzus fotograf ako svedok, fotografia ako výraz verzus fotografia ako reportáž, teória imaginácie (a vnútornej pravdy) verzus teória empirickej pravdy, teória afektívnej (emočnej) hodnoty verzus informačnej hodnoty, a nakoniec metaforická signifikácia verzus metonymická signifikácia.*" – SEKULA, A.: O vynalezení fotografického významu. In: CÍSAŘ 2004, c. d. (v pozn. 11), s. 87-88.

sobom, nutne narazíme na problém konfliktného vzťahu medzi povrchom obrazu a jeho obsahom. Ak problém zradikalizujeme, mohli by sme sa podobne ako Arthur C. Danto pýtať, „*či existuje konflikt medzi krásou a socioekonomickým diskurzom*", presnejšie: „*Môže byť umenie esteticky krásne, keď sa jeho obsah dotý-*ka *sociálnych problémov?*"[108] Nie sú Richterove maľby disharmonické? *„Nie je ich krása nesúzvučná s bolesťou ich obsahu?*"[109] Zdá sa, že Richter si túto ambivalenciu uvedomoval, pretože jeho pokusy namaľovať obrazy podľa fotografií z koncentračného tábora opakovane zlyhávali.[110]

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[108]DANTO 2008, c. d. (v pozn. 53), s. 149.

[109]Ibidem, s. 154.

[110]Bližšie pozri rozhovor Gerharda Richtera s Robertom Storrom. – STORR, R.: *Gerhard Richter. Doubt and Belief in Painting.* New York 2003, s. 164.

About Dependences of Painting.
Photography in the Painting of the 1960s and 1990s

Summary

The study focuses on the analysis of the specific relationship between painting and photography in the 1960s and 1990s. It is a partial result of the author's research at the Division of Visual and Culture Studies of the Research Centre of the Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Bratislava. Contrary to the controversial relationship between these two media, which has tinged different historical phases of art history, beginning with the invention of photography, through the discovery of non-iconic, non-imaging art,[1] to the late 1970s, when, in the context of the rising post-modern art, both media repeatedly defined themselves negatively against each other,[2] the presented study emphasises the analysis of the painters' artwork, which not only took notice of the existence of photography, but became, in a certain way, dependent on it. It is a type of painting, which, despite the fact that it bears some traces of reality, does not originate from the directly visible, because there has been a technical filter – a photograph – put between the world and the image reflecting it.

Through the works of model artists from the 1960s and 1990s – Gerhard Richter (b. 1932), Richard Hamilton (b. 1922), Franz Gertsch (b. 1930), Georg Shaw (b. 1966), Peter Doig (b. 1959), Elizabeth Peyton (b. 1965) and Luc Tuymans (b. 1958) –, the author compares two fundamentally different approaches to reality, which projected into different concepts of image, and relate, on the one hand to the change in the regime of vision, and on the other hand to the so-called *Pictorial Turn*.

The first part of the paper focuses on changes that occurred in the second half of the 20th century in the approach to the perception of reality. The author focuses on the reflections by Wolfgang Welsch, primarily referring to his lecture *Artificial Paradises? Considering the World of Electronic Media and Other Worlds*,[3] in which the author contemplates the "*essential constructivist nature of our perception of reality*" and "*virtualisation or de-realisation of our conception of reality*".[4] Geržová offers a short historical excurse to this paradigmatic shift with an emphasis on the investigation of the role played by apparatuses (camera, recorder) as the technical extensions of the human eye in this process of the new vision of reality. She begins with a reference to Walter Benjamin and his *Short History of Photography* (1931), continues with the thesis by philosopher and media expert Vilém Flusser (*Für eine Philosophie der Fotografie*. Göttingen 1983), and concludes with the reflections by French philosopher Paul Virilio (*La machine de vision*. Paris 1988), who was one of the first to point out the fact that the lack of trust in the direct vision of the world grew proportionally to the slave-like dependency on the view mediated by the objective of a camera.

She pays special attention to the photograph, which has, since its invention, been interpreted as a paradoxical image, created mechanically as a record made with a technical apparatus, while this image has been, since the very beginning, attributed with the characteristics of an index. It was understood as a direct imprint of reality, like an imprint of a foot in

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[1] The author has dealt with this problem in the study "Niekoľko poznámok k mýtu konca maľby" [Some Comments on the Myth about the End of Painting] in *Vysoká škola výtvarných umení, 1949 – 2009* [Academy of Fine Arts, 1949 – 2009]. Bratislava 2009, pp. 81-90.

[2] The author has dealt with this problem in the study "Koniec konca maľby" [End of the End of Painting]. It is an unpublished manuscript, which will be included in the prepared publication *Ontológia maľby. Úvahy o bytí maľby v kontexte plurality,*

eklektizmu a hybridizácie [Ontology of Painting. Reflections about the Being of Painting in the Context of Plurality, Eclecticism and Hybridisation].

[3] WELSCH, W.: *Umelé rajské záhrady? Skúmanie sveta elektronických médií a iných svetov* [Artificial Paradises? Considering the World of Electronic Media and Other Worlds]. Bratislava 1995, p. 6.

[4] Ibidem.

the sand, of a finger on a glass or a mask removed from the face of a deceased. Despite this paradox, until the middle of the 20th century, there was a prevailing thesis that a photograph, contrary to a traditional image (painting), has in its relationship to reality maintained a higher degree of objectivity and veracity. Geržová further draws attention to the first "cracks" in this generally accepted view (World Expo in Paris, 1855), where a precedent for a whole range of later strategies was created. On the one hand, they are represented by the manipulated art photography using different interventions into both the negative and positive, and on the other hand, by the misuse of photography within authoritative police regimes. The author closes this line of gradual questioning of the "*presumption of veracity in photographs*"[5] with references to the paradigmatic shift that relates to the invention of new digital technologies, which, contrary to traditional photography, can originate as the result of a computer program even without relating the digitally produced and distributed image to the reality as its starting point.

In the next part of the study, the author deals with the analysis of three model artists from the 1960s – Gerhard Richter, Richard Hamilton and Franz Gertsch, for whom photography was the immediate starting point of their paintings. She refers to their authentic contemporary statements, which document certain relative formulations, explaining what photography meant to them not only in relation to their pictures, but also to how they looked at reality through a photograph. "*In the 1950s, we became more aware of the possibility of seeing the whole world at once through the great visual matrix that surrounded us, through a synthetic 'instant' view.*" (Richard Hamilton)[6] "*I had come to understand that in this day and age reality can only be captured by camera because… we have got used to considering photographed reality as the highest possible rendering*

of reality." (Franz Gertsch)[7] Geržová has raised the question as to why these artists, who rejected abstract expressionism and shifted their interest to the day-to-day, often banal reality, did not begin with their own experiences, from their immediate and initial vision, but rather reached out for a second-hand reality. One of the possible answers relates to the fact that they did so because they did not trust reality, its immediate and initial vision. These doubts are most markedly articulated by Gerhard Richter, who repeatedly appraised photography for its ability to offer a more authentic and reliable picture of the world than direct vision and other imaging media do, including painting. Therefore, the author asks whether Richter's paintings are based upon a photograph. She starts out from the well-known interpretation of B. H. D. Buchloh, who defined Richter's paintings created in the 1960s as photo-paintings and compared them to Duchamp's ready-mades.[8] Since for Richter paining is a tool to examine both the overlapping media, Geržová inclines toward the view that while photography maintains its character of a ready-made, the act of paining is analogous to a translation from one language to another, while there is a concurrent change in the status of both, photograph and the painting. On the one hand, the primary information value of the photograph weakens in favour of its specific visual signs which Richter transfers into the picture (black-and-white colours, blurring achieved by interventions into wet painting), and on the other hand, painting, which was generally pushed out by the photograph into the area of artificial, acquires its lost direct connection to reality.

The prologue to the final part of the study, in which the author analyses the painting strategies of model artists from the 1990s, is the section examining the phenomenon of the *Pictorial Turn*. She starts out from the central work of W. J. T. Mitchell,[9] who

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[5] The concept was introduced by Hubert Damisch. For more details, see DAMISCH, H.: *Pět poznámek k fenomenologii fotografického obrazu* [Five Comments on the Phenomenology of a Photographic Picture]. In: CÍSAŘ, K. (ed.): *Co to je fotografie?* [What is Photography?]. Praha 2004, p. 47.

[6] *The Painting of Modern Life: 1960s to Now.* London 2007, p. 87.

[7] Ibidem, p. 101.

[8] BUCHLOH, B. H. D.: Readymade, Photography, and Painting in the Painting of Gerhard Richter; first published in ABADIE, D. (ed.): *Gerhard Richter.* [Exhib. Cat.] Paris : Musée National d'Art Moderne, 1977, pp. 11-58; reprinted in BUCHLOH, B. H. D.: *Neo-Avantgarde and Culture Industry. Essays on European and American Art from 1955 to 1975.* Cambridge (Mass.) 2000, pp. 365-403.

[9] The reprint of the essay was included in the publication MITCHELL, W. J. T.: *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation.* Chicago 1994, pp. 11-34.

contrary to structuralism and post-structuralism, philosophical schools that relied on linguistic methods and worked with the model of the world as a written text, returned to examining images playing an increasingly important role in the current postmodern world and visual culture. Although Mitchell emphasised that the shift from language to image is in the history of culture and philosophy considered a paradigmatic shift, it is not the case of "*a return to a naive mimesis, copy or correspondence theories of representation... it is rather a post-linguistic, post-semiotic rediscovery of the picture as a complex interplay between visuality, apparatus, institutions, discourse, bodies, and figurality.*"[10] Therefore the *Pictorial Turn* cannot be a simple return to the traditional picture or even painting, because, contrary to the modernistic idea of purity, today all media are mixed media.

The author further examines the phenomenon of the *Pictorial Turn* in the context of the reflections of Vilém Flusser, who in his essential texts (*Für eine Philosophie der Fotografie*. Göttingen 1983) pointed out the fact that prior to the era of linear history, which began with the invention of script, when our capability of conceptual thinking was articulated, there was a magic time, which was represented by old pictures of the world. According to him, the first shift in the paradigm, caused by the invention of script, was the shift from magic to history, from picture to text. Flusser related the second shift in the paradigm to the invention of photography, when the proportion between the two modalities of representation reversed again. At first sight, it might seem that it was a simple movement of a pendulum, from the text back to the picture. However, the historical picture and technical picture are essentially different types of images, and even if Flusser relates them to the phenomenon of magic, it is exactly this aspect, which at the same time differentiates them.

In the next part of the study, Geržová focuses on the analysis of model artists of the 1990s, who did not base their paintings (having signs of traditional hanging pictures and painters' genres such as portrait or landscape) upon direct vision and immediate experience with reality, but they created them after a master – a photograph or other technical picture.

The melancholic paintings of George Shaw, representing the country of the painter's childhood, as it was at the time he left it, became a model example for the author. The painter, who works with the phenomenon of memory and recollections while creating these pictures, had not relied on his own memories, but on a photograph. The paradox is that the photographs, which he used as a master for his paintings, were not from the family album of the artist, as we might expect, but were taken in the present. Shaw, who looks upon the reality surrounding him through a camera, does not record its current status, but focuses on the past. According to Geržová, due to the consonance of the painting and technical picture, Shaw's paintings have an effluence encoded, to which we could apply Benjamin's more than seventy years old definition of aura, offered in his *Short History of Photography* (1931) and later in his essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1935/1936). Because there is a technical filter (a photograph) put between the painted picture and reality, it indicates that it is not a traditional auratic painting. The aura is not the a priori component of the authenticity of the work of art, it does not reflect its *Here and Now*, but enters it in a mediated way. We could even state that Shaw's pictures have an aura exactly because they were created based on a photograph and not on reality.

Geržová points out a different aspect of the relation between contemporary painting and photography by comparing the commentaries of two other contemporary painters – Peter Doig, a British artist, and Elizabeth Peyton, an American artist. Neither of the two artists selects representative photographs, but rather amateur shots, the vagueness of which creates room for the painter's invention. Thus, they work with a special, magic space which occurs between reality and the photograph.

In the conclusion, Geržová states that if we compared the generation of painters who began working with photography in the 1960s with contemporary painters, we could say that the statement of Douglas Crimp applies to both generations: "*While it once seemed that pictures had the function of interpreting reality, it now seems that they have usurped it. We only*

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[10] Ibidem, p. 16.

[11] Cited from SANDLER, I.: *Art of the Postmodern Era. From the Late 1960s to the Early 1990s*. New York 1996, p. 319.

experience reality through the pictures we make of it."[11] The difference is that the first generation appears to believe what Vilém Flusser said – it trusts the photograph more than its own eyes. The second generation reacts rather to a different, at first glance contradictory statement of Flusser, namely that the objectivity of technical pictures is a delusion. This difference appears to be logical if we realise that the first generation experienced the change of vision affected by the dominance of medial images as a paradigmatic shift with a certain existential seriousness. The second generation already grew up in a world contaminated by medial images and accepted the contradiction between reality and its appearance, between the world and its representation, as a fact. It identified itself with the view that we live in a post-natural world, in which the artist is affected or even tyrannized by human culture more than by the nature.[12] Therefore, it is not asking direct question like "Where is the truth?" anymore. Its existential anxiety is manifested rather subconsciously, in the nostalgic atmosphere of the pictures as such. The author analyses this phenomenon by using Luc Tuymans's paintings, originated as a transcription from technical pictures and referred to by their author as "*authentic forgeries*",[13] as an example.

English translation by A. Antalová

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[12] DUNNING, W.: Pojem já a postmoderní malířství: konstrukce postkarteziánského diváka [The Concept of Me and Postmodern Painting: Conctruction of a Post-Cartesian Viewer]. In: KESNER, L. (ed.): *Vizuální teorie* [Visual Theories]. Praha 1997, p. 203.

[13] For further details, see the interview with the author made by Juan Vincente Aliaga. – LOOCK, U. – ALIAGA, J. V. – SPECTOR, N.: *Luc Tuymans*. London 2001, p. 8.

Something about a Face: Itinerant Post-Spectacle Practices and the Work of Graham Landin

Michael RATTRAY

"*The critique which goes beyond the spectacle must know how to wait.*"[1]

Introduction

On a given Saturday night in 2008 – 2009 on Saint-Laurent Boulevard, in the Plateau area of Montréal, a passerby and a colleague or two will stop and examine a piece of detritus left out for the myriad of garbage disposal means within the city. In this instance a stack of old cathode ray televisions, one of which is painted bright orange, are each adorned with what had now become a familiar sight within the local area. A three eyed vinyl adhesive face is applied to the top of the stacked televisions and, as is usually the case, one of the passerby's has paused for a photo with it [Fig. 1]. For the majority of 2008 and 2009, the Plateau, a geographical area within Montréal, Québec, was used as the means to promote a friendly and participatory art practice that is difficult to classify, yet immensely popular.

The pieces, created and posted by local artist Graham Landin (b. 1982), are an example of a new development that demonstrates an itinerant post-spectacle practice activated through urban public sphere(s). The works in question appropriate everyday elements and architecture of urban public sphere(s) to effectuate their dissemination and understanding. The materials used by the artist are large sheets of vinyl adhesive, cut to shape, which are then placed within spaces in and around

the city that suit the desired aesthetic [Figs. 1-10]. Given the mass-produced origin of the material, the pieces specify that the practice is one that can be accomplished quickly, at relative expense, and can be activated anywhere. The tools of the artist are as readily available as a pair of scissors and a ruler. Exclusively, the vinyl shapes are cut into anthropomorphic characteristics: noses, eyes, a mouth, perhaps some tears and cheekbones, occasionally a beard. These elements are then spatially arranged and adhered to a public wall, a private entrance way, a water pump shed, a public monument, windows, doors, basically anything the artist deems relatable to the characteristics of a human face. The gloss of the adhered vinyl has a propensity to make the pieces pop out from their architectural backings, creating a space where the dimensions of the site conform and complete the desired aesthetic effect in a complimentary and reciprocal manner.

Landin comments that the works are "*little buddies that are made in the hopes of brightening the day of the passerby*".[2] They are pieces designed with an express intent of aestheticizing the urban space, while also communicating the wink of play associated with current contemporary art practices. Landin adds the works are created to remind people that life can be imaginative, that there are members of the populace out doing and making things which endeavor to promote positive values and happiness into a culture that is consistently beaten down by media scare tactics, credit debt, war; what Naomi Kline terms "*the shock*

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[1] DEBORD, G.: *The Society of the Spectacle*. Detroit 1983, p. 220.

[2] The author's interview with G. LANDIN, November 24, 2008.

1. Graham Landin: Untitled, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of G. Landin.

doctrine of disaster capitalism". [3] The artist hopes that these works can enliven the drudgery and prescribed nature of our urban public sphere(s).[4]

The works display, what I would like to term for the purpose of this essay, a relational ambivalence that demands further exploration, specifically for the way in which the faces both humanize the landscape while also communicating a monstrous capacity of consumption. In this way, the pieces function within a polemic that does not effectively communicate a specific social politic, such as the poles of interaction at play within *new-genre-public-art*, as theorized by Suzanne Lacy.

Lacy, in the theoretically demanding and academically vigorous *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*, maps out a continuum of positions the artist can occupy between the private and public in the execution of their work. They are: *the artist as experiencer*, where the artist acts as the conduit of expression for witnessing the social reality; "*the artist as reporter*", where the artist calls attention to something in need of analysis; *the artist as analyst*, where the artist contributes to an intellectual problem that can alter the visual appeal or beauty of an object, thereby challenging conventions; and *the artist as activist*, who undertakes consensual productions of art that activate the larger community.[5] In contrast to Lacy's understanding of an inherently politically motivated public practice, what appears to be at play in the work of Landin is a kind of relational ambivalence where the viewer or spectator is implicated within the work in a mode of exchange seldom encountered in public art, street art, graffiti, or post-graffiti modes of display and critical analysis.

Because of the influence and after-effects of graffiti practices in urban areas, there is a propensity to align this kind of practice to a post-graffiti aesthetic. For the intent of this essay, I will be arguing that these pieces offer a trope of criticality unapparent in current understandings of not only post-graffiti but street art practices as well. There is a kind of itinerant participatory element to these pieces that invite a consumption of the urban sphere(s) that promotes, through the simplicity of their inaction, a critically creative engagement with the city. These are works that invite participation, disavow elitism, and convey a message of positive engagement with urban life. Unlike much public art, the works do not perform or attempt a didactic function. Instead, they express a socially cognizant endeavor that realizes the politics of place and space without falling into the paternalistic. The pieces are as alienated from understandings of new-genre-public-art as they are of street art, of graffiti as they are to post-graffiti, because of the relative ambivalence they display. It is a tactic deployed through the creation of slight gestures active in the nooks and non-spaces of the city-sphere, where the viewer, if they are so inclined, may remove, add to, or distort the work.

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[3] KLEIN, N.: *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. London 2007.

[4] LANDIN 2008 (see in note 2).

[5] LACY, S.: Debated Territory: Toward a Critical Language for Public Art. In: *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*. Ed. S. LACY. Seattle 1996, pp. 171-188, particularly pp. 174-176.

As such, because the pieces are of a discursive, site-specific mandate and are not entering into the gallery system, the exhibitionary complex cannot appropriate them, leaving a moment where the works' critical engagement with the city can be theorized as a stand-alone.[6] Currently, these are works that are as anti-art as they are art, occupying a space of representation that is entirely dependant on the architectural site of exhibition and placement within the greater urban space.

Defining the Urban Public Sphere(s)

The notion of an urban public sphere(s), pluralized in brackets, accentuates a theoretical demand that accounts for a multitude of spheres acting within a public realm at any given point of time. The purpose is to define the agency of the individual as a control-agent that can, actively and purposefully, define his or her own lexical valency within the greater visual language of the urban. The idea of the sphere, especially in a public sense, allows for a communicative and participatory action that rests within the infinite or god like in its associations. Each sphere can be equal, lesser, or greater than any other at any given point in time. The purpose in theorizing multiple sphere(s) is to allow for power motives, such as Foucault's operative episteme and overlaying coercive apparatus, to at any one point supersede the others at any given instance. Foucault comments: "*C'est-à-dire que le bien public, c'est essentiellement l'obéissance à la loi, à la loi du souverain sur cette terre ou à la loi du souverain absolu, Dieu. Mais, de toute façon, ce qui caractérise la fin de la souveraineté, ce bien commun, ce bien général, ce n'est finalement rien autre chose que la soumission à cette loi.*"[7] There are theorists, such as Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, who argue that the invocation of a monotheistic god allows a guaranteed transcendental or infinite rule through law.[8]

2. Graham Landin: Untitled, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of G. Landin.

Following Hardt, Negri, and Foucault, power can be localized to a larger sphere that would encompass all of those lesser spheres within it, but the trick to the system lies in the precariousness of a pluralized sphere.

A pluralized sphere can be anywhere, larger than any other or smaller than any other at any one point in time dependent on the agent's place position in space. It is a referent to an infinite agent specific multiplicity that lies within us all, and because we all have it, not one of us can deny nor accept another's opinion of its existence. To argue for urban public

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[6] As they have not been publicly exhibited in a gallery setting nor received any kind of funding, the works are inherently independent public activations. It will be interesting to examine how this working method can be adapted into the gallery system, but it is beyond the scope of this paper to speculate how the works may effectuate the space. For a thorough discussion of the above, see BUSKIRK, M.: *The Contingent Object of Contemporary Art*. Cambridge (Mass.) 2003; KWON,

M.: *One Place After Another: Site Specific Art and Locational Identity*. Cambridge (Mass.) 2004.

[7] FOUCAULT, M.: *Sécurité, territoire, population: Cours an Collège du France, 1977 – 1978*. Paris 2004, p. 102.

[8] HARDT, M. – NEGRI, A.: *Empire*. Cambridge (Mass.) 2001, p. 78.

sphere(s) is to not delimit the possibility of any agent to activate their own sphere, to not speak for them nor assume they occupy a prescribed passive recipiency, unaware of the spectacle that surrounds them. The coercion of the public is then relative to the public(s) understanding of the polemics of power and its place within the urban sphere(s), ultimately residing in the public's dichotomous relationship to its opposite, the private.

The "*structural transformation of the public sphere*", to use Jürgen Habermas's phrase, amounts to the entrenching of economic and political measures that allow for a bourgeois public sphere, as evidenced by the early men of letters of the 18th century to the welfare social state embodied by consumer mass-media, to exist.[9] For Habermas, the modern understanding of the public sphere requires the necessity of a sphere of public authority.[10] The new colonialism of a policed and commercialized economy controlled by monopolistic companies leads to a new kind of public sphere, deeply ingrained in concepts of power and economy, resulting in the idea of civilized society coming into existence "*as the corollary of a depersonalized state authority*".[11] The public sphere is one where private people come together as a unified public whole. The role of the state in maintaining a private/public dichotomy is through the use and control of force. Habermas recognizes the public sphere as one where a class of leisure-based agents comes together to discuss matters of public good, defined by a set of standards inherent to their individual private interests. Consequentially, in its later stages of development, of which Montréal can be representative, the public sphere then becomes a cipher of private interests. Habermas comments: "*The world fashioned by the mass-media is a public sphere in appearance only.*"[12]

The public sphere's transformation is drawn from Hannah Arendt's concept of the public realm, where active citizenship is defined as a political right.[13] Barbara Hoffman argues that Arendt's realm denotes "*an arena in which members of the public meet to accommodate competing values and expectations*",[14] where goals and outcomes of discussion are modified to suit the greater mass or whole. In addition, Dana R. Villa comments: "*Arendt and Habermas provide an ideal of the public sphere that serves to highlight the forms of asymmetry, coercion, violence, and communicative distortion that presently characterize our public realm.*"[15] The theoretical problem encountered in Arendt's and Habermas's project is succinctly summarized by James S. McLean, who comments through a reading of the criticism of Nancy Fraser and Seyla Benhabib, that the theory does not acknowledge the "*fragmentation and difference that underpins virtually all human relations*".[16] Likewise, Raia Prokhovnik comments: "*It is the very tendency to think in dualistic terms about public and private the need to define oneself in opposition to, in rejection of, and in a hierarchy with something else, rather than in connection to it that needs to be overcome.*"[17] Prokhovnik argues that it is the gender attributes inherent to the concepts of private and public that limit the diversity of citizenship practices. I would like to add that the diversity of citizenship practices must also move beyond the gender binary to be inclusive of androgynous and trans-gendered individuals. Without an accurate and open-ended system, prescriptions become the norm, as do generalizations. The purpose of developing

[9] HABERMAS, J.: *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Cambridge (Mass.) 1989.

[10] Ibidem, p. 18.

[11] Ibidem, p. 19.

[12] Ibidem, p. 187.

[13] HOFFMAN, B.: Law for Art's Sake in the Public Realm. In: *Art and the Public Sphere*. Ed. W. J. T. MITCHELL. Chicago 1992, pp. 113-146, particularly p. 114.

[14] Ibidem.

[15] VILLA, D. R.: Postmodernism and the Public Sphere. In: *The American Political Science Review*, 86, September 1992, No. 3, pp. 712-721, particularly p. 712.

[16] McLEAN, J. S.: The Public Part of Public Art: Technology and the Art of the Public. In: *Public Art in Canada: A Reader*. Eds. A. GÉRIN – J. S. McLEAN. Toronto 2008, pp. 450-472, particularly pp. 453-454.

[17] PROKHOVNIK, R.: Public and Private Citizenship: From Gender Invisibility to Feminist Inclusiveness. In: *Feminist Review*, 60, Autumn 1998, pp. 84-104, particularly p. 87.

3. Graham Landin: Untitled, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of G. Landin.

a theory that accounts for individual sphere(s) recognizes the multiplicity of choice and the agency of the individual within an urban public. A part of this critique is imbedded within the work of Landin because, as the works attest, where is the relation of gender? How is it defined in the relation of the face? In short, there is none apparent. The spectator is left with is his or her own stereotypical association. As such, I would argue this is apt opportunity and time to further argue that practices such as these contribute to a free and open form of gender association where systemic stereotypes of gendered spaces become variable, ultimately questioned and fractured.

To account for the theoretical dilemma encountered through the itinerant participatory nature of Landin's work, specifically its relational ambivalence, an incorporation of Arendt's public realm must be activated with a multiplicity of public sphere(s). The invocation of a public realm triggers the systemic kingdom of state-centrism, to which the private interests of the elite are translated as public interest, or public good. The role of the public, activated as passive by the spectacle of a private realm mir-

rored as communal, is to subsume its collectivity to those private interests that dictate the means of production.[18]

Where public art comes into play is in the systemic sanctioning of art that promotes an understanding of what Michael Billig terms to be a "*banal nationalism*": "*It is a form of reading and watching, of understanding and of taking for granted. It is a form of life in which 'we' are constantly invited to relax, at home, within the homeland's borders. This form of life is the national identity, which is being renewed continually, with its dangerous potentials appearing so harmlessly homely.*"[19] This banal nationalism, and subsequently the art that it funds and engenders, reinforces a dominant "*imaginary community*", to use Benedict Anderson's term. It is a space where the nation acts as an "*imagined political community… both inherently limited and sovereign*".[20] This cultural hegemony active in the public necessitates cultural constructions of an imaginary community of banal nationalism, slyly violent yet marketed as an open form and functional democratic society.

Rosalyn Deutsche has commented that the notion of a public is generally defended hand in hand with

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[18] DEBORD 1983 (see in note 1), pp. 6, 12.

[19] BILLIG, M.: *Banal Nationalism*. London 1995, p. 127.

[20] "*I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.*" – ANDERSON, B.: *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London 2006, pp. 5-6.

4. Graham Landin: Untitled, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of G. Landin.

and theorization of public art practices within a democratic nation-state, such as Canada, is inherently and publicly ideological. Art in the public is then celebratory of the peoples of a given society, a democratic society that activates itself through an unnamable public spectacle defined by private interests.

Hilda Hein argues: "*Public art is an oxymoron according to the standards of modernist art and aesthetic theory.*"[23] Her understanding follows a dichotomous relationship between modernism and post-modernism, where the modern artist active in the public self-affirms his or her own private individuality. In contrast, she argues that the tribal or public artist reflects the culture of his or her community. For Hein, contemporary public art must interrogate notions of site-specificity, ephemerality, communitarianism and operate within the vernacular, or everyday. The everyday aspect of public art practices creates an active spectator that is within the constitution of the work itself. The role of public art is to escape its private confinement and "*descend into the streets once more and reclaim its place in the public realm*".[24] While I do not expressly agree with the idealization nor utopic ideal presented through the connotation of the primitive, I do find merit in the comment that the public artist reflects the culture of their community.

The above provides a segue that allows for the incorporation of street, graffiti, and post-graffiti art practices and how they further develop the theoretical problematic. Hein's invocation of the public realm is well suited, because it inherently brings to the forefront the competitive and hierarchical nature of most street, graffiti, and post-graffiti practices. Anna Waclawek, in her recent doctoral dissertation on post-graffiti and street art practices, comments: "*The city itself, as an urban community which inspires the production of art, is conceptualized not only as a pivotal constituent of the work itself, but also as a framework for art practices not directed at any one group of people in particular.*"[25] Waclawek

the concept of democracy. Arguing that the term public has democratic connotations, Deutsche further theorizes that democracy is full of inherent difficulties. The locus of power rests in the people but it does not belong to them. Democracy invents public space so as to keep power centralized with those private interests that bind the market economy.[21] She comments: "*Discourse about public art is, then, not only a site of deployment of the term public space but, more broadly, of the term democracy.*"[22] Following Deutsche, the invocation

[21] DEUTSCHE, R.: *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*. Cambridge (Mass.) 1996, pp. 272-273.

[22] DEUTSCHE, R.: The Question of "Public Space". Paper presented at the *8th Annual American Photography Institute National Graduate Seminar* (1998). Available from http://www.thephotographyinstitute.org/journals/1998/rosalyn_deutsche.html.

[23] HEIN, H.: What is Public Art: Time, Place, and Meaning. In: *The Journal of Aesthetic and Art Criticism*, 54, Winter 1996, No. 1, pp. 1-7, particularly p. 4.

[24] Ibidem, pp. 2-5.

[25] WACLAWEK, A.: *Street Art and the City*. [Ph.D. Diss.] Montréal : Concordia University, 2009, p. 13.

argues that graffiti, post-graffiti, and street practices have remained outside of the discipline of art history because of the legalities associated with the mode of display. She also argues that aspects of street, graffiti, and post-graffiti practices are representative of what Howard Becker has termed separate "*Art Worlds*". Street art practices, functioning outside institutional frameworks of legality, operate in such a way so that a direct interrogation occurs between the artist and the public conception of space itself.[26]

I would like to offer a different analysis, because these forms of expression and art are coming out of areas that are not associated with larger systemic institutions; they have been ignored and ghettoized. A principal reason that graffiti, street art, or post-graffiti practices have been ignored is because of the elitism of the art institution itself. As is the case with many differing art movements in art history, the trope of a bohemian subculture unaffected by the nuances of society is generalized as the means to understanding the practice. In the majority of publications addressing street art as a style, the practice is generally configured to be one that is outside of societal norms, and one that is inherently anti-capitalist. For example, uses of terms such as *new*, *fresh*, *bold*, *groundbreaking* and *trendsetting* are commonplace. Similarly to the biographical information provided in every major movement in western art history from the late 19th and 20th century onwards, the idea of a rebellious vanguard leading the way to a new kind of art is paramount to the critical theory of street, graffiti, and post-graffiti.

The originality and authenticity of the practice is currently, presently, being defined. What we, as theorists, historians, and artists, are currently privy to is an example of a historical moment where, because of media saturation and the unprecedented image culture of our time, the canon is being written as it is being practiced. The canon, set as those precedents that will define the homogenized style for later years, is currently being defined and has yet to gain institutional worth, because the institution has yet to catch up to the practice. The institution has yet to define it, theorize it, and control the output
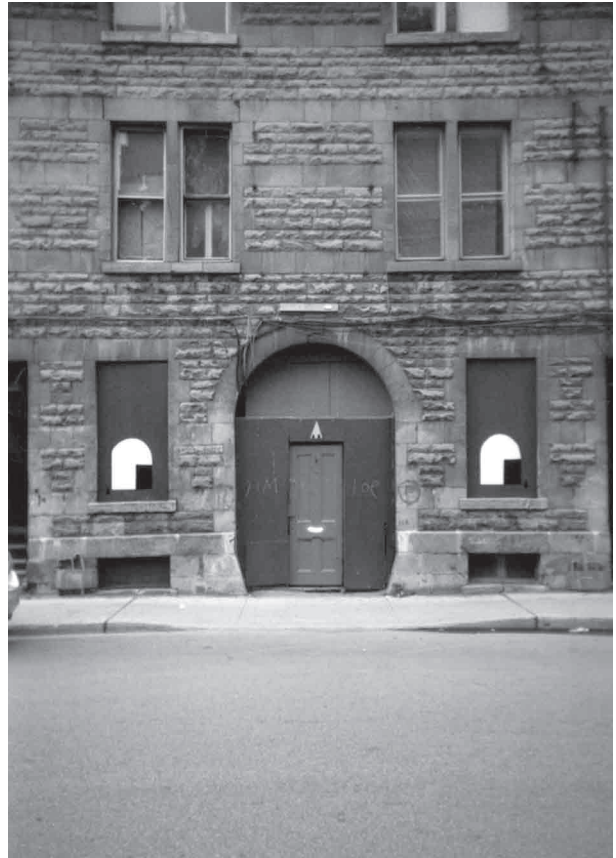
5. Graham Landin: Untitled, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of G. Landin.

of it. Or, as Donald Kuspit comments, "*the gallery leftism of agitation or integration serves to prove that radicalism and social criticism are purer in the art world than in the life world*".[27] Within the concept of gallery leftism elaborated on by Kuspit, I am inclined to include the systemic institutional complex as well, as it consistently ignores productions outside of its sphere of influence and production. Plainly stated, these methods and practices of urban public sphere(s) engagement are ignored specifically because the practice is potentially too democratic, participatory, and radical, ultimately fracturing the authoritative abstract space of institutional critique.

This idea can be further unpacked by examining Hal Foster's comments concerning graffiti's

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[26] Ibidem, pp. 14-15. Also see BECKER, H. S.: *Art Worlds*. Berkeley 1982.

[27] KUSPIT, D.: Crowding the Picture: Notes on American Activist Art Today. In: *Art in the Public Interest*. Ed. A. RAVEN. Ann Arbour 1989, pp. 255-268, particularly p. 265.

entrance into the gallery system and its subsequent de-politicization once claimed as art. Foster argues that "*graffiti art is concerned less to contest the lines between museum and margin, high and low, than to find a place in them*".[28] Twenty-five years after Hal Foster's foundational work, *Recodings*, graffiti has entered the gallery system, adapted on the streets, become the symbol of a generation, and provided the foundation for a worldwide network of dissemination, critique, and community. But for all of its implied radicality, Foster is as correct now in 2010 as he was in 1985. Graffiti and subsequently street-art are now adapted into the gallery system and argued within the consistent parameters set out by art history.

The above is clearly evidenced by the prominence and emphasis on the individual bio of the street artist.[29] Some of the most theoretically recognized artists are those artists that are also represented by a major gallery or art dealer. An example is New York City based SWOON, whose wheat pasting practice has recently garnered much attention. The artist, who was university educated at the Pratt Institute in New York City and was under the representation of Jeffrey Deitch prior to his move to MOCCA Los Angeles, is a quintessential representative of street art practices. All of the artist's works are created and pasted in the city so that they will occupy a certain space, for a certain period of time. The works are as stationary as they are transitory, but the difference is that the artist is averse to people taking down the work. SWOON comments that she wants to appropriate the eye-level spaces of the urban environment, but finds it distressing that as her popularity and value as an artist has increased, her work is taken as opposed to being allowed to decay.[30] Her work is now illegally removed for its value as opposed to its vandalism.

What appears common in street, post-graffiti, and graffiti practices is that the artists are generally concerned when someone interferes with the originality and authenticity of their public works. It is the specific difference between a participatory practice and a spectatorial practice, amounting to a divergence of active versus passive recipiency in the communication and function of the work between artist and spectator. In contrast, Landin wants his works to be removed, shuffled, further adorned, stolen, or better, copied and adapted. Rather than functioning in and within the culture of the bio, Landin wishes to promote a culture of anonymous participation.

For myself, as an art historian/artist that both practices and actively theorizes public art, it is important to personally define the urban public sphere(s) as I understand it. It is a space that is contained by differing and functional institutions that consistently own their spaces. These functional institutions can be evidenced through marketing, branding, billboards, signs, universities, galleries, businesses, political agencies, essentially anything that is systemically sanctioned through abiding by the zoning regulations of commercial, public, and private. A project of creative, itinerant participatory practice active in the urban public sphere(s) is to navigate the relationally ambivalent areas of systemically controlled space and free-up its defined use value. One way of accomplishing this is through what can be termed non-invasive artistic acts; theses are acts that consciously appropriate spaces within the urban that can be easily removed by anyone, hence respecting the multiplicity of public sphere(s) in existence at any one time in any one place or space. Because the city of Montréal is an example of a late-capitalist market economy, inclusive of all of the faults raised by academics, historians, artists, and theorists, a creative kind of artistic practice that pushes forth an awareness of place and site without domination, ownership, or overt paternalistic tendencies is paramount to our current reality. In short, choice is what differentiates this type of work and the sphere(s) that it operates within. The object in question cannot be vandalism, nor illegal, nor authentic or original, if the object can be removed as easily as it is applied by anyone.

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[28] FOSTER, H.: *Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics*. New York 1985, pp. 48-52.

[29] LEWISOHN, C.: *Street Art: The Graffiti Revolution*. New York 2008; GAVIN, F.: *Street Renegades: New Underground Art*. London 2007.

[30] LEWISOHN 2008 (see in note 29), p. 141; WACLAWEK 2009 (see in note 25), pp. 21-22.

[31] It should be added that many of the authors of books relating to "street art" share my sentiment. I would argue though that blanket terms such as street art do little to address the magnitude and importance that participatory works represent. Consequentially, a further theoretical definition to the practice is both needed and required.

The Role of Graffiti

What this essay cannot do is present an encyclopedic documentation of how to define what is being labeled as street art. Any definition limits the breadth and width of publicly activated work, legal or illegal, because it essentially attempts to contain what cannot, and more importantly, should not be contained.[31] Many artists active today are entirely anonymous. Some have moved beyond the culture of naming, preferring to allow their creativity to be activated in public engagements that visualize the BIOS or back-end of our cities. Landin's work can be included in this idea through the way in which the faces humanize our architectural zones and activate the participatory nature of these post-spectacle spaces, innately bound to Fredric Jameson's understanding of the aesthetically consumed commodity.[32] By being aware and manipulating those mechanisms that allow for the sustained functionality of the market economy of capitalism: private property, public spheres, and consumptive processes, artists are giving rise to a plethora of artistic mediums and choices that explode classification systems and penetrate the soft image of the spectacle, ergo the connotation of a post-spectacle practice activated within a pluralized urban public sphere(s).

In many studies and dissertations addressing the issue of street art, the New York City graffiti movement of the 1970s and early 1980s acts as a lynchpin to the development of current understandings and theories pertaining to radical post-spectacle practice.[33] Developing out of urban spaces of decay and economic turmoil, early New York City graffiti culture was the result of long standing socio-economic inequalities apparent within the greater public realm of the late 1960s and early 1970s.[34] Differing

6. Graham Landin: Untitled, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of G. Landin.

mapping mechanisms and thoroughfares initially guided the way in which art was disseminated in the streets of the urban public sphere(s), leading to differing qualitative and individual understandings of whether the art was in fact *Art*. Early works mapped the city through walls and subway train systems, where the grids of public transit became the exhibition forum for a multitude of artists, participating

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[32] "*Guy Debord long ago described ours as a society of images, consumed aesthetically. He thereby designated this seam that separates culture from economics and, at the same time, connects the two. We talk a good deal — loosely — about the commodification of politics, or ideas, or even emotions and private life; what we must now add is that commodification today is also an aestheticization — that commodity, too, is now 'aesthetically' consumed.*" – JAMESON, F.: Globalization and Political Strategy. In: *New Left Review*, 4, July – August 2000, pp. 49-68, particularly, p. 53.

[33] LEWISOHN 2008 (see in note 29); GAVIN 2007 (see in

note 29); WACLAWEK 2009 (see in note 25); GARCIA, B. P.: *Conceptual Street Art as a means of Democratic Participation.* [M.A. Thesis.] Los Angeles : University of Southern California, 2006; SCHACTER, R.: An Ethnography of Iconoclash: An Investigation into the Production, Consumption and Destruction of Street-art in London. In: *Journal of Material Culture*, 13, 2008, No. 35, pp. 35-61.

[34] JENKINS, S.: In a War Zone Wide-Awake: Jon Naar in New York, c. 1973. In: *The Birth of Graffiti*. New York 2007, pp. 11-14.

7. Graham Landin: Untitled, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of G. Landin.

he personally loves graffiti and critiques the script value of each artist's composition. But because of the very nature of graffiti, its inherent reliance on skill and style, he wished to create work outside of the insular world of the writer. As such, Landin argues that by creating something within the environment that people are going to accept and enjoy, a moment is offered where creativity and communal bond may supersede the consistent label of vandalism associated to street art practices.[35]

Landin is representative of a growing number of artists who do not want anything to do with graffiti and do not want to be associated with it. Regardless of his disassociation from the practice, he nonetheless recognizes the influence of writing as a prominent one from his youth. For Landin, freedom of expression is the principal empowerment apparent within writing or graffiti, but because it is accomplished for themselves and the other writers who look at their work – which is very similar to the upper echelons of the elitist contemporary art world, also centered within New York City –, they are artists who are representative of another kind of urban public sphere(s) or, potentially, an entirely separate "Art World".

Regardless, the principal and influential aspect of graffiti and its carryover into other street art practices is the way in which graffiti acts as a microcosm of the public realm. Rather than being anti-capitalist or subversive of the dominant order, I would argue these practices are a direct correlate and logical descendent of spectacle based capital. Graffiti is representative of the moment where agents become active contributors to their environments, as opposed to passive recipients. Their own private interests become public spectacle, mirroring the elitism of civic authority. By creating expressions that are sanctioned by their own conglomerates, policing their own zones, and actively defining greater society, New York City graffiti artists are representative of the initial explosions of guerilla and viral marketing tactics that currently personify contemporary advertising practices. These were artists who understood the capitalist economy of spectacle to such a degree that they created their own private spectacle, activated in the public realm.

in a sometimes-anonymous relational exchange that spanned the entirety of the greater New York City metropolitan area.

Out of this cultural development came a series of styles, progressions, and, most importantly, differing groups or conglomerates of individuals that attempted to claim as much of the space of the city as possible in order to be read anywhere and everywhere. That this development comes on the heels of the origins of mass media and billboard culture, what Debord called the "*Society of the Spectacle*", is no accident. These were people, specifically youth, who had become tired of being told what to like and who they should look like. Many youths rebelled and created a cultural expression that has now become a worldwide mode of expression that is as varied as it is controlled.

Landin comments that he believes the tags that are rampant within many urban centers, Montréal included, are destructive and do nothing for the average person. Nonetheless, the artist states that

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[35] LANDIN 2008 (see in note 2).

Theorizing the Participatory Space

Henri Lefebvre's concept of an abstract space that relies on repetition, exchange, and homogeneity to create a system where differential values are contained by a set of standards, bodes well for the theorization of an itinerant post-spectacle practice. According to Lefebvre, the abstract space is "*a lethal one that destroys the historical conditions that gave rise to it, its own internal differences, and any such differences that show signs of developing, in order to impose its abstract homogeneity*".[36] Arguing that the abstract space is a consequence of late-capitalist society, it is a space that assigns special statuses to particular places, serves profit, stipulates exclusions and integrations, all the while arranging a systemic hierarchy. The abstract space is an institutional space that is both political and state-centered. The operational notions of arrangement and classification serve, according to Lefebvre, a systemic institution that conflates understandings of public and private, allowing for private ownership to dictate the means of production and public space. This is what Lefebvre refers to as mimesis, but it should not be confused with the Greek term, it is an abstracted mimesis where the BIOS of public space, controlled through private ownership, reproduces the social relations that allow for a continued domination over the control of space itself by private interests.[37]

A comparable theoretical system is Deleuze's and Guattari's concept of the abstract machine, where capital replaces all forms of production in order to become the singular means of perceiving how the earth is viewed.[38] In addition, what Habermas calls the post-national constellation, where multi-national corporations supersede nation-states as power is replaced by money, activates an awareness that markets are stamping out politics.[39] It is a society based in the economic tenants of neo-liberalism, which is a society based on private rights that calculate the use value of civil liberties in regards to private enjoyment and autonomy, activated by a surplus of capital.[40]

The question becomes, in order to theorize a participatory public space, how do we move away from art practices that espouse a commanding or ownership of public space as an inversed and micrological private sphere that follows the same function as Lefebvre's abstract space? How do we move away from being our own private spectacle, activated as a public?

Evaluating the Itinerant Post-Spectacle Practice

Our examination opened with a quote from Guy Debord that reads: "*The critique that goes beyond the spectacle must know how to wait.*" As such, I would now like to argue that the critique that goes beyond the spectacle is one that embraces the positive aspects that the spectacle, ultimately defined as a market economy of exchange highlighting individual agency, espouses. The major fault underpinning many instances of art activated in the public sphere is that it assumes a public that is oblivious to its own function, as if they, the herded masses are unable to understand their own place within the consumptive space of a late-capitalist economy. The reality of it is that many, better, most people are fully aware of the consequences of our society. They are aware of the spectacle and, more importantly, realize how little they can do about it without severe financial repercussions, or, in the case of graffiti, post-graffiti, and street artists, criminal repercussions. Participatory practices in urban public sphere(s) can activate what Waclawek calls "*a different type of universe to that of the gallery, the cityscape as a non-curated exhibition space allows for artistic actions that oppose passivity and resist the idea of permanence*".[41]

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[36] LEFEBVRE, H.: *The Production of Space.* Oxford 1991, p. 370.

[37] Ibidem, pp. 285-290.

[38] DELEUZE, G. – GUATTARI, F.: *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Minnesota 1987, p. 11; HARDT – NEGRI 2001 (see in note 8), p. 25.

[39] HABERMAS, J.: *The Post-National Constellation: Political Essays.* Cambridge (Mass.) 2001, pp. 78-79.

[40] Ibidem, p. 94.

[41] WACLAWEK 2009 (see in note 25), p. 24.

The images presented in the figures attest that the city and its operational public sphere(s) must be visualized for what they are, an area where a public economy intermingles and creates communities. While Marx highlighted the alienation inherent to the capitalist system, works such as these re-activate the system and speak to the possibility of our urban environments, defined by a market economy as inclusive and participatory, so long as there is the ability to access without exclusionary measures defined through race, class, gender, or sexual preference, or what Lefebvre calls the systemic hierarchy. It must be expressly stated that this possibility is to be limited by exchange, creative exchange, and not throttled by monopolistic controls based within the totalizing concept of domineering super-individual/corporations, as is currently evidenced by contemporary corporate culture.

Thus, Landin is representative of a new consortium of artists that validate and bring forth the value of a market economy system of exchange where individual expression supersedes large scale branding. Conformity and totalization are as familiar as they are the end goal of the society of the spectacle, but once this concept is understood and individual agency is given its due, something changes. In a contemporary economic and political system obsessed with branding, these acts of creative terrorism explode the terror of the monopolistic brand, sanctioned by those private political processes that publicly exhibit monuments of an imagined and homogenous-self, or the mirror image of the commodity driven spectacle. They are post-spectacle, because they present an active means of spectacle manipulation that can be incorporated by any agent or spectator. The pieces encourage active and positive forms of illegal participation.

In order to understand how the function of a privatized public abstract space can be visualized and subverted, Lefebvre comments three formants that imply one another while concealing one another must be interrogated. These formants are defined as *geometric*, *optical,* and *phallic*. The geometric formant is understood as a homogeneous Euclidean space that is the space of reference, or the absolute space.

Through the use of Euclidean space, three-dimensional space is reduced to two-dimensions, resulting in a flattened topographical map, or city plan. The optical formant encompasses a metonymic spectacularization, where the visual gains precedence over the other senses in a combination with the word. The last formant is the phallic, characterized by the brutality of systemic power, what Lefebvre calls the means of constraint.[42]

The pieces expose abstract space in a combination that can be understood through Lefebvre's breakdown of the three formants. Firstly, the pieces break through representational Euclidean space by forcing an engagement that defies their function. Each face, as it is enacted and completed by the architectural site, both reduces and expands how space is seen and experienced. An invocation of a two-dimensional flattening, such as the representation of the city in its planning stages, occurs, but at the same time the images appear to pop out of their constraints, becoming animate in the process. In addition, because the space of reference is both reduced and expanded, its absoluteness as a functional space is brought under question. In combination with the literal metonymic spectacularization of the mundane or unseen, each piece makes the space something new; it replaces its function with a creative endeavor that can be manipulated and contributed to by anyone, if they choose to do so. The notion of choice and contribution in altering the absolute space of the city then invokes the violent brutality of systemic power, or the phallic. By encouraging the spectator to become a participant, at any level, be it removal or alteration, the agent is momentarily forced to individually question how they should view the legalities and violence inherent to public space. In tandem, the three formants together implicitly force a negotiation with the spectator that interrogates who the space is for, what it can do, and how it can be changed or manipulated to serve the most pertinent function in that moment. The space becomes a place of creativity and imagination, politicized even where anthropomorphic variables become visualized as potentials of execution anywhere within our public sphere(s).

An imbedded code of violence inherent to the concept of public space is also subverted yet highlighted within the work. W. J. T. Mitchell distinguishes

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[42] LEFEBVRE 1991 (see in note 36), pp. 285-287.

three forms of violence in the images of public art that interact with one another. The first is the image of an act or object of violence, where the image is violent to its beholders, or is the subject of violence, such as vandalism. The second is the image as a weapon of violence, where the image subtly dislocates and insinuates violence towards a certain kind of public space. The third is the image as a representation of violence, where a violent past is celebrated as a kind of memorial or trophy.[43] Mitchell comments: "*Rape and riot are the 'surplus' of the economy of violence encoded in public and private images.*"[44] It can be argued, drawing from Mitchell and Lefebvre's understanding of public spaces and art, that underlying the code of space is an inherent systemic violence that is consistently both kept in check and advocated by the production of space and the authority of a greater public.

Landin's work can be violent if a choice is made to see it as violent. This is the relational ambivalence of the work; it presents a humanizing and friendly invocation that can nonetheless still be equated to a violent act. The spectator can be consumed by the work. It can be argued that the works convey the monstrosity of capital as an all consuming Frankenstein-like creation that society has no control over and to which the greater populace must submit to as it consumes, which is an argument that was leveled at early graffiti practices and the loss of control felt by the larger society. The difference in Landin's work is that it can be removed as easily as it is applied. If someone regards the work as violent, they can remove it. Rather than promoting a violence that the greater public is under threat from, the work engages the spectator to be aware of the dangers inherent to our society, yet be cognizant of the positive aspects and engagements that can be afforded in the everyday. There is a lot to be said about an image that smiles at you.

The faces activate, quite remarkably, Grant Kester's theory of affordances. Kester comments that the value of a thing is perceived directly and immediately.

8. Graham Landin: Untitled, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of G. Landin.

The affordance of the object or thing, because it is invariant, is always there to be perceived.[45] Following this idea, it is possible to posit that the architecture and the objects appropriated by Landin's practice afford a humanization of the landscape because they are human creations. Kester comments that any substance, surface, or layout has an affordance that can be either beneficial or harmful. The theory is inherently dualistic, each affordance can continually point to both the environment and the observer.[46] The activation of an affordance between the spectator and their environment is a result of Landin's work. The things look like faces because they are faces, and consequentially, the way in which they are activated in public space through perception points to both

[43] MITCHELL, W. J. T.: The Violence of Public Art: Do the Right Thing. In: *Art and the Public Sphere.* Ed. W. J. T. MITCHELL. Chicago 1992, pp. 37-38.

[44] Ibidem, p. 38.

[45] KESTER, G.: The Theory of Affordances. In: *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception.* Ed. J. L. GIBSON. Boston 1979, pp. 127-143, particularly pp. 138-140.

[46] Ibidem, p. 141.

9. Graham Landin: Untitled, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of G. Landin.
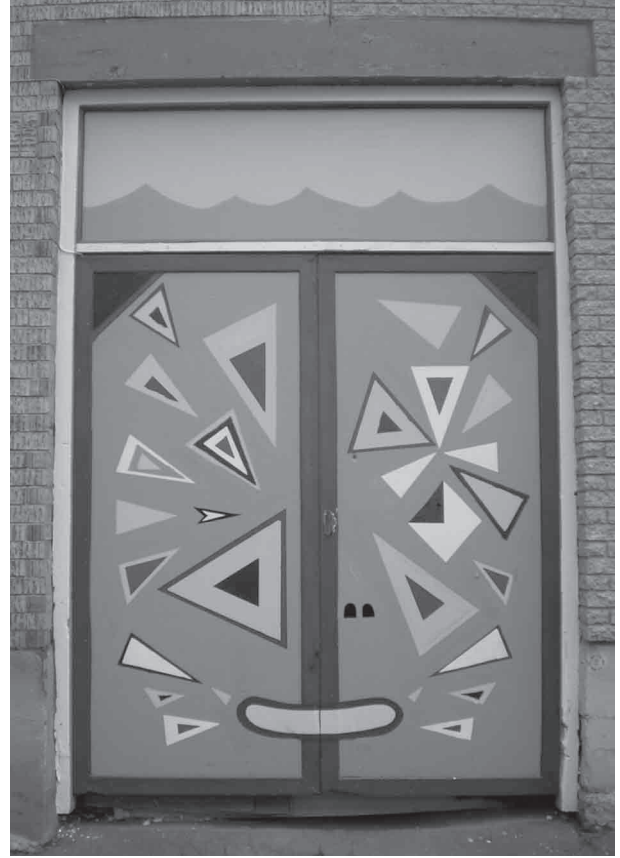
10. Graham Landin: Untitled, 2008. Photo: Courtesy of G. Landin.

the environment and the observer. In this way, the adhered vinyl force the spectator to momentarily re-think the function of space, its value, and how they may go about engaging with it.

The house consumes us, as does the mailbox, the public monument, and the school; these are places that direct the spaces of our awareness. They are the enactors of our identity formations and constructions, but it is sometimes forgotten that it is our humanity that has allowed for their existence. Our conceptual tools are controlled vis à vis the physical command of space and the place of architecture. The site itself dictates our understanding, therefore, once the site becomes revealed of its function, in the clearest and most direct way possible, that being the agent's cognizance of their immateriality and finiteness within the consuming world, consumption becomes control. Through an aesthetically consumed commodity, we are activated as agents of control.

Our consumption of the work then activates an awareness of the spectacle, communicating a potentiality for itinerant participatory measures within the urban public sphere(s). By consuming the spectacle, there is an opportunity to own it, to change it, to remove it, to become an active contributor in the creation of the spectacle, rather than a passive recipient of everyday order. These pieces communicate the ease at which creative participation can be fulfilled in public in a way that is not damaging to what is already there, thereby becoming post-spectacle by the residual effects they engender. They are examples of what is feared most by those in power, that the many could realize the potential they hold to activate their space, their place, and all at once become active agents in manipulating independently and participating anonymously in itinerant post-spectacle practices that foreground their place and agency over values of us and them binaries of ruler

and ruled. These are works that invite participation, play, and most importantly personal accountability and responsibility, all without saying a word. The moment when we can stare the object in the face and smile, knowing our place with immanence and presence, actively participating in our own spectacle, is the moment we step outside of the spectacle and begin to control it.

An itinerant post-spectacle practice, such as the one exemplified in the work of Landin, offers a means to engage the city in such a way that a kind of anarchistic destabilization occurs, but it is one that is not destructive or negative, rather, it is community based yet still bound to those concepts heralded by Duchamp in the early 20th century under the influence of Max Stirner. Landin's practice is one where the itinerary of the city itself is visualized as a space of human consumption and communication, creatively defined by appropriations that foreground the pluralized possibilities of our public sphere(s). Each agent is welcome to alter, change, take, steal, destroy, enjoy, or leave the work as they see fit. It is a radical practice and idea being presented, one that is not easily defined other than by the specificity at which it demands. The blanket term of street art does little to define the complexity of works that actively deconstruct preconceived generalizations regarding the public. It is work that is non-hierarchical, promotes egalitarianism and invites artistic collaboration for seemingly no reason. It is work that descends into the streets and visualizes the inherent limitations of the public realm. In conclusion, rather than attributing these kinds of practices within the tenets of art history as a functioning neo-bohemian form of late-capitalist expansion bound to the limitations of a utopic globalization, perhaps these works signal something else.

Niečo o tvári: Putovné post-spektakulárne praktiky a dielo Grahama Landina

Resumé

Jednu sobotnú noc v období rokov 2008 – 2009 sa na Bulvári Saint-Laurent v montrealskej štvrti Plateau niekoľkí chodci zastavili a prezreli si kopu starých vecí čakajúcich na odvoz. V tom momente sa veža starých katódových televízorov premenila na niečo, čo sa stalo už dôverne známym výjavom miestnej štvrte. Najvyššie položený televízor bol vinylovými nálepkami pretvorený na tvár s tromi očami. Jeden z okoloidúcich sa nechal pri tomto výjave odfotografovať. Počas rokov 2008 – 2009 sa Plateau stalo miestom pre síce ťažko zaraditeľnú, no nesmierne populárnu participatívnu umeleckú činnosť.

Diela, vytvorené a vystavené miestnym umelcom Grahamom Landinom (nar. 1982), sú príkladmi nového vývoja, ktorý demonštruje putovné post-spektakulárne praktiky, aktivované urbánnou verejnou sférou (sférami). Predmetné práce si privlastňujú každodenné predmety a architektúru urbánnej verejnej sféry (sfér), aby sa jej (ich) prostredníctvom šírili do povedomia verejnosti. Umelec používa veľké vinylové nálepky, nastrihané do potrebných tvarov a následne v súlade s plánovaným estetickým účinkom aplikované v priestoroch mesta. Tvorivá činnosť môže byť preto realizovaná rýchlo, pri malých finančných nákladoch a takmer všade. Hotové nálepky majú antropomorfné tvary v podobe nosov, očí, úst, niekedy uší a lícnych kostí, občas aj brady. Tieto prvky sú potom aplikované na múry, brány, kryty požiarnych púmp, pamätníky, okná či dvere, v zásade na všetko, čo umelcovi pripomína tvar ľudskej tváre. Lesk vinylu umožňuje dielam vyniknúť na

ich architektonickom pozadí, vytvárajúc priestor, kde dimenzie miesta dopĺňajú želaný estetický efekt.

Pojem urbánnej verejnej sféry (sfér) akcentuje teoretický problém rátajúci s množstvom sfér, ktoré v akomkoľvek danom okamihu existujú vo verejnom priestore. Cieľom je definovanie vplyvu jednotlivca ako kontrolného činiteľa, ktorý aktívne a účelovo určuje svoj vlastný lexikálny význam v rámci širšieho vizuálneho jazyka mesta. Idea sféry, predovšetkým vo verejnom zmysle, umožňuje komunikatívnu a participatívnu činnosť. Každá sféra môže byť v danom okamihu rovnaká, menšia, alebo väčšia než akákoľvek iná. Zmyslom uvažovania o multiplikovanej sfére (sférach) je umožniť hybným podnetom, napríklad Foucaultovej systémovej sile diskurzu podriaďujúcej si jeho činiteľov, prekonať v akomkoľvek danom momente tie ostatné.

Štúdia nemá v úmysle priniesť encyklopedickú dokumentáciu definície umenia ulice (street art). Akákoľvek definícia obmedzuje šírku aj hĺbku verejne pôsobiacich diel, legálnych aj ilegálnych, keďže sa v podstate snaží zachytiť to, čo nemôže a predovšetkým by nemalo byť pevne určené. Mnohí dnes aktívni umelci sú úplne anonymní. Prekonali kultúru mien a pomenovaní a uprednostnili vyjadrenie vlastnej kreativity prostredníctvom verejných zásahov, vizualizujúcich BIOS, „zadný dvor", našich miest. Uvedomujúc si a manipulujúc mechanizmy, ktoré umožňujú fungovanie trhovej ekonomiky a kapitalizmu (súkromné vlastníctvo, orientácia na konzum a pod.), vytvárajú celý rad médií, ktoré rozbíjajú tradičný systém umeleckej klasifikácie a neproblematický obraz spektáklu. A práve preto zvolený pojem post-spektakulárna praktika aktivovaná v rámci pluralizovanej urbánnej verejnej sféry (sfér).

Lefebvrov koncept abstraktného priestoru, ktorý, ak má tvoriť základ systému zväzujúceho rozličné hodnoty súborom pravidiel, je závislý na opakovaní, výmene a rovnorodosti, naznačuje vhodnú cestu k uvažovaniu o putovných post-spektakulárnych praktikách. Abstraktný priestor je ako dôsledok fungovania neskorokapitalistickej spoločnosti priestorom, ktorý prisudzuje zvláštne postavenie určitým miestam, slúži zisku, stanovuje prijateľnosť a neprijateľnosť, pričom sústavne formuje hierarchický systém. Abstraktný priestor je inštitucionalizovaným priestorom s kľúčovou úlohou štátnej politiky. Operatívne nástroje zatriedenia a klasifikácie slúžia podľa Henriho Lefebvra systémovej inštitúcii, ktorá zjednocuje chápanie verejného a súkromného, umožňujúc súkromnému sektoru diktovať spôsoby využitia verejného priestoru. Lefebvre nazýva tento proces pojmom *mimesis*, ten sa však nesmie stotožňovať s gréckym chápaním, v tomto prípade je to abstraktné *mimesis*, pri ktorom BIOS verejného priestoru, kontrolovaný súkromným sektorom, reprodukuje spoločenské vzťahy umožňujúce stálu dominanciu súkromných záujmov vo verejnom priestore.

Hlavnou chybou umeleckých aktivít vo verejnej sfére je to, že predpokladajú verejnosť, ktorá je ľahostajná k svojej vlastnej funkcii, ktorá je neschopná pochopiť svoju pozíciu v rámci neskorokapitalistického hospodárstva. Realita však ukazuje, že väčšina ľudí si je plne vedomá dôsledkov fungovania dnešnej spoločnosti. Vnímajú tento spektákel a, čo je ešte dôležitejšie, uvedomujú si, ako málo zmôžu bez rizika drastických finančných protiopatrení, alebo, v prípade graffiti (post-graffiti) umelcov, kriminálnych protiopatrení. Súborný pojem umenie ulice (street art) len veľmi okrajovo definuje komplexnosť prác, ktoré aktívne dekonštruujú predpripravené zovšeobecnenia vo vzťahu k verejnému. Dielo Grahama Landina je nehierarchické, propaguje rovnostárstvo a bez žiadnej zjavnej príčiny pozýva k umeleckej spolupráci. Je to dielo, ktoré zostupuje do ulíc a vizualizuje vnútorné limity verejného priestoru.

Preklad z anličtiny M. Hrdina

Paths and Strategies in the Historiography
of Art in Central Europe*

Ján BAKOŠ

From the Local to the Universal

The thematization of the topic of the history of art in Central Europe as a specific art historical phenomenon is a fascinating and at the same time quite dramatic story, and as such it merits serious study.[1] This essay, however, does not have the slightest ambition to be a history of the historiography/historiographies of Central European art. It is rather an attempt to outline the main trends, which shaped research into the history of art in the region.

In the 18th century, the plurality of local histories cultivated by local patriotic chroniclers was replaced by the conception of one universal history.[2] At the same time, Johann Joachim Winckelmann conceived the idea of art as having a single true essence. In this way, the previous history of a plurality of artefacts and artists was transformed into a universal history of art with a capital A.[3] Many local histories were

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[1] The statement of Heinrich Klotz and Martin Warnke concerning the history of German art applies also to this process. "*Die Geschichte der Historiographie ist immer auch eine Geschichte kulturgeschichtlicher Machtansprüche, also eine Geschichte kultureller Propaganda.*" – KLOTZ, H.: *Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst.* Vol. 1. München 1998, p. 9. In other words, the history of the historiography of art, at least in Central Europe, can be regarded as a symbolic struggle over territory. Moreover, as Warnke expressed it: "*Alle entsprechende Versuche seien zeitbedingte Konstrukte.*" – WARNKE, M.: *Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst.* Vol. 2. München 1999, p. 10. What is called "constructs" today in order to express arbitrary and ideological nature of our interpretation of the past had been named "conceptions" in the 1980s or "models" in the 1990s.

[2] KOSELLECK, R.: Geschichte. In: *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland.* Eds. O. BRUNNER – W. CONZE – R. KOSELLECK. Stuttgart 1998 (1st ed. 1975), Vol. 2, pp. 593-770, particularly p. 647 ff; KOSELLECK, R.: Historia Magistra Vitae. Über

die Auflösung des Topos im Horizont neuzeitlich bewegter Geschichte. In: KOSELLECK, R.: *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten.* Frankfurt a. M. 1989 (1st ed. 1979), pp. 38-66. See also LOCHER, H.: *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst.* München 2001, pp. 203-204.
In Bickendorf's words: "… *in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts... [wurde] aus der Vielzahl der Künste und der Künstler die eine 'Kunst', wie auch die vielfältigen Geschichten abgelöst wurden von der Vorstellung der 'einen Geschichte', die sich nun linear und kontinuierlich im Verlauf der Zeit entfaltet haben sollte… Erst aus der Zusammensetzung der beiden Kollektivsingulare entstand die Idee der 'einen Kunstgeschichte' in der sich das Abstraktum 'Kunst' im Laufe der Zeit verändert und eine eigene Geschichte erhält.*" – BICKENDORF, G.: Die ersten Überblickswerke zur "Kunstgeschichte". In: *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte I. Von Winckelmann bis Warburg.* Ed. U. PFISTERER. München 2007, pp. 32-33.

[3] "*Erst aus der Zusammensetzung der beiden Kollektivsingulare entstand die Idee der 'einen Kunstgeschichte', in der das Abstraktum 'Kunst' im Laufe der Zeit verändert und eine eigene Geschichte erzählt. [...] …seine prägnanteste Formulierung fand der Begriff der 'Kunstgeschichte' bei Johann Joachim Winckelmann. [...] Die gemeinsame Grundlage sowohl der neu errichteten oder neu geordneten Sammlungen als auch der Überblickswerke zur Kunstgeschichte war das Konzept der 'einen Geschichte' der 'einen Kunst', das die älteren Formen der Kunsthistoriographie mit ihrer Vielzahl von 'Geschichten' einer Vielzahl von Küstlern ablöste.*" – BICKENDORF 2007 (see in note 2), pp. 29-30, 33. See also LOCHER 2001 (see in note 2), p. 204.

subordinated to one universal history of the classical norm of art.[4] However, the idea of the plurality of specific local histories did not disappear for ever. For example, it was Italian patriotism that motivated Luigi Lanzi's conception of Italian art as a plurality of geographical schools.[5] The plurality of local specific histories was, however, already subordinated to the universal ideal. Nevertheless, the way to the pluralism of nationalities was open.[6]

In the era of Napoleon, the idea of the universality or universal character of history became an instrument of global imperialism.[7] French political and cultural hegemony provoked as a reaction a critical revision of Enlightenment beliefs in a universal civilisation. German thinkers, especially the Romantics, emphasized particularity in opposition to universality, replacing the idea of humanity or the universal man with the idea of the nation or ethnic group.[8] Instead of emphasising the idea of natural rights as underpinning the equality of peoples, they used arguments regarding historical rights in support of the historical equality of *nations*.[9] At the same time, they cast doubt on the universal validity of the classical canon and sought to validate anti-classical national styles of art.[10] Thus, it is only logical that the idea of universal history was reformulated in a fundamentally new way. J. G. Herder conceived the history of humanity as a relay race of nations, a sequence of historic initiatives by individual nations.[11] Herder's emphasis on the pluralistic character of history, which did not reject faith in the common basis of humanity, was radically developed by German historicism

[4] "*Am Anfang steht der Gegensatz lokal – universal. Vor dem späten 18. Jahrhundert… herrschte eine strikte Hierarchie, von den wenigen Spitzen der europäischen Kunst herunter zum engsten lokalen Kunstgeschehen.*" – MUTHESIUS, S.: Universal, lokal – europäisch, national: Fragestellungen der frühen Kunstgeographie im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert. In: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs*. Eds. R. BORN – A. JANATKOVÁ – A. S. LABUDA. Berlin 2004, p. 69.

[5] LANZI, L.: *Storia pittorica della Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fine del XVIII secolo*. Bassano 1809.

[6] Lanzi followed Vasari's identification of the local (in Vasari's case Florentine) with the universal, but he related it to Italy as a whole. As a consequence, the universal was regarded as national. "*Das Resultat war die erste nationale Malereigeschichte, die… die Einheit der Nation kunsthistorisch abbildete.*" – BICKENDORF, G.: "Kunstgeschichte" als Geschichte der künstlerischen Schulen und als Gattungsgeschichte. In: PFISTERER 2007 (see in note 2), pp. 33-34. According to LOCHER 2001 (see in note 2), p. 197, in spite of the idea of Italian painting as a whole, "*ein gemeinsames Wesen der italienischen Kunst ist nicht Gegenstand der Darstellung*" of Lanzi's "*Storia*". More about Lanzi, see BICKENDORF, G.: Luigi Lanzis "Storia pittorica della Italia" und das Entstehen der historisch-kritischen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung. In: *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte*, 2, 1986, pp. 231-294; BICKENDORF, G.: Luigi Lanzi. In: *Hauptwerke der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung*. Ed. P. von NAREDI-RAINER. Stuttgart 2010, pp. 269-271.

[7] Jean-Dominique Vivant Denon's arrangement of the Louvre (the Musée Napoléon) on the principle of national schools can also be understood as a presentation of the symbolic seizure of the world or as a world-dominating museum. On this, see POMMIER, É.: *Les Musées en Europe a la veille de l'ouverture du Louvre*. Paris 1995; McCLELLAN, A.: *Inventing Louvre. Art,*

Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1994, pp. 124-154, particularly pp. 147-148; GAEHTGENS, Th. W.: Le musée Napoléon et son influence sur l'histoire de l'art. In: *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art II. XVIIIe et XIXe siécles*. Ed. É. POMMIER. Paris 1997, pp. 89-110. See also SHEEHAN, J. J.: *Museums in the German Art World. From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism*. Oxford 2000, pp. 50-52.

[8] As Stefan Muthesius expressed it, in German culture "'*Volk'… wurde Synonym für 'die Nation'* ". – MUTHESIUS 2004 (see in note 4), pp. 73, 75. According to Reinhart Koselleck: "'*Volk' wird… ein spezifisch deutscher Kompensationsbegriff, der einlösen sollte, was der französische Nachbar mit 'nation'… verwirklicht zu haben schien.*" "'*Volk' [rück]… zum Oberbegriff [auf], der alle Stände oder Klassen, Regierenden und Regierten einschliesst.*" Thus, "*scheinbar vorpolitische 'Sprachnation'… [gerichtet] gegen die französische (Staats-)Nation, das… deutsche Volk zur Einheit aufrufend*". – KOSELLECK, R.: Volk, Nation, Nationalismus, Masse. In: *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. Stuttgart 1997 (1st ed. 1978), Vol. 7, pp. 142-151, here pp. 147-149. Generally speaking, German notion "Volk" emphasized ethnic origin unlike French sociologically conceived notion of "la nation".

[9] See IGGERS, G. G.: *The German Conception of History. The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present*. Middletown (Conn.) 1968, pp. 3-28.

[10] As is well known, they thought they had found it in medieval art. On this, see FRANKL, P.: *The Gothic. Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries*. Princeton (NJ) 1960, pp. 415-488; KULTERMANN, U.: Histoire de l'art et identité nationale. In: POMMIER 1997 (see in note 7), pp. 223-247.

[11] "*Herder's nationalism was still cosmopolitan in spirit. Each nation contributes to the richness of human life.*" – IGGERS 1968 (see in note 9), p. 41. See also LOCHER 2001 (see note 2), p. 205.

or the "Prussian historical school".[12] History was understood as the plurality of incompatible unique phenomena with their own mutually incomparable criteria. The representatives of the German historical school also connected the new philosophy of history with a new understanding of historiography as a science based on the presentation of facts and the historical criticism of sources. It was precisely these dimensions of the German historical school – the new pluralist, relativist paradigm of history and the conception of historiography as an empirical and critical science – that created the conditions for the new, institutionalised historiography of art.

It is generally accepted that art history as an institution was born at Berlin University in the first half of the 19th century.[13] One of the most important contributions of the so-called Berlin school of art history was precisely the conception of the history of art as the history of world art.[14] However, it was not derived from Winckelmann's adherence to universal norm, but rather from two other, different, sources. The first one was Herder's pluralist idea of history,

the second one G. W. F. Hegel, the "father of the world history of art".[15] He constructed a speculative dialectic of artistic development – a three-phase conception that was the first pluralist but at the same time global conception of the history of art. Franz Kugler and Carl Schnaase took over the idea of a world history of art, but they not only replaced the speculative nature of Hegel's project with the concrete presentation of art historical facts, but also put the concept of succession of period styles as a continuing process in place of Hegel's three-phase construction of history. What is, however, worth noticing is the fact that representatives of the Berlin school of art history, despite the clear methodological inspiration, did not take over from the "Prussian historical school" the state- oriented model of history. They instead followed Herder's idea of world history as a relay race of nations. They combined it with the historical relativist idea of the sequence of stylistic forms and the idea that art is an expression of the period ("Zeitgeist") and nation ("Volksgeist").[16] In spite of this orientation to nation, a nationalistic

[12] IGGERS 1968 (see in note 9), pp. 28-43 (chapter "The Origins of German Historicism. The Transformation of German Historical Thought from Herder's Cosmopolitan Culture-Oriented Nationalism to the State-Centered Exclusive Nationalism of the Wars of Liberation").

[13] DILLY, H.: *Kunstgeschichte als Institution. Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin.* Frankfurt a. M. 1979; BEYRODT, W.: Kunstgeschichte als Universitätsfach. In: *Kunst und Kunsttheorie, 1400 – 1900* (=Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 48). Eds. P. GANZ – M. GOSEBRUCH – N. MEIER – M. WARNKE. Wiesbaden 1991, pp. 313-333; BICKENDORF, G.: Die Anfänge der historisch-kritischen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung. In: Ibidem, pp. 359-374; KROUPA, J.: *Školy dějin umění. Metodologie dějin umění I* [Schools of Art History. Methodology of Art History I]. Brno 1996, pp. 123-144. On Berlin school of art history, see recently BREDEKAMP, H. – LABUDA, A. S.: Kunstgeschichte, Universität, Museum und die Mitte Berlins, 1810 – 1873. In: *Geschichte der Universität Unter den Linden, 1810 – 2010. Genese der Disziplinen. Die Konstitution der Universität.* Eds. H.-E. TENORTH – V. HESS – D. HOFFMANN. Berlin 2010.

[14] BICKENDORF, G.: Die Berliner Schule. In: PFISTERER 2007 (see in note 2), p. 55. See also LOCHER 2001 (see in note 2), pp. 238-240, 244-254.

[15] GOMBRICH, E. H.: The Father of Art History. In: GOMBRICH, E. H.: *Tributes. Interpreters of Our Cultural Tradition.* Oxford 1984, pp. 51-70. On the relationship between the

Berlin schol of art history and Hegel, see LOCHER 2001 (see in note 2), pp. 205-212; PRANGE, R.: *Die Geburt der Kunstgeschichte. Philosophische Aesthetik und empirische Wissenschaft.* Köln 2004, pp. 137-147. In the latest writings, Hegel's impact on the Berlin school has been minimalized. Despite that fact, the characterization of Hegel as the father of universal art history is still valid. LOCHER, H.: Eine neue Wissenschaft der Kunst. Kunstpublizistik und Kunstgeschichte. In: *Vom Biedermeier zum Impressionismus. Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland.* Vol. 7. Ed. H. KOHLE. München – Berlin – London – New York 2008, s. 566, acknowleges Hegel's impact on Schnaase as follows: "*Indem Schnaase die historische Entwicklung der Kunst auf die Entwicklung der menschlichen Geistes bezieht, folgt er im Prinzip die Vorstellung G. W. F. Hegels.*"

[16] KARGE, H.: Arbeitsteilung der Nationen. Karl Schnaases Entwurf eines historisch gewachsenen System der Künste. In: *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte,* 53, 1996, No. 4, pp. 300-301, emphasizes Schnaase's indebtedness to Herder concerning the idea of "Volksgeist". Similarly, according to Gabriele Bickendorf, members of the Berlin school followed Herder's notion of "Volksgeist" and not its Hegelian version. – BICKENDORF 2007 (see in note 14), p. 53. According to Wilhelm Schlink, the belief that "*Bildende Kunst ist Ausdruck des Volksgeistes… war gegen 1840 allgemeine Maxime*". – SCHLINK, W.: Der Charakter ganzer Nationen in den Künsten. Jacob Burckhardt über das Verhältnis von Volk und Nation zur Kunst. In: *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte,* 53, 1996, No. 4, p. 308.

understanding of the history of art did not prevail over the idea of universal art inherited from the Enlightenment.[17] Schnaase applied Herder's Enlightenment idea of the division of labour among nations ("Arbeitsteilung der Nationen") to his writing of the universal history of art.[18] When interpreting the global plurality of art, Kugler did not accept the idea of "diffusionism",[19] but rather replaced it with the principle of "polygeneticism".[20]

The Inauguration of National Histories of Art

The nationalistic interpretation of art history only entered the German historiography of art after the unification of Germany in 1871.[21] German art as a specific and autochthonous historical phenomenon was systematically thematized in the collective synthetic work *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (1886 – 1890).[22] This can rightly be regarded as the expression and ideological instrument of German national patriotism.[23] In the volume devoted to Ger-

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Concerning the notion of art history as a succession of styles, Schnaase speaks of a continuous history of art ("*fortlaufende Kunstgeschichte*"). – SCHNAASE, K.: *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*. Vols. 1-8. Düsseldorf 1843 – 1864, Vol. 1, p. 87. According to Karge, Schnaase revised Winckelmann's "*herrschende lineare Modell der Stilgeschichte*". See KARGE, H.: Karl (auch Carl) Schnaase: Geschichte der bildenden Künste. In: NAREDI-RAINER 2010 (see in note 6), p. 398.

[17] "*Schnaase, der die Geschichte der Kunst unter der globalen Perspektive der Entwicklung des menschlichen Geistes sah, in der die einzelnen Völker ihre wechselnden Rollen spielen, hat aus der Vorstellung, dass die Kunst der Ausdruck des Volksgeistes sei, kein nazionalistisches Konzept entwickelt.*" – LARSSON, L. O.: Nationalstil und Nationalismus in der Kunstgeschichte der zwanziger und dreissiger Jahre. In: *Kategorien und Methoden der deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 1900 – 1930*. Ed. L. DITTMANN. Stuttgart 1985, p. 171. "*In der 'Berliner Schule' kristallierten sich die Italien- und Niederlandeforschung... heraus. Die deutsche Kunst fand daneben vergleichsweise geringe Aufmerksamkeit. Im Zeitalter der Nationenbildung wurde zwar eine nationale Kunstgeschichte ausgebildet, der Akzent darin aber nicht auf die nationale Kunst gelegt.*" – BICKENDORF 2007 (see in note 14), p. 58. "*Gerade die deutsche Kunstgeschichte erlangte ihren frühen Weltrang vor allem durch ihre internationale Orientierung...*" – MUTHESIUS 2004 (see in note 4), p. 70.

[18] KARGE 1996 (see in note 16), pp. 301-303.

[19] This means the dissemination of an idea or a phenomenon from one center to another. See KUBLER, G.: *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America* (=The Pelican History of Art, 21). Bungay [a.o.] 1962, pp. 11-12.

[20] This means the simultaneous origin of a phenomenon independently in different places. See KUBLER 1962 (see in note 19).
According to the findings of Wilhelm Schlink, Kugler's pupil and co-author of the second edition of the *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Jacob Burckhardt also consistently avoided nationalist interpretations. "*Der direkten Frage, ob es eine nationale Kunst gebe, ist Jacob Burckhardt zeitlebens ausgewichen. Die Werke der 'grossen Künstler' galten ihm als zeitlos und universal, als*

ewiger Besitz der ganzen Menschheit. Auf der anderen Seite ordnete er Kunst nach Epochen, Regionen und Stilen, so wie er es bei Franz Kugler in Berlin gelernt hatte." – SCHLINK 1996 (see in note 16), p. 312.

[21] TSCHUDI, H. von: Hubert Janitschek [Obituary]. In: *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 17, 1894, pp. 1-7. Alfred Woltmann's controversial idea that art in Prague can be regarded as German art dates from the same time. See WOLTMANN, A.: *Deutsche Kunst in Prag*. Leipzig 1877. Wolfgang Schenkluhn speaks of two phases "*der Nationalisierung von Kunst mit den Daten 1870/71 und 1914/18… [die] in engem Zusammenhang stehen*". – SCHENKLUHN, W.: Bemerkungen zum "Nationalstil" in der Kunstgeschichte. In: JANTZEN, H.: *Ottonische Kunst*. Berlin 1990 (new ed.), pp. 167-168. According to LOCHER 2001 (see in note 2), pp. 198-199, Johann Dominicus FIORILLO was the "*Pionier der nationalen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung in Deutschland*"; see his *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland und den vereinigten Niederlanden* (1815 – 1820). This was followed by Ernst FÖRSTER's *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (5 Vols. Leipzig 1851 – 1863).

[22] BODE, W. von: *Geschichte der deutschen Plastik*. Berlin 1886; DOHME, R.: *Geschichte der deutschen Baukunst*. Berlin 1887; FALKE, J. von: *Geschichte des deutschen Kunstgewerbes*. Berlin 1888; JANITSCHEK, H.: *Geschichte der deutschen Malerei*. Berlin 1890; LÜTZOW, K. von: *Geschichte des deutschen Kupferstiches*. Berlin 1891. Simultaneously, W. LÜBKE published *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst von den frühesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart 1890). Similarly to Janitschek, it represented an attempt to reconstruct "*ur-deutsche Kunst*".

[23] SPRINGER, A.: Geschichte der deutschen Kunst [Review]. In: *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 13, 1890, p. 311, characterized the *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* as a critical response to "*die mindere Wertschätzung unserer Kunst*". See also *Metzler Kunsthistoriker Lexikon*. Eds. P. BETTHAUSEN – P. H. FEIST – C. FORK. Stuttgart – Weimar 1999, p. 191. Hugo von Tschudi considered *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* as a manifestation of "*der nationale Zug*" that "*die deutsche Kunstgeschichtsschreibung ergriffen [hatte]*" with a delay. – TSCHUDI 1894 (see in note 21), p. 5.

man painting,[24] the native of Opava (Troppau) in Moravia and professor of art history, first at Prague and then at Strasbourg University, Hubert Janitschek, formulated the conception of ethnic nationalism. The history of German painting, in his view, reached beyond the history of the state, which started with the Treaty of Verdun in 843. "*The beginnings of German painting*" go back to the "*twilight of the tribal past*".[25] Therefore, it is the history of the "*artistic sense of form... of the German Volk*".[26] This purist ethno-national approach considered the art of all German speaking countries including Austria, as well as the German art of multi-national regions such as Bohemia and Silesia and even the work of German artists abroad, for example, Veit Stoss in Kraków and Raffael Donner in Bratislava (Pressburg). It is noteworthy that the authors of the *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* had close educational or professional links to Vienna,[27] and the majority of them hold to a universalising approach to art that also stressed the autonomous development of style. In contrast to Janitschek, they did not follow the romantic way of seeking the "*na-tional style*".[28] Hence, the pan-Germanic implications of Janitschek's ethno-nationalist conception were in harmony with the hegemonic ideology of the German Empire, but not with the cosmopolitan ideology of the multi-national Habsburg Monarchy.[29]

The Contradictions of Multi-Nationalism

As is well-known, the historiography of art was institutionalized in Vienna immediately after the unsuccessful bourgeois revolution of 1848.[30] Art historians became first of all official state experts. The prime task of their professional mission was to secure state tasks such as caring for state art property including its cultural heritage and, not least, to strengthen the legitimising political and cultural ideologies of the state.[31] It is understandable that the ideology of a multi-national monarchy, if it was not going to be internally subverted or changed into the hegemony of one nation, could not be nationalism. Therefore, the official ideological platform of the Habsburg Empire became internationalism or

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[24] JANITSCHEK 1890 (see in note 22).

[25] "*... die Anfänge der deutschen Malerei*" go back to the "*Dunkel der Stammeszeit*". – Ibidem, p. 3.

[26] "*... künstlerischen Formensinnes... des deutschen Volkes*". – Ibidem, p. 4. Anton Springer accepted Janitschek's conception and supported the autochthonous origin of German art. He derived it from "*Rassen- und Stammesphantasie*" and identified a vital relationship to the "*deutscher Boden*". "*Im tiefsten Grunde wurzelt unsere Kunst in nationalem Boden.*" – SPRINGER 1890 (see in note 23), p. 319. The romantic roots of this interpretation are obvious, as is the anticipation of the later ethno-nationalism of the 20th century based on "Blut und Boden" doctrine. The idea of "*deutsches Volk*" as "*Kollektivsubjekt*" of the history of art had been articulated already by W. LÜBKE in *Geschichte der deutschen Renaissance* (1873). See on this LOCHER 2001 (see in note 2), p. 197.

[27] Bode was actually a graduate of the Vienna school (*Metzler Kunsthistoriker Lexikon* (see in note 23), pp. 31-32). From 1863, Lützow taught history and archaeology at Vienna University (Ibidem, pp. 254-255), Janitschek cooperated with the director of the Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie Rudolf Eitelberger, and qualified as a lecturer at Vienna University in 1878 (Ibidem, pp. 191-192). Falke was Eitelberger's successor in the function of director of the Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie from 1885 (Ibidem, p. 83).

[28] On Janitschek, see VYBÍRAL, J.: Hubert Janitschek. Zum 100. Todesjahr des Kunsthistorikers. In: *Kunstchronik*, 47, 1994, pp. 237-244; *Metzler Kunsthistoriker Lexikon* (see in note 23), pp. 190-192.

[29] On Janitschek's pan-Germanic and anti-Habsburg position, see OLIN, M.: Nationalism, the Jews, and Art History. In: *Judaism*, 45, Fall 1996, No. 4, p. 465; OLIN, M.: Art History and Ideology: Alois Riegl and Josef Strzygowski. In: *Cultural Visions: Essays in the History of Culture*. Eds. P. S. GOLD – B. C. SAX. Amsterdam – Atlanta (GA) 2000, p. 157.

[30] See SCHLOSSER, J. von: Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte. Rückblick auf ein Säkulum deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Österreich. In: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, 13, 1934, No. 2, pp. 145-210. Art historical institutions as state bodies were established at that time: 1850, K. k. Central-Commission für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale; 1852, Lehrstuhl für Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Wien; 1854, Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung; 1864, Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie.

[31] OLIN 2000 (see in note 29), p. 156; BAKOŠ, J.: From Universalism to Nationalism. Transformation of Vienna School Ideas in Central Europe. In: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (see in note 4), p. 80.

cosmopolitanism, the ideology of multi-national solidarity and cooperation between its different peoples. It goes without saying that the historiography of art played an important role in promoting and strengthening this vision.[32]

After the unsuccessful bourgeois revolution, the first professor of art history at Vienna University Rudolf Eitelberger abandoned his youthful sympathy for German nationalism.[33] In the position of one of the chief representatives of the Central Commission on the Research and Preservation of Historical Monuments ("K. k. Central-Commission für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale"), he promoted the idea of the polyphonic multi-national cultural unity of Central Europe,[34] identifying it with the Habsburg Monarchy.[35] By emphasizing the organic inclusion of the cultural heritage of the individual nations of the Monarchy in a common art historical whole, he intended to confront the centrifugal efforts of the ideologues of the national bourgeoisies, who emphasized the autochthonous nature of national art, or in a more sophisticated way stressed the direct connection of their specific national cultures to other, Western European, centres.[36] On the other

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[32] Margaret Olin emphasizes "*the ability of Denkmalpflege to contribute to a unified state*". – OLIN, M.: The Cult of Monuments as a State Religion in Late 19th Century Austria. In: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 33, 1985, p. 184. Referring to Riegl, she states: "*Riegl's conception of late Roman art exemplifies the way in which an art historian can help construct and intervene in an ideology not of nationalism, but of an official internationalism, specifically, the embattled internationalism of the Habsburg empire...*" – OLIN 2000 (see in note 29), s. 155. See also BAKOŠ 2004 (see in note 31), pp. 80-81.

[33] OLIN 1985 (see in note 32), p. 183; OLIN, M.: Alois Riegl: The Late Roman Empire in the Late Habsburg Empire. In: *The Habsburg Legacy. National Identity in Historical Perspective*. Edinburgh 1994, p. 111.

[34] According to Olin: "*Eitelberger… rejected the nationalistic elements*" but "*emphasized the importance of monuments in fostering the national identities of individual states in the Empire*". – Ibidem, p. 184. See also MAROSI, E.: Die Anfänge der Denkmalpflege und die Tätigkeit der K. u. k. Zentralkommission in Ungarn. In: *Die ungarische Kunstgeschichte und die Wiener Schule, 1846 – 1930*. Budapest 1983, p. 16.

[35] Thus, Eitelberger formulated not only the idea of Central Europe as identical with the Habsburg Monarchy but also the trans-national *étatiste* conception of the history of art. According to it, the history of art is identical with the history of the multi-national state. On the typology of the idea of "Mitteleuropa", see BAKOŠ, J.: The Idea of East Central Europe as an Artistic Region and 14th-Century Painting and Sculpture in Slovakia. In: *Künstlerischer Austausch/Artistic Exchange. Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Berlin, 15. – 20. Juli 1992*. Ed. Th. W. GAEHTGENS. Berlin 1993, Vol. 2, pp. 53-54. DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, Th.: *Court, Cloister & City. The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450 – 1800*. London 1995, p. 17: "*For others 'Central Europe' has suggested the lands of one of the empires that comprised the region before 1918 – the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary.*"

[36] MAROSI, E.: Modelle Mitteleuropas in der Historiographie zur Kunst des Mittelalters. In: *Westmitteleuropa, Ostmitteleuropa. Vergleiche und Beziehungen. Festschrift für Ferdinand Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag*. Eds. W. EBERHARD – H. LEMBERG – H.-D. HEIMANN – R. LUFT. München 1992, p. 62. According to Ernö Marosi: "*Dem national gefärbten kunstgeschichtlichen Separatismus hielt in Österreich-Ungarn ein gesamtmonarchisches Konzept die Waage.*" One of the most active separatists was the Hungarian art historian Imre Henszlmann. He emphasized the idea of the "national character" of art on the one side and the direct connection of Hungarian Gothic to French Gothic on the other. See ZÁDOR, A.: A magyar művészettudomány történetének vázlata 1945-ig [An Outline of the History of Magyar/Hungarian Historiography of Art till 1945]. In: *A magyar művészettörténeti munkakozosség évkönyve, 1951*. Budapest 1952, pp. 12-13; TIMÁR, Á.: Der Auftritt Imre Henszlmann's. In: *Die ungarische Kunstgeschichte und die Wiener Schule, 1846 –1930*. Budapest 1983, pp. 11-12, 20-21; MAROSI 1983 (see in note 34), pp. 20-21. In Bohemia, the 19th century Czech patriotic art historians, K. Chytil or K. B. Mádl, attempted to define Czech specificity of Gothic art in Bohemia. See on this *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu umění* [Chapters from Czech Historiography of Art]. Vol. 1. Eds. R. CHADRABA – J. KRÁSA – R. ŠVÁCHA – A. HOROVÁ. Praha 1986, pp. 158, 175.
E. Marosi expressed the view that the effort of Central European art historians to independently search for direct connections between the national art and the European centres continues until today and has resulted in the petrification of national isolationism. "*… die verschiedenen kunsthistorischen Schulen Mitteleuropas [haben]… die Beziehungen ihrer Kunst vor allem zu den primären normgebenden Zentren, womöglich zu Italien und Frankreich, gesucht. Dies ist in Spiegelbild der zersplitterten Nationalstaaten Mitteleuropas, die Schutz bei den Grossmächten der Zeit suchten. [...] Unsere Nationalschulen der Kunstgeschichte tragen bis heute dieses Erbe, das ihnen eine Zusammenschau ihrer Beziehungen verbietet, und die Kunstgeschichte zu einem Mittel der historischen Rückprojizierung der Kultur der Nationalstaaten macht.*" – MAROSI, E.: Die Domskulpturen von Pécs. Kunsthistorische Einordnung und Inszenierung als ein Paradigma ungarischen Selbstverständnisse. In: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (see in note 4), p. 244.

hand, Eitelberger did not give up a commitment to the hegemonic place of Western Europe and its central role in the diffusion of art.[37] He was convinced that the historical development of art was based on the "*migration of art from the West to the East*".[38]

The need for new ways to shape the conception of the Monarchy as a polyphonic multi-national cultural unit became especially urgent at the end of the 19th century. This was not only due to the recent establishment of the dual state of Austria-Hungary, which meant a new balance of forces after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, but also to the constantly growing centrifugal pull of nationalism.[39] The prime task of the polyphonic conception was thus to propagate the official doctrine of multi-national harmony, unity in diversity, solidarity based on respect for the separate identities of all the national cultures in the Monarchy. Simultaneously, it also intended to express internal hierarchy ruling this multi-national unit.[40] Crown Prince Rudolf attempted to solve this dilemma by initiating the monumental multi-volume work: *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Wien 1886, Vol. 1). That is why the publication was conceived

of as a polyphonic aggregate, as a collective work, thoroughly incorporating the work of authors from all the nationalities of the Monarchy.[41]

Cosmopolitanism as Scientism

The professors of art history at Vienna University and the Institute for Austrian Historical Studies ("Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung") found a different way to fulfil their role of propagating the cosmopolitan ideology of the Monarchy. They absorbed and transposed the ideology of cosmopolitanism into a universalist philosophy of the history of art, which included the idea of the formal autonomy of art and the scientific or causal "genetic" method of the historiography of art.[42] This new conception of art history was most systematically formulated by Alois Riegl.[43] It is possible to say that Riegl radicalised and completed the historical-pluralist and relativist conception of the universal history of art of the Berlin school. He freed it from the remnants of Enlightenment normativism[44] and, with the help of the concept of "Kunstwollen", combined it with the modernist idea

[37] As articulated in Bericht über einen archäologischen Ausflug nach Ungarn in den Jahren 1854 und 1855. In: *Jahrbuch der K. k. Central-Commission für die Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, 1, 1856, p. 95.

[38] For example, he attributed to the art of Hungary only secondary participation in the process of the spread of impulses from the West to the East. – MAROSI 1983 (see in note 34), p. 16.

[39] For further information, see BELLER, S.: *A Concise History of Austria*. Cambridge 2006, pp. 151-177.

[40] According to Matthew Rampley, Eitelberger was convinced that "*German culture was superior culture of the Empire*". Quoted of a private letter. Eitelberger's disciple Albert Ilg attempted to eliminate the contradiction mentioned above by means of the following compromise: "*Alle wahre und grosse Kunst ist kosmopolitisch in Zweck, Wirkung und Bedeutung, aber national in der Erscheinung, national in den Mitteln, welche zu solchen Zwecken führen.*" Quoted according to MUTHESIUS 2004 (see in note 4), p. 73.

[41] Beginning with such experts from the Vienna centre as J. von Falke, K. von Lützow and A. Ilg, through the leading Hungarian writer Mór Jókai, to professors at the universities in Kraków and Prague Maryan Sokolowsky, Karel Chytil and Josef Neuwirth, among many others. For further details, see RAMPLEY, M.: For the Love of the Fatherland: Patriotic Art

History and the "Kronprinzenwerk" in Austria-Hungary. In: *Centropa*, 9, 2009, No. 3, pp. 160-175; RAMPLEY, M.: Art History and the Politics of Empire: Rethinking the Vienna School. In: *The Art Bulletin*, 91, 2009, No. 4, pp. 446-462.

[42] On the scientism of the Vienna school as an instrument of Monarchic ideology, see BAKOŠ 2004 (see in note 31), p. 80-81.

[43] KEMP, W.: Alois Riegl. In: *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte*. Ed. H. DILLY. Berlin 1990, pp. 37-60; OLIN, M.: *Form of Representation in Alois Riegl's Theory of Art*. University Park (Penn.) 1992; IVERSEN, M.: *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory*. Cambridge – London 1993; *Framing Formalism, Riegl's Work*. Ed. R. WOODFIELD. Amsterdam 2001; RAMPLEY, M.: Zwischen nomologischer und hermenutischer Kunstwissenschaft: Alois Riegl und das Problem des Kunstwollens. In: *Kritische Berichte*, 31, 2003, pp. 5-19; RAMPLEY, M.: Alois Riegl. In: *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte I* (see in note 2), pp. 153-162; VASOLD, G.: *Alois Riegl und die Kunstgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte*. Freiburg i. Br. 2004.

[44] DVOŘÁK, M.: Alois Riegl. In: DVOŘÁK, M.: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*. München 1929, pp. 279-298. See to that BAKOŠ, J.: Max Dvořák – A Neglected Re-Visionist. In: *Wiener Schule. Erinnerung und Perspektiven* (=Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, 53). Wien – Köln – Weimar 2004, pp. 56-59. On Dvořák, see RAMPLEY, M.: Max Dvořák: Art History and the Crisis of Modernity. In: *Art History*, 26, April

of the autonomy of art. Thus, the universal history of art became an immanent, evolutionary, continuous process. However, the idea of immanence was also combined with the idea of causality, which led to the genetic method of explaining the history of art.[45] This excluded from the explanation of art romantic irrational elements to do with art as the emanation of the essence of a nation and polygenetic ideas of artistic origin. The universal history of art became a rationally explainable, monocausal and so a linear genetic development.[46]

As is well known, Riegl explained his philosophy of art history mainly in the field of Late Roman and Early Medieval art, an area previously considered decadent.[47] Not only did he rehabilitate it and, in this way, support his anti-normative relativist conception, but, in addition, he found in the art of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages an historical analogy with the situation of his own time around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. On the basis of this historical projection,[48] he conceived an immanent apology for the Habsburg Monarchy and its important historical role between two epochs: the age of the old rational objectivism and the age of the rising irrational subjectivism, the transition from historicism to modernism.

Universal History of Art as Racialism

However, it was precisely the idea of the rational, causal linearity of the universal history of art that became the subject of radical merciless criticism. Riegl was accused by the professor of art history at Graz and, later, Vienna Universities, Josef Strzygowski, of Eurocentrism, conceiving of the Mediterranean artistic development as absolutely valid and glorifying the central role of Rome.[49] Strzygowski himself also designed a universal conception of art history, but he based it on substantially different principles. His conception of art history was global, anti-Eurocentric and anti-centralist.[50] He understood the art of the world as a polyphony of simultaneously existing and constant artistic circles. Riegl's linear developmental, diachronic history was replaced by a synchronic artistic geography. Instead of the premise of causal linearity, Strzygowski's conception was based on a romantic faith in emanation and poly-genesis. He understood artistic circles as entities that arise simultaneously and independently, and materialize their inner essence, which Strzygowski saw in ethnic or racial terms.[51] World art history became a polyphony of ethnic or racial entities. Since these collective racial entities in the history of art were situated spatially,

2003, pp. 214-237; AURENHAMMER, H.: Max Dvořák. In: *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte I* (see in note 2), pp. 214-226.

[45] Works of art were understood as mutually conditioned links in an evolutionary series.

[46] The idea of linear causality of the universal history of art was not contradicted even by Riegl's assumption that the universal development of art occurred on the basis of human psychological perception, allegedly between its two poles – haptic and optic.

[47] RIEGL, A.: *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*. Wien 1901.

[48] OLIN, M.: Alois Riegl: The Late Roman Empire in the Late Habsburg Empire. In: *The Habsburg Legacy. National Identity in Historical Perspective*. Eds. R. ROBERTSON – E. TIMMS. Edinburgh 1994, pp. 107-119; BAKOŠ 2004 (see in note 31), p. 83.

[49] STRZYGOWSKI, J.: *Orient oder Rom. Beiträge zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst*. Leipzig 1901. See to that SCHOLZ, P. O.: Wanderer zwischen den Welten. Josef Strzygowski und seine immer nocht aktuelle Frage: Orient oder Rom. In: *100 Jahre Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Graz.*

Eds. W. HÖFLECHNER – G. POCHAT. Graz 1992, pp. 243-265; recently EBERLEIN, J. K.: Josef Strzygowski. Gedanken über die Zeitlosigkeit eines Typus. In: MADERSBACHER, L. – STEPPAN, Th. (eds.): *De re artificiosa. Festschrift für Paul von Naredi-Rainer zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*. Regensburg 2010, pp. 81-93. On the polemics Strzygowski versus Riegl, see OLIN 2000 (see in note 29), pp. 152-153, 162-170; ELSNER, J.: The Birth of Late Antiquity: Riegl and Strzygowski in 1901. In: *Art History*, 25, 2002, No. 3, pp. 358-379; VASOLD, G.: Riegl, Strzygowski und die Entwicklung der Kunst. In: *Ars*, 41, 2008, No. 1, pp. 95-111. RAMPLEY 2009 (see in note 41), pp. 456-459.

[50] See FRODL-KRAFT, E.: Eine Aporie und der Versuch ihrer Deutung. Josef Strzygowski – Julius v. Schlosser. In: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 42, 1989, pp. 15-50. See also VASOLD 2008 (see in note 49).

[51] FRODL-KRAFT 1989 (see in note 50), pp. 37-38; MARANCI, C.: Basilicas and Black Holes: The Legacy of Josef Strzygowski and the Case of Armenian Architecture. In: *Acta Historiae Artium*, 47, 2006, pp. 313-320. According to Christina Maranci, Strzygowski believed that "*architectural form was the function of race*".

they formed geographical artistic regions. From this point of view Strzygowski's approach was actually an early application of what would later be known as the "Blut und Boden" doctrine to art history.[52]

If Riegl's universalist theory can be regarded as an implicit apology for the ideology of cosmopolitanism, then Strzygowski's model can be considered as an expression of bourgeois nationalism.[53] The conflict of the time between cosmopolitan monarchism and centrifugal nationalism was symbolically carried on in the polemic between the two Vienna University professors of art history. And both of them had their committed followers. Strzygowski's essentially romantic theory of the endogenous origin and autochthonous nature of the art of individual ethnic groups or races found a favourable response most among the representatives of national historiographies of art.[54] His idea of early Slav art, for example, which he identified in medieval Croatian art, as an autochthonous entity developed from domestic folk tradition, rather than as a result of external influences, was favoured especially by Slav and Rumanian art historians.[55] On the other hand, however, it provoked serious criticism by some of the disciples of Alois Riegl and Max Dvořák.[56]

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[52] FRODL-KRAFT 1989 (see in note 50), p. 27. According to Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann: "*As Strzygowski first indicated in his works on south Slavic art and stated finally in his last work on* Machtkunst*, 'Lage, Blut, und Boden' – place, blood, and soil – are determinants of art.*" – DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, Th.: *Toward a Geography of Art.* Chicago – London 2004, p. 72.

[53] According to Margaret Olin, Strzygowski's theory represented "*A Nationalist Art History*". – OLIN 2000 (see in note 29), p. 162. See also MAROSI, E.: Josef Strzygowski als Entwerfer von nationalen Kunstgeschichten. In: *Kunstgeschichte im "Dritten Reich": Theorien, Methoden, Praktiken.* Eds. R. HEFTRIG – O. PETERS – B. SCHELLEWALD. Berlin 2008, pp. 103-113.

[54] "*Die Aufwertung dieser volkstümlichen Kunst durch Strzygowski und seine Forderung, die slawische Kunst in ihren verschiedenen Heimgebieten in ihrer volkstümlichen Art vergleichend zu untersuchen, musste daher fast zwangsläufig die Kunstforschung vor allem in den südslawischen Ländern, aber auch in Polen stimulieren und – in Übereinstimmung mit den herrschenden nationalistischen Strömungen – ihr Selbstgefühl steigern. […] Das sind wohl die Gründe, weshalb Strzygowski gerade in den slawischen Ländern die nachhaltigste Wirkung beschieden war...*" – FRODL-KRAFT 1989 (see in note 50), p. 28. Strzygowski's influence was emphasized also by E. Marosi: "*... Josef Strzygowski, dessen Theorien einen ungemein grossen Einfluss auf die nationalen Kunstgeschichtskonstruktionen der Zwischenkriegszeit ausgeübt haben*". – MAROSI 1992 (see in note 36), p. 63.

[55] Strzygowski's influence was dominant in inter-war art historiography in Rumania. The spreaders of his ideas included especially his direct pupils Coriolan Petranu and Virgil Vătăşianu. For details, see BORN, R.: Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte und die Kunsthistoriographie in Rumänien der Zwischenkriegszeit. In: *Ars*, 41, 2008, No. 1, pp. 112-136; SABAU, N.: Coriolan Petranu (1893 – 1945). Erforscher der Kunst Transylvaniens (Siebenbürgens). In: *Die Kunsthistorio-* *graphien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (see in note 4), pp. 381-395. The statement of Coriolan Petranu at the 14th International Congress of Art History in Switzerland in September 1936 was entirely in harmony with Strzygowski's ethno-nationalist conception: "*... wir dürfen nicht den politischen Staat, sondern das Völkische als naturgegebene Einheit zum Ausgangspunkt wählen.*" – PETRANU, C.: Begriff und Erforschung der nationalen Kunst. In: *Actes du XIVᵉ congrès international d'histoire de l'art.* Basel 1936, Vol. 1, p. 173.
In contrast, Strzygowski's impact on Polish art history was evident but contradictory. "*... many of the Polish art historians were fascinated with Strzygowski's controversial views.*" – MAŁKIEWICZ, A.: The History of Art History at Jagiellonian University. In: *Historia sztuki na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim, 1882 – 2007.* Kraków 2007, s. 11. "*The result of his [=Strzygowski's] work and his scientific personality roused contradictory estimations: from enthusiastic notion by Stanisław Gąsiorowski, through Molè's moderate criticism, to total rejection by Tadeusz Szydłowski, who characterized him as a murderer of humanism.*" – MAŁKIEWICZ, A.: Historia sztuki w Polsce a "Wiedenska szkola historii sztuki" [The History of Art in Poland and the "Vienna School of Art Histoty"]. In: *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 16, 1986, p. 334. "*Tadeusz Szydłowski... entered into sharp polemic with Vienna profesor Josef Strzygowski.*" – MAŁKIEWICZ 2007 (see in note 55), s. 11. See also MAŁKIEWICZ, A.: Die Kunstgeschichte in Polen und die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte. In: *Wien und die Entwicklung der kunsthistorischen Methode. Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Wien, 4. – 10. September 1983.* Wien – Köln – Graz 1984, Vol. 1, pp. 158, 160 (note 5); MAŁKIEWICZ, A.: *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki. Studia i skice* [From the History of Polish Art History. Studies and Outlines]. Kraków 2005, pp. 45, 47, 51, 60. Strzygowski's disciples also included Slovene art historians Augustin Stegenšek, August Žigon and above all Vojeslav Molè. – *La Scuola Viennese di Storia dell'Arte.* Ed. M. POZETTO. Gorizia 1996, pp. 283-284.

[56] BAKOŠ 2004 (see in note 31), pp. 86-92.

Between Cosmopolitanism and National Patriotism

The pupils of the so-called Vienna school of art history were educated to be state experts, representatives of the interests of the Monarchy and supporters of its ideology. They were led towards universalism or cosmopolitanism and scientism by Franz Wickhoff, Alois Riegl and Max Dvořák. Therefore, the graduates of the Vienna school, who became affiliated with the art historical institutions of the newly established independent nation-states, were confronted with a difficult task: how to balance national patriotism with a continuing commitment to their teachers' ideas of a universal or cosmopolitan history of art. In response, they made great efforts to harmonize Viennese art historical rationalism and scientism with the demand to identify national artistic specifics,[57] and they devised various solutions to this dilemma. Thus, the professor at Prague University and pupil of Riegl, Vojtěch Birnbaum, sought universal art historical laws according to the example of his teacher, but he was mainly concerned with finding principles that could be considered characteristic of "peripheral" artistic regions. He found one of them in the so-called "baroque principle" associated with the spatial migration of a developmental shift he termed the "law of transgression". In the concluding phases of development of a style, which, according to Birnbaum, are marked by subjectivism, the key developments in art no longer take place in the traditional centres. Late, so-called "baroque" phases appear to be just specific products of the initiative of provincial artistic regions, such as Bohemia.[58]

Transformation of the idea of the continuity of development of art was another more sophisticated effort at the harmonization of the belief in the universal history of art with national regionalism. If, in the hands of the Viennese professors, the idea of the continuity of development was evidence of the universality of the history of art and support for its rational explanation, their pupils from the outlying crown lands regarded it as evidence of the relative independence of the regional or national artistic units.[59] This was the case with Eugen Dostál, Brno University professor and pupil of Dvořák, and later on also the case of Vincenc Kramář, Riegl's graduate and fellow-pupil of Dvořák. Both art historians demonstrated their ideas in relation to Bohemian art in the 14th century.[60]

However, perhaps the most prevalent way in which art historians sought to harmonize universalism and patriotism was to seek to identify the connections between regional or national art and that elsewhere in Europe, or to place regional or national art in universal development. The starting point was still the premise of the universal and autonomous development of art. The aim was, however, to identify regional transformations of the universal development or the specific regional or national contribution. Thus, regional or national

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[57] Ibidem, chapter "Mission and transformations: The role of the disciples I".

[58] This is the so-called "baroque principle" originally published in 1924. Reprinted in BIRNBAUM, V.: *Vývojové zákonitosti v umění* [Developmental Laws in Art]. Praha 1987, pp. 24-46. On this, see SRP, K.: Situace českého dějepisu umění ve dvacátých letech [The State of Czech Art Historiography in the 1920s]. In: *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu umění* [Chapters from Czech Historiography of Art]. Vol. 2. Eds. R. CHADRABA – J. KRÁSA – R. ŠVÁCHA – A. HOROVÁ. Praha 1987, p. 77; HOŘEJŠÍ, J.: Vojtěch Birnbaum. In: Ibidem, pp. 112-114; HLOBIL, I.: Vojtěch Birnbaum – život a dílo v dobových souvislostech [Vojtěch Birnbaum – His Life and Work in the Context of the Age]. In: BIRNBAUM 1987 (see in note 58), p. 398.

[59] See BAKOŠ, J.: La Scuola Viennese di Storia dell'Arte e la storiografia dell'arte ceca. In: *La Scuola Viennese di Storia dell'Arte* (see in note 55), pp. 123-142; BAKOŠ, J.: Viedenská škola dejín umenia a český dejepis umenia [Vienna School of Art History and Czech Historiography of Art]. In: *Bulletin Moravské galerie v Brně*, 54, 1998, pp. 5-11; BAKOŠ, J.: *Štyri trasy metodológie dejín umenia* [Four Routs of Methodology of Art History]. Bratislava 2000, pp. 41-66.

[60] SRP 1987 (see in note 58), pp. 80-81; VACKOVÁ, J.: Eugen Dostál. In: *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu umění* (see in note 58), pp. 171-178; KRÁSA, J.: Vincenc Kramář. In: Ibidem, pp. 118-125; KRÁSA, J.: Dílo Vincence Kramáře v českých dějinách umění [Vincenc Kramář's Work in Czech History of Art]. In: KRAMÁŘ, V.: *O obrazech a galeriích* [About Paintings and Galleries]. Praha 1983, pp. 452-453. See also the catalogue *Vincenc Kramář: od starých mistrů k Picassovi* [Vincenc Kramář: From Old Masters to Picasso]. Praha 2000.

development was seen as a concretisation of universal development.[61]

Combining the principle of continuous universal evolution with the idea of autochthonous origins, Max Dvořák's Croatian pupil Ljubo Karaman conceived an especially noteworthy synthesis of universalism and regionalism.[62] He developed his causal explanation of regional distinctiveness precisely on the basis of a polemic with Strzygowski. He rejected Strzygowski's thesis of the autochthonous and continuous domestic or "barbarian" origin of Early Medieval architecture in Croatia.[63] He regarded it as an unscientific denial of the principle of causality, which ignored external influences, first Classical and later Italian. However, Karaman also defended the distinctive character of marginal regions, replacing Strzygowski's essentialist arguments with causal and rational considerations. He did not deny the decisive role of the external influences as manifestation of the diffusion of universal development, but Karaman regarded insufficient intensity, or a *lack* of influences, as the main source of the specificity of marginal regions (in border zones, provinces, peripheries). Moreover, he conceived of peripheries as a specific

[61] According to Lajos Vayer, it is necessary to understand "*das Universale und das Regionale*" "*als einander gegenseitig ergänzende, korrelative Kategorien*". – VAYER, L.: Allgemeine Entwicklung und regionale Entwicklungen in der Kunstgeschichte – Situation des Problems in "Mitteleuropa". Plenary lecture at the 22nd World Congress of Art History, Budapest, 1969. In: *Évolution génerale et dévelopment régionaux en histoire de l'art*. Budapest 1972, Vol. 1, pp. 20-21. However, according to Vayer, the absolutization of universal in comparison with regional development often led to the under-estimation of regional phenomena as peripheral and developmentally backward. As a consequence, this provoked the nationalist idea of autochthonicity. – Ibidem, pp. 25-26.

As far as the relationship between European and regional development in the Polish historiography of art is concerned, see MAŁKIEWICZ 2007 (see in note 55), pp. 3-21. The representatives of this approach in Polish art historiography included the professors at Kraków University Marian Sokolowski and Julian Pagaczewski. Sokolowski, who was influenced by the older Vienna school, "*whereas conducting research on the Polish art*", he saw it "*through the perspective of the vast European context*". His successor at Kraków University Julian Pagaczewski "*likewise his master... laid emphasis on the study of Polish art (and more precisely: on the study of art in Poland) which was treated as part of European art*". – Ibidem, pp. 4-11. On this, see also MUTHESIUS, S.: *Kunst in Polen / Polnische Kunst, 966 – 1990. Eine Einführung*. Königstein im Taunus 1994, pp. 3-8. At Poznań University, Szczesny Dettloff, a pupil of Max Dvořák, combined the European approach with regional patriotism. On this, see LABUDA, A. S.: Seminar on the History of Art in the Poznań University, 1919 – 1939. In: *Dzieje historii sztuki w Polsce. Kształtowanie sie instytucji naukowych w XIX i XX wieku* [The History of Art History in Poland. The Rise and Development of Academic Institutions in the 19th and 20th Centuries]. Poznań 1996, p. 192. When searching for the "*deserved position [of Polish art] in the European artistic tradition*", Dettloff relied on Viennese methods ("*genetic-comparative method*" and causal explanation with the help of terms such as "*radiation*" and "*influence*"). See Ibidem.

The art historians striving to harmonize universalism and regionalism also included the Slovene scholar France Stelé, a pupil of Max Dvořák. See CEVC, E.: Gli echi della Scuola di Vienna: France Stelé e Vojeslav Molè. In: POZZETTO 1996 (see in note 55), pp. 199-204; PRELOVŠEK, D.: Památková péče a slovinské dějiny umění [Monument Preservation and Slovene Art History]. In: *Regnum Bohemiae et Sacrum Romanum Imperium*. Praha 2005, pp. 413-420. In contrast to Izidor Cankar, another Dvořák's Slovene pupil, who concentrated on European art, Stelé attempted to articulate the specificity of local art by means of combining Riegl's "Kunstwollen" with Strzygowski's "Kunstgeographie". In this way, his work paralleled the project of the Croat L. Karaman. See PRELOVŠEK, D.: Il Kunstwollen e la storia dell' arte slovena. In: POZZETTO 1996 (see in note 55), pp. 205-209; ŠUMI, N.: Izidor Cankar, fondatore della Scuola Lubianese di Storia dell'-Arte. In: Ibidem, pp. 195-198; BAKOŠ 2004 (see in note 31), pp. 90-91. On Slovene historiography of art, see also STELÉ, F.: Slovenija razvoj historije umjetnosti [The Development of Slovene Art History]. In: *Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti*. Vol. 4. Zagreb 1966, p. 342 ff.

[62] IVANČEVIĆ, R.: Ljubo Karaman e la nozione dell'arte provinciale, dell'arte di frontiera e dell'arte periferica. In: *La Scuola Viennese di Storia dell'Arte* (see in note 55), pp. 183-194. According to Radovan Ivančević, Ljubo Karaman was not only Dvořák's but also Strzygowski's student. – IVANČEVIĆ, R.: Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte und Zagreb: Einflüsse und Fortsetzung. In: *Ambivalenz des Fin de siècle: Wien – Zagreb*. Eds. D. BARBARIĆ – M. BENEDIKT. Wien – Köln – Weimar 1998, pp. 231, 239; SCHERKE, K.: Der formale Ansatz Alois Riegls und die Entwicklung nationaler Kunsthistoriographien in der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie – dargestellt am Beispiel Ljubo Karamans. In: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (see in note 4), pp. 109-115.

[63] *Ambivalenz des Fin de siècle* (see in note 62), pp. 239-240, 250-260. See also GOSS, V. P.: Josef Strzygowski and Early Medieval Art in Croatia. In: *Acta Historiae Artium*, 47, 2006, pp. 335-343.

kind of art historical region, which displayed special creativity and originality precisely because of their geographical remoteness.[64]

Strzygowski's irrational and essentialist approach were rejected not only by the Czech and Croatian pupils of Riegl and Dvořák such as Birnbaum[65] and Karaman, but also by those Vienna graduates, who strove to defend the specific creativity of regional art and to harmonize Riegl's diachronous and Strzygowski's synchronous approaches.[66] Nor were Strzygowski's theories accepted by Europe-oriented national patriots.[67] Even some of Strzygowski's own pupils, who took up his typological oppositions: "persistence versus development" and "folk art versus individual artistic personality",[68] ultimately joined the camp of his critics.[69]

Nationalists versus Cosmopolitans

The quarrel between the two Vienna schools, Riegl's and Strzygowski's, was, therefore, a conflict between two camps: causalists and essentialists, cosmopolitans and nationalists. It continued in the Central European national historiographies of art after the break up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, in the 1920s and 1930s. If Czech inter-war art historiography was unambiguously dominated by the outlook of Riegl, Dvořák and Wickhoff, with patriotic themes treated as problems of universal development,[70] in Hungarian art historiography there was a radical polarization after the defeat of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919. On the one side were the supporters of the idea of the autochthonous, specifically Hungarian or Magyar, character of art in Hungary.[71] On the other side were

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[64] IVANČEVIĆ 1998 (see in note 62), pp. 250-253. According to M. Rampley, Karaman "*highlighted local character… of Dalmatian art and architecture*" so that "*most of his work was dedicated to rebutting many of its [Vienna school's] central assumptions*". – RAMPLEY, M.: Dalmatia is Italian! The Politics of Art History in Austria-Hungary and South-Eastern Europe, 1862 – 1930. In: *Études Balkaniques*, 44, 2008, No. 4, p. 145. By means of Riegl's notion of "Kunstwollen", also the Lwów (L'viv) art historian Władysław Podlacha attempted to find "*the true criteria for evaluating the works of peripheral art… the criteria that will enable us to grasp their originality*". – MAŁKIEWICZ, A.: Historia sztuki na Uniwersytecie Lwówskim, 1893 – 1939 [The History of Art at Lwów University, 1893 – 1939]. In: *Dzieje historii sztuki w Polsce* [The History of Art History in Poland]. Poznań 1996, p. 67.

[65] Birnbaum argued against the vernacular interpretation of the origin of Romanesque architecture in Bohemia. See HOŘEJŠÍ 1987 (see in note 58), pp. 384, 397.

[66] BAKOŠ 2004 (see in note 31), pp. 90-91.

[67] MAŁKIEWICZ 1984 (see in note 55), pp. 158, 160 (note 5); MAŁKIEWICZ 1986 (see in note 55), p. 334. See also MAŁKIEWICZ 2007 (see in note 55), p. 11.

[68] See to that GLÜCK, H.: Beharrung und Entwicklung. Volkskunst und Persönlichkeit. In: *Studien zur Kunst des Osten*s. Wien 1923, pp. 177-181.

[69] It refers to Vojeslav Molè before all. See MAŁKIEWICZ 1984 (see in note 55), p. 158; MAŁKIEWICZ 1986 (see in note 55), p. 334; BAKOŠ 2004 (see in note 31), p. 90.

[70] See SRP 1987 (see in note 58), pp. 71-94; HOROVÁ, A.: Náznaky nové orientace ve třicátých letech [Indications of a New Orientation in the Thirties]. In: *Kapitoly z českého dějepisu umění* (see in note 58), pp. 265-272. Nevertheless, there were also nationalists in the camp of cosmopolitans. In the view of Dvořák's protégé Antonín Matějček "*all our art ist national*". See *Hlasy světa a domova* [Voices of the World and the Home]. Praha 1931. Quoted according to VYBÍRAL, J.: Co je českého na umění v Čechách? [What is Bohemian in Art in Bohemia?]. In: *Dějiny umění v české společnosti: otázky, problémy, výzvy* [Art History in Czech Society: Questions, Problems, Chalenges]. Ed. M. BARTLOVÁ. Praha 2004, p. 201.

[71] The nationalistically oriented art historians Tibor Gerevich and Anton Hekler dominated official Hungarian art historiography. See ZÁDOR 1952 (see in note 36), pp. 28-30; MAROSI 1983 (see in note 34), p. 87. See also GEREVICH, T.: A régi magyar művészet európai helyzete [The European Position of the Old Magyar/Hungarian Art], 1923; GEREVICH, T.: A magyar művészet jelentősége [The Meaning of Magyar/Hungarian Art], 1927; GEREVICH, T.: L'art national de la Hongrie. In: *Actes du XIIIᵉ congrès international d'histoire de l'art*. Stockholm 1933, pp. 49-52. T. Gerevich emphasized not only the distinctness of Hungarian art and its role in mediating European art towards the East. He was also convinced that there was "*l'art nationale de la Hongrie*" in the sense of a transhistorical "*l'art national hongrois*", which expressed "*l'ame nationale*" or the "*propre genius nationale*". It was a nationalist-hegemonist position, which identified the nation with the "state" or so-called ruling nation ("state nation"). A. Hekler also based the history of art in Hungary on the identification of the state with the "state nation". – HEKLER, A.: *A magyar művészet története* [The History of Magyar/Hungarian Art]. Budapest 1935. In the German ver-

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those who emphasized the connection of national developments with the wider universal history of art, and who sought to define the specific contribution of national art to the general development of European art.[72] In polemics against the supporters of the essentialist autochthonous Hungarian or Magyar art, they endeavoured to demonstrate its European connections and inspirations.[73]

Where Polish art historiography is concerned, nationalists did not predominate in the inter-war period, and the polarity between local patriotism and cosmopolitanism did not have the form of an irreconcilable conflict.[74] However, supporters of the national interpretation were not lacking here (e.g. Michail

Walicki, Juliusz Starzyński), and by the end of the 1930s, their position was shaped in response to the wider radicalisation of national politics in Europe.[75] In spite of this, due to the influence of Riegl, Wickhoff and their heirs, art in Poland or Polish art was still understood as part of European art, even in the art historical centres, especially Kraków, where local art was the primary subject of research.[76]

From Modernism to Nationalism

It is known that the ideology of cosmopolitanism urged the Monarchy's officials to side with artistic modernism.[77] The international outlooks of artistic

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sion (*Ungarische Kunstgeschichte*. Berlin 1937, p. 4), he replaced the nationalistic conception (the history of Hungarian or Magyar art) with an *étatiste* idea (the history of the art of the great Kingdom of Hungary). Nevertheless, he still treated it in a nationalist-hegemonic way as the history of the "*ungarische Nation*". Similarly, István Genthon identified the history of art in Hungary with ethnic Hungarian or Magyar art and explicitly regarded it as the history of "*Magyar masters*" ("magyar mesterek"). – GENTHON, I.: *A régi magyar festőművészet* [Old Magyar/Hungarian Painting]. Vác 1932.

[72] It is symptomatic that the internationalist camp included mostly those art historians, who had some connection with the Vienna school. See about that ZÁDOR 1952 (see in note 36), p. 26; MAROSI 1983 (see in note 34), pp. 75-76. According to Lajos Fülep, one of the members of the so-called "Sonntagskreis" (led by Georg Lukács): "*Das Nationale ist eine spezielle nationale Sendung innerhalb der grossen Universalität und Totalität der Kunst...*" – FÜLEP, L.: *Európai művészet és magyar művészet* [European Art and Magyar/Hungarian Art], 1918. Fülep in *Magyar művészet* [Magyar/Hungarian Art], 1923, spoke about "*eine Korrelation zwischen Universalem und Nationalem... Die Synthese dieser beiden Korrelationen ergibt die Universalgeschichte der Künste*". Quoted according to MAROSI 1983 (see in note 34), p. 76.

[73] It refers especially to Edith Hoffmann, the student of Max Dvořák. See ZÁDOR 1952 (see in note 36), p. 25; MAROSI 1983 (see in note 34), p. 82.

[74] The situation from around 1900, when the supporters of an autochthonous national Polish art, mainly critics of art and architecture, sharply criticized art historians for their international, pro-Western orientation, was not repeated. At the turn of the century, the anti-nationalist interpretation of Veit Stoss by Kraków art historian Tadeusz Szydłowski was one of the main targets of severe nationalist criticism. Nevertheless, Szydłowski also later endorsed nationalist approach. See MUTHESIUS 1994 (see in note 61), pp. 4-6, 8-10; MUTHESIUS 2004 (see in note 4), p. 76.

[75] In Adam Bochnak's words, the "Romantic" Michail WALICKI and his paper "Z badań nad problemem narodowości w polskim malarstwie gotyckim" ["From the Research into the Problem of Nationality in Polish Gothic Painting"] in *Życie sztuki*, 1, 1931, pp. 67-100, can be mentioned as one of the instances of nationalist approach. See KUTZNER, M.: Sztuka i kolonizacja niemiecka na wschód od Odry [Art and German Colonization East of the Oder]. In: *Niemcy – Polska v śrdniowieczu* [Germans – Poland in the Middle Ages]. Ed. J. STRZELCZYK. Poznań 1986, s. 347. In the collective book *Dzieje sztuki polskiej* [The History of Polish Art]. Warszawa 1935, pp. 911-912, by Warsaw University professors Michael WALICKI and Juliusz STARZYŃSKI, "*the original Polish characteristics*" were regarded as "*determined by the social situation*". Nevertheless, at the end of the 1930s, Polish art historians focused on "*the survey of the 'Polish element' ''*. See WALICKI, M.: *Malarstwo polskie XV wieku* [Polish Painting of the 15th Century]. Warszawa 1938, p. 1.

[76] "*In Polen, d.h. in... Kraków... schien sich... die dringendere Aufgabe zu stellen, zunächst einmal eine Geschichte der Kunst in Polen zu etablieren. Wesentlich dabei aber war, dass diese Erforschung der polnischen Kunst innerhalb des gesamteuropäischen Zusammenhangs... betrieben werden sollte.*" – MUTHESIUS 2004 (see in note 4), p. 70. "*In the twenty-year period between wars... what predominated was... tradition of examining the local art in the vast European context.*" – MAŁKIEWICZ 2007 (see in note 55), p. 13. It is symptomatic that also the book *Dzieje malarstwa w Polsce* [The History of Painting in Poland]. Kraków 1925 – 1929, by director of the National Museum in Kraków and specialist in Polish art history Feliks KOPERA, was considered as charting French, Cologne, Czech and Hungarian influences.

[77] "*Within this framework of supra-national policy, state encouragement of the Secessionist movement made complete sense. Its artists were as truly cosmopolitan in spirit as the bureaucracy and the Viennese upper middle class. At the time when nationalist groups were developing separate ethnic arts, the Secession had taken the opposite road. Deliberately opening Austria to European currents, it had reaffirmed in a modern*

modernism and its demand for the independence of art harmonized also with the universalist and autonomist conception of art of Riegl's school.[78] However, in the middle of the First World War, the internationalist agenda of artistic modernism could not resist the imperialist struggle for hegemony.[79] The historiography of art also participated in the conflict between xenophobic nationalisms.[80] In France, Émile Mâle deliberately aimed at the German inferiority complex, when he declared that German art was uncreative and had contributed nothing to the universal history of art.[81] The response was not only a sharp reaction from leading representatives of German art historiography,[82] and an intensive search for the specific historical contributions of German art.[83] Xenophobic nationalism also led to the articulation of a new national-hegemonic conception of the history of German art. This drew on Friedrich Naumann's idea of a pan-Germanic "Mit-

teleuropa", which was the ideological fruit of the military struggle for hegemony.[84] Georg Dehio, who originated from Tallinn (Reval) on the Baltic, succeeded Janitschek at Strasbourg University in 1892 and wrote the well-known *Handbuch der Deutschen Kunst* (published since 1901),[85] formulated its first version. Dehio's originally international position[86] was replaced in his three-volume *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*[87] with a national-patriotic conception that implicitly assumed the hegemony of German art and culture.[88]

Dehio distinguished between scholarship and education. He considered the first to be international, but he ascribed a patriotic mission to the second.[89] In his view, the history of German art was not just a history of art, but a process in which the constant spiritual identity of the German nation is manifested.[90] It was a document of the history of the nation or "Volk".[91] Therefore, in his view the main

spirit the traditional universalism of the Empire." – SCHORSKE, C. E.: *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture.* New York 1981, p. 237.

[78] The conception of the Vienna school was the implicit apology for modern art by means of historical projection. Support for Gustav Klimt from the side of the Vienna professors of art history, especially Franz Wickhoff, in the so-called university quarrel, was in harmony with their cosmopolitan approach. See SCHORSKE 1981 (see in note 77), pp. 234-235.

[79] On the relationship between modernism and nationalism, see *Nation, Style, Modernism.* Eds. J. PURCHLA – W. TEGET-HOFF. Cracow – Munich 2006.

[80] LAMBOURNE, N.: Production versus Destruction: Art, World War I and Art History. In: *Art History*, 22, 1999, pp. 347-363; KOTT, C.: Histoire de l'art et propagande pendant la Première guerre mondiale. In: *Revue germanique internationale*, 13, 2000, pp. 201-221.

[81] MÂLE, É.: Studien über die deutsche Kunst. In: *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 9, 1916, pp. 387, 403, 429-447; 10, 1917, pp. 43-64 (originally published in *Revue de Paris*, 1916). See DILLY, H.: September 1914. In: *Revue germanique internationale*, 13, 2000, pp. 23-37.

[82] German art historians Paul Clemen, Kurt Gerstenberg, Adolf Gotze, Corneliusz Gurlitt, Arthur Haseloff, Rudolf Kautzsch, H. A. Schmid, Josef Strzygowski, Geza Supka, Oskar Wulff replied to Mâle in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 10, 1917, pp. 127-173.

[83] See for example GERSTENBERG, K.: *Deutsche Sondergotik. Eine Untersuchung über das Wesen der deutschen Baukunst im späten Mittelalter.* München 1913; WÖLFFLIN, H.: *Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl.* München 1931.

[84] NAUMANN, F.: *Mitteleuropa.* Berlin 1915. About the application of Naumann's concept to art history, see BAKOŠ 1993 (see in note 35), p. 53; DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 1995 (see in note 35), p. 17.

[85] About Dehio, see *Metzler Kunsthistoriker Lexikon* (see in note 23), pp. 54-57; BETTHAUSEN, P.: *Georg Dehio. Ein deutscher Kunsthistoriker.* München – Berlin 2004.

[86] See DEHIO, G. – BEZOLD, G. v.: *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes.* Stuttgart et al. 1887 – 1901. In the lecture held in Paris in 1900, Dehio professed "*l'idée de l'unité de la civilisation européenne*". See MUTHESIUS 2004 (see in note 4), pp. 75, 78.

[87] Published in Berlin – Leipzig 1919 – 1929.

[88] Dehio had articulated that idea already in the paper "Deutsche Kunstgeschichte und deutsche Geschichte" written in 1907 and published in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 100, 1908, pp. 473-485.

[89] "*Die Wissenschaft ist nach ihrem Wesen übernational; Bildung entsteht nur auf dem Boden... der Nation.*" – DEHIO, G.: *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst.* Berlin – Leipzig 1919 – 1929, Vol. 1, p. V.

[90] "*Die dieses Buch durchgehend beherrschende Frage lautet nicht: Was erfahren wir durch die Deutschen über das Wesen der Kunst? Sondern*

task of the historiography of art was to create and strengthen national self-consciousness.[92]

However, the ethno-national conception of the history of art as the history of the nation or ethnic group implied the fact that the German art reached beyond the state frontiers of Germany.[93] Thus, the topic of the spread, dissemination and export of German art formed an integral part of this history. In connection with this, Dehio formulated his thesis of the historic role of German art. He saw it in the role of mediator between West and East.[94] Moreover, he combined the role of mediator with the hegemonistic premise of the superiority of the West, the so-called "West-Ost-Gefälle".[95] He attributed to German art the mission of spreading Western culture towards the East. The result of this cultural transfer was the so-called "Kolonialkunst", a term he devised to describe German art in the eastern part of Central Europe.[96]

Nationalism as the General Consensus

There was an important change in European art historiography at the beginning of the 1930s.

Art historians abandoned the modernist platform and replaced cosmopolitanism with nationalism. They ceased to be primarily interested in defining the relationship between the universal and national development and concentrated on the search for "national character" in art.[97] As a consequence, the diachronous dimension of art receded into the background. Research concentrated most on historic synchronies or the search for national and geographical constants. If a residue of modernism was still preserved, in terms of the history of art as the history of stylistic forms, it was deprived of the premise of autonomy. It was precisely modern expressionism that facilitated this transformation of the history of forms into the history of expression and prompted the effort to identify its bearers.[98] However, in contrast to modern expressionism, the bearers ("Träger") of the history of art were not considered to be individual artists, and the history of art itself was not treated as the history of the expressions of individual artists.[99] Anonymous collective entities, namely nations ("Völker") or races, were regarded as bearers of the development of art.

was offenbart uns die Kunst vom Wesen der Deutschen?" Quoted from DEHIO, G.: *Kunstgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte*. Berlin 1993, p. 12.

[91] "*Mein wahrer Held ist das deutsche Volk. Ich gebe deutsche Geschichte im Spiegel der Kunst.*" – DEHIO 1919 – 1929 (see in note 89), Vol. 1, p. V. Relying on the identification of nation with people ("Volk"), Dehio articulated "*Kunstgeschichte 'des deutschen Volkes'*". See MUTHESIUS 2004 (see in note 4), pp. 73, 75; LOCHER 2001 (see in note 2), pp. 201-202.

[92] "*Als seine aktuelle Aufgabe sieht Dehio jedoch massgeblich die Pflege des Patriotismus mit den Mitteln der historischen Darstellung, durch Erinnern des nationalen Erbes.*" – LOCHER 2001 (see in note 2), p. 202.

[93] According to Wolfgang Schenkluhn, Dehio's theory cannot be regarded as purely ethnic nationalist one. It was based on the idea of "*völklicher und staatlicher Einheit*". – SCHENKLUHN 1990 (see in note 21), p. 159.

[94] KUTZNER, M.: Społeczne uwarunkowania rozwoju śląskiej architektury w latach 1200 – 1330 [Social Determinations of the Development of Silesian Architecture in the Years 1200 – 1330]. In: *Sztuka i ideologia XIII wieku* [Art and Ideology of the 13th Century]. Ed. P. SKUBISZEWSKI. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk 1974, p. 235.

[95] MUTHESIUS 2004 (see in note 4), p. 76.

[96] DEHIO 1919 – 1929 (see in note 89), Vol. 2, pp. 57-73. See on that KUTZNER 1986 (see in note 75), pp. 337-353; LABUDA, A. S. : "...eine von sinnvollen Zweckgefühlen erfüllte, herbe und grossartige Kolonialkunst..." Zum kunsthistorischen Diskurs über Ostmitteleuropa. In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 56, 1993, No. 1, pp.1-17; KĘBŁOWSKI, J.: Zur Frage der Bewertung der sog. 'Kolonisation' und 'Germanisierung' Schlesiens unter den Aspekten der Politik, Kultur und Kunst. In: *Wanderungen: Künstler – Kunstwerk – Motiv – Stifter*. Warszawa 2005, pp. 257-261.

[97] "*Ohne Zweifel wurden in der Zwischenkriegszeit die nationalen Definitionen der Kunst... zum Hauptthema.*" – MUTHESIUS 2004 (see in note 4), p. 77.

[98] BELTING, H.: *Die Deutschen und ihre Kunst. Ein schwieriges Erbe*. München 1992; HALBERTSMA, M.: *Wilhelm Pinder und die Deutsche Kunstgeschichte*. Worms 1992; BUSHART, M.: *Geist der Gotik und expressionistische Kunst*. München 1990; MUTHESIUS 1994 (see in note 61), p. 8.

[99] Max Dvořák articulated the idea of geniuses as creators of the world view of their age in his interpretations of Albrecht Dürer, Pieter Brueghel, Jacopo Tintoretto and El Greco. See DVOŘÁK, M.: *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte. Studien zur abendländischen Kunstentwicklung*. München 1924. On expressionist art history, see KULTERMANN, U.: *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte. Der Weg einer Wissenschaft*. Wien – Düsseldorf 1966, pp. 350-373.

Consequently, the history of art was understood as the history of the expression of the constant psychic natures of these entities.[100]

This ethno-nationalist conception was not an exclusive feature of German art history, however. In the 1930s, it became a general European phenomenon. At the XIIIth World Art History Congress in Stockholm in September 1933, the search for "national character" and geographical constants in the history of art was officially "codified" as the most topical task for art history.[101] What was specific to German art historiography concerning this question was the extraordinary intensity with which the German art historians attempted to solve the "new tasks" of art history.[102] They treated national history as biological history: the history of the ethnic group ("Volk") or the history of the race. Moreover, they combined racial history with artistic geography,[103] as

it was expressed in the so-called "Blut und Boden" doctrine. In addition, they regarded art history as a direct ideological instrument of politics. The combination of the idea of art as the expression of the spiritual essence of ethnic group ("Stamm") or the nation ("Volk") with the belief in geographical stylistic constants enabled them to transcend state frontiers and follow an extensive ethno-territorial conception of the history of art. The first step to justify territorial claims was thus done.[104]

From Nationalism to Expansionism

In the mid 1930s, Dehio's conception of the history of German art was developed by the distinguished German art historian and professor at the most prestigious universities in Munich and Berlin, Wilhelm Pinder.[105] Pinder abandoned the impersonal

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[100] According to Christopher S. Wood: "'Expressionist' art history was too smoothly blended with German nationalist sentiment and with völkisch …" – WOOD, Ch. S.: *The Vienna School Reader. Politics and Art Historical Method in the 1930s*. New York 2003, p. 30. Individual artists were understood solely as "spokesmen" for abstract national communities. On artists as agents of nations, see LABUDA, A. S.: Die Künstler im Osten um 1500. Ansichten und Forschungsmodelle. In: *Die Jagiellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit*. Eds. D. POPP – R. SUCKALE. Nürnberg 2002, pp. 19-20.

[101] See LARSSON, L. O.: Nationalstil und Nationalismus in der Kunstgeschichte der zwanziger und dreissiger Jahre. In: *Kategorien und Methoden der deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 1900 – 1930*. Ed. L. DITTMANN. Stuttgart 1985, pp. 169-170. The following papers were read at the Stockholm Congress: "L'art gothique: ses origines françaises" (M. AUBERT), "Der nationale Charakter in der deutschen Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts" (E. BRINCKMANN), "Le style nationale norvégien" (H. FETT), "L'art nationale de la Hongrie" (T. GEREVICH), or "L'art moderne finlandais et son caractére national" (N. G. HAHL). It was symptomatic that Wickhoff's and Riegl's disciple Hans Tietze preferred *étatiste* to the national approach. He read about "Die Stellung Österreichs in der bildenden Kunst" emphasizing "*eine durchgängige Spannung zwischen einem Streben ins Übernationale... und einer eindringlichen Betonung des Bodenständigen*". – *Actes du XIIIe congrès international d'histoire de l'art*. Stockholm 1933, p. 24. About the agenda of the Stockholm Congress, see SCHMIDT, G.: Die Internationalen Kongresse für Kunstgeschichte. In: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 36, 1983, p. 47.

[102] On the phenomenon "Neue Aufgaben der Kunstgeschichte", see HALBERTSMA 1992 (see in note 98), pp. 96-99, 112;

DILLY, H.: *Deutsche Kunsthistoriker, 1933 – 1945*. München – Berlin 1988, pp. 43-54; BAKOŠ, J.: Vienna School Disciples and "The New Tasks" of Art History. In: *Ars*, 40, 2007, No. 2, pp. 145-155.

[103] More on that, see HAUSSHERR, R.: Kunstgeographie und Kunstlandschaft. In: *Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein, 9*. Darmstadt 1969; HAUSSHERR, R.: Kunstgeographie – Aufgaben, Grenzen, Möglichkeiten. In: *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 34, 1970, pp. 158-171; HALBERTSMA 1992 (see in note 98), p. 109 ff. See also DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 2004 (see in note 52), pp. 43-104.

[104] It refers to so-called "Ostforschung". On this, see KUTZNER 1986 (see in note 75); LABUDA 1993 (see in note 96); MUTHESIUS 1994 (see in note 61), pp. 10-13 (chapter "Deutsch-polnische Auseinandersetzung II: Der kunsthistorische Angriff auf Polen und die Folgen"); MUTHESIUS, S.: Schlesische Kunst im Lichte der polnischen und deutschen Kunstgeschichte. In: *Kunstchronik*, 50, 1997, pp. 337-341; SKUBISZEWSKI, P.: Polen und die deutsche Kunstgeschichte. Aus persönlicher Sicht. In: *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 62, 2008, pp. 195-219. Apart from works on art in Bohemia or Poland, the publications *Deutsche Kunst in der Zips* (Brünn – Wien 1938) by O. SCHÜRER – E. WIESE or *Die deutsche Kunst in Siebenbürgen* (Berlin 1934) by V. ROTH can also be regarded as symbolic annexations of territory.

[105] See HALBERTSMA 1992 (see in note 98); HALBERTSMA, M.: Wilhelm Pinder, 1878 – 1947. In: *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte* (see in note 43), pp. 235-248; SUCKALE, R.: Wilhelm Pinder und die deutsche Kunstwissenschaft nach 1945. In: *Kritische Berichte*, 14, 1986, No. 4, pp. 113-117; DILLY 1988 (see in note 102); Pinder, Wilhelm. In: *Metzler*

form-genetic conception of art history, based on the avant-gardist premise of artistic autonomy, which he originally shared with Riegl's school.[106] He also abandoned his internationally oriented theory of artistic generations as the bearers of art historical change[107] Instead, he accepted the ethno-nationalist version of the expressionist doctrine[108] and identified the German "Volk" as the bearer ("Träger") of the history of German art.[109] However, he understood "Volk" as a historically changing ethno-social collective entity. Thus, the history of German art became in his view a process of the alternation of initiatives of social classes, starting from German ruling dynasties, through German burghers, to the great creative individuals of German art such as Albrecht Dürer or Hans Holbein.[110] This history was manifested in the changing artistic forms and genres or types.

Pinder still believed in visual form as a basis of the history of the fine arts.[111] However, he now interpreted the history of German art trans-historically as the history of a specific timeless essence of German art, as the "*being*" and "*becoming*" of "*German forms*".[112] Pinder also perfected Dehio's conception of the mediating role of German art between West and East, eliminating the inferiority complex that motivated it.[113] Consequently, he distinguished between the contribution of German art to the global, universal history of art ("Sonderleistungen"), and the radiating effect ("Ausstrahlungen") of German art on foreign countries. Understandably, he especially emphasized

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Kunsthistoriker Lexikon (see in note 23), pp. 309-312; HELD, J.: Kunstgeschichte im "Dritten Reich". Wilhelm Pinder und Hans Jantzen an der Münchner Universität. In: *Kunstgeschichte an den Universitäten im Nationalsozialismus* (=Kunst und Politik, 5). Eds. J. HELD – M. PAPENBROCK. Göttingen 2003, pp. 17-59.

[106] This applied particularly to Pinder's work *Die Deutsche Plastik vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance* (Berlin – Neubabelsberg 1924 – 1928). It was based on the form-genetic paradigm and the premise of the impersonal autonomy of art. For more details, see BOERNER, B.: Stilgeschichte um 1900 und im 20. Jahrhundert. In: KLEIN, B. – BOERNER, B. (eds.): *Stilfragen zur Kunst des Mittelalters. Eine Einführung.* Berlin 2006, pp. 66-69.

[107] Pinder articulated it in his work *Das Problem der Generation in der Kunstgeschichte Europas* (Berlin 1926). See HELD 2003 (see in note 105), pp. 28-29. See also HALBERTSMA 1992 (see in note 98), pp. 61-81; HALBERTSMA 1990 (see in note 105), pp. 238-240.

[108] See WOOD 2003 (see in note 100), p. 30. On Pinder's affirmative relationship to expressionism, see SUCKALE, R.: Wilhelm Pinder und die deutsche Kunstwissenschaft nach 1945. In: *Kritische Berichte*, 14, 1986, No. 1, p. 9; HELD 2003 (see in note 105), pp. 19-20. U. Kulterman classifies Pinder among "*Kunstgeschichte des Expressionismus*". – KULTERMANN 1966 (see in note 99), pp. 370-372. M. Halbertsma emphasizes Pinder's relationship to "*Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte*". – HALBERTSMA 1992 (see in note 98), p. 49. See also HALBERTSMA 1990 (see in note 105), p. 243.

[109] HELD 2003 (see in note 105), p. 31.

[110] Suckale speaks of a shift ("*Akzentverschiebung*") in Pinder's approach to the history of German art from "*der Dominanz des Staatlich-Politischen*" to "*auf das Gesellschaftliche*" "*um zuletzt… zu zeigen, dass nie zuvor in Deutschland der Künstler so nah der Autonomie gewesen ist*". – SUCKALE 1986 (see in note 108), p. 15.

[111] Jutta Held claims that Pinder maintained to keep to "*eine Autonomie der Kunstgeschichte... als den kunstgeschichtlichen Rahmen seiner Interpretationen*". – HELD 2003 (see in note 105), pp. 26-27.

[112] PINDER, W.: *Vom Wesen und Werden deutscher Formen. Geschichtliche Betrachtungen*. Vols. 1-4. Leipzig – Köln 1937 – 1951. M. Halbertsma characterizes Pinder's effort to integrate transhistorical approach with historicism as follows: "*... das Wesentliche und das Historische werden miteinander verknüpft und auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner gebracht; Ausganspunkt aller Betrachtungen ist die Form.*" – HALBERTSMA 1990 (see in note 105), p. 241.

[113] According to J. Held, Pinder introduced into art historical research the concepts of "*Hybridisierung*", "*künstlerischer Austausch*" and "*Migrationen*", and outlined "*eine Kunstgeschichte der Peripherie, deren innovatives Potential disziplingeschichtlich nicht zu leugnen ist*". – HELD 2003 (see in note 105), p. 35. However, apart from clarifying the relations between the centre and periphery, Pinder also took an important step towards rehabilitating the art of the periphery. He regarded German "Kolonisationskunst" as a significant and unique phenomenon, "*… eine von sinnvollem Zweckgefühle erfüllte herbe und grossartige Kolonialkunst... wie sie kein anderes Volk der Welt kennt*". – PINDER, W.: *Vom Wesen und Werden deutscher Formen. Geschichtliche Betrachtungen II. Die Kunst der ersten Bürgerzeitz bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhundert.* Leipzig 1937, p. 139. On Pinder's notion of periphery-centre relationship, see also MICHALSKI, S.: The Concept of National Art. Problems of Artistic Periphery and Questions of Artistic Exchange in Early Modern Europe. In: *Ars*, 40, 2007, No. 2, pp. 208-209.

the activity in the East, which was the basis for its dominant position in Central Europe.[114]

Graduates of the Vienna school also played a significant role in formulating the hegemonistic conception of German art in Central Europe. It was no coincidence that pupils of both Max Dvořák and Josef Strzygowski, such as Hans Sedlmayr or Dagobert Frey, contributed a great deal.[115] They combined Dvořák's nostalgia for the central Europe of the Habsburg Monarchy with Strzygowski's racial understanding of "Kunstgeographie". The concept of "Grossösterreich" was replaced with the idea of a pan-Germanic Central Europe. For instance, Sedlmayr[116] researched "*the role of Austria in the history of German art*"[117] and emphasized the idea of the "*Reichsstil*".[118] Frey,[119] head of the Institute of Art History in Wrocław (Breslau), transformed Dehio's and Pinder's conceptions of centre and periphery,

rehabilitating the role of the eastern part of Central Europe. According to Frey, in some stages of history, the spread of artistic initiatives from the West to the East was reversed, and the art of eastern Central Europe took the initiative.[120] However, in his view, it was already a Germanized "*Ost-Mitteleuropa*".[121]

If, in Riegl's and Dvořák's school, the lingering universalism of Habsburg historiography was replaced with pan-Germanic hegemonism, Strzygowski's nationalist school accepted the idea of Austria as one of the "Kunstlandschaften" of "Grossdeutschland". It was then quite logical that the first history of fine art in Austria[122] was not a product of the pupils of Riegl's and Dvořák's cosmopolitan school. It came rather from Strzygowski's nationalist-geographical workshop[123] using his "anthropologically" (that is national-ethnological) treated idea of geography of art.[124]

[114] See PINDER, W.: *Vom Wesen und Werden deutscher Formen. Geschichtliche Betrachtungen I. Die Kunst der deutschen Kaiserzeit bis zum Ende der staufischen Klassik.* Leipzig 1937, pp. 9-57. According to Marlite Halbertsma: "*Die politische Wünsche der damaligen Zeit, Deutschland als 'Führer Mitteleuropas' zu erweisen, werden hier von Pinder kunsthistorisch eingekleidet.*" – HALBERTSMA 1990 (see in note 105), p. 241. On German art history during the "Third Reich", see DILLY 1988 (see in note 102); HELD 2003 (see in note 105); *Kunstgeschichte im "Dritten Reich". Theorie, Methoden, Praktiken. Schriften zur modernen Kunsthistoriographien.* Eds. R. HEFTRIG – O. PETERS – B. SCHELLEWALD. Berlin 2008.

[115] Dvořák's former assistant Karl Maria Swoboda also actively participated in this process. By means of the idea of a specific "*Kunstlandschaft*", the so-called "*Sudetenländer*", the art of which, in his view, was clearly dominated by the German element, he endeavoured to formulate the concept of a harmonious synthesis of German and Slavonic art. – SWOBODA, K. M.: *Zum deutschen Anteil an der Kunst der Sudetenländer.* Brünn – München 1938; SWOBODA, K. M.: Die deutsche bildende Kunst als gestaltende Kraft im böhmisch-mährischen Raum. In: *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 15, 1939, pp. 416-418. See CANZ, S.: Karl Maria Swoboda (1889 – 1977). Kunsthistoriker, Wissenschaftler zwischen Wien und Prag. In: *Prager Professoren, 1938 – 1948. Zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik.* Eds. M. GLETTER – A. MIŠÍKOVÁ. Essen 2001, pp. 186-188. See also BAKOŠ 2007 (see in note 102), pp. 151-152.

[116] AURENHAMMER, H.: Hans Sedlmayr und die Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Wien, 1938 – 1945. In: *Kunst und Politik*, 5, 2003, pp. 161-193. See also BAKOŠ 2007 (see in note 102), pp. 150-151.

[117] Published in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 13, 1937, pp. 418-419.

[118] LORENZ, H.: Der habsburgische "Reichstil" – Mythos und Realität. In: *Künstlerischer Austausch/Artistic Exchange* (see in note 35), Vol. 2, pp. 163-172.

[119] STÖRKUHL, B.: Paradigmen und Methoden der kunstgeschichtlichen "Ostforschung" – der "Fall" Dagobert Frey. In: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (see in note 4), pp. 155-172. See also BAKOŠ 2007 (see in note 102), pp. 152-154; FEIST, P. H.: Frey, Dagobert. In: *Metzler Kunsthistoriker Lexikon* (see in note 23), pp. 100-101.

[120] According to D. Frey: "*... die bisher herrschende, durch das Kulturgefälle bedingte, westöstliche Kulturströmung schlägt in eine Gegenbewegung von Ost nach West um.*" – FREY, D.: Die Entwicklung nationaler Stile in der mittelalterlichen Kunst des Abendlandes. In: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 16, 1938. Reprinted in Darmstadt, 1970, p. 62.

[121] MUTHESIUS 2004 (see in note 4), p. 76; HERRMANN, Ch.: *Mittelalterliche Architektur im Preussenland. Untersuchungen zur Frage der Kunstlandschaft und -Geographie.* Petersburg 2007, p. 27; BAKOŠ, J.: From National to Dynastic History of Art (A Path of Art History in Central Europe). In: *Prag und die grossen Kulturzentren Europas in der Zeit der Luxemburger (1310 – 1437)*. Eds. M. JAROŠOVÁ – J. KUTHAN – S. SCHOLZ. Praha 2008, p. 765.

[122] *Die bildende Kunst in Österreich*. Vols. 1-6. Ed. K. GINHART. Wien 1936 – 1943.

[123] It grew from lectures given by Strzygowski and his pupils at the Society for Comparative Art Research in Vienna ("Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien") in 1934/1935.

From Nationalism to *Étatisme*

After the Second World War, the reaction of Polish or Czech art historians to the aggressive nationalism of the German historiography of art had a similarly Romantic spiritual nationalist character.[125] They considered the ethnic nation, personified as a "Super-artist", as the basic subject of art history.[126] Regarding art as an expression of the national character, they searched for specific and constant national characteristics.[127]

The nationalist interpretation of art history was not eliminated even after the export of Marxism to Central and Eastern Europe in the 1950s. The originally international program of Marxism was soon pushed into the background by post-war Great Russian imperialism. This was masked by the doctrine of the official art of Socialist Realism, which expressed the slogan: "*Socialist content, national form*".[128] However, it was especially in reaction to this imposition of Soviet hegemony that Central European art historians came to emphasize European art

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[124] It is symptomatic that it was not about the history of art of a state, but the "*Kunstgeschichte eines Landes*", the history of a specific artistic territory, the so-called "*Ostalpenraum*". That territory was regarded as part of German artistic whole ("*Teil des gesamtdeutschen Kunstschaffens*"), and its specific character was characterized as spiritual expression ("*geistige Antlitz*") of the people of the given living space ("*Lebensraum*"). Consequently, Austrian art was regarded as German art ("*die österreichische Kunst ist seit mehr als einem Jahrtausend rein deutsch… hat ihre deutsche Eigenart immerzu gewahrt*"). – Die bildende Kunst in Österreich (see in note 122), Vol. 1, pp. 5-8.

[125] KUTZNER 1986 (see in note 75), pp. 347-348; MUTHESIUS 1994 (see in note 61), pp. 13-17; CHRZANOWSKI, T.: Die Lage der Kunstgeschichte in Polen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Versuch eines Überblicks. In: *Kunstchronik*, 44, 1991, pp. 677-686. In contrast to that, Piotr Skubiszewski is convinced that "*die nationalistische Tendenzen in der Kunstbetrachtung in Polen... nur in der populärwissenschaftlichen Literatur zum Ausdruck gekommen sind. Ganz besonders nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg... Diesem Weg sind einige Publizisten, aber keine bedeutenden Kunsthistoriker gefolgt.*" – SKUBISZEWSKI 2008 (see in note 104), p. 190.

[126] In E. Marosi's words, "*die Nation (erscheint) als eine unmittelbar erlebbare kollektive Persönlichkeit*". – MAROSI 1992 (see in note 36), p. 63.

[127] "*We sought for every trace of 'Slavonic' lyricism or formal simplicity in Polish and Czech medieval painting.*" – KUTZNER 1986 (see in note 75), p. 348. A symptomatic example is the publication MENCL, V.: *Česká architektura doby Lucemburské* [Czech Architecture of the Luxembourg Period]. Praha 1948. On p. 15, the author states: "*We are concerned here with Czech Gothic and its meaning... the specifically Czech features, which mean a special Czech contribution... the constant, timeless, and already historically invariable Czechness, because it was shaped by the physical and spiritual essence of the nation and flavoured by the typical scent of our soil.*" On this, see VYBÍRAL 2004 (see in note 70), p. 204. In a similar way, Jaroslav Pešina speaks of the "*traditional Czech inclination to lyricism, which appears again and again through the whole course of development*". – PEŠINA, J.: *Česká malba pozdní gotiky a renesance. Deskové malířství, 1450 – 1550* [Czech Painting of the Late

Gothic and Renaisssance. Panel Painting, 1450 – 1550]. Praha 1950, p. 13.
The ethno-nationalist interpretation persisted for a relatively long time. A typical example is the work WALICKI, M.: *Malarstwo polskie. Gotyk, Renesans, Wczesny manieryzm* [Polish Painting. Gothic, Renaissance, Early Manierism]. Warszawa 1961. In it, pp. 8-9, the author still aimed at "*making visible the Polish ingenium*". Similarly, in 1971, Jaromír Pešina still believes in "*die tschechische Spezifizität*". Even if he speaks of a "*schwer greifbaren Ausdrucksqualitäten*", he regards "*Lyrismus, der Hang zum Poetischen, süsse Sinnlichkeit und grosse Gefühlsnote*" as specific and constant characteristics of Czech Gothic art. See PEŠINA, J.: Gotik in Böhmen [Review]. In: *Umění*, 14, 1971, p. 361. On this, see BARTLOVÁ, M.: "Slavonic features" of Bohemian Medieval Painting from the Point of View of Racist and Marxist-Leninist Theories. In: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (see in note 4), pp. 173-179; BARTLOVÁ, M.: *Naše národní umění. Studie z dějin dějepisu umění* [Our National Art. Studies into the History of Art Historiography]. Brno 2009, pp. 17, 21-28.
The idea that national specificity does not lie in the particular formal features but in the ability to transform foreign impulses in a creative way represents a more sophisticated version of the nationalist interpretation. Jaromír Neumann's characterization of the specific nature of Czech Baroque art as "*its extraordinary ability to assimilate and transform which was connected with the inclination to synthesize diverse and often even contradictory stimuli in a quick and organic way*" can be mentioned as an example of that approach. – NEUMANN, J.: *Český barok* [Czech Baroque] Praha 1974, p. 11; German translation *Das Böhmische Barock*. Praha 1970. See to this VYBÍRAL 2004 (see in note 70), p. 203.

[128] MUTHESIUS 1994 (see in note 61), p. 17. The historiography of art was instrumentalized as an explicit instrument for the ideological legitimization of the cultural policy of the time. "*Für die Entwicklung der neuen, in ihrem Inhalt sozialistischen, in der Form nationalen, polnischen Kunst sind von erstrangiger Bedeutung die Kenntnisse der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Kunst in ihren reifsten realistischen Erscheinungen sowie das aus dieser Quelle strömende Bewusstsein von dem Bestehen eines lebendigen Zusammenhanges mit dem fortschrittlichen Erbe unserer Kultur.*" – STARZYŃSKI,

historical connections. This resulted in the gradual decline of extreme ethno-nationalism. It can be said that in the course of the 1960s, the ethnic approach was gradually replaced by the territorial or political conception of the history of art.[129] The history of art ceased to be understood as the history of nations and began to be treated as the history of states or state territories.[130] However, the identification of art history with the history of a state did not mean the definitive elimination of nationalism.[131] The

étatiste conception was essentially still highly patriotic and represented in many ways merely a more sophisticated version of the nationalist approach. It was open to nationalistic readings in the form of identification of the state with the nation-state or state nation (dominating nation).[132] It also implied two forms of projection. On the one hand, it was the projection of the modern state onto the history of art, a projection of the present onto the past that might be termed the myth of the eternal present.[133]

J.: *Piec wieków malarstwa polskiego*. Warszawa 1953; German edition *Fünf Jahrhunderte polnischer Malerei*. Warszawa 1953, p. 5. Another example of the openly presentist political instrumentalization of the history of art is the publication NEUMANN, J.: *Malířství XVII. století v Čechách* [17th Century Painting in Bohemia]. Praha 1951, in which, pp. 7-9, so-called "Baroque realism" was interpreted as a historical preparation for Socialist Realism. Ewa Chojecka speaks appropriately in this context about "*einer fast surrealistischen Symbiose zweier scheinbar unvereinbarer heterogener ideologischer Elemente...: dem marxistischen Programm internationalistischer klassenloser Gesellschaft*" and "*radikal nationalistischen... Konzept eines national homogenen Staates, das... in Allianz mit dem russischen Zaren stand*". – CHOJECKA, E.: Polnische "Westforschung" und das Syndrom des Eisernen Vorhangs. In: *Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (see in note 4), p. 412.

[129] As an example, it is possible to mention the introduction to the collective publication *Historia sztuki polskiej w zarysie* [The History of Polish Art in Outline]. Eds. T. DOBROWOLSKI – W. TATARKIEWICZ. Kraków 1962, p. 9, where its authors state: "*The ethnic and national criterion… could not be applied. [...] It was necessary to turn attention to the territorial criterion*." The territorial approach was also applied by T. DOBROWOLSKI in the publication *Życie, twórczość i znaczenie społeczne artystów polskich i w Polsce pracujących w okresie późnego gotyku (1440 – 1520)* [Life, Creativity, and Social Importance of Polish Artists or Artists Working in Poland in the Late Gothic Period (1440 – 1520)]. Wrocław [a.o.] 1965.

[130] On the *étatiste* premise in Hungarian and Slovak art historiography, see BAKOŠ, J: Koncepcie dejín stredovekého dreveného sochárstva Slovenska do polovice 15. storočia [Conceptions of the History of Medieval Wooden Sculpture in Slovakia till the Middle of the 15th Century]. In: *Umění*, 27, 1979, pp. 322-345, 427-452; BAKOŠ, J: *Dejiny a koncepcie stredovekého umenia na Slovensku* [History and Conceptions of Medieval Art in Slovakia]. Bratislava 1984, pp. 20-52. The author distinguished four conceptions of the history of art as follows: 1. the history of art regarded as the history of the nation; 2. the history of art as the history of the state; 3. the history of art as the history of the territory; 4. the history of art as the history of art. – Ibidem, pp. 266-282. BAKOŠ,

J: Rekonstruieren oder konstruieren wir die Geschichte der Kunst? Beispiel: Die Kunst der Slowakei. In: *Kunstchronik*, 55, 2002, pp. 122-130. DaCosta Kaufmann called that approach "*a kind of restrictive regionalism*". According to him, transformation of ethnic nationalism to patriotic *étatism* had started immediately after the Second World War: "*… histories and histories of art since 1945 have tended to follow national borders.*" – DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 1995 (see in note 35), p. 18.

[131] The authors of the publication *Historia sztuki polskiej w zarysie* (see in note 129), pp. 9-10, state that the "*territorial criterion*" of the history of art needs to be combined with the "*purely ethnic criterion*". "*The psychic properties of the nation... the psychic character of Polish society*" were regarded as the proper object of art historical research.

[132] "*Nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg blieben solche kunstgeschichtlichen Konstruktionen... bestimmende Teile der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung dieser Staaten... beinhalten sie zwei absurde Elemente: die offizielle Geschichte der Staatsnation als Strukturprinzip und... das irrationale Element der nationalen Eigenart.*" – MAROSI 1992 (see in note 36), p. 63.

[133] The presentist projection of modern state frontiers into the past was already criticized by Tibor Gerevich and Dagobert Frey, nevertheless, from a position of ethno-nationalism. See GEREVICH 1933 (see in note 71); FREY 1938 (see in note 120). According to T. Gerevich: "*Il serait faux d'identifier l'idée de l'art national dans la passé avec l'idée actuelle de la nation, et l'extension de celle-là avec les formations politique du présent.*" – GEREVICH 1933 (see in note 71), p. 51. Gerevich's criticism was motivated by the apology for the Great Hungary conception of art history, while the intention of Frey's criticism was legitimization of pan-German expansionism.
From the point of view of the revision of nationalist approach, Reiner Haussherr and Wolfgang Braunfels criticized presentist projection in the late 1960s and 1970s. See HAUSSHERR 1969 (see in note 103), p. 39. According to Wolfgang Braunfels: "*... nationale Grenzen der Gegenwart (wurden meist) als Grenzen von Kunstprovinzen in die Vergangenheit projiziert.*" – BRAUNFELS, W.: *Die Kunst im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation*. München 1979 – 1989, Vol. 1, p. 12. Presentist projection, described as "Historisierung", has been repeatedly criticized also by Ernö Marosi. See MAROSI 1992

On the other hand, it was the historicist projection, that is the illusively reconstructed historic state considered as still present. That can be regarded as the nostalgic myth of the eternal past.[134] In both cases, however, art history assisted in the symbolic justification of the territorial claims of the present or past state.

From *Étatisme* to the Trans-National History of Art

The national-patriotic dimension of *étatism* was restrained by the premise of artistic autonomy. The ethno-nationalist idea of a specific national expression was replaced by the idea of the universal development of art regarded as an autonomous process. The history of art was treated as the de-velopment of stylistic currents in the framework of the territory of the state. In the art of a nation-state regarded as artistic organism, historians sought links to European art, analysed the relationship between the acceptance of external stimuli and their transformations, and examined participation in the general development of European art. The ideal was to identify and reconstruct the continuous development of local or regional art. If this could be identified, it would provide proof of a relatively self-governing artistic organism within the European artistic whole.[135] The idea of artistic autonomy ena-bled the transformation of the ethno-nationalist or racial interpretation of territorialism into the state-territorial conception.[136]

The history of art conceived as the history of the state-nation implied the premise of the state

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(see in note 36), pp. 59-69; MAROSI, E.: Zwischen Kunstge-ographie und historischer Geographie. Das Königreich und der Ständestaat Ungarn im Mittelalter. In: *Ars*, 40, 2007, No. 2, pp. 135-143, here p. 135. Marosi's criticism seems to be prompted by the effort to defend the idea of the Kingdom of Hungary as an artistic unit and as the only historically justified interpretation of the history of art on its territory. On the problem of the projection of the present to the past, see recently also SUCKALE, R.: Über die Hinfälliget einiger historiographischer Konzepte und Begriffe zur Deutung der Kunst Böhmens. In: *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrumen. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter Luxemburgern im europäischen Kon-text*. Eds. J. FAJT – A. LANGER. Berlin – München 2009, p. 27-28. Referring to "*Rückprojizierung der heutigen Verhältnisse*", Robert Suckale points out: "*Man hält sich dabei meist an die heutigen Staatsgrenzen, von denen man angenommen wird, sie seien identisch mit den Volks- bzw. Sprachgrenzen.*"

[134] According to E. Marosi, "*historicizing*" means the opposite situ-ation, the projection of the present political and geographical order into the past. – MAROSI 1992 (see in note 36).

[135] The construction of the history of Czech Gothic sculpture by Albert KUTAL (*České gotické sochařství, 1350 – 1450* [Czech Gothic Sculpture, 1350 – 1450]. Praha 1963) can be regarded as the outstanding example of this conception. Kutal under-stood "*Bohemian Gothic sculpture*" as a territorial and relatively autonomous developmental organism. He based the synthesis *České gotické umění* [Czech Gothic Art]. Praha 1970 (German edition *Gotische Kunst in Böhmen*. Praha 1971) on the territo-rial *étatiste* premise, that there was a territorial Czech artistic tradition, which was expressed in the ability "*to absorb foreign stimuli and transform them into a locally conditioned specific shape*". "*This process of active assimilation*" led to the "*creation of particular values*", which, according to Kutal's conviction, entitle us to speak of a territorially specific "*Bohemian Gothic art*" rather than of "*Gothic art in Bohemia*". – Ibidem, p. 8. Kutal's appro-ach can be characterized as territorial patriotism in contrast to ethnic nationalism.

The conception of Czech Gothic art as an organism "*with its internal developmental logic, organic growth and own dynamics*", which was not only "*able to keep up with European developments*", but was "*dominant in the broader Central European region*", was also the basis for the collective synthesis *České umění gotické, 1350 – 1420* [Czech Gothic Art, 1350 – 1420]. Praha 1970; see PEŠINA, J. – HOMOLKA, J.: České země a Evropa [Czech Lands and Europe]. In: Ibidem, pp. 19-55.

[136] An example is the collective synthesis by German and Aus-trian art historians *Gotik in Böhmen*. Ed. K. M. SWOBODA. München 1969, which followed the publication *Barock in Böhmen*. Ed. K. M. SWOBODA. München 1964. The latter was reviewed by the Czech researchers. – BLAŽÍČEK, J. – BLAŽKOVÁ, J. – PREISS, P.: Německý obraz českého baroku [A German Image of Czech Baroque]. In: *Umění*, 15, 1967, pp. 381-409. The pupils of K. M. Swoboda transformed his former concept of the art of Bohemia as a specific, racially based "Kunstlandschaft", as expressed by Swoboda in his works on Sudeten art (see in note 115), into the no-tion of a territorially and artistically autonomous organism. The conception of this collective synthesis by German and Austrian authors was accurately described by J. Pešina as "*die Auffassung der Entwicklung der böhmischen Kunst als eines territorial vollkommen unbegrenzten autonomen Prozesses, in dem die Geschichte der Kunst Böhmens schliesslich ganz in der Geschichte der europäischen Kunst aufgeht*". – PEŠINA 1971 (see in note 127), p. 361. See also the critical review by BAXANDALL, M.: Gothic Art in Bohemia: Architecture, Sculpture and painting, ed. E. Bach-mann, Phaidon Press, Oxford. In: *The Burlington Magazine*, 119, 1977, p. 781.

as a united, centralized organism.[137] The idea of the autonomy of universal artistic development opened this organism towards the international art world, enabling it to be understood as part of the European artistic polyphony, but did not cast doubt on the premise of the main determinant of art history. In the ethno-nationalist conception, this keystone was the nation; in the state and territorial definition of the history of art, it was the administrative centre, the centrally organized state or the royal court.[138]

The idea of a centralized state and the notion of the developmental continuity of regional or local art supported each other. That kind of argumentation and the nationalist residue still implicitly present in the state conception of the history of art stepped aside when the sociological approach to art history gradually displaced the belief in the autonomy of art. This tendency strengthened in the Central European historiography of art from the 1980s onwards.[139] Historians gradually stopped treating art as the expression of a collective entity and its history as the autonomous development of art of a state.[140] Instead, they interpreted art as a sociological phenomenon, as a product of its social environment, a function of the taste of patrons and a means of satisfying their social

[137] On the centralist premise in Hungarian art historiography, see BAKOŠ 1984 (see in note 130), pp. 20-52.

[138] Marosi corrects the centralist *étatism* of the former Hungarian art historiography with the concept of the state as a socially stratified and polyphonic organism. See, e.g., MAROSI, E.: Zentrifugale Kräfte als zentripetales Deutungsschema der Geschichte der Kunst in Ungarn am Ende des Mittelalters. In: *Metropolen im Wandel. Zentralität in Ostmitteleuropa an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*. Eds. E. ENGEL – K. LAMBRECHT – H. NOGOSEK. Berlin 1995, pp. 173-184; MAROSI 2007 (see in note 133), pp. 135-143.

[139] Such synthetic publications as *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění* [The History of Czech Art]. Eds. R. CHADRABA et al. Praha 1984 – 2006 (for a critical comment on this from an anti-national point of view, see BARTLOVÁ 2009 (see in note 127), pp. 10-13); *A művészet története Magyarországon. A honfoglalástól napjainkig* [The History of Art in Hungary. From Hungarian Conquest to the Present]. Eds. N. ARADI et al. Budapest 1983; *A magyarországi művészet története* [Magyar/Hungarian History of Art]. Eds. A. ZÁDOR et al.; *Magyarországi művészet, 1300 – 1470* [Magyar/Hungarian Art, 1300 – 1470]. Ed. E. MAROSI. Budapest 1987, can be seen in the perspective of the gradual turn from the national-*étatiste* model anchored in the idea of artistic autonomy to a polyphonic cultural-sociological model of *étatism*. The series *Dzieje sztuki polskiej* [The History of Polish Art]: MIŁOBĘDZKI, A.: *Architektura polska XVII wieku* [Polish Architecture of the 17th Century]. Vols. 1-2. Warszawa 1980; *Architektura gotycka w Polsce* [Gothic Architecture in Poland]. Eds. T. MROCZKO – M. ARSZYŃSKI. Warszawa 1995, and *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce* [Gothic Painting in Poland]. Eds. A. S. LABUDA – K. SECOMSKA. Warszawa 2004, also belong to this line of transition from the autonomist to the sociological treatment of territorial *étatism*. The introductory essay of the above mentioned synthesis of the Gothic painting in Poland by A. S. Labuda can be regarded as symptomatic of the shift toward sociological approach. – LABUDA, A. S.: Malarstwo – zleceniodawca – malarz. Gatunek, funkcje, konteksty twórczości artystycznej [Painting – Customer – Painter. Genre, Function, Contexts of Artistic Production]. In: *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce* (see in note 139), pp. 17-68. See also MOSSAKOWSKI, S.: Introduction. In: Ibidem, pp. 9-10.

[140] Art historical studies of smaller geographical, administrative or regional units represent an important phenomenon. They continue the tradition of local patriotism on the one hand, but implicitly imply a critical scepticism towards the great abstract constructions, such as the history of art of a nation or a state, on the other. For example, GADOMSKI, J.: *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Malopolski, 1420 – 1470* [Gothic Panel Painting in Little Poland, 1420 – 1470]. Warszawa 1981; GADOMSKI, J.: *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Malopolski, 1460 – 1500* [Gothic Panel Painting in Little Poland, 1460 – 1500]. Warszawa 1988; *Malarstwo gotyckie w Wielkopolsce: studia o dziełach i ludziach* [Gothic Painting in Great Poland: Studies into Works and People]. Ed. A. S. LABUDA. Poznań 1994; *Umění baroka na Moravě a ve Slezsku* [Art of Baroque in Moravia nad Silesia]. Eds. I. KRSEK – Z. KUDĚLKA et al. Praha 1996; or the series *Od gotiky k renesanci. Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska, 1400 – 1550* [From Gothic to Renaissance. Visual Culture of Moravia and Silesia, 1440 – 1550]. Vols. 1-4. Eds. I. HLOBIL – K. CHAMONIKOLA. Brno – Olomouc – Opava 1999 – 2002.
HOMOLKA, J.: *Gotická plastika na Slovensku* [Gothic Sculpture in Slovakia]. Bratislava 1972 or *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce* (see in note 139) are examples of the combination of the *étatiste*-territorial and local-geographical approaches. The artistic organism is defined here on the basis of the present state territory, but internally differentiated according to historical geographical-administrative regions.
Radical scepticism towards abstract art historical constructions is represented by works that regard a specific locality as the only natural art historical unit. They conceive the history of a locality as the "geological" or "archeological" stratification of its historical layers. *Raněstředověká Olomouc* [Olomouc in Early Middle Ages] by Václav RICHTER (Praha – Brno 1959) can serve as an example of systematic scepticism of this type.

demands. Initially, this turn towards the cultural and social history of art was hampered by the axiom of the aesthetic autonomy of art and the belief in the state as a relative independent artistic unit. Later on, however, it gradually led to the art history of a state regarded as a geographically and sociologically stratified and polyphonic whole.[141] The role of catalyst in the gradual transition from a formalist to a sociologically stratified and polyphonic art history was played by iconology, which influenced the historiography of art in Central Europe particularly in the 1960s.[142]

However, eventually, this research trend also contributed to a gradual overcoming of explicit nationalism and to an internationalisation of the image of the history of art in the state.[143] The history of art ceased to be regarded as the history of the ethnic nation or the history of artistic autonomy: the history of styles, formal influences or form developmental series. The door was consequently open to art history conceived of as the history of the taste of patrons or customers and not least the history of the representation of ruling dynasties, their international courts, and trans-national connections.[144]

From "Abendland" to International Perspective

The reaction of post-war German or West German historiography of art to the defeat of aggressive, expansionist ethno-nationalism was an escape into the phenomenological interpretation of art[145] and the idea of the "Abendland".[146] In place of the focus on its ethnic specificity, the inclusion of German art in Western European Christendom was emphasized.[147] After 1945, however, the interest

[141] In relation to research on the art of Slovakia or Hungary, this trend is analysed in BAKOŠ 1984 (see in note 130), p. 98 ff; BAKOŠ 2002 (see in note 130), pp. 128-129.

[142] The concept of the work of art as a cryptogram, as the bearer of hidden conceptual meanings, was a step towards the sociological understanding of art regarded as instrument of the representation of customer. The initiator of the iconological method in post-war Poland was Lech Kalinowski and its main protagonist in East-Central Europe was Jan Białostocki. See MAŁKIEWICZ, A.: Początki metody ikonologicznej w polskiej historii sztuki [Beginnings of Iconological Method in Polish Art History]. In: MAŁKIEWICZ 2005 (see in note 55), pp. 79-91. On iconology in former Czechoslovakia, see R. ŠVÁCHA. In: Kapitoly z českého dějepisu umění (see in note 58), pp. 359-362, 369; BAKOŠ 2000 (see in note 59), pp. 350-353.

[143] Marosi underlines the international character of the royal courts of Central Europe. He also emphasizes the role of scholars, some monastic orders, especially mendicants and the commercial links of the towns as bearers of universalist tendencies ("als Träger universalistischer Tendenzen"). – MAROSI 1992 (see in note 36), pp. 64-67. However, international interpretations of the history of art of a state can also become the instrument of a sophisticated crypto-nationalism or crypto-hegemonism!

[144] Adam S. Labuda refers this change of the paradigma of the notion of art regarded as "eine Antwort auf die Erwartungen der Auftraggeber" to Th. DaCOSTA KAUFMANN's publication Court, Cloister & City. The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450 – 1800 (London 1995). – LABUDA 2002 (see in note 100), pp. 22-23. In contrast to that, Berndt Carqué underlines the contribution of Robert Suckale. See CARQUÉ, B.: Stil und

Erinnerung. Französische Hofkunst im Jahrhundert Karls V. und im Zeitalter ihrer Deutung. Göttingen 2004, pp. 148-149. In both cases, the initiative of Lajos Vayer, Wolfgang Brauenfels and Jan Białostocki has been disregarded. See on this BAKOŠ 2008 (see in note 121), pp. 763-783.

[145] See SAUERLÄNDER, W.: Zersplitterte Errinnerung. In: Kunsthistoriker in eigener Sache. Ed. M. SITT. Berlin 1990, pp. 310-311; DILLY 1988 (see in note 102), pp. 81-89.

[146] SAUERLÄNDER, W.: Von der "Sonderleistungen deutscher Kunst" zur "Ars Sacra". In: SAUERLÄNDER, W.: Geschichte der Kunst / Gegenwart der Kritik. Köln 1999, pp. 277-292; BELTING 1992 (see in note 98), pp. 49-55 (chapter "Abendland als Ausweg").

[147] The initiative was taken by Hans Jantzen. See JANTZEN, H.: Die Einheit Europas in der Geschichte seiner Kunst. In: Geistige Welt, 3, 1948 – 1949, pp. 115-117; DILLY 1988 (see in note 102), pp. 82-83. According to J. Held, Jantzen promoted the occidental perspective from 1940: "Es fällt ferner auf, dass Jantzen seit 1940 nicht mehr die Künste der Nationen einzeln oder vergleichend thematisierte... sondern die abendländische oder europäische Perspektive... hervorhebt." – HELD 2003 (see in note 105), p. 27. See also SCHENKLUHN 1990 (see in note 21), pp. 157-171. Interpreting "Ottonian Art" as the first German national style, Jantzen identified the ethnic (nation) with the state (empire, dynasty) and Christian religion (spirituality). Due to that, he harmonized German art with Western Christianity. In Schenkluhn's words, Jantzen can be regarded as "der Vater der Ottonischen Kunst als Nationalstil der Deutschen". – Ibidem, p.162. In the first postwar history of German art, so-called Bruckmann's Deutsche Kunstgeschichte. Eds. E. HEMPEL – A. FEULNER – Th. MÜLLER – O. FISCHER – H. KOHLHAUSEN – V. ROTH. München 1949 – 1958, the nationalist

of the majority of younger German art historians shifted to the universal or European history of art.[148] In the second half of the 1960s, German art history returned to the theme of the geography of art, but this time in order to undertake a critical revision of its irrational foundations. The central concept of "Kunstlandschaft" was freed from its metaphysical, essentialist meaning, and the idea of the "Kunstlandschaft" as a time-limited regional tradition started to be reconsidered.[149] Some ten years later, German art history attempted to overcome the ethno-national expansionist territorial conception of the history of German art with a new territorial state oriented model. The history of German art ceased to be regarded as the history of the nation or "Volk", and was conceived as the history of a polyphonic political-administrative organism, a sort of megastate – the Holy Roman Empire.[150] Thus, a very important step towards a trans-national, pluralist, but also socially instrumental or institutional conception of the history of art in Central Europe was taken.[151]

However, the particular national and state conception of the history of art of Central Europe was overcome by other routes, too. They were stimulated especially by multi-volume syntheses of the universal history of art, such as *The Pelican History of Art*[152] or the new series *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*.[153] The authors of passages devoted to the art of Central Europe searched for international artistic links and

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concept of German art regarded as "*unmittelbaren Ausdruck des Wesens des Volkstums*" (Vol. 1, p. 7) was gradually replaced by the spiritualist idea of its history conceived of as "*geschlossene Geschichte der Entwicklung des deutschen Geistes*" (Vol. 2, p. 7) and finally synthesized with the interpretation of German art "*im Rahmen der Kunst des Abendlandes*" (Vol. 2, p. 7). According to A. Feulner and Th. Müller (Vol. 2, p. 7), Germany was not only an organic part of Christian Occident but also situated in its centre ("*das Land der Mitte*"). During the history of Western art, it played the key role of a creative mediator ("*Mittlerrolle*"): "*Seitdem es eine kulturelle Einheit des Abendlandes gibt, [...] war das Land der Mitte durch Wirkung und Gegenwirkung mit den anderen Kulturländern verbunden. In allen Epochen hat Deutschland anderen Nationen gegeben und zu allen Zeiten hat es von anderen Kulturvölkern empfangen, um das Empfangene schöpferisch zu verwerten.*"

[148] HELD, J. – SCHNEIDER, N.: *Grundzüge der Kunstwissenschaft. Gegenstandsbereiche – Institutionen – Problemfelder*. Köln – Weimar – Wien 2007, p. 143. On German postwar art history, see also *Kunstgeschichte nach 1945. Kontinuität und Neubeginn in Deutschland.* Eds. N. DOLL – R. HEFTRIG – O. PETERS – U. REHM. Köln – Weimar – Wien 2006.

[149] HAUSSHERR, R.: Überlegungen zum Stand der Kunstgeographie. Neuerscheinungen. In: *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 30, 1965, pp. 351-372; HAUSSHERR 1969 (see in note 103), pp. 38-44; HAUSSHERR 1970 (see in note 103), pp. 158-171; BECK, H. – BREDEKAMP, H.: Der Mittelrhein als Kunstlandschaft. In: *Kunst um 1400 am Mittelrhein*. Frankfurt a. M. 1975; STAMM, L. E.: Zur Verwendung des Begriffs Kunstlandschaft am Beispiel des Oberrheins im 14. und frühen 15. Jahrhundert. In: *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 41, 1984, No. 2, pp. 85-91; MÖBIUS, F.: Von der Kunstgeographie zur kunstwissenschaftlichen Territorienforschung. In: *Regionale, nationale und internationale Kunstprozesse*. Jena 1983, pp. 21-42. See also DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 2004 (see in note 52), pp. 89-95.

[150] BRAUNFELS 1979 – 1989 (see in note 133). According to Sigrid Esche: "*... die ersten fünf Bände [schildern] den unlösslichen Zusammenhang der Werke der Künstler mit den territoral und institutionell bedingten Herrschaftsformen und Idealen ihrer Auftraggeber in der Reihenfolge der Standesordnung, in der diese auf dem Regensburger Reichstag vertreten waren.*" – ESCHE, S.: Vorwort. In: Ibidem, Vol. 6, p. 5. Thus, Braunfels regarded political, religious, administrative, and social institutions ("*Fürstentümer*", "*Reichsstädte*", "*Grafschaften*", "*Reichsklöster*") as determining factors in the history of art. He structured the history of German art according to the social stratification of patrons ("*Kaiser*", "*Höfe*", "*Bischöfe*", "*Äbte*", "*Bürger*") and combined sociological and administrative structuring with geographical one.

[151] According to Christiane Fork, Braunfels structured the history of art of the Holly Roman Empire "*nach politischen Institutionen und Ordnungseinheiten... gemäss seiner Maxime, Kunstgeschichte von den Auftraggebern her zu schreiben*". – FORK, Ch.: Braunfels, Wolfgang. In: *Metzler Kunsthistoriker Lexikon* (see in note 23), p. 37. DaCosta Kaufmann states that Braunfels did not succeed in getting rid of ethnic-nationalist interpretation in spite of introducing a sociological aproach. – DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, Th.: *Höfe, Klöster und Städte. Kunst und Kultur im Mitteleuropa, 1450 – 1800*. Köln 1998, p. 520. As a matter of fact, Braunfels speaks of "*deutsche und slawische Kultur*" and puts "*deutsche Handwerkskultur*" in contrast to "*slawisches Empfinden*" or "*slawisches Willen zum Unbegrenzten*". – BRAUNFELS 1979 – 1989 (see in note 133), Vol. 5, p. 73.

[152] *The Pelican History of Art*, edited by Nicolaus PEVSNER, published by Penguin Books.

[153] *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte in achtzehn Bänden*. Eds. K. BITTEL – H. KELLER – F. NOVOTNY – O. v. SIMSON – F. VOLBACH – S. WAETZOLD – R. ZEITLER. Berlin 1967 and later.

considered trans-national macro-regional artistic units. One example is Eberhard Hempel's conception of Baroque art in Central Europe as an organism comprising the German lands including Silesia, as well as Austria, Switzerland, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia and Poland.[154] Another one is the idea of "*European sculpture of the 15th century north of the Alps*" of Theodor Müller conceived as a "*vast domain*" or "*great unity*" based on the "*common bond between the sculptors*".[155] Regardless of whether a residue of the national hegemonistic understanding survives in these interpretations,[156] the argument in favour of trans-national artistic organisms was still based mainly on the modernistic premise of the autonomy of art and its immanent development.[157]

Another project, that on the Parler family conceived by Anton Legner in the late 1970s, was a related type of internationalisation of art history in Central Europe.[158] The history of art in Central Europe also appeared here as a process of transcending of national and state frontiers. The interaction of artists as well as supra-personal artistic currents were regarded not only as a motor of the historic dynamic of art but also as an important factor of trans-national, European artistic communication. Thus, the migration of artists, especially the great internationally active artistic families, became a topic of art historical research. Despite

the fact that international contacts were still regarded as a result of autonomous artistic communication, the social dimension of the history of art and particularly the study of the role of patrons and dynasties started to attract the interest of Central European art historians. The sociological approach to the trans-national, European conception of art history was launched as a consequence of this approach.[159]

The Idea of Macro-Regions. From Eastern to Central Europe

The isolationist national or nation-state approach was overcome not only by means of intensive research into international artistic communication and cross-frontier migration of artists. The premise of the national or nation-state structure of the art of Central Europe was revised not least by the search for trans-national artistic units or artistic macro-regions that transcended state frontiers. A good example was Białostocki's proposal to consider the "Baltic area" as an artistic organism.[160] However, this way of overcoming nationalism implied a revision of the idea of autonomy of art. Białostocki's model of a trans-national artistic region was based on the sociological concept of art. He followed Jacob Burckhardt[161] and Aby Warburg, and by combining

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[154] HEMPEL, E.: *Baroque Art and Architecture in Central Europe: Germany/Austria/Switzerland/Hungary/Czechoslovakia/Polen.* Hamondsworth 1965. "Mitteleuropa" was defined in a very similar way by VAYER 1972 (see in note 61), pp. 21-22. See also note 169.

[155] MÜLLER, Th.: *Sculpture in the Netherlans, Germany, France and Spain, 1400 – 1500.* Baltimore 1966, p. XV.

[156] For example, Müller's premise of the identity of "*Germany*" with the whole of Central Europe, based on the interaction of the "*main centres*" and "*remoter provinces*" (MÜLLER 1966 (see in note 155), p. XVII) and Hempel's belief in the constant specifics and initiative of German art, or the idea of the irrational "*genius loci*" regarded as the keystone of Central European art as a specific unit (HEMPEL 1965 (see in note 154), pp. 1-8). In contrast to Hempel, Müller understands the common core of the trans-national artistic organism realistically as "*a common reservoir of sources*", and so as a common tradition. – MÜLLER 1966 (see in note 155), p. XVI.

[157] This means the dialectics of individual artists and impersonal regional currents of artistic development: "*I have always tried to*

show the personalities of various artists and the peculiarities of regional developments.*" – MÜLLER 1966 (see in note 155), p. XVI.

[158] *Die Parler und der schöne Stil, 1350 – 1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburger.* [Exhib. Cat.] Ed. A. LEGNER. Köln 1978, Vol. 1, pp. XVII-XXIII.

[159] BAKOŠ 2008 (see in note 121), pp. 769-775.

[160] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: The Baltic Area as an Artistic Region in Sixteenth Century. In: *Hafnia. Copenhagen Papers in the Theory of Art*, 1976, pp. 11-23. Białostocki followed Johnny Roosval's idea of "*arte dominium*" regarded as a trans-national artistic whole. – ROOSVAL, J.: Le nord Baltique comme domaine artistique homogénne et sa situation dans le block Saxon-Baltique. In: *Actes du XIIIe congrès international d'histoire de l'art.* Stockholm 1933, pp. 96-97.

[161] Ingrid Ciulisová has pointed out the political affinity of J. Białostocki and J. Burckhardt. – CIULISOVÁ, I.: Against Hegemony: Jacob Burckhardt, Jan Białostocki and the Renaissance. In: ELKINS, J. – WILLIAMS, R. (eds.): *Renaissance Theory.* New York – London 2008, pp. 309-314.

their ideas with the theories of Gregor Paulsson he emphasized a functional understanding of art as the fulfilment of social roles and the specific demands of patrons.[162] The common socio-economic structure of the region was regarded as an integrating factor of the "Baltic area" as a trans-national artistic organism.[163] The belief in the importance of social tasks and functions, as well as the role of patrons, led to an emphasis on the role of ruling dynasties in the history of art. Białostocki's second attempt at conceiving of a transnational artistic unit, namely, the idea of "Eastern Europe" as an art historical whole, was regarded as a reflection of the state-political structure of the region and a product of dynastic strategies.[164]

The notion of Central or East-Central Europe as a specific art historical unit gradually crystallized from the 1960s.[165] Its leading methodological advocates included Lajos Vayer, who had argued as early as 1969 for the idea of regional Central European artistic development as superior to national histories of art.[166] According to Vayer, the "*national characters of art*" had to be understood as elements in the regional development of Central Europe.[167] Vayer was also well aware of the connection between the

[162] Białostocki referred to Paulsson's credo: "*Erst die Funktion, also sein Platz in einem sozialen Zusammenhang und einem von einer gewissen Gesellschaft entwickelten Stufenbau der Werte macht das Kunstwerk zum Kunstwerk.*" – *Die Kunst des Mittelalters II. Spätmittelalter und beginnende Neuzeit* (=Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 7). Berlin 1972, p. 21.

[163] J. Roosval regarded "*arte dominium*" as "*un territoire d'un commun gout*". – ROOSVAL 1933 (see in note 160).

[164] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe. Hungary, Bohemia, Poland*. Ithaca 1976. On Białostocki's initiative concerning the idea of dynastic history of art, see MICHALSKI, S.: Jan Białostocki a evolucja historii sztuki po roku 1945. In: POPRÉCKA M. (ed.): *Ars longa. Prace dedykowane pamiéci profesora Jana Białostockiego*. Warszawa 1999, pp. 53-68. On Białostocki's combination of national and dynastic ideas regarded as an expression of the critical reaction against Soviet hegemony, see CIULISOVÁ, I.: Notes on the History of Renaissance Scholarship in Central Europe: Białostocki, Schlosser and Panofsky. In: *Renaissance? Perception of Continuity and Discontinuity in Europe, c. 1300 – c. 1550*. Eds. A. LEE – P. PORTE – N. SCHNITKER. Leiden – Boston 2010, pp. 349-357.

[165] According to Born, Janatková and Labuda (Vorwort der Herausgeber. In: *Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (see in note 4), p. 15-19), the following meetings represented main steps in the process of crystalization of the idea of (East-)Central Europe as an artistic organism: Colloque Les problémes du gothique et de la renaissance et l'art de l'Europe Centrale in Budapest (1965, published in *Acta Historiae Artium*, 13, 1967); 22nd, 25th and 28th World Congresses of Art History in Budapest (1969), Vienna (1983) and Berlin (1992), and last but not least the so-called Niedzica-Seminars (see *Proceedings I-VII*. Kraków 1981 – 1992). It dealt with "*the specificity of art in Central European countries*" and aimed at "*synthetic approach to artistic phenomena in Poland, Bohemia, Slovakia, and Hungary*". See KALINOWSKI, L.: Przemówienie na otwarciu obrad I Seminarium Niedzieckego [Introduction to the First Niedzica Seminar]. In: *Seminaria Niedziecke I*. Kraków 1981, pp. 10-11. See also KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA, A.: *Malarstwo*

gotyckie Europy środkowo-wschodniej. Zagadnienia odrębności regionu [Gothic Painting in East-Central Europe. Questions of the Specificity of the Region]. Warszawa – Poznań 1982. According to Karłowska-Kamzowa, East-Central Europe consists of "*Bohemian and Hungarian Kingdoms including Lausitz, the Principality of Austria, Piastów and Jagiellonian Empires, as well as territories of Crusaders' domination*". – Ibidem, pp. 5, 106.
The concept of East-Central Europe had been applied to Romanesque architecture already by Anežka Merhautová and Andrzej Tomaszewski. – MERHAUTOVÁ, A.: *Romanische Kunst in Polen, Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn, Rumänien, Jugoslawien*. Prag 1974; TOMASZEWSKI, A.: *Romańskie kościoły z emporami zachodnimi na obsztarze Polski, Czech i Wengier* [Romanesque Churches with Westworks in the Region of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary]. Wrocław 1974. In 1975, a conference devoted to Gothic art in East-Central Europe took place at Poznań University. East-Central Europe was regarded as consisting not only of Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, but also Saxony, Thuringia, and Austria. See *Gotyckie malarstwo ścienne w Europie środkowo-wschodniej* [Gothic Mural Painting in East-Central Europe]. Ed. A. KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOVA. Poznań 1977. See on that BAKOŠ 1993 (see in note 35), pp. 55, 60. On the concept of East-Central Europe ("Ostmitteleuropa") as an "art historical region", see also DMITRIEVA-EINHORN, M.: Gibt es eine Kunstlandschaft Ostmitteleuropa? Forschungsprobleme der Kunstgeographie. In: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (see in note 4), pp. 121-137.

[166] VAYER 1972 (see in note 61), p. 19-29. According to Vayer, the historiography of art in Central Europe went through the following three stages: 1. universalism that lead to an underestimation of regional development; 2. nationalism that resulted in irrationalism; and 3. internationally oriented Central European regionalism which represents the most developed and topical approach. – Ibidem, pp. 26-29. See on this also BAKOŠ, J.: Peripherie und kunsthistorische Entwicklung. In: *Ars*, 1991, No. 1, pp. 1-2.

[167] According to Vayer: "... *wir (betrachten) als wichtigstes methodisches Prinzip sogar in der Analyse des Nationalen die Verfolgung eben der*

international or Europe-oriented Central European regionalism and the sociological approach to art.[168] At the same time, Vayer did not limit the concept of Central Europe to the former Soviet Bloc.[169]

In contrast, Białostocki's idea of "Eastern Europe" included only three Central European political or state units: Hungary, Bohemia and Poland. In this regard, Białostocki was following the model of Central Europe articulated by Halecki, [170] which echoed the situation after the Second World War. His notion of "Eastern Europe" represented a critical rejection of both: pan-Germanic and Soviet visions of cultural hegemony.[171] The political motivation of Białostocki's model was reflected not only in its implicit Polish nationalism, but also in its territorial definition.[172] It was precisely his restriction of the Central European artistic unit to the eastern part of Central Europe that evoked criticism and provoked a fundamentally new formulation of the Central Europe as an artistic whole.[173]

In the context of uniting Europe and explicitly intended as a contribution to it, the American scholar Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann took the initiative in reviving the idea of a larger Central Europe as an art historical organism. For Kaufmann, Central Europe included not only the Czech state, the historic Kingdom of Hungary and the Polish "Commonwealth", but also the whole Holy Roman Empire.[174] Criticizing both explicit and implicit nationalism, he

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regionalen kunsthistorischen Entwicklungsprozesse..." – VAYER 1972 (see in note 61), p. 24.

[168]"*Und hier sehen wir uns auch jener in unserer Forschungstätigkeit mit immer dringlicherer Zwangsläufigkeit auftrenden Problematik gegenüber, die in der Analyse der kunsthistorischen Prozesse dem Fragenkomplex jener Erscheinungen entgegenführt, die mit dem Stifter, dem Auftragge-ber, dem Ankäufer, dem Kunstverständigen und Kunstliebhaber, oder mit anderen Worten mit dem Mäzen, dem Kritiker und dem Publikum zusammenhängen.*" – Ibidem, p. 25.

[169]"*Gewiss bildet dieses seiner Ausdehnung nach nur unscharf umrissene Mitteleuropa... nur einen relativen Begriff, unter dem man herkömm-licherweise die zwischen zwei imaginären Vertikalen liegenden Gebiete versteht, deren westliche vom Ostrand der Friesieschen Inseln bis zum Golf von Genua reicht, während sich die östliche vom Rigaschen Meer-busen bis zur Ostküste der Adria erstreckt. Unter Zugrundelegung der gegenwärtigen Staatsgrenzen bilden diesen Grossraum der Nordostzipfel der Niederlande und die westlichen Sowjetrepubliken im Norden, italienische und rumänische Staatsteile im Süden und in ihrer vollen territorialen Ausdehnung die Deutsche Bundesrepublik und die Deutsche Demokratische Republik, die Schweiz, Österreich, die Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn, Jugoslawien und Polen.*" – Ibidem, pp. 21-22.

[170]HALECKI, O.: *The Limits and Divisions of European History.* London – New York 1950. DaCosta Kaufmann speaks of "*Halecki's Auffassung von Ostmitteleuropa als östlicher Hälfte Mittel-europas*". – DaCOSTA KAUFMANN, Th.: (Ost)Mitteleuropa als Kunstgeschichtsregion?. In: *Oskar-Halecki-Vorlesung, 2005.* Leipzig 2006, pp. 8-9. Marian Kutzner pleads for a similar idea: "*All that urges us to study once more the history of art of the specific artistic macro-region that was represented in the Middle Ages by Europe of West Slavs, namely Bohemia, Hungary with Slovakia, Poland with Lithuania, Coast Regions, and Prussia.*" – KUTZNER 1986 (see in note 75), p. 350.

[171]BAKOŠ 1993 (see in note 35), p. 55. According to DaCosta Kaufmann: "*Die Differenzierung zwischen Ostmitteleuropa und Mitteleuropa als Entität scheint eine Folge des Zweiten Weltkrieges und der Zeit des kalten Krieges gewesen zu sein.*" – DaCOSTA KAUF-MANN, Th.: Die Geschichte der Kunst Ostmitteleuropas als Herausforderung für die Historiographie der Kunst Europas. In: *Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs* (see in note 4), p. 55.

[172] Later Białostocki stated that he had used the notion "East-ern Europe" in the sense of "Ostmitteleuropa". – BIAŁO-STOCKI, J.: Rinascimento pollaco e rinascimento europeo. In: *Poloniae – Italia. Relazioni artistiche dal medioevo al XVIII secolo. Atti del convegno termtosi a Roma, 21 – 22 Maggio 1975.* Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk 1979, pp. 21-58. See about that DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 1998 (see in note 151), p. 518. On the notion "East-Central Europe", see JAWORSKI, R.: Ostmitteleuropa. Zur Tauglichkeit und Akzeptanz feines historischen Hilfsbegriffs. In: *Westmitteleuropa, Ostmitteleuropa. Vergleiche und Beziehungen* (see in note 36), pp. 37-45; BAHL-CKE, J.: Ostmitteleuropa. In: *Studienhandbuch östliches Europa I. Geschichte Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas.* Ed. H. ROTH. Köln – Weimar – Wien 1999, pp. 59-72.

[173] See review of Białostocki's book by Th. DaCOSTA KAUFMANN in *The Art Bulletin,* 58, 1978, pp. 164-169. Ac-cording to DaCosta Kaufmann: "*… the concept of East Europe, as it was utilized until recently, is and will in future historiography be regarded largely as a construct of the second half of twentieth century. As a result of what is now revealed as the temporary division of Europe into two camps, East Europe was the part considered to fall under the Soviet sphere of influence.*" – DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 1995 (see in note 35), p. 16.

[174] DaCosta Kaufmann claims: "*This essay represents an effort to con-sider Central Europe as a cultural entity, an attempt to contribute to its reintegration into a unified notion of European culture.*" – DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 1995 (see in note 35), p. 15. His definition of the terrritory of Central Europe is conform to Hempel's and Vayer's ones; see footnotes 154 and 169. Like DaCosta Kaufmann, Vayer emphasized historicaly variable character of "Central Europe". – VAYER 1972 (see in note 61), p. 21.

vehemently promoted the trans-national approach to the history of art of Central Europe. Taking up but also reworking the ideas of Wolfgang Braunfels and Jan Białostocki, Kaufmann based his vision of a territorially extensive Central Europe on a sociologically stratified model of art. In this model, the art of Central Europe is a polyphonic organism, internally structured according to a variety of demands, tasks, and functions, required by three different social milieus: "*Court, Cloister and City*".[175]

When reformulating the concept of Central Europe, Kaufmann modified another of Białostocki's stimuli: the idea of East-Central Europe as an "artistic periphery". Białostocki formulated it on the basis of impulses from Georg Kubler, Ljubo Karaman, Enrico Castelnuovo and Karl Ginzburg,[176] in order to articulate the specific status of this art historical phenomenon.[177] Kaufmann took over Białostocki's interpretation of Central Europe as an innovative artistic territory, situated outside the world centres, but still sometimes able to contribute creatively to European art. However, he also emphasized international cultural communication and the mobility of artists and considered the Central European area as an organic part of European culture.[178]

National History as Multi-Cultural Communication

The unification of Germany after the fall of the "Iron Curtain" in 1989 made the history of German art topical again. The subsequent process of unification of Europe and especially its doctrine of unity in diversity or the conception of a united Europe as a polyphony of nation-states encouraged German art historians to make renewed attempts to conceive the history of German art as the history of a specific phenomenon.[179] However, after the definitive discrediting of expansionist nationalism, the idea of the history of art as the history of the ethnic nation and the expression of its timeless mental nature was not acceptable. Therefore, for understandable reasons, German art historians at the end of the 1990s rather inclined to an *étatiste* regionalist conception, which was already widespread, as we have seen, in postwar Central European national historiographies.[180] Wolfgang Braunfels and, a little later, East German art historians of the 1980s had already treated the *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* on a state basis, "*within the historic frontiers of the German Empire*".[181] The geographical conception also became the basis for a

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[175] Christiane Fork states that already Braunfels structured the history of art in the Holy Roman Empire "*nach politischen Institutionen und Ordnungseinheiten... gemäss seiner Maxime, Kunstgeschichte von den Auftraggebern her zu schreiben*". – FORK, Ch.: Braunfels, Wolfgang. In: *Metzler Kunsthistoriker Lexikon* (see in note 23), p. 37. As mentioned before, A. S. Labuda credited DaCosta Kaufmann the change of the paradigma of the notion of art as an expression of an artist to the notion of art as the tool of a patron. – LABUDA 2002 (see in note 100), pp. 22-23.

[176] Białostocki borrowed the notion of "replication" from Kubler, and the idea of periphery as a creative region from Karaman, and the belief in competition as a characteristics of centres from Castelnuovo and Ginzburg. On this, see BAKOŠ, J.: Jan Białostocki and Center-Periphery Problem. In: *Białostocki. Materiały z Seminarium Metodologicznego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuku "Jan Białostocki – między tradycją a inovacją"*. Ed. M. WRÓBLEWSKA. Warszawa 2009, pp. 63-75.

[177] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Some Values of Artistic Periphery. In: *World Art. Themes of Unity in Diversity. Acts of the XXVIth International Congress of the History of Art, Washington, D.C., 1986*. Ed. I. LAVIN. University Park [a.o.] (Penn.) 1989, Vol. 1, pp. 49-54. On this, see BAKOŠ 1991 (see in note 166), pp. 2-3; BAKOŠ 2009 (see in note 176), pp. 63-75.

[178] DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 2004 (see in note 52), before all the chapter "Artistic Regions and the Problem of Artistic Metropolises: Questions of (East)-Central Europe", pp. 154-186.

[179] Heinrich Klotz argues that: "*Alle Künste und Stile haben in den unterschiedlichen Nationen und Regionen Europas... unterscheidbare Ausprägungen gefunden, ja, Besonderheit und Eigenart der nationalen und regionalen Kunstentwicklungen machen letzlich das gesamte europäische Kunstgeschichte aus.*" – KLOTZ 1998 (see in note 1), p. 13.

[180] The need to define their historic identity in the European polyphony also seems to have stimulated the coming into existence of the multi-volume *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*. Vols. 1-6. Eds. H. FILLITZ – G. BRUCHER – A. ROSENAUER – H. LORENZ – G. FRODL – W. SCHMIED. München 1998 – 2002.

[181] "*... innerhalb der jeweiligen historischen Grenzen des deutschen Reiches*". – *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst, 1350 – 1470*. Ed. E. ULLMANN. Leipzig 1981, p. 7. In addition, "*Gebrauch von Kunst in der Not des Alltags*" was regarded by the authors of the book as the proper content of the history of art, assuming the dialectics of art and society they studied, the historical functioning, and social communication of aesthetic phe-

non-nationalistically regarded history of German art at the end of the 1990s. It was defined as the "*history of art in a geographical space*".[182] However, this territorial unit was not defined ethnically. It was conceived as a historically changing phenomenon, "*without fixed boundaries*", and as a linguistically defined space, characterized by a specific artistic culture, which made it a "*Kunst- und Kulturlandschaft*".[183]

Therefore, if the art historical unit in Klotz and Warnke's history of German art, namely German art understood as a "Kunstlandschaft", was finally borne out by the art itself, in the synthesis of Robert Suckale, which appeared at the same time, the historical subject was no longer art as an autonomous phenomenon, but rather art as formed by the social demands of the patrons. At the same time, the content of the history of art conceived of in this way was again the relationship between universal (European) art and regional development. Thus, the history of German art was transformed into the historical destiny of universal art in Germany.[184] According to Suckale, the historical framework was the territory of "Deutschland". As in the work of Klotz and Warnke,

"*Deutschland*" is defined by Suckale as the "*German linguistic space*", which basically coincided with the Holy Roman Empire,[185] but had historically changeable dimensions.[186] At the same time, according to Suckale, the history of art occurring in this region was based on the "*polarity between local patriotism and cosmopolitanism*",[187] and can be regarded as interaction between the local and the universal. Therefore, "*at least before 1800, art in Germany must be understood as European art*".[188] The externally conditioned international nature of art in Germany in this account is also confirmed by its immanent multinationality, the fact that: "*The Germans themselves are really multinational and they were also multicultural for a large part of their history.*"[189] A critical revision of ethno-nationalist purism is evident here.

Similarly, the most recent *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*,[190] which is based on the conception of the contemporary Austrian state but is explicitly distanced from a narrow nationalism,[191] underlines its participation in European artistic communication[192] and accentuates the "*openness of frontiers*" and the "*supra-regional, ultimately pan-European context*".[193]

nomena. See *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst, 1200 – 1350.* Eds. F. MÖBIUS – H. SCIURIE. Leipzig 1989, pp. 10-11.

[182] "*... Geschichte der Kunst in einem geographischen Raum*". – WARNKE 1999 (see in note 1), p. 8-13.

[183] "*... Kunst-und Kulturlandschaft [...] ohne fixen Grenzen*". – Ibidem.

[184] SUCKALE, R.: *Kunst in Deutschland. Von Karl dem Grossen bis Heute.* Köln 1998.

[185] Limitation to "*den deutschen Sprachraum*" is regarded by Suckale as a practical "*compromise with the modern idea of nation*". – Ibidem, p. 9. The territorial borders of the history of German art were demarcated in a similar way already by H. WEIGERT in the second edition of his *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (Frankfurt a. M. 1963, p. 5): "*Da der Bereich der deutschen Geistesgeschichte nicht von den jeweiligen politischen Grenzen, sondern von der Sprachgrenze bestimmt war, sind Österreich, Böhmen vor Hus, die Schweiz und das Elsass einbezogen, zumal da ihre Kunst grösstenteils entstand, als sie noch Teile des Reiches waren.*" In contrast to that, A. FEULNER and Th. MÜLLER, the authors of the first post-war *Geschichte der deutschen Plastik* published in München in 1953 (=*Deutsche Kunstgeschichte* (see in note 147), Vol. 2, p. 7), maintained that "*die Geschichte der deutschen Stämme ist unsere Geschichte*" and regarded the history of German sculpture "*als geschlossene Geschichte der Entwicklung des deutschen Geistes*".

[186] "*Die Grenzen der Betrachtung sind in jeder Epoche entsprechend den jeweiligen historischen Realitäten neu zu ziehen.*" – SUCKALE 1998 (see in note 184), p. 9.

[187] "*... Polarität zwischen Lokalpatriotismus und Kosmopolitismus*". – Ibidem, p. 9.

[188] "*... die Kunst in Deutschland, zumindest vor 1800, [muss] als europäisch gemeinte Kunst verstanden werden*". – Ibidem.

[189] "*Die Deutschen selbst sind letzlich 'multinational', und sie verhielten sich über lange Strecken ihrer Geschichte auch 'multikulturell'.*" – Ibidem.

[190] *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich* (see in note 180).

[191] According to H. Fillitz: "*[Man kann] nicht von einer österreichischen Kunst sprechen...*" "*Die Publikation konzentriert sich auf den Bereich des heutigen Österreich.*" – Ibidem, Vol. 1, p. 7.

[192] "*Österreich hat sich immer mit bestimmenden Strömungen Italiens, Frankreichs oder Deutschlands auseinandegesetzt.*" – Ibidem.

[193] Artur Rosenauer emphasizes "*Offenheit der Grenzen*". – ROSENAUER, A.: *Spätmittelalter und Renaissance. Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich.* Vol. 3. München 2003, p. 15. Günther Brucher speaks of "*überregionalen, letzlich gesamteuropäischen Kontext*". – BRUCHER, G.: *Gotik. Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich.* Vol. 2. München 2000, p. 7.

Thus, internationally postulated histories of art in Germany and Austria have opened the door to a more extensive, not only Central European but transnational pan-European art historical approach.

"Kulturtransfer" and East-Central Europe

Another important initiative introduced as a deliberate contribution to the process of uniting Europe and overcoming nationalism in Central European art history was the so-called Jagiellonian project. It was started with the conference *Jagiellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende der Neuzeit*, held in Nuremberg in 1999.[194] The theoretical foundations of the project were laid by Robert Suckale. He revived the rhetorical understanding of style and connected it with Białostocki's dynastic conception of the history of art.[195]

At the same time as Suckale, a number of Central European art historians made an effort to launch a conception of the history of art in Central Europe based on the dynastic principle, on the idea of the history of art considered as the history of royal courts or dynasties.[196] The intention of this trend was especially to overcome narrow nationalist accounts. The ruling dynasties and their courts were no longer seen as representatives or agents of their nations,[197] but as cosmopolitan patrons, mediating international relations and contacts.[198] The theoretical basis of this cultural historical approach is to promote the functional and instrumental understanding of the style of art. It entails a definitive departure from the formalist idea of the autonomy of art.[199]

However, apart from historiographic and methodological components, there is a third idea that the authors, sympathizers, and adherents of this model share. It is the conviction that the art historical process in Central Europe has the character of "Kulturtransfer",[200] according to which the history of art is not a one-sided process, based on the domi-

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[194] *Die Jagiellonen* 2002 (see in note 100). The project was supported by the Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas in Leipzig (GWZO). Political intention of the project was explicitly articulated by R. Suckale as follows: "*Wir wollen zu Erweiterung Westeuropas zum ganzen Kontinent, zu Einheit und gegenseitigem Verständnis beitragen.*" – Ibidem, p. 15.

[195] Suckale reintroduced the rhetorical approach to style be means of the notion "*genera dicendi*" or "*Stillagen*". See SUCKALE, R.: Peter Parler und das Problem der Stillagen. In: *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil* (see in note 158), Vol. 4, pp. 173-184; SUCKALE, R.: Stilbegriffe und Stil um 1330. Versuch einer Grundlegung. In: SUCKALE, R.: *Die Hofkunst Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern*. München 1993, pp. 48-70. Suckale could rely on BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Das Modusproblem in den bildenden Künsten. In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 24, 1961, reprinted in BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: *Stil und Ikonographie. Studien zur Kunstwissenschaft*. Dresden 1966, pp. 9-35; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Zeit, Stil und Aufgaben. In: *Die Kunst des Mittelalters II. Spätmittelalter und beginnende Neuzeit* (=Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 7). Berlin 1972, pp. 21-23.

[196] HOŘEJŠÍ, J. – VACKOVÁ, J.: Die Hofkunst zur Zeit der Jagiellonen-Herrschaft in Böhmen. In: *Die Kunst der Renaissance und des Manierismus in Böhmen*. Hanau 1979; SCHWARZ, M.-V.: *Höfische Skulptur im 14. Jahrhundert. Entwicklungsphasen und Vermittlungswege im Vorfeld des weichen Stils*. Worms 1986; MAROSI, E.: Mitteleuropäische Herrscherhäuser des 13. Jahrhunderts und die Kunst. In: *Künstlerischer Austausch/Artistic Exchange* (see in note 35), Vol. 2, pp. 15-25; KUTHAN,

J.: *Přemysl Otakar II. Král železný a zlatý, král zakladatel a mecenáš* [Přemysl Otakar II. King Iron and Golden, King Founder and Patron]. Vimperk 1993; German edition *Přemysl Otakar II. König, Bauherr und Mäzen. Höfische Kunst im 13. Jahrhundert.* Wien – Köln – Weimar 1996. According to Kuthan: "*Die Charakterisierung einzelner Epochen nach Herrscherpersönlichkeiten oder Herrscherdynastien... hat auch in unserer Disziplin eine lange Tradition... die Herrscherhöfe [waren] nicht nur bestimmte Machtzentren, sondern auch Zentren für die Schöpfung ästhetischer Modelle... Und so wurden Mäzene und Auftraggeber ebenso zum Gegenstand künstlerischer Forschungen... das Mäzenatentum bedeutender Angehörigen von Herrrscherhäusern oder ganzen Dynastien [nimmt] einen besonderen Platz ein.*" – Ibidem, p. 363-364.

[197] Royal dynasties were regarded as embodiment of the nation by nationalist art historians like Pinder or Jantzen. On this, see HELD 2003 (see in note 105), p. 27. W. Schenkluhn clearly differentiates between Pinder's ethno-nacionalist and Jantzen's *étatiste*-national notion of royal dynasties. – SCHENKLUHN 1990 (see in note 21), pp. 158-162.

[198] E. Marosi underlines the leading role of "*intellectuals*" (men of letters) in internationl cultural communication. – MAROSI 1992 (see in note 36), pp. 64-65.

[199] See on that SUCKALE, R.: Stilgeschichte zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Probleme und Möglichkeiten. In: *Stilfragen zur Kunst des Mittelalters* (see in note 106), pp. 271-281.

[200] In Winfried Eberhard's words: "*… es geht vor allem um Prozesse des Kulturtransfers zwischen dem Süden und Norden, Osten und Westen*

nance of centre over periphery, but an interactive and trans-national "exchange".[201]

Thanks to the initiative of the GWZO Leipzig, this cultural historical and trans-nationally oriented model has become the main stream of East-Central European art historiography in the first decade of the third millennium.[202] It has also thematized the concept of the history of art conceived of as the history of European dynasties.[203] However, in spite of its trans-national orientation and intention to understand the history of art as international, pan-European cultural communication, this model still implies an effort to plead for acceptance of the idea of East-Central Europe as an active and creative region. It deliberately limits its range to the territory of the Eastern part of Central Europe and pre-supposes "Ostmitteleuropa" as a specific art historical organism.[204]

What is, however, noteworthy is the fact that the nation-state model of the history of art still survives alongside the trans-national project. In the new context of an already united Europe, the state centred interpretation does not appear any longer as a regressive attempt at national isolation. It is rather a reflection of the polyphonic doctrine of European Union, or even a response to ongoing globalisation. A good example is the collective synthesis on the history of Gothic painting in Poland. It is based on a combination of historicizing and presentist state territorialism,[205] which underlines the integrity of the present Polish state. On the other hand, the latest *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland*, which is generally conceived as a history of media, social functioning of art, and visual communication,[206] can be also considered as an acceleration of the above mentioned trend towards an international, cosmo-

Europas sowie um die kulturelle Vernetzung auf Basis dynastischer und ökonomischer Verbindungen innerhalb der ostmitteleuropäischen Länder. In diesen Bezugen werden kulturelle Verdichtungen angesprochen, in denen der Entwicklungsausgleich, ja zuweilen Vorsprung des östlichen gegenüber den westlichen Mitteleuropa deutlich werden kann. Dieser seit dem 14. Jahrhundert zu beobachtenden Ausgleich des jungeren mit dem älteren Europa widerspricht eklatant der verbreiteten westlichen Vorstellung von der ständigen Entwicklungsverspätung des sogenannten Osten." – EBERHARD, W.: Geleitwort. In: *Die Jagiellonen* 2002 (see in note 100), p. 11. It is worth mentioning that the idea of the historical initiative of the Eastern part of Central Europe is reminiscent of D. Frey's reversal of "West-Ost Gefälle". On the concept of "Kulturtransfer", see DMITRIEVA, M.: *Italien in Sarmatien. Studien zum Kulturtransfer im östlichen Europa in der Zeit der Renaissance.* Stuttgart 2008, pp. 31-34. See also CARQUÉ, B.: Aporien des Kulturtranfers. Bau- und Bildkunstlerische Zeichen von Herrschersakralität in Prag und Paris. In: *Böhmen und das Deutsche Reich. Ideen- und Kulturtransfer im Vergleich (13. – 16. Jahrhundert).* Eds. E. SCHLOTHEUBER – H. SEIBERT. München 2009, pp. 35-62.

[201] According to Suckale: "... *die ganze mitteleuropäische Kunstgeschichte [ist] nicht nach den modernen Nationenverständnis und den heutigen politischen Grenzen zu beurteilen, sondern übernational und überregional.*" – SUCKALE, R.: Über die Hinfälligkeit einiger historiographischer Konzepte und Begriffen zur Deutung der Kunst Böhmens. In: *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext.* Eds. J. FAJT – A. LANGER. Berlin – München 2009, p. 41.

[202] Jagiellonian project has been further developed by Jiří Fajt, Marcus Hörsch and Evelin Wetter. See WETTER, E. (ed.): *Die Länder der böhmischen Krone und ihre Nachbarn zur Zeit*

der Jagiellonenkönige (1471 – 1526). Kunst, Kultur, Geschichte (=Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia, 2). Ostfildern 2004; FAJT, J. – HÖRSCH, M. (eds.): *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa* (=Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia, 1). Ostfildern 2006; *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument* (see in note 201).

[203] See, e.g., *Karl IV. Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden. Kunst und Representation des Hauses Luxemburg, 1310 – 1437.* Ed. J. FAJT. München 2006; *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387 – 1437.* [Exhib. Cat.] Ed. I. TAKÁCS. Budapest – Luxemburg 2006; *Sigismund von Luxemburg. Ein Kaiser in Europa.* Eds. M. PAULY – F. REINERT. Mainz am Rhein 2006. The dynastic interpretation of the history of art has been launched as a critical revision of nationalist art history. Nevertheless, it can also be misused as a mask for crypto-nationalism or crypto-hegemonism. See on that BAKOŠ 2008 (see in note 121), pp. 763-783.

[204] At the time being, multi-volume *Handbuch der Geschichte der bildenden Kunst und Architektur in Ostmitteleuropa* is in progress at GWZO Leipzig.

[205] *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce* (see in note 139). According to the editors, A. S. Labuda, K. Secomska, p. 12, "*territorial demarcation of the work*" covers "*not only historical regions of Polish Kingdom... and Great Lithuanian Principality... but also lands of the present Polish Republic*". See also MOSSAKOWSKI, S.: Foreword. In: Ibidem, pp. 9-10.

[206] See *Gotik. Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland.* Vol. 3. Ed. B. KLEIN. München – Berlin – London – New York 2007. Bruno Klein qualifies "*Medienwandel*" and "*Weiterentwicklung der Medien generell und speziell des Bildes in allen seinen Erscheinungsformen*" as the main object of the history of art in

politan, or pan-European conception. The history of art in Germany is thus understood as "*international exchange and accelerated communication*".[207] What is, however, still challenging is the idea of an extensive Central Europe[208] as an organic part of the European art historical organism promoted today especially by DaCosta Kaufmann.[209] Nevertheless, it seems that while studying the history of art in Central Europe, it will be impossible to manage without such concepts as dissemination, migration, transfer, exchange, acculturation, or province and periphery.[210]

Cesty a stratégie historiografie umenia v strednej Európe

Resumé

Ako je známe, historiografia umenia sa stala štátnou inštitúciou v polovici 19. storočia v Berlíne. Predstavitelia tzv. Berlínskej školy dejín umenia síce považovali umenie za výraz doby a národa, dejiny umenia však nepoňali ako národné dejiny. V šľapajach Hegla skoncipovali dejiny umenia sveta. Opierajúc sa o Herderovu myšlienku dejín ako štafety iniciatív jednotlivých národov poňali aj svetové dejiny umenia pluralisticky ako „deľbu práce národov". K tematizácii nacionálnych dejín dospela nemecká historiografia umenia až po zjednotení Nemecka v roku 1871. Prvé syntetické *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* začali vychádzať až od druhej polovice

osemdesiatych rokov 19. storočia. A hoci väčšina ich autorov sa pridŕžala koncepcie dejín umenia ako vývoja umeleckých štýlov, H. Janitschek vo zväzku venovanom dejinám nemeckého maliarstva sformuloval koncepciu dejín umenia ako dejín etnika a národného štýlu. Etno-nacionálna koncepcia však našla pokračovanie v nemeckej historiografii umenia až po 1. svetovej vojne.

Po porážke buržoáznej revolúcie v roku 1848 bola konštituovaná stolica dejín umenia aj na viedenskej univerzite. Absolventi tzv. Viedenskej školy dejín umenia boli vychovávaní ako štátni experti, ktorých poslaním bola ochrana spoločného ume-

Germany. – Ibidem, p. 8. According to Susanne Wittekind: "*Ziel dieses Bandes ist es, den Handlungs- und Sinnzusammenhang der Kunstwerke aufzuzeigen und ihre Rolle als visuelle Kommunikationsmittel herauszuarbeiten*." – WITTEKIND, S.: *Romanik. Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland.* Vol. 2. München – Berlin – London – New York 2009, p. 7.

[207] *Gotik* (see in note 206), pp. 8-9. See also KLEIN, B.: Internationaler Kunstaustausch. In: *Prag und die grossen Kulturzentren Europas...* (see in note 121), pp. 137-143. In Klein's words: "*Dennoch dürfte längst feststehen, dass künstlerischer Austausch... [ist] ein wichtiges, künstlerische Prozesse determinierendes Element, dessen Erforschung dringend geboten ist.*" – Ibidem, p. 142.

[208] Central Europe is reaching beyond not only the East-Central Europe of Białostocki, but also the Danubian "Habsburg" Central Europe of Eitelberger and the pan-German "Mitteleuropa" of Naumann.

[209] See DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 1995 (see in note 35), pp. 13-27; and DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 2004 (see in note 171), pp.

51-64. According to him: "*... westliches und östliches Mitteleuropa bilden zwei Teile eines Ganzen*". Ibidem, p. 55. That is why "*die Betrachtung Mitteleuropas – nicht nur Ostmitteleuropas – [konnte] ein Anreiz sein, die Grundlage der Geschichte der europäischen Kunst... neu zu überdenken*". – Ibidem, p. 53. He believes: "*... es wäre verfehlt, Ostmitteleuropa bzw. besser Mitteleuropa als Sondergebiet zu behandeln. Die Kunstgeschichte Mitteleuropas sollte vielmehr unseren Blick auf Europa als Ganzes lenken... Mitteleuropa darf nicht isoliert von der übrigen Welt betrachtet werden, sondern sollte in das Konzept einer europäischen, westlichen Kunstgeschichte eingegliedert werden.*" – Ibidem, p. 62.

[210] See DaCOSTA KAUFMANN 2004 (see in note 171), p. 62. For more on this, see BURKE, P.: *Kultureller Austausch.* Frankfurt a. M. 2000, pp. 9-40.

* Author of the paper had the access to an essential article – LABUDA, A. S.: Ostmitteleuropa – Schicksalsgemeinschaft, Forschungsfeld, Kunstregion. In: *kunsttexte.de,* 2010, No. 1, pp. 1-12 – only after sending this essay to the press.

leckého dedičstva monarchie, ako aj propagovanie jej ideológie. Keďže išlo o mnohonárodnostný štát, oficiálnou ideológiou impéria bol kozmopolitizmus. Reprezentanti Viedenskej školy dejín umenia ho vtelili do predstavy univerzálnej kontinuity vývoja, idey autonómie umenia (dejín umenia ako dejín umeleckej formy) a scientistickej (kauzálno--genetickej) umeleckohistorickej metódy. Svojho najväčšieho oponenta našla rieglovsko-wickhoffovská vývojovo-lineárna „europocentrická" škola v J. Strzygowskom. Ťažisko dejín umenia presunul na východ a sever a sformuloval konkurenčnú univerzalistickú koncepciu dejín umenia sveta ako plurality umeleckých, rasovo podmienených okruhov. Keďže umenie pokladal za autochtónny výraz etnika a nie za výsledok vonkajších umeleckých vplyvov, stal sa inšpirátorom národných dejín umenia. Tie našli odozvu predovšetkým u južných Slovanov.

Nielen hlavní predstavitelia, ale aj žiaci a pokračovatelia Viedenskej školy však zásadne odmietli Strzygowskeho iracionálny esencializmus. Po rozpade Rakúsko-Uhorskej monarchie a vzniku samostatných národných štátov bolo ich hlavnou snahou zharmonizovať viedenský scientizmus a univerzalizmus s národným patriotizmom. Národné umenie bolo poňaté ako súčasť univerzálnych dejín umenia a hľadalo sa jeho špecifické resp. tvorivé miesto v európskom umeleckom vývoji. Ak v českom, poľskom, slovinskom či chorvátskom medzivojnovom dejepise umenia mali internacionálne orientovaní historici prevahu, v maďarskej historiografii umenia po porazenej boľševickej Republike rád rozhodujúce pozície zaujali romantickí nacionalisti, ktorí vehementne presadzovali etnicky traktovanú ideu uhorského umenia.

V priebehu 1. svetovej vojny sa aj historiografia umenia nechala vtiahnuť do konfliktu medzi národmi. Jednou z reakcií na porážku Nemecka boli i Dehiove *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (Berlin – Leipzig 1919 – 1929), založené na veľkonemeckej etno-nacionálnej koncepcii. Boli motivované národným patriotizmom, ale bola v nich už obsiahnutá aj hegemonistická myšlienka nemeckého umenia ako šíriteľa západnej kultúry do východnej Európy, výsledkom čoho bola idea tzv. (nemeckého) koloniálneho umenia. V 30. rokoch 20. storočia nacionalizmus ovládol celosvetový dejepis umenia. Skúmanie vývojových vzťahov bolo nahradené hľadaním

národného charakteru a geografických konštánt dejín umenia. Medzinárodný umeleckohistorický kongres v Stockholme v roku 1933 ich povýšil na najaktuálnejšie problémy historiografie umenia. Po nástupe nacizmu nadobudol umeleckohistorický nacionalizmus v Nemecku hegemonistickú podobu. V Pinderových dejinách *Vom Wesen und Werden deutscher Formen* (Leipzig – Köln 1935 – 1951) bola obsiahnutá nielen apológia tvorivosti nemeckého umenia, ale aj nacionálne-hegemonistická koncepcia vzťahu centra a periférie. Nemecký dejepis umenia sa v tom čase sústredil na problematiku tzv. umeleckej geografie, ktorá sa stotožniac umelecký výraz, biologicky pochopený národ („Volk") a teritórium stala inštrumentom ideologického legitimizovania územného expanzionizmu.

Bezprostrednou povojnovou reakciou historikov umenia slovanských krajín na nemecký expanzionizmus bolo kopírovanie spiritualistického etno-nacionalizmu. Poľskí a českí historici umenia sa snažili identifikovať špecifický umelecký výraz duchovnej podstaty slovanských národov. Romantický etno--nacionalizmus sa však skompromitoval natoľko, že v žiadnej podobe nebol udržateľný. Etno-nacionalistická koncepcia bola preto v stredoeurópskych historiografiách umenia postupne nahradená koncepciou teritoriálno-etatistickou. Dejiny umenia boli teraz pochopené ako dejiny (národných) štátov. I toto stanovisko však bolo motivované národným patriotizmom a implikovalo skrytý symbolický zápas o hegemóniu nad teritóriom. Preto sa dejiny umenia traktovali buď ako dejiny štátnych národov, alebo sa teritóriá identifikovali s povojnovými štátnymi útvarmi a projektovali do minulosti.

Pokiaľ ide o nemecký dejepis umenia, po 2. svetovej vojne sa utiahol do pozitivistickej faktografie, mystickej fenomenológie či rezignácie na nacionálnu tematiku, alebo hľadal východisko v koncepcii tzv. „Abendlandu". Etno-hegemonizmus tu bol nahradený akcentovaním prináležitosti nemeckého umenia k západnému kresťanstvu (H. Jantzen, A. Feulner – Th. Müller). Pravda, rezíduá ento-nacionalizmu a hegemonizmu sa ani tu hneď celkom nevytratili. Obrat od pan-germánsky traktovanej „Mitteleuropy" k jej transnacionálnemu chápaniu urýchlili až veľké internacionálne projekty dejín umenia sveta zo 60. rokov 20. storočia ako *The Pelican History of Art* alebo *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*. Prekonanie etno-naciona-

lizmu však predpokladalo i kritickú revíziu staršej, etnicky chápanej „Kunstgeographie". K tomu došlo na zlome 60. a 70. rokov (R. Haussherr). Na základe toho bolo možné podniknúť i pokus o neetnické, etatistické traktovanie dejín nemeckého umenia, t. j. ako dejín umenia super-štátu – Svätej ríše rímskej (W. Brauenfels).

Od konca 60. rokov sa aj v historiografiách umenia východnej časti strednej Európy objavuje snaha prekonať izolacionistickú, nacionálno-etatistickú koncepciu pomocou idey (východnej) strednej Európy ako spoločného a špecifického umeleckého celku (L. Vayer, J. Białostocki, A. Karłowska-Kamzowa). Hľadanie spoločného menovateľa umenia stredo-východnej Európy bolo tentoraz reakciou na sovietsky hegemonizmus. V súvislosti s touto koncepciou sa však začala nahrádzať aj paradigma umenia ako autonómne-formového vývoja inštrumentálno-sociologickým ponímaním. Úlohu katalyzátora pri tejto zmene paradigmy pojmu umenia zohrávala ikonologická metóda. Idee východo-stredoeurópskeho umeleckého organizmu sa však nepodarilo definitívne vytesniť dominantnú národno-štátnu koncepciu dejín umenia strednej Európy. Práve v 70. až 80. rokoch vrcholí úsilie o skoncipovanie syntetických umeleckohistorických panorám jednotlivých (národných) štátov (R. Chadraba a kol., E. Marosi a kol.).

Až proces zjednocujúcej sa Európy koncom 90. rokov priniesol postupné prenesenie ťažiska na transnacionálne chápanie dejín umenia strednej Európy (Th. DaCosta Kaufman, tzv. Jaggielonský projekt koncipovaný R. Suckalem). Tento trend sa prihlásil k myšlienke východnej strednej Európy ako špecifického umeleckého organizmu a programovo sa zacielil na definitívne nahradenie izolovaných národno-štátnych dejín umenia strednej Európy dejinami transnacionálneho a polyfónneho stredoeurópskeho umeleckého celku (najnovšie „Handbuch" dejín umenia v strednej Európe pripravovaný v Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig). Keďže sa pritom umenie chápe ako inštrument objednávateľov a umeleckohistorický proces sa traktuje ako „kultúrny transfer", dejiny národných štátov sa transformujú na dejiny štátno-dynastické.

Ani najnovšie syntézy dejín rakúskeho, poľského a nemeckého umenia, realizované v uplynulej dekáde (H. Fillitz a kol., A. S. Labuda a kol., H. Klotz – M.Warnke, R. Suckale, B. Klein a kol.), nemožno totiž považovať za prežívanie izolacionistického národného patriotizmu. Sú skôr aplikáciou doktríny Európskej únie ako kultúrnej polyfónie. Sú teda i príspevkom k dejinám európskeho umenia poňatým ako kultúrna výmena a internacionálna komunikácia. Pravda, idea natoľko širokého chápania dejín umenia strednej Európy, aby hranice medzi ňou a ostatným európskym kontinentom neboli dôležité, t. j. dejín stredoeurópskeho umenia ako plne európskeho fenoménu (ako to propaguje Th. DaCosta Kaufmann), zostáva naďalej výzvou. Zdá sa však, že ani v tomto prípade sa nebude možné zaobísť bez takých pojmov ako je diseminácia, migrácia, transfer, výmena, hybridizácia či provincia a periféria.

Jan Białostocki and George Kubler.
In an Attempt to Catch Up with the System

Wojciech BAŁUS

I.

The Shape of Time begins and ends with an attack on iconology.[1] According to George Kubler, the research method applied in art history which is based on Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms has led to reductionism and simplifications, excluding from scrutiny everything that was not associated with the morphology of a work of art. That is why Jan Białostocki's interest in the booklet published by the American scholar must have aroused and continues to arouse surprise. Sergiusz Michalski referred to this interest "*as a very specific aspect of Jan Białostocki's views on the research methods used in art history*".[2] In the review

published in *The Art Bulletin*, the issue of iconology naturally takes up quite a lot of space, but the paper also contains a fair amount of praises of Kubler's work. One may of course assume that the reviewer acted in accordance with the simplest possible critical recipe which boils down to three fundamental elements: to sum up – to praise – to criticize, and only decided to sweeten the polemic with little known words of acceptance an delight. Yet this view seems to be contradicted by the Polish edition of the review,[3] and above all by the frequency and the way in which *The Shape of Time* is cited in the articles and papers dating back to the sixties and seventies. We learn from them that Kubler is "*one of the leading*

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[1] KUBLER, G.: *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things.* New Haven – London 1962, pp. VII-VIII and 127-128. From the perspective of the present article, Kubler's critical remarks on the structuralism of the so called Vienna school are not important. The latter had been described by MICHALSKI, S.: Strukturanalyse, Gestaltismus und die Kublersche Theorie. Einige Bemerkungen zu ihrer Geschichte und Abgrenzung. In: VAYER, L. (ed.): *Problemi di metodo. Dizioni di esistenza di una storia dell'arte. Atti del XXIX Congresso C.I.H.A.* Bologna 1982, Vol. 10, pp. 73-74.
The titles of Jan Białostocki's books and articles have been quoted here in an abbreviated version:
– Review of George Kubler, *The Shape of Time.* In: *The Art Bulletin*, 47, 1965, pp. 135-139 – Review of Kubler;
– *Teoria i twórczość. O tradycjach i inwencji w teorii sztuki i ikonografii* [Theory and Art. On Traditions and Invention in the Theory of Art and Iconography]. Poznań 1961 – TiT;
– *Sztuka i myśl humanistyczna. Studia z dziejów sztuki i myśli o sztuce* [Art and Humanist Thought. Studies in History of Art and Thought on Art]. Warszawa 1966 – SiMH;
– *Pięć wieków myśli o sztuce* [Five Centuries of Thought on Art]. Warszawa 1976 (2nd ed.) – 5W;

– *Refleksje i syntezy ze świata sztuki* [Reflections and Syntheses from the World of Art]. Warszawa 1978 – RiS I;
– *Historia sztuki wśród nauk humanistycznych* [History of Art among Other Humanistic Disciplines]. Wrocław 1980 – HSWNH;
– *Symbole i obrazy w świecie sztuki* [Symbols and Images in the World of Art]. Warszawa 1982 – SiO;
– *Refleksje i syntezy ze świata sztuki. Cykl drugi* [Reflections and Syntheses from the World of Art. Cycle Two]. Warszawa 1987 – RiS II;
– *The Message of Images. Studies in the History of Art.* Wien 1988 – MI.

[2] MICHALSKI, S.: Jan Białostocki a ewolucja historii sztuki po roku 1945 [Jan Białostocki and the Evolution of Art History after 1945]. In: POPRZĘCKA, M. (ed.): *Ars longa. Prace dedykowane pamięci profesora Jana Białostockiego* [Ars longa. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Jan Białostocki]. Warszawa 1999, p. 56.

[3] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Kształt czasu. Kryzys pojęcia stylu i teoria Kublera [The Shape of Time. The Crisis of the Concept of Style and Kubler's Theory]. In: SiMH, pp. 135-145.

theoreticians in the research on the art of our times", who has written a "*fascinating book*".[4] His conception was to have constituted a reply to the crisis of the concept of style, and above all, an attempt to overcome the paradigm of stylistic unity of periods and the single-file march of styles throughout history.[5] He was able to show that at every moment of history there co-exist numerous developmental sequences which create, as it were, bundles of tradition; and thus a single art product contains forms which are descended from the earlier phases of evolution, that is, it is not possible to create a monograph of a single object, without taking into consideration the above-mentioned sequences.[6] He introduced the concepts of "*prime objects*" and their "*replicas*" which hark back to them, in this way creating a category which is in some way similar to Braudel's "*longue durée*", and in this way created the possibility of classifying, e.g., the Polish sepulchral dome chapels from the period of the Renaissance, with the Sigismund Chapel as a "*prime object*".[7] Finally, he prepared instruments which enabled one to analyze and understand the functioning of the concepts of tradition and innovation.[8]

All of the above-quoted arguments (except the comparison to Braudel) had already been presented in the review of *The Shape of Time*.[9] Thus Jan Białostocki's attitude toward Kubler's theory was entirely positive, regardless of some critical comments, mainly regarding his evaluation of iconology. Thus, one is bound to ask, what had caused Białostocki's fascination?

II.

Sergiusz Michalski once remarked that Białostocki was not a typical iconologist. In his substantial academic output, there is no "*single study which would take up an analysis of the multi-image or multi-thematic decoration… for the professor… preferred short studies of the iconographic type – to mention, such excellent studies as, for instance Puer sufflans ignes on the motif of 'Esilio Privato', or a study on the motif of the 'Door of Death' in the sepulchral sculpture, both of which were based on partial findings or quite narrowly defined topics*".[10] In reality, the majority of Białostocki's iconographic studies have concrete and quite precisely defined topics; nonetheless, in most cases, the researcher's goal here was not to explain a single work of art, but to present a reconstruction of a sequence of transformations which themes had undergone in the course of their existence. In his review of Kubler's book, Białostocki remarked that iconography scholars may also be interested in "*sequences of solutions*", particularly when they "*try to find out how the same idea or the same myth used to be expressed by art at various moments*".[11] Thus although in the case of "*the door of death*", it was the Warsaw tomb of Jan Tarło that became the pretext for the article, yet its final version showed the presence of the motif from antiquity up to the twentieth century.[12] Giorgione's painting had stimulated deliberations on the transformations of the character of Judith from the time of the Middle Ages to the period of Art Nouveau.[13] The focus on the process of "*longue durée*" is best visible

[4]   BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: "Alt" und "Neu" in der Kunstgeschichte. In: *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, 20, 1975.

[5]   BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Pojęcia i problemy współczesnej historii sztuki [The Concepts and Problems in Contemporary History of Art]. In: RiS I, pp. 9-22; HSWNH, pp. 48-50.

[6]   BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Rokoko: ornament, styl i postawa [Rococo: Ornament, Style and Attitude]. In: RiS I, pp. 168-169; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: O faktach i uogólnieniach w historii sztuki [On Facts and Generalizations in Art History]. In: RiS I, pp. 252-253; HSWNH, pp. 49-51.

[7]   BIAŁOSTOCKI 1975 (see in note 4); BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Renesans polski i renesans europejski [The Polish and the European Renaissance]. In: RiS I, p. 42; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe. Hungary, Bohemia, Poland.* Oxford [a.o.] 1976; HSWNH, pp. 51, 78.

[8]   BIAŁOSTOCKI 1975 (see in note 4); BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Tradycja i innowacja [Tradition and Innovation]. In: RiS II, p. 16.

[9]   Review of Kubler, pp. 135-137.

[10]   MICHALSKI 1999 (see in note 2), pp. 57, 58.

[11]   Review of Kubler, p. 138.

[12]   BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: The Door of Death: Survival of a Classical Motif in Sepulchral Art. In: MI, pp. 14-41.

[13]   BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Judith: The Story, the Image, and the Symbol. Giorgione's Painting in the Evolution of the Theme. In: MI, pp. 113-131.

in the author's study of the Nereids in the Sigismund Chapel. The narration does not begin here with the titular chapel, but with a presentation of ancient sarcophaguses with the images of the so called sea *Thiasos*, which makes the Cracow low reliefs but a chain in the centuries-long iconographic sequence.[14] The article devoted to the issue of *vanitas* is an example of the author's ambition to present a single issue in a comprehensive and exhaustive way.[15] The crowning of the thus conceived studies could be a history of art as seen from the iconographic perspective;[16] the latter approach was postulated by the scholar who had even presented its tentative outline.[17]

Thus Jan Białostocki was focused on great and vast issues which recur throughout history. He was interested in categories that are capable of capturing the historical processes in their most general and fundamental forms, such as "*longue durée*", or "*tradition and innovation*".[18] He wrote about "*facts and generalizations*" in art history, about replicas and copies, about symmetry in visual arts as well as about ways of presenting time as carriers of meaning.[19] The conception of the encompassing theme also constituted an attempt to work out a general iconographic category which would be capable of explaining the persistent recurrence of certain formal presentations; it did so by pointing out to a permanent link between composi-

tion and the expressed idea, regardless of the detailed theme of a concrete work of art.[20] Białostocki often undertook to carry out syntheses of controversial or contentious problems which often possessed vast literary sources that were contradictory in their conclusions. Such was the origin of his studies devoted to Late Gothic, Mannerism, Baroque, Rococo or Romanticism.[21] In the above studies, Białostocki always drew attention to the pluralism of the analyzed phenomena; he pointed to their polymorphic character, to the co-existence of innovative and traditionalist tendencies in them. He also tried to prove that history, and in particular the history of the human thought and creativity, is never one-dimensional and that it is impossible for one to present it in the form of a single, all-explaining formula.

Thinking in global categories and trying to introduce order into general phenomena, the scholar needed concepts that would be able to ensure the right tectonics to the erected edifice. He thought about them already in the 1950s and getting acquainted with Kubler's book only assured him that he was heading in the right direction. In a treatise devoted to traditions and iconographic transformations, he, among others, wrote: "*But once the images, stories and allegories are created, they begin to live their own lives. It is a continual conflict between the forces of tradition*

[14] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: The Sea-Thiasos in Renaissance Sepulchral Art. In: *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to Anthony Blunt on His 60th Birthday.* London [a.o.] 1967, pp. 69-74.

[15] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Vanitas: z dziejów obrazowania idei "marności" i "przemijania" w poezji i sztuce [Vanitas: On the History of the Presentation of the Concepts of "Vanity" and "Passing" in Poetry and Art]. In: TiT, pp. 105-136.

[16] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Romantische Ikonographie. In: BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: *Stil und Ikonographie.* Köln 1981, p. 214.

[17] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Skizze einer Geschichte der beabsichtigen und der interpretierenden Ikonographie. In: KAEMMERLING, E. (ed.): *Ikonographie und Ikonologie. Theorien – Entwicklung – Probleme: Bildende Kunst als Zeichensystem.* Vol. 1. Köln 1979, pp. 16-42.

[18] BIAŁOSTOCKI 1987 (see in note 8), pp. 11-17.

[19] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: O faktach i uogólnieniach historii sztuki [On Facts and Generalizations in Art History]. In: RiS I, pp.

247-254; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: O replikach i kopiach – dawniej i dziś [On Replicas and Copies – In the Old Times and Today]. In: RiS II, pp. 225-233; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Uwagi o symetrii w sztukach wizualnych [Some Comments on Symmetry in Visual Arts]. In: RiS II, pp. 62-69; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Modi di rappresentare il tempo nelle arti visive come veicoli del significanto. In: *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Roberto Salvini.* Firenze 1984, pp. 589-594.

[20] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Encompassing Themes and Archetypal Images. In: *Arte Lombarda*, 10, 1965, pp. 275-284.

[21] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Spory o późny gotyk [Arguments Concerning Late Gothic]. In: SiMH, pp. 93-118; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Pojęcie manieryzmu i sztuka polska [The Concept of Mannerism and Polish Art]. In: 5W, pp. 190-211; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Two Types of International Mannerism: Italian and Northern. In: *Umění*, 18, 1970, pp. 105-109; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Rokoko: ornament, styl i postawa [Rococo: Ornament, Style and Attitude]. In: RiS I, pp. 158-177; BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Romantyzm malarski w Polsce i w Europie [Romanticism in Painting in Poland and Europe]. In: RiS I, pp. 80-89.

and innovation. In fact there are no images, in which some form of iconographic transformation has not taken place, except these very first images 'prototypes' that constitute the first mature visual presentation of some idea. Just as there exist typical images, iconographic 'types', there also exist formal 'types', and one might say that an analogous phenomenon relating to transformations can also be observed in the field of formal development. Only the 'prototypes', the stylistic 'archetypes', such as the Gothic choir in Ile-de-France toward the end of the 12th century, like the Florentine palace dating back to the era of quattrocento, like Raphael's Madonna, a Palladian villa or a Roman Baroque church, they constitute pure, typical and 'prime' stylistic creations."[22] The above treatise was published only once in *Teoria i twórczość* (Theory and Creativity). It appeared about a year before the publication of Kubler's book. Yet, in the treatise, we can come across categories which are very similar to the ones introduced by the American scholar. Białostocki wrote about the pure "first" creations, from which series of subsequent works are descended; he wrote about iconographic types which are subject to transformations and in which one can discover traces of former decisions; he also wrote about the continual struggle between tradition and innovation throughout history. While dealing with iconography, he also mentioned similar phenomena which occurred within the formal structure of works of art. In this way, he was fully prepared to accept such terms as "*prime objects and replicas*", "*invention and transformation*", "*replication*", "*form sequences*", "*rejection and preservation*" or "*quick and slow events*".[23]

III.

Thus we can say that Jan Białostocki thought in a systemic way which allowed him to become fascinated with *The Shape of Time*. In his review, he emphasized the systemic character of Kubler's reflections, stating that his book had grown out of a tendency to "*find points of view from which the whole world of human art can be grasped as a visual manifestation of human history*".[24] However, Białostocki himself was the author of the article entitled "W pogoni za schematem. Usiłowania systematycznej historii sztuki" (In Pursuit of a Paradigm. An Attempt to Present a Systemic Art History) which had appeared a few years earlier. Already the very use of the words "*pursuit*" and "*attempt*" in the title of the article betrayed its critical and polemic tone. The young author opposed the attempts aimed at the discovery of a simple, "*a few beat rhythm of art history*", and presenting the foundations of art in the form of binary oppositions of the type: classical – non-classical or classical – primitive.[25] Whereas in his article he did not oppose attempts to create a comprehensive, systemic vision of art history. "*Is it not right*," he asked, "*to find types of artistic expression that are specific and common to various artists due to their similar mental constitution and a similar milieu, understood in the widest possible way? For it is not only the mind of the perceiver that has a tendency to come up with classifying interpretations – the mind of the artist is also human and thus, the created work should be commensurate with classifying interpretations which we would like to find in it.*"[26] The author rejected exclusively simplified and schematic interpretations; he stated that a characteristic feature of art history is "*a permanent coexistence of various strivings and tendencies with an unquestioned predominance of some of them in certain periods*", and that "*no single period in art history obtains an absolute and unattainable homogeneity in all of its artistic endeavors*".[27] Therefore already in the 1940s of the 20th century, he observed a need for a pluralist view of the history of the art process and he postulated that such a system should be built in the future. "*It is a painstaking process,*" he concluded, "*and a one which does not produce such dazzling or alluring effects as the ones with which the two or three-beat systems appear to dazzle us. The number of elements will be bigger here; there will be more combinations and links, and even more resultant forms – but*

[22] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: Tradycje i przekształcenia ikonograficzne [Traditions and Iconographic Transformations]. In: TiT, pp. 139-140.

[23] KUBLER 1962 (see in note 1), passim.

[24] Review of Kubler, p. 135.

[25] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: W pogoni za schematem. Usiłowania systematycznej historii sztuki [In Pursuit of a Paradigm. An Attempt to Present a Systemic Art History]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 9, 1947, pp. 225-239.

[26] Ibidem, p. 238.

[27] Ibidem, p. 238.

the results will be more certain, less arbitrary and more perfect. The material itself should provide us with a leading thread. Whereas the combination of various attitudes and preferences should allow us to create works of art that are more intricate in their infinite variety."[28]

IV.

An inclination to think systemically so as to encompass the analyzed reality in its entire complexity could also be perceived in Jan Białostocki's views on the methodology of the discipline which he had practiced. In his work entitled *Historia sztuki wśród nauk humanistycznych* (History of Art among Other Humanistic Disciplines), he tried to "reconcile" various contradictory views and opinions, and derive some important and useful lesson from each one; whereas views which he regarded as harmful or dangerous to further development of research on art were simply neutralized by him. He opposed tendencies to depreciate iconology on the grounds that a critique and rejection of iconology were equivalent to undermining the uniform theoretical foundations of the entire discipline.[29] Agreeing that "*every method of interpretation has its limits*", and that "*its might is not eternal*", Białostocki argued that the "*methods shaped and implemented into everyday practice, in reality never die. For each of them constitutes a tool which opens up some aspect of history. It is only all of these methods taken together which create a researcher's arsenal.*"[30] Talking about a crisis of his profession, he referred to a lack of a general theory which "*is necessary for a scientific discipline to operate in an effective way*" as well as a lack of "*any norm, in accordance with which it could shape its evaluating opinions*".[31] Thus the crisis was for him a consequence of a weakening of the system and a lack of universal principles. That is why, his wish to "reconcile" and piece together various methodological approaches was not so much the result of his own academic practice, but of a striving to preserve and strengthen the entire structure of art

history. Yet this attempt had only led to the postulate of methodological eclecticism. The fullest and most exhaustive exposition of this method is presented in the above-quoted book. "*History of art*," Białostocki wrote in the last sub-chapter of his book, "*is a complex discipline. It consists of many research methods of a different character, different origin and is sometimes closely bound up with other disciplines of knowledge. These fibrous bundles represent different ages and in this the history of art reminds one of the object of its research, that is art itself.*"[32] The metaphor of "*fibrous bundles*" comes from *The Shape of Time* and was cited in the second chapter of *History of Art among Other Humanistic Disciplines*: "*… we can imagine the flow of time as assuming the shapes of fibrous bundles, with each fiber corresponding to a need… and lengths of the fibers varying as to the duration of each need and the solution to its problems.*"[33] Yet the sense of the metaphor had been altered by Białostocki. For while the American wrote about the pluralism of traditions occurring, at the same moment the Polish scholar tried to say something about the research methods. For Kubler, a bundle was yet another term relating to the *shape* of time; by resorting to it, one could describe past events, whereas Białostocki saw in it a joining together of heterogeneous attitudes. Yet the present does not have to be a bundle; the contemporary times do not have to assume any particular shape; they only define the simultaneous character of earthly existence. Neighborhood does not guarantee a community, and therefore various methodologies may equally well complement each other, like an analysis of historical sources, identification of style and iconographic interpretation, or exclude and clash with each other. When treated in a general way, the metaphor of a bundle becomes therefore a kind of an alibi for eclecticism, a rhetorical rescue for the system which in reality is not based on solid foundations. The edifice which was so carefully being erected in *History of Art among Other Humanistic Disciplines* was in reality a colossus on clay feet.

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[28] Ibidem, p. 239.

[29] BRYL, M.: Czy samobójstwo teorii historii sztuki? O "Bildwissenschaft", bałkanizacji, polskim kontekście i suwerenności sztuki [Suicide of the Theory of Art History? On "Bildwissenschaft", Balkanization, Polish Context and Independence of Art]. In: *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 26, 2001, p. 8.

[30] HSWNH, pp. 30-31.

[31] Ibidem, pp. 28-29.

[32] Ibidem, p. 130.

[33] KUBLER 1962 (see in note 1), p. 122.

It seems that Białostocki's failure to construct a methodological system of art history was caused by paradigmatic conditionings. In the year 1970, Polish philosopher and catholic priest Józef Tischner published an article entitled "Schyłek chrześcijaństwa tomistycznego" (Decline of Thomist Christianity), thereby initiating a ten-year long stormy philosophical debate. One of the arguments which he used concerned the continual efforts of Thomism to create a closed and exhaustive system which would constitute a synthesis of "*Christian revelation and the findings of science and philosophy*".[34] Yet, according to the author, "*explanatory syntheses*" were a thing of the past; they belonged to a different epoch. For although "*explanatory syntheses*", he wrote, "*allowed one to think about a subject, yet they did not allow one to get to know it*".[35] This diagnosis was to some extent in accord with Lyotard's report on the state of knowledge of 1979. Thinking, that is story-telling, and "*Grand Narrative*" were receding into the shadow. What began to count now in science and learning was concrete cognition, that is, effectiveness.[36] Art history had also experienced its time of "*Grand Narrative*". It was associated with the formalist attitude, when it was art understood in general terms[37] that was regarded as the aim of research. The methodological approaches proposed by Riegl, Wölfflin or Focillon allowed one to tell long stories about stylistic transformations and to think in terms of the category of *Kunstwollen*, of "*pure vision*" or independent "*life of forms*", yet they did not provide sufficient instruments to penetrate into an individual work of art. Kubler's book seems to belong to this way of interpreting art history. Although the author wanted to deal with the "*history of things*", he was not interested in the functional aspects of objects (such as the traditional history of material culture), nor – God forbid – in their cultural sense (which constitutes the nucleus of research of contemporary anthropology).[38] From things he distilled their visual form, treating it as the titular "*shape of time*". Yet by doing so, he founded his methodology on an irrational, illusory "mental" category which was perceptible only through the consequences of activity. *Time* is to be recorded in the form of *shape*. Therefore, we are returning to Focillon and his conceptions. Yet through the formula of "*life of forms*", we are going back even further in time, to the concept of *Lebensphilosophie*, for which life was perceptible not directly, but exclusively, as Dilthey wrote, "*through its externalizations*".[39] Similarly, one could get to know *Kunstwollen* exclusively indirectly, through works of art.

The new approach resigned from systematic ambitions, focusing on the individual work of art. In his review of Kubler, Białostocki wrote that "'*iconology' deals with individual works of art. 'History of things' deals with sequences, the solving of problems, with prime objects and replications. Iconology tries to find out how the unique meaning is expressed through the unique form in a selected work. For the 'history of things', one work is of little interest: it is its chains, sequences, and general laws ruling its relations with other works – invention, replication, retention and discard – that form the object of research.*"[40] It was not important at that point whether and to what extent iconology was really able to focus on the uniqueness of the individual works of art, for it rather quickly dissolved them in the cosmos of culture, that is, it reverted to "*Grand Narratives*". The essential thing was that in the above-cited fragment, Białostocki drew attention to the effectiveness of becoming acquainted with a single painting or sculpture and thereby shed light on the bipolar character of his own approach.

[34] TISCHNER, J.: Schyłek chrześcijaństwa tomistycznego [Decline of Thomist Christianity]. In: TISCHNER, J.: *Myślenie według wartości* [Thinking by Values]. Kraków 1982, p. 222 .

[35] Ibidem, p. 223.

[36] LYOTARD, J.-F.: *The Postmodern Condition*. Manchester 1984, chapters 8-11.

[37] That is how I understand the sense of the concept of "*Grand Narrative*". – LOCHER, H.: *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst, 1750 – 1950*. München 2001.

[38] BARAŃSKI, J.: *Świat rzeczy. Zarys antropologiczny* [The World of Things. An Anthropological Outline]. Kraków 2007, pp. 7-32.

[39] DILTHEY, W.: Typy światopoglądów ich rozwinięcie w systemach metafizycznych [Types of Outlooks and Their Development in Various Metaphysical Systems]. In: DILTHEY, W.: *O istocie filozofii i inne pisma* [On the Nature of Philosophy and Other Writings]. Warszawa 1987, p. 120.

[40] Review of Kubler, p. 138.

A continuation of the above citation can be seen in the scholar's opinion concerning the presence of sequences in the meditations on iconography. Thus while opting out for an interpretation of individual art phenomena, the author at the same time did not want to lose touch with the total historical process, with the "life story" of art objects. He wanted to combine a microscopic vision with the panoramic view. Maybe just like Tischner's adversaries, he was vexed by the bleak vision of the world devoid of a rigid framework of the system – of an incomplete and fragmentary image. But the time of great syntheses was definitely over. Jan Białostocki was aware that a "*certain period in art history had come to a close*".

He spoke about this during the discussion in Rogalin on the 14 November 1973. Unfortunately, neither then nor later in his life did he specify what this closing consisted in, except for a single statement that "*theoretical reflection is born when we look at issues that are already closed, as it were from beyond the caesura which had taken place*".[41] That is why he continued to strive to construct a comprehensive system of theoretical foundations for the whole discipline, whereas a symbol of his attempts to catch up with the receding system was the metaphor of the bundle – a complex of methods that were bound exclusively by their temporal proximity.

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[41] BIAŁOSTOCKI, J.: [voice in the discussion]. In: *Interpretacja dzieła sztuki. Studia i dyskusje* [The Interpretation of the Work of Art. Studies and Discussions]. Warszawa – Poznań 1976, p. 196.

Jan Białostocki a George Kubler. Pokus o prekonanie systému

Resumé

Publikácia *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven – London 1962), ktorej autorom je George Kubler, sa začína aj končí útokom na ikonológiu. Vedecká metóda založená na Cassirerovej filozofii symbolických foriem viedla podľa Kublera k zjednodušeniam, vytesňujúcim zo skúmania všetko, čo nesúvisí s morfológiou umeleckého diela. Záujem Jana Białostockeho práve o túto prácu vplyvného amerického historika umenia preto bol a stále je prekvapujúcim faktom.

Recenzia zmienenej publikácie, ktorú Białostocki vydal v časopise *The Art Bulletin*, obsahovala popri dominantných ikonologických reflexiách aj množstvo pochvalných vyjadrení na adresu jej autora. Recenzent tu pravdepodobne zvolil ten najjednoduchší kritický prístup, redukovateľný na tri základné kroky – zhrnúť, vyzdvihnúť, kritizovať. Poľské vydanie recenzie a predovšetkým frekvencia a spôsob citácií *The Shape of Time* v štúdiách zo 60. a 70. rokov však túto možnosť spochybňujú. Białostocki sa v nich snažil formulovať odpovede na krízu konceptu štýlu a prekonať paradigmy štýlovej jednoty jednotlivých historických období a priamej štýlovej postupnosti v priebehu dejín. Dokázal, že v každom okamihu koexistuje množstvo vývojových sekvencií, tvoriacich „zväzky" tradícií. Umelecké dielo obsahuje formy odvoditeľné zo skorších fáz vývoja a jeho monografiu nie je preto bez ich reflexie možné spracovať. Predstavil koncepty „*prvotných objektov*" a ich „*replík*", kategórie v niektorých aspektoch blízke Braudelovmu „*longue durée*". Ich prostredníctvom bola umožnená klasifikácia napríklad poľských kupolových pohrebných kaplniek z obdobia renesancie s krakovskou Žigmundovou kaplnkou ako ich „*prvotným objektom*". Napokon, Białostocki pripravil aj nástroje pre analýzu a pochopenie fungovania konceptov tradície a inovácie.

Všetky vyššie citované argumenty (okrem porovnania s Braudelom) sa objavili už v spomenutej recenzii Kublerovej publikácie. Predkladaná štúdia sa preto podrobnejšie venuje dôvodom Białostockeho zaujatia Kublerovým dielom, paralelám a odlišnostiam ich prístupov.

Preklad z angličtiny M. Hrdina

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Rodzińska-Chorąży, Teresa: Zespoły rezydencjonalne i kościoły centralne na ziemiach polskich do połowy XII wieku
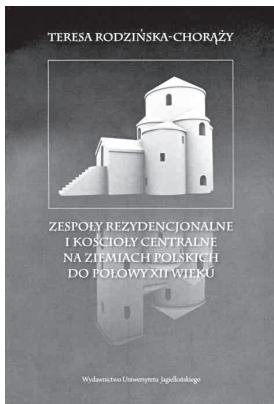
Centrálne stavby sú celoeurópsky rozšírenou, bohato diferencovanou skupinou stredovekých pamiatok. Ich zvláštny druh – rotundy – sa stali dôležitou oblasťou medievalistického bádania v strednej Európe. Pútajú archeológiu, dejiny umenia i ďalšie disciplíny. Výnimočná pozornosť, ktorá sa tu rotundám venuje, odráža jednak vedecké ambície či problémy týchto odborov, ale pomerne často nachádza odozvu i v aktualizáciách motivovaných súčasnou politikou. Centrály predstavujú jednu z najstarších foriem architektúry vo všetkých regiónoch strednej Európy. Objavili sa ruka v ruke s christianizačnými procesmi na pôde najstarších štátnych útvarov formujúcich sa v tomto priestore. Príznačne boli nazvané fakľou christianizácie (A. Merhautová-Livorová, 1970). Hoci nemali komplikovanejšie pôdorysné riešenia, i tak neboli uniformne jednotné. Ich istejšie zhodnotenie však komplikuje nielen elementárna forma, ale aj stav zachovania.

Stredoeurópskych centrál sa dotýka početná, ba ťažko prehliadnuteľná literatúra, vznikajúca od záveru 19. storočia. Orientuje sa najmä na zverejnenie jednotlivých pamiatok v ich nálezovom stave. Nezostáva však iba pri tom, zvyčajne takmer každou stavbou sa otvárajú aj otázky východísk. S tematikou centrál sa spája mnoho hypotéz, diskusií a neistôt. Zaiste i preto nemá táto sféra výskumu početnejšie sumarizácie. Bádanie napreduje aj cestou revízií skorších výskumov už známych pamiatok a z nich

vyplývajúcich reinterpretácií. Viaceré z týchto hľadísk spojila kniha krakovskej historičky umenia Teresy Rodzińskej-Chorąży, venovaná širšie centrálnym stavbám a užšie špecifickému útvaru palácových komplexov na území Poľska, ktorá je jednak kritickým návratom k nálezovým okolnostiam i interpretáciám viacerých dôležitých pamiatok (korigujúc aj vlastné autorkine výskumy), zároveň tiež prináša zhrnutia genézy jednotlivých stavebných typov, vyskytujúcich sa v najstaršej architektúre Poľska. Knihu dopĺňajú kapitoly, venované metodologickým úvahám o charaktere počiatkov umenia stredoveku v poľskom kontexte, opäť na základe dôslednej reflexie doterajšieho domáceho i medzinárodného bádania. Pohybuje sa rovnako v archeológii i v dejinách umenia, alebo presnejšie na poli formujúcej sa, hoci nepomenovanej *medzi-disciplíny*, v ktorej sa obidve prelínajú, vzájomne kontrolujú a ovplyvňujú. Pri aplikovaní tohto termínu (*międzydyscyplina*) sa autorka odvoláva na úsek štúdie J. Białostockého (*Historia sztuki wśród nauk humanistycznych*. Wrocław 1980), zvažujúcej vedľa tradičných humanitných odborov aj vznik ďalších prístupov – *medzi-disciplín* – s východiskom v skúmaní a konfrontácii funkcií umenia a iných výtvorov človeka (s. 263). Tento interdisciplinárny prienik archeológie a dejín umenia má svoje dôsledky aj v metodologických stanoviskách i v pohľadoch na materiál, ktorý len málokedy obsahuje výraznejšie štýlové znaky a skôr má charakter neúplných stavebných reliktov. V žiadnom prípade nie je poľským špecifikom, ale tamojšie bádanie v poslednom období prinieslo na tomto poli pozoruhodné výsledky (až po aktuálnu publikáciu T. Rodzińskej-Chorąży), ktoré môžu byť inšpiratívne aj pre výskumy v susediacich krajinách (vrátane Slovenska), viazané príbuznými vedeckými záujmami, povahou pamiatok a spojené

aj úvahami o vzájomných väzbách či ovplyvňovaní v ranom stredoveku.

V genéze poľského bádania sa začala spoznávať architektúra raného stredoveku najmä na základe archeologických výskumov – postupne a súbežne sa počas 20. storočia začali formulovať predstavy o stavebných vzťahoch v stredoeurópskom priestore. V hľadaní spojitostí medzi poľskými rotundami a veľkomoravskými i českými prototypmi boli čiastočnou oporou aj dejinné argumenty o viacvrstvových väzbách raného poľského štátu k Čechám i Veľkej Morave. Ale tak ako medzi poľskými historikmi neexistuje jednotný názor na veľkomoravskú misiu i na české kontakty, rovnako je to s rotundami krakovského Wawelu či nálezmi z iných častí Poľska (Ostrów Lednicki), ktoré boli sčasti známe pred veľkomoravskými odkryvmi (napr. štvorapsidová rotunda z Krakova). Vyskytovali sa v poľskej i českej literatúre (napr. u J. Cibulku s úvahou o východisku v pražskej svätovítskej rotunde). Ďalšie nálezy na oboch stranách nielenže rozšírili argumentačné pole, ale vyhrocovali aj pozície odmietania či akceptovania stredoeurópskeho sprostredkovania spolu s predstavou o lineárnej postupnosti transferu foriem rotúnd, či priameho čerpania z otónskeho umenia a jeho karolínskeho základu. V poľskom dejepise umenia i archeológii sa však vždy za úzkymi stredoeurópskymi vzťahmi intenzívne skúmala aj vzdialenejšia genéza a neprijímali sa jej hotové interpretácie. Takto i v poľskej literatúre o rotundách sa zopakovalo rozdelenie názorov na *pro-západné* a *pro-východné* (či *pro-južné*), sprevádzajúce výskum aj inde, ktoré sa však pre mnohorakosť stavieb neprejavilo vo vyhrotenej polarizácii.

Ak Z. Świechowski (*Architektura romańska w Polsce*. Warszawa 2000, s. 13) chcel vysvetliť skupinu krakovských rotúnd, tak pre ne ako rozhodujúci impulz predpokladal stredoeurópsky zdroj (z Veľkej Moravy), čo však nevylúčilo aj možnosť vplyvu bavorských stavieb. Krakovská rezidencia pôsobila zas ďalej na o málo mladšie stavby vo veľkopoľských palácových areáloch, ktoré prijímali aj otónske architektonické podnety. Taktiež P. Skubiszewski (L'art des Slaves occidentaux autour de l'an Mil. In: *Gli slavi occidentali e meridionali nell'Alto Medioevo*. Spoleto 1983, s. 773 f.) akceptoval česko-poľskú líniu vzťahov, ale doplnil ju o momenty *evolúcie* a *tvorivosti*, sprevádzajúce rotundy už od ich objavenia v strednej Európe. Aj veľkomoravské stavby nevznikli ako jednoduchá

imitácia adriatických vzorov (ktoré neboli dokonca ani ich priamymi prototypmi), ale spojili rozličné (i západné) inšpirácie a adaptovali ich podľa funkcií. K. Żurowska (*Studia nad architekturą wczesnopiastowską*. Warszawa – Kraków 1983), ktorá skúmala krakovskú architektúru i komplex na Ostrówe Lednickom, uvažovala o istom veľkomoravskom i českom podiele na formovaní poľských stavieb; ďalšiu dôležitú úlohu pripísala karolínskym vplyvom a ideám, napríklad emporovému programu, ktoré do Poľska prichádzali s otónskym umením. V konečnom dôsledku v Poľsku vznikala nová kvalita, pôvodom síce v rôznych tradíciách (okrem uvedených zhŕňajúca aj ďalšie, napr. neskoroantickú zo severnej Itálie), avšak s vlastným umeleckým charakterom.

Z metodologických úvah je zásadná štúdia L. Kalinowského (*Sztuka przedromańska i romańska w Polsce a dziedzictwo karolińskie i ottońskie*, 1980), zvažujúca ako možno vlastne nazvať *obdobie predrománskeho umenia* v Poľsku. Tento text, odkazujúci i na analýzy centrál, v ktorých sa spájali cisárske (karolínsko-otónske) prvky s južnými (*premier art roman*), navrhuje pre komplikované štýlové vrstvy zohľadniť historickú, nie umeleckohistorickú periodizáciu a nazývať toto obdobie (umenie) *včasnopiastovským*. Dôvody sú jednoduché: včasnopiastovské umenie slúžilo osobitým potrebám tohto prostredia.

Myšlienky blízke L. Kalinowskému o celkovom charaktere i obsahu včasnopiastovského umenia i polemiky okolo jeho zdrojov poskytli podnety pre najnovšiu reflexiu architektúry raného stredoveku v Poľsku, o ktorú sa pokúsila T. Rodzińska-Chorąży. V autorkinej sumarizácii sa takto centrály ukazujú ako bohato diferencovaný, nejednotný stavebný druh, zastupujúci viac typov. Z nich časť (ako napr. lednická kaplnka či wawelská tetrakoncha) nemá priame vzory a ich funkčné i formové elementy – cudzieho pôvodu – sa tvorivo spojili na poľskej pôde do nových originálnych celkov. Zistenie rôznorodých tradícií, z ktorých vychádzalo včasnopiastovské umenie, postavilo do prekvapivého svetla i stredoeurópske vzťahy. Z porovnania pamiatok nevyplýva ich priama závislosť a následnosť (poľských od českých a iných), ale skôr paralelnosť užívaných stavebných typov. Ak sa javí nejaká podobnosť – ako v prípade jednoduchých rotúnd –, tak je to dané využitím toho istého modelu misijného kostola, pôvodom z ranokresťanských baptistérií. Ich rozšírenie v Európe

je zložitejšie ako skôr predpokladaná úzko regionálna závislosť. Priestor umeleckej a ideovej inšpirácie Piastovcov nebol v Čechách, ale západnejšie a južnejšie. Jednoduché rotundy majú spoločné korene a v celej strednej Európe realizovali rovnaký program misijnej svätyne: ide o formu *nadčasovú*, *nadštátnu* i *nadslohovú* (s. 194), spojenú s *christianizačnými* ale aj *re-christianizačnými* procesmi.

Pohľad na vzťahy v strednej Európe sa mení prehodnotením niekdajších interpretácií nielen v Poľsku, ale aj inde. Príkladom je aktualizovaná chronológia pražskej svätovítskej rotundy (J. Frolík, 2000), predtým jednej z kľúčových pamiatok, z ktorej sa odvodzovalo ďalekosiahle nástupníctvo. Mnohé iné pamiatky naďalej nemajú ustálenejšie či presvedčivejšie zaradenie. Tak aj v záveroch publikácie sú častejšie otázky ako konštatovania. Vyplývajú aj z názvov posledných kapitol: „Je architektúra v Poľsku do polovice 12. storočia románska?", „Sú palácové komplexy a centrálne stavby provinčnou imitáciou alebo individuálnou kreáciou?", „Je včasnopiastovská architektúra náhodným výberom alebo premysleným eklekticizmom?". Odpovede na tieto kontroverzne znejúce otázky ani nemôžu byť jednoznačné, postihujú však dnešnú škálu stanovísk k tomuto rozporuplnému obdobiu.

Štefan Oriško

Rodzińska-Chorąży, Teresa: Palace Complexes and Centralized Churches in the Polish Lands until the Middle of the 12th Century

Summary

The reviewed book is a critical comeback to matters of discoveries and interpretations of a series of important monuments, correcting also the author's earlier research outcomes, of the oldest architecture in Poland. It presents a sum-up of the genesis of particular building types, too. Chapters devoted to methodological questions about the character of the beginnings of the medieval art in the Polish context complete the publication. A thorough reflection of the existing national and international research is characteristic of the author's overall approach to the explored topics.

English translation by M. Hrdina

Zapomenutý výtvarník Josef Vinecký

KAVČÁKOVÁ, Alena: *Josef Vinecký (1882 – 1949). Osobnost sochaře v kontextu evropské avantgardy 20. století.* Olomouc : Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2009, 359 s., ISBN 978-80-244-2092-9.

Josef Vinecký (1882 – 1949). Umělec čisté pravdy tvaru a materiálu. Muzeum umění Olomouc – Muzeum moderního umění, Výstavní sál Salon, 17. 6. – 3. 10. 2010, autorka výstavy Alena KAVČÁKOVÁ, kurátorka výstavy Šárka BELŠÍKOVÁ.

Svého času hodnotila Iva Mojžišová kladně činnost někdejší bratislavské *Školy uměleckých remesiel* a jako jednu z osob, které by si v historii této slovenské vzdělávací umělecké instituce, založené Čechem Josefem Vydrou, zasloužily důkladného poznání, jmenovala dalšího českého profesora na této škole, Josefa Vineckého.

Teprve po dlouhé době dochází ale k celkovému zhodnocení umělce, jehož jméno nepadlo nadarmo. Nejprve vyšla monografie *Josef Vinecký (1882 – 1949). Osobnost sochaře v kontextu evropské avantgardy 20. století* (jejíž silnou stránkou jsou i detailní fotografie) a letos se připojila v olomouckém Muzeu umění i výstava díla dosud téměř neznámého českého sochaře, designéra a pedagoga pod názvem *Josef Vinecký (1882 – 1949). Umělec čisté pravdy tvaru a materiálu* (jako katalog slouží uvedená publikace). Došlo tak ke komplexnímu zhodnocení a zveřejnění práce umělce, který v letech 1946 – 1948 působil na olomoucké Univerzitě Palackého (UP). Tehdy jej pro pedagogickou práci v Ústavu výtvarné výchovy získal opět zakladatel pracoviště Josef Vydra. Působení Vineckého na UP bylo ukončeno vinou únorových událostí roku 1948, když se stal jednou z prvních obětí nové personální politiky – v roce 1949 byl „odejit". Své propuštění ze služeb Vinecký dlouho nepřežil. Zemřel krátce poté, 1. 6. 1949, a povědomí o vynikajícím umělci se téměř vytratilo. Nakonec upadl na více než půl století v zapomnění, přestože pokusy o jeho rehabilitaci byly (například v roce 1976 arch. Vladimír Šlapeta). Obě akce – kniha i výstava – jsou výsledkem mnohaleté, bezmála dvacetileté
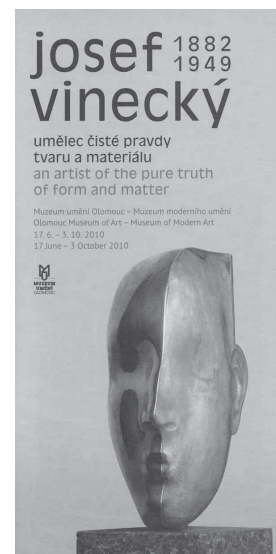
badatelské činnosti Aleny Kavčákové z Katedry dějin umění Filosofické fakulty UP.

Jsme tak svědky, jak se překvapivě ze zlomků a spletí nejasných a přímo neznámých anebo záhadných okolností a souvislostí vynořují osobnosti, které mohly být z nějakých důvodů dílčím způsobem známé, ale teprve po letitém bádání mohou být dostatečně zhodnoceny a jejich tvorba vcelku zrekonstruována, přestože ne vždy úplně. Náhle se tedy může objevit taková postava ve zcela jiném světle a nabýt zcela nových významů a souvislostí. To je i případ osobnosti Josefa Vineckého, sochaře, jenž se náhle vynořuje z kontextu evropské avantgardy 20. století. Kavčáková využila několika příležitostí, aby sestavila skvělou monografii o 359 stranách (včetně katalogu o 171 položkách) čtvercového formátu, jehož elegance a kvalita přitahuje na první pohled. Autorka přímo modelově seznamuje s životopisem a dílem umělce, jenž prošel vrcholovým školením v jednom z center evropské avantgardy.

Olomoucká výstava díla Josefa Vineckého je skutečným překvapením. Seznamuje s umělcem, který se stavěl za avantgardní úsilí výrazných osobností evropského umění. Vinecký byl žákem a asistentem Henryho van de Velde v Uměleckoprůmyslovém semináři ve Výmaru už před první světovou válkou. Pracoval u samého zdroje moderního umění; po první světové válce, kdy se stal členem uměleckých kroužků kolem sběratele Heinricha Kirchhoffa a Alexeje Jawlenského, vystavoval s Alexandrem Archipenkem. Vrcholnými výsledky tohoto období byla série secesních váz, které český umělec vytvořil pro porcelánku v Unterweissbachu; vynikající dojem si každý odnáší z pohledu na secesní keramické obklady a kašny, jimiž vyzdobil některé interiéry lázní Kaiser-Friedrich-Bad ve Wiesbadenu.

Alena Kavčáková provedla důkladné a komplexní uměleckohistorické zhodnocení díla dosud neprávem opomíjeného představitele evropské umělecké a výtvarně pedagogické avantgardy, který působil v letech 1902 – 1937 v Německu (Weimar, Unterweissbach, Wiesbaden, Breslau/Vratislav, Berlín) a pak v bývalém Československu (Bratislava, Praha, Olomouc). Celá jeho tvorba je překvapivě soudržná, bez patrných přeryvů, ač pružná a dynamická, vždy přizpůsobená materiálu (dřevo, kámen, keramika, kov) a rozmanitá v různých technikách.

V dramatické době mezi dvěma světovými válkami, v době nárůstu nacismu v Německu, byl Vinecký omylem označen za žida a tak se musel na nějaký čas stáhnout. Po návratu do vlasti se v průběhu třicátých a čtyřicátých let dvacátého století věnoval tvorbě pro liturgické potřeby, zejména pro Chrámové družstvo v Pelhřimově, v nichž prosadil modernizační tendence, které byly oceněny zejména po Druhém vatikánském koncilu.

Vineckého působení mělo daleko širší, přímo středoevropský kontext, jak naznačuje shora uvedený výčet míst, kde působil. Všude byl pochopitelně vnímán jako umělec spjatý s vrcholovou evropskou avantgardou. Věnoval se i designu a bydlení, zejména ve Vratislavi. Po návratu do Československa uplatnil své znalosti v Bratislavě i na Moravě.

Všechny umělcovy tvůrčí etapy dokládá olomoucká výstava asi dvaceti sochařskými pracemi a čtyřiceti díly užité povahy, vzácně dochovaných ve veřejných a soukromých sbírkách u nás i v zahraničí. Série velkoformátových fotografií přibližuje nepřenosná autorova díla. Četné dokumentární přílohy a reprodukce i těch prací, které se nezachovaly, činí z komentované publikace nesmírně cennou příručku pro budoucí badatele.

Pavel Štěpánek

Josef Vinecký. A Forgotten Artist

Summary

Sculptor and designer Josef Vinecký (1882 – 1949), student and assistant of Henry van de Velde (1902 – 1908), significantly contributed to the avant-garde movement in artistic and art educational spheres. His activities were bound to Germany, including former German Silesia (1902 – 1936): Weimar, Unterweissbach, Wiesbaden, Breslau, Berlin, and to former Czechoslovakia (1937 – 1949): Bratislava, Prague, Olomouc. After his death, he was almost forgotten. The reviewed publication and exhibition, the outcomes of a long-lasting research conducted by Alena Kavčáková, present a complex and richly illustrated art historical insight into Vinecký's life and work.

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The journal ARS is an art historical journal that has been published by the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava since 1967. It is devoted to the history of the visual arts and architecture in Central Europe and their European context from the early Middle Ages to the present. Papers on art in Slovakia and Slovak art are particularly welcome. ARS also provides a forum for articles that focus on the theory, methodology and the history of art history. Contributions about world art are also invited.

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