

UNIWERSYTET IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W POZNANIU
INSTYTUT HISTORII SZTUKI

Artium Quaestiones XXX



POZNAŃ 2019

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Poznań 2019

Ilustracja na okładce: Objazd naukowy seminarium historii sztuki Uniwersytetu
Poznańskiego, Rawenna 1937, zbiory archiwalne Instytutu Historii Sztuki

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MONIKA TYMA

ISSN 0239-202X

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EDITOR'S NOTE

On May 12, 1919, at 9:00 a.m., the Reverend Dr. Szczęsny Dettloff, the founder of academic art history in Poznań, gave his first university lecture entitled "Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael" [Lionardo, Michał Anioł, Rafael]. That date can be considered a symbolic inauguration of the study of art history at the University of Poznań, which means that in 2019 we celebrated our centennial. Such an opportunity made us not only celebrate, but also reflect on our discipline – its turning points, achievements, institutions, and scholars who contributed to its condition today. These and other questions we have been examining in our Institute, where the faculty are always eager to debate and discuss, almost incessantly, but we also make attempts to invite to our debate and discussions other scholars. Ten years ago, in 2009, on the thirtieth anniversary of the journal *Artium Quaestiones*, published by the Institute of Art History of Adam Mickiewicz University, its twentieth issue was out, including a number of programmatic papers by art historians, both women and men, from various Polish academic institutions, all intended to "provoke the readers to reflect on the condition of art history and on our scholarly and professional competence." After ten years, we decided to invite authors not only from Poland, but also from abroad to debate which dates and events were of crucial significance for art history, its self-consciousness, and its functioning and influence, as well as which historical circumstances had a decisive impact on the development of our discipline in various European countries. Doing so, we were inspired by the year 1919 – significant not only because the first university, with an art history department, was founded in Poznań at that time, but because that particular year brought historic changes in Poland and other countries. Our intention was, on the one hand, to realize which turning points in the twentieth-century history of our country and society had the greatest influence on art history, initiating its radical transformations, opening up new perspectives, and identifying previously unknown problems, and on the other, possibly symmetrically address similar issues in the neighboring as well as more distant countries. The turning points considered in the texts included in the present volume are not always defined literally as such – not always were they momentary or profound. In some cases, those were rather

long processes whose causes and consequences took a long time. While some papers focus on specific dates and historic events, such as the year 1945 in Germany, 1948 in Poland, 1968 in Czechoslovakia, others address periods when art history in different countries developed its locally important paradigms and identified major problems, as between the world wars in Romania, the period of late socialism in Estonia or the turn of the 1970s in Poland. As a result, these texts are case studies of various time and problem span, presenting a number of conditions and narratives that shaped the histories of art history in Poland and elsewhere in Europe.

Since this volume commemorates our anniversary, we decided to include in its two texts that are slightly different from all the others. One is an essay by our outstanding graduate Professor Piotr Skubiszewski – a recollection intended to shed some personal light on our jubilee. The other is a special lecture by Professor Horst Bredekamp from the Humboldt University of Berlin, to which we have been connected by various, also personal, ties.

Piotr Korduba

TURNING POINTS: HISTORIES OF ART HISTORY IN POLAND AND EUROPE

PIOTR SKUBISZEWSKI

FACING THE WORK OF ART. MEMORIES OF MY STUDENT YEARS

A former student of art history at the University of Poznań and then a faculty member in its Department of Art History is bound to find a centennial of academic art history in the capital city of Wielkopolska a natural occasion to remember the university milieu that formed his intellectual profile and determined his career. In fact, he has a choice between two ways. First, he can make an attempt to describe that milieu in terms of the history of the discipline and academic teaching, as well as, trying to be impartial, analyze the achievements of the faculty in his student years and define their methods. Second, he may take a look at his university education and the direction of his academic work in the perspective of his own life, in terms of personal memories, knowing of course that those memories will be subjective and partial. I have decided to choose the latter option.

I started attending lectures on art history immediately after passing my high school finals on May 17, 1949, a few months before enrolling at the university. Before the academic year was over, I managed to listen to several ones. Those were the lectures of the Rev. Professor Szczęśny Dettloff on the fifteenth-century Venetian painting. They were delivered in the lecture room of the Department of Art History on the fourth floor of the Collegium Maius. I remember to have understood almost nothing. When later, as a student, I was learning the vocabulary of the discipline, how to analyze the work of art, and – above all – how to evaluate the place of an individual artwork in the artistic process of an epoch, I realized the reasons for my ignorance. My studies made me understand that the perception of the work of art is a human skill of its own kind and that either high school or common elementary education could not, and perhaps still cannot, prepare the young mind for this task. An element of the human encounter with art is inner experience – impressions

that appear independently of the natural propensity of the mind to classify the object perceived and to find its place in the reconstructed past. Still, these impressions are mysteriously related to the intellectual process of searching in the world of art for similarities and their causes – they influence it significantly. That was a discovery of art history as scholarship based on values.

The education offered at that time at the University of Poznań made that aspect quite obvious. Rev. Dettloff, who until March 1953, i.e., almost until my graduation, remained the Chair of the Department as the only faculty member with a professorial degree, and whom we considered the highest authority, was an outstanding analyst of form. I believe that he developed that ability, most likely inborn, during two years which he spent at the University of Munich, attending the lectures of Heinrich Wölfflin. It is through the analysis of form and its vocabulary that the evaluation of the work of art is articulated – this intellectual procedure allows us to place a given work on a great scale of objects that make us forget about reality in admiration. In my freshman year, Rev. Dettloff lectured for four hours a week on the Italian art of the 16th century. Some of that time we spent in the gallery of Italian painting of the Wielkopolskie Museum, today the National Museum in Poznań. Every student was expected to analyze one of the paintings from that collection and briefly present his or her conclusions. Many students were attending that class. Next to us, freshmen, who followed a new program of two-degree studies introduced by the communist authorities, some older colleagues also took Rev. Dettloff's courses. Those were still following the prewar syllabus which was different from ours, with too many lectures of an encyclopedic kind. The first postwar syllabus included mostly courses which immediately familiarized students with the great epochs and names in art history, and consequently with its main methods. That was how Rev. Dettloff understood the function of his classes conducted in the gallery of Italian painting of the Poznań museum. We know that one may find there a number of paintings which can make a good starting point for the study of early modern art.

My task was to analyze *Riva degli Schiavoni* by Luca Carlevarijs. I remember to have worked very hard to describe the painting and collect some information about it, but only after my clumsy presentation, when Rev. Dettloff started making comments, I realized what analysis and interpretation of the work of art could be. Our professor began with a description of the place in Venice represented by the artist, masterfully connecting it with an analysis of the composition and the painterly technique of Carlevarijs. Then he continued, taking several directions: first, he told us about the painter and the topics of his works, then about the artistic milieu and individual artists who influenced him, and finally about his favorite genre – the urban landscape

and its Venetian variant. Listening to Rev. Dettloff, we understood that he led us from the visual characteristics of the painting to the knowledge recorded by human memory, which is something very different from what the sense of sight allows us to identify on the canvas: a small fragment of the outside world. And though we knew nothing or next to nothing about Venice and her painting, the cityscape or perspective, we discovered that only a penetrating insight in the work of art can make one remember one's intellectual resources and relate them to impressions. It was a great lesson of reading the artwork, starting with the analysis of form since Rev. Dettloff had a phenomenal sense of form and its place in the domain of the comparable.

Another opportunity to appreciate Rev. Dettloff's talent came at the end of the same academic year, in May 1950, when all of us, students of art history from Poznań, went for a ten-day study trip to Cracow. Professor Jerzy Szablowski let us take a close look at Wit Stwosz's sculptures of the altarpiece from St. Mary's Basilica. They were stored in a big hall in the south-eastern wing of the administration building of the State Art Collection in the Wawel Castle. They were kept there after their return from Germany since the communist authorities did not agree to place the altarpiece back in the church. That happened some time later, after the political changes which took place after October 1956. Fortunately, while the sculptures were under arrest, a team of specialists with Professor Marian Słonecki could work on their restoration. That not only saved them from destruction by insects feeding on timber, but also let the restorers discover and fix the original polychromy. Since, however, the statues and reliefs were taken out of the retable structure and placed independently all over the storage hall, the whole could not be perceived according to the artist's intention. Stwosz conceived individual elements as parts of bigger compositions, e.g., the central altarpiece or its wings so that the form of each figure could be fully appreciated only in its proper location. Still, starting from the formal analysis of those individual components of the retable and showing us its photos taken before the war, Rev. Dettloff was able to make us imagine the work in all its complexity of relations between particular details and the whole. At the same time, he made us realize how the great sculptor, educated in fifteenth-century Strasburg modeled the human figure.

Rev. Dettloff taught us also how to understand form in the non-representational arts. I can still remember two of his presentations. One was in the post-Jesuit church in Poznań, where he made us see how in the Baroque two sequences of the interior space in architecture (one lengthwise and many transversal) may either contradict each other or come together. The other was in the post-Bernardine church in Sieraków: there Rev. Dettloff showed us how in the first half of the 17th century the forms of the High Renaissance, trans-

formed into decoration, multiplied, and condensed, were separated from their origin in antiquity and, having lost their structural function, became independent elements of a decorated wall, a vault or a cupola.

At that time, a student of art history in Poznań could discover the same kind of sensitivity to have formatted two other professors who were Rev. Dettloff's disciples: Gwidon Chmarzyński and Zdzisław Kępiński.

As we know, Gwidon Chmarzyński did not publish a lot. I remember him mainly as an outstanding teacher who spoke about art with the passion of a critic and a connoisseur. His emotional involvement was the most intense when he talked about the topic he knew best, i.e., the gothic architecture, particularly when we were standing with him outside a gothic church or inside it. Of all the faculty members, Chmarzyński was perhaps the most eager to take part in field trips. Next to Wielkopolska, we traveled with him to Silesia, Pomerania, and the Chełmno region which he liked the most, in particular the co-cathedral church of the Holy Trinity in Chełmża and St. John's church in Toruń. There he could present his approach to gothic architecture most explicitly. The first step was always making a detailed inventory of the elements that make a building stable and express the hidden forces and tensions. But then he could turn with his description this stable world of structure and its external elements into a fascinating picture of living forms. I remember Professor Chmarzyński as one of the top experts on gothic architecture.

Several years ago on another occasion I wrote that our, i.e. students', first encounter with Zdzisław Kępiński made us ask a question about the kind of art history we were going to study when that new faculty member appeared in the Poznań Department of Art History at the beginning of the academic year 1952/1953. The title of a lecture series with which he started his tenure was "The Development of the Realistic Tendency in Art", and we, seniors, were required to listen to it. In those years, the time of uncompromising Stalinism, the words "realism" and "realistic" had only one possible meaning. They were used by the communist party and its ideologues to decide whether art matched whatever they defined as the progress of humanity, i.e., whatever was politically correct, and both terms could qualify both the art of the past and that of the present. Kępiński's first lectures did not make us any less anxious, quite on the contrary. The new professor announced that he would talk about the Trecento painting in Florence, but he began with a comprehensive description of the social, economic, and political situation in the capital city of Tuscany, paying much attention to the great Florentine families, their possessions and the financial operations they were making. Still, when he started talking about the Florentine painting, all that external world suddenly vanished. He focused exclusively on art and what we

heard was excellent analysis of form articulated in a sophisticated manner. The history of commissions and patrons indeed had its place in his narrative, but the works of artists were its core. I am sure that Kępiński's lectures on the Italian painting between the "Black Death" and Masaccio played an important role in my education as art historian. He made me realize the significance of the evolution of forms of representation, so crucial for the European art of that period and place. What was more, he encouraged me to ask questions about the problem of the evolution of forms in general. Later Eugeniusz Krygier told me about the circumstances under which Zdzisław Kępiński saw the Florentine painting for the first time and how that first encounter influenced him. Both of them received a state stipend to go to Italy in 1938: Krygier told me that his companion, fascinated with the city, stayed there much longer than had been planned and that he spent many hours in the Florentine museums, churches, and palaces. After that I had many more opportunities to admire Kępiński's sense of form in art.

I have written so much about our education in the Poznań Department of Art History in the early 1950 because it seems to me that it is my duty to make the reader realize what kind of intellectual formation we received until graduation, before we faced the outside world. I have chosen this term – "facing the world" – on purpose since it conveys an imperative to think on one's own when we must organize our intellectual work without anyone's help. It also refers to quite common situation when, having moved to another academic milieu, we discover a manner of practicing art history that is different from what we are used to. If I were to define that intellectual formation, I would again, like once before, quote Willibald Sauerländer, who described the art history of the first three decades of the 20th century in Germany as "*auf Form oder Gestalt konzentrierte*." He meant art history in Germany but this phrase can be referred also to other countries, including Poland. We know how close Polish art history was to that developed in German-speaking countries, and when I was a student in Poznań our teachers continued the tradition from before the war. Perhaps with one exception, all of them were educated before 1939.

Remembering my student years, I cannot ignore one particular aspect of that period: the obligatory courses introduced by the communist party in 1948/1949 to influence the worldview of the future educated class. "Historical and Dialectic Materialism," "History of the Workers' Movement," "Problems of Contemporary Poland," "Foundations of Marxism-Leninism," and "Political Economy" (I quote the course titles from my student's book) – all those subjects did not play any role in our development. We could see no relation between them and the proper object of our studies. Worse than that – com-

pared with the significance of the problems we considered during classes on art history, history, archaeology, ethnology or logic, taught by our excellent professors, they demonstrated all their intellectual triviality and true function. They were nothing but political propaganda.

October 1956 brought changes in the life of Polish people. We are aware that in terms of global history those local changes in Poland were of little importance. The country was still part of the Soviet empire, with the dictatorship of the communist party. Still, in some aspects of interior politics the difference was crucial: the former paralysis caused by the Stalinist obsession to build a society that would be totally controlled by the party and its ideology was partly gone. Art and art history were those spheres which after the October changes were no longer on the main frontline of the party's ideological offensive. In the 1960s and 1970s the party authorities or individual eager party members would occasionally interfere with the artistic activity of some groups, exhibitions organized by important institutions or publications in the field of art history, but in my opinion their interference did not result from any premeditated political strategy to influence the world of art and art history, being only a reaction to particular events or situations which party leaders and activists refused to tolerate.

I have mentioned the changes in Poland after October 1956 on purpose. My generation experienced the pressure of the communist regime from its young years up to maturity. The cracks that appeared in the system imposed by it – after October they became noticeable – were of crucial importance for us, art historians who just began their academic careers. We could work much more freely and, what was the most important, we could also travel abroad since Poland was no longer hermetically isolated from the Western world. We could take a look at the works of art on site, not just on photographs. Some of us could continue studies at universities abroad, take part in international conferences in other countries, and make direct contacts with outstanding art history scholars, even though it was by no means easy. With few exceptions, all that could happen only when the host institution – a university, a museum, the conference organizers – covered our travel expenses and paid for our room and board. Besides, it must be remembered that not every applicant could get a passport.

I have mentioned the passport policy of the communist Poland to remember the reader that after the years of German occupation and Stalinism Polish art historians could again, in spite of all kinds of obstacles, examine great works of art. The scholars of my generation could at least verify an approach to the art of the Latin Europe as a complex product of a single civilization, adopted in their student years. They could see with their own eyes that the

truly great changes were occurring in the western part of our continent not so often and only in a few milieus whose influences reached regions far away. Having a direct access to the vast areas of European art, they could, as never before, learn how to make a difference between “prior” works and their continuations. On the other hand, they could also better recognize the place of a given artistic achievement on the map of relations and influences in the world of art.

What did it look like in practice? As I have written above, my purpose is to focus on my own experience, but I must add that the experiences of my older and younger colleagues were similar to mine. As it turned out, of all the Western academic centers that welcomed us, Polish historians of medieval art, who were beginning of their careers, the first was the *Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale* in Poitiers, founded in 1953 at the university in that city. Its founder Gaston Berger, a professor of philosophy, admirer of Husserl, and director of the department of higher education in the French Ministry of Education, wanted it to concentrate on research and teaching on the Ph.D. level about the climax of the European Middle Ages: the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries. His intention was to allow the three main disciplines, i.e., history, art history, and history of literature, as well as others, such as the history of philosophy, science, and music, to keep their specific identity as regards the subject matter and methods. Still, Berger assumed that all of them would come together in the center so that each young medievalist studying there would have an insight in the fields of research other than his or her own to ask questions about the relations between the phenomena and works he or she was interested in and the events, social processes, political systems, spirituality, the arts, and the living conditions in those times.

Today such a methodological postulate in the humanities is taken for granted, but in the 1950s in France, and not only there, a program which was to combine several disciplines in the study of one civilization was innovative. The Poitiers center owed its success to two experienced professors: René Crozet, an art historian who was a disciple of Henri Focillon, and the historian Edmond-René Labande, chosen by Berger to manage it. Besides, he supplied the center with resources, which made it possible to invite to lecture and conduct seminars in Poitiers not only scholars from France, but also other countries. The only requirement was a good command of French, since all the classes were taught in that language. Many foreign scholars met it, as they still often do, which guaranteed that the center hosted, and again, it still does, the most outstanding medievalists from all over the world.

At that time teaching in Poitiers was divided into two cycles: the academic year proper and the summer school which in the early years of the center's

operation lasted for five weeks. The latter was a period of particularly hard work: every morning two professors lectured on two different fields of medieval studies, while in the afternoon there were classes on site, focusing on some local Romanesque and Gothic architectural monuments. On Saturdays, participants went on field trips to nearby cities and towns, and one field trip was organized to visit some more distant region of the Romanesque France. During the academic year teaching was less demanding as it was adjusted to the needs of the young medievalists who came to Poitiers for just a year, usually to work on their own research projects. Still, however, classes were taught, next to the local professors, by scholars from other academic institutions, including many foreigners. When I was studying there, Professor Crozet was working on his book on Romanesque art in Saintonge and in his lectures he presented his progress. Every two weeks he would take us by coach to that district where we were making the inventory of the selected churches while he put under discussion his observations, thus kindly letting us take part in his research. Such a curriculum was continued in Poitiers for a long time, unfortunately to be reduced later. Still, though, its strong point is the participation of many representatives of medieval studies from the whole world, both as teachers and students.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s the *Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale* became for young Polish medievalists the place where they could meet world art history directly, not only in books. They could exchange ideas and opinions – first of all, in seminars, but also in discussions with professors, which followed every lecture during summer schools. Besides, they could gain analytical experience with the greatest examples of medieval art, taking part in many field trips almost all over France. Finally, they could do their own research, having access to a photo archive which held a collection of photographs of the works of the Romanesque art from all over Europe, and use a library with a comprehensive collection of periodicals. Some young Polish scholars came to Poitiers to study for the whole academic year, others just to the summer school, but they were also some who stayed for both cycles. Among the members of my generation, both a little older and younger, those were Zygmunt Świechowski, Lech Kalinowski, Klementyna Żurowska, Stanisław Wiliński, Urszula Popłonyk, Krystyna Józefowicz, Teresa Mroczko, Krystyna Białoskórska, Marian Kutzner, Maria Otto, and Andrzej Tomaszewski.

What kind of art history did those young medievalists study at that time in Poitiers? In France, where since the 18th century writing about art was blooming, it was believed that art was an “autonomous” area of human activity that could be explained as a domain with its specific identity. That approach became particularly distinct in the study of medieval architecture originated in

the 1830s by Arcisse de Caumont. The direction that he took, which resulted in founding a school, was continued by several generations of scholars, including Auguste Choisy, Robert de Lasteyrie, Jean-Auguste Brutails, Camille Enlart, Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, Marcel Aubert, Paul Deschamps, and Élie Lambert. Their research was founded on thorough analysis of the building's structure, as well as the analysis of architectural forms of its particular parts, combined with that of the material used for construction. The goal was to reconstruct the internal chronology of that process, which was meticulously compared with its available written records. It should be noted that examining a church or a castle, the French historians of medieval architecture paid much attention to the records which included information about later construction work on a given building. They always did their best to show the difference between its original form and whatever was added to it in the following centuries, being well prepared to read the sources critically. Six continuators of the Count de Caumont were graduates of the excellent *École nationale des Chartes* or graduated from the no less excellent *École Normale Supérieure*, and only one of them, Auguste Choisy, was a *polytechnicien*. The growing amount of information about particular buildings made them ask questions about the place of each of them in the history of architecture defined by the humanities as the history of a genre of art in its own right. Comparisons of horizontal projections and projections of elevations, modes of construction, details, and the ways raw materials were processed in particular works gradually resulted in a comprehensive picture of typological and stylistic groups. Actually, that picture kept changing due to changing and debatable criteria of classification.

Many readers may argue that all that I have described above is nothing but the application of basic methodological requirements of art history and the basic methods of research on architecture. Yes, indeed, but I would have never mentioned on this occasion the French research on medieval architecture, if not for its maximum precision of the analysis of form, articulated in precise language. The French art history has developed a vocabulary that includes terms for even the most complex structure of the work and its elements in all the variety of details. The evolution of that vocabulary has been illustrated by excellent dictionaries of terms, published by Editions du Patrimoine, and among them, as regards architecture, there is a genuine masterpiece of the genre, *Architecture: description et vocabulaire méthodiques* by Marie Pérouse de Montclos (Paris, 1972, new edition 2011).

It should be stressed that the French school of research on medieval architecture has found among the humanities of its country an independent place as far as its methodological status is concerned. Even its name, "*archéolo-*

gie française du moyen âge," dating back to its beginnings, conveys its status quite persuasively. The scholars who constituted that school were gathered in the *Société Française d'Archéologie*, founded by the Count de Caumont in 1834, which has been publishing two top periodicals: a series of the *Congrès Archéologique de France* (since 1834) and a quarterly *Bulletin Monumental* (since 1835). Let me add that the same milieu educated the personnel of the *Service des Monuments Historiques*, a restoration institution also founded at the same time by the de Caumont. I cannot go into details to explain why Arcisse de Caumont chose the term "archaeology" to refer to the study of medieval architecture. Suffice to say that in France this particular term evidently separated the field of research of those who specialized in it from the research on other fields and periods in art history. In fact, a special status of the historians of medieval architecture has been largely preserved until today.

When in 1957, on the occasion of one of the field trips organized during a summer school at the *Centre* in Poitiers, we were standing in front of a Romanesque or a gothic church, listening to Marcel Aubert, an outstanding authority in the world of studies on the medieval architecture of France, author of several monographs of its most important examples and the founder of modern studies on the Cistercian churches and monasteries, his meticulous analysis of the building, articulated in a clear way, revealed the work to us in all the rich variety of its forms. When a few months later we were taking Professor René Crozet's class in Santoigne, we were able, with his assistance, to make attempts to analyze the forms of the local churches on our own. We were learning to understand the work by recognizing its components and their order while the detailed terminology of architecture, developed by French scholarship, allowed us to construct in memory an intellectual edifice of conceptual equivalents of both the building's structure and its elements, since we could distinguish, name, and count all of them. Their size can be articulated in numbers, also it is possible to describe their place in the structure, and measure the distance among them, i.e. verbally express their relations. Written records concerning the history of those churches were taken into consideration only after the beholder's eye recognized the building's artistic identity and internal history and the mind allowed one to put that visual experience into words. For me, a graduate of art history in Poznań, those lessons greatly enhanced my knowledge of the instruments of formal analysis, which I owed to my university. Moreover, they confirmed my belief, also originated in Poznań, that correct analysis of the work's form is an indispensable condition of all the successful intellectual operations in art history.

It may be somewhat surprising that an art historian who does not specialize in architecture, remembers so much about the French studies on this art,

with which he became familiar as a young scholar. The reader may also ask a legitimate question why I have singled out a methodological orientation focused on form, while I appreciated it so highly at the time when art history all over the world and in all its aspects was vigorously trying to reach beyond the emphasis on form toward the domain of ideas. We were very much aware of that shift already then. Many of us, leaving to continue our studies in France, had already read Erwin Panofsky's *Studies in Iconology* or at least knew about his main methodological postulate to find out how a given culture manifests itself in the work of art. I was much impressed by a great vision of Otto von Simson who derived the idea of the gothic cathedral with its many-colored stained glass windows from the metaphysics of light founded upon the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius, worshipped at Saint-Denis, and the Neoplatonism of the cathedral school in Chartres – a group of scholars who believed that a reflection of the universal harmony could be found in mathematics. Analyzing artworks, I also made attempts, even though probably not careful enough, to take into account the ideological message which came to the artist's studio from the outside, with the commission, and which was supposed to be intelligible to the contemporary spectator. The French art history, so dominated by the understanding of artistic activity as an autonomous sphere, could also treat art in terms of the transmission of ideas. In the 19th century, there were two great medievalists who originated studies of the influence of medieval theology, exegesis, and liturgy on art: the Jesuits Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin. Émile Mâle took the same direction and went even farther: assuming direct dependence of the greatest masterpieces of sculpture, painting, and the artistic craftsmanship of the French Middle Ages on the Christian doctrine, he created a monumental picture of the art of that period as an instrument of the pastoral mission of the Catholic Church. This is not a good occasion to compare the method and achievement of Mâle with those of Panofsky; those who may be interested in this question should read Pierre Francastel's *Études de sociologie de l'art* (1970). Still, despite all the differences in their approaches to the object of study, their ways of interpreting art show some similarities. Mâle's influence on art history in his lifetime and after the war was not as wide as that of Panofsky, yet the French scholar had his followers and I met them during my stay in Poitiers. Among them, there was one great medievalist, Focillon's disciple Ludwik Grodecki, who was connected to the *Service des Monuments Historiques* and knew the tradition of the French studies on medieval architecture. His lectures on the twelfth- and thirteenth-century French stained glass windows, which I attended at the *Centre d'Études Médiévales* in 1957, were excellent. Analyzing them, Grodecki demonstrated how the compositions and figural forms included in particular sections of

the windows were combined with the doctrinal message conveyed by them – quite often, it was sophisticated theological discourse. He emphasized the inspiration by Mâle, and footnotes in his publications confirm it. Grodecki was also influenced by Panofsky, who became his intellectual friend when they met in 1949/1950 at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. Finally, when considering the French variety of that kind of art history which assumed direct influence of the world of ideas on art, one cannot ignore the name of André Grabar, a disciple of Nicodem Kondakov and Dmitry Aynalov. There is no doubt that Grabar actually revolutionized the studies on the art of early Christianity, Byzantium, and the countries of the Christian East with two books published in France: *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin. Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'Orient* (1936) and *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* (1946). His comprehensive view of the ideological and social factors which influenced the great artistic centers of the Greek East had its impact also on research on the art of the West. His pioneering study of the representations of the Eastern-Roman Emperor significantly inspired those who after the war worked on the political iconography in the countries of Latin culture. I listened to Grabar's lectures at the *Collège de France* and had the privilege to meet him and talk to him longer several times. The way in which he spoke and wrote about the reflection of the Greek world in the art of the Eastern Empire of late antiquity and the Middle Ages was absolutely unique.

Let me repeat once more that when I was studying in France the great current in art history, as varied as it is, that treats art as expression of ideas was already well known to my generation. However, whenever I was standing in front of a Romanesque or gothic church and started analyzing its architecture, the questions asked by that current suddenly disappeared. I was interested in something else. Directed by my professors, I discovered the building as a separate, self-contained universe of forms, as well as a set of elements combined together by its internal order into an organic whole. My guides, familiar with a complex, detailed terminology, precisely distinguished and named each element, from the smallest to the largest, and equally precisely described the relations among them. Their lessons were exercises in the analysis of form, at the same time demonstrating how to translate the visual into words. If I may use a metaphor, it was that kind of art history which really "clung" to the artwork. Surely, I knew then and I know now that the knowledge of medieval churches, which my French teachers shared with me, was limited to its proper objects. The methods of analyzing architecture cannot be applied to the study of representational arts, but all those hours taught a young art historian how important a careful formal analysis is and how responsible one

is for the words used to deal with art at any level: in description, analysis, and interpretation. Studying medieval churches in France, we were mastering morphological analysis developed throughout many decades of meticulous research. That analysis, articulated with a precise vocabulary, was an intellectual challenge. Thanks to the attention paid to details, the analyses of different churches taught us how to approach every one of them as a unique work of art, and the ability to recognize the uniqueness of an individual artwork is the key to understand art as such and a measure of our success. But this is quite another issue while it is time for me to finish now.

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FACING THE WORK OF ART. MEMORIES OF MY STUDENT YEARS

Summary

The present essay includes the author's memories of his university studies and the intellectual formation that he received as a student of art history at the University of Poznań in 1949-1954. His first professor who opened to him the door to art history and exerted on him a strong intellectual influence, was Szczęśny Dettloff, a disciple of Heinrich Wölfflin in Munich and Max Dvořák in Vienna. Dettloff taught his students that the foundation of studying art in history is the study of the form of an individual artwork. He believed that without a proper analysis of form it is impossible to construct appropriate series of the works of art and specify their position in the culture of the times of their origin. Similar sensitivity to form and the understanding of its significance for the art historian's work were represented by two other professors important for the author, both educated by Dettloff already before World War II: Gwido Chmarzyński and Zdzisław Kępiński. When in 1957-1968 the author was a postgraduate student in the *Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale* at the University of Poitiers (*CÉSCM*), it turned out that the local methodological tradition was similar to what he had learned in Poznań before. The *CÉSCM* was founded as a multidisciplinary institute for the study of the Middle Ages, combining history, art history, literary history, and the history of ideas. It was important that one of them could shed light on an object studied by another, but each of them, including art history, kept its material and methodological identity. In the French tradition, art history had an "autonomous" status, focusing on artistic creation as a special sphere of human activity. That idea influenced also quite strongly the study of medieval architecture, originated in the early 19th century by Arcisse de Caumont, and continued until today by many generations of French scholars. What is characteristic of their research is meticulous analysis of form, articulated with a precise, detailed, and comprehensive specialist vocabulary. The lectures of French scholars on medieval architecture, which

the author attended in Paris and Poitiers, taught him precision in the analysis of the artwork's structure and its components, as well as responsibility for every single statement made on art. For a young art historian who did not specialize in architecture but in representational arts, that French experience was a lesson of methodological rigor necessary in the intellectual pursuits of the humanities scholar.

Keywords:

University of Poznań – art history, University of Poitiers – art history, methodology of art history, art history around 1950

WOJCIECH BAŁUS

TURNING POINTS, CRISES, EVOLUTIONS

I

The curtain with its flight of birds of Paradise blew out again. And Clarissa saw—she saw Ralph Lyon beat it back, and go on talking. So it wasn't a failure after all! It was going to be all right now—her party. It had begun. It had started. But it was still touch and go. She must stand there for the present. People seemed to come in a rush. Colonel and Mrs. Garrod... Mr. Hugh Whitebread... Mr. Bowley... Mrs. Hilbery... Lady Mary Maddox... Mr. Quin... intoned Wilkins. She had six or seven words with each, and they went on, they went into the rooms; into something now, not nothing, since Ralph Lyon had beat back the curtain.¹

Most likely, this quotation from Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* is well remembered by every reader of Wiesław Juszczak's book *Zastona w rajskie ptaki* [A Curtain with the Birds of Paradise] which unfortunately has been almost forgotten by scholars. In his book, Juszczak analyzed Woolf's novel as an example of modernism. In his view, not only did she want to tell the story about how Clarissa Dalloway organized her party, but also present on a deeper, covert level an artistic process of form making as the goal of art. A banal gesture of beating back a yellow chintz curtain has been interpreted as a moment when the incoherent elements of a composition, i.e., a party, suddenly began to form a whole. Juszczak argued that Woolf did the same, quite openly, in her next novel, *To the Lighthouse*, where fulfilling a promise to go for a sea trip coincided in the last paragraph of the book with Lily Briscoe's finishing of her landscape painting:

Quickly, as if she were recalled by something over there, she turned to her canvas. There it was—her picture. Yes, with all its green and blues, its lines running up and across, its attempt at something. ... She looked at the steps; they were empty;

¹ V. Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway*, London 1960, p. 187.

she looked at her canvas; it was blurred. With a sudden intensity, as if she saw it clear for a second, she drew a line there, in the centre. It was done; it was finished. Yes, she thought, laying down her brush in extreme fatigue, I have had my vision.²

It was important for Juszczak to demonstrate that self-reflexivity, presentation of the very process of achieving the goal of creation, was out of the question in the 19th century and became possible in the age of modernism since only then form and the self-reflexivity of literature, painting or music became “visible,” prominent in the work’s texture. They were no longer hidden behind the veil of “realistic” story-telling; no longer transparent in respect to a sublime or down-to-earth subject matter and narration referring exclusively to the outside world and human experience.³ That is why Juszczak did not analyze more deeply the gist of Ralph Lyon’s beating back the curtain and the nature of the moment when Lily Briscoe made her final brushstroke. He was interested in those circumstances only insofar as they contributed to the completion of the work as form. Still, both events described by Virginia Woolf pertain to something unique and much more fundamental than the characteristics of modernism: the moment of essential change in any process of creation.

Finishing a painting seems easier to understand. All of a sudden, the ultimate “painterly determination of the canvas” – to use the favorite phrase of Polish colorists – just happens. The long lasting impotence is overcome and the goal is accomplished: *finis coronat opus*. Yet one aspect of that event remains mysterious: what is the origin of that glimpse when everything comes together?

The case of Clarissa Dalloway is perhaps a little more difficult. She also wants to cope with some problem, but it is not purely artistic in nature. No matter if, following Juszczak, we consider the party as a metaphor of creation or, literally, as socializing, the beating back of the curtain will definitely be irrational – not as a banal fact of eliminating an inconvenience, but because of the outcome of that gesture from the character’s point of view. When Clarissa has noticed it, her temper changes and, consequently, she changes her approach to the event. Suddenly, she starts controlling the entire party, which means that reaching the assumed goal will no longer be doubtful. It is not hard to explain why the curtain’s opening made Mrs. Dalloway sure that the party would be successful, either. That gesture might have made her realize – half consciously – that the atmosphere of the meeting was good. The guest made a natural, free move that meant relaxation and not tension which could

² V. Woolf, *To the Lighthouse*, London 1962, p. 242.

³ W. Juszczak, *Zastłona w rajskie ptaki*, Warszawa 1981, p. 12.

result, for instance, in an angry reaction to the *faux pas* of the hostess' failure to put the unruly curtain under control.⁴ What is irrational is noticing that minor fact as such. If in the case of Lily Briscoe the problem was how the instant of fulfilment comes into being, then the question is: why at some particular moment we happen to look at that, and not any other, point in space? After all, if Clarissa Dalloway had not looked at Ralph Lyon, her unhappy consciousness of the party's maker would not have changed.

The episodes from Virginia Woolf's novel must be somehow called and analyzed in detail. In the first place, their common features must be identified. First (1), both events could occur only because they were temporal in character, because *time* was the background against which they unfolded. Second (2), both of them were targeted, i.e., their goal was to end a process that was unfolding in time. Third (3), accomplishing that *goal* was *uncertain*. However (4), that uncertainty was eliminated by a sudden *change* which resulted in a *happy end*. Finally (5), the very moment of change was hard to explain in causal terms since it happened abruptly, with no distinct efforts taken by the characters. The only difference was the *distance* between the characters and their goal: in the case of Lily Briscoe, it was the moment just before the ultimate fulfilment, while Clarissa's party was only "gaining momentum" and it was still "suspended in uncertainty." Besides, both episodes consist of two stages which stand out when the goal is being accomplished (1), i.e., when the plan is being finalized (2). The first stage is marked by an impasse, uncertainty, loss of direction, and, consequently, anguish (3). In the second stage, that predicament is *solved* (4) by a sudden *revelation* (5), i.e., realizing that everything moves in the right direction.

The first stage can be defined as a *crisis* since this concept refers to uncertainty, suffering or tension caused by uncertain future which cannot be anticipated (3).⁵ In the state of crisis, the goal (2) becomes less distinct while the means to reach it are no longer obvious. It was the period when Lily Briscoe could not finish her painting, and Clarissa Dalloway saw a possibility of social failure. The second stage is that of a turning point, i.e., according to *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, "an act or point of breaking through an obstruction."⁶

⁴ Juszczak interprets this gesture as so natural that it reveals the artificiality of the party as a ritual, which allows Clarissa to perceive it as form which slowly begins to acquire completeness. See Juszczak, *Zasłona w rajske ptaki*, p. 85.

⁵ R. Koselleck, "Einige Fragen an die Begriffsgeschichte von 'Krise,'" in: *Über die Krise. Castelgandolfo-Gespräche 1985*, ed. K. Michalski, Stuttgart 1986, p. 64.

⁶ *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, Springfield, MA, 1980, p. 135.

A turning point can be connected with a crisis in two ways. On the one hand, both terms can have the same meaning. In ancient Greece, and then in early Christianity and the Middle Ages, the noun κρίσις meant an ultimate, irrevocable solution, the emergence of one of two mutually exclusive elements of an alternative: a victory or a defeat in battle, a recovery or death in the Hippocratic medicine, salvation or damnation in theology, i.e., everything that today we would rather call a turning point.⁷ On the other, the two terms can refer to two different stages of a course of events. If a political crisis means a collapse of a certain policy; a government crisis the fall of a cabinet which lost majority support in the parliament; a scientific crisis a situation when received theories prove unable to account for newly discovered facts; a cultural crisis a period when "current values have failed while there are still no new ones which could take their place,"⁸ all of them refer to an initial stage of upcoming havoc that can be put under control only after some short or long period of time. In this sense, a crisis is a kind of rising wall or other obstacle, while a turning point means breaking through that obstacle toward a preconceived goal.⁹ This is precisely the situation described in Virginia Woolf's novel. There a turning point is an irrational moment (5) when a crisis is resolved thanks to a solution which leads to finishing the painting or realizing for good that the party will be successful. Such a unique moment was considered in ancient Greece an intrusion of another, unusual kind of time. The linear, continuous time, χρόνος, opened to a unique, unrepeatable possibility, a wonderful coincidence called καιρός.¹⁰

The episodes described by Virginia Woolf focused on individual problems with the process of creation. The impasse in painting a landscape or preparing a party was a state of crisis from which the only way out was through an unexpected revelation of a solution or the rise of confidence that everything moves in the right direction. In both cases, a turning point was necessarily related to a preceding crisis, since if everything went on normally and the painting and the party were realized within the common time filled with work – the *chronos*, in which there is no room for stops, breakdowns, and uncertainty, then there would be no chance for the intervention of the *kairos*.¹¹

⁷ See Koselleck, "Einige Fragen an die Begriffsgeschichte...", pp. 64–65.

⁸ "Kryzys," in: *Nowa encyklopedia powszechna PWN*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1998, p. 586.

⁹ H. G. Evers, "Historismus," in: *Historismus und bildende Kunst (Studien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts, vol. 1)*, ed. L. Grote, München 1965, p. 30.

¹⁰ S. Bielecki, "Kairos (1)," in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 8, Lublin 2000, col. 324.

¹¹ In *Corpus Hippocraticum* there is written: "Chronos is that in which there is *kairos*, and *kairos* is that in which there is little *chronos*", see: G. Agamben, *The Time that*

II

In art history, turning points related to historical processes are more significant than the cases of individual artists. Giorgio Vasari knew about it when he wrote:

That very same debt painters owe to Nature, ... is also owed, in my opinion, to Giotto, the Florentine painter; for when the methods and outlines of good painting had been buried for so many years by the ruins of war, he alone, although born among inept artists, revived through God's grace what had fallen into an evil state and brought it back to such a form that it could be called good. And it was truly an extraordinary miracle that such an ignorant and incompetent age could have inspired Giotto to work so skilfully that drawing, of which men during those times had little or no knowledge, came fully back to life through his efforts.¹²

Vasari called that turning point, a "miracle" made by Giotto, "Renaissance," making the word "*rinascita*" acquire the meaning of a moment of change when undoubtedly the *kairos* intruded into chronological history. It was thanks to that turning point that in the following decades art could gradually achieve perfection which culminated in the *perfezzione* of the 16th century¹³:

Hence, Cimabue was, in one sense, the principal cause of the renewal of the art of painting, but Giotto, though his follower, inspired by a praiseworthy ambition and helped by Heaven and his own natural talent, was the man whose thoughts rose even higher and who opened the gates of truth to those painters who have subsequently brought the art of painting to that level of perfection and grandeur at which we see it in our own century.¹⁴

The idea that art could raise from decline either thanks to one person or a collective effort returned repeatedly in the following centuries. It implied a question whether such a transformation could be effected on one's own, or only at some propitious moment. In his programmatic pamphlet titled *In*

Remains. A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans, trans. P. Dailey, Stanford 2005, pp. 68–69.

¹² G. Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. J. Conway Bondanella and P. Bondanella, Oxford 1998, p. 15.

¹³ H. Karge, "Renaissance. Aufkommen und Entfaltung des Stilbegriffs in Deutschland im Zuge der Neorenaissance-Bewegung um 1840," in: *Neorenaissance – Ansprüche an einen Stil. Zweites Historismus-Symposium Bad Muskau. Muskauer Schriften*, vol. 4, eds. W. Krause, H. Laudel, W. Nerdinger, Zittau 2003, pp. 40–41.

¹⁴ Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, p. 13.

What Style Should We Build?, published in 1828, Heinrich Hübsch wrote: "Painting and sculpture have recently abandoned passive imitation of the ancient times. Only architecture is still dependent, continuing the imitation of the ancient style."¹⁵ On the contrary, almost one hundred years later Vassily Kandinsky stressed the role of the individual active in the *kairos*:

Veiled in obscurity are the causes of this need to move ever upwards and forwards, by sweat of the brow, through sufferings and fears. When one stage has been accomplished, and many evil stones cleared from the road, some unseen and wicked hand scatters new obstacles in the way, so that the path often seems blocked and totally obliterated. But there never fails to come to the rescue some human being, like ourselves in everything except that he has in him a secret power of vision. He sees and points the way.¹⁶

Vasari was the first to interpret a turning point in art as overcoming a bad situation similar to an impasse in an individual artistic development. That state could be improved only by a radical rejection of the present condition. On the other hand, such a negatively valued situation could be more serious than a crisis – it could be a collapse, a total failure. In such terms Vasari referred to the Middle Ages. Hübsch was less pessimistic about contemporary architecture, while Kandinsky definitely analyzed the present in terms of crisis. The upcoming change meant abandoning the nineteenth-century historicism and academism, as well decadentism which was characteristic of the years before 1900.¹⁷ At any rate, however, connecting a turning point as salvation with an undesirable preceding state of affairs implies that the idea of fundamental transformation could operate only with a system of values that assumed the differences between good and bad art, norm and anti-norm, prosperity and decadence.

Getting rid of the fetters of bad art was usually considered a purely artistic task to be performed by a particular group or a group with a special leader, supported by the *kairos*. The 20th century added to it a belief that a turning point could occur due to a political decision. When Włodzimierz Sokorski, deputy minister of culture in communist Poland, claimed in 1950 that "epigones of the formalist schools in art argued some time ago that the current crisis in

¹⁵ H. Hübsch, *In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?*, Karlsruhe 1828, p. 1.

¹⁶ W. Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, trans. M. T. H. Sadler, p. 13, <<http://www.semantikon.com/art/kandinskyspiritualinart.pdf>> [last accessed: 13.06.2019].

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 10. On decadentism, see M. Porębski, *Ikonosfera*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 242–243.

painting is a result of the exhaustion of conventions,"¹⁸ he both pointed at an undesirable condition and at the real culprits. By the same token, he clearly declared that the only solution was proclaiming the "proper" art by decrees since that would be a remedy for the crisis and a way to crush the useless, annoying "epigones."

Vasari knew that perfection in art is not permanent and that culture develops in cycles, which may lead to another fall.¹⁹ About 150 years later, Giambattista Vico represented a similar line of reasoning, assuming that the course of culture (*corso*) may lead to exhaustion followed by a return of barbarism (*ricorso*) which in fact is a renaissance – a beginning of another cycle, just like the Roman Empire was followed by the Christian Middle Ages.²⁰ Kandinsky wrote that the "work of art is the child of its age,"²¹ which means that he believed that no turning point could result in ultimate solutions in art. His opinions were based on the idea of crisis as something repetitive, conditioned by continual changes in human history.²² This idea was developed by Jacob Burckhardt already in the 19th century – the Swiss historian treated crises as subsequent "knots of development," i.e., moments when old systems of values were replaced by new ones, but he did not claim that any new cultural or political formation could put an end to transformations.²³ On the contrary, revolutions, starting with Robespierre, interpreted themselves as ultimate turning points that eventually solved all problems of humanity.²⁴ This is also how the proclamation of the socialist realism in the late 1940s in Poland must be approached. The *kairos* was replaced by historical necessity.²⁵

Both for artists and politicians, art can be clearly defined in terms of values. It is good or bad, innovative or imitating, ideologically proper or improper. Thus, the concepts of progress, perfection, crisis, decadence, and collapse are crucial for its description. A turning point is perceived as a change for the better, a moment of overcoming an impasse or putting an end to a downfall. Most certainly, such a change will never be absolute or ultimate. As an effect

¹⁸ W. Sokorski, "Kryteria realizmu socjalistycznego," in: *Czas debat. Antologia krytyki artystycznej z lat 1945–1954*, vol. 2: *Realizm i formalizm*, eds. A. Pietrasik, P. Słodkowski, Warszawa 2016, p. 386.

¹⁹ Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, pp. 5–6.

²⁰ See G. Vico, *La scienza nuova*, Milano 1959, pp. 166–167, 509.

²¹ Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual...*, p. 10.

²² See Koselleck, "Einige Fragen an die Begriffsgeschichte...", p. 68.

²³ See Z. Kuderowicz, *Biografia kultury. O poglądach Jakuba Burckhardta*, Warszawa 1973, pp. 135–140.

²⁴ See Koselleck, "Einige Fragen an die Begriffsgeschichte...", p. 72.

²⁵ See K. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, London and New York 1961, pp. 42–49.

of a certain artistic or political program, it will be highly appreciated by the advocates of a given ideological change. An adversary of historicism would never be able to approve of Hübsch's *Rundbogenstil*, just as the socialist realism could be accepted only by a Stalinist or someone who hoped to benefit from it in one way or another.

III

Since Alois Riegl made the evaluation of historical styles relative by making them equal, the problem of crises and turning points either had to disappear from art history, or acquire a new status free of value judgments. Likewise, scholars had to cope with the concept of continuous development, an unbroken stream of human generations that created new works of art without rejecting the heritage of their ancestors. Since, as Henri Focillon has put it, forms have their own life, growing one out of another, does the continuous course of their changes allow for any discontinuities, leaps or crises? If Rembrandt's painting grows out of the "abundance of his sketches" and all his earlier works that shaped his style anticipated his later works,²⁶ how is it possible to find in it the moments of crisis?

For Focillon, there was no such problem since he believed that the continuous development of art was structured by subsequent stylistic formations swiftly passing from one to another and always consisting of four stages: the stage of experiment and exploration, classic, sophisticated, and baroque.²⁷ Repetitive cycles eliminated any possible collapse of chronological time.²⁸ Max Dvořák in his study of the art of the Van Eyck brothers approached the problem quite differently.²⁹ On the one hand, he had no doubts that Jan van Eyck brought about a turning point in painting, achieving an unprecedented quality of naturalism, yet on the other – it was the gist of Dvořák's study *Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck* – the new style was an outcome of a long process of development, initiated by the reception of the fourteenth-century Italian art in France and the rise of the so-called Franco-Flemish art. Thus, a revolution turned out to have been an evolution.³⁰

²⁶ See H. Focillon, *Vie des formes*, Paris 1934, p. 10.

²⁷ See *ibidem*, p. 14.

²⁸ See H. Belting, *Das Ende der Kunstgeschichte. Eine Revision nach zehn Jahren*, München 2005, pp. 145–146.

²⁹ M. Dvořák, *Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck*, München 1925.

³⁰ L. Kalinowski, *Max Dvořák i jego metoda badań nad sztuką*, Warszawa 1974, pp. 17–21; A. Rosenauer, "Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck – Max Dvořák und seine Stellung zu Wickhoff und Riegl," in: *Wien und die Entwicklung der kunsthistorischen Methode*,

Dvořák's solution resembles a paradox formulated by Aristotle at the end of *Posterior Analytics*. As he wrote, "when a rout has occurred, first one man takes a stand, then another does, and then another, until a position of strength is reached."³¹ Even though a turning point actually occurs, when watching combat, it is hard to determine at what specific moment the soldiers' escape turned into their return to battle. A statement that at some point a decisive turn took place can be made only *ex post*. It is quite similar in art: assuming its historical character and following its transformations in time, we can acknowledge only its evolution. More or less radical changes can be noticed only from a superior point of view from which we can see certain closed units emerging in the course of time, and from a point that is chronologically distant, which makes those units even more distinct. Sometimes, particularly in the case of extinct civilizations whose history cannot be reconstructed for the lack of sources, the only available clue is a trace of some obscure change noticeable in the surviving artifacts. George Kubler wrote:

The annals of art, like those of bravery, directly record only a handful of the many great moments that have occurred. When we consider the class of these great moments, we are usually confronted with dead stars. Even their light has ceased to reach us. We know of their existence only indirectly, by their perturbations, and by the immense detritus of derivative stuff left in their paths.³²

On the one hand, scholars focusing on historical processes identify specific turning points, on the other, they find their origin. Yuri Lotman wrote:

The historian regards an event from a point of view which is oriented from present to past. This view, by its very nature, transforms the object of description. The picture of events, which appears chaotic to the casual observer, leaves the hands of the historian in the form of a secondary organization. It is natural for the historian to proceed from the inevitability of what has occurred. However, his creative activity is manifested in other ways: from the abundance of facts stored in memory, he constructs a sequential line, leading with the utmost reliability towards this conclusive point [i.e., toward a turning point – W. B.].³³

eds. S. Krenn, M. Pippal (*Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*, Wien, 4.–10. September 1983, eds. H. Fillitz, M. Pippal, vol. 1), Wien–Köln–Graz 1984, pp. 45–52; H. Aurenhammer, "Max Dvořák (1874–1921). Von der historischen Quellenkritik zur Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte," in: *Österreichische Historiker. Lebensläufe und Karrieren 1900–1945*, vol. 2, ed. K. Hruza, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2012, pp. 185–190.

³¹ Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*, trans. J. Barnes, Oxford 2002, 2, 100a (p. 73).

³² G. Kubler, *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things*, New Haven and London 1970, p. 40.

³³ Y. Lotman, *Culture and Explosion*, trans. W. Clark, Berlin and New York 2009, p. 17.

For Dvořák writing about the Van Eyck brothers' a revolution was just some kind of "fold" on the smooth course of the continuous, autonomous, and intrinsic evolution of style. A turning point did not depend on a preceding crisis. However, several years later he claimed that a radical change in art was always brought about by causes rooted in human thought, i.e., in world-views.³⁴ They could either result in replacing one spiritual formation with another with no symptoms of crisis, or in a collapse of the ruling system of culture. The first process was illustrated by the birth of the Christian art which took three hundred years. The victory of a new kind of art meant the end of the ancient naturalism and the cult of the body in favor of the spirit. An evolution brought a revolution again, yet in that case it was not interpreted as an autonomous phenomenon within art itself but as an effect of external causes. Dvořák argued:

The catacomb painting was able to move that far since it was based on a transcendent Christian worldview that allowed artists to ignore material, sensual activity and the rules of nature. Such radicalism brought about – gradually, but from the very beginning – to a sharp opposition between the catacomb painting and the contemporary pagan art. In the anti-materialist bias of its new tendencies Christianity found an approach to art that could be combined with the Christian approach to the world.³⁵

The other case was related to mannerism. That phenomenon in art, which in the early 20th century was still valued negatively, Dvořák interpreted as a crisis caused by doubt about the rationalism of high Renaissance. In his opinion, that crisis implied also a positive turn toward spiritual values and idealism. It was not solved in the 16th century and the following ones since in that period the rationalist tendencies prevailed again.³⁶ However, it returned after World War I with expressionism and then led, according to Dvořák, to a radical shift in the dominant worldview. Analyzing a cycle of Kamilla Svoboda's graphic portraits by Oskar Kokoschka from 1920, he wrote:

³⁴ Kalinowski, *Max Dvořák i jego metoda...*, pp. 22–32; J. Bakoš, "Die epistemologische Wende eines Kunsthistorikers," in: *L'Art et les révolutions*, Section 5: *Révolution et évolution de l'Histoire de l'Art de Warburg à nos jours*, ed. H. Olbrich, Strasbourg 1992, pp. 43–72; Aurenhammer, "Max Dvořák (1874–1921)," pp. 194–200.

³⁵ M. Dvořák, "Katakombenmalereien. Die Anfänge der christlichen Kunst," in: idem, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte. Studien zur abendländischen Kunstentwicklung*, München 1924, p. 33.

³⁶ M. Dvořák, "Über Greco und den Mannerismus," in: ibidem, pp. 270–271 and 275–276; W. Bałus, "Max Dvořák betrachtet Tintoretto oder über den Manierismus," *Ars* 2011, 44, pp. 32–35.

Thus Kokoschka's *Variations* stand simultaneously between two periods; they represent a turning point, a fruit of the previous revolutionary moment, but at the same time they are step towards a future realm of a new German idealism that will be founded not on the world of the senses but will take its ideal forms from the spheres of the spirits.³⁷

The problem of turning points was approached quite differently in the theories which assumed cyclical succession of the stages of development. Mieczysław Porębski, who believed in generational rhythms, claimed that each generation first defines its views in respect to received ideas and the puts them to test in practice. This, he argued, is the reason why every dozen years or so there are crises caused by the appearance of another generation or the attempts made by the previous one to revise their opinions. The result is the "descending and ascending rhythm of sharp, spectacular crises connected with significant socio-political events."³⁸ In that case, crises and turning points were not considered in terms of values. Porębski interpreted them only as symptoms of intellectual changes characteristic of the subsequent generations of culture makers. Hence, a historical perspective brought another interpretation of turning points. First, abandoning an evaluative approach to epochs and styles eliminated from the historical process "bad" art, and consequently also the times of crisis and decline. By the same token, the problem of the goal of the evolution of art was gone. The only task left to art historians was to acknowledge changes, i.e., to describe how a new formation replaced an earlier one. The concept of crisis could be applied only as an analytical term referring to some minor phenomenon with a specific aesthetic program, i.e., as a local instrument with no universal significance (e.g., the crisis of academism) or as an element of a cycle in the theories that assumed the rhythmic quality of historical processes. Also sudden, unexpected changes which triggered the rise of a new tendency or style (e.g., the appearance of the gothic style in Île-de-France in the 12th century) was interpreted as a peculiar kind of crisis. Following Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, Jan Białostocki called it "fulguration."³⁹

Second, the treatment of the past as a continuous, unbroken process of events resulted in relativization of its own kind. Observed from a distance, such historical material could be ordered in different ways. Kubler argued that works of art could be placed in different series of historical processes (e.g., the

³⁷ M. Dvořák, "Foreword to *Oskar Kokoschka: Variations on a Theme*" [1921], trans. H. Mathews, in: *The Expressionist Turn in Art History. A Critical Anthology*, ed. K. A. Smith, London and New York 2017, p. 234.

³⁸ M. Porębski, "Rytm historyi," in: idem, *Interregnum. Studia z historii sztuki polskiej XIX i XX w.*, Warszawa 1975, p. 273.

³⁹ J. Białostocki, "Krisen in der Kunst," in: *Über die Krise*, pp. 175–176.

Il Gesù church could be put at the beginning of a new type of the Jesuit church, or considered as an element in the development of early modern church architecture or stone and brick architecture in general).⁴⁰ Their crucial character can be prominent in certain series while in others it may be quite insignificant. Lotman wrote: "Culture, whilst it is a complex whole, is created from elements which develop at different rates, so that any one of its synchronic sections reveals the simultaneous presence of these different stages. Explosions in some layers may be combined with gradual development in others."⁴¹

Third, turning points lost their significance due to the processes of "normalization." As long as we consider an epoch, a type of culture or a kind of art as special, our situation is similar to that of Vasari: we may call it either as particularly valuable or as valueless. Dvořák did not condemn antiquity so that the transition from the pagan Roman art to Christian catacomb painting could not be evaluated in terms of "better or worse." On the other hand, since in mannerism he saw the beginning of an idealistic attitude which he endorsed, in his paper on Kokoschka he clearly returned to the schema known from Vasari's *Lives*: something undesirable and valued negatively (dull, scientific rationalism) changed under his eyes for the better thanks to the expressionist revolution. However, if we approach mannerism as a standard element of art history, its special significance will automatically disappear. Still, the question is whether such a normalizing approach is always appropriate. If yes, what will the future historians do with such declarations as that of Sokorski and turning points such as the proclamation of the socialist realism?

IV

To sum up: in the individual artistic development, turning points are related to crises and impasses, i.e., to finding ways that lead to a goal again. Quite often, such moments of finding happen suddenly, at some special moment called by the Greeks the *kairos*. Changes in art considered *en bloc* also occur thanks to specifying some goal, which is always connected to values. Such changes can be either interpreted as overcoming a crisis or as putting an end to the state of decline or decadence, always valued negatively. Definitely, a separate case is the political proclamation of a change, which is always an act of symbolic violence. Finally, in academic art history a turning point, defined in relative terms, does not have to be connected to a crisis. Therefore, art history can be rewritten again and again.

⁴⁰ See Kubler, *The Shape of Time*, pp. 33–39.

⁴¹ Lotman, *Culture and Explosion*, p. 12.

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TURNING POINTS, CRISES, EVOLUTIONS

Summary

When Aristotle asked at what particular moment we can say that an army is fleeing, which is certainly not when individual soldiers start leaving the battlefield, he formulated a problem that is important also for today's art history: are there any moments in the history of art that can be called turning points? In individual artistic careers, such points are related to crises, allowing the artist to overcome an impasse and find a way toward reaching a goal. Quite often, such a turn occurs suddenly, at some particular moment which ancient Greeks called the *kairos*. The changes in art approached *en bloc* also happen thanks to the background of values and some goal of artistic creation.

A turning point may imply overcoming a crisis or a period of decline and decadence – always a state of affairs defined in negative terms. A separate case is definitely a political decree that triggers off a change, which implies violence committed on culture. Finally, in academic art history a turning point may be related not only with a crisis, but also with evolution. It's perception is relative, but because of that the history of art can be rewritten.

Keywords:

turning point, crisis, evolution, *kairos*, methodology of art history

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ON BELATEDNESS.
THE SHAPING OF PORTUGUESE ART HISTORY
IN MODERN TIMES*

INTRODUCTION

Portuguese history of art had its own twentieth-century master narrative, a simulacrum of the modernist master narrative that has been widely criticised but not entirely put aside. Heir to the nineteenth-century compulsion for mapping and archiving national history, in its early days the history of art in Portugal was part of that broader field of knowledge comprising archaeology, anthropology, ethnology and, of course, history. That compulsion persisted, but it was modernised with an approach that became institutional art history practice and was motivated by the will to innovate and develop both art practice and art history (and criticism) in order to match foreign proposals regarded as models.

This article will briefly trace the genealogy of art history writing in Portugal until the significant development that Portuguese history of art experienced after World War II, especially with the work of José-Augusto França (b. 1922), who was responsible for establishing a historiographic canon for nineteenth- and twentieth-century Portuguese art and was also the founder of the academic discipline of art history in Portugal. I propose to analyse the concept of *belatedness* that is found in his writings, tracing its background, and to demonstrate how it has been associated with the concept of *civilisation*. Both performed a structural role in Portugal's cultural history. Putting the Portuguese case in context will help to see how much of the narrative on

* This article was written in the context of the project *Iberian modernisms and the primitivist imaginary* (PTDC/ART-HIS/29837/2017) – co-financed by COMPETE 2020, Portugal 2020 and European Union (European Fund for Regional Development).

modernism is itself modernist and how it has depended on a structurally imperial way of thinking, which has rivalry and hierarchy as its main features to elect or neglect artistic practices.

SOME EPISODES OF PORTUGUESE HISTORY OF ART FROM THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

There are some works that are usually considered amongst the first histories of art produced in Portugal. Although there is no consensus on this, the work written by the painter Cyrillo Volkmar Machado (in particular his *Colecção de Memórias* (1823))¹ is the one I shall mention first. He was indicated as being the first to depart from the Vasarian model,² writing in an empiricist and analytical way, using chronologies to establish analogies and differences, being “obsessed with facts”³ and having “a historical consciousness.”⁴ Cyrillo

¹ The full title was *Colecção de memórias relativas às vidas dos pintores, e escultores, architetos, e gravadores portugueses, e dos estrangeiros que estiverão em Portugal* which can be translated by: “Collection of memories related to the lives of painters and sculptors, architects and printmakers both Portuguese and foreigners that have been to Portugal.” Cyrillo Volkmar Machado lived between 1748 and 1823 and wrote other works related with painting and architecture, combining pedagogy, aesthetics and history. In the sixteenth century, there was an interest in archaeology in such Renaissance authors as Damião de Góis and André de Resende. Also, Leon Battista Alberti was translated by that time. The important work by Francisco de Hollanda (1517–1585) was only known much later in the late nineteenth century, and it was fully published only in the 1960s. Between 1580 and 1640, Portugal was ruled by Spain and during that period publications on national themes were scarce. Only afterwards were new works published, mostly following the Vasarian model. See A.M. Gonçalves, “Historiografia de Arte em Portugal,” *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra* 1960, 25.

² This was noted by Paulo Varela Gomes in 1988. Cf. “Cyrillo Volkmar Machado e a História da Arte em Portugal na transição do século XVIII para o século XIX,” in: idem, *A Cultura Arquitectónica e Artística em Portugal no século XVIII*, Lisbon 1988, pp. 149–73, and later by Foteini Vlachou, “The absence of Vasari: The reception of the *Vite* in Portugal c. 1568–1823,” in: *Vasari als Paradigma. Rezeption, Kritik, Perspektiven / The Paradigm of Vasari. Reception, Criticism, Perspectives*, eds. F. Jonietz, A. Nova, Conference Proceedings, Marsilio, Florence, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Max-Planck-Institut, 2014, pp. 275–284 (Included in F. Vlachou, *The Disappointed Writer. Selected Essays*, Lisboa 2019, pp. 31–57). Both authors also note that Cyrillo quotes Winckelmann frequently, but has no problem in often disagreeing with him, for instance, by praising Bernini.

³ Gomes, “Cyrillo Volkmar Machado...,” p. 155.

⁴ In Cyrillo’s writings, Paulo Varela Gomes identifies the consciousness of time continuities and an expectation of the future, *ibidem*, p. 150.

Volkmar Machado explained artistic facts and developments, not by establishing closed cycles of rising and decadence, but by searching for causal facts outside the artistic field. In spite of its limitations, his work was regarded by the art historian Paulo Varela Gomes as the first to propose a periodisation of Portuguese art and his method of finding connections between artistic and non-artistic facts was indeed an approach that instead of trying to find art objects, *produced* them, as a result of the intertwining of facts in a historical narrative.⁵ Cyrillo held Portuguese art in low regard, and he shared the view that a general decadence was installed in all art, but he attributed this to external facts, not artistic facts.

There were some authors from Romanticism that gathered efforts to document the nation's art and monuments, namely two of the most famous intellectuals, the writer Almeida Garrett (1799–1854) and the historian Alexandre Herculano (1810–1877), who wrote, respectively, an essay on history of painting and a study about national monuments, as well as other about Gothic architecture.⁶ Herculano would also write several novels about monuments and other national works of art and in 1846 he started to publish his *History of Portugal* in several volumes.

However, José-Augusto França, the author of the master narrative of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Portuguese art, considered that the true history of art in Portugal only started later, with a foreigner, Count Atanazy Raczyński (1788–1874). França approved of the fact that this Polish aristocrat, a minister in the Portuguese Court in 1842–1845, was a correspondent of the Berlin Artistic and Scientific Society, to which he sent his studies on Portuguese art. França goes on to say that Raczyński, as “a man of knowledge and taste,” did “the first modern work of history criticism” and that he “dropped into the Portuguese milieu like a bomb, publishing neglected documents and showing the mistakes, insufficiencies and pretensions of previous researchers, artists and collectors.”⁷ In short, his highest merit was to have been trained abroad and exposed Portuguese belatedness. This was, states França, the most evident case of someone who had the training to apply a state-of-the-art nineteenth-century methodology – “a classic taste tempered by a high German idealism, romantic but with a Roman gravity,”⁸ focused on identifying correct authorship and dismissing “bad taste” eclecticism such as the Pena Palace

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 172.

⁶ A. Garrett, *Ensaio sobre História da Pintura*, 1821, and A. Herculano, *Monumentos Pátrios*, 1838; “A Arquitectura Gótica,” *Panorama* 1837, 1. See Gonçalves, “Historiografia de Arte em Portugal.”

⁷ J.-A. França, *A Arte em Portugal no Século XIX*, Lisbon 1990 [1967], pp. 392–393.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 395.

in Sintra⁹ – this enabled him to express paternalism, hoping that Portugal would progress in the arts, but diagnosing that for the time being, everything was yet to be done. França enhances his education and the “lesson of quality” he brought to the country, lamenting the national artistic ignorance that preferred to be offended rather than learning with him. The art historian praises another foreigner, the Briton Sir John Charles Robinson (1824–1913), who was responsible for the South Kensington Museum (currently the Victoria & Albert) and who published some articles on Portuguese painting in Britain, “and gave the country another example of professional work.”¹⁰

França recognises the privilege that these men had in their education and in the institutions they came from, but he tends nevertheless to diminish Portuguese artistic and intellectual capacities, often classifying them as ignorance, lack of intelligence or “Portuguese mentality” the putative incapacity of doing the same as what central European scholars and artists could do. França constantly underlines Portugal’s subaltern status, never equating the possible inadequacy of the foreigners’ approach to Portuguese reality. For him, history would have had to have been different to match their methodologies and the objects and narratives they were searching for. It was not social, cultural, economic or political reasons that had determined the Portuguese context, but an inherent lack of will to do things the “right” way.

The art historian Nuno Rosmaninho has traced a genealogy for Portuguese art history, identifying a methodology with a “scientific influx” that starts in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹¹ He also considers Raczyn-

⁹ Palácio da Pena in Sintra was built between 1842 and 1854 on the ruins of a monastery and it was a personal project of the consort Ferdinand II, husband to Queen Maria II of Portugal. It combines several revivalisms.

¹⁰ França, *A Arte em Portugal no Século XIX*, p. 396.

¹¹ Nuno Rosmaninho prefers to name this approach “methodic” or with a “scientific influx” and not “positivist” because of lack of direct reference to Auguste Comte. Comte’s positivism did not consider the gathering of facts a condition for the practice of science. N. Rosmaninho, “Estratégia e Metodologia na Historiografia Artística Portuguesa (1846–1935),” *Revista da Universidade de Aveiro. Letras* 1997, 14, p. 86. I nevertheless use the term “positivism” to refer to Portuguese art history, for the matrix of its practice is nineteenth-century positivism in a larger sense, which includes Leopold von Ranke’s empiricism. Although Ranke claimed the necessity for understanding and explaining facts, he was nevertheless championed as positivist due to his stances regarding history’s autonomy and independence towards philosophy, and due to seeing history as a scientific endeavour. He defended that history should focus on the individual and should follow an inductive methodology rather than deductive, which ultimately means a rejection of philosophy of history or, in other terms, a rejection of theory. See F. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition*, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 254–261. [F. Beiser distinguishes Ranke from

ski to be the first Portuguese art historian in whom he sees for the first time a rigorously trained method. The positivist matrix lasted throughout the twentieth century and co-existed with the vasarian-like biography (practised in the Dictionaries of Artists — one of the most enduring ways of writing the history of art), often in an exhaustive compilation of biographical facts with no attention to social context. Another practice was the “*Memória Histórica e Descritiva*” [Historical and Descriptive Memory], which applied the same exhaustiveness to the description of buildings, and the historical events that were related to them, mostly in a formalist approach, and exclusively to architecture.¹² Rosmaninho also refers to what he calls a problematising way of practising art history, that is, the identification of problems and themes and argumentation and positioning concerning those problems and themes. There were mainly two currents within this practice; one was nationalistic and tried to establish a national artistic specificity¹³ and discussed national styles like *manuelino*.¹⁴ The other distanced itself from patriotic views, rejected any idea of Portuguese superiority and identified a constant dependence on foreign models in Portuguese art. This was shared, for instance, by Joaquim de Vasconcelos (1849–1936) and Virgílio Correia (1888–1944), two

Comte’s positivism but does not oppose them, seeing common ground between both as well as some differences, such as Ranke’s idea that history could be both scientific and artistic). *Positivism* in a larger sense refers to the conviction that the past can be told exactly how it happened and that a massive fact accumulation based on primary sources is enough as scientific research and interpretation can be left aside (a belief that can still be found in the Portuguese Academy). It is also part of what was called *historicism*, a complex term which has been related to different and even contradictory practices, but that was mainly associated with the German History School, characterized by the belief in “objective” historical knowledge and the idea of history as progress. See P. Osborne, “Historicism as bad modernity,” in: *The Politics of Time: Modernity and the Avant-Garde*, London 1995, p. 138.

¹² Rosmaninho, “Estratégia e Metodologia...,” pp. 71–92. In the beginning of the twentieth century, art history publications of this sort were enriched by photography, which actually became more relevant than the text. Photography was claimed as a relevant (art) history instrument by Ramalho Ortigão, Sousa Viterbo and Joaquim de Vasconcelos, all authors that were simultaneously art historians, historians, writers, ethnographers or archaeologists, etc. with no necessary distinction between those practices. *Ibidem*, p. 81.

¹³ This was the position of, for example, Ramalho Ortigão, 1836–1915, or José de Figueiredo, 1872–1937. See Rosmaninho, “Estratégia e Metodologia...,” p. 82.

¹⁴ *Manuelino* refers to the architectural and sculptural late Gothic programme promoted in the reign of D. Manuel I (1495–1521), and related with its affirmative expansionist politics. The term was coined by Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen, a Brazilian with a German father, in 1842 in a study about the Belém Tower in Lisbon, *Notícia Histórica e Descritiva do osteiro de Belém*.

scholars with a strong and consistent methodology. Following Rosmaninho, Vasconcelos was the first and only one to place art within an economic perspective, and Correia the first to establish a dichotomy centre/periphery.¹⁵ The two currents prevailed throughout the twentieth century, and although apparently at variance, they share the same kind of approach. In general, from the twentieth century on, the history of art in Portugal pursued scientific legitimation aimed at objectivity by intense description and fact accumulation, as well as having few doubts (with the exception of Joaquim de Vasconcelos, who carefully appeals to verification and critical sense). This coexisted with an idealist conception of art and the fact accumulation eventually justified historiographic options and positions based on personal taste and judgement.

THE *ESTRANGEIRADO* EFFECT

França's position may be traced back to that of the *estrangeirados*, a term coined to refer to those that, since the eighteenth-century, had had a foreign education or an interest in what was foreign ("estrangeiro" means "foreign" in Portuguese).¹⁶

The term had either a negative connotation, raising the suspicion of lack of patriotism, or a positive reading, meaning that those who were *estrangeirados* were open-minded and looked upon foreign models to promote developing their own country. The scientific revolution of the eighteenth century made its way to Portugal thanks to the role of the *estrangeirados* network.¹⁷ Their task often had a component of ferocious criticism of the way things were administrated, cultivated and organized in Portugal. In the twentieth century, the term was used by the essayist António Sérgio (1883–1969),¹⁸ who

¹⁵ Rosmaninho, "Estratégia e Metodologia..."

¹⁶ In 1971, the philosopher Eduardo Lourenço (b. 1923) noted exactly this: "Is José-Augusto França's critical approach the last metamorphosis of the famous *estrangeirado* criticism, more able to detect what lacks (following an imaginary model situated somewhere else) than what we are?" E. Lourenço, "Os Círculos dos Delaunay ou o Estatuto da nossa Pintura," in: idem, *O Espelho Imaginário. Pintura, Anti-Pintura, Não-Pintura*, Lisboa 1996 [1971], pp. 115–116.

¹⁷ See A. Carneiro, A. Simões and M. P. Diogo, "Enlightenment Science in Portugal: The *Estrangeirados* and Their Communication Networks," *Social Studies of Science* 2000, 30(4), pp. 591–619.

¹⁸ António Sérgio was a philosopher, historian, educationist, politician and essayist. He was the minister of Education for a brief period in 1923, creating scholarships for studying abroad and financing research and the modernization of schools. He was one of the

recalled the role of the *estrangeirados* in Portugal to reinforce a profound national self-criticism. José-Augusto França met António Sérgio, of whom he would later recall: “he taught me how to think.”¹⁹

In 1926, the year of the military coup that installed a dictatorship,²⁰ and just before leaving the country to travel to Paris, where he stayed until 1933, Sérgio wrote an essay called “O Reino cadaveroso ou o problema da cultura em Portugal” [The Cadaveric Reign or the Culture Problem in Portugal].

Those who made the criticism, António Sérgio and the authors to whom he considered himself heir, did so from a superior point of view, an illuminated one, for they believed they had the necessary knowledge to propose, create and implement the reformations needed to surpass the belatedness, but they generally and persistently felt themselves outnumbered by the reactionary forces.

In his essay, Sérgio traces back to the sixteenth century the moment when Portugal was perfectly aligned with the “best European spirit,” that is, the “mentality of the cultivated people.”²¹ That was the time of the so-called “discoveries,” the conquest of territories unknown to Europe or that had remained unexplored in Africa, South America (Brazil) and India, as well as the economic enterprises to China and Japan. It was the making of an empire, with territorial conquest and an organized economic network that would control the major trade routes, and would last several centuries, although it would be exceeded in size and power by other well-known European empires from the late sixteenth century onwards. For Sérgio, Portugal was the European avant-garde in the 1500s, but had since lost its status and became a permanently backward nation. One of the eighteenth-century’s *estrangeirados* had

directors of an important magazine, *Seara Nova*, which played a crucial role opposing to the Portuguese fascist regime.

¹⁹ J.-A. França, interviewed by J. C. Saraiva, *Sol*, Lisbon, May 2016.

²⁰ After 1933 and the rise of António de Oliveira Salazar to power, this dictatorship adopted fascist characteristics, for instance, the salutation by raising the right hand, or by establishing obligatory “civil education” for young boys and girls (separately) regarding national values and to teach them their roles as citizens of the regime (Mocidade Portuguesa). Censorship, control of arts and culture, political imprisonments and torture were also installed, as well as a network of informers of potential subversive behaviour. The historian Fernando Rosas has recently analysed the common ground between the Portuguese and other European dictatorships, emphasizing its fascist characteristics. F. Rosas, *Salazar e os fascismos*, Lisbon 2019.

²¹ A. Sérgio, “O reino cadaveroso ou o problema da cultura em Portugal,” in: idem, *Ensaaios II*, Lisboa 1972 (2nd edition); the essay was written in 1926 and read in that same year at a conference in Coimbra.

already called Portugal the “Cadaveric Reign” or “the Reign of Stupidity,”²² and Sérgio recovers this terminology to apply it to his own epoch.²³ The nostalgia for sixteenth-century Portugal that António Sérgio expresses is directly connected with the “discoveries”: the development of mathematics, geography, the questioning of the medieval authorities were all due, according to him, to the needs and consequences of sea travel. Sérgio praises travelling for providing experience, open-mindedness and a critical attitude, while neglecting every other consequence of the politics of conquest, land occupation and people subjugation. For him “discovery” stands for an inquiring and investigatory spirit.

What happened in the seventeenth century then? For Sérgio, the country took a backwards turn with the “fires of the inquisition” and the persecution of foreigners. At that moment, the Portuguese started to be seen, and righteously so, according to Sérgio, as the “Indians of Europe” or “*cafres*” [*kaffir*].²⁴ It is worth noting that the terms used for self-deprecating reference the people of the “discovered” lands – the Indians in Brazil or the African people, here designated by an extremely derogatory name. Therefore, being belated was like being a different kind of foreigner, an Indian or an African. For António Sérgio, the only foreigners to look up to are within Europe, and Portugal, a European country was meant to live up to continental prestige.

The ones who became *estrangeirados* were those who escaped the inquisition, intellectual Jews, and also those who studied abroad or who established themselves in other countries for political reasons, and finally, later some of the Jesuits persecuted by the Marquis de Pombal (himself inspired by England, where he had been ambassador) in the eighteenth century. They would harshly criticize Portuguese culture and the lack of development, a criticism that continued in the nineteenth century. This was first done by the so-called Romantic generation of Almeida Garrett and Alexandre Herculano, who had

²² Ribeiro Sanches (1699–1783), a Portuguese physician and philosopher, who studied in London and became a physician for the Russian court, but was later exiled in Paris for being Jew. *Apud*, *ibidem*, p. 28.

²³ The poet, writer, critic and teacher Jorge de Sena (1919–1978) acquired Brazilian citizenship in 1963 and was a Portuguese Literature teacher at Wisconsin University in the USA. Himself a *estrangeirado*, he would later also call a two-volume set of essays *O Reino da Estupidez* [The Reign of Stupidity, 1961].

²⁴ “No século de Descartes e Espinosa éramos uns índios tupinambás” [In Descartes’ and Espinoza’s century we were like tupinambá indians], Sérgio, “O reino cadaveroso ou o problema...,” p. 42. At the beginning of his essay, he quotes António Vieira, writing: “O nome, que não sem razão nos chamam, de *cafres* da Europa...” [The name which we are called, not without reason, is the *kaffirs* of Europe], p. 26.

both spent time in exile in England while participating in the revolt against absolute monarchy (1831) (the absolutists would later be defeated in 1834 by the liberal victory in the Portuguese Civil War). The second group of critics was the so-called Generation of the 1870s, composed of writers and poets who advocated for realism and naturalism, and had strong, albeit not necessarily coincident, political convictions. Their famous “Casino” lectures ended up being forbidden by the Government. It is mostly from one of these authors, Antero de Quental (1842–1891), that António Sérgio derives his own national diagnostic.²⁵

DECADENCE OR BELATEDNESS

In 1871 Quental, who promoted socialist and anarchist ideas, gave one of the most famous Casino lectures, titled “Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares” [Causes of the Decadence of the Peninsular People], where he referred to Spain and Portugal as convergent in their years of glory and their years of decadence, although without advocating a joint peninsular nation.²⁶ In fact, he would consider the decline to have started after a crisis caused by the death of the only male heir to the throne, D. Sebastião, in 1580, which resulted in Portugal being ruled by the Spanish monarchs until 1640. In this, as in the rest of his lecture, one can notice that Sérgio repeats almost exactly Quental’s words: Portugal was once great and the “peninsular race” was naturally “intelligent” with “independent,” “original” and “inventive” “genius.”²⁷ The Portuguese and Spanish were “naturally democratic” and a “noble people” in which nobleman and common people had lived in harmony. This mythical national essence is taken as the reason for the rise of a “brilliant world, created by the peninsular genius in its free expansion”²⁸ and corresponds chronologically with the expansion and conquest of the “discoveries” in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Quental starts the era of glory slightly earlier than Sérgio), and with the influence of Neoplatonic philosophy with its consequences in the development of universities, science, literature and the arts. The causes of decadence after that golden era reside in the loss of three civilising factors:

²⁵ Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins (1845–1894), historian and politician, was also a reference for António Sérgio, as well as the writers Eça de Queiroz (1845–1900) and Ramalho Ortigão (1836–1915), all figures of the 1870s Generation.

²⁶ A. de Quental, *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares* [1871], Lisbon [no date].

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 14 ff.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

moral freedom, a rising middle class and the development of industry. The main factor for this loss of civilisation was, says Quental, Catholicism after Trento, with the rule of the Inquisition and the Jesuit domination of the colonies. According to Quental, what united Spain and Portugal in their misery for three centuries was their subjugation to the Catholic Church.²⁹

There are two points I would like to emphasize in Quental's lecture. One is that decadence is associated with the rise of absolutism (absolute Church and absolute monarchy), or, generally, with authoritarianism and the restraint of freedom. The second is that decadence is associated with a lack of civilisation. They are, in fact, interconnected, since for him, civilisation is equivalent to the progressive path to a socialist society, with strong industry to provide work to a strong proletarian class.³⁰

To recover its legitimate place in civilisation, the country should put the aristocratic values behind, to embrace modern industry and democracy and to free itself from foreign dependence. This does not mean, however, a rejection of the foreign *per se*. Quental criticizes the expelling of foreigners and Jews by the Inquisition³¹ and he regards British colonization and industry as a role model. The issue in question was national economic autonomy – an autonomy as good and as civilised as the ones seen in Britain and other foreign countries. As for the colonies, Quental bemoans the fact that the Portuguese colonization was not better executed, not the colonization in itself. He vigorously condemns the religious missions, slavery and slaughter for this failure,

²⁹ As Onésimo Teotónio Almeida has pointed out, a similar diagnosis was made by Spanish authors such as Adolfo de Castro's *Examen Filosófico sobre las principales causas de la decadencia de España* (1852). See O. T. Almeida, "Antero de Quental on the Causes of the Decline of the Iberian Peoples: A Revisitation," *Mediterranean Studies* 1989, 1, pp. 134–136. This essay analyses Quental's lecture examining the causes he determines for the Iberian decline, and partly disagreeing with them. However, it does not question the diagnosis of belatedness, nor does it question the European hierarchy in which that diagnosis is based.

³⁰ "Against the industrial inertia, let us oppose the initiative of free work, the industry of the people, by the people and for the people ... organized in a solidary and equitable manner." In de Quental, *Causas da Decadência dos Povos...*, p. 68. Quental had travelled to the United States a few years before, a trip of which not much is known, but one can see he echoes Lincoln's Gettysburg Address of 1863 in these lines.

³¹ This is contrary to what Onésimo T. Almeida writes in his essay, where he states that Quental does not cite the expulsion of Jews, which is an obvious misreading (see p. 140, footnote 16). See Quental, *Causas da Decadência dos Povos...*, p. 45: "... the expulsion of Jews and the moors impoverishes both nations [Portugal and Spain], paralyses trade and industry, and gives a mortal blow in agriculture ...; the persecution of new Christians allows the capitals to vanish ..."

and regrets the missed opportunity for civilising belated nations. He writes: "The conquest of belated nations is generally neither fair or unfair. It can be justified or condemned by its results ... The Roman conquests are justified ... because they created a superior civilisation to the one that preceded them. The conquest of India by the British is fair because it civilises. The conquests of India by the Portuguese or of America by the Spanish are unfair because they did not civilise the conquered people."³²

José-Augusto França refers to Antero de Quental's diagnosis of decadence as correct³³ and he recalls the 1870s Generation and their lectures as "superior" and the times in which they were forbidden as "ignominious,"³⁴ which constitutes a guarded reference to the dictatorial regime (lasting from 1926 to 1974) he himself experienced, along with its nationalism, which promoted isolationism on the international scene.

He clearly inscribes himself as heir of this generation of lucidity in his work about Romanticism in Portugal when he writes: "... the *estrangeirados* from the Enlightenment were the only Portuguese that could guarantee the viability of the socio-cultural structures of the Portuguese romanticism with their dynamic nationalism and open-mindedness, as was that of Garrett, ..., Antero [de Quental] and Oliveira Martins..."³⁵ For França, they were the exception, as he himself was an exception, the ones who could see the light among the darkness, defending the French Revolution idea of "civilisation," while a generalized mediocrity triumphed.³⁶

IMPERIALISM AS CIVILISATION

One of the "lows" Antero de Quental refers to in his conference is the Portuguese dependence on Great Britain, as a terrible outcome of an ongoing decline. He claims that Portugal had become a British colony while its own colonies were being lost to other countries and the Portuguese influence in China or Japan had disappeared.³⁷

³² Quental, *Causas da Decadência dos Povos...*, p. 63. Quental defends the view that civilisation in the colonies implies mixing races and uniting the conquerors and the conquered in the same interests of moral superiority and progress.

³³ J.-A. França, *O Romantismo em Portugal*, vol. 6, Lisbon 1974 [1969], p. 1357.

³⁴ J.-A. França, *As Conferências do Casino no Parlamento*, Lisbon 1973, pp. 9–10.

³⁵ França, *O Romantismo em Portugal*, vol. 6, p. 1360.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 1354–1355.

³⁷ Quental, *Causas da Decadência dos Povos...*, pp. 22–23.

There is a larger context for this lament, of which it is important to emphasise the British support of Portugal in the war against the French invasions of 1807–1810 and later the support in the civil war on the side of the liberals, as well as the “loss” of Brazil as a colony.

The process that had led to Brazil’s independence is a direct consequence of the French invasions and of the institutional and trade relations with Britain: with the imminent invasion of the French, the court was transferred in 1807 to Brazil, thanks to the help of the British and Rio de Janeiro was established as the capital of the empire. This escape was made possible after tense negotiations, which would continue in the following years with several adjustments, guaranteeing that Britain would never recognize a non-Portuguese monarch in exchange for trade benefits in America, the promise of future abolition of slave trade and the political, commercial and military support of England in case of conflict.³⁸ At the moment of the court’s departure, the kingdom was thought lost and shortly after their arrival at Brazil, the state structure was replicated in the colony in line with the one that had existed previously at the metropole, with the result that the empire could be governed from Brazil from then on. Moreover, Brazilian ports were opened for commerce, meaning total economic independence from the metropole, which until then had had exclusive trade rights. Portuguese policies were thus based on the conviction that maintaining the empire was more important than maintaining the metropole, and a new trade map was designed with Brazil at its centre. As the historian Valentim Alexandre concludes, “To give the empire a new centre was to relegate the metropole to the periphery.”³⁹

Even after the French defeat in 1814 (with British help), the kingdom would continue to be governed from Brazil until 1821, when King D. João VI was forced to come back to Portugal to deal with a liberal and nationalistic revolt, leaving his son, and future king of independent Brazil, in charge.⁴⁰ The institutional and economic conditions for an autonomous kingdom in Brazil were already created, and independence was declared in 1822, with two monarchies headed by father and son. It is interesting to note that from some political viewpoints, to becoming a colony’s colony⁴¹ was considered worse than facing a colony’s independence: it was a real threat, since Brazil’s independent

³⁸ See V. Alexandre, “O processo de independência do Brasil,” in: *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, eds. F. Bethencourt and K. Chauduri, vol. 4: *Do Brasil para África*, Lisboa 1998, pp. 13–17.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

⁴¹ M. da Fronteira, *Memórias*, *apud* Alexandre, “O processo de independência do Brasil,” p. 26. Also p. 36.

emperor was the direct heir to the Portuguese crown. This is even more so the case because, as one newspaper stated, Brazil had been a country of “savages” until the Portuguese colonization, which was responsible for “civilising” the territory.⁴² To sum up, the trauma consisted firstly of the change of roles: during Portuguese rule, the metropole became subaltern to the colony, for the Portuguese king ruled from Brazil; and secondly, there was the risk of totally and permanently inverting the power relations after independence: the king of Brazil could become king of Portugal by heritage, which would mean to be ruled by a “uncivilised” country.

The nostalgia for an empire that Portugal hadn’t been able to hold on to thrived throughout the nineteenth century, sometimes associated with republican ideals and with imperial nationalism that rejected dependence on the British. The responsibility for that dependence was attributed to the monarchy.

With the trauma of the loss of America, attention turned to Africa, justified again by the “civilising mission” and “progress,” making the dramatic economic needs of the metropole look like a lesser motive.⁴³ A series of measures to meet the expansionary ambitions promoted the abolition of slave trade, slavery and forced labour, ultimately giving in to the pressure that Britain had long exerted. Based on humanist values tempered with the belief on the mythical capacities of the Portuguese for civilising, these measures signalled the expectation that divesting of the slave trade would reinforce other areas of investment, and that better economic results would be achieved by a society of free workers. On the other hand, white colonization was promoted, with the purpose of propagating “European values,”⁴⁴ although effective settlement would only be accomplished after World War I. As for forced labour and servitude, it would be maintained, either openly or more or less covertly, until the outbreak of the colonial war in 1961, with the pretext of its supposedly

⁴² *Campeão Lisbonense*, n. 60, 21 May 1822, *apud* Alexandre, “O processo de independência do Brasil,” p. 35.

⁴³ The first version of that project was presented to court in 1836 by the Marquis Sá da Bandeira, but only decades later would it be put to practice. *Ibidem*, p. 68.

⁴⁴ Valentim Alexandre states that there were “ethnocentric” and “integrationist” ideas similar to Tocqueville’s and defended by few people, such as Sá da Bandeira or Andrade Corvo: equality between races, defence of the end of slavery and forced labour and the integration of indigenous labour in the economy through wages (while protecting the colonizers’ privileges), as well as maintenance of European domination with the goal of civilising otherwise savage peoples. See V. Alexandre, “Nação e Império,” in: *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, eds. F. Bethencourt and K. Chauduri, vol. 4: *Do Brasil para África*, Lisboa 1998, pp. 94–95, 99–100 and 106–107.

“civilising function”⁴⁵. All through the second half of the nineteenth century, both the (scarce) humanist voices against discrimination and those informed by prejudice would invoke the quest for civilisation in the colonial lands, whether they thought it should be gentle and peaceful or violent and imposed.

With the scramble for Africa involving other European countries in the 1870s and 1880’s, including Britain, a new argument emerged fitting in with the expansionist ideas: the argument of scientific knowledge, promoted by the newly created Portuguese Geography Society (1875), which would organize scientific expeditions between Angola and Mozambique again “in the interests of science and civilisation.”⁴⁶ Soon this argument would be added to mythologised ideas of race and nation, which were also common in other European nationalisms, based on evolutionism and social Darwinism, which would reinforce the belief in the “historical mission” of the Portuguese people, their natural vocation for sea quests and for bringing culture, religion and knowledge to other (naturally inferior) people.⁴⁷ These ideas were propagated by the intellectual elites in newspapers, either echoing or triggering political manoeuvres, governmental changes and legislation. The Berlin Conference in 1884–1885, which determined the demand for “effective occupation” of land to reclaim colonial rights,⁴⁸ and the Brussels Conference in 1889 were full of “humanitarian rhetoric” to justify European countries’ sovereignty or influence in Africa as an “ethical and civilisational imperative.”⁴⁹ In fact, the need for the definitive abolition of slavery and the slave trade (a sign of civilisation with which everybody agreed, albeit while not practising this abolition) was an argument used in favour of effective land occupation.⁵⁰ Following the in-

⁴⁵ See M. B. Jerónimo, “The ‘Civilisation Guild’: Race and Labour in the Third Portuguese Empire, c. 1870–1930,” in: *Racism and ethnic relations in the Portuguese-speaking world*, eds. F. Bethencourt and A. J. Pearce, New York 2012, pp. 173–199.

⁴⁶ Decree of 11 March 1877, quoted in Alexandre, “Nação e Império,” p. 115.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 132–137.

⁴⁸ The obligation of land occupation referred to coastland and not the interior parts of African territory, contrary to what is usually argued. *Ibidem*, p. 127.

⁴⁹ M. B. Jerónimo, *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras. A «missão civilizadora» do colonialismo português 1870–1930*, Lisbon 2009, p. 56. Also, Jerónimo, “The ‘Civilisation Guild’...,” p. 177: “The developmental plans that aimed to transform the role and the function of the overall Portuguese African imperial venture, in which the formulation of effective and efficient policies of native labour had a crucial place, especially after the formal and legal abolition of the slave trade and slavery, were always conditioned by a racialised doctrine of the civilising mission.”

⁵⁰ Jerónimo, “The ‘Civilisation Guild’...,” p. 180: “Portugal needed to expand territorially in order to civilise trade (to turn commerce into a legitimate taxable enterprise) and with a view to creating the institutional conditions necessary to civilise African populations.”

ternational conferences, a European campaign started questioning Portugal's rights to the colonial land – Portugal was not civilised enough (not European enough) to be civilising others.⁵¹ Portuguese manoeuvres for land occupation uniting the west and east coast of Africa between Angola and Mozambique would trigger the British Ultimatum (1890), which demanded the immediate withdrawal of Portuguese forces from territories in the sphere of British interests.⁵² This was a traumatizing moment that would add to the two main intellectual currents already referred to: the nationalist one, keen on keeping national pride, and the self-critical one, agreeing with international disdain.

International vigilance would become a source of preoccupation after World War I and with the role assumed by the League of Nations in controlling the international scene after war. However, in spite of reports and incidents,⁵³ “the tradition of legalisation for native forced labour continued,”⁵⁴ and the Portuguese third empire, as much as the nineteenth and twentieth-century European empires,⁵⁵ was defended by the rhetoric and ideology of the *civilising mission*,⁵⁶ while the economic enterprise behind it was concealed with the abetment of international organizations.⁵⁷

⁵¹ “[Portugal] was being denied the quality of being a European nation with full rights, able to ‘civilise’ ‘belated’ people, which struck to the core of an identity built on the idea of the Discoveries as a founding moment in the Portuguese mission in the world,” Alexandre, “Nação e Império,” p. 126.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 129. A Republican revolt followed shortly afterwards as a reaction to the ultimatum in January 1891, associating the policies that led to it with the monarchy.

⁵³ Such as the Cadbury incident, reporting the conditions of the cocoa workers in S. Tomé (1909), or the *Ross Report* in 1925, among others. See D. R. Curto, “Preface,” in: Jerónimo, *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras...*, pp. 18–20 and Chapter 5 of the same book, “Novos métodos, velhas conclusões: o *Relatório Ross*,” pp. 211–250.

⁵⁴ Jerónimo, “The ‘Civilisation Guild’...,” p. 199.

⁵⁵ For the European empire rhetoric see F. Cooper, “States, Empires, and Political Imagination,” in: *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, Berkeley 2005, pp. 153–203.

⁵⁶ I follow here Miguel B. Jerónimo’s analysis, who emphasizes the economic motivations of the empire, diverging with Valentim Alexandre, who concludes that the Portuguese colonial project in the nineteenth century was firstly strategic (in relation to Madrid’s power) and ideological (the country’s self-image constructed by the elites that establish the mythical historical civilising mission of Portugal since the fifteenth-century), and that the economic motivations were secondary, although they would eventually prevail in the early twentieth century. V. Alexandre, “O império português (1825–1890): ideologia e economia,” *Análise Social* 2004, 39(169), pp. 959–979.

⁵⁷ Curto, “Preface,” p. 40.

The narrative of civilisation had to do with inferiority complexes which determined political stances, ultimately leading to the end of monarchy in Portugal in 1910. Quental's lament of the Portuguese dependence on Britain was the expression of deeper feelings: the mourning for the loss of Brazil and mourning for not being as civilised as the British. Quental and Sérgio, and others like them, suffered the "estrangeirado" effect: they too considered Portugal insufficiently civilised to be able to civilise others.

What is at stake here is what Fredrick Jameson refers to in his 1988 essay "Modernism and Imperialism": "during this period the word 'imperialism' designates, not the relationship of metropolis to colony, but rather the rivalry of the various imperial and metropolitan nation-states among themselves."⁵⁸ That meant to "repress the axis of otherness," raising "issues of colonial reality only incidentally" and making the colonial other invisible.⁵⁹ Therefore, *barbarism* and *civilisation* were terms to judge nations within the imperialist rhetoric of rivalry between empires. In Portugal, both the *estrangeirados* and the nationalists wanted to play alongside the most powerful nations. Since Portugal experienced economic dependence and subordination towards one of them, and adding the recent events in Brazil, its place is an ambiguous one for the mentioned Portuguese intellectuals, who wanted the country to be an empire and at the same time were afraid of being treated like a colony. Jameson's thesis is that western imperialism since the 1880's Scramble for Africa by western powers (which means imperialism associated with capitalism, progress, economic growth and technological revolution) is constitutive of modernism and can be found in modernist literature, not in an explicit way but structurally, as "formal symptoms"⁶⁰, and therefore the modernism-as-for-

⁵⁸ In T. Eagleton, F. Jameson, E. Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature*, Minneapolis, London 1990, p. 47.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 51. The full quotation is: "From 1884 to World War I, the relationship of domination between First and Third World was masked and displaced by an overriding (and perhaps ideological) consciousness of imperialism as being essentially a relationship between First World powers or the holders of Empire, and this consciousness tended to repress the more basic axis of otherness, and to raise issues of colonial reality only incidentally."

⁶⁰ Ibidem, p. 64. Jameson is analyzing how modernist literature is written from the point of view of the metropolis, and even if the colonies or the colonized are part of the narrative, they are outside the daily life of the First World countries, which are literature's "raw material": the empire is represented by the unknown and "the inability to grasp the way the system [colonial power and colonies] functions as a whole" (p. 51) prevails; therefore, an undetermined and exterior infinity is often present in the modernist narrative. It is not a matter to discuss here, but Jameson tries to make a point regarding the particularity of Irish modernism (James Joyce, in particular), a modernism he thinks has "slyly turned the

malism trope is never really apolitical. I may add that if art history writing developed within a modernist frame, then imperialism is also structurally constitutive of it.

JOSÉ-AUGUSTO FRANÇA'S ART HISTORY — ART AS CIVILISATION

Working as an art critic, editor, curator and art historian, José-Augusto França developed a narrative based on the sociology of art learned with Pierre Francastel (1900–1970), with whom he studied in Paris. This narrative elected Paris as an artistic and cultural role model and a permanent delay of Portuguese art was diagnosed through comparisons with that model. França wrote with an empiricist methodology compiling facts and vigorously defending an anti-theory position,⁶¹ which was celebrated both by himself and by later art historians as “evidence.”⁶² This came in line with the positivist approach of the early twentieth-century art historians, in which fact accumulation gave scientific credibility and the illusion of neutrality to history-making. It was also in line with the *estrangeirado* symptom that elected foreign models with which to compare Portuguese art, finding it always below international expectations. There are also more complex connections to be made with the embedded narrative of civilisation previously commented, which will be made later on.

França begun by writing novels, but he soon became an art and cinema critic as well as gallerist, and he also tried painting. His first novel takes place in Angola, where he lived after his father died, from 1941 to 1945, and tried to take care of the family business related to the coffee trade. He came back because, as he said sixty years later, he could not adapt to seeing the misery caused by “vile colonialism.”⁶³ Until 1962, when he presented his thesis in history at the Sorbonne in Paris (where he began studying in 1959) about the reconstruction of Lisbon following the 1755 earthquake, he was mainly an art

imperial relationship inside out” (p. 64) due to its decentered and subjugated condition, but close enough to the metropole to share with it the modernist quest.

⁶¹ J.-A. França, “Sobre História (Sociológica) da Arte,” in: *(In)definições de Cultura*, Lisbon 1997 [1979/81], p. 109.

⁶² He also argued that no one but the authors of the epoch being studied should be cited, in order to guarantee objectivity. J.-A. França, *O Romantismo em Portugal*, Lisbon 1974 [1969], vol. 1, pp. 17–18. The intromission of theory was a fault, for it belonged to the dominion of “ideas” and “abstraction” and not the dominion of facts. França, “Sobre História (Sociológica) da Arte,” p. 109.

⁶³ França, interview by Saraiva.

critic and curator. He promoted the first surrealist exhibitions in Lisbon in 1949, where he participated as an artist,⁶⁴ and afterwards in 1952, assuming at that time the role of curator. In that same year, he opened his own gallery, Galeria de Marçõ, and although it would only be active for two years, more than thirty exhibitions were organized, showing modernist artists, surrealism and shortly after, abstract art.⁶⁵

When França presented his specialization thesis on the sociology of art, written under the supervision of Pierre Francastel, in 1963 at the École des Hautes Études in Paris, titled *A Arte e a Sociedade Portuguesa do Século XX* [Portuguese Art and Society in the Twentieth-Century], he proposed an imaginary graphic to explain twentieth-century Portuguese art. The graphic had two high points: avant-garde and futurism in 1915–1917, followed by an accentuated depression that lasted until surrealism and abstractionism in 1945–1947 and after.⁶⁶ The depression corresponded to belatedness, which França explained as a consequence of a non-transmission of knowledge between different generations of artists. The graphic, made as an art historian, confirmed his own choices as an art critic in previous years, tracing an evolution from surrealism to abstractionism that had really no basis in reality. In fact, the first abstractionist paintings were made before the first surrealist experiments, but França only included them in the narrative after they were exhibited in his own gallery in 1953, therefore maintaining the linear progressive story of Portuguese art.⁶⁷

His work on Romanticism in Portugal, a thorough investigation with no parallel in Portuguese art historiography, was presented as a doctoral thesis to the Sorbonne in 1969, and would again use an imaginary graphic to conclude that although some positive points emerged, the general balance was very negative for nineteenth-century Portuguese art.⁶⁸ Belatedness is also a key issue when he considers that the Portuguese nineteenth century ended only in 1910 in another major two-volume edition, *A Arte em Portugal no Século XIX*

⁶⁴ The surrealists divided immediately into two groups, one called *Grupo Surrealista de Lisboa* [Lisbon's Surrealist Group] and the other called simply *Os Surrealistas* [The Surrealists]. França was part of the first group and elected the older artist António Pedro as a tutorial figure.

⁶⁵ J.-A. França, *A Arte em Portugal no Século XX*, Lisbon 1991 [1974], pp. 480–481.

⁶⁶ J.-A. França, *A Arte e a Sociedade Portuguesa no Século XX*, Lisbon: 1972 [1963].

⁶⁷ The first abstraction exhibitions were made by Fernando Lanhas, Nadir Afonso and others in Porto, in 1943–44. A. Portela, *Salazarismo e Artes Plásticas*, Biblioteca Breve, 1982. See also the book written in the dual role of critic and art historian, J.-A. França, *Pintura Abstracta Portuguesa em 1960*, Lisbon 1960.

⁶⁸ França, *O Romantismo em Portugal*, vol. 6, pp. 1355–1359.

[Art in Portugal in the Nineteenth-century].⁶⁹ *Romanticism* is used as a given concept:⁷⁰ it was the art of nineteenth-century Europe, and Portugal, a European country, generally failed to accomplish it.

Both *O Romantismo em Portugal* and another book, *Os Anos Vinte em Portugal* [The 1920s in Portugal] published in 1992, have the same subtitle, "Studies on Socio-Cultural Facts." Almost all of his introductions to his books refer to his art history work as such, or as studies on the "facts of civilisation."⁷¹ This designation is taken directly from Pierre Francastel's *Sociologie des Objets de Civilisation*, which is the basis of the French author's well-known book *Art and Technology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, in which he states that art is as much an object of civilisation as technology and that both are interrelated.⁷² França writes, following Francastel, that "a cultural fact *reflects* social values and at the same time, *proposes* values to society."⁷³ In later texts he allows a further designation, "artistic fact," always referring to its double function: reflecting and proposing.⁷⁴ For França, the proponent function is what makes art a civilising factor. Although França's approach was inscribed in the field of the sociology of art, he maintained that the "artistic fact" is a totality, and it has full autonomy. It is the role of the expert, the art historian (and critic), to bring that artistic fact intact in its unity and to identify how it functions and how it acts in society: "An object of civilisation lives its conjunctures: the sociology of objects of civilisation reveals them."⁷⁵

França's education with Francastel confirmed and fuelled the narrative of belatedness based on the contrast between civilisation and "primitive," or "underdeveloped," which was well established in the Portuguese intellectual tradition. As seen in Antero de Quental, the question the intellectuals wor-

⁶⁹ And started earlier, 1780 (which corresponds to the reconstruction of Lisbon after the earthquake). See J.-A. França, *A Arte em Portugal no Século XIX*, Lisbon 1990 [1967], p. 14.

⁷⁰ The same occurs in other works with concepts like *modernity* and *enlightenment*. *Enlightenment* is identified in Portugal as taking place during the rule of the Marquis of Pombal and corresponding to an empirical absorption of ideas that had been "in the air for a long time." J.-A. França, *Lisboa Pombalina e o Iluminismo*, Lisbon 1966 [1965], p. 305.

⁷¹ Namely in the referred books and, for instance in França, *A Arte em Portugal no Século XX*, p. 8.

⁷² P. Francastel, *Art and Technology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, MIT Press, 2000 [1956], p. 151.

⁷³ França, *O Romantismo em Portugal*, p. 13.

⁷⁴ J.-A. França, "Verdade Prática e Verdades Práticas" (1963) and "Sobre História (Sociológica) da Arte" (1979/81), in: idem, *(In)definições de Cultura*, p. 144 and 116.

⁷⁵ J.-A. França, "O 'facto artístico' na sociologia da arte" (1987), *ibidem*, p. 105.

ried about was the inability to be civilised and also the authoritarian regimes that had contributed to the decadence and progressive loss of civilising (European) qualities. Adopting this position meant that França was fighting and assuming an oppositional position to the Portuguese fascist regime he was witnessing, just as Quental had been against absolutism, and as António Sérgio, França's contemporary, was against the dictatorship of Salazar. However, he maintained the *order of discourse*⁷⁶ that prevailed and that assumed a privileged historical position for Europe, synonymous to *civilisation*. Furthermore, *European art* was seen as synonymous with civilisation, a common idea widely shared both in popular opinion and in art history practice – one can recall Kenneth Clark's BBC show that screened in 1969 precisely under the title '*Civilisation*'.

What did it mean to be civilised? It meant being European, it meant not to be left on the periphery.⁷⁷ And if art had full autonomy and yet a civilising function, it had failed to include Portugal among the civilised. The conception of art as a civilising factor and as an autonomous totality allows one to blame art, independently of external facts, for not civilising, that is, art was responsible for its own belatedness (and for society's belatedness) – it had an inherent incapacity to affirm itself within European parameters.

It is in this context that França's defence of abstraction, joining his voice to the mainstream narrative as so many other artists and art historians, should be understood. In France, after World War II, and in rivalry with the USA, it was also abstract art that was elevated to the position of absolute modern art. A three-volume publication in 1973 claimed French ownership of abstract art, arguing that the weight of the French capital in Western art gave it special status and affirming that abstraction dominated in Paris since 1945.⁷⁸ It is this French side that França chooses, adopting the designation "abstraccion lyrique"⁷⁹ to promote abstract Portuguese artists. That designa-

⁷⁶ I use Michel Foucault's term for the invisible set of rules that determine one's choice of words, of thoughts, of actions and that one is seldom aware of. See M. Foucault, *The Order of Things*, New York 1970 [1966].

⁷⁷ Foteini Vlachou has analysed the concept of periphery extensively in terms of a temporal unit rather than spatial, and how it implicates the judgment of backwardness for those countries which are not considered the centre, in "Why Spatial? Time and the periphery," *Visual Resources* 2016, 32(1–2), pp. 9–24 (DOI: 10.1080/01973762.2016.1132500), included *The Disappointed Writer. Selected Essays*, Lisboa 2019.

⁷⁸ M. Seuphor, M. Ragon, *L'Art abstrait, 1939–1970*, Paris 1973.

⁷⁹ "Lyric abstraction" was used in 1947 by Jean Marchand and Georges Mathieu for the exhibition in the Gallery of Luxembourg in Paris *L'Imaginaire*. See D. Vallier, *A Arte Abstracta*, Lisbon 1980, p. 279.

tion was coined to concur with North American “abstract expressionism,” and to claim to be its predecessor. By promoting abstractionism in Portugal, França finally aligned Portugal with European civilisation. In other words, the regular diagnosis of belatedness regarding a peripheral European country is aligned with the master narrative that hierarchizes continents and countries in power relations which are both the producers and the products of the master narrative.

This sedimented idea prevailed after the Carnation Revolution of 1974, in fact, José-Augusto França produces a vast amount of work after the revolution and in the meantime he became the director of the most important art magazine, published by Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, *Colóquio Artes* (1971–1996). It is also after the revolution that his art history became institutionalized, with the creation of the Art History Department at Universidade Nova de Lisboa in 1974. In general, art history books written by younger art historians dedicated to nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and even before), divided, as França did, the chronology into decades, artists in generations⁸⁰, which succeed one another in linear progression and always with a fatal and unavoidable belatedness, except for celebrated punctual cases of success.⁸¹ Although some new work emerged, França’s methodology nevertheless remained a vital reference to art historians, and his chronologies, historical concepts and extensive inventories of facts were never entirely questioned and were used as sources for later art historical writing. As Paulo Varela Gomes wrote in 2009: “... forty years after 1967 we have evolved little in matters of knowledge and problematization of the themes to which J.-A. França dedicated his first volume on nineteenth-century art in Portugal. Everything written since then is nothing more than the substitution of some pieces of França’s puzzle and the invention of one or two new pieces.”⁸²

Nevertheless, other forms of writing about Portuguese art history have been tested, such as Paulo Varela Gomes’ work, who tried not to use catego-

⁸⁰ For the concept of generation in França’s *A Arte em Portugal no Século XX (1911–1961)* see A. R. Salgueiro, “*A Arte em Portugal no século XX (1911–1961)*.” *José-Augusto França e a perspectiva Sociológica*, Lisbon 2012, p. 62, 63 e 82 e ss.

⁸¹ See R. M. Gonçalves, *História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 13: *Pioneiros da Modernidade*, Lisbon 1988; B.P. de Almeida, *Pintura Portuguesa do Século XX*, Porto 1994 (this book had an extended version published in 2017: *Arte Portuguesa no Século XX*, Porto); P. Pereira (ed.), *História da Arte Portuguesa*, vol. 3, Lisbon 1995; D. Rodrigues (ed.), *Arte Portuguesa. Da Pré-História ao Século XX*, vol. 18: *O modernismo I* (J. Pinharanda) and vol. 19: *O modernismo II* (B. P. de Almeida), Vila Nova de Gaia 2009.

⁸² P. V. Gomes, *Arte Portuguesa*, ed. D. Rodrigues, vol. 14: *Expressões do Neo-Clássico*, Vila Nova de Gaia 2009, pp. 18–19.

ries and concepts from the master narrative which he found inadequate to Portuguese subjects, or Foteini Vlachou who paid meticulous attention to the social, economic and political conditions for art production in Portugal in the eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries, for instance noticing that the investment in decorative arts and crafts was much more significant than in academy education, therefore understanding the institutional and political reasons for not investing in better artistic education in painting or sculpture.⁸³ This was a situation, I might add, that caused several avant-garde and modernist artists from the early twentieth-century to be self-taught. There are also several academic works, articles and theses that contribute to another kind of art history-making, but dominant art history is still Eurocentric.

CIVILISATION AND BARBARISM

It is significant to find Francastel writing about the superiority of the European (white) race: "I am led to believe that the nonstop progression of the white man – and of him alone – over thousands of years explains his *de facto* ascendancy over the planet, a privilege he has obtained by virtue not of racial predestination but of historical and societal gains. Only Western societies have proved adaptable ... Man's entire history teaches that the only great societies are those in which adaptation occurs not by empirical accommodation to exterior conditions, but by well-thought-out domination of materials. The greatness of the European race resides in its once again having assumed power, in the past two centuries, ... over all collective values, of which art is undoubtedly one means of expressing ..."⁸⁴

Francastel justifies his Eurocentric view by arguing that Europe is the home of outstanding technical and artistic capacities that made the continent more *adaptable*, therefore associating those capacities with the ability to construct a superior civilisation, or, to use evolutionist terms, a civilisation that wins its place by shadowing the others. As Samir Amin wrote, Eurocentrism is based on prejudice and on the idea of Europe as a superior universal model, believed to be imposed by the "force of circumstances" and natural evolution. That is based on the attribution of "more or less permanent characteristics to

⁸³ Gomes, *Expressões do Neo-Clássico*; F. Vlachou, *The Disappointed Writer. Selected Essays*, Lisboa 2019.

⁸⁴ Francastel, *Art and Technology...*, pp. 134–135. In a rather harsh introduction to the MIT Press edition of Francastel's *Art and Technology*, Yve-Alain Bois writes: "the seriousness of Francastel's book is badly tarnished by his inveterate chauvinism," p. 9; adding that he says, "in short, that Europe invented it all," p. 10.

a people or group of peoples," which are "drawn from totalizing conclusions from single details," considering them valid to "justify their condition and evolution."⁸⁵ This has been the common ground for the modern construction of European identity – especially after the Enlightenment – and for constructing identities inside Europe, electing models which other countries can get close to or fail to emulate, being "less European" than others. This construction is ideological and has sustained economic and political power, in which art and culture have played its part.

Art history has contributed to this Eurocentric ideology: as is well known, it was born as a scientific discipline from a Eurocentric position that mythified Antiquity (Greece) as the birth of culture. Jacob Burckhardt's *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), with its thorough examination of every aspect of culture, embedding art in its cultural, political, economic and religious context, helped to establish the equivalence between art and civilisation, considering them mutually interdependent.⁸⁶ The ultimate example of civilisation, and therefore of art, was Renaissance Italy. For Francastel and his student José-Augusto França, it would be modern France (or, more accurately, Paris). In short, the historiography of art takes European superiority for granted from the Renaissance on.

In his famous book *Provincializing Europe. Post-colonial thought and historical difference*, Dipesh Chakrabarty mentioned how the imperial narrative, produced either by and under colonial rule, either by Indian nationalists had "the tendency to read Indian history in terms of a lack, an absence, or an incompleteness that translates into 'inadequacy'" and how that narrative was the "cornerstone of imperial ideology."⁸⁷ That means that the Indians, as subjects of history, always had a subaltern position and were always (self-)seen as belated regarding (European) civilisation. To be modern was, as Chakrabarty puts it, to be European, a fictionalized Europe for sure, a mirage that nevertheless maintained the power relations between countries, and that determined the pattern to look up to, but that could never really be reached.⁸⁸ Indian his-

⁸⁵ S. Amin, "The construction of eurocentric culture," in: *Eurocentrism. Modernity, Religion, and Democracy. A Critique of Eurocentrism and Culturalism*, New York 2009 [1988] (ebook edition).

⁸⁶ Understanding art as always interdependent with social, political, economic, religious or cultural facts was a critical and innovative approach that led to cultural history.

⁸⁷ D. Chakrabarty, "Historicism as a transition narrative," in: idem, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial thought and historical difference*, Princeton University Press, 2008 [2000] (ebook edition).

⁸⁸ Edward Said's *Orientalism* was, of course, a pivotal work that analysed how knowledge production about Orient in the West was both a reflection and an instrument for main-

tory became a variant of the European master narrative, and Europe was thus sovereign in that narrative.⁸⁹

When Francastel writes about Western superiority, he is expressing the imperialist way of thinking that had been an important factor in consolidating the discipline of art history. França's art history, purporting to be a master narrative and part of the Western master narrative, adopted a subaltern position which, when exceeded, could be celebrated, for it meant that marginal Europe was catching up with the centre, with civilised Europe. França's *belatedness* also plays a part in identifying the old necessary to the process of writing modern(ist) history. He needs something old to contrast with novelty (and progress), newness being measured according to the Parisian model. It is also an intellectual task that includes him in the national tradition of the self-critique promoted by the *estrangeirados* (and that makes him look at the past historians in accordance with his own historiographical stance) and the way he thought to be contributing to the overcoming of belatedness by acknowledging it.

Nevertheless, the subaltern position he assumes for Portuguese art (and many after him) and the desire to overcome it only reinforces eurocentrism and the Eurocentric master narrative. It contributes to the prevailing imperial European way of thinking that is based on rivalry and hierarchies between winners and losers. Although Chakrabarty's analysis is useful to understand established hierarchies that determined who gets to be modern and who doesn't and that establish the requisites for reaching modernity, it cannot simply be taken as a parallel to the situation of Portuguese art history. Indeed,

taining a sovereign/subaltern power relation between both. "Orientalism is a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. [It is a discourse] by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period." E. W. Said, "Introduction, I," in: idem, *Orientalism*, New York 2004 [1978] (ebook edition). He adds that creating the "Orient" was a way for the (European) West to define itself and its sovereign position in relation to an Oriental backwardness and in such a way that "the European idea of the Orient" was the only legitimate idea of the Orient: "... political imperialism governs an entire field of study, imagination, and scholarly institutions—in such a way as to make its avoidance an intellectual and historical impossibility." In "Introduction, III," *ibidem*.

⁸⁹ See D. Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History," in: idem, *Provincializing Europe...* Dipesh Chakrabarty self-criticises the post-colonial project of Subaltern Studies, of which he was one of the founders, which also assumed this narrative, and proposes reading the idea of a "lack" differently, substituting it in the master narrative for "plenitude" and "creativity," allowing for multiple narratives about multiple experiences of modernity. See "To read lack otherwise," *ibidem*. (ebook edition).

the Portuguese stance in the work of the authors, historians, writers and philosophers cited so far was based on the faith on Portuguese European roots and on the imperative to avoid being treated or perceived as an Empire does its colonies. The ambition was to be perceived as a European nation, with its privileges in the narrative of the modern.

If one considers that “knowledge is produced under organized political circumstances”⁹⁰, then one must see that the Portuguese art history canon was shaped by the international European scene and by the Portuguese ambition to be a part of its constructed image of modernity. One has to take into consideration how the canon was modelled to that image of modernity, which narrows its definition to an experience only valued if it is similar to the “centres of civilisation.” To be able to determine that similarity or the failure to achieve it and the consequent diagnosis of ultimately not being “civilised” enough was a role that gave European status to the art historian. The art historian’s judgement of civilisation or barbarism would put him, if not his country, in the centre.

Is it possible to have a non-Eurocentric European art history? Chakrabarty has remarked that we all make European history, even with non-European archives – there is no escape from that. Yet he embraces the project of “provincializing ‘Europe,’ the Europe that modern imperialism and (third-world) nationalism have, by their collaborative venture and violence, made universal.”⁹¹ Boaventura de Sousa Santos has proposed the exercise of abyssal thinking to reach the realities outside the Eurocentric production of knowledge: “What cannot be said, or said dearly, in one language or culture may be said, and said dearly, in another language or culture. Acknowledging other kinds of knowledge and other partners in conversation for other kinds of conversation opens the field for infinite discursive and nondiscursive exchanges with unfathomable codifications and horizontalities.”⁹²

A resonance to these words can be found in Piotr Piotrowski’s horizontal art history. Piotrowski underlines the importance of the place from where the historian writes: “Due to the ideology of the universalism of modern art, the historian of the centre, often quite unconsciously, tends to ignore the significance of place, thus becoming an instrument of colonization”⁹³ and, I will

⁹⁰ E. W. Said, “Introduction, III” in: idem, *Orientalism*.

⁹¹ E. W. Said, “History and difference in Indian modernity,” *ibidem*.

⁹² B. Sousa Santos, “Minifesto for Intellectual-Activists,” in: idem, *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against Epistemicide*, Routledge, 2014 (ebook edition).

⁹³ P. Piotrowski, “Toward a Horizontal Art History of the European Avant-Garde,” in: *Europa! Europa? The Avant-Garde, Modernism and the Fate of a Continent*, ed. S. Bru et al., New York 2009, p. 55.

add, the historian of the periphery who puts places the objects of its research in a belatedness relation towards the centre also becomes that sort of instrument.

Walter Benjamin famously wrote that “there is no document of culture which is not at the same time a document of barbarism.”⁹⁴ *Civilisation* and *barbarism* are terms that have been historically opposed, and they have played a fundamental part in the modernist narration of modernity. The challenge is not to see them as opposites, for they are interconnected and interchangeable constructed concepts. Acknowledging that is perhaps a task suited for the peripheral art history of today, which has to come to terms with the belatedness trope and its Eurocentric implications, including its imperialist trail.

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⁹⁴ W. Benjamin, “On the Concept of History” [1940], in: idem, *Selected Writings*, eds. H. Eiland, M. W. Jennings, vol. 4, Harvard University Press, 2003, p. 342.

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ON BELATEDNESS.

THE SHAPING OF PORTUGUESE ART HISTORY IN MODERN TIMES

Summary

Portuguese art history experienced remarkable development after World War II, especially with the work of José-Augusto França, who was responsible for establishing a historiographic canon for nineteenth- and twentieth-century Portuguese art that still endures. José-Augusto França developed a narrative that held Paris up as an artistic and cultural role model in relation to which he diagnosed a permanent delay in Portuguese art. This essay analyses França's idea of belatedness in the context of Portuguese art historiography and political history and how it is part of a genealogy of intellectual thought produced in an imperial context, revisiting previous art historians and important authors, such as Antero de Quental and António Sérgio. Moreover, it aims to address how the concept of *belatedness* was associated with the idea of "civilisation" and the idea of "art as civilisation." *Belatedness* also has implications in the constraints and specificities of writing a master narrative in a peripheral country – a need particularly felt in the second half of the twentieth century, to mark a political standpoint against the dictatorship that ruled from 1926 to 1974. Part of the reaction to fascism expressed the desire to follow other nations' democratic example, but the self-deprecating judgements on Portuguese art were frequently associated with the identification of essentialist motifs – the "nature" of the Portuguese people, their way of thinking, of living, their lack of capacities or skills – and of a self-image of being "primitive" in comparison with other European countries that has antecedents going back to the eighteenth century. I will address the nostalgia for the empire and the prevailing notion of belatedness throughout the twentieth century regarding unsolved issues with that nostalgia.

Keywords:

belatedness, historiography, modernism, civilisation, eurocentrism, periphery

ADAM S. LABUDA

A HISTORY OF POLISH ART
BY MICHAŁ WALICKI AND JULIUSZ STARZYŃSKI
IN POLAND BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS.
THE WEST, POLAND, THE EAST*

When Poland regained its independence in 1918, Polish scientists and scholars faced fundamental challenges and tasks both as regards building institutions and organizations, and choosing directions and goals of research. A well organized and effective academia was an indispensable element of a sovereign state that aimed to take its place among other national research cultures.

Already before the end of the Great War art historians were pointing at the most urgent tasks and goals of their discipline. One of the most important postulates was to make a record of all the works of art and monuments of architecture as a way to integrate the artistic heritage on the territory of the restored state, which had been scattered and divided by the borders of the occupant states and thus ungraspable as a whole.¹ Regardless of that long term

* The present paper is an annotated version of the presentation made during a conference organized to commemorate the centennial of the study of art history at the University of Poznań on May 17, 2019. Its main objective is to identify in a nutshell the problems mentioned in the subtitle and the arguments related to them. The connections of those arguments with the intellectual, artistic, and political reality of Poland between the world wars as well as the theoretical and methodological assumptions of Michał Walicki and Juliusz Starzyński have been only cursorily addressed here – perhaps my reconnaissance will become a stimulus for other scholars to study the historiography of art in the interwar period, which has not been examined in detail yet. See also the final part of the paper below.

¹ The first programmatic step in that direction was taken already in 1917 by a number of Polish art historians who responded to an inquiry opened by Kasa im. Mianowskiego, an independent institution founded at the end of the 19th century to support Polish scholarship. The responses were published in the first volume of the journal *Nauka Polska*, which between the world wars became a forum of debates about scholarship in Poland. Historians often took part in such debates. In volume I “they wrote not so much about the subject mat-

project, on the agenda was also the problem of writing a scholarly overview of Polish art as well as the art of the world. Such an overview was considered a test of the quality of scholarship which could contribute to the legitimation of the statehood also through reconstruction and representation of the country's artistic heritage.²

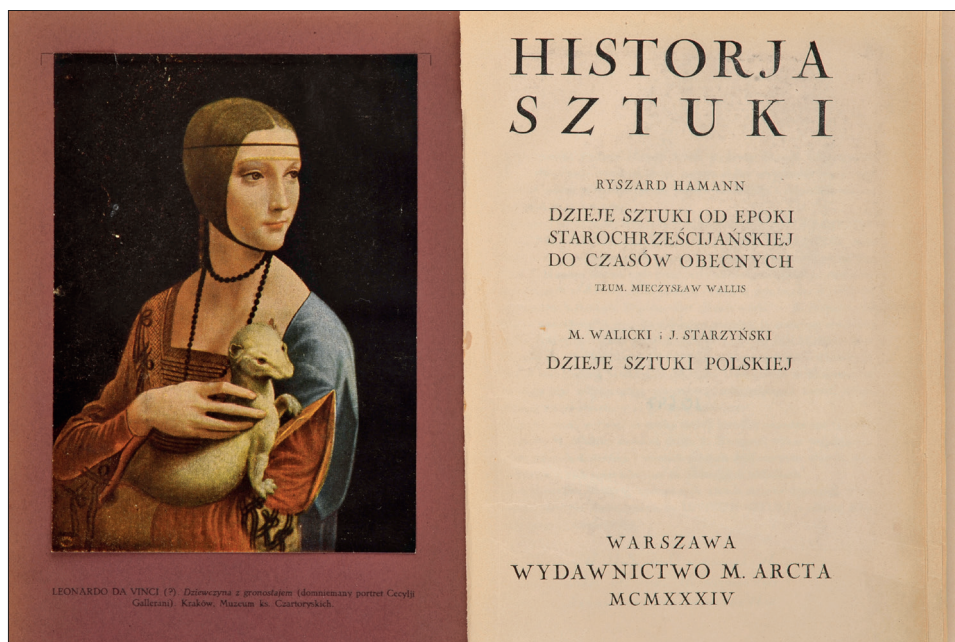
Writing an overview was by no means easy. The history of all the efforts in that respect is a separate question. Beyond any doubt one may claim that the most ambitious, most adequate, and in many respects still inspiring was the result of a joint effort of two talented scholars from Warsaw, who were then in their thirties: Michał Walicki and Juliusz Starzyński.³ Its first edition was a separate but integral part of *Geschichte der Kunst* by Richard Hamann, translated from German and published in 1934 (ill. 1). Two years later the study by Walicki and Starzyński was published again as a separate book (ill. 2).⁴

ter of research, but about its organization, practical needs, libraries, periodicals, publishers, and above all making records of historical monuments." J. Białostocki, "Historia sztuki," in: *Historia nauki polskiej*, vol. 4: 1863–1918, part 3, ed. Z. Skubała-Tokarska, Wrocław 1987, pp. 699–702 (here p. 700).

² The problem of the overview was addressed by T. Szydłowski, "O zadaniach polskich historyków sztuki," *Przegląd Współczesny*, 1923, 2(5), pp. 267–280, here p. 271f. See also S. Tomkowicz, "Uwagi o potrzebach nauki polskiej w zakresie historii sztuki," *Nauka Polska* 1918, 1, pp. 433–438, here p. 437f. and J. K. Kochanowski-Korwin, "O potrzebach nauki polskiej w zakresie historii," *Nauka Polska* 1918, 1, pp. 225–236, here p. 229, 235. Polish art historians were also expected to write an overview of the art of the world. Such overviews available in Polish before had been written by two German scholars: Anton Heinrich Springer and Karl Woermann. On historical overviews of national art in the 19th and early 20th century in a European perspective, see H. Locher, *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst 1750–1950*, München 2001, 195ff; J. Bakoš, "Ścieżki i strategie historiografii sztuki w Europie Środkowej," trans. F. Lipiński, *Artium Quaestiones* 2013, 14, pp. 255–306, here p. 260ff.

³ On Michał Walicki, see memories and a report on his scholarly achievement in: "Sprawozdanie posiedzenia Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce PAN w dniu 16 stycznia 1967," *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 1970, 8, pp. 334–247; M. Walczak, "Michał Walicki (1904–1966)," *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 2011, 36, pp. 127–136. On Juliusz Starzyński see J. M. Sosnowska, "Juliusz Starzyński (1906–1974)," *ibidem*, 137–155; A. Ryszkiewicz, "Starzyński Juliusz Stanisław," in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 42, 2004, pp. 462–465; M. Leśniakowska, "Władza spojrzenia – władza języka. Juliusza Starzyńskiego obraz sztuki i jej historii," *Modus* 2013, 12/13, pp. 27–52.

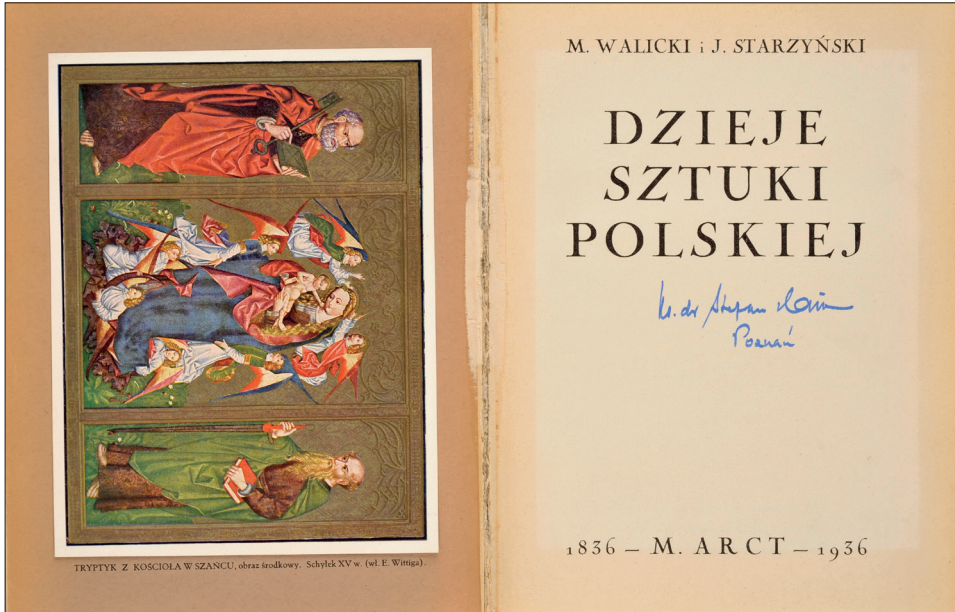
⁴ M. Walicki and J. Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, in: *Historia sztuki*: Richard Hamann, *Historia sztuki od epoki starożytności do czasów obecnych*, trans. M. Wallis. Warszawa 1934, pp. 909–1249; M. Walicki and J. Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, Warszawa 1936 (independent pagination) and Warszawa 1935 (as separate copy of the 1934 edition). A two-page "Przedmowa autorów" in the 1934 edition (p. 911f.) in the 1936 edition



1. Frontispiece and title page of R. Hamann's, M. Walicki's and J. Starzyński's survey, Warsaw, 1934 (photo: R. Rau)

An overview of the national art was in the historiography of those times a common approach to art history, closely related to the popularity of the national idea in the 19th century and the rise and triumph of the nation state. In 1918, the Republic of Poland, a kind of continuation of the state ultimately divided among three neighboring superpowers at the end of the 18th century, regained its independence as a nation state, just like Bohemia (at that time Czechoslovakia), Lithuania or Latvia. Ethnic Poles were its largest and most active group, which was potentially the cause of tension between the dominant majority and ethnic minorities which lived on the territory of Poland as

was significantly extended (pp. 7–16). The quotations below refer to the pages in both editions: the 1936 ones are placed in parentheses. On the Polish edition of Hamann's book, see R. Heftrig, *Fanatiker der Sachlichkeit. Richard Hamann und die Rezeption der Moderne in der universitären deutschen Kunstgeschichte 1930–1960*, Berlin 2014, 123f. Next to Walicki and Starzyński's book, other overviews are: Rev. Sz. Dettloff, W. Husarski, W. Tatar-kiewicz, M. Walicki, S. Zahorska, *Wiedza o Polsce. Sztuka polska. Historia architektury, rzeźby i malarstwa od czasów najdawniejszych aż do chwili obecnej*, Warszawa [1932] and chapters in: *Polska, jej dzieje i kultura od czasów najdawniejszych aż do chwili obecnej*, vol. 1–3, ed. S. Lam. Warszawa 1927–1930.



2. Title page and a frontispiece of M. Walicki and J. Starzyński's survey, Warsaw 1936 (photo: R. Rau)

well, very much like before the partitions.⁵ What contributed to that tension was the fact that some of those minorities, formed as nations in their own right in the 19th century, in the 20th century were self-conscious and developed their own political aspirations, hoping to gain independence as a result of the fall of the empires after World War I.⁶ Lithuanians achieved their goal (though they lost the region of Vilnius), while Ukrainians failed and that failure strongly determined Polish-Ukrainian relations.

The dominant position of ethnic Poles in Poland between the world wars and the multiethnicity of the country both then and before, i.e. before the partitions, as well as diverse historico-political status of its regions, were a chal-

⁵ I mean the post-romantic, modern understanding of nation as a community based on common ethnicity and language, as well as history, culture and religion. See A. Walicki, "Polskie ideologie narodowe w perspektywie typologiczno-porównawczej," in: idem, *Naród, nacjonalizm, patriotyzm*, Kraków 2009, pp. 421–522. On the state and minorities in Poland between the world wars, see A. Chojnowski, *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921–1939*, Wrocław 1979.

⁶ See P. Wandycz, "Wiek XX," in: *Historia Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 2000, vol. 1, p. 416ff.; T. Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999*, New Haven and London 2004.

lenge to historians that resulted in particular decisions: some motifs were considered central while others marginal, and some elements of the artistic heritage were excluded in favor of others.⁷ The main object of interest of the two authors of *A History of Polish Art* was that art's identity. In fact, however, the material presented in their overview demonstrates that the title term "Polish art" is in many respects art made in Poland. The criterion which determined the selection was the territory of Poland at the moment and, in part, the geographical extension of the country in some stages of its history. The historically permanent core area included the old provinces of Greater Poland [Wielkopolska], Lesser Poland [Małopolska], and Mazovia [Mazowsze]. Historically correct was also the inclusion of the Romanesque Silesia [Śląsk], while the vast eastern territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the early modern times was missing. The East was present only as the region of Vilnius and the former eastern Galicia. According the historical criterion, the study should have included the late gothic and early modern Gdańsk, as well as other towns of the Royal Prussia, but they are hardly present in the text. On the other hand, because of the geography of the present Polish Republic, the authors wrote a comprehensive and quite profound account of the art of the Teutonic Knights in the Chełmno region with the city of Toruń and the Pomeranian voivodship. Missing was also the architecture of Jewish synagogues, while the early modern Eastern Orthodox art was described only in part.

The subtitle of the present paper signalizes crucial problems that the overview included. The present paper is an attempt to examine the assumptions and specific historical decisions taken by the authors, concerning the artistic inclusion of Poland in the West, specifically Polish form in Polish art and the presence of the Eastern Orthodox art in Polish culture. Moreover, it addresses the question of the relation of the study to the political, national, social, and cultural reality of the Polish Republic in 1918–1939.⁸

⁷ In this context, one must take into account the still incomplete knowledge about the works of art to be discussed (the authors point at the scarcity of records), the range of the two scholars' task, and most probably a short period of time within which they were supposed to complete their study.

⁸ In the present paper, I will focus on the book by Walicki and Starzyński, but I will also refer to other publications from the same period, which stress the problematic of historical reconstructions and constructs that the two scholars address. Walicki transferred the content of his relatively comprehensive overview to brief essays on pre-modern Polish art, included in the catalogs of two world expositions in Paris (1937) and in New York (1939). He was also the author of specialist studies on table painting in Poland, and the painting of that period will play an important role in my argument below.

*

Inclusion in the West has been a component of Polish identity. The study by Walicki and Starzyński is almost entirely focused on dependence as well as participation in the Western world. The authors admit that in relation to its source, Polish art is peripheral since it was developing in a country which is younger in terms of civilization than the West. Still, they do not qualify the hegemonic position of the West as oppression, unlike such non-academic historians as Ludwik Stasiak.⁹ It is significant that Walicki and Starzyński were skeptical about attaching the development of Polish art to the conditions of the European evolution, yet on the other hand they accepted in respect to the former the criterion of great styles. The European styles appear in the subtitles of particular chapters in connection to the dynasties which ruled Poland in different periods, e.g., "The Romanesque Art in the Times of the Piasts" or "Late Baroque and Rococo under the Saxon Dynasty." That demonstrated the Western orientation of Polish art and its development as parallel to the developments in Europe. The Western orientation was conditioned by the local needs and the initiative of Polish patrons, and favored by both foreign and local artists. Unlike in the case of imports, in both cases the artistic models developed in the West were adapted and modified locally. Under the disguise of the "great styles" which made the Western art universally coherent there were, however, their national varieties, including those which initiated crucial form-generating processes important for the entire continent. The recognition of mutual inspirations by the "center" and "periphery" was at that time one of the major tasks of art history. Thus, Walicki and Starzyński revealed multiple connections of Polish art with the artistic centers of the South and the West, including Bohemia, Italy, the German lands, France, and the Netherlands. The configurations of such connections were believed to contribute to local identities, which was why their acknowledgment depended on the received assumptions about long-time international relations in culture or current political and cultural needs of particular countries. Such motivation significantly inspired historians in the states that appeared on the map of Europe after World War I.¹⁰ It seems, however,

⁹ See e.g., L. Stasiak, *Prawda o Piotrze Vischerze*, Kraków 1910; idem, *Rewindykacje własności naszej*, Kraków 1911; *O narodowości Wita Stwosza. Ród Stwoszków od wodza wojsk polskich z r. 1188 Ottona Stwosza aż po ostatniego z rodu Bogusława Stwosza*, Kraków 1910–1911.

¹⁰ E.g., see an analysis of that question in reference to Czechoslovakia: M. Marek, "Kunstgeschichte zwischen Wissenschaft und Dienst am Staat. Die Tschechoslowakei der Zwischenkriegszeit und ihr Kunsterbe," in: *Grenzen überwindend. Festschrift für Adam*

that the system of the dependence of Polish art on the West was not dictated by the postwar political alliances or prejudices and traumas from the times of partitions. If such prejudices had mattered, they might have made Polish art historians underestimate German artistic influences on Polish art in favor of the Romance countries. In fact, anti-German sentiments surfaced in the book several times, e.g., when Walicki rather reluctantly accepted the German origin of Wit Stwosz, but the artist's national identity in late medieval period was, as it will soon become clear, fundamental for the essentialist approach to art.¹¹ On the other hand, the study presents an objective account of the art in the state of the Teutonic Knights (on the territory which belonged to Poland since 1918) or the contribution of the neighboring country in the west to Polish painting of the 15th century. The situation in the 1930s was dynamic – there was a difference between 1934 and late 1938 – still, the Polish scholarly discourse contrasted with the condescending and sometimes even aggressive tone of the German “*Ostforschung*” historiography.¹²

S. Labuda, eds. K. Bernhardt, P. Piotrowski, Berlin 2006, pp. 79–97. Discussions of that kind occurred also in reference to major centers of European art, e.g., the Renaissance in France as a phenomenon dependent or independent of the art of Italy. See M. Passini, *La Fabrique de l'art national. Le nationalisme et les origines de l'histoire de l'art en France et en Allemagne 1870–1933*, Paris 2012, p. 9ff.

¹¹ On Wit Stwosz, see Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, p. 1004 (108).

¹² The aspects of a polemic with Germany in Walicki's studies have been stressed by T. Zadrożny, “Polska sztuka dawna z perspektywy 1939 roku,” in: *Wystawa nowojorska 1939. Materiały z sesji naukowej Instytutu Sztuki PAN, Warszawa, 23–24 listopada 2009 roku*, ed. J. M. Sosnowska, Warszawa 2012, pp. 105–117. A different situation before 1939 was illustrated by a controversy of Mieczysław Gębarowicz with Pierre Francastel. The latter emphasized the role of Western, particularly French, stimuli in Polish art, diminishing the importance of German ones, emphasized by Walicki in his study of the fifteenth-century painting in French, published with an introduction by Francastel, who was the director of the *Institut Français* in Warsaw, see footnote 18 below. Gębarowicz defended Walicki's opinions (M. Gębarowicz, « La peinture polonaise à l'époque des Jagellons » *La France et la Pologne dans leurs relations artistiques, Annuaire historique édité par Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris* 1939, 1(4), pp. 355–365). His critique of Polish scholars dealing with the European relations of Polish art and stressing, allegedly too much, its dependence on Germany Francastel developed in his book *L'histoire de l'art, instrument de la propagande germanique*, Paris 1945. See a review by Ksawery Piwocki, who argued that the French scholar was more critical of Polish art history than of German nationalist art historians (*Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury* 1948, 10(1), pp. 68–84, here p. 76). The question of the reconstruction of foreign influences on Polish art was strongly politicized after World War II. See A. S. Labuda, “Polska historia sztuki i ‘Ziemie Odzyskane,’” in: idem, *Z dziejów historii sztuki. Polska, Niemcy, Europa*, Poznań 2016, pp. 69–104, here p. 101f.

However, the key problem was the following: how was it possible for the basically "Western" Polish art to demonstrate its own, specifically national identity?

In the methodological introduction Walicki and Starzyński express their skepticism in that respect, since unlike in the West, the "history of art in Poland gives much less room to consider its independent, purely artistic development."¹³ It does not include artworks of high value and the course of its development is discontinuous as there is no coherent series of artistic phenomena. The reasons for that were a low level of the local artistic milieu and the decisive role of immigrant artists, which implies that a truly Polish form could be invented only by ethnically Polish artists. Unfortunately, because of their poor skills, the national element could not find a permanent formal expression. The background of that diagnosis was an assumption that in the West the evolution of art had its intrinsic logic on the level of pure form – thanks to a number of highly competent artists, it was possible to work out there a specific formal idiom which expressed the unchangeable national character. To neutralize the weaknesses of the Polish periphery and make it possible to understand the character of Polish art, the authors suggest taking into consideration changing historical, political, and cultural factors which belonged to the sphere of art as such. Consequently, the subtitles of the book's chapters referred to particular royal dynasties. Different variants of Polish art could be approached as the effects of cooperation and contracts between artists and patrons/receivers who represented the Polish element whenever the artist was of a foreign origin.

Did Walicki and Starzyński apply that contextual-historical method coherently? Not really, since, as they wrote, "principally, trying to make a comprehensive overview of artistic phenomena in Poland, we did our best to emphasize those which illustrated Polish ingenuity, though perhaps their quality was not always the highest."¹⁴ As we will see, they made an effort to identify a specifically Polish form according to an interpretive model, quite common in Europe after World War I, which aimed at revealing peculiar ways of expression that reflected, in isolation from external stimuli, the "creative will" of communities such as a nation, a people or a tribe.¹⁵

¹³ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, p. 911.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

¹⁵ The question of the relation between art and nation was present already in the nineteenth-century historiography, see, e.g., Hubert Locher i Jan Bakoš quoted above (footnote 2). A way to the analysis of that relation from a strictly formal and visual point of view was paved by the ideas developed around 1900 particularly in the German language art history by Alois Riegl, Heinrich Wölfflin, and August Schmarsow. On the continuation of that approach after World War I, see L. O. Larsson, "Nationalstil und Nationalismus in der Kunstgeschichte der zwanziger und dreißiger Jahre," in: *Kategorien und Methoden der deutschen*

However, that duality in methodology caused a split into two narratives: one about the unchanging nation (represented by the “people”) and its art, and the other about the history of changing configurations and artistic expressions co-produced by immigrant artists and Polish upper classes: rulers, magnates, and “Polish nobility.”

*

The above considerations were an introduction to the issue defined in the subtitle as “Poland.” Now we will focus on the art of the late Middle Ages in respect to its ability to express national values. According to Walicki, who was the author of that part of the book, in contrast to the earlier periods, it was addressed to a wide and socially mixed audience, including also moderately affluent petty bourgeoisie and gentry. The art of that particular period was for the most part a set of works made in the local workshops in cities and towns by, as it is well documented in the fifteenth-century sources, hundreds of painters and sculptors of different national origin. Walicki found out that in the second half of the 15th century the Cracow guild was “rapidly polonized,”¹⁶ which resulted in the rise of art with specifically Polish national characteristics. The scholar discovered its formal features in a group of works that was a part of a larger and quite diverse domain of Polish painting.¹⁷

Kunstgeschichte 1900–1930, ed. L. Dittmann, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 169–184; H. Locher, “Stilgeschichte und die Frage der ‘nationalen Konstanten,’” *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 1996, 53, pp. 285–293; D. Bohde, *Kunstgeschichte als physiognomische Wissenschaft. Kritik einer Denkfigur der 1920er bis 1940er Jahre*, Berlin 2012. See also Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Towards Geography of Art*, Chicago and London 2004. On Polish historiography, see M. Leśniakowska, “Polska historia sztuki i nacjonalizm,” in: *Nacjonalizm w sztuce i historii sztuki 1789–1850*, eds. D. Konstantynów, R. Pasieczny, P. Paszkiewicz, Warszawa 1998, pp. 33–59.

¹⁶ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, p. 998 [102]. One may quote here a characteristic opinion of J. Ptaśnik, *Cracovia Artificum 1300–1500*, Kraków 1917 (*Źródła do historii sztuki i cywilizacji w Polsce*, vol. 4), 5* and 8*:

“The question of a given artist’s nationality matters a lot since only those nations have the right to be included in the family of cultured nations, and only those count in the history of the humankind, which add their national contribution to the cultural heritage of the world. To sum up the achievement of every nation’s civilization, it is necessary to know the nationality of its artists. ... The vernacular Polish art of the Middle Ages was created only by Polish nationals.”

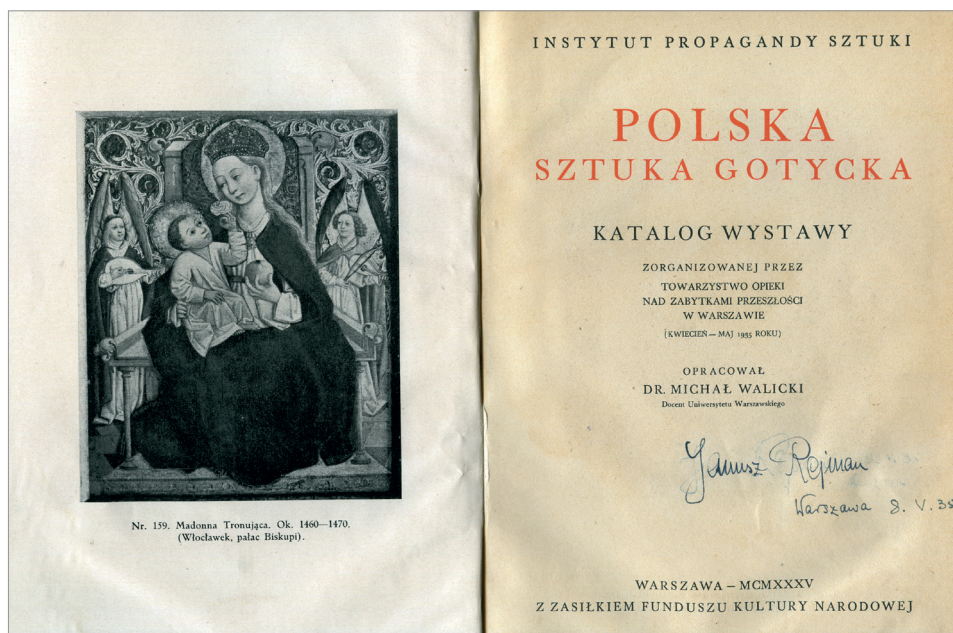
¹⁷ It was probably that diversity which made Walicki drop a relativizing remark that even though his research proved the “development of Polish guild painting in the society of medieval Poland,” it „did not demonstrate distinct national features...” See M. Walicki, “Z badań nad problemem narodowości i rozwojem indywidualizmu w polskim malarstwie gotyckim,” *Życie sztuki* 1934, 1, pp. 67–100, here p. 94.

What did those manifestations of national art – an alleged emanation of the Polish spirit or mentality – actually look like? They were by no means realistic. The Polish psyche was supposed to prefer conservative and idealistic tendencies revealed in the works commissioned by provincial centers, not big cities. One of them was a late fifteenth-century triptych from Szaniec in a village church in Lesser Poland. Its color reproduction is one of two color ones included in the 1250 page study by Hamann, Walicki, and Starzyński. No doubt, it was a proof that the late Middle Ages were a privileged period in the development of Polish art as uniquely Polish (ill. 2, 3). Next to Szaniec, equally programmatic was an exposition of retables and their individual panels at the great exhibition “Polish Gothic Art,” organized in 1935 in Warsaw, with Walicki as its curator (ill. 9, 4, 5)¹⁸ Walicki wrote: “... in Polish art, there were



3. Triptych from the parish church in Szaniec, c. 1490–1500 (lost)

¹⁸ *Polska sztuka gotycka. Katalog wystawy*, ed. M. Walicki, Warszawa 1935. See also idem, “Po wystawie polskiej sztuki gotyckiej w Instytucie Propagandy Sztuki (Organizacja. Przegląd materiału i uzupełnienie. Wyniki Naukowe. Rezonans społeczny),” *Nike* 1938, 1, pp. 51–75 and tabl. 9a and b, 15a i b. The art of the late Middle Ages was an important medium used to create a picture of Polish artistic heritage and demonstrate Polish artistic po-



Nr. 159. Madonna Tronująca. Ok. 1460-1470. (Włocławek, pałac Biskupi).

4. Title page and a frontispiece of *Polska sztuka gotycka catalog*, Warszawa 1935 (photo: A. S. Labuda)



5. Exhibition of Polish gothic art. A view of room no. 2. Warsaw, Instytut Propagandy Sztuki, 1935

few paintings with many figures in them, combined in genre groups" – most of them presented groups of three to four human figures in the central panels of wing retables, "rendered flatly in color against a golden background..." The golden, patterned background was popular in Poland until the 17th century, unlike in Western art where it was an anachronism. "Conservative was also a flat interpretation of form ... avoiding perspective and spatial vibrations. The physical immobility ... of figures corresponded to ... static emotions which limited the range of facial expression. ... A small repertoire of gestures makes a poor equivalent in that respect." "Movements of the hands to a certain extent violate the formal silence of the painting and stress the moment of manifestly arrested motion." "A static composition of the central group corresponds with the rhythmic placement of figures in a row in the side wings – free-standing figures are substitutes of figural groups." In general, then, the overall effect consists "not so much in primitive emotional contact and clumsy three-dimensional expression, but rather in conscious decisions taken according to the logic of the painter's vision, which enhanced the flat and decorative sense of form" based on a number of equal size figures placed in a row.¹⁹

Walicki claimed that a branch of Polish art achieved the status of a vernacular and autogenous product, arguing that in visual and formal terms it proved able to generate a figure of identity which at that time was most highly appreciated. The meaning, significance, and even function of his reconstruction reached far beyond reporting the historical state of affairs. It is interesting that the form of a group of late medieval paintings that he identified corresponded to the artistic idiom of one of the varieties of national style, represented in the 1920s and early 1930s by some artists who belonged to the *Rytm* group.²⁰

tential both at home and abroad. It is significant that Walicki's studies on Polish painting were published in German (M. Walicki, "Stilstufen der gotischen Tafelmalerei in Polen im XV. Jahrhundert. Geschichtliche Grundlagen und formale Systematik," *Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego* (Wydz. 2) 1933, 26(3/6), pp. 61–101) and in French (M. Walicki, *La peinture d'autels et de retables en Pologne au temps des Jagellons. Avec une introduction de Pierre Francastel*, Paris 1937 (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Varsovie). At the same time the *Institut Français* published in the same typographic format Tadeusz Szydłowski's study of the altarpiece from St. Mary's Basilica in Cracow by Wit Stwosch.

¹⁹ The above quotations come from Walicki's study "Z badań nad problemem narodowości," pp. 85–86. In the overview the results of Walicki's research are placed in a comprehensive narrative about Polish guild painting that specifies also its other features and external relations. See Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, 1012f (116 f.), 993f (97f.), 997f (101f) and ill. 1215 (105) and 1245 (135).

²⁰ This correspondence was noticed already by Henryk Anders, who refers to some of Walicki's analyses quoted above. See H. Anders, *Rytm. W poszukiwaniu stylu narodowego*, Warszawa 1972, p. 119f. See also A. Chmielewska, "Charakter narodowy sztuki polskiej

It seems that such a coincidence, which in fact was not one at all, augmented the transhistorical status of the national art's social foundation in an essentialist way, and even referred to more general socio-political and cultural realities of the interwar Poland.

A significant lesson may be drawn from a comparison of the central panel of the Szaniec triptych and a woodcut by Władysław Skoczylas, called "Dancing Robbers" [Taniec zbójników] (ill. 6, 7).²¹ Its flat composition and decorative and



6. Władysław Skoczylas, *Taniec zbójników II*, woodcut, 1922



7. Triptych from the parish church in Szaniec, middle section, c. 1490–1500 (lost)

w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym. Kontekst polityczny i ideowy," in: *W kręgu Rytmu. Sztuka polska lata dwudziestych*, ed. K. Nowakowska-Sito, Warszawa 2006, pp. 167–182, here p. 177f. On the *Rytm* group, see H. Anders and K. Nowakowska-Sito, *Stowarzyszenie Artystów Polskich Rytm 1922–1932* [Katalog wystawy: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie 11 czerwca – 29 lipca 2001], Warszawa 2001; eadem, "Dlaczego Rytm?," in: *W kręgu Rytmu*, pp. 9–29.

²¹ On Władysław Skoczylas, see E. Zawistowska, "Władysław Skoczylas," in: *Stowarzyszenie Artystów Polskich Rytm 1922–1932*, pp. 224–227 and W. Włodarczyk, "Koncepcja

rhythmic elements of form placed on the surface of the graphic picture belong to the vocabulary of Walicki and show up in the contemporary analyses of the artworks by Skoczylas. If there are any doubts caused by an apparent contradiction between the dancing movement of the robbers and the immobile figures in the fifteenth-century paintings, one may quote the following statement of Tadeusz Cieślowski, Jr.: "There is no dynamic in Skoczylas. A pose, a gesture or a move change in the artist's woodcuts into an eternally static decorative value. They evoke a peaceful majesty that is fixed forever. No matter whether it is 'A Robbers' March' [Pochód zbójników] or 'Dancing Robbers,' the vision is always formed once and for all."²² On the other hand, the ordering of the triptychs and retable wings, dominated by single figures in a row, seems to be a transposition of the rhythmic spirit embodied in the marching robbers (ill. 8, 9).

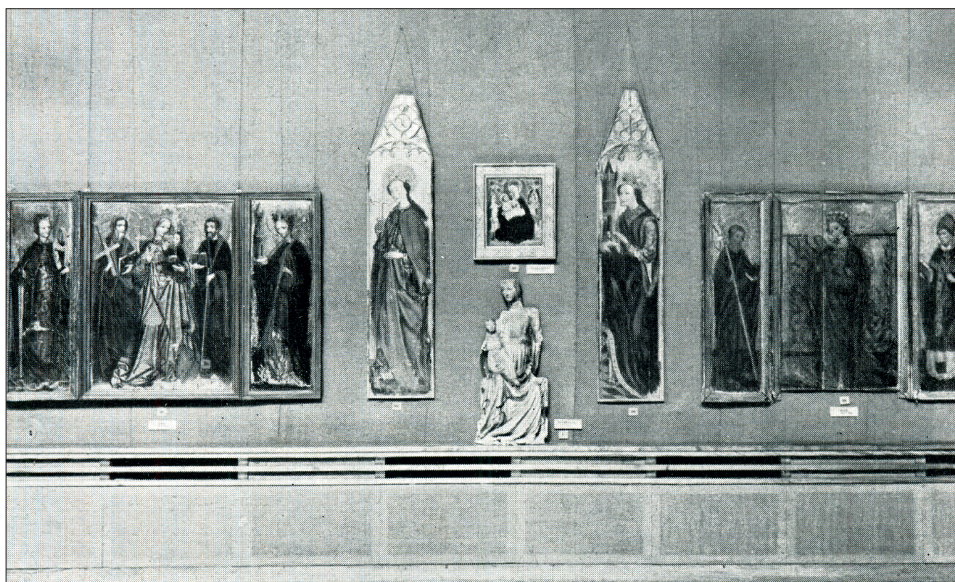


8. Władysław Skoczylas, *Pochód zbójników I*, woodcut, 1915

sztuki narodowej Władysława Skoczylasa," *Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Sztuk Pięknych w Warszawie. Numer specjalny: Władysław Skoczylas. Sztuka – Szkoła – Państwo* 1984, 4(10), pp. 7–20; A. Chmielewska, *W służbie państwa, społeczeństwa i narodu. "Państwo-wotwórczy" artyści plastycy w Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2006, p. 198ff.

²² T. Cieślowski, Jr., *Władysław Skoczylas*, Warszawa 1934, p. 31, qtd. from: K. Nowakowska-Sito, "W poszukiwaniu stylu Rytmu," in: *Stowarzyszenie Artystów Polski "Rytm" 1922–1932* [Katalog wystawy w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie 11 czerwca – 29 lipca 2001], pp. 54–88, here p. 73.

It is hard to decide whether Walicki was inspired by contemporary art or established the Polish canon regardless of the art of the *Rytm* and Skoczylas. Suffice to say that in his overview, he revealed the historical roots of contemporary art and provided historical evidence of the Polish sense of form articulated in his times. As a result, the national artistic identity acquired a transhistorical status. On the other hand, the perspective of the *Rytm* and Skoczylas, i.e. national art either rooted in or referring to the vernacular and eternal culture of the Polish people and their specific will to form, allows one to see in Walicki's interpretation a prominent social factor.²³ He never used the term "people" or "folk," but argued, discussing the problem of national



9. Exhibition of Polish gothic art. A view of the main room. Warsaw, Instytut Propagandy Sztuki, 1935

²³ On the folklore sources of the *Rytm* and the works of Skoczylas, see literature quoted in footnotes 20–21. It should be noted that in Skoczylas' theoretical statements (as well as those of some other "state supportive" artists from the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts), the folk inspiration was not supposed to be limited to ethnically Polish folklore only. See A. Chmielewska, "Styl Narodowy w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej: artyści a wizerunek państwa," in: *Naród, Styl, Modernizm*, eds. J. Purchla, W. Tegethoff, Kraków–Munich 2006, pp. 189–199, here p. 197; eadem, "Charakter narodowy sztuki polskiej w dwudziestolecu międzywojennym," p. 179f.; W. Włodarczyk, "Niepodległość i nowoczesność," in: *Sztuka wszędzie. Akademia Sztuk Pięknych w Warszawie 1904–1944* [Katalog wystawy], eds.

identity, that the late medieval art was produced by craftsmen who lived in towns for the local population and the gentry that lived in the country as "Polish" painting. That was not a literally socio-political argument, but still the connection of art to lower classes made it seem democratic and egalitarian.²⁴ The people and folk appeared explicitly in the context of Polish art of the baroque. Starzyński, who was the author of that part of the book, looking for his equivalents of Walicki's claims in accordance with his method, found a continuation of the Polish-guild late gothic formula in the modest yet vernacular, autogenous and semi-folk art. What is more, he defined that kind of art in opposition to the art of the court, perhaps not Polish enough since it was produced by artists of mostly foreign origin, who worked for their patrons.²⁵ The court art actually determined the general picture of art in Poland, which was persuasively demonstrated by Starzyński. These observations reveal inconsistency in the application of methodologies. The reader should not be misled by the fact that right after his remarks about the "vernacular," Starzyński passed on to another variety of the local, the Sarmatian one, which he described just as convincingly, listing as its components the palace, the painting, the costume, and almost the whole theater of behavior in the times of King Jan III Sobieski.²⁶ Still, the Sarmatian variant

J. Gola, M. Sitkowska, A. Szewczyk, Warszawa 2012, pp. 40–55, here p. 47. Folklore inspirations in Polish painting are presented in I. Luba, *Dialog nowoczesności z tradycją. Malarstwo polskie dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*, Warszawa 2004.

²⁴ "[T]he specificity of that painting [of the late medieval guilds in Poland] did not yet show outstanding national features but, owing most of its formal inspirations to the art of the neighboring countries, in the first place to various German and Czech influences, found its place in the socio-cultural structure of Poland in those times, in a sense representing the democratic-bourgeois urban culture [emphasis – A. S. L.] of the Jagiellonian era." Walicki, "Z badań nad problemem narodowości," p. 94.

²⁵ "Realizing such an enormous number of foreign names, which we must list even in our brief outline, the overwhelmed reader may ask if in the first half of the 17th century there were no outstanding artists who were Polish. Fortunately, current research in progress sheds more and more light on the active Polish element. Due to the dominant eclecticism and many tendencies present in the official and court art., we will search for more independent art in more modest production of the guilds with its strong connection to the vernacular tradition." It was the "bourgeois milieu of the guild art" that continued the late gothic traditions. A good example was the art of Krzysztof Boguszewski who demonstrated a "strong tendency to linear stylization and strict symmetry, so different from the spirit of the baroque." Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, p. 1071f. (p. 175f.), see also p. 1061f. (p. 165f.).

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 110ff. (p. 209ff.): Chapter III: The baroque in its full bloom during the reign of Jan III.

was culturally and historically remote, "there and then," the property of the nobility and not the people defined in modern terms.

Consequently, Walicki and Starzyński's overview presents two roots of Polish art: its two systems of production and reception, which were isolated from each other, on the one hand close to the socio-political elite, on the other, controlled by the socio-political margin of the petty gentry and bourgeoisie. Starzyński, aware of the context of the democratic twentieth-century Poland, argued that the duality was abolished in the epoch of King Stanisław August Poniatowski, a patron, art collector, and organizer of artistic life which was supposed to serve the whole Polish society.²⁷ According to Starzyński, the King's patronage had a "social and pedagogic function," which was a reference to the pedagogy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, but it also sounds as a twentieth-century state-building rhetoric. In fact, the most outstanding expert on the topic in those times, Tadeusz Mańkowski, approached it in the same way. In his opinion, the patronage of Stanisław August differed from that of his predecessors, Zygmunt August, Zygmunt III Vasa, and Jan III Sobieski, due to its "social" address since the "baroque patronage [was supposed] to augment the glory of the monarch's court and represent the king as the embodiment of the state."²⁸ On the contrary, King Stanisław August Poniatowski represented a "different" state that cared about the cultural enlightenment of its citizens. Even though the last king of Poland had a cosmopolitan, French-aristocratic, and elitist habitus, his activities could be interpreted as guidelines for new Poland.²⁹ Choosing another option, Walicki found the legitimation of the egalitarian and democratic Poland between the world wars already in the late Middle Ages – that idea was well grounded in the study of the period in the West, particularly in contemporary France.³⁰ Perhaps what it implied was a critique of the Poland of nobility that collapsed due to the lack of social balance between the privileged nobles and the marginalized bourgeoisie and peasantry. Such an opinion was expressed by historians and one art historian, Mieczysław Gębarowicz. Unlike Walicki, Gębarowicz did not appreciate the formalism and idealism of the Polish late gothic art but noticed its ability to

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 1105ff. (p. 209ff.): Chapter V: The epoch and style of Stanisław August.

²⁸ T. Mańkowski, "Mecenat Stanisława Augusta," *Życie Sztuki* 1934, 1, pp. 157–167, here p. 157.

²⁹ On another approach to Stanisław August Poniatowski in Poland between the world wars, see E. Manikowska, "Materialna historiografia sztuki. Wokół książki *Galerja Stanisława Augusta* Tadeusza Mańkowskiego," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 2013, 75(3), pp. 505–535.

³⁰ A. Thomine-Berrada, F.-R. Martin, "Styles et nation en France autour de 1900. Le Moyen âge comme origine en architecture et en historiographie," in: *Nation, style, modernism*, eds. J. Purchla, W. Tegethoff, Cracow–Munich 2006, pp. 37–54, here 39ff.; Passini, *La Fabrique de l'art national*, p. 89.

represent the world, i.e. its naturalistic variant related to the rationalism of the Western type of the bourgeoisie, hardly present in the history of Poland, which negatively determined her future.³¹

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My next point is the problem of the “Eastern” art or, more precisely, the art of the Orthodox Christianity that developed in the eastern parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It has been often assumed that those territories were a typical borderland with its various hybrid cultures having their specific ethnic and religious background. However, if one takes such a point of view, what is missed is the fact that the Commonwealth was a unified state of two or even three nations whose representatives were first citizens and only then Poles, Ruthenians, and Lithuanians – members of some particular religious denomination.³² And yet, Walicki and Starzyński’s overview favors the idea of the artistic borderland, which was the result of a one-sided, Polish-national approach (with the Western “center” in reserve) to the Eastern Orthodox art and architecture. The main instrument of research was in that case formalist art history, with some attempts to take into consideration also the history of culture.

The problem of the heritage of the Christian Orthodox Church appeared already, in an anachronistic way conditioned by the eastern borders of the interwar Poland, in the chapter concerning the Romanesque epoch of the Piasts. From the 14th century on, the anachronisms started disappearing. Walicki discussed the Ruthenian-Byzantine wall paintings founded by King Władysław Jagiełło for catholic churches and chapels in Poland, while Starzyński focused on the orthodox church architecture of early modern times. It was a rather surprising and perhaps significant decision to include a number of local orthodox icons in the catalog added to the 1934 edition of their study, which lists works of art from abroad in the holdings located in Poland.³³ Thus, no wonder that

³¹ M. Gębarowicz, “Wschód i Zachód w sztuce polskiej,” *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie* 1935, 15(2), pp. 146–153, here p. 148, 151ff.; idem, *Sztuka średniowieczna*, Lwów 1934 (*Historia sztuki*, t. 2), p. 399, 415.

³² On those distinctions, see A. Sulima-Kamiński, *Historia Rzeczypospolitej wielu narodów 1505–1795*, Lublin 2000, p. 10ff. Sulima-Kamiński’s argument has been quoted by R. Stobiecki, “Najnowsze syntezy dziejów Polski i Ukrainy. Próba porównania,” in: *Historia, mentalność, tożsamość. Miejsce i rola historii oraz historyków w życiu narodu polskiego i ukraińskiego w XIX i XX wieku*, eds. J. Pisulińska, P. Sierżęga, L. Zaszkiłniak, Rzeszów 2008, pp. 557–573, here pp. 560–561. Sulima-Kamiński remarks that “since the 16th century, the word ‘Pole’ ... could mean both an ethnic Pole, and a citizen of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, regardless of his or her ethnicity.”

³³ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, p. 1198f.

the main text includes no information about paintings and wooden sculpture made for those churches. Consequently, the authors' attitude toward the Ruthenian Orthodox art is ambivalent: sometimes it is considered as an element of Polish art, while on other occasions it remains alien and as such cannot be taken into account.

The key to the discourse on the Eastern Orthodox art is Westernization. The process of the Westernization or Latinization of the Orthodox art and architecture is taken for granted as a historical fact. As Piotr Krasny has noticed, the "Western" ("Occidental") criterion became for some orthodox churches a "kind of 'pass' to the canon of the main historical monuments of Polish art" as well as a pretext to reduce their analysis contrary to their multicultural characteristics.³⁴ A good example of that approach is the Greek Catholic (Uniate) St. George's cathedral in Lviv, built in 1744–1772 by Bernard Meretyn, an architect of German origin. Wrote Starzyński: "[In Meretyn's work] the tendencies characteristic of southern Germany overlapped with the influence of late Roman baroque ... The church's plan demonstrates a reference to Italian plans based on the Greek cross. ... The central design was well adapted to the needs of Eastern liturgy, although [in St. George's cathedral] the elongated nave evidently demonstrates the triumph of the Western artistic idea."³⁵ Hence, the cathedral's architecture became a space of conflict of contrasted forms and the historical, in fact foundational, Orthodox element was excluded from the domain of the West-Occident.³⁶

Let us return to the foundation of King Władysław Jagiełło, which was original and unique on the ethnically Polish, Latin-Occidental territory of Poland. It is definitely different from the gothic painting which was dominant there. The Lublin Holy Trinity church decoration was analyzed in detail by Walicki himself and by Celina Filipowicz-Osieczkowska.³⁷ In the Byzantine-Eastern work both scholars revealed some Latin-Occidental elements; particularly in iconography

³⁴ P. Krasny, *Architektura cerkiewna na ziemiach ruskich Rzeczypospolitej 1596–1914*, Kraków 2003, p. 13, see also p. 31ff.

³⁵ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, p. 1096 (200).

³⁶ Krasny proposes the term "modernization" to refer to St. George's cathedral, thus rejecting the concept of "Westernization." See Krasny, *Architektura cerkiewna na ziemiach...*, p. 158.

³⁷ M. Walicki, "Malowidła ścienne kościoła św. Trójcy na Zamku w Lublinie (1418)", *Studia do dziejów sztuki w Polsce* 1930, 2; C. Filipowicz-Osieczkowska, "Ze studiów nad szkołą polską malarstwa bizantyjskiego," *Życie Sztuki* 1934, 1, pp. 101–136; eadem, "Les peintures byzantines de Lublin," *Byzantion* 1932, 7, fasc. 1.; pp. 241–252; eadem, *Ze studiów nad szkołą polską malarstwa bizantyjskiego – Notes sur la Majestas Domini et sur l'école polonaise de la peinture byzantine*, Kraków 1936.

and sometimes also in the style of the paintings. Walicki wrote: "The Catholic theological thought was formally expressed through Byzantine art. ... What is more, the painter of the Passion scenes ... strongly reacted to contemporary trends in gothic art, which can be seen in the 'Communion of the Apostles,' referring both in its iconography and stylistic details to the models of western European painting."³⁸ On another occasion, he claimed that next to close cultural relations of Poland and Ruthenia, another factor that favored the infiltration by "foreign" art [Walicki's term] was a "peculiar consanguinity of that art in whose forms one could hear the quiet melody of the gothic line and gothic reality, which brings to mind Worringer's words that 'only in the so-called *maniera greca* the gothic will for form could achieve its expression."³⁹ Filipowicz-Osieczkowska made an explicit statement that there must have been a Polish school of the Byzantine painting. However, such views did not pass the test of criticism, which makes their bias even more characteristic of the Polish studies of the Byzantine-Orthodox art in Poland.⁴⁰

In fact, the term "Westernization," both classifying and evaluative, was a trope of polonization in the ethnic-national sense, i.e. the appropriation of whatever could be polonized by including it in the Western (Occidental) repertoire of forms. Poland was considered a mediator or perhaps even a missionary of the Western models. If we assume that the art of the Teutonic Knights, who once had their state on the territory of the Polish Republic as it came into being in 1918, included by Walicki and Starzyński in Polish artistic heritage, could be interpreted as a figure of the West, the negligence of the Eastern-Orthodox element in the cultural reality of Poland before the partitions becomes even more striking. The postulate of taking into consideration a wide historical context, formulated in the introduction to their overview, in the case of the Eastern Orthodox art took two different directions: on the one hand, it was applied to King Władysław Jagiełło's foundations as Catholic, which was not true, on the other, it did not apply to art and architecture located outside the "vernacular" Latin territory of Poland.

³⁸ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, p. 987 (91).

³⁹ M. Walicki, "Wschód i Zachód w sztuce Rusi Czerwieńskiej (Uwagi na marginesie Wystawy Sztuki Ukraińskiej w Warszawie)," *Pion. Tygodnik Literacko-Społeczny* 1934, 9(22), pp. 1–2, here p. 2. Most likely, Walicki makes here a reference to Wilhelm Worringer's *Formprobleme der Gotik* (1911) *Griechentum und Gotik. Vom Weltreich des Hellenismus* (1928).

⁴⁰ A. Różycka-Bryzek, "Malarstwo cerkiewne w polskiej tradycji historycznej i w badaniach naukowych," in: *Sztuka cerkiewna w diecezji przemyskiej. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej 25–26 marca 1995 roku*, eds. J. Gienza, A. Stepan, Łańcut 1999, pp. 11–26, here p. 19ff.

Drawing far-reaching conclusions from the above-mentioned inconsistency does not seem to be quite appropriate under the circumstances. Who in the 1930s was ready to abandon the narrow, national model of history and take into consideration the “citizens of the Polish Republic” instead of members of the anachronistically and antagonistically defined national or ethnic groups? Poland just regained its independence after the trauma of partitions, and the Orthodox Church was mostly remembered there as an instrument of russification. The tension between Ukrainians, who developed their national aspirations, and Poles, who had the memories of their past glory, began in the 19th century and under the Hapsburg rule it was both stimulated and diminished, depending on the imperial politics. Still, Marian Sokołowski, who studied the Ruthenian art already then, declared that it was quite alien to the heritage of Poland.⁴¹

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The scholarly and historical value of Walicki and Starzyński’s book consists in their thorough search for the Polish features of the art made in Poland. The above analysis of their considerations on that subject is by no means complete. There are several reasons for this, one of them being emphasis on the formal and stylistic approach to the work of art, placed in a “national” context. A historical or historico-cultural approach, called between the world wars “sociological,” deserves a separate study. A way to understand better the achievement of the two scholars would be to discuss it in a wide comparative perspective, both as regards the substance and the method, including Polish specialist and non-specialist literature, as well as the artistic historiography of the entire Europe. In particular it would be necessary to take into account the historiography of Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, and Ukraine, involved in heated polemics with the Polish point of view, and following similar paths of interpretation.⁴²

⁴¹ See M. Kunińska, *Historia sztuki Mariana Sokołowskiego*, Kraków 2014, p. 226ff. See also M. Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History. Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918*, University Park 2013, p. 89ff.

⁴² See Marek, “Kunstgeschichte zwischen Wissenschaft und Dienst...;” M. Filipová, “Between East and West: The Vienna School and the Idea of Czechoslovak Art,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 2013, 8; eadem, “The Construction of National Identity in Czech Art History,” *Centropa* 2008, 8(3), pp. 257–271; L. Laučkaitė, “Writing Lithuanian Art History in the First Half of the Twentieth Century; Strategies of National Identity,” *Centropa* 2008, 8(3), pp. 272–280. See also K. Kodres, “Two Art Histories: The (Baltic) German and Estonian Versions of the History of Estonian Art,” in: *History of Art History in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. J. Malinowski, Toruń

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2012, pp. 67–72; J. Vybíral, "What Is 'Czech' in Art in Bohemia? Alfred Woltmann and Defensive Mechanisms of Czech Artistic Historiography," *Kunstchronik* 2006, 59(1), pp. 1–7. As regards the history of Ukrainian art, it is hard to find similar studies. The weak point of the following biographical studies is their apologetic character: T. Stefanyszyn, "Ukrainian Art Studies of Lwow/Lviv in the 1920s–1930s: Personalities, Works, Tendencies," in: *History of Art History in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, pp. 41–48; L. Sokolyuk, "Dmytro Antonovych's general conception of Ukrainian art history and its significance for modern teaching system," *ibidem*, pp. 49–53. The following studies have made valuable contributions to the considered questions: M. P. Kruk, "Sztuka własna i obca. Na marginesie badań nad zachodnioruskim malarstwem ikonowym," in: *Byzantina Europaea. Księga Jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Czeranowi*, eds. M. Kokoszko, M. J. Leszka, Łódź 2007, pp. 327–343; *idem*, "Stan badań nad zachodnioruskim malarstwem ikonowym XV–XVI wieku," in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, ed. J. K. Ostrowski, Kraków 1996, pp. 29–55. Finally, one must also mention a large number of relevant postcolonial studies written by anthropologists, theorists of culture, historians, and literary scholars.

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Illustration sources:

- Il. 3 – according to M. Walicki i J. Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, Warszawa 1936
- Il. 5, 9 – according to M. Walicki, "Po wystawie polskiej sztuki gotyckiej w Instytucie Propagandy Sztuki (Organizacja. Przegląd materiału i uzupełnienie. Wyniki naukowe. Rezonans społeczny)," *Nike* 1938, 1, pp. 51–75, table 9a, 15b
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A HISTORY OF POLISH ART

BY MICHAŁ WALICKI AND JULIUSZ STARZYŃSKI

IN POLAND BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS.

THE WEST, POLAND, THE EAST

Summary

Writing an academic history of Polish art was an urgent task of art historians after World War I, when the country regained its political independence. An important and creditable achievement in that respect was a study by Michał Walicki and

Juliusz Starzyński, published in 1934 as a kind of supplement to the monumental *Geschichte der Kunst von der altchristlichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* by the Marburg historian Richard Hamann, translated at that time into Polish. In 1936, the work of the Polish scholars was published again in the form of a separate book. The paper focuses on three problems that were addressed in it: the cultural and artistic ties of Poland to the West, the vernacular features of Polish art, and the presence of the "Eastern art" in Polish artistic heritage. The author examines also the question whether those issues were related to the political, social, and cultural reality of the Second Polish Republic.

Keywords:

history of art history, overview of the history of Polish art, national art, transhistorical status of a national artistic form, center and periphery

VLAD ȚOCA

ROMANIAN ART HISTORIOGRAPHY
IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD.
BETWEEN THE SEARCH FOR SCHOLARSHIP
AND COMMITMENT TO A CAUSE

In Romania, the interwar period was a period of great effervescence, of dramatic changes and of great development in social and economic terms. In the wake of World War I, Romania emerged as a large nation-state incorporating new territories such as Transylvania, Bessarabia and Bukovina. The period saw the rise of the middle class, still relatively small, but which became an important force in both the economic and political life of the country.¹ The new ruling classes after the war experimented with new ideas in the economy, in politics, in literature and the arts.² The emerging urban middle class needed new institutions and the re-ordering of those that had been well established, questioned and challenged old traditions.

The two decades between the two world wars were also a troubled time, with democracy being challenged and far-right movements making their way in politics and society. The Romanian state was permanently looking for the best way to preserve the newly created national state and defend its frontiers. This was the only matter all Romanian parties, apart from the Communist party, seemed to agree on.³ The threat of territorial revisionism coming from Hungary, the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent, Bulgaria, united all political actors, the Liberals, the National Peasants and king Carol II, in defending the Versailles peace treaty system and in supporting the League of Nations as the guarantor of this peace and stability. The peace settlement reached at Versailles was far from perfect, as these territories came with substantial minorities, which caused constant troubles with the above-mentioned neighbouring states. Most Romanians believed that historical justice had been achieved

¹ K. Hitchins, *A Concise History of Romania*, Cambridge 2014, p. 159.

² *Ibidem*.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 195.

at last and that all the newly incorporated territories had been inhabited by Romanians since time immemorial, therefore it was only natural that they become part of the "Mother country."

The Hungarians living in Romania as well as those in Hungary resented the loss of Transylvania and the Banat and never missed a chance to stake their claims to those lost territories, which had been part of their kingdom for several centuries. In Hungary coordinated state propaganda was directing all means available in order to push this cause. Historical arguments were very important, and these were delivered continuously. The Hungarian voice was heard in Western media, books were published and sent to libraries and decisionmakers abroad, while at the League of Nations, their pleas were repeated ceaselessly. Soviet Russia also desired territories lost at the end of the war, and the Romanian Communist Party, founded in 1921, included in its program the need to free the subjugated peoples in the country by breaking apart several territories. This was, in fact, the main argument the government offered for outlawing the party soon after its creation.

In this context, historical arguments became political arguments used by the Romanians in order to justify the new territorial gains and the Versailles peace treaties system. Art history, part of the family of historical disciplines came to play an important part in this.

The period between the two world wars was dominated by what Keith Hitchins calls the Great Debate,⁴ about national identity and development. The opponents were those advocating synchronism with the West, on the one hand, and those pleading for tradition, on the other, with many others looking for a third way. This debate between Europeanist and the traditionalist was reflected in the way politics and economic policies were conducted, in the shaping of institutions and life in general. This debate had been going on in Romanian society since the second half of the 19th century. In the interwar period, two important figures, Eugen Lovinescu and Ștefan Zeletin, shaped the thinking of the Europeanists. Lovinescu advocated "synchronism," the modernisation of the country by adopting the West's institutions, ethics and methods, while Zeletin had a more materialist view seeing Romania bonded inextricably to western capitalism. The traditionalists, on the other hand, looked for models in the country's past and traditions, real or imagined, as they stood against the import of western institutions and forms. It is ironical that their ideas were, in fact, an import coming from the west at the turn of the century. Nichifor Crainic emphasized Orthodoxy and its importance for generating a national revival. Lucian Blaga and his colleagues at the *Gândirea*

⁴ Ibidem, p. 160 sqq.

review looked beyond Orthodoxy, although acknowledging its importance, searching for the popular psyche as revealed in folklore and mythology, oriental religions, but also in contemporary philosophy and sociological thinking in Western Europe.⁵

Nevertheless, it is difficult to draw a line dividing these currents of thought. In literature and mostly in poetry, the blending of all these directions is striking and telling. Such poets like Tudor Arghezi, Lucian Blaga, and Ion Pillat, although achieving synchronism and becoming international to a great extent, drew inspiration from tradition.

In Romanian interwar culture, the country's modernity was emphasised in order to place the country in the large family of European nations. An opposing and, at the same time, complementary line of thought was that of presenting the long and noble Romanian history, tradition and ancestral roots. Romania, like many of the other young countries of the region, felt it did not truly belong to the European family and felt its very existence threatened. The need to demonstrate this belonging emphasised the effort to reconstruct or reinvent a long, remarkable and continuous history for the more distant past, and, at the same time, to present a modern, civilised and European society when discussing about the more recent times.

These two themes have been present in Romanian culture since the mid-19th century. They were used by various authors, sometimes in a complementary fashion, while at others, in a conflicting manner in literature, historical writing or political discourse. This process did not end with the creation of Greater Romania after the conclusion of World War I. New threats, mentioned above, maintained the need to continue this discourse.

All these ideas and evolutions in recent history are reflected in Romanian historiography, and art historical writing is part of this process. In Romanian culture, art historical writing did not exist as such until the end of the 19th century. It was only in the first years of the next century that the number of scholarly works produced in line with western standards steadily increased. As part of a general tendency of aligning Romanian academic practices with those in the west, at that time art historiography established itself as a respectable academic discipline, a process which went hand in hand with the establishment of new institutions such as museums, university departments (art history seminars), research institutions and the Commission for historical monuments. All of these institutions were founded and financed by the Romanian state, which made the scholars working there civil servants employed by the state, meaning that whether they liked

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 162.

it or not, these specialists were bound to the state and its policies, as were many of their colleagues throughout Europe.⁶ It is not easy to prove that there was any direct pressure, since these institutions were academic bodies and their purpose was to encourage a scholarly and impartial approach in the service of historical truth. There are, nevertheless, numerous indications that in some cases we are dealing with art historians with an agenda, fighting for a cause, while, in others, the general ideas debated in Romanian society made their way into scholars' writings. In several texts (ranging from press articles to popularisation brochures intended for the general public or even scholarly texts), the most prominent art historians of the day strongly affirm the necessity of serving the national cause through their writings. In this paper, we will be looking at the general histories written between the two world wars dealing with Romanian art as a whole or of different geographical areas. The choice of these texts is motivated by the fact that these works are the result of larger research projects and have a broader scope and as such better summarise the trends of the interwar period. From the cultural point of view, the interwar period continued through World War II and the few years after its end, until the communist regime was installed. Therefore, several texts written in the war years are included here.

*

The most numerous and consistent investigations carried out between the two world wars were those about Romanian old art, which refers to the time of the first documented monuments in Wallachia and Moldavia until the beginning of the early 1800s. Starting with the middle of the 19th century, the first writings were mostly literary references to monuments and were made in the spirit of romanticism and national awakening that characterised that period. A momentous change was brought about by the creation of the Commission for historic monuments on November 17th 1892. Its declared purpose, apart from creating an inventory of monuments in order to protect them, was that of elaborating studies that would lead to a better understanding of medieval art in Romania.⁷ The initial efforts were oriented towards architecture, because old buildings seemed to be the most threatened by neglect or by arbitrary restoration and remodelling. Soon the investigation of other domains

⁶ See: J. Bakoš, "From Universalism to Nationalism. Transformation of Vienna School Ideas in Central Europe," in: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs*, eds. R. Born, A. Janatková, A. S. Labuda, Berlin 2004.

⁷ I. Opreș, *Ocotirea patrimoniului cultural. Tradiții. Destin. Valoare*, București 1986, pp. 104–105.

followed, such as painting, sculpture or decorative arts. In a relatively short time, these efforts paid off and a general picture of old Romanian art began to take shape, a larger puzzle made up of smaller fragments, such as descriptions of monuments, notes or on-site observations. In 1908 the Commission began issuing its own publication, the *Commission for Historic Monuments' Bulletin* (*Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*), which was initially intended as a platform for publishing brief or more extensive texts about various monuments, but it soon became a periodical dedicated to old Romanian art in general. This publication was meant "to contribute to the progress of historical, architectural and artistic studies, with a special focus on the monuments of our history, and to remain, for those to come, an archive of faithful icons, under all respects, of the present state of our ancient monuments."⁸ Before the war, several field investigations were carried out that were meant to shed new light on the origins of Romanian art and architecture. This research was conducted in Romania, but also in Constantinople, Mount Athos, Mesembria and Serbia, such as those studies carried out by Gheorghe Balș and Nicolae Ghika-Budești.⁹ After the war, regional issues were printed by the Commission's branches in Cluj and Chișinău.

During World War I, the *Bulletin* ceased to be issued, but after the conclusion of the conflict it was published again, with a voluminous special edition (for the years 1917–1923), its content being indicative of the broader scope the publication assumed after the war and the type of texts it planned to include from then on. This special issue hosted a number of fundamental texts, such as those detailing the excavations and restoration works in the princely church of St. Nicholas in Curtea de Argeș, carried out by a large team, among whose members it is worth mentioning Virgil Drăghiceanu,¹⁰ Dimitrie Onciul,¹¹ Nicolae Ghika-Budești¹² and I. Mihail.¹³ Over the following years, the

⁸ ***, "Cuvinte începătoare," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1908, 1, p. 5.

⁹ Gh. Balș, *O vizită la câteva biserici din Serbia*, București 1911; N. Ghika-Budești, Gh. Balș, "Ruinele bizantine din Mesembria," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1912, 5, pp. 1–22; Gh. Balș, "Notiță despre arhitectura Sfântului Munte," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1913, 6, pp. 1–49.

¹⁰ See: V. Drăghiceanu, "Curtea domnească din Curtea de Argeș. Note istorice și arheologice," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1917–1923, 10–16, pp. 9–23.

¹¹ See: D. Onciul, "Anul morții lui Negru Vodă," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1917–1923, 10–16, pp. 25–28.

¹² See: N. Ghika-Budești, "Arhitectura Bisericii domnești. Origini și influențe," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1917–1923, 10–16.

¹³ See: I. Mihail: Pictura bisericii Domnești din Curtea-de-Argeș, *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1917–1923, 10–16.

Bulletin hosted several vast monographs about the evolution of architecture in Moldavia and Wallachia written by Gheorghe Balș¹⁴ and Nicolae Ghika-Budești¹⁵, respectively.

It was not just the *Bulletin* that contained significant studies. Various publishing houses printed books that represented the remarkable work of important authors, such as the one written by Petre Constantinescu-Iași on the evolution of architecture in Moldavia¹⁶ and the one about the *Originality of the open Porch in Romanian Architecture*,¹⁷ those signed by I.D. Ștefănescu about the Moldavian painting¹⁸ or Nicolae Iorga's about the minor arts in Romania.¹⁹ Nicolae Iorga and Gheorghe Balș published together a history of old Romanian art,²⁰ which represents the first attempt at a general and comprehensive view of the subject.

The works published during this period explicitly expressed that their goal was that of understanding and spreading knowledge about monuments and objects of old Romanian art and its historical evolution. However, a closer look at these texts can reveal more intimate thoughts, opinions and value judgements formulated by those who wrote them, illustrating the beliefs and aspirations of a generation and of an era.

For instance, the works of Gheorghe Balș and Nicolae Ghika-Budești about the architecture in Moldavia and Wallachia, respectively, are mono-

¹⁴ See: G. Balș, "Bisericile lui Ștefan cel Mare," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1925, 18(43–46); idem, "Bisericile și mănăstirile moldovenești din veacul al XVI-lea (1527–1582)," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1928, 21.

¹⁵ See: N. Ghika-Budești, "Evoluția arhitecturii în Muntenia," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1927, 20(53–54); idem, "Evoluția arhitecturii în Muntenia și Oltenia. II. Vechiul stil românesc din veacul al XVI-lea. De la Neagoe Basarab până la sfârșitul veacului," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1930, 23; idem, "Evoluția arhitecturii în Muntenia și Oltenia. III. Veacul al XVII-lea. Epoca de tranziție: Domnia lui Matei Basarab," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1932, 25(71–74); idem, "Evoluția arhitecturii în Muntenia și Oltenia. IV. Noul stil românesc din veacul al XVIII-lea," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1936, 29(87–90).

¹⁶ See: P. Constantinescu-Iași, *Evoluția stilului moldovinesc*, Iași 1927.

¹⁷ See: P. Constantinescu-Iași, *Originalitatea pridvorului deschis în arhitectura românească*, Iași 1927.

¹⁸ See: I. D. Ștefănescu, *L'évolution de la peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie depuis les origines jusqu'au XIX^e siècle*, Paris 1928; idem, *L'évolution de la peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie depuis les origines jusqu'au XIX^e siècle. Nouvelles recherches. Étude iconographique*, Paris 1929.

¹⁹ See: N. Iorga, *Les arts mineurs en Roumanie*, Bucarest 1934, 1, 1936, 2.

²⁰ See: N. Iorga, G. Balș, *Histoire de l'art Roumain ancienne. L'art roumain du XIV^e au XIX^e siècle: description et documentation historique*, Paris 1922.

graphs about the evolution of architecture in the two countries and are based primarily on the review of all monuments found there or, at least, of the most important ones. Gheorghe Balș (1868–1934), engineer and art historian, member of the Romanian Academy, published two very important works in the Commission's *Bulletin*. The first is about the *Churches of Stephen the Great* (i.e. Stephen III of Moldavia), while the second presents *Moldavian Churches and Monasteries in the 16th Century* being a continuation of the first. The two texts review all the known monuments from this timespan, the author's choice of that particular period was motivated by his belief that it was in these two stages that Moldavian art shaped its particular character, separating itself from the other territories which followed the Byzantine tradition. Although focused on architecture, the two texts also integrate other forms of art that were directly subordinated by architecture, such as painting and decoration.

The *Evolution of Architecture in Wallachia* (*Evoluția arhitecturii în Muntenia*) was investigated by Nicolae Ghika-Budești (1869–1943), architect, honorary member of the Romanian Academy, and member of the Commission for Historical Monuments, specialist in Wallachia's architecture and the author of numerous studies. This work, also published in the Commission's *Bulletin*, is a significant achievement. It reviews the most important churches in Wallachia and Oltenia, from the oldest monuments until the beginning of the 19th century, focusing strictly on architecture. It is to a lesser extent a historical study, being mostly an investigation aimed at identifying the main church types and their stylistic evolution. This research is concentrated almost exclusively on the study of architectural forms, while written sources are left aside and, when used, it is only indirectly, for chronological purposes. In fact, the separation into successive periods is made based on formal aspects of the monuments although, at times, the country's political history is overlapped.

This brief presentation of the works of the two authors shows that their final purpose was that of depicting the *evolution* of architecture in the two countries. This evolution is seen as cyclical with an initial period of birth, followed by a time when forms crystallised, then flourished and, in the end, a time of decay. The central point of these writings is, in fact, to outline the ways in which a local style was shaped in these two countries, by analysing the influences received and assimilated.

The two authors identified two types of influences: those coming from the West and those from the Byzantine world. The authors believed these influences had superimposed a more ancient, local background, which disappeared, but none of the authors offered any proof for their hypothesis. Ul-

timately, what Gheorghe Balș and Nicolae Ghika-Budești wanted to demonstrate was that the architecture of Moldavia and Wallachia were born from the confluence of forms coming from both the east and the west, but later freed themselves from these influences coming from afar and, thus, two local original styles were created.²¹ Eventually, these local styles died out, because of the pervasiveness of contemporary western styles at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the next.

To a certain extent, similar conclusions were formulated by the art historian Ion D. Ștefănescu (1886–1981) in his two-volume study about old painting in Moldavia and Bukovina from the earliest examples until the 19th century, when traditional painting was pushed aside by western styles. In his works, he did not focus only on mural paintings, as most authors had, but also looked at illuminated manuscripts and works of decorative arts, because he believed that within an ecclesiastic complex, all works of art were created under the supervision of a single person who conducted the construction work, and who also had in mind the decoration of the compound, and cared for its endowment with all the necessary inventory.

Together, the two volumes constitute a comprehensive monograph. The author hoped to give a complete picture of the pictorial patrimony in Moldavia and Bukovina and, at the same time, to decipher the ways in which painting evolved in these areas. The author pointed out that the greatest problem he faced was that of elaborating a chronology, since the object of his research was to study the *evolution* of painting. This is another reason for including minor arts in his investigation, because these could offer more clues for dating different murals. Ștefănescu's methodology brings him near French positivism and the Viennese school of art history. In fact, the only foreign authors mentioned by Ștefănescu in the text's introduction are Charles Diehl, Henri Focillon and Josef Strzygowski. The structure of this study is very telling, since it is very similar to the work about Romanian wooden architecture by Coriolan Petranu²² and the one published by Virgil Vătășianu about Romanian stone churches from Hunedoara County.²³ Both these students of the Viennese school explicitly mention that their works were made following Strzygowski's method.²⁴ The structure is rather rigid and repeti-

²¹ N. Ghika-Budești, "Evoluția arhitecturii în Muntenia," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* 1927, 20(53–54), p. 8 (124).

²² See: C. Petranu, *Bisericile de lemn din județul Arad*, Sibiu 1927; idem, *Monumentele istorice ale județului Bihor. I. Bisericile de lemn*, Sibiu 1931.

²³ See: V. Vătășianu, *Vechile biserici de piatră din județul Hunedoara*, Cluj 1930.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. VI; C. Petranu, "Învățământul istoriei artelor la universitatea din Cluj," *Vieața nouă* 1924, p. 37.

tions are unavoidable, as each work of art is analysed from a different point of view, following an interpretative scheme made of three parts.²⁵

Ion D. Ștefănescu's conclusions are not very different from those formulated by Gheorghe Balș and Nicolae Ghika-Budești, depicting an original Moldavian art that developed separately and in parallel with that of its neighbours, born out of foreign influences from afar, which matured and crystallised by shedding them, and disappearing by giving way to new western styles. In his research, Ștefănescu began by formulating the hypothesis that the art of Moldavia and Bukovina, which flourished between the 14th and the 17th centuries, is original and not influenced by its neighbours. The way in which he conducted the investigation makes it seem as though Ștefănescu was interested in demonstrating this hypothesis and not necessarily in confronting it, and this transforms it, inevitably, into a thesis.

By doing so, he is not different from other Romanian art historians who were active between the two world wars, such as George Oprescu, Coriolan Petranu, Nicolae Iorga or Virgil Vătășianu.²⁶ All of these scholars were also professors in various universities in Romania, as was Ion D. Ștefănescu himself, who, after studying in France, was invited to teach in Greece, France and Belgium, and after returning to Romania was employed as a professor at the universities of Iași, Cernăuți and Bucharest. Some of the above-mentioned authors explicitly affirmed that their aim was that of demonstrating the originality of Romanian art and placing it *apart from* that of other national arts of Europe. In this respect, Ion D. Ștefănescu circumscribes himself in the paradigm of Romanian culture, in general, and of art historiography, in particular. Defining national specificity was an important part of Romanian culture, and Romanians acutely felt the need to become a strong and respected nation, a peer of the others in Europe. Many hoped that through such scholarly ap-

²⁵ This scheme is based on the one described in J. Strzygowski, *Kunde, Wesen, Entwicklung*, Wien 1922. Petranu names the three parts a) "cunoștința" (knowledge/Kunde), which is the stage of gathering and the critique of sources, b) "esența" (essence/Wesen) and "dezvoltarea artistică" (artistic development/Entwicklung) in C. Petranu, "Învățământul istoriei artelor la universitatea din Cluj," *Vieața nouă* 1924, pp. 35–37. Vătășianu names the three parts corresponding to the same concepts appropriated from Strzygowski: (a) "monumentele" (the monuments), (b) "ființa (valorile tehnice și artistice)" (the existence or being (technical and artistic values)) and (c) "evoluția" (the evolution) in V. Vătășianu, *Vechile biserici de piatră din județul Hunedoara*, Cluj 1930, p. VI.

²⁶ V. Țoca, *Art Historical Discourse in Romania*, Budapest 2011, pp. 103–109; 43–54; 18–20; idem, "Old Romanian Art in Virgil Vătășianu's Works Between the Two World Wars and His Choice of Method," *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Series Historia Artium* 2012, 57(57/1), pp. 113–124.

proaches, which aimed at being objective they could attain this status and, at the same time, put a halt to those unfriendly claims coming from abroad. Ion D. Ștefănescu seemed to be less interested in this last aspect. For sure, he wanted to elaborate a scholarly and correct work, despite demonstrating the thesis of Moldavian art's originality. At the same time, he wrote in the introduction to his work that he believed it was necessary to disseminate knowledge about old Moldavian art, both abroad and at home, specifically addressing the younger generation. However, despite this, Ion D. Ștefănescu did not elaborate conclusions based on his research, although his good faith can be grasped when taking a closer look at this final part of the text. It has been mentioned above that the author stressed Moldavian art's originality with respect to that of its orthodox neighbours from near or far, and its lineage from the Byzantine tradition. This means *all* neighbours, and this can be surprising, since this includes Wallachia. This detail is important because it is different from what many authors tried to demonstrate in the interwar period, that is, the unity of Romanian art throughout all the national territories. This conclusion is the result of research and observations and was assumed by the author, despite its political liability. What is quite different is the way in which the author reaches another conclusion. Stating that there is a strong relation between the old religious art of Moldavia and the later peasant art of the region. He did not support this assertion by any evidence and there is no demonstration throughout the text to sustain such an affirmation, rather it is the author's own opinion of the matter. It is striking to see how this thesis is placed in Ion D. Ștefănescu's text with such a lack of demonstration. This idea was also discussed by Nicolae Iorga, Gheorghe Balș and Nicolae Ghika-Budești, with the same blatant lack of arguments. It is true that Ștefănescu mentioned that further research must be done into this topic, but the way in which he presented the whole matter makes it look rather like a proven fact and not a hypothesis.

In 1922 Nicolae Iorga and Gheorghe Balș published the first work that was meant to offer a broad overview of Romanian old art in general and did so in French, in a large format book, on glossy paper. The purpose of this writing printed in exquisite graphic conditions was, as is announced in the foreword, that of presenting Romanian art to the world, that is, the West. Even though the title is *Histoire de l'art Roumaine ancien* and although it was published after the war, it does not include Transylvania. There is no mention of the reason for this omission in the text, but it can be assumed that this is due to the lack of information on the subject at the time for scholars coming from the old kingdom of Romania, and also to the fact that the text was mostly written before the war, when Transylvania was not part of the Romanian kingdom.

As a matter of fact, information about this territory was included only at a later stage and only gradually. This was one of the reasons why Transylvanian art historians felt it was their duty to write almost exclusively about the art of their native land.

The part written by Gheorghe Balș is an extended abstract of his studies published in the Commission's *Bulletin* and it strictly presents the art of Moldavia. The one written by Nicolae Iorga, placed at the volume's beginning, discusses both Wallachia and Moldavia and is, as the subtitle suggests, a description of monuments and their historical presentation. In the foreword, Iorga warns that his part of the text is mostly a historical presentation of Romanian art. To a great extent his part of the book reflects the author's ideas about Romanian history through monuments, from the beginning of the 14th century onwards, this being the moment the two Romanian principalities were founded. This is not surprising, since Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940) was first and foremost a historian, one of the most influential and prolific of the first half of the 20th century. He was a professor at the University of Bucharest, member of the Romanian Academy, director of the Commission for Historical Monuments, and an active politician serving as minister and prime minister.

The main idea, which constitutes the backbone of Iorga's text, is that Romanian art originated in the art of the rural communities and was later taken over by princes and the aristocracy.²⁷ Iorga also shared the view that Romanian medieval art was the melting pot of influences coming from both the east and the west, but he believed that these forms superposed a much older heritage, coming from time immemorial, passed on from the ancient Thracians. It is from this layering of influences that a truly national art was born. Iorga believed that peasants' art was taken over by the upper layers of society. In a famous example, he explained how the princely court at Curtea de Argeș was built like a peasant's house with an open gallery resembling a wooden porch and rooms running along it, because it was his belief that, at that moment in history, the prince was merely a peasant of a higher status. This theory was dismantled only a few years later by Nicolae Ghika-Budești, who demonstrated that these houses were built by western masons following the laws of Romanesque and early Gothic architecture.²⁸ Iorga also wanted to demonstrate that the exonarthex in Moldavian churches in the time of Stephen III were also borrowed from vernacular architecture. The same structure and the same ideas can be found in another of Iorga's works about old Romanian art,

²⁷ Iorga, Balș, *Histoire de l'art...*, p. 9.

²⁸ Ghika-Budești, "Evoluția arhitecturii... I," p. 29.

the one about what he calls minor arts.²⁹ In this small book, as in the one mentioned before, the author follows a chronology that does not reflect the evolution of art, but that of political history, with which the historian was more familiar. Without offering any solid evidence, he pointed to the contribution of local artists of humble origin in the development of the art of icons, which, in his opinion, in the 18th century becomes a national art. He believed that Byzantine models had been adopted by local ecclesiastic workshops, but also by peasant craftsmen, who made icon painting part of their culture. This last idea, although hazily expressed, can be found in I.D. Ștefănescu's work.³⁰

Petre Constantinescu-Iași (1892–1977) also discussed the *Evolution of the Moldavian Style* (*Evoluția stilului moldovinesc*), pointing out that the medieval principality had its own original architecture.³¹ The author planned this to be a comprehensive study, since he believed that until that moment a substantial number of works had been written on the subject. The book is based on these last, but also on the scholar's own research. He believed that the official Moldavian medieval art was religious and that churches were its most significant achievements and asserted that until its demise at the beginning of the 19th century, it had undergone continuous evolution. It is an important study, because it systematised the works published in the last several decades. Petre Constantinescu-Iași's personal contribution is that of following the evolution of architecture in accordance with changes in the structure of porches. These last also constituted the subject of a large study about the originality of Moldavian church porches (*Originalitatea pridvorului deschis în arhitectura românească*) in which he aimed to demonstrate that a particular form of architecture developed in this area, as well as of other works where he compared the Moldavian art to that of the Byzantine world and to that of neighbouring Wallachia.³²

It is worth noting Petre Constantinescu-Iași's interest in demonstrating the originality of Moldavian art, while stressing its close relationship with the art of its north-eastern orthodox neighbours, and it is a fair guess that it is, to a great extent, politically motivated.³³ He was a founding member, later a very active one, of the Romanian Communist Party, an organisation which lobbied during the interwar period for the disintegration of Romania in order to free

²⁹ A.-M. Musicescu, "Nicolae Iorga și studiul artelor în România," *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Seria arta plastică* 1966, 13(1), pp. 16–17.

³⁰ I. D. Ștefănescu, *L'évolution de la peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie depuis les origines jusqu'au XIX^e siècle*, Paris 1928, pp. 303–304.

³¹ See: P. Constantinescu-Iași, *Evoluția stilului moldovinesc*, Iași 1927.

³² See: P. Constantinescu-Iași, *Originalitatea pridvorului deschis în arhitectura românească*, Iași: Viața românească, 1927.

³³ Țoca, *Art Historical Discourse...*, pp. 28–29.

the oppressed minorities.³⁴ Another interesting observation to be made is that almost none of the major authors of the period quote him, although his works were published in 1927, and they quote other works from that year.

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In Transylvania, art historical writings by Romanians had a marginal character until after World War I. In the interwar period, the most significant contributions in the field of old Romanian art were those authored by Coriolan Petranu and Virgil Vătășianu.

Coriolan Petranu (1893–1945) has a special place in Romanian art historiography in between the two world wars, because his writings were dedicated almost exclusively to the art of Transylvania, and most of all to that of the Romanians there. He believed their art represented a complex whole made up of high art and peasants' art.³⁵ He was among the first Romanian scholars to study art history at a western university, and he was the first professor of art history at the newly founded Romanian university in Cluj. His apprenticeship in Vienna under Josef Strzygowski marked his methodological approaches. Petranu was an art historian with an agenda, who dedicated his entire activity to the study of Transylvanian art and to the spread of the results of his research, both at home and abroad.

He often polemicized with art historians from other countries, especially from Hungary on various aspects of Transylvanian art, often in heated written debates which sometimes went beyond what was acceptable for academic discourse. In his view, the objectives of a Romanian art historian in Transylvania should be to study its art, elaborating inventories of the monuments and works of art there, and then writing monographs about them, and all of this done with the final purpose of writing comprehensive texts about the art and architecture of the region based on those monographs.³⁶

Petranu based his methodology on those described by Hans Tietze and Josef Strzygowski, in line with the philological-historical methods of positivism, based on documents. According to these authors, in the case of art histo-

³⁴ D. C. Giurescu, *Ce a fost Partidul Comunist Român*, "Clipa," available online: <<http://www.revistaclipa.com/2583/2009/12/repere-academice/ce-a-fost-partidul-comunist-roman>> [accessed: 15 May 2013].

³⁵ C. Petranu, "L'art Roumain de Transylvanie," *La Transylvanie* 1938, p. 5; idem, "Die alte kirchliche Kunst der Rumänen," in: idem, *Ars Transsilvaniae, Etudes d'histoire de l'art transilvain. Studien zur Kunstgeschichte Siebenbürgens*, Sibiu 1944, p. 144.

³⁶ C. Petranu, "Rolul istoricului de artă român în Transilvania," *Cronica Numismatică și arheologică* 1923, 4, p. 11.

ry, the most important document is the work of art itself, therefore the visual, formal and structural aspects, played the most important part in any investigation. He also appropriated Alois Riegl's concept of *Kunstwollen*, which was responsible for setting in motion the mechanism of creation, determined by conditions of environment, race and society. Coriolan Petranu's work strongly reflects the ideas of the Viennese school of art history, which he used in order to elaborate a history of Romanian art in Transylvania. By doing so he hoped to be as objective and scholarly as possible. The use of a methodology borrowed from the West represented, in his view, the guarantee for producing writings that would be correct and objective, which for him constituted the supreme goal.³⁷

Many of Petranu's important works were included in *Ars Transsilvaniae*,³⁸ a collection of works about Transylvanian art, not just of the Romanians, but also that of Hungarians and Saxons. Despite this, he did not see the art of this area as a whole, but as several national arts existing apart from one another in one territory. Although he referred to the art of the major ethnic groups of Transylvania, his main interest was the art of the Romanians in this area, which he believed was a unified entity made of two parts: high art and peasants' art. In the other important book of his, *Romanian art in Transylvania (Arta românească din Transilvania)*, Coriolan Petranu wrote in the conclusion that the art of the Romanians in the region had the following characteristics: "1. oppressed character. 2. pendulating between the east and the west. 3. its popular [peasant] character. 4. artistic qualities."³⁹ These four points sum up the Transylvanian scholar's thesis regarding Romanian art, in general, and that of Transylvania, in particular. All these express the great importance Petranu attached to the art of the Romanians in the province, and also to the role it played in Europe and in the Balkans. He believed that in Transylvanian art, Romanians played a major role in shaping the art of the peasants, their art influencing also that of other nations, while the German Saxons played a leading role in shaping high art, whereas Hungarians, he believed, played only a minor part in both. This expresses his belief that Romanians had a superior civilisation, which although not producing high art, produced a valuable peasant art that was equal to that of any other nation in Europe. He was also a Germanophile throughout his life and always had

³⁷ C. Petranu, "Învățământul istoriei artelor la universitatea din Cluj," *Vieața nouă* 1924, p. 37.

³⁸ See C. Petranu, "*Ars Transsilvaniae. Etudes d'histoire de l'art transilvain. Studien zur Kunstgeschichte Siebenbürgens*," Sibiu 1944.

³⁹ "1. caracterul de oprimare. 2. oscilarea între est și vest. 3. caracterul popular 4. calitățile artistice," in: C. Petranu, *Arta românească din Transilvania*, Sibiu 1943, p. 25.

a favourable opinion about German achievements. As for Hungarians, he always saw them as the arch-enemy, and time and again stressed the dangers of Hungarian revisionism, while he tried to demonstrate that they were a people which did not have any contributions to European culture, since they had settled late in the region and all that they did was to borrow from others. He often pointed out that they were influenced by the Germans in the high art and by Romanians in their folk art.⁴⁰

Therefore, he concentrated much of his research on investigating the art of Romanians in Transylvania, and most of all, on the study of wooden architecture, which he believed constituted their major contribution. His most important published research was about the wooden churches in Arad⁴¹ and Bihor⁴² counties, which are some of the first serious contributions by a Romanian scholar to the research of the art of Romanians in Transylvania. Petranu's effort of recording all the wooden monuments in the two counties is important in itself, because it documented a great number of monuments, many of which have since disappeared. The two books represent a scholarly work, as opposed to *Ars Transsilvaniae* and the aforementioned booklet about the art of Romanians in Transylvania. These last are filled with value judgements and personal opinions, as are many other texts meant for the general public or for a foreign audience, while in the two books about wooden architecture, he mostly refrained from any unscholarly comment.

Virgil Vătăşianu (1902–1993) joined Petranu in his efforts to investigate Romanian art in Transylvania. He also studied in Vienna with Josef Strzygowski and received a doctoral degree there; he served three mandates as secretary of Accademia di Romania in Rome between 1930 and 1946. The most important book he published between the two world wars was about the stone churches of Hunedoara county (*Vechile biserici de piatră româneşti din judeţul Hunedoara*),⁴³ which represents an extended version of his doctoral thesis. It was the result of field research he had conducted in the area and it represents a fundamental study of a subject poorly investigated at the time. The research method used in this book is based on that of Josef Strzygowski – who supervised his doctoral thesis –, just like Petranu's scholarly works. In this book, Vătăşianu aimed to demonstrate that the church architecture of the Romanians in Hunedoara County was mostly based on the old autoch-

⁴⁰ Ibidem, pp. 25–27.

⁴¹ See: C. Petranu, *Bisericile de lemn din judeţul Arad*, Sibiu 1927.

⁴² See: C. Petranu, *Monumentele istorice ale judeţului Bihor*, 1: *Bisericile de lemn*, Sibiu 1931.

⁴³ See: V. Vătăşianu, "Vechile biserici de piatră din judeţul Hunedoara," *Anuarul Comisiunii monumentelor istorice. Secţiunea pentru Transilvania* 1929.

thonous wooden architecture of north-eastern Europe, while influences coming from afar, from the west, were added. He believed that the stone churches in the region were based on wooden models which were typical of this area where East and West converge. This idea of the precedence of wooden architecture was appropriated from his professor in Vienna, who believed in the existence of a northern world separate from that of the Mediterranean. Vătășianu also demonstrated that masonry and mortar showed influences coming from this latter area, that is, the south of the continent.

Vătășianu tried to demonstrate this idea in several lesser known and often overlooked texts: three about the wooden and stone architecture in Moldavia⁴⁴ and one about the Romanian liturgical textiles in the Byzantine tradition.⁴⁵ In the first two studies, he discussed the relation existing between wooden and stone churches in Moldavia, aiming to demonstrate the same idea of the precedence of the former, and how early stone architecture is derived from much older wooden constructions. It must be noted that the reason why Vătășianu looked at this subject outside of Transylvania, in other territories inhabited by Romanians, was to show the unity existing between all the provinces of the contemporary Romanian state, in spite of the natural differences among its regions.

Both Petranu and Vătășianu appropriated and applied Strzygowski's ideas – who had been a professor for both – to the situation in Transylvania. They both investigated areas that had been largely ignored and wished to conduct research into the culture of their own people that would lead to it being better understood, both at home and abroad. Influenced by their professor in Vienna, the two scholars included the architecture of the Romanians in a larger area, namely that of Northern European wooden architecture, which they believed had no connection with the Mediterranean world, although the two Transylvanian scholars admitted influences coming from the south and east by way of Byzantium or the Slavic peoples. In their writings from this period, Strzygowski seems to be their supreme authority and his ideas were rarely questioned. They adopted his work methodology, saying it was the most complex, advanced and the only one which was worth using in the field of art history. This was because they believed it allowed a multifaceted investigation of the work of art. In reality, Petranu and Vătășianu opted for this

⁴⁴ See V. Vătășianu, "Pentru originea arhitecturii moldovenești," *Junimea Literară* 1927, 16; idem, "Bolțile moldovenești, originea și evoluția lor istorică," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională* 1929, 5; idem, "Contribuție la cunoașterea bisericilor de lemn din Moldova," in: *Închinare lui N. Iorga cu prilejul împlinirii vârstei de 60 de ani*, Cluj 1931.

⁴⁵ See V. Vătășianu, *L'arte bizantina in Romania. I ricami liturgici*, Roma 1945.

method, because it allowed them to conduct research based on a monument or a work of art, focused on the study of forms, and less on written sources. This ultimately led to a very subjective, speculative discourse, in line with the one practised by their Viennese master. They also developed the structure of their texts using the framework elaborated by Strzygowski based on the three points of view of a work of art:⁴⁶ *Kunde*, *Wesen*, and *Entwicklung*.⁴⁷ By using the Viennese scholar's methodology, they also appropriated his axioms.⁴⁸

In the interwar period, the two Transylvanian art historians concentrated their research on Romanian art history in their native land, without, as Vătășianu later did, taking interest in the artistic production of the other nations living there. Although they did write every now and then about art in the modern period or about that of their time, their main interest was always the study of old Romanian art, mainly religious architecture. The two scholars strongly believed that it was their duty to study the art of Romanians from Transylvania, a subject previously overlooked, in a time when concerted attacks were staged against the newly enlarged Romanian state and when many questioned the equitableness of the territorial changes which followed the war.

They chose this path and appropriated Strzygowski's axioms, because it best served their purposes. They hoped to clearly demonstrate the strong bonds that had existed between all the Romanian national territories throughout the centuries, since time immemorial. Like their professor in Vienna, the two Romanian art historians were convinced of the precedence of wooden architecture and that it transmitted its forms to the later masonry architecture. They also sought to demonstrate that the wooden architecture created by Romanians was part of the larger area of Northern European tradition of wooden constructions, dating from ancient times, which was profoundly different from that of the Mediterranean area. In their writings, Petranu and Vătășianu aimed to demonstrate the originality and unity of Romanian art. These were very important aspects during the interwar period, because in this way, these Transylvanian art historians hoped to prove, by means of art historical research, the cultural unity, as well as the superior artistic qualities of the Romanians in all the territories they inhabited.

⁴⁶ C. Petranu, *Învățămintul istoriei artelor la Universitatea din Cluj*, București 1924, pp. 35–37; R. Born, "The Historiography of Art in Transylvania and the Vienna School in the Interwar Period," *Centropa* 2009, 9(3), p. 190.

⁴⁷ See J. Strzygowski, *Kunde, Wesen, Entwicklung. Ein Einführung*, Wien 1922.

⁴⁸ C. Simon, *Artă și identitate națională în opera lui Virgil Vătășianu*, Cluj-Napoca 2002, p. 36.

Like many art historians who studied in Vienna, and who were later active in important institutions of the successor states of the late empire, Petranu and Vătășianu felt it was their duty to put all their resources, energy, knowledge and scholarship into serving their country, the Romanian national state.⁴⁹ Strzygowski's methodology came with a complex theoretical construction, which was readily taken over by the two Transylvanian art historians, because it offered them the precise instruments they needed in order to demonstrate their ideas and theses, and also because they believed this guaranteed the historical and scholarly honesty, and endowed their research with truth and impartiality.⁵⁰

In the field of old Romanian art, interwar historiography made important advances with respect to the previous period. There was no consensus among the scholars of the time as to what art history meant or the methods to be used in studying and interpreting the subject being studied. But most art historians writing before the middle of the century shared several common ideas and ideals, and many of them tried to find an answer to the issue of national identity expressed through art. They based their research on strict and rigorous methods, which they believed would lead to the elaboration of truly scientific writings, their final aim was to achieve conclusive and definitive results, and, in this way, gain the respect of the international academic community. It is likely that except for Constantinescu-Iași, all other Romanian scholars were animated by sincere patriotism and a sense of civic duty. Like many of their contemporaries, they believed that intellectuals were called upon to research and to discover the hidden treasures of their country and to present them to people at home and to the outside world. This must be one of the reasons many of their works were published in foreign languages, and sometimes abroad. Despite this, most of these works were not meant to be propaganda, although some were financed, directly or indirectly, by the state for this purpose. The general intention was that of producing scholarly works meant for the use of specialists, useful, precise and objective, which would be reliable because of these qualities. It is true that some were, in part or entirely, destined for use by the general public, with the authors hoping that they would be useful to art and history lovers, as well as for educating a young generation of artists.

⁴⁹ Bakoš, "From Universalism...", pp. 79 sqq, pp. 86 sqq.

⁵⁰ See M. Rampley, "The Strzygowski school of Cluj. An episode in interwar Romanian Cultural policies," *Journal of Art Historiography* June 2013, 8, available online: <<https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2013/06/rampley.pdf>>; V. Țoca, "Old Romanian Art in Virgil Vătășianu's Works Between the Two World Wars and His Choice of Method," *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Series Historia Artium* 2012, 57(1), pp. 113–124.

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Of all fields of Romanian art historiography, the last to develop was that of art made following western patterns in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. This can be explained by the evolution of the subject itself. Old Romanian art had hitherto been predominantly religious and with western influences partially present. It was only at the beginning of the 19th century that art in the Romanian territories began to take over the forms of western art and styles. In the second half of that century, this type of art was fully established, while the old Byzantine forms were abandoned even in the architecture and decoration of churches. Artists such as Theodor Aman and later, Nicolae Grigorescu, became very important figures, revered by their contemporaries, while many began talking about the birth of a national art. The works of Grigorescu in particular sparked the first discussions and debates about the role and aims of a national art. His works and personality have since become a benchmark which could hardly be avoided.

But since the beginning of the 20th century, and mostly until World War I, writings about the more recent Romanian art was inconsistent. At the turn of the century, a number of biographies written mainly by important men of letters were published, of which most were dedicated to Nicolae Grigorescu, such as those written by Nicolae Petrașcu in 1895 and reprinted after the war,⁵¹ and by C.I. Istrate in 1908, while the most successful and popular were those written by Barbu Ștefănescu Delavrancea⁵² and, especially, Alexandru Vlahuță⁵³. Art criticism became important, but this is not the object of the present study.

This evolution was interrupted by the war, but after 1919 cultural life in Romania began regaining its vitality. Around that time, the first books were published, periodicals were reissued, or new ones appeared, and exhibitions became more numerous. This is not to say there were no publications or exhibitions during the war, but these were made mostly to offer people a sense of normality in a world severely affected by the conflict, both under the patronage of the German occupants and the Romanian government in exile in Moldavia. However, this pre-war normality sought by most after the conclusion of hostilities was never found. A new generation with different aspirations and interests began to emerge. This course would be maintained until the establishment of the communist regime in 1947.

⁵¹ See: N. Petrașcu, *Pictorul Grigorescu*, București 1895.

⁵² See: B. Delavrancea, "Din viața lui Nicolae Grigorescu," *Luceafărul* 1905, 4(1).

⁵³ See: A. Vlahuță, *Pictorul N. I. Grigorescu, viața și opera lui*, București 1910; A. Vlahoutza, *N. I. Grigorescu, sa vie et son œuvre*, Bucarest 1911.

In the first two decades of the century, texts about more recent Romanian art were relatively few, but their number increased rapidly after 1920. The interest of authors was mostly turned towards the study of painting and painters, and less towards sculpture, while architecture was all but ignored. The preferred genres were biographies and artist monographs, the latter being written by both scholars and connoisseurs. Several catalogues raisonnés and collections of documents were published. There are no general works about the subject, but for two notable exceptions: George Oprescu's extensive studies about Romanian painting⁵⁴ and the graphic arts⁵⁵ of the 19th century. Art criticism and art theory were also very important in this period, the number of contributions being significant. There were even a few scholars and art historians who also wrote art criticism in the numerous cultural journals of the time. Many authors, in fact, visited various genres, and thus wrote works of uneven quality. This is true for both scholars and connoisseurs, and it is sometimes difficult to place some works in one category or another. In the case of some art historians that were employed by universities or other state institutions, there is great difference between the texts published under the auspices of their respective institution and those works that were privately commissioned.

I will not discuss here the contributions of the connoisseurs or others who wrote about the subject. I will instead take a closer look at George Oprescu's work on Romanian art of the 19th and the 20th centuries.

In the historiography of the Romanian art of the 19th and the 20th centuries, the works of George Oprescu (1881–1969) hold a very important position. He authored numerous studies and books, he was a professor at the universities in Cluj and Bucharest, an art critic, initiated collective research projects in the field of Romanian art, founded the *Analecta* review and formed a generation of young art historians, some of whom began to be active between the wars. He served as a museum director, as a member of the Commission for Historical Monuments, and as secretary for the League of Nation's International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, among other positions.⁵⁶

During this period, he wrote over fifty books, catalogues and university syllabuses, as well as hundreds of scholarly papers, press articles and pages of

⁵⁴ See G. Oprescu, *Pictura românească în secolul al XIX-lea*², București 1943.

⁵⁵ See G. Oprescu, *Grafica românească în secolul al XIX-lea*, vol. 1, București 1942, vol. 2, București 1945.

⁵⁶ *Omagiu lui George Oprescu cu prilejul împlinirii a 80 de ani*, eds. T. Vianu, M. Popescu, București 1961, p. XXV.

art criticism.⁵⁷ Oprescu's research covers a wide range of topics, from studies about the Romanian art of the 19th and 20th centuries to European art or Romanian folk art. Such a volume of works is impressive, but, as in the case of Iorga's opus, Oprescu's works are not only different in character and scope, but also largely vary in terms of their value and scholarship. This is especially true when considering his works on the Romanian art of the 19th and the 20th centuries.

George Oprescu was a remarkable figure in Romanian academic and cultural circles between the two world wars and in the decades that followed. He studied letters and comparative literature, and this broadened his view, leading him to use a distinct methodology, very different from that of most art historians of his generation. He was criticised by many, at times vigorously, mainly by the Transylvanians, who never failed to point out that he was not a real art historian, because he had no formal training in the field of art history. The differences between him and other art historians are evident and unmistakable but, in retrospect, they all have more in common than it would appear at first glance. There are many things he shared with Coriolan Petranu. They had common ideals; they acted in similar ways on the public scene and also had many things in common in terms of the methodology they used in their scholarly works. Both were strong believers in the role an art historian must play in society, working in cultural institutions, and shared similar views regarding the role the state should play in creating those institutions that were absent, while working to support and develop those that already existed.⁵⁸ Like his colleague from Cluj, who published an extensive study about museums in Transylvania,⁵⁹ Oprescu was also interested in museums, many of his efforts being pointed in that direction. But teaching was the one activity he dedicated most of his energy to, preferring it to research, therefore syllabuses, printed or lithographed, represent an important share of his writing. Finally, both strongly believed in the originality and great universal value of Romanian art and this belief guided most of their activity. Like Petranu, Oprescu initiated channels of communication with universities, art history institutes and libraries abroad, mostly in the west, published papers about Romanian high and folk art in foreign languages that were meant

⁵⁷ For George Oprescu's complete bibliography see: "Bibliografia lucrărilor Acad. Prof. G. Oprescu," in: *Omagiu lui George Oprescu cu prilejul împlinirii a 80 de ani*, eds. T. Vianu, M. Popescu, București 1961.

⁵⁸ M. Popescu, "Cuvînt înainte," in: G. Oprescu, *Pictura românească în secolul al XIX-lea*, București 1984, p. 8.

⁵⁹ See C. Petranu, *Muzeele din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș. Trecutul, prezentul și administrarea lor*, București 1922.

to be distributed abroad, and was very affected by the negative propaganda of some foreign authors directed against Romania, its art and culture. This same type of patriotic dedication guided them in their academic mission, towards their final goal. They believed that an art historian must play an active role in society, in order to contribute to disseminating culture and the love of the homeland, which would shape a positive image of Romania and its cultural heritage. Oprescu's articles published in contemporary newspapers and magazines reveal what his beliefs were, because he did not express them openly in his other writings. In the interwar period, those ideas were shared by many intellectuals, who believed that culture could and should contribute in a decisive fashion to the nation's prestige and well-being. In these writings, Oprescu mentioned time and again the chief role that should be assumed by "institutions of public education" ("schools of all degrees, research institutes, museums, libraries, theatres;" "theatres, public book collections, museums, cultural and research institutions;" "schools, libraries, museums, theatres," these institutions are mentioned repeatedly in his writings).⁶⁰

George Oprescu's book about Romanian painting in the 19th century (*Pictura românească în secolul al XIX-lea*) was the result of teamwork he coordinated among students and assistants from the art history seminar of the University of Bucharest. The goal of this team was to create a general comprehensive work about Romanian art after 1800, which would serve as a syllabus for students, but was also intended for use by specialists or art lovers.

Although Oprescu was aware that there were desperately few published studies and monographs and that it was difficult to write a general history of Romanian art in their absence, he believed in the necessity of such a work for use by students and the general public. The book is actually a much-enlarged version of the one printed in Malmö in 1935 in three separate versions, French, English and Swedish.⁶¹ This is an example of the effort made by Romanians to disseminate knowledge abroad about the art and culture of their country. This was mirrored by the publishing of his book about Romanian folk art in French and English.⁶² Oprescu was an admirer of Romanian peasant art, an

⁶⁰ G. Oprescu, *Anul artistic la noi și la alții. Studii și impresii*, București 1934, pp. 41–42; V. Țoca, "George Oprescu. Activitatea și crezurile sale în perioada interbelică," in: *Istoria Culturii. Cultura istoriei. Omagiu Profesorului Doru Radosav la vârsta de 60 de ani*, eds. I. Costea, O. Ghitta, V. Orga, I. Pop, Cluj–Napoca 2010, pp. 437–447.

⁶¹ See G. Oprescu, *L'art roumain de 1800 à nos jours*, Malmö 1935; idem, *Roumanian Art from 1800 to Our Days*, Malmö 1935; idem, *Samtida Konst i Romänien. Ett urval bilder med inledande text*, Malmö 1935.

⁶² See G. Oprescu, *L'art du paysan roumain. Avec une préface de Henri Focillon*, Bucarest 1937; idem, *Peasant Art in Rumania. With a foreword by Henri Focillon*, Bucharest 1940.

avid collector, and wrote one of the first books on this subject. This book was translated into and published in foreign languages by the Romanian Academy.⁶³ This was followed, in 1940, by a lithographed syllabus for the students studying at the university in Bucharest. The title of the collection in French is telling in terms of the author's and the publisher's objectives: "Connaissance de l'âme et de la pensée roumaines". In these books, Oprescu presented the history of painting made in the Western manner in Romania after 1800 and related it to what was going on in the West, mostly in France. By doing so, he described the country's modernisation and synchronisation with Europe following its art.

Of the books published by Oprescu in the interwar period, only those about Nicolae Grigorescu,⁶⁴ Ion Andreescu⁶⁵ and Nicolae Petraşcu⁶⁶ can be considered true monographs. The others, published in various art series, about Jean Al. Steriadi,⁶⁷ Camil Ressu,⁶⁸ Ştefan Popescu⁶⁹ or Eustaţiu Stoenescu⁷⁰ are texts of a different nature, often excessively praising the artists, many of whom were the author's personal friends. The latter are not monographs of an artist, but essays which eulogise the artist.

Apart from the general texts mentioned above about the Romanian painting and graphic arts of the 19th century, Oprescu also wrote one about the painting after Ştefan Luchian, that is, after the turn of the century. This was only lithographed, and later abridged and made into a catalogue for an exhibition of Romanian art in Bern.⁷¹ These texts were meant to complement and to be a continuation of those written by Nicolae Iorga, Gheorghe Balş and Petre Constantinescu-Iaşi about old Romanian art. Of these, the most ambitious is the one dedicated to Romanian painting in the 19th century. This book is, through its structure, references, list of illustrations and bibliography, the most scholarly and rigorous. When he began this vast study, Oprescu had in mind filling a gap in Romanian art historiography. Although he is credited as the single author, the work is actually the result of teamwork done by his students and collaborators at the university.⁷²

⁶³ See G. Oprescu, *Arta ăărănească la români*, Bucureşti 1922.

⁶⁴ See G. Oprescu, *Grigorescu desinator*, Bucureşti 1941.

⁶⁵ See G. Oprescu, *Andreescu*, Craiova 1931.

⁶⁶ See G. Oprescu, *G. Petraşcu*, Craiova 1931; idem, *G. Petraşcu*, Bucureşti 1940.

⁶⁷ See G. Oprescu, *Jean Al. Steriadi*, Bucureşti 1942.

⁶⁸ See G. Oprescu, *Camil Ressu*, Bucureşti 1942.

⁶⁹ See G. Oprescu, *Ştefan Popescu*, Bucureşti 1942.

⁷⁰ See G. Oprescu, *Stoenescu*, Bucureşti 1946.

⁷¹ See G. Oprescu, *La peinture roumaine contemporaine*, Berne 1944.

⁷² G. Oprescu, *Pictura românească în secolul al XIX-lea*, Bucureşti 1943, p. 6.

Many of them also published several monographs and monographic studies, in the period between the two editions. The second edition (1943) is the most complete and includes the results of the above-mentioned works by Oprescu's students and collaborators, but he also used other works, mostly published in between the two world wars, and written by other researchers in the country.⁷³ The aim of this project was to produce a work that would have a definitive result, although Oprescu was aware that it was not possible at that stage of his research. He was confident that his work, based on primary visual and written sources, would eventually produce the desired result, and that what had been once written could be changed only by addition and not by revision.⁷⁴ It is harder than in the case of Petranu, for instance, who explicitly defines his methodology, to describe Oprescu's method. It is inspired by several western scholars' work, such as Alois Riegl, Wilhelm Worringer or Theodor Lipps. We also know he admired Josef Strzygowski and Henri Focillon. All these art historians were presented in *Analecta*, the review he coordinated, and he borrowed a little from each of them. Although Oprescu based his investigation on both written and visual sources, he usually tended to focus on the works of art he analysed in a descriptive manner, refraining from being speculative.

In Oprescu's book, the entire evolution of Romanian painting is constructed in relation to the evolution of art in the west, and the investigation only considers those artists who adopted a western manner of painting. Indirectly, painting in the Byzantine style is seen as representing the past, while that produced in a western manner is associated with modernity and nation-building. Like Petranu and others, Oprescu expressed his regret for the fact that the Byzantine way had been abandoned in religious painting, as it represented a tradition associated with centuries-old Romanian spirituality, but agreed that it was an unavoidable side effect of modernising the country.

Another aspect worth noticing about the contents of this book is that although it was published more than two decades after the war ended, Transylvania is mostly overlooked, especially in the first part of the book, while Bessarabia is completely ignored. The few painters from Transylvania mentioned in the book are almost all ethnic Romanians and are introduced in the text only if they had been active in the old kingdom of Romania. In the second part of the book, there is a subchapter of a mere seven pages dedicated to the art centres in Transylvania and the Banat, which is essentially a compilation

⁷³ Ibidem, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, p. 6.

based on monographs and other texts written by authors native to these provinces. This is similar to what Nicolae Iorga and Gheorghe Balș did in their general presentation of old Romanian art.

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Books about the general history of art in Romania produced between the two world wars fall into two categories. First, there are those that result from comprehensive research of a period or of a region, and secondly, there are those meant for the general public at home or abroad. Regardless of the chosen genre, the methodology used or the intended reader, these are written in such a way as to match the standards of similar works produced in the West. In these books, the authors mostly refrained from openly polemicizing, introducing value judgements or going off topic. However, this was not always the case. In several instances, the echoes of the Great Debate are present, woven into the tissue of the texts.

The authors we reviewed are professional art historians and they strived to produce works of a high value. They believed that by conducting objective research and writing books, Romanian art and culture could be presented in a positive light to specialists and the general public in an unbiased and truthful way. The final purpose was to demonstrate that Romania had an art and culture that were of equal quality and importance to those of any other nation on the continent, and this placed her within the larger European family. At the same time, the aim of such a narrative was to demonstrate the cultural unity of all the territories incorporated in the greater Romanian state in the wake of World War I.

This task was assumed by many of those active during that period, as Romanian state civil servants or as citizens. This is an attitude that can be seen in many texts, but with an emphasis in those books which were written in foreign languages and addressed to the western public, and produced by scholars employed by the state or whose work was financed by state money. Although all fields of art were approached in order to achieve this goal, the most important and consistent works were in the field of old Romanian art.

National specificity was also a topic which interested many authors. This seems to have been the purpose of works about the art of the last two centuries, whose aim is to demonstrate the synchronisation with European contemporary tendencies. The ultimate goal is the same, namely that of proving that Romanian art is part of European art.

Indirectly, the appropriation of research methods used in the West tells the same story. Romanian art historians used these instruments in the hope of having a guaranteed way of producing works that were of a high quality,

objective and credible. The models are mostly those of French positivism and of the Viennese school of art history, which were held in high esteem. Romanian authors appropriated these methods and used them to serve their own purposes, seeking to demonstrate their own theses and ideas.

What seems to have motivated most art historians was a sincere and profound civic and patriotic duty, actively assumed by the authors. This duty was that of defending the Romanian national state, the existence of which seemed to be the only thing all Romanians, with the aforementioned exceptions, agreed on during the two world wars.

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ROMANIAN ART HISTORIOGRAPHY DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD.
BETWEEN THE SEARCH FOR SCHOLARSHIP AND COMMITMENT
TO A CAUSE

Summary

At the end of World War I, Romania emerged as a much stronger nation, with a greatly enlarged territory. During the two world wars, the Romanian state was permanently looking for the best way to preserve the newly created national state and defend its frontiers. This was the only matter all Romanian parties seemed to agree on. The threat of territorial revisionism coming from Hungary, the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent, Bulgaria united all the political actors in defending the peace system of Versailles and supporting the League of Nations as the guarantor of this peace and stability.

The interwar period was a remarkable time for Romania's cultural history. Between the two world wars, the Romanian cultural scene was dominated by what Keith Hitchins calls the 'Great Debate' about national identity and development. The opponents were those advocating synchronism with the West, on the one hand, and those pleading for tradition, on the other, with many others looking for a third way. In Romanian interwar culture, the country's modernity was emphasized in order to place the country within the larger family of European nations. An opposing, and at the same time, complementary line of thought was that of presenting the long and noble Romanian history, tradition and ancestral roots.

These two themes have been present in Romanian culture since the mid-19th century. They were used by various authors, sometimes in a complementary fashion, while at others, in a conflicting manner in literature, historical writing or political discourse. This process did not end with the creation of the Greater Romania after the end of World War I. New threats, which are mentioned above, maintained the need to continue this discourse. In this context, historical arguments became political arguments and were used by the Romanians in order to justify the new territorial gains and the Versailles system. Art history, part of the family of historical disciplines, came to play an important part in this.

Romanian art historical writing did not exist as such until the end of the 19th century. It was only in the first years of the next century that the number of scholarly works produced following western standards steadily increased. As part of a general tendency of aligning Romanian academic practices with those in the West, art historiography established itself as a respectable academic discipline, a process which went hand in hand with the establishment of new institutions such as museums, university departments, research institutions and the Commission for historical monuments. All these institutions were founded and financed by the Romanian state, and most scholars were involved with these institutions in one way or another.

Although Romanian art historiography of the period is dominated by the desire to produce academic works to the highest standards, the ideas of the Great Debate are present in the works of that time. At the same time, in several texts, the most prominent art historians of the day strongly affirm the necessity of putting their work in the service of the national cause. In this paper, we will be looking at the general histories of Romanian art written between the two world wars. The choice of these texts is motivated by the fact that these works are the result of larger research projects and have a broader scope and as such better summarise the trends of the interwar period.

Keywords:

Romanian art historiography; interwar period; Romanian art; Transylvanian art; Romanian culture

CHRISTIAN FUHRMEISTER

“1945” AS A TURNING POINT
IN GERMAN ART HISTORY?
CHALLENGING THE PARADIGM OF RUPTURE
AND DISCONTINUITY

An established and fairly common chronology for modern German history starts in 1871 and, including the First World War, ends with the Revolution in 1918, continues throughout the Weimar Republic to finish with the Nazi rise to power in 1933, equates the surrender of the German Army with the collapse of the National Socialist regime in 1945, and probably references the interlude of the Allied Military Government until 1949 when two German states were founded, but might as well go straight to the collapse of the German Democratic Republic in 1989.

Following this narrative, the quintessential turning points for German history are easily identified as 1918, 1933, 1945 and 1989. Concurrently, both art historical accounts of stylistic developments – for instance, the allocation of Bauhaus and New Objectivity to the Weimar Republic – and the historiography of art history usually follow the very same trajectory. But looking at these four decisive, important and relevant years (or “turning points”), however, we need to differentiate, and we certainly need to resist the temptation to believe that these most obvious and partly radically violent events that subsequently changed society and governmental structures alike changed the political system, the administration, in part also law, economy, and power relations at large, and that all these changes are indeed truly mirrored by equally major and immediate shifts across the arts, in the “Betriebssystem Kunst,” in the humanities in general and in the academic discipline of art history in particular. As a matter of fact, in this paper, I would like to argue that we face serious difficulties in accepting this chronology for the history of art history in Germany, especially when investigating key processes before, during and after 1945.

One or perhaps the most widely used metaphor that references the breakdown of the German Reich in 1945 – indicated by military and political fail-

ure of National Socialism and the Wehrmacht, by the suicides of higher and lower Nazi ranks and by the surrender to the Allies – is the concept of the “Stunde Null” or “hour zero,” which stresses the idea of a *tabula rasa*, of an entirely new beginning. Indeed, the situation in summer 1945 is characterized by enormous devastation of both material and immaterial values, by the ubiquitous destruction of cities and entire landscapes across Europe, and by the forced ending of unprecedented violence and annihilation that had culminated in the Holocaust, or Shoah. Being confronted with the results of these expansionist, racial politics and ideologies, it is perfectly understandable that the decline of the Nazi system and the more or less sudden absence of the rigid system of control and complicity – a short vacuum of power, soon regulated by the Allies, albeit in different ways – was conceived as an open field and a new beginning. Similar then, in a sense, to the French Republican calendar and to the self-proclaimed “Era Fascista” or fascist era with its own numbering of years, the break with the past was considered so grand, encompassing and wide-ranging that not even time itself was allowed to continue – the clock was set back to start all over again. We need to acknowledge, however, that the term “hour zero” had already been employed for various contexts in the previous decades, for novels and films in the 1920s and 1930s. Nonetheless, in the cultural field, the term has been frequently employed after 1945 and is still in wide use. Regardless of the few critical voices that have challenged the assumption of 1945 as a clear-cut break, and irrespective of research that has achieved a more nuanced and differentiated picture, the temptation to adopt a simplistic categorization is obviously a lingering concern. Consequently, again and again in the second decade of the 21st century, we encounter activities in the art scene that address the concept of “hour zero” in an approving, confirmative way.¹ Concurrently, using www.kubikat.org, the search for “Stunde Null” yields 22 hits, including two by Polish authors (one of them is Piotr Majewski, *Czas końca, czas początku: architektura i urbanistyka Warszawy historycznej 1939–1956*, Warszawa 2018), and including an article by Willibald Sauerländer from 1997, and four hits for “hour zero” – *notabene* only in scholarly publications by art and architectural historians. If we also

¹ My sincere thanks go to the anonymous reader of *Artium Quaestiones* who criticized the submitted manuscript and insisted on further clarification of my thesis.

I will limit this enumeration to only two examples: The first of eight sections, positioned in the first three rooms of the exhibition “Postwar: Kunst zwischen Pazifik und Atlantik, 1945–1965” at Haus der Kunst, München (Oct. 14, 2016 – March 26, 2017), was titled “Nachwirkungen: Die Stunde Null und das Atomzeitalter,” and in summer 2019, the exhibition “Stunde Null. Kunst von 1933 bis 1955” was on display at the Kunsthaus Zürich in Switzerland (June 7 – September 22, 2019).

consider the general field of what might be dubbed 'public knowledge,' as embodied, for instance, by the Google search engine, we receive more than 10 million hits for the German "Stunde Null" and a breathtaking 347 million hits for the English "hour zero."

We can thus assume that, concerning 1945, "hour zero" or "Stunde Null" is indeed a fairly well-established concept to denote the break with and sweeping away of earlier beliefs, convictions, habits, customs, and modes of thinking and behavior. However, this initiative to begin anew, allegedly without a past, can also be seen a deliberate attempt to forget and to actively suppress links and associations with National Socialism – generally, collectively, and individually.

Notwithstanding this problematic purgatory character, the term is used until today in an affirmative way in many contexts, including professional or scholarly endeavors. More often than not, the widely spread understanding of a radical break, notably in the field of the arts, extends to proper art history, and we are thus expected to assume that the very same rupture and turnover of positions, methods, values, ideals and criteria also affected curators, monument conservators, university teachers, art teachers, publishers, guides, and art critics – in short, all professional art historians. At the same time, today we are certainly witnessing a growing discomfort with simple explanations, and a growing urgency to challenge the paradigm by further differentiating our understanding of the immediate postwar situation.²

Expanding earlier publications on this problem,³ I would thus like to challenge the notion of 1945 as a turning point for art history in Germany. I would

² A case in point is the conference that took place in February 2018 in Tübingen and critically discussed the underlying concepts and assumptions for talking about the decisive changes that occurred around 1945: "Rethinking Europe: Artistic Production and Discourses on Art in the Late 1940s and 1950s," see <<https://www.hsozkult.de/event/id/termine-36202>> and <<https://www.postwar-europe.de/aktivitäten/tagung-februar-2018/>>.

³ Ch. Fuhrmeister, "Von der 'Rasse' zur 'Klasse'? Das Kunstgeschichtliche Seminar der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena 1938–1958," *Kunst und Politik. Jahrbuch der Guernica-Gesellschaft* 2006, 8, pp. 93–119; idem, "Kontinuität und Blockade," in: *Kunstgeschichte nach 1945. Kontinuität und Neubeginn in Deutschland*, eds. N. Doll, R. Heftrig, O. Peters, U. Rehm, Köln, Weimar, Wien 2006, pp. 21–38; idem and S. Kienlechner, "Tatort Nizza: Kunstgeschichte zwischen Kunsthandel, Kunstraub und Verfolgung. Zur Vita von August Liebmann Mayer, mit einem Exkurs zu Bernhard Degenhart und Bemerkungen zu Erhard Göpel und Bruno Lohse," in: *Kunstgeschichte im „Dritten Reich“. Theorien, Methoden, Praktiken*, eds. R. Heftrig, O. Peters, B. Schellewald, Berlin 2008 (Schriften zur modernen Kunsthistoriographie, Bd 1), pp. 405–429; Ch. Fuhrmeister, "Kunstgeschichte an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität – Rückblick und Ausblick," in: *Kunstgeschichte in München 1947. Institutionen und Personen im Wiederaufbau*, ed. I. Lauterbach (Veröffentlichungen

even like to maintain that for the vast majority of German art historians who had remained in Germany during National Socialism, not much regarding objects, methods, dispositions changed in 1945. Why is this so?

For various reasons. To begin with, because the history of art history has been operating with a very narrow definition of the art historian. Usually, he or she is thought of as being either affiliated, in this or that function or capacity, to a university or to a museum, and has a substantial record of publications, and it is the size of the bibliography that seems to be the top criterion. All fully trained art historians, even those holding a Ph. D., who have entered a mundane occupation in the art trade, as dealer or auctioneer, are thus excluded from accounts like Udo Kultermanns *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte* (various editions between 1981 and 1996), or the *Metzler Kunsthistoriker Lexikon* (1999, second edition 2007), to name just two examples. Similarly, journalists and art critics are only randomly considered. This broader field, which becomes visible when we think of art historians who are being broadcast,⁴ or perhaps even when we think of those who are elected as Minister of Culture, is basically excluded from the rather elitist concepts of historiography. In other words, the history of art history is as incomplete and biased as is the traditional account of the production, distribution and reception of art: in most cases, only a narrow sample is looked at, reaffirming the canon, and the plain, ordinary, everyday art historian is conspicuously absent.⁵ This is one part of the explanation.

des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 22), München 2010, pp. 29–40; idem, “Reine Wissenschaft: Art History in Germany and the Notions of ‘Pure Science’ and ‘Objective Scholarship’, 1920–1950,” in: *German Art History and Scientific Thought: Beyond Formalism*, eds. M. Frank, D. Adler, Aldershot 2012, pp. 161–177; idem, “Statt eines Nachworts: Zwei Thesen zu deutschen Museen nach 1945,” in: *So fing man einfach an, ohne viele Worte. Ausstellungswesen und Sammlungspolitik in den ersten Jahren nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*, eds. J. Friedrich, A. Prinzing, Berlin 2013, pp. 234–239; idem, “Warum man Lügen glaubt. Kunstgeschichte und Kunsthandel 1945–2016,” in: *Markt und Macht. Der Kunsthandel im „Dritten Reich“*, eds. U. Fleckner, Th. Gaehtgens, Ch. Huemer, Berlin 2017 (Schriften der Forschungsstelle »Entartete Kunst«, Bd. 12), pp. 401–424; idem und S. Kienlechner, “Erhard Göpel im Nationalsozialismus – eine Skizze,” online, 2018:

<https://www.zikg.eu/personen/cfuhrmeister/bib-fuhrmeister/pdfs/Fuhrmeister_Kienlechner-Goepel.pdf> [accessed: June 7, 2019]; see also <https://www.academia.edu/38042275/Erhard_G%C3%B6pel_im_Nationalsozialismus_eine_Skizze>.

⁴ A. Zeising, *Radiokunstgeschichte. Bildende Kunst und Kunstvermittlung im frühen Rundfunk der 1920er bis 1940er Jahre*, Köln, Weimar, Wien 2018.

⁵ This incognito commonplace art historian is sharply mocked and ridiculed by the pseudonym author Simplex, “Der Kunsthistoriker,” *Die Weltkunst* 1932, 36(4), p. 4 [I owe this reference to Stephan Klingen, and would like to thank him for that]: “Seine soziale

Secondly, the larger context is not taken into account. With the notable exception of Heinrich Dilly, political conflicts are often believed to be completely external, thus without influence on art history. Generally, for the most part, science and politics are considered to be separate and entirely distinct spheres, and not "resources for each other," as Mitchell Ash put it.⁶ As a corollary, individual activities remain isolated, are not related to larger developments, processes and changes. This is a problem, however, since the political radicalization of the 1930s and early 1940s – in conjunction with the establishment of occupation regimes throughout Europe and the implementation of a policy of ethnic cleansing and industrialized murder – was pervasive and inevitably also affected the humanities in many substantial regards. But the historiography of art history has, with very few exceptions,⁷ either not dealt with National Socialism at all, or has done so reluctantly. One of the results of this repression is the belief that art history was not touched or affected by the totalitarian system before 1945.

Stellung ist unklar. Seiner Ausbildung nach gehört er zu den oben Zehntausend, seinen Verdienstchancen nach zu den unteren sechs Millionen. Zuerst jeunesse dorée, dann Budgetequilibrant. Der Kunsthistoriker ist schmückendes Beiwerk am Volkskörper. ... Ehrgeizige junge Männer heiraten Damen aus der Schwerindustrie und werden Politiker. Wenn Kunsthistoriker reich heiraten, bleiben sie Kunsthistoriker. Daraus folgt, daß dieser Beruf erstens gesellschaftsfähig, zweitens nicht ohne Reiz sein muß. Es müßte der kunsthistorischen Disziplin einmal ein Politiker entwachsen, damit der Staat sieht, daß er sich auch hier eindecken kann. ... Der Kunsthistoriker ist ein wurzelloser Mensch. Er ist zu allem fähig und macht aus diesem Zustand labiler Tatkraft eine kokette Permanenz. Er hätte die Möglichkeit, den dahinsterbenden Universalismus zu retten, stattdessen wird er meist ein Jahrfünftspezialist. Er scheitert an seiner zügellosen Freiheit. Der Kunsthistoriker ist der unter Sterbliche verirrte Zeremonienmeister der Musen. Damit erklärt sich auch seine Einstellung zur modernen Kunst: die rührende Verständnislosigkeit eines alten Tanzlehrers neuzeitlichen Tänzern gegenüber. Der Kunsthistoriker ist eigentlich als Parkwächter für ein goldenes Zeitalter gedacht. Er wartet auf dessen Anbruch."

⁶ M. Ash, "Wissenschaft und Politik als Ressourcen für einander," in: *Wissenschaften und Wissenschaftspolitik. Bestandsaufnahmen zu Formationen, Brüchen und Kontinuitäten im Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts*, eds. R. vom Bruch, B. Kaderas, Wiesbaden 2002, pp. 32–51.

⁷ While a few studies have been devoted to those art historians who had managed to emigrate, we lack critical assessments of those who remained and continued to work as professionals in various fields. In the series "Schriften zur modernen Kunsthistoriographie," for instance, only the first volume (out of eight published so far) explicitly addresses art history in the "Third Reich" (eds. O. Peters, R. Heftrig, B. Schellewald, Berlin 2012). Similarly, very few articles in the 20 issues of the important online *Journal of Art Historiography* (<<https://arthistoriography.wordpress.com/>>) are concerned with art history or, more generally, with writing about art in Germany during National Socialism.

Indeed, this assumption goes back right to 1945 and the immediate postwar years, when no need was seen for change or transformation. Thus, a recurring topos of the denazification trials in the three western occupation zones is the pledge for a categorical difference between art history and (Nazi) politics: Hugo Kehrer (1876–1967), member of the NSDAP since 1933, who had dedicated a book on El Greco in 1938 to both Franco and Hitler, would thus argue that by definition an art historian immersed in medieval iconography could hardly even be aware of the contemporary world – an argument that was successful in convincing the jury that he should be exonerated, with the result that he simply continued his studies and remained a prolific author (his last monograph on Velazquez' *Meninas* was published in 1966).⁸

It is thus the deliberate dissociation of art history from the everyday world of political systems that permitted continuity. As Herbert von Einem (1905–1983) – himself a protagonist with a fairly straight career during National Socialism, and also a versatile and compelling interpreter and spokesperson after 1945 – put it in 1948, in the opening lecture of the First German Art Historians Meeting in Brühl near Bonn: “Many others have stayed in Germany, have quietly kept the torch of genuine spirit and true science at home, and passed it on to younger people” (“Viele andere sind in Deutschland geblieben, haben in der Heimat still die Fackel echten Geistes und echter Wissenschaft gehütet und sie an Jüngere weitergegeben ...”)⁹ This suppressive narrative may be subsumed as: Free, good and true scholarship was not tainted, was not disfigured by or harmed because of Nazi politics and persecution, but continued and was even transmitted to the next generation; attempts of the totalitarian system to influence, control and shape the discipline were ineffective – in short: Why ask for change at all, now?

In paraphrasing Eimen – simultaneously a source, an example, and a rhetorically forceful guide who indeed was able to shape the course of historiography for decades to come – in this provocative way, it is my intention to distill the formative notions of German art historians in the immediate postwar years. Only if we understand their contemporary frame of reference and their own idea of ‘coming to terms with the past’ are we able to fully

⁸ A more detailed account is available in Ch. Fuhrmeister, “Kontinuität und Blockade,” in: *Kunstgeschichte nach 1945. Kontinuität und Neubeginn in Deutschland*, eds. N. Doll, R. Heftrig, O. Peters, U. Rehm, Köln, Weimar, Wien 2006, pp. 21–38.

⁹ H. von Einem, “Eröffnungsansprache,” in: *Vorträge der ersten Deutschen Kunsthistorikertagung auf Schloss Brühl 1948*, Berlin 1950, pp. 9–15, hier p. 9. Quoted after N. Doll, “Der Erste Deutsche Kunsthistorikertag 1948,” in: *Kunstgeschichte im Nationalsozialismus. Beiträge zur Geschichte einer Wissenschaft zwischen 1930 und 1950*, eds. N. Doll, Ch. Fuhrmeister, M. H. Sprenger, Weimar 2005, pp. 325–337, here p. 330.

analyze what happened. It is important and worthwhile to investigate these various strategies of *not* addressing questions of compliance, complicity, guilt, liaison, and participation, since the influence of these art historians cannot be overestimated: They, in turn, formed and trained the next generation, and partly the next but one generation. In transmitting their views to their pupils, explicitly or implicitly, consciously or unconsciously, they also permeated their own mechanisms, modes of behavior and value systems. That said, the seemingly purely historiographical problem inevitably extends to our own professional existence today, as we are also faced with the challenge of situating our profession (and professional identity) within and vis-à-vis the political context of the 21st century. Essentially, this tension connects the different historical dimensions – the postwar situation and the recent tendencies of historiographical research – within a critical analysis of both.

The third reason, interrelated with the two mentioned above, is the high degree of continuity. In sharp contrast to spring 1933, when before or after the infamous "Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums" on April 7, 1933 (Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service / Law to Re-establish the Civil Service) the overwhelming majority of Jewish art historians were dismissed from their positions as teachers, professors, conservators, curators, or directors, or were forced out of business in the case of Jewish art dealers, antiquarians, coin dealers and so forth soon after, who subsequently then either fled the country or were deported, we have no comparable exodus or shutdown with regard to 1945. For instance, only very few German art historians with a strong affiliation to National Socialism were initially permanently excluded from professorships: Albert Erich Brinckmann (1881–1958), Wilhelm Pinder (1887–1947), Hubert Schrade (1900–1967) and Alfred Stange (1894–1968)¹⁰. Brinckmann had anyhow reached retirement age in 1946, Pinder died in 1947, and both Schrade and Stange had prolific postwar careers, with Schrade being appointed professor in Tübingen in 1954, and Stange publishing about two dozen monographs and countless articles before his death. After a short time, none of them saw the purportedly radical break of the 1945 deeply affect their status as art historians.

As a matter of fact, both Schrade and Stange soon joined the Association of German Art Historians (Verband Deutscher Kunsthistoriker e.V.) that

¹⁰ Cf. F.-L. Kroll, *Intellektueller Widerstand im Dritten Reich. Heinrich Lützelers und der Nationalsozialismus* (Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Reden zur Philosophie, Politik und Geistesgeschichte, Bd. 51), Berlin 2008, pp. 12–13.

had been founded in 1948, along with Otto Kümmel (1874–1952), the author of the infamous Kümmel Report (1940), Felix Kuetgens (1890–1976), the museum director in Aachen from 1923 to 1955, and Walther Bernt (1900–1980), an expert on Dutch art who had delivered expert opinions on private collections that had been confiscated – to name only three very different art historians.¹¹ After 1945, it was of no importance that Kümmel and Kuetgens had held high official positions in the Nazi era.

The different effects between the “turning points” of 1933 and 1945 materialize more clearly if we look closer: 253 art historians are covered in Ulrike Wendland’s *Biographisches Handbuch deutschsprachiger Kunsthistoriker im Exil. Leben und Werk der unter dem Nationalsozialismus verfolgten und vertriebenen Wissenschaftler*, published in 1999 in two volumes. However, as she explained in the introduction (pp. XI, XV–XVIII), Ph. D. art historians who did not continue to work as art historians after the completion of the Ph. D. dissertation are not included in the handbook (another 10), nor are non-German art historians who went into exile from Nazi-occupied Europe (4), nor those who emigrated without having finished their studies (21), nor those who are more properly defined as archeologists or as specialists for Islamic Art (15). The many scholars with important contributions to art history but without a formal training or education in art history (55), art dealers without training (19), and the roughly 40 art historians whose biography or fate is not known or researched well enough are likewise not included in the handbook. Suffice to say at this point that 250 constitute basically 1/4 (one quarter) of all art historians active in 1933,¹² and if these additional 125 or 165 that were not included for the reasons given above would also be included, we are much closer to 1/3 (one third) of the discipline. As a matter of fact, since archival material that was unavailable for decades has become accessible in the past years, as have genealogical databases, we can now certainly refine the criteria Wendland established and followed, and augment and expand her data. The Düsseldorf art dealer Max Stern, for example, that she had grouped in the category of “not having finished the studies,” had indeed received his doctorate from Bonn University

¹¹ Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Deutsches Kunstarchiv, Verband Deutscher Kunsthistoriker, I, B-2/1.

¹² According to Karen Michels, “Exil von deutschsprachigen Kunsthistorikern und Kunsthistorikerinnen,” in: *Metzler Lexikon Kunstwissenschaft*, ed. U. Pfisterer, Stuttgart & Weimar 2003, pp. 90–93, here p. 90; cf. M. Warnke, “Totalitäre Ideologien und Kunstwissenschaft,” in: *Metzler Lexikon Kunstwissenschaft*, ed. U. Pfisterer, Stuttgart & Weimar 2003, pp. 357–359, here p. 358.

(published in 1930)¹³, and is today without any doubt considered to have been a persecuted professional.¹⁴

That having been said, the processes that started in 1933 and in 1945 are not equivalent, and definitely do not mirror each other: following 1945, neither a 1/3 nor a 1/4 nor even 2% of the discipline were permanently excluded, expelled and either murdered or forced into exile. The postwar years in both East and West Germany, in both the Soviet and the American, British and French zones, vehemently suggested and stressed discontinuity, while in fact continuity prevailed.¹⁵ This continuity took many different forms and was operative on many levels. In the West German Ministry of the Interior, the percentage of former members of the NSDAP in the higher echelons (head of division, and above) was continuously above 50% and reached a peak of 66% in 1961.¹⁶

Very often, German art historians who had held official positions before 1945 would have to undergo a short phase of suspension, participated in denazification processes that usually ruled them to be "bystanders" ("Mitläufer") or exonerated them entirely, and would then reintegrate, like Kurt Wilhelm-Kästner (1893–1976), professor in Münster until 1936, in Greifswald from 1937–1942 (being rector from 1938 to 1942), and in Hamburg from 1942–1945 and again from 1950–1966. This suspension was a long interval, similar to Ernst Buchner, who had directed the Bavarian State Painting Collection from 1933–1945 and again from 1953–1957.

In other cases, such as Heiner Dikreiter (1893–1966), Director of the City Art Gallery in Würzburg from 1941 to 1966, uninterruptedly, there was no break. Similarly, Dagobert Frey (1883–1962) never stopped: after his professorship in Breslau/Wrocław from 1931–1945 so aptly analyzed by Sabine Arend¹⁷, he went first to Vienna, then to Stuttgart, where he taught as a professor from 1951–1953 until he retired at the age of 70.

¹³ M. Stern, *Johann Peter Langer. Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte Westeuropas, Bd. 9), Bonn 1930.

¹⁴ Cf. <<https://www.zikg.eu/projekte/projekte-zi/stern-cooperation-project>> [accessed: June 7, 2019].

¹⁵ K.-S. Rehberg, G. Panzer, F. Völz, "Einleitung," in: *Beziehungsanalysen. Bildende Künste in Westdeutschland nach 1945. Akteure, Institutionen, Ausstellungen und Kontexte*, eds. G. Panzer, F. Völz, K.-S. Rehberg, Wiesbaden 2015, pp. 1–12, here p. 5.

¹⁶ Cf. *Hüter der Ordnung. Die Innenministerien in Bonn und Ost-Berlin nach dem Nationalsozialismus*, eds. F. Bösch, A. Wirsching (Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Innenministerien nach 1945, Bd. 1), Göttingen 2018.

¹⁷ S. Arend, *Studien zur deutschen kunsthistorischen „Ostforschung“ im Nationalsozialismus. Die Kunsthistorischen Institute an den (Reichs-) Universitäten Breslau und*

Moreover, Erika Hanfstaengl (1912–2003), assistant to Walter Frodl (1908–1994) in the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral in Udine 1943–1945, started to work for the American Central Art Collecting Point in Munich only a few weeks after she had left her office in the south that was also responsible for control and shipment of cultural artefacts looted from Jewish owners. Even very high-ranking officials like Hermann Voss (1884–1969), Hitler’s special representative for the new museum in Linz (“Sonderbeauftragter des Führers”) 1943–1945, did not experience serious conflicts, but continued to work as an art historian, attributing works, advising museums, and receiving public funding from the German Research Foundation from 1957–1964.¹⁸ This enumeration could continue, and would necessarily encompass all fields of the discipline, all institutions, all media, and all levels.

What is to be learned from this autopsy? What does this assessment tell us? Investigating the effects of “1945” for art history we need to acknowledge the fact that the history of art history has not been critical enough. Generations of scholars have overlooked the obvious, have omitted relevant data, have not challenged – and this is the primary task indeed: to always question traditional narratives and beliefs, customs and habits, myths and legends – the existing historiography. To construct “1945” as a rupture, break and disruption served the political purposes of distancing the postwar society from National Socialism. Without any doubt, this suppression of the past was successful.

The result of our investigation remains contradictory and unsettling, however. To differentiate between what is known, what is believed, and what really took place is a quintessential step. But this brief overview raises an important question: If the continuity was so strong, ubiquitous and overwhelming, why did Germany and German art history gradually change, after all? When exactly did change occur, or start, and when did it become manifest and perhaps irreversible? Was it during the 1950s, or only in the 1960s? Certainly, it was not in 1945.

Posen und ihre Protagonisten im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik, Diss. HU Berlin 2009, online with almost 1000 pages and more than 4000 footnotes: <<https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/handle/18452/16871>> [accessed: June 7, 2019].

¹⁸ K. Iselt, “Sonderbeauftragter des Führers”. *Der Kunsthistoriker und Museumsmann Hermann Voss (1884–1969)* (Studien zur Kunst, Bd. 20), Köln, Weimar, Wien 2010.

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"1945" AS A TURNING POINT IN GERMAN ART HISTORY?
CHALLENGING THE PARADIGM OF RUPTURE AND DISCONTINUITY

Summary

The historiographical article looks at "1945" as a turning point, inquiring whether the end of both the Second World War and National Socialism also implied a radical break for art history in Germany. In evaluating both contemporary perspectives (like Herbert von Einem's opening lecture of the First German Art Historians Meeting in 1948) and recent historiographical studies, the paper questions the concept of "Stunde Null" or "hour zero," and intends to challenge the established paradigm of rupture and discontinuity. Arguing for a more nuanced and holistic understanding of the transformation processes in the postwar situation, three major reasons are identified why simplistic categorizations often prevail: (1) a very narrow definition of the art historian in the history of art history, (2) the disjunction between the humanities and the larger political context, which allow the individual to imagine himself/herself untainted and uncompromised by ideology, and (3) the high degree of continuity, in particular if compared to the radical changes that took place in 1933. The article thus resumes that the idea of "turning points" deserves further differentiation, and calls for the integration of the political dimension into historiography. Essentially, the challenge remains to distinguish between factual processes, false or fraudulent labelling, and symbolic gestures.

Keywords:

Coming to terms with the Nazi past, historiography, history of art history (in Germany), issues of post-totalitarian academia, art and politics

ANNA MARKOWSKA

AROUND 1948: THE "GENTLE REVOLUTION" AND ART HISTORY

REVOLUTION: PLAYING A GAME WITH THE AUTHORITIES OR EMBRACING AUTHORITARIANISM FOR THE SAKE OF SAFETY?

Is it possible to visualize the Polish revolution which began in the 1940s without referring to socialist realist pictures? After all, that revolution started earlier than the rule of the socialist realism, thus the imagery of the post-thaw (post-1955) period, closely connected with the *École de Paris*, Picasso, and the *informel* – a kind of mimicry which was supposed to show that nothing happened¹ – can be considered the iconography of the triumphant quasi-communist revolution in its local variety. The postwar Polish revolution was inseparably related to modernity which I define, following Walter J. Adamson, as cultural regeneration through searching for new values, and, following Anthony Giddens, as an idea of the world open to changes brought about by human intervention.² On the one hand, the postwar period was marked by the common effort to initiate reconstruction and regeneration, on the other, the impoverished and traumatized society accepted the model of the authoritari-

¹ I am referring here both to Andrzej Leder's book *Prześlona rewolucja*, and to Wojciech Włodarczyk's argument. In his essay "Pięć lat," Włodarczyk wrote about a rapidly growing split between culture and political experience when in the early 1950s art could enjoy a little more liberty while political repression increased. See *Zaraz po wojnie*, eds. J. Kordjak, A. Szewczyk. Warszawa 2015, pp. 33–34.

² W. L. Adamson, "Modernism and Fascism: The Politics of Culture in Italy, 1903–1922," *The American Historical Review* 1990, 95(2), p. 360; Ch. Pierson, *Conversations with Anthony Giddens. Making Sense of Modernity*, Cambridge 1998, p. 94. In general, Giddens connects modernity with the West, see chapter "Is Modernity a Western Project," in: idem: *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 174–176. Considering Nazi and Stalinist totalitarianism as one of the dark aspects of modernism, he believes that the integration of political, military, and ideological power to such an extent was impossible before the rise of nation states (see Giddens, "Is Modernity a Western Project," p. 8).

an personality.³ Detlef Oesterreich warned that autocrats seduce by promising power and greatness,⁴ while Hannah Arendt stressed the correlation of war and revolution.⁵

Rolf Reichardt and Hubertus Kohle, analyzing the imagery of the French Revolution, wrote about the seismic structural upheaval which combined the revitalization of the traditional iconography by making the spectators realize that the old Christian patterns did not match the new revolutionary ideology, blurring the boundaries within the classic hierarchy of genres (historical, genre, landscape, and portrait painting), the politicization of artists, and the popularity of present day topics.⁶ In Poland also Holy Mary changed into a suffering Mother, and martyrs, no longer connected with the Catholic Church, still spilled their blood. We had our revolutionary kind of blasphemy, such as *Mother with her Killed Son* (1949) by Andrzej Wróblewski, who followed iconography of the Pieta and lament over the victims of the revolution, while Electra in the painting by Szczęśny Kowarski played her old/new part of watching the crimes committed for the sake of justice: it was already 1947 so it was probably patricide and fratricide made easy by the wartime violence, and not the war itself which was already over.

The “gentle revolution”⁷ developed its own persuasive and heterogeneous visual convention which suggested that the new, transformed motherland of-

³ See Th. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Bruswick et al., *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York 1950.

⁴ Oesterreich argued that even though Kant, Hegel, and Marx were interested in this problem as well, the systematic study of voluntary obedience and submissiveness in both small and large groups were conducted in the 20th century. See D. Oesterreich, “Flight into Security: A New Approach and Measure of the Authoritarian Personality,” *Political Psychology* 2005, 26(2), pp. 275–297. The question of the so-called authoritarian personality has been discussed by the philosophers of the Frankfurt School (such as Adorno) and scientists from Stanford University. Even though there are many opinions in this respect, and they depend also on political views, the so-called authoritarian reaction is related to the individual’s inability to cope with difficult situations has been often connected with passivity, sticking to fixed norms, and the reluctance to accept innovations. The received authoritarian norms turn out to have much protective power, which is why people do not oppose illegitimate control. Specifying situations in which a person may become autonomous or develop an authoritarian personality and explaining authoritarian socialization, scholars often stress the importance of economic conditions.

⁵ See H. Arendt, *On Revolution*, New York 2006.

⁶ R. Reichardt, H. Kohle, *Visualising the Revolution. Politics and Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-Century France*, trans. C. Attwood, London 2008, pp. 7–8 and 91.

⁷ A. Ostrowski, “Hugo Koliątaj i łagodna rewolucja 1791 r.,” *Kuźnica* 1945, 4–5, p. 11; J. Borejsza, “Rewolucja łagodna,” *Odrodzenie* 1945, 10–12, rpt. *Czas debat. Antologia kry-*

ferred enough room for everyone. A good example was the use of both religious and communist symbols at the meetings of Bolesław Bierut and Władysław Gomułka with the people. The new imagery at its best was shown at the Exhibition of the Regained Lands (in the West), where the avant-garde and the socialist realism were brought together. Another typical instance of the “gentle” approach was the so-called neoplastic room arranged by Władysław Strzemiński in the City Museum of Łódź, opened in April 1948, called by Piotr Graczyk an “extraterritorial embassy of utopia”⁸ and by Jakub Woynarowski a “chapel of hermetic modernism.” As Woynarowski wrote, it was an ideal model which perfectly expressed the “contradiction between the desire to fossilize artifacts and a genuine need to liberate creative energy” combined with a rebellion against the building’s architecture.⁹ Those two cases exemplify two different revolutionary strategies: within an old building in a historical style Strzemiński distinguished a separate ideal section which suggested necessary liberating cuts in the outdated structures, while Jerzy Hryniewiecki, the main designer of the Exhibition, created more penetrable boundaries. Hryniewiecki was more open to diversity, which resulted in a different mode of transferring patterns – Strzemiński’s interior, focused on form and the purely visual, was far from the plebeian idea of giving away souvenirs that the visitors took home, identifying abundance (instead of discipline, as in Łódź) with a new communist state.¹⁰ Studying the imagery of the Wrocław Exhibition, one may quickly realize that it did not promote a clash of two artistic doctrines: the socialist realism and modernism, as Piotr Piotrowski claimed not long ago.¹¹ In that context, the most unsuccessful was the communist propaganda of the third important show of 1948 – the Cracow Exhibition of Modern Art, organized by Tadeusz Kantor and Mieczysław Porębski, which favored the “individual experience of strangeness.”¹² One of the participating artists, Janina Kraupe, made the following comment: “Actually Kantor lives on the Moon and he hopes that the government will support a club of egoma-

tyki artystycznej z lat 1945–1954, vol. I, eds. A. Pietrasik, P. Słodkowski, Warszawa 2016, pp. 21–30.

⁸ P. Graczyk, “Sala Neoplastyczna w Łodzi,” *Kronos* 2015, 3 [MOBI file]: pp. 51–52.

⁹ J. Woynarowski, “Taksydermia,” *Kronos* 2015, 3, no pagination.

¹⁰ An affective interpretation of Strzemiński’s art has been proposed by Luiza Nader in her book *Afekt Strzemińskiego. “Teoria widzenia”. Rysunki wojenne, Pamięci przyjaciół – Żydów*, Warszawa 2018.

¹¹ See P. Piotrowski, *Globalne ujęcie sztuki Europy Wschodniej*, Poznań 2018.

¹² J. Bogucki, “Miejsce opuszczone przez dziecięcy, czyli sztuka majaczenia i dyscypliny,” *Odrodzenie* 1949, 5, rpt.: *W kręgu lat czterdziestych*, Part III, ed. J. Chrobak, Kraków 1991, p. 32.

niacs."¹³ At any rate, it was a grass root offer addressed to the authorities, with large groups of workers, soldiers, and the so-called masses, as well as clearly revolutionary rhetoric.¹⁴ Artists wanted changes and power: they wanted to teach about historical determinism, while Kantor's attempts to find artistic hegemony abroad were an obvious effect of his failure to overcome modernist individualism.

The symbol of the "gentle revolution" was Picasso, popularized in Poland not because he was an outstanding artist, but because he was a member of the French communist party.¹⁵ This proves that at least in the beginning the pragmatic managers of the revolution did not want to win thanks to purely visual forms: the widest range of the new revolutionary sensorium was presented in Wrocław, where there was much more than "pure" and "sophisticated" art.

Whoever wants to describe the Polish revolution, must use the relevant theories developed in France and Russia (USSR) carefully. This is necessary for at least two reasons: first, because of the coexistence of different strata – in the postwar Poland the local needs and postulates of regeneration were imposed on the imperial logic of the relentless "*perekovka*"¹⁶ (violent transformation), and second, because the basic terms and concepts related to both strata in Poland and the Soviet Union were understood differently, regardless of all the correspondences. A possible way out of at least some problems would be to avoid explanations referring to the received binary oppositions and replace the ethically engaged concepts of victims and persecutors with a more neutral concept of players. In the common field of *perekovka* and regeneration binary oppositions are out of the question, and what is more important, this field is just a fragment of the field of art right after the war that neither aspires to represent all of it, nor limits itself to what Maria Dąbrowska called in her *Przygody człowieka myślącego* [Adventures of a Thinking Human Being] "neotelimenism."¹⁷ Drawing an outline of a small common area (even if it turned out to be a trap) would make the revolution visible earlier,

¹³ Janina Kraupe's letter to Lila Krasicka of November 29, 1948, in: *I Wystawa Sztuki Nowoczesnej pięćdziesiąt lat później*, ed. M. Świca, Kraków 1998, p. 200.

¹⁴ Probably by no accident, the Cracow Exhibition of Modern Art was opened during the unification congress of the communist and socialist parties. See *Zaraz po wojnie*, p. 39.

¹⁵ See "Oświadczenie Pabla Picassa," *Kuźnica* [Łódź], 1945, 1, p. 21. Picasso confessed: "I became a communist because communists are the bravest people in the Soviet Union, France, and my home country. I have never felt so free, never been so much myself as now, after joining the party."

¹⁶ This Russian noun derives from the verb "to forge" [*kovat'*].

¹⁷ A reference to Telimena, a character from Adam Mickiewicz's narrative poem *Pan Tadeusz* (1834). [M. W.]

already during the war and right after it, while the art historian operating in that area would become a participant-observer. I was inspired to propose this idea after I came across a study by Maciej Szymanowicz, who showed how the conservative Poznań pictorialists anticipated the Stalinist structures.¹⁸ The publications of Karolina Zychowicz and Szymon Kubiak prove the Western European importation of the socialist realism, leaving no doubt that the infiltration of communism and the implementation of the socialist realism did not come only from the East.¹⁹ The so-called “gentle revolution,” a stage so far neglected by art historians,²⁰ allowed many heterogeneous institutions and individuals to exist and work, so that, when the authorities took more radical steps, when the “indulgent” were replaced by hard liners inspired by the Soviet model, a large number of culture managers and art historians, from the anarchist left to the authoritarian and nationalist right, found positions in the new power structure and contributed to the reconstruction of the devastated country. What is more, all of them believed to have been the co-founders of that new structure through which the state decided to support financially different grass root initiatives. A moderate cultural program with strong national overtones, combined with convincing financial promises, attracted to the communist power structures not only the left. Thus, the “gentle revolution” turned out to be a truly Machiavellian move resulting in the dissemination of power, which made it easier to centralize it in due time. In my opinion, the received idea, still widespread in Poland, that the evil regime was visualized by the ugly socialist realism is childish. It is a dream of historical innocence and purity: evil made visible by magic can be simply rejected, e.g., isolated in the Kozłówka museum. The handy scapegoat created a mirage, cast a spell under which it was easier – and prettier – for us to live. After the so-called “thaw,” Picasso and the *École de Paris*, intensely present at the “gentle” stage, were allowed to return. The iconography of the revolution was associated only with the socialist realism connected to the USSR, even though it was

¹⁸ According to Szymanowicz, the idea of Polish homeland photography, derived from the *Heimatphotographie*, formulated before World War II and continued after 1945, did not take into account all the “inconvenient” aspects of the German program, “connected with the Nazi race theory.” M. Szymanowicz, *Zaburzona epoka. Polska fotografia artystyczna w latach 1945–1955*, Poznań 2016, p. 69. The founding of institutions by photographers, who were perhaps both pragmatists and authoritarian personalities formed by fear and anxiety, is definitely connected with the idea of economic basis as a condition of liberty.

¹⁹ See K. Zychowicz, *Paryska lewica w stalinowskiej Warszawie*, Warszawa 2014; Sz. P. Kubiak, *Daleko od Moskwy. Gérard Singer i sztuka zaangażowana*, Szczecin 2016.

²⁰ One of few exceptions is the exhibition in the Warsaw Zachęta gallery, *Zaraz po wojnie* (2015). See footnote 1 above.

the painting of the *École de Paris* which best expressed the victorious stage of the revolution, cynically blurring its Soviet inspiration. That strange mixture of helplessness, pragmatism, good intentions, and self-mystification became an ethical platform of the intelligentsia for many years to come. In fact, the argument of the aestheticization of the revolutionary experience corresponds with a general diagnosis of Donald Preziosi that art history is a product of the aestheticization of social life and satisfying social needs.²¹ As a result, however, no remedy for social engineering was developed, i.e., there was no thorough analysis of the passage from modernism to communism, even though historical models of such analysis were available: after World War I, since in Italy modernism paved the way for fascism. This comparison seems to make sense for what connects the two situations is the experience of war – according to Walter L. Adamson, the political situation brought about by the Great War was “revolutionary” in many respects, favoring the politicization of modernism and connecting it with regenerative violence.²²

Zarys dziejów polskiej historii sztuki [An Outline History of Polish Art History] by Adam Bochnak, published in 1948, listed few scholars interested in modern art. Among them there was, of course, Jan Bołoz Antoniewicz, about whom Bochnak wrote that “several months before his death, he spoke at the opening of the Formist exhibition with such an insight in the intentions of the adherents of expressionism and cubism that everyone was impressed by the acumen of that sixty four-year old connoisseur of the Renaissance.”²³ Bochnak argued that Polish art historians were actually right not to have made Bołoz Antoniewicz’s dream about a wider scope of their research come true, but concentrated “first of all on the history of art in Poland, vernacular or imported, seldom choosing topics that were not related to their homeland.” According to Bochnak, Bołoz Antoniewicz’s program proved unreal because Polish art historians “could not work without direct access to the object of study on site,” which would require much traveling and long sojourns abroad. Therefore, he explained, instead of the Lvov option, the Cracow option of Marian Sokołowski was adopted, i.e., studying the works of art available in Poland. “Sokołowski’s program passed the test of time and is still inspiring today,” concluded Bochnak, although he added that Sokołowski “had spent many years abroad,” but still, having returned, published a long study *Ruiny na Ostrowie Jeziora Lednicy* [Ruins of the Lednica Lake Island].

²¹ See D. Preziosi, *The Art of Art History. A Critical Anthology*, Oxford 2009, p. 495.

²² See W. L. Adamson, *Avant-garde Florence. From Modernism to Fascism*, Cambridge, MA, 1993, pp. 219–227.

²³ A. Bochnak, *Zarys dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, Kraków 1948, p. 29.

Consequently, Bochnak decided that in 1948 the most urgent task of Polish art history was to finish an inventory of all historical monuments and only after that time would come to work on more comprehensive studies. As one of major problems of art history he mentioned the “problem of the uniqueness of our artistic production,” arguing that “only a comparative method,” stressing its relations with foreign art, was appropriate.²⁴ On the one hand, Bochnak pragmatically limited the scope of research, but on the other, taking into consideration obstacles in traveling and everyday hardships, he wanted art history students to acquire possibly the widest knowledge of European art. For instance, in the academic year 1947/1948 he lectured on the Flemish art of the Baroque.²⁵

THE ART HISTORIAN AND MASSIVE EXPROPRIATION: AMBIVALENCE IN THE VERY HEART OF THE ETHOS

In the programs of reconstruction and projects of reorganization of artistic life which were publicized right after the war the question of property was not mentioned. Jan Zachwatowicz, who wrote that the nation and its culture were one, and that since Poles “could not accept the ruin of their cultural monuments, we would rebuild them from scratch to leave to the next generation their form which, even if not authentic, would be accurate – as preserved in our memory and available in historical records,”²⁶ knew that his idea was probably not compatible with the law: “Legal protection is above all prohibitions which do not create, but regulate. It is then not by means of prohibitions, but with a positive, vital program that we will make the question of historical monuments crucial.”²⁷ Tadeusz Dobrowolski hoped that a new kind of human being would appear: “Museums must meet the needs of people shaped by the wrong norms of social life, culturally passive, and mentally lazy. The people must also show more initiative and make an effort to wake up from mental inertia.”²⁸ Those Promethean words, increasing the gap between the

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 62.

²⁵ See A. Bochnak, *Malarstwo flamandzkie XVII wieku: Rubens – Jordaens – Van Dyck: wykłady uniwersyteckie z r. 1947/48*, Kraków 1949.

²⁶ J. Zachwatowicz, “Program i zasady konserwacji zabytków,” *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury* 1946 (June), p. 48.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 50.

²⁸ T. Dobrowolski, “Zagadnienie muzealnictwa,” *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury* 1946 (December), 3–4(8), p. 162.

“space of experience and horizon of expectations,”²⁹ so characteristic of the modern mentality, were written only two years after the land reform which theoretically consisted in dividing landed property into smaller, mostly private farms, but in practice it meant also re-appropriation of movable property as well, since one state proprietor of the land and all economic resources made it easy to develop new visions. Zachwatowicz made his statement already after President Bolesław Bierut’s decree of October 26, 1945, which in its Paragraph One read as follows: “To ensure a rational reconstruction of the Capital and its development according to the needs of the Nation, in particular to use the land without delay and properly, all the land within the limits of the city of Warsaw becomes, on the day of the present decree’s issue, property of the community of the city of Warsaw.”³⁰

Consequently, even though the problem of the ownership of works of art is more general, after the revolution in Poland it acquired a specific character, which is why requires a separate analysis, taking into consideration also the question of continuity that dates back to the times before World War II. Many experts considered the prewar decree of the President of the Polish Republic of March 6, 1928, concerning preservation of historical monuments, no longer adequate,³¹ and they wondered how to open in regenerated Poland a museum housing European masterpieces “without big state spending or no state spending at all, and without violating the legal principles guaranteed by the Constitution,” which resulted in introducing “the obligation to show the works of the old masters to the public” after their obligatory registration.³² The freedom of will, understood as an opposition to the historically valid law, is impossible without a revolution. No doubt, building in Warsaw wide avenues instead of narrow streets which demanded respect for property rights, or the reconstruction of the Warsaw Old Town implied a factor of necessary and irresistible change. It was a way to restore justice, justified by the chances offered by the revolution. Zachwatowicz wrote: “In its restored majesty, the historical monument must become alive and perform a social role as a necessary element of a settlement, with its full appeal [to the public].”³³ The revolution-

²⁹ Reinhart Koselleck’s concepts of the *Erfahrungsraum* and the *Erwartungshorizont*, referred to by Habermas. See J. Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, trans. F. G. Lawrence, Cambridge, MA, 1990, p. 12.

³⁰ *Dziennik Ustaw* 1945, no. 50, item 279.

³¹ The President’s decree allowed the state to expropriate the owners of land on which historical monuments were discovered, as well as owners of the monuments themselves.

³² H. Gotlib, „Projekt ustawy o przymusie wystawiania obrazów dawnych mistrzów,” *Głos Plastyków* 1932, 4, p. 50.

³³ Zachwatowicz, “Program i zasady konserwacji zabytków,” p. 48.

ary space of reconciliation as the old form and its new content related to everyday life (Zachwatowicz claimed that monuments must regain “everyday life in a carefully designed, proper architectural form”³⁴) was supposed to be quite different from the ceremonial and ostentatiously vertical, foreign form of the Soviet-built Palace of Culture [in Warsaw], cancelling all that was before. That space was based on the visual, on form, but it was a new form – a new function of the old form that could actually illustrate the change. The form made violence less painful since it made the new look familiar. The goal of revolutions – French, Russian (October), and Polish (in progress) – was a transformation of social relations, resulting in the rise of the new man (*homme nouveau*).

The scholarly and social neutralization of expropriation favored the new man’s birth: already in November 1944, on the Zamoyski’s estate in Kozłówka a museum was opened in the palace.³⁵ Another example was the evaluation of the Potocki’s collection, appropriated by the state in October 1946, after the security police found it hidden in a monastery.³⁶ Kazimierz Malinowski (1907–1977), then the custodian and deputy director of the National Museum in Warsaw, a graduate of the University of Poznań and soon, since 1948, director of the Wielkopolskie Museum which was to be renamed as the National Museum in Poznań,³⁷ who evaluated the Potocki’s collection of paintings, argued that it was not a result of some particular aesthetic needs, since a big set of family portraits shows that its major goal was to commemorate family members and thus record the “continuity of the family, so important in the past.”³⁸ In the same text, considering the nineteenth-century portraits, Malinowski claimed that because of its popularity the portrait painting never played an artistically important role, as the “history of art recorded only the names of the avant-garde artists.” He added that it was not the fault of the Potockis, however, “if they had been motivated not so much by the wish to com-

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ *Zaraz po wojnie*, p. 10.

³⁶ *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki ze zbiorów Potockich zabezpieczonych przez władze bezpieczeństwa przed wywozem za granicę* [exhibition catalog, November–December 1946], Muzeum Narodowe, Warszawa 1946. The authors of the catalog were: Kazimierz Malinowski (painting), Maria Mrozińska (miniatures), Marisa Suchodolska (prints), Stanisław Gebethner (decorative art), Józef Jodłowski and Stanisław Gebethner (historical relics and jewellery). In an annex to the catalog one could find information about the legal aspect of the “collection’s appropriation,” including not only the postwar decree of March 1, 1946, but also the prewar President’s decree of March 6, 1928.

³⁷ H. Kondziela, “Malinowski Kazimierz (1907–1977),” in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny Konserwatorów Zabytków*, fasc. 1, Poznań 2000, pp. 47–49.

³⁸ *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki ze zbiorów Potockich*, p. 3.

memorate their relatives, but rather by the need to possess a valuable painting collection, their portraits would have had eternal value and would not have been reduced after several decades to simple illustrations of the taste of the time.³⁹ One might say that having been asked by the security police for an opinion, an art historian, a scholar with some “exegetic and cryptographic”⁴⁰ experience, was able to demonstrate his independence even when he wrote in the catalog that the “Security Authorities were alert,” helping the nation preserve its treasures,⁴¹ although on the other hand the same “Authorities” were busy not only doing that kind of job. Such a rescue transaction was possible thanks to the support of the academia which neutralized or perhaps appreciated the presence of the works of art in the museum even when they were placed there by hook or by crook. The question of ownership was irrelevant to scholars who examined the development of a particular form and asked questions about the historical significance of a given item, since the work of art is a bearer of “specimen data” in a specific “interrogative field.”⁴² The modern idea of transferring a large number of artworks which, having lost their habitat, were placed under new conditions to educate citizens belongs both to the Revolution, and to the Academia with its “laboratories of knowledge,” i.e., the privileged institutions of research, entitled to ask appropriate questions. Suggesting that the security authorities confiscated personal family relics, Malinowski was even able, as an expert, to discuss the appropriation of the collection as such. Still, classifying the Potockis’ portraits as little value items which belong to the decorative art section, illustrating the history of costumes, he pointed rather at the universalism of art history which could decide that any family memorabilia might become museum exhibits treated, regardless of their original function, as a document – in that case, of the history of costumes. The pride of the academic discipline that liberates objects from their old, particular identity to make them submit to the universal scholarly procedures can be seen also in reference to the “replicas or contemporary copies” of Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, and Giorgione, as having some artistic and didactic significance, they were purchased as authentic “and only the precise expertise of our times allowed us to classify them as works of lesser masters.”⁴³

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 16.

⁴⁰ D. Preziosi, “The Question of Art History,” *Critical Inquiry* 1992, 18(2), p. 374.

⁴¹ *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki ze zbiorów Potockich*, p. 55.

⁴² Both terms are coinages of Donald Preziosi. See: Preziosi, “The Question of Art History,” p. 375.

⁴³ *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki ze zbiorów Potockich*, p. 5.

In the same publication, Stanisław Gebethner tried a strategy of preserving the national heritage, describing a collection of ornate belts: since the pre-war collection of the National Museum was destroyed, the appropriated set was “unique of its kind in Poland.”⁴⁴ In a way then, after the national apocalypse the nationalization of private collections became self-evident at least for some intellectuals. Including works of art in the space of academic art history and applying to them expert procedures was so important because ultimately it could be used to annul property rights. Consequently, scholarship was used by the revolution, while modernity, thanks to its teleological model of history, succeeded in “closing off the future as a source of disruption.”⁴⁵ On the other hand, the “spell of the historical necessity”⁴⁶ allowed art historians not only to ignore the revolution, but also to turn it into mobilization for the sake of noble civic duty. Giving up the part of the legislator and satisfied with that of the interpreter, the art historian resolved to play the part of Hermes in a paramedic’s uniform, without eliminating from his horizon another world which theoretically could be saved only because of that. Establishing his autonomy, the paramedic-hermeneut paradoxically confirmed his rejection of tradition and the authoritarian self-proclamation of his unique position that could be granted only by himself.

Supporting modernity, the art historian accepted the Enlightenment ideals of separation-specialization, of which Habermas wrote so much later, trying to deal with the errors and misfortune of modernity, defined by him as the rise of three autonomous spheres (institutional fields of activity): science, morality and law, and art, each with its own specific set of rules. In the sphere of art, Habermas specified the problem of modernity as an expert, and thus self-constituted, approach to culture and institutionalization of the goal-oriented, rational administrative activity resulting in the universalization of norms and a new mythology in the service of ideas. In his opinion, a way out of this could be a communication-oriented model of action, coordination of the individual plans of interaction participants, and the renouncement of privileges. Giddens wrote about functional specialization and an expert system which one trusts, being unable to verify it. This leads to the nullification of social relations depending on the immediate context, i.e. the separation of time and space and the so-called disembedding of the social system.⁴⁷ The impersonal nature of expertise made the expert operate in abstract time and

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 28.

⁴⁵ Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, p. 12.

⁴⁶ Arendt, *On Revolution*, p. 47.

⁴⁷ A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge 1991, p. 21ff.

space, undetermined by any specific context or locality, out of here and now, i.e., first, he abandoned the local tradition, and, second, put himself above the vulgar appropriation made by security police, even though – which a genuine paradox – their mutual relation must have been based on the Giddensian trust as a catalyst of symbolic exchange. That trust did not rely on the experts' belief in moral honesty, but only on the correctness of principles. In totalitarian or quasi-totalitarian regimes, whenever the principle of trust was violated as well, both the symbolic means of exchange and the belief in the correctness of principles were challenged. If the internal referentiality of the constructed norms and standards of expertise has no relations outside a definite specialist sphere – in other words, if it ignores God or the idea of God, as well as concrete people living here and now – then an expert system transferred into abstract time and space starts to serve itself. Art has to be redefined, irrevocably turning into an element of a closed expert system that has a rationale only as long as it serves the authorities and not people in a definite time and space. Describing the Potockis collection with the axioms of his discipline, the scholar achieved rational coherence and maximum certainty as regards his conclusions. Under the circumstances, he could be much more certain than if he considered the collection as family property important at specific moments of the family life. The weaknesses of modernism are obvious in their universal aspect, but in reference to the system implemented in Poland after World War II one might say that they became outright tragic. I recognize its tragic features in the inner tension of art history torn between the intention to focus on the national option, i.e. serving the local community traumatized by the war, and the hope that it would be possible to do it without subverting the expert foundations of the discipline that separated art from the people. Fortunately, in the communist Poland the system was not quite self-contained although the relation “structured by the system of reciprocally interlocked perspectives among speakers, hearers, and non-participants”⁴⁸ could not come into being as the decimated bourgeoisie was dependent on the ubiquitous power of the state and landowners lost their property to the rhetorically constructed “people.”

FOLK ART AND *ART BRUT* – IN SEARCH OF COUNTER-HISTORY

If we agree with Foucault that the writing of history was long related to the rituals of power and became a kind of ceremony that legitimated and confirmed them as a discourse of splendor, then the role and way of represent-

⁴⁸ Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, p. 297.

ing the object of power turns into crossroads: we may choose between Livy and *The Bible*.⁴⁹ Folk art is today the object of interest of the critical folklore studies which analyze its “ability to decisively contribute to the critique of power and the dominating or oppressive habituses” and the rhetoric of folklore which contributes to the constitution of social order.⁵⁰ It must be remembered that the concept of “primitivism,” related to folklore, was connected to an ideological construct that justified imperial conquest,⁵¹ implying a different approach to time and history. Thus, a critical history of folklore has been written by those who do not trust the progeny of Livy. Among them there is also Piotr Korduba who aptly analyzed a combination of modernity and the local “primitivism.” The title of his book, *Folklore for Sale* [Ludowość na sprzedaż], indicates that the author does not ignore the problem of the instrumentalization of folk art and considers it in the contexts of the ideas of economic development, taste, and social order. Korduba shows many kinds of contextual involvement, writing, e.g., about folklore as a fad, the Secession or Art Deco “stylization” in the context of budding avant-garde movements, the development of tourism and the wish to experience something “authentic,” the connection of folklore with anti-machinery movements that contested industrial progress and the city as an alleged cause of moral degradation, the village poverty that preserves tradition and the related ethnographic idea of the apotheosis of artistic isolation opposed to encouraging intelligentsia to buy folk artifacts and decorate with them their apartments, which was supposed to help villagers become more affluent, brain addling by cottage industry, and finally, the role of state institutions which took up the role of tradition keepers already before World War II.⁵² One might say that Korduba managed to demonstrate what Livy would have most likely done with folklore: according to the book’s title and the author’s assumptions, it is not folklore’s “biblical history,” though a comprehensive critique of folklore for sale definitely opened some space for its counterhistory (to use Foucault’s term once again).

What interests me at the point of contact between folk art and the idea of the *art brut* which appeared right after the war is then the function of memory – not as preventing oblivion, but as showing what, according to Foucault,

⁴⁹ See M. Foucault, „*Society Must Be Defended.*” *Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976*, trans. D. Macey, New York 2003, p. 65ff.

⁵⁰ S. O. Gencarella, “Constituting Folklore: A Case for Critical Folklore Studies,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 2009, 122(484), p. 173.

⁵¹ M. Antliff, P. Leighton, “Primitivism,” in: *Critical Terms for Art History*, eds. R. S. Nelson, R. Schiff, Chicago 2003, p. 217.

⁵² See P. Korduba, *Ludowość na sprzedaż. Towarzystwo Popierania Przemysłu Ludowego, Cepelia, Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego*, Warszawa 2013.

“has been carefully, deliberately, and wickedly misrepresented.”⁵³ Korduba writes, with the words of Helena Schrammówna (d. 1942), about the tension between enlightening the people and making the intelligentsia aware that education may result in the folk artist’s loss of his or her original skills.⁵⁴ A surprising conclusion drawn by Korduba from his analysis of the concept of folk art in the interwar period stresses the crucial role of the state both before and after the war in the support of the folk industry. The centralized and monopolistic character of that support “which put the folk industry under the state’s control both in financial and artistic terms fostered the adjustment of the prewar experience to the postwar organization of that control in the communist Poland.”⁵⁵ However, before dealing with the mutual favors that the communist state and the anti-communist intelligentsia were doing to each other as regards the folk art, I want to discuss the search for the so-called “authentic” folk culture, taken up after the war by scholars all over Europe in the context of the decomposition of the imperial superpowers and the colonial oriental-ization and exoticization of the folk culture. A relevant example may be the sojourn of Claude Lévi-Strauss in New York (1941–1945), when he developed an interest in non-professional art and in whatever had nothing to do with the “cultural industry” according to Adorno – particularly significant were the anthropologist’s relations with surrealists and Native Americans. Inventing structural anthropology and a non-hierarchical idea of art, Lévi-Strauss used the surrealist idea of “bizarre combinations,” drawing on his strolls along the streets of immigrant New York, Roman Jakobson’s lectures in which the linguist minimized the role of the author, the inspirations by the Northwest Coast Indian Gallery founded by Franz Boas in the New York Museum of National History, and the art of prison inmates.⁵⁶ Having returned to Paris, he joined the *Compagnie de l’art brut* and saw the exhibition *L’Art Brut préféré aux arts culturels* (1949, Galerie René Drouin).

⁵³ Foucault, “*Society Must Be Defended*,” p. 72.

⁵⁴ Korduba, *Ludowość na sprzedaż*, p. 60, 65.

⁵⁵ Korduba, *Ludowość na sprzedaż*, p. 132. Although Korduba does not inform the reader whether Polish folk art sold by the Cepelia used the patterns characteristic of the ethnic groups that lived in the prewar Poland, it seems that the postwar geography was “naturalized,” focusing on the regions of Podhale and central Poland. If it was so, then the new “nation” and “people” were constructed according to the post-Yalta political logic which required loyalty to the USSR and forgetting about the eastern side of Bug river.

⁵⁶ K. Minturn, “Dubuffet, Lévi-Strauss, and the Idea of Art Brut,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 2004, 46, pp. 247–258. See also: J. Clifford, “On Collecting Art and Culture,” in: *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, eds. R. Ferguson, M. Gever et al. Cambridge, MA, 1992, p. 156ff.

More or less at the same time, from December 1948 until February 1949, the *Musée National d'Art Moderne* showed the Exhibition of Polish Folk Art and Artistic Industry [*Wystawa Polskiej Sztuki Ludowej i Przemysłu Artystycznego*], organized by the Office for the Control of the Aesthetics of Production [*Biuro Nadzoru Estetyki Produkcji*], founded by Wanda Telakowska. Surely, for Dubuffet the *art brut* was not connected with production at all: it brought hope to overcome national conflicts and historical conditions, and as such can be approached in the context of T. J. Demos's "aesthetics of homelessness" as the last "other" of modernism.⁵⁷ Even though today we tend to criticize the stereotypical "other" and his or her pathology which made him/her different from the "normal" artist,⁵⁸ as well as Dubuffet's innocent idea of the *art brut*, at the particular historical moment right after the war at stake was the inclusive character of European culture and art that would not impose patterns of domination,⁵⁹ i.e. opposition to the authoritarian conceptions of modernity. That critical aspect was characteristic not only of the *art brut*, but also of the Cobra group (1948-1951) and those of its members who were later to start the situationist movement. Foucault writes about counterhistory in connection with its potential "of deciphering, the detection of the secret, of the outwitting of the ruse, and of the reappropriation of the knowledge that has been distorted or buried,"⁶⁰ and with its revolutionary dimension. On the other hand, it may be worthwhile to find out whether the vernacular, Polish "primitivism" was used as an Aesopian language of counterhistory – for the time being, one may argue that such a line of reasoning was definitely not adopted by Polish art historians. "Folklore for sale" is a genuine paradox, a continuation of the prewar discourse of the authorities taken over by the communist state and its postwar revolution. With his rhetoric of the folk na-

⁵⁷ Minturn, "Dubuffet, Lévi-Strauss, and the Idea..." p. 255, 258.

⁵⁸ See *The Artist Outsider: Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture*, eds. M. D. Hall, E. W. Metcalf, Jr., Washington 1994; G. A. Fine, *Everyday Genius: Self-Taught Art and the Culture of Authenticity*, Chicago 2004; D. Wojcik, "Outsider Art, Vernacular Traditions, Trauma, and Creativity," *Western Folklore* 2008, 67(2/3), pp. 179–180.

⁵⁹ A relevant example in this respect is a series of assemblages for which he used caught butterflies. Their mass killing for artistic purposes was a provocation: according to the logic of modernity, it might seem absurd, i.e. economically useless, unmotivated, just as the idea of making pictures of humans turning similar to insects, which – in terms of the Batesonian mimicry, characteristic of defenseless creatures, revealed their miserable helplessness. However, the meaning of all those devices was a polemic with the idea of the "people" engaged in instrumentalizing projects, see S. K. Rich, "Jean Dubuffet: The Butterfly Man," *October* 2007, 119, pp. 46–74.

⁶⁰ Foucault, "Society Must Be Defended," p. 72.

iveté, Dubuffet criticized the rational project of modernity with its patterns of domination. He believed in a “wild,” untamed idea of culture, shared also by the surrealists, which had emancipatory, revolutionary potential eliminated by the ordered education favored by the Enlightenment.⁶¹ Moreover, visiting Africa, Dubuffet never thought about drawing on the Gallic art since that would mean for him an obvious correspondence with the Nazi ideology of *Blut und Boden*. Thus, the *art brut* may be interpreted as a kind of counter-history of which a relevant example in Poland might have been an approach of Aleksander Jackowski, with its climax in an exhibition called *Others* [Inni], held in the Warsaw Zachęta gallery in 1965.⁶²

Including, wrote Jackowski, the “spurned” and the “unnoticed” became possible thanks to the changes in art,⁶³ yet he had no intention to challenge its hierarchy. He preferred to call the “others” amateurs, dilettanti, “Sunday painters” or primitivists, though the term “others” was the most appropriate since they had their separate inner worlds that made them different from the folk artists who lived in particular regions of Poland, such as Podhale or Kurpie. The “others” were not connected by any bonds, which Jackowski showed by including the whole spectrum “from the art bordering on folklore and church patron’s festivals ... through ... amateurs from suburbs and small towns, miners, workers, and craftsmen,” as well as the mentally disabled who used art to express their suffering. Indeed, the misfortunes that the “others” experienced must have been shocking: usually born in utmost poverty, tormented by depression, “epilepsy and the symptoms of somnambulism,” sick and handicapped, lonely and broken, they did not know their fathers fallen in the war, received only elementary education because “they had to work to help their grandparents” or the sick mother and siblings. They sometimes lost their jobs, fired for striking, old and tired, unable to keep working, “just taking care of the garden.”⁶⁴ Thanks to the label of “otherness,” in the times of “scientific atheism” the Zachęta gallery could show religious visions. Besides, it became possible to find some idiom for the art of Maria Blumenfeld, a nurse and mistress of Jerzy Panek, inspired by the *art brut*, and let all the artists listed in the catalog speak with their own voices, even though they were processed by the art gallery, an institution of modern art. Theoretically, letting Blumenfeld express herself meant sending the spectator to a different

⁶¹ L. Shiner, *The Invention of Art: A Cultural History*, Chicago 2001, 14, pp. 9–151.

⁶² On the exhibition, see: G. Świtek, “‘Inni’ w kanonie nowoczesności,” in: *Polska – kraj folkloru?*, ed. J. Kordjak, Warszawa 2016, pp. 171–179.

⁶³ A. Jackowski [untitled], in: *Inni. Od Nikiifora do Głowackiej*, ed. A. Jackowski [exhibition catalog], Warszawa 1965, [unpaginated].

⁶⁴ Biography compiled on the basis of biographical notes included *ibidem*.

world which had no legitimacy and could refer to the history that favored vindication and insurrection, but the two worlds could meet only within a vertical hierarchy. One might say that the concept of the “other” introduces the third voice, contrasting with the idea of “folklore for sale” discussed by Korduba, which is located in the framework of the centralized state control and the ethnographic procedure of regional studies. Jackowski’s “others” were not a model for the nation’s regeneration since the origin of their art was often a disease. Jackowski connected what the British and Americans call “primitivism” which, according to David Maclagan, persecutes European culture from its inside, and the “outsider art” which refers to that culture’s inside.⁶⁵ Yet, even though Jackowski’s “others” seem to have been an attempt to work through the trauma of the Nazi exhibitions of the “degenerate art” in the 1930s, one must realize that those artists first of all deserved sympathy (of which Dubuffet definitely did not think), and, what is more, the vernacular “primitive” should be publicized and protected, but within its institutional position it was obviously culturally helpless and marginalized.⁶⁶ The intimate details of those artists’ biographies turned them into a sort of medicalized and class-positioned menagerie, fortunately, however, that ambivalent picture was disguised by the surprising and carefully arranged design of the show: on the floor, all over the exhibition space, full size photos of the artists were placed so that, writes Gabriela Świtek, the “spectators kept moving among [them] ... almost immediately getting in touch with the ‘others.’”⁶⁷ Still, that did not affect the ideological superstructure: the “folked” [*uludowieni*] “others” (Joanna Kordjak’s coinage⁶⁸) repeated and confirmed all the hierarchies based on the binary rhetoric of the “civilized” vs the “primitive,” speaking the mythic idiom independent of history – they belonged to the lower classes (evidently, no degraded aristocrat decided, out of despair, to become an artist⁶⁹), and there

⁶⁵ D. Maclagan, “Outsiders or Insiders,” in: *The Myth of Primitivism. Perspectives on Art*, ed. S. Hiller, London and New York 2005, p. 18.

⁶⁶ In this context, I find interesting Piotr Juskiewicz’s distinction between two approaches to folk art in the communist Poland: ethnographic (protective) and modern. They assumed different “relations between folk art and high art and popular culture, with emphasis on the protection of traditional forms against a pernicious influence of contemporary civilization and modern culture.” See P. Juskiewicz, “Ludowe, dziecięce, prymitywne, nowoczesne,” in: *Polska – kraj folkloru?*, p. 194.

⁶⁷ *Polska – kraj folkloru?*, pp. 177–178.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

⁶⁹ The only middle-class exception was Irena Trzaskowska, born in Lutsk and after the war living in Cracow, working also as a model in the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts. Her father was a military officer and her mother a dentist. The domination of the working class

were relatively many women among them (after all, “the female and the male are like nature and culture”⁷⁰). Even the rituals of Hruszka’s group, which, as the founder himself explained, derived from the “errors of the monks of Jasna Góra,” observed by him directly in their monastery, were shown in the convention of cheap sensation (trance “convulsions”) and in the context of “offending religious feelings,” rather unusual in the communist Poland, that ended with a lawsuit a long time before, in 1912. Besides, when one remembers that the Cepelia [chain of stores selling folk art items – M.W.] became a social enclave offering jobs to the intelligentsia, former landowners, and aristocrats, since ladies from the high society guaranteed “good manners and the command of foreign languages,”⁷¹ the class context of the *Inni* exhibition turns out unquestionable. Thus, although the relations between folk art and the art brut require more analysis, one may provisionally conclude that the postwar continuation of close ties connecting the state and folklore – a dream of the nineteenth-century political activists about the resurrection of the Polish state and a “stake in the game,” as Foucault would have put it – meant in the field of art adopting autocratic practices. We still cannot be sure, however, whether what was really at stake was defeating in that game the communist authorities.

CONCLUSION

Bochnak’s pragmatic program of focusing only on Polish art and the parallel fall of the “iron curtain” resulted in a disaster that he could not predict: two generations of art historians were educated looking at black and white reproductions, Polish art history became parochial, elitist access to international scholarship was available only to a few individuals, and only those world trends of modern art were tolerated which were accepted by official experts who used the discourses approved by the state. Since Polish society was ethnically monolithic, studying Polish art meant getting used to monophony. The denazification of Germany made it open to modern art from abroad (welcomed to Germany, Nam June Paik and John Cage “prepared” their impressive pianos), widespread interest in art brought about the aestheticization of the system and its submission to scientific rationalization and autocratic management. Despite the social revolution, the class division into ethno-

in the so-called naïve art is evidently an ideological construct. See K. Piwocki, *Dziwny świat współczesnych prymitywów*, Warszawa 1975, p. 12.

⁷⁰ *Critical Terms for Art History*, p. 220.

⁷¹ Korduba, *Ludowość na sprzedaż*, p. 149.

graphy and high art was not subverted – it was a genuine paradox that Poland, a “people’s republic,” had to learn to challenge the separation of fine arts museums from the ethnographic ones from the so-called West. Close relations of art and the state, so desirable right after the war, are unfortunately, *per fas et nefas*, still crucial for Polish culture since after 1989 the range of diversification has not been too wide. Almost all private galleries are still highly dependent on state subsidies as the post-communist *nouveaux riches* did not learn in the post-communist schools what they could do to open their minds, take up challenges, and do something for the common good. For Malinowski, the work of art was material evidence in the interrogative field (an independent *locus* of human creativity and aesthetic expression as well as a demonstration of human culture⁷²) where certain questions, legitimized by the tradition of art history, were formulated. The placement of the work of art in that field was its ultimate objective, while the problem of ownership did not belong to the problematic of research in that laboratory space. The private use of artworks by the Potocki family and their secondary, particular functions (religious practices, entertainment, various everyday activities, and commemorating ancestors) should succumb to the authority of scholarship. One may assume that the revolution could provide new evidence and examples thanks to which the narratives of art history would become more and more perfect. For Jackowski, those “others” in the gallery provoked questions concerning their actual presence: full size photos were a compromise between the “human zoo,” discredited in ethnography, and their total absence and appropriation of their voices by objective scholarship. In contrast to the separation of individual proprietors from their artworks, implied by art history, to offer them to the people, ethnography made it possible to reveal the broken connections. There was, however, one obvious condition: it was the people who were offered both to modern art and to scholarship, while the ethos of ethnography allowed to liberate human sensitivity from the fetters of the academia and pointed at the revolutionary potential not only in looking forward, but also backward, which is a fundamental idea of modernity. Jackowski evaded the taxonomic structures of art history with their usurpation of universal knowledge, but the narrative which it produced turned out to be an aesthetic monophony of mourning. Even though consequently art sided with religion and magic as well as particular, individual life interests, not just with scholarship despite its focus on

⁷² This is how exhibits in traditional exhibitions are defined by R. B. Phillips, in: eadem, “Disrupting Past Paradigms: The National Museum of the American Indian and the First Peoples Hall at the Canadian Museum of Civilization,” *The Public Historian* 2006, 28(2), p. 79.

the “savage mind,” the exhibition resulted in a unified assemblage of specific media accepted by art history: paintings and sculptures. Thus, ultimately the “others” were reduced to the familiar.

The art historian is a child of his or her times. Hiding an ideological background behind noble slogans, fabricating qualitative differences between individuals and communities by the Enlightenment, universalist idea of art,⁷³ and the production of knowledge bereft of the religious initiation⁷⁴ are only some of the objections formulated against art history that appeared soon after the period under scrutiny. In the communist Poland the art historian played the role of a filter of the omnipotent state, disguised as an expert and a scholar. Yet under an autocratic regime, the filter of good taste does not mean good education, but a gag. After 1989, it was forgotten that after 1945 the ethos of modernity was developed in a series of extremely difficult choices of the “lesser evil”: the revolution was naturalized only because it was visualized by the *École de Paris*. Still, the basic strategy of revolution in art usually consists in giving new meanings to old forms. Focused on the analysis of form, art history was unable (did not want to? could not?) to analyze the changing meanings of the same forms which underwent a semantic change during the Polish revolution. Why do we not try to show the complexity of the network of meanings? Historians are educated to be judges. Art historians, additionally or on the contrary, must be aesthetes.

Finally, one may ask a question whether the postwar dilemmas of art historians could be found in a nutshell in the prewar considerations of the young scholars who after 1945 were bound to determine the evolution of the discipline. A female student of art history at the University of Poznań described in her journal the impressions after her visit to the poor districts of the city of Lublin during an academic field trip in 1939: “Dark streets with no sidewalks, houses in ruin, built chaotically, sometimes one on another, attached to steep slopes ... from them one could smell bad food, washed underwear, filth, and utmost poverty ... thin Jewish kids were chasing each other on cobblestones, shouting.” That student, Aniela Sławska (1918-1997), who after the war became the custodian of the Department of Polish Painting of the 16th-18th Century, wrote that Zdzisław Kępiński, M.A., who was also there, did his best to persuade the group that those picturesque views were “just like Siena” so that eventually the future art historians watched miserable life as a “theatrical per-

⁷³ See Preziosi, *The Art of Art History*, pp. 497–500.

⁷⁴ C. Farago, “Silent Moves. On Excluding the Ethnographic Subject from the Discourse of Art History,” in: *Art History and Its Institutions. Foundations of a Discipline*, ed. E. Mansfield, London–New York 2002, pp. 192–193.

formance.” In her journal, Sławska also wrote significantly that most likely none of the members of the student group would dare to live there, and even if that would have happened, none of them would muster enough courage or strength to “appreciate the picturesque quality of those places.” Sensitive to poverty as she was, Sławska continued: “Apparently I will never be a good art historian. I am unable to stop thinking about those places, and what is even worse, I don’t know if I can cope with that experience for myself, in my own life? ...”⁷⁵ No doubt, her unusual sensitivity denied the autonomy of the purely visual tradition of art history to such an extent that she did not believe to become a good art historian. Her *pensée-corps*, as Lyotard put it decades later, exposed itself to sense data and to concrete experience, which turned out a wound. Kępiński, a future director of the National Museum in Poznań and a university professor, did not react to that experience, even though already before the war, as Sławska mentioned in her diary, he was considered a “dangerous man” since his views were hyper-liberal and generally “subversive.” “Not a word about religion, but some communist ‘hanky-panky’ for which he was once almost locked up.”⁷⁶ The war did not allay that youthful anxiety – quite on the contrary, it made it even more acute. Still, the definition of “good art historian” did not change for a very long time.

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⁷⁵ A. Sławska, “No i co teraz zrobimy?” *Pamiętnik z pewnej wycieczki*, Poznań 2019, pp. 129–130.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 94.

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AROUND 1948: THE „GENTLE REVOLUTION” AND ART HISTORY

Summary

Just like after World War I Italy experienced a transition from modernism to fascism, after World II Poland experienced a passage from modernism to quasi-communism. The symbol of the first stage of the communist revolution in Poland right after the war, the so-called “gentle revolution,” was Pablo Picasso, whose work was popularized not so much because of its artistic value, but because of his membership in the communist party. The second, repressive stage of the continued came in 1949–1955, to return after the so-called thaw to Picasso and the exemplars of the *École de Paris*. However, the imagery of the revolution was associated only with the socialist realism connected to the USSR even though actually it was the adaptation of the *École de Paris* that best expressed the revolution’s victory. In the beginning, its moderate program, strongly emphasizing the national heritage as well as financial promises, made the cultural

offer of the communist regime quite attractive not only for the left. Thus, the gentle revolution proved to be a Machiavellian move, disseminating power to centralize it later more effectively. On the other hand, the return to the Paris exemplars resulted in the aestheticization of radical and undemocratic changes. The received idea that the evil regime was visualized only by the ugly socialist realism is a disguise of the Polish dream of innocence and historical purity, while it was the war which gave way to the revolution, and right after the war artists not only played games with the regime, but gladly accepted social comfort guaranteed by authoritarianism. Neither artists, nor art historians started a discussion about the totalizing stain on modernity and the exclusion of the other. Even the folk art was instrumentalized by the state which manipulated folk artists to such an extent that they often lost their original skills. Horrified by the war atrocities and their consequences, art historians limited their activities to the most urgent local tasks, such as making inventories of artworks, reorganization of institutions, and reconstruction. Mass expropriation, a consequence of the revolution, was not perceived by museum personnel as a serious problem, since thanks to it museums acquired more and more exhibits, while architects and restorers could implement their boldest plans. The academic and social neutralization of expropriation favored the birth of a new human being, which was one of the goals of the revolution. Along the ethnic homogenization of society, focusing on Polish art meant getting used to monophony. No cultural opposition to the authoritarian ideas of modernity appeared – neither the *École de Paris* as a paradigm of the high art, nor the folklore manipulated by the state were able to come up with the ideas of the weak subject or counter-history. Despite the social revolution, the class distinction of ethnography and high art remained unchanged.

Keywords:

revolution, art after 1945, communism, autocracy, folklore

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UNIVERSITY ART HISTORY IN SLOVAKIA AFTER WWII AND ITS SOVIETIZATION IN THE 1950S*

World War II dramatically altered the face of Europe, and university education in Slovakia, again part of Czechoslovakia, did not escape its influence. Many decades have passed, but our knowledge of these issues still contains gaps. This is due to the fact that the nature of the material studied resembles a murky quagmire. The text that follows is the very first attempt to present in greater detail the extent and character of changes in university art history instruction in the socialist era of the Czechoslovak Republic, i.e. up to 1960. Like it or not, we are its heirs, and the roots of the present system of university teaching of this discipline stretch all the way back to that time. This contribution represents an in-depth probe into the postwar efforts to build a new university foundation and system of art history instruction in Slovakia within the Czechoslovak Republic and its sovietization. It focuses on the extent and character of changes reflected in the composition of programs of study, the organization of extra-curricular activities and the politically unstable composition of the art history faculty members. Its core is particularly constituted by transformations in pedagogical processes from the early 1950s in the period of the communist regime consolidating its hold. It is also based on the study and comparison of hitherto-unprocessed sources from various universities and state and private archives, and their classification in terms of known historical facts. The issues are primarily considered as an expression of an independent social and cultural system and not from the aspect of the negatively simplifying concepts of totalitarianism.¹ The aim of this text is to broaden the factual basis and existing overview of knowledge of art history

* I would like to express my gratitude to Alexandra Kusá (Slovak National Gallery Bratislava), Eva Kowalska, Marína Závacká and Adam Hudek (Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava) for their kind consultations at the beginning of my research.

¹ See e.g. S. Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1997.

in Slovakia in the form of a case study. Opening up a new subject also represents a contribution to the growing discussion on the postwar sovietization of Czechoslovak cultural policy in its Slovak variant.²

After WWII, art history as a university field of study was available in Slovakia only at the Slovak University in Bratislava, which was its provisional name during the time of the First Slovak Republic. The university reverted to its original name, Comenius University, in 1954.³ František Žákavec established the Seminar of Art History⁴ at the university in 1923 and was his head until his death in 1937.⁵ In contrast to the Czech Republic, where on November 17, 1939 all Czech universities were closed and only four German universities remained active, university education in Slovakia was not interrupted.⁶ Nevertheless, the Slovak University in Bratislava was forced to follow the political-ideological dictates of German culture policy on education, as well as the nationalist tendencies in society at the time.⁷ (ill. 1)

On the eve of WWII, the Seminar of Art History struggled with the same staffing issues which had existed from the very beginning. Solutions were nothing more than provisional throughout the war, and the administrative management of the Seminar was repeatedly replaced. First, it was Jan Eisner,

² An extensive publication concerning art and Stalinist cultural practice in Slovakia was published recently: A. Kusá, *Prerušená pieseň. Výtvarné umenie v časoch stalinskej kultúrnej praxe 1948–1956*, Bratislava 2019. Ad transformations in university study in the Stalinist era see S. Gabzdilová, *Ako sme študovali v totalite. Vysokoškolské vzdelávanie na Slovensku pod ideologickým diktátom Komunistickej strany Československa 1948–1953*, Prešov 2018.

³ 95+ *Dejiny umenia na Univerzite Komenského v Bratislave*, eds. K. Kolbiarz Chmelinová, K. Beňová, Bratislava 2018, p. 63, 66.

⁴ *Seminár dejín umenia / Seminar of Art History* was a coeval title for the individual part of the Faculty structure teaching art history field of study before conversion to a department.

⁵ 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, p. 63. On F. Žákavec's life and art history work see: I. Ciuľisová, *Dejepis umenia na Slovensku. Vybrané kapitoly*, Bratislava 2011, pp. 17–19.

⁶ A. Hudek, "Sovietizácia pracovísk historickej vedy na Univerzite Komenského v 50. rokoch," in: *95 rokov Filozofickej fakulty UK, Pohľad do dejín inštitúcie a jej akademickej obce*, eds. M. Slobodník, M. Glossová, Bratislava 2017, p. 324; J. Connelly, *Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945–1956*, The University of North Carolina Press 2000, pp. 16–17, 118.

⁷ B. Koklesová, "Seminár dejín umenia v rokoch 1939–1945," in: *95 rokov Filozofickej fakulty...*, pp. 306–322. The authoress has endeavored to delineate the means by which the German ideology was implemented in universities and to characterize the transformation that the education of humanities and social sciences underwent in the official political order.



1. Comenius University in Bratislava, Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Law, seat of Art History Subdepartment in the 1950s. Photo: Olja Triaška Stefanovic

a professor of Prehistoric Archeology. He was replaced in the 1940/1941 academic year by Branislav Varsík, a professor of General History, who was succeeded by Andrej Mráz, a professor of the History of Slovak Literature (from 1942/1943). However, the executive duties fell on the shoulders of Eugen Dostál, an art history professor from the University of Brno, and a student of the famous Max Dvořák.⁸ When he suddenly died in 1943, it was clear that he, like his predecessors, had not managed to prepare a much-needed successor and thus he did not leave a deeper mark on art history instruction in Slovakia. Although the Czech art historian Václav Mencl was granted an associate professorship at Comenius University in 1938, he and his wife Dobroslava, an expert in Slovak architecture, were forced to leave Slovakia because

⁸ J. Bakoš, "Príbeh zaklinatej vednej disciplíny. Seminár dejín umenia na Bratislavskej univerzite", in: *Pocta Václavovi Menclovi. Zborník štúdií k otázkam interpretácie stredo európskeho umenia*, Bratislava 2000, p. 11. The article is a key text on the history of the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Arts at the Comenius University in Bratislava. For the list of lectures on art history by Prof. Dostál in Bratislava, see the academic year 1941/1942 in: 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, p. 95.

of the war.⁹ Jozef Cincík, a Ph.D graduate from the University of Bratislava, did not participate in its educational mission. Although he was appointed professor of Art History by President Jozef Tiso in 1945, he emigrated the very same year.¹⁰ Apart from the aforementioned educators, students interested in art history could meet with young Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová. As a former student of the Seminar, she served as a part-time museum lecturer along with other jobs. Her work at the university was apparently related to Prof. Žákavec's absence due to his illness and his eventual departure shortly before the war. She was appointed Lecturer of Museology at the Faculty of Arts of the Slovak University in December 1940. Subsequently, she had to undergo a political examination proving her non-Jewish origins in order to retain the position until 1952.¹¹ (ill. 2) Although she lectured on only two courses a year related to museology and monument preservation practice, they were mostly the only art history-related courses available after the death of E. Dostal.¹² The Seminar of Art History at the Slovak University was continuously offered during the war, but only to a limited extent. According to the course schedule from the 1944/1945 academic year, the only two courses related to art history were taught by Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová: Monument Pres-

⁹ Ciulisová, *Dejepis umenia...*, p. 28. He was expected to start in the winter term 1938/39, nevertheless in 1938 he returned to Czechia. For more information, see: *Pocta Václavovi Menclovi. Zborník štúdií k otázkam interpretácie stredoeurópskeho umenia*, eds. D. Bořutová, Š. Oriško, Bratislava 2000. After the war he temporarily returned to the university in Bratislava. 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, pp. 67–68, 96.

¹⁰ J. Okál, *Dr. Jozef Cincík. Pútnik dvoch svetov*, Ontario 1980.

¹¹ K. Kolbiarz Chmelinová, "The pedagogical activity of Alžbeta Güntherová-Mayerová (1905–1973) at the Comenius University." The manuscript of the lecture that revised the hitherto knowledge was presented at the Faculty of Arts at the Comenius University on March 20th, 2019 and will be published in *Ars* 1/2020. For an earlier comprehensive article on Güntherová-Mayerová, see: *Stretnutie so životom a dielom Alžbety Güntherovej-Mayerovej (1905–1973). Zborník príspevkov z kolokvia Umelecko-historickej spoločnosti Slovenska 27.11.2003*, Bratislava 2003.

¹² E. Šefčáková, "Alžbeta Güntherová-Mayerová – život a dielo," in: *Stretnutie so životom...*, p. 25, footnote 41. Progress reports indicate that she lectured in Conservation and Installation Works in Museums and Determining Genuinity of Art Works in 1942/43, Sculpture Techniques and Heritage Preservation in 1944, and Basic Terminology of Collecting and Museology and Development of Styles in Visual Art in 1946. A manuscript of the lecture on sculpture and its techniques from 1945 is in the Archív výtvarného umenia Slovenskej národnej galérie v Bratislave / Archive of Visual Art of the Slovak National Gallery in Bratislava (AFA SNG BA), Osobný fond A. Güntherová-Mayerová, sign. 10 E 342, L. Peterajová, "Pôsobenie Alžbety Güntherovej-Mayerovej na Vysokej škole výtvarných umení," in: *Stretnutie so životom...*, p. 100.

ervation and Techniques in Sculpture and Monument Preservation with field trips.¹³ The Seminar suffered from a severe lack of staff, which was only alleviated by temporary solutions. Unfortunately, the fate of art history in Slovakia in the interwar and war periods was mainly about the efforts of a few enthusiastic intellectuals rather than ideas and doctrines.¹⁴

There were no dramatic changes immediately following the war. Professor Andrej Mráz, a literary researcher of repute, was still officially the head of the Seminar of Art History after 1945.¹⁵ Apart from Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová – still an associate lecturer – art history in 1946 and 1947 was covered by Valér Aurel Zavorský, a Jesuit priest.¹⁶ The first three years after the war were tranquil, as the organizational structure of the university management and the system of the pedagogical work essentially remained unaltered. Even the post-war political screening processes at the university had only a moderate impact, as the faculty representatives from the war period could not be accused of direct Fascist collaboration due to their attitude.¹⁷ In general, unlike in East Germany, efforts to restore and fill the academic positions in former Czechoslovakia, as well as in Poland was successful.¹⁸ The Commission of the Slovak National Council for Education and National Edification, established in 1944, was then the central managing body of the edu-



2. Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová.
Photo: ADAH FA CU BA

¹³ Registratúrne stredisko Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave / Registrar office of the Faculty of Arts Comenius University in Bratislava (RO FA CU BA), Slovenská univerzita v Bratislave, Soznam osôb, ústavov a štátnych skúšobných komisií podľa stavu na začiatku študijného roku 1944/45 a Soznam prednášok, ktoré budú v zimnom semestri študijného roku 1944/45, p. 42 and 146. Lectures lasted one hour and took place on Friday afternoons at the Seminar of Archeology at 12 Šafárikovo Square in Bratislava.

¹⁴ Ciulisová, *Dejepis umenia...*, p. 46.

¹⁵ Bakoš, "Príbeh zakliatej vednej disciplíny," p. 11; 95 + *Dejiny umenia...*, pp. 67–68.

¹⁶ J. Bakoš, *Situácia dejepisu umenia na Slovensku*, Bratislava 1984, pp. 180–181. More on Zavorský see: *Život a dielo P. Valéra Aurela Zavorského SJ: konferencia pri príležitosti nedožitých stých narodenín*, Bratislava 23. septembra 2005, eds. L. Csontos, A. Piatrová, Trnava 2005.

¹⁷ Hudek, "Sovietizácia pracovísk..." p. 342; Gabzdilová, *Ako sme študovali v totalite*, pp. 19–20, 63, 76–77, 81.

¹⁸ Connelly, *Captive University...*, p. 4.

cational system in Slovakia. According to the Košice Government Program, it was to be an equal partner with the Ministry of Education and Edification in Prague, but from 1946 it was subordinated to the Ministry.¹⁹

Nevertheless, undoubtedly the most momentous event was the *Victorious February* of 1948, resulting in the Communist's seizure of power in Czechoslovakia, the transformation to totalitarian rule and the nation's official joining of the Soviet Bloc.²⁰ At the beginning of 1948, Czechoslovakia was the last country within the Soviet sphere of influence that was not under the decisive dominance of Communist power, but the February Communist coup d'état changed all that. Its impact affected the entire society and left a significant mark on art history at the University of Bratislava.²¹ The Communist leaders appointed their sympathizers to positions regardless of their age or experience. In 1948, Prof. Mráz, who provisionally led the Seminar of Art History, was replaced by the 32-year-old Jaroslav Honza-Dubnický, a structuralist, and a disciple of Eugen Dostál and Jan Mukařovský.²² Other educators active in the Seminar were Vladimír Wagner, Václav Mencl (ill. 3), briefly returning on a part-time basis, and Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová as a lecturer.²³ The extent of art history lectures at the university grew considerably.²⁴ Due to political interventions, however, the hope of meaningful progress with the abovementioned pedagogical teams in the field of art history rapidly faded. In 1949, Assoc. Prof. Dubnický repudiated his pre-war work in art history in an expression of self-criticism inspired by the results of the 9th Congress of the Communist Party. On Party orders, he left the Seminar of Art History. In 1950, he became a dean of the Faculty of Arts and ceased his activity in art history. Nevertheless, as the Dean and Head of the Department of General History and Archeology, he, along with Miloš Gosiorovský, another new 'ideologically mature' faculty member, became two of the most significant representatives of Marxist historical science of the subsequent period.²⁵

¹⁹ Gabzdilová, *Ako sme študovali v totalite*, pp. 8–15.

²⁰ Compare with Connelly, *Captive University...*, p. 30; P. Hübner, *Nauka polska po II wojnie światowej. Idee i instytucje*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 12–22.

²¹ Bakoš, "Príbeh zakliatej vednej disciplíny," p. 12.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 12 referred to as a head of the Seminar of Art History, and in the coeval record only as a member. Compare 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, pp. 65–66. More on Dubnický – I. Ciulisová, *Dejepis umenia...*, pp. 60–61.

²³ Illustrative syllabi in: 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, p. 96.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ J. Hudek, "Personálna politika na historických katedrách Univerzity Komenského," in: *idem, Najpolitickjšia veda. Slovenská historiografia v rokoch 1948–1968*, Bratislava 2010, pp. 106–107.

After 1948, profound changes in the structure of university education, as well as in the pedagogical teams, were evident in all of the Eastern and Central European countries of the Soviet Bloc.²⁶ The aim of these changes was to emulate as closely as possible the system of higher education of the Soviet Union with its subservience to the government apparatus. The Communist parties in these countries gained control over the management of schools and universities; they appointed rectors, introduced instruction in Marxism-Leninism and followed the Soviet model. Local differences, however, led to discrepancies in the implementation of the Soviet model and to divergent processes of self-Sovietization. In the same year, universities in Czechoslovakia saw a formation of studentocrata, where committees of students approved directly by the Czechoslovak Communist Party were formed to carry out the political screening of their classmates and teachers.²⁷ Although Czechoslovakia was a unified country, the destructive impact of these purges in the period shortly after 1948 was not as harsh in Slovakia as in the Czech lands. For a brief moment, it seemed that we would be more inclined toward the Polish model rather than the Czech model.²⁸ Generally, in Czechoslovakia, the interest of



3. Václav Mencl. Photo: ADAH FA CU BA

²⁶ Connelly, *Captive University...*, pp. 126–127.

²⁷ Hudek, "Personálna politika na historických katedrách..." p. 105. More in J. Jareš, "Indiferentní – možnost převýchovy! Cíle tzv. studijní prověrky na vysokých školách a jejich realizace," in: M. Černá, J. Cuhra akol., *Prověrky a jejich místo v komunistickém vládnutí. Československo 1948–1989*, Praha 2012, pp. 20–53. Political examinations through an executive committee governed by the Central Executive Committee of the National Front were stricter in relation to assistants working at universities than to professors, due to their closer contact with students. Hudek, "Sovietizácia pracovísk..." p. 344, footnote 14.

²⁸ Hudek, "Sovietizácia pracovísk..." p. 342; P. Hübner, *Polityka naukowa w Polsce w latach 1944–1953. Geneza systemu*, vol. I, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1992, pp. 336–449; Connelly, *Captive University...*, p. 4, 10.

Party leaders in university education was minor.²⁹ This was a result of their strong 'anti-intellectualist' attitudes and the absence of a clear, coordinated university policy at the top level of the Communist Party. In contrast to Poland, there was no attempt to adopt a new higher education act until 1950.³⁰ Although transformations in the university system were prepared in 1948, adjustments at lower levels of study were a priority.³¹

In November 1950, Jaroslav Honza-Dubnický, the dean of the Faculty of Art, described the faculty as an ideological institution with the task of developing high-profile experts and strong supporters of Marxism-Leninism.³² Simultaneously, the Czechoslovakia Act No. 58/1950 on Higher Education was passed. The following two years witnessed a radical (self)-Sovietization of the scientific – research base, which had an effect on the position and functioning of universities in Czechoslovakia.³³ It occurred in a three-stage process. Firstly, the implementation of the new Higher Education Act enforced central governing through the authorities of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The State Committee for Higher Education Institutions, which was established by the state, provided proposals to the minister for the management of universities, faculties and their newly constituted departments, as well as departments and scientific institutes themselves, and decisions concerning the competence and scope of activities of professors and associate professors, became the key element of the reform. Following the Soviet model, changes to the internal structure of faculties and new departments were also implemented at the beginning of the 1950/51 academic year.³⁴ As a result, the Sem-

²⁹ Hudek, "Sovietizácia pracovísk...", p. 346.

³⁰ Connelly, *Captive University...*, pp. 55–56, 62–63. After 1948, in Czechoslovakia limited reforms were designed to bring the university closer to the mode of production. They had not been properly implemented by 1950, when modes of production became a compulsory part of syllabi.

³¹ Gabzdilová, *Ako sme študovali v totalite*, pp. 8–15, 19. As opposed to the Czech Republic, the overall changes in the school system in Slovakia were introduced with the aim of achieving a "unified school" since its nationalization in 1944 and 1945. This was followed in 1948 by a nationally applicable act on the basic arrangement of a unified school system. However, the changes were only related to lower levels of study. J. Pšenák, *Pramene k dejinám Československého školstva (od. r. 1918–1973)*, Bratislava 1977, pp. 11–17, 57–91.

³² Archív Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave / Archive of the Comenius University in Bratislava (A CU BA), fond: Zápisnice zo zasadnutia Akademického senátu 1949–1950, Referát J. Dubnického 13.11.1950

³³ Collection of Laws of the Slovak Republic. Act No. 58/1958, <https://www.slov-lex.sk/pravne-predpisy/SK/ZZ/1950/58/19660501> (15.5.2018); Gabzdilová, *Ako sme študovali v totalite*, pp. 27–30; Hudek, "Sovietizácia pracovísk...", p. 347.

³⁴ 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, p. 66.

inar of Art History lost its independence. It remained under the broad field of study of Art Sciences and was subsequently assigned to the Department of Art Sciences with Prof. Bakoš as its head.³⁵ The preparation of new plans and curriculums of study, as well as study and examination regulations, all approved by the Minister, also related to the changes. Based on the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism became compulsory in 1951–1952.³⁶ Secondly, following the Soviet model, there was an effort to restrain universities from science research and publishing; these activities would be carried out by the academies of sciences. Universities, and faculties of arts in particular, were expected to concentrate on pedagogical and political-educational tasks designed to create a Marxist intellectual elite.³⁷ The third and crucial part of the Sovietization process was the new, Stalin-initiated round of purges aimed at eliminating enemies of the regime.³⁸ In Slovakia, they took the form of the *struggle against bourgeois nationalism*, particularly against intellectuals, and in compliance with the instructions which arose from the aforementioned 9th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1950, they were directed not only against students but also lecturers, who were perceived as the weakest, Marxist-ignorant elements of the new university system. As part of the process, all of the employees of the Faculty of Arts of the Slovak University had to participate in humiliating expressions of self-criticism. This was done publicly (June 23th, 1950) and its goal was to expose deficiencies in the functioning of faculties in terms of Marxism and republic-building. Shortly afterwards, as a result of the conference of art historians and art theoreticians in Bechyně in 1951, Stalinist ideology was elevated to the level of the law on art history.³⁹ Its conclusions were discussed in June of the same year at regular ideological meetings of the Sub-department of Art History at the University of Bratislava.⁴⁰ Moreover, the evolving Stalinist regime after 1948 brought

³⁵ Ibidem. The published list of lectures includes an option to study art history in 1952 at the Department of General History, Archeology and Ethnology with Dubnický as principal. In the minutes from the meetings of departments, however, art history is recognizably a part of the Department of Art Sciences. Compare RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zápisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959.

³⁶ Gabzdilová, *Ako sme študovali v totalite*, pp. 116–19.

³⁷ Hudek, "Sovietizácia pracovísk...", p. 348.

³⁸ Hudek, *Najpolitickjšia veda...*, p. 106.

³⁹ I. Ciulisová, "Lesk a bieda slovenskej kunsthistorie II (Slovenský dejepis umenia 1948–1968)," in: eadem, *Dejepis umenia na Slovensku*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zápisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959. Správa o činnosti subkatedry dejín výtvarného umenia za letný semester 1951.

a significant change in the social standing of art historians, which was manifested in its degradation and in many cases manipulation.⁴¹

The Department of Art Sciences, like others, functioned and was regulated in accordance with pre-designed quarterly, and later semiannual plans.⁴² Minutes from sessions of the Department of Art Sciences, particularly the Sub-department of Art History, provide insight into the implementation of the new processes of (self)-Sovietization in the functioning of art history.⁴³ The sessions, often lasting several hours, with agendas comprising issues related to staffing, management and education, typically commenced with a thematic, ideological – political discourse. Particular attention was paid to the analysis of the pedagogical activities of every member in the form of criticism and self-criticism; not even the heads of the departments and sub-departments were spared. As of January 1951, the aforementioned criticism and self-criticism of lectures was supposed to be a subject of meetings at the trade union level and only later at the department level. The same applied to the criticism of the plans of study.⁴⁴ In the Sub-department of Art History at that time, this took on an informative and formal character, as illustrated by the self-criticism of Assoc. Prof. Wagner (ill. 4) from March 1951.⁴⁵ He pointed out the lack of the Sub-department's technical and spatial facilities and his own struggle in search of the appropriate implementation of Marxism-Leninism in art history. The governing, controlling mechanism of the criticism of the lectures favorably reflects the concentrated interest in issues of didactics at the university (such as supervising the content of textbooks, required syllabuses, the functioning of the courses and their guides, discussions on plans of study or the sharing of experience from exams). The mechanism, which with time and increasing audiences, as well as discussions on its implementation at higher levels, e.g. the entire Department of Art Sciences, was transformed into a potential danger for a pedagogue. At the time of the implementation of this process, all of the educators of art history in Bratislava were employed elsewhere in or outside the city, which was one of the reasons for scheduling the sessions in the evenings. Students were recommended to also attend the lectures by Karol Veselý at the Academy of Fine Arts and Design. In coopera-

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 62–63.

⁴² RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959. Zázpisnica zasadnutia z 26. januára 1951.

⁴³ RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959.

⁴⁴ Compare with RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959, Zázpisnica z 26.1.1951.

⁴⁵ RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959, Zázpisnica zo 17. marca 1951.

tion with *Zväz slovenských výtvarných umelcov* (the Alliance of Slovak Visual Artists) the students were given an opportunity to visit studios and thus get a feel for the contemporary art scene.

The minutes from the session of the entire Department of Art Sciences in May 1951 provide a useful source of information.⁴⁶ At the beginning, Assoc. Prof. Wagner, the head of the Sub-department of Art History, commented on cosmopolitanism and bourgeois nationalism in art in connection with decadent tendencies. In accordance with contemporary cultural policy, he stated that overcoming these tendencies would be the only way to establish socialist realism. He

criticized Slovak artists such as Ľudovít Fulla († 1980) and Mikuláš Galanda († 1938) as being infected by decadent art from the West. Quoting from the source: *Galanda displays the quiet sadness of a bourgeois cosmopolite, Sokol's work* (he left Slovakia in 1948 and never returned), *which was interpreted as progressive, displays false revolutionary spirit, formalism, and a crude caricature of the working class...*⁴⁷ The discussion that followed was extensive and Prof. Mikuláš Bakoš, the head of the Department, praised Wagner's attitude toward the *avant-garde*. Moreover, the department agreed to elaborate on this subject in discussions at the level of individual study branches. Wagner introduced the subject by presenting slides of selected artworks shortly before the lecture at the long meeting of the Sub-department of Art History.⁴⁸ Issues concerning the lack of staff and the need to develop new experts were also raised.⁴⁹



4. Vladimír Wagner. Photo: AFA SNG BA

⁴⁶ RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959, Zázpisnica zo 7. mája 1951.

⁴⁷ Compare with the coeval attitude towards *avant-garde* in Kusá, *Prerušená pieseň...*, pp. 53–55, 116–122, 294–295, 383–384.

⁴⁸ RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959, Zázpisnica subkatedry zo 4. mája 1951. The session lasted from 19:30 to 23:30, and Dr. Dubnický and Dr. Városov were invited.

⁴⁹ RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959, Zázpisnica zo 7. mája 1951.

This was particularly urgent at the Sub-department of Art History where the lectures by part-time lecturers Vojtěch Volavka and Jiří Kotalík were taking place non-systematically. Even the efforts of Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová, who, like Assoc. Prof. Wagner, worked at the Povereníctvo školstva (Ministry of Education), were assessed as insufficient.⁵⁰ The change was also reflected in the number of students. A new class would only be enrolled if there were at least ten students. Otherwise, the candidates would be advised to apply to the Charles University in Prague, which had a larger staff. With regards to staffing, Wagner proposed and the Department approved the Candidate of Science process for Marián Városov, an assistant at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, who had studied philosophy at the Sorbonne in Paris (1945–1947) and in Cambridge (1948–1949). Bakoš's proposal within the future development plan to hire Elena Šterbová and Radislav Matuščík was also approved.

The minutes from the Department of Art Sciences meeting from the end of June 1951 provide insight into the evaluation of the first working results in the new system.⁵¹ Prof. Bakoš stated that the decentralization of the Department into several sub-departments facilitated their progress, that the quality of the lectures had improved thanks to the regular criticism and self-criticism of educators' work, and that the ideological discussions contributed to clarifying a number of important issues. Thus, the organizational structure of the Department was supposed to remain unaltered. In the following year, theatre studies were to be transferred to the Academy of Performing Arts in Bratislava and the Department added Library Science. The session began with a presentation on the issues of Marxist – Leninist aesthetics in terms of Stalin's works (according to Trefin and Volkov) which was followed by a discussion and presentations by the sub-departments on the previous term. As for Art History, it was stated that there were some difficulties, including absences of the educators from Prague. Nevertheless, the target was met. The Sub-department met systematically and at each session an ideological problem was discussed and critiques and analyses of the work of individual lecturers were presented. Part-time pedagogues Volavka, Mencl and Kotalík did not attend the sessions. On the other hand, due to the small Sub-department team, Prof. Bakoš proposed that guests and external experts from the field be invited to enhance the discussions. The Sub-department aimed at closer cooperation with Zväz

⁵⁰ It was these two people who put into practice the Act No. 9864–1/5 issued by Minister of Education, Science and Art Ladislav Novomestský, owing to which the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic was established in Bratislava on January 1st, 1951.

⁵¹ RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959, Zázpisnica z 26. júna 1951, particularly p. 1 and 4.

slovenských výtvarných umelcov (the Alliance of Slovak Visual Artists). A surviving individual report of the Sub-department of Art History covering the spring/summer term of 1951 outlines certain outcomes.⁵² The nine bullet points in the three-page report inform us of the pedagogical process (lectures, seminars, their content and extent, the educators, the average grade from exams, and other points) and of ideological – political work. The ideological discussions that were requested covered the following subjects: On Base and Superstructure, Cosmopolitanism and Bourgeois Nationalism in Fine Art, The Tasks of Art History on the Road to Socialist Realism, the Marxist Method of Work, and the continuation of the discussion from the conference in Bechyně, Proletkultism in Our Art and the Tasks of Art Criticism.

In subsequent years, the structure and operation of the department remained unaltered and there were attempts to restore and expand the book and slide collections of the Sub-department of Art History. According to the minutes of their sessions, we noted an interest in connecting education with practical internships. In 1953, this subject was elaborated on in Sub-department discourse on the article by Alpatov on the helplessness and lack of independence of art history graduates caused by a deficiency in the plans of study and the disconnect between theory and practice.⁵³ In the pursuit to develop experts in art history, the Sub-department decided to abandon multi-subject syllabuses, merged some courses, accelerated the preparation of textbooks, introduced the requirement to write an annual thesis and narrowed the subjects of diploma theses. However, the new social-political conditions of the early 1950s had an ultimate effect on art history with regards to the teaching staff. Firstly, Jiří Kostka (ill. 5), a student of Antonín Matějček and an employee of the National Heritage Institute in Prague, was hired as a part-time lecturer. Along with recent graduate Elena Dubnická (Šterbová), the only politically engaged educator of art history, he was expected to create an ideological counterweight to the old generation, contaminated by their bourgeois education.⁵⁴ The social – political change had a particularly tragic impact on Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová. In 1949, her husband was accused of collaborating with the US and killed during his interrogation by the State Security officers, and she consequently bore the stigma of his accusation. She became a target of denouncement leading to her forced resignation from the Faculty in 1952 and relocation from Bratislava as part of

⁵² RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959. Správa o činnosti subkatedry dejín výtvarného umenia za letný semester 1951.

⁵³ RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959, Zázpisnica z 5. novembra 1953.

⁵⁴ Compare with Bakoš, "Príbeh zaklinatej vednej disciplíny," p. 13; 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, p. 12.



5. Jiří Kostka with art history students in Banská Štiavnica in the year 1955. Photo: ADAH FA CU BA

the Akcia B (Mission B) process conducted against fascists and later against bourgeois and politically unreliable elements. She was forced to move with her little son to Betliar, where she was hired to manage the Betliar manor house and Krásna Hôrka castle.⁵⁵ Shortly after, Václav Mencl left the university in Bratislava due to ideological reasons, this time for good.

After the deaths of Stalin and Gottwald in 1953, the period of 'leftist sectarianism' came to an end, and Nikita Khrushchev proclaimed science to be an irreplaceable element in the building of communism. Therefore, science became another sphere of radical change. Unlike 1950, Soviet experts in Czechoslovakia encouraged a moderate attitude towards 'bourgeois experts' and criticized the anti-intellectualism of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.⁵⁶ Intimidation was to be replaced by education towards Marxist philosophy. The Party

⁵⁵ For more information, see J. Barczy, "Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová (1905–1973). Život zasvätený pamiatkam," *Monument revue* 2013, 1, p. 23; idem, "Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová – roky vyhnanstva 1952–1955," *Monument revue* 2013, 1, pp. 28–33.

⁵⁶ Hudek, "Sovietizácia pracovísk..." p. 349. Separate Ministry for Higher Education Institutions operated in Czechoslovakia in 1953 for 9 months. Gabzdilová, *Ako sme študovali v totalite*, p. 39.

resolution from 1953 dealing with the situation at universities restricted the authority of their own organizational bodies and returned it to the offices of deans and rectors, stating that the Party did not have the authority to control universities. Temporarily, there was room for dealing with the acute problems of the Faculty of Arts, such as the critical lack of qualified educators.

Concurrent with these changes, and shortly after Václav Mencl's forced resignation in 1953, the Sub-department of Art History in Bratislava realized the need to re-hire Güntherová Mayerová. Thus, this student of František Žákavec and Hans Tietze, only recently discharged from the University, no longer taught museological subjects but primarily art history courses from the very core of the field. She commuted all the way from Betliar, as the University was not her prime employer.⁵⁷ The plan of study from 1954 (ill. 6) documents the change in the extent and significance of her involvement in the education of art history at the University of Bratislava. The plan was compulsory for the 5-year study of art history (extended from the previous 4-year programme) starting in the 1954/55 academic year.⁵⁸ In 1954, when the university regained its original name, Comenius University, the Faculty of Arts failed in its attempt to award Güntherová Mayerová the title of associate professor.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, that very same year she was appointed state associate professor at the Slovak University of Technology. However, the stigma of a politically undesirable person remained.

At that time, several notable changes related to art history at the university took place. The minutes of the entire Department of Art Sciences from November 1954 noted that Prof. Bakoš moved to split up the Department. According to the proposal, three independent departments were to emerge.⁶⁰ One of them was to be the Department of Art History with Prof. Wagner as head. More detailed information was supposed to form an appendix to the minutes, but its whereabouts are unknown. Unfortunately, the motion was

⁵⁷ In Betliar, she was employed by the Krajský národný výbor in Košice (District Administration Body). A letter to K. Kahoun from 9th June 1954, one of the hitherto unknown documents revealing the reality of coeval university activity, testifies to her typical fastidious attitude toward them as well as towards students. AFA SNG BA, Osobný fond A. Güntherová Mayerová, sign. 10 C 129.

⁵⁸ From the recorded subjects and educators, she had the largest contribution. In comparison with the plan of study of art history in Bratislava from the interwar and war period, we can observe systematization of the study and the increase in the number of subjects. 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, p. 14, 97.

⁵⁹ Šefčáková, "Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová...", pp. 30–31.

⁶⁰ RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zápisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959, Zápisnica z 20. a 27. novembra 1954.

not passed. Nevertheless, the idea of art history gaining independence in the form of its establishment as a separate department continued to be circulated.

Moreover, in 1954 and 1955 there were substantial changes, both in terms of size and stability, in the organizational structure of the Sub-department of Art History. A new generation of important figures had arrived. Radislav Matuščík and Tomáš Štraus were originally appointed to the Sub-department of Aesthetics and after Wagner's departure in 1955, Karol Kahoun joined the staff. Matuščík and Štraus's teaching included art history subjects.⁶¹ From the staff of 1950 comprised of Vladimír Wagner, Václav Mencl, Jaroslav Dubnický and Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová, only Güntherová Mayerová remained. During the two years of her resumed employment at Comenius University, she managed to prove herself, and after the sudden death of Prof. Wagner in 1955, she finally became a full-time employee at that university. This marked her last but most significant period there. From her official position of assistant, she was the de facto head of the Sub-department of Art History⁶² for the next six years. Nevertheless, the Sub-department, though officially only a field of study, was still part of the large Department of Art Sciences led by Prof. Bakoš.⁶³ Naturally, at the time, the Marxist Theory of Art was the official teaching method. However, she introduced her students to the ideas of the Vienna School of Art History, particularly Tietze's version.⁶⁴ One can learn much more about her pedagogical work at the University from her written self-criticism.⁶⁵ Three pages of factual text with a clear structure testify to her remarkable ability to put into words, with a measure of detachment and without offending anyone, a poten-

⁶¹ Compare with Bakoš, "Príbeh zakliatej vednej disciplíny," p. 13; 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, pp. 12–14.

⁶² The used title is in accordance with coeval use – Archív Katedry dejín umenia Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave / Archive of the Department of Art History Faculty of Arts Comenius University in Bratislava (ADAH FA CU BA), Plán práce odboru dejín umenia na šk. rok 1958/59, p. 2 "...zasadnutia odboru /quasi subkatedry". There are also letters from the Academy of Fine Arts and Design rector office concerning the cover for Assoc. Prof. Volavka from January and February 1958, addressed to the Sub-department of Art History FA CU.

⁶³ Compare RO FACU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zápisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení 1951–1959, 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, p. 66.

⁶⁴ Bakoš, "Príbeh zakliatej vednej disciplíny," p. 13.

⁶⁵ AFA SNG BA, Osobný fond A. Güntherová Mayerová, sign. 10 E 322. Published in extenso without commentary and date see: A. Güntherová Mayerová, "Zhodnotenie vlastných prednášok z dejín umenia (rukopis, nedatovaný)," *Monument revue* 2013, 1, p. 34. K. Kolbiarz Chmelinová, "The pedagogical activity..." Due to the content of the self-criticism (otherwise not explicitly dated) related to the lectures commissioned by the Slovak University in 1953 and the mention of the self-criticism from the previous year, we may date it 1954 or possibly 1955.

tially dangerous statement that was required in that time. She even managed to subtly educate the reader on the political role of official art using the example of Byzantine art, which she taught, while also cleverly cautioning readers against narrow-mindedness in assessing the complex phenomenon of art between the lines of the required call for its new propagandistic-popular form (ill. 7).



7A. Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová's study card from Marxism Leninism's Evening University from the academic year 1958/59, AFA SNG BA

Název přednášky	Počet hodin	Potvrzení o návštěvě přednášky
formální a dialektická logika	2	<i>Mj</i>
Historický materiálismus jako věda	2	<i>Mj</i>
Podnikavý materiálově vědní přístup k sociálnímu vývoji	2	<i>Konec</i>
Teoretická úloha vědy v rozvoji společnosti	3	<i>Mj</i>
Zabýváme se národní ekonomikou	2	<i>Mj</i>
Úloha kul. mas a osobnosti	2	<i>Mj</i>
K teorii třídy a třídního boje	2	<i>Mj</i>
K marxismu pro vědu a společnost	2	<i>Mj</i>
Marx-len. teorie soc. a rev. revoluce	2	<i>Mj</i>

Název přednášky	Počet hodin	Potvrzení o návštěvě přednášky
Marx. leninská teorie státu	2	<i>Mj</i>
Marx. len. teorie národnosti a otázky	2	<i>Mj</i>
Marx. leninská teorie viny a moci	2	<i>Mj</i>
Správné vědomí a jeho formy	2	<i>Mj</i>
Věda a národní stát jako formy společ. vědomí	3	<i>Mj</i>
Morální forma společenského vědomí	3	<i>Mj</i>
Revolutionární úmysl a dogmatický úmysl	3	<i>Mj</i>
Kritika národní buržoazní filosofie	3	<i>Mj</i>
	—	—

7B. Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová's study card from Marxism Leninism's Evening University from the academic year 1958/59, AFA SNG BA

It was Güntherová Mayerová who in June 1956, after an agreement with the Department of Theory and Art History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, drafted and submitted a proposal to establish the Institute of Art History at the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava.⁶⁶ This took place in September, before the new Higher Education Act 46/1956 came into effect, concerning institutes of a similar nature in Article 16. Its intention was to further strengthen centralisation and education in the spirit of communist ideas.⁶⁷ The objective of the proposed institute was to manage the research, heuristic and documentary work from the field of art history in Slovakia based on a plan coordinated not only with the Slovak Academy of Sciences but also with the Monuments Board. The Institute was supposed to be affiliated to the Art History field of study at Comenius University. She argued that there was a lack of professional art-historical staff at the Academy of Sciences and that the pressure to work on tasks of art historical inventory, catalogue, dictionary and corpus character publications could be handled by the university staff, as well as its most talented students. Despite the fact that the objective was not met, the document proves the strengthening of the position of the Art History at the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University. Its self-reflection and successful establishment under the name sub-department or even department of art history, despite being officially merged with the Department of Art Sciences, also testifies to this fact.⁶⁸ It might have been strategically interrelated with the activities concerning the preparation of a new network of universities and with the regulation of university operations, which the Department discussed during their meeting in December 1958. The later reorganization of art sciences in 1960 related to the need to finalize the cultural revolution might have also been part of the strategy.⁶⁹

The minutes from the meeting of the Department of Art Sciences of October 1958 with the attached work plan for 1958–1959 (ill. 8) reveal further details. One of the tasks that arose from the Congress of the Communist Party in that year was the Department's organization of Saturday seminars on art criticism featuring lectures on art history by Dr. Marián Városov, an external

⁶⁶ AFA SNG BA, Osobný fond A. Güntherová Mayerová, sign. 10 K 621.

⁶⁷ <https://www.slov-lex.sk/pravne-predpisy/SK/ZZ/1956/46/vyhlasene_znenie.html> [accessed: 31.5.2019].

⁶⁸ E.G. in 1958 the sub-department of art history was consistently cited, and an official letter about the student F. Kriška was sent by the dean's office to the "Department of Art History". ADAH FA CU BA, List o prerušení štúdia F. Krišku z 1.3.1958.

⁶⁹ ADAH FA CU BA, Zápisnica zo zasadnutia Katedry vied o umení z 13.12.1958, Návrh subkatedry dejín umenia k prestavbe umenovedných smerov 14.2.1960 and 14.12.1960, Prestavba výučby a výchovy na filozofických fakultách 27.10.1960.

prepracovať

Katedra vied o umení - odbor dejín umenia

Záväznosť plánu UNIVERZITY KOMENSKÉHO 1958/1959

Číslo: V Bratislave dňa 23. mája 1958. 8.

Predmet: Plán prednášok na školský rok 1958/59

Klas. úst.: Dekanstvu F F U K.

Prílohy:

I. ročník: (ako vedľajší predmet)

1. Úvod do teórie dejín umenia	Dubnická	2	-	2	-
2. Proseminár dejín umenia	Güntherová	2	-	2	-
3. Antika	Boháč	2	-	2	-
4. Prehľad dejín umenia	Kahoun	2	-	2	-
5. Základné otázky výtvarnej estetiky	Dubnická	2	-	2	-

Skúšky: po LS z 1,4,5 Klas. zápočty: po LS z 3

II. ročník: (nerealizuje sa, na externom štúdiu v rozsahu plánu 1957/58)

III. ročník:

1. Svetové umenie renesancie	Kostka	3	-	3	-
2. Renes. umenie Čes. a slov.	Kostka	2	-	2	-
3. Svetové umenie 17. a 18. st.	Güntherová	2	-	2	-
4. Čes. a slov. umenie 17. a 18. st.	Güntherová	2	-	2	-
5. Umelecký priemysel	Güntherová	2	-	2	-
6. Technológia	Kahoun	2	-	2	-
7. Seminár dejín umenia	Güntherová	2	-	2	-
8. Metódy slohového rozboru	Tilkovský	2	-	2	-

Skúšky: po LS 1,2,3,4 Klas. zápočty: po LS 5,6,8

IV. ročník: (nerealizuje sa, na externom štúdiu v rozsahu plánu 1957/58)

V. ročník:

1. České a slovenské umenie 20. st.	Matuščík	2	-	2	-
2. Svetové umenie 20. storočia	Matuščík	3	-	3	-
3. Seminár dejín umenia	Güntherová	2	-	2	-

Skúšky: po ZS 1,2

Výberové prednášky pre III. a V. ročník:

1. Národné umenie ľudových demokracií	Tilkovský	2	-	2	-
2. Kritický seminár	Matuščík	2	-	2	-

Úväzok prednášateľov na dejinách umenia:

Dr. Alžbeta Güntherová	-	12	10
Dr. Elena Dubnická	-	4	4
Radislav Matuščík	-	7	2
Karol Kahoun	-	4	4
Dr. Jirí Kostka	-	5	5
Dr. Vojtech Tilkovský	-	4	4

Za: *Kahoun*

Katedra vied o umení
Univerzity Komenského
Bratislava

8. Plan of art history lectures at Comenius University in Bratislava for the academic year 1958/59. Photo: ADAH FA CU BA

university teacher from the Slovak Academy of Sciences.⁷⁰ The plan of the Sub-department of Art History clearly defines two developing branches of the field: a historical one and an aesthetic-critical one, which was especially represented by the work of Štrauss and Matuščík. Needless to say, the political-educational part came first and included mandatory participation in training sessions, and in the case of acting Assoc. Prof. Güntherova Mayerova, attending the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism. In addition to memberships, publication and research activities of the members of the department, the substantial part of the plan concerns pedagogical work and its improvement and methods to intensify the contact with practice. For this purpose, the plan emphasized the necessity to organize several field trips a year and called for the introduction of a photography course.⁷¹

However, this was happening in a fast-changing atmosphere, because the calm situation favoring professional development did not last long. As a consequence of the crisis linked to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the working-class intellectuals in Czechoslovakia were no longer considered supporters of the regime. Once again, stricter background reviews and screening activities were conducted, even among members of the Party, and “unreliable people were dismissed. At Comenius University it started in 1957 as a struggle against the remaining members of Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party and bourgeois ideologues and others who, up to then, had been able to hold their posts because of their expertise.⁷² In the following year, although it was a period of dismissals, Art History managed to retain all of its members. This must also have been due to the fact that it was forced to accommodate some of the students from the abolished Pedagogical University. Unfortunately, the situation changed dramatically and it soon claimed its victims (ill. 9).

Art History, under the leadership of Güntherova Mayerova, continued fighting for its position. In the proposed plan of work and consequently in the activity report for 1959/60, one can discern increased interest in the ideological-political education of pedagogues themselves, and through them the students. They stimulated pedagogues politically by means of various as-

⁷⁰ ADAH FA CU BA, Zázpisnica zo zasadnutia Katedry vied o umení z 20.10.1958 a plán práce na rok 1958/1959. Meetings took place on Saturdays at 10am at 12 Šafárikovo Sq. (October 25th, November 8th and 22th, December 6th and 20th, 1958).

⁷¹ In that year field trips were scheduled in South Bohemia and Prague. Dresden remained only at the planning stage. ADAH FA CU BA, Plán práce odboru dejín umenia pre akademický rok 1958/1959, the plan is not dated and bears no signature.

⁷² Hudek, “Sovietizácia pracovísk...,” pp. 350–351. P. Cajthaml, M. Ďurčanský, “Dobové souvislosti a ohlas prověrek politické třídní spolehlivosti v roce 1958 na Univerzitě Karlově,” in: *Práce z dějin Akademie věd*, vol. 2, pp. 118–130.

Odbor dejín umenia pri katedre vied o umení
 Kádrové oddelenie Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave.

Posudky na poslucháčov V. ročníka
 Vec : posudky na poslucháčov V. ročníka PFUK. Bratislava, dňa 13. mája 1958.

Číslo 100/54 Súdr.
 Kádrové oddelenie Filozofickej fakulty Súdr.
 Katedra vied o umení


Na tomtož deň došiel z 13. mája 1958, č. 100/1958 posielame
 posudky o poslucháčoch V. ročníka odboru štúdia dejín umenia
 Vypracované 19. v. 58 a pomalšie (Šeďáková, Kubičková)
 odovzdané Kádrovnikovi 20. v. 58.

Kádrové oddelenie Vás žiada o vypracovanie po-
 sudkov na poslucháčov V. ročníka PFUK, ktorí ukončia štúdium
 v tomto školskom roku.

V posudku uveďte :
 1./ Politickú, ideologickú a mravnú vyspelosť
 2./ absolventa /uviest' aj pomer k náboženskej otázke/.
 3./ Charakterové, povahové vlastnosti, pomer k
 učiteľskému povolaniu, o čo má konkrétny záujem.
 4./ Odbornú úroveň prospech, v čom vyniká, v čom
 je primeraný, slabý, v čom potrebuje pomoc, v akom smere
 treba pomáhať absolventovi a iné poznatky.

Posudky potrebujeme do 20. mája 1958.
 Za skoré vybavenie Vám ďakujeme.

Kádrový pracovník:



9. Request to send cadre assessments of art history students at Comenius University in Bratislava, 1958. Photo: ADAH FA CU BA

signments and appointments. In addition to the requirement that Güntherová Mayerová attend the Marxism-Leninism Evening University, Matuščík, Štraus and Kahoun had to complete a two-year philosophical-aesthetical course at the same university. Pedagogues also attended lectures on atheism. The lecturers dealt with questions related to the finalizing of the cultural revolution and actively contributed to meetings with the working class on the preparations of the Congress of Socialistic Culture. Shortcomings were observed in the inadequate ideological-political influence on students, which was to be improved. Nevertheless, the actual pedagogical activities and even publication and scientific research activities were assessed on the same scale. The assessment also included monitoring activities outside the Faculty.

In 1960, the Sub-department of Art History acted competently as part of the Department of Archeology, Art History, Ethnology and Folklore Studies. Since the closure of the Department of Art Sciences, it also became responsible for all remaining students studying Visual Arts Education at the Pedagogical University. Art History was available for full-time and part-time students. Speaking on behalf of the Sub-department, Güntherová Mayerová requested permission to conduct research (not only within individual plans but also in departmental plans) and to set up an autonomous workplace for research, ideally for the sole use of the Art History Sub-department or for the whole Department of Archeology, Art History, Ethnology and Folklore Studies.⁷³ In the same year, the Sub-department, under the supervision of Güntherová Mayerová, undertook the arduous task of relocating to the third floor of the building on 2 Gondova Street, where it has remained until now. Up until October of that year, she worked in the capacity of acting associate professor and Deputy Head of the Department, and also dealt with issues concerning part-time students. Other people working in the Sub-department included Dubnická, Kahoun (ill. 10), Matuščík, Štraus and adjunct educators Kostka and Városová (three hours per week on Czechoslovak Modern Art) and the archeologist Novotný. Her pedagogical work still focused on art history with 14 hours of lectures and 7 hours of consultations per week. Some of her lectures have been preserved in her manuscripts.⁷⁴ Güntherová Mayerová managed to prepare a development plan for research for this department up to 1970, as well as a new syllabus of subjects and other requisites necessary for the next transformation of university studies.⁷⁵

⁷³ ADAH FA CU BA, Vyjadrenie k obežníku dekanátu FiF UK zo 14.12.1960.

⁷⁴ AFA SNG BA, Osobný fond A. Güntherová Mayerová.

⁷⁵ ADAH FA CU BA, Výhľadový plán vedy a výskumu do roku 1970 vypracovaný v roku 1958 a nové osnovy predmetov z 25.12.1960.



10. Karol Kahoun in Mikulov in the late 1960s / early 1970s.
Photo: ADAH FA CU BA

Unfortunately, the resurgence of political pressure did not only result in the constant postponing of Güntherova Mayerova's appointment as professor. The following year – 1961 – was her last at Comenius University. She was once again judged to be politically unreliable and dismissed. In doing so, the university disposed of an exceptionally admirable art history expert and replaced her with someone from the Education Department of the Slovak National Council, who was only qualified to work in a library and handle the department's administrative issues.⁷⁶ Once again, the Art History Sub-department faced staffing issues and was operating under provisional arrangements. Worse still,

⁷⁶ RO FA CU BA, Fond A II/1, A5 Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry vied o umení, Zázpisnice zo zasadnutí Katedry archeológie, dejín umenia, etnografiky a folkloristiky, Zázpisnica z 29.9.1961.

from the point of view of the quality and direction of instruction, this was the beginning of the long-lasting career of Pavol Michalides, a Party member without adequate art history erudition.⁷⁷ Güntherová Mayerová left the university with poor references and attempted to gain employment in Prague.⁷⁸ Ultimately, she was assigned to the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, which marked the beginning of another important chapter of her life's work and the formation of the well-known list of monuments which she edited.⁷⁹ At that time, after Comenius University had been thoroughly Sovietized in every respect, from its organizational structure and staffing, to its ideology, several years of relatively tranquil progress followed.⁸⁰

As it arises from this account, in the postwar years 1945–1948 we can observe a transition in Slovakia from one dictatorship to another; the domination of the school system and its centralization was also part of the new political struggle for power. Ideas related to the independent management of the school system in Slovakia in re-established Czechoslovakia ceased to exist after the Prague Agreements in 1946, and after Victorious February 1948, and schools at all levels began to be managed centrally by the Communist Party with the intent to transform them according to the Soviet model. With respect to different developments in the course of WWII, the transformations in Slovakia were different to those in the Czech Republic (earlier nationalization, different background of human resources, smaller impact of the first political purges ...). Meanwhile, the Bratislava Art History Seminar fought throughout with provisional efforts to maintain its own existence.

The system changes in university teaching of art history in Slovakia began with the passing of the new Act on Higher Education Institutions in 1950. The transformation that took place at the beginning of the turbulent decade of the 1950s had two sides. First of all, it brought along centralization and the dominant ideological control of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which, since the fall of the socialist era, was behind the overall condemnation of the entire period. This was manifested in the loss of independence, an essential element in academia, by the vetting of personnel and purges, as well as the permanent control of ideological instruction and the involvement of students and teachers. Various tools were used for this purpose, starting with

⁷⁷ His lectures were regarded as incompetent, perhaps comical, by students. 95+ *Dejiny umenia...*, pp. 52–53, 67. See also P. Michalides a kol., *Paľo z múru – hybský rodák*, Bratislava 1996.

⁷⁸ Šefčáková, "Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová...", p. 32.

⁷⁹ *Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku*, vol. 1–3, ed. A. Güntherová Mayerová, Bratislava 1967–1969.

⁸⁰ Hudek, "Sovietizácia pracovísk...", p. 351.

the establishment of a separate Department of Marxism-Leninism and compulsory university courses for students, through various forms of controlled ideological education of teachers, such as *Večerná univerzita Marxizmu-Leninizmu* (Evening University of Marxism-Leninism), up to targeted ideological papers and discussions at the beginning of department meetings.

On the other hand, there was an obvious effort to unify and professionalize the teaching of our discipline, but not only ours, in Czechoslovakia, and to a certain extent, we are the heirs of this effort. In addition to others, this is proven by the aforementioned new, and for the first time, comprehensive study plans and curricula, which, despite their political burden, stand in sharp contrast to the insignificant number and composition of art history courses at the university before and during the war by virtue of their number of hours and the orientation of their content. Furthermore, in compliance with the ideas at that time regarding the primary pedagogical orientation of universities and the transfer of research to academies of science, the archive materials show a politically motivated but still unusually high interest in didactics. The burden on teachers comprising various related tasks grew considerably (complying with the plan of tasks, the pressure to create study materials, course books, increased hours of consultation and controls of study activities....). Complying with the new obligations accompanied by the system of their control proved to be a balancing act on the edge of formality and potential danger. Regular discussions on topical forms and the possibilities of pedagogical activity were part of it, which reached the level of individual departments in the personalized form of publicly controlled criticism and degrading self-criticism of individual teachers.

The former Seminar of Art History at the University of Bratislava was no exception. It lost most of its independence in the new structure of the faculty. After implementing the conclusions of the 9th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Communist Party of Slovakia and the regulations of the new Act on Higher Education Institutions in 1950, the new form of instruction provided by this Seminar was marked by the compulsory introduction of Marxism-Leninism in 1951–52. Due to the application of repressive Party measures, a resolute change in the composition of teachers of art history occurred in the following years of 1953–1955.

Numerous structural, content and staffing changes implemented swiftly one after another, the aim of which was to educate a politically advanced intelligentsia, were replaced by a brief lull in the middle of the decade. In connection with a certain liberalization following Stalin's death, this was made possible by a change in the attitude of the Czechoslovak government, which mitigated the influence of the Party in universities and showed a more benevolent approach, for some time, toward *bourgeois experts*. Moreover, the key transformations were introduced and the staffing of the Sub-department

of Art History at Comenius University in Bratislava was temporarily stabilized. This allowed for the considerable development of this specialization in the second half of the 1950s. The proof of the strengthening of its position at the faculty was, in addition to other effects, in the form of its ambitions, which materialized in repeated proposals to establish a scientific institute of art history at the university. These were at variance with the efforts at that time to transfer science to the academies. However, the situation began to deteriorate relatively early, and due to negative social and political changes, another wave of political and professional purges followed after 1957. They did not directly affect the Sub-department of Art History at Comenius University at first, which was probably due to the broadening of its competences and the lack of an expert staff. However, this did not last long and Alžbeta Güntherová Mayerová, the leading figure of the discipline, became a victim of the aforementioned situation. Her forced resignation in 1961, along with the disintegration of the synthetic Department of Art Sciences covering the discipline, opened a new chapter in university art history in Bratislava.

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UNIVERSITY ART HISTORY IN SLOVAKIA AFTER WWII AND ITS SOVIETIZATION IN THE 1950S.

Summary

In post-WWII Slovakia, art history was available only as a university field of study at Bratislava University (in 1954 regaining its name Comenius University) at the Seminár pre dejiny umenia / Seminar of Art History, a separate part of the Faculty of Arts of the university, where art history had been taught as an independent discipline since 1923 before its conversion to a department.

Post-war changes in state structures and the new political system radically affected Slovak society and the education system in the country. This article is the very first attempt to present in detail the extent and character of changes in university art history instruction in the part of the socialist era of the Czechoslovak Republic. It is based on the study and comparison of previously unprocessed sources from various university and state archives and their classification in the context of known historical facts. This contribution represents an in-depth probe into the post-war efforts to build a new university foundation and system of art history instruction in Slovakia within the Czechoslovak Republic, and its Sovietization as well.

The text analyzes the university environment, the curriculum, the study program of art history and the relevant changes resulting from political pressure from 1945 to 1960. They were the consequence of two directly related, significant moments in the history of Slovakia: the establishment of the Third Czechoslovak Republic in 1945 and the communist coup in 1948, which was followed by the most totalitarian period in the history of the state. The article also discusses the personal changes in the art history staff forced by the political situation (J. Dubnický, V. Wagner, V. Mencl, A. Güntherová-Mayerová, R. Matuščík, T. Štrauss, K. Kahoun).

After a brief presentation of the situation in Czechoslovakia at the time, the article first deals with the ad hoc activities and efforts of scientists seeking to maintain art history studies in Slovakia at the university level immediately after the end of the war. The central issue in the article is the changes in the way of teaching resulting from the political upheaval in February 1948. Against the background of political and social changes, the new law on higher education (Act No. 58/1950), which forces significant organizational transformations, is discussed. As part of the process of Sovietization of university education in Slovakia, the modified Seminar of Art History lost its independent status for a long time, and its staff was largely replaced. At the same time, throughout this period, there was a visible tendency to stabilize the teaching system and attempts to become independent again and to develop discipline, undertaken contrary to the imposed system. The 1950s, with their new rhetoric and propaganda optimism, appear to be a decade devoid of internal consistency. It started the most totalitarian period, which lasted until Stalin's death in 1953, but was followed by a short thaw and then by a new wave of repression after 1957, which chose victims even at the beginning of the next decade. The article focuses on two sides of the 1950s – centralization and the dominant ideological control of the Communist Party, on one hand, and on the other, the obvious effort to unify and professionalize the teaching of the discipline.

The factual material presented here shows the scale of changes interpreted in the context of the political and social changes of that time. The case study provides an analysis of system efforts made in the 1940s and 1950s to establish new principles of university teaching for the history of art in Slovakia as part of the Czechoslovak Republic. It aims to broaden the factual basis and existing overview of knowledge of art history in Slovakia and supplement existing studies on the history of art history in the country (J. Bakoš, I. Ciulisová, B. Koklesová).

Keywords:

Art history, Slovakia, Comenius University in Bratislava, World War II, 1950s, Sovietization

IVANA MANCE

TOWARDS THE THEORY OF THE NAÏVE ART – GRGO GAMULIN AND THE UNDERSTANDING OF MODERNISM

Grgo Gamulin (1910–1997), art historian, critic and author, was one of the central figures not only of Croatian art history in socialist Yugoslavia, but of its culture and public social life as well. While still a student at the University of Zagreb, he began to gravitate towards left-wing politics, publishing his first art critiques, in which he advocated for socially engaged art. Being a member of the Communist Party, public action became almost impossible between 1934 and 1941, while his war years were spent in Ustasha concentration camps. After the war, he began his public and university career as the head of the Ministry of Education's Department for Culture in Croatia's post-war government, and from 1947 he was employed at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb, where he took over the organisation of art history classes. Until 1971, when he was forced to retire for being a prominent member of the Croatian Spring movement, Gamulin taught classes in art history of the Early Modern Period and the Modern Age, remaining active as a scientist, art critic and author even after retirement. After gaining a PhD on the attribution methods in visual arts (1951), his scientific work was primarily dedicated to the painting of late-Gothic period up to the 19th century, modernist painting and sculpture, and the issues of contemporary urbanism. In all these areas, Gamulin cultivated theoretically sound and methodologically consistent thought, writing fundamental studies and syntheses. Continuously present as an art critic and an interested witness to the art of the 20th century, Grgo Gamulin was one of the main interpreters of modernism and modernist artistic phenomena in the context of Yugoslav socialism, which he both criticised and defended polemically, in accordance with his convictions, but also as part of his wide, outstandingly informed interest and human sensibility. The published works and manuscript legacy of Grgo Gamulin still represents one of the numerically largest corpora of Croatian art history.

GAMULIN VS. MODERNISM

For a relatively long time, Gamulin's position on modernism would remain marked by the ideological fracture caused by the relatively short episode of the implementation of socialist realism in Yugoslavia.¹ Although art historians generally agree that this cultural paradigm never really took hold at the level of artistic production in Yugoslavia, in the period between 1945 and 1949 – the year of the East-West bloc divide when Yugoslavia was left out of the Warsaw Pact – the artistic scene was institutionally constituted according to the Soviet totalitarian model, and the discourse of art criticism adopted the fundamental doctrines of socialist realism.² Here it should be noted that the discussions on the understanding of socially engaged art, primarily literature, have been ongoing in Croatia and Yugoslavia since the interwar period, following the dynamics of constituting that paradigm in the Soviet Union from afar.³ For the pre-war development of visual arts in Croatia in this context, the decisive occurrence was the text that Miroslav Krleža⁴ published as a foreword to the map of drawings by Krsto Hegedušić,⁵ leader of the left-leaning, but also

¹ Gamulin's texts that investigate the concept of socialist realism were written between 1946 and 1954.

² Lj. Kolešnik, *Između Istoka i Zapada. Hrvatska umjetnost i likovna kritika 50-ih godina*, Zagreb 2006, pp. 29–32; A. Šeparović, "U znaku totalitarizma," in: *150 godina Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika. Umjetnost i institucija*, ed. I. Kraševac, Zagreb 2018, pp. 173–200.

³ Debates between left-wing intellectuals in Croatian historiography are usually described by the term "conflict on the left." According to S. Lasić, the beginning of the conflict can be traced to the year 1928, which was defining for the political life of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (the assassination of the Croatian politician S. Radić, establishment of the 6th January Dictatorship), but also in the field of artistic creativity (disagreements between left-oriented writers on the line of social literature/surrealism). Lasić places the end of the conflict in 1952, the year of the III Congress of the Writers of Yugoslavia, at which M. Krleža gave a speech that is considered as a definite break with the poetics of socialist realism. S. Lasić, *Sukob na književnoj ljevici 1928–1952*, Zagreb 1970.

⁴ Miroslav Krleža, Croatian writer and lexicographer (Zagreb, 1893 – Zagreb, 1981). The central figure of Croatian cultural and social life of the 20th century and the author of a large, multi-genre literary corpus whose masterpieces made him part of the history of Central European literature of the 20th century. Included in many anthologies, and systematically translated to the Hungarian, German and French language.

⁵ Krsto Hegedušić, Croatian painter (Petrinja, 1901 – Zagreb, 1975). During the interwar period, one of the founders of the Association of Artists *Zemlja* (1929–35), an artistic group with a socially engaged programme, which created a specific visual arts expression close to the poetics of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement, and which encouraged the creativity of self-taught peasant painters. After WWII, as a full-time professor at the Academy

nationally marked Association of Artist *Zemlja*.⁶ Krleža's foreword unequivocally placed the programmatic orientation of the *Zemlja* artists on the side that explicitly rejected the normative poetics and trivial instrumentalisation of art of the hard "Kharkov" line, advocating a liberal understanding of socially engaged art, which respects the notional autonomy of artistic expression and modernist stylistic leanings.⁷ Right after the end of the War, the achievements of the Association of Artists *Zemlja* were still perceived as exemplary for a young socialist society, and so in 1945 Gamulin wrote that their activities "made our visual arts ready to enter the National Liberation Struggle, with open possibilities and a number of developed talents."⁸ The circumstances under which Gamulin modified his opinions on the artistic value of this, but also other segments of pre-war modernist art, are still open for research and interpretation. However, the fact remains that, only a year later, the stylistic idiom of the *Zemlja* group would be characterised as "left formalism," which runs counter to the tendencies of "realist art."⁹ By once again confirming such valorisation in a 1949 exhibition review, Gamulin would initiate a harmful and destructive conflict that would go beyond the level of personal disagreement between Hegedušić and himself, and hinder the resolution of tensions on the relation between socialism – modernism, or rather social engagement – aesthetic autonomy till the mid-1950s. It should be emphasised that Gamulin did not consider the antagonism between the art of modernism and the ideology of socialism, which in Yugoslavia also concurred with the radicalisation of social realist doctrine during the so-called "Zhdanov period,"¹⁰ to be an *a priori*, general givenness. In his dialectic consideration of the historical development of art, modernism had its logical place along with other style periods, and as such could not be easily denied or simplistically rejected on an ideological basis. By interpreting the historical and artistic development as a Hegelian advancement of an autonomous form of human understanding or,

of Fine Art in Zagreb and a full member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, he had a profound influence on the artistic and cultural life, adamantly opposing the doctrine of social realism.

⁶ Full name of the association in Croatian: *Udruženje umjetnika Zemlja* [zemlja – soil, land].

⁷ P. Prelog, *Hrvatska moderna umjetnost i nacionalni identitet*, Zagreb 2018, pp. 274–286.

⁸ G. Gamulin, "Povodom izložbe slikara partizana," *Republika* 1945, 1(1–2), pp. 106–113.

⁹ G. Gamulin, „Uz izložbu udruženja likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske“, *Naprijed* 1946, 4(52), p. 3.

¹⁰ Lj. Kolečnik, *Između Istoka i Zapada...*, Zagreb 2006, p. 29.

to use Lenin's lexicon, social apprehension of the world, in whose purposeful movement the socialist model of realism represented the next, presumably even the more perfect developmental stage of "coordination" of subjective consciousness and objectivity,¹¹ Gamulin did not deny the possibility that certain attainments of modernist art, as well as those of earlier art-historical periods, could be assimilated into a new socialist norm that appeared historically as a moment of their synthesis. In articles written between 1949 and 1954, Gamulin thus combed with scholarly meticulousness through individual modernist phenomena such as impressionism, Cézanne's style, cubism, etc., and offered a lucid, informed analysis of their stylistic-ontological concepts, which he then rejected as potential role models on agnoseological basis, due to their ostensibly deficient relationship to human reality, or rather as a resolved stage in the overall social development of art. By the end of 1950s, Gamulin gradually relaxed the relationship between this imaginary socialist realism, which did not follow the Soviet model but appeared as a synthesis of the entire historical development of art, and modernism. For some time after, the Yugoslav cultural scene definitely opened up to artistic developments in Western Europe, but after the appearance of the first abstract expressions in the country, Gamulin continued to represent the position that tried to differentiate the realist orientation in art within the totality of contemporary artistic production, that is, as an orientation which acquired its relative value only in the context of modernism as a whole. By advocating for a selective approach to new artistic tendencies, and criticising an uncritical adoption of stylistic idioms, especially of abstract language in visual arts, Gamulin initiated discussions that actually did not differ from contemporary discussions on left-wing art scene in western democracies. In his texts from the middle of the decade, the problem of the adequacy of socialism and modernism was thus gradually replaced by a polemic on abstract and figurative art. The concept of socialist realism as a separate stylistic-ontological norm, and an innovative one to boot, forever disappeared from his deliberations on the historical and future development of art, whereby the horizon of modernism became the only one within which he would articulate all his subsequent doubts and convictions.

¹¹ G. Gamulin, „Opća teorija umjetnosti kao teorija socijalističkog realizma“, *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta*, Zagreb 1951, 1(1), pp. 155–185, passim. The text represents Gamulin's criticism of the dogmatic concept of social realism espoused by Soviet aesthetics T. Pavlov, M. Rozental, B. Mejlah and others.

TOWARDS A THEORY OF NAÏVE ART¹²

Gamulin began writing about naïve art at the very beginning of 1960s. At that point in time, naïve art was on the upswing in Croatia and Yugoslavia: with the establishment of the Gallery of Primitive Art in Zagreb (1952)¹³ and frequent individual and group exhibitions of naïve artists in the country and abroad, naïve artistic production would not only become a successful cultural product on the international scale in mid-1950s and 1960s, but would assert itself as a consistent artistic phenomenon that demanded its explicative support. Besides art critics and gallery managers who promoted and followed this type of art, Grgo Gamulin was the first art historian who systematically theorised this phenomenon; the period between 1961 and mid-1970s saw the emergence of not only one of the most ambitious theories of naïve creation in general, but also of a number of other texts that undoubtedly represent a key contribution to the understanding of the phenomenon of naïve art in the historical context of post-war modernism, to which it largely belongs.

Here the general notice on the notion and term “naïve art” and its historical usage should be made. Although “naïveté” or “primitiveness” was employed as an aesthetic concept in the various art-historical contexts, the notion of “naïve art” addresses particular phenomenon within the modern art of the 20th century.¹⁴ This kind of art-production was recognized and institutionally affirmed already in the interwar period though under different labels (modern primitives or neo-primitives, the Sacred Heart painters [*Les peintures de Sacré Coeur*, W. Uhde], painters of instinct [*La peinture d'instinct*, R. Huyghe], etc.).¹⁵ The “naïve art” as a specific denomination was generally accepted in the period after the Second World War, precisely in the 1950s and

¹² The title of Gamulin's first major study on naïve art: “Prema teoriji naive umjetnosti,” *Kolo* 1965, 3(5), pp. 525–553.

¹³ Croatian Peasant Educational Society “Peasant Unity” [Seljačka sloga], at the initiative of Franjo Gaži, in 1952 made the decision to initiate a “Permanent Exhibition of Peasant Painters.” In 1956, the “Peasant Art Gallery” changed its name to the “Gallery of Primitive Art,” and in 1994 became the current Museum of Naïve Art.

¹⁴ V. Crnković, “Naiva ili naivna umjetnosti,” in: idem, *Marginalije ili razotkrivanje nevidljivog*, Zagreb 2009, pp. 11–16; N. Vrkljan-Križić, “Naivna likovna umjetnost – autentični stvaralački čin umjetnosti dvadesetog stoljeća” [“Naive visual art in Yugoslavia and in the world – an authentic creative act of 20th century art”], in: *Naivna umjetnost / Naive Art*, ed. M. Susovski, Zagreb 1991, p. 42.

¹⁵ B. Kelemen, *Naivno slikarstvo Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1969, pp. 8–10; O. Bihalji-Merin, *Naivni umjetnici svijeta*, Zagreb 1972, p. 8; V. Crnković, “‘Slikari svetog srca’ i evropski modernizmi”, in: idem, *Studije i eseji, recenzije i zapisi, interpretacije. Prilozi za teoriju i povijest naive i art-brutističkih tendencija 1983–1997*, Zagreb 2002, pp. 217–224.

1960s, when the first all-encompassing studies were written by prominent authors such as Anatole Jakovsky and Oto Bihalji-Merin.¹⁶ It was exactly in this period that naïve art reached the peak of its popularity. Discursively elaborated and widely exhibited,¹⁷ it was made into ideologically highly invested occurrence, on the basis of which the flexibility of modernist paradigm on both sides of the Iron curtain could be tested.¹⁸ Gamulin's writings speak of this historical moment.

What had led Gamulin to devote himself so intensively to this issue? As Vladimir Crnković writes, one of the reasons was doubtlessly Gamulin's "faith in figurative painting."¹⁹ In the artistic milieu of Croatia and Yugoslavia, which had been rapidly liberalising since the early 1950s and opening itself up to the affirmation of various artistic values, including different concepts of abstract visual arts expressions from the geometric to lyrical abstraction and Art Informel, which elicited heated discussions, naïve art also emerged as a radical novelty in the domain of figuration. As an admittedly not avant-garde, but definitely anti-academic occurrence, naïve art offered some sort of compensation to the type of modernist sensibility that was mistrustful of abstract art. Although naïve art did not arise solely as a reaction to the abstract or any other modernist idiom, it still indisputably functioned as an ostensible transgression of the paradigm within the cultural field. It was precisely as a phenomenon that seemingly disrupted the laws of the historically necessitated advancement of art that naïve creative endeavours touched Gamulin's theoretical nerve, which is the second important reason for his interest in the phenomenon. In order to find a plausible foundation for the naïve within the modern epistemology of art, Gamulin developed a number of theories, some of which are still relevant today, as will be shown later on.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Jakovsky, *Die naive Malerei in Frankreich*, Zürich 1957; idem, *Peintres naïfs. Lexikon der Laienmaler aus aller Welt*, Hamburg, Wien 1967; O. Bihalji-Merin, *Das naive Bild der Welt*, Köln 1959 [Croatian ed.: *Naivni umjetnici svijeta*, Zagreb 1972]; idem, *Umetnost naivnih u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1963 [1959].

¹⁷ B. Kelemen, *Naivno slikarstvo Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1969, pp. 10–14; V. Crnković, "Naiva u Hrvatskoj pedesetih godina," in: idem, *Studije i eseji, recenzije i zapisi, interpretacije. Prilozi za teoriju i povijest naive i art-brutističkih tendencija 1997–2001*, Zagreb 2002, pp. 70–84.

¹⁸ Cf. T. Zimmermann, "Oto Bihalji-Merin and the Concept of the 'Naïve' in the 1950s. Bridging Socialist Realism and Non-Figurative Art," *Acta historiae artis Slovenica* 2018, 23(1), pp. 185–198.

¹⁹ V. Crnković, "Marginalije uz Gamulinove tekstove o 'naivnoj umjetnosti'", in: idem, *Studije i eseji, recenzije i zapisi, interpretacije. Prilozi za teoriju i povijest naive i art-brutističkih tendencija 1997–2001*, Zagreb 2002, p. 92.

The third reason for theorising about naïve art, according to Crnković,²⁰ was Gamulin's involvement in the so-called "Bosilj affair"²¹ which, in addition to being the immediate cause, reflected the notional split of opinions on the genesis of this type of art, which further spurred Gamulin to arm himself with arguments in the face of its opponents.

In addition to representing a rare speculative achievement in Croatian art history, Gamulin's theory of naïve art, set forth in multiple studies and a large number of texts and criticisms in the form of monographs,²² also clearly reflects the flexibility and inclusivity of a high-modernist paradigm in a specific historical time and place. It bears witness to an undertaking to incorporate an artistic phenomenon, whose historical continuity in Europe can be traced since the end of the 19th century, and in Croatia since the interwar period, into the dominant artistic discourse and canonise it as a consensual value, while trying to overcome a number of notional and interest antagonisms that had defined the cultural-artistic scene and the framing of the discussion on modernist art in Croatia and Yugoslavia in general for a long time. For the pur-

²⁰ Ibidem.

²¹ The "Bosilj affair" represents the culmination of attempts to discredit naïve creativity as a false, counterfeit phenomenon orchestrated by dishonourable interests. Krsto Hegedušić' publicly raised suspicion about the authorship of paintings by Ilija Bosilj, a farmer from Srijem and the father of art historian and critic D. Bašičević, following public correspondence in which Gamulin and other like-minded individuals rose to his defence, led to a devastating incident when the artist was called by the city government to paint in front of the appointed commission made up of distinguished art historians, artists and other cultural workers (1965).

²² Gamulin's bibliography numbered over fifty units. In addition to numerous reviews of exhibitions of naïve artists and multiple monographic texts, he also wrote the following theoretic treatises: "Prema teoriji naivne umjetnosti," pp. 525–553 ("K teoriji naivné houmenia," *Ars* 1968, 1; "Toward a Theory of Primitive Art," in: *Primitive Painting*, Zagreb 1981; New York 1981); „U ovom teoretskom trenutku“, *Život umjetnosti* 1970, 11–12, pp. 3–24; „Plaidoyer za Hlebine.“ Deset teza za simpozij *Naivi '73*, in: G. Gamulin, *Prema teoriji naivne umjetnosti. Studije, eseji, kritike, prikazi, poelmike 1961–1990*, Zagreb 1999, pp. 219–224; *I Pittori Naifs della Scuola di Hlebine*, Milano 1974; "Contributo critico sul caso di Ligabue naïf," *L'Arte Naive* 1975, 2(8), pp. 59–62; "Esampi di romanticismo nella pittura naïve," *L'Arte Naive* 1975, 2(8), pp. 63–78; *Les peintres naïfs. Ecole de Hlebine*, Paris 1979; *Jugoslawische Hinterglassmalerei. Ivan Generalić und die Schule von Hlebine*, Gütersloh 1982; "Teze o situaciji. Izvještaj za XII. Majsko drugovanje na Sani 1986," in: G. Gamulin, *Prema teoriji naivne umjetnosti, Studije, eseji, kritike, prikazi, poelmike 1961–1990*, Zagreb 1999, pp. 289–298; "Naivna umjetnost," in: G. Gamulin, *Hrvatsko slikarstvo XX. stoljeća*, vol. 1, Zagreb 1987, pp. 504–511. The complete bibliography of Gamulin's texts on naïve art was compiled by V. Crnković in: G. Gamulin, *Prema teoriji naivne umjetnosti. Studije, eseji, kritike, prikazi, polemike 1961–1990*, Zagreb 1999.

pose of this text, Gamulin's primary theories on naïve art will be discussed synchronously, not in order of their appearance in Gamulin's studies, but as a collection of ideas that form a relatively rounded theory.

THE *AB OVO* THEORY:

VIRGIN DETACHMENT FROM THE HISTORY OF ART

Since he first started writing about naïve art, Gamulin tried to explain why it should be considered a part of the modern, and for him, contemporary world of art. Without rejecting the possibility that the naïve attitude to artistic expression existed as a general, anthropological modality of creative consciousness, Gamulin explicitly claimed that naïve art was historically constituted as congruent with modernist values – when the “sensitivity of a social milieu” matured to the point where this type of expression was recognised for the values that “already existed as one of the components of modern art.”²³ In other words, naïve art historically did not exist outside the context of modernism, regardless of the character of impulses and the formative context that guaranteed differential qualities, this type of expression could only be actualised as art on the basis of the modernist paradigm. In order to explain the specific affiliation of naïve art to modernism, or rather its genealogy, Gamulin lapsed into a contradiction that was constitutive of the modernist discourse itself; he embraced the so-called theory on its emergence *ab ovo* which, starting from French interwar art history as well as many distinguished post-war theoreticians of the naïve such as Anatole Jakovsky,²⁴ was adopted by many authors who then started to write affirmatively about the naïve – the idea of the absolute originality of the naïve expression that arises from naïve artists' lack of awareness of the historic development of art. On that basis, and already in his first study, Gamulin systemically differentiated the naïve not only in relation to professional, meaning academic art, but also to the folk (popular, folkloric) and lay, or rather amateur art (from which the naïve must be especially distanced). This is unlike the folk artist, whose contribution is based on the preservation of collective traditions without the demand for the originality of expression, unlike the lay artist or an amateur, whose relationship to the art's historical development is structurally epigonic, and unlike the academic artist, whose individual original contribution necessarily implies the experience of the past historic course of art as a whole, the naïve artist “*lives and works*

²³ Gamulin, “Prema teoriji navine umjetnosti,” p. 531.

²⁴ Cf. A. Jakovsky, *La peinture naïve du Douanier Rousseau à nos jours*, Bruxelles 1958.

in virgin detachment from the history of art, and thus, by his very existence, achieves that spontaneity and originality to which a modern artist aspires, usually in vain, and often through artificial means."²⁵ In order to explain this isolation of the naïve artist from the historical experience of art and culture in general, Gamulin used the sociological formula of the "blockade" – a low level of artistic and broader cultural awareness and knowledge, arising from different formative circumstances, keep the naïve artist permanently but effectively in cognitive isolation, basically imprisoned in positions that guarantee authenticity and originality of his artistic impulse, so that even potential influences from the current artistic milieu are "*assimilated by the naïve core,*" without dislodging it "*from its naïve relationship to the world.*"²⁶ Gamulin's high esteem of originality was, therefore, a typically modernist position; precisely at the moment when the distinctiveness or declination from academic norms was recognised as the value of originality, naïve art became part of the historic course of art, building on it with its specific contribution. In addition to an understandable determinedness by the discourse of the time, Gamulin's insistence on the *ab ovo* theory, or rather on the postulate of the zero level of artistic experience and the absolute unconditionality of expression of a naïve artists, also reflected current divisions related to the issue of the genesis and worth of naïve art among Croatian critics and artists, as well as split opinions on the understanding of modernism in general. Gamulin's aspiration to defend the absolute authenticity of the naïve expression is a reflection of the already mentioned restraint towards the issue of external, extrinsic artistic influence in general, or rather the fundamental conviction about the necessity of an ontological foundation of art in the immediate, subjective experience of reality and the cultural experience of the social environment. In particular, behind the theory of the intactness of naïve artistic expression stands the current division of attitudes on the genesis of this art in the Croatian context. Unlike the proponents of the naïve artistic expression, part of the elite led by Miroslav Krleža did not accept the theory on the authenticity of this phenomenon, considering it an induced, even interest-motivated construct. An argument for such a judgement was within easy reach, in the historical fact of the role that Krsto Hegedušić played in stimulating peasant painting in the interwar period, and in the context of socially engaged programme of the Association of Artists *Zemlja*, in which that painting had such a clear ideological mission. In relation to that historic moment, the new flourishing of the naïve was judged by its detractors as an aberration of once-progressive

²⁵ Gamulin, "Prema teoriji navine umjetnosti," p. 544 [italic – G. G.].

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 546 [italic – G. G.].

positions. From today's perspective, the verdict is easy to reach: just like other artistic phenomena, naïve art also rested on active communication between competing artistic concepts and organised institutional support, which does not detract from the uniqueness of particular artistic oeuvres nor from artistic credibility of the phenomenon as such. Nevertheless, within the paradigm in which it was precisely the category of individual artistic genius that represented one of the basic categories that could secure competitive status for naïve artists on the market of artistic ideas, individuals were taking up firm, radical positions, and Gamulin was no different. Although he did not abandon the basic idea of the substantially asymmetrical relation of naïve consciousness and historical development of art, over time Gamulin would nonetheless partly relativize his rigid attitudes on the possibility of extrinsic influences, as will be demonstrated.

THE NAÏVE CORE OF STYLE

The second problem that Gamulin had to tackle in his theorising is the formation of *style* in naïve artists; namely, how does a naïve artist, whose "historical experience is completely cut off, and the personal one unfolds within a narrow register determined by the character of the *blockade*," manifests precisely that "characteristic which is common to modern art" – "the absolute *singularity* of style"²⁷ – a crucial quality that distinguishes him from the artist-amateur? Raising this issue, Gamulin again explicitly asked how naïve art had achieved its qualitative stylistic distinction while existing outside the historical horizon of art. In answering this question, he immediately rejected the reasoning advocated by some theoreticians, namely that it is a matter of naïve realism, meaning mere description.²⁸ Gamulin again offered a solution in line with his pronouncedly modernist understanding of a work of art, which still ran along the line of theories formulated by Jakovsky and La Motte.²⁹ Understandably, we cannot talk about realism in connection with naïve artists, because realism is also a stylistic concept determined by historical development; with naïve artists, on the contrary, it is a question of constitutive failure of imitation, or rather a failure in depicting the world:

²⁷ Ibidem, pp. 540–541 [italic – G. G.].

²⁸ In this context, Gamulin singles out Jean Cassou and Werner Haftman.

²⁹ Gamulin quotes A. Jakovsky and M. de la Motte: A. Jakovsky, "Ces peintres de la semaine des sept dimanches," in: *Les peintres naïfs*, Knokke-le-Zoute 1958 [exhibition catalogue]; M. de la Motte, "Naive Kunst?" in: *Das naive Bild der Welt*, Baden-Baden 1961 [exhibition catalogue].

in an attempt to portray the world, naïve artists instinctively impose their own symbolical system, or rather their sign language, on the referent reality, achieving an autonomy in relation to all aesthetic norms, including the realistic one, to which a modern artist can only aspire. "He paints as he exists, in *unity* with his expression, but without a conscious (historical) relation to that expression."³⁰ A naïve artist's style is therefore a given of his limited gnoseological disposition, and not stylistic self-possession that can develop only as a historically-relative value. Defending his basic postulate on the extrahistoricity of naïve artistic concept, Gamulin would, however, find himself faced with several additional problems. First of all, how does the individualisation of expression, as the basic assumption of art in the modern sense, even take place within such absolute symbolisation? Secondly, how can one explain the stylistic development of certain individual oeuvres which last in time? And finally, how to explain the phenomenon of a school as stylistic interconnect-edness within a group of naïve artists? Gamulin solved the problem of the individualisation of expression with the already mentioned theory of the blockade – sociologically-conditioned isolation of a naïve artistic subject from the institutional world of art. Namely, the circumstances of the blockade differ from one artist to another, which leads to differences in the imagination – it is thus not a matter of conscious aspiration towards the individualisation of expression in relation to the totality of artistic possibilities, but of a necessary determinateness of contingent circumstances of existential isolation. In line with such deliberations, Gamulin initially also espoused a theory of the "*immobility*"³¹ of the once-attained expression, which he eventually abandoned when faced with changes in style and subject matter in artists whose work he continuously followed.³² Naturally, he interpreted the dynamic in the expression within individual oeuvres as a subjectively inherent process; although naïve artists develop an indisputable "painterly consciousness," meaning a meta-linguistic relationship towards their own system of forms, their stylistic development is immune to the movements of the art world – "tangential impulses and interventions" that may come from it would be completely as-

³⁰ Gamulin, "Prema teoriji navine umjetnosti," p. 541.

³¹ "The phenomenon which had, namely, been detected early on in connection to naïve art is the *immobility of their painterly (or sculptorly) vision.*" Ibidem, p. 545.

³² "Perhaps the concept of its general immobility will soon have to be revised, but its dynamics is not in the genesis of contemporary expressions." G. Gamulin, "U ovom teoretskom trenutku," *Život umjetnosti* 1970, 11–12, p. 24. Cf. also: V. Crnković, "Marginalije uz Gamulinove tekstove o 'naivnoj umjetnosti,'" p. 93, 96.

simulated by the “naïve core,”³³ which is the underlying basis for the stylistic genesis of naïve artists.

The problem of the school as a consistent style formation is something that Gamulin would consistently tackle and, in considering the topic, eventually go furthest in correcting his own starting point. At the very beginning of his speculation, he explicitly raised the question of the famous Hlebine³⁴ or any other school: “Is that not a ‘contradiction in the substantive’? For, if naïve expression is, by its definition, isolated and individual, how is it possible for the phenomenon of a ‘school’ to appear, or any other stylistic *connection* between naïve artists?”³⁵ The answer he first offered was again based on the concept of the blockade, which applied equally well to the level of the collective: without denying the factuality of mutual influences of artists who live and work together, Gamulin claimed that it was a coherent style occurrence that arose from the closedness of the environment. The point at issue was the “multiplication of focal points within a homogeneous cultural and psychological environment, without external interventions,” which over time even led to the “emergence of solidarity of an artistic region” and a deliberate “defence of style.”³⁶ In this context, Gamulin also debated with critical positions which held that with the emergence of a “school,” art stopped being naïve and transformed into a manner that was open to the siren call of the world of art and the market.³⁷ Gamulin would return to the problem of the formation and development of a school as a unique style formation in a comprehensive monographic text on the Hlebine School, in which he systematically elabo-

³³ G. Gamulin, “Prema teoriji navine umjetnosti,” p. 546. G. refers to O. Bihalji, who writes about the visibility of different influences in the oeuvres of individual naïve artist, but who remained undeclared regarding the *ab ovo* theory. O. Bihalji-Merin, *Das naive Bild der Welt*, Köln 1959 (Croatian edition: *Naivni umjetnici svijeta*, Zagreb 1972).

³⁴ Hlebine School. The name that is used for several generations of painters from Po-dravina, a region in northern Croatia. The name comes from the village of Hlebine, home to the two painters from the first generation (Ivan Generalić, Franjo Mraz), who were encouraged to paint by the academic painter K. Hegedušić in the first half of the 1930s. As the *Ecole de Hlebine*, it was first mentioned in 1955 at the Biennale in São Paolo, where it was first introduced to the international public. The H. School includes the following: in the first generation Ivan Generalić, Franjo Mraz and Mirko Virius; in the second generation Franjo Filipović, Dragan Gaži, Josip Generalić, Ivan Večenaj, Mijo Kovačić, Martin Mehkek, Ivan Lacković; several artists of the third generation appeared during the 1970s.

³⁵ Gamulin, “Prema teoriji navine umjetnosti,” p. 552 [italic – G. G.].

³⁶ G. Gamulin, “Pledoayer za Hlebine,” in: idem, *Prema teoriji navne umjetnosti. Studije, eseji, kritike, prikazi, poelmike 1961–1990*, Zagreb 1999, p. 231, 233.

³⁷ Gamulin primarily debates with painters Albert Dasnoy and Klaus Jürgen-Fischer, but also with Oto Bihalji.

rated on the problem.³⁸ First of all, Gamulin emphasised the criteria necessary for talking about a “school”: first, that a recognisable style idiom functioned in a more or less confined area as a precondition for interaction and influences; second, that a style idiom lasts in time, transferring a relatively consistent linguistic, or rather morphological system from generation to generation; and, third, that there was a formation of a “milieu of spiritual atmosphere,” meaning a specific cultural environment. “Fundamental attribute is, therefore, *the emergence and functioning of style*, of the especially created expression, which was *suggestive enough* to activate the imagination and creative energies of other potential self-taught artists in its surroundings, and whose activities were *durable enough* to enable the suggestive radiation of a firmly-formed expression to become prominent.”³⁹ Undoubtedly, the formation and existence of the school was primarily interpreted by Gamulin in an autogenetic manner: as a logical consequence of the effect of strong creative personalities – in the case of the Hlebine School it was Ivan Generalić⁴⁰ – whose work, through the “radiation of style,” encouraged talented individuals to create their own expression. In this context, Gamulin also cast a careful, historiographic eye on the influence of left-leaning Association of Artists *Zemlja* and Krsto Hegedušić on the formation of the school in the interwar period; he did not contest their contribution to the affirmation of naïve artists, but strongly defended the thesis on the fundamental disconnectedness of cultural spheres that were brought into conjunction only by the ideological context, and not by the world of art they shared. In this sense, stylistic interaction cannot be fruitful either – influences that come from the academic sphere can result only in a *malaligned coalescence*, and not creative assimilation. “By its

³⁸ Gamulin, “Naivni slikari Hlebinske škole.” The text was also published in the Italian (1974), French (1979) and German edition (1982), while the original Croatian text is only now being readied for publication. I thank V. Crnković for the access to the manuscript.

³⁹ Gamulin, “Naivni slikari Hlebinske škole” [manuscript], p. 10 [italic – G. G.].

⁴⁰ Ivan Generalić (Hlebine, 1914 – Koprivnica, 1992), naïve painter. The central figure of the Hlebine School. In the interwar period, his work was encouraged by the painter K. Hegedušić, one of the founders of the artistic association *Zemlja*, with which he had his first exhibition (1931–1935). While the period until WWII was thematically related to social problems of the village, after the War he developed a specific bucolic imagery, which from late 1950s also included surreal, magic realistic elements, and during the 1970s he made a turn towards existentialist, allegoric content. He had a number of solo exhibitions in the country and abroad (Paris 1953, Brussels 1959, Munich 1965, Solothurn and Düsseldorf 1966, Zürich 1967, Basel 1968, Florence and Geneva 1971, Offenbach 1972, Köln 1976) and participated in numerous group exhibitions of Croatian and other naïve art. His paintings hang in Croatian and foreign museums and collections (France, Germany, Switzerland etc.).

cultural sense, its emergence and, ultimately, its spiritual range as well, these are two different phenomena that can arise in different strata of cultural existence. Mutual interferences can have the function of a catalyst, but cannot be decisive for the creative range. They were not decisive in this case."⁴¹

THE FUNCTION OF THE "LOST CHILDHOOD"

The third line of Gamulin's investigation of naïve art appertains to a wider social and cultural sense of this phenomenon. Namely, if naïve art emerges on the historical stage as an event of radical artistic discontinuity, and as such plays a direct part in contemporaneity, or rather the culture of modernity, it must be determined what its significance is in this context and which values form the basis for its communication with its contemporaneity. Gamulin's answer is the following: naïve art has the value of compensation. In the culture of modernity which, not even in the socialist version, can avert the sense of alienation on the relation between the individual – collective, in which civilizational weariness stirs a yearning for simple forms of existence, and art follows its autonomous path of development that leaves "unsatisfied the bright aspirations and needs,"⁴² naïve art necessarily populates the emptied places. "Into those empty spaces – from its hidden shelters, from the edges of today – came naïve art, discovering the unmet needs of simple people, and even jaded ones, the tired criticism and confused theory, and that is why it was accepted."⁴³ Gamulin was not alone in this interpretation of the naïve as a therapeutic supplement; other distinguished writers involved with naïve art, especially Mića Bašičević,⁴⁴ were pushing for just such an interpretation, arguing that naïve art opened up the artistic experience to the pre-modern, primordial, primal experiences. "Was it a desire of our times for the lost naiveté of art ..., and a desperate, hopeless hope that we can recover our lost childhood?,"

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 12.

⁴² G. Gamulin, "U ovom teoretskom trenutku," *Život umjetnosti* 1970, 11–12, p. 19.

⁴³ Ibidem.

⁴⁴ Dimitrije (Mića) Bašičević – Mangelos, art historian and conceptual artist (Šid, 1921 – Zagreb, 1987). Co-founder of the Gallery of Primitive Art in Zagreb, which he headed between 1960 and 1965. With the exhibitions he organised and the reviews and introductions he wrote, Bašičević made a critical contribution to the conceptualisation and evaluation of naïve art, as well as to its affirmation in Yugoslavia and abroad. His texts on naïve art were collected in: Mića Bašičević, *Studije i eseji, kritike i zapisi, 1952–1954*, ed. V. Crnković, Zagreb 1995; Mića Bašičević, *Studije i eseji, kritike i zapisi, 1955–1963*, ed. V. Crnković, Zagreb 1995.

asked Gamulin rhetorically.⁴⁵ To be sure, the question implicitly contained the answer: “naïve art” was an ideal that had been lost in advance; the immediacy between the existential experience and artistic consciousness that Gamulin invoked did not even apply to naïve art itself, which was proven by his ramified theory. Naïve creativity therefore tied in with values that have existed within modernism for a long time: the art of modernism and the culture of modernity constitutively fostered a sensibility for everything that could be described with a sign of the pre- or anti-modern, meaning everything that could represent a dialectic antithesis to the dominant cultural paradigm. Still, if one considers the fact that it was precisely during the period of the rise of the naïve that the artistic culture in Croatia and Yugoslavia was marked by the definite adoption of an abstract visual art language in its high-modernist conception, it is understandable that the relation of these, at least seemingly opposed artistic phenomena within the same paradigm, impressed itself on Gamulin and other witnesses of the time as an epistemological problem. It was precisely from the position of a purportedly radical alterity that naïve creativity could become part of the historical course of art and the modernist order; it was exactly as a compensation for an imaginary projection of “childhood” that the naïve defended its values.

CONCLUSION

Gamulin’s theory of naïve art is a monumental example of the modernist understanding and evaluation of art. Wanting to explain and defend the phenomenon of the naïve as a relevant artistic occurrence, Gamulin reached for the fundamental concepts of the modernist paradigm: through the *ab ovo* thesis – a theory that naïve art does not arise as a conditioned result of the historical development of art, but as a self-grown phenomenon, independent of artistic circumstances and based solely on the intrinsic motivation of a creative subject, who sublimates their own existential situation into a creative expression – he granted naïve art the value of *authenticity*, or originality; by rejecting the postulate on naïve realism and emphasising the stylistic self-consciousness of a naïve creator, or rather an entire school which managed to build a consistent morphological and narrative universe, he ensured the value of *autonomy*; and by interpreting the social significance of this creative endeavour as a declaration of suppressed, inhibited moods and aspira-

⁴⁵ Gamulin, “Prema teoriji navine umjetnosti,” p. 528.

tions, he ensured the value of otherness, or *alterity*, as the third value that is constitutive of the culture of modernity.⁴⁶

Even though our contemporary perception of naïve art differs from Gamulin's theoretic interpretation, it represents an unambiguous affirmation of the historical and stylistic affiliation of this occurrence with the order of high-modernism, which established itself in 1950s Yugoslavia as an aesthetic and ideological norm of artistic production that Gamulin, after abandoning the horizon of socialist realism, basically endorsed. With the benefit of historical hindsight, today we understand this phenomenon as an occurrence that started, functioned and came to an end within one era; the intertextual permeation of naïve art with stylistic patterns and artistic concepts that it perforce shared with the academic artistic sphere, does not lessen the appraisal of creativity of individual contributions, which makes the problem of its genesis and position within the art world not substantially different from any other modernist occurrence. However, Gamulin and his contemporaries like Bašičević, as informed witnesses of the cultural "opening-up," or the adoption of contemporary artistic tendencies, reached for the here-expounded type of argumentation in order to legitimise this phenomenon as a competitive contribution, opportunely recognising an artistic concept through which Yugoslavia played a relevant role in the international culture of modernism.

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⁴⁶ The triad of authenticity – autonomy – alterity was taken from Cornelia Klinger: C. Klinger, "Autonomy – Authenticity – Alterity: On the Aesthetic Ideology of Modernity," in: *Modernologies. Contemporary Artists Researching Modernity and Modernism*, ed. S. Breitwieser, Barcelona 2009 [exhibition catalogue], pp. 25–37.

Reflection of these values in the critical discourse on naïve art in 1960s Croatia, see: I. Mance, "Rastezljivost paradigme: 'naivno' prema 'modernom' u diskursu hrvatske povijesti umjetnosti i likovne kritike šezdesetih godina," in: *Ivan Generalić. Djelo, život, vrijeme. Zborni kradova znanstveno-stručnog simpozija povodom 100. Obljetnice rođenja Ivana Generalića*, Koprivnica 2016, pp. 11–18.

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TOWARDS THE THEORY OF THE NAÏVE ART – GRGO GAMULIN AND THE UNDERSTANDING OF MODERNISM

Summary

The article presents the theory of naïve art of the Croatian art historian Grgo Gamulin (1910–1997), which he developed in a number of texts written from early 1960s. In his theory, Gamulin tried to explain the phenomenon of naïve art on the basis of the modernist paradigm by applying the type of argumentation that is characteristic for the discourse of high-modernity. Gamulin’s postulates on the naïve can be summarised with a few basic lines of speculation. First of all, Gamulin claims that the phenomenon of the naïve was epistemologically possible only in the context of modernism, and that it should therefore be considered an equally valuable movement of contemporary art. However, in order to defend its authenticity, he began adhering to the *ab ovo* theory, the notion that naïve art does not arise as a cumulative result of the historical development of art, but that it ontologically precedes that development. The naïve artist, according to Gamulin, always starts from the beginning, independent of events in the art world, and immune to influences. A naïve artist is therefore necessarily authentic, or rather original: not having any role models, he develops an individual style, independently building his own visual arts language. Gamulin further posits that the visual arts language of the naïve is not based on a naive imitation of reality, or mimesis, but on an instinctive, spontaneous symbolisation of subjective experience, and as such is completely autonomous in relation to the laws of reality, i.e. it is ontologically grounded in the artist’s imagination. Finally, in an effort to explain the social significance of naïve art, Gamulin interprets the emergence of the naïve in the context of the culture of modernism as compensation – a supposedly naïve attitude to aesthetic norms, as well as an imaginarium that evokes “lost spaces of childhood,” necessarily functions as a therapeutic substitute for the alienation of art and the modern life in general. As such, Gamulin’s theory vividly testifies to the character of naïve art as a phenomenon that is constitutive of the culture of modernism, but that also reflects a number of contemporary polemics and split opinions, not only on the topic of the naïve but of modernism as a whole. The split of opinions on naïve art, especially

with regard to its genesis, partly reflects the positions of the so-called conflict on the left, discussions that were taking place between the interwar period and early 1950s with the aim of defining the relationship of leftist ideology to modernism, or rather the relationship between the values of socially-critical engagement and aesthetic autonomy. The discussion on the naïve, however, experienced a certain changing of sides – Grgo Gamulin, a one-time advocate for socialist realism, began supporting naïve art and thus rose to the defence of basically liberal understanding of modernism, while former opponents of socialist realism denounced the phenomenon of the naïve as ideologically inconsistent and aesthetically doctored. In conclusion, Gamulin's theory, as well as the entire polemic around naïve art that was taking place during the 1960s and which the theory necessarily ties in with, demonstrates the complex contextual reality of a seemingly integral modernist paradigm, illustrating the confrontation of positions that is by no means peculiar to Yugoslav society.

Keywords:

Grgo Gamulin, Croatia, naïve art, modernism, art theory, art historiography

KRISTA KODRES

TOWARD A NEW CONCEPT OF PROGRESSIVE ART: ART HISTORY IN THE SERVICE OF MODERNISATION IN THE LATE SOCIALIST PERIOD. AN ESTONIAN CASE

I should begin by recalling a well-known incident from the Khrushchev Thaw period in Soviet history, because of its remarkable illuminating capacity: it reveals a paradox description of a cultural era when certain ideas and things were simultaneously allowed and prohibited¹. This event took place in 1962. A scandal erupted in the central Moscow exhibition space, the Manege. Artworks that demonstrated movement away from the Stalinist artistic doctrine of Socialist Realism to Modernism were on display; these were works by artists who had not been exhibited in the USSR for decades. The main protagonist of the Manege exhibition, however, was a VIP, Nikita Khrushchev himself, whose visit ended with him shouting at the modern art idiom and lambasting modernist formalists as “pederasts”.² But there was nothing to be done; Khrushchev himself had, in the mid-1950s, opened the door to the modern world and he was no longer able to close it entirely. He might have been disappointed, but the Thaw was already in action.

My paper deals with one of the fields of renewal back then – socialist art history, which, according to the Soviet understanding, comprised part of the “ideological field”³. I will discuss the modernisation of art history based on the example of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (Estonian SSR), where art historians were forced to accept the Soviets’ centrally constructed Marxist-Len-

¹ The research for this article was supported by the state research grant of the Estonian Republic “Historicizing art: Knowledge production in art history in Estonia amidst changing ideologies and disciplinary developments” (PUT788; 1.01.2015–31.12.2018).

² M. Bernstein, *Vana kaev. Mälestusteraamat* [Old Well. Book of Memoires], Tartu 2009, pp. 242–244.

³ А. Штамбок, “Против идеалистического истолкования развития искусства” [A. Shtambok, *Protiv idealistitsheskovo istolkovanija razvitija iskusstva* / Against the idealistic interpretation of the development of art], *Искусство* [Iskusstvo] 1950, 5, p. 56.

inist aesthetic and approach to art and art history. The promising post-Stalinist rhetoric encouraged public discussion on the theoretical fundamentals of art and art history in Moscow and Leningrad art history circles in particular, centering on discussion of the nature and boundaries of Realism.⁴ As a result, Soviet art historians fell into two camps in interpreting Realism: the dogmatic and revisionist, and the latter was embraced in Estonia. In the following, I will delineate criticism of the Stalinist art history canon in the late 1950s and early 1960s, pointing out the key positions in regard to the changes in the discourse, and examining how they were expressed in the rewriting of art history, based on the Estonian example. It should be noted here that the art history revisionism in both the USSR and the Estonian SSR was not characterised by radicalism. On the contrary, it involved rather cautious criticism. Memories of the Stalinist terror had not faded, thus, art history texts of the era are cryptic and camouflaged, with the progressive parts concealed in an otherwise orthodox flood of rhetoric. The ambivalence that is evident in the texts leads us to the problems of the ideological engagement of the interpretation of art and its history, which both supported and undermined the political regime. From the standpoint of discipline, this meant the beginning of the renewal of the socialist art history discourse⁵, which, among other things, had a significant impact on modernisation and the public exhibition of contemporary art. In the art context, the idea of progressiveness began to be reconsidered. In previous discourse, progress was linked with the “realist” artistic method that sprang from a progressive social order. Now, however, revisionist art historians found new arguments for accepting different cultures of form, both historical and contemporary, and often these arguments were “discovered” in Marxism itself.

AN ART PRIMER, 1967

In 1967, a work was published by the accomplished artist Ott Kangilaski and his nephew, the art historian Jaak Kangilaski (b. 1939):⁶ the *Kunsti*

⁴ B. Bernstein, “Seoses vaidlustega realismi üle” [Regarding the disputes over realism, 1–2], *Kunst* 1966, 3, pp. 13–22, and 1961, 1, pp. 1–14; J. Kangilaski, “Realismi mõiste metamorfoosid nõukogude kunstiteoorias” [Metamorphoses of the notion of realism in Soviet art theory], *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi / Studies on Art and Architecture* 2003, 12(1–2), pp. 11–24.

⁵ K. Kodres, K. Jõekalda, “Introduction to Socialist Art History: On Formulating the Soviet Canon,” in: *A Socialist Realist History? Writing Art History in the Post-War Decades*, eds. K. Kodres, K. Jõekalda, M. Marek, Köln, Weimar, Wien 2019.

⁶ Jaak Kangilaski later became one of the most renowned art historians in Estonia. He defended his candidate thesis (PhD) on the French artist group “Les Nabis” in 1969, su-

kukeaabits – *Basic Art Primer* – subtitled “Fundamental Knowledge of Art and Art History.”⁷ The book, close to 350 pages in length and with a print run of 10,000, explained the principles of art for “anyone interested in art”, to facilitate the “true enjoyment of art”⁸. It was also the first art history text published after the war for the Estonian general public and, despite the title, it was a professional treatment of the field of art and its history. The most recent survey book before it, the over 800-page-long “Üldine kunstiajalugu” (*General History of Art*), had been published in 1937. In 1940, as the Soviet occupation started in Estonia, this book was among the publications hacked to bits during a book destruction campaign, due to its “bourgeois” approach (along with the same author’s *History of Estonian Art*, 1939–40).⁹ During the Soviet era, the remaining public copies of Voldemar Vaga’s *General History of Art* were hidden away in special collections in libraries.

In its 200 pages, Jaak Kangilaski’s *Primer* laid out the art history of the world. The text was chronologically structured, based on the concept of periods known from the discourse of historical materialism: art in pre-historical times, art from the ages of slavery, feudalism, capitalism and imperialism, and finally a chapter on “Soviet art and progressive art in foreign countries”: A close reading of the Kangilaski text reveals the main antecedents for the young author’s approach. The most important source was *The Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics*, translated into Estonian in 1961, which had been published in Moscow by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR’s Institute of Philosophy, the Art History Institute, the Gorky Institute of World Literature and the research staff of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1960; the article “The historic laws of the development of art” was written by Nina Dmitrieva.¹⁰ Thus, it was a very fresh treatment. Another inspiration for Kangilaski was the German Democratic Republic author Wolfgang Hütt’s simi-

pervised by Prof. Vladimir F. Levinson-Lessing, a leading specialist on Western art in State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. Kangilaski chaired the art history department in Estonian State Academy of Arts between 1978 and 1987, was appointed a rector of the same institution in 1989, and was professor of art history of Tartu University from 1995–2005. Today he is prof. em. of Tartu University.

⁷ O. Kangilaski, J. Kangilaski, *Kunsti kukeaabits. Algteadmisi kunstist ja kunstiajaloo* [A Basic Art Primer. Fundamental Knowledge of Art and Art History], Tallinn 1967.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

⁹ O. Esna, “Kuidas puhastati Eesti raamatukogusid” [How the Estonian libraries were expurgated], *Pärnu Postimees* 2014, 27th February.

¹⁰ *Основы марксистско-ленинской эстетики* [Osnovõ marksistko-leninskoi estetiki], Moscow 1960; in Estonian: *Marksistlik-leninliku esteetika alused*, Tallinn 1961.

larly fresh *Wir und die Kunst*,¹¹ published in 1959, from which the structure of the *Primer* was largely borrowed. Particularly in regard to characterising the architectural aspects of the various eras, Kangilaski relied on Vaga's *General History of Art*, which, despite being a "forbidden" book, survived in many home libraries.

MODERNISATION OF DISCOURSE

As stated, in the following, I will introduce the deviations and shifts in Jaak Kangilaski's approach from the existing socialist art history canon. They were based on a departure from the fundamental theses of past Stalinist discourse.¹² For example, in providing a theoretical introduction to the general art history, Kangilaski did not write anything about the (Leninist) theory of two cultures, which held that every class-ruled society also had two arts – progressive and reactionary – depending on which class a given work reflected. According to the Marxist-Leninist view of history at that point, each class likewise played a dual role: it was progressive in one phase of historical development, then reactionary in another. In this view, the bourgeois culture that rose to prominence from the Renaissance era was progressive (as it undermined the outdated feudal relations) and so was its art, but the bourgeois culture of the 19th century had become decadent and reactionary, as had its art. While Jaak Kangilaski did mention the concept of progressive and reactionary ("The superstructure reflects the progressive or reactionary nature of the substructure"¹³), he further elaborated on this, noting the defining element of art was instead the "Zeitgeist," the spirit of the era, which, as he wrote, "does not mean anything mysterious or supernatural but is simply the sum of the social views that objectively existed and exist in each phase of the development of humankind."¹⁴ Thus, he openly united the "hostile classes" of the formations and laid a foundation for the rise of common art characteristics, denoted by the term "style".¹⁵ As is later evidenced by various passages in the main text, art transforms pursuant to the "will-to-art" (*Kunstwollen*) characteristic of the entire human society.¹⁶

¹¹ W. Hütt, *Wir und die Kunst. Eine Einführung in die Kunstbetrachtung und Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 1959.

¹² Kodres, Jõekalda, "Introduction to Socialist Art History".

¹³ Kangilaski, *Primer...*, p. 148.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 149.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 156, 209.

What also stands apart from earlier writing is the interpretation of the relationship between the Marxist-Leninist substructure (economic relations) and the superstructure (culture). Stalinist art history required proving a correspondence between the two (a distortion of Marxist theory). Jaak Kangilaski, however, stated flatly that: "...art is relatively independent and its development has its internal logic and continuity," adding that "it seems that there is much that is random in art; its development zigzags and fluctuates, but is ultimately inevitable."¹⁷ At the end of the introduction, Jaak Kangilaski also noted that in general "the value of artworks is constant [in time – K. K.]". However, he argued the contrary elsewhere: "Art history assesses the art of the past from the standpoint of its own era and compares it to previous assessments."¹⁸ The first half of this sentence is undoubtedly aligned with one of the main goals of Marxist-Leninist art history: the didacticism of art history and its ability to transform the present, which could take place by giving an "objective assessment" to an artwork. These contradictory concepts and assessments are from time to time striking while reading the text of the *Primer*.

THE PROBLEM OF REALISM AND THE REAPPRAISAL OF ART HISTORY

Continuing from the ambivalences of the discourse to its applications in the *Primer*, it becomes evident that the half-blind change in the underlying views was also reflected in approaches to specific epochs in art history, expressed particularly in the general appraisals given to the styles of the periods. It should be recalled, in this light, that alongside historical materialism and the theory of reflection, the Stalinist art and art history theory was, of course, determined by an aesthetic doctrine, the doctrine of Realism. Owing its aesthetic and ideological content mainly to G. Lukacs and M. Lifshits,¹⁹ Realism was considered in socialist art history to be the only method of depiction that adequately reflected world reality and thus was progressive: a method by which life's truth was manifested through artistic truth. While during the Stalin era Socialist Realist art was defined by relatively specific characteristics of form, the revisionist art historians of the Thaw period re-interpreted art's association with a specific depictive idiom, the mimetic-generalising method of depiction, without rhetorically abandoning the concept of Realism and Socialist Realism.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 149; „Self-development” is also emphasized on p. 315.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 121.

¹⁹ See e.g.: G. Lukacs, *Essays über Realismus*, Berlin 1948; М. Лифшиц, *Вопросы искусства и философии* [M. Lifshits, *Voprosō iskusstva i filosofii*], Moscow 1935.

Various humanities disciplines in the USSR, including the Estonian SSR, had raised the question of the boundaries of Realism as early as 1956, and precisely this became the most disputed problem for dogmatists and revisionists. In 1963, the French communist Roger Garaudy's "D'un réalisme sans rivages" was published, in which he set forth a thesis of Realism without limits; this discussion merely poured fuel on the fire.²⁰ Jaak Kangilaski also chimed in, publishing an article entitled "Disputes in Marxist Aesthetics" in the leading Estonian SSR literary journal *Looming* (Creation) in 1965.²¹ In it, he quoted the "revisionist" aestheticist Moissei Kagan from Leningrad, who warned against treating art as one-dimensional: only as a reflection, only as an artist's self-expression, or only as a means of reshaping reality.²²

In the *Primer's* positions on art periods and artworks, it is significant that Jaak Kangilaski expressed clear support for "Realism without boundaries."²³ As a specific example, Gothic art – known for its anti-Realist depiction and feudal and religious content – received praise from Kangilaski. He wrote: "Thus, medieval art was very different from ancient Greek art; it was practically its opposite, yet still enriched ... the world with invaluable accomplishments."²⁴ In fact, here Kangilaski was rephrasing the opinion of the Moscow art historian Nina Dmitrieva, expressed in *Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Aesthetics*: "Foreign to Gothic Art was that fondness for the beauty of natural and normal forms, the striving for verisimilitude, that is so typical of the art of antiquity" and "...yet the realism of medieval art cannot be denied, as art reflects the real conflicts in reality."²⁵ A phrase in the Dmitrieva quotation – "expanding the spectrum of feelings encompassed by the term 'humanity'" – was a clever rhetorical reference to the Realist tendency in Gothic art. A rather similar idea can be found in the GDR author Wolfgang Hütt's book.²⁶

In the canon of Socialist art history, Baroque Art, too, was a disparaged style of art. It was reactionary, because it reflected absolutism and the degen-

²⁰ Kangilaski, "Realismi mõiste metamorfoosid," pp. 11–28.

²¹ J. Kangilaski, "Vaidlustest marksistlikus esteetikas" [Disputes in Marxist aesthetics], *Looming* 1965, 11, pp. 1707–1718.

²² Ibidem, p. 1717. See also: M. С. Каган, *Лекции по марксистско-ленинской эстетике, часть II* [M. S. Kagan, *Leksii po marksistsko-leninskoj estetike*], Leningrad 1964, p. 13.

²³ He quotes not Garaudy but a Moscow art historian O. Larmin: "There is an array of independent, Realist-type methods: Renaissance Realism, Age of Enlightenment Realism, 19th century Critical Realism, Socialist Realism." – O. В. Лармин, *Художественный метод и стиль* [O. V. Larmin, *Hudozhestvennoi metod i stilj*], Moscow 1964, p. 69.

²⁴ Kangilaski, *Primer*, p. 221.

²⁵ *Marksistlik-leninliku esteetika alused*, p. 230.

²⁶ Hütt, *Wir und die Kunst*, p. 26.

erate noble class and distorted Renaissance-style Realism, using an inflated, exaggerated, “empty” artistic idiom pursuant to its content.²⁷ Jaak Kangilaski, however, wrote: “Yet Baroque art is no less valuable than [the realistic art of – K. K.] Classicism.”²⁸

Using the same interpretative pattern, Kangilaski also considered Impressionistic art, which was deplored in Stalinist art histories, but had been allowed in exhibition halls in the late 1950s due to its “profoundly humanistic content”.²⁹ Kangilaski had to resort to significantly greater rhetorical manoeuvring, however, in interpreting all of the “bourgeois” art movements of the 20th century, such as Abstractionism, Expressionism and Surrealism, which had for long decades been synonymous with the formalist bourgeois art of the imperialist social formation. He praised the non-Realist Matisse, who, as he said, albeit erroneously, been previously been considered anti-humanist.³⁰ Actually, Kangilaski wrote, Matisse’s work was “national” [yet another positive banner concept from the canon of Socialist art history – K. K.].³¹ It also represented a logical continuation of the earlier development of art and owed a great deal to the Realists and Impressionists.³²

Jaak Kangilaski also imbued Abstractionism with a positive meaning, saying that this mode of depiction “is not some monopoly of deliberately reactionary forces: it is supported by many Western artists and art aficionados with progressive views.”³³ Of course, Kangilaski also praised Picasso (whom Nina Dmitrieva went so far as to lionise³⁴), who, above all, as a “progressive” persona, had already been more or less rehabilitated in Soviet art history by this time, with an exhibition having taken place in Moscow.³⁵ Moreover, Kan-

²⁷ See K. Kodres, “Scientific Baroque – for Everyone. Constructing and Conveying an Art Epoch during the Stalinist Period in the Soviet Union and in Soviet Estonia,” in: *Baroque for a Wide Public: Popular Media and Their Constructions of the Epoch on Both Sides of the Iron Curtain*, eds. M. Marek, E. Pluhařová-Grigienėnė, *Journal of Art Historiography. Special Issue* 2016, 15 [https://arthistoriography.wordpress.com/15-decl6/], pp. 1–25.

²⁸ Kangilaski, *Primer*, p. 240.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 276.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 297.

³¹ See *Väike esteetika leksikon* [Small Lexicon of Aesthetics], Tallinn 1965, pp. 184–186; Kodres, Jõekalda, “A Socialist Realist History?”

³² Kangilaski, *Primer*, p. 296.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 314.

³⁴ *Основы марксистско-ленинской эстетики* [Osnovõ marksistko-leninskoi estetiki], p. 267.

³⁵ M. Dmitreva, “The Riddle of Modernism in the Art Historical Discourse of the Thaw,” in: *A Socialist Realist History? Writing Art History in the Post-War Decades*, eds. K. Kodres, K. Jõekalda, M. Marek, Köln, Weimar, Wien 2019, pp. 143–169.

gilaski linked Surrealism³⁶ – the *bête noire* for Socialist Realist critics of the day³⁷ – with Picasso, obviously in order to legitimise the style. To sum up 20th-century Western art, Kangilaski again wrote of the internal logic of the development of art, due to which, he said, it was natural that “quite similar means of expression can serve significantly different ideologies ... Thus, the assertions that every non-figurative work taken separately was a direct expression of imperialistic or anti-humanist ideology are not borne out.”³⁸

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Summing up, the *Basic Art Primer*, as well as shorter Estonian art history treatments of the 1960s, used textual strategies that made it possible to forswear the appraisals of Stalinist art history, which, among other things, meant moving toward a revised definition of the progressive in art.

The *Small Lexicon of Aesthetics* published by the Political Literature Institute in Moscow in 1963, which appeared in Estonian two years later, contains a two-page article under the title “Progress in art.”³⁹ It defines the essence of the term as follows: “Progress in art is the development of art along an upward trajectory, the development from lower to higher, from simple to complicated, from less perfect to more perfect, which ultimately is the outcome of all social progress, and its reflection in the distinctive form of many kinds of art genres. In this sense, the progress of art is similar to innovation. Progress in art can be viewed from different perspectives: as progress throughout world art starting from its dawn to the present day, as the progress of a socio-economic formation or the art of a single country, or as progress in the oeuvre of a given artist.” The article goes on to describe how progress manifests itself in different periods. In principle, this was not a renunciation of the Leninist idea of two antagonistic cultures; however, progress was no longer linked directly with realistic form, but rather signified innovation, e.g. the Gothic period led to the inception of a hitherto unprecedented polyphonic music, and the cap-

³⁶ Kangilaski, *Primer*, p. 310.

³⁷ *Väike esteetika leksikon*, pp. 216–17; Г. Недошивин, “Марксистско-ленинская теория искусства и задачи борьбы с буржуазной эстетикой и ревизионизмом” [G. Nedoshivin, Marksistsko-leninskaja teorija iskusstva i zadatshi borbõ s burhuasnoi estetiko i revisionizmom / Marxist-Leninist art theory and the tasks in fighting bourgeois aesthetics and revisionism], in: *Против ревизионизма в искусстве и искусствознании* [Pro-tiv revisionizma v iskusstve i iskusstvoznanii / Against revisionism in art and art history], Москва [Moskva] 1959 (Вопросы эстетики [Voprosy estetiki] 2), eds. Ю. Калашников, Г. Недошивин [J. Kalashnikov, G. Nedoshivin], Moscow 1959, pp. 9–35.

³⁸ Kangilaski, *Primer*, p. 315.

³⁹ *Väike esteetika leksikon*, pp. 178–179.

italist era saw the “development of cinema in connection with technological and scientific achievements”⁴⁰ The watchword “innovation” found in the *Lexicon* also emphasised that “it does not insist on the renunciation of past aesthetic and artistic experiences as the ideologues of the *proletkult* did, but rather on the critical embrace of these experiences ...” And yet “Innovation must not be confused with pseudo-innovation, which is limited only to formal searches and isolates art’s form from its content ... (e.g. the ‘innovation’ in various streams of modernism).”⁴¹ Moreover, Nina Dmitrieva’s approach, cited above a number of times, does not abandon the thesis of “two cultures,” but asserts that during the capitalist era, “any sort of high art has intrinsically become *anti-capitalist*” (the emphasis is Dmitrieva’s). Picasso is seen as embodying “high art,” being “one of the contemporary era’s most outstanding and controversial artists.”⁴² In spite of the typically verbose quality of the text, and the lionisation of all of the virtues of socialism’s progressivism, Dmitrieva’s generalisations demonstrate a desire to break with realism-based art history and the art theory platform. Undoubtedly, this also was the aim of Jaak Kangilaski.⁴³

Certainly, authors in the Estonian SSR took advantage of the potential of positions and narratives that had institutionally been declared legitimate in Moscow. In Tallinn, the strategy of writing also involved insinuating revisionist statements into “correct” pronouncements, concepts and assessments. Specifically, in the case of the *Primer*, it is clear that under the conditions of a fragile discursive pluralism, quite symbolic concepts and values from formalist Western art history were “smuggled in”: concepts and values that the professional reader certainly recognised, although no names of “bourgeois” authors were mentioned. For example, Jaak Kangilaski relied on assistance in interpretation from two grand masters of the Vienna school of art history: Alois Riegl’s term *Kunstwollen* and the *Zeitgeist* concept from Max Dvořák (*Zeitgeist, Geistesgeschichte*). In particular, the declaration of art’s linear, teleological “self-development” can be considered to be an inspiration from the two. But Kangilaski’s reading list obviously also included *Principles of Art History* by the giant of German art history, Heinrich Wölfflin,⁴⁴ who was declared an exemplary formalist

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 178.

⁴¹ Ibidem, pp. 166–167.

⁴² *Основы марксистко-ленинской эстетики* [Osnovõ marksistko-leninskoi estetiki], pp. 266–267.

⁴³ The interview with Jaak Kangilaski and the author of this paper see in the cultural weekly *Sirp*: “Kunstiteaduse(lase) piirid ja võimalused” [Alternatives and limits of art history(historian)], *Sirp* 2017, 10.02.

⁴⁴ H. Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915).

art historian in earlier official Soviet historiography. The influence of Wölfflin's discourse on Kangilaski is immediately obvious from the latter's use of the concept "linear-painterly" (*linear-malerisch*)⁴⁵ in interpreting artworks.

On the other hand, and this was a problem for all revisionist Soviet art history, the Thaw-era discursive cocktail in art historiography led to logical contradictions. For example, something that is apparent from the general narrative in the *Primer* is that Jaak Kangilaski concurred with the assessment of a long-time pariah in Soviet art history, non-realistic Mannerism, declaring that it is "in conflict with true art and is fated to remain barren."⁴⁶ The *Primer* also contains contradictions due to the automatic transposition of Volde-
mar Vaga's 1930s-era appraisals of architecture, which of course lacked any connection at all to Marxist-Leninist discourse; instead, they reflected stylistic-historical assessments that had developed in the 19th century in which the stylistic unity of an architectural object ended up being valued and "eclecticism" disparaged.⁴⁷ Jaak Kangilaski's sometimes romantic attitude toward the figure of the artist and the artist's creative activity also smacked of the 19th-century discourse of the artist as a genius.

Still, in spite of it all, the *Primer* was an attempt to modernise the Stalinist approach to art history. The most conspicuous aspect of this can be seen in the illustrations; 150 of the 279 plates are reproductions of Modernist avant-garde works from the early 20th century on. As such, they undoubtedly embraced the new progressive movements in art.

Moving on to the more general level, there is no doubt that the engagement with the social-political reality of the day of the author of the *Primer* was deliberate. It apparently was supposed to function in two directions. To publish anything at all, the approach had to be ideologically "endurable": this was the price to be paid to revise past assessments regarding both the historical and, in particular, the 20th-century and contemporary avant-garde. Obviously, there is no need to mention here that none of this could have been made public without the permission of the state censorship office of GLAVLIT, the Main Directorate for Literary and Publishing Affairs. Thus, there was a need to repeat at least some of the "classical" sentences from the Marxist-Leninist discourse. Here it would be appropriate to recall an idea from the well-known Soviet culture scholar Andrei Yurtchak. Yurtchak has defined the new discursive regime in the USSR starting in the 1960s as "pragmatic." He argues that in the Late Socialist era, the form of ideological text was retained and became au-

⁴⁵ Kangilaski, *Primer*, p. 244.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 238.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 263–264.

tomated but, in parallel, values were re-interpreted based on a society that was headed toward modernisation, and was starting to look beyond its borders.⁴⁸ This change revealed the growing ambivalence of Soviet culture, and thus, forces us to abandon, or at least to attach a new angle to the long established dichotomous model for viewing the entire Soviet era in terms of an official culture and its opposite, a culture of resistance. As I have hopefully succeeded in demonstrating, art history writing in the Estonian SSR was deeply engaged with the ambivalent aims of Late Socialist Soviet politics, politics that was feared and despised but that, beginning in the late 1950s, had nevertheless shown the desire to move on and change. In the *Primer*, the litmus test of the engagement with change was the new narrative of 20th-century art history and the illustrative material that depicted “formalist bourgeois” artworks.

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⁴⁸ A. Yurchak, “Soviet Hegemony of Form: Everything was Forever, Until It Was No More,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2003, 45(3), pp. 480–481.

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TOWARD A NEW CONCEPT OF PROGRESSIVE ART:
ART HISTORY IN THE SERVICE OF MODERNISATION
IN THE LATE SOCIALIST PERIOD. AN ESTONIAN CASE

Summary

The paper deals with renewal of socialist art history in the Post-Stalinist period in Soviet Union. The modernisation of art history is discussed based on the example of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (Estonian SSR), where art historians were forced to accept the Soviets' centrally constructed Marxist-Leninist aesthetic and approach to art and art history. In the art context, the idea of progressiveness began to be reconsidered.

In previous discourse, progress was linked with the “realist” artistic method that sprang from a progressive social order. Now, however, art historians found new arguments for accepting different cultures of form, both historical and contemporary, and often these arguments were “discovered” in Marxism itself. As a result, from the middle of 1950’s Soviet art historians fell into two camps in interpreting Realism: the dogmatic and revisionist, and the latter was embraced in Estonia. In 1967, a work was published by the accomplished artist Ott Kangilaski and his nephew, the art historian Jaak Kangilaski: the *Kunsti kukeaabit* – *Basic Art Primer* – subtitled “Fundamental Knowledge of Art and Art History.” In its 200 pages, Jaak Kangilaski’s *Primer* laid out the art history of the world. Kangilaski also chimed in, publishing an article in 1965 entitled “Disputes in Marxist Aesthetics” in the leading Estonian SSR literary journal *Looming* (Creation). In this paper the *Art Primer* is under scrutiny and the deviations and shifts in Kangilaski’s approach from the existing socialist art history canon are introduced. For Kangilaski the defining element of art was not the economic base but the “Zeitgeist,” the spirit of the era, which, as he wrote, “does not mean anything mysterious or supernatural but is simply the sum of the social views that objectively existed and exist in each phase of the development of humankind.” Thus, he openly united the “hostile classes” of the social formations and laid a foundation for the rise of common art characteristics, denoted by the term “style.” As is evidenced by various passages in the text, art transforms pursuant to the “will-to-art” (*Kunstwollen*) characteristic of the entire human society. Thus, under conditions of a fragile discursive pluralism in Soviet Union, quite symbolic concepts and values from formalist Western art history were “smuggled in”: concepts and values that the professional reader certainly recognised, although no names of “bourgeois” authors were mentioned. Kangilaski relied on assistance in interpretation from two grand masters of the Vienna school of art history: Alois Riegl’s term *Kunstwollen* and the *Zeitgeist* concept from Max Dvořák (*Zeitgeist, Geistesgeschichte*). In particular, the declaration of art’s linear, teleological “self-development” can be considered to be inspiration from the two. But Kangilaski’s reading list obviously also included *Principles of Art History* by Heinrich Wölfflin, who was declared an exemplary formalist art historian in earlier official Soviet historiography. Thaw-era discursive cocktail in art historiography sometimes led Kangilaski to logical contradictions. In spite of it, the *Primer* was an attempt to modernise the Stalinist approach to art history. In the *Primer*, the litmus test of the engagement with change was the new narrative of 20th century art history and the illustrative material that depicted “formalist bourgeois” artworks; 150 of the 279 plates are reproductions of Modernist avant-garde works from the early 20th century on. Put into the wider context, one can claim that art history writing in the Estonian SSR was deeply engaged with the ambivalent aims of Late Socialist Soviet politics, politics that was feared and despised but that, beginning in the late 1950s, nevertheless had shown the desire to move on and change.

Keywords:

Socialist art history and historiography, Soviet studies, Thaw era and modernisation, centre (Moscow) and periphery (Estonian SSR) relations, art and ideology, progressive-ness in art

MILENA BARTLOVÁ

1968: IN SEARCH OF “SOCIALISM WITH HUMAN FACE” IN CZECH ART HISTORY

The half a century that passed last year since the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact troops in August 1968 provides the basic prerequisite for historicising the event: many of those involved have already passed away and the archive collections are now accessible. Yet the number of historical publications evaluating the events is growing slowly. Apart from biographies, only one historical analytical monograph was published in the jubilee year, and that was a translation from German¹. The reason for this caution or diffidence is the uncertainty of how Czech society perceives the historical moment when Czech (and Czechoslovak) history reached something of a climax, although it was only one landmark moment in the long period of four-decade-long Communist Party dictatorship and authoritarian rule. Despite the rhetoric of the Communist victors of the conflict, political liberalization, which was forcibly suppressed by the troops led by the Soviet Union and by Czechoslovak “conservative” forces, did not seek to abolish a dictatorship, but to strive rather for its economic, cultural and social transformation, a process that was dubbed “socialism with a human face” by those whose attempts were thwarted. In the following text, I will look at the subject from the benefit of historical distance, and referring to Jasper’s famous philosophical view on the attitude to the totalitarian regime, I will not, however, deal with moral criticism of individual people.

I specify the object of my study as a scientific discipline in the sense of a self-defining epistemic community whose members work in the institutional complex of universities, the Academy of Science and museums, and as experts on the preservation of monuments, restoration-conservation, and the art market.² Its boundaries distinguish the discipline from historiography,

¹ M. Schulze Wessel, *Pražské jaro. Průlom do nového světa*, Praha 2018.

² An epistemic community is a community of people, defined by shared epistemic perspectives and objectives; expert work of a scientific discipline is the sphere where the

philosophy, aesthetics and sociology on the one hand, and from contemporary art on the other. The latter, however, is partially related to the discipline in the area of art criticism, writing about contemporary and recent art, and exhibition making. After briefly outlining the cultural and political environment, I will deal with two specific instances of the short period leading to the year 1968, namely with the project of so-called “imaginative art” in researching the art of the first half of the 20th century, which caused a unique conflict with the political regime, and with the so-called “Prague School of Marxist Iconology” that prevailed in the research of old art. My questions will be: In what ways did Czech art history participate in the culminating politicization of culture? Did they specifically reflect “humanist Marxism” as the main discursive topic of the liberalization period? What remained of the Czech art history of the “Reformist period” after its defeat?

The beginning of the period of interest in Czechoslovakia, particularly in the Czech part of the country, dates back to five years before 1968.³ The post-Stalinist “thaw” in 1955–1958 was ended by the increased back-pressure of the state power controlled by the Communist Party in 1959 and the new constitution issued the following year. The constitution codified the fundamental changes concerning property rights, economic and social system and the installation of the state power identified with the party system that took place in the Czechoslovak society after the Communist Party seized power in February 1948. The successful construction of socialism was solemnly decreed. The newly confirmed confidence of the party dictatorship was accompanied by an important shift: after the Cuban Missile Crisis, the proclamation of the “intensification of the class struggle” was replaced with the declaration of the “peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism” and competition between them. At that time, Czechoslovakia still benefitted economically from its developed industrial traditions and from the fact that its economy had been relatively little affected by World War II. It was clear, however, that a significant role in the Cold War rivalry, transferred from the military sphere to a symbolic and value level, will have to be played by culture and education. Therefore, from 1963, the ruling regime did not directly prevent the onset of

discipline interferes with practical operation (according to historians Michal Kopeček and Vítězslav Sommer, whom I thank for consultation). A broader context and further relations will be elaborated in the final publication of the research project “The History of Czech Art History of Second Half of the 20th Century I. 1945–1970” supported by the GAČR (Czech Science Foundation) grant Nr 17-20229S, of which this study is an intermediate result.

³ J. Rákosník, M. Spurný, J. Štaif, *Milníky moderních českých dějin. Krize konsenzu a legitimacy v letech 1848–1989*, Praha 2018, pp. 211–250; P. Kolář, *Der Poststalinismus. Ideologie und Utopie einer Epoche*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2016.

"revisionism," and the limits of what was possible, set by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CCP) in 1959, were being progressively blurred, despite the continuous attempts of the "conservatives" to reverse the trend.⁴ As for visual arts, a key gain in the ensuing confrontation was the undisputed international success of the Czechoslovak exposition at Expo 58 in Brussels.⁵ The advantages of the political system of "people's democracy" ruled by the Communist Party were presented rather through the aesthetics of modernism than through social realist visual propaganda.

Despite the aggressive-defensive rhetoric used by the conservative forces of the ruling power to express their feeling of danger, in the mid-1960s, the hegemonic drive was not represented by resistance against the socialist system and the policies of the CCP, but by the efforts to "humanize" the system from the inside. Dominant actors were still members of the Communist Party, and although liberalization also meant more opportunities for non-Communist intellectuals, journalists and artists such as writer Josef Škvorecký, playwright Václav Havel and painter Mikuláš Medek, they remained marginal.⁶ Even relatively "progressive" forces within the Communist Party used methods of covert control to exercise the power they had. After the third Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union in 1963, which significantly contributed to the liberalization of the broad intellectual and cultural environment, the second Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Fine Artists in December 1964 played a similar role in fine art.⁷ Although it was not controlled by the apparatus of the Central Committee of the CCP, its freedom ("spontaneity" in the period terminology) was limited to the election of the committee bureau members, and remained within the limits defined by the Party; compliance was ensured by the art historian Jiří Kotalík on the suggestion committee.⁸ Together with Václav Formánek, Kotalík prepared materials for the congress, defended them

⁴ M. Kopeček, *Hledání ztraceného smyslu revoluce. Zrod a počátky marxistického revisionismu ve střední Evropě 1953–1960*, Praha 2009.

⁵ M. Bartlová, J. Vybíral et al., *Building a State. The Representation of Czechoslovakia in Art, Architecture and Design*, Prague 2015, pp. 92–105, 115–118 (further bibliography).

⁶ J. Mervart, *Naděje a iluze. Čeští spisovatelé v reformním hnutí šedesátých let*, Brno 2010, esp. pp. 342–348.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 125–140; A. Binarová, *Svaz výtvarných umělců v českých zemích 1956–1972*, Olomouc 2017; J. Lomová, K. Šima, "Sjezd SČSVU v roce 1964. Poznámky k úspěšnosti performance," in: *Umění a revoluce. Pro Milenu Bartlovou*, eds. J. Lomová, J. Vybíral, Praha 2018, pp. 512–544.

⁸ For further information on persons mentioned in this article, see the encyclopaedic dictionary L. Slaviček et al., *Slovník historiků umění, výtvarných kritiků, teoretiků a publicistů v českých zemích*, Praha 2016.

against the conservatives in the cultural commission of the Central Committee of the CCP led by the leading Party conservative, literary historian Ladislav Štoll, and assured that the congress session was accepted almost unchanged.⁹ Thus, the Union of Fine Artists actually made it impossible to support the Writers' Union in the current political situation several years later.

Štoll, Kotalík and Formánek were influential men who used different ways to constitute the Stalinist cultural system after 1949; Kotalík was a key member and president of the College of Arts at the Czechoslovak Academy of Science since the early 1960s, and also the rector of the Academy of Fine Arts since 1960. The engagement of Kotalík and Formánek in this case demonstrates the range of actions available to art historians in the period examined. Both of them held a Prague university degree and a doctorate in art history, they worked for art and historical institutions and engaged in the activities of the Union of Fine Artists. Such Unions, as collective actors from the late 1950s to their dissolution in 1969, enabled actual interventions that not only affected the role of art in society, but also enabled effective political influence.¹⁰ By contrast, humanities, including art history in the modern scientific classification system and its institutional operation, lacked similar options. However, the related professions that could use the synergy of active artists, namely the history and theory of fine art, theatre, music and, in particular, literature, were able to compensate their marginalization and practical impotence. Art history was a "minor" and therefore less controlled scholarly discipline in the Soviet Bloc countries, especially in comparison with historiography or philosophy. Moreover, art history in the economic system of state socialism lost its central sphere of expert influence, i.e. the art market.¹¹ It could only deal with monument conservation, an area shared with architecture and seen as a marginal subject of research, although it did have a great influence on the general public. The close coexistence of art historians and contemporary fine artists was also supported by a specific practice, which was a relic of the Stalinist system of the early 1950s: many art historians were members of the theoretical section of the Union of Czechoslovak Fine Artists,

⁹ The National Archives Prague, collection 1261/10/5 Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party 1945–1989, the Ideological Commission 1958–1968, vol. 12, archival unit 48: Minutes and resolution of the 7th meeting of the ideological commission of the Central Committee of the CCP, May 18th, 1964; Binarová, *Svaz výtvarných umělců...*, pp. 169–187; Lomová, Šima, "Sjezd SČSVU..." p. 542.

¹⁰ See: Mervart, *Naděje a iluze...*

¹¹ The systematic repression of private collectors has been described by M. Rusinko, *Snad nesbíráte obrazy? Cesty soukromého sběratelství moderního umění v českých zemích v letech 1948–1965*, Brno 2018.

often just because it provided a platform for permitted and subsidized tours to the otherwise inaccessible "West."

Art history was involved in the following important case from 1963–1964 in its own proper role of historicizing the recent past. František Šmejkal, a young graduate of art history, together with Věra Linhartová, his colleague, a poet and curator, prepared an exhibition titled "Imaginative Art 1930–1950" for the regional Aleš South Bohemian Gallery in Hluboká nad Vltavou.¹² It presented a significant episode in Czech surrealism during the pre-war and war periods, today internationally known mainly thanks to Toyen and Karel Teige.¹³ The exhibition was conceived not only as one in a line of efforts to rehabilitate the art that was forbidden in the 1950s (Teige died as a victim of political baiting in 1951 and Toyen emigrated to France in 1948), but also as legitimization of the emerging trend of contemporary non-realistic and non-figurative art through showing its continuity with a period that has already become history. The idea that a regional gallery could hold an exhibition that would be otherwise impossible in the centre of action, which was under more intense censorship, proved to be wrong.¹⁴ The reverse was the case: the exhibition, which radically exceeded his educational horizons, caught the attention of Jan Trojan, the chief secretary of the regional committee of the CCP in České Budějovice, and, after his warning, the attention of the first secretary of the Central Committee and President Antonín Novotný.¹⁵ In early March, the exhibition was banned and cancelled; a year later, František Šmejkal and Věra Linhartová, together with their colleague Jan Kříž, became suspects watched by the StB (State Security,

¹² F. Šmejkal, V. Linhartová, *Imaginativní malířství 1930–1950*. Exh. cat. Alšova jihočeská galerie Hluboká nad Vltavou, 1964. Šmejkal died in 1988, and after the fall of the dictatorship of the CCP, the exhibition was reenacted by his widow in the Rudolfinum exhibition hall; see *České imaginativní umění*, ed. J. Šmejkalová, Praha 1996. The stylistic concept of "imaginative art" was refused again.

¹³ See: Karel Teige, eds. E. Dluhosh, R. Švácha, Cambridge–London 1999; K. Srp, *Toyen*, Praha 2000.

¹⁴ For the specific practice of the censorship of art prints and exhibitions, see J. Lomová, "Co je politického v psaní o umění. Cenzura výtvarných časopisů v Československu 60. let 20. století," in: *Umenie – politika – estetika. Sborník konferencie Slovenskej asociácie pre estetiku*, eds. P. Brežňan, M. Paštéková, Bratislava 2019, pp. 118–125.

¹⁵ The case is explained in texts by Jaroslav Hes, the head of the ideological department of the Central Committee of the CCP, and by František Šmejkal himself published in *Výtvarná práce* 1968, 16(10), p. 12 and 16(15), p. 10; Binarová, *Svaz výtvarných umělců...*, pp. 162–164.

i.e. secret political police), the only ones thus pursued for their professional activity during this period.¹⁶

The attempt to publish a catalogue and install the exhibition was not the only sign of liberalization; the important thing was what followed *after* the ban. Jaroslav Hes, who worked at the ideological department of the Central Committee of the CCP, together with Jiří Kotalík and Jaromír Neumann, a professor at Charles University and director of the Institute of the Theory and History of Arts at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, allowed a “study” rerun of the exhibition in Prague in September 1964. It was held during the summer holidays, could not be written about or otherwise promoted, and was conceptually reduced so that it did not include the legitimizing line extending to the present.¹⁷ At the end of the exhibition, a colloquium was held and the papers presented there were published in the academic journal *Umění*, which was the normative platform of Czech art history.¹⁸ Some of the most erudite texts were written by foremost scholars of the young and middle generation, such as Jindřich Chaloupecký, Luděk Novák, Eva Petrová, Vratislav Effenberger, the authors of the exhibition, and Jiří Kotalík. The texts fundamentally challenged the analytical functionality of Šmejkal’s specific concept of “imaginative art.” Šmejkal borrowed the term from Teige, but he was able to legitimize it only because it became part of the normative post-Stalinist discourse. In 1964, however, the term proved to be “too weak” and unacceptable.¹⁹ The concept of “creative imagination” as a key category that could become a link between the former dogmatism of socialist realism and its post-Stalinist form was coined by Jaromír Neumann in 1958. Being the director of the Institute of the Theory and History of Arts at the Czechoslovak Academy of Science, he patronized the conference and wrapped it up with his paper, which was

¹⁶ The Archives of the Security Forces of the Czech Republic, reg. no. 9394 cover name FRANTA, later CESTOVATEL.

¹⁷ The National Archives Prague, collection 1261/10/5 Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party 1945–1989, the Ideological Commission 1958–1968: Minutes and resolution of the 7th meeting of the ideological commission of the Central Committee of the CCP, vol. 13, archival unit 50: The opinion of the ideological department of the Central Committee of the CCP on the exhibition of imaginative art. Annex II to the minutes of the 15th meeting of the Ideological Committee of the Central Committee of the CCP on May 27th, 1964; J. Hes, “Ještě ke křivdologii,” *Výtvarná práce* 1968, 16(10), p. 12.

¹⁸ The thematical block “K problematice umění třicátých let”, *Umění* 1965, 13(5), pp. 433–539.

¹⁹ J. Neumann, “K dnešním metodologickým otázkám dějepisu umění. Poznámky o výtvarné představivosti”, *Umění* 1958, 6(2), pp. 178–187; for context see M. Bartlová, “Není možno se vzdát svobody myšlení. Vincenc Kramář a marxismus 1945–1960,” *Umění* 2018, 66(4), pp. 246–263.

not eventually published: as an art historian, he dealt with the interpretation of mannerist and baroque paintings in the Picture Gallery of Prague Castle and ceased to interfere in the discussions on contemporary and modern art. At the same time, the conference papers dealt with the historicising of the exhibition theme, i.e. the definition of a clear normative boundary between the contemporary art and the art that was in the competence of art history. In terms of expanding opportunities for contemporary art which did not follow the doctrine of socialist realism, this was a kind of "betrayal" on the part of art history. At least that is how Šmejkal understood the situation at the moment, although he tried to promote his concept of imaginative art in the next decade, only to drop the key term "imagination" in the 1980s. In terms of art history, however, it was a major step that opened the discipline up to the need to create new conceptual and discursive tools to study the art of the "last generation" (most artists represented at the "Imaginative Art" exhibition were still alive and active, and some of them in political exile).

The case of "imaginative art" showed that art history did play a role in the dynamics of the political change. However, it professed the dominant intellectual discourse of the times in a different and specific way. Not surprisingly, these two aspects can be seen in Jaromír Neumann, a key figure in the Czech art history of the 1950s and 1960s. Four years after the above-mentioned article on the art and historical concept of artistic imagination was written, Neumann published an extensive study, inaugurating the concept of "Marxist iconology," in the same magazine, *Umění*. In 1966, a leading representative of Marxist iconology, Karel Stejskal, when reviewing a book written by the co-founder of this school, Rudolf Chadraba, wrote that "we can legitimately talk about a distinct Prague school of iconology."²⁰ In this concept, iconology claimed to refer to the basic principles of Erwin Panofsky and Aby Warburg, but in reality, it was much more based on the reception of Max Dvořák's late texts, mediated by unacknowledged reading of Hans Sedlmayr. Marxist iconology did not compare images with the texts of that time, but rather "focused on" and "empathized with" hidden clues and meanings of the images revealed according to Gestalt psychology and without demanding intermedia interpretations. Czech iconologists of the 1960s mainly searched for ways in which non-Christian cosmological meanings were expressed through images in "the era of feudalism," regardless of the control mechanisms provided by general and cultural history. Chadraba and Stejskal provided a coherent and

²⁰ K. Stejskal, "Nový výklad Dürerovy Apokalypsy," *Umění* 1966, 14(1), pp. 1–60, cit. p. 18; R. Chadraba, *Dürers Apokalypse – eine ikonologische Deutung*, Praha 1964.

strikingly original re-phrasing of Warburgian iconology that wanted to give voice to the illiterate medieval classes.²¹

The key text of the Czech intellectual milieu of the 1960s was *Dialektika konkrétního* (Dialectics of the Concrete) by the philosopher Karel Kosík, which had a timely and extensive impact abroad as well, and was translated into many languages; its local impact was strengthened by Kosík's engagement as a citizen and journalist.²² His integration of impulses from (Western) Marxism and Heideggerian existential phenomenology can be seen as a cardinal formulation of the "humanistic Marxist" discourse. Chadraba's review of Kosík's book, published in *Umění*, proved that Kosík was indeed read by Czech art historians.²³ In his reading, however, Chadraba was selective and ignored any suggestions that would seem too critical, if not revolutionary, as far as the discourse tradition of art history was concerned, and noted only the ideas that could be used for critical refutation both of the "vulgar Marxism" of the Stalinist period (Chadraba borrowed Kosík's term "sociologism") and of the surviving "positivist" tradition. Yet Chadraba was not an uninformed reader and he used extensive citations of the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* of the "young Marx" (unfortunately, without specific references) to make clear that he was well versed in the current intellectual trends. The reasons for his selective understanding of Kosík's suggestions lie in the need for a dominant discourse to be firmly rooted in the local art historical tradition. The post-Stalinist opening of the methodological horizons of Czech art history was based on recalling the authority of Max Dvořák (Rudolf Chadraba basically adored this great personality of the Viennese school of art history until the 1980s), who was a "bourgeois idealist," rehabilitated by an instrumental claim that he used the dialectical method.²⁴ Despite – or perhaps rather be-

²¹ The concept of Marxist iconology has been derided and refused by I. Gerát, "Marxism and Iconology in Czechoslovakia during the Cold War," in: *A Socialist Realist History? Writing Art History in the Post-War Decades*, eds. K. Kodres, K. Jöekalda, M. Marek, Wien-Köln-Weimar, pp. 100–117. His text, unfortunately, does not analyze its object in a historical way but is based on ideological criticism and an idea of a single "true" iconology. For more detail, cf. my "The Prague School of Marxist Iconology" presented at the international conference "Iconologies. Global Unity and Local Diversities in Art History" held in Kraków in May 2019 (to be published).

²² K. Kosík, *Dialektika konkrétního. Studie k problematice člověka a světa*, Prague 1963, esp. pp. 81–103; Mervart, *Naděje a iluze...*, pp. 93–94; idem, "Dialektika konkrétního v zrcadle sporů mezi aparátem ÚV KSČ a kulturní obcí," in: M. Hrubec et al., *Myslitel Karel Kosík*, Praha 2011, pp. 55–78.

²³ R. Chadraba, "Dvě knihy o smyslu věcí," *Umění* 1964, 12(3), pp. 214–215.

²⁴ Tematický blok k výročí Maxe Dvořáka, *Umění* 1961, 9(2), pp. 165–185, 9(6), pp. 525–640.

cause of – this fact, the discourse of Czech art and history of the 1960s was not willing to accept Kosík's outline of the real, even rigorous, application of materialist dialectics to the concept of art and to the interpretation method of art history.

On a practical level, the cultural liberalization of the second half of the 1960s did not only bring more publishing options for art historians, but it also eased the fairly strict blockade of communication with other countries, opened up more possibilities to travel outside the Soviet bloc and to cooperate with foreign experts. Besides Vienna, art historians collaborated with their colleagues in Munich, and medievalists participated in the summer schools at Poitiers. Viktor Kotrba even lectured at the University of Bonn in 1964 and for the whole summer semester in 1967.²⁵ His important contact was Götz Fehr, German architectural historian, native of Czechoslovakia and post-war forced exile.²⁶ The Czechoslovaks were helped to sustain contacts with the world outside the Soviet bloc also by other Czech Germans. The restriction of travel, so typical for most of the four decades of the Communist dictatorship, was a much harsher blow for art historians than for other humanities. For art historians, learning about art and architecture through personal experience, or "autopsy," is methodologically crucial and absolutely indispensable. Various institutional bureaus repeatedly pointed this fact out from the mid-1950s on, but more possibilities did not occur until the mid-1960s, culminating in 1968–1969.

The new radical restriction of travels to "the West" after 1970 and the enforced weakening of foreign professional contacts had a great impact. Like the entire Czechoslovak intellectual environment, Czech art history was also affected by political and employee purges at the turn of 1969 and 1970 that sealed the final victory of the Soviet-backed "conservatives" over "reform Communism" with its "humanist Marxism." In the case of art history, the result more concerned individual researchers and did not mean the elimination of entire departments, as was the case in other humanities. Yet it is obvious that the achievements of Czech art history of the 1960s, the genesis of which

²⁵ Institute for the History of Art, Czech Academy of Science, Dept. of Documentation, collection Viktor Kotrba, vol. 23 (newspaper clippings) and volume Correspondence 1 (Kurt Bauch, Götz Fehr); Masaryk Institute and the Archives of the Academy of Sciences in Prague, collection ČSAV – ÚTDU, vol. 17, inv. no. 314, sig. 602: Report for the Foreign Dept. of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, November 29th, 1966.

²⁶ For G. Fehr see M. Winzeler, "Götz Fehr: Poznámky k česko-německému historikovi umění a staviteli kulturních mostů v těžkých časech," in: *Umění a revoluce. Pro Milenu Bartlovou*, eds. J. Lomová, J. Vybíral, Praha 2018, pp. 596–618.

I have tried to sketch in a broader social context, contributed significantly to the definition of the discursive horizon of the discipline in the coming period of the so-called "consolidation" and "normalization." Such demarcation not only meant to keep up the intellectual level achieved in the previous decade and to defend it against the ideological pressure of the CCP and the state; it also comprised attempts to overcome the methodologies of the 1960s, although this fact was not explicitly talked about due to the political situation. Selective historicizing of the interwar avant-garde remained a sensitive, but existing research topic. In the 1970s, Marxist iconology finally persuaded even more traditional and reserved researchers like Jaroslav Pešina about its advantages. At the same time, however, Jaromír Neumann in his texts on the Baroque art, and also Lubomír Konečný and others from the younger generation, returned to Panofsky's original methodology, when the interpretation process of iconology was to be checked against contemporary texts. Other representatives of the younger generation, who managed to attend university lectures by Jan Patočka in 1967–1969, examined other possible uses of phenomenology than those offered by Kosík's integration of Marxist dialectic and materialism.²⁷

The short period between 1963 and 1969 in Czech art history, as well as in other scientific disciplines and cultural fields in Czechoslovakia, was the time of an extraordinary release of intellectual and creative energy. Art historians not only profited from the generally more liberal situation that allowed them more travel and foreign contacts, but were also able to create their own original concepts of "humanist Marxism." They did it in their own field-specific ways and not through participating directly in the hegemonic discourse. The process of self-assertion was, however, still arduous and complicated, and it demanded active political participation of art historians themselves, at least some of them. Nor should we forget that the the most original art historian of the period, the Roman Catholic priest Josef Zvěřina, was only released from political jail in 1960, while his older colleague Růžena Vacková was detained until 1966.

While the ruling power did see the sixties as a lasting threat until the fall of the Communist dictatorship, the generation of new students of art history in the seventies and eighties, including myself, looked to the texts published in the sixties as a basic reference to form our intellectual horizons. Despite the personal engagement of major art historians both at universities and

²⁷ Václav Richter's phenomenological art history remained outside the mainstream of the 1960s and its impact in the following decades was felt only among his students in Brno.

in the National Gallery in Prague, as well as a covert intellectual life in the "underground," Czech art history in the period of "normalization" was most weakened by the stifling of internal theoretical debate, which has not properly evolved even since 1989.

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1968: IN SEARCH OF "SOCIALISM WITH HUMAN FACE"
IN CZECH ART HISTORY

Summary

The five or eight years leading up to the failed "Prague Spring" represent the most important period of Czech humanities tradition during the Communist Party dictatorship. Art history did not directly participate in either of the most prominent period discourses, but it was able to develop its own specific methodologies following the Czech continuation of the Vienna School legacy. The contribution analyzes the discourse of Marxist Iconology, developed by J. Neumann and R. Chadraba, and presents the case of F. Šmejkal and his concept of Imaginative Art, which was, interestingly, the sole case during the whole 40 years of the Communist Party rule when the highest Party officials became directly involved in Czech art historical practice. From the point of view of art historical practice, the most important feature of the brief period 1963–1969 was the new possibility of contacts with foreign art historians and of traveling abroad.

Keywords:

history of art history – Czechoslovakia 1968 – humanist Marxism – Marxist iconology

MARIA POPRZECKA

ENTER THE DRAGON

The significance of the “Poznań art history” in Polish art history since 1970 must be an object of comprehensive and many-sided research. To begin with, I will focus on just one moment in its already long history. Taking a strictly private perspective, I will return to the situation when I encountered the “Poznań art history” for the first time – let me call it “enter the dragon.” This catchy title, borrowed from pop culture, is not supposed to put into doubt the quality of scholarship, but to convey the impetus with which a group of young art historians from Poznań succeeded in entering the occupied, conservative arena of Polish art history.

In 1970, by accident and unexpectedly, I started working in the Institute of Art History at the University of Warsaw. Just next year, in 1971, quite “by chance,” as my academic advisor Professor Jan Białostocki put it, I successfully defended my Ph.D. dissertation. My position was indeed most favorable – a university job, the youngest doctor in the field, and, above all, a sense of satisfaction and safety since as a young art historian I found myself in possibly the best place in the country. Perhaps not quite fully, but still I was aware that the Polish art history of the 1960s, when I was a student, was traditional, with its roots reaching the nineteenth century positivism, focused on the matter-of-fact studies and stock-taking of Polish art, and rather uncritically adapting the concepts, methods, and classifications proposed by the “Western” art history, including also the history of the twentieth-century art, particularly that of the avant-gardes. On the other hand, what made my situation comfortable was the presence of Jan Białostocki who already at that time was a scholar of high international reputation. Traveling a lot, knowing many foreign scholars personally, a member of international organizations, and a close friend of Erwin Panofsky but at the same time easy-going and modest with his Polish colleagues, Białostocki created an illusion that the wide world of conferences and first-rate periodicals and presses was close at hand. Even though his position did not result in any privileges or favors for us (he did not have his “court,” “train” or “school”), his very presence in the

Institute effectively protected us against a devastating sense of Poland-centered parochialism.

Still, graduating and then beginning my academic work, I knew not a single art historian from Cracow or Poznań, not to mention other, smaller research centers. They were at best known as names on secondary literature lists, with their publications sometimes obligatory to read. Some of them were characters in anecdotes or briefly appeared in the media (e.g., Professor Zdzisław Kępiński who made a risky attribution of some minor altarpiece to Veit Stoss). In the first place, I mean senior faculty members who, remembered from today's point of view, on memorial photos looked like a bunch of "men in black," personifying mandatory reading. Their elitism was, however, not a consequence of intended isolation. Communication among cities, both among universities and research groups, was almost non-existent. So it was, including various stereotypes and prejudices.

As a long-term chairman of the Board of the Association of Art Historians (SHS), Professor Białostocki was doing his best to break that isolation (sometimes combined with recalcitrance) of Polish academic centers of art history. One of the ways to bring about that effect was publishing the proceedings of national art history conferences which, even though they were organized already in the 1950s, never resulted in integrated publications. Particular papers were published separately so that a chance to bring together the participants was at least in part lost. The first volume, *Późny gotyk. Studia nad sztuką przełomu średniowiecza i czasów nowych* [Late Gothic Style. Studies on the Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times], was an aftermath of the conference held in the town hall of Wrocław in 1962. It was dedicated to the memory of the Rev. Professor Szczęsny Dettloff. In fact, volumes from that series, still continued today, always both focused on a specific theme and many-sided, provide valuable material for the study of Polish art history of the last seventy years – its scholarly, intellectual, and spiritual condition.

It was during one of those annual conferences of the Association of Art Historians – the 1974 conference at the National Museum in Warsaw on "Reflection on Art" [Myśl o sztuce] – when a situation took place, which I want to remember, in terms of emotions rather than reflection. I am aware that such retrospection is always risky, still I will try since what I want to recall is not so much facts, but the aura of the event. The conference was opened by aged Professor Władysław Tatarkiewicz and closed by Professor Białostocki who summed up forty years of the Association's activity. The program included more than twenty papers, e.g., Andrzej Rottermund talked about Durand's theories of architecture, Jacek Woźniakowski on English art critics, Elżbieta Grabska on the Goncourt brothers, and Maria Rzepińska on the theo-

ries of Polish colorism. According to the conference topic, some other presentations focused on Polish art historians: Atanazy Raczyński, Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, Zygmunt Batowski, Oskar Sosnowski, and Władysław Podlacha. No doubt, the conference was interesting, the choice of topics wide, and the presenters excellent – all in all, the quality was high, which was not always the case at the SHS sessions. Still, that was not the reason why my first reaction made me refer to the conference as “Enter the Dragon.”

The event which prompted me that phrase was an unusually stormy, both in form and in its critical fervor, polemic of young art historians from Poznań with a paper by Zofia Ostrowska-Kęłłowska, “The Problem of Historicism in the Study of the Nineteenth-Century Architecture” [Problem historyzmu w badaniach nad architekturą wieku XIX]. A record of that debate published in the proceedings volume does not match its reality. Above all, it does not convey the emotions of the participants. Significantly, the discussion was provoked by a text which was not just good, but excellent both as regards the scope of research and the methodological self-consciousness which surpassed most other presentations. From the opponents’ tactical point of view, it was the right choice of target because its quality guaranteed a high level of the debate. Their approach was a public debut of the “polemical” and “critical” art history which emerged with anarchic energy at the 12th Congress of Art History in Cologne in April 1970. “Never before and never after it did any debate of a group of art historians in Germany receive so much public attention.”¹ In short, in Cologne art history as an academic discipline was subjected to devastating criticism inspired by various currents of neo-Marxism and put under revision as one of the crucial components of the ideology of the ruling class/power, in Germany additionally stigmatized by collaboration with the Nazi regime. The aim of the revision was to challenge the paradigms of the discipline: in the first place, to question the idea of Art, which was the foundation of art history as a field of research in its own right. What followed was demythologization of its constituent discourses on beauty, the autonomy of Art, artistic genius, etc. Analysis of the discourse of art history was intended to reveal its ideological premises, assumptions, and received ways of thinking.

Did the young art historians from Poznań hope to obtain a similar reaction and provoke comparable repercussions? Clearly, they did not mean only a polemic with Zofia Ostrowska-Kęłłowska’s paper, which the record implies. Their criticism was aimed at Polish academic institutions, main-

¹ M. Bryl, *Suwerenność dyscypliny. Polemiczna historia historii sztuki od 1970 roku*, Poznań 2008, 173ff. [trans. M. W].

ly at the Association of Art Historians, as well as programs of conferences, the academia's petrification, empty scholarly rituals, etc. Could the Poznań demonstration become similar as the *succès de scandale* to Martin Warnke's workshop in Cologne?

It should be noted that the Poznań participants in the Warsaw conference dispute did not officially take part in that or any other of the previous SHS conferences, with the exception of Andrzej Turowski's presentation on Władysław Strzemiński during the 1969 conference on "Art in the 20th Century."² That gave them a critical thrust and sense of independence, but on the other hand, they could be perceived as "aliens," with all the negative connotations of this word. Their collective demonstration was not included in the official conference program, but still it must have been preprogrammed. The art historians from Poznań were perfectly well prepared for their public coming out. A year before, in November 1973, in the Rogalin palace-turned-into museum near Poznań, they had an unprecedented discussion meeting with Warnke about *Das Kunstwerk zwischen Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung*,³ a collection of essays edited by the German scholar. Analyzing the papers from "Warnke's workshop," Polish art historians shared their polemical bias against the traditional art history based on the paradigm of stylistic-iconographic analysis. For obvious reasons, the Polish-German debate for the most part ignored the context of Nazism and the relation between art history and capitalism in favor of methodological problems, which allowed for stressing the polemical self-consciousness of the art history of that period. The proceedings of the Rogalin meeting were published after a few years (1976),⁴ which was quite characteristic of Poland at that time. However, the Rogalin meeting, closed and hermetic, for many years continued to be a point of reference for other debates – interpreted and analyzed by Piotr Piotrowski, Mariusz Bryl,⁵ and others. I had to mention it as a necessary element of my reconstruction of the debate in Warsaw in 1974 as its background. The opponents were well prepared, while most of

² The previous SHS conferences had the following topics: "The Function of the Work of Art" (1970), "Art of the Second Half of the 19th Century" (1971), "Art around 1600" (1972), and "Renaissance" (1973). The proceedings volume of the last one included also papers delivered at the conference of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow.

³ *Das Kunstwerk zwischen Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung*, ed. M. Warnke, Gütersloh 1970.

⁴ *Interpretacja dzieła sztuki. Studia i dyskusje*, ed. J. Białostocki, Warszawa-Poznań 1976.

⁵ See Bryl, esp. Chapter III, pp. 196–201.

the audience they were addressing was not prepared at all. Hence the effect of shock and abstruse provocation that many "common" art historians experienced.

To return to my private perspective and memories: I heard about the Rogalin meeting from Professor Białostocki who was its only invited Polish participant not from Poznań. Due to a number of circumstances, I found the German *Ideologiekritik* completely unacceptable. Still, perhaps thanks to its methodological "purification" in the Polish context, the first stormy encounter with the "Poznań art history" became an emancipatory experience for me as well. Maybe for the first time in my career, I appreciated the value (and perhaps also the charm) of rebellion and opposition. Perhaps even the temptation of patricide. A neatly ordered field over which we were supposed to have dominion, as our professors taught us, was subverted and since then nothing could be taken for granted. Art history revealed itself to me as a rough, unpredictable, and independent realm of liberty: the freedom to choose the ways of its understanding, exploration, and emotional response. The point was not to replace iconology with structuralism, abandon Ernst Gombrich in favor of John Berger or renounce scholarly meticulousness with passionate engagement. The gist was the awareness of options and the possibility of choice. Perhaps it was a paradox that "Warnke's workshop," ideologically dogmatic, exemplified the spirit of revolt, i.e., that of freedom. I realize that after almost fifty years my memory may be faulty – crippled by wishful thinking, compensation, and a tendency to mythologize. Still, there is no need to persuade art historians who often think in anthropological terms about the value of mythologization. Thus, the conference of the Association of Art Historians on "Reflection on Art," during which I presented my only study based exclusively on archives, to my surprise turned out liberating and provided a stimulus to practice critical thinking that protected me against intellectual captivity. Causing a blessed turmoil, it made me believe once and for all that when dealing with art, one can never feel sure and safe.

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ENTER THE DRAGON

The paper is a reminiscence of my first meeting with the colleagues from the Institute of Art History of Adam Mickiewicz University, which took place at an annual conference of the Association of Art Historians in 1974, titled "Reflection on Art." Choosing an unusual title, I wanted to convey the impetus with which a group of young art historians from Poznań entered the decent and somewhat stagnant stage of Polish art history. The critique they presented was directed against Polish academic institutions, the problematic of the conference, the empty rituals of academic life, etc. Even though I did not accept all their objections, the heated debate suddenly turned out for me to be a liberating factor, stimulating continuous critical thinking which is an antidote for spiritual and intellectual captivity.

Keywords:

history of art history, conference, Poznań, Association of Art Historians, institutional critique

ANDRZEJ TUROWSKI

L'IMAGINATION AU POUVOIR:
ART HISTORY IN THE TIMES OF CRISIS, 1960S–1970S

The present paper on art history practiced at the University of Poznań in the context of changing theoretical and research tendencies is rather personal and not very academic, and I have no intention to make any far-reaching generalizations. My scope is quite narrow: about fifteen years, from 1965 till the end of the 1970s, which is just a fragment of the century-long history of the Poznań Institute of Art History. What follows, are mostly my recollections, but they will also refer to my present reflection on art history, rooted in my experience in the 1960s, and somehow – perhaps obliquely – touching upon the general turn in the humanities, largely caused by the social crisis and cultural revolution of 1968, which resulted in introducing imagination into positive knowledge and critical thought. I will address an apparently simple question: how did it happen?

Among items found during archaeological excavations in my private archive, both private and typical for my generation, I find a veritable *bric-à-brac*: the 1956 issues of *Współczesność*, with the title provocatively beginning with a small “w,” *Bonjour, tristesse* by Françoise Sagan, films of the Italian neorealism, watched in student clubs that were popular after the Thaw, Grotowski’s performances in the Theater of 13 Rows in Opole, William Gibson’s “Two for the Seesaw,” starring Cybulski and Kępńska, in the Warsaw Ateneum Theater, Komeda and Ptaszyn Wróblewski’s jazz basement somewhere in Poznań (maybe in Wilda), also Poznań poetry festivals with the rebel poet Andrzej Bursa from Cracow, the first exhibition of Vedova’s abstraction, organized by Professor Zdzisław Kępiński, a surprising show of Henry Moore’s sculpture at the National Museum. Besides, continuous hitchhiking all over Poland with books, mostly translations of contemporary world literature: Sartre and Camus; Steinbeck, Faulkner, Hemingway, and Capote; the French “*Nouveau Roman*”: Michel Butor and Alain Robbe-Grillet, also Beckett, and the Polish writer Marek Hłasko who was a genuine star. But first of all, Sartre’s essay *Marxism and Existentialism*, written especially for the Polish reader.

Then studying at the university: first law, then art history. I passed an examination in world art history with Piotr Skubiszewski just a week after passing another one in international law with his brother, Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The former exam took place at the Department of Art History on the top floor of a building on Fredry Street: a long, dark corridor with Zbyszek Czarnecki's photo studio at the end, on both sides offices of junior and senior faculty, a seminar and lecture room with a huge projector to show illustrations, and benches in the corridor, on which we were spending long hours sitting. We made friends with students of the Academy of Fine Arts, sharing intellectual fascinations with colleagues who also studied art history. When I started teaching as an assistant lecturer, Adam Labuda was just about to graduate. We were both reading Foucault's *Order of Things* on the Hel Peninsula beach, soon to discover Derrida's "*différance*" which we did not quite understand. Janos Brendel, a senior and a refugee from Hungary, was telling us about the Budapest uprising. The year 1968 was at hand and I just visited Paris for the first time, fascinated with structuralism, watching the famous debate between Raymond Picard and Roland Barthes on the "new criticism and new imposture" (1965), and then the revolutionary and semiological disputes within the "Tel Quel" group. It was hard to make all that a coherent whole. We were traversing a shaky terrain where everything could easily explode and disappear into thin air. Such was the atmosphere in which we were asking our first questions about art and scholarship, culture and knowledge, history and methodology, politics and responsibility.

At that time we also realized that the choice of a specific rationality makes our scholarship coherent and rigorous. Normative theories, which determined the framework of our research in advance, were convenient and logically clear. Those strategies which grew out of the historical material under consideration proved more difficult and potentially ambiguous. Still, we found such theories, relativizing the process of knowledge acquisition in respect to what remains unknown, much more interesting and stimulating. Imagination, chance, emotions, and even fantasy which allow for creative uncertainty give the scholar an experience of knowledge that is "in-complete," i.e., free of the hegemony of rational doctrine and the institutional power of the academia.

The directions concerning ways of reasoning and the falsification of the material under consideration are not "neutral." I knew about it only at that time. Today, stressing such a position of the scholar among the ideological, political, and academic discourses, I do not adhere to the reductionist (or metaphysical) ideological determinism in the humanities, but put in the foreground the role of "ideosis" as a context, milieu or network to which we belong as academics.

At each stage of knowledge acquisition, we must remember about the placement of our research in some specific episteme including socio-symbolic fields and institutions, legal and political orders, psychological and emotional phenomena, desires and traumas, traditions and visions, affects and myths which naturally belong to our scholarly competence, making irreducible elements of the art historian's consciousness as well as the unconscious. However, the problem is that with the crisis of modernism the great meta-narratives which attempted to structure and rationalize the episteme failed, too. As a result, every description of that episteme is fragmentary, each order accidental, and a chance to achieve an interdisciplinary universal synthesis quite doubtful. What we are facing, as a popular saying goes, is liquid reality. The essential truth of academic knowledge has been degraded to the status of partial truth while the integrity and stability of knowledge has been challenged when it turned out that no ultimate meaning or definite identity can be established.

The meanings that emerge from the remains and rifts, instead of wholes, have been moved to the domain of pragmatic experience and the acquired (produced) knowledge has become performative. Thus, the scholar's responsibility for the results of research has increased, which is now definitely an important feature of his/her condition. In other words, the problem of the social engagement of the scholar and the intellectual has been redefined. Scholarship is facing the challenges of today's world, connecting in a new way the metaphysics of crisis, absence, and memory with reality in which there is more poverty than justice, more wars than happiness, more violence than communication, and more hatred and exclusion than peace and bonding, while democracy as a social order of life and a project of the political and cultural community is facing the peril of populism. Science is confronted with the egoistic anthropocentrism of humanity which is destroying both human and non-human eco- and biosphere on an unprecedented scale and with indifference that suggests a suicidal drive.

It has been often emphasized today that the limitations and duties of the humanities are ethical, not just "purely" theoretical. The idea of the freedom of research and publication (liberalism), related to the scholar's ethical sense of responsibility for the world, refers to the question of methods only via the concept of alternative experience which implies the necessity to reconstruct everything, including the methodological foundation of knowledge. We live in a period of transition from one world-system to another, which is particularly unpredictable, claims Immanuel Wallerstein, the founder of utopistics: "If we want to use our chance, we must first understand it. This requires a transformation of the frames of knowledge to make us understand the nature of the

present structural crisis, and by the same token, our historical choices for the 21st century."¹ Far from my present awareness of the problem, I was confronted with a similar perspective in 1968, at the beginning of my academic career.

Certainly, what is crucial is the direction and character of that reconstruction, particularly if we realize the modernist failure of the idea of progress with all the ensuing real dangers without accepting ethical conservatism which in the 20th century developed socially dangerous symbolism and did tremendous damage with its political practice. Under the circumstances, it does not make sense to expect the emergence of any schema of scholarly activity subject to one method and integrated with social progress. Leaving open an agonistic (debatable) area where academic disputes may be conducted, i.e., allowing for the coexistence of different truths, just as different cultures, within a common democratic space is an attempt to bring together contradictory methods and keep their distinctness in the imaginable orders of the past and future. It is obvious, wrote Paul K. Feyerabend, the founder of epistemological anarchism, that

It is clear, then, that the idea of a fixed method, or of a fixed theory of rationality, rests on too naive a view of man and his social surroundings. To those who look at the rich material provided by history, and who are not intent on impoverishing it in order to please their lower instincts, their craving for intellectual security in the form of clarity, precision, 'objectivity', 'truth', it will become clear that there is only one principle that can be defended under all circumstances and in all stages of human development. It is the principle: anything goes.²

This principle does not mean that "everything can be said about everything." It does not express a nihilistic belief that there is no goal and all means can be used. It is not cynical opportunism which rejects social values in favor of individual benefits, but a kind of epistemic relativism which, fully aware of its limitations as regards conveying the truth, is open to critical thought that challenges academic habits, received ideas, and petrified knowledge. In my opinion, methodological anarchism has been a critical contribution to positive knowledge and the gist of the alternative ways of knowing. In this case, methodological meta-reflection "goes astray" to fill the empty spaces of ignorance, asking questions about the facticity of what we get to know without determining either our fields of study or objects of reflection once and for all. It makes us change our points of view and be more attentive and critical, chal-

¹ I. Wallerstein, *Utopistics: Or Historical Choices for the Twenty-First Century*, New York 1998, p. 90.

² P.K. Feyerabend, *Against Method*, London and New York 1993, pp. 18–19.

lenging the historical and disciplinary integrity of scholarship. Such a method, questioning methodological boundaries, subverts the order of knowledge and opens it to the intrusion of imagination.

In this sense, losing its “hard” object of reference, art history turns into a kind of literary practice or an intellectual narrative which attempts to penetrate the margins beyond scholarly control, grasp the blurred origins, and include in the field of research the ideas that are too weak to confront “hard” knowledge. It legitimizes the desire to take into account a range of affects and emotions which have evaded unambiguous description, and acknowledges the potential of remains and vestiges. What follows is an incomplete identity of art history which, by creating literary fictions and intellectual constructs, reaches the ineffable and the formless, entering the domain of memory and the related experience of trauma, silence, and melancholy. I do not mean a historical nostalgia for the nonexistent totality, but a situation when the effects of research materializes, instead of blurring, complex emotional and imaginary interactions between the evasive object of art history and the art historian who deals with the “living archive” of the present.

It is quite obvious that in this sense, no matter how we define it, methodology brings us close to history, being a process of incessant reading and rereading of the whole past and present of our discipline, reinterpreting its methodological aspirations and operational achievements. One cannot expect all this to be a disinterested activity, which was why I considered it a strategy of the legitimation of art history among various social practices and subjects of power. As a discourse, it was both mythical and critical. On the one hand, it allowed art history to construct academic strongholds with distinct boundaries (universities and museums), on the other, it challenged those institutions by transforming them and transgressing their limitations. Thus, methodology defined the core conflict of the political in art history, turning it into a public practice. Understood in such terms, it is only an aspect of research, published texts, and academic lectures and seminars, simultaneously becoming the core of social relations and contact with students, scholars, and artists. In place of the alienated knowledge with a doubtful identity, which favored a specific model of art history, during my academic career dating back to the Poznań years I have always preferred a transversal and engaged mode of reflection related to the professional research practice involved in an endless debate about method (rationality), object (art), and ideology (history). Writes Feyerabend:

Without ‘chaos’, no knowledge. Without a frequent dismissal of reason, no progress. Ideas which today form the very basis of science exist only because there were such things as prejudice, conceit, passion; because these things opposed

reason; and because they were permitted to have their way. We have to conclude, then, that even within science reason cannot and should not be allowed to be comprehensive and that it must often be overruled, or eliminated, in favour of other agencies. There is not a single rule that remains valid under all circumstances and not a single agency to which appeal can always be made.³

Such problems largely determined my academic career in Poland and then in France, but definitely first in Poznań already in the mid-1960s. It was then that I became aware of the changes in the theory and practice of art history, including a profound reevaluation of the received ideas and approaches. The most important in that respect were four questions. First, it was the role and significance of contemporary art in teaching and research. A chronological approach – from antiquity to the present – was replaced by a tendency to approach the entire history of art from the point of view of modernity, initiated in the 1960s. The history of modern art (of the 19th and 20th century) became more and more prominent in the research projects and teaching of the Poznań scholars. It did not mean simple turning the order upside down, but a belief that the scholar's position is historically determined by the present events and institutions which influence his/her concepts and interpretational procedures applied in different ways to every fragment of the past. Consequently, an attitude based upon the theoretical consciousness and ideological responsibility conditioned by the present became a historical foundation of art history in practice and a source of verification of all judgments. A crucial contribution to the origin of that attitude was a debate with a group of young German art historians on the work of art "between scholarship and worldview" in 1973.⁴

Conclusions drawn from that meeting brought us to another important question: the necessity to combine critical methodological reflection and detailed historical research. The idea of knowledge could no longer imply an ideological enclave. In that sense, methodology was no longer a kind of knowledge (meta-knowledge or theory) that is external in reference to its object, but was related to the latter, as we would say, dialectically. In teaching and research it meant more emphasis on the history of art history as a changing discipline than on the traditional philological and philosophical analysis of

³ Feyerabend, *Against Method*, p. 158.

⁴ A conference titled *Dzieła sztuki między nauką a światopoglądem* [Works of Art between Scholarship and Worldview] took place on November 14, 1973 in Rogalin. The proceedings were published in a collection called *Interpretacje dzieła sztuki*, edited by Janusz Kęmbłowski (Poznań 1976). See also: A.S. Labuda, "Polska i niemiecka historia sztuki w polemicznym dyskursie – sympozjum w Rogalinie w roku 1973," *Artium Quaestiones* 2017, 28, p. 227.

artistic doctrines (aesthetics). The results of such a line of reasoning were far reaching and the third question appeared, signaling an ever deeper change of approach to art history. The historical relativization and contextualization of the object of study went along with questioning its generic boundaries and modes of existence. In this respect, particularly seminal was the study of contemporary art, and above all the interest in the strategies of the avant-garde (collage, montage, ready-mades, conceptual art) which successfully disrupted the ontological status of the work of art. An impulse coming from the theory of the aleatory character of the modern artwork (Eco, Barthes) resulted in opening up the artistic structure and abandoning the idea of its unity based on a transhistorical principle and single meaning. On the one hand, the work of art was losing its conceptual, formal, and aesthetic identity, while on the other, it became iconically, genetically, and functionally diversified. All in all, art history was revising its descriptive vocabulary and concepts – losing its autonomy, it found a new place among specific problems of the general study of culture.

The boundaries of the discipline, so far guaranteed by its separate object of study and methods, were challenged, and the epistemological independence of the new knowledge of art with its methods of interpretation had to be reestablished in a debate. The point was not to integrate it with a “general theory” of symbolism or iconology, which was preferred in the early 1970s by the scholars who favored the trends dominant in Poland, but conversely, to allow for the historical and social diversification of art in the contexts of structural anthropology (myths), semiotics-semiology (sign, communication), and anthropological sociology (artistic life and milieu, social reception). In other words, at stake was a transdisciplinary theory, later to be called “cultural studies.” Behind it stood a critical idea which did not absolutize or institutionalize history and knowledge, but rather ideologized history and sociologized the artwork. In the Polish art history of those times, it was a revisionist perspective that came into being in the post-1968 atmosphere of rebellion, quickly and correctly recognized as a coup directed against art history practiced in museums and universities as a scholarly discipline separated from ideologies and social conditions.

Already in the early 1970s, quite many Polish scholars were familiar with the concepts which came from what is called today “French Theory”⁵ as well as the Marxism of the Frankfurt School, in particular Walter Benja-

⁵ P. Piotrowski, “‘Francuskie teorie’, amerykańska mediacja. Pro domo sua i/lub humanistyka po dekonstrukcji,” in: *French Theory w Polsce*, eds. E. Domańska, M. Loba, Poznań 2010, pp. 105–111.

min.⁶ Their critique of the bourgeois culture was interesting due to its potential of critical engagement with the present interpreted in historical terms. Still, it could hardly be applied to the situation of Poland. Important was also the role assigned to modern art with its idea of autonomy (Adorno), which allowed scholars to reveal the dangerous power of social ideologies and the manipulations of the authorities (Althusser). A significant evolution of the "new art history" from the history of ideas through structuralism and the sociology of discourses took place against that background which also inspired a new choice of problems and terminology of description and interpretation transferred to art history. The paradigmatic problem of the avant-garde in the study of the twentieth-century art gave rise to historicism in respect to the 19th century. What connected those two contexts was research on the external and internal tensions generated by works of art, and the social dynamic which determined not so much their origin but their functioning. An example was the question of style, whose origin was found first of all in the ideological and technological production of form (historicism), not in the history of shapes and the aesthetics of beauty. As regards the avant-garde, a similar role was played by the concept of utopia, which allowed scholars to abandon the ideological and formal dualism of rationalized or expressive form, still popular in all the surveys of the twentieth-century art. The principal concepts in thinking about art and explaining artistic processes became the definitions of structure and power, related to a long series of interconnected terms, such as revolution and transgression, critique and exclusion, utopia and ideology, autonomy and engagement, historicism and dialectic, text and discourse, function and myth, innovation and stereotype, diachrony and synchrony, center and periphery, the signifier and the signified, etc.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, art history, dissolved in interdisciplinary projects, needed a new consolidation. Political tensions and passions gave rise to a new and significant orientation in research, which became the fourth step that provided a closure to the changes in the art history practiced in Poznań. Not only was it the time of strikes, but also of solidarity debates on identity. The problems of feminism and creative subjectivity rooted in the unconscious, long ignored and repressed by the communist ideology, emerged with much subversive energy. Another question was the artistic identification of East Central Europe in the context of common destiny of the countries

⁶ A Benjamin seminar was held in March 20–21, 1981, and a detailed report from it was published in *Artium Quaestiones* 1983, 2, pp. 190–192. The same issue of the journal included Wojciech Suchocki's translation of Wolfgang Kemp's paper "Walter Benjamin and Aby Warburg," pp. 145–172.

marked by the “colonial” dependence on the Soviet Union, including the need to draw a new artistic geography which would allow promoting the history of the art of that region as a legitimate field of research. That particular task was set for the first time in the fall of 1980 at an international conference on the relations between the Central European avant-garde movements and the art of the West. A crucial paper of a Swiss scholar specializing in the Polish avant-garde was titled “Who’s Afraid of the Periphery?”⁷

Addressing an old question about the cultural borders of Central Europe and within such a space the margins and farthest ends of the avant-garde art, the discussion focused on three fundamental problems. The first referred to the lives of artists and their artistic careers as foundations of their cultural identity. The second was geography – spatial, synchronic, and horizontal differentiation, with all the complex and changing historical and cultural, economic and political, and philosophical and ideological relations. Finally, the third was about artistic processes in history, including such questions as the rise of stylistic trends, ideological options, the ideas of history and visions of the future, as well as the structure of the work of art, its integrity and fragmentariness, and its autonomy and disintegration.

Presented above in a nutshell, this research perspective, which resulted in changing the position of modern art and incorporating Central Europe in the field under scrutiny, provided opportunities for an interesting research experiment that became more and more common in many academic institutions both in Europe and in the United States. In the 1980s and 1990s, the studies on the avant-garde in Central Europe resulted in introducing a number of descriptive terms which are used also today to deal with modern history. In my case, such was the book that summed up the Poznań stage of my academic career, published in 1986 in France under the title *Is There Art in Eastern Europe?*

To understand better the art of the 1980s, in the first place I decided to use such terms as “crisis,” “margin,” and “rupture” as a new field of critical reflection which challenged the integrity of artistic biographies, homogeneity of the avant-garde artworks, and the coherence of programs and trends.

⁷ The conference was held in Gołuchów in December, 1980. Its title was *Les relations du constructivisme d'Europe de l'Est et d'Europe Centrale avec l'avant-garde des deux premiers décennies du XX siècle*. A report was published in *Artium Quaestiones* 1983, 2, pp. 188–190. The proceeding were published only in French many years later in *Ligeia* 1989, 5–6, pp. 31–131. See there, next to the preface, A. Turowski, « L'avant-garde en Europe de l'Est : problèmes et orientations de la recherche » (pp. 31–34), a key text by A. Baudin, « Qui a peur de la périphérie? », *Ligeia* 1989, 5–6, pp. 124–131. The aftermath of the conference included also my book: A. Turowski, *Existe-t-il un art de l'Europe de l'Est?*, Paris 1986.

Moreover, I questioned the model of art history based on binary oppositions, paying attention to ambiguities (differences) instead of opposites. The point was not to acknowledge a dialectic, which is always bipolar, but a kind of knot. As a foundation of the study of contemporary art, I proposed a model of multi-level discursive texture, complex enough but with no single principle of order, and covering many fragments of the artistic life of a given area and specific time period, subject to continuous social and psychological pressure. That kind of texture I described in *Budowniczość świata*, using the concept of "ideosis." I was referring to different levels of culture and heterogeneous discourses. Ideosis did not structure the field, but allowed me to describe it as an unstable space. What integrated artistic and social phenomena were interactions instead of casual and genetic relations. In this texture specific works, trends, programs, criticism, and the like constituted in a somewhat fluid manner overlapping circles with a varying but always complex degree of internal organization. The border circles were not distinct, ties were weaker there, and the discourses of margins started proliferating chaotically. The result was the state of instability.

Conducted from such a viewpoint, the study of the avant-garde was not intended to disclose rifts and mistakes or, as some critics like to say, the "fraudulence of the avant-garde art" (statements of this kind usually conceal opportunism or conservative ideologies), but to let art history overcome a deeply ingrained model of modernist thinking. No wonder then that already in the early 1970s I was interested in the discourses of those artists and theorists who, moving into the area of the modern, not quite mapped, challenged more or less codified works and theories of modernist art, allowing for critical approaches to them. A critique of the avant-garde was made possible by its own discursive texture. Particularly helpful in this respect was Tadeusz Kantor and the experience of the Foksal Gallery. That seemingly "other" history, unfolding in artists' studios, could not be separated from the academic art history practiced in Poznań.

Thinking about the concepts that would possibly match the world in crisis in the 1960s and 1970s, with which I could approach contemporary art in its complex network including the artist's studio, the curator's practice, the scholar's library, and the university seminar, as well as the East and the West, I turned in that decade toward two art historians: Aby Warburg and Max Dvořák. For them the Great War, the key event in their history of modernity and the ensuing crisis, was the crucial experience which made them change their epistemological orientation in anthropology and philosophy of history. For Warburg, who belonged to Western culture, it was predominantly the problem of visual memory; its fluctuations, crossings, transformations,

and returns. Their history was complicated, multi-leveled, tangentially connecting different cultures. For Dvořák, who came from Central Europe, it was abandoning the formalism of linear history in favor of approaching art history as a domain of discontinuity, breaks, ruptures, and hybrids, such as, for instance, mannerism and expressionism. Both founded their visions of the history of art on the concept of rupture. Interested in different artists and epochs, they agreed that early modern art could not be interpreted only in terms of the heritage of classicism.

Art history according to Warburg, and in a sense also according to Dvořák, critically referred to the origin of the discipline, when not only its name, but also the object of study and method were defining their meaning and limitations. Their model of art history challenged each of those elements which, determining its autonomy, gave it the status of a field of academic study. Taking into consideration that essential change, during the Poznań discussions I fully realized that the first art history, based on the model shaped by the Enlightenment, rooted in the excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum and articulated by Winckelmann, with Warburg gave way to another model, born in psychiatric clinics and the excavations in memory, whose key achievement was *Mnemosyne*. That other art history was brought to surface from the depth of the unconscious, from phobias and passions, in the shock of danger and the diseases caused by trauma. One must remember that Michel Foucault's *History of Madness*, published in 1961, was a polemic with the Enlightenment discourse of rationalism. While the first art history, that of Winckelmann, came into being under the sign of Sun, the other one, that of Warburg, emerged under the sign of Saturn. In its center was the idea of man in danger – it was the history of art evolving in the times of permanent crisis.

What interested me years ago in Warburg, and despite all the differences between them, also in Dvořák, was the fact that in their studies the object of art history was breaking out of crisis. If crisis was a permanent condition, the knowledge that it made possible was close to what cannot be grasped in research – incomplete, fragmentary, changing, and always critical.⁸ Why can we not then adopt the concepts of crisis and non-positive affirmation, i.e., contestation as the gist of the research practice in art history, such as it has been since 1968? In other words: the gist of critical political practice, challenging methodology of scholarship, and radical art.

⁸ All the participants of the SHS (Association of Art Historians) conference in 1985, in which I did not take part because I was already in France, were of a different opinion. See *Kryzysy w sztuce. Materiały z sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Lublin, grudzień 1985, ed. E. Karwowska, Warszawa 1988.

In the past, the equivalent of the word “outrage” was “contestation.” Michel Foucault wrote in his “Preface to Transgression”:

Perhaps when contemporary philosophy discovered the possibility of nonpositive affirmation it began a process of reorientation ... and opened the way for the advance of critical thought and the principle of contestation. ... Rather than being a process of thought for denying existences or values, contestation is the act that carries them all to their limits and, from there, to the Limit where an ontological decision achieves its end: to contest is to proceed until one reaches the empty core where being achieves its limit and when the limit defines being.⁹

Foucault, similarly to Nietzsche, placed the contesting and anarchistic “yes” in the center of the conflict (agon) that stimulates society, where “yes” means disagreement, an expression of protest, a revelation of difference, an emphasis on otherness, the essence of hiatus, a result of anger, a symptom of indignation, a form of rebellion, the need for revolt, the (im)penetrability of the limit.

Even though the artist’s position in today’s democracy has been defined many times by artists themselves, it still requires continuous reformulation. This is a problem that is both artistic and political, which means that it pertains to art history. Whenever I start thinking about it, what comes to my mind is the Polish March 1968 in Poznań, which back then was my present. The present always calls for being alert, just like Émile Zola was alert when he pronounced his famous “*J’accuse!*.” He did it in a public letter addressed to the President of the Republic in relation to the anti-Semitic trial of Dreyfus, which included sharp criticism of the French government and its frauds. Fully aware of the consequences, Zola was ready to face a libel lawsuit that indeed ended with a sentence and his emigration. He wrote that his letter, like a revolution, was intended to foster an “explosion of truth” – with passion, in the name of suffering humanity, it was supposed to remember the public that “people are entitled to happiness”; as an act of indignant protest, it was a “cry of his heart.”¹⁰

The Poznań art historians learned their lesson of imagination and engagement in March and May of 1968, and I practiced art history throughout the 1970s accordingly until I made a difficult decision to leave for Paris and take an academic job in France.

⁹ M. Foucault, „Preface to Transgression,” trans. D. F. Bouchard and S. Simon, in: idem, *Aesthetics and Methodology, Essential Works of Foucault*, vol. 2, ed. J. F. Faubion, New York 1998, pp. 74–75. English translation slightly modified – M. W.

¹⁰ É. Zola, “*J’accuse!*,” *L’Aurore*, January 13, 1898. English translation by Wikisource.

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L'IMAGINATION AU POUVOIR:

ART HISTORY IN THE TIMES OF CRISIS, 1960S–1970S

Summary

The present paper is reminiscence and an attempt to reconstruct the intellectual heritage of art history as it was practiced at the University of Poznań in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s in the context of new developments in cultural theory and changing research interests. Besides, it includes the author's account of his own academic work in that period, began in the 1960s and inspired in particular by the year 1968 that brought a social crisis and a cultural revolution, as well as introduced the element of imagination into academic knowledge and critical thought. The author draws a wide panorama of intellectual stimuli which contributed to an epistemic and methodological turn, first in his own scholarly work and then in the work of some other art historians in Poznań. Those turns opened art history at the University of Poznań to critical reading of artistic practices approached in relation to other social practices and subjects of power. As a result, four key problems were addressed: (1) the position of contemporary art in research and teaching, (2) the necessity to combine detailed historical studies with critical theoretical reflection, (3) the questioning of genre boundaries and ontological statuses of the objects of study and the semantic

frames of the work of art, and finally, in connection to the rise of an interdisciplinary perspective, (4) the subversion of the boundaries and identity of art history as an academic discipline. Then the author reconstructs the theoretical background of the "new art history" that emerged some time later, drawing from the writings of Walter Benjamin, the French structuralism, Theodor Adorno's aesthetic theory, and Louis Althusser's interpretation of the concept of ideology. Another important problematic was the avant-garde art of Poland and other East-Central European countries, studied in terms of artistic geography and the relations between the center and periphery. The conclusion of the paper presents a framework marked with the names of Aby Warburg and Max Dvořák, which connected the tradition of art history with new developments, took under consideration the seminal element of crisis, and allowed art historians to address a complex network of relations among the artist's studio, the curator's practice, the scholar's study, and the university seminar, as well as the West, the Center, and the East. At last, the author remembers the revolutionary, rebellious spirit and the lesson of imagination that the Poznań art history took from March and May, 1968.

Keywords:

art history in Poznań, art history, theory and methodology, avant-garde, 1968, contestation

WOJCIECH WŁODARCZYK

1989. ON THE CONCEPT OF MODERNISM

In art history, the importance of divisions based on calendar and specific dates has been clearly decreasing,¹ which is why, making 1989 my central point of reference, I must take a more inclusive look at my topic, i.e., the concept of modernism and changes of its meaning. The concept problematizes, the term puts in order. The meaning of a concept is determined by the changing proximate words on the mental map, therefore, writes Mieke Bal, it is a theory in miniature which points, argues Reinhart Koselleck, at a historico-philosophical horizon, and finally, is closely associated with the artistic or exhibition practice of a given scholar.² When we choose concepts, the emotional aura of the word also plays a crucial role.

In my opinion, the evolution of the concept of modernism reveals the gist of changes in the Polish art of the last dozen years of the 20th century and the beginning of the present one, confirming also a well-grounded scheme according to which Polish art history has been putting it in order. Even though statistics show that over the last few decades the concept of modernism did not appear in published texts too often – the “avant-garde” did, and “art of resistance/critical art” as well – still, it proved to have the most explanatory power. I will begin with setting temporal limits.

In 1976, Wiesław Juszczak published an anthology titled *Teksty o malarzach. Antologia polskiej krytyki artystycznej 1890–1918* [Texts about Painters. Anthology of Polish Art Criticism, 1890–1918], and a year later a study

¹ This is what I believe myself – I have been questioning the choice of 1945 as a threshold date in art. History even though it has been commonly accepted. See my essay “Pięć lat,” in: *Zaraz po wojnie*, eds. J. Kordjak, A. Szewczyk, Warszawa 2015, pp. 32–44. The same refers to 1989. See my essay “Kiedy zaczęło się ‘dzisiaj’? O źródłach sztuki polskiej lat dziewięćdziesiątych,” in: *Sztuka dzisiaj*, ed. M. Poprzęcka, Warszawa 2002, pp. 27–39.

² See M. Bal, *Traveling Concepts in the Humanities. A Rough Guide*, Toronto 2002; R. Koselleck, *Begriffsgeschichten. Studien zur Semantik und Pragmatik der politischen und sozialen Sprache*, Berlin 2011. Both studies are very different from Władysław Tatar-kiewicz’s approach.

called *Malarstwo polskie: modernizm* [Polish Painting: Modernism]. In fact, however, both books must be approached as a whole.³ A quarter of century later, two studies with the word “modernism” in their titles came out: in 1999, *Znaczenia modernizmu. W stronę historii sztuki polskiej po 1945 roku* [The Meanings of Modernism: Toward a History of Polish Art after 1945] by Piotr Piotrowski, and in 2000, *Budowniczości świata. Z dziejów radykalnego modernizmu w sztuce polskiej* [Builders of the World. From the History of Radical Modernism in Polish Art] by Andrzej Turowski. Certainly, “modernism” in Piotrowski’s book means something else than in Turowski’s one, while both authors (close to each other due to their similar approaches to the concept’s origin) differ from Juszcak who never accepted their understanding of the term.

A strong point of Juszcak’s approach to modernism has been his analysis of paintings: thick description and grounded theory confirmed by the analysis of the idiom of criticism, to mention only luminism and intensivism. Moreover, Juszcak placed in the tradition of both reflection on history and on art the heritage of Jan Matejko and the Cracow conservatism of the late 19th century, as interpreted by Marcin Król. Elżbieta Grabska, a major scholar specializing in modern art, to whose work I will be referring below, distinguished among three meanings of the term “modernism.” First, it was, just like for Juszcak, a synonym of the Young Poland (Młoda Polska). Second, it was the art of Vienna around 1910, according to Andrzej Olszewski.⁴ Third, “modernism” was close to the idea of modernity, at that time anachronistic and unclear, perhaps with the exception of “modernist architecture,” also called so by Olszewski. Juszcak’s approach did not undermine those distinctions but resulted in a rare, and maybe the first of its kind, deeply rooted in works of art and theoretically justified, interpretation of a current in modern Polish art.

A rejection, or perhaps reduction, of the semantic field of Juszcak’s concept of modernism took place around 1989 in consequence of an invasion of postmodernism, which was first documented by literary scholars.⁵ In 1987, the Polish translation of *Postmodernist Architecture* by Charles Jencks was published, and next year Marcin Giżycki published his influential antholo-

³ Even though there are many studies on Polish modernism in plastic arts, they are incomparable to studies of literary scholars on literary modernism. Both books by Juszcak are far superior to other texts that deal with art at the turn of the 20th century.

⁴ A. Olszewski, *Nowa forma w architekturze polskiej 1900–1925. Teoria i praktyka*, Wrocław 1967.

⁵ See *Odkrywanie modernizmu*, ed. R. Nycz, Kraków 1998. An overview of the relations between the avant-garde and modernism can be found in J. Orska, *Przełom awangardowy w dwudziestowiecznym modernizmie w Polsce*, Kraków 2004.

gy of classic postmodernist theory, titled *Postmodernizm – kultura wyczerpania?* (Postmodernism – Culture of Exhaustion?). Giżycki introduced into Polish art history the Anglo-American perspective and made Polish scholars take into consideration a number of terms that ordered the panorama of contemporary art anew.

The appearance of postmodernism, which made us realize that we are not “within” but “without” modernity/modernism, had many consequences, not all of them surprising. One of the papers delivered during the annual session of the Association of Art Historians in 1984 was entitled “Nowoczesność i jej granice” [Modernity and Its Boundaries].⁶ Postmodernism determined a new, for linguistic reasons quite obvious, interpretation of the word “modernism.” Saving the word “modernity,” which apparently started referring to the general worldview of the Enlightenment, Polish scholars began interpreting the concept of modernism according to Clement Greenberg as a specific artistic articulation of modernity. As a result, the problem of the autonomy of art became most prominent, which at the moment of a major political change in 1989 that continued in the 1990s, acquired political significance. A political qualification of, e.g., abstract art as autonomous and hence acceptable by the authorities, was proposed also earlier, for instance by Piotrowski, but in the final decade of the 20th century it acquired a radically negative meaning. Contrary to the years following the period of martial law, when the evaluation of the art of the communist Poland was balanced – as for example at the 1984 conference – the next decade did not have any scruples in that respect.

Even this short and by no means complete list of topics determined by a new point of view on contemporary art (the consequences of the prefix “post-”) reveals the problem’s complexity. Does it really make sense to talk about postmodernity or rather, late modernity, as this is a key distinction in respect to the set of values concerning art? Is it legitimate to insist, particularly after the publication of the English translation of Peter Bürger’s *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, that the idea of the autonomy of art clearly denied its subversive or at least provocative character? Finally, what are the meanings of commonly used term “modernity” and the renewed “modernism,” with the latter becoming more and more influential also in Poland? And the most important question: what is the relation between modernism and avant-garde? All those questions were asked about thirty years ago and now answers to them are var-

⁶ Another presentation, by Wojciech Lipowicz, which opened the proceedings volume, referred to the popular dichotomy of center vs margin, evidently favoring the latter. See “Nadąsani I zadumani,” in: *Sztuka polska po 1945 roku. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Warszawa, listopad 1984*, ed. T. Hrankowska, Warszawa 1987, pp. 9–17.

ious, supported by different arguments and theories, but back then they were a serious challenge which few scholars were ready to realize.

The most important attempt to put the modified lexicon in a new order and to draw new dividing lines on the map of Polish art in the 20th century was Piotr Piotrowski's study *Znaczenia modernizmu. W stronę historii sztuki polskiej po 1945 roku*, originally announced under the title *Dialektyka modernizmu* [Dialectic of Modernism]. Piotrowski made three crucial decisions. First, following Peter Bürger, he defined modernism as autonomous art, in fact including in his definition the whole range of meanings characteristic of modernity.⁷ Consequently, modernism was identified with modern art in general (hence Juszczak's objection), autonomous in terms proposed by Greenberg. Piotrowski aptly remarked that Greenberg's well-known essay should be titled "Modernism and Kitsch." Second, all the art so far referred to as the avant-garde was placed under the label "modernism" as well. Piotrowski's argument was that the idea of the avant-garde changed its meaning under the influence of politically radical art called critical.⁸ A claim that the critical art determined a new order in the lexicon of Polish art history was Piotrowski's third resolution. As a result, the idea of the avant-garde became historical and lost its significance in favor of the critical art which in the 1990s had its heyday. That established a new ranking of radicalism, for Piotrowski identical with the general hierarchy of value – the critical art got ahead of the avant-garde and left modernism far behind.

Therefore, such artists as Władysław Strzemiński and Henryk Stażewski, traditionally classified by Polish art historians as avant-gardists, turned into modernists in the new sense of the term proposed in *Znaczenia modernizmu*.⁹ Piotrowski's terminological innovations coincided with his curatorial experience with Zofia Kulik's exhibition organized in 1997 in the National Museum in Poznań, as well as the inspiration of Hal Foster, whose texts were widely read in Poland in the 1990s. (Foster's essay, "For a Concept of the Political in Art," was translated into Polish in 1994.¹⁰) In a sense, Mariusz Bryl's extraordinary book *Suwerenność dyscypliny. Polemiczna historia historii sztuki od 1970 roku* [Sovereignty of the Discipline. Polemical Art History since 1970], published in 2008, supported and confirmed

⁷ P. Piotrowski, *Znaczenia modernizmu. W stronę historii sztuki polskiej po 1945 roku*, Poznań 1999, p. 80.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 117–146.

¹⁰ *Magazyn Sztuki* 1994, 4. Foster's essay was translated by Ewa Mikina, an expert on English language literature on contemporary art.

a new dichotomy. In his "Conclusion," Bryl, whose theoretical expertise was unprecedented in Poland, placed the new opposition in a binary frame of criticism and modernist essentialism.

Even though it reaches beyond my chronological framework, further evolution of the terms "modernism" and "avant-garde" in Piotrowski's writing seems worth following on the present occasion. His next book, *Awangarda w cieniu Jałty* [Avant-Garde in the Shadow of Yalta], published in 2005, both announced and illustrated his next project, presented in more detail in his essay "O horyzontalnej historii sztuki" [On the Horizontal Art History].¹¹ The two texts are incomparable in length, but are important for my argument since they refer to the representations of the avant-garde and modernist art drawn from other methodological experience and research traditions. The use of the term "avant-garde" in the title was determined by the necessity to take into consideration the perspectives of both Western and Eastern European scholars. A horizontal approach, opposing the dominant vertical and Western view of modern art, in Piotrowski's texts still referred to the "vertical" order of the avant-garde, though it also encompassed all Eastern Europe. His local point of view did not affect the adopted paradigm of critical values: innovation (progress) vs resistance. Piotrowski might have needed a new, unambiguous qualification of the term "modernism" as understood in 1999 more to depreciate traditional painting (painting on canvas, he claimed elsewhere, "supports the political *status quo*") and boost the radicalism of the critical art, than to make the concept of the avant-garde somewhat less general. That approach was apparently confirmed in his posthumously published book, *Globalne ujęcie sztuki Europy Wschodniej* [A Global Approach to the Art of Eastern Europe]. In this book, focused on geoartistic relations and postcolonial revisions, the concept of the avant-garde is equaled with that of modernity: the term "modernism" sometimes means "avant-garde" and on other occasions just "modernization." The argument is not too pedantic, as usual in terminological disputes, but the study does not place terminology in the foreground, either.

The changes of the meaning of modernism must not be considered apart from the changing concept of the avant-garde since they are closely interrelated. To begin with, a short, historical introduction seems indispensable. The concept of the avant-garde as a phenomenon characteristic of modern Polish art was introduced in 1949 by Mieczysław Porębski in his essay "Dwa programy" [Two Programs], published at the climax of a fierce artistic-po-

¹¹ *Artium Quaestiones* 2009, 20, pp. 59–73.

litical conflict.¹² The author established an unshakable binary paradigm in which broadly understood avant-garde that had different variants depending on a given period always occupied a crucial position. In 1949, Porębski identified it with modernity defined as critical judgment of reality, and made its meaning clear by opposing it to colorism. That retroactive aspect of “modernity,” connected to the prewar “Grupa Krakowska” [Cracow Group], was effectively eliminated in Poland in the late 1950s. Since then, with a few minor exceptions, the avant-garde always owed its significance to the contrast with its opponents: after colorism, those were formalism, realism, sometimes pictural abstraction, etc. In the mid-1970s, when the neo-avant-garde was in decline, the official periodical *Sztuka* made the avant-garde equal in rights to realism.¹³

To generalize, Piotrowski considered engaged criticism with a political bias the main point of reference for most terms he used. In his opinion, public engagement should match and be a supplement of the academic activity. It seems that the political aspect, instead of transgression or utopianism, was for him the most important as an element of his definition of the avant-garde. This particular point of view makes Piotrowski’s approach different from that of Turowski who, like no other scholar but Porębski, favored the avant-garde as the leading narrative of Polish art. Turowski did not use the concept of modernism in Piotrowski’s sense: in his *Konstruktywizm polski. Próba rekonstrukcji nurtu (1921–1934)* [Polish Constructivism. A Tentative Reconstruction, 1921–1934], written in 1969–1971 and published in 1981, he approached constructivism as a component of the avant-garde., which was quite obvious, in tune with the secondary literature of those times.

During the decade between the completion of the book and its publication, Turowski changed his opinion. First, when for some time he was connected to the Foksal Gallery in Warsaw, he located the constructivist tradition in the French leftist context of May 1968, which, as he put it, “rejected form in favor

¹² Porębski’s presentation, delivered during „Popisy szkół artystycznych” in 1949 in Poznań, was published in *Materiały do Studiów i Dyskusji z Zakresu Teorii i Historii Sztuki, Krytyki Artystycznej oraz Metodologii Badań nad Sztuką*, vol. 1. Warszawa 1950, pp. 51–76.

¹³ See also M. Spychalski, “Na straży awangardy,” *Odra* 2014, 4; W. Włodarczyk, “Artysta nowoczesny jako t.w.,” *Miejsce. Studia nad sztuką i architekturą XX i XXI wieku* 2015, 1, pp. 89–108. In my opinion, Andrzej Turowski was forced to change the title of his book from *Rewolucja konstruktywistyczna* [The Constructivist Revolution] to *W kręgu konstruktywizmu*, Warszawa 1979, because at that moment in the history of communist Poland censorship did not approve of the term “revolution,” not because constructivism was of the avant-garde character.

of action."¹⁴ Second, he was inspired by structuralism – Janusz Sławiński's seminal study of the poetic idiom of the Cracow avant-garde was published in 1965. Third, another influence on Turowski were the exhibitions organized in the Museum of Art in Łódź, whose director since 1966 was Ryszard Stanisławski. (Particularly significant were the exhibitions titled "Konstruktywizm polski," showed in Otterlo and Essen in 1973.¹⁵) Stanisławski's connection of the work of Władysław Strzemiński with that of Katarzyna Kobro, with all the due responsibility and authority of the museum, cannot be overrated and must not be ignored whenever the concept of the avant-garde is examined next to others in use at that time. Stanisławski's strategy significantly endorsed Porębski's statement made in his "Dwa programy" essay. Wiesław Borowski's essay "Pseudoawangarda" (1975), which Turowski highly appreciated, just as Piotrowski in his book *Dekada* [Decade], should be considered in this neo-avant-garde perspective of canonizing the Polish avant-garde between the world wars and institutionalizing Polish constructivism in an international context.¹⁶

In the 1980s and 1990s, many publications on the avant-garde appeared in Poland. At first, they were related to the decline of the neo-avant-garde, then they were dealing with postmodernism.¹⁷ Most of Turowski's texts from the final years of the 20th century dealt with the avant-garde. Also he changed his critical opinion about the so-called pseudo-avant-garde,¹⁸ since under the circumstances they were hard to adhere to. Still, he chose for his second major work, *Budowniczość świata*, the subtitle "radical modernism." In that book, Turowski elaborated on an idea included in "Granice awangardy" [The Limits of the Avant-Garde], published in 1990 as a chapter of *Wielka utopia awangardy. Artystyczne i społeczne utopie w sztuce rosyjskiej 1910–1930* [The Great Utopia of the Avant-Garde. Artistic and Social Utopias in Russian Art, 1910–193]. In *Budowniczość świata* he rejected his earlier idea of constructivism-as-avant-garde, inspired by structuralism, museums, and the academic tradition, later modified with utopia, in favor of the postmodernist poetics of the fall and death. That turn in Turowski's thinking, from the

¹⁴ A. Turowski, *Konstruktywizm polski. Próba rekonstrukcji nurtu (1921–1934)*, Wrocław 1981, p. 233.

¹⁵ Ibidem, pp. 240–241.

¹⁶ W. Borowski, "Pseudoawangarda," *Kultura* 1975, 12.

¹⁷ Particularly important in this context are essays by Stefan Morawski, e.g. his "O słabościach praxis neoawangardowej i niedostatkach teorii awangardy," in: *Wybory i ryzyka awangardy. Studia z teorii awangardy*, eds. U. Czartoryska, R. W. Kluszczyński, Warszawa–Łódź 1985, pp. 7–26.

¹⁸ A. Turowski, *Awangardowe marginesy*, Warszawa 1998, p. 172.

diverse but still academic approaches to the avant-garde to postmodernist license and a comeback of the obsolete, historical meaning of the term due to ambiguous playing with it, was later confirmed in his other book, *Parowóz dziejów* [The Locomotive of History] from 2012.¹⁹

However, it seems that after the 1990s, when the term “avant-garde” was ubiquitous, supplementing the title of *Budowniczość świata* with “modernism” was not surprising. On the one hand, postmodernism and the critical art, and on the other, its proximity or even identification with the socialist realism, often discussed in scholarly studies, did not make the concept of the avant-garde attractive and useful in research, while “radical modernism” was also historically justified.²⁰ In the 1920s, such concepts as modernism, radical modernism, new art, and, rarely, the avant-garde, were used interchangeably and the examination of their relations brings today surprising and often subversive results.

At the beginning of the 21st century, with continuing ambiguities and terminological shifts related to a number of “turns” in the humanities, another important Polish publication, almost unnoticed by the academic audience, was “*Moderne*” i straż przednia. *Apollinaire wśród krytyków i artystów 1900–1918* [“Moderne” and the Avant-Garde. Apollinaire among Critics and Artists, 1900–1918] by Elżbieta Grabska. Its subject matter was the identity of two attitudes: the modernist and the avant-garde one, with the focus on France and Italy, where the idea of the avant-garde came into being also in the linguistic sense. The book provided an extra argument that the origin of the concept of the avant-garde and today’s understanding of its historical context are of primary importance. It should be noted that the apparently “avant-garde” artist and theorist Mieczysław Szczuka in the final stage of his career criticized in the journal *Dźwignia* small, minimalistic apartments and the socially engaged leftist architects from the *Praesens* group. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, during a neo-avant-garde offensive, avant-gardism became part of the official policy of the authorities, confirmed by the aforementioned essay published in *Sztuka*, but not only. Finally, the Polish Parliament issued

¹⁹ A. Turowski, *Parowóz dziejów*, Warszawa 2012.

²⁰ For critical remarks on the relations of the avant-garde with the socialist realism, see S. Morawski, *Na zakręcie od sztuki do po-sztuki*, Kraków 1985, p. 272. On the relations of the avant-garde and the socialist realism, see W. Włodarczyk, *Socrealizm. Sztuka polska w latach 1950–1954*, Paris 1986; B. Groys, *Gesamtkunstwerk Stalin*, München 2008. Ryszard Kluszczyński, who was probably the first to use the term “critical art,” interpreted the avant-garde in terms of Russian formalism, see R. Kluszczyński, *Awangarda – rozważania teoretyczne*, Łódź 1997.

in 2017 a resolution to commemorate "100 years of the avant-garde," about which many contemporary art historians were quite skeptical.²¹

Thus, an important decision made by Piotrowski in his *Znaczenia modernizmu* to promote lexical and conceptual shifts and assign new terms to some referents shows the defects of contemporary art history in Poland, caused by its ungrounded and arbitrary choice of research objects, terminological chaos, and disregard for the deeper meaning of the terms used, whose only function is to bring some kind of superficial order. To return to Juszcak's *Malarstwo polskie: modernizm*: the scholar's protest was not provoked by simple appropriation of "modernism," but by the basic meaning of the term that he connected with the turn of the 20th century. For Juszcak, modernism was a grand finale of the epoch of Matejko and History. Polish identity was formed by the complex of the lost statehood, and it keeps coping with this problem today also. In 1803, Bishop Jan Paweł Woronicz called their language the proper motherland of Poles and we are still dealing with the consequences of that fact, which has been demonstrated by Maria Janion or Agata Bielik-Robson.²² Language as well as all the other cultural media, as the domain of political identity determined in the first half of the 19th century and the myth of History from its second half, contributed to a mental model of the artist-intellectual, which was put to an end by the revolution of 1905. The concept of modernism from Juszcak's book refers to that state of intellectual inadequacy and helplessness before the pressing social forces, indicating a gradual collapse of the nineteenth-century cultural project.

Are we now, almost twenty years into the 21st century, distanced enough to see the previous age in terms of similar, general and ordering, rules of the cultural code and ask why the avant-garde or modernist, also in the revised sense, narratives are dominant in the studies of contemporary Polish art? *Znaczenia modernizmu* by Piotrowski did not change but supported the fifty-year old dichotomy introduced by Porębski, now as an opposition of modernism and the critical art. I will start from the end. The second half of the 20th century – the era of the communist Poland – brought about accelerated modernization which was socially traumatic and stigmatizing for its opponents as well as economically catastrophic and socially controversial. It was then, in the 1960s – a decade of reflection on history, a dream of modernity

²¹ Resolution of the Parliament of the Republic of Poland of December 14, 2017 „on the celebration of Polish avant-garde on the centennial of its inauguration.” Doubts were provoked primarily by the arguments used and the list of artists.

²² See also R. Przybylski, *Klasycyzm, czyli prawdziwy koniec Królestwa Polskiego*, Warszawa 1983.

and order exemplified by progress and structuralism – that the avant-garde key to a simplified model of the Polish condition became prevalent as a projection of longing, but also of the failure of modernization as a specific “historical policy” of the communist Poland.²³ The same model was proposed for the perception of the first half of the century, i.e., the times of regained independence and restored statehood.²⁴ It was highly selective, evidently based on a particular axiological pattern of temporality. Answers to the question about it, only in part conditioned by politics, make the key to the ambiguity of Poland under communism since referring to the decade when the avant-garde was born, we may easily realize that it was not dominant or the most attractive for the common public and intellectuals. Józef Czajkowski’s social project of the “new art” (Szczuka gave his art the same name) included housing, urban planning, interior design, and applied art, i.e., the aspect of practical application, which Szczuka ignored.²⁵ Another exemplary figure was the painter Jan Cybis, cooperating with the futurists and Strzemiński, who struggled to liberate art from the sense of social and political mission, so characteristic of the Young Poland. His radical idea of the autonomy of painting was a unique variant of the modernist art in the sense preferred by Piotrowski. Today no book is available either on Czajkowski or Cybis, while both of them pointed at the border conditions of contemporary Polish art.

Still, there is another model key related to the concept of realism as it was presented by Grabska who interpreted the approaches of Andrzej Wróblewski and Marek Oberländer at the conference of the Association of Art Historians in 1984, remembering also Juliusz Starzyński and Michał Walicki, who had similar opinions about realism in Polish art.²⁶ Their realism was quite different from that connected with the avant-garde in the op-ed in *Sztuka* from 1975. The gist of that model can be reduced to Grabska’s quote from

²³ The key moment came in 1966, with the climax of the authorities’ conflict with the Roman Catholic Church, riots in downtown Warsaw, and putting a copy of the painting of Holy Mary of Częstochowa under arrest. That iconoclastic arrest resembled an act of conceptual art. In 1966, the authorities also gave their consent to hold “Symposium Puławskie,” open the Foksal Gallery, and appoint a new director of Museum of Art in Łódź.

²⁴ This is how I interpret texts by Andrzej Szczerski, engaged in the celebration of the „Centennial of the Avant-Garde,” who stressed the patriotic bias of the innovators from the interwar period, with a suggestion that the present authorities of Poland should adopt such a point of view.

²⁵ Czajkowski referred to the English Arts and Crafts Movement which also contributed to the origin of the avant-garde, although Polish scholars tend to ignore it.

²⁶ E. Grabska, “‘Puisque réalisme il y a,’ czyli o tym co w sztuce powojennego dziesięciolecia nie mogło się wydarzyć,” in: *Sztuka polska po 1945 roku*, pp. 375–384.

Michelet: "*C'est par vous que le peuple pourra parler au peuple.*"²⁷ In comparison to the ordering narration of the nineteenth-century art and the twentieth-century narration of writing about art, this perspective is quite unique in Polish art history since, as Grabska would put it, it took into consideration "the artist's contact with his own time." Besides, it also takes into account social stratification which has been confirmed today by the results of democratic elections – a privilege that was rare in Poland in the past centuries, always a troublesome challenge to artists.

An urgent postulate to make a new lexicon of concepts for the history of Polish art or a generalized panorama of the Polish art of the past century, including various narratives, can be easily challenged by today's new humanities. Many case studies, Clifford Geertz's thick description, grounded theory, a network of neologisms, and new theories developed on that combined foundation are now a new research standard.²⁸ But also this local, "insular" strategy, which is not yet the continental mainland, may actually affect the *a priori* model of ordering Polish history of the most recent art in terms of "development," "emancipation," and the "avant-garde." I believe that an alternative could be provided by a sequel to Anna Markowska's book *Definiowanie sztuki – objaśnianie świata. O pojmowaniu sztuki w PRL-u* [Defining Art – Explaining the World. On Understanding Art in Communist Poland],²⁹ and such a sequel may be Piotr Juskiewicz's forthcoming study of the national element in Polish experimental art of the early 20th century. Panoramic views also give us a chance to locate the positions of particular members of the debate and define leading research strategies, since the attention that we pay to concepts, which I stressed at the beginning of the present essay after Bal, turns out more significant than the scholarly standard – art historians in Poland have their institutional limitations and represent, fortunately, various political opinions.

In the final quarter of the 20th century, the concepts of the avant-garde and modernism were differently articulated in Warsaw (Juszczak, Grabska), Poznań (Turowski, Piotrowski), Łódź (Stanisławski, Turowski), and Cracow (Porębski). The differences were not focused on encyclopedic definitions but on culture. The Institute of Art History at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań was the main point of reference for the debate, yet geography must not make us ignore generational differences. The younger generation of scholars presents a variety of positions: Tomasz Załuski from Łódź has

²⁷ *Sztuka polska po 1945 roku*, p. 380.

²⁸ See E. Domańska, "Jakiej metodologii potrzebuje współczesna humanistyka?," *Teksty Drugie* 2010, 1–2, pp. 45–55.

²⁹ A. Markowska, *Definiowanie sztuki – objaśnianie świata. O pojmowaniu sztuki w PRL-u*, Katowice 2003.

been challenging the opposition of the avant-garde and modernism, included in Piotrowski's *Znaczenia modernizmu*; Wiktoria Koziół from Cracow has been questioning the critical quality of the art of resistance; Jakub Banasiak from Warsaw has been distancing himself from Piotrowski. Even if Piotr Słodkowski and Luiza Nader share the assumptions of the author of *Znaczenia modernizmu*, the results of their meticulously conducted research based on records and archives are quite different. Thus, the postulate to make a new lexicon of concepts and write new overviews should be supplemented with another one – to come up, possibly soon, with a history of Polish art history in the 20th and 21st centuries, particularly that the Poznań Institute will figure in such a history quite prominently.

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Wojciech Włodarczyk

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1989. ON THE CONCEPT OF MODERNISM

Summary

The author argues that the significance of the year 1989 for Polish art was not determined by political changes, but by the rise of postmodernism. Until that moment, the term "modernism" usually referred in academic art history to Polish art at the turn of the 20th century. The concept of postmodernism brought to the Polish language

a new meaning of modernism as simply modern art, and more precisely, as modern art defined by Clement Greenberg. That change made it necessary to draw a new map of concepts referring to modern Polish art, most often defined before by the concept of the avant-garde. In Mieczysław Porębski's essay "Two Programs" [Dwa programy] (1949), and then, since the late 1960s, in Andrzej Turowski's publications, the concept of the avant-garde was acknowledged as basic for understanding twentieth-century Polish art. The significance of the concept of the avant-garde in reference to the art of the past century in Poland changed after the publication of Piotr Piotrowski's book of 1999, *Meanings of Modernism* [Znaczenia modernizmu]. Piotrowski challenged in it the key role of that concept – e.g., Władysław Strzemiński and Henryk Stażewski, usually called avant-gardists before, were considered by him modernists – in favor of a new term, "critical art," referring to the developments in the 1990. In fact, critical art continued the political heritage of the avant-garde as the radical art of resistance. The author believes that such a set of terms and their meanings imposes on the concept of the avant-garde some limits, as well as suggests that scholars and critics use them rather inconsistently. He argues that concepts should not be treated as just label terms, but they must refer to deeper significance of tendencies in art. He mentions Elżbieta Grabska's term "realism," also present in the tradition of studies on modern Polish art, and concludes with a postulate of urgent revision of the relevant vocabulary of Polish art history.

Keywords:

history of Polish art, vocabulary, modernism, postmodernism, avant-garde

ANDRZEJ TUROWSKI

REMARKS ON THE MARGIN
OF WOJCIECH WŁODARCZYK'S ARTICLE
"1989. ON THE CONCEPT OF MODERNISM"

The problematic of modernism, which appeared in Poland more or less in 1989, of which Wojciech Włodarczyk writes in his paper, had two aspects. One, artistic, put forward the question of modernism in the context of a debate on postmodernism; the other, political, inspired by the change of a political system, was related to the failure of the projects of "modernization" proposed by the communist regime (visions of the future). Social modernism was largely replaced by new conservatism (Leszek Kołakowski asked a question "how to be a conservative-liberal socialist"). The avant-garde utopia was compared to the utopia of the "new man" in the socialist ideology. I understand this position particularly well in respect to Wojciech Włodarczyk since it was him, who in the late 1970s called "modern" a group of artists who were neither "realists," nor "abstractionists" (adopting the tradition of the avant-garde), but who in 1956 chose modernity, identifying it with liberty. Then Włodarczyk pointed at the history of that line of reasoning, dating back to the 1930s and overlapping with a debate about the national art. It was a fundamentally different tradition, even though somehow related to modernism, at least of the kind referred to in 1959 by Wyka and Juszcak. Also, it had little to do with the history of the avant-garde that I analyzed (as related to modernism as well, but in a polemical way) in the context of constructivism. Włodarczyk's interesting terminological suggestion required clear distinctions among various artistic phenomena, such as modernism and avant-garde vs modernity, which makes it understandable why he calls for terminological precision on the meta-theoretical level. I can address his objections only with a claim that my liberty in using the concept of the avant-garde stemmed from a conscious methodological decision determined by my general worldview. On the other hand, defending the opinions of Piotr Piotrowski, I am sure that he made a clear distinction between the concept of modernism, which he always related to the idea of the autonomy of art in the sense given to it by Clement

Greenberg, and that of the avant-garde, which in Piotrowski's opinion was close to politics and society in terms of Peter Bürger. That was particularly clear in Piotrowski's *Dekada*, a book published in 1991, in which a critique of the "autonomous" approach characteristic of the conceptual modernism of the 1970s was combined with a praise of the avant-garde "engaged" in political processes. I wrote about in an essay published in *Szum*, called "Krytyczne instrumentarium etycznej historii sztuki Piotra Piotrowskiego" [The critical apparatus of Piotr Piotrowski's ethical art history], which Włodarczyk has most likely read. The problem is, however, much more general, which he probably hardly realized. I mean a fundamental change that took place in the Poznań art history in the 1990s thanks to a younger generation of scholars. It was not just a generational or ideological change, but rather a result of a different political contextualization and a new point of view which became common in Europe after the fall of the Berlin wall and the end of the post-Yalta division of the world. Contrary to what was being said at that time, it was then, under the conditions of the freedom of choice, that the political left and right acquired their proper meanings, while the semi-official intellectual and social communities fell apart. Still, I believe that after 1989 in Poznań the approach to art and art history was continued as regards the concepts I wrote about, but together with a new polarization of political choices, more radical both on the right, and on the left. The question of autonomy, so important in the avant-garde way of thinking, to return to Włodarczyk's categories, became an important component of the hermeneutics and phenomenology of the picture, successfully practiced by the Poznań scholars. The problematic of the discipline's self-consciousness brought a number of insightful publications on the history and theory of art. Quite penetrating were also reflections on the social life of art, once rooted in semiology but today resulting in many interesting studies of the significance of cultural phenomena and artistic biographies. Finally, another aspect of that Poznań reorientation was the rise of the feminist art history, in the 1980s and later connected with reading the books and essays by Maria Janion. It is too bad that all those problems, definitely worth discussing, have not been considered in more detail yet. This is, however, not the topic I want to write about since it deserves a separate paper. Among the papers and in the record of our discussion published in *Artium Quaestiones* as the aftermath of the centennial conference I miss a more perceptive analysis of the role played in the 1990s by my friend and scholarly opponent Piotr Piotrowski, who in the hectic year 1980 began his academic career in the Institute of Art History of the University of Poznań. It was then, in the atmosphere of revisions made possible by the rise of *Solidarność*, that he realized the dangers related to the mythologized concepts of the avant-garde

autonomy and the purity of scholarship. At that time he came up with a postulate of the "ethical art history." He argued that in the era of more and more common violence and intolerance mythologized scholarship was unable to show humanity the right way. To do that, a fundamental change was needed. The scholarly foundation of that line of reasoning was presented in Piotrowski's book, *Artysta między rewolucją a reakcją* [The Artist between Revolution and Reaction], published in 1993. I have been stressing that fact many times. In the book, Piotrowski asked questions about the causes of the contemporary artist's involvement in the ideology of political power, and considered the artist's complicity in creating false pictures of reality. Choosing by no accident as his object of study a "tragic" history, he seemed to address and warn his own times. Attempting to reconstruct the ideologization of pure form, he wanted to understand the artist "living in a destitute time" and in consequence point at his or her moral involvement. Since then, Piotrowski treated art as a kind of public activity which is by its nature ethical and political, while politics he defined as a democratic debate. His project, rooted in his scholarly approach, was not about determined moral norms, but about historically examined ethical behavior. The goal was a new humanism. As a result, Piotrowski believed not so much in the primacy of the social choices over the aesthetic ones, but in the indispensability of each artist and art historian's awareness that both history and art have their ethical aspect. He defined history as dialectical and materialist, pluralist and operative, where art and humans have their place, their rights, and their impact. That, I think, was the meaning of the "post-*Solidarność*" turn in the Poznań art history which combined high standards of knowledge with ideological pluralism, perhaps contrary to the expected single-mindedness of the faculty, assumed all too promptly and naively. We must reconsider Piotr Piotrowski's role in that completely different art history of the 21st century, which began almost half a century earlier.

WOJCIECH WŁODARCZYK

REMARKS ON THE "MARGIN"

The topic of my text was a change of meanings of basic concepts used in the study of contemporary Polish art. If in that context I paid attention to the key role of Piotr Piotrowski's book *Znaczenia modernizmu* [Meanings of Modernism], it was because in his previous book of 1993, *Artysta między rewolucją a reakcją* [The Artist between Revolution and Reaction], which Andrzej Turowski has found missing in my considerations, I did not find any change of that kind. The distinction between the "metaphysical" and the "materialist" extreme of the Russian avant-garde still remains within the semantic field of the latter, while the term "modernism" appears there only in passing, related to Piotrowski's polemic with Buchloh, most likely for the sake of referring to the argument of the author of the article published in *October*. Certainly, the present reader will impose on the concept of the "metaphysical" avant-garde the term "modernism." Even though we interpret them now slightly differently, the concepts used in *Artysta między rewolucją a reakcją* by no means make it hard to understand Piotrowski's intention. The gist of my argument was not the reference of the terms which we would replace with others today, but the fact that the concept of modernism in its present sense appeared in his writings in 1999, i.e., in relation to a radically new artistic situation in Poland, determined by the evolution of the "critical art." If Turowski charges me in respect to this with the "polemical fervor," arguing that since the early 1990s "the right and the left, under the conditions of the freedom of choice, acquired their proper meanings" and "we were facing a totally different political contextualization," I will gladly agree with him, because it is an obvious, supporting argument in favor of my understanding of the field of art of that period. Is it true, however, that the question of autonomy and, according to Turowski, the turn toward hermeneutics and phenomenology, were connected with those changes? I do not think so. One may take a close look at the translations published in *Artium Quaestiones* or a fundamental study by Mariusz Bryl in terms of their allegedly covert political background but in my opinion that would be an oversimplification.

There is, however, another problem – and this is how I understand Turowski's doubts – namely the validity of the terms we are using today in reference to the present. In an indirect sense, this problem is also related to the ordering capacity of those terms in the art history what we are practicing. Surely, the terms about which I wrote in my text will be in use – the public discourse is subject to inertia – but the question is whether the horizon of values to which they belong keeps sufficient operative power. Are “avant-garde,” “modernity,” and “modernism,” so prominent in the vocabulary of Polish historians of modern art, still useful, not only due to the pressure of the new humanities, but above all because of the “conditions of the freedom of [political] choice”? In such a perspective, the book *Artysta między rewolucją a reakcją* is definitely worth reconsidering.

Piotrowski's postulate of the ethical art history, which is placed in the book's subtitle and comes up on its closing pages, connects the “tragedy” of the Russian avant-gardists with a clue addressed to today's scholars. The author makes an attempt to find an excuse for the avant-garde in the innocent and “pure” motivation of the artists' rebellion that preceded their toxic and manipulating relation with the Soviet regime. This is, of course, too little to recognize the doubtless artistic value of the avant-garde works as decisive and derive from it an ethical excuse. Therefore Piotrowski writes with a bit of theatricality about “tragedy” and points at the duty to understand reality as the ultimate criterion in the evaluation of the artist's choices and actions as a citizen. Thus, we find ourselves at the very heart of the mythology of the Enlightenment and the avant-garde project which was derived from it. It is the mythologized figure of the artist who has a mission of changing the world and showing the way to that goal and the obstacles on that way. It is also a mythologized, universal picture of the authority which is evil by nature, as the example of Russia was supposed to confirm. Finally, it is also a simplified and selectively interpreted view of the “social reality and political *praxis*,” which Anthony Giddens connects to the “separation of experience” characteristic of modernity.

Let us begin with “reality.” A suggestion to build a bridge connecting the situation in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century and the present puts in the center of such comparisons the problem of democracy which in the Soviet Union was missing. Do today's free elections in Poland resolve the dilemma of the “tragic” decisions of the artist? According to Turowski, as well as Piotrowski, which was confirmed by his later texts, not at all since the polemical democracy has not been put into practice and the status of the authorities is by nature stable. However, let me add that Hamlet's alternative of the avant-garde artist under the totalitarian regime has been replaced by

a figure which is similar to the Bermuda triangle determined by the artist, the authorities, and the public opinion. The problem of today's artist is the public opinion, an equal partner in a democratic field, who does not have to accept the emancipatory (in the Giddensian sense, as a project of the Enlightenment politics) character of the artist's activity. At critical moments, artists use the argument of the cultural immunity of museums and galleries. Still, decisions are usually taken by the public opinion, and it is also the public opinion which most often influences the decisions of the authorities who want to receive democratic legitimation again, and not the artist. I am not passing judgment, just remembering.

Piotrowski's book is an attempt to save the reputation of the avant-garde from disparaging, one-sided judgments provoked by its political engagement. The main argument is rebellion, which implies the problem of the social context of avant-garde art, and in the specific Polish context of the two decades between the world wars, the "new art." That was what I had in mind when pointing at the utopian ideas of Szczuka and the socially desirable projects of Syrkus and Czajkowski, which were put into practice. But Piotrowski wanted to protect the position of the artist as rebel and utopist from the verifying rules of reality. In the avant-garde perspective, rebellion is the first step toward making a utopia come true, and a particular mode of this utopia is imagination. Thus, a reaction to inadequately recognized reality may indeed be, as Piotrowski wanted it, Zola's "*J'accuse!*" Is it true, however, that both rebellion and imagination, in his opinion the cornerstones of the avant-garde and its tradition, have the status of principles of value? What is the origin of their crucial role? Is it constituted by the universality of the individual's autonomy or the elementary principles of social relations? Let me quote Professor Dorota Głowacka, a noted Holocaust scholar: "Still, I do not think that artists have absolute immunity that allows them to do anything they like, to stick their noses everywhere, including gas chambers, because of the power of imagination. Imagination is not so free and aesthetic experience so disinterested, either. ... A belief in the unlimited power of imagination may turn out its greatest weakness, since going incessantly ahead and transgressing more and more borders, it does not reflect on that which perhaps limits it in a hardly graspable way. To believe in the absolute power of imagination may be misleading and even dangerous, since in consequence one may stop thinking about the conceptual frames of the social, historical, and cultural conditions..."

To sum up, the reality beyond art, which we try to grasp with our concepts, is much more complex than its picture obtained thanks to those concepts. That was why I chose the topic of my paper. The limitations originated in the Enlightenment assumptions make it difficult for some of us to come up with

a correct diagnosis and apply new strategies of research, which explains the postulates formulated in the concluding part of my text. It is good to be as sure as a current publication of another museum of modern art reads: "Only subjects independent in their thinking, which have overcome the state of intellectual immaturity, can take full responsibility for themselves and the world." I am not so sure about it, but I understand Andrzej Turowski's protest – our ideas of the subject are different.

HORST BREDEKAMP

VOM BERLINER SCHLOSS ZUM HUMBOLDT FORUM: EIN PARADIGMA DEUTSCHER KONFLIKTGESCHICHTE

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren,

aus Anlass des 100. Jubiläums des Posener kunsthistorischen Institutes zu sprechen, ist mir eine große Ehre. Der Begründer dieses Institutes, Szczyński Dettloff, gehört zu den herausragenden Gelehrten der Kunstgeschichte des letzten Jahrhunderts. Stark an der italienischen Renaissance und der regionalen Kunstgeschichte als der unmittelbaren Basis orientiert, ist er in der deutschsprachigen Kunstgeschichte als Fachmann für das Mittelalter und die nördliche Renaissance, und hier insbesondere für Veit Stoß, eine markante Gestalt geblieben. Er hat auch bei Heinrich Wölfflin, wohl noch in dessen Berliner Jahren, studiert. Die unselige Zeit, in der die Universität Posen 1941 in die deutsche Reichsuniversität umgewandelt wurde, hat zumindest einen versöhnlichen Punkt darin, dass Dettloff durch die Intervention von Karl-Heinz Clasen im Jahr 1939 aus dem Internierungslager befreit wurde. Durch seine Bindung an die Wiener Schule, und insbesondere an Max Dvořák, hatte Dettloff eine starke ideengeschichtliche Prägung, die sich im Posener Institut bis heute fortgesetzt hat. Aus dem Rückblick höchst bemerkenswert sind die Versuche des Posener Institutes, die zeitgenössische französische Philosophie wie auch die Reformbewegung der westdeutschen Kunstgeschichte zu reflektieren. Die Einladung an meinen akademischen Lehrer Martin Warnke an das Posener Institut im Jahr 1973, mitten im Kalten Krieg, war ein Ereignis, dessen Protokoll ein Teil der Wissenschaftsgeschichte geworden ist. Seither war ich lose mit Adam Labuda bekannt, und es war ein glücklicher Zufall, dass wir im selben Jahr 1992 an das Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin berufen wurden – und dort eine sehr starke Tischtennismannschaft bildeten. Dies hat uns bis heute verbunden.

Adam Labuda hat in einem seiner Artikel zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte bedauernd darauf verwiesen, dass sich manche Begabungen der Kunstgeschichte vornehmlich nach Süden und Westen gewendet hätten, und damit

war auch ich gemeint. Ich kann mir aber zusprechen, dass ich, als ich 1993 Direktor am kunstgeschichtlichen Institut der Humboldt-Universität wurde, alles daran gesetzt habe, gegen teils großen Widerstand die Professur für mittel- und osteuropäische Kunstgeschichte zu bewahren. Es war ein Glück, dass es gelang, Adam Labuda mit der Ausfüllung dieser Professur an der Humboldt-Universität begrüßen zu können. Hierdurch gab es enge Kontakte nach Posen, weitere Kollegen gestärkt wurden, und insbesondere durch den viel zu früh verstorbenen Piotr Piotrowski, der mehrere Semester an der Humboldt-Universität gelehrt hat, und den die Kollegen und auch die Studenten in seiner mitreißenden Art sehr geschätzt haben. In Rahmen der bewährten Kontakte zwischen dem Posener und dem Berliner Institut hat mich Piotr



1. Frank Stella, Modell des Berliner Schlosses/Humboldt Forums

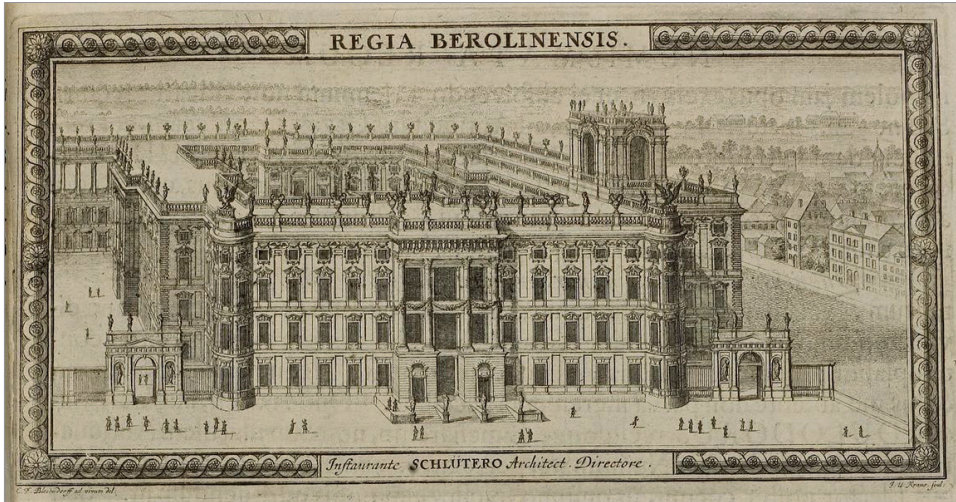
Korduba gebeten, heute zu Ihnen zu sprechen. Es war sein Wunsch, dass ich meinen Vortrag über das Berliner Schloss und jenes Humboldt Forum halte, das ich als einer der Gründungsintendanten für drei Jahre aufzubauen versucht habe.

Das Humboldt Forum hat bereits vor seiner Eröffnung eine Diskussion ausgelöst, die weit über Berlin, über die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und auch über Europa hinaus gegangen ist (Abb. 1 A-B). Dieses Projekt wird im guten wie im negativen Sinn als ein Spezialfall genommen, in dem sich allgemeine Bewertungen der Geschichte mit Fragen der Gestaltung von Zukunft bündeln. Es ist nicht ausgemacht, ob es sich als ein Modell oder ein Unfall der Geschichte erweisen wird, und diese Frage wird möglicherweise aus Ihrer Geschichtserfahrung anders eingeschätzt werden als sie sich mir darbietet. Aber ich hoffe, die nötige Distanz aufzubringen, um Ihnen einen Begriff von der Problematik, welche möglicherweise nicht allein Berlin betrifft, zu geben. Ich werde in insgesamt 10 Schritten vorgehen. Der erste lautet: die römische Perspektive.

1. DIE RÖMISCHE PERSPEKTIVE

Mit seiner Mischung aus Formen der Spätgotik und der Renaissance hätte das Berliner Schloss um 1670 kaum ein überregionales Aufsehen erregen können. Seine Eigentümer, die Hohenzollern, verfügten über das Kurfürstentum Brandenburg-Preußen, das zwar einen gewissen Einfluss besaß, mit den europäischen Königreichen aber nicht zu vergleichen war. Getrieben vom Ehrgeiz, auch Preußen die Königswürde zu verleihen, vollzog Kurfürst Friedrich III. den Krönungsakt außerhalb des preußischen Staatsgebietes in Königsberg aus eigener Hand, um die Anmaßung dieses Schrittes gegenüber den europäischen Potentaten zu mindern. Angesichts des beschriebenen Defizits seiner Legitimation setzte er als König Friedrich I. alles daran, durch ein erneuertes Stadtschloss mit dem Anspruchsniveau der europäischen Großmächte gleichzuziehen. Er bezog sich auf Rom, um von der politischen Ikonologie der *caput mundi* profitieren zu können. Sein persönliches Interesse war keineswegs aufgesetzt; vielmehr gehörte er zum Kreis der Gelehrten, welche die Antike mit beträchtlichem persönlichen und finanziellen Einsatz zu erforschen suchten. Er stellte großzügige Mittel für den Ankauf von Münzen und Medaillen sowie Publikationen zur Verfügung.

Der Akteur der Umwandlung des Schlosses von einem spätgotischen in einen zeitgenössischen barocken Bau war der um 1660 wohl in Danzig geborene Andreas Schlüter (Abb. 2). Ausbildung und erste Werke in seiner Ge-



2. Das Berliner Stadtschloss, Kupferstich, 1696–1701

burtsstadt sind zunächst über seine Skulpturen fassbar, die allerdings bislang allein durch Zuschreibungen identifiziert werden konnten. Hierzu gehören die Stuckarbeiten der Erdteile, hier der afrikanische Kontinent, im Haus Langer Markt 7/8 (zerstört), der durch den spielerischen Versuch von Putten charakterisiert ist, einen Löwen zu bändigen. Zugeschrieben sind auch jene Putten, die im Schloss König Jans III. Sobieski in Wilanów die vier Elemente, hier das Wasser, symbolisieren. Dokumentarisch belegt ist dann Schlüters Beteiligung an der Ausschmückung des Warschauer Palais Krasiński im Jahr 1689 mit seinen Szenen aus der republikanischen Zeit Roms. Gesichert sind die Grabmäler für den Vater und den Onkel des Königs in Żółkiew in den Jahren 1692–94, gefertigt aus schwarzem Marmor und den Assistenzfiguren vermutlich der Stärke, Gerechtigkeit sowie Tugend und Wahrheit und jeweils der Fama über der Urne. Diese Grabmäler gehörten neben vermutlich weiteren Werken zu den Ausweisen, die ihm im Jahr 1694 in Berlin die Anstellung als Schlossbaudirektor fand. Bei allem, was jetzt folgt, ist immer zu bedenken, dass es in Gestalt von Andreas Schlüter ein polnischer Hofkünstler war, der das Berliner Schloss erreicht hat.

Bevor Schlüter sein Projekt begann, verbrachte er mehrere Monate in Italien, und so auch in Rom, um sich den nötigen Horizont zu verschaffen, der Berlin aus der regionalen Formenwelt herausheben sollte. Das unmittelbare Vorbild für den Entwurf des Berliner Schlosses stellte Paolo Marucellis römischer, nahe der Piazza Navona gelegene Palazzo Madama dar (Abb. 3, 4). Es ist, als hätte Schlüter diesen dreieinhalb Stockwerke aufweisenden Palast in Berlin



3. Das Berliner Stadtschloss, Fassadenausschnitt



4. Paolo Marucelli, Palazzo Madama, Rom, 1637–1642

schlicht weitergebaut. Selbst die Fensterformen sind bis auf den Unterschied der Kreissegmentformen im ersten Stockwerk identisch. Auch die ungewöhnliche Durchstoßung des Gesimses mittels der Mezzaninfenster, die ein plastisches Element in die Strenge der Architektur bringt, ist übernommen. Ein ein-

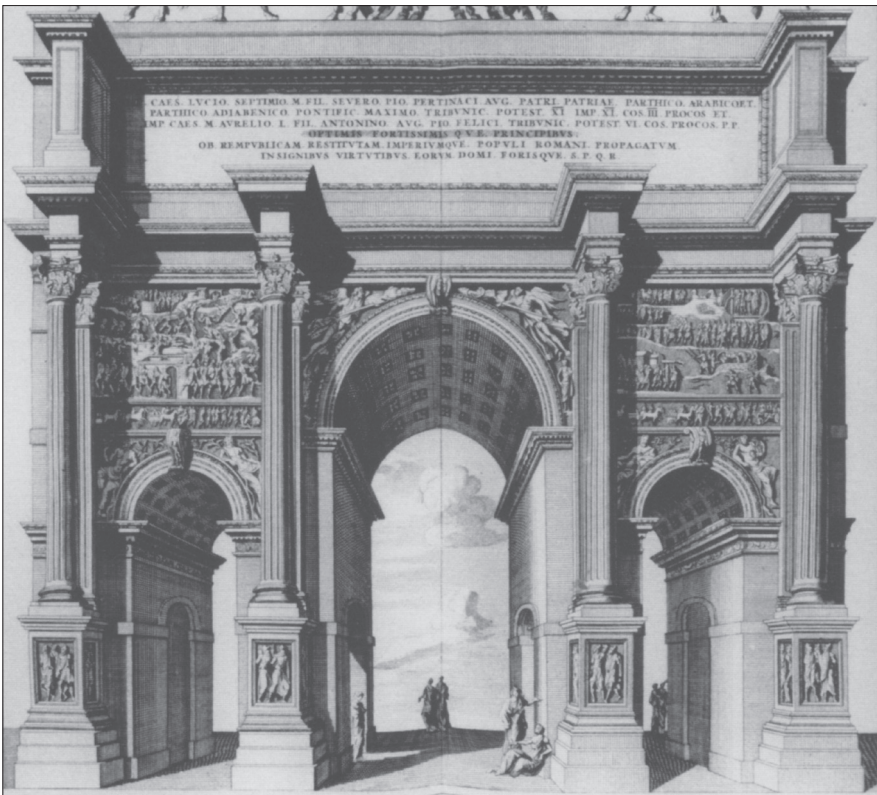
ziger motivischer Unterschied liegt darin, dass in den zwischen den Fenstern über dem Gesims angebrachten Figurenfeldern in Berlin im Gegensatz zum Palazzo Madama nicht etwa spielende Putti, sondern Adler angebracht sind, die sowohl auf Jupiter wie auch Preußen verweisen. Die mächtigen Säulen des großen Treppenhauses tragen über den Kämpfern und dem ausladenden Gesims nichts außer den Figuren des Obergeschosses. Sie dürften von den Peristylsäulen des Nervaforums inspiriert sein. Im Risalit des Großen Treppenhauses übernehmen diese antiken römischen Elemente eine eigene Funktion als autonome Darstellung ihrer selbst: Symbole ihrer Eigenform.

Die durch Schlüters Nachfolger Eosander von 1708 an vollzogene Erweiterung des Schlüterschen Baues nach Westen hat dem Berliner Schloss die abschließende Gestalt vermittelt (Abb. 5). Das vielleicht markanteste



5. Johann Friedrich Eosander, Berliner Stadtschloss, Hoffassade von Portal III, 1708–1716

Motiv zitierte in Form des nach Westen gerichteten Portals III erneut die römische Antike nach Berlin. Außen- wie Innenseite variieren mit dem Konstantins- und im Jahr 203 errichteten Septimius-Severus-Bogen zwei Triumphbögen des Forum Romanum (Abb. 6). Ein Vergleich des Innenportals von Eosander mit dem Septimius-Severus-Bogens vom römischen Forum Romanum kann verdeutlichen, wie getreu auch hier Rom nach Berlin transferiert wurde. Der Eindruck ist überwältigend, aber auch eindimensional cäsarisch. Schlüters Formen zogen dagegen eine eigenwillige Summe der Bau- und Bildgeschichte Roms von der Antike über die Renaissance bis zum zeitgenössischen Barock. Sie fügten die Anregungen nicht etwa kompilatorisch zusammen, sondern dramatisieren sie, um die Kraftlinien der Architektur stärker herauszuarbeiten und einen eigenen, plastischen Stil zu entwickeln: ein mediterranes Theater der Plastizität und der inneren Spannung und Lebendigkeit.

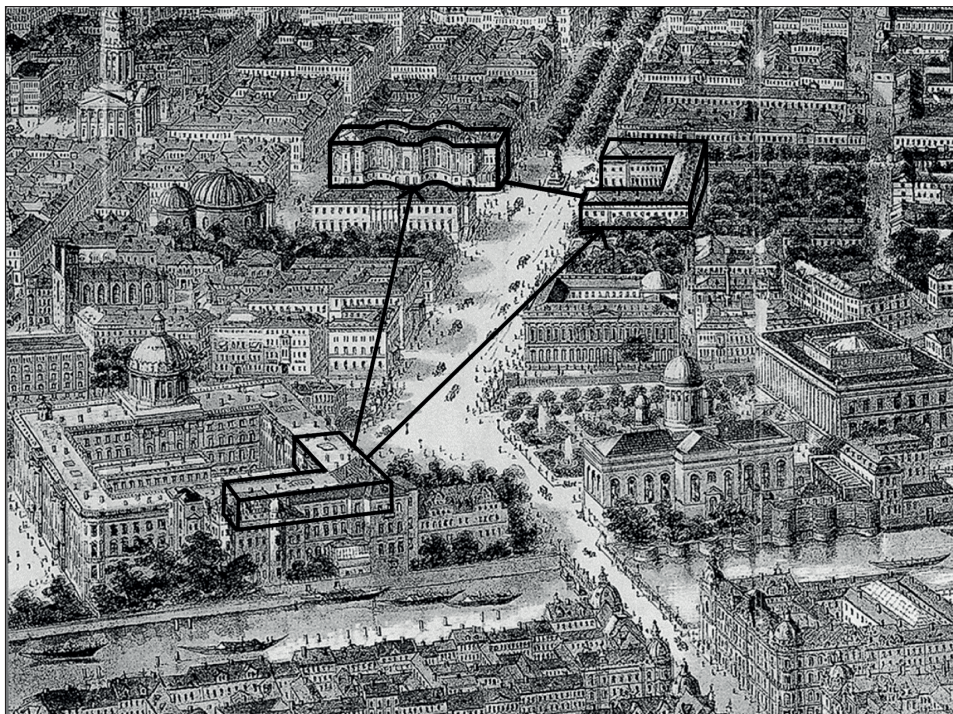


6. Septimius-Severus-Bogen, Rom, 203 n. Chr., Radierung von 1694–1699

2. DIE KUNSTKAMMER ALS AKADEMISCHES MUSEUM

So rigoros das Äußere des Schlosses verwandelt wurde, so stark blieb es der Kontinuität seiner inneren Bestimmung verpflichtet, Residenz des Königshauses zu sein, nicht minder aber eine öffentliche Bestimmung zu haben: durch Gerichte, Finanzämter, Banken, Verkaufszeilen, eine Bibliothek und eine Kunstkammer, die zumindest den Spezialisten und den interessierten Laien offen stand. Über Generationen angewachsen, ging sie im Dreißigjährigen Krieg unter, wurde danach aber so erfolgreich neu aufgebaut, dass sie eine der Anregungen für Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz bot, die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, die er im Jahr 1700 zu begründen half, als ein „Theater der Natur und Kunst“ zu begreifen. Die Kunstkammer sollte der Forschung zur Verfügung stehen. Als ein Weltmuseum umfasste sie sowohl Objekte der Natur wie auch Instrumente der Forschung und schließlich Kunstwerke. Die Betreuung dieser Sammlung schwankte zwischen Sorgfalt und Nachlässigkeit, aber ihr umfassender Anspruch machte sie Hundert Jahre später, um 1800, in besonderer Weise interessant. Denn zu dieser Zeit wurde die Kunstkammer der Akademie der Wissenschaften unterstellt, und es waren insbesondere Alexander und Wilhelm von Humboldt, die sich für diese einsetzen. Es war ein Sonderfall der Museumsgeschichte, dass zu einem Zeitpunkt, zu dem sich überall in Europa die Sammlungen spezialisierten und sowohl in Gemäldegalerien und Kunstmuseen sowie technische Museen und Museen der Naturkunde aufgeteilt wurden, Berlin an jenem Mikrokosmos der gesamten Welt festhielt, den die Kunstkammer darstellte. Hiervon profitierte zunächst die Universität. Im Jahr 1809 bewirkte Wilhelm von Humboldt, dass die neu zu gründende Berliner Universität, die dem am Boden liegenden Gemeinwesen wenigstens geistig zu einer neuen Größe verhelfen sollte, mit jenen Sammlungen der Naturforschung und der Medizin ausgestattet wurde, die sich in der Kunstkammer des Berliner Schlosses befanden. Dies geschah im Jahr 1810, als das an der Prachtstraße Unter den Linden gelegene große Palais des Bruders von Friedrich dem Großen der Universität übergeben wurde (Abb. 7). Die Sammlungen, die in diesem großformatigen Gebäude untergebracht wurden, füllten es so gut wie vom Dach bis zum Boden aus. Als der König die Universität im Jahr 1820 besuchte, trug er in das Ehrenbuch ein: „Ein wunderbares neues Museum!“

Auf diese Weise war die Universität zu einer Tochter des Berliner Schlosses geworden. Die bis zum Jahr 1933 andauernde Erfolgsgeschichte der Berliner Universität wird auf die von Wilhelm von Humboldt definierte Freiheit von Forschung und Lehre zurückgeführt. Der zweite Grund wird jedoch zu meist vergessen: Als Erbin großer Teile der Sammlungen des Schlosses war



7. Adolf Eltzner, *Panorama der deutschen Reichshauptstadt*, 1886

sie von Beginn an ein Museum mit angeschlossenem Lehrbetrieb. Andere Universitäten *hatten* Universitätsmuseen, die Berliner Universität *war* ein lebendiges Museum. Dies hat ihre Sonderrolle bis heute ausgemacht. Als zweites Element der Geschichte des Schlosses ist festzuhalten, dass es über die Bestände der Kunstkammer als eines akademischen Weltmuseums zu einer Art Mutter der Berliner *alma mater* wurde.

3. WELTKUNSTGESCHICHTE

Nicht weniger bedeutsam als die naturkundlichen und medizinischen Sammlungen, die aus der Kunstkammer des Schlosses in die Universität überführt wurden, waren die außereuropäischen Sammlungen, welche dort zusammengekommen waren. Hierzu gehörten Objekte aus der berühmten Sammlung Forster. Reinhold Forster und dessen Sohn Georg, die auf der zweiten Weltumsegelung gemeinsam mit James Cook mitgesegelt waren, hatten eine Tausende an Stücken umfassende Sammlung von *Naturalia* und *Artificialia* mitgebracht und nach ihrer Rückkehr im Jahr 1775 verschenkt

oder verkauft. Das Berliner Interesse an diesen Objekten ist nicht verwunderlich, weil Georg Forster die deutsche Fassung seiner Reisebeschreibung, die ihn weltberühmt machte, im Jahr 1778 in Berlin publiziert hatte, aber andererseits war sein Name diskreditiert, weil er als glühender Anhänger der französischen Revolution nach Paris in das Exil gegangen war.

Nach der Eroberung Berlins durch die französischen Truppen im Jahr 1806 wurden neben den bedeutendsten Kunstwerken auch große Teile der Kunstkammer durch Dominique-Vivant Denon als Kriegsbeute requiriert und nach Paris überführt. Unter den Werken, die Denon in der Kunstkammer beschlagnahmte und nach Paris überführen ließ, befand sich auch die gesamte Sammlung außereuropäischer Werke, und diese blieben vollständig in Paris, wo sich jede Spur verloren hat. Umso intensiver wurde von den Kuratoren, Jean Henry und nach ihm Leopold Freiherr von Ledebur, in den folgenden Jahrzehnten der Wiederaufbau auch und gerade der ethnologischen Sammlung betrieben. Der Zuwachs an Exponaten machte es erforderlich, ein geographisch gegliedertes Inventarsystem einzuführen, welches mit der Einteilung in die Großräume China, Japan, die weiteren Gebiete Asiens, Afrika, Nordamerika, Südamerika und Australien mit der Südsee bis heute im Wesentlichen gilt. Was aus der historischen Distanz in seiner regionalen Zuordnung eine eher spannungsarme Kategorisierung darstellt, war zur Zeit seiner Formulierung ein Bekenntnis zur Diversität der Welt. Dem Konzept der Sprachtheorie Wilhelm von Humboldts vergleichbar, sollte die Gemeinschaft der Menschen nicht vertikal nach den Stufen ihrer damals angenommenen Entwicklung, sondern horizontal nach der regionalen und jeweils aus sich heraus zu verstehenden Kultur begriffen werden. Erst auf dieser Basis sollte das Gemeinsame definiert werden.

Eine besondere Rolle behielten Werke aus jener Sammlung, die von Vater Reinhold und Sohn Georg Forster anlässlich der zweiten Weltreise von James Cook zusammengestellt worden war. Namentlich wurde eine Reihe von Einträgen im Inventarbuch der Kunstkammer mit dem Namen Forster versehen. Mit aller Kraft versuchte die Leitung der Kunstkammer, Gebrauchsgegenstände aus diesen Sammlungen zu erwerben und diese gebührend herauszustellen, wie etwa tahitianische Keulen. Ein aus dem Jahr 1838 stammender Grundriss der Kunstkammer des Schlosses von Karl Friedrich Schinkel zeigt die nach Süden gehenden, gewaltigen Räume der „ethnographischen Sammlung“, die einen Eindruck der hier versammelten Objektmengen vermitteln. Mit Blick auf diese ethnographische Sammlung des Schlosses hat Franz Kugler eine erste, veritable Weltkunstgeschichte verfasst, die jenem liberalen Geist, aus dem heraus sie entstanden war, in einer Kunstgeschichte aller Zeiten und Völker einlöste, und welche von den Steinartefakten der Vor- und

Frühgeschichte bis in die Gegenwart reichte. Es handelt sich um die erste Universalgeschichte des *Homo Faber*. In seiner mit Blick auf die Kunstkammer des Berliner Schlosses geschriebenen, liberalen Weltkunstgeschichte vermeidet er die Zuspitzung auf die Gegenwart als der die Geschichte vollenden und vollendet reflektierenden Instanz. In ihrer relativistischen Anlage bleibt sie ein Anspruch bis in unsere Zeit.

Als drittes Element von historischer Bedeutung ist festzuhalten, dass die ethnologischen Bestände der Kunstkammer des Schlosses jenes Anschauungsmaterial bot, angesichts dessen eine erste, liberale Kunstgeschichte der gesamten Welt von der Tiefenerschließung bis in die Artefakte der Steinzeit und der horizontalen Erfassung von Asien bis nach Amerika konzipiert und niedergeschrieben werden konnte.

4. DIE MUSEUMSINSEL ALS FREISTÄTTE UND DAS TRAUMA VON 1848

Der zu dieser Zeit herrschende Schlossherr, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., als dilettierender Kunsthistoriker und Zeichner ein dezidierter Förderer der Künste und Wissenschaften, formulierte den Plan, auf der Museumsinsel eine „Freistätte für Kunst und Wissenschaften“ zu errichten, welche die wissenschaftliche Forschung mit der kunsthistorischen, archäologischen und völkerkundlichen Präsenz der Artefakte verbinden sollte. Er hätte als einer der aufgeklärten, bildungsaffinen Monarchen der Nachwelt erhalten bleiben können, wenn er nicht gleichzeitig der romantischen Vorstellung einer tiefen Verbundenheit von Herrscher und Volk verfallen wäre, die im gemeinsamen christlichen Glauben ihren Ausdruck und ihre Erfüllung finden würde. Der Berliner Dom, wie ihn Schinkel konzipiert hatte, konnte dieser Verbindung von Nation und Religion aus der Sicht Friedrich Wilhelms IV. nicht genügen, und daher nahm er die Idee Andreas Schlüters auf, über dem Westportal des Schlosses eine Kuppel als weithin sichtbares Zeichen eines harmonischen Einklanges von Volk und Hof in der gemeinsamen Religion errichten zu lassen. Als Gegenmodell zum Vormärz, jener liberalen, demokratischen Bewegung, der auch Kugler anhing, wurde diese Kuppel jedoch zu einem Meinetekel. 1848, im Jahr der europäischen Revolutionen, führten die inneren Spannungen auch in Berlin zu einem Aufstand, in dessen Verlauf, verursacht offenkundig durch einen Übertragungsfehler, zahlreiche Demonstranten erschossen wurden. In einer anonymen Darstellung ist das Geschehen festgehalten. Das Schloss zeigt die im Bau befindliche Kuppel, die in der kühnen Eisenkonstruktion eine Weite zu überspannen vermochte, die zu dieser Zeit

eine Besonderheit war. Durch die historischen Ereignisse blieb jedoch allein der als repressiv empfundene Gehalt. Friedrich Wilhelm IV, der seine Truppen nach der Massenerschießung aus der Stadt entfernen ließ und sich damit selbst auslieferte, musste den aufgebahrten Toten die letzte Ehre erweisen.

Mit der Niederschlagung der Revolution von 1848 war das Ansehen des Schlosses als Sitz der Hohenzollern diskreditiert. Von diesem Moment an, und hierin liegt die vierte historische Dimension, hatte es seine repräsentative Funktion für die Hohenzollern auf Jahrzehnte verloren. Es erfüllte seine Aufgabe als Ort der Ämter und Geldinstitute weiterhin, aber seine ursprüngliche Funktion trat für mehr als eine Generation zurück.

5. KAISERREICH UND REVOLUTION

Erst mit der Reichseinigung im Jahr 1871 und der Thronbesteigung Kaiser Wilhelms II. nahm das Schloss im Gegenzug schließlich jene Funktion an, die ihm aus späterer Perspektive in Verkennung seiner bis dahin geprägten Bestimmung für seine gesamte Geschichte zugeschrieben wurde. Als zentraler Ort der des Herrscherhauses der Hohenzollern wurde es zum Symbol ihrer unheilvollen Herrschaft.

Als ein Menetekel gilt die sogenannte Kongo-Konferenz, auf der über die Aufteilung Afrikas in europäische Hoheitssphären entschieden wurde. Diese Versammlung hätte ebenso in Brüssel, London oder Paris stattfinden können, und in Berlin wurde sie nicht im Schloss, sondern im Reichskanzlerpalais in der Wilhelmstraße abgehalten, aber da ihr Abschlussdokument im Schloss besiegelt wurde, scheint es bis heute, als hätte es gleichsam als Akteur bei diesen fatalen Entscheidungen mitgewirkt. Unter Kaiser Wilhelm II. fand jene prekäre Steigerung seines Pathos statt, die das Schloss für die Militarisierung und die Stärkung imperialer Ansprüche des deutschen Kaiserreiches gleichsam verantwortlich machte. Der Sturz des Kaiserreiches fand folglich mit der Erstürmung des Berliner Schlosses statt. In einer der paradoxen Wendungen, zu der die dichterische Phantasie nicht ausreicht, wohl aber die Geschichte selbst, wurde ein markanter Bauteil des Schlosses zu einer Reliquie der kommunistischen Idee. Es handelt sich um das Portal IV, von dem aus der Führer der Kommunisten, Karl Liebknecht, der Legende zufolge die sozialistische Republik ausrief.

In der Weimarer Republik ging das Schloss vom Jahr 1920 an in seiner Gesamtheit in die öffentliche Hand über. Von besonderer Bedeutung war, dass auch die Universität in diesem Jahr in das Schloss Einzug hielt, um damit dem psychologischen Institut endlich Räume zur Verfügung stellen zu können, die groß genug waren, dass die Berliner Schule der Gestaltpsychologie

ihre Forschungen durchführen konnten. Bis zur Emigration der weltberühmten Gestaltpsychologen Wolfgang Köhler, Max Wertheim und Rudolf Arnheim hat die Berliner Psychologie in den Räumen des Berliner Schlosses die Grundlage ihrer Geltung gelegt, und nach der Emigration wirkte sie vor allem in den Vereinigten Staaten nicht nur im Bereich des Design, sondern auch in der frühen Informatik mit Folgen weiter, die bis heute reichen.

Die erneute Verbindung zwischen Schloss und Forschung in der Weimarer Republik ist das fünfte Glied, das aus einer historischen Perspektive in der Kette der markantesten Ereignisse bestimmt werden kann.

6. DIE ZERSTÖRUNG DES SCHLOSSES ALS DÄMONENAUSTREIBUNG

Die Nationalsozialisten hatten angesichts ihrer Überzeugung, eine eigene Geschichte von Grund auf zu gestalten, trotz aller historischen Scheinlegitimität, die das Schloss etwa am Abend der Regierungsübernahme im Jahr 1933 durch Hitler bot, keine dezidierte Bestimmung für das Schloss.

In seinem Zentrum war Berlin fast vollständig ausgelöscht, aber wie durch ein Wunder war das Schloss selbst nicht in einem Ausmaß getroffen, dass es hätte abgerissen werden müssen. Vielmehr gab es Initiativen, es wieder in Stand zu setzen. In West wie Ost standen die Zeichen jedoch gegen jedwede Form der Restaurierung. Diese in immer neuen Varianten vorgebrachte Abscheu gegenüber jeder Form der Rekonstruktion erhielt eine geschichtspolitische Stoßrichtung. In einem maßgeblichen Manifest von Architekten aus dem Jahr 1947 hieß es programmatisch: „Das zerstörte Erbe darf nicht historisch rekonstruiert werden, es kann nur für neue Aufgaben und neue Formen entstehen.“ Rekonstruktionen wurde in diesem Moment unterstellt, die Erinnerung an die Zerstörungen, die von Deutschland ausgegangen waren, und die es selbst getroffen hatten, zu tilgen.

Die Ost-Berliner Parallele war die Sprengung des Schlosses (Abb. 8). Umso mehr sollte an die Gegenstimmen erinnert werden. Mein Vor-Vor-Vorgänger an der Humboldt-Universität, der Kunsthistoriker Richard Hamann, überreichte dem Ministerpräsidenten Otto Grotewohl im August 1950 ein entschiedenes Memorandum zur Beibehaltung des Schlosses: „Berlin ist arm an Denkmälern der Vergangenheit. Aber es besitzt ein Werk, das sich den größten der Vergangenheit würdig einreihet und in allen Kunstgeschichten der Welt genannt und abgebildet ist: das Berliner Schloss. Sein Schöpfer ist der größte Bildhauer und Architekt in Norddeutschland, Andreas Schlüter. In Ruinen steht es da: noch immer von einer faszinierenden Wucht und Monu-



8. Sprengung des Schlosses, 1950

mentalität, ein Repräsentant des spezifisch norddeutschen Barock, der sich Michelangelos St. Peter in Rom, dem Louvre in Paris würdig zu Seite stellt.“ In diesen Zeilen wird deutlich, welche tiefe historische Identifikation gerade die Ruinenästhetik des Schlosses hervorrief. Es war durch Bomben schwer getroffen worden, ließ aber keinen Zweifel, dass es gerettet werden könne. Das Entsetzen über die Vorstellung, der Bau könne tatsächlich gesprengt werden, äußert sich in der Erklärung: „Alle Kunsthistoriker [...] macht der Gedanke an die Zerstörung des Schlosses und dieses historischen Zentrums Berlins krank.“ All diese Appelle waren jedoch fruchtlos.

Die sechste Etappe der Geschichte des Schlosses war sein zweifach erfolgtes Ende durch die Zerstörungen des Luftkrieges und den gezielten Abriss durch die Deutsche Demokratische Republik, die das Schloss als Gegenbild zu ihrer eigenen Bestimmung empfand. Die negative Bestimmung, mit der das Schloss im Jahr 1848 und dann wieder im Kaiserreich erfasst worden war, hatte zum ikonoklastischen Todesurteil seiner selbst geführt.

7. DER PALAST DER REPUBLIK

An die Stelle des Schlosses trat die Platzarchitektur der Aufmärsche, wie sie zum 1. Mai und zu anderen Anlässen auf dem Boden des ehemaligen Gebäudes durchgeführt wurden. Die Leere, die hierdurch entstand, war jedoch

so unerträglich, dass die DDR entschied, auf dem Gelände des alten Schlosses einen Palast zu bauen, der die behutsame Modernisierung der Architektur der DDR bekräftigte (Abb. 9). Als „Palast der Republik“ hat er Architekturgeschichte geschrieben. In der DDR war er einerseits beliebt, weil er Angebote des Vergnügens und der Zusammenkunft bot, die in großem Umkreis sonst nicht zur Verfügung standen. Genau aus diesem Grund aber wurde er von Regimekritikern in geradezu gehasst.



9. Luftbild des Ensembles um den Schlossplatz, 1990er Jahre

Nach der Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands im Jahr 1990 stand der Palast der Republik ebenso in der Diskussion wie das alte Berliner Schloss nach 1945. Als der Beschluss fiel, den Palast der Republik abzureißen, wurde als Grund ausgegeben, dass die Asbest-Verseuchung so hoch gewesen sei, dass ein Weiterbetrieb nicht möglich gewesen wäre, so dass eine Sanierung teurer kommen würde als ein Abriss. Mit dieser Begründung, aufgrund derer eine größere Zahl von Gebäuden hätte abgerissen werden müssen, wie zum Beispiel das Kongresszentrum in Westberlin, wurde der Anschein einer politischen Entscheidung zumindest rhetorisch vermieden. Tatsächlich aber war es offenkundig die nachhaltige Erschütterung über den Abriss des Berliner Schlosses, die dazu führte, dass der Palast der Republik wie eine Art Racheakt in einem langwierigen, schmerzlichen, von großartigen Performances begleiteten Prozess abgerissen wurde.

Aufbau und Abriss des Herzstücks der DDR-Architektur waren als Epochenzeichen der realsozialistischen Republik und deren Ende das siebente Großereignis, das mit der Geschichte und Nachgeschichte des Berliner



10. Staatsratsgebäude der DDR mit Portal IV des Stadtschlusses

Schlusses zu verbinden war. Es blieb allein das Portal IV, das als Baureliquie des Kommunismus vor dem Abriss des Schlosses im Jahr 1950 gerettet wurde, um in das im Jahr 1963 errichtete Staatsratsgebäude der DDR eingebaut zu werden (Abb. 10). Dieses Ensemble dürfte zu den surrealistischen Gebilden gehören, welche die Architekturgeschichte insgesamt aufzuweisen hat.

8. ENTSCHEIDUNG ZUM NEUAUFBAU

Im Gegenzug entfaltete sich die Diskussion um die Rekonstruktion des abgerissenen Schlosses. Es gab Wettbewerbe mit außerordentlich fantasievollen Planungen, aber nachdem im Jahr 1993 das durch den Hamburger Verfechter der Rekonstruktion, Wilhelm von Boddien, errichtete 1 : 1 Modell einen bezwingenden Eindruck hinterlassen hatte, gab es zur Rekonstruktion zumindest der Außenhaut keine Alternative mehr. Damit jedoch war die Bestimmung des Inneren in keiner Weise entschieden. Im Jahr 2000 nahm die Expertenkommission „Historische Mitte Berlin“ die Arbeit auf, um über die inhaltliche Füllung des rekonstruierten Schlosses zu entscheiden. Ich selbst hatte nach meiner Berufung an die Humboldt-Universität im Jahr 1992 den Auftrag erhalten, die wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Sammlungen der Universität zu erschließen und in einem Katalog zusammenzufassen. Der Ertrag dieser Untersuchungen, die ich gemeinsam mit dem Mathematiker Jochen

Brüning unternahm, führte im Jahr 2000 zu einer Ausstellung im Berliner Gropius Bau unter dem Titel „Theater der Natur und Kunst“. Sie spielte auf die Idee von Leibniz an, in die im Jahr 1700 gegründeten Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin ein „Theatrum Naturae et Artis“ zu inkorporieren. Der unerwartet großen Zahl von Besuchern konnte damit das ursprüngliche Ensemble der Universitätssammlungen präsentiert werden. In den Ausstellungsräumen fanden permanent Lehrveranstaltungen und Diskussionen statt, so dass sie sich mit der akademischen Lehre verzahnten.

Vor diesem Hintergrund habe ich im Jahr 2001 vor der Kommission „Historische Mitte Berlin“ das Konzept vorgestellt, die Sammlungen der Universität und damit das Rückgrat ihres Erfolges, als gedankliches Konzept gleichsam in das Schloss zurückzuspulen und die alte Verbindung zwischen Schloss und Universität wieder aufzunehmen. Im selben Atemzug vertraten Klaus Lehmann als Präsident und Peter Klaus Schuster als Museumsleiter der Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz die Idee, die außereuropäischen Sammlungen in das Schloss wieder zurückzugeben und damit einen Teil der dort ehemals befindlichen Sammlung zur groben Bestimmung des rekonstruierten Gebäudes zu machen. Die Kommission beschloss, die Konzepte der Stiftung preußischer Kulturbesitz und der Universität anzunehmen und beide Körperschaften als Akteure des Humboldtforums zu bestimmen. Als dritter Akteur kam Berlin hinzu, das mit seiner Stadtbibliothek ebenfalls Einzug in das Schloss halten sollte, um ein lebendiges Klima zu erzeugen, für welches das Pariser Centre Pompidou eine Art Vorbild war. Im folgenden Jahr, 2002, wurde das Konzept nach einer durchweg positiven Diskussion durch den Deutschen Bundestag bestätigt. Die Grundidee, Sammlungen, die sich im Rahmen der Kunstammer einmal im Schloss befunden hatten, zum Anlass zu nehmen, um deren Ansprüche unter den veränderten Umständen der Gegenwart neu wirken zu lassen, hatte gestochen. Der Beifall in der Öffentlichkeit war beträchtlich, und nach diesem so positiven Beginn hätte es eine zügige Durchführung geben können. Die folgende Wirtschaftskrise, welche die ersten Jahre des neuen Jahrhunderts beeinträchtigte, ließ es jedoch als unangemessen erscheinen, angesichts von mehr als 5 Millionen Arbeitslosen ein Schloss der Hohenzollern mit beträchtlichen Mitteln aus dem öffentlichen Haushalt zu rekonstruieren. Das Projekt sollte ausgesetzt, wenn nicht aufgegeben werden. Die Prozesse, die in den Ministerien begonnen hatten, konnten jedoch nicht von einem Tag auf den anderen aufgehoben werden, weil längst Verträge geschlossen waren, die ein Weiterarbeiten erforderten. Und so kam es dazu, dass das Projekt der Wiedererrichtung des Schlosses unter der Oberfläche der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung weitergeführt wurde, obwohl es offiziell auf Eis

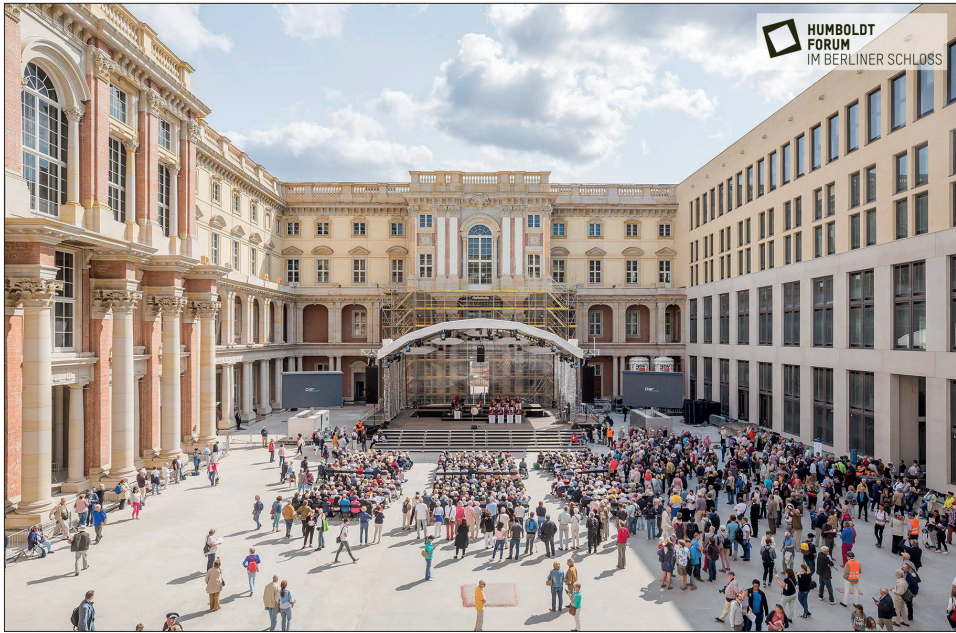
gelegt worden war. Dies begründete, dass wie aus dem Nichts im Dezember 2007 der Wettbewerb für die Gestaltung des Schlosses ausgelobt und eine Kommission zur Entscheidung über dessen Form eingesetzt wurde, welche die Grundregel, dass die äußere Fassade in ihrer historischen Gestalt unangetastet sein sollte, unabdingbar verteidigen würde. Als achtetes Ereignis tritt erstmals die Rekonstruktion des nicht mehr existenten Schlosses in Erscheinung. Damit beginnt jene Geschichte, die Ende des Jahres 2019 ihren Abschluss finden soll.

9. DER NEUBAU

Aus dem Wettbewerb ging das Projekt des italienischen Architekten Franco Stella erfolgreich hervor. Erneut war es eine italienische Tradition, die dem Berliner Schloss das Gepräge gab, nachdem Andreas Schlüter um 1700 italienische Formen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts auf eine höchst subtile Weise plastisch zusammengeführt hatte. Nun war es der Rekurs auf den italienischen Rationalismus, der die Form mitbestimmte.

Stella entstammt jener Tradition der Architekturgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts, die als italienischer Rationalismus nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg entstand, um dem antihistorischen Elan der Futuristen eine Moderne entgegenzusetzen, die insbesondere an die Baulehre der Antike anknüpfte, um deren Architekturformen durch radikale Reduktionen auf einen mathematischen Kern zu reduzieren. Die Gestaltung lebt vom Wechselspiel zwischen vollständig geschlossener Wand und starker Durchgliederung, wie sie der führende Kopf Giuseppe Terragni in immer neuen Varianten vorgeführt hat. Stella selbst hat dieses Prinzip mehrfach angewendet, so etwa im Komplex seiner Schule in Orgiano. Die Grundregel des italienischen Rationalismus, alle Formen auf den Prinzipien der mathematischen Ratio, der Proportion und der Klarheit aufzubauen, bestimmten Stellas Weigerung, den Bau Schlüters mit seinen neu konzipierten Partien zu durchstecken. Beide stehen hart gegeneinander, um in dieser Konfrontation deutlicher zusammenzuspielen, als es eine Vermischung der beiden Stile erlaubt hätte. In geradezu schroffer Klarheit entwickelt sich dieses Prinzip im östlichen Flügel des Schlosses, der zur Spreeseite hin als ein kraftvoller Riegel seiner Selbst inszeniert ist. Auch wo der Neubau mit der Rekonstruktion der historischen Fassaden an den Seiten im Norden und Süden aufeinandertrifft, entsteht keine romantische Berührung. Vielmehr erweckten dieser Stelle eingesetzte Rücksprung den Eindruck, dass der Ostriegel vor dem eigentlichen Bau mit einem gehörigen Abstand aufragt.

Stellas Wandgestaltung zieht sich durch den gesamten Bau. Es ist ein Coup, dass die Westseite des Schlüter-Innenhofes als eine wiederholende Variation der Fassade des Ostriegels nochmals aufgeführt wird. Auf diese Weise gelingt eine Harmonie aus der Differenz (Abb. 11). Der Kontrast zwischen dem glatt polierten Stein von Stellas Baukörper und der historischen Innenfassade Schlüters bewirkt eine eigene, sich wechselseitig öffnende Komplexität.



11. David von Becker, Schlüterhof des Berliner Stadtschlusses, 2018

Im Juni des letzten Jahres hatte das neu errichtete Eosander-Tor erstmals Premiere als Veranstaltungsort (Abb. 12). Es gab ein Programm an zwei Tagen, das knapp 40.000 Menschen anlockte. Es war ein wirklich erhebender Moment, zu sehen, wie das Portal und dessen Skulpturen gleichsam als eigener Akteur in dem minimalistischen Ambiente funktionierte. Die Famae der Bogenzwickel sind großartige Reproduktionen, in die wunderbarer Weise ein Teilstück als Spolien eingesetzt werden konnte. Die Rekonstruktion bekämpft die Topik dieser Wiederaufführung eines antiken Triumphbogens, indem der dargestellte Sieg sich selbst ein Trümmer ist. Sie ist eingestellt wie ein Requisit, wie eine Theaterdekoration in einem größeren, modernen Ambiente. Beide Pole wirken aufeinander und gegeneinander. Die riesige Eingangshalle ist von einer surrealen Spannung zwischen römischem Kolo-



12. Berliner Stadtschloss, Atrium mit Rekonstruktion des Eosanderportals, 2018

ssalbau und italienischem Rationalismus bestimmt. Von einer der Galerien kann auf das Eosander-Tor und das Atrium geblickt werden. Der Blick geht auf Originalkapitelle, die ihrerseits den antiken Septimus-Severus-Bogen rekonstruktiv von Rom nach Berlin verfrachten. Darüber und darunter dann die heutigen Rekonstruktionen. Historisch wie aktuell reflektiert das Berliner Schloss eine Italianità, die allen Vorstellungen eines hier inkorporierten restaurativen oder gar militaristischen Inhalts fundamental widerspricht. Vor allem ist es Stellas Vermögen, dem Gebäude eine urbanistische Qualität zu geben, in dem Tag und Nacht geöffnete Straßen durch das riesige Areal geführt werden sollen, welche die Kommission bestachen.

Das neunte Element der historischen Ereignisse betrifft die Wiederkehr jener Italianità der Schlossarchitektur, die von Andreas Schlüter begründet wurde. Nun ist es der italienische Rationalismus, der den Eindruck des Humboldt Forums von Osten und in seinem Inneren bestimmt.

10. GESCHICHTE UND GEGENWART

Je deutlicher sich die Formen der Rekonstruktion abzeichneten, desto stärker äußerte sich eine Kritik, die von Beginn an gegen die Rekonstruktion gewesen war, weil sie den Geist der Hohenzollern und damit einen zutiefst

reaktionäres Denken neu aufführen und einen neuen Stimulus geben würde. Diskussionen, die seit der Scheinerrichtung der Fassade im Jahr 1993 erledigt schienen, kamen und kommen mit einer Vehemenz zurück, die das Gebäude auch nach seiner Vollendung begleiten dürften. Der Grund liegt darin, dass die Bundesrepublik Deutschland trotz der Wiedervereinigung eine positiv bestimmte Alternative zur Betrachtung der deutschen Geschichte bislang nicht entwickeln konnte. Die Problematik liegt darin, dass alles, was eine positiv bestimmte Zielvorstellung entwickelt, unwillkürlich mit dem Verdacht verbunden wird, die Erinnerung an das Grauen der Jahre nach 1933 zu verkleinern. Die *Raison d'Être* der Bundesrepublik Deutschland hat seit ihrer Gründung in großen Zügen darin bestanden, nie wieder etwas zuzulassen, was dem Nationalsozialismus gleichkäme. Ihre Legitimität besteht bis heute in der Verneinung der Nazi Herrschaft. Die Bedingung des deutschen Gemeinwesens ist die Reflexion ihrer schuldbeladenen Geschichte. Vor diesem Hintergrund entstand im Jahr 2000 die Grundidee, im Zentrum der Hauptstadt eines Landes, das 1939 große Teile der Welt in den Abgrund gestürzt hatte, einen Raum zu schaffen, in dem die Artefakte der unterschiedlichsten Kulturen des gesamten Globus zusammenkommen sollten, um gemeinsam mit den vorderasiatischen und den europäischen Sammlungen der Museumsinsel ein Ensemble zu bieten. Dem Wort des großen Ethnologen Claude Lévi Strauss gemäß sollte es zeigen, was die Menschen in der letzten Konsequenz miteinander verbindet und nicht etwa in Zerstörungen und Verwüstungen führt. Die Umkehrung dieser Position in die Anmaßung, von europäischen, und im besonderen deutschen, und damit per se schuldbeladenen Kategorien her die Welt zu ordnen, ist für meinen Begriff verstörend, denn sie bekräftigt, wogegen sie argumentiert. Vor dem Hintergrund dessen, was ich Ihnen in diesen zehn Schritten zu skizzieren versucht habe, mag es verständlich werden, warum ich es nach wie vor für eine Pflicht halte, an eine Tradition anzuknüpfen, die von Leibniz, Georg Forster und den Brüdern Humboldt begründet wurde.

Das Berliner Schloss steht seit seiner Errichtung im Jahr 1700 in immer neuen Rahmenstellungen paradigmatisch für die Wellenschläge der Diskussion einer solchen Orientierung. Gebaut im Sinne einer Italianisierung des preußischen Zentrums, keinesfalls ein Gebilde repräsentativer Macht, sondern ein Gefäß der gesellschaftlichen Bindung, eher ein *Leviathan* als eine Krone, Ort einer mikrokosmischen Zusammenziehung der Welt in der Kunstkammer unter unhierarchischen Gesichtspunkten, Mutter der *Alma Mater* Berlins, Ort der 1848er Revolution und Stätte der Demütigung des preußischen Königs, im Gegenzug Propagandastätte des Weltmachtanspruchs der Hohenzollern im Kaiserreich, dann Ort einer republikanischen In-

besitznahme seitens der Weimarer Republik, zerstört als Symbol des preußischen Militarismus, und im Gegenzug wiedererrichtet im Kompromiss einer authentischen Außenfassade und einem modernen Innenleben, um die traditionellen Nutznießer, die Universität und die außereuropäischen Sammlungen sowie Berlin als programmatische Gestalter aufzunehmen, und schließlich erbittert umkämpft als Medium einer universalen Orientierung oder, diametral entgegengesetzt, als reaktionäre Wiederaufführung eines verwerflichen Historismus, kann das Berliner Schloss als eine Art Psychogramm der unterschiedlichen Stadien der deutschen Befindlichkeit erachtet werden.

All dies ist so paradox wie das Leben selbst, wenn Sie mir diesen Allgemeinplatz erlauben. Aber ich komme zu keinem anderen Schluss. Zwischen der Zerstörung und der Hoffnung auf ein gemeinschaftliches Zusammenleben, das sich jeweils weitaus reichere Horizonte vorstellte, als es die örtlichen Gegebenheiten zu bieten vermochten, hat sich das Schicksal des Berliner Schlosses abgespielt, und es wird es weiterhin tun. In seiner äußeren Gestalt eines der eindrucksvollsten Gebilde des europäischen Barocks, bleibt es aufgrund seiner Geschichte eine Projektion für unterschiedliche Orientierungen. Wenn es dies bewahren sollte, ohne dass eine weitere Geschichte ähnlich dramatische Umbrüche zu verzeichnen hätte, wie sie das neu errichtete Schloss inkorporiert, dann hätte das Humboldt Forum seinen Zweck erfüllt.

SCHLUSS

Damit komme ich zum Ende. Der Grund, warum ich neben dem Gesagten nicht ohne innere Beteiligung vor Sie getreten bin, liegt in zwei Bildern (Abb. 13). Bei dem ersten handelt es sich um eine Fotoaufnahme, die sich im Nachlass meines Vaters befand. Sie stammt aus der Zeit, in der das Posener Institut gegründet wurde. Sie zeigt meinen Vater auf einem Schaukelpferd, das als Staffage in einem Fotoatelier zur Verfügung stand. Der Rückseite ist der Name dieser Einrichtung zu entnehmen. Die Eltern meines Vaters lebten in Posen, und daher entstand diese Aufnahme in jenem „Atelier Apollo“ aus der Wilhelmstraße, heute Marcinkowski-Alleen, und wenn wir uns heute im Wilhelmsschloss befinden, dem Kulturpalast, dann ist dieser lose Zusammenhang gegeben. Adam Labuda, mit dem gemeinsam ich glückliche Jahre an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin verbringen konnte, ist mit mir fast gleichalt. Wenn es nicht das Grauen des Überfalls auf Polen mit all seinen Folgen gegeben hätte, wären Adam Labuda und ich möglicherweise in derselben Klasse im Gymnasium von Posen gewesen, und wir hätten uns viel früher befreundet, als dies dann noch vor dem Fall der Mauer geschah.



13. Gerhard Bredekamp, Fotografie, Atelier Apollo, Posen, ca. 1919

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren, Sie mögen, das ist meine Hoffnung, nachempfinden können, warum es mir ein besonderes Anliegen war, vor Ihnen, in Posen, über ein Drama der Geschichte zu sprechen, das sich mit dem Berliner Schloss verbindet, dem ersten Großauftrag des polnischen Hofkünstlers Schlüter. Ich hoffe, vermittelt zu haben, dass es lohnt, im gebrochenen Anspruch seiner architektonischen Gestalt und im Ansatz seiner Kunstammer verteidigt und gefüllt zu werden.

Meine Damen und Herren, den kommenden 100 Jahren des Posener Institutes wünsche ich eine Fortsetzung des glorreichen ersten Jahrhunderts! Ich bedanke mich für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit.

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FROM THE BERLIN PALACE TO HUMBOLDT FORUM.
A PARADIGM OF CONFLICT IN GERMAN HISTORY

Summary

The lecture concerns the Berlin Palace (*Stadtschloss*) and presents a view of its long history, starting with its construction in the Baroque style by an artist of the Polish origin, Andreas Schlüter, up to its contemporary reconstruction with a new institutional function (Humboldt Forum). The ten sections of the text not only present architectural and artistic history of this residence but also pivotal historical events and contexts which affected the dimensions and meaning of its functioning. The Palace, entangled

into German history but also reflecting it, especially as regards the 19th and 20th centuries, becomes both a starting point for an evaluation of this history and posing questions about the future. Along with the ferociously debated, present-day reconstruction and its museum function, it also seems to be a psychogram of diverse stages of the condition of German spirit.

Keywords:

Berlin, Humboldt Forum, residential architecture, architecture and power, *kunstkammer*, university

PRZEŁOMY: HISTORIE HISTORII SZTUKI W POLSCE I EUROPIE

Wybór tekstów z sekcji tematycznej oryginalnie napisanych
w języku polskim

OD REDAKTORA

12 maja 1919 roku o godz. 9:00 rano ks. dr Szczęsny Dettloff, założyciel poznańskiej akademickiej historii sztuki, wygłosił pierwszy uniwersytecki wykład pt. „Lionardo, Michał Anioł, Rafael”. Tę datę możemy uznać za symboliczną inaugurację historii sztuki na Uniwersytecie w Poznaniu, tym samym w roku 2019 obchodziliśmy 100-lecie swego istnienia. Jubileusz taki jak ten skłaniał nie tylko do celebracji, ale też do refleksji nad dyscypliną, momentami dla niej zwrotnymi, wydarzeniami, osiągnięciami, instytucjami i wreszcie uczonymi, którzy przyczynili się do miejsca i kondycji, w jakich się teraz znajdujemy. Pytania te i inne zadajemy sobie w naszym zawsze skorym do debaty i wspólnej dyskusji Instytucie niemal bez przerwy, ale także staramy się do debat zapraszać. Przed dekadą, w roku 2009 – w trzydziestą rocznicę powołania czasopisma „Artium Quaestiones”, wydawanego przez Instytut Historii Sztuki UAM, ukazał się numer dwudziesty, w którym zostały zamieszczone programowe w założeniu artykuły historyczek i historyków sztuki z różnych polskich ośrodków, a ich zadaniem było „sprowokowanie Czytelników do podjęcia refleksji nad kondycją historii sztuki oraz nad naszym naukowym i zawodowym warsztatem”. Po dziesięciu latach postanowiliśmy zaprosić autorów nie tylko z kraju, ale także z zagranicy, by zastanowić się, jakie daty i związane z nimi wydarzenia miały dla historii sztuki, refleksji nad nią, sposobu jej funkcjonowania i oddziaływania, znaczenie przełomowe, a także jakie historyczne uwarunkowania w szczególności wpływały na dynamikę rozwoju naszej dyscypliny w różnych krajach Europy. Inspiracją dla tak postawionego zagadnienia był dla nas właśnie rok 1919, przełomowy nie tylko dlatego, że wówczas powstał w Poznaniu pierwszy uniwersytet, a wraz z nim historia sztuki, ale przełomowy w najszerszym z możliwych historycz-

nie wymiarów dla Polski i nie tylko. Naszym zamiarem było uchwycenie, jakie przełomy w dwudziestowiecznych dziejach naszego kraju i społeczeństwa odbiły się wyraziście na historii sztuki, inicjując radykalne jej przemiany, otwierając nowe perspektywy, wywołując nieznane wcześniej problemy, a także – w miarę symetryczne naświetlenie, jak podobne zagadnienia wyglądały w przypadku przede wszystkim krajów sąsiednich, ale też odleglejszych. Przełomy, o których mowa w zamieszczonych tekstach, nie zawsze są przywołane w rozumieniu dosłownym, nie zawsze mają charakter momentalny czy zwrotny, niekiedy noszą znamiona dłuższych procesów, których przyczyny i konsekwencje rozłożone są w czasie. Podczas gdy niektóre artykuły koncentrują się na konkretnych datach i historycznych zdarzeniach (np. rok 1945 w Niemczech, 1948 w Polsce, 1968 w Czechosłowacji), inne śledzą okresy, w których krystalizowały się istotne dla historii sztuki w danym kraju paradygmaty i problemy (np. dwudziestolecie międzywojenne w Rumunii, okres późnego socjalizmu w Estonii, przełom lat 60. i 70. w Polsce). W rezultacie teksty te stanowią studia przypadków o różnej rozciągłości czasowej i problemowej, demonstrując bogactwo uwarunkowań i narracji kształtujących historię historii sztuki w Polsce i w Europie.

Ze względu na jubileuszowy dla nas rok publikacji zdecydowaliśmy się zamieścić w nim dwa teksty nieco odmienne od pozostałych. Pierwszym jest wspomnieniowy artykuł profesora Piotra Skubiszewskiego, naszego wybitnego Absolwenta, powstały z myślą o obchodach naszego święta. Drugim, przygotowany także z tego powodu, wykład okolicznościowy profesora Horsta Bredekampa z zaprzyjaźnionego z nami i związanego licznymi, także personalnymi, więzami Uniwersytetu Humboldtów w Berlinie.

Piotr Korduba

PIOTR SKUBISZEWSKI

PRZED DZIEŁEM SZTUKI. WSPOMNIENIA ZE STUDIÓW

Dla dawnego studenta historii sztuki Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego, a później pracownika Katedry Historii Sztuki tej uczelni, stulecie akademickiego nauczania naszej dyscypliny w stolicy Wielkopolski jest naturalną okazją do refleksji nad środowiskiem naukowym, które go ukształtowało. Ma on przy tym przed sobą do wyboru dwie drogi, którymi podążać może, temat ten podejmując. Może próbować opisać to środowisko z punktu widzenia historii nauki i dziejów nauczania uniwersyteckiego, więc – starając się zachować bezstronność – poddać systematycznej analizie osiągnięcia badawcze pracowników ówczesnej Katedry i określić stosowane przez nich metody. Ale może też podążyć inną drogą. Może spojrzeć na swe studia uniwersyteckie oraz na ukształtowany przez nie kierunek pracy intelektualnej z perspektywy własnego życia, więc ująć temat w formie wspomnień osobistych, wiedząc oczywiście, że będą one subiektywne i częściowe. Wybieram tutaj to drugie.

Na wykłady z historii sztuki zacząłem chodzić zaraz po złożeniu egzaminu maturalnego w dniu 17 maja 1949, na kilka miesięcy przed immatrykulacją. Przed końcem roku akademickiego zdążyłem jeszcze kilku z nich wysłuchać. Były to wykłady księdza profesora Szczęsnego Dettloffa o malarstwie weneckim XV wieku. Odbywały się w sali wykładowej Katedry Historii Sztuki, w jej ówczesnej siedzibie na trzecim piętrze Collegium Maius. Pamiętam, że właściwie nic z tego albo prawie nic nie rozumiałem. Kiedy później, na studiach, poznawałem język naszej nauki, kiedy uczyłem się analizy dzieła sztuki, a może przede wszystkim – kiedy stopniowo wkraczałem na trudny grunt oceny miejsca pojedynczego dzieła w procesie artystycznym epoki, zrozumiałem przyczyny tego analfabetyzmu. Studia uświadomiły mi, że percepcja dzieła sztuki zajmuje wśród czynności poznawczych człowieka miejsce odosobnione i że ani szkoła średnia ani dostępna społeczeństwu edukacja powszechna nie były i chyba nadal nie są w stanie młodego umysłu do tego zadania przygotować. Spotkaniu człowieka ze sztuką towarzyszy bowiem poruszenie we-

wewnętrzne, towarzyszą doznania, które powstają poza naturalnym dążeniem umysłu do klasyfikacji gatunkowej oglądanego przedmiotu i do ustalenia jego miejsca w rekonstruowanej przez nas przeszłości. Ale są to doznania, które jednocześnie w tajemniczy sposób z intelektualnym procesem szukania w świecie sztuki podobieństw i ich przyczyn się splatają i nań wpływają. To było odkrywanie historii sztuki jako nauki aksjologicznej.

Wykształcenie, jakie wtedy na Uniwersytecie Poznańskim otrzymywaliśmy, ten aspekt naszej dyscypliny z całą wyrazistością ujawniało. Ksiądz Dettloff, który był przez większą część czasu moich studiów kierownikiem Katedry Historii Sztuki (do marca 1953), jedynym w niej wówczas nauczycielem z tytułem profesora i który był dla nas największym autorytetem akademickim – był wybitnym analitykiem formy. Myślę, że dar ten – zapewne wrodzony – w znacznym stopniu rozwinął w czasie dwuletnich studiów w Monachium, gdzie słuchał wykładów Heinricha Wölfflina. A to przecież w analizie formy i w wyrażających ją słowach przejawia się wartościowanie utworu artystycznego – zabieg intelektualny, który pozwala umieścić dzieło w określonym miejscu wielkiej skali przedmiotów, którym przyznajemy tajemniczą siłę budzenia w nas zachwyty, wręcz zapominania o otaczającej nas rzeczywistości. Kiedy byłem na I roku studiów, ks. Dettloff prowadził wykład pt. „Sztuka włoska XVI wieku” w wymiarze czterech godzin tygodniowo. Część tego czasu przeznaczal na ćwiczenia w galerii malarstwa włoskiego ówczesnego Muzeum Wielkopolskiego, dzisiaj Narodowego. Każdy ze słuchaczy miał obowiązek opracowania jednego z obrazów tej kolekcji i przedstawienia w krótkim referacie swoich wyników. Było wiele osób, które chodziły na te zajęcia. Obok nas, studentów I roku, którzy uczyliśmy się już według nowego, ustalonego przez komunistyczne władze dwustopniowego programu studiów, w zajęciach prowadzonych przez ks. Dettloffa brali udział także słuchacze wcześniejszych roczników. Ci studiowali według programu przedwojennego, odmiennego od naszego – przeciążonego licznymi wykładami o encyklopedycznym charakterze. W dawnym programie dominowały zajęcia, które słuchacza od razu stawiały przed wielkimi zjawiskami i postaciami w dziejach sztuki i które w rezultacie szybko zapoznawały go z głównymi metodami pracy dyscypliny. Ksiądz Dettloff nie inaczej też rozumiał rolę swoich ćwiczeń prowadzonych w galerii malarstwa włoskiego poznańskiego muzeum. Wiemy, że znajdują się w niej obrazy, które mogą być dobrym punktem wyjścia do studiów nad sztuką nowożytną.

Mnie przypadło opracowanie płótna *Riva degli Schiavoni*, którego autorem jest Luca Carlevarijs. Pamiętam, że natrudziłem się wtedy bardzo, by obraz opisać i zgromadzić jakieś o nim wiadomości, ale dopiero kiedy po moim nieporadnym wystąpieniu głos zabrał ks. Dettloff, zrozumiałem, czym może być analiza dzieła sztuki i czym jego interpretacja. Nasz profesor zaczął od

opisu przedstawionego przez artystę miejsca w Wenecji i zaraz mistrzowsko związał wiadomości o przedmiocie wyobrażenia z rozbiorem kompozycji i środków malarskich, którymi malarz w obrazie się posłużył. Od tego wychodząc, poszedł w kilku kierunkach. Najpierw opowiedział nam o artyście i o tematach jego dzieł. Potem o środowiskach artystycznych i twórcach, od których był on zależny. Wreszcie o gatunku, w którym głównie się wypowiadał – o pejzażu miejskim i o jego weneckiej formule. Słuchając tego wywodu, odkrywaliśmy, że ks. Dettloff prowadzi nas od oglądu obrazu do wiedzy, którą zapisała ludzka pamięć, a wiedza ta jest czymś zupełnie innym niż to, co zmysł wzroku pozwala nam w obrazie odczytać: jakiś mały fragment świata zewnętrznego. I choć nic właściwie albo prawie nic wtedy o Wenecji i o jej malarstwie, o weducie czy o perspektywie nie wiedzieliśmy, odkrywaliśmy, że tylko wnikliwe w dzieło sztuki wejrzenie może to, co zgromadził intelekt, na pamięć przywołać i z wyobrażeniem związać. Była to wielka lekcja lektury dzieła sztuki. Zaczynała się od analizy formy, a ks. Dettloff wycucie formy i jej miejsca w tym, co porównywalne, miał bezbłędne.

Jeszcze bliżej danym było mi ten talent ks. Dettloffa poznać przy końcu tego samego roku akademickiego, w maju 1950. Wyjechaliśmy wtedy z naszym profesorem – wszystkie roczniki poznańskiej historii sztuki – na dziesięć dni do Krakowa. Profesor Jerzy Szablowski pozwolił nam w czasie tego pobytu obejrzeć rzeźby ołtarza mariackiego Wita Stwosza. Leżały one wtedy w wielkiej sali, w południowo-zachodnim skrzydle budynku administracyjnego Państwowych Zbiorów Sztuki na Wawelu. Zgromadzono je tam i zatrzymano po ich odzyskaniu z Niemiec, ponieważ władze komunistyczne nie pozwalały wówczas na ich powrót do kościoła Mariackiego. Zwrócono je właścicielowi później, po zmianach politycznych, jakie zaszły po październiku 1956. Szczęśliwie, kiedy trwał ten areszt, zespół specjalistów pod kierunkiem profesora Mariana Słoneckiego mógł prowadzić przy dziele Stwosza prace konserwatorskie. Nie tylko uchroniło to rzeźby przed zniszczeniem, jakie im już groziło ze strony owadów żerujących w drewnie, lecz także doprowadziło do odkrycia i do utrwalenia ich pierwotnej polichromii. Oglądanie figur i reliefów wyjętych ze struktury retabulum i rozstawionych bez wzajemnego związku w różnych miejscach wielkiego pomieszczenia nie mogło oczywiście sprzyjać poprawnej percepcji Stwoszewego dzieła. Pojedyncze rzeźby były bowiem przez artystę pomyślane jako integralne części większych kompozycji, np. środkowej sceny nastawy czy kwater na jej skrzydłach, i tylko w obrębie tych kompozycji zrozumiała stawała się forma każdej figury. Ale wychodząc od analizy formy tych pojedynczych składników retabulum ołtarzowego i pokazując nam przy tym jego przedwojenne fotografie, potrafił ks. Dettloff wywołać w naszej wyobraźni obraz dzieła w całej jego złożonej relacji między

szczególom i całością. Jednocześnie wspinał się ukazywał, w jaki sposób wielki rzeźbiarz wykształcony w Sztrasburgu w XV wieku buduje figurę ludzką.

Uczył nas ks. Dettloff także wnikiwania w formę w sztukach nieprzedstawiających. Do dzisiaj nie mogę zapomnieć dwóch jego wystąpień. Jedno z nich miało miejsce w kościele pojezuickim w Poznaniu, gdzie otwierał nam oczy na to, jak w baroku ścierają się ze sobą – ale i łączą – dwa kierunki ciągów przestrzeni wnętrza w architekturze: jeden wzdłużny i liczne poprzeczne. Drugie miało miejsce w Sierakowie, w kościele pobernardyńskim. Na tym przykładzie pokazywał nam ks. Dettloff, jak w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku formy klasycznego Renesansu – przekształcone w dekorację, zwielokrotnione i zagęszczone – biorą rozbrat ze swoją antyczną genezą i tracąc swoją strukturalną funkcję, stają się swobodnym elementem ruchliwej artykulacji ściany, sklepienia czy czaszy kopuły.

Tę samą wrażliwość na formę odkrywał poznański student historii sztuki tamtych lat u dwóch innych swoich profesorów – obu uczniów ks. Dettloffa – Gwidona Chmarzyńskiego i Zdzisława Kępińskiego.

Gwido Chmarzyński – jak wiemy – pozostawił po sobie niewiele publikacji. Ja zapamiętałem go przede wszystkim jako wybitnego dydaktyka, który mówił o sztuce z pasją właściwą krytykowi i koneserowi. Jego emocjonalne wręcz zaangażowanie w przedmiot wykładu ujawniało się najsilniej, kiedy mówił o tym, co znał najlepiej – o architekturze gotyku, a zwłaszcza wtedy, gdy stawał z nami przed kościołem gotyckim lub w jego wnętrzu. Chmarzyński z wszystkich ówczesnych pracowników katedry bodaj najchętniej i najczęściej brał udział w wyjazdach w teren. Poznawaliśmy z nim wtedy obok Wielkopolski głównie Śląsk, Pomorze i Ziemię Chełmińską. Ta ostatnia była mu najbliższa i to jej kościoły, np. dawna katedra w Chełmży czy kościół św. Jana w Toruniu, były miejscem, gdzie chyba najwyraźniej odsłaniał swoje spojrzenie na architekturę gotycką. Najpierw była to zawsze sumienna inwentaryzacja tego, co zapewnia budowli stabilność, i tego, co daje wyraz ukrytym w niej siłom i napięciom. Ale potem potrafił Gwido Chmarzyński swym opisem zamienić ten stabilny świat struktury i jej zewnętrznych elementów w fascynujący obraz żyjących form. Moja pamięć zapisała Gwidona Chmarzyńskiego wśród tych, co najtrafniej mówili o architekturze gotyckiej.

Na innym miejscu, kilka lat temu, pisałem już o tym, że nasze – studentów – pierwsze spotkanie ze Zdzisławem Kępińskim kazało nam postawić sobie pytanie o kształt historii sztuki, z jaką będziemy mieli do czynienia, odkąd ten nowy wykładowca pojawił się w poznańskiej katedrze z początkiem roku akademickiego 1952/1953. Wykład bowiem, którym zapoczątkował on swoją działalność dydaktyczną i który należał do obowiązkowych zajęć na na-

szym – wtedy czwartym – roku studiów, nosił tytuł „Rozwój nurtu realistycznego w sztuce”. W tamtych latach, w czasie szalejącego stalinizmu, słowa „realizm” i „realistyczny” miały tylko jedno znaczenie. Za ich pomocą partia komunistyczna i jej ideologowie definiowali zgodność sztuki z tym, co uważali za postęp ludzkości, co było w ich oczach politycznie słuszne, przy czym terminy te mogły kwalifikować zjawiska artystyczne zarówno współczesne, jak i te, które zaszły w przeszłości. Pierwsze wykłady Zdzisława Kępińskiego nie rozwiały naszych obaw. Przeciwnie. Nowy profesor zapowiedział, że będzie mówił o malarstwie Trecenta we Florencji, ale przedmiotem pierwszych godzin był opis sytuacji społecznej, gospodarczej i politycznej w stolicy Toskanii, przy czym znaczną uwagę poświęcił wykładowca wielkim rodzinom florenckim, ich majątkom i prowadzonym przez nie operacjom finansowym. Kiedy jednak zaczął mówić o malarstwie Florencji, cały ten świat wobec twórczości artystycznej zewnętrzny nagle zniknął z przedmiotu wykładu. Słuchaliśmy odtąd o sztuce, a to, co słyszeliśmy, było mistrzowską analizą formy wyrażoną wyrafinowanym językiem. Dzieje zamówień i działania fundatorów, owszem, miały swoje miejsce w tym wywodzie, ale to dzieła artystów tworzyły wątek narracji. Wykład Zdzisława Kępińskiego o malarstwie włoskim okresu między „Czarną Śmiercią” a Masacciem – jestem tego pewien – odegrał w mojej formacji historyka sztuki dużą rolę. Uświadomił mi znaczenie ewolucji form przedstawiających w tym przełomowym dla sztuki europejskiej miejscu i czasie. Więcej, zachęcił do stawiania pytań o zagadnienie ewolucji form w ogóle. Jakiś czas później dowiedziałem się od Eugeniusza Krygiera o okolicznościach, w jakich Zdzisław Kępiński zetknął się po raz pierwszy z malarstwem Florencji i jak to spotkanie przeżył. Obydwaj otrzymali stypendium państwowe na podróż do Włoch w roku 1938 i razem się tam udali. Eugeniusz Krygier opowiadał mi, że jego towarzysz – zafascynowany stolicą Toskanii – pozostał w niej sam wiele dni dłużej, niż początkowo przewidywał ich wspólny plan zwiedzania, i że długie godziny spędzał na oglądaniu malarstwa we florenckich muzeach, kościołach i pałacach. Później jeszcze wielokrotnie miałem okazję podziwiać wycucie formy w sztuce, jakim natura obdarzyła Zdzisława Kępińskiego.

Zatrzymałem się dłużej nad wykształceniem, jakie otrzymywaliśmy wtedy w poznańskiej katedrze historii sztuki, ponieważ wydaje mi się koniecznym określić bagaż intelektualny, z jakim wyruszyliśmy w świat po studiach w Poznaniu. Wyrażenia „wyruszać w świat” używam celowo. Oddaje ono imperatyw samodzielnego myślenia w warunkach, kiedy już sami, bez niczyjej pomocy, mierzymy się z zadaniami poznawczymi, jakie stawia przed nami nasza własna praca. Opisuje ono także częstą w naszym życiu zawodowym sytuację, która powstaje, kiedy przenosimy się do innego środowiska i tam

spotykamy się z uprawianiem naszej dyscypliny odmiennym od tego, którego nas uczono. Gdybym miał najkrócej ten bagaż określić, przywołałbym znowu – bo kiedyś już to uczyniłem – słowa Willibalda Sauerländera, którymi opisał on historię sztuki pierwszych trzydziestu lat XX wieku jako „auf Form oder Gestalt konzentrierte”. Miał na myśli historię sztuki w Niemczech, ale na pewno można to sformułowanie odnieść także do sytuacji w innych krajach, w tym w Polsce. Wiemy, w jak bliskim związku z niemieckojęzycznym obszarem historia sztuki u nas powstawała, a jej nauczanie w Poznaniu w czasie moich studiów było kontynuacją nauczania przedwojennego. Z jednym bodaj wyjątkiem wszyscy moi uniwersyteccy nauczyciele swoje wykształcenie otrzymali przed wojną.

Wspominając tamten czas nauki, jednego tematu nie mogę pominąć. Te przedmioty, które partia komunistyczna wprowadziła w latach 1948–1949 do programów uniwersyteckich w celu indoktrynacji przyszłej inteligencji, „materializm dialektyczny i historyczny”, „historia ruchu robotniczego”, „zagadnienia Polski współczesnej”, „podstawy marksizmu-leninizmu”, „ekonomia polityczna” (podaję tutaj tytuły zajęć zapisane w moim indeksie w rubrykach kolejnych lat studiów), otóż te przedmioty w naszym rozwoju umysłowym nie odegrały żadnej roli. Nie widzieliśmy najmniejszego ich związku z właściwym przedmiotem naszych studiów. Gorzej. Zestawione z wagą zagadnień poznawczych, jakie rodziły w nas prowadzone przez doskonale wykształconych profesorów wykłady z historii sztuki, historii, archeologii, etnologii czy logiki, odsłaniały całą swoją pustkę intelektualną i to, czym naprawdę były: żalosnym instrumentem propagandy politycznej.

Październik 1956 roku przyniósł zmiany w życiu Polaków. Wiemy dobrze, że jeżeli zmiany, jakie wówczas w Polsce nastąpiły, oceniać z perspektywy historii globalnej, to niewiele one znaczyły. Kraj nadal pozostawał częścią składową imperium sowieckiego i nadal panowała w nim dyktatura partii komunistycznej. W niektórych jednak dziedzinach wewnętrznego życia Polski ustąpił – przynajmniej częściowo – paraliż, który przedtem niosła ze sobą stalinowska obsesja budowy społeczeństwa całkowicie podporządkowanego partii i jej ideologii. Sztuki plastyczne i historia sztuki należały do tych dziedzin, które po zmianach październikowych znalazły się poza głównym frontem partyjnej ofensywy ideologicznej. Można wprawdzie bez trudu, dla lat 60. i 70., przytoczyć przykłady bezpośredniej ingerencji najwyższych władz partyjnych albo pojedynczych gorliwych członków partii w twórczość artystyczną niektórych środowisk, w działalność wystawienniczą ważnych instytucji i w projekty wydawnicze z zakresu historii sztuki. Według mojej oceny jednak, działania te nie były ze strony władzy przejawem jakiejś przemyślanej strategii politycznej wobec świata sztuki i nauk o sztuce, lecz doraźną reakcją

na pojedyncze wydarzenia lub sytuacje, których przywódcy i działacze partyni nie chcieli tolerować.

Celowo zatrzymałem się tutaj nad zmianami, które nastąpiły w Polsce po październiku 1956. Należę do pokolenia, które od młodości do wieku dojrzałego doznawało ciężaru władzy komunistycznej. Szczeliny, które się w narzucenym przez nią systemie pojawiły – a po październiku 1956 one wystąpiły – miały ogromne znaczenie dla nas, wchodzących wtedy w samodzielność historyków sztuki. Otwierały nieporównanie większą niż wcześniej przestrzeń swobodnych badań nad sztuką i – co najważniejsze – pozwoliły na wyjazdy z dotychczas hermetycznie zamkniętego kraju. Mogliśmy odtąd oglądać sztukę na świecie osobiście, nie za pośrednictwem fotografii. Niektórzy z nas mogli odbyć uzupełniające studia na zagranicznych uniwersytetach, aktywnie uczestniczyć w zjazdach naukowych w innych krajach i nawiązywać bezpośrednio kontakty z wybitnymi przedstawicielami historii sztuki. Chociaż niełatwo do tego dochodziło. Pomijając rzadkie wyjątki, paszport otrzymywał tylko ten, komu instytucja zapraszająca – uniwersytet, muzeum, organizatorzy zjazdu naukowego – zapewniała koszty przejazdu i utrzymania w czasie pobytu za granicą. Ale pamiętać też trzeba, że czasem wydania paszportu odmawiano.

O polityce paszportowej Polski komunistycznej wspominam tutaj po to, by przypomnieć, że polski historyk sztuki, po latach okupacji niemieckiej i stalinizmu, mógł ponownie – mimo rozmaitych trudności – stanąć przed wielkimi dziełami sztuki. Historyk sztuki mojego pokolenia mógł teraz weryfikować swój rodzący się w nim w czasie studiów pogląd na sztukę Europy łacińskiej jako złożony z powiązanych ze sobą członów organizm, jako wytwór jednej cywilizacji. Mógł naocznie przekonać się, że prawdziwie wielkie zmiany w twórczości artystycznej dokonywały się w zachodniej części naszego kontynentu tylko co czas jakiś i tylko w nielicznych środowiskach, które promieniowały potem na zewnątrz. Mając bezpośredni dostęp do wielkich obszarów sztuki europejskiej, mógł – jak nigdy przedtem – ćwiczyć oko i uczyć się rozróżniać dzieła „pierwsze” od ich kontynuacji. Jednocześnie mógł teraz lepiej rozpoznawać miejsce pojedynczego dokonania artystycznego w wielkim gąszczu powiązań i zależności, jaki stanowi świat sztuki.

Jak w praktyce przebiegała ta nauka? Jak zaznaczyłem na wstępie, będę tutaj pisał o własnych doświadczeniach, ale od razu muszę dodać, że były to także doświadczenia wielu moich starszych i młodszych ode mnie koleżanek i kolegów. Tak się złożyło, że spośród wszystkich zachodnich ośrodków naukowych jako pierwsze dla nas, szukających już własnej drogi polskich historyków sztuki mediewistów, szeroko otworzyło się Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale w Poitiers. To powstałe w roku 1953 przy tamtej-

szym uniwersytecie centrum naukowe miało według jego twórcy Gastona Bergera – profesora filozofii, wyznawcy Husserla, dyrektora szkół wyższych we francuskim ministerstwie oświaty – mieć za przedmiot badań i nauczania na poziomie pomagisterskim szczytowy okres średniowiecza europejskiego: wieki dziesiąty, jedenasty i dwunasty. Zgodnie z koncepcją założyciela, każda z trzech głównych uprawianych w tym ośrodku dyscyplin: historia, historia sztuki i historia literatury – ale także inne, choć mniej intensywnie obecne, jak historia filozofii, historia nauki i historia muzyki – miała utrzymywać swoją przedmiotową i metodologiczną tożsamość i odrębność. Zamysłem Gastona Bergera było wszakże to, by mogły się one w jednym miejscu spotykać. Pragnął on, by każdy ze studiujących w Poitiers młodych mediewistów mógł mieć wgląd w dziedziny badań inne niż jego własna. I by mógł stawiać pytania o związki rozpatrywanych przez siebie zjawisk czy dzieł z wydarzeniami, procesami społecznymi, ustrojem politycznym, duchowością, twórczością i warunkami życia epoki.

Dzisiaj taki postulat metodologiczny w naukach historycznych jest czymś zwyczajnym. We Francji lat 50. ubiegłego stulecia, ale nie tylko w tym kraju, program, który w pracy akademickiej nad jedną cywilizacją miał łączyć kilka dyscyplin, był nowością. O jego powodzeniu w Poitiers zdecydowało to, że Gaston Berger powierzył kierownictwo centrum dwóm doświadczonym profesorom miejscowego uniwersytetu – historykowi sztuki René Crozetowi, uczniowi Henriego Focillona, i historykowi Edmondowi René Labande'owi, a jednocześnie wyposażył założoną przez siebie instytucję w środki, które pozwalały zapraszać na wykłady i seminaria innych badaczy nie tylko z Francji, ale także spoza tego kraju. Jedynym warunkiem ich uczestnictwa była czynna znajomość francuskiego, ponieważ w tym języku były prowadzone wszystkie zajęcia. Wymóg ten spełniało, zresztą nadal spełnia, wielu uczonych spoza Francji i przez Poitiers przewinęli się wtedy, także nadal przewijają się, najwybitniejsi mediewiści z całego świata.

Nauczanie w Poitiers było wówczas prowadzone w dwóch cyklach: w ciągu roku akademickiego i podczas sesji letniej, która w pierwszych latach istnienia Centre trwała pięć tygodni. Sesja letnia była okresem szczególnie intensywnej pracy jej uczestników, ponieważ przedpołudnia zawsze wypełniały dwa wykłady dwóch profesorów reprezentujących dwie różne dziedziny mediewistyki, a popołudnia były przeznaczone na ćwiczenia przy zabytkach w tym bardzo bogatym w sztukę romańską i gotycką mieście. W soboty odbywały się wyjazdy na podobne zajęcia w najbliższych okolicach Poitiers i w sąsiednich dzielnicach, a ten obfity program ćwiczeń terenowych dopełniał trzydniowy objazd jednego z dalej położonych regionów Francji romańskiej. Nauczanie w ciągu roku akademickiego było mniej intensywne. Było ono dostosowane

do potrzeb i rytmu pracy młodych mediewistów, którzy przyjeżdżali do Poitiers na roczny kurs zwykle z własnymi projektami badawczymi. Nadal, wszakże, zajęcia prowadzili, obok miejscowych profesorów, uczeni z innych ośrodków naukowych, w tym zawsze liczni cudzoziemcy. Gdy studiowałem w Poitiers, wspomniany przed chwilą profesor René Crozet przygotowywał książkę o sztuce romańskiej w Saintonge. W swoich wykładach przedstawiał nam postępy w pracy nad tym tematem. Co dwa tygodnie zaś zabierał nas autokarem do tej dzielnicy, gdzie wraz z nim inwentaryzowaliśmy wybrane kościoły, on zaś na miejscu poddawał pod dyskusję swoje obserwacje, z niezwykłą szczodrością dopuszczając nas do udziału we własnych badaniach. Opisany tutaj program nauczania utrzymał się w Poitiers długo. Później uległ, niestety, częściowej redukcji. Nadal wszakże jego mocną stroną pozostaje to, że biorą w nim udział – jako nauczyciele i jako studenci – przedstawiciele różnych dziedzin mediewistyki z całego świata.

W latach 50. XX wieku i na początku następnego dziesięciolecia Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale stało się dla młodego polskiego mediewisty miejscem, w którym po raz pierwszy mógł on spotkać się ze światową historią sztuki bezpośrednio, nie tylko poprzez lektury. Mógł brać udział w wymianie poglądów, do czego dawały mu okazję przede wszystkim seminaria, ale także dyskusje z profesorami, które w Poitiers w czasie sesji letniej odbywały się po każdym wykładzie. A jednocześnie mógł ćwiczyć oko na największych osiągnięciach sztuki średniowiecznej, uczestnicząc w niezliczonych i obejmujących wielką część Francji wyjazdach terenowych. Mógł wreszcie rozwijać własne badania, korzystając z archiwum fotograficznego, gromadzącego zdjęcia dzieł sztuki romańskiej z całej Europy, i z biblioteki, która wyróżniała się wielkim zbiorem czasopism. Niektórzy młodzi polscy badacze przybywali wówczas do Poitiers na studia całoroczne, inni przyjeżdżali tylko na sesję letnią, byli też tacy, którzy uczestniczyli w obu cyklach nauczania. Spośród bliskich mojemu pokoleniu – zarówno starszych ode mnie, jak i nieco młodszych – wymienię Zygmunta Świechowskiego, Lecha Kalinowskiego, Klementynę Żurowską, Stanisława Wilińskiego, Urszulę Popłonyk, Krystynę Józefowicz, Teresę Mroczo, Krystynę Białoskórską, Mariana Kutznera, Marię Otto i Andrzeja Tomaszewskiego.

Z jaką historią sztuki spotkał się młody polski mediewista, przyjeżdżając w tamtych latach na studia do Poitiers? We Francji, w której literatura o sztuce przeżywała od XVIII wieku wielki rozkwit, bardzo silnie był zakorzeniony pogląd na twórczość artystyczną jako zjawisko „autonomiczne” – dziedzinę działalności człowieka, której nie można opisać ani wyjaśnić inaczej, jak tylko w niej samej szukając źródeł jej tożsamości. Stanowisko to zaznaczyło się bardzo wyraźnie w sposobie badania architektury średnio-

wiecznej, które zapoczątkował w latach 30. XIX wieku swoimi gruntownymi pracami Arcisse de Caumont. Wskazany przez niego kierunek naukowy, który miał wszystkie znamiona szkoły, rozwijało po nim kilka pokoleń uczonych. Zapisali się wśród nich na trwałe Auguste Choisy, Robert de Lasteyrie, Jean-Auguste Brutails, Camille Enlart, Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, Marcel Aubert, Paul Deschamps i Élie Lambert. Fundamentem ich badań była niezwykle staranna analiza struktury budowli. Towarzyszył jej rozbiór form architektonicznych występujących w poszczególnych jej częściach, połączony z dokładnym określeniem natury materiału użytego do konstrukcji i sposobu jego zastosowania. Celem była rekonstrukcja wewnętrznej chronologii budowy, tę zaś badacz skrupulatnie konfrontował z odnoszącymi się do rozpatrywanego dzieła źródłami pisanyymi. Podkreślić trzeba, że badając pojedynczy kościół czy zamek, francuscy historycy architektury średniowiecznej szczególną uwagę poświęcali przekazom, które przynosiły informacje o prowadzonych przy zabytku późniejszych robotach budowlanych. Ich monografie cechowało staranie o dokładne odróżnienie w dziele tego, co pochodziło z czasu jego powstania, od tego, co wniosły doń późniejsze wieki. A do krytyki źródła byli wspaniale przygotowani. Sześciu z wymienionych tutaj kontynuatorów hrabiego de Caumont było absolwentami znakomitej École nationale des chartes, jeden z nich ukończył nie mniej świetną École normale supérieure, a tylko jeden z nich, Auguste Choisy – polytechnicien. Szybko rosnąca wiedza o pojedynczych budowlach rychło kazała tym badaczom postawić pytanie o miejsce każdej z nich w dziejach architektury pojmowanej teraz przez humanistykę jako historia osobnego gatunku artystycznego. Z prowadzonych intensywnie porównań rzutów poziomych i rzutów elewacji, rozwiązań konstrukcyjnych, detali i sposobów obróbki budulca w poszczególnych dziełach zaczął stopniowo wyłaniać się obraz grup typologicznych i stylowych, obraz zresztą podlegający ciągłej ewolucji wskutek stale zmieniających się i często spornych kryteriów klasyfikacji.

Powie niejeden czytelnik, że wszystko, co przed chwilą opisałem, to nic innego, jak wdrażanie podstawowych wymogów metodologicznych historii sztuki i elementarz pracy nad architekturą. Na pewno tak. Ale nie wspominałbym tutaj francuskich badań nad architekturą średniowieczną, gdyby nie to, że badania te były, zresztą nadal są, nacechowane największą precyzją rozbioru formy, a dokładność analizy oddaje język. Francuska historia sztuki wypracowała terminologię, która starannie przekłada na pojęcia nawet najbardziej złożoną strukturę dzieła i jej elementy składowe w całym bogactwie ich zróżnicowania. Zapis tego języka przynoszą wzorowe słowniki terminologiczne wydawane przez Éditions du patrimoine, wśród nich – w zakresie architektury – arcydzieło gatunku napisane przez Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos,

Architecture: description et vocabulaire méthodiques (Paryż 1972, nowe wydanie: 2011).

Trzeba podkreślić, że ta francuska szkoła badań nad architekturą średniowieczną zajęła wśród prądów humanistyki swojego kraju osobne pod względem metodologicznym, samodzielne miejsce. Wyrażała jej odrębność nawet nazwa, która jej w języku akademickim od początku towarzyszyła: *archéologie française du moyen âge*. Uczni, którzy tę szkołę tworzyli, skupieni byli w założonej jeszcze przez hrabiego de Caumont w roku 1834 Société française d'archéologie. Wydawała ona – i nadal wydaje – dwa stojące na bardzo wysokim poziomie tytuły: serię „Congrès archéologique de France” (od 1834) i kwartalnik „Bulletin monumental” (od 1835). Dodajmy jeszcze, że z tego środowiska naukowego wywodził się personel Service des monuments historiques, urzędu konserwatorskiego również w tym samym czasie przez hrabiego de Caumont założonego. Nie mamy tutaj miejsca na to, by wchodzić w przyczyny, dla których Arcisse de Caumont przyjął nazwę „archeologia” dla badań nad architekturą średniowieczną. Wystarczy zauważyć, że termin ten we Francji wyraźnie odgraniczał pole pracy zajmujących się nią uczonych od zakresu badań nad innymi dziedzinami i okresami w dziejach sztuki. Ta odrębność środowiska historyków architektury średniowiecznej utrzymuje się zresztą we Francji w dużym stopniu do dzisiaj.

Kiedy w roku 1957, podczas któregoś z objazdów terenowych odbywających się w ramach sesji letniej Centre w Poitiers, stawaliśmy przed romańskim albo gotyckim kościołem i słuchaliśmy, jak go przedstawia Marcel Aubert, wielki autorytet w ówczesnym świecie badań nad architekturą Francji średniowiecznej, autor kilku monografii jej najważniejszych przykładów i ojciec nowoczesnych studiów nad kościołami i klasztorami cystersów, jego drobiazgową analizą budowli wypowiediana klarownym językiem odsłaniała nam dzieło w całym bogactwie jego rozmaitych form. Kiedy kilka miesięcy później uczestniczyliśmy we wspomnianych już całorocznych zajęciach profesora René Crozeta na terenie Saintonge, mogliśmy teraz sami, prowadzeni przez naszego wykładowcę, próbować rozbioru form tamtejszych kościołów. Uczyliśmy się wnikać w dzieło, rozpoznając jego części składowe i ich porządek, a stworzona przez francuską naukę szczegółowa terminologia architektury budowała w naszej pamięci intelektualny gmach pojęciowych odpowiedników zarówno struktury budowli, jak i jej elementów. Te składniki bowiem dają się wyodrębnić, nazwać i policzyć. Można w liczbach określić ich wielkość, można opisać ich miejsce w strukturze dzieła i w liczbach zmierzyć występujące między nimi odległości, więc ująć w słowach zachodzące między nimi relacje. Źródła pisane dotyczące dzieł tych kościołów dopiero wtedy były rozpatrywane, kiedy oko już rozpo-

znało w budowli jej artystyczną tożsamość i wewnętrzną historię, a umysł pozwolił to wzrokowe poznanie przełożyć na słowo. Dla mnie, wychowanka poznańskiej historii sztuki, były to lekcje, które niezmiernie wzbogacały wyniesioną z macierzystego uniwersytetu znajomość instrumentów analizy formalnej. Jednocześnie umacniały przekonanie – również na studiach w Poznaniu ukształtowane – że prawidłowa analiza formy dzieła stanowi bezwzględny warunek powodzenia wszystkich operacji poznawczych w naszej dyscyplinie.

Czytelnik mojego artykułu może postawić pytanie, dlaczego historyk sztuki, który nie zajmuje się architekturą, kiedy mówi o swych latach nauki, tak mocno przywołuje na pamięć francuskie badania akurat nad tą dziedziną. Może też zasadnie pytać, dlaczego wyróżniłem kierunek metodologiczny, który był i pozostaje studium formy, a intelektualne uznanie, jakie on we mnie wzbudził, dokonało się w czasie, kiedy historia sztuki – wtedy już w skali światowej i we wszystkich swoich zakresach – energicznie szukała wyjścia poza horyzont badań nad formą; kiedy zaczęła szukać w dziele sztuki świata idei. Tego przełomu byliśmy wtedy świadomi. Wielu z nas, wyjeżdżając na studia do Francji, było już po lekturze *Studies in Iconology* Erwina Panofsky'ego albo przynajmniej znaliśmy główny postulat metodologiczny jej autora, który kazał na końcu drogi poznawczej pytać o to, jak w badanym dziele sztuki przejawia się współczesna mu kultura. Ja sam zostawałem w tamtym czasie pod urokiem wielkiej wizji Ottona von Simson, który zalaną kolorami witraży gotycką katedrę wywodził z metafizyki światła, karmiącej się pismami czczonoego w Saint-Denis Pseudo-Dionizego, oraz z neoplatonizmu szkoły katedralnej w Chartres – środowiska uczonych dopatrujących się obrazu harmonii wszechświata w jego matematycznych prawach. Sam też już wówczas próbowałem odnajdywać w badanym przez siebie dziele – choć na pewno czyniłem to bez należytej staranności i ostrożności – przesłanie ideowe, które przyszło do warsztatu artysty z zewnątrz, wraz z zamówieniem i które miało być dla patrzącego na to dzieło człowieka epoki czytelne. Dodajmy, że ówczesnej nauce francuskiej, tak przywiązanej do pojmowania twórczości artystycznej jako zjawiska autonomicznego, nie było obce rozpatrywanie sztuki jako przekaznika idei. Kraj ten wydał w XIX wieku dwóch wielkich mediewistów, którzy położyli fundamenty pod badania nad wpływem średniowiecznej teologii, egzegezy i liturgii na ówczesną twórczość artystyczną. Byli to jezuita Charles Cahier i Arthur Martin. W tym samym kierunku, ale jeszcze dalej, poszedł Émile Mâle. Dopatrując się bezpośredniej zależności najwybitniejszych dzieł rzeźby, malarstwa i rzemiosł artystycznych francuskiego średniowiecza od ściśle określonych myśli nauczania chrześcijańskiego, stworzył monumentalny obraz sztuki

tej epoki jako narzędzia pastoralnej misji Kościoła. Nie ma tutaj miejsca na porównywanie dorobku i metody tego uczonego z tym, co postulował i co ukazywał w swoich pracach Erwin Panofsky; zainteresowanych tą kwestią odsyłam do tego, co na ten temat napisał Pierre Francastel w swej książce *Études de sociologie de l'art* (1970). Nie mogę jednak, poruszając ten temat, nie zauważyć, że mimo różnic w ich podejściu do przedmiotu badań można też dostrzec w ich sposobach interpretacji sztuki podobieństwa. Oddziaływanie Émile'a Mâle'a na współczesną mu i powojenną historię sztuki nie było tak szerokie jak porównywalny w tym zakresie tematycznym wpływ Panofsky'ego. Niemniej jednak uczoney francuski miał swoich kontynuatorów i kiedy studiowałem w Poitiers, zetknąłem się z nimi. Wymienię spośród nich jednego – wielkiego mediewistę Ludwika Grodeckiego, ucznia Henriego Focillona, ale jednocześnie badacza związanego z Service des monuments historiques i – poprzez to środowisko – dobrze znającego tradycję francuskich badań nad architekturą średniowieczną. Jego wykłady o witrażach francuskich XII i XIII wieku, których słuchałem w Centre d'études médiévales w roku 1957, budziły najwyższy podziw głębią spojrzenia na te pełne przedstawień barwne segmenty ścian kościoła średniowiecznego. Grodecki, badając je, ukazywał, jak bardzo kompozycje i formy figuralne zastosowane w poszczególnych kwaterach witraży współgrają z treścią przekazu doktrynalnego wyobrażeń – często przekazu o wyrafinowanej treści teologicznej. Autor wyraźnie podkreślał inspirację, jaką było dla niego wielkie dzieło Émile'a Mâle'a, a w drukowanych wersjach jego prac przypisy to potwierdzają. Był także pod wpływem Panofsky'ego, z którym złączyła go przyjaźń intelektualna, gdy na zaproszenie tego uczonego przebywał w latach 1949–1950 w Institute for Advanced Study w Princeton. Mówiąc o obecności we Francji tej historii sztuki, która dopatrywała się bezpośredniego wpływu świata idei na twórczość artystyczną, nie można wreszcie pominąć tego giganta naszej dyscypliny jakim był André Grabar, uczeń Nikodema Kondakowa i Dymitra Ajnałowa. André Grabar zrewolucjonizował – nie waham się użyć tego słowa – studia nad sztuką wczesnego chrześcijaństwa, Bizancjum i krajów chrześcijańskiego Wschodu dwiema swoimi już we Francji ogłoszonymi pracami: *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin. Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'Orient* (1936) i *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* (1946). Wszechstronność jego spojrzenia na czynniki ideowe i społeczne, jakie wywarły wpływ na działalność wielkich ośrodków artystycznych greckiego Wschodu, oddziaływała ożywczo także na studia nad sztuką Zachodu. Jego pionierskie dzieło o przedstawieniach cesarza wschodnio-rzymskiego z roku 1936 było wielkim źródłem inspiracji dla autorów szybko narastających po wojnie prac nad ikonografią polityczną

w krajach kultury łacińskiej. Słuchałem wykładów André Grabara o sztuce bizantyńskiej w Collège de France i miałem też przywilej kilkakrotnie spotkać go osobiście oraz z nim dłużej rozmawiać. Sposób, w jaki mówił i pisał o odbiciu duchowości świata greckiego w późnoantycznej i średniowiecznej sztuce cesarstwa wschodniego, był porywający.

Powtórzę więc tutaj, że gdy studiowałem we Francji, ten wielki nurt badawczy, który szuka w sztuce świadectw idei – nurt zresztą metodologicznie i przedmiotowo zawsze bardzo zróżnicowany – był już trwale obecny w świadomości mojego pokolenia. Z chwilą jednak, kiedy stawałem wówczas przed romańskim czy gotyckim kościołem i zagłębiałem się w jego architekturę – pytania, które nurt ten stawiał, nagle zniknęły z mojego pola uwagi. Pochłaniało mnie wtedy co innego. Prowadzony przez mojego profesora, odkrywałem budowlę jako osobne, zamknięte w sobie uniwersum form, równocześnie także jako zbiór elementów, które jeden porządek wewnętrzny spaja w organiczną całość. Mój przewodnik, zbrojny w rozbudowaną, szczegółową terminologię, z precyzją wyróżniał i nazywał każdą część dzieła, od najmniejszej do największej, i równie dokładnie opisywał zachodzące między nimi relacje. Jego lekcja ćwiczyła wzrok w rozbiorze formy i jednocześnie uczyła przekładu na słowa tego, co wzrok w oglądanym przedmiocie wyodrębnia. Jeżeli mogę tu użyć metafory, była to historia sztuki, która do dzieła „przylegała”. Wiedziałem oczywiście i wiem dobrze, że nauka, jaka płynęła z godzin spędzonych z moimi francuskimi nauczycielami przy średniowiecznych kościołach, była przedmiotowo ograniczona. Metod pracy nad architekturą nie da się zastosować do badań nad sztukami przedstawiającymi. Ale godziny te, jak żadne inne, uczyły młodego historyka sztuki staranności w analizie dzieła i odpowiedzialności za słowo, które o twórczości artystycznej wypowiadamy. A tej nauki nie można przecenić. Znamy nasze zmagania z językiem, kiedy mówimy czy piszemy o sztuce. I to na każdym poziomie procesu poznania: w opisie, w analizie, w interpretacji. Tymczasem studiując średniowieczne kościoły we Francji, stąpaliśmy na mocnym gruncie analizy morfologicznej wypracowanej w długoletniej praktyce badań – przy tym analizy artykułowanej precyzyjną terminologią. Było to intelektualne wyzwanie. Zapraszało do starania o podobny rygor w pracy nad innymi dziedzinami sztuki. Ale było w tych lekcjach jeszcze coś innego, co było dla mnie nie mniej znaczące. Prowadzone kolejno przy różnych kościołach analizy, właśnie dzięki ich sumienności, uczyły postrzegać każde z tych dzieł jako twór artystyczny jednorazowy, niepowtarzalny. A rozpoznanie odrębności pojedynczego dzieła sztuki jest kluczem do pojmowania sztuki w ogóle i probierzem naszej pracy. Ale to już jest inne zagadnienie i na tej obserwacji wypada mi zamknąć te wspomnienia.

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FACING THE WORK OF ART.
MEMORIES OF MY STUDENT YEARS

Summary

The present essay includes the author's memories of his university studies and the intellectual formation that he received as a student of art history at the University of Poznań in 1949-1954. His first professor who opened to him the door to art history and exerted on him a strong intellectual influence, was Szczęsny Dettloff, a disciple of Heinrich Wölfflin in Munich and Max Dvořák in Vienna. Dettloff taught his students that the foundation of studying art in history is the study of the form of an individual artwork. He believed that without a proper analysis of form it is impossible to construct appropriate series of the works of art and specify their position in the culture of the times of their origin. Similar sensitivity to form and the understanding of its significance for the art historian's work were represented by two other professors important for the author, both educated by Dettloff already before World War II: Gwido Chmarzyński and Zdzisław Kępiński. When in 1957-1968 the author was a postgraduate student in the *Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale* at the University of Poitiers (*CÉSCM*), it turned out that the local methodological tradition was similar to what he had learned in Poznań before. The *CÉSCM* was founded as a multidisciplinary institute for the study of the Middle Ages, combining history, art history, literary history, and the history of ideas. It was important that one of them could shed light on an object studied by another, but each of them, including art history, kept its material and methodological identity. In the French tradition, art history had an "autonomous" status, focusing on artistic creation as a special sphere of human activity. That idea influenced also quite strongly the study of medieval architecture, originated in the early 19th century by Arcisse de Caumont, and continued until today by many generations of French scholars. What is characteristic of their research is meticulous analysis of form, articulated with a precise, detailed, and comprehensive specialist vocabulary. The lectures of French scholars on medieval architecture, which the author attended in Paris and Poitiers, taught him precision in the analysis of the artwork's structure and its components, as well as responsibility for every single statement made on art. For a young art historian who did not specialize in architecture but in representational arts, that French experience was a lesson of methodological rigor necessary in the intellectual pursuits of the humanities scholar.

Keywords:

University of Poznań – art history, University of Poitiers – art history, methodology of art history, art history around 1950

WOJCIECH BAŁUS

PRZEŁOMY, KRYZYSY, EWOLUCJE

I

Zasłona z lotem ptaków Raju wzdeła się znowu. I Klarysa zobaczyła – zobaczyła, jak Ralph Lyon odrzucił ją i dalej prowadził rozmowę. Więc, mimo wszystko, to nie była klęska! Teraz już miało się udać – jej przyjęcie. Zaczęło się. Ruszyło z miejsca. Choć wciąż było w niepewności zawieszono. Ona musi na razie stać tutaj. Zdawało się, że ludzie się tłoczą. Pułkownik i Pani Garrod... Pan Hugh Whitebread... Pan Bowley... Pani Hilbery... Lady Mary Maddox... Pan Quin – obwieszczał Wilkins. Zamieniała z każdym sześć czy siedem słów, a oni szli dalej, wchodzili na pokoje; wchodzili teraz już w coś, nie w nic, ponieważ [lub: od chwili kiedy] Ralph Lyon odrzucił zasłonę¹.

Ten cytat z *Pani Dalloway* Virginii Woolf pamięta zapewne każdy z czytelników słabo dziś (niestety) obecnej w naukowym obiegu historii sztuki książki Wiesława Juszcza *Zasłona w rajskie ptaki*. Książka ta – przypomnę – analizowała angielską powieść jako dzieło modernistyczne. Zdaniem badacza, Woolf nie tylko chciała opowiedzieć historię organizacji przyjęcia przez Klarysę Dalloway, ale też zaprezentować na głębszym, niejawnym poziomie przebieg procesu twórczego, dochodzenie do formy jako celu sztuki. Banalny gest odrzucenia zasłony z kolorowego perkalu interpretowany był jako moment, w którym niespójne dotąd elementy kompozycji (czyli w planie fabuły: przyjęcia) nagle zaczęły się składać w całość. Podobnie, a przy tym już w sposób jawny, niezawołowany – argumentował Juszcza – Woolf postąpiła w kolejnej chronologicznie powieści, *Do latarni morskiej*, gdzie spełnienie dawnej obietnicy o wycieczce morskiej zbiegło się w ostatnim akapicie dzieła z ukończeniem pejzażu przez Lilly Briscoe:

¹ V. Woolf, *Pani Dalloway*, cyt. w tłumaczeniu E. Gieysztor za książką W. Juszcza *Zasłona w rajskie ptaki albo O granicach „okresu powieści”*, Warszawa 1981, s. 26. Fragment ten w polskim wydaniu, tłumaczonym przez K. Tarnowską (V. Woolf, *Pani Dalloway*, Kraków 2016), znajduje się na s. 262.

Szybko, jakby przywołana przez coś, co było gdzieś tam, odwróciła się do swego płótna. On był tu – jej obraz. Tak, ze wszystkimi swymi błękitami i zielenią, z liniami biegnącymi ku górze i w poprzek, z usiłowaniem czegoś. [...] Spojrzała na schody: były puste; spojrzała na płótno: było zamazane. Z nagłym napięciem, jakby na sekundę jasno zobaczyła to, nakreśliła linię tam, w centrum. Było dokonane; było skończone. Tak, pomyślała, odkładając pędzel w ostatecznym zmęczeniu, osiągnęłam swoją wizję².

Dla Wiesława Juszczaaka ważne było udowodnienie, że autotematyzm, pokazanie samego dochodzenia do celu twórczości, nie było możliwe w wieku XIX i znamionowało epokę modernizmu, ponieważ dopiero wtedy forma i autoteliczność literatury, malarstwa czy muzyki stały się „widzialne”, uwypuklane w tkance dzieła. Nie były one więcej ukrywane za parawanem „realistycznego” opowiadania, przestały być transparentne względem wzniosłego lub codziennego tematu i narracji, wyłącznie opisującej świat zewnętrzny oraz ludzkie doznania³. Dlatego badacz nie wnikał głębiej w istotę odrzucenia przez Ralphi Lyona zasłony w rajske ptaki i naturę chwili, w której Lilly Briscoe wykonała ostatnie pociągnięcie pędzlem. Interesowały go one tylko w kontekście dopełniania się dzieła jako formy. A przecież oba opisane przez Virginię Woolf wydarzenia dotyczą czegoś szczególnego i znacznie bardziej fundamentalnego niż charakterystyka modernizmu: momentu istotnej zmiany w procesie jakiegokolwiek kreacji.

Dokończenie procesu malowania obrazu wydaje się prostsze do zrozumienia. Oto nagle następuje ostateczne „rozstrzygnięcie płótna po malarsku” – by użyć ulubionego zwrotu kapistów. Nadchodzi moment, w którym długotrwała niemoc zostaje przezwyciężona i cel zostaje osiągnięty: *finis coronat opus*. Ale i tu jeden aspekt pozostaje tajemniczy: jak rodzi się ów błysk, w którym wszystko się domyka?

Z Klarysą Dalloway jest może nieco trudniej. I w jej przypadku chodzi o pokonanie jakichś kłopotów, ale nie są one czysto artystycznej natury. Bez względu na to, czy za Juszczaakiem potraktujemy przyjęcie jako metaforę twórczości, czy dosłownie, jako organizację wydarzenia towarzyskiego, w obu przypadkach odrzucenie zasłony będzie miało zdecydowanie irracjonalny charakter. Oczywiście nie jako banalny fakt pozbycia się przez jednego z gości poruszonego wiatrem natręta, lecz z uwagi na skutek tej czynności dla bohaterki. Dostrzeżony gest zmienia jej nastrój, a w ślad za tym i generalne nastą-

² V. Woolf, *Do latarni morskiej*, cyt. w tłumaczeniu E. Gieysztor za: Juszczaak, *Zasłona w rajske ptaki*, s. 28. Fragment ten w polskim wydaniu, tłumaczonym przez K. Klingera (V. Woolf, *Do latarni morskiej*, Toruń 2016), znajduje się na s. 193.

³ Juszczaak, *Zasłona w rajske ptaki*, s. 12.

wienie do toczącego się wydarzenia. Nagle zaczyna ona panować nad całością imprezy, a więc osiągnięcie zamierzonego celu nie będzie więcej zagrożone. Wyjaśnienie, dlaczego odsunięcie zasłony utwierdziło panią Dalloway w przekonaniu, że przyjęcie się uda, też nie jest trudne. W geście tym odebrała ona zapewne, i to na poły nieświadomie, symptom dobrej atmosfery toczącego się spotkania. Gość wykonał naturalny, nieskrępowany ruch znamionujący swobodę, odprężenie, a nie spięcie, które owocować by mogło np. gniewną reakcją na *faux pas* spowodowane niedopilnowaniem przez gospodynię podpięcia niesfornych zasłon⁴. Aspekt irracjonalny dotyczy samego zwrócenia uwagi na to drobne zdarzenie. Jeżeli w przypadku Lilly Briscoe problemem było, jak rodzi się błysk spełnienia, to tu pytanie brzmi, dlaczego w określonym momencie kierujemy wzrok akurat w tę a nie inną stronę? Przecież gdyby Klarysa Dalloway nie spojrzała na Ralphi Lyona, jej pełna złych przeczuć świadomość jako kreatorki przyjęcia nie uległaby zmianie.

Epizody z powieści Virginii Woolf domagają się jakiegoś nazwania i dookreślenia. Przede wszystkim wskazać trzeba na szereg łączących je wspólnych cech. Otóż (1) oba wydarzenia mogły zajść tylko dlatego, że miały temporalny charakter, że *czas* był kanwą, na której się rozwijały. Następnie (2), oba nakierowane były na jakiś *cel*, który miał wieńczyć toczący się *w czasie* proces. Dalej (3), osiągnięcie owego *celu* było *zagrożone*. *Zagrożenie* to zostało jednak (4) zażegnane przez dość *nagłą zmianę*, pozwalającą na *happy end*. Wreszcie (5), sam moment *zmiany* miał trudne do racjonalnego wyjaśnienia *przyczyny* – właśnie dlatego, że nastąpił nagle i bez widocznych zabiegów ze strony bohaterki. Jedyną różnicą była *odległość*, jaka dzieliła obie protagonistki od celu: w przypadku Lilly Briscoe był to moment tuż przed ostatecznym spełnieniem, natomiast przyjęcie Klarysy Dalloway dopiero „ruszało z miejsca” i wciąż jeszcze pozostawało „w niepewności zawieszony”. Epizody cechuje również pewna dwustopniowość, pojawiająca się w czasie realizacji zamierzenia (1), czyli dążenia do osiągnięcia określonego celu (2). W pierwszym etapie daje o sobie znać *impas*, niepewność, utrata wizji drogi prowadzącej do wykonania zadania, a wraz z tym nie najlepszy stan psychiczny (3). Ta sytuacja zostaje następnie w drugim etapie przezwyciężona (4) przez *nagłe znalezienie rozwiązania* (5) czy poczucie, że wszystko zmierza we właściwą stronę.

Etap pierwszy określić możemy jako *kryzys*, gdyż pojęciem tym nazywa się stan niepewności, bólu czy napięcia spowodowany niepewną przyszłością,

⁴ Gest ten Juszcak (ibidem, s. 85) interpretuje jako tak naturalny, że ukazujący sztuczność spotkania jako rytuału, co pozwala na objawienie się bohaterce przyjęcia jako formy, która powoli zaczyna się dopełniać.

której zarysów nie da się jasno odczytać (3)⁵. W stanie kryzysu cel (2) traci na ostrości, a środki do jego realizacji przestają być oczywiste. To okres, w którym Lilly Briscoe nie mogła dokończyć pejzażu, a Klarysa Dalloway dostrzegła nadchodzącą możliwość towarzyskiej kłęski. Etap drugi to oczywiście *przełom*, czyli – zgodnie ze *Słownikiem języka polskiego* Witolda Doroszewskiego – „moment zwrotny w czym; zwrot, zmiana” (4)⁶.

Przełom na dwa sposoby może łączyć się z kryzysem. Z jednej strony, oba słowa mogą oznaczać to samo. W starożytnej Grecji (a następnie we wczesnym chrześcijaństwie i w średniowieczu), mianem *κρίσις* nazywano ostateczne, nieodwołalne rozstrzygnięcie, efekt zaistnienia jednego z dwóch wzajemnie się wykluczających członów alternatywy: w bitwach zwycięstwa lub kłęski, w medycynie hipokratejskiej wyleczenia lub śmierci, w teologii wyroku zbawienia lub potępienia na Sądzie Ostatecznym⁷, czyli to wszystko, co dziś raczej nazywamy przełomem. Z drugiej strony, oba terminy mogą oznaczać różne fazy toczących się wydarzeń. Jeśli kryzys polityczny jest załamaniem się określonej polityki; rządowy – upadkiem gabinetu w wyniku udzielenia mu wotum nieufności; parlamentarny – utratą większości przez partię lub koalicję rządzącą; naukowy – sytuacją, w której istniejące teorie nie są w stanie wyjaśnić nowo odkrytych faktów; kultury – okresem, gdy „następuje upadek dotychczasowych wartości, a nie wykształcają się jeszcze nowe, które mogłyby zająć ich miejsce”⁸, to odnosi się on do początkowego etapu zachodzących zaburzeń, z którego dopiero po pewnym dłuższym lub krótszym czasie znaleźć można jakieś wyjście. Kryzys w tym rozumieniu jest czymś w rodzaju narastającego muru czy innej stopniowo piętrzącej się przeszkody, przełom zaś oznacza przebicie się przez ową zaporę na drugą stronę, ku założonemu wcześniej celowi⁹. U Virginii Woolf mamy do czynienia z taką właśnie sytuacją. Przełom to irracjonalna chwila (5), w której kryzys zostaje zażegnany dzięki znalezieniu rozwiązania prowadzącego do dokończenia obrazu lub ugruntowaniu się poczucia, że przyjęcie będzie udane. Taki szczególnie moment traktowano w Grecji jako wkroczenie innej niż zwyczajna odmiany

⁵ R. Kosseleck, *Einige Fragen an die Begriffsgeschichte von „Krise“*, w: *Über die Krise. Castelgandolfo-Gespräche 1985*, red. K. Michalski, Stuttgart 1986, s. 64.

⁶ [Hasło:] *Przełom*, w: *Słownik języka polskiego*, red. W. Doroszewski, <<https://sjp.pwn.pl/doroszewski/przelom;5484156.html>> [dostęp: 2 maja 2019].

⁷ Kosseleck, *Einige Fragen an die Begriffsgeschichte von „Krise“*, s. 64–65.

⁸ [Hasło:] *Kryzys*, w: *Nowa encyklopedia powszechna PWN*, Warszawa 1998, t. 3, s. 586.

⁹ H.G. Evers, *Historismus*, w: *Historismus und bildende Kunst*, red. L. Grote, München 1965 (= *Studien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*, t. 1), s. 30.

czasu. Czas linearny, ciągły, *χρόνος*, otwierał się na jednostkową, niepowtarzalną możliwość, na cudowny zbieg okoliczności – na *καιρός*¹⁰.

Opisane przez Virginie Woolf epizody dotyczyły jednostkowych problemów z procesem twórczym. Impas w malowaniu obrazu czy organizacji przyjęcia był stanem kryzysowym, z którego jedynym wyjściem było nieoczekiwane objawienie się rozwiązania czy pewności, że wszystko idzie we właściwym kierunku. Przełom wiązał się w tych przypadkach w sposób konieczny z poprzedzającym go kryzysem. Bo gdyby wszystko toczyło się normalnie, przyjęcie i obraz zrealizowane zostałyby w zwykłym, wypełnionym pracą czasie – w *chronos*, kiedy to nie ma miejsca na przestoje, załamania i niepewność, a w konsekwencji i na zaistnienie *kairos*¹¹.

II

W historii sztuki bardziej znaczące niż jednostkowe przypadki artystów są przełomy związane z procesami dziejowymi. Myśleniem takim nazaczył refleksję nad twórczością Giorgio Vasari, gdy pisał:

Ten sam dług, jaki mają malarze wobec natury, [...] musimy mieć wobec Giotta, florenckiego malarza. Gdy wskutek tylu niszczących wojen zanikło dobre malarstwo, Giotto sam jeden, choć jeszcze urodzony w epoce niedołączonych artystów, dzięki darowi otrzymanemu od Boga, malarstwo ze złej drogi zawrócił i do takiego doprowadził stanu, że mogło być nazwane dobrym.

Zaiste był to wielki cud, że ów wiek surowy i nieudolny wykształcił Giotta tak, iż dzięki niemu rysunek, o którym ludzie owych czasów mało lub żadnego nie mieli pojęcia, ożył z powrotem¹².

Przełom – „cud” – uczyniony przez Giotta nazwał Vasari odrodzeniem, nadając słowu *rinascita* znaczenie momentu przemiany – chwili, w której niewątpliwie dał o sobie znać *kairos*. Dzięki owemu przełomowi w kolejnych dziesięcioleciach mogło dojść do stopniowego doskonalenia się sztuki, kulinującego w *perfezzione* wieku XVI¹³:

¹⁰ S. Bielecki, *Kairos (1)*, w: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, t. 8, Lublin 2000, szp. 334.

¹¹ W *Corpus Hippocraticum* czytamy: „*chronos* jest tym, w czym mieści się *kairos*, *kairos* zaś tym, w czym kryje się niewiele *chronos*”, cyt. za: G. Agamben, *Czas, który zostaje. Komentarz do „Listu do Rzymian”*, tłum. S. Królak, Warszawa 2009, s. 85.

¹² G. Vasari, *Żywoty najsławniejszych malarzy, rzeźbiarzy i architektów*, tłum. K. Estreicher, Warszawa–Kraków 1985, t. 1, s. 282.

¹³ H. Karge, *Renaissance. Aufkommen und Entfaltung des Stilbegriffs in Deutschland im Zuge der Neorenaissance-Bewegung um 1840*, w: *Neorenaissance – Ansprüche an*

Chociaż Cimabue dał jakby pierwszy bodziec w sztuce malarskiej, to jednak jego uczeń Giotto, godną pochwałą ambicją poruszony, a wspomagany przez niebo i naturę, jest tym, co wyżej sięgnął myślą i uchylił drzwi prawdy. Potem inni doprowadzili ją do tej znakomitości, jaką błyszczą w naszym wieku¹⁴.

Myśl, że sztuka może się podnieść z upadku – czy to dzięki jednemu człowiekowi, czy za sprawą czynu zbiorowego – powracała wielokrotnie w kolejnych wiekach. W jej cieniu kryło się też pytanie, czy owej przemiany można dokonać własnymi siłami, czy jedynie w jakimś nadarzającym się szczęśliwym momencie. Heinrich Hübsch w roku 1828 w swej programowej broszurze *W jakim stylu powinniśmy budować?* pisał o zwyczajnym wysiłku wielu twórców: „Malarstwo i rzeźba porzuciły w ostatnim czasie martwe naśladownictwo antyku. Jedynie architektura nie stała się jeszcze pełnoletnia i kontynuuje naśladowanie stylu antycznego”¹⁵. Natomiast prawie sto lat później Wassily Kandinsky akcentował rolę jednostki działającej w *kairos*:

W mrokach gubią się pierwsze przyczyny naszego posuwania się „w pocie czoła” naprzód i w górę. Pomimo cierpień, poprzez zło i udręczenie. Kiedy z wysiłkiem osiągamy jakiś etap, usunąwszy z drogi leżące na przeszkodzie skały, widzimy, że jakaś niewidzialna a zła ręka ustawia na drodze nowe głązy. Niekiedy zasypują one szlak całkowicie, aż się zupełnie zatracą. Wtedy niezawodnie przyjdzie człowiek, jeden z nas, niby we wszystkim do nas podobny, posiadający jednak w sobie ukrytą, tajemną moc „wizji”. Widzi i ukazuje¹⁶.

Zapoczątkowane przez Vasariego pojmowanie przełomu w sztuce zakładało istnienie jakiejś złej sytuacji, podobne do impasu w jednostkowej twórczości. Ten stan mógł zostać przezwyciężony jedynie za pomocą radykalnego wyjścia z dotychczasowego układu. Jednocześnie ów negatywnie oceniany stan mógł być czymś więcej niż kryzysem – upadkiem, a więc zupełną zapaścią. W taki sposób Vasari opisywał średniowiecze. Hübsch widział otaczającą go architekturę może w mniej ciemnych barwach, Kandinsky zaś niewątpliwie rozumował w kategoriach kryzysu. Świtającą przemianę postrzegał jako odejście od dziewiętnastowiecznego historyzmu i akademizmu oraz charakterystycznego dla lat przed rokiem 1900 dekadentyzmu¹⁷. Tak czy inaczej

einen Stil. Zweites Historismus-Symposium Bad Muskau, Dresden 2001 (= Muskauer Schriften, t. 4, red. W. Krause, H. Laudel, W. Nerdinger), s. 40–41.

¹⁴ Vasari, *Żywoty najświetniejszych malarzy...*, s. 230.

¹⁵ H. Hübsch, *In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?*, Karlsruhe 1828, s. 1.

¹⁶ W. Kandyński, *O duchowości w sztuce*, tłum. S. Fijałkowski, Łódź 1996, s. 28.

¹⁷ Ibidem, s. 23. Na temat dekadentyzmu: M. Porębski, *Ikonosfera*, Warszawa 1972, s. 242–243.

jednak sprzężenie przełomu jako ratunku ze stanem go poprzedzającym jako czymś niepożądanym wskazuje, że pojęcie zasadniczej przemiany funkcjonować mogło jedynie w obrębie systemu aksjologicznego dopuszczającego istnienie dobrej i złej sztuki, normy i antynormy, prosperity i dekadencji.

Wydobycie się z oków niewłaściwej twórczości widziano zasadniczo jako zadanie czysto artystyczne, możliwe do realizacji przez określoną grupę czy też przez grupę i obdarzonego specjalnymi przymiotami przewodnika, wspomaganych przez *kairos*. Ale w XX wieku pojawiło się jeszcze inne przekonanie, że przełomu można dokonać mocą rozstrzygnięć politycznych. Gdy Włodzimierz Sokorski na początku roku 1950 stwierdzał: „Epigoni formalistycznych szkół w plastyce usiłowali w swoim czasie przeprowadzić tezę, że istniejący kryzys w malarstwie wynika z przeżycia się dotychczasowych konwencji plastycznych”¹⁸, wskazywał zarówno na istnienie jakiegoś stanu niepożądanego, jak i na prawdziwych winowajców. Tym samym jasno określał, że jedynym rozwiązaniem sytuacji może być zadekretowanie „właściwej” sztuki, bo zarówno zażegna to istniejący kryzys, jak i zmiecie niepotrzebnych, mącących „epigonów”.

Vasari był świadomy, że stan doskonałości w sztuce nie jest wieczny, że kultura rozwija się cyklicznie, co może skończyć się kolejnym upadkiem¹⁹. Nieco podobnie rozumował półtora wieku po nim Giambattista Vico, przyjmując, że bieg kultury (*corso*) może prowadzić do jakiegoś wyczerpania, po którym pojawia się nawrót barbarzyństwa (*ricorso*), będący *de facto* odrodzeniem – początkiem innego cyklu (tak jak po końcu Imperium Rzymskiego nastąpiło chrześcijańskie średniowiecze)²⁰. Kandinsky pisał, że „dzieło sztuki jest zawsze dzieckiem swego czasu”²¹, a więc nie zakładał, że jakkolwiek przełom dokona ostatecznych rozstrzygnięć w dziedzinie twórczości. I przez jego poglądy przebijała koncepcja kryzysu jako stanu powtarzalnego, wynikającego z nieustannych przemian w ludzkiej historii²². Myśl taką rozwijał już w XIX wieku Jakob Burckhardt, traktując kryzysy jako kolejne „węzły rozwoju” – momenty, w których dochodziło do wymiany dawnego systemu wartości na nowy. Załamania takie nigdy nie kończyły się jednak – jego zdaniem – nastaniem takiej formacji kulturowej czy politycznej, która nie podlegałaby

¹⁸ W. Sokorski, *Kryteria realizmu socjalistycznego*, w: *Czas debat. Antologia krytyki artystycznej z lat 1945–1954*, t. 2: *Realizm i formalizm*, oprac. A. Pietrasik i P. Słodkowski, Warszawa 2016, s. 386.

¹⁹ Vasari, *Żywoty najslawniejszych malarzy...*, s. 221.

²⁰ G. Vico, *Nauka nowa*, tłum. J. Jakubowicz, Warszawa 1966, 393 (s. 178–179) i 1046 (s. 553); idem, *La scienza nuova*, Milano 1959, s. 166–167 i 509.

²¹ Kandyński, *O duchowości w sztuce*, s. 23.

²² Kosseleck, *Einige Fragen an die Begriffsgeschichte...*, s. 68.

już dalszym przemianom²³. Natomiast rewolucjoniści – poczynając od Robespierre'a – w wyniku swoich działań oczekiwali nadejścia przełomów ostatecznych, definitywnie rozwiązujących wszystkie problemy człowieka²⁴. Tak właśnie postrzegać trzeba zadekretowanie realizmu socjalistycznego w Polsce w samym końcu lat 40. XX wieku. Miejsce *kairos* zajęła historycystyczna konieczność dziejowa²⁵.

Dla artystów, ale i dla polityków, sztuka ma jasno określony wymiar aksjologiczny. Jest dobra albo zła, nowatorska lub epigońska, właściwa ideologicznie lub nie. W tej sytuacji duże znaczenie dla opisu jej kondycji mają pojęcia postępu, doskonałości oraz kryzysu, dekadencji i upadku. Przełom postrzegany jest jako zmiana na lepsze, moment wyjścia z jakiejś zapaści lub impasu. Oczywiście jakość takiej zmiany nigdy nie będzie absolutna i ostateczna. Jako efekt określonego programu artystycznego lub politycznego będzie wartościowana pozytywnie przez zwolenników danej formacji myślowej. Przeciwnik historyzmu nie byłby w stanie zaakceptować *Rundbogenstilu* Hübscha, podobnie jak za realizmem socjalistycznym opowiedzieć się mógł albo zwolennik stalinizmu, albo ktoś przynajmniej widzący w tym zysk dla siebie.

III

Odkąd Alois Riegl dokonał relatywizacji ocen dawnych epok stylowych, wprowadzając ich równouprawnienie, problem kryzysów i przełomów musiał albo zniknąć z historii sztuki, albo zyskać nowe, nieaksjologiczne umocowanie. Jednocześnie uporać się trzeba było z kategorią ciągłego rozwoju, nieprzerwanego strumienia ludzkich pokoleń, tworzących coraz to inne dzieła, ale przy tym korzystających ze zdobyczy swych przodków. Bo skoro – jak to ujmował Henri Focillon – formy wiodą swe własne życie, wyrastając jedna z drugiej, to czy możliwe są jakieś nieciągłości, skoki i załamania w toczącym się nieprzerwanie nurcie ich przemian? Jeśli w malarstwie Rembrandta „żyje obfitość Rembrandtowskich szkiców” i dzieła wcześniejsze, które doprowadziły do ukształtowania się jego stylu, a także widoczne są zapowiedzi prac późniejszych²⁶, to jak wyznaczyć chwile kryzysu?

²³ Z. Kuderowicz, *Biografia kultury. O poglądach Jakuba Burckhardta*, Warszawa 1973, s. 135–140.

²⁴ Kosseleck, *Einige Fragen an die Begriffsgeschichte...*, s. 72.

²⁵ K.R. Popper, *Nędza historycyzmu*, Warszawa 1989, s. 29–34.

²⁶ H. Focillon, *Świat form*, tłum. A. Olędzka-Frybesowa, w: *Antologia współczesnej estetyki francuskiej*, red. I. Wojnar, Warszawa 1980, s. 249.

Dla Focillona problem taki nie istniał, gdyż uznawał on, że nurt stale rozwijającej się sztuki był ustrukturyzowany w kolejne formacje stylowe, miękko przechodzące jedna w drugą i każdorazowo złożone z czterech faz: eksperymentów i poszukiwania, klasycznej, wyrafinowania i baroku²⁷. Powtarzające się cykle zabezpieczały przed możliwymi załamaniem czasu chronologicznego²⁸. Zupełnie inaczej widział to zagadnienie Max Dvořák w studium o sztuce braci van Eycków²⁹. Z jednej strony nie ulegało dla niego wątpliwości, że Jan van Eyck dokonał przełomu w malarstwie, uzyskując w swych obrazach taki poziom naturalizmu, jakiego nikt przed nim nie osiągnął. Z drugiej jednak – i to stanowiło główny trzon rozprawy *Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck* – nowy styl był efektem długiego procesu rozwojowego, zapoczątkowanego recepcją sztuki włoskiej XIV wieku we Francji i powstaniem tzw. sztuki franko-flamandzkiej. Rewolucja okazała się ewolucją³⁰.

Rozstrzygnięcie Dvořáka przypomina paradoks sformułowany przez Arystotelesa na końcu *Analityk wtórych*. Podczas walki zdarza się, pisal Stagiryta, że „gdy wszyscy uciekają, jeden się zatrzyma, to znowu inny i znowu inny, aż się dojdzie do początkowego szyku”³¹. Choć w bitwie następuje przełom, trudno powiedzieć, obserwując na bieżąco jej przebieg, w którym konkretnie momencie ucieczka żołnierzy zamieniła się w ich powrót do boju. O tym, że w akcji zbrojnej nastąpił decydujący zwrot, możemy zawyrokować jedynie *ex post*. Podobnie w sztuce: przyjmując jej historyczną naturę i śledząc jej przemiany w następstwie czasowym, odnotowywać będziemy mogli wyłącznie ewolucję. Mniej lub bardziej radykalne zmiany dostrzec można tylko z wyższego punktu patrzenia, z którego widać pewne zamknięte całości, wyodrębniające się w toczącym się nurcie, i z dziejowego dystansu, kiedy nabierają cech jeszcze wyrazistszych. Czasami nawet, zwłaszcza gdy patrzymy na zga-

²⁷ Ibidem, s. 258–259.

²⁸ H. Belting, *Das Ende der Kunstgeschichte. Eine Revision nach zehn Jahren*, München 2005, s. 145–146.

²⁹ M. Dvořák, *Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck*, München 1925.

³⁰ L. Kalinowski, *Max Dvořák i jego metoda badań nad sztuką*, Warszawa 1974, s. 17–21; A. Rosenauer, *Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck – Max Dvořák und seine Stellung zu Wickhoff und Riegl*, w: *Wien und die Entwicklung der kunsthistorischen Methode*, red. S. Krenn, M. Pippal (= Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Wien, 4.–10. September 1983, red. H. Fillitz, M. Pippal, t. 1), Wien–Köln–Graz 1984, s. 45–52; H. Aurenhammer, *Max Dvořák (1874–1921). Von der historischen Quellenkritik zur Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte*, w: *Österreichische Historiker. Lebensläufe und Karrieren 1900–1945*, red. K. Hruza, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2012, t. 2, s. 185–190.

³¹ Arystoteles, *Analityki wtóre*, tłum. K. Leśniak, Warszawa 1990 (= Arystoteles, *Dzieła wszystkie*, t. 1), II, 100a (s. 326).

słe cywilizacje, których historii zrekonstruować nie potrafimy z braku wystarczającej liczby źródeł, pozostaje jedynie ślad jakiejś bliżej nieznaney zmiany, zapisany w nowej formie przetrwałych artefaktów. George Kubler pisał:

Kroniki sztuki jak i kroniki bohaterskich czynów odnotowują bezpośrednio zaledwie garść doniosłych momentów, które wydarzyły się w historii. Gdy próbujemy zbadać klasę tych wielkich momentów przeszłości, okazuje się, że nie możemy ich dostrzec. Giną nam z oczu jak wygasłe gwiazdy. Ich światło przestało do nas docierać. Wiemy o ich istnieniu jedynie pośrednio, na podstawie śladów zakłóceń, jakie spowodowały, na podstawie zwietrzałych okruchów materii, jakie pozostawiły na swej drodze³².

Historia badająca procesy dziejowe z jednej strony wydobywa momenty szczególne, przełomowe, a z drugiej – odnajduje ich genezę. Badacz, konstatawał Jurij Łotman,

[...] spogląda na zdarzenie wzrokiem skierowanym z terażniejszości ku przeszłości. Spojrzenie to ze swej natury transformuje przedmiot opisu. Obraz, chaotyczny dla zwykłego obserwatora, w rękach historyka zostaje wtórnie zorganizowany. Właściwością jego pracy jest to, iż za punkt wyjścia bierze on nieuchronność tego, co się wydarzyło. Ale twórcza aktywność historyka przejawia się w czymś innym: z obfitości zachowanych przez pamięć faktów konstruuje on sukcesywną linię, która z największą pewnością prowadzi do tego końcowego punktu [czyli do momentu przełomowego – W.B.]³³.

Dla Dvořáka w okresie, gdy pisał o braciach van Eyck, rewolucja była tylko jakąś „fałdą” na gładkim nurcie ciągłej, autonomicznej, wewnątrzartystycznej ewolucji stylu. Przełom nie wymagał wcześniejszego pojawienia się stanu kryzysowego. Jednak kilka lat później uczony stwierdził definitywnie, że radykalna zmiana w sztuce zawsze była wywoływana przez przyczyny zakorzenione w sferze ludzkiej myśli, a dokładniej – w obrębie światopoglądów³⁴. Mogły one albo prowadzić do zastąpienia jednej formacji duchowej przez drugą bez znamion kryzysu, albo do załamania się dotychczasowego systemu kultury. Pierwszy przypadek zaszedł, gdy rodziła się sztuka chrześcijańska. Miał on przebieg trwającego przez trzy wieki kształtowania się i zwycięstwa nowego

³² G. Kubler, *Kształt czasu. Uwagi o historii rzeczy*, tłum. J. Hołówka, Warszawa 1970, s. 64.

³³ J. Łotman, *Kultura i eksplozja*, tłum. B. Żyłko, Warszawa 1999, s. 47–48.

³⁴ Kalinowski, *Max Dvořák i jego metoda badań nad sztuką*, s. 22–32; J. Bakoš, *Die epistemologische Wende eines Kunsthistorikers*, w: *L'Art et les révolutions*, Section 5: *Révolution et évolution de l'Histoire de l'Art de Warburg à nos jours*, red. H. Olbrich, Strasbourg 1992, s. 43–72; Aurenhammer, *Max Dvořák*, s. 194–200.

rodzaju twórczości, całkowicie odwracającej się od antycznego naturalizmu i kultu cielesności w stronę spirytualizmu. Ewolucja znów przyniosła rewolucję, ale tym razem nie była ona interpretowana jako zjawisko autonomiczne, przebiegające wewnątrz samej sztuki, lecz jako wywołane przyczynami zewnętrznymi. Dvořák argumentował:

Fakt, że malarstwo katakumbowe mogło się posunąć tak daleko, wynikał z transcendentnego światopoglądu chrześcijańskiego, umożliwiającego artystom całkowitą rezygnację z materialnego, zmysłowego działania i prawidłowości natury. Ten radykalizm doprowadził – nie stopniowo, lecz od samego początku – do ostrego przeciwstawienia malarstwa katakumbowego ówczesnej sztuce pogańskiej. W antymaterializmie jej nowych kierunków znalazło chrześcijaństwo poglądy na sztukę dające się pogodzić z chrześcijańskim stosunkiem do świata³⁵.

Drugi przypadek wiązał się z manieryzmem. To zjawisko w sztuce, na początku XX wieku wciąż w przeważającej mierze postrzegane negatywnie, Dvořák zinterpretował jako kryzys wywołany zwątpieniem w racjonalistyczne poglądy dojrzałego renesansu. Kryzys ten oznaczał jednocześnie – jego zdaniem – pozytywny zwrot w stronę wartości duchowych, w stronę idealizmu. Nie został on rozstrzygnięty w XVI wieku ani w kolejnych stuleciach, gdyż w tym czasie znów przeważały tendencje racjonalistyczne³⁶. Odrodził się jednak po pierwszej wojnie światowej wraz z nurtem ekspresjonistycznym i tym razem prowadzić miał – według badacza – do radykalnego przełomu światopoglądowego. Analizując cykl graficznych portretów Kamilli Svobody Oskara Kokoschki z roku 1920, uczone stwierdzał:

Tak więc *Wariacje* Kokoschki stoją ciągle pomiędzy dwoma okresami; reprezentują one punkt zwrotny, owoc dawniejszego rewolucyjnego momentu, a jednocześnie są krokiem ku przyszłemu królestwu nowego niemieckiego idealizmu, który nie będzie ufundowany na świecie zmysłowym, lecz będzie czerpał swe formy ze sfery duchowej³⁷.

³⁵ M. Dvořák, *Malarstwo katakumbowe. Początki sztuki chrześcijańskiej*, tłum. E. Dwornik-Gutowska, A. Porębska, w: *Max Dvořák i jego teoria dziejów sztuki*, oprac. L. Kalinowski, Warszawa 1974, s. 35.

³⁶ M. Dvořák, *El Greco i manieryzm*, tłum. A. Porębska, w: *Max Dvořák i jego teoria dziejów sztuki*, s. 555–556 i 562–563; W. Bałus, *Max Dvořák ogląda Tintoretta*, w: idem, *Efekt widzialności. O swoistości widzenia obrazów, granicach ich odczytywania i antropologicznych aspektach sztuki*, Kraków 2013, s. 33–36.

³⁷ M. Dvořák, *Foreword to „Oskar Kokoschka: Variations on a Theme” (1921)*, tłum. H. Mathews, w: *The Expressionist Turn in Art History. A Critical Anthology*, red. K.A. Smith, London–New York 2017, s. 234.

Zupełnie inaczej problem przełomu rysował się w koncepcjach przyjmujących cykliczne następowanie po sobie pewnych faz rozwojowych. Mieczysław Porębski, wierząc w istnienie rytmów generacyjnych, stwierdzał, że każde pokolenie najpierw określa swe poglądy względem zastanych idei, a następnie dokonuje ich sprawdzenia w praktyce. Stąd – jego zdaniem – biorą się występujące co kilkanaście lat przesilenia znamionujące wejście na scenę nowych ludzi lub próby przeformułowania przez starych ich dotychczasowych zapartywań. Efektem jest „zstępujący i wstępujący rytm ostrych, spektakularnych kryzysów, które obfitują w przełomowe wydarzenia polityczno-społeczne”³⁸. I w tym przypadku kryzysy i przełomy były traktowane obojętnie z aksjologicznego punktu widzenia. Porębski widział je wyłącznie jako przejawy zmiany myślenia charakterystycznego dla kolejnych pokoleń twórców kultury.

Historyczna perspektywa patrzenia na sztukę przyniosła zatem jeszcze inne rozumienie przełomu. Po pierwsze, odejście od wartościowania epok i stylów z uwagi na ich artystyczne walory i program ideowy w skrajności wyeliminowało z procesu dziejowego „złą” sztukę, a w konsekwencji – także czasy kryzysu i upadku. Wraz z końcem historycznej aksjologii zniknął też problem celu, ku któremu sztuka miałaby zmierzać. Tym samym pozostało jedynie notować zmiany, a więc opisywać, jak nowa formacja wchodziła na miejsce dawniejszej. Kryzys mógł się ostać co najwyżej jako kategoria analityczna stosowana do pewnego wąskiego zjawiska o określonym programie estetycznym, a więc jako narzędzie całkowicie lokalne, pozbawione wszelkich uniwersalnych odniesień (np. kryzys akademizmu), lub jako element cyklu rozwojowego w koncepcjach zakładających rytmiczność procesów dziejowych. Także nagłe, nieoczekiwane zmiany prowadzące do szybkiego wykształcenia się nowego nurtu lub stylu (np. pojawienie się gotyku w Ile-de-France w XII wieku) interpretowano jako szczególną odmianę kryzysu. Jan Białostocki nazwał ją za Carlem Friedrichem von Weizsäckerem „fulguracją”³⁹.

Po drugie, przełomy uległy swoistej relatywizacji wraz z potraktowaniem przeszłości jako ciągłego, nieprzerwanego strumienia toczących się wydarzeń. Patrząc z oddalenia, taki materiał historyczny można było porządkować na różne sposoby. Przywołany już Kubler wskazywał, że te same dzieła da się przyporządkować do różnych wiązek dziejowych procesów (np. kościół Il Gesù raz znamionować będzie początek nowego typu świątyni jezuickiej, drugi raz – ogniwo w rozwoju nowożytnej architektury sakralnej, innym znów

³⁸ M. Porębski, *Rytm historii*, w: idem, *Interregnum. Studia z historii sztuki polskiej XIX i XX w.*, Warszawa 1975, s. 273.

³⁹ J. Białostocki, *Kryzysy w sztuce*, w: *Kryzysy w sztuce. Materiały sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Lublin, grudzień 1985*, Warszawa 1988, s. 20–21.

razem – element w ciągu budownictwa murowanego)⁴⁰. Ich przełomowy charakter może się uwidaczniać w jednych ciągach, a w innych nie mieć żadnego znaczenia. Jak pisał Łotman: „Kultura jako złożona całość składa się z warstw o różnym tempie rozwoju, tak że każdy jej synchroniczny przekrój ujawnia jednoczesną obecność rozmaitych jej stadiów. Eksplozje w jednych warstwach mogą współistnieć ze stopniowym rozwojem w innych”⁴¹.

Po trzecie, przełomy tracą znaczenie wraz z procesami „normalizacji”. Dopóki traktujemy jakąś epokę, jakiś typ kultury lub rodzaj sztuki jako wyróżniony, znajdujemy się w sytuacji podobnej do Vasariego: uznamy go albo za szczególnie wartościowy, albo za godny nagany. Dvořák nie potępiał antyku, więc przejście od pogańskiej sztuki rzymskiej do chrześcijańskiego malarstwa katakumbowego było dla niego procesem pozbawionym oceny w kategoriach lepszy – gorszy. Natomiast, ponieważ w manieryzmie dostrzegał początki bliskiej mu idealistycznej postawy, w artykule o Kokoschce wyraźnie wrócił do schematu znanego z *Żywotów*: stan niepożądany, oceniany negatywnie (płaski, naukowy racjonalizm) na jego oczach ulegał pozytywnej zmianie dzięki przełomowi ekspresjonistycznemu. Gdy jednak potraktujemy manieryzm jako normalny element dziejów, jego wyróżniony charakter automatycznie zniknie. Zachodzi tylko pytanie, czy taka normalizacja zawsze powinna mieć miejsce? Bo jeśli tak, to co przyszła historia zrobi z wystąpieniami typu Sokorskiego i z przełomami w rodzaju zadekretowania socrealizmu?

IV

Podsumowując: w twórczości indywidualnej przełomy powiązane są z kryzysami i dotyczą wyjścia z impasu, a więc znalezienia na powrót drogi prowadzącej do realizacji celu. Często to odnalezienie drogi następuje w sposób nagły, w jakimś momencie szczególnym, który Grecy nazywali *kairos*. Przemiany w sztuce rozpatrywanej *en bloc* dokonują się również dzięki wyznaczeniu jakiegoś celu twórczości, co zawsze zachodzi na jakimś podłożu aksjologicznym. Przełomy takie mogą być albo przewyciężeniem kryzysu, albo wyjściem ze stanu upadku lub dekadencji, czyli zawsze ze stanu wartościowanego negatywnie. Osobnym *casusem* jest oczywiście polityczne zadekretowanie zmiany, zawsze mające znamiona gwałtu na kulturze. Wreszcie w naukowej historii sztuki przełom nie musi się wiązać z kryzysem. Jest on postrzegany relatywnie. Ale dlatego dzieje można wciąż na nowo przepisywać.

⁴⁰ Kubler, *Kształt czasu*, s. 54–63.

⁴¹ Łotman, *Kultura i eksplozja*, s. 41.

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TURNING POINTS, CRISES, EVOLUTIONS

Summary

When Aristotle asked at what particular moment we can say that an army is fleeing, which is certainly not when individual soldiers start leaving the battlefield, he formulated a problem that is important also for today's art history: are there any moments in the history of art that can be called turning points? In individual artistic careers, such points are related to crises, allowing the artist to overcome an impasse and find a way toward reaching a goal. Quite often, such a turn occurs suddenly, at some particular moment which ancient Greeks called the *kairos*. The changes in art approached *en bloc* also happen thanks to the background of values and some goal of artistic creation. A turning point may imply overcoming a crisis or a period of decline and decadence – always a state of affairs defined in negative terms. A separate case is definitely a political decree that triggers off a change, which implies violence committed on culture. Finally, in academic art history a turning point may be related not only with a crisis, but also with evolution. It's perception is relative, but because of that the history of art can be rewritten.

Keywords:

turning point, crisis, evolution, *kairos*, methodology of art history

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MICHAŁA WALICKIEGO I JULIUSZA STARZYŃSKIEGO *DZIEJE SZTUKI POLSKIEJ W II RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ.* ZACHÓD, POLSKA, WSCHÓD*

Odzyskanie niepodległości w roku 1918 postawiło polską naukę przed wyzwaniem o zasadniczym charakterze, zarówno instytucjonalno-organizacyjnymi, jak i odnoszącymi się do kierunków i celów badawczych dyscyplin naukowych. Dobrze zorganizowana, skuteczna na polu badań i kształcenia nauka była nieodzownym składnikiem suwerennego państwa, zajmując osobne miejsce wśród innych narodowych kultur naukowych.

Historycy sztuki jeszcze przed zakończeniem Wielkiej Wojny wskazywali na najbardziej palące zadania i cele swej dyscypliny. Jednym z najważniejszych postulatów była inwentaryzacja zabytków sztuki i architektury, m.in. jako narzędzie scalenia dziedzictwa artystycznego na terytorium odrodzonego państwa, dziedzictwa dotąd rozproszonego, rozdzielonego granicami zaborczych mocarstw i w rezultacie nieuchwytnego jako całość¹. Na porządku dnia stała

* Artykuł niniejszy jest opatrzony przypisami zapisem odczytu wygłoszonego na sesji urządzonej z okazji 100-lecia historii sztuki na Uniwersytecie Poznańskim w dniu 17 maja 2019 roku. Główne jego zadanie polega na identyfikacji – w obszernej i wielowarstwowej narracji syntezy – wymienionych w podtytule wątków problemowych oraz ich argumentacyjnej oprawy. Ich związki z życiem intelektualnym, artystycznym i politycznym II Rzeczypospolitej oraz kwestia przyjętych przez autorów dzieła założeń teoretyczno-metodologicznych zostały w ograniczonych ramach opracowania zaledwie zasygnalizowane – może staną się podniętą do pogłębionych badań nad wciąż słabo rozpoznaną historiografią artystyczną okresu międzywojennego. Zob. też uwagi końcowe w niniejszym artykule.

¹ Pierwszy programowy krok w tym kierunku poczyniony został już w roku 1917 w wypowiedziach szeregu polskich historyków sztuki, które stanowiły odpowiedź na ankietę Kasy Mianowskiego, społecznej instytucji powołanej w końcu XIX wieku do wspierania nauki. Ogłoszone one były w tomie 1 czasopisma „Nauka Polska”, którego kolejne roczniki będą przez cały okres dwudziestolecia forum wymiany myśli o stanie nauki w Polsce. Historycy sztuki gościli często na łamach tego periodyku. We wspomnianym tomie 1 „pisali [oni] nie tyle o treści, ile o organizacji nauki, o potrzebach praktycznych, bibliotece, czaso-

też – niezależnie od dalekiej przecież perspektywy zinwentaryzowania całości – kwestia syntezy sztuki polskiej, a także powszechnej. Synteza bowiem traktowana była jako sprawdzian dojrzałości i sprawności nauki, i w tym sensie oraz w sensie rekonstrukcji i reprezentacji dorobku artystycznego kraju przypisywano syntezie funkcję legitymizującą byt państwowy².

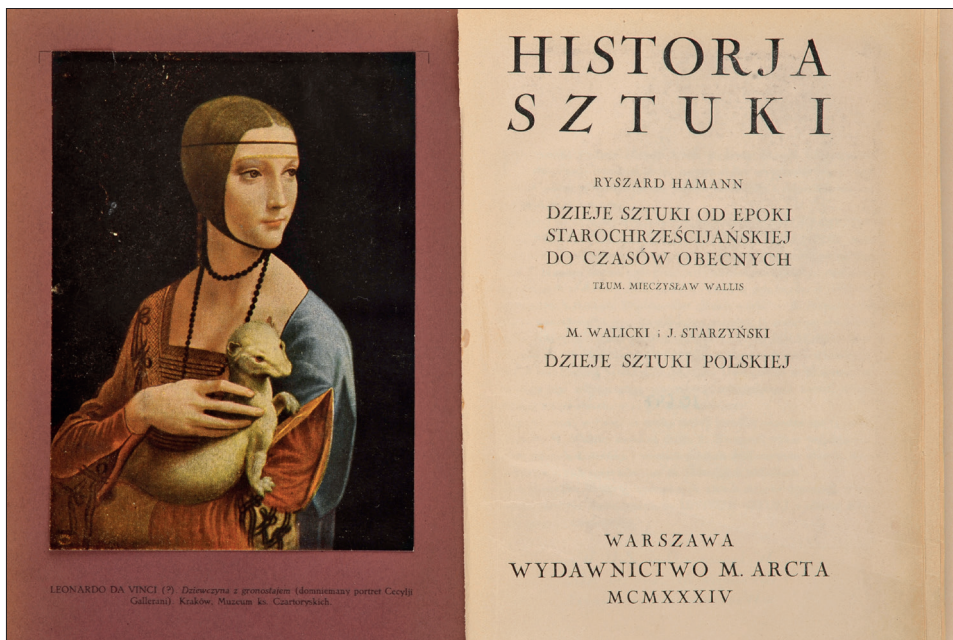
Dojście do urzeczywistnienia opracowań syntetycznych nie było łatwe. Historia odpowiednich przedsięwzięć w tym zakresie jest osobnym zagadnieniem. Z pewnością można stwierdzić, że najambitniejszym, najbardziej miarodajnym, pod niejednym względem inspirującym i dziś osiągnięciem jest tu wspólne dzieło dwóch utalentowanych, ledwie trzydziestoletnich, badaczy warszawskich – Michała Walickiego i Juliusza Starzyńskiego³. Pierwsza jego edycja stanowiła osobną, ale integralną część przetłumaczonej na język polski *Geschichte der Kunst* Richarda Hamanna. To wspólne opracowanie ukazało się w roku 1934 (il. 1). Dwa lata później synteza warszawskich autorów została wydana jako samodzielna pozycja książkowa (il. 2)⁴.

pismach, wydawnictwach, a nade wszystko o inwentaryzacji zabytków [...]” (J. Białostocki, *Historia sztuki*, w: *Historia nauki polskiej*, t. IV: 1863–1918, cz. 3, red. Z. Skubała-Tokarska, Wrocław i in. 1987, s. 699–702, tu s. 700).

² Problem syntezy zdecydowanie poruszył T. Szydlowski, *O zadaniach polskich historyków sztuki*, „Przegląd Współczesny” 1923, 2(5), s. 267–280, tu s. 271 n. Zob. też S. Tomkowicz, *Uwagi o potrzebach nauki polskiej w zakresie historii sztuki*, „Nauka Polska” 1918, 1, s. 433–438, tu s. 437 n. oraz J.K. Kochanowski, *O potrzebach nauki polskiej w zakresie historii*, „Nauka Polska” 1918, 1, s. 225–236, tu s. 229, 235. W przypadku syntezy sztuki powszechnej zadaniem było napisanie jej przez polskich historyków sztuki. Wcześniej dostępne w języku polskim syntezy były dziełem autorów niemieckich – A. Springera i K. Woermanna. O historycznej syntezie sztuki narodowej w XIX i na początku XX wieku, w europejskiej perspektywie zob. K. Locher, *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst 1750–1950*, München 2001, s. 195 nn.; J. Bakoš, *Ścieżki i strategie historiografii sztuki w Europie Środkowej*, tłum. F. Lipiński, „Artium Quaestiones” 2013, 14, s. 255–306, tu s. 260 nn.

³ O Michale Walickim zob. wspomnienia o nim i omówienia jego badań w: *Sprawozdanie posiedzenia Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce PAN w dniu 16 stycznia 1967*, „Rocznik Historii Sztuki” 1970, 8, s. 334–347; M. Walczak, *Michał Walicki (1904–1966)*, „Rocznik Historii Sztuki” 2011, 36, s. 127–136. O Juliuszu Starzyńskim zob. J.M. Sosnowska, *Juliusz Starzyński (1906–1974)*, ibidem, s. 137–155; A. Ryszkiewicz, *Starzyński Juliusz Stanisław*, w: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 42, 2004, s. 462–465; M. Leśniakowska, *Władza spojrzenia – władza języka. Juliusza Starzyńskiego obraz sztuki i jej historii*, „Modus” 2013, 12/13, s. 27–52.

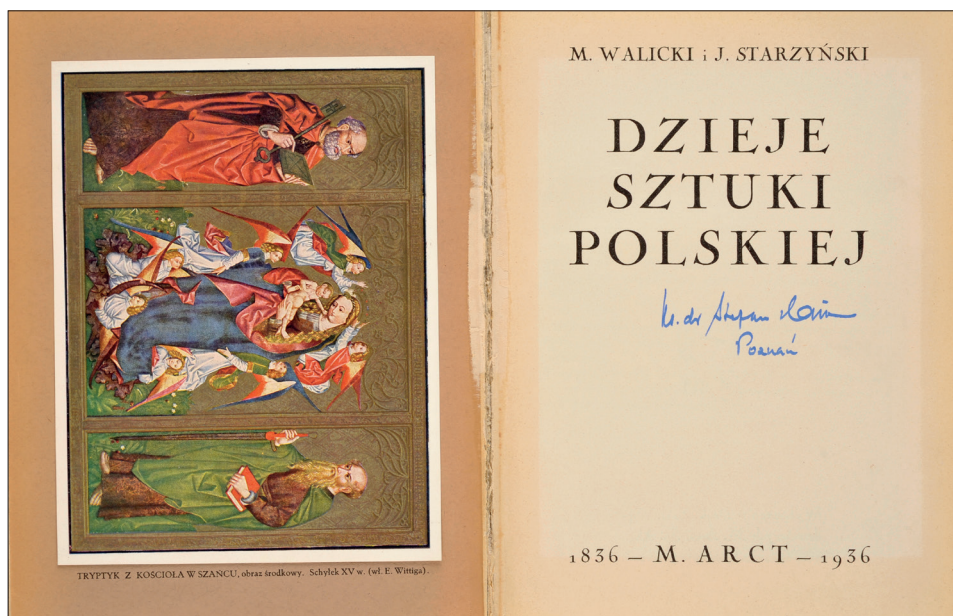
⁴ M. Walicki i J. Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, w: *Historia sztuki*: R. Hamann, *Dzieje sztuki od epoki starożytności do czasów obecnych*, tłum. M. Wallis, Warszawa 1934, s. 909–1249; M. Walicki i J. Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, Warszawa 1936 (z własną paginacją) oraz Warszawa 1935 (jako odbitka z edycji z roku 1934). Dwustro-



1. Karta tytułowa i frontyspis syntezy R. Hamanna, M. Walickiego i J. Starzyńskiego, Warszawa 1934 (fot. R. Rau)

Synteza sztuki narodowej była w ówczesnej historiografii powszechnym ujęciem dziejów sztuki, pozostającym w ścisłym związku z karierą idei narodowej w wieku XIX oraz wykrystalizowaniem i umocnieniem się formuły państwa narodowego. II Rzeczpospolita, jako swoista kontynuacja I Rzeczypospolitej, powstała w roku 1918 jako państwo narodowe, tak jak Czechy (acz jako Czechosłowacja!), Litwa czy Łotwa. Naród polski był w niej żywiołem absolutnie dominującym, co sprawiało, że II Rzeczpospolita, z odziedziczoną po I Rzeczypospolitej strukturą narodowościową, nosiła w swoim zarodku

nicowa „Przedmowa autorów” w edycji z roku 1934 (s. 911 n.) w edycji z roku 1936 została mocno rozbudowana (s. 7–16). Niżej przywołuję strony obu edycji; te z edycji z roku 1936 ujęte są w nawias. O polskim wydaniu książki Hamanna zob. R. Heftrig, *Fanatiker der Sachlichkeit. Richard Hamann und die Rezeption der Moderne in der universitären deutschen Kunstgeschichte 1930–1960*, Berlin 2014, s. 123 n. Obok syntezy Walickiego i Starzyńskiego należy wymienić opracowania: *Wiedza o Polsce. Sztuka polska. Historia architektury, rzeźby i malarstwa od czasów najdawniejszych aż do chwili obecnej*, opr. ks. Sz. Dettloff, W. Husarski, W. Tatarkiewicz, M. Walicki, S. Zahorska, Warszawa [1932] oraz rozdziały w: *Polska, jej dzieje i kultura od czasów najdawniejszych aż do chwili obecnej*, red. S. Lam, t. 1–3, Warszawa 1927–1930.



2. Karta tytułowa i frontyspis syntezy M. Walickiego i J. Starzyńskiego, Warszawa 1936 (fot. R. Rau)

napięcie między pozycją nacji polskiej w państwie i obecnością innych nacji w jego łonie⁵. Napięcie to było tym silniejsze, że wśród tych ostatnich były takie, które – w wyniku procesów narodowo-formacyjnych w XIX stuleciu – w wiek XX weszły świadome siebie i z własnymi aspiracjami do politycznego samostanowienia, co i w ich wypadku miało się dokonać po rozpadzie imperiów w wyniku pierwszej wojny światowej⁶. Litwini osiągnęli ten cel (choć bez ziemi wileńskiej), Ukraińcy nie osiągnęli i ta rana silnie zdeterminowała stosunki polsko-ukraińskie.

Dominująca rola narodowości polskiej w II Rzeczypospolitej i wieloetniczność w jej współczesnej oraz historycznej, przedrozbiorowej tkance, różny

⁵ Chodzi tu o postromantyczne, nowoczesne rozumienie narodu jako wspólnoty etniczno-językowej, konstytuowanej także przez jej tradycję historyczną, kulturalną i religijną. Zob. A. Walicki, *Polskie ideologie narodowe w perspektywie typologiczno-porównawczej*, w: idem, *Naród, nacjonalizm, patriotyzm*, Kraków 2009, s. 421–522. O polityce narodowościowej w II Rzeczypospolitej zob. A. Chojnowski, *Koncepcje polityki narodowościowej rządów polskich w latach 1921–1939*, Wrocław i in. 1979.

⁶ O procesach tych zob. P. Wandycz, *Wiek XX*, w: *Historia Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, red. J. Kłoczowski, t. 1, Lublin 2000, s. 416 nn.; T. Snyder, *Rekonstrukcja narodów. Polska, Ukraina, Litwa i Białoruś 1569–1999*, tłum. M. Pietrzak-Merta, Sejny 2009.

status historyczno-polityczny niektórych jej obszarów – wszystko to stanowiło wyzwanie dla historyka, skutkujące wprowadzeniem określonych wątków przewodnich, włączeniami i pominięciami w doborze materiału zabytkowego⁷. Głównym tropem *Dziejów sztuki polskiej* jest tożsamość sztuki polskiej. Zarazem ogląd całego materiału zaprezentowanego w syntezie pozwala na stwierdzenie, że pojawiająca się w tytule „sztuka polska” jest w wielu punktach sztuką w Polsce. Kryterium regulującym dobór materiału było terytorium II Rzeczypospolitej oraz częściowo – geograficzny kształt Polski w określonych jej fazach historycznych. Trwałym historycznie rdzeniem są stare prowincje Wielkopolski, Małopolski i Mazowsza. Historycznie poprawne jest uwzględnienie romańskiego Śląska; brak natomiast ogromnych przestrzeni wschodnich państwa polsko-litewskiego z epoki nowożytnej. Ten element wschodni jest obecny przez ziemię wileńską i tereny dawnej Galicji wschodniej. Wedle miary historycznej powinien być pojawić się Gdańsk późnogotycki i nowożytny, podobnie jak inne ośrodki Prus Królewskich, ale ich obecność zaznacza się słabo. Z kolei kryterium terytorialne II Rzeczypospolitej sprawiło, że omawiana jest, i to dogłębnie, sztuka państwa zakonnego na Ziemi Chełmińskiej z Toruniem na czele i w województwie pomorskim. W grupie pominięć odnotujemy brak architektury synagogałnej czy selektywny stosunek do dziedzictwa sztuki wschodnio-ortodoksyjnej z okresu nowożytnego.

Podtytuł niniejszego opracowania sygnalizuje istotne problemy zawarte w syntezie. Stanowi ono próbę rozpoznania założeń i konkretnych historycznych rozstrzygnięć zaproponowanych przez autorów, a dotyczących artystycznej przynależności Polski do Zachodu, rysów specyficznie polskich w sztuce w Polsce (w szczególności w domenie czystej formy), obecności w jej ramach sztuki „wschodnio-ortodoksyjnej”; podejmuje też pytanie, w jakim stosunku pozostają one do rzeczywistości polityczno-narodowej, społecznej i kulturalnej II Rzeczypospolitej⁸.

⁷ W tym kontekście należy brać pod uwagę wciąż niekompletne rozpoznanie materiału zabytkowego (na brak inwentaryzacji wskazują sami autorzy), niebagatelną skalę zadania, przed jakim stanęli obaj badacze, a zapewne i krótki czas, jaki mogli poświęcić temu przedsięwzięciu.

⁸ Dzieło Walickiego i Starzyńskiego będzie osiłą moich rozważań. Jednocześnie sięgam do współczesnych syntezy publikacji, które uwypuklają obraz historycznych rekonstrukcji i konstrukcji w niej oferowanych. Walicki przeniósł zawartość stosunkowo obszernej syntezy do zwięzłych esejów na temat polskiej sztuki przednowoczesnej, pomieszczonych w katalogach do dwóch światowych wystaw, które odbyły się w latach 1937 i 1939 odpowiednio w Paryżu i w Nowym Jorku. Był też autorem specjalistycznych opracowań malarstwa tablicowego w Polsce, a malarstwo tego czasu będzie odgrywało znaczącą rolę w toku dalszych rozważań.

*

Elementem polskiej tożsamości jest przynależność do Zachodu. Prawie cała zawartość książki jest opowieścią o byciu w zależności i zarazem o byciu częścią świata zachodniego. Autorzy przyznają, że sztuka polska ma w stosunku do swego źródła charakter peryferyjny, gdyż wytworzona została w kraju cywilizacyjnie od Zachodu młodszym. Nie traktują tej jakby nie było hegemonialnej pozycji Zachodu jako opresji (jak działa się to u takich, wprawdzie nie akademickich autorów, jak Ludwik Stasiak⁹). Jest rzeczą znamionną, że choć nasi autorzy – jak o tym niżej będzie jeszcze mowa – sceptycznie odnosili się do możliwości podłączenia rozwoju polskiej sztuki pod prawidłowości rozwoju europejskiego, bynajmniej nie zrezygnowali z zastosowania do jej periodyzacji kryterium wielkich formacji stylowych. Style europejskie funkcjonują konsekwentnie w tytułach rozdziałów pod szyldem rządzących w Polsce dynastii (np. „Sztuka romańska za Piastów”, „Późny barok i rokoko za Sasów”). Była to demonstracja orientacji sztuki polskiej na Zachód oraz, jednak, uczestnictwa w rozwoju ogólnoeuropejskim. Wyrasta ona z miejscowych potrzeb i z inicjatywy polskich zleceniodawców, a wytwarzają ją artyści obcego pochodzenia i twórcy miejscowi. Inaczej niż przy importach, w jednym i drugim przypadku dokonuje się to przez przejęcie i przekształcenie na lokalną modłę modeli artystycznych ukształtowanych na Zachodzie. Pod maską „wielkich stylów”, nadających Zachodowi uniwersalną spoiłość, kryły się jednak ich odmiany narodowe, wśród nich te, w których miały dokonać się kluczowe dla sztuki europejskiej procesy formotwórcze. Rozpoznanie wzajemnych inspiracji w „centrum” i przejmowania ich i wzajemnego oddziaływania w ośrodkach peryferyjnych należało do głównych zadań ówczesnej nauki o sztuce. Walicki i Starzyński odsłaniają wielość powiązań sztuki polskiej z południowymi i zachodnimi ośrodkami artystycznymi – Czechami, Italią, krajami niemieckimi, Francją i Niderlandami. Należy zauważyć, że konfiguracjom powiązań tego rodzaju przypisywano w europejskim piśmiennictwie historyczno-artystycznym walor tożsamościowy; ich diagnozowanie nie było wolne od utrwalonych przekonań o kulturalnych związkach międzynarodowych lub doraźnych polityczno-kulturalnych interesów danych państw. Motywacje tego typu miały znaczący udział w historiografiach państw wyłonionych po pierwszej wojnie światowej, uwolnionych z imperialnych oków¹⁰. Wydaje się jednak, że układ zależności

⁹ Przykładowo zob. L. Stasiak, *Prawda o Piotrze Vischerze*, Kraków 1910; idem, *Rewindykacje własności naszej*, [b.m.w.] 1911; idem, *O narodowości Wita Stwosza. Ród Stwoszów od wodza wojsk polskich z r. 1188 Ottona Stwosza aż po ostatniego z rodu Bogusława Stwosza*, Kraków 1910–1911.

¹⁰ Przykładowo zob. omówienie tego zagadnienia w stosunku do Czechosłowacji: M. Marek, *Kunstgeschichte zwischen Wissenschaft und Dienst am Staat. Die Tschecho-*

polskiej sztuki od zachodniej jest zasadniczo wolny od dyktatu ówczesnych politycznych aliansów lub uprzedzeń i obciążeń z epoki zaborów. Te ostatnie mogłyby być tu bodźcem do pomniejszania roli sztuki niemieckiej w kształtowaniu sztuki polskiej – na rzecz krajów romańskich. Owszem, można niekiedy doczytać się takich zastrzeżeń, gdy Walicki nie bez żalu godzi się z niepolskim pochodzeniem Wita Stwosza – ale to akurat, jak zobaczymy, bardzo szczególnie historycznie okres, w którym narodowość artysty była kwestią fundamentalną dla istotowo rozumianej narodowości sztuki¹¹. Z drugiej strony, mamy obiektywny obraz sztuki państwa krzyżackiego (na tych terenach, które były częścią II Rzeczypospolitej) czy udziału sztuki zachodniego sąsiada w malarstwie XV wieku. Sytuacja w latach 30. była dynamiczna, rok 1934 nie był późnym 1938, jednak polski dyskurs naukowy kontrastuje z wyższościowym i niekiedy agresywnym tonem niemieckiej historiografii spod znaku „Ostforschung”¹².

Jednak kluczowy problem jest następujący: jak w zasadniczo „zachodniej” sztuce polskiej przejawia się sztuka polska jako taka, jej osobna, właśnie narodowa tożsamość?

slowakei der Zwischenkriegszeit und ihr Kunsterbe, w: Grenzen überwindend. Festschrift für Adam S. Labuda, red. K. Bernhardt, P. Piotrowski, Berlin 2006, s. 79–97. Dyskusje tego typu nie ominęły wielkich centrów sztuki europejskiej, np. w kwestii renesansu we Francji, formacji samodzielnej czy też zależnej od sztuki Italii – zob. M. Passini, *La Fabrique de l'art national. Le nationalisme et les origines de l'histoire de l'art en France et en Allemagne 1870–1933*, Paris 2012, s. 9 nn.

¹¹ O Stwoszu – Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, s. 1004 (108).

¹² Polemiczne elementy w stosunku do Niemiec w opracowaniach Walickiego silnie podkreśla T. Zadrozny, *Polska sztuka dawna z perspektywy 1939 roku*, w: *Wystawa nowojorska 1939. Materiały z sesji naukowej Instytutu Sztuki PAN, Warszawa, 23–24 listopada 2009 roku*, red. J.M. Sosnowska, Warszawa 2012, s. 105–117, co tłumaczy „perspektywa 1939 roku”. Odminną sytuację sprzed roku 1939 ilustruje polemika M. Gębarowicza z P. Francastelem. Ten ostatni forsował znaczenie impulsów zachodnich, zwłaszcza francuskich, w sztuce polskiej, obniżając rolę niemieckich, podkreślanych przez Walickiego we francuskojęzycznym opracowaniu malarstwa XV wieku, ze wstępem Francastela, ówczesnego dyrektora Instytutu Francuskiego w Warszawie – cyt. niżej w przyp. 18. Gębarowicz bronił stanowiska Walickiego (M. Gębarowicz, *La peinture polonaise à l'époque des Jagellons*, „La France et la Pologne dans leurs relations artistiques, Annuaire historique édité par Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris” 1939, 1(4), s. 355–365). Krytykę polskich badaczy zajmujących się europejskimi powiązaniem sztuki polskiej i podnoszących, jakoby nadmiernie, zależność od niemieckiej, rozwinął Francastel w swej książce *L'histoire de l'art, instrument de la propagande germanique*, Paris 1945. Zob. jej recenzję pióra K. Piwockiego, który zarzucił francuskiemu uczonemu, że więcej krytycznych uwag kieruje pod adresem polskiej, nie zaś nacjonalistycznej historiografii niemieckiej („Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury” 1948, 1(10), s. 68–84, tu s. 76). Wyrzyszenie upolitycznienie rekonstrukcji układu zagranicznych wpływów na sztukę polską nastąpiło po drugiej wojnie światowej. Zob. A.S. Labuda, *Polska historia sztuki i „Ziemia Odzyskana”*, w: *idem, Z dziejów historii sztuki. Polska, Niemcy, Europa*, Poznań 2016, s. 69–104, tu s. 101 n.

Ze wstępnych metodologicznych konstatacji autorów wyziera sceptycyzm co do możliwości ustalenia powyższego: bo inaczej niż na Zachodzie „dzieje dawnej sztuki polskiej dają o wiele mniejsze pole do rozważań na temat samodzielnego, czysto artystycznego rozwoju”¹³. Brak tu dzieł wysoko wartościowych, linia rozwojowa rwie się, nie tworzy spójnego ciągu zjawisk artystycznych. Przyczyną tego stanu rzeczy była słabość polskich lokalnych środowisk twórczych oraz decydujący udział artystów imigrantów, a ze stwierdzeń tych wynika, iż forma prawdziwie polska może być wyłącznie dziełem artysty etnicznie polskiego. Jednakowoż brak należytych umiejętności sprawił, że to, co narodowe, nie mogło znaleźć trwałego formalnego wyrazu. W tle powyższej diagnozy tkwi założenie, że na Zachodzie rozwój miał wewnętrzną logikę w planie czystej formy, że w niej mogło też dojść, dzięki czynnym tam kompetentnym artystom, do wytworzenia specyficznego języka formalnego, który był wyrazem niezmiennego charakteru narodowego. Aby zneutralizować braki polskiej periferii i umożliwić dostęp do zrozumienia charakteru sztuki polskiej, postulują autorzy uwzględnienie zmiennych czynników historycznych, politycznych i kulturalnych istniejących niejako w przedpolu samego dzieła sztuki, co znalazło wyraz w akcencie dynastycznym, a zatem historycznym, zawartym w tytułach rozdziałów syntezy. Różne postacie polskiej sztuki mogły się więc jawić jako owoc współpracy i umowy między artystami i zleceniodawcami/odbiorcami, przedstawicielami polskości (gdy artysta był obcego pochodzenia).

Czy Walicki i Starzyński stosowali się konsekwentnie do tej kontekstowo-historycznej metodologii? Nie, bo – piszą – „stawiając sobie za zasadę danie przeglądu całości zjawisk artystycznych na ziemiach Polski, staraliśmy się uwypuklić jednak te przede wszystkim, które acz nie zawsze najwyższej jakości, mogą być przecież świadectwem polskiego ingenium”¹⁴. Jak się przekonamy, była to zapowiedź dążenia do uchwycenia specyficznie polskiej formy w duchu rozpowszechnionego w ówczesnej Europie, zwłaszcza po pierwszej wojnie światowej, modelu interpretacyjnego, którego celem było ujawnienie specyficznych, wytwarzanych w izolacji od zewnętrznych bodźców form wyrazu, które miałyby być odbiciem „woli twórczej” zbiorowości, takich jak naród, lud czy plemię¹⁵.

¹³ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, s. 911.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, s. 9.

¹⁵ Zagadnienie związku sztuki i narodu było już obecne w historiografii w wieku XIX – o czym traktują m.in. cytowani wyżej H. Locher i J. Bakoš (przyp. 2). Drogę do dociekań tego związku w sferze cech ściśle formalno-oglądowych dzieła sztuki otworzyły formalistyczno-stylistyczne koncepcje rozwinięte około roku 1900, w szczególności w historii sztuki niemieckojęzycznej (A. Riegl, H. Wölfflin, A. Schmarsow). O karierze tego podejścia po pierwszej wojnie światowej zob. L.O. Larsson, *Nationalstil und Nationalismus in der Kunst-*

Jednak ta dwoistość metodologii stała się źródłem pęknięcia w postaci dwóch narracji: jednej o istnieniu niezmiennego narodu (którego reprezentantem jest „lud”) i jego sztuki, drugiej – o historii zmiennych konfiguracji i ekspresji artystycznych, której głównymi sprawcami są artyści imigranci i polskie warstwy wyższe, władcy, możnowładcy, „polska szlachta”.

*

Rozważania powyższe wprowadziły nas w zagadnienie określone w podtytule mianem „Polska”. Rozpatrzmy ujęcie sztuki późnośredniowiecznej w jej zdolności wyrażania wartości narodowych. Według Walickiego (on jest tu autorem), charakteryzuje się ona najpierw tym, że – w odróżnieniu od okresów wcześniejszych – adresowana była do szerokiego i społecznie zróżnicowanego kręgu odbiorców, obejmującego teraz również niezamożne stany drobnomieszczański i drobnoszlachecki. Sztuka ta jest w decydującej mierze zbiorem dzieł wytworzonych w miejscowych miejskich warsztatach przez – jak dokumentują źródła na przestrzeni XV wieku – setki malarzy i rzeźbiarzy o różnym narodowym pochodzeniu. Walicki ustalił przy tym, że cech krakowski w drugiej połowie XV wieku uległ „gwałtownemu spolszczeniu”¹⁶. W ten sposób zaistniał grunt dla wyłonienia się sztuki o narodowej polskiej fizjonomii. Walicki odkrywa jej cechy formalne w grupie dzieł stanowiących część większego, wcale nie jednorodnego, uniwersum polskiego malarstwa¹⁷.

geschichte der zwanziger und dreißiger Jahre, w: *Kategorien und Methoden der deutschen Kunstgeschichte 1900–1930*, red. L. Dittmann, Stuttgart 1985, s. 169–184; H. Locher, *Stilgeschichte und die Frage der „nationalen Konstanten”*, „Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte” 1996, 53, s. 285–293; D. Bohde, *Kunstgeschichte als physiognomische Wissenschaft. Kritik einer Denkfigur der 1920er bis 1940er Jahre*, Berlin 2012. Zob. też: Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Towards Geography of Art*, Chicago and London 2004. O polskiej historiografii zob. M. Leśniakowska, *Polska historia sztuki i nacjonalizm*, w: *Nacjonalizm w sztuce i historii sztuki 1789–1850*, red. D. Konstantynów, R. Pasieczny, P. Paszkiewicz, Warszawa 1998, s. 33–59.

¹⁶ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, s. 998 (102). Warto tu przytoczyć miodajną w tym czasie opinię J. Ptaśnika, *Cracovia Artificum 1300–1500*, Kraków 1917 (Źródła do historii sztuki i cywilizacji w Polsce, t. IV), s. 5* i 8*: „Nie może być [...] obojętną kwestia narodowości danego artysty, bo ten tylko naród ma prawo zaliczać się do rodziny narodów kulturalnych i z takim tylko historia ludzkości się liczy, który do skarbcza ogólnej kultury dorzucił swój narodowy datek; dla zsumowania dorobku cywilizacyjnego każdego z narodów poznanie przynależności narodowej twórców dzieł artystycznych jest *conditio sine qua non*. [...] O sztuce polskiej rodzimej w wiekach średnich można by wtedy mówić, gdyby ludzie ją tworzący do narodowości polskiej należeli”.

¹⁷ Zapewne owa niejednorodność skłoniła Walickiego do relatywizującej uwagi, iż choć jego badania potwierdziły „istnienie polskiego malarstwa cechowego, rozwijającego się

Jak zatem przedstawiają się przejawy sztuki narodowej, jakoby emanacji ducha polskiego czy – jak to podówczas określano – psychiki polskiej? Nie były to prądy realistyczne w malarstwie polskim. Polskiej psychy bliższe miałyby być nurty konserwatywne, idealistyczne, uwidaczniające się w dziełach wykonanych raczej na użytek prowincji aniżeli wielkich miast. Do dzieł tych należy powstały w końcu XV wieku tryptyk z Szańca, z wiejskiego kościoła w Małopolsce. Jego barwna reprodukcja jest jedną z dwóch barwnych, które zdobią połączone, liczące 1250 stron, dzieło Hamanna i autorów polskich – dowód wysokiego miejsca epoki późnośredniowiecznej w rozwoju sztuki polskiej jako polskiej (il. 2, 3). Obok Szańca równie programowa jest szeregową ekspozycja retabulów i ich pojedynczych kwater na wielkiej wystawie pt. „Polska sztuka gotycka”, zorganizowanej w roku 1935 w Warszawie pod kuratelą Walickiego¹⁸ (il. 9, 4, 5) Walicki pisze: „znamienną dla naszego malarstwa [jest] niechęć do przedstawień wielofigurowych, powiązanych w grupy rodzajowe”, a raczej upodobanie do 3–4-osobowych grup w tablicach środkowych ołtarzy skrzydłowych, „oddanych płasko-barwnie na złotym tle”. Złote wzorzyste tło cieszy się w Polsce powodzeniem po wiek XVII, inaczej aniżeli w sztuce zachodniej, gdzie w tym czasie traktowane jest jako anachronizm. „Konserwatywny ton wprowadza również płaska interpretacja formy, unikająca [...] perspektywicznych rozwiązań i przestrzennej wibracji. Fizycznej nieruchomości [...] postaci odpowiada [...] statyka sfery emocjonalnej, powodująca zubożenie mimicznego wyrazu. [...] Skąpy zasób gestów jest tu niewspółmiernym ekwiwalentem”. „Poruszenia rąk w pewnej mierze rozbijają formalną ciszę malowidła, zarazem uwydatniają moment demonstracyjnego zatrzymania ruchu”. „Statycznej budowie centralnej grupy odpowiada rzędowo-rytmiczne ustawienie figur na skrzydłach

w obrębie życia średniowiecznej Polski”, to jego „swoistość [...] nie nosi jeszcze wybitnych rysów narodowych [...]” (M. Walicki, *Z badań nad problemem narodowości i rozwojem indywidualizmu w polskim malarstwie gotyckim*, „Życie Sztuki” 1934, 1, s. 67–100, tu s. 94).

¹⁸ *Polska sztuka gotycka. Katalog wystawy*, opr. M. Walicki, Instytut Propagandy Sztuki, Warszawa 1935. Zob. też idem, *Po wystawie polskiej sztuki gotyckiej w Instytucie Propagandy Sztuki (Organizacja. Przegląd materiału i uzupełnienie. Wyniki naukowe. Rezonans społeczny)*, „Nike” 1938, 1, s. 51–75 i tabl. 9a i b, 15a i b. Sztuka późnośredniowieczna była ważnym medium tworzenia wizerunku polskiego dziedzictwa artystycznego oraz demonstracji polskich możliwości twórczych, nie tylko w kraju, ale i poza jego granicami. Na uwagę bowiem zasługuje, że badania Walickiego nad malarstwem polskim późnego średniowiecza opublikowane były w języku niemieckim (M. Walicki, *Stilstufen der gotischen Tafelmalerei in Polen im XV. Jahrhundert. Geschichtliche Grundlagen und formale Systematik*, „Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego” (Wydz. 2), 1933, 3/6(26), s. 61–101) i w języku francuskim (M. Walicki, *La peinture d'autels et de retables en Pologne au temps des Jagellons. Avec une introduction de Pierre Francastel*, Paris 1937, Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Varsovie). Publikacją równoległą Instytutu Francuskiego, w tej samej szacie typograficznej, była rozprawa Tadeusza Szydlowskiego o ołtarzu mariackim Wita Stwosza.

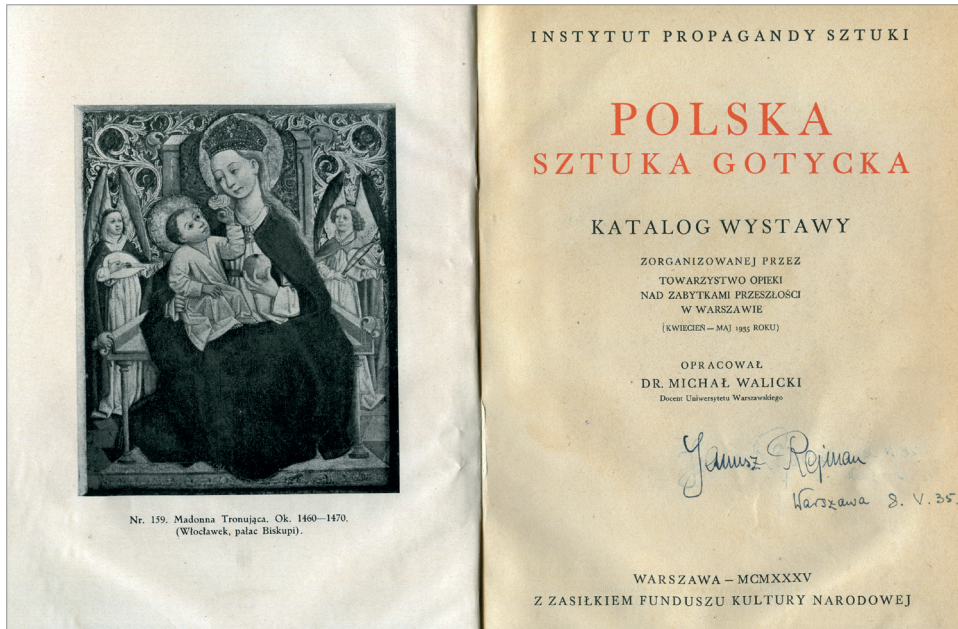


3. Tryptyk z kościoła parafialnego w Szańcu, ok. 1490–1500 (zaginiony)

bocznych, przy czym wolnostojące figury zastępują tu sceny wielopostaciowe”. Ogólnie biorąc, mamy tu do czynienia „nie tyle z prymitywizacją emocjonalnego kontaktu i nieudolnością trójwymiarowej ekspresji, ile raczej z postępowaniem świadomym, związanym logicznie z całokształtem plastycznej wizji, wzmacniającym konsekwentnie płasko-dekoracyjną wymowę formy”, której osnową są szeregowo ustawione tej samej wysokości figury¹⁹.

Walicki podniósł wycinek sztuki polskiej do rangi produktu rdzennego i samorodnego, przyznał sztuce polskiej, w sferze oglądowo-formalnej, zdolność wytworzenia podówczas najwyżej cenionej formuły tożsamościowej. Znaczenie, wydźwięk, a nawet funkcja re-konstrukcji autora wykracza poza ustalenie historycznego stanu rzeczy. Zaczniemy od obserwacji, że zidentyfikowana przez niego forma grupy obrazów późnośredniowiecznych współbrzmi z językiem artystycznym jednej z współczesnych postaci stylu narodowego, jaką

¹⁹ Źródłem powyższych cytatów jest studium Walickiego *Z badań nad problemem narodowości...*, s. 85–86. W syntezie odpowiednie ustalenia Walickiego wpisane są w szerszą narrację o polskim malarstwie cechowym, wskazującą na także inne jego właściwości oraz zewnętrzne odniesienia – Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, s. 1012 n. (116 n.), s. 993 n. (97 n.), s. 997 n. (101 n.) i il. 1215 (105) i 1245 (135).



4. Karta tytułowa i frontysepis katalogu wystawy „Polska sztuka gotycka”. Instytut Propagandy Sztuki, Warszawa 1935 (fot. A.S. Labuda)



5. Wystawa polskiej sztuki gotyckiej. Widok sali II. Warszawa, Instytut Propagandy Sztuki, 1935

wcierały dzieła niektórych artystów grupy Rytm²⁰. Ta – jak się wydaje – nieprzypadkowa zbieżność umacnia transhistoryczny status społecznej bazy sztuki narodowej w duchu esencjalistycznym, a nawet dotyka spraw ogólniejszej, polityczno-społecznej i kulturalnej natury II Rzeczypospolitej.

Wymowne jest porównanie kwatery środkowej tryptyku z Szańca i drzeworytu Władysława Skoczylasa zatytułowanego *Taniec zbójników II* (il. 6, 7)²¹.



6. Władysław Skoczylas, *Taniec zbójników II*, drzeworyt, 1922



7. Tryptyk z kościoła parafialnego w Szańcu, kwatera środkowa, ok. 1490–1500 (zaginiony)

²⁰ Współbrzmienie to dostrzegł już H. Anders, który przytacza niektóre z wyżej zacytowanych analiz Walickiego – H. Anders, *Rytm. W poszukiwaniu stylu narodowego*, Warszawa 1972, s. 119 n. Zob. też A. Chmielewska, *Charakter narodowy sztuki polskiej w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym. Kontekst polityczny i ideowy*, w: *W kręgu Rytmu. Sztuka polska lat dwudziestych*, red. K. Nowakowska-Sito, Warszawa 2006, s. 167–182, tu s. 177 n. Na temat grupy Rytm zob. ww. książkę H. Andersa oraz: K. Nowakowska-Sito, *Stowarzyszenie Artystów Polskich „Rytm” 1922–1932* [Katalog wystawy: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie 11 czerwca – 29 lipca 2001], Warszawa 2001; eadem, *Dlaczego Rytm?*, w: *W kręgu Rytmu*, s. 9–29.

²¹ Na temat artysty zob. E. Zawistowska, *Władysław Skoczylas*, w: Nowakowska-Sito, *Stowarzyszenie Artystów Polskich „Rytm”...*, s. 224–227 oraz W. Włodarczyk, *Koncepcja*

Kompozycja płaszczyznowa, dekoracyjne i rytmiczne elementy formy rozrysowane na płaszczyźnie obrazu graficznego – wszystko to należy do słownika Walickiego tak samo jak do rozwijanych w tym samym czasie analiz dzieł Skoczylasa. Gdyby zrodziły się wątpliwości, iż taneczny ruch zbójników zaprzecza znieruchomieniu postaci na obrazach piętnastowiecznych, to wystarczy przywołać słowa Cieślewskiego syna: „[...] obca [Skoczylasowi] jest dynamika. Postawa czy gest, albo ruch zamieniają się w drzeworytach artysty na wieczyście statyczną wartość dekoracyjną. Jest w tym spokój zastygłego w nieskończoność hieratyzmu. Czy to będzie *Pochód zbójników*, czy nawet *Taniec zbójnicki*, jest to wizja niewzruszona, trwała raz na zawsze”²². Z kolei szeregowe ustawienie zdominowanych przez pojedyncze figury tryptyków i skrzydeł retabulów jawi się jak wystawiennicza transpozycja ducha rytmiki, którego wcieleniem są maszerujący jeden za drugim zbójnicy w drzeworycie *Pochód zbójników* (il. 8, 9).

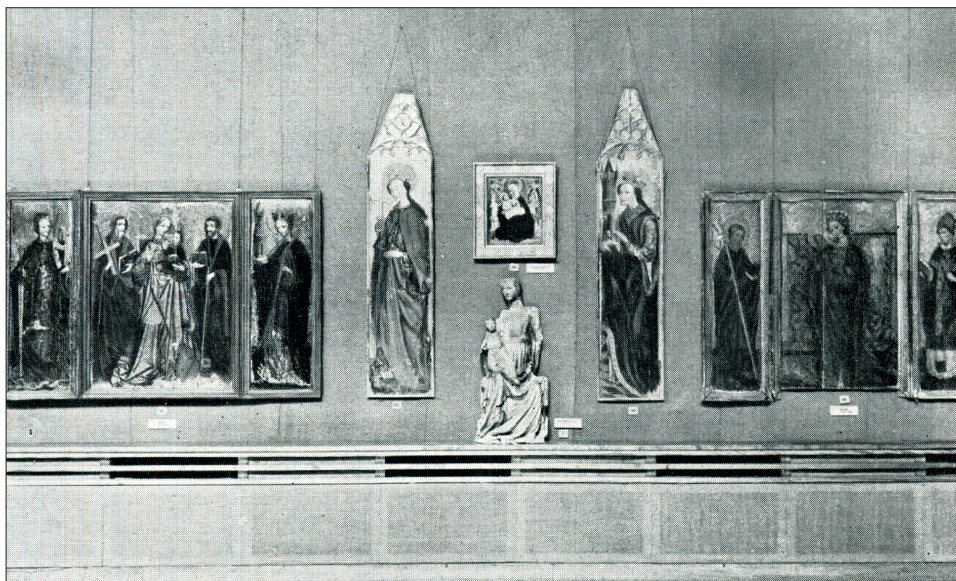


8. Władysław Skoczylas, *Pochód zbójników I*, drzeworyt, 1915

sztuki narodowej Władysława Skoczylasa, „Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Sztuk Pięknych w Warszawie. Numer specjalny: Władysław Skoczylas. Sztuka – Szkoła – Państwo” 1984, 4(10), s. 7–20; A. Chmielewska, *W służbie państwa, społeczeństwa i narodu. „Państwotwórczy” artyści plastycy w Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 2006, s. 198 nn.

²² T. Cieślewski syn, *Władysław Skoczylas*, Warszawa 1934, s. 31, cyt. za: Nowakowska-Sito, *W poszukiwaniu stylu Rytmu*, w: eadem, *Stowarzyszenie Artystów Polskich „Rytm”...*, s. 54–88, tu s. 73.

Trudno rozstrzygnąć, czy to Walicki inspiruje się sztuką mu współczesną, czy też ustala kanon polskości poza doświadczeniem sztuki „Rytmu-Skoczylasa”. Stwierdźmy tylko, że z perspektywy syntezy Walicki-historyk odsłania historyczne korzenie sztuki współczesnej, dostarcza historycznego dowodu dla wyartykułowanego współcześnie polskiego poczucia formy; narodowo-artystycznej tożsamości nadany zostaje status transhistoryczny. Z kolei perspektywa „Rytmu-Skoczylasa” – i tu rzecz kluczowa: sztuki narodowej wyrastającej z bądź odwołującej się do autochtonicznej i wiecznie-trwałej kultury ludu, zwłaszcza ludu polskiego, jego specyficznej woli formy – pozwala z większą ostrością dostrzec czynnik społeczny w interpretacji Walickiego²³. Walicki nie posługuje się pojęciem ludu, ludowości, podnosi



9. Wystawa polskiej sztuki gotyckiej. Widok ekspozycji w sali głównej. Warszawa, Instytut Propagandy Sztuki, 1935

²³ O ludowych źródłach Rytmu i dzieł Skoczylasa zob. prace cytowane w przyp. 20–21. Należy odnotować, że w teoretycznych wypowiedziach Skoczylasa (i także innych wśród „państwowotwórczych” artystów czynnych w warszawskiej ASP) inspiracja ludowa nie miała ograniczać się do sfery folkloru etnicznie polskiego. Zob. A. Chmielewska, *Styl narodowy w Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej: artyści a wizerunek państwa*, w: *Naród, styl, modernizm*, red. J. Purchla, W. Tegethoff, Kraków–Monachium 2006, s. 189–199, tu s. 197; eadem, *Charakter narodowy sztuki polskiej w dwudziestoleciu...*, 179 n.; W. Włodarczyk, *Niepodległość i nowoczesność*, w: *Sztuka wszędzie. Akademia Sztuk Pięknych w Warszawie 1904–1944*

jednak – obok kwestii narodowości – okoliczność, że sztuka późnośrednio-wieczna to dzieło miejskich rzemieślników, a środowiska drobno-miejskie i wiejsko-szlacheckie były odbiorcą owej „polskiej” grupy obrazów. Dosłowności tu z pewnością nie ma, ale związek sztuki i warstw zajmujących niższe szczeble drabiny społecznej nadaje temu kompleksowi faktów posmak demokratyczny i wydźwięk egalitarny²⁴. Lud, ludowość już *expressis verbis* pojawia się w kontekście polskiej sztuki barokowej. Starzyński, autor tej partii, poszukujący odpowiedników dla ustaleń Walickiego i w zgodzie z jego metodologią, znajduje kontynuację polsko-cechowej późnogotyckiej formacji w skromnej, ale rodzimej, samorodnej, na poły ludowej twórczości. I co więcej: definiuje to zjawisko w opozycji do – nagle jakby nie do końca polskiej – polskiej sztuki wysokiej, dworskiej, wytwarzanej przez wyspecjalizowanych artystów najczęściej obcego pochodzenia, a współpracujących ze zleceniodawcami²⁵. Ona przecież decydowała o obrazie ówczesnej sztuki w Polsce, co Starzyński w syntezie przekonująco zademonstrował. Objawiają się tu zgrzyty niespójnych metodologii. Nie może zarazem zmylić okoliczność, że zaraz po wyżej wzmiankowanych „rodzimych” pasażach traktuje Starzyński o innej swojskości, sarmackiej, dając jej sugestywną wi-

[Katalog wystawy], red. J. Gola, M. Sitkowska, A. Szewczyk, Warszawa 2012, s. 40–55, tu s. 47. Zróżnicowany obraz ludowo-folklorystycznych inspiracji w malarstwie polskim prezentuje I. Luba, *Dialog nowoczesności z tradycją. Malarstwo polskie dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*, Warszawa 2004.

²⁴ „[...] swoistość tego malarstwa [późnośredniowiecznego, cechowego w Polsce] nie nosi jeszcze wybitnych rysów narodowych, lecz, zawdzięczając większość swych inspiracji formalnych sztuce sąsiadów, przede wszystkim różnorodnym wpływom niemieckim i czeskim, układa się dobrze w ramach struktury społeczno-kulturalnej ówczesnej Polski, reprezentując demokratyczno-mieszcząską już w pewnym sensie kulturę miast [podkr. – A.S.L.] doby jagiellońskiej” (Walicki, *Z badań nad problemem narodowości...*, s. 94).

²⁵ „Wobec tak przygniatającej przewagi nazwisk obcych, które zmuszeni jesteśmy wymienić nawet w tym bardzo szkicowym zarysie, słusznie mógłby zaniepokojony czytelnik zapytać, czy w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku nie mieliśmy w ogóle wybitniejszych artystów Polaków? Na szczęście postępujące prace badawcze stopniowo pozwalają na coraz to wyraźniejsze naświetlenie dość, mimo wszystko, znacznej żywotności żywiołu polskiego. Wobec powodzi eklektycyzmu i różnorodności kierunków, przenikających sztukę oficjalną i dworską, przejawów niezależnej twórczości szukać będziemy wśród skromniejszych utworów sztuki cechowej, której znamieniem jest silny związek z rodzimą tradycją”. Jest nią „mieszcząskie środowisko sztuki cechowej”, kontynuujące tradycje późnogotyckie. Tak jest na przykład w przypadku Krzysztofa Boguszewskiego, w którego twórczości „występuje silna skłonność do linearnej stylizacji i ściśle przeprowadzona zasada symetrii, tak bardzo obca duchowi baroku”. Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, s. 1071 n. (175 n.), zob. też s. 1061 n. (165 n.).

zję, obejmującą dom, pałac, obraz, strój, nieomal teatr zachowań w epoce Jana III Sobieskiego²⁶. Jednakowoż swojskość sarmacka pozostaje sytuacją kulturowo-historyczną „tam i wtedy”, dzieło i własność warstwy szlacheckiej, a nie – narodu w nowoczesnym rozumieniu.

W syntezie zakodowana jest zatem dwoistość korzeni polskiej sztuki, dwoistość jej obiegu, wzajemnie odizolowanego obiegu, z jednej strony w orbicie wyżyn społeczno-politycznych, z drugiej – w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej – w znacznej części społeczno-politycznego marginesu. W dalszym wywodzie Starzyńskiego – i w kontekście społecznej samowiedzy demokratycznej II Rzeczypospolitej – zapowiedź zniesienia tej dwoistości przynosi epoka Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego, mecenasa, kolekcjonera i organizatora życia artystycznego, które miałyby służyć całemu społeczeństwu²⁷. Wedle autora, mecenas króla miał „funkcję społeczną i wychowawczą”, co nawiązuje do pedagogiki Jana Jakuba Rousseau, ale i brzmi jak współczesny autorowi państwowotwórczy żargon. Dodajmy, że nie inaczej określał rzecz najwybitniejszy badacz tematu Tadeusz Mańkowski. Właśnie „społecznym” adresem różnił się ten mecenas od mecenasów poprzednich królów polskich: Zygmunta Augusta, Zygmunta III, Jana III, albowiem „[...] w protekcji barokowej [chodziło] o wzmożenie blasku dworu panującego, [mecenat] podnosić miał króla jako wcielenie państwa samego”²⁸. W tym świetle Stanisław August Poniatowski reprezentuje już „inne” państwo, państwo zatroskane o poziom kulturalny swych obywateli. Niezależnie od elitaryzmu, kosmopolitycznego francusko-arystokratycznego habitusu króla, w jego działaniach można było odkrywać drogowskazy dla Polski odrodzonej²⁹. Natomiast Walicki daje legitymację egalitarno-demokratycznej II Rzeczypospolitej już w późnym średniowieczu – zamysł dobrze ugruntowany w badaniach późnomediewistycznych tego czasu, zwłaszcza we Francji³⁰. I być może *implicite* zawarta jest w tej koncepcji sztuki późnośredniowiecznej krytyka Rzeczypospolitej

²⁶ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, s. 1105 nn. (209 nn.): Rozdział III – Rozkwit pełnego baroku za Jana III.

²⁷ Ibidem, s. 1105 nn. (209 nn.): Rozdział V – Epoka i styl Stanisława Augusta.

²⁸ T. Mańkowski, *Mecenas Stanisława Augusta*, „Życie Sztuki” 1934, 1, s. 157–167, tu s. 157.

²⁹ O Stanisławie Auguście Poniatowskim w II Rzeczypospolitej w innym układzie rzeczowo-argumentacyjnym zob. E. Manikowska, *Materialna historiografia sztuki. Wokół książki Galerja Stanisława Augusta Tadeusza Mańkowskiego*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 2013, 3(75), s. 505–535.

³⁰ A. Thomine-Berrada, F.-R. Martin, *Styl i naród we Francji na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. Średniowiecze jako źródło tradycji w architekturze i historiografii*, w: *Naród, styl, modernizm*, s. 37–55, tu s. 41 nn.; Passini, *La Fabrique de l'art national*, s. 89.

szlacheckiej, do której upadku miał przyczynić się brak społecznej równowagi w postaci wybujałego uprzywilejowania stanu szlacheckiego i zepchnięcia na margines życia państwowego stanów mieszczańskiego i włościańskiego. Pisali o tym zwłaszcza historycy, ale myśli tego rodzaju podjął bezpośrednio Mieczysław Gębarowicz. Inaczej niż Walicki cenił nie formalizm i idealizm polskiej sztuki późnogotyckiej, a niesioną przez nią moc przedstawiania świata, jej oblicze naturalistyczne, które wiązał z racjonalizmem przynależnej do Zachodu klasy mieszczańskiej, której słaba obecność w dziejach Rzeczypospolitej – tak ujął to Gębarowicz wprost – zaważyła negatywnie na jej losach³¹.

*

Przejdę do następnej kwestii: problemu sztuki „wschodniej”, tu dokładnie: wschodnio-ortodoksyjnej w dziedzictwie sztuki Rzeczypospolitej, rozwijającej się zwłaszcza na terenach południowo-wschodnich państwa. Przyjmuje się często, że jest to typowy obszar pogranicza, na którym spotykały się, przenikały, hybrydyzowały kultury o różnym podłożu etnicznym i konfesyjnym. Umyka wtedy z pola widzenia skądinąd oczywisty fakt, że mamy tu do czynienia z obszarem będącym integralną częścią Rzeczypospolitej Obojga, a nawet Trojga, Narodów, na którym aktywni byli obywatele Rzeczypospolitej, a dopiero potem Polacy, Rusini, Litwini, przedstawiciele takiej czy innej konfesji³². Natomiast z syntezy wyłania się raczej obraz artystycznego pogranicza. Jest to rezultat jednostronnej, polsko-narodowej (z zachodnim „centrum” w odwodzie) charakterystyki zjawisk sztuki i architektury wschodnio-ortodoksyjnej. Głównym narzędziem był tu aparat formalistycznej historii sztuki; niekonsekwentnie zaznaczyło się spojrzenie kulturowo-historyczne.

Kwestia zabytków Kościoła wschodniego pojawia się już – anachronicznie, ale z racji zasięgu wschodnich granic Polski międzywojennej – w rozdziale dotyczącym epoki piastowsko-romańskiej. Od XIV stulecia anachronizmy znikają. Walicki omawia rusko-bizantyjskie malowidła ścienne ufundowa-

³¹ M. Gębarowicz, *Wschód i Zachód w sztuce polskiej*, „Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie” 1935, 2(15), s. 146–153, tu s. 148, 151 nn.; idem, *Sztuka średnio-wieczna*, Lwów 1934 (Historia sztuki, 2), s. 399, 415.

³² O tych rozróżnieniach zob. A. Sulima-Kamiński, *Historia Rzeczypospolitej wielu narodów 1505–1795*, Lublin 2000, s. 10 n. Jego wywód cytuje R. Stobiecki, *Najnowsze syntezy dziejów Polski i Ukrainy. Próba porównania*, w: *Historia, mentalność, tożsamość. Miejsce i rola historii oraz historyków w życiu narodu polskiego i ukraińskiego w XIX i XX wieku*, red. J. Pisulińska, P. Sierżęga, L. Zaszkilniak, Rzeszów 2008, s. 557–573, tu s. 560–561. Sulima-Kamiński zwraca uwagę, że „od XVI wieku słowo «Polak» [...] mogło oznaczać etnicznego Polaka lub też obywatela Rzeczypospolitej, i to niezależnie od jego narodowości”.

ne przez Władysława Jagiełłę dla katolickich kościołów i kaplic w Koronie, Starzyński – architekturę cerkiewną epoki nowożytnej). Osobliwym, a może znamionym, zabiegiem jest włączenie szeregu dzieł sztuk przedstawiających lokalno-ortodoksyjnej proveniencji (malarstwo ikonowe) do katalogu zamieszczonego na końcu syntezy i tylko w jej edycji z roku 1934. Katalog ten rejestruje sztukę obcą (zagraniczną) w zbiorach znajdujących się na terenie Polski³³. Jest więc konsekwentne, że nie ma w tekście głównym wzmianek o produkcji malarskiej i snycerskiej służącej wyposażeniu cerkwi. W rezultacie ambiwalencja charakteryzuje stosunek do rusko-ortodoksyjnej sztuki: raz jest uznana za składnik sztuki polskiej, to znowu traktowana jest jak ciało obce i wyłączona z rozważań.

Hasłem polskiego dyskursu o sztuce wschodnio-ortodoksyjnej jest okcydentalizacja. Zjawisko okcydentalizacji względnie latynizacji architektury i sztuki ortodoksyjnej uznaje się za historyczną rzeczywistość. Jednak, jak zauważył Piotr Krasny, kryterium „okcydentalne” stało się „swoistą «przepustką» dla wybranych cerkwi do kanonu kluczowych zabytków sztuki polskiej”, zarazem – narzędziem jednostronnej charakterystyki dzieł architektury o wielowarstwowej problematyce³⁴. Wskażmy tu tylko na grecko-katolicką katedrę św. Jura, wzniesioną w latach 1744–1772 przez architekta pochodzącego z Niemiec – Bernarda Meretyna. Starzyński pisze:

[W twórczości architekta] krzyżują się prądy południowoniemieckie z oddziaływaniem późnego baroku rzymskiego [...]. W planie cerkwi widzimy nawiązanie do włoskich założeń centralnych na zasadzie krzyża greckiego [...]. Typ budowli centralnej dobrze dawał się zastosować do wymogów obrządku wschodniego, choć w danym wypadku jeszcze przez wydłużenie nawy głównej dobitnie zostało podkreślone zwycięstwo idei artystycznej Zachodu³⁵.

Architektura cerkwi jest tutaj miejscem zmagania się sprzecznych form, a historyczny czynnik konfesyjno-ortodoksyjny, jakby nie było fundatorski, wyłączony jest z domeny Zachodu-Okcydentu³⁶.

Cofnijmy się do fundacji Władysława Jagiełły, zjawiska oryginalnego i jednorazowego na rdzennym, powiedzmy: łańcisko-okcydentalnym, obszarze

³³ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, s. 1198 n.

³⁴ P. Krasny, *Architektura cerkiewna na ziemiach ruskich Rzeczypospolitej 1596–1914*, Kraków 2003, s. 13, zob. też s. 31 nn.

³⁵ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, s. 1096 (200).

³⁶ Krasny, *Architektura cerkiewna na ziemiach ruskich...*, s. 158, wprowadza pojęcie modernizacji dla określenia fenomenu katedry św. Jura, negując użyteczność pojęcia okcydentalizacji.

Korony. Odcina się ono jednoznacznie od dominującego tu malarstwa gotyckiego. Zespołowi lubelskiemu poświęcone były osobne, szczegółowe studia samego Walickiego i Celiny Filipowicz-Osieczkowskiej³⁷. W bizantyńsko-wschodniej tkance dzieła obaj autorzy odsłaniają wątki łańcisko-zachodnie, zwłaszcza w ikonografii, ale także incydentalnie w stylu malowideł. Walicki pisze w syntezie:

Katolicka myśl teologiczna ujęta została w formalny wyraz sztuki bizantyjskiej [...]. Co więcej, twórca scen pasywnych [...] reagował żywo na prądy współczesnej mu sztuki gotyckiej, co najwyraźniej przejawiało się w scenie „Komunii Apostołów” nawiązującej zarówno w swej ikonograficznej redakcji, jak i szczegółach stylistycznych do wzorów zachodnioeuropejskiego malarstwa³⁸.

Na innym miejscu wypowiedział opinię, że jednym z czynników, obok poufałego współżycia kulturalnego Polski i Rusi, sprzyjającym infiltracji sztuki „obcej” (tak Walicki) była „swoista współkrwistość tej sztuki, w której formach, nieśmiało wprawdzie, dźwięczała przecież melodia gotyckiej linii, gotyckiej rzeczywistości: i mimo woli przypominają się tu słowa Worringera, «że tylko w tak zwanej *maniera greca* mogła rozgorzeć gotycka wola formy»”³⁹. Z kolei Filipowicz-Osieczkowska wprost wysunęła tezę o istnieniu polskiej szkoły malarstwa bizantyńskiego. Poglądy te nie wytrzymały jednak krytyki, co tym silniej uwypukla zawartą w nich tendencję charakterystyczną dla polskich badań nad bizantyńsko-ortodoksyjną sztuką w dawnej Polsce⁴⁰.

Hasło „okcydentalizacja”, klasyfikujące i wartościujące zarazem, stanowi w istocie figurę polonizacji (w sensie etniczno-narodowym), mianowicie poloni-

³⁷ M. Walicki, *Malowidła ścienne kościoła św. Trójcy na Zamku w Lublinie (1418)*, „Studia do Dziejów Sztuki w Polsce” 1930, 2; C. Filipowicz-Osieczkowska, *Ze studiów nad szkołą polską malarstwa bizantyjskiego*, „Życie Sztuki” 1934, 1, s. 101–136; eadem, *Les peintures byzantines de Lublin*, „Byzantion” 1932, 1(7), s. 241–252; eadem, *Ze studiów nad szkołą polską malarstwa bizantyjskiego – Notes sur la Majestas Domini et sur l'école polonaise de la peinture byzantine*, Kraków 1936.

³⁸ Walicki, Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej*, s. 987 (91).

³⁹ M. Walicki, *Wschód i Zachód w sztuce Rusi Czerwieńskiej (Uwagi na marginesie Wystawy Sztuki Ukraińskiej w Warszawie)*, „Pion. Tygodnik Literacko-Społeczny” 1934, 9(22), s. 1–2, tu s. 2. Walicki odwołuje się tu zapewne do W. Worringera, *Formprobleme der Gotik* (München 1911) lub *Griechentum und Gotik. Vom Weltreich des Hellenismus* (München 1928).

⁴⁰ A. Różycka-Bryzek, *Malarstwo cerkiewne w polskiej tradycji historycznej i w badaniach naukowych*, w: *Sztuka cerkiewna w diecezji przemyskiej. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej 25–26 marca 1995 roku*, red. J. Giemza, Łańcut 1999, s. 11–26, tu s. 19 n.

zacji tego, co poprzez zachodnie przyporządkowanie form artystycznych dało się polonizować. Polska jest tu pasem transmisyjnym lub zgoła misjonarzem dóbr zachodnich. Jeśli uznamy, że sztuka państwa krzyżackiego zlokalizowana na terytorium II Rzeczypospolitej i przyjęta w syntezie do korpusu sztuki w Polsce mogła być pojmowana jako figura Zachodu, to tym silniej bije w oczy osłabienie i pomniejszanie roli czynnika wschodnio-ortodoksyjnego, który był składnikiem historycznej rzeczywistości I Rzeczypospolitej. Podnoszona we wstępie do syntezy konieczność uwzględnienia szeroko rozumianego kontekstu historycznego przyjęta w przypadku sztuki wschodnio-ortodoksyjnej dwojaką postać: aplikowany był forsownie i jak się okazało na wyrost w odniesieniu do fundacji Jagiełły (jako katolickich), pozostał zaś *de facto* nieobecny w odniesieniu do zjawisk znajdujących się poza „rdzennym” łacińskim obszarem Korony.

Z powyższej niewspółmierności nie można wyciągać zbyt daleko idących wniosków. Kto w czasie, gdy powstała nasza synteza, był przygotowany, by przekroczyć ograniczenia narodowego modelu historii, umieszczając także w zleceniodawczo-odbiorczym przedpolu dzieła sztuki owych wspomnianych wyżej „obywateli Rzeczypospolitej”, a nie od razu przedstawiciele anachronicznie i antagonistycznie pojmowanych narodowości? Tym więcej w Polsce wskrzeszonej po traumatycznym okresie zaborów. Silna na przykład była pamięć o roli Kościoła prawosławnego jako instrumentu rusyfikacji. Z kolei napięcia między budzącymi się do życia narodowego Ukraińcami i podbudo-
wywanymi historyczną wielkością Polakami rysowały się już w wieku XIX, acz pod władztwem habsburskim były zinstrumentalizowane, jednocześnie podsycane i odgórnie rozładowywane. Ale to już wtedy Marian Sokołowski orzekł, że sztuka Rusinów, której poświęcił badania, jest ciałem odrębnym, innym, zgoła obcym w dziedzictwie Rzeczypospolitej⁴¹.

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Poznawcze, a także historyczne, znaczenie dzieła Walickiego i Starzyńskiego leży w dociekliwym poszukiwaniu rysów polskich w sztuce w Polsce. Przedstawiony wyżej rekonesans zawartych w syntezie dociekań na ten temat daleki jest od kompletności. Jedną z przyczyn tego stanu rzeczy jest okoliczność, iż na plan pierwszy wysunięte zostały te ustalenia, dla których metodologiczną bazą była analiza formalno-stylistyczna dzieła sztuki, przy tym „narodowo” kontekstualizowana. Podejście historyczne, historyczno-kulturowe, w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym często określane jako „socjologicz-

⁴¹ M. Kunińska, *Historia sztuki Mariana Sokołowskiego*, Kraków 2014, s. 226 nn. Zob. też M. Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History. Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918*, University Park 2013, s. 89 nn.

ne", wymagałoby odrębnego przeświecenia. O potrzebie podjęcia tego zadania przekonują choćby odnotowane wyżej problemy umiejscowienia sztuki wschodnio-ortodoksyjnej w dziedzictwie artystycznym Rzeczypospolitej. Drogą do lepszego zrozumienia dokonań Walickiego i Starzyńskiego byłoby ukazanie ich w szerokiej perspektywie porównawczej, w planie rzeczowo-historycznym i metodologicznym – obejmujące zarówno polskie piśmiennictwo fachowe i to uznane za nie-akademickie, jak i historiografię artystyczną całej Europy. Dotyczy to zwłaszcza naszych sąsiadów, historiografii czechosłowackiej czy litewskiej, także ukraińskiej, w stosunku do ówczesnej polskiej bardzo polemicznej, a stosującej podobne figury interpretacyjne⁴².

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⁴² Zob. Marek, *Kunstgeschichte zwischen Wissenschaft...*; M. Filipová, *Between East and West: The Vienna School and the Idea of Czechoslovak Art*, „Journal of Art Historiography” 2013, 8; eadem, *The Construction of National Identity in Czech Art History*, „Centropa” 2008, 8(3), s. 257–271; L. Laučkaitė, *Writing Lithuanian Art History in the First Half of the Twentieth Century; Strategies of National Identity*, „Centropa” 2008, 8(3), s. 272–280. Zob. też K. Kodres, *Two art histories: the (Baltic) German and Estonian versions of the history of Estonian art*, w: *History of Art History in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, red. J. Malinowski, t. 2, Toruń 2012, s. 67–72; J. Vybíral, *What Is ‘Czech’ in Art in Bohemia? Alfred Woltmann and defensive mechanisms of Czech artistic historiography*, „Kunstchronik” 2006, 1(59), s. 1–7.

Co do historii sztuki ukraińskiej trudno wskazać na opracowania analogiczne. Nie spełniają odpowiednich kryteriów biograficzne, apologetycznie ujęte opracowania: T. Stefanyshyn, *Ukrainian art. Studies of Lwow/Lviv in the 1920s–1930s: personalities, works, tendencies*, w: *History of Art History...*, s. 41–48; L. Sokolyuk, *Dmytro Antonovych's general conception of Ukrainian art history and its significance for modern teaching system*, ibidem, s. 49–53.

Cenny zadek do diskutowanych kwestii stanowią opracowania: M. Kruk, *Sztuka własna i obca. Na marginesie badań nad zachodnioruskim malarstwem ikonowym*, w: *Byzantina Europaea. Księga Jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, red. M. Kokozko, M.J. Leszka, Łódź 2007, s. 327–343; idem, *Stan badań nad zachodnioruskim malarstwem ikonowym XV–XVI wieku*, w: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, red. J.K. Ostrowski, Kraków 1996, s. 29–55.

W tym miejscu tylko ogólnie można wskazać na bogaty i inspirujący dla poruszonych w tym studium problemów dorobek studiów postkolonialnych, wypracowany przede wszystkim przez antropologów i teoretyków kultury, historyków i literaturoznawców.

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Reprodukcje: A.S. Labuda

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A HISTORY OF POLISH ART

BY MICHAŁ WALICKI AND JULIUSZ STARZYŃSKI
IN POLAND BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS.
THE WEST, POLAND, THE EAST

Summary

Writing an academic history of Polish art was an urgent task of art historians after World War I, when the country regained its political independence. An important and creditable achievement in that respect was a study by Michał Walicki and Juliusz Starzyński, published in 1934 as a kind of supplement to the monumental *Geschichte der Kunst von der altchristlichen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* by the Marburg historian Richard Hamann, translated at that time into Polish. In 1936, the work of the Polish scholars was published again in the form of a separate book. The paper focuses on three problems that were addressed in it: the cultural and artistic ties of Poland to the West, the vernacular features of Polish art, and the presence of the “Eastern art” in Polish artistic heritage. The author examines also the question whether those issues were related to the political, social, and cultural reality of the Second Polish Republic.

Keywords:

history of art history, overview of the history of Polish art, national art, transhistorical status of a national artistic form, center and periphery

ANNA MARKOWSKA

WOKÓŁ ROKU 1948: „REWOLUCJA ŁAGODNA” I HISTORIA SZTUKI

REWOLUCJA: GRA Z WŁADZĄ CZY UCIECZKA W BEZPIECZEŃSTWO AUTORYTARYZMU?

Czy da się zwizualizować zaczęłą w latach 40. polską rewolucję bez odnośnienia się do obrazów doby socrealizmu? Rewolucja zaczęła się przecież wcześniej niż socrealizm i podwilżową (po roku 1955) ikonografię artystyczną, ściśle związaną z École de Paris, Picassem i sztuką informel – rodzaj dziwnej mimikry, udającej, że nic się nie stało¹ – uznać można za ikonografię wygranej quasi-komunistycznej rewolucji, w jej lokalnej odmianie. Polska powojenna rewolucja jest nierozzerwalnie związana z nowoczesnością, którą rozumiem tu za Walterem L. Adamsonem jako kulturową regenerację poprzez dążenie do nowych wartości, oraz – za Anthonym Giddensem – jako niosącą ze sobą ideę świata otwartego na zmiany poprzez ludzkie interwencje². Z jednej strony podkreślić należy powszechność dążenia do odnowy w omawianym czasie, z drugiej – fakt wytworzenia się w spauperyzowanym i strauumatyzowanym społeczeństwie mechanizmu autorytarnej osobowości, co ze sobą konwenio-

¹ Odnoszę się tu zarówno do książki A. Ledera *Prześlona rewolucja*, jak i do tezy W. Włodarczyka. Badacz pisał o gwałtownym oddalaniu się sfery kultury i doświadczenia politycznego w czasach, gdy na początku lat 50. poluzowano politykę w obszarze plastyki, jednocześnie wzmacniając represje; por. idem, *Pięć lat*, w: *Zaraz po wojnie*, red. J. Kordjak, A. Szewczyk, Zachęta – Narodowa Galeria Sztuki, Warszawa 2015, s. 33–34.

² W.L. Adamson, *Modernism and Fascism: The Politics of Culture in Italy, 1903–1922*, „The American Historical Review” 1990, 2(95), s. 360; Ch. Pierson, *Conversations with Anthony Giddens. Making Sense of Modernity*, Cambridge 1998, s. 94. Giddens generalnie wiąże nowoczesność z Zachodem, por. rozdział *Is Modernity a Western Project*, w: idem, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge 1990, s. 174–176, a oceniając totalitaryzm nazistowski i stalinowski jako jedną z ciemnych stron modernizmu, uznaje, iż doszło tu do konsolidacji władzy politycznej, militarnej oraz ideologicznej w stopniu, jaki był niemożliwy przed powstaniem państw narodowych (ibidem, s. 8).

wało³. Autokraci uwodzą – jak pisał Detlef Oesterreich – oferując moc i wielkość⁴. Hannah Arendt pisała z kolei o ścisłej relacji wojny i rewolucji⁵.

Rolf Reichardt i Hubertus Kohle, zajmujący się obrazowaniem doby Wielkiej Rewolucji Francuskiej, pisali o sejsmicznym przewrocie strukturalnym, w tym m.in. o zrewitalizowaniu tradycyjnej ikonografii poprzez unaocznienie konfliktu, jakim było używanie starych (chrześcijańskich) wzorców, które nie pasowały do wyrażania nowych treści, o zacieraniu granic między klasyczną hierarchią gatunków (malarstwo historyczne, rodzajowe, pejzażowe i portretowe) oraz o polityzacji artystów i o współczesnej tematyce⁶. Także w Polsce Matka Boska zmieniała się w umęczoną Matkę, a męczennicy – choć niezwiązani z Kościołem – nadal przelewali swą krew. Mieliśmy rewolucyjne bluźnierstwa, jak *Matka z zabitym synem* (1949) Andrzeja Wróblewskiego, dla którego wzorcem była ikonografia maryjna i opłakiwanie ofiar rewolucji, bo Elektra – na obrazie Szczęsnego Kowarskiego – obsadzona została w starej/nowej roli przyglądania się zbrodniom popełnionym w imię sprawiedliwości: jest już rok 1947, są to więc prawdopodobnie zbrodnie ojco- i bratobójcze, ułatwione przez wojenną przemoc, a nie lament nad samą wojną.

Typowa dla tużpowojennych czasów tzw. rewolucji łagodnej⁷ była perswazyjna, heterogeniczna formuła wizualna, sugerująca, iż każdy może znaleźć

³ T.W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Bruswick et al., *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York 1950.

⁴ Badacz podkreślał, że choć tematem interesowali się wcześniej Kant, Hegel i Marks, to dopiero w XX wieku systematycznie badano dobrowolne posłuszeństwo i uległość tak w dużych, jak i małych grupach, por. D. Oesterreich, *Flight into Security: A New Approach and Measure of the Authoritarian Personality*, „Political Psychology” 2005, 2(26), s. 275–297. Na temat tak zwanej autorytarnej osobowości wypowiadali się m.in. filozofowie tzw. szkoły frankfurckiej (m.in. T. Adorno) oraz naukowcy z uniwersytetu Stanforda. Chociaż odpowiedzi jest tu wiele i zależą także od poglądów politycznych, tzw. autorytarnej reakcja związana jest z niemożnością indywidualnego poradzenia sobie w trudnych sytuacjach łączona jest często z pasywnością, ze sztywnym trzymaniem się norm oraz niechęcią do nowości; przyjęte autorytarne normy okazują się mieć moc ochronną i z tego właśnie powodu ludzie nie stronią od nieuprawnionej kontroli. Wskazując sytuacje, w których osoba staje się autonomiczną jednostką lub osobowością autorytarną, i wyjaśniając autorytarną socjalizację, podkreśla się rolę sytuacji ekonomicznej.

⁵ H. Arendt, *O rewolucji*, przeł. M. Godyń, Warszawa 2003.

⁶ R. Reichardt, H. Kohle, *Visualising the Revolution. Politics and Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-Century France*, tłum. C. Attwood, London 2008, s. 7–8 i 91.

⁷ A. Ostrowski, *Hugo Kołłątaj i łagodna rewolucja 1791 r.*, „Kuźnica” 1945, 4–5, s. 11; J. Borejsza, *Rewolucja łagodna*, „Odrodzenie” 1945, 10–12, przedruk: *Czas debat. Antologia krytyki artystycznej z lat 1945–1954*, opr. A. Pietrasik, P. Słodkowski, t. 1, Warszawa 2016, s. 21–30.

swe miejsce w nowej, odmienionej ojczyźnie: jednoczesne użycie symboli religijnych i komunistycznych podczas wieców Bieruta i Gomułki może tu służyć za przykład. Rewolucja łagodna swoją modelową realizację ukazała na Wystawie Ziem Odzyskanych (WZO), gdzie współżyły formy awangardowe z socrealistycznymi; innym ucieleśnieniem rewolucji *indulgens* była „eksterytorialna ambasada utopii” (określenie Piotra Graczyka⁸) lub „kaplica hermetycznego modernizmu”, jak nazwał ją Jakub Woynarowski, czyli stworzona przez Władysława Strzemińskiego sala neoplastyczna w otwartym w kwietniu 1948 roku Miejskim Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi – wcielony idealny model doskonale wyrażający, jak pisał Woynarowski, „sprzeczność między dążeniem do petryfikacji dóbr kultury a wciąż żywą potrzebą wyzwania kreatywnej energii”, przy jednoczesnym buncie przeciw zastanej architekturze budynku⁹. Te dwie realizacje uświadamiają różne strategie rewolucyjne: Strzemiński w obrębie dawnego, historyzującego budynku wykroił część osobną, idealną, sugerując konieczność wyswabadzających cięć w obrębie zastanych organizmów; Jerzy Hryniewiecki, główny projektant WZO, stworzył bardziej przepuszczalne granice, był bardziej otwarty na różnorodność; inaczej wyglądała też w rezultacie sugestia przenoszenia wzorców: wsobny koncept łódzkiego artysty, skupiony na formie i czystej wizualności, był jak najdalszy od idei plebejskiego rozproszenia darów-pamiętek, które kierowani afektem zwiedzający wywozili z Wrocławia, utożsamiając obfitość (a nie: dyscyplinę, jak w przypadku Łodzi) z nowym komunistycznym państwem¹⁰. Badając ikonosferę WZO, szybko dojdzie się do przekonania, iż nie było tu mowy o starciu dwóch uniwersalistycznych – a przy tym rzekomo dychotomicznych – doktryn artystycznych: realizmu socjalistycznego oraz abstrakcyjnego modernizmu, jak to jeszcze niedawno ujął Piotr Piotrowski¹¹. W powyższym kontekście najbardziej nieudana była agitacja komunistyczna trzeciej ważnej wystawy z roku 1948: krakowskiej Wystawy Sztuki Nowoczesnej (WSN), zorganizowanej przez Tadeusza Kantora i Mieczysława Porębskiego, gdzie podniesiono na wyżyny „indywidualistyczne przeżywanie dziwności”¹², co spuentowała najtrafniej uczestnicząca w wystawie Janina Kraupe: „Kantor właściwie żyje na

⁸ P. Graczyk, *Sala neoplastyczna w Łodzi*, „Kronos” 2015, 3, [plik MOBI], s. 51–52.

⁹ J. Woynarowski, *Taksydermia*, „Kronos” 2015, 3, [b.n.s.].

¹⁰ Afektywną interpretację twórczości artysty daje: L. Nader, *Afekt Strzemińskiego. „Teoria widzenia”, rysunki wojenne, Pamięci przyjaciół – Żydów*, Warszawa 2018.

¹¹ P. Piotrowski, *Globalne ujęcie sztuki Europy Wschodniej*, Poznań 2018.

¹² J. Bogucki, *Miejsce opuszczone przez dziecięcy, czyli sztuka majaczenia i dyscypliny*, „Odrodzenie” 1949, 5, przedruk: *W kręgu lat czterdziestych*, 3, red. J. Chrobak, Kraków 1991, s. 32.

Księżycu i wyobraża sobie, że rząd będzie popierał klub egocentryków¹³. Tak czy inaczej, była to oddolna oferta złożona władzy, której towarzyszyło wprowadzanie dużych grup robotników, żołnierzy i tzw. mas ludowych oraz bardzo wyrazista frazeologia rewolucyjna¹⁴. Artyści pragnęli zmian i władzy, chcieli nauczać o historycznym determinizmie, a szukanie przez Kantora za granicą artystycznego hegemonu było oczywistym skutkiem nieprzepracowania ciemności modernistycznego autokratyzmu.

Symbolem „rewolucji łagodnej” został Picasso, popularyzowany w kraju bynajmniej nie tyle ze względu na wartości artystyczne, ile przez fakt, iż był to artysta-członek partii komunistycznej¹⁵. Wskazuje to niewątpliwie, że pragmatyczni zarządcy rewolucją łagodną nie w czysto wizualnej formie widzieli (przynajmniej początkowo) istotę swojego zwycięstwa; najszersze spektrum nowego rewolucyjnego sensorium zaprezentowała WZO, bo nie było tam samej „czystej” i „wysokiej” sztuki.

Jeśli pragniemy opisać polską rewolucję, dochodzi do tego konieczne zniuansowanie metodologii jej dotyczących, wypracowanych we Francji czy w Rosji (ZSRR). Jest to nieodzowne z co najmniej dwóch powodów: po pierwsze, z powodu swoistej stratygrafii – nawarstwiania się w powojennej Polsce lokalnych potrzeb i postulatów regeneracyjnych nałożonych na imperialną logikę bezwzględnej „pierekowki” (*перековка*¹⁶), oraz po drugie – zasadniczej trudności, jaką rodzi odmienne rozumienie podstawowych słów i pojęć w tych dwóch zakresach: projektu radzieckiego i rodzimego (przy wszelkich zastrzeżeniach co do podobnej dychotomii). Jednym z pomysłów na takie zniuansowanie byłoby unikanie wyjaśnień na podstawie zastanych, binarnie nacechowanych pojęć i zastąpienie etycznie nacechowanej koncepcji ofiar (i prześladowców) bardziej neutralną koncepcją graczy. We wspólnym polu pierekowki i regeneracji nie ma miejsca na binaryzm; co ważne ponadto – jest to jedynie fragment pola sztuki zaraz po wojnie, nieaspirujący do reprezentacji całości, ale też nieograniczający się jedynie do tego, co Maria Dąbrowska

¹³ List Janiny Kraupe do Lili Krasickiej z 29 listopada 1948, za: *I Wystawa Sztuki Nowoczesnej pięćdziesiąt lat później*, Kraków 1998, s. 200.

¹⁴ Otwarcie krakowskiej Wystawy Sztuki Nowoczesnej nastąpiło – jak się wydaje nieprzypadkowo – w momencie, gdy odbywał się Kongres Zjednoczeniowy Polskiej Partii Robotniczej i Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej, por. W. Włodarczyk, *Pięć lat*, w: *Zaraz po wojnie*, red. J. Kordjak, A. Szewczyk, Warszawa 2015, s. 39.

¹⁵ *Oświadczenie Pabla Picassa*, „Kuźnica” [Łódź], 1 czerwca 1945, 1, s. 21. Tamże czytamy: „Stałem się komunistą dlatego, że komuniści to najmężniejsi ludzie w Związku Radzieckim, we Francji, tak samo jak w moim ojczystym kraju. Nigdy nie czułem się bardziej wolny, nigdy nie czułem się bardziej sobą aniżeli teraz, kiedy wstąpiłem do partii”.

¹⁶ Etymologia słowa *перековка* od przekuwania żelaza (stali) – *ковать, выковать*.

w *Przygodach człowieka myślącego* nazwała neotelimenizmem. Nakreślenie niewielkiego obszaru wspólnego (nawet jeśli okazał się pułapką) powoduje, że rewolucja stałaby się wreszcie widoczna wcześniej, już w trakcie wojny i zaraz po niej, a historyk sztuki operujący w jego ramach stałby się jej uczestnikiem. Ten pomysł przyszedł mi do głowy po m.in. badaniach Macieja Szymanowicza¹⁷, który pokazał, jak konserwatywni poznańscy piktorialiści tworzyli zręby stalinowskich struktur. Z kolei badania Karoliny Zychowicz i Szymona Kubiaka pokazują zachodnioeuropejski import socrealizmu i nie pozostawiają wątpliwości, że infiltracji komunizmem i implementacji socrealizmu nie można ograniczyć do importu zza wschodniej granicy¹⁸. Tzw. rewolucja łagodna, bagatelizowany dotąd w badaniach nad sztuką etap zmian w artystycznej infrastrukturze¹⁹, pozwolił zaistnieć wielu heterogenicznym podmiotom i oznaczał, iż w momencie, gdy władza zmieniła środki na bardziej radykalne – gdy po tych *indulgents*, co chcieli różnych i nieskoordynowanych zmian, wkroczyli – obecni przecież cały czas – inspirowani sowietami *enragés*, duża część artystów, działaczy kultury i historyków sztuki – od radykalnej anarchistycznej lewicy po autorytarną i nacjonalistyczną prawicę – ulokowała się już w ramach nowej struktury władzy i w ramach odbudowy kraju ze zniszczeń. Co więcej, czuli się oni współtwórcami tej nowej struktury, w której państwo decydowało się wesprzeć finansowo różne oddolne inicjatywy. Umiarkowany początkowo program o silnych akcentach narodowych spowodował, iż wraz z obietnicami konkretnych finansowych gratyfikacji kulturalny program komunistycznych władz okazał się atrakcyjny nie tylko dla lewicy. Rewolucja łagodna była więc posunięciem makiawelicznym, umożliwiającym rozproszenie władzy, by tym skuteczniej móc ją potem scentralizować. Pokutujący w Polsce koncept, że zły reżim wizualizowany jest przez brzydkie socrealizm, uważam za infantylny. Jest w tym marzenie o niewinności i czystości histo-

¹⁷ Jak napisał Szymanowicz, wywodząca się z Heimatphotographie koncepcja polskiej fotografii ojczyściej, sformułowana co prawda przed wojną, ale kontynuowana po roku 1945, nie brała pod uwagę wszystkich – „niewygodnych” – aspektów niemieckiego programu „łączącego się z nazistowską teorią rasową”, por. M. Szymanowicz, *Zaburzona epoka. Polska fotografia artystyczna w latach 1945–1955*, Poznań 2016, s. 69. Tworzenie struktur instytucjonalnych przez fotografów – będących jednocześnie być może i pragmatystami, i osobowościami autorytarnymi uformowanymi w warunkach strachu i niepewności – łączy się niewątpliwie z koncepcją ekonomicznej podstawy jako źródła wolności i starą zasadą *novus rex, nova lex*, co działało tu synergicznie.

¹⁸ K. Zychowicz, *Paryska lewica w stalinowskiej Warszawie*, Warszawa 2014; Sz.P. Kubiak, *Daleko od Moskwy. Gérard Singer i sztuka zaangażowana*, Szczecin 2016.

¹⁹ Jednym z wyjątków jest wystawa w warszawskiej Zachęcie: „Zaraz po wojnie” (2015), por. przyp. 1.

rycznej: magicznie zwizualizowane zło można prosto odrzucić, pozbyć się go jak za dotknięciem różdżki (umieszczając np. w Kozłowiec). Poręczny kozioł ofiarny wykreował miraż, zaczarował świat, w którym łatwiej – i piękniej – było nam żyć. Po tzw. odwilży powrócono do Picassa i wzorców z École de Paris – które były intensywnie obecne w fazie łagodnej. Ikonografia rewolucji skojarzona jednak została jedynie z socrealizmem – związanym z ZSRR, choć to adaptacja sztuki École de Paris wyrażała w Polsce najpełniej zwycięską fazę rewolucji, cynicznie i konsolacyjnie przy tym zacierając jej sowiecką inspirację. Taki dziwny miszmasz bezsilności, pragmatyzmu, dobrych chęci i samozakłamywania stał się podstawą inteligenckiego etosu na wiele kolejnych lat. Teza o estetyzacji doświadczenia rewolucji zgodna jest zresztą z generalną diagnozą Preziosiego, że historia sztuki jest produktem estetyzacji życia społecznego i ucieleśnieniem społecznych pragnień²⁰. Przez to wszystko nie udało się jednak wytworzyć szczepionek przeciw inżynierii społecznej, czyli nie poddano gruntownej refleksji przejścia od modernizmu do komunizmu, a przecież były tu historyczne modele do refleksji: wszak po pierwszej wojnie światowej analogicznie we Włoszech nastąpiło przejście między modernizmem a faszyzmem. Porównanie o tyle zasadne, że łączy je doświadczenie wojny, bo – jak pisał Walter L. Adamson – polityczna sytuacja wytworzona przez wojnę była na wiele sposobów „rewolucyjna” i sprzyjała polityzacji modernizmu oraz łączeniu go z regeneracyjną przemocą²¹.

Wydany w roku 1948 *Zarys dziejów polskiej historii sztuki* Adama Bochnaka niewielu wymienia autorów zainteresowanych sztuką współczesną. Znajduje się wśród nich oczywiście Jan Bołoz Antoniewicz, o którym Bochnak napisał, iż „na parę miesięcy przed śmiercią przemówił na otwarciu wystawy formistów z takim zrozumieniem intencji zwolenników ekspresjonizmu i kubizmu, że wywołało to podziw dla lotności umysłu tego już 64-letniego wielbiiciela renesansu”²². Bochnak podkreślał, że właściwie słuszne jest, iż polscy historycy sztuki nie ziścili wielkiego marzenia Bołoz Antoniewicza o szerszym rozmachu dyscypliny i pracują „przede wszystkim w dziedzinie dziejów sztuki w Polsce, rodzimej czy importowanej, wyjątkowo tylko podejmując tematy w żaden sposób niezwiązane z Polską”. Wedle Bochnaka program Antoniewicza okazał się nierealny, bo polski historyk sztuki „nie może się obejść bez autopsji dzieła sztuki na miejscu”, przeto musiałby podróżować i przebywać długo za granicą. Dlatego zamiast opcji lwowskiej – jak tłumaczył – zwycię-

²⁰ D. Preziosi, *The Art of Art History. A Critical Anthology*, Oxford 2009, s. 495.

²¹ W.L. Adamson, *Avant-garde Florence. From Modernism to Fascism*, Cambridge, MA, 1993, s. 219–227.

²² A. Bochnak, *Zarys dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, Kraków 1948, s. 29.

żyła opcja krakowska Mariana Sokołowskiego, czyli badanie dzieł dostępnych w Polsce. „Program Sokołowskiego wytrzymał próbę czasu i okazał się żywotnym do dziś” – dobitnie podsumował uczony, a choć wcześniej nie omieszczał zauważyć, iż Sokołowski „długie lata spędził za granicą”, to jednak po powrocie ogłosił obszerną rozprawę *Ruiny na Ostrowie Jeziora Lednicy*. Bochnak w rezultacie uznał, iż w roku 1948 najpilniejszym zadaniem dyscypliny jest pełna inwentaryzacja zabytków i dopiero wówczas zamiast przyczynków zdobyć się będzie można na opracowania ogólniejsze. Jako jeden z ważniejszych problemów historii sztuki wymienił „problem swoistości naszej produkcji artystycznej”, podkreślając iż „jedynie metoda porównawcza”, kładąca nacisk na relacje ze sztuką zagraniczną, jest właściwa²³. Ten sam Bochnak bowiem, który pragmatycznie ograniczał perspektywy badawcze, starał się jednak, by przy trudnościach w podróżowaniu i ogólnej biedzie dać studentom możliwie najszersze spojrzenie na sztukę europejską. W roku akademickim 1947/1948 miał na przykład wykład o barokowej sztuce flamandzkiej²⁴.

HISTORYK SZTUKI WOBEC MASOWYCH WYWŁASZCZEŃ: AMBIWALENCJA W SAMYM SERCU ETOSU

W tużpowojennych programach odbudowy ze zniszczeń i projektach organizacji życia artystycznego kwestia własności nie jest właściwie podnoszona. Jan Zachwatowicz, pisząc o tym, że naród i pomniki kultury to jedno i że wobec zniszczeń wojennych, nie mogąc „zgodzić się na wydarcie nam pomników kultury, będziemy je rekonstruowali, będziemy je odbudowywali od fundamentów, aby przekazać pokoleniom, jeśli nie autentyczną, to przynajmniej dokładną formę tych pomników, żywą w naszej pamięci i dostępną w materiałach”²⁵, miał świadomość, że jego koncepcja konserwatorska niekoniecznie jest zgodna z ówczesnym prawem: „Ochrona prawna to są przede wszystkim zakazy, które nie tworzą, lecz regulują. Nie zakazami, lecz pozytywnym, żywym programem zdołamy postawić sprawę zabytków w Polsce na należnym jej poziomie”²⁶. Tadeusz Dobrowolski miał z kolei nadzieję na pojawienie się nowego człowieka:

²³ Ibidem, s. 62.

²⁴ A. Bochnak, *Malarstwo flamandzkie XVII wieku: Rubens – Jordaens – Van Dyck: wykłady uniwersyteckie z r. 1947/48*, Kraków 1949.

²⁵ J. Zachwatowicz, *Program i zasady konserwacji zabytków*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury” 1946, 2, s. 48.

²⁶ Ibidem, s. 50.

Muzea muszą wyjść naprzeciw człowiekowi, skarłałemu w wadliwie ukształtowanych normach życia społecznego, kulturalnie nierozbudzonemu i nieraz leniwemu umysłowo. Również i ów człowiek musi wykazać nieco więcej inicjatywy i zdobyć się na próbę otrząśnięcia się z umysłowej bierności²⁷.

Prometejskie słowa, zwiększające dystans – tak charakterystyczny dla nowoczesnej świadomości – między „przestrzenią doświadczeń” a „horyzontem oczekiwań”²⁸, padały już po prawie dwóch latach od ogłoszenia przez PKWN reformy rolnej, na mocy której teoretycznie dokonywano parcelacji majątków ziemskich, ale praktycznie – wszelkiego typu przywłaszczeń i przejęć, także ruchomości, gdy jeden dysponent gruntów i zasobów ekonomicznych ułatwiał kreowanie nowych wizji. Zapowiedź Zachwatowicza nieliczenia się z prawem padała w Polsce już po dekreście Bieruta z 26 października 1945 roku, który w paragrafie 1 stanowił:

W celu umożliwienia racjonalnego przeprowadzenia odbudowy stolicy i dalszej jej rozbudowy zgodnie z potrzebami Narodu, w szczególności zaś szybkiego dysponowania terenami i właściwego ich wykorzystania, wszelkie grunty na obszarze m.st. Warszawy przechodzą z dniem wejścia w życie niniejszego dekretu na własność gminy m.st. Warszawy²⁹.

A zatem, choć kwestia własności dzieł to sprawa szersza, to po rewolucji w Polsce nabiera specyficznego rysu i warta jest osobnego naświetlenia, w którym ważna jest także ciągłość sięgająca okresu przedwojennego. Już bowiem przedwojenne rozporządzenie Prezydenta RP o opiece nad zabytkami z 6 marca 1928 wydało się wielu niewystarczające³⁰ i przemyślano, jak w odrodzonym kraju mogłoby powstać muzeum zawierające europejskie arcydzieła „bez narażania państwa na duże wydatki lub na wydatki w ogóle i bez naruszania zasad prawnych zagwarantowanych konstytucją”, co doprowadziło do projektu „o obowiązku wystawiania obrazów dawnych mistrzów”, po ich obowiązkowej rejestracji³¹. Wolność woli rozumiana jako zasada sprzeciwiająca się

²⁷ T. Dobrowolski, *Zagadnienie muzealnictwa*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury” 1946, 3–4(8), s. 162.

²⁸ Koncepcja R. Kosellecka, *Erfahrungsraum* oraz *Erwartungshorizont* przywoływana przez Habermasa, por. idem, *Filozoficzny dyskurs nowoczesności*, Kraków 2004, s. 21.

²⁹ Dekret z dnia 26 października 1945 r. o własności i użytkowaniu gruntów na obszarze m.st. Warszawy, opublikowany w Dzienniku Ustaw z 1945, nr 50, poz. 279.

³⁰ Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z 6 marca 1928, Dz.U.R.P. nr 29, poz. 265. Opisano tu m.in. możliwość wywłaszczenia gruntów, na których dokonano odkrycia zabytków na rzecz Państwa oraz możliwość wywłaszczenia samych zabytków.

³¹ H. Gotlib, *Projekt ustawy o przymusie wystawiania obrazów dawnych mistrzów*, „Głos Plastyków” 1932, 4, s. 50.

historycznie zastanemu prawu nie jest możliwa bez rewolucji. Niewątpliwie takie realizacje, jak budowa w stolicy szerokich arterii zamiast wąskich ulic, wymagających respektowania prawa własności, czy odbudowa warszawskiej Starówki, zawierały w sobie również faktor koniecznej (nieodpartej) zmiany: były miejscem przywrócenia sprawiedliwości znajdującej uzasadnienie w możliwościach, jakie dawała rewolucja: „zabytek o przywróconym mu majestacie musi stać się czynnym i pełnić rolę społeczną, jako konieczny element osiedla z pełnią swego oddziaływania” – pisał Zachwatowicz³². Rewolucyjna przestrzeń pojednania w postaci starej formy wypełnionej nową treścią, nastawioną na codzienność (Zachwatowicz pisał o zwróceniu zabytków „czynnemu życiu w starannie opracowanej, właściwej formie architektonicznej”³³), miała przy tym zupełnie inny charakter niż ceremonialny charakter ostentacyjnie wertykalnej i dominującej obcej formy, unieważniającej wszystko to, co było, czym stał się sowiecki Pałac Kultury. Odwoływała się do wizualności, do formy, ale nie były to formy nowe, ale stare, znane – bo tylko ich nowa funkcja mogła zaświadczyć o tym, że tu faktycznie zaszła zmiana. Forma kołał przemoc; czyniła nowość swojską. Celem rewolucji – zarówno francuskiej, październikowej („pierekowki”), jak i zamierzonej, polskiej – była wszak zmiana stosunków społecznych, z których wyłonić się miał nowy człowiek (*homme nouveau*). Naukowa i socjalna neutralizacja działań ekspropriacyjnych sprzyjała jego narodzinom; już w listopadzie 1944 na terenie znacjonalizowanego pałacu Zamoyskich w Kozłówce utworzono muzeum³⁴. Posłużę się jednak innym przykładem: oceną kolekcji Potockich, przejętej przez państwo w październiku 1946 po akcji władz bezpieczeństwa, które odkryły skarby m.in. w klasztorze kamedułów³⁵. W aneksie katalogu *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki ze zbiorów Potockich zabezpieczonych przez władze bezpieczeństwa przed wywozem za granicę* przeczytać można było o podstawie prawnej „zabezpieczenia zbioru”, jego autorzy powoływali się bynajmniej nie tylko na powojenny dekret (z 1 marca 1946, Dz.U.R.P. nr 14, poz. 99), ale również na rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej o opiece nad zabytkami (z 6 marca 1928,

³² Zachwatowicz, *Program i zasady konserwacji zabytków*, s. 48.

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ *Zaraz po wojnie*, red. J. Kordjak, A. Szewczyk, Warszawa 2015, s. 10.

³⁵ *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki ze zbiorów Potockich zabezpieczonych przez władze bezpieczeństwa przed wywozem za granicę* [katalog wystawy listopad–grudzień 1946, Muzeum Narodowe], Warszawa 1946. Tekst przewodnika opracowali: Kazimierz Malinowski (malarstwo), Maria Mrozińska (miniatury), Marisa Suchodolska (druki), Stanisław Gebethner (sztuka zdobnicza), Józef Jodłowski i Stanisław Gebethner (pamiątki historyczne i jubilerstwo).

Dz.U.R.P. nr 29, poz. 265). Kazimierz Malinowski (1907–1977), ówczesny kustosz i wicedyrektor Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, absolwent Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego i w niedalekiej przyszłości (1948) dyrektor Muzeum Wielkopolskiego, czyli późniejszego Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu³⁶, oceniając zbiory malarstwa rodziny Potockich, podniósł na mocy ich zawodowej oceny, iż kolekcja nie była tylko rezultatem jakichś szczególnych potrzeb artystycznych, gdyż duży zespół portretów rodzinnych pokazuje, iż ważnym celem było uwiecznienie wizerunków członków rodziny i zdokumentowanie – jak pisał – „tak istotnej niegdyś ciągłości rodu”³⁷. Jednocześnie, przyglądając się dziewiętnastowiecznym portretom, Malinowski opiniował, iż właśnie z powodu popularności malarstwo portretowe nie odegrało w historii sztuki poważniejszej roli, gdyż – jak podnosił – „w dziejach sztuki ostały się tylko nazwiska malarzy awangardowych”. Dodając, iż nie jest to akurat winą rodziny Potockich, to jednak „gdyby kierowali się nie tyle chęcią uwiecznienia swych wizerunków, ile posiadania wartościowego obrazu, z pewnością portrety ich miałyby wartość ponadczasową i nie zdeprecjonowałyby się po upływie kilkudziesięciu lat do prostej ilustracji panujących swego czasu upodobań”³⁸. Można uznać, iż dostając od władz bezpieczeństwa zlecenie eksperckie historyk sztuki – posługując się praktyką „egzegetyczną i kryptograficzną”³⁹, jako przedstawiciel nauki – potrafił zademonstrować swoją niezależność, nawet gdy w katalogu pisze się o „czujności Władz Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego” pomagającej zachować narodowi swoje skarby⁴⁰ i jest to ta sama władza, która niekoniecznie zajmowała się jedynie ratowaniem skarbów. Taka transakcja ratownicza dyscypliny była możliwa dzięki wsparciu nauki, która neutralizowała – a właściwie waloryzowała pozytywnie – obecność dzieł sztuki w muzeum, nawet gdyby znalazły się tam prawem kaduka. To bowiem akurat nie było istotne, gdy badało się rozwój określonej formy, pytało o to, czego konkretnego w historii może dany obiekt dowieść, gdyż dzieło to okaz będący depozytariuszem określonych danych (*specimen data*) w określonej przestrzeni badawczej (*interrogative field*)⁴¹. Nowoczesna koncepcja transferu wielkiej ilości dzieł sztuki, które utraciwszy swój habitat, zostały umiejscowione w nowych warunkach, aby służyły edukacji obywateli, to pomysł tyleż rewolu-

³⁶ H. Kondziela, *Malinowski Kazimierz (1907–1977)*, w: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny Konserwatorów Zabytków*, Poznań 2000, 1, s. 47–49.

³⁷ *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki ze zbiorów Potockich...*, s. 3.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, s. 16.

³⁹ D. Preziosi, *The Question of Art History*, „Critical Inquiry” 1992, 2(18), s. 374.

⁴⁰ *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki ze zbiorów Potockich...*, s. 55.

⁴¹ „specimen of data” oraz „interrogative field” to określenia Preziosiego, w: *idem, The Question of Art History*, s. 375.

cji, co nauki z jej „laboratoriami” wiedzy, czyli uprzywilejowanymi przestrzeniami badawczymi zadającymi właściwe pytania. Sugerując, że władze bezpieczeństwa przejęły też osobiste pamiątki rodzinne, Malinowski był nawet w stanie – na gruncie dyscypliny – podjąć dyskusję o zasadności całości przejęcia. Jednak zaklasyfikowanie wzmiankowanych nieocenionych najwyżej portretów do działu sztuki zdobniczej jako materiałów ilustrujących dzieje kostiumu i stroju wskazywało raczej na uniwersalizm nauki o sztuce, w której każda pamiątka rodzinna może zostać eksponatem muzealnym i zostać sklasyfikowana – w oderwaniu od swojego dotychczasowego celu – jako dokument, w tym konkretnym przypadku – o charakterze kostiumologicznym. Duma z dyscypliny, która wyzwala z dawnych partykularnych celów ku celom uniwersalno-naukowym, przebija też przy ocenie „replik lub kopii z epoki” Rafaela, Andrei del Sarto i Giorgionego, gdyż mając znaczenie artystyczne oraz dydaktyczne, malowidła te kupione zostały jako oryginały i „dopiero precyzyjne znanstwo naszych czasów pozwala w nich widzieć znamiona pośredniego autorstwa”⁴². W inne tony, związane z dziedzictwem narodowym, uderzył w tej samej publikacji Stanisław Gebethner, opisujący kolekcję pasów kontuszowych: wobec zniszczenia przedwojennej kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego, przejęty zbiór stał się „jedynym tego rodzaju w całej Polsce”⁴³. Można więc powiedzieć, iż upaństwowienie zbiorów prywatnych w obliczu narodowej apokalipsy stało się – przynajmniej dla części inteligencji – rzeczą samą przez się zrozumiałą. Kwestia włączenia obiektów w przestrzeń nauki i uruchomienia procedur eksperckich była tak ważna, bo w ostatecznym rachunku mogła służyć unieważnianiu własności. Nauka została zatem wykorzystana do rewolucji, a nowoczesność – dzięki teleologicznym konstrukcjom historycznym – pozwoliła „zaryglować przyszłość jako źródło niepokoju”⁴⁴. Z kolei „magiczny urok konieczności historycznej”⁴⁵ pozwolił nie tylko nie zauważyć rewolucji, ale przemienić w mobilizację w imię szczytnego zbiorowego obowiązku. Nie aspirując do roli prawodawcy, a pozycjonując się w roli tłumacza, historyk sztuki zajął przestrzeń Hermesa w kitlu oddziału ratownictwa, nie tracąc z horyzontu innego świata, który (teoretycznie) tylko dzięki niemu zostaje ocalony. Ustanawiając swą autonomię, ratownik-hermeneuta paradoksalnie potwierdza w istocie oświeceniowe zerwanie z tradycją i autorytarne samostanowienie swojej wyjątkowej rangi, której nie może mu nadać nikt inny jak on sam. Historyk sztuki, wspierając nowoczesność, akceptował

⁴² *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki ze zbiorów Potockich...*, s. 5.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, s. 28.

⁴⁴ Habermas, *Filozoficzny dyskurs nowoczesności*, s. 22.

⁴⁵ H. Arendt, *O rewolucji*, przeł. M. Godyń, Warszawa 2003, s. 67.

oświeceniowe ideały separacji-specjalizacji, o których tyle pisał później m.in. Habermas, próbując zaradzić pomyłce i nieszczęściu nowoczesności, zdefiniowanej przezeń jako powstanie trzech autonomicznych sfer (instytucjonalnych dziedzin aktywności): nauki, moralności i prawa oraz sztuki wedle sobie właściwych prawideł. Filozof w domenie sztuki sprecyzował problem nowoczesności jako eksperckie i przez to samoutwierdzające się podejście do kultury oraz instytucjonalizację celowo racjonalnego działania administracyjnego, skutkującą uniwersalizacją norm i nową mitologią w służbie idei. Wyjściem może być – jego zdaniem – model działania nastawiony na porozumienie, koordynację wzajemnych planów uczestników interakcji i rezygnacja z nastawienia uprzywilejowanego. Giddens pisał z kolei m.in. o funkcjonalnej specjalizacji oraz o systemie eksperckim, w którym pokłada się zaufanie (choć nie można go samemu zweryfikować), co prowadzi do unieważnienia relacji społecznych zależnych od bezpośredniego kontekstu, czyli do separacji czasu i przestrzeni oraz zniesienia umocowania systemu społecznego w konkretnych realiach (tzw. *disembedding*)⁴⁶. Nieosobowa natura ekspertyzy powodowała, że ekspert operował w abstrakcyjnym czasie i przestrzeni, niezdeterninowany przez konkretny kontekst i lokalność; wymeldowywał się z tu i teraz, czyli po pierwsze – oddalał się od lokalnej tradycji, oraz po drugie – wznosił się ponad wulgarność zawłaszczeń służby bezpieczeństwa, choć przecież (to prawdziwy paradoks!) relacja z nią oparta być musiała na relacji zaufania (Giddensowski *trust*) jako katalizatorze symbolicznych środków wymiany. Zaufanie to nie opierało się na uczciwości moralnej, a jedynie na wierze w poprawność zasad. W systemach totalitarnych czy quasi-totalitarnych – gdy dodatkowo złamana została zasada zaufania – podważone zostały zarówno symboliczne środki wymiany, jak i wiara w poprawność zasad. Skoro wewnętrzna referencjalność skonstruowanych norm i standardów eksperckich unika wszelkich relacji poza określoną specjalistyczną domeną – innymi słowy bez Boga lub idei Boga oraz bez konkretnych ludzi ulokowanych tu i teraz – system ekspercki przeniesiony w abstrakcyjny czas i przestrzeń służyć począł samemu sobie. Przedefiniowaniu ulec musiała sztuka, nieodwołalnie stając się częścią zamkniętego systemu eksperckiego, który miał rację bytu o tyle, o ile służył władzy, a nie ludziom w określonym czasie i miejscu. Opisując kolekcję Potockich za pomocą pewników swej dyscypliny, uczony uzyskiwał racjonalną spójność i maksymalną pewność co do uzyskanych wniosków; znacznie większą niż gdyby rozpatrywał kolekcję np. pod kątem tego, czym była dla członków rodziny w konkretnych momentach ich życia. Cienistość

⁴⁶ A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge 1991, od s. 21. Polskie wydanie: *Konsekwencje nowoczesności*, przeł. E. Klekot, Kraków 2008.

modernizmu oczywista jest w jej uniwersalnym aspekcie, lecz w relacji do systemu implementowanego po wojnie można mówić wręcz o tragizmie. Ten tragizm rozpoznaję w rozpięciu dyscypliny między chęcią skupienia się na opcji krajowej (czyli służeniu lokalnej społeczności po traumatycznych doświadczeniach wojennych) z nadzieją, że będzie to możliwe przy niepodważaniu eksperckich fundamentów dyscypliny, oddalających sztukę od ludzi. Na szczęście – w PRL-u – nie można mówić o szczelności systemu. Niemniej, relacja „ustrukturuwana przez system krzyżujących się perspektyw mówców, słuchaczy i aktualnie nieuczestniczących obecnych”⁴⁷ nie mogła zaistnieć w sytuacji, gdy zdziesiątkowane mieszczaństwo uzależniano od wszechwładzy państwa, niszczonego ziemiaństwo, obrabowując ich z własności na rzecz „ludu” i konstruowano retorycznie ów „lud”.

SZTUKA LUDOWA A ART BRUT – W POSZUKIWANIU PRZECIWHISTORII

Jeśli zgodzimy się ze stwierdzeniem Foucault, iż opowiadanie historii długo było spokrewnione z rytuałami władzy i stało się rodzajem ceremonii ją uzasadniającej i umacniającej – jako dyskurs blasku – rola i sposób przedstawienia przedmiotu władzy staje się miejscem rozstajnych dróg – czy stajemy po stronie Tytusa Liwiusza, czy Biblii⁴⁸. Sztuka ludowa jest dzisiaj przedmiotem analiz *critical folklore studies*, poddającym refleksji „zdolność do decydującego wkładu w krytykę władzy i dominujących lub uciskających obyczajności” i retorykę ludowości, mającą wkład w ukonstytuowanie się społecznego ładu⁴⁹; pamiętać bowiem należy, że powiązany z ludowością koncept „prymitywizmu” związany był z ideologicznym konstruktem towarzyszącym imperialnym podbojom⁵⁰, implikując odmienne podejście do czasu i historii. Krytyczna historia ludowości pisana jest zatem przez tych, co nie dowierzają potomkom Tytusa Liwiusza. W tej domenie umieścić można wnikliwe analizy Piotra Korduby: refleksję nad splotem nowoczesności i lokalnego „prymitywu”. Już sam tytuł jego książki *Ludowość na sprzedaż* wskazuje, iż autor nie omija kwestii instrumentalizacji sztuki ludowej, włączania jej w szersze kon-

⁴⁷ Habermas, *Filozoficzny dyskurs nowoczesności*, s. 337.

⁴⁸ Odwołuję się do: M. Foucault, *Wykład z 28 stycznia 1976*, w: idem, *Trzeba bronić społeczeństwa*, tłum. M. Kowalska, Warszawa 1998, od s. 71.

⁴⁹ S.O. Gencarella, *Constituting Folklore: A Case for Critical Folklore Studies*, „The Journal of American Folklore” 2009, 122(484), s. 173.

⁵⁰ M. Antliff, P. Leighton, *Primitivism*, w: *Critical Terms for Art History*, red. R.S. Nelson, R. Schiff, Chicago 2003, s. 217.

cepcje rozwoju ekonomicznego, gustu, wizji społecznych. Korduba ukazuje wiele takich uwikłań, pisząc m.in. o ludomańskich potknięciach, secesyjnej lub artdekwowskiej „ondulacji” w kontekście dochodzących do głosu nurtów awangardowych, o rozwoju turystyki i chęci przeżycia czegoś „autentycznego”, o wprzęgnięciu się w ruchy niechętne maszynie i rozwojowi przemysłowemu oraz o mieście powodującym rzekomo rozkład moralny, o wiejskiej biedzie konserwującej tradycję i związanej z tym etnograficznym konceptem apoteozowania izolacji artystycznej oraz konceptem przeciwnym, apostołskim i ekonomicznym jednocześnie, polegającym na zachęcaniu inteligencji do wprowadzania dzieł przemysłu ludowego do własnych mieszkań celem wspomagania wychodzenia wsi z nędzy, o wyjaławianiu inwencji poprzez system chałupniczy, wreszcie – o roli państwowych instytucji, które jeszcze przed wojną wzięły na siebie rolę strażnika tradycji⁵¹. Można uznać, iż Korduba pokazał wnikliwie, co z twórczością ludową zrobiłby najprawdopodobniej Tytus Liwiusz; zgodnie z założeniami pracy i jej tytułem nie pojawia się wszak „historia biblijna” ludowości, choć dogłębna i wszechstronna krytyka ludowości na sprzedaż – będąca rodzajem kolektywnej fantazji na temat „ludu”, która przez swą retoryczną perswazyjność ukonstytuowała w PRL-u komunikację między miastem a wsią – zostawiła niewątpliwie przestrzeń na taką przeciw-historię (by znów użyć terminu Foucault). Sprawą, która interesuje mnie na styku sztuki ludowej i wyłaniającej się zaraz po wojnie koncepcji *art brut* (będącej w dyskursie rodzajem wiedzy nieujarzmionej, „autentycznej”), jest zatem nieuchronnie funkcja pamięci: nie – zapobieganie zapomnieniu, ale ukazywanie tego, co zostało, zdaniem Foucault, „starannie, z rozmysłem, złośliwie przeinaczone i zamaskowane”⁵². Korduba pisze bowiem – ustami Heleny Schrammówny (zm. 1942) – o napięciu między oświecaniem ludu a uświadamianiem inteligenta, że edukacja służyć może gubieniu przez twórcę ludowego jego pierwotnych umiejętności⁵³. Zaskakujący wniosek, jaki autor wysnuł ze śledzenia koncepcji sztuki ludowej w okresie międzywojennym, polega na podkreśleniu kluczowej roli zarówno przed-, jak i powojennego państwa w projekcie popierania przemysłu ludowego: centralistyczny i monopolistyczny charakter wsparcia ludowości, „poddający przemysł ludowy państwu zarówno pod względem finansowej, jak i merytorycznej kontroli, sprzyjał wykorzystaniu zdobytych już doświadczeń czy wręcz dopasowaniu go do powojennej organi-

⁵¹ P. Korduba, *Ludowość na sprzedaż. Towarzystwo Popierania Przemysłu Ludowego, Cepelia, Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego*, Warszawa 2013.

⁵² Foucault, *Wykład z 28 stycznia 1976*, s. 77.

⁵³ Korduba, *Ludowość na sprzedaż*, s. 60 i 55.

zacji zagadnienia w komunistycznej Polsce”⁵⁴. Zanim jednak zajmę się wzajemnymi korzyściami, jakie świadczyli sobie komunistyczne państwo i antykomunistycznie nastawiona inteligencja w zakresie sztuki ludowej, chcę podjąć wątek poszukiwań tzw. autentycznej kultury ludowej, która interesowała po wojnie badaczy całej Europy, w kontekście rozkładu imperialnych mocarstw oraz kolonizacyjnej orientalizacji i egzotykcji kultury ludowej. Przykładem może być pobyt Claude’a Lévi-Straussa w Nowym Jorku (1941–1945), zainteresowanie sztuką nieprofesjonalną i tym, co nie wiąże się z „kulturowym przemysłem” w ujęciu Adorna; tu ważne były relacje z surrealistami oraz Indianami. Lévi-Strauss w obmyśleniu strukturalnej antropologii i związanej z nią niehierarchicznej koncepcji sztuki skorzystał zarówno z konieczności tworzenia dla procesu kreacji „nieprawdopodobnych zestawień” surrealistów, jak i z przechadzek po zaułkach imigranckiego Nowego Jorku, wykładów Romana Jacobsona, pomniejszających rolę autora, oraz z przemysła stworzonej przez Franza Boasa Northwest Coast Indian Gallery w tamtejszym Muzeum Historii Naturalnej; nie bez znaczenia było także zapoznanie się ze sztuką więźniów⁵⁵. Po powrocie do Paryża uczony stał się członkiem Compagnie de l’art brut i zwiedził wystawę „L’Art Brut préféé aux arts culturels” (1949, Galerie René Drouin). Mniej więcej w tym samym czasie (od grudnia 1948 do lutego 1949) w Musée National d’Art Moderne trwała „Wystawa Polskiej Sztuki Ludowej i Przemysłu Artystycznego”, zorganizowana przez założone przez Wandę Telakowską Biuro Nadzoru Estetyki Produkcji. Dla Dubuffeta sztuka surowa nie była oczywiście związana z produkcją; była nadzieją na przekroczenie narodowych animozji i historycznych uwarunkowań; może być rozpatrywana w kontekście „estetyki bezdomności” T.J. Demosa i jako ostatni „inny” modernizmu⁵⁶. Jakkolwiek dzisiaj negatywnie

⁵⁴ Ibidem, s. 132. Korduba nie zaznacza co prawda, czy polska sztuka ludowa w ramach Cepelii skupiała się na wzorach tych narodów, które wchodziły w skład przedwojennej Rzeczypospolitej, wydaje się jednak, że oczywista była tu (a przez to znaturalizowana) pozbawiona krytyczności geografia, nastawiona na wzorcotwórczą rolę terenów Podhala i Polski centralnej; jeśli tak – odnosiłaby się do konstruowania „narodu” i „ludu” w ramach pojałtańskiego porządku, wymagającego – w ramach lojalności w stosunku do ZSRR – amnezji, gdy chodzi o wszystko, co zostało za Bugiem. Skoro Dulski musiał chodzić po wojnie na kopiec Kościuszki (a nie na lwowski kopiec Unii Lubelskiej), ludowość definiowała się przez Kurpie i okolice.

⁵⁵ K. Minturn, *Dubuffet, Lévi-Strauss, and the Idea of Art Brut*, „RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics” 2004, 46, s. 247–258; por. też: J. Clifford, *On Collecting Art and Culture*, w: *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, red. R. Ferguson, M. Gevert et al., Cambridge, Mass., 1990, od s. 156.

⁵⁶ Minturn, *Dubuffet, Lévi-Strauss...*, s. 255 i 258.

oceniaamy stereotypowego w swej patologii „innego”, różniącego się od „normalnego” twórcy⁵⁷, a także dziewiczo nieskałaną koncepcję *art brut* Dubuffeta, to w konkretnym historycznym momencie po wojnie rzecz toczyła się o inkluzywność europejskiej kultury i o niedawanie (poprzez sztukę) wzorców dominacji, w tym także o kulturowe formowanie w kontrze wobec autorytarnych koncepcji nowoczesności; ten krytyczny aspekt był charakterystyczny nie tylko dla *art brut*, ale również m.in. dla grupy Cobra (1948–1951) i tych jej członków, którzy tworzyli później ruch sytuacjonistów. Foucault pisze o przeciw-historii w związku z jej potencjałem „odszyfrowania, odgrzebania sekretu, odwrócenia podstęp, odzyskania przeinaczonej i sftumionej wiedzy”⁵⁸, o jej wymiarze rewolucyjnym. Choć warto by dogłębniej zbadać, czy rodzimy „prymityw” nie został wykorzystany jako ezopowy język przeciw-historii, to roboczo można jednak postawić tezę, że tego typu myślenie było jak najodleglejsze dla polskich historyków sztuki. „Ludowość na sprzedaż” jest prawdziwym paradoksem – jest kontynuacją przedwojennego dyskursu władzy przejętego przez komunistyczne państwo i jego powojenną rewolucję. Dubuffet w swej retoryce ludowej naiwności posługiwał się narzędziami krytycznymi wobec racjonalnego projektu nowoczesności z jego wzorcami dominacji⁵⁹. Dubuffet wierny był ideom „niewykastrowanej”, nieudomowionej koncepcji kultury – bliskiej także surrealismom – jako zawierającej emancypacyjny, rewolucyjny potencjał, zupełnie zatracony przez uporządkowaną oświeceniową edukację⁶⁰. Co więcej, jeżdżąc do Afryki, ani myślał czerpać ze sztuki galijskiej, zbyt oczywista byłaby paralela z nazistowską ideologią *Blut und Boden*. *Art brut* uznać więc można za przeciw-historię; na gruncie historii sztuki w Polsce mogła być nią nauka uprawiana przez Aleksandra Jackowskiego, kulminująca w wystawie „Inni”

⁵⁷ *The Artist Outsider: Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture*, red. M.D. Hall, E.W. Metcalf, Jr., Washington 1994; G.A. Fine, *Self Taught Art and the Culture of Authenticity*, Chicago 2004; por. D. Wojcik, *Outsider Art, Vernacular Traditions, Trauma, and Creativity*, „Western Folklore” 2008, 2/3(67), s. 179–180.

⁵⁸ Foucault, *Wykład z 28 stycznia 1976*, s. 78.

⁵⁹ Za przykład służyć może seria asamblaży, w których wykorzystywał upolowane motyle. Prowokacją była ich hekatomba dla celów artystycznych: w logice nowoczesności wydawać się mogła bezsensowna (czyli ekonomicznie nieuzasadniona, niefunkcjonalna), a także sam pomysł tworzenia wizerunków ludzi upodabniających się do owadów (które z kolei – posługując się batesowską mimikrą, charakterystyczną dla istot bezbronnych – obnażały swoją żalostną bezsilność). Wszystkie te zabiegi służyły jednak polemice z koncepcją „ludu”, wprzęgniętego w jakiegokolwiek instrumentalnie go traktujące projekty, por. S.K. Rich, *Jean Dubuffet: The Butterfly Man*, „October” 2007, 119, s. 46–74.

⁶⁰ L. Shiner, *The Invention of Art: A Cultural History*, Chicago 2001, s. 149–151.

w warszawskiej Zachęcie w 1965 roku⁶¹. Włączanie – jak pisał Jackowski, który był kuratorem wystawy – „wzgardzanych” i „niedostrzeżonych” możliwe było – tłumaczył – dzięki przemianom sztuki⁶², jednak zamiarem badacza nie było w żaden sposób podważenie jej hierarchii. „Innych” nazwać można by było wedle kuratora po prostu amatorami, dyletantami, malarzami niedzielnymi lub prymitywami, jednak nazwa „inni” jest najadekwatniejsza, gdyż chodzi o ludzi zdolnych wykreować swój odrębny świat, różniący ich od twórców ludowych, działających w obrębie określonej grupy regionalnej (np. podhalańskiej lub kurpiowskiej). „Inni” nie mają wspólnej więzi i Jackowski, pokazując tu spektrum „od pogranicza twórczości ludowo-odpułstowej [...] do [...] amatorów z kręgu przedmieść i małych miasteczek, twórczości górników, robotników, rzemieślników”, by dyskretnie włączyć tu – poprzez czynnik cierpienia – ludzi z niepełnosprawnościami psychicznymi. Faktycznie ilość nieszczęść, jaka przydarzyła się „innym”, budzić musiała poruszenie: urodzeni zazwyczaj w skrajnej biedzie, wstrząsani depresjami, „epilepsją, objawami lunatyzmu”, chorzy i kalecy, osamotnieni i załamani, nieznający swych poległych na wojnie ojców, skończyli najczęściej ledwie 7 klas szkoły podstawowej, bo „trzeba bowiem było pracować, aby pomóc dziadkom” lub chorej matce i rodzeństwu, choć bywało, iż zwalniani byli z pracy za udział w strajku, dziś często – starzy i zmęczeni – nie mogą już pracować, „tyle co w ogrodzie”⁶³. Dzięki kategorii „inności” galeria Zachęty w czasach rozkwitu naukowego ateizmu zapełnić się mogła m.in. wizjami religijnymi; można było ponadto sproblematyzować twórczość Marii Blumenfeld, pielęgniarki związanej z inspirującym się sztuką surową Jerzym Pankiem, i pozwolić mówić wszystkim wymienionym w katalogu osobom własnym głosem, choć przetworzonym przez instancję sztuki nowoczesnej w postaci galerii sztuki. Teoretycznie oddanie głosu Blumenfeld to odesłanie do innego świata, który nie uzyskał prawomocności i miał potencjał odwołania się do historii rewindykacyjnej oraz insurekcyjnej; ale te światy mogły się spotkać jedynie w sytuacji wertykalnej zależności. Można zauważyć, iż koncepcja „innych” wprowadza trzeci głos w starciu z koncepcją „ludowości na sprzedaż”, o której pisał Korduba, osadzając ją w ramach centralizowanej kontroli państwa, oraz z etnograficzną koncepcją naukowych badań regionalnych. „Inni” Jackowskiego nie są modelem dla

⁶¹ O wystawie: G. Świtek, *„Inni” w kanonie nowoczesności*, w: *Polska – kraj folkloru?*, red. J. Kordjak, Zachęta – Narodowa Galeria Sztuki, Warszawa 2016, s. 171–179.

⁶² A. Jackowski [b.t.], *Inni. Od Nikifora do Głowackiej*, oprac. A. Jackowski [katalog wystawy, Zachęta], Warszawa 1965, [b.n.s.].

⁶³ Życiorys skompilowany na podstawie biogramów twórców zamieszczonych ibidem.

regeneracji narodu, bo źródło ich sztuki jest często w chorobie. Jackowski połączył to, co Anglosasi nazywają *primitivism*, który – jak pisał Davis MacLagan – prześladuje europejską kulturę od zewnątrz, oraz *outsider art* odnoszącą się do tego, co istnieje w obrębie tej kultury⁶⁴. Jednak choć „inni” Jackowskiego w tym zakresie zdają się być przepracowaniem traumy nazistowskich wystaw „sztuki zdegenerowanej” z lat 30., to trzeba zauważyć, iż są to nade wszystko ludzie, którym należy się współczucie (takiego podejścia zdecydowanie nie miał Dubuffet); co więcej, rodzimy „prymityw” powinienn, co prawda, zostać wyeksponowany i ochroniony, ale w ramach protektoratu oczywista jest jego kulturowa bezsilność i miejsce na marginesie⁶⁵. Dosadne szczegóły z życia czyniły z „innych” niestety swoistą zmedykalizowaną i uklasowaną menażerię, szczęśliwie jednak ten ambiwalentny obraz został całkowicie przesłonięty przez starannie zaaranżowaną i zaskakującą scenografię wystawy: ustawiono na podłodze, w przestrzeni wystawowej, całopostaciowe, naturalnej wielkości fotografie artystów, co powodowało – jak pisała Gabriela Świtek – że „widzowie przechadzali się między fotografiami artystów [...] – niemal bezpośrednio spotykając się z «innymi»”⁶⁶. Nie zmieniło to jednak ideologicznej nadbudowy: „uludowiani” (określenie Joanny Kordjak⁶⁷) „inni” powtarzają i utwierdzają wszystkie hierarchie powstałe na dychotomicznie skonstruowanej retoryce cywilizowany–prymitywny: przemawiają mitycznym językiem niezależnym od historii, należą do klasy niższej (najwidoczniej żaden zdeklasowany arystokrata nie zajął się z rozpaczą sztuką⁶⁸), jest w tej grupie stosunkowo dużo kobiet (wszak „kobiece do męskiego ma się tak jak natura do kultury”⁶⁹). Nawet rytuały grupy Hruszki, które wzięły się

⁶⁴ D. MacLagan, *Outsiders or Insiders*, w: *The Myth of Primitivism. Perspectives on Art*, red. S. Hiller, London–New York 2005, s. 18.

⁶⁵ Ciekawy jest w tym kontekście podział Piotra Juszkiewicza, wyodrębniający dwa stanowiska względem sztuki ludowej w PRL-u: etnograficzne (ochronne) i nowoczesne, w obu przypadkach inna była „relacja między sztuką ludową a sztuką wysoką i kulturą popularną, z naciskiem na ochronę tradycyjnych form przed niekorzystnym wpływem współczesnej cywilizacji i nowoczesnej kultury”, za: P. Juszkiewicz, *Ludowe, dziecięce, prymitywne, nowoczesne. O ceramice Antoniego Kenara*, w: *Polska – kraj folkloru?*, red. J. Kordjak, Warszawa 2016, s. 194.

⁶⁶ Świtek, „Inni” w *kanonie nowoczesności*, s. 177–178.

⁶⁷ J. Kordjak, *Polska – kraj folkloru?*, w: *Polska – kraj folkloru?*, Warszawa 2016, s. 23.

⁶⁸ Wyjątkiem z klasy średniej jest urodzona w Łucku i związana po wojnie z Krakowem (m.in. jako modelka w ASP) Irena Trzaskowska, której ojciec był oficerem, a matka dentystką. Dominacja robotników w obszarze tzw. sztuki naiwnej to oczywiście konstrukcja ideologiczna. Por. K. Piwocki, *Dziwny świat współczesnych prymitywów*, Warszawa 1975, s. 12.

⁶⁹ Antliff, Leighton, *Primitivism*, s. 220.

– jak tłumaczył założyciel – z „błędów zakonników z Jasnej Góry”, a na które się osobiście napatrzył w klasztorze ojców paulinów – były ukazane w świetle taniej sensacji („drgawki” w czasie transu) i egzotycznej w PRL-u obrazy uczuć religijnych, zakończonej procesem karnym w dawno minionym roku 1912. Jeśli ponadto przypomnimy, iż Cepelia stała się społeczną enklawą dla zatrudniania tam przedstawicieli dawnej inteligencji, ziemiaństwa i arystokracji – gdyż panie z towarzystwa gwarantowały „kulturalną obsługę i znajomość języków obcych”⁷⁰, tym jaśniejszy stanie się klasowy kontekst *Innych*. Choć zatem wypunktowane tu relacje sztuki ludowej i *art brut* wymagają dalszych analiz, na podstawie zasygnalizowanych tu kwestii można przyjąć robocze podsumowanie, iż powojenna kontynuacja ścisłego związku państwa i ludowości – niegdysiejsze marzenie dziewiętnastowiecznych projektów politycznych o rezurekcji polskiej państwowości i „stawka w grze”, jak ująłby to Foucault – na polu historii sztuki sprowadziła się do przejścia autokratycznych praktyk. Czy jednak tym razem stawką w grze było jedynie ograniczenie komunistycznych władz, to kwestia ciągle nie dość wyraźnie naświetlona.

PODSUMOWANIE

Pragmatyczny program Bochnaka, by zajmować się jedynie sztuką polską wraz ze wzniesieniem żelaznej kurtyny, oznaczał zapaść, której nie mógł przewidzieć: edukację dwóch pokoleń historyków sztuki na czarno-białych reprodukcjach, jednoczesną prowincjonalizację dyscypliny i niezwykle elitarne umiędzynarodowienie wybranych jednostek oraz recepcję ze światowej sztuki współczesnej jedynie określonych treści filtrowanych przez ekspertów oraz związaną z tym anihilację innych dyskursów niż te aprobowane przez państwo. Przy narodowym ujednoczeniu obywateli zajmowanie się sztuką polską oznaczało przyuczanie do monofonii. Denazyfikacja Niemiec poskutkowała otwarciem się na radykalne poszukiwania artystyczne, umiędzynarodowieniem dyskursu sztuki współczesnej (Paik i Cage, zapraszani do Niemiec i ku aprobacie Niemców, „preparowali” ich wspinała fortepiany), komunikacja zainteresowana była estetyzacją systemu i jego unifikacją w ramach naukowej racjonalizacji i autokratycznego zarządzania. Mimo rewolucji społecznej klasowy podział na etnografię i sztukę wysoką nie został zachwiany – to prawdziwy paradoks, że podważenia separacji na muzea sztuk pięknych i etnograficzne uczyć się musieliśmy – jako kraj „demokracji ludowej” – od tzw. Zachodu. Ścisłe relacje sztuki i państwa – budzące pewne nadzieje zaraz

⁷⁰ Korduba, *Ludowość na sprzedaż*, s. 149.

po wojnie – są niestety *per fas et nefas* nadal kluczowe dla polskiej kultury, konieczna dywersyfikacja nawet po roku 1989 nie nastąpiła w zbyt dużym zakresie: niemal wszystkie prywatne galerie czerpią dzisiaj z dotacji państwowych, gdyż postkomunistyczni arcywici nie dowiedzieli się w postkomunistycznych szkołach, co mogliby robić dla poszerzania horyzontów myślowych, zachęcania do podejmowania wyzwań i dobra wspólnego. Dla Malinowskiego dzieło sztuki było materialnym dowodem w polu badawczym (samodzielnym *locus* ludzkiej kreatywności i estetycznej ekspresji oraz okazem ludzkiej kultury⁷¹), gdzie stawiano określone – legitymizowane przez tradycję historii sztuki – pytania. Umieszczenie dzieła sztuki w tym polu było ostatecznym celem dzieła. Kwestia własności w tej laboratoryjnej przestrzeni była problemem nienależącym do horyzontu badawczego. Używanie dzieł przez rodzinę Potockich i ich podrzędne, partykularne cele (np. używanie do praktyk religijnych, zabawy, różnych codziennych aktywności lub wspomnienia przodków) powinny ustąpić majestatowi nauki. Rewolucja – jak można domniemywać – mogła dostarczać kolejne okazy-dowody, dzięki którym narracje historii sztuki stawałyby się coraz doskonalsze. Dla Jackowskiego z kolei „inni” w galerii ewokowali pytania dotyczące statusu ich faktycznej obecności: naturalnej wielkości fotografie były kompromisem między skompromitowanym w etnografii ludzkim zoo a całkowitą nieobecnością i przejściem głosu przez obiektywną naukę. W przeciwieństwie do konieczności implikowanej przez historię sztuki odłączenia ludzi od ich dzieł sztuki, by te ostatnie zaoferować ludowi, etnografia dawała możliwość ujawnienia połączeń. Warunek był jednak oczywisty: to lud został w nim ofiarowany zarówno sztuce współczesnej, jak i nauce, a etos etnografii pozwolił na wyzwolenie ludzkiej wrażliwości z oków akademizmu i wskazał nauce rewolucyjny potencjał nie tylko w patrzeniu naprzód, ale również wstecz, co jest fundamentalnym konceptem nowoczesności. Jackowski wymykał się taksonomicznym strukturom historii sztuki wraz z ich uzurpacją reprezentacji uniwersalnej wiedzy, ale tworzona przezeń narracja okazała się estetyczno-martyrologiczną monofonią. Chociaż jednak sztuka stanęła tym samym także po stronie religii i magii oraz partykularnych, indywidualnych interesów życiowych, a nie tylko nauki, to mimo przeniknięcia twórczości „myślą nieoswojoną” wystawa zaowocowała zunifikowanym asamblażem konkretnych mediów w ramach historii sztuki: obrazów i rzeźb. Ostatecznie więc „inni” sprowadzeni zostali do tego, co znane.

⁷¹ Tak definiuje obiekty w tradycyjnych wystawach muzealnych Ruth B. Phillips, zob. eadem, *Disrupting Past Paradigms: The National Museum of the American Indian and the First Peoples Hall at the Canadian Museum of Civilization*, „The Public Historian” 2006, 2(28), s. 79.

Historyk sztuki jest dzieckiem swoich czasów. Skrywanie ideologicznego zaplecza za szlachetnie brzmiącymi hasłami, fabrykowanie jakościowych różnic między jednostkami i społecznościami przez oświeceniową, uniwersalistyczną koncepcję sztuki⁷² oraz produkcja wiedzy odartej z religijnego wtałumaczenia⁷³ – to tylko niektóre z zarzutów, które będą się pojawiać wobec historii sztuki już niedługo po omawianych tu czasach. W PRL-u historyk sztuki stał się w rezultacie filtrem omnipotentnego państwa, w przebraniu eksperta i w majestacie nauki. Filtr dobrego smaku w autokratyzmie nie oznacza dobrego wychowania, lecz knebel. Po roku 1989 zapomniano, że etos nowoczesności po roku 1945 budowany był w warunkach arcytrudnych wyborów i pragmatycznego „mniejszego zła”; znaturalizowano rewolucję, a umożliwione to zostało właśnie dlatego, że została zwizualizowana przez École de Paris. Podstawowa strategia rewolucji w sztuce to przecież nadawanie nowych znaczeń starej formie. Zafiksowana na analizie formalnej historia sztuki nie była zdolna (nie chciała? nie mogła?) podjąć się analiz zamiany sensów tych samych form znaczących inaczej podczas polskiej rewolucji. Dlaczego nie ukazujemy komplikacji splotu znaczeń? Historyków przyucza się na sędziów. Historyków sztuki, dodatkowo lub w kontrze – na estetów.

Można jeszcze na koniec zadać pytanie, czy powojenne dylematy historii sztuki nie dały się wyczytać z przedwojennych refleksji młodych historyków sztuki, którzy po roku 1945 kształtować mieli dyscyplinę. Studentka uniwersytetu poznańskiego na wycieczce-objeździe po Polsce w roku 1939 w swym pamiętniku opisała wrażenia, jakie wywołały w niej dzielnice nędzy w Lublinie:

[...] ciemne ulice bez chodników, domy wałące się, budowane bezładnie, czasem jeden na drugim, przyczepione do stromych zboczy [...]. Z domów buchał zapach złego jada, pranej bielizny, brudu, nędzy... [...] wychudzone żydowskie dzieciaki z krzykiem goniły po bruku⁷⁴.

Aniela Sławska (1918–1997) – owa studentka, a po wojnie m.in. kustosz Działu Malarstwa Polskiego XVI–XVIII wieku w Muzeum Narodowym w Poznaniu – pisała, że będący na tej samej wycieczce magister Zdzisław Kępiński przekonywał wycieczkę, że te malownicze widoki to „istna Siena”, tak że w końcu i cała wycieczka przyszłych historyków sztuki patrzyła na ciężkie,

⁷² Preziosi, *The Art of Art History*, s. 497–500.

⁷³ C. Farago, *Silent Moves. On Excluding the Ethnographic Subject from the Discourse of Art History*, w: *Art History and its Institutions. Foundations of a Discipline*, red. E. Mansfield, London–New York 2002, s. 192–193.

⁷⁴ A. Sławska, „No i co teraz zrobimy?” *Pamiętnik z pewnej wycieczki*, Poznań 2019, s. 129–130.

nędzne bytowanie jak na „teatrum» ciekawe”. W swym pamiętniku Sławska zapisała wszakże znamiennej uwagę, że nikt pewnie z wycieczki nie zdobyłby się na odwagę, by zamieszkać wśród tych miejsc, a gdyby nawet – zapewne nie miałby wówczas ani odwagi, ani siły, „by zachwycać się malowniczością tych miejsc”. Sławska w związku ze swoją wrażliwością na biedę pisała: „Nigdy zdaje się nie będę dobrą historyczką sztuki – nie potrafię oderwać się od tych miejsc, a co gorsza, nie wiem, czy potrafię je rozwiązać, tak dla siebie w moim życiu?...”⁷⁵. Niewątpliwie, poszerzona wrażliwość Sławskiej zaprzęczała autonomii oraz czysto wizualnej tradycji historii sztuki do tego stopnia, że studentka obawiała się, że nigdy nie zostanie dobrą historyczką sztuki: jej *pensée-corps* (jak ująłby to później Lyotard) wystawiło się na to, co zmysłowe, i na konkret doświadczenia, które okazało się zranieniem. Na nic takiego nie otworzył się Kępiński, późniejszy dyrektor Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu i wykładowca akademicki, choć już przed wojną nazywany był – jak notowała Sławska w diariuszu – „niebezpiecznym człowiekiem”, gdyż poglądy miał „hiperliberalne i w ogóle «wywrotowe””, o religii naturalnie nie ma mowy, za to różne „machlerki» komunistyczne, za które kiedyś nieomal nie został zamknięty”⁷⁶. Wojna nie załagodziła tych młodzieńczych niepokojów, przeciwnie – uczyniła je wyrazistszymi. Rozumienie, co znaczy „dobry historyk sztuki”, bardzo długo się jednak nie zmieniało.

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⁷⁵ Ibidem, s. 129–130.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, s. 94.

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AROUND 1948: “THE GENTLE REVOLUTION” AND ART HISTORY

Summary

Just like after World War I Italy experienced a transition from modernism to fascism, after World War II Poland experienced a passage from modernism to quasi-communism. The symbol of the first stage of the communist revolution in Poland right after the war, the so-called “gentle revolution,” was Pablo Picasso, whose work was popularized not so much because of its artistic value, but because of his membership in the communist party. The second, repressive stage of the continued came in 1949–1955, to return after the so-called thaw to Picasso and the exemplars of the *École de Paris*. However, the imagery of the revolution was associated only with the socialist realism connected to the USSR even though actually it was the adaptation of the *École de Paris* that best expressed the revolution’s victory. In the beginning, its moderate program, strongly emphasizing the national heritage as well as financial promises, made the cultural offer of the communist regime quite attractive not only for the left. Thus, the gentle revolution proved to be a Machiavellian move, disseminating power to centralize it later more effectively. On the other hand, the return to the Paris exemplars resulted in the aestheticization of radical and undemocratic changes. The received idea that the evil regime was visualized only by the ugly socialist realism is a disguise of

the Polish dream of innocence and historical purity, while it was the war which gave way to the revolution, and right after the war artists not only played games with the regime, but gladly accepted social comfort guaranteed by authoritarianism. Neither artists, nor art historians started a discussion about the totalizing stain on modernity and the exclusion of the other. Even the folk art was instrumentalized by the state which manipulated folk artists to such an extent that they often lost their original skills. Horrified by the war atrocities and their consequences, art historians limited their activities to the most urgent local tasks, such as making inventories of artworks, reorganization of institutions, and reconstruction. Mass expropriation, a consequence of the revolution, was not perceived by museum personnel as a serious problem, since thanks to it museums acquired more and more exhibits, while architects and restorers could implement their boldest plans. The academic and social neutralization of expropriation favored the birth of a new human being, which was one of the goals of the revolution. Along the ethnic homogenization of society, focusing on Polish art meant getting used to monophony. No cultural opposition to the authoritarian ideas of modernity appeared – neither the *École de Paris* as a paradigm of the high art, nor the folklore manipulated by the state were able to come up with the ideas of the weak subject or counter-history. Despite the social revolution, the class distinction of ethnography and high art remained unchanged.

Keywords:

revolution, art after 1945, communism, autocracy, folklore

MARIA POPRZECKA

WEJŚCIE SMOKA

Rola „poznańskiej historii sztuki” w polskiej historii sztuki po roku 1970 wymaga szeroko zakrojonego i wielostronnego przebadania. Dla zapoczątkowania tych badań przedstawiam tylko jeden moment tej długiej już historii. Przyjmując ściśle prywatną perspektywę, wracam do sytuacji, w jakiej spotkałam się z „poznańską historią sztuki”, którą to sytuację nazwałam „wejściem smoka”. Popkulturowo-marketingowy tytuł nie uchybia uczoności, natomiast dobrze oddaje impet, z jakim grupa młodych historyków sztuki z Poznania przebiła się na znaną i zasiedziałą scenę polskiej historii sztuki.

W roku 1970 rozpoczęłam – przypadkiem i niespodziewanie – pracę w Instytucie Historii Sztuki UW. W następnym – 1971 – „fuksem”, jak to określił mój promotor, profesor Jan Białostocki – obroniłam doktorat. Byłam zatem w pozycji optymalnej – uniwersytecki etat, najmłodszy wtedy doktor w dyscyplinie, a przede wszystkim poczucie satysfakcji i bezpieczeństwa, że jako młody historyk sztuki znalazłam się w miejscu najlepszym z możliwych. Może nie w pełni, ale zdawałam sobie sprawę, że polska historia sztuki lat 60. (czyli lat moich studiów) była dziedziną tradycyjną, o pozytywistycznych, dziewiętnastowiecznych korzeniach, skupioną na badaniach faktograficznych i inwentaryzacyjnych sztuki polskiej, bezrefleksyjnie adaptującą pojęcia, metody i klasyfikacje wypracowane przez „zachodnią” historię sztuki (to ostatnie dotyczyło także historii sztuki XX wieku, zwłaszcza historii awangard). Natomiast poczucie komfortu zapewniała obecność na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim Jana Białostockiego, który wtedy był już uczonym o międzynarodowej renomie. Wiele podróżujący, uczestnik międzynarodowych organizacji, znający wielkich uczonych tego świata, autentycznie zaprzyjaźniony z Erwinem Panofskim, a jednocześnie bezpośredni i skromny w kontaktach z polskimi kolegami, stwarzał iluzję, że ten wielki świat kongresów oraz prominentnych periodyków i wydawnictw jest czymś w zasięgu ręki. Chociaż pozycja profesora Białostockiego bezpośrednio nie przekładała się dla nas na jakiegokolwiek przywileje czy ułatwienia, na przykład stypendialne (Białostocki nie budował wokół siebie „dworu”, „stajni” ani „szkoły”), sama jego obecność w Instytucie

skutecznie chroniła przed niszczącym poczuciem polonocentrycznej prowincjonalności.

Natomiast zarówno kończąc studia, jak i później, rozpoczynając pracę uniwersytecką, praktycznie nie znałam żadnego historyka sztuki z Krakowa czy Poznania, o mniejszych ośrodkach nie wspominając. Byli co najwyżej pozycjami bibliograficznymi, czasem obowiązkowymi. O niektórych krążyły anegdoty lub byli przez moment przedmiotem zainteresowania medialnego (jak np. profesor Zdzisław Kępiński z racji ryzykownej atrybucji Stwoszewi mało znanego ołtarza). Dotyczy to przede wszystkim ciała profesorskiego, które – widziane z dzisiejszej perspektywy – na okolicznościowych fotografiach wygląda jak grono „facetów w czerni”, personifikujących obowiązkowe lektury. Owa wsobność nie była wynikiem zamierzonego izolacjonizmu. Komunikacja międzymiastowa – także ta uniwersytecka i naukowa – była słaba. Tak po prostu było, z różnymi stereotypami i uprzedzeniami włącznie.

Profesor Białostocki – co jest jedną z jego zasług – jako wieloletni prezes Zarządu Głównego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki usiłował przełamać izolację (czasem niechętną) polskich ośrodków uniwersyteckich historii sztuki. Temu służyć miały publikacje materiałów ogólnopolskich sesji naukowych, które aczkolwiek odbywały się od lat 50., nie były zbiorczo ogłaszane drukiem, pozostawały rozproszone i tym samym pozbawione funkcji integrujących środowiska naukowe. Pierwszy tom – *Późny gotyk. Studia nad sztuką przełomu średniowiecza i czasów nowych*, zbierający wystąpienia na konferencji odbytej na wrocławskim ratuszu w roku 1962 – zadedykowany został pamięci ks. profesora Szczęsnego Dettloffa. Nawiasem mówiąc, owe nadal publikowane tomy, aczkolwiek tematyczne, ale zawsze o strukturze sylficznej, są kapitalnym materiałem do badania dziejów polskiej historii sztuki ostatnich 70 lat – jej naukowej, intelektualnej i duchowej kondycji.

Właśnie jedna z dorocznych sesji naukowych SHS – odbywająca się w roku 1974 w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie konferencja „Myśl o sztuce” – stworzyła sytuację, która jest przedmiotem mojej refleksji, a raczej próby rekonstrukcji ówczesnych emocji. Zdaję sobie sprawę z ryzyka podobnych retrospekcji, ale je podejmuję, gdyż raczej chodzi mi o aurę wydarzenia niż jej kronikarski zapis. Sesję, inaugurowaną przez nestora w osobie Władysława Tatarkiewicza, zamykało wystąpienie Jana Białostockiego podsumowujące 40-lecie działalności SHS. A w tych ramach wygłoszono ponad 20 referatów, m.in. Andrzej Rottermund mówił o architektonicznych teoriach Duranda, Jacek Woźniakowski o angielskich krytykach, Elżbieta Grabska o Goncourtach, Maria Rzepińska o teoriach polskiego koloryzmu. Programowo część wystąpień poświęcono polskim historykom sztuki: Atanazemu Raczyńskiemu, Władysławowi Łuszczkiewiczowi, Zygmuntowi Ba-

towskiemu, Oskarowi Sosnowskiemu, Władysławowi Podlacha. Było zatem godnie, interesująco, było w czym wybierać, byli świetni autorzy, było merytorycznie, co nie zawsze na sesjach SHS się zdarza. A jednak nie to sprawiło, że w pierwszym impulsie gotowa byłam określić tę konferencję jako „wejście smoka”.

Ewenementem, który to sprawił, była – w swojej mocnej formie i krytycznym tonie obca sesyjnym obyczajom – gwałtowna polemika młodych przedstawicieli poznańskiej historii sztuki z referatem Zofii Ostrowskiej-Kęmbłowskiej *Problem historyzmu w badaniach nad architekturą wieku XIX*. Publikowany w tomie sesyjnym zapis tej dyskusji w żaden sposób nie oddaje jej rzeczywistego charakteru. Przede wszystkim nie oddaje pasji, z jaką była toczona, i emocji, jakie wzbudziła na sali. Znamienne, że dyskusję wywołał nie tekst poprawny, lecz znakomity, szerokością horyzontów badawczych i metodologiczną samoświadomością przewyższający większość wystąpień. Z taktycznego punktu widzenia polemistów słusznie właśnie on stał się przedmiotem krytyki, gdyż swoją klasą nadawał dyskusji wysoką naukową rangę. Wielogłos, jaki usłyszało konferencyjne zgromadzenie, był publicznym, „ogólnopolskim” debiutem „polemicznej” i „krytycznej” historii sztuki, jaka z anarchicznym impetem objawiła się na XII Kongresie Historii Sztuki w Kolonii w kwietniu 1970 roku. „Nigdy przedtem ani potem żadne obrady jakiegokolwiek gremium historyków sztuki nie zdobyły w Niemczech tak wielkiego i publicznego rozgłosu”¹. Najkrócej mówiąc, historia sztuki jako dyscyplina akademicka została tam poddana totalnej krytyce, inspirowanej różnymi nurtami neomarksizmu, i poddana rewizji jako jeden z istotnych składników ideologii klasy panującej/władzy, w Niemczech dodatkowo skażonym kolaboracją z reżimem nazistowskim. Celem rewizji stało się podważenie paradygmatów dyscypliny, przede wszystkim zakwestionowanie pojęcia Sztuki, fundującego jej tożsamość jako suwerennej dziedziny badawczej. Szła wraz z tym demistyfikacja konstytuujących ją dyskursów (o pięknie, autonomii Sztuki, geniuszu artystycznym etc.). Analiza dyskursu historii sztuki miała odsłonić jej przesłanki światopoglądowe, założenia i schematy myślowe.

Czy wystąpienie grupy młodych poznańskich historyków sztuki było obliczone na podobny rozgłos i czy mogło liczyć na porównywalne reperkusje? Nie było przecież ograniczone do polemiki z referatem Zofii Ostrowskiej-Kęmbłowskiej (jak można by sądzić po opublikowanym zapisie). Ostrze krytyki skierowano także przeciw instytucjom polskiego życia naukowego, głównie

¹ M. Bryl, *Suwerenność dyscypliny. Polemiczna historia historii sztuki od 1970 roku*, Poznań 2008, s. 173 nn.

przeciwko Stowarzyszeniu Historyków Sztuki, merytorycznej organizacji sesji, skostnieniu i pustej obrzędowości życia naukowego etc. Czy poznańskie wystąpienie stało się, czy mogło się stać porównywalnym *succes de scandale*, jaką była kolońska „sekcja Warnkego”?

Trzeba wspomnieć, że uczestnicy krytycznej manifestacji na warszawskiej konferencji nie brali udziału ani w tej, ani w żadnej z poprzednich sesji SHS (wyjąwszy wystąpienie Andrzeja Turowskiego, który w roku 1969 na sesji „Sztuka XX wieku” mówił o Strzebińskim²). To dawało im krytyczny rozmach i niezależność, ale z drugiej strony mogli być odbierani jako „obcy”, z całym niechętnym bagażem tego słowa. Ich zbiorowe wystąpienie było nieprzewidzianym oficjalnym programem wejściem na środowiskową scenę. Ale na pewno zaprogramowanym. Poznaniacy byli do tego publicznego coming outu świetnie przygotowani. Rok wcześniej, w listopadzie 1973, w zmuzealizowanym pałacu rogalińskim pod Poznaniem miało miejsce bezprecedensowe spotkanie dyskusyjne poznańskich historyków sztuki z Martinem Warnke, poświęcone publikacji *Das Kunstwerk zwischen Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung*³. Polscy historycy sztuki, dokonując analizy materiałów „sekcji Warnkego”, podzielali ich polemiczne podejście do tradycyjnej historii sztuki, opartej na stylistyczno-ikonograficznym paradygmacie. Z oczywistych przyczyn w dyskusji polsko-niemieckiej nastąpiło istotne przesunięcie akcentów z rozliczenia z nazizmem i uwikłania historii sztuki w system kapitalistyczny na zagadnienia czysto metodologiczne, co pozwoliło na dookreślenie ówczesnej polemicznej samoświadomości historii sztuki. Materiały tego spotkania zostały opublikowane, aczkolwiek – jak to w ówczesnej Polsce – z paroletnim poślizgiem (1976)⁴. Dzięki temu jednak spotkanie rogalińskie, zamknięte i niszowe, przez długie lata pozostawało punktem odniesienia wielu debat, interpretowane, rozważane, analizowane, m.in. przez Piotra Piotrowskiego i Mariusza Bryła⁵. W tym miejscu musi być przypomniane jako konieczny element rekonstrukcji sytuacji zaistniałej na konferencji SHS „Myśl o sztuce”. Było bowiem tej sytuacji zapleczem. Polemiści byli świetnie przygotowani, natomiast większość publiczności, do której się zwracali – nie

² Poprzednie, od roku 1970, sesje SHS były poświęcone tematami: 1970 – „Funkcja dzieła sztuki”; 1971 – „Sztuka 2. połowy XIX wieku”; 1972 – „Sztuka około 1600 roku”; 1973 – „Renesans” (materiały połączone z konferencją PAN w Krakowie); 1974 – „Myśl o sztuce”.

³ *Das Kunstwerk zwischen Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung*, red. M. Warnke, Gütersloh 1970.

⁴ *Interpretacja dzieła sztuki. Studia i dyskusje*, red. J. Kęśbowski, Warszawa-Poznań 1976.

⁵ Bryl, *Suwerenność dyscypliny*, rozdz. III, szczególnie s. 196–201.

była przygotowana wcale. Stąd efekt szoku i wrażenie nie bardzo zrozumiałej prowokacji, jakich wielu „zwykłych” historyków sztuki doznało w związku z tym wydarzeniem.

Wracając do osobistej perspektywy i pamięci – spotkanie rogalińskie było mi znane, choćby z relacji profesora Białostockiego (jedynego zaproszonego polskiego uczestnika spoza Poznania). Z racji różnych resentymentów niemiecka *Ideologiekritik* była dla mnie nie do przyjęcia. A jednak, może właśnie za sprawą metodologicznego „oczyszczenia”, jakie przeszła w zderzeniu z polskim kontekstem, pierwsze burzliwe spotkanie z „poznańską historią sztuki” okazało się dla mnie doświadczeniem emancypacyjnym. Bodaj po raz pierwszy w życiu zawodowym doznałam wartości (a może i uroków) buntu i sprzeciwu. Może nawet pokusy ojcobójstwa. Starannie uporządkowana domena, którą winniśmy sobie czynić poddaną, w jaką wprowadzały mnie studia, uległa zaburzeniu i odtąd już nic nie było „na pewno”. Historia sztuki objawiła mi się jako nieufadzona, nieprzewidywalna i całkowicie niepodległa kraina wolności. Wolności wyboru dróg do jej rozumienia, badania, także odczuwania. Nie chodziło o zamianę ikonologii na strukturalizm, porzucenie Ernsta Gombricha dla Johna Bergera czy zaniechanie naukowej akrybii na rzecz zideologizowanej publicystycznej pasji. Istotą była sama świadomość możliwości i wolności wyboru. Paradoks może w tym, że „sekcja Warnkego” była ideologicznie wysoce doktrynalna, ale jej duch rewolty niósł ze sobą ducha wolności. Zdaję sobie sprawę, że prawie półwieczny dystans może pamięć mącić, a przede wszystkim sprzyja myśleniu życzeniowemu, kompensacyjnemu, wszelkim mitologizacjom. Lecz w skażonym antropologicznym myśleniem gronie historyków sztuki nie muszą przekonywać o wartości mitologizacji. Tak więc sesja SHS „Myśl o sztuce”, na której zaprezentowałam jedyną w moim dorobku pracę czysto archiwalną, niespodziewanie stała się okolicznością wyzwalającą i pobudzającą do ciągłego krytycznego myślenia, które chroni przed duchowym zniewoleniem. Wnosząc błogosławiony zamęt, wszczepiła mi trwale przekonanie, że mając do czynienia ze sztuką, nigdy nie można się czuć pewnie i bezpiecznie.

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ENTER THE DRAGON

Summary

The paper is a reminiscence of my first meeting with the colleagues from the Institute of Art History of Adam Mickiewicz University, which took place at an annual conference of the Association of Art Historians in 1974, titled "Reflection on Art." Choosing an unusual title, I wanted to convey the impetus with which a group of young art historians from Poznań entered the decent and somewhat stagnant stage of Polish art history. The critique they presented was directed against Polish academic institutions, the problematic of the conference, the empty rituals of academic life, etc. Even though I did not accept all their objections, the heated debate suddenly turned out for me to be a liberating factor, stimulating continuous critical thinking which is an antidote for spiritual and intellectual captivity.

Keywords:

history of art history, conference, Poznań, Association of Art Historians, institutional critique

ANDRZEJ TUROWSKI

L'IMAGINATION AU POUVOIR:
HISTORIA SZTUKI W CZASACH KRYZYSU LAT 60./70.

Mój artykuł o wydarzeniach w poznańskiej historii sztuki w kontekście kształtującej się refleksji metodologicznej i orientacji badawczych ma charakter osobistej refleksji wyrażonej w dość luźnej formie, toteż nie przypisuję sobie prawa do dokonywania na jego podstawie jakichkolwiek zbyt daleko idących generalizacji. Odnoszę się do dość krótkiej historii, bo zaledwie półtorej dekady od połowy lat 60. i do końca lat 70. w ramach stuletnich dziejów poznańskiego Instytutu Historii Sztuki. W znacznym stopniu moje słowa oparte są na pamięci, lecz odnosić się będą również do obecnych przemysłów nad moją historią sztuki, która wynikała z doświadczeń lat 60. i wpisuje się również dzisiaj, może w sposób przewrotny, w ogólny zwrot w naukach humanistycznych dokonany w kontekście kryzysu społecznego i rewolucji kulturalnej roku 1968, wprowadzających wyobraźnię w obszar wiedzy pozytywnej i myśli krytycznej. Postaram się odpowiedzieć na wydawałoby się proste pytanie: jak do tego doszło?

Wśród archeologicznych wykopalisk w moim archiwum (prywatnym, a może pokoleniowym) znajdują *bric-à-brac* pierwsze numery „Współczesności” z roku 1956 pisane prowokacyjnie małą literą obok *Witaj, smutku* Françoise Sagan; filmy włoskiego neorealizmu oglądane w popularnych po Odwilży klubach filmowych; przedstawienia Grotowskiego w Teatrze 13 Rzędów w Opolu; *Dwoje na huśtawce* z Cybulskim i Kępińską w warszawskim Ateneum; piwnicę jazzową Komedy i Ptaszyna Wróblewskiego gdzieś w Poznaniu (chyba na Wildzie); również poznańskie festiwale poezji z udziałem zbuntowanego Andrzeja Bursy z Krakowa; pierwszą wystawę abstrakcji Vedovy, organizowaną przez profesora Kępińskiego; zaskakujący pokaz rzeźby Henriego Moora w Muzeum Narodowym. A także ustawiczne podróże po Polsce autostopem z tym wszystkim pod pachą, co można było przeczytać z literatury światowej, a ukazywało się tego sporo: Sartre i Camus, powieść amerykańska: Steinbeck i Faulkner, Hemingway i Truman Capote, a w Europie francuski *nouveau roman*: Michel Butor i Alain Robbe-Grillet, a dalej

Samuel Beckett i wreszcie odkrywany z fascynacją Marek Hłasko. A przede wszystkim napisany dla polskiego czytelnika esej Sartre'a *Marksizm i egzystencjalizm*.

Potem studia, najpierw prawo i zaraz historia sztuki: egzamin z powszechnej historii sztuki zdawałem u Piotra Skubiszewskiego tydzień po egzaminie z prawa międzynarodowego u jego brata Krzysztofa Skubiszewskiego. A działo się to w Zakładzie Historii Sztuki na ostatnim piętrze w budynku przy ulicy Fredry. Długi, ciemny korytarz z pracownią fotograficzną Zbyszka Czarneckiego na końcu, a z boku pokoje asystentów i profesorów, sala seminaryjna i wykładowa z wielkim epidiaskopem do wyświetlania ilustracji, a na korytarzu ławki, na których przesiadywaliśmy godzinami... Wówczas zawiązywały się pierwsze artystyczne przyjaźnie ze studentami szkoły plastycznej oraz intelektualne fascynacje z kolegami z historii sztuki. Gdy zaczynałem pracować jako asystent, Adam Labuda kończył już studia. Odkrywaliśmy razem „słowa i rzeczy” Foucault, czytane na helskiej plaży, a nieco później nie do końca zrozumiałą „różnicę” Derridy. Janos Brendel – uciekinier z Węgier, student ostatniego roku – opowiadał o rewolucji budapeszteńskiej... Zbliżał się rok 1968, ja już byłem po pierwszych podróżach paryskich, naładowany strukturalistyczną atmosferą, obserwując z bliska słynną dyskusję między Raymondem Picardem i Rolandem Barthes'em na temat „nowej krytyki i nowej mistyfikacji” (1965), a potem rewolucyjne i semiologiczne spory w kręgu grupy „Tel Quel”. Trudno było to wszystko złożyć w jedną całość. Poruszaliśmy się po tak niepewnym terenie, na którym za każdą sprawą wszystko mogło eksplodować, wylecieć w powietrze. I w tej atmosferze rodziły się pierwsze pytania o sztukę i naukę, kulturę i wiedzę, historię i metodologię, politykę i odpowiedzialność.

To wówczas zaczęliśmy sobie dobrze zdawać sprawę, że wybór takiej lub innej racjonalności nadaje spójność i rygor uprawianej przez nas wiedzy. Wygodne i pełne logicznej czystości były teorie normatywne określające z góry ramy naukowych dociekań. Trudniejsze i grożące dezorientacją okazywały się strategie poznania, które pozwalały na wyłanianie się teorii z samych badań w trakcie pracy nad materiałem historycznym. Tak pojmowane następstwo teorii, relatywizujące proces poznawczy wobec tego, czego jeszcze nie wiemy, wydawało się dla współczesnej humanistyki i nas samych bardziej interesujące. Wyobrażenia, przypadek, emocje, a nawet fantazja, wyznaczając obszary twórczej niepewności, pozostawiają w świadomości badacza doświadczenie wiedzy „nie-pełnej”, to znaczy niepodporządkowanej hegemonii doktryny racjonalnej i instytucjonalnej władzy nauki.

Wskazówki dotyczące sposobów rozumowania i falsyfikowania opracowywanego materiału nie są „neutralne”. Już wtedy o tym wiedziałem. Dzisiaj,

podkreślając takie umocowanie badacza w przestrzeni dyskursów światopoglądowych, politycznych i rozstrzygnięć naukowych, nie staję po stronie redukcjonistycznego (lub metafizycznego) determinizmu ideologicznego w humanistyce, lecz podkreślam rolę ideozy jako kontekstu, środowiska lub sieci, w którą, podejmując badania, jesteśmy złapani.

Na każdym etapie procesu poznania trzeba pamiętać o umiejscowieniu naszych badań w określonej epistemie, obejmującej obszary i instytucje społeczno-symboliczne, porządki prawno-polityczne, zjawiska psychologiczno-emocjonalne, pragnienia i traumy, tradycje i wizje, afekty i mity, które siłą rzeczy wchodzi w skład wyposażenia badawczego i są niezbywalnym elementem świadomości i nieświadomości historyka sztuki. Trudność polega jednak na tym, że wraz z kryzysem modernizmu wielkie metanarracje, które próbowały ustrukturalizować i zrjonalizować taką epistemę, poniosły klęskę. W efekcie każdy jej opis jest fragmentaryczny, każdy porządek przypadkowy, a szansa interdyscyplinarnej (uniwersalnej) syntezy – wątpliwa. Konfrontujemy się – jak się często mówi – z płynną rzeczywistością. Wartość esencjonalnej prawdy naukowej została umieszczona wśród prawd częściowych, a integralność i stabilność wiedzy zachwiana z chwilą zakwestionowania możliwości ustanowienia jakichkolwiek ostatecznych sensów i pełnych tożsamości.

Znaczenia wyłaniające się z resztek i pęknięć, a nie całości, przeniosły się na teren doświadczenia pragmatycznego, a uprawiana (produkowana) wiedza nabrała performatywnego charakteru. Wzrosła w tej sytuacji – co jest niewątpliwie bardzo ważną cechą dzisiejszej kondycji badacza – odpowiedzialność uczonego za skutki społeczne uprawianej wiedzy. Innymi słowy, pojawił się na innych niż dotychczas podstawach problem zaangażowania społecznego uczonego i intelektualisty. Nauka stanęła wobec wyzwań świata współczesnego, wiążąc na nowych zasadach metafizykę kryzysu, nieobecności i pamięci z rzeczywistością, w której więcej jest biedy niż sprawiedliwości, więcej wojen niż szczęścia, więcej przemocy niż porozumienia, więcej nienawiści i wykluczenia niż zgody i więzi, a demokracja jako społeczny wymiar życia, projekt politycznej i kulturowej wspólnoty – stale zagrożona różnego rodzaju populizmami. Nauka została skonfrontowana z egoistycznym antropocentryzmem człowieka współczesnego, niszczącego ludzką i nie-ludzką eko- i biosferę na skalę dotychczas niespotykaną i z obojętnością zakrawającą na samozagładę.

Ograniczenia, a zarazem powinności, związane z warsztatem naukowym humanisty, jak to się dzisiaj często podkreśla, mają charakter etyczny, a nie „czysto” metodologiczny. Pojęcie wolności nauki (liberalizm) powiązane z etycznym poczuciem odpowiedzialności uczonego za stan tego świata, jeżeli powraca na grunt metodologiczny, to przez pojęcie alternatywnego doświadczenia, z którego wynika konieczność przebudowania wszystkiego łącznie

z metodologiczną podstawą wiedzy. Żyjemy w okresie przejściowym między systemami światowymi – twierdzi Immanuel Wallerstein, twórca utopistyki, a jest to okres szczególnie nieprzewidywalny.

Jeżeli chcemy wykorzystać swoją szansę, to musimy najpierw zrozumieć, na czym polega ta szansa. Wymaga to przebudowy ram wiedzy, w taki sposób, żebyśmy zrozumieli naturę obecnego kryzysu strukturalnego, a tym samym nasze historyczne alternatywy dla XXI wieku¹.

Daleki od dzisiejszej świadomości tego problemu, ale z podobną perspektywą, zostałem skonfrontowany w roku 1968, u początków mojej pracy naukowej.

Oczywiście istotny jest kierunek i charakter wspomnianej wyżej przebudowy, szczególnie gdy uświadamiamy sobie modernistyczne porażki idei postępu i związane z tym realne zagrożenia, a nie chcemy przejść na grząski grunt etycznego konserwatyzmu, który obrósł w XX wieku groźną społecznie symboliką i spowodował wiele szkód swoją polityczną praktyką. W tej sytuacji trudno jest oczekiwać stworzenia jakiegokolwiek schematu postępowania naukowego w ramach jednej metody i zintegrowanego z rozwojem społecznym. Pozostawienie agonistycznego (spornego) obszaru, na którym odbywa się debata naukowa, a więc dopuszczenie współistnienia różnych rodzajów prawdy, tak jak wielu kultur, we wspólnym organizmie demokratycznym, jest próbą komplementarnego zbliżenia kontradycyjnych metod, a zarazem zachowania ich odrębności w wyobrażanych porządkach przeszłości i przyszłości. Jest oczywiste, pisał Paul K. Feyerabend, twórca anarchizmu epistemologicznego, że

[...] idea niezmiennej metody lub niezmiennej teorii racjonalności oparta jest na zbyt naiwnym poglądzie na człowieka i jego środowisko społeczne. Dla tych wszystkich, którzy przyglądają się bogatemu materiałowi dostarczonemu przez historię i którzy nie mają zamiaru zubożyć go w celu zaspokojenia swych niższych skłonności, swej tęsknoty za intelektualnym bezpieczeństwem, przyjmującym formę jasności, precyzji, „obiektywności” i „prawdy”, stanie się jasne, że istnieje tylko jedna zasada, której bronić można we wszystkich okolicznościach i we wszystkich stadiach rozwoju ludzkiego. Oto owa zasada: nic świętego [*anything goes*]².

¹ I. Wallerstein, *Utopistyka. Alternatywy historyczne dla XXI wieku*. tłum. I. Czyż, Poznań 2008, Poznańska Biblioteka Anarchistyczna, s. 88.

² P.K. Feyerabend, *Przeciw metodzie*, tłum. S. Wiertelwski, red. nauk. przekładu K. Zamiara, Wrocław 1997, s. 26.

Zasada taka nie znaczy, że „wszystko można powiedzieć o wszystkim”. Nie jest ona nihilistycznym przeświadczeniem o braku celu i obojętnością wobec środków. Nie jest cynicznym oportunizmem odrzucającym społeczne wartości w imię indywidualnych korzyści. Jest natomiast rodzajem relatywizmu poznawczego (epistemicznego), który z całą świadomością swych ograniczeń w dziedzinie głoszenia prawdy otwiera się na myśl krytyczną odbierającą siłę perswazyjną naukowym przyzwyczajeniom, myślowym schematom i utartym drogom wiedzy. Anarchizm metodologiczny – w moim przekonaniu – jest krytycznym wkładem w pozytywną naukę, a zarazem samym sednem alternatywnych sposobów poznawania. Tutaj meta-refleksja metodologiczna, nie tworząc systemu, „błąka się po kątach”, wypełniając puste przestrzenie niewiedzy, pytając o faktyczność tego, co wiemy i poznajemy. Nie dopuszcza do ustalenia raz na zawsze obszaru naszych badań ani przedmiotu naszych refleksji. Wymusza zmianę punktów widzenia, nakazuje wyostrenie obserwacji i dociekliwości krytycznej, podważa historyczną i dyscyplinarną integralność uprawianej nauki. Taka metoda – kwestionując metodologiczne granice – zaburza ład wiedzy, otwierając poznanie na wyobraźnię.

W tym sensie historia sztuki, tracąc „twardy” przedmiot odniesienia, staje się swoistą praktyką literacką lub intelektualną opowieścią, podejmującą próbę ogarnięcia marginesów skrywających się przed naukową kontrolą, uchwycenia źródeł nieostro zarysowanych, dążeniem do włączenia w obszar badań naukowych zbyt słabych idei w konfrontacji z „twardą” wiedzą, jest pragnieniem ujęcia całej gamy afektów i emocji, które umknęły jednoznacznemu opisowi, jest dostrzeżeniem sprawczej roli przedmiotowych resztek. Jest to niesklecona tożsamość historii sztuki, która przez budowanie literackich fikcji i intelektualnych konstrukcji dociera do niewyrażalności i bezforemności, wkraczając w obszar pamięci i związanych z nią doświadczeń życiowej traumy, milczenia i melancholii. Nie mam tutaj na myśli historycznej nostalgii za nieistniejącą całością, lecz sytuację poznawczą, która materializuje (a nie rozmywa) złożone interakcje emocjonalno-wyobrażeniowe między umykającym przedmiotem badań historii sztuki a historykiem sztuki zgłębiającym „żywe archiwum” współczesności.

W tym też znaczeniu, co jest oczywiste, metodologia – jakkolwiek byśmy ją rozumieli – odnosi nas do historii, jest nieustającym procesem lektury i relektury całej przeszłości i współczesności naszej dyscypliny, czytaniem od nowa jej metodologicznych aspiracji i operacyjnych dokonań. Trudno posądzać, aby proces ten był bezinteresowny. Toteż widziałem go jako strategię legitymizacji historii sztuki w obszarze różnych praktyk społecznych i podmiotów władzy. Był to dyskurs zarazem mityczny i krytyczny. Jako pierwszy pozwalał historii sztuki budować twierdze nauki w wyraźnie wytyczonych

granicach (uniwersytety, muzea), a jako drugi podważał jej instytucje, dokonując wyłomów i przekraczając ograniczenia. Metodologia definiowała zatem samo jądro konfliktu polityczności historii sztuki, czyniąc z niej praktykę publiczną. Tak rozumiana metodologia historii sztuki pozostaje jedynie fragmentem badań, tekstów naukowych, wykładów i seminariów akademickich; stając się jednocześnie sednem relacji społecznych, kontaktów ze studentami, z badaczami i artystami. W miejsce wyobcowanej w wątpliwej tożsamości wiedzy i budowanej na niej teorii metodologicznej historii sztuki proponowałem w całej mojej praktyce, która zaczęła się w Poznaniu, transwersalną (i zaangażowaną) refleksję wpisaną w profesjonalną praktykę badawczą uwikłaną w nigdy niezakończony spór o metodę (racjonalność), o przedmiot (sztukę) i ideologię (historię). Podsumowując swoje rozważania o anarchistycznej metodzie, Feyerabend pisał:

Nie ma wiedzy bez „chaosu”. Nie ma postępu bez częstego odżegnywania się od rozumu. Idee, które dziś tworzą podstawę nauki, istnieją tylko dzięki temu, że kiedyś wystąpiły takie czynniki, jak uprzedzenie, zarozumiałość, namiętność; dlatego że czynniki te przeciwstawiają się rozumowi i działanie ich jest samorzutne. Dochodzimy więc do konkluzji, że nawet w obrębie nauki – rozum, szczególnie ten instrumentalny, nie jest i nie powinien być wszechwładny, trzeba go często gwałcić lub eliminować na rzecz innych sposobów działania. Nie istnieje jedna reguła, która obowiązywałaby we wszystkich warunkach, ani jeden sposób działania, do którego zawsze można się odwoływać³.

Problemy, o których tutaj powiedziałem, w poważnym stopniu określały, powtórzę to jeszcze raz, moją drogę naukową w środowisku polskiej, a później francuskiej, ale w szczególności poznańskiej historii sztuki już od połowy lat 60. XX wieku. To wówczas zarysowały się przede mną zmiany, które określiły nowe sposoby uprawiania historii sztuki wraz z głębokim przewartościowaniem dotychczasowych stanowisk i poglądów. Na czoło wysunęły się cztery zagadnienia. Pierwsze to rola i znaczenie historii sztuki współczesnej w programie badawczym i dydaktycznym. Miejsce historii sztuki nauczanej chronologicznie od starożytności po nowoczesność zajęło zaproponowane środowisku uniwersyteckiemu jeszcze w latach 60. spojrzenie na całość dziejów z perspektywy nowoczesności. Historia sztuki nowoczesnej (XIX i XX wiek) zdobywała sobie odtąd coraz istotniejsze miejsce w projektach naukowych i w poznańskiej praktyce dydaktycznej. Nie było to proste odwrócenie porządku. Kryło się za tym przekonanie o historycznych determinacjach pozycji badacza, którego położenie wśród wydarzeń i instytucji współczesnych określa aparaturę pojęciową

³ Ibidem, s. 158.

i procedury interpretacyjne stosowane w różny sposób w odniesieniu do każdej przeszłości. W konsekwencji postawa warunkująca świadomość metodologiczną i odpowiedzialność światopoglądową, którą proponowała współczesność, stawała się historyczną podstawą uprawiania nauki o sztuce i źródłem weryfikacji wszelkich sądów. Istotne znaczenie dla wykrystalizowania się tej postawy miała dyskusja z kręgiem młodych niemieckich historyków sztuki i wspólna debata na temat dzieła sztuki „między nauką a światopoglądem”⁴ (1973).

Ugruntowana w wyniku tego spotkania nowa świadomość doprowadziła do drugiego istotnego zagadnienia. Chodziło mianowicie o konieczność wpisania refleksji metodologicznej (krytycznej) w szczegółowe badania historyczne. Koncepcja wiedzy nie mogła tworzyć światopoglądowej enklawy. W tym znaczeniu metodologia traciła charakter wiedzy zewnętrznej (meta-wiedzy lub teorii) wobec przedmiotu badań, wchodząc z nim, jak wówczas mówiliśmy, w dialektyczny związek. W dydaktyce uniwersyteckiej i podejmowanych badaniach wiązało się z tym położenie większego nacisku na studia dziejów nauki o sztuce jako dyscypliny historycznej w miejsce dotychczasowej filozoficzno-filologicznej analizy doktryn artystycznych (estetyki). Skutki tego rozumowania sięgały jednak dalej i w efekcie pojawił się trzeci problem, świadczący o jeszcze szerszej zmianie podejścia do historii sztuki. Historyczna relatywizacja i kontekstualizacja przedmiotu badań szła w parze z kwestionowaniem jego granic gatunkowych i sposobów istnienia. Również tutaj niebagatelną rolę odegrały studia nad sztuką współczesną, a przede wszystkim zainteresowanie strategiami awangardy (*collage*, montaż, *ready-made*, konceptualizm), skutecznie podkopującymi status ontologiczny dzieła. Zachęta wynikająca z teorii aleatoryczności dzieła współczesnego (Eco, Barthes) prowadziła do otwarcia historycznej struktury artystycznej, a zarazem porzucenia przekonania o jego jedności konsolidowanej ponadhistoryczną zasadą i jedynym sensem. Dzieło sztuki w ówczesnych studiach traciło pojęciową, formalną i estetyczną tożsamość, a zarazem następowało jego ikoniczne, genetyczne i funkcjonalne zróżnicowanie. Historia sztuki wymykała się właściwym jej dotąd kategoriom opisowym i pojęciowym, a tracąc na tym gruncie swoją autonomię, znajdowała nowe miejsce wśród specyficznych problemów ogólnej wiedzy o kulturze.

Zostały podważone granice dyscypliny, gwarantowane odrębnością przedmiotu badań oraz stosowanych metod, a poznawczą niezależność tak rozu-

⁴ Sesja naukowa „Dzieła sztuki między nauką i światopoglądem” odbyła się 14 listopada 1973 roku w Rogalinie. Został jej poświęcony w całości tom zatytułowany *Interpretacje dzieła sztuki*, red. J. Kęmbowski, Poznań 1976. Por. też omówienie: A.S. Labuda, *Polska i niemiecka historia sztuki w polemicznym dyskursie – symposium w Rogalinie w roku 1973*, „Artium Quaestiones” 2017, 28, s. 227.

mianej wiedzy o sztuce i jej metodę interpretacyjną trzeba było polemicznie na nowo ustalić. Nie chodziło o jej zintegrowanie z „ogólną teorią” symboliczną (kulturoznawstwo) lub ikonologiczną (historia sztuki), tak jak chcieli tego przedstawiciele dominujących wtedy w Polsce tendencji akademickich (pierwsza połowa lat 70.), lecz odwrotnie – o historyczną i społeczną dywersyfikację sztuki na gruncie antropologii strukturalnej (mity), semiotyki-semiologii (znak, komunikacja) i antropologicznej socjologii (życie artystyczne, recepcja społeczna). Innymi słowy, chodziło o teorię transdyscyplinarną, określaną później terminem *cultural studies*. Stała za tym koncepcja krytyczna, która nie tyle absolutyzowała lub instytucjonalizowała dzieje i wiedzę, ile ideologizowała historię i socjologizowała dzieło. W polskiej historii sztuki tamtego czasu była to perspektywa rewizjonistyczna powstała w atmosferze kontestacji roku 1968. Została też szybko uznana za zamach – i chyba słusznie – na uprawianą w ramach muzealnych pracowni i uniwersyteckich instytutów historię sztuki traktowaną jako dyscyplina naukowa wolna od ideologii i społecznego uwarunkowania.

W szerszej perspektywie już od początku lat 70. były coraz popularniejsze w Polsce idee mające swoje źródła, jakbyśmy to dziś powiedzieli, we *French Theory*⁵ oraz marksizmie szkoły frankfurckiej, a przede wszystkim – pismach Waltera Benjamina⁶. Podjęta tam krytyka mieszczańskiej kultury była interesująca ze względu na swój potencjał krytycznego zaangażowania w historycznie rozumianą terażniejszość. Z trudem jednak znajdowała przełożenie na sytuację w Polsce. Interesująca była też rola przypisywana sztuce współczesnej z jej pojęciem autonomii (Adorno), pozwalająca obnażać niebezpieczne siły tkwiące w ideologiach społecznych i manipulującej nimi władzy (Althusser). To na tym gruncie rysowała się znamienna ewolucja „nowej historii sztuki” od zainteresowania historią idei przez strukturalizm do socjologii dyskursów. Z tych też obszarów brała się nowa orientacja problemowa oraz terminologia definiująca podstawowe kategorie opisowe i interpretacyjne przenoszone na teren historii sztuki. Paradygmatycznie traktowanemu zagadnieniu awangardy w badaniach nad sztuką XX wieku odpowiadał teraz historyzm w odniesieniu do XIX wieku. Chodziło o badanie wewnętrznych i zewnętrznych napięć generowanych przez dzieła oraz społecznej dynamiki determinującej

⁵ P. Piotrowski, „Francuskie teorie”, *amerykańska mediacja. Pro domo sua i/lub humanistyka po dekonstrukcji*, w: *French Theory w Polsce*, red. E. Domańska, M. Loba, Poznań 2010, s. 105–116.

⁶ Seminarium Benjaminowskie miało miejsce w dniach 20 i 21 marca 1981 roku, a obszernie jego omówienie zostało zamieszczone w „*Artium Quaestiones*” 1983, 2, s. 190–192. W tym samym numerze ukazał się przekład Wojciecha Suchockiego artykułu Wolfganga Kempa *Walter Benjamin i Aby Warburg* (s. 145–172).

nie tyle ich powstawanie, ile funkcjonowanie. Przykładem było zagadnienie stylu, którego źródeł poszukiwano przede wszystkim na gruncie ideologicznej i technologicznej produkcji formy (historyzm), a nie w historii kształtów i wśród estetyki piękna. W odniesieniu do awangardy podobną rolę odegrało pojęcie utopii, które pozwalało porzucić ideowy i formalny dualizm nurtów zrationalizowanej lub ekspresyjnej formy, cały czas popularne we wszelkich syntezach sztuki XX wieku. Szybko nadrzędnymi pojęciami myślenia o sztuce i wyjaśniania procesów artystycznych stały się definicje struktury i władzy, pociągając za sobą całe szeregi przewrotnie powiązanych zagadnień, takich jak rewolucja i transgresja, krytyka i wykluczenie, utopia i ideologia, autonomia i zaangażowanie, historyzm i dialektyka, tekst i dyskurs, funkcja i mit, innowacja i stereotyp, diachronia i synchronia, centrum i prowincja, znaczące i znaczone, itp.

Rozpływająca się w interdyscyplinarnych projektach historia sztuki potrzebowała z końcem lat 70. i początkiem lat 80. nowej konsolidacji. W kontekście napięć i euforii politycznych rysowała się nowa i istotna reorientacja obszaru badawczego, będąca czwartym krokiem domykającym dotychczasowe przewartościowanie na gruncie interesującej nas poznańskiej historii sztuki. Był to czas nie tylko strajków, ale też solidarnościowych dyskusji o tożsamości. Pojawił się z wywrotową siłą pomijany wcześniej problem feminizmu i podmiotowości twórczej na mapie nieświadomości, wypartej przez komunistyczną ideologię. Pojawiło się ukryte, a teraz bulwersujące, zagadnienie identyfikacji artystycznej Europy Środkowej w kontekście wspólnoty losów krajów doświadczonych „kolonialną” zależnością od Rosji sowieckiej. Na tym tle istotne było zagadnienie nowej geografii artystycznej, która zrywając z pojęciem prowincjonalności, wprowadziłaby historię sztuki Europy Środkowej jako nowy i równoprawny obszar powszechnych badań artystycznych. Po raz pierwszy zostało to sformułowane jesienią 1980 roku na międzynarodowej konferencji poświęconej relacjom między awangardami środkowoeuropejskimi a sztuką zachodnią. Najważniejszy referat szwajcarskiego badacza polskiej awangardy został zatytułowany „Kto się boi peryferii?”⁷.

⁷ Konferencja odbyła się w Gołuchowie w grudniu 1980 roku, a poświęcona była problematyce „Les relations du constructivisme d'Europe de l'Est et d'Europe Centrale avec l'avant-garde des deux premiers décennies du XX siècle”. Została omówiona w: A. Turowski, *Konstruktywizm wschodnio- i środkowoeuropejski w powiązaniu z awangardą dwóch pierwszych dekad XX wieku*, „Artium Quaestiones” 1983, 2, s. 188–190. Materiały opublikowano jedynie w języku francuskim wiele lat później w specjalnym numerze pisma paryskiego „Ligeia” (1989, 5–6, s. 31–131). Tam też obok wprowadzenia: A. Turowski, *L'avant-garde en Europe de l'Est : problèmes et orientations de la recherche* (s. 31–34) znalazł się kluczowy tekst Antoine'a Baudina *Qui a peur de la périphérie?*, „Ligeia” 1989, 5–6,

Dyskusja zainicjowana starym pytaniem: jak wytyczyć granice kulturowe Europy Środkowej, a w jej ramach zakreślić obrzeża i krańce sztuki awangardowej?, toczyła się wokół trzech zasadniczych problemów. Pierwszy dotyczył życia artystów, ich biografii twórczych jako podstawy kształtowania się pojęcia tożsamości kulturowej. Drugim była geografia, rodzaj przestrzennego, synchronicznego i horyzontalnego zróżnicowania w całej złożoności tasujących się związków historyczno-kulturalnych, ekonomiczno-politycznych i filozoficzno-ideologicznych. Trzecie zagadnienie obejmowało problematykę procesów historyczno-artystycznych, wśród których na czoło wysuwały się pojęcia związane z konstytuowaniem się trendów stylistycznych, postaw ideowych, koncepcji historii i wizji przyszłości, a z nimi – struktury dzieła artystycznego, jego integralności i fragmentaryczności, jego autonomii i rozpadu.

Przedstawiona w wielkim skrócie perspektywa badawcza, prowadząca od przeformułowania miejsca historii sztuki nowoczesnej aż do wprowadzenia Europy Środkowej w obszar zainteresowań naukowych, stała się miejscem interesującego eksperymentu badawczego, obejmującego powoli wiele ośrodków akademickich w Europie i Stanach Zjednoczonych, a prowadzone badania nad awangardą w Europie Środkowej były próbą sformułowania jeszcze w latach 80. i 90. XX wieku szeregu kategorii opisowych, które służyły za narzędzia pozwalające także obecnie z różnych stron dotrzeć do nowoczesnej historii. W moim wypadku była to książka podsumowująca moją poznańską przygodę naukową, ale opublikowana już we Francji w roku 1986, a zatytułowana *Czy istnieje sztuka w Europie Wschodniej?*

Aby lepiej zrozumieć konfiguracje artystyczne tamtego czasu, odwołałem się w latach 80. w pierwszym rzędzie do pojęć kryzysu, marginesu i rozdarcia jako nowego obszaru refleksji krytycznej podważającej integralność biografii artystycznych, homogeniczność dzieł awangardowych, koherencję programów i nurtów. Kwestionowałem jednocześnie model historii sztuki oparty na opozycjach, interesując się dwuznacznościami (a więc znowu różnicami), a nie przeciwieństwami. Nie chodziło o dialektykę, bo ta jest zawsze dwubiegunowa, lecz o rodzaj splotu. A zatem jako podstawę badań nad sztuką współczesną proponowałem przyjęcie modelu wielopiętrowo rozbudowanego (ale nieustrukturalizowanego za pomocą jednej zasady) splotu dyskursywnego, obejmującego wiele fragmentów życia artystycznego danego terenu i określonego czasu poddanego ustawicznej presji sił społecznych i psychicznych. Taki właśnie splot dyskursywny opisywałem w *Budowniczych świata*, sto-

s. 124–131. Pokłosiem konferencji była również książka: A. Turowski, *Existe-t-il un art de l'Europe de l'Est?*, Paris 1986.

sując pojęcie ideozy. Odnosiłem je do zróżnicowanych obiegów kultury i niejednorodnych dyskursów. Ideoza nie strukturalizowała pola, niemniej pozwalała je opisać jako nieustabilizowaną przestrzeń. Elementem integrującym zjawiska artystyczne i społeczne były interakcje, a nie związki przyczynowo genetyczne. W splocie tym poszczególne wypowiedzi artystyczne (dzieła, kierunki, programy, krytyka itp.) tworzyły nieco płynnie zazębiające się kręgi o różnym, a zawsze zasupłanym, stopniu organizacji wewnętrznej. Kręgi te na obrzeżach traciły swoją wyraźną granicę, więzy były słabsze i tam zaczynały się chaotycznie rozprzestrzeniać dyskursy marginesów. Pozostawał stan nieustabilizowania.

Badania nad awangardą prowadzone z tego punktu widzenia nie miały demaskować pęknięć lub pomyłek czy – jak chcą niektórzy – „fałszu awangardowej sztuki” (za stwierdzeniami tego rodzaju kryją się zazwyczaj postawy koniunkturalne lub konserwatywne ideologie), lecz pozwolić historii sztuki przezwyciężyć głęboko zakorzeniony w niej model myślenia modernistycznego. Nic w tym dziwnego, że w historii sztuki już od początku lat 70. interesowały mnie dyskursy tych twórców, którzy poruszając się po nie do końca przez nich rozpoznanym terenie nowoczesności, naruszali mniej lub bardziej sformalizowane i skodyfikowane dzieła i teorie sztuki modernizmu, pozwalając tym samym na ich krytykę. Krytykę awangardy, której źródłem był jej własny splot dyskursywny. Pomocnym artystą okazał się Tadeusz Kantor i doświadczenie Galerii Foksal. Ta pozornie „inna historia”, dziejąca się w pracowniach artystów, okazywała się nieodłączna od tej poznańskiej, uniwersyteckiej historii sztuki.

Zastanawiając się nad wyborem ram pojęciowych świata doświadczonego kryzysem lat 60. i 70., w których mógłbym ująć sztukę współczesną w złożonej konfiguracji między pracownią artysty, praktyką kuratora, biblioteką badacza i uniwersyteckim seminarium, a także Wschodem, Środkiem i Zachodem, odwołałem się w tamtej dekadzie do dwóch historyków sztuki – Aby Warburga i Maxa Dvořáka. To właśnie dla nich pierwsza wojna światowa – wydarzenie kluczowe w ich historii nowoczesności i związany z nią kryzys – były doświadczeniem psychicznym i intelektualnym, jak również zmianą orientacji poznawczej na gruncie konstruowanej przez nich antropologii i historiozofii. Dla Warburga, należącego do kultury zachodniej, było to przede wszystkim zagadnienie obrazowej pamięci: jej przepływów, krzyżowań, przekształceń, powrotów. Historii wielowątkowej i wielopoziomowej, historii przecinającej po przekątnej różne kultury. Dla Dvořáka – pochodzącego z Europy Środkowej – było to zerwanie z formalizmem linearnej historii i potraktowanie dziejów sztuki w sposób nieciągły, jako pełnych przerw, pęknięć i hybryd, choćby takich, jak manieryzm i ekspresjonizm. Obaj na pojęciu rozdarcia budowali

swoje wizje dziejów i sztuki. Zajmując się innymi artystami i różnymi czasami, byli zgodni, że sztuki nowożytnej nie należy widzieć jedynie jako spuścizny epoki klasycznej.

Historia sztuki – tak jak ją formułował Warburg, a w pewnym sensie również Dvořák – odsyłała krytycznie do początków dyscypliny, czyli tam, gdzie nie tylko nazwa, ale również przedmiot badań i metoda, definiowały swój sens i granice. Podważała zarazem każdy z tych elementów, który określając jej autonomię, nadawał historii sztuki miano nauki. Biorąc pod uwagę tę zasadniczą zmianę, właśnie w trakcie poznańskich dyskusji w pełni uświadomiłem sobie, że pierwsza historia sztuki – oparta na oświeceniowym modelu, która rodziła się na wykopaliskach w Pompejach i Herkulanum – znalazła swój wyraz u Winckelmanna, aby wraz z Warburgiem ustąpić drugiej historii sztuki, której miejscem narodzin była klinika psychiatryczna i wykopaliska pamięci, a kluczowym dziełem – Mnemosyne. Druga historia sztuki została wydobyta z głębi nieświadomości, w opętaniu fobiami i namiętnością, w szoku zagrożenia, w chorobie spowodowanej traumą. Przypomnę, że kluczowa dla przełomu lat 60. XX wieku historia szaleństwa, pisana wówczas przez Michela Foucault, była rozprawą z oświeceniowym dyskursem racjonalnej myśli. Gdy pierwsza wspomniana tutaj historia sztuki Winckelmana rodziła się pod znakiem słońca, ta druga – Warburga – kierowała się ku melancholii Saturna. W centrum tej historii sztuki istniało pojęcie zagrożenia człowieka, a zatem była to historia sztuki rozwijająca się w obliczu permanentnego kryzysu.

To, co mnie zainteresowało przed laty u Warburga (i Dvořáka – w zasadzie tak różnych badaczy), to zwrócenie uwagi na sam fakt, że w ich studiach przedmiot badań historii sztuki wydobywał się z kryzysu. Jeżeli kryzys był permanentną kondycją badawczą, to wynikający z niego proces poznania ocierał się o granice tego, co umyka naszej wiedzy, nie czyni z niej całości, dopuszcza zaledwie do fragmentów, pozwala na zmienne konfiguracje i jest ustawiczną pracą krytyczną⁸. Dlaczego nie zrobić pojęć kryzysu i niepozytywnej afirmacji, czyli kontestacji, osią praktyki badawczej historii sztuki, taką, jaką ona była od roku 1968? Innymi słowy: osią krytycznej praktyki politycznej oraz kwestionującej metodologii nauki i radykalnej sztuki?

Słowu „oburzenie” odpowiadało ongiś słowo „kontestacja”. Michel Foucault w *Przedmowie do transgresji* pisał:

⁸ Inne stanowisko zajmowali wszyscy uczestnicy konferencji SHS w roku 1985, w której już nie brałem udziału, ponieważ wyjechałem do Francji. Por. *Kryzysy w sztuce. Materiały z sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki. Lublin, grudzień 1985, Warszawa 1988.*

Kto wie, czy filozofia współczesna, odkrywając możliwość niepozytywnej afirmacji, nie zapoczątkowała przesunięcia, które otworzyło drogę myśleniu krytycznemu i zasadzie kontestacji. Kontestacja, słowo-klucz maja 1968 roku, nie była wysiłkiem myśli zmierzającym do zanegowania istnień czy wartości, to raczej gest, który podprowadza każde z nich do jego granic, a przez to do Granicy, gdzie spełnia się decyzja ontologiczna: kontestować – to zmierzać do sedna pustki, gdzie byt osiąga swoją granicę, a granica określa byt...⁹

Foucault, podobnie jak Nietzsche, kontestujące i anarchistyczne „tak” umieszczał w sednie konfliktu (agonu) ożywiającego społeczeństwo, gdzie „tak” jest niezgodą, wyrazem protestu, ujawnieniem różnicy, podkreśleniem odmienności, istotą rozziwów, wynikiem gniewu, przejawem oburzenia, formą buntu, potrzebą rewolty, (nie)przekraczalnością granicy.

Miejsce artysty we współczesnej demokracji, mimo że zostało wielokrotnie przez samych twórców określone, wymaga ustawicznego przeformułowania. Jest to problem jednocześnie artystyczny i polityczny – dotyczy więc historii sztuki. Ile razy się nad tym zastanawiam, przychodzi mi na myśl polski marzec roku 1968, który był w Poznaniu moją współczesnością. A to właśnie współczesność domaga się czujności, z jaką kiedyś Emil Zola wypowiadał bezpardonowe „J'accuse!” Wypowiadał w publicznym liście skierowanym do prezydenta Republiki w związku z antysemickim procesem Dreyfusa, który zawierał ostrą krytykę francuskiego rządu oraz fałszerstw władzy. Ze świadomością poniesienia konsekwencji za prawdziwe słowa zgadzał się pisarz na proces o zniesławienie, faktycznie zakończony wyrokiem skazującym i emigracją artysty. Mój list, pisał, ma jak rewolucja przyśpieszyć „wybuch prawdy”; z pasją, w imię cierpiącej ludzkości, ma wskazywać jej „prawo do szczęścia”; będąc płomiennym protestem, jest „krzykiem mojej duszy”¹⁰.

Lekcję wyobraźni i zaangażowania wyniosła poznańska historia sztuki z marca i maja 1968 roku i tak ją uprawiałem w Poznaniu przez całą dekadę lat 70. aż do momentu trudnej decyzji wyjazdu do Paryża i rozpoczęcia pracy naukowej oraz dydaktycznej w nowym środowisku.

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⁹ M. Foucault, *Przedmowa do transgresji*, tłum. T. Komendant, w: *Powiedziane, napisane. Szaleństwo i literatura*, wybór i opr. T. Komendant, Warszawa 1999, s. 53.

¹⁰ É. Zola, *J'accuse*, „L'Aurore” 13 stycznia 1898.

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L'IMAGINATION AU POUVOIR:

ART HISTORY IN THE TIMES OF CRISIS, 1960S–1970S

Summary

The present paper is reminiscence and an attempt to reconstruct the intellectual heritage of art history as it was practiced at the University of Poznań in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s in the context of new developments in cultural theory and changing research interests. Besides, it includes the author's account of his own academic work in that period, began in the 1960s and inspired in particular by the year 1968 that brought a social crisis and a cultural revolution, as well as introduced the element of imagination into academic knowledge and critical thought. The author draws a wide panorama of intellectual stimuli which contributed to an epistemic and methodological turn, first in his own scholarly work and then in the work of some other art historians in Poznań. Those turns opened art history at the University of Poznań to critical reading of artistic practices approached in relation to other social practices and subjects of power. As a result, four key problems were addressed: (1) the position of contemporary art in research and teaching, (2) the necessity to combine detailed historical studies with critical theoretical reflection, (3) the questioning of genre boundaries and ontological statuses of the objects of study and the semantic frames of the work of art, and finally, in connection to the rise of an interdisciplinary perspective, (4) the subversion of the boundaries and identity of art history as an academic discipline. Then the author reconstructs the theoretical background of the “new art history” that emerged some time later, drawing from the writings of Walter Benjamin, the French structuralism, Theodor Adorno's aesthetic theory, and Louis Althusser's interpretation of the concept of ideology. Another important problematic was the avant-garde art of Poland and other East-Central European countries, studied

in terms of artistic geography and the relations between the center and periphery. The conclusion of the paper presents a framework marked with the names of Aby Warburg and Max Dvořák, which connected the tradition of art history with new developments, took under consideration the seminal element of crisis, and allowed art historians to address a complex network of relations among the artist's studio, the curator's practice, the scholar's study, and the university seminar, as well as the West, the Center, and the East. At last, the author remembers the revolutionary, rebellious spirit and the lesson of imagination that the Poznań art history took from March and May, 1968.

Keywords:

art history in Poznań, art history, theory and methodology, avant-garde, 1968, contestation

WOJCIECH WŁODARCZYK

ROK 1989 – WOKÓŁ POJĘCIA MODERNIZMU

W historii sztuki znaczenie konstrukcji kalendarzowych, wagi konkretnych dat, wyraźnie maleje¹. Dlatego czyniąc rok 1989 punktem centralnym moich rozważań, muszę spojrzeć na ten problem nieco szerzej. Kluczem uczynię pojęcie modernizmu, jego przemiany znaczeniowe. Pojęcie problematyzuje, termin porządkuje. Sens pojęcia wynika ze zmieniającego się na mapie mentalnej sąsiedztwa innych słów, samo w sobie jest – jak pisze Mieke Bal – teorią w miniaturze, wskazuje – co dowodzi Reinhardt Koselleck – na horyzont historiozoficzny, wreszcie wiąże się ściśle z praktyką artystyczną czy wystawienniczą samego badacza². Niebagatelną rolę w wyborze pojęć odgrywa emocjonalna aura słowa.

Przemiany pojęcia modernizmu odsłaniają, moim zdaniem, istotę korekt w polskiej sztuce współczesnej mniej więcej ostatnich kilkunastu lat XX wieku i początku bieżącego stulecia, a jednocześnie potwierdzają ugruntowany schemat, według którego nasza historia sztuki ją porządkuje. Chociaż statystycznie rzecz ujmując, pojęcie modernizmu nie było bohaterem tekstów ostatnich dekad – była nim „awangarda”, a później będzie „sztuka oporu/sztuka krytyczna” – to jednak „modernizm” tłumaczy najwięcej. Zacznę od wskazania granic czasowych.

W roku 1976 ukazała się książka Wiesława Juszcza *Teksty o malarzach. Antologia polskiej krytyki artystycznej 1890–1918*, a rok później – jego

¹ Takie podejście jest mi bliskie, sam kwestionowałem powszechny wśród badaczy wybór roku 1945 jako daty granicznej w historii sztuki – *Pięć lat*, w: *Zaraz po wojnie*, red. J. Kordjak i A. Szewczyk, Warszawa 2015, s. 32–44; czy roku 1989 – *Kiedy zaczęło się „dzisiaj”? O źródłach sztuki polskiej lat dziewięćdziesiątych*, w: *Sztuka dzisiaj*, red. M. Poprzeczka, Warszawa 2002, s. 27–39.

² M. Bal, *Wędrujące pojęcia w naukach humanistycznych*, tłum. M. Bucholc, Warszawa 2012; R. Koselleck, *Dzieje pojęć. Studia z semantyki i pragmatyki języka społeczno-politycznego*, tłum. J. Merecki, W. Kunicki, Warszawa 2009, seria Terminus, 52. Obie te książki odbiegają znacząco od ujęć Władysława Tatarkiewicza.

Malarstwo polskie: modernizm. Należy je traktować łącznie³. Ćwierć wieku później wyszły dwie publikacje także mające w tytułach modernizm: w roku 1999 Piotra Piotrowskiego *Znaczenia modernizmu. W stronę historii sztuki polskiej po 1945 roku* i w roku następnym Andrzeja Turowskiego *Budownicowie świata. Z dziejów radykalnego modernizmu w sztuce polskiej*. Oczywiście „modernizm” w książce Piotrowskiego znaczy co innego niż „modernizm” z książki Turowskiego, a oba (zbliżone ze względu na ujęcie rodowodu pojęcia) coś zupełnie innego niż u Juszczaaka, który znaczenia terminu „modernizm” obu nowocześników nigdy zresztą nie zaakceptował.

Zaletą ujęcia polskiego modernizmu przez Juszczaaka była i jest analiza obrazów, wyjście od obiektu: gęsty opis i teoria ugruntowana, znajdująca potwierdzenie w analizie języka krytyki (przypomnę „wydobyte” przez Juszczaaka kategorie luminizmu i intensyvizmu). A jednocześnie osadzenie w tradycji historiozoficzno-artystycznej spuścizny Matejki i krakowskiego konserwatyizmu w ujęciu Marcina Króla. W czasie moich studiów (1967–1972) Elżbieta Grabska (do tej kluczowej badaczki sztuki współczesnej przyjdzie mi jeszcze powrócić) rozróżniała – próbuję to na użytek niniejszej wypowiedzi zrekonstruować – trzy znaczenia terminu „modernizm”. Po pierwsze – powszechnie przyjętego na określenie Młodej Polski, tak jak używał go Juszczaak. Po drugie – jako sztukę kręgu Wiednia około roku 1910, w czym nawiązywała do Andrzeja Olszewskiego⁴. I po trzecie – jako zbliżone do pojęcia nowoczesności, a przez to – w tamtych latach – anachroniczne i niejasne, może z wyjątkiem – też zasługa Olszewskiego – określenia „architektura modernistyczna”, które przetrwało do dziś. Ujęcie Juszczaaka nie naruszało tego podziału, ale dawało rzadką – chyba pierwszą – tak głęboko osadzoną w dziele i teoretycznie uzasadnioną interpretację fragmentu polskiej sztuki współczesnej.

Odrzucenie, a właściwie pomniejszenie, obszaru znaczeniowego pojęcia modernizmu Juszczaaka nastąpiło właśnie w okolicach roku 1989. Stało się to – literaturoznawcy są co do tego zgodni – za sprawą inwazji terminu „postmodernizm”⁵. W roku 1987 ukazał się przekład Charlesa Jencksa *Architektura postmodernistyczna*, a w roku następnym – antologia Marcina Giżyc-

³ Chociaż mamy wiele pozycji dotyczących polskiego modernizmu w plastyce autorstwa historyków sztuki, są one nieporównywalne wobec opracowań badaczy literatury. Obie książki Juszczaaka wyraźnie odstają od ówczesnych tekstów na temat sztuki przełomu wieków.

⁴ A. Olszewski, *Nowa forma w architekturze polskiej 1900–1925. Teoria i praktyka*, Wrocław 1967.

⁵ *Odkrywanie modernizmu*, red. R. Nycz, Kraków 1998. Przegląd badań relacji awangarda–modernizm w literaturoznawstwie zawiera książka Joanny Orskiej *Przełom awangardowy w dwudziestowiecznym modernizmie w Polsce* (Kraków 2004).

kiego *Postmodernizm – kultura wyczerpania?* „Postmodernizm” wprowadził do polskiej historii sztuki perspektywę anglosaską i zmusił do konfrontacji z odmienną terminologią, inaczej porządkującą obraz sztuki współczesnej.

Pojawienie się postmodernizmu uświadamiającego, że jesteśmy nie „w”, a „wobec” nowoczesności/modernizmu, niosło ze sobą wielorakie konsekwencje. Nie wszystkie były zresztą zaskoczeniem. Jedno z wystąpień na dorocznej sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki w roku 1984 nosiło tytuł *„Nowoczesność” i jej granice*⁶. Postmodernizm wymusił oczywistą, w tamtych latach i w polskich warunkach językowych, nową interpretację słowa „modernizm”. Nie rezygnując z terminu „nowoczesność”, który, jak się wydaje, nabierał wówczas cech uogólnionego oświeceniowego światopoglądu, pojęcie modernizmu – jako szczególną artystyczną artykulację nowoczesności – zaczęto interpretować według Clementa Greenberga. Konsekwencją było wysunięcie na plan pierwszy problemu autonomii sztuki, co w warunkach przełomu politycznego roku 1989, a szczególnie w dekadzie lat 90., stawało się kwalifikacją polityczną. I znowu, polityczna ocena – np. sztuki abstrakcyjnej jako autonomicznej, a przez to akceptowalnej dla władz PRL – była formułowana także wcześniej, chociażby przez Piotrowskiego, ale teraz – jako osąd zdecydowanie negatywny. W przeciwieństwie do lat tuż po stanie wojennym, kiedy oceny sztuki PRL były – jak chociażby podczas wymienionej sesji – wyważone, następna dekada nie miała raczej w tym zakresie zahamowań.

Już to krótkie zestawienie – niewyczerpujące przecież – tematów wywołanych wskazaniem nowego punktu oglądu sztuki współczesnej (skutki przedrostka *post-*) odsłaniało skalę trudności. Czy rzeczywiście możemy mówić o ponowoczesności, czy raczej o późnej nowoczesności, bo rozróżnienie to jest kluczowe dla zestawu wartości bezpośrednio dotyczących sztuki. Czy – zwłaszcza po ukazaniu się angielskiego przekładu *Teorii awangardy* Petera Bürgera – zasadne jest ujęcie autonomii sztuki tak jednoznacznie dyskwalifikujące jej wywrotowy, a przynajmniej prowokacyjny charakter? Wreszcie, jakie są zakresy znaczeniowe powszechnie używanej w Polsce „nowoczesności”, a jakie umacniającego się w nowym znaczeniu „modernizmu”? I najważniejsze: jak ma się pojęcie modernizmu do pojęcia awangardy? Wszystko to są pytania sprzed mniej więcej trzydziestu lat, mające dziś swoje wykładnie i różne rodzaje uzasadnień, teorii, jednak wówczas stanowiły – najczęściej uświadamiane w małym stopniu – poważne wyzwanie.

⁶ Inny artykuł autorstwa Wojciecha Lipowicza, otwierający posesyjny tom, odwoływał się do popularnej wówczas tematyki centrum–margines, wyraźnie faworyzując peryferie: *Nadąsani i zadumani*, w: *Sztuka polska po 1945 roku. Materiały sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Warszawa, listopad 1984, Warszawa 1987, s. 9–17.

Najważniejszą próbą wprowadzenia nowego porządku w zmienionym leksykalnym zestawie, a jednocześnie wyznaczenia nowych podziałów na mapie polskiej sztuki XX wieku, była książka Piotrowskiego *Znaczenia modernizmu. W stronę historii sztuki polskiej po 1945 roku*, początkowo zapowiadana tytułem *Dialektyka modernizmu*. Trzy decyzje Piotrowskiego były rozstrzygające. Po pierwsze przyjął za Peterem Bürgerem rozumienie modernizmu jako sztuki autonomicznej, obejmującej właściwie dotychczasowy zakres znaczeniowy nowoczesności⁷. Umocnił w ten sposób – a może nawet rozstrzygnął – zmiany zapoczątkowane pojawieniem się nowego terminu „postmodernizm”. „Modernizm” miał się odtąd stać na dobre terminem równoznacznym z szeroko rozumianą sztuką współczesną (stąd sprzeciw Juszcza), sztuką autonomiczną zbliżoną do definicji Greenberga. Piotrowski zauważył wówczas, że znany tekst amerykańskiego krytyka powinien słusznie nosić tytuł *Modernizm i kicz*. Po drugie – jako konsekwencja – należało umieścić w obrębie tak rozumianego modernizmu przykłady sztuki dotychczas przyporządkowane pojęciu awangardy. Argumentem za takim przesunięciem dotychczasowych znaczeń awangardy była nowa formacja sztuki radykalnej politycznie, sztuki krytycznej⁸. Uznanie sztuki krytycznej za rozstrzygającą o nowym słownikowym porządku polskiej historii sztuki było trzecią decyzją Piotrowskiego. Wszystko to powodowało, że nastąpiło osłabienie poprzez uhistorycznienie znaczenia pojęcia awangardy na rzecz przeżywającej wtedy swój heroiczny okres sztuki krytycznej. Ustanowił się wówczas nowy ranking radykalności (u Piotrowskiego tożsamy z wartościowaniem) – sztuka krytyczna wyprzedziła awangardę i zdystansowała o wiele długości modernizm.

Dlatego figurujący w dotychczasowych opracowaniach polskiej historii sztuki awangardiści, tacy jak Władysław Strzemiński czy Henryk Stażewski, zostali teraz modernistami w tym nowym sensie zaproponowanym przez *Znaczenia modernizmu*⁹. Ustalenia terminologiczne Piotrowskiego zbiegły się z jego doświadczeniami kuratorskimi przy przygotowywaniu wystawy Zofii Kulik w Muzeum Narodowym w Poznaniu w roku 1997, a także z inspiracją płynącą ze strony teorii krytycznej i tekstów Hala Fostera, powszechnie wówczas w Polsce przyswajanych. Artykuł *O idei sztuki politycznej* ukazał się w roku 1994¹⁰. W jakiś sposób potwierdzeniem i ugruntowaniem tego nowego dychotomicznego ujęcia była książka Mariusza Bryła z roku 2008 o niespoty-

⁷ P. Piotrowski, *Znaczenia modernizmu. W stronę historii sztuki polskiej po 1945 roku*, Poznań 1999, s. 80.

⁸ Ibidem, s. 120.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Tekst Fostera („Magazyn Sztuki” 1994, 4) tłumaczyła Ewa Mikina, jedna z najbardziej wnikliwych obserwatorek literatury anglojęzycznej poświęconej sztuce najnowszej.

kanym w naszym środowisku stopniu warsztatowej samowiedzy – *Suwerenność dyscypliny. Polemiczna historia historii sztuki od 1970 roku*, sytuująca – w zakończeniu – tę nową opozycję w binarnym układzie krytyczności i modernistycznego esencjalizmu.

Choć przekracza to zakreślone przeze mnie ramy czasowe, warto wskazać dalsze losy obu terminów – „modernizmu” i „awangardy” – w piśmarstwie Piotrowskiego. Wydana w roku 2005 książka nosi tytuł *Awangarda w cieniu Jałty*. Była zapowiedzią i ilustracją jednocześnie kolejnego projektu Piotrowskiego, przedstawionego następnie w artykule *O horyzontalnej historii sztuki*¹¹. Oba nieporównywalnej objętości teksty są ważne dla naszych rozważań. Dotyczą, jak wiadomo, zawłaszczających, wywiedzionych z innych doświadczeń metodologicznych i tradycji badawczych, przedstawień awangardy i sztuki modernistycznej. Użycie w tytule terminu „awangarda” wynikało jednak z konieczności dopasowania się do optyki zachodnich badaczy, ale i badaczy z Europy Wschodniej. Horyzontalne ujęcie, broniące się przed dominującym, wertykalnym, zachodnim widzeniem sztuki współczesnej, odnosi się jednak u Piotrowskiego wciąż do „pionowego”, awangardowego porządku, chociaż rozproszonego w obszarze wschodnioeuropejskiej sztuki. Lokalne ujęcia nie zmieniły przyjętego przez autora jako niepodważalnego paradygmatu krytyczności – nowatorstwa (postępu) i oporu. Sprawia to wrażenie, że nowa jednoznaczna kwalifikacja pojęcia modernizmu z roku 1999 była mu potrzebna raczej dla deprecjonowania tradycyjnego malarstwa (obraz na płótnie – twierdził gdzie indziej – „podtrzymuje polityczne *status quo*”), wzmocnienia radykalizmu sztuki krytycznej, niż do uszczegółowienia pojęcia awangardy. Podejście to zostanie w jakiś sposób potwierdzone w ostatniej, wydanej po śmierci badacza, książce – *Globalnym ujęciu sztuki Europy Wschodniej*. W książce tej – co trzeba mocno podkreślić – skoncentrowanej jednak na geoartystycznych związkach i postkolonialnych rewizjach – pojęcie awangardy bywa zrównane z pojęciem nowoczesności, modernizm oznacza czasami awangardę, a sam termin „modernizm” beztrąsko ewoluuje w stronę „modernizacji”. Całość daleka jest od pedanterii właściwej terminologicznym sporom, ale też i książka nie tego dotyczy.

Przemiany zakresu znaczeniowego pojęcia modernizmu nie mogą być rozpatrywane z pominięciem analizy przetasowań zachodzących w obrębie pojęcia awangardy. Oba są w ścisłej od siebie zależności. Najpierw krótki konieczny historyczny wstęp. Pojęcie awangardy jako zjawiska określającego fenomen polskiej sztuki współczesnej wprowadził do literatury w ramach ostrej walki polityczno-artystycznej w roku 1949 Mieczysław Porębski tekstem

¹¹ „Artium Quaestiones” 2009, 20, s. 59–73.

*Dwa programy*¹². Ustanowił praktycznie do dnia dzisiejszego niepodważalny paradygmat binarnego ujęcia, w którym szeroko rozumiana awangarda, przybierając różne postaci, w zależności od historycznego okresu, prawie zawsze była na pozycji rozstrzygającej. W roku 1949 Porębski zrównywał jej znaczenie z nowoczesnością rozumianą jako krytyczny osąd rzeczywistości i doprecyzowywał jej sens w opozycji do koloryzmu. Ten obrachunkowy – wiązany z charakterem przedwojennej Grupy Krakowskiej – aspekt „nowoczesności” został skutecznie wymazany w Polsce w drugiej połowie lat 50. Od tej pory, poza małymi wyjątkami, awangarda zawsze budowała swoje znaczenie wobec oponentów. Poza koloryzmem był to formalizm, realizm, czasami piktoralna abstrakcja i inne. W połowie lat 70., w czasie zmierzchu neoawangardy, awangarda została oficjalnie na łamach rządowej „Sztuki” zrównana w prawach z realizmem¹³.

Piotrowski – uogólniam – jako punkt odniesienia dla większości używanych przez siebie terminów uznawał zaangażowaną krytyczność przekładającą się na polityczność. Publiczne zaangażowanie powinno odpowiadać i być uzupełnieniem naukowego. Wydaje się, że ten polityczny wymiar, a nie transgresja czy utopijność, był dla niego decydujący przy definiowaniu awangardyzmu. I ten punkt widzenia różni Piotrowskiego od ujęcia Turowskiego, badacza, który – jak nikt po Porębskim – umocnił zjawisko awangardy jako dominującą narrację sztuki polskiej. Zasadniczo nie używał pojęcia modernizmu w znaczeniu Piotrowskiego. W pisanym w latach 1969–1971 *Konstrukttywizmie polskim. Próba rekonstrukcji nurtu (1921–1934)* (książka ukazała się w roku 1981) konstruktywizm jest częścią ruchu awangardowego. Konstatacja ta była oczywista i zgodna z ówczesnymi opracowaniami.

W dekadzie wyznaczonej datą ukończenia książki i datą jej wydania nastąpiła korekta nastawienia Turowskiego. Na trzy rzeczy chciałbym zwrócić uwagę. Po pierwsze – na początkowe, ale przejściowe, moim zdaniem, związane z ówczesnym zaangażowaniem autora w Galerię Foksal, usytuowanie tradycji konstruktywistycznej w goszystowskiej optyce maja 1968 roku, gdzie

¹² Wygłoszony przez Porębskiego podczas „Popisów szkół artystycznych” w Poznaniu w roku 1949, został opublikowany w „Materiałach do Studiów i Dyskusji z Zakresu Teorii i Historii Sztuki, Krytyki Artystycznej oraz Metodologii Badań nad Sztuką” 1, Warszawa 1950, s. 51–76.

¹³ Zob. też: M. Spychalski, *Na straży awangardy*, „Odra” 2014, 4; W. Włodarczyk, *Artysta nowoczesny jako t.w.*, „Miejsce. Studia nad sztuką i architekturą XX i XXI wieku” 2015, 1, s. 89–108. Wymuszona zmiana tytułu książki A. Turowskiego z *Rewolucja konstruktywistyczna* na *W kręgu konstruktywizmu* (Warszawa 1979) wiązała się, moim zdaniem, z nieaprobowanym w tym konkretnym momencie historii PRL słowem „rewolucja”, a nie z awangardowym charakterem konstruktywizmu.

– jak pisał – „Odrzucono formę na korzyść działania”¹⁴. Po drugie – oparcie się na strukturalizmie (przełomowa *Koncepcja języka poetyckiego awangardy krakowskiej* Janusza Sławińskiego ukazała się w roku 1965). Wreszcie trzecie, późniejsze i z czasem umacniające się, wiązanie postawy autora z polityką wystawienniczą i tożsamościową Muzeum Sztuki, kierowanego od roku 1966 przez Ryszarda Stanisławskiego. Przypomnę wystawy „Konstruktywizm polski” w Otterlo i Essen w roku 1973¹⁵. Znaczenie Stanisławskiego w łączeniu dorobku Strzebińskiego i Kobro – dokonywanym z muzealną solennością i odpowiedzialnością za prezentację sztuki – jest nie do przecenienia i nie może być pominięte, gdy badamy pozycjonowanie pojęcia awangardy na szerszej mapie funkcjonujących wówczas terminów. Strategia Stanisławskiego wzmacniała w znaczący sposób deklaracje z *Dwóch programów* Porębskiego. Artykuł *Pseudoawangarda* Wiesława Borowskiego z roku 1975, z którym to tekstem Turowski się utożsamiał (podobnie jak Piotrowski w *Dekadzie*), należałoby rozpatrywać w tej kanonizującej polską międzywojenną awangardę neoawangardowej perspektywie i jednocześnie instytucjonalizującej zjawisko rodzimego konstruktywizmu na arenie międzynarodowej¹⁶.

Lata 80. i 90. w Polsce pełne są publikacji na temat awangardy. W pierwszej fazie dotyczyły rozrachunku z obumierającą formacją neoawangardy, w drugiej – mierzono się już ze zjawiskiem postmodernizmu¹⁷. Turowski większość swoich tekstów z końca XX wieku poświęcił awangardzie. Dokonał też kosmetycznego zabiegu, wycofując się z trudnych do obrony wcześniejszych krytycznych ocen tzw. pseudoawangardy¹⁸. Jednak dla swego drugiego kluczowego dzieła – *Budowniczych świata* – wybrał podtytuł „radikalny modernizm”. *Budowniczy świata* to rozwinięcie pomysłu zawartego w napisanych w stanie wojennym *Granicach awangardy* (ukazały się jako rozdział wydanej w roku 1990 pracy *Wielka utopia awangardy. Artystyczne i społeczne utopie w sztuce rosyjskiej 1910–1930*). W *Budowniczych świata*, rozprawiając się z młodzieńczą strukturalno-muzealno-akademicką koncepcją konstruktywizmu/awangardy (zniuansowaną potem przez kategorię utopii), sięga raczej po postmodernistyczną poetykę końca i śmierci. Potwierdzeniem tego zwrotu Turowskiego od zróżnicowanych, ale akademickich, ujęć awangardy

¹⁴ A. Turowski, *Konstruktywizm polski. Próba rekonstrukcji nurtu (1921–1934)*, Wrocław 1981, s. 233.

¹⁵ Ibidem, s. 240–241.

¹⁶ W. Borowski, *Pseudoawangarda*, „Kultura” 1975, 12.

¹⁷ Znamienne są tu wypowiedzi Stefana Morawskiego, np. *O słabościach praxis neoawangardowej i niedostatkach teorii awangardy*, w: *Wybory i ryzyka awangardy. Studia z teorii awangardy*, red. U. Czartoryska i R.W. Kluszczyński, Warszawa–Łódź 1985, s. 7–26.

¹⁸ A. Turowski, *Awangardowe marginesy*, Warszawa 1998, s. 172.

do postmodernistycznej dowolności i przywracania przebrzmiałego, historycznego znaczenia awangardyzmu poprzez dwuznaczność gry jest – wybiegam nieco naprzód – *Parowóz dziejów*¹⁹.

Zaskakujące po dekadzie lat 90., odmieniającej na wszystkie przypadki termin „awangarda”, uzupełnienie tytułu *Budowniczych świata „modernizmem”* wydaje się jednak w pełni zrozumiałe. Z jednej strony postmodernizm i sztuka krytyczna, a w historycznych opracowaniach sąsiedztwo czy nawet tożsamość z socrealizmem, nie czyniły z awangardy pojęcia atrakcyjnego i badawczo użytecznego²⁰. A „radykalny modernizm” to przecież także termin najbardziej historycznie uzasadniony. W latach 20. takie pojęcia, jak modernizm, radykalny modernizm, nowa sztuka i – najrzadziej zresztą – awangarda, funkcjonowały równolegle i badanie ich wzajemnych relacji, procesów wypierania jednych przez drugie, dają dziś zaskakujące, wywracające dotychczasowe ustalenia rezultaty.

W tym okresie – wracam do początku XXI wieku – niejasności i płynności terminologicznych, trwających zresztą do dziś (to konsekwencje, także niezwykle ożywcze, tak zwanych zwrotów kulturowych i nowej humanistyki), ważna była praktycznie niezauważona publikacja Elżbiety Grabskiej *„Moderne” i straż przednia. Apollinaire wśród krytyków i artystów 1900–1918* z roku 2003. Dotyczy rodzących się tożsamości dwóch postaw: modernistycznej i awangardowej, tym cenniejsza, że związana z językowo źródłowym obszarem pojęcia awangardyzmu – Francją i Włochami. To dodatkowy argument, że rodowód pojęcia awangardy i współczesne umocowanie jego historycznego znaczenia odgrywa decydującą rolę. Przypomnę, że „awangardowy” z deklaracji Mieczysław Szczuka w końcowej fazie swojej działalności krytykował na łamach „Dźwigni” oszczędne mieszkania minima, społecznie zaangażowanych, lewicowych architektów z „modernistycznego” „Praesensu”. A na przełomie lat 60. i 70., w czasie neoawangardowej ofensywy, awangardyzm stawał się częścią oficjalnej polityki władz – potwierdza to chociażby wspomniany artykuł ze „Sztuki”. Wreszcie warto wspomnieć o ostatnim projekcie „100 lat

¹⁹ A. Turowski, *Parowóz dziejów*, Warszawa 2012.

²⁰ Krytyczne uwagi na temat związków awangardy z socrealizmem zob. S. Morawski, *Na zakręcie od sztuki do po-sztuki*, Kraków 1985, s. 272. O związkach awangardy z socrealizmem: W. Włodarczyk, *Socrealizm. Sztuka polska w latach 1950–1954*, Paryż 1986; B. Groys, *Stalin jako totalne dzieło sztuki*, tłum. P. Kozak, Warszawa 2010 (pierwodruk w wersji niemieckiej w 1988). Ryszard Kluszczyński, który prawdopodobnie pierwszy użył pojęcia sztuki krytycznej, w roku 1997 interpretował awangardę poprzez pryzmat szkoły rosyjskich formalistów: R. Kluszczyński, *Awangarda – rozważania teoretyczne*, Łódź 1997, co siłą rzeczy budziło skojarzenia z książką Sławińskiego sprzed 30 lat.

awangardy”, wywołującym zrozumiałe wątpliwości badaczy sztuki współczesnej²¹.

Dlatego ważny akt przeszerogowań leksykalnych, pojęciowych i przypisania obiektów nowym terminom, jakiego dokonał Piotrowski książką *Znaczenia modernizmu*, pokazuje też słabość polskiej historii sztuki współczesnej, a dokładniej – jej ograniczeń wynikających z nieugruntowanych i selektywnych badań, braku dbałości o terminologiczną precyzję oraz nieuwzględniania, poza funkcją porządkową, głębszych zasobów znaczeniowych używanych pojęć. Powróć do *Malarstwa polskiego: modernizm* Wiesława Juszcza. Jego sprzeciw nie wynikał z prostego „zawłaszczenia” terminu „modernizm”, ale z podstawowego sensu pojęcia modernizmu, jaki nadawał funkcjonującemu słowu w tamtym specyficznym okresie przełomu stuleci. Modernizm w znaczeniu Juszcza to wielki finał epoki Matejki, epoki Historii. Polska samoświadomość została ukształtowana na kompleksie utraty państwowości i boryka się z tym kompleksem do dziś. Biskup Jan Paweł Woronicz, uznając w roku 1803 język za właściwą ojczyznę, otworzył przestrzeń dla romantyków z konsekwencjami, z którymi mierzymy się nadal, czego dowodzą prace Marii Janion czy Agaty Bielik-Robson²². Język – a także każde inne kulturowe medium – jako obszar politycznej tożsamości, ukształtowanej w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku, i mit Historii z drugiej połowy stworzyły mentalny model artysty-intelektualisty, któremu decydujący cios zadała rewolucja roku 1905. Pojęcie modernizmu z książki Juszcza określa właśnie ten stan intelektualnej nieprzystawalności, bezradności wobec napierających sił społecznych, wskazuje na wyczerpywanie się zasobów dziewiętnastowiecznego kulturowego projektu.

Czy po upływie jednej piątej XXI wieku nabraliśmy dostatecznego dystansu, aby stulecie poprzednie zobaczyć w podobnych, generalnych, porządkujących regułach kulturowego kodu i zadać pytanie o powody dominacji w opracowaniach historii polskiej sztuki współczesnej narracji awangardowej czy – nawet w tym nowym sensie – modernistycznej? *Znaczenia modernizmu* nie zmieniły, lecz podtrzymały mający wówczas już pół wieku dychotomiczny podział Porębskiego, teraz w postaci modernizm–sztuka krytyczna. Zacznę od końca. Druga połowa XX wieku, czas PRL, to półwiecze przyspieszonej modernizacji – społecznie bolesnej i stygmatyzującej politycznych przeciwników, gospodarczo katastrofalnej i cywilizacyjnie dyskusyjnej. To wówczas, w latach 60. (dekadzie

²¹ Uchwała Sejmu RP z dnia 14 grudnia 2017 „w sprawie uczczenia polskiej awangardy w 100. rocznicę jej inauguracji”. Wątpliwości wzbudzała przede wszystkim argumentacja uchwały i zestaw nazwisk artystów.

²² R. Przybylski, *Klasycyzm, czyli prawdziwy koniec Królestwa Polskiego*, Gdańsk 1996.

refleksji nad historią, marzeń o nowoczesności i porządku: postępie i strukturalizmie), umacnia się model awangardowego klucza do polskiej kondycji ujmowanej w uproszczony sposób. Jako projekcja tęsknoty, ale i porażki modernizacyjnej, a także swoistej „polityki historycznej” PRL²³. Model ten został zaproponowany również dla oglądu pierwszej połowy, generalnie II RP, a więc czasu wyzwalającej Niepodległości i oczekiwanego Państwa²⁴. Był to model wyraźnie skoncentrowany na jednym aksjologicznym wzorcu czasowości, a przez to selektywny. Pytania o powody tego wyboru, nie do końca przecież uwarunkowanego ówczesną polityką, stanowią klucz do fenomenu dwuznaczności PRL. Bo sięgając do dekady narodzin awangardy, bez trudu zauważamy, że nie była ona – awangarda – formacją dominującą czy publicznie lub intelektualnie najbardziej atrakcyjną. Józef Czajkowski i jego społeczny projekt „nowej sztuki” (*notabene* tak samo nazywał swoją twórczość Szczuka) to budownictwo mieszkaniowe, urbanistyka, wyposażenie wnętrz, rzemiosło, czyli postulowana przez awangardę praktyczna sprawczość, której zabrakło Szczuce²⁵. Inny przykład: Jan Cybis współpracujący z futurystami i Strzemińskim, walczący o uwolnienie sztuki od typowego dla Młodej Polski, społecznego i politycznego posłannictwa. Jego radykalne ujęcie autonomii płótna jest szczególnym wariantem modernistycznej sztuki w sensie nadanym przez Piotrowskiego. Ani Czajkowski, ani Cybis nie mają do dziś swoich monografii, a przecież wskazują na warunki graniczne polskiej sztuki współczesnej.

Ale może być też inny modelowy klucz związany z pojęciem realizmu, tak jak przedstawiła go Elżbieta Grabska, interpretując postawę Andrzeja Wróblewskiego i Marka Oberländera na wspomnianej sesji SHS z roku 1984, przypominając także Juliusza Starzyńskiego i Michała Walickiego – podobnie widzących miejsce realizmu w polskiej sztuce²⁶. Realizmu jakże odmiennego od zestawionego z awangardą we wstępniku „Sztuki” z roku 1975. Istota tego modelu sprowadza się do cytatu Grabskiej z Micheleta : „C'est par vous que

²³ Kluczowy wydaje się rok 1966, szczytowy moment konfrontacji władz z Kościołem, z zamieszkami na warszawskim Krakowskim Przedmieściu i aresztowaniem kopii obrazu MB Częstochowskiej. Ikonoklastyczne aresztowanie obrazu było jak gest conceptualisty. W tym właśnie roku władze godzą się m.in. na Sympozjum Puławskie, powołanie Galerii Foksal i nowego dyrektora Muzeum Sztuki.

²⁴ Tak odczytuję teksty Andrzeja Szczerskiego, zaangażowanego w obchody „100-lecia awangardy” i wyraźnie podkreślającego państwowotwórczy charakter międzywojennych nowatorów z sugestią przejścia takiej perspektywy przez rządzący obóz polityczny III RP.

²⁵ Czajkowski odwoływał się do zdobyczy angielskiego Arts and Crafts Movement, który w równym stopniu leży u podstaw awangardy, co w polskich badaniach jest pomijane.

²⁶ E. Grabska, „*Puisque réalisme il y a*”, czyli o tym co w sztuce powojennego dziesięciolecia nie mogło się wydarzyć, w: *Sztuka polska po 1945 roku*, s. 375–384.

le peuple pourra parler au peuple"²⁷. W porównaniu ze wspomnianą porządkującą narracją dziewiętnastowiecznej sztuki i dwudziestowieczną pisania o sztuce jest to perspektywa w polskiej historii wyjątkowa, bo uwzględniająca – jak ujęłaby to Grabska – „kontakt artysty z własną współczesnością”. Dodajmy: uwzględniająca stratyfikację społeczną dziś potwierdzaną demokratycznymi wyborami, przywilejem nieczęstym i niepowszechnym w poprzednich wiekach w Polsce, a zawsze będącym kłopotliwym wyzwaniem dla artystów.

Postulat pilnego stworzenia słownika pojęć historii sztuki polskiej czy uogólnionego obrazu polskiej sztuki ostatniego stulecia (także w postaci odmiennych narracji), do czego zmierza konkluzja mojego wystąpienia, z łatwością może być podważony – zwłaszcza pomysł syntez – z pozycji dzisiejszej nowej humanistyki. Rozliczne studia przypadków, gęsty opis Clifforda Geertz, teoria ugruntowana, siatka neologizmów i zbudowane na tym fundamentie nowe teorie są dziś standardem badawczym²⁸. Ale również i ta punktowa, „wyspowa” strategia – choć jeszcze nie trwały, kontynentalny ład – może narużyć przyjmowany *a priori* ukryty „rozwojowy”, „emancypacyjny”, „awangardowy” model konstrukcji porządkowych polskiej historii sztuki najnowszej. Myślę, że taką alternatywną narracją mogłaby być – gdyby została napisana – dalsza część książki Anny Markowskiej *Definiowanie sztuki – objaśnianie świata. O pojmowaniu sztuki w PRL-u*, a tak właśnie zapowiada się książka Piotra Juszkiewicza o znaczeniu pierwiastka narodowego dla eksperymentalnej sztuki polskiej początku XX wieku²⁹. Szerokie ujęcia dają także szansę na rozrysowanie pozycji uczestników debaty, określenia dominujących strategii naukowych, bo praktyka okołobadawcza, uwaga, jaką poświęcamy pojęciom, co podkreślałem na początku za Bał, angażuje czasami bardziej niż wymagany rygor naukowości – jesteśmy środowiskiem uwikłanym w instytucjonalne ograniczenia i mamy na szczęście różne polityczne sympatie.

W ostatniej ćwierci XX wieku pojęcia awangardy i modernizmu były wyraźnie odmiennie artykułowane w Warszawie (Juszczak, Grabska), Poznaniu (Turowski, Piotrowski), Łodzi (Stanisławski, Turowski) i Krakowie (Porębski). Różnice nie dotyczyły encyklopedycznej definicji, dotyczyły kulturowej formuły. Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza był podstawowym punktem odniesienia dla tego układu. Ale geografia nie powinna przysłonić nam także pokoleniowego zróżnicowania, w którym postępow-

²⁷ Ibidem, s. 380.

²⁸ E. Domańska, *Jakiej metodologii potrzebuje współczesna humanistyka?*, „Teksty Drugie” 2010, 1–2, s. 45–55.

²⁹ A. Markowska, *Definiowanie sztuki – objaśnianie świata. O pojmowaniu sztuki w PRL-u*, Katowice 2003.

nia badawcze młodych przebiegają już w inny sposób. Tomasz Załuski z Łodzi podważa zawartą w *Znaczeniach modernizmu* opozycję awangarda–modernizm, Wiktoria Koziół z Krakowa kwestionuje krytyczność sztuki oporu, Jakub Banasiak z Warszawy wyraźnie dystansuje się od ustaleń Piotrowskiego. I jeżeli Piotr Słodkowski i Luiza Nader z Warszawy podzielają założenia autora *Znaczeń modernizmu*, to rezultaty ich badań, niezwykła skrupulatność w docieraniu do źródeł, archiwów i ich dogłębne wykorzystanie, prowadzi do odmiennych ustaleń. Do postulatów słownika pojęć i niezbędnych syntezyjących ujęć należałoby więc dołączyć życzenie opracowania możliwie szybko historii polskiej historii sztuki XX i XXI wieku. Zwłaszcza że największy rozdział takiej monografii poświęcony byłby poznańskiemu Instytutowi.

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1989. ON THE CONCEPT OF MODERNISM

Summary

The author argues that the significance of the year 1989 for Polish art was not determined by political changes, but by the rise of postmodernism. Until that moment, the term “modernism” usually referred in academic art history to Polish art at the

turn of the 20th century. The concept of postmodernism brought to the Polish language a new meaning of modernism as simply modern art, and more precisely, as modern art defined by Clement Greenberg. That change made it necessary to draw a new map of concepts referring to modern Polish art, most often defined before by the concept of the avant-garde. In Mieczysław Porębski's essay "Two Programs" [Dwa programy] (1949), and then, since the late 1960s, in Andrzej Turowski's publications, the concept of the avant-garde was acknowledged as basic for understanding twentieth-century Polish art. The significance of the concept of the avant-garde in reference to the art of the past century in Poland changed after the publication of Piotr Piotrowski's book of 1999, *Meanings of Modernism* [Znaczenia modernizmu]. Piotrowski challenged in it the key role of that concept – e.g., Władysław Strzemiński and Henryk Stażewski, usually called avant-gardists before, were considered by him modernists – in favor of a new term, "critical art," referring to the developments in the 1990. In fact, critical art continued the political heritage of the avant-garde as the radical art of resistance. The author believes that such a set of terms and their meanings imposes on the concept of the avant-garde some limits, as well as suggests that scholars and critics use them rather inconsistently. He argues that concepts should not be treated as just label terms, but they must refer to deeper significance of tendencies in art. He mentions Elżbieta Grabska's term "realism," also present in the tradition of studies on modern Polish art, and concludes with a postulate of urgent revision of the relevant vocabulary of Polish art history.

Keywords:

history of Polish art, vocabulary, modernism, postmodernism, avant-garde

ANDRZEJ TUROWSKI

NA MARGINESIE ARTYKUŁU
WOJCIECHA WŁODARCZYKA
ROK 1989 – WOKÓŁ POJĘCIA MODERNIZMU

Problematyka związana z modernizmem, która pojawiła się w Polsce około roku 1989, o czym pisze pośrednio Wojciech Włodarczyk w swoim artykule, miała dwa aspekty. Pierwszy – artystyczny, który akcentował zagadnienia modernizmu w kontekście debaty o postmodernizmie; drugi – polityczny, który w obliczu zmian ustrojowych dotyczył klęski projektów „modernizacyjnych” wytyczanych przez władzę komunistyczną (wizje przyszłości). W miejsce modernizmu społecznego częściej pisano teraz o nowym konserwatyzmie („jak być konserwatywno-liberalnym socjalistą?” – zapytywał Leszek Kołakowski). Awangardowa utopia była porównywana z utopią „nowego człowieka” w ideologii socrealistycznej. Rozumiem dobrze to stanowisko szczególnie w wypowiedziach Wojciecha Włodarczyka, ponieważ to on jeszcze w późnych latach 70. określił terminem artystów „nowoczesnych” grupę twórców, którzy nie będąc „realistami” i nie identyfikując się z tradycją awangardy („abstrakcyjni”), stanęli w roku 1956 po stronie nowoczesności, identyfikując nowoczesność z wolnością. Później Włodarczyk wskazał na historię tego myślenia, sięgającą lat 30. XX wieku, nakładającą się na debatę o sztuce narodowej. Była to tradycja z gruntu różna, choć gdzieś się odnosząca do modernizmu, przynajmniej takiego, o jakim pisali w roku 1959 Kazimierz Wyka i Wiesław Juszczak. Nie wiele miała ona też wspólnego z rozwijaną kiedyś przeze mnie historią awangardy (powiązaną również polemicznie z tradycją modernizmu), powstałą na gruncie konstruktywizmu. Interesująca propozycja terminologiczna Włodarczyka wymagała ścisłej kategoryzacji zjawisk artystycznych (modernizm, awangarda *versus* nowoczesność), toteż zrozumiałe jest dla mnie domaganie się przez niego precyzji terminologicznej na poziomie metateoretycznym. Na zarzuty kierowane do mnie mogę tylko odpowiedzieć, że właśnie ta swoboda, z którą posługuję się pojęciem awangardy, jest świadomym zabiegiem metodologicznym, wynikającym z całości moich poglądów. Broniąc natomiast

poglądów Piotra Piotrowskiego, mogę tylko zapewnić o jego zdecydowanym rozróżnieniu pojęcia modernizmu, które wiązał zawsze z problematyką autonomizacji sztuki (w odniesieniu do poglądów Greenberga), oraz awangardy, którą jego zdaniem charakteryzowało polityczne uwikłanie i społeczne myślenie, tak jak o awangardzie pisał Bürger. Szczególnie widoczne było to w *Dekadzie* Piotrowskiego, książce opublikowanej w roku 1991, gdzie krytyka postaw „autonomicznych” w kręgu konceptualnego modernizmu lat 70. szła w parze z opowiedzeniem się po stronie awangardy „zaangażowanej” w procesy polityczne. O tym wszystkim pisałem w znanym zapewne Włodarczykowi artykule opublikowanym w „Szumie”, a zatytułowanym *Krytyczne instrumentarium etycznej historii sztuki Piotra Piotrowskiego*.

Zagadnienie jest jednak dużo szersze, na co Włodarczyk nie zwrócił większej uwagi. Chodzi mi o zasadniczy przełom, który dokonał się w środowisku poznańskiej historii sztuki w latach 90. za sprawą młodszych historyków sztuki. Nie była to tylko zmiana pokoleniowa i światopoglądowa, raczej mieliśmy tu do czynienia z inną kontekstualizacją polityczną i nową bazą świadomościową, która pojawiła się w całej Europie po upadku muru berlińskiego i końcu pojałtańskiego podziału świata. W przeciwieństwie do tego, co się mówiło, to wówczas właśnie lewica i prawica polityczna w warunkach wolnego wyboru nabrały właściwego znaczenia, a dotychczasowe półoficjalne wspólnoty intelektualno-towarzyskie się rozpadły. W samym myśleniu o sztuce i historii sztuki widziałbym jednak w Poznaniu po roku 1989 pewną kontynuację wątków, o których pisałem, co teraz szło w parze z nową polaryzacją wyborów politycznych, które zarówno na prawicy, jak i na lewicy się zaostrzyły. Czego więc ta reorientacja dotyczyła? Zagadnienie autonomii – tak istotne w myśleniu awangardowym, aby powrócić do kategorii Włodarczyka – teraz stało się istotnym składnikiem hermeneutyki (i fenomenologii) obrazu, uprawianej z wielkim powodzeniem przez poznańskich badaczy. Problematyka samoświadomości dyscyplinarnej zaowocowała jakże dogłębnyimi publikacjami na temat historii i teorii sztuki. Podobnie docieklive okazały się refleksje nad życiem artystycznym, kiedyś wynikające z semiologii, a dzisiaj prowadzące do wielu interesujących poznańczo prac, dotyczących znaczenia zjawisk kulturowych i biografii artystycznych. A wreszcie wyłaniająca się z obowiązkowych ongiś lektur Marii Janion feministyczna historia sztuki należała niewątpliwie od lat 80. do nowej poznańskiej reorientacji. Szkoda, że problemy powyższe, na pewno dyskusyjne, nie znalazły rozwinięcia.

Nie o tym wszystkim jednak chciałbym pisać. Jest to temat osobnego artykułu. W zamieszczonych w tomie „*Artium Quaestiones*” artykułach i dyskusjach podczas stanowiącej ich kanwę konferencji jubileuszowej zabrakło mi przede wszystkim głębszego spojrzenia na rolę, jaką w przełomie lat 90. w po-

znańskiej historii sztuki odegrał Piotr Piotrowski, mój przyjaciel, a zarazem naukowy polemista, który w gorącym czasie roku 1980 rozpoczął pracę w poznańskim IHS. To wówczas w trakcie solidarnościowych rozliczeń w zmitologizowanych pojęciach awangardowej autonomii i czystości towarzyszącej jej nauki dostrzegał Piotrowski niebezpieczeństwa rysujące się przed badaczem. To wówczas postawił w centrum uwagi problematykę „etycznej historii sztuki”. W czasie, gdy powszechna staje się przemoc i nietolerancja, mówił, coraz bardziej zmitologizowana nauka nie jest w stanie wyznaczyć ludzkości właściwej drogi. Trzeba zasadniczej zmiany. Podstawy naukowe tego myślenia dała książka Piotrowskiego *Artysta między rewolucją a reakcją*, napisana w roku 1993. Podkreślałem to wielokrotnie. Była to praca pytająca o przyczyny uwikłania artysty współczesnego w ideologię władzy politycznej i określająca historyczną współodpowiedzialność twórcy w kreowaniu fałszywego obrazu rzeczywistości. Wybierając, nieprzypadkowo, jako przedmiot obserwacji „tragiczną” historię awangardy rosyjskiej, Piotrowski zdawał się formułować przesłanie i ostrzeżenie własnym czasem. Podejmując próbę rekonstrukcji procesu ideologizacji czystej formy, pragnął zrozumieć artystę „żyjącego w czasie marnym” i wskazać w konsekwencji na jego moralne uwikłanie. Odtąd Piotrowski traktował sztukę jako aktywność publiczną, będącą niejako z natury działalnością etyczną i polityczną. A politykę rozumiał jako sferę demokratycznego sporu. W projekcie Piotrowskiego, określonym postawą badawczą, chodziło nie o zdeterminowane normy moralne, lecz o ujęte historycznie zachowania etyczne. Chodziło o nowy humanizm. Wynikało z tego przekonanie Piotrowskiego nie tyle o nadrzędności wyborów społecznych nad estetycznymi, ile o niezbędności świadomości, w życiu każdego artysty i historyka sztuki, wymiaru etycznego historii i sztuki. Historii dialektycznej i materialistycznej, historii pluralistycznej i sprawczej, w której sztuka i człowiek mają swoje miejsce, swoje prawa i swoją siłę. W tym właśnie dopatrywałbym się kolejnego, tym razem „po-solidarnościowego”, zwrotu w poznańskiej historii sztuki, łączącej rygor poznawczy z pluralizmem światopoglądowym, co siłą rzeczy pozbawiało środowisko poznańskich historyków sztuki oczekiwanej wcześniejszej spójności, przyjmowanej może zbyt pochopnie i na wyrost. Warto byłoby się zastanowić nad rolą Piotra Piotrowskiego w tej już zupełnie innej historii sztuki XXI wieku, która zaczęła się niemal pół wieku wcześniej.

WOJCIECH WŁODARCZYK

UWAGI DO „MARGINESU”

Mój tekst był poświęcony zmianie znaczeń podstawowych pojęć używanych w badaniach polskiej sztuki współczesnej. Jeżeli z tego względu zwracałem uwagę na kluczową rolę książki Piotra Piotrowskiego *Znaczenia modernizmu*, to dlatego, że w jego habilitacji z roku 1993 *Artysta między rewolucją a reakcją*, o którą dopomina się Andrzej Turowski, takiej zmiany nie znajduję. Rozróżnienie między „metafizycznym” a „materialistycznym” biegunem rosyjskiej awangardy dokonuje się w tej książce ciągle w obrębie pojęcia awangardy. A termin „modernizm” pojawia się przelotnie w związku z polemiką Piotrowskiego z Buchlohem zapewne z powodu łatwiejszego nawiązania do argumentacji autora artykułu z pisma „October”. Oczywiście, czytelnik nałoży dziś na pojęcie „metafizycznej” awangardy termin „modernizm”. Pojęcia z książki *Artysta między rewolucją a reakcją*, chociaż nieco inaczej je dzisiaj rozumiemy, absolutnie nie przeszkadzają w odczytaniu intencji autora. Dla mojego wywodu istotne było nie to, do jakich zjawisk odnosiły się terminy, które byśmy dziś zastąpili innymi, ale to, że pojęcie modernizmu w obecnym znaczeniu pojawia się u Piotrowskiego dopiero w roku 1999. A więc w kontekście zupełnie nowej sytuacji artystycznej w Polsce, związanej z kształtowaniem się sztuki krytycznej. Jeżeli Turowski zarzuca mi w związku z tym „polemiczny ferwor”, zwracając uwagę także na to, że od początku lat 90. „lewica i prawica w warunkach wolnego wyboru nabrały właściwego znaczenia” i „mieliśmy do czynienia z inną kontekstualizacją polityczną”, to chętnie na to przystanę, bo to tylko oczywisty, wspierający argument mojego rozpoznania ówczesnego pola sztuki. Czy jednak zagadnienie autonomii i – jak twierdzi Turowski – skierowanie uwagi w stronę badań z wykorzystaniem hermeneutyki czy fenomenologii – miałyby się z tym wiązać? Nie sądzę. Można pewnie spojrzeć na zestaw tłumaczeń w „*Artium Quaestiones*” czy fundamentalną pracę Mariusza Bryła w perspektywie jakoby skrywanego za nimi ówczesnego politycznego tła, ale myślę, że byłoby to grube uproszczenie.

Pytanie jest jednak inne i tak naprawdę – tak odczytuję głębszy sens wątpliwości Turowskiego – dotyczy zdolności diagnozowania współczesności

terminami, którymi się dziś posługujemy. Pośrednio dotyczy to także siły porządkującej tych pojęć w uprawianej przez nas historii sztuki. Oczywiście terminy, o jakich pisałem w moim tekście, będą nadal istniały, inercja jest właściwa publicznemu funkcjonowaniu słów, ale czy horyzont wartości, jaki je otacza, ma jeszcze dostateczną siłę sprawczą? Czy „awangarda”, „nowoczesność”, „modernizm”, zajmujące pierwsze miejsca w słowniku warsztatu polskiego historyka sztuki współczesnej, są jeszcze przydatne nie tylko w związku z presją nowej humanistyki, ale może przede wszystkim z faktem, że funkcjonujemy „w warunkach wolnego wyboru” politycznego? I tu książka *Artysta między rewolucją a reakcją*, o którą dopomina się Turowski, warta jest rozpatrzenia.

Postulat Piotrowskiego etycznej historii sztuki, jaki znajduje się w podtytule publikacji i na ostatnich kartkach książki, łączy „tragedię” rosyjskich awangardzistów z wskazówką dla zachowań współczesnych badaczy. Autor usiłuje znaleźć usprawiedliwienie dla awangardy w niewinnych i „czystych” motywacjach buntu artystów, poprzedzającego toksyczny i manipulatorski związek z sowiecką władzą. To oczywiście za mało, aby uznać niepodważalną wartość estetyczną dzieł awangardy za walor rozstrzygający i wywieść z niego etyczne usprawiedliwienie. Dlatego Piotrowski pisze z pewną dozą patetyczności o „tragedii” i wskazuje na obowiązek rozpoznania rzeczywistości jako ostateczne kryterium oceny wyborów i działań zarówno artysty, jak i obywatela. Jesteśmy w ten sposób w samym centrum oświeceniowej mitologii i awangardowego projektu bezpośrednio się z tej mitologii wywodzącego. To zmitologizowana figura artysty, na którym ciąży misja zmiany świata i rola przewodnika wskazującego cel i przeszkody w jego osiągnięciu. To zmitologizowana, uniwersalna postać władzy, która ze swej natury jest zła, co przypadek Rosji miałby rozstrzygająco potwierdzać. To wreszcie uproszczony, selektywnie odbierany obraz rzeczywistości „społecznej i politycznej *praxis*”, który Anthony Giddens łączy z właściwą nowoczesności „separacją doświadczenia”.

Zacznijmy od „rzeczywistości”. Sugestia przerzucenia pomostu między sytuacją w ówczesnej Rosji a dniem dzisiejszym stawia siłą rzeczy w centrum takich porównań problem nieobecnej w Sowietach demokracji. Czy dzisiejsze wolne wybory w Polsce usuwają problem groźby „tragiczności” decyzji współczesnego artysty? Według Turowskiego, ale i Piotrowskiego – co potwierdzają jego późniejsze teksty – nie, bo nie jest realizowana w praktyce formuła demokracji polemicznej, a charakter władzy jest ze swej istoty stały. Zwrócę jednak uwagę, że zamiast dawnych hamletycznych wyborów awangardowego twórcy, właściwych warunkom totalitaryzmu, mamy dziś inne, bliższe trójkątowi bermudzkiemu, którego pole wyznaczają artysta, władza i opinia publicz-

na. Problemem współczesnego artysty jest opinia publiczna, równoprawny partner demokratycznego pola, która emancypacyjnego (w sensie Giddensowskim, a więc nie wartościującym, a jako projekt oświeceniowej polityki) charakteru działań artysty nie musi akceptować. W krytycznych sytuacjach odwołuje się on do kulturowego immunitetu instytucji wystawienniczych. Jednak decyduje zazwyczaj opinia publiczna i to najczęściej opinia wpływa na rozstrzygnięcia władzy, chcącej powtórnie otrzymać demokratyczny mandat wyborczy, a nie artysta. Nie oceniam tego, tylko przypominam.

Piotrowski próbuje ratować wizerunek awangardy przed dyskwalifikacyjnym, jednostronnym osądem, wynikającym z jej politycznego uwikłania. Argumentem ma być bunt. To pociąga za sobą problem kontekstu społecznego realizacji awangardowych, a na polskim gruncie lat międzywojnia – „nowej sztuki”. Jeżeli wskazałem na utopijne propozycje Szczuki i społecznie paląco potrzebne (i realizowane!) Syrkusa czy Czajkowskiego, to właśnie to miałem na myśli. Piotrowski chce jednak pozycję artysty-buntownika, artysty-utopisty chronić przed weryfikującymi regułami rzeczywistości. Bunt – w perspektywie awangardy – jest wstępnym etapem do realizacji utopii, utopii, której szczególnym modusem jest wyobraźnia. W takim ujęciu reakcją na niedostatecznie rozpoznaną rzeczywistość może być rzeczywistość – sięgam do tekstu Turowskiego – Zolowskie „oskarżam”. Czy jednak bunt i wyobraźnia – w proponowanych ujęciach kamienie węgielne awangardy i jej tradycji – mają status zasady wartości? Z czego wywodzi się ich kluczowa rola? Konstytuują ją uniwersalny charakter autonomii jednostki czy elementarne zasady relacji społecznych? Zacytuję prof. Dorotę Głowacką z publikacji wydawnictwa MOCAK *Wielogłos o Zagładzie*:

Nie sędzę jednak, aby artyści mieli absolutny immunitet zezwalający im na wszystko, na wpychanie się wszędzie, nawet do komór gazowych, w imię nieograniczonej władzy wyobraźni. Wyobraźnia nie jest bowiem aż tak swobodna, a doświadczenie estetyczne bezinteresowne [...]. Przekonanie o niezmierzonej wolności wyobraźni może się okazać jej największą słabością, gdyż brnąc nieustannie naprzód i przekraczając coraz to nowe granice, nie zastanawia się ona nad tym, co być może ogranicza ją w sposób trudno uchwytny. Wiara w nieskrępowaną moc wyobraźni może być zwodnicza, a nawet niebezpieczna, gdyż z jej powodu przestajemy zastanawiać się nad ramami konceptualnymi, często wyznaczanymi przez uwarunkowania społeczne, historyczne i kulturowe [...].

Sumując: pozaartystyczna rzeczywistość, którą usiłujemy pośrednio sobie przybliżyć stosowanymi przez nas pojęciami, jest o wiele bardziej złożona niż jej obraz, jaki otrzymujemy, posługując się tymi pojęciami. Stąd temat mojego artykułu. Ograniczenia płynące z nieuświadamianych przez nas do końca

oświeceniowych założeń utrudniają diagnozę i zastosowanie nowych badawczych narzędzi. Stąd postulaty w końcowej partii mojego tekstu. Dobrze jest być tak pewnym, jak zawiera to bieżący druk innego muzeum sztuki współczesnej: „Tylko podmioty niezależne w myśleniu, takie, które wydostały się ze stanu intelektualnej niedojrzałości, są w stanie wziąć pełną odpowiedzialność za siebie i świat”. Ja takiej pewności nie mam, ale rozumiem sprzeciw Andrzeja Turowskiego, mówimy wszak o różnych koncepcjach podmiotu.

PRZEKŁADY

HORST BREDEKAMP

OD ZAMKU BERLIŃSKIEGO DO FORUM HUMBOLDTÓW: PARADYGMAT KONFLIKTU W NIEMIECKIEJ HISTORII

Szanowni Państwo,

możliwość wystąpienia w ramach obchodów 100-lecia Instytutu Historii Sztuki w Poznaniu stanowi dla mnie wielki zaszczyt. Założyciel Instytutu, Szczęsny Dettloff, należy do znamienitych przedstawicieli historii sztuki ostatniego stulecia. Orientując się szczególnie na włoski renesans i regionalną historię sztuki jako bezpośrednie fundamenty swych badań, stał się wybitną postacią w niemieckojęzycznej historii sztuki jako specjalista w zakresie średniowiecza i północnego renesansu, szczególnie w odniesieniu do Wita Stwosza. Studiował również u Heinricha Wölfflina, prawdopodobnie jeszcze w jego berlińskich latach. W nieszczęsnym okresie, kiedy w miejsce Uniwersytetu w Poznaniu w roku 1941 powstał niemiecki Uniwersytet Rzeszy, jedynym pojedynczym momentem był fakt zwolnienia Dettloffa z obozu dla internowanych w roku 1939 dzięki interwencji Karla-Heinza Clasena. Z racji swych związków ze szkołą wiedeńską, zwłaszcza z Maxem Dvořákem, Dettloff postrzegał zagadnienia badawcze przez pryzmat historii idei i takie podejście przetrwało w poznańskim Instytucie do dziś. Z perspektywy czasu na szczególną uwagę zasługują próby refleksji poznańskiego Instytutu nad współczesną filozofią francuską, a także nad ruchem reformatorskim w zachodniemieckiej historii sztuki. Zaproszenie mojego akademickiego nauczyciela Martina Warnke do poznańskiego Instytutu w roku 1973, w okresie zimnej wojny, było ważnym wydarzeniem w historii nauki. W owym czasie nawiązałem luźną znajomość z Adamem Labudą. Później szczęśliwy zbieg okoliczności sprawił, że w roku 1991 obaj zostaliśmy powołani do Wissenschaftskolleg w Berlinie – i stworzyliśmy tam zgraną drużynę tenisa stołowego. To połączyło nas i łączy nas do dziś.

Adam Labuda w jednym ze swoich artykułów na temat historii nauki z ubolewaniem wskazał na to, że niektóre talenty historii sztuki skierowały swą uwagę przede wszystkim na południe i zachód Europy, co dotyczyło rów-

niez i mnie. Mogę jednak powiedzieć, że kiedy w roku 1993 zostałem mianowany dyrektorem Instytutu Historii Sztuki na Uniwersytecie Humboldtów, zrobiłem wszystko, co było w mojej mocy, aby wbrew znacznym sprzeciwom zachować Katedrę Historii Sztuki Europy Wschodniej. Było szczęśliwą okolicznością, że udało się nam wówczas pozyskać Adama Labudę na profesurę związaną z tą katedrą. Dzięki temu nawiązane zostały bliskie kontakty z Poznaniem, wzmacniane również przez innych kolegów, zwłaszcza przedwcześnie zmarłego Piotra Piotrowskiego, który przez kilka semestrów wykładał na Uniwersytecie Humboldta, ujmując zarówno kolegów, jak i studentów swym otwartym sposobem bycia. W ramach ugruntowanych kontaktów między Poznaniem a instytutem berlińskim Piotr Korduba poprosił mnie o odczyt na



1 A.-B. Frank Stella, modele Zamku Berlińskiego/Forum Humboldtów

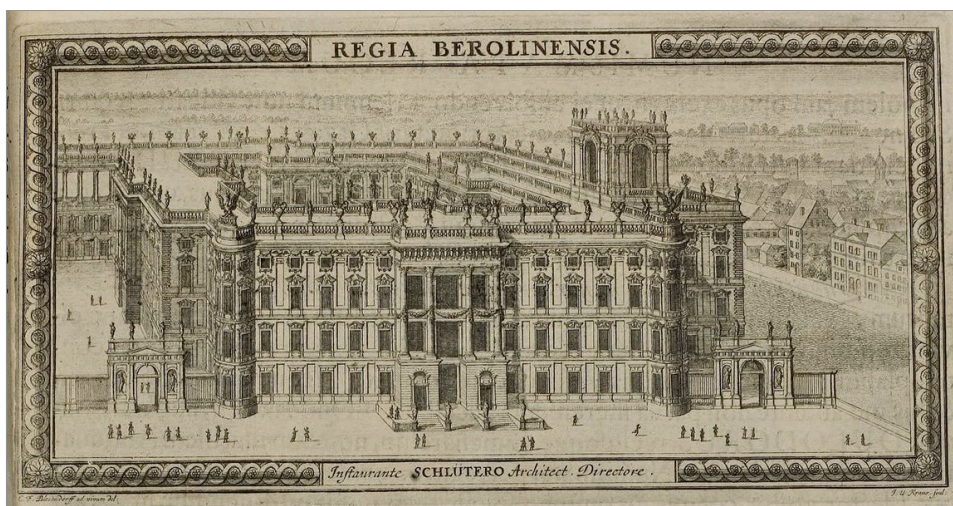
dzisiejszych obchodach jubileuszowych. Wyraził życzenie, abym wypowiedział się na temat Zamku Berlińskiego oraz Forum Humboldtów, nad którego powstaniem pracowałem przez trzy lata jako jeden z członków komitetu założycielskiego.

Jeszcze przed otwarciem Forum Humboldtów wywołało dyskusję wykraczającą daleko poza granice Berlina, a także Republiki Federalnej Niemiec i Europy (il. 1 A-B). Projekt ten postrzegany jest zarówno w dobrym, jak i negatywnym świetle jako przypadek szczególny, w którym łączą się ogólne oceny historii z pytaniami o kształtowanie przyszłości. Nie wiadomo jeszcze, czy okaże się on modelem, czy też postrzegany będzie jako wypadek w historii, i pytanie to być może oceniane będzie inaczej z Państwa perspektywy historycznej aniżeli z mojej. Mam jednak nadzieję, że zdołam nabrać odpowiedniego dystansu, aby przedstawić Państwu problematykę, która zapewne nie dotyczy jedynie samego Berlina. Chciałbym przybliżyć tę tematykę w dziesięciu krokach. Pierwszym będzie spojrzenie z perspektywy rzymskiej.

1. PERSPEKTYWA RZYMSKA

Swą mieszanką stylów późnego gotyku i renesansu Zamek Berliński około roku 1670 nie mógł wywołać większego wrażenia na skalę ponadregionalną. Jego właściciele, Hohenzollernowie, byli władcami elektoratu brandenbursko-pruskiego, który wprawdzie miał pewne znaczenie, nie równał się jednak z królestwami europejskimi. Kierowany ambicją nadania Prusom godności królewskiej elektor Fryderyk III dokonał aktu samokoronacji na obrzeżach państwa pruskiego – w Królewcu, w celu złagodzenia wrażenia samowoli tego kroku w oczach potentatów europejskich. Wobec opisanego deficytu legitymacji jego władzy królewskiej, Fryderyk – wówczas już jako król Fryderyk I – dokładał wszelkich starań, aby poprzez swój odnowiony zamek miejski dorównać poziomowi aspiracji mocarstw europejskich. Nawiązał do Rzymu, aby skorzystać z politycznej ikonologii *caput mundi*. Jego osobiste zainteresowanie Rzymem nie było w żadnym wypadku pozorowane; wręcz przeciwnie – należał on do grona uczonych, którzy ze znacznym zaangażowaniem osobistym i wkładem finansowym starali się odkrywać świat antyku. Przeznaczył znaczne fundusze na zakup monet i medali antycznych oraz publikacji na ten temat.

Protagonistą przekształcenia późnogotyckiego zamku w barokowy pałac stał się Andreas Schlüter, prawdopodobnie urodzony w Gdańsku około roku 1660 (il. 2). O jego wykształceniu i początkowym okresie twórczości w miejscu urodzenia wnioskować można jedynie na podstawie przypisywanych



2. Zamek Berliński, miedzioryt, 1696–1701

mu rzeźb. Należą do nich sztukaterie przedstawiające kontynenty w domu przy Długim Targu 7/8 (zniszczone), które ukazują żartobliwą próbę oswojenia lwa przez putta. Przypisywane mu są także figury puttów w pałacu króla Jana III Sobieskiego w Wilanowie, symbolizujące cztery żywioły, między innymi wodę. Udokumentowany źródłowo jest udział Schlütera w roku 1689 w wykonaniu wystroju warszawskiego pałacu Krasińskich, z charakterystycznymi scenami z okresu republiki rzymskiej. Pewne jest jego autorstwo nagrobków ojca i wuja króla Jana Sobieskiego w farze w Żółkwi z lat 1692–1694, wykonanych z czarnego marmuru, oraz figur asystujących, stanowiących prawdopodobnie personifikacje Siły, Sprawiedliwości oraz Cnoty i Prawdy, a także postaci Famy nad urnami. Nagrobki te zadecydowały, zapewne wraz z innymi dziełami rzeźbiarza, o powołaniu go w roku 1694 na stanowisko dyrektora budowy zamku w Berlinie. Przy wszystkim, co teraz zostanie powiedziane, należy pamiętać, że to polski artysta dworski w osobie Andreego Schlütera wznosił Zamek Berliński.

Zanim Schlüter rozpoczął pracę nad opracowaniem projektu, spędził kilka miesięcy we Włoszech, między innymi w Rzymie, aby zyskać szerszą perspektywę, niezbędną do uwolnienia Berlina od wpływów lokalnej tradycji architektonicznej. Bezpośrednim wzorem dla projektu berlińskiego zamku stał się rzymski Palazzo Madama Paolo Marucelliego, położony niedaleko Piazza Navona (il. 3, 4). Odnosi się wrażenie, jakby Schlüter w Berlinie po prostu rozbudował ten obejmujący trzy i pół piętra pałac. Nawet formy okien są identyczne, wyjąwszy różnicę formy łuków od-



3. Zamek Berliński, fragment elewacji



4. Paolo Marucelli, Palazzo Madama, Rzym, 1637–1642

inkowych na pierwszym piętrze. Przejęto również niezwykle przeprucie gzymsu oknami mezzanina, wprowadzające plastyczny element do surowej szaty architektonicznej elewacji. Jediną różnicę stanowi fakt, że w Berlinie w polach figuralnych umieszczonych między oknami nad gzymsem,

w miejsce występujących w Palazzo Madama bawiących się puttów, przedstawiono orły, odnoszące się zarówno do Jowisza, jak i do Prus. Potężne kolumny Wielkiej Klatki Schodowej dźwigają nad impostami i potężnym gzymsem jedynie figury górnej kondygnacji. Zainspirowane są z pewnością kolumnami z dziedzińców perystylowych na forum Nerwy. W ryzalicie Wielkiej Klatki Schodowej te antyczne rzymskie elementy przejmują funkcję autonomicznego przedstawienia samych siebie: stają się symbolami swej własnej formy.

Dokonana w roku 1708 przez następcę Schlütera, Johanna Friedricha Eosandera, rozbudowa gmachu zamkowego w kierunku zachodnim zdecydowała o ostatecznym wyglądzie Zamku Berlińskiego (il. 5). W zapewne najbardziej charakterystycznym motywie tej partii zamku – portalu III w ele-



5. Johann Friedrich Eosander, Zamek Berliński, fasada dziedzińcowa, portal III, 1708–1716

wacji zachodniej – ponownie przytoczono formy rzymskiego antyku. Elewacje zewnętrzne i dziedzińcowe – cytując raz Łuk Konstantyna, a innym razem wybudowany w roku 203 Łuk Septymiusza Sewera – nawiązują do dwóch łuków tryumfalnych z Forum Romanum (il. 6). Porównanie wewnętrznego portalu Eosandera z Łukiem Septymiusza Sewera z rzymskiego Forum Romanum ukazuje, jak wiernie Rzym został w tym miejscu przeniesiony do Berlina. Wrażenie jest imponujące, choć jednowymiarowo cezariańskie. Formy Schlütera stanowiły natomiast swoistą summę architektonicznej i artystycznej historii Rzymu od starożytności przez renesans do współczesnego artyście baroku. Nie łączą zaczerpniętych elementów w sposób kompilacyjny, lecz dramatyzują je, aby mocniej podkreślić dynamikę podziałów architektonicznych i rozwinąć własny styl plastyczny: śródziemnomorski teatr plastyczności, wewnętrznego napięcia i żywotności.

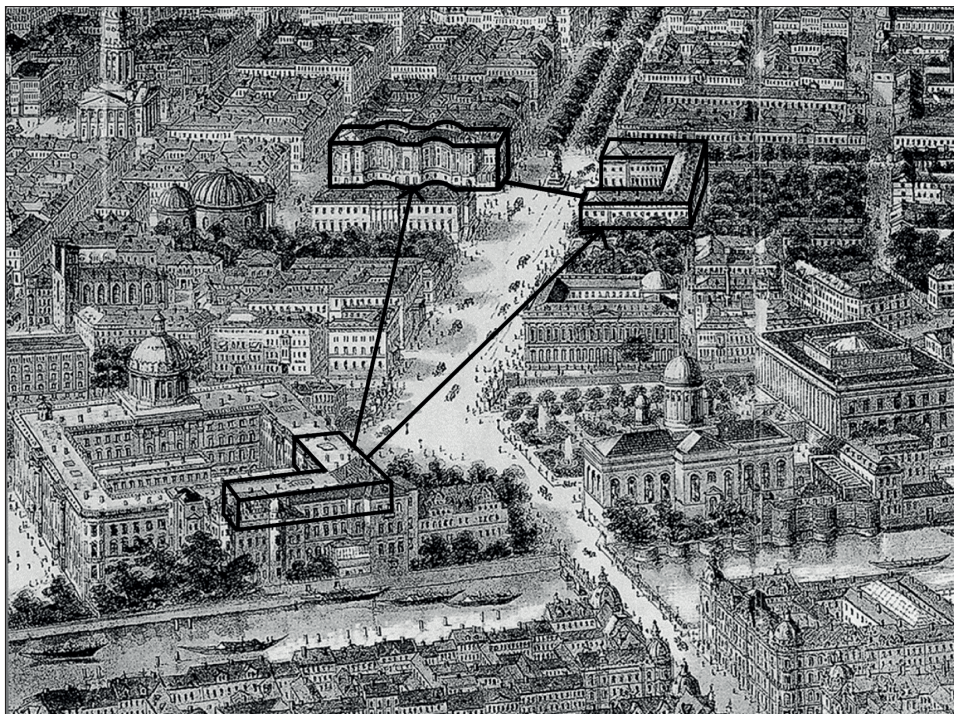


6. Łuk Septymiusza Sewera, Rzym, 203 n.e., akwaforta, 1694–1699

2. GABINET OSOBLIWOŚCI (*KUNSTKAMMER*) JAKO MUZEUM AKADEMICKIE

Pomimo rygorystycznych przekształceń szaty zewnętrznej zamek we wnętrzu niezmiennie pozostawał związany ze swą pierwotną funkcją, służąc jako rezydencja królewska, ale pełniąc również funkcje publiczne jako siedziba sądów, urzędów skarbowych, banków, sklepów, biblioteki oraz gabinetu osobliwości, dostępnego przynajmniej dla specjalistów i zainteresowanych laików. Zbiory gabinetu, gromadzone przez pokolenia, uległy wprawdzie rozproszeniu podczas wojny trzydziestoletniej, lecz zostały odbudowane tak skutecznie, że stały się jednym z impulsów dla Gottfrieda Wilhelma Leibniza, aby postrzegać berlińską Akademię Nauk, którą pomógł założyć w roku 1700, jako „Teatr natury i sztuki”. Gabinet osobliwości miał być dostępny badaczom. Jako muzeum powszechne obejmował zarówno eksponaty przyrodnicze, jak i instrumenty badawcze, wreszcie także dzieła sztuki. Opieka nad tą kolekcją oscylowała między troskliwym nadzorem a zaniedbaniem, choć szeroki zakres jej zasobów sto lat później, około roku 1800, uczynił ją szczególnie interesującą. W tym bowiem czasie gabinet osobliwości został podporządkowany Akademii Nauk i był odtąd mocno wspierany przez Aleksandra i Wilhelma von Humboldtów. Stanowiło to wyjątkowy przypadek w historii muzealnictwa, kiedy w czasach, gdy w całej Europie tworzone kolekcje specjalistyczne, umieszczane w galeriach i muzeach sztuki, w muzeach technicznych, a także muzeach historii naturalnej, Berlin w dalszym ciągu trwał przy idei mikrokosmosu całego świata reprezentowanego przez kunstkamerę. Z faktu tego korzyści czerpał przede wszystkim uniwersytet. W roku 1809 Wilhelm von Humboldt sprawił, że powoływany do życia Uniwersytet Berliński, który przynajmniej duchowo miał pomóc społeczności podnieść się z upadku, został wyposażony w zbiory z zakresu nauk przyrodniczych i medycyny, mieszczące się podówczas w kunstkamerze w Zamku Berlińskim (il. 7). Stało się to w roku 1810, kiedy uniwersytetowi przekazany został rozległy pałac brata Fryderyka Wielkiego przy alei Unter den Linden. Zbiory, które znalazły się w tym potężnym budynku, wypełniły go niemal w całości. Kiedy zatem król odwiedził uniwersytet w roku 1820, wpisał do księgi honorowej: „Wspaniałe nowe muzeum!”

W ten sposób uniwersytet stał się dzieckiem Zamku Berlińskiego. Trwająca do roku 1933 historia sukcesu Uniwersytetu Berlińskiego wywodzona jest z propagowanej przez Wilhelma von Humboldta wolności badań i nauczania. Drugi powód ulega jednak najczęściej zapomnieniu: jako spadkobierca znacznej partii zbiorów zamkowych stanowił od początku muzeum powiązane z zadaniami dydaktycznymi. Inne uniwersytety posiadały muzea



7. Adolf Eltner, *Panorama stolicy Cesarstwa Niemieckiego*, 1886

uniwersyteckie, uniwersytet w Berlinie był natomiast żywym muzeum. Fakt ten do dnia dzisiejszego nadaje mu wyjątkowy charakter. Tak więc drugim wartym odnotowania elementem historii zamku jest to, że poprzez zasoby kunstkamery jako akademickiego muzeum powszechnego stał się swego rodzaju „matką” berlińskiej *Alma Mater*.

3. HISTORIA SZTUKI POWSZECHNEJ

Nie mniej ważne aniżeli kolekcje z dziedzin nauk przyrodniczych i medycyny, które przeniesiono z zamkowego gabinetu osobliwości do uniwersytetu, były zgromadzone tam zbiory pozaeuropejskie. Obejmowały one obiekty ze słynnej kolekcji Forsterów. Reinhold Forster i jego syn Georg, którzy towarzyszyli Jamesowi Cookowi w jego drugiej wyprawie dookoła świata, przywieźli ze sobą obszerną kolekcję tysięcy naturaliiów i artefaktów, które po swym powrocie w roku 1775 rozdali bądź sprzedali. Nie dziwi fakt dużego zainteresowania tymi obiektami w Berlinie, gdyż Georg Forster niemiecką wersję swojego dziennika podróży, który przyniósł mu sławę na całym świecie, opu-

blikował właśnie w Berlinie w roku 1778. Z drugiej jednak strony jego nazwisko zostało w Prusach zdyskredytowane, kiedy jako gorący zwolennik rewolucji francuskiej wyemigrował do Paryża.

Po zajęciu Berlina przez wojska francuskie w roku 1806 oprócz najważniejszych dzieł sztuki również znaczna część kunstkamery została zarekwirowana przez Dominique-Vivanta Denona jako łup wojenny i wywieziona do Paryża. Wśród skonfiskowanych i wywiezionych dzieł znalazła się cała kolekcja eksponatów pozaeuropejskich. Pozostały one w całości w Paryżu, gdzie ślad po nich zaginął. Tym bardziej intensywne starania o odbudowę kolekcji etnologicznej podjęli kuratorzy Jean Henry i Leopold baron von Ledebur w kolejnych dziesięcioleciach. Wzrost liczby eksponatów spowodował, że konieczne stało się wprowadzenie systemu inwentaryzacji o strukturze geograficznej, bazującego na podziale na obszary Chin, Japonii, innych regionów Azji, obszary Afryki, Ameryki Północnej, Ameryki Południowej i Australii wraz z regionem południowego Pacyfiku, zasadniczo obowiązującego do dziś. Wprowadzony wówczas podział regionalny, z dzisiejszej perspektywy sprawiający wrażenie raczej mało ciekawej kategoryzacji, w czasach jego ustanowienia był świadectwem dostrzeżenia różnorodności świata. Podobnie jak w teorii językowej Wilhelma von Humboldta, społeczności ludzkie miały być postrzegane nie wertykalnie, w uzależnieniu od stopnia ich ówczesnego rozwoju, lecz horyzontalnie – zgodnie z ich regionalną, autonomicznie pojmowaną kulturą. Dopiero na tej podstawie można było zdefiniować to, co wspólne.

Szczególną rolę zachowały dzieła z kolekcji, która została zgromadzona przez ojca Reinholda i syna Georga Forsterów podczas drugiej podróży Jamesa Cooka dookoła świata. W inwentarzu kunstkamery cały szereg wpisów opatrzone nazwiskiem Forster. Zarząd gabinetu osobliwości dokładał wszelkich starań, by zdobyć przedmioty codziennego użytku z tych zbiorów i odpowiednio je wyeksponować, jak np. maczugi z Tahiti. Pochodzący z roku 1838 rzut poziomy zamkowego gabinetu osobliwości autorstwa Karla Friedricha Schinkla ukazuje zwrócone na południe rozległe sale „zbiorów etnograficznych”, dające wyobrażenie o ilości zgromadzonych w nich eksponatów. Zainspirowany wspomnianą kolekcją etnograficzną na zamku, Franz Kugler napisał pierwszą prawdziwą historię sztuki powszechnej, będącą wyrazem owego liberalnego ducha, z którego powstała historia sztuki wszystkich epok i narodów, obejmująca zbiory od kamiennych artefaktów prehistorycznych do współczesności. Stanowi ona pierwsze uniwersalne opracowanie historii *homo faber*. W swej napisanej pod kątem gabinetu osobliwości berlińskiego zamku syntezie historii sztuki powszechnej Kugler unika wyniesienia teraźniejszości do rangi instancji, która w doskonały spo-

sób zamykałaby bieg historii i mogła być zdolna do podjęcia refleksji nad nią. W swym relatywistycznym założeniu dzieło to pozostaje wzorcem aż do naszych czasów.

Trzecim elementem o znaczeniu historycznym jest więc fakt, że zbiory etnologiczne gabinetu osobliwości w zamku oferowały materiał poglądowy, który umożliwił wykoncypowanie i napisanie pierwszej liberalnej historii sztuki całego świata, poczynawszy od artefaktów z epoki kamienia łupanego, i traktującej równorzędnie obszary od Azji do Ameryki.

4. WYSPA MUZEÓW JAKO „SANKTUARIUM” I TRAUMA ROKU 1848

Ówczesny gospodarz zamku, Fryderyk Wilhelm IV, jako historyk sztuki-amator, rysownik i zaangażowany mecenas sztuki i nauki, stworzył plan utworzenia na Wyspie Muzeów „sanktuarium sztuki i nauki”, które łączyłoby badania naukowe z obecnością artefaktów z zakresu historii sztuki, archeologii i etnografii. Mógł on wejść do historii jako oświecony, promujący nauki monarcha, gdyby nie uległ jednocześnie romantycznej idei głębokiej więzi władcy i narodu, która powinna znaleźć wyraz i spełnienie we wspólnej wierze chrześcijańskiej. Katedra berlińska w postaci, w jakiej zaprojektował ją Schinkel, nie odzwierciedlała z perspektywy Fryderyka Wilhelma IV w satysfakcjonujący sposób owego związku narodu z religią, stąd podjął on pomysł Andreea Schlütera wzniesienia nad zachodnim portalem zamku kopuły jako widocznego z oddali znaku harmonii narodu i dworu we wspólnej religii. Jako antymodel okresu poprzedzającego Wiosnę Ludów (*Vormärz*), liberalnego, demokratycznego ruchu, do którego przyłączył się również Kugler, kopuła stała się jednak złowrogą przepowiednią. W roku 1848, czasie rewolucji europejskich, wewnętrzne napięcia doprowadziły także w Berlinie do wybuchu zamieszek, podczas których, prawdopodobnie w konsekwencji błędnie przekazanej wiadomości, doszło do rozstrzelania znacznej liczby demonstrantów. Wydarzenia te ukazane są na przedstawieniu anonimowego autorstwa. Na zamku widoczna jest kopuła w budowie, która dzięki zastosowaniu śmiałej konstrukcji żelaznej osiągnęła niespotykaną w ówczesnym czasie średnicę. Jednak w rezultacie historycznych wydarzeń stała się jedynie symbolem represyjnej polityki władcy. Fryderyk Wilhelm IV, który po masowym zastrzeleniu wielkiej liczby demonstrantów kazał usunąć wojsko z miasta, wydając tym samym samego siebie, musiał zmarłym oddać honor.

Wraz ze stłumieniem rewolucji w roku 1848 reputacja zamku jako siedziby Hohenzollernów została zszargana. Od tego momentu – i na tym polega

czwarty wymiar historyczny – na szereg dziesięcioleci utracił on dla Hohenzollernów swą reprezentacyjną funkcję. Nadal pełnił rolę siedziby urzędów i instytucji finansowych, lecz na więcej niż jedno pokolenie pozbawiony został swej funkcji pierwotnej.

5. CESARSTWO I REWOLUCJA

Dopiero wraz z powstaniem Drugiej Rzeszy w roku 1871 i objęciem tronu przez cesarza Wilhelma II zamek definitywnie przyjął funkcję, która z późniejszej perspektywy była mylnie przypisywana całej jego historii przy jednoczesnym pomijaniu jego dotychczasowego przeznaczenia. Jako centralna rezydencja dynastii Hohenzollernów stał się symbolem ich nieszczęsnych rządów.

Za złowrogą zapowiedź przyszłych wydarzeń uznaje się tzw. konferencję kongijską, która zdecydowała o podziale terytorialnym Afryki na europejskie strefy własności. Spotkanie to mogło odbyć się zarówno w Brukseli, Londynie czy Paryżu, a w Berlinie odbyło się nie w zamku, lecz w pałacu kanclerza Rzeszy przy Wilhelmstraße. Jednak ponieważ końcowy dokument został przypieczątowany w zamku, do dziś wydaje się, jakoby miał on swój udział w ówczesnych fatalnych decyzjach. Pod rządami cesarza Wilhelma II doszło do silnego spotęgowania patosu, które spowodowało, że zamek zaczęto postrzegać jako współodpowiedzialny za militaryzację i umocnienie imperialnych pretensji cesarstwa niemieckiego. Upadek cesarstwa nastąpił wraz ze szturmem na Zamek Berliński. Jeden z paradoksalnych zwrotów, do których wymyślenia niezdolna byłaby nawet wyobraźnia poety, sama historia natomiast tak, sprawił, że charakterystyczny fragment zamku stał się relikwią idei komunistycznej. Chodzi tu o portal IV, z którego zgodnie z przekazem przywódca komunistów Karl Liebknecht proklamował republikę socjalistyczną.

W Republice Weimarskiej zamek – w roku 1920 – stał się w całości własnością publiczną. Szczególne znaczenie miał fakt, że również w tym roku do pomieszczeń zamkowych wprowadził się uniwersytet, aby móc wreszcie zapewnić Instytutowi Psychologii wystarczająco duże pomieszczenia i umożliwić prowadzenie badań berlińskiej szkole psychologii postaci (*Gestaltpsychologie*). Aż do momentu emigracji światowej sławy psychologów gestaltizmu – Wolfganga Köhlera, Maxa Wertheima i Rudolfa Arnheima – berlińska szkoła psychologii stworzyła w salach Zamku Berlińskiego podstawy swego przyszłego znaczenia, a po emigracji oddziaływała – szczególnie w Stanach Zjednoczonych – nie tylko w dziedzinie projektowania graficznego, lecz także we wczesnej informatyce, czego skutki odczuwalne są do dziś.

Ponowne połączenie zamku i świata nauki w czasach Republiki Weimarskiej jest zatem piątym ogniwem, które z perspektywy historycznej wyznaczyć można w łańcuchu najważniejszych wydarzeń w historii zamku.

6. ZNISZCZENIE ZAMKU JAKO PRZEGNANIE DEMONA

Narodowi socjaliści w obliczu swego dążenia do stworzenia z gruntu nowej, własnej historii, pomimo całej historycznej pseudolegitymacji, jaką zamek oferował tego wieczoru roku 1933, kiedy Hitler przejął władzę w Niemczech, nie mieli dla niego określonej funkcji.

Centrum Berlina zostało niemal całkowicie zrównane z ziemią, sam zamek natomiast niemal cudownym trafem nie uległ tak silnym zniszczeniom, aby musiał być poddany rozbiórce. Wręcz przeciwnie, pojawiły się inicjatywy doprowadzenia do jego odbudowy. Jednak zarówno na zachodzie, jak i na wschodzie nastroje nie sprzyjały jakiegokolwiek formie restauracji. Ten w najróżniejszy sposób wyrażany wstręt do wszelkiego rodzaju rekonstrukcji nabrał wkrótce wymiaru historyczno-politycznego. W znaczącym manifestie architektów z roku 1947 proklamowano: „Zniszczone dziedzictwo nie może być rekonstruowane w formach historycznych, może być odtwarzane jedynie dla nowych funkcji i w nowych formach”. Rekonstrukjom zarzucano, że stanowią próbę usunięcia pamięci o spowodowanych przez Niemców zniszczeniach, które dotknęły ich samych.

Wschodnioberlińskim rozwiązaniem okazało się wysadzenie zamku w powietrze (il. 8). Przypomnieć jednak trzeba o głosach sprzeciwu wobec tego zamiaru. Mój poprzednik na Uniwersytecie Humboldtów z czasów powojennych, historyk sztuki Richard Hamann, w sierpniu 1950 roku przedstawił premierowi Niemieckiej Republiki Demokratycznej Otto Grotewohlowi kategorię memorandum w sprawie zachowania zamku:

Berlin jest ubogi w pomniki przeszłości. Posiada jednak dzieło wpisujące się w szereg najwspanialszych zabytków przeszłości, wymieniane oraz reprodukowane we wszystkich syntezach historii sztuki świata: Zamek Berliński. Jego twórcą był najwybitniejszy rzeźbiarz i architekt północnych Niemiec, Andreas Schlüter. Stoi w ruinie, wciąż jednak fascynując swym rozmachem i monumentalnością, jako reprezentant specyficznego północnoniemieckiego baroku, który godnie stanąć może u boku rzymskiej Bazyliki św. Piotra Michała Anioła czy Luwru w Paryżu.

Słowa te ukazują, jak głęboką identyfikację historyczną wzbudzała estetyka ruin zamku. Został on dotkliwie trafiony przez bomby, lecz jego stan nie po-



8. Wysadzenie zamku w powietrze, 1950

zostawiał wątpliwości, że można go uratować. Przerażenie wobec ewentualności, że budynek mógłby zostać rzeczywiście wysadzony w powietrze, wyraża się w stwierdzeniu: „Wszystkich historyków sztuki [...] sama myśl o możliwości zniszczenia zamku i tego historycznego centrum Berlina przyprawia o mdłości”. Wszelkie apele pozostały jednak bezowocne.

Szóstym etapem w historii zamku był zatem jego dwojaki koniec: z powodu zniszczeń wojennych podczas nalotów oraz celowej rozbiórki przez Niemiecką Republikę Demokratyczną, która uważała zamek za przeciwieństwo swego własnego powstania. Negatywna konotacja zamku z wydarzeniami roku 1848 oraz z jego funkcją w czasach Drugiej Rzeszy zadecydowała o ikonoklastycznym wyroku śmierci na niego.

7. PAŁAC REPUBLIKI

Na miejscu zamku powstał rozległy plac, wykorzystywany do parad organizowanych 1 maja i przy innych okazjach. Jednak zaistniała w ten sposób pustka była tak trudna do zniesienia, że władze postanowiły na miejscu starego zamku wybudować pałac, który wzmocnił proces stopniowej modernizacji architektury NRD (il. 9). Jako „Pałac Republiki” budynek ten współtworzył historię architektury. W NRD był on popularny, ponieważ oferował rozrywkę



9. Panorama lotnicza Placu Zamkowego, lata 90.

i możliwość spotkań, które poza nim nie były w okolicy dostępne. I właśnie z tego powodu był znienawidzony przez krytyków reżimu.

Po zjednoczeniu Niemiec w roku 1990 Pałac Republiki stał się przedmiotem dyskusji w tym samym stopniu co stary Zamek Berliński po roku 1945. Kiedy podjęto decyzję o jego zburzeniu, jako powód podano, że zanieczyszczenie budynku azbestem jest tak wysokie, że dalsze użytkowanie go nie jest możliwe, a renowacja byłaby bardziej kosztowna niż rozbiórka. Tym uzasadnieniem, na którego podstawie należałoby zburzyć również szereg innych budynków w mieście, między innymi Centrum Kongresowe w Berlinie Zachodnim, starano się choćby retorycznie uniknąć wrażenia, jakoby decyzję podjęto ze względów politycznych. W rzeczywistości jednak na decyzję tę wyraźnie wpłynął wciąż niezapomniany wstrząs wywołany zburzeniem Zamku Berlińskiego; jego oddziaływanie przyczyniło się do usunięcia Pałacu Republiki, co dokonało się w długim, realizowanym niejako w akcie zemsty bolesnym procesie, któremu towarzyszyły wybitne przedsięwzięcia performatywne.

Budowa i wyburzenie głównego dzieła architektury NRD – jako znaki epoki republiki socjalistycznej i jej upadku – były siódmym ważnym wydarzeniem związanym z historią Zamku Berlińskiego i terenu pozamkowego. Pozostał jedynie portal IV, który w formie relikwii budowlanej komunizmu uratowano przed wyburzeniem zamku w roku 1950, aby wbudować go we wzniesiony w roku 1963 budynek Rady Państwa NRD (il. 10). Kompleks ten z pewnością należy do najbardziej surrealistycznych konstrukcji w historii architektury.



10. Budynek Rady Państwa NRD z portalem IV Zamku Berlińskiego

8. DECYZJA O ODBUDOWIE

Tymczasem rozgorzała dyskusja wokół rekonstrukcji zburzonego zamku. Ogłaszano konkursy owocujące niezwykle pomysłowymi projektami, lecz od chwili, gdy imponujące wrażenie wywarł model zamku w skali 1 : 1, wykonany w roku 1993 z inicjatywy hamburskiego zwolennika rekonstrukcji Wilhelma von Boddiena, nie było już alternatywy dla rekonstrukcji choćby szaty zewnętrznej. Sytuacja ta jednak w żadnym wypadku nie rozwiązywała jeszcze otwartej kwestii funkcji użytkowej wewnątrz. W roku 2000 komisja ekspertów o nazwie „Historyczne Centrum Berlina” („Historische Mitte Berlin”) rozpoczęła prace nad tym, jaką treścią wypełnić wewnątrz zrekonstruowanego zamku. Po powołaniu mnie na Uniwersytet Humboldtów w roku 1992 otrzymałem zadanie, aby zinwentaryzować i skatalogować zbiory Uniwersytetu z zakresu historii nauki. Jednym z wyników tych badań, które podjąłem wspólnie z matematykiem Jochenem Brüningiem, była zorganizowana w roku 2000 w berlińskim Gropius Bau wystawa pod tytułem „Teatr przyrody i sztuki”. Nawiązywała ona do pomysłu Leibniza połączenia założonej w roku 1700 w Berlinie Akademii Nauk z „Theatrum Naturae et Artis”. W ten sposób niespodziewanie licznym zwiedzającym wystawę udało się zaprezentować pierwotne zasoby zbiorów uniwersyteckich. W salach wystawowych odbyło się wiele warsztatów oraz dyskusji, dzięki czemu ekspozycja wniosła również swój wkład w nauczanie akademickie.

Mając na uwadze wyniki badań i wystawę, przedstawiłem w roku 2001 komisji „Historyczne Centrum Berlina” koncepcję, aby zbiory uniwersytetu, stanowiące podstawę jego sukcesu, ponownie powiązać koncepcyjnie z zamkiem i przywrócić dawny związek zamku i uniwersytetu. Równocześnie Klaus Lehmann jako prezes i Peter Klaus Schuster – dyrektor muzeów Fundacji Pruskiego Dziedzictwa Kulturowego (Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz) przedstawili pomysł zwrócenia pozaeuropejskich kolekcji do zamku, a tym samym zakreślenia funkcji rekonstruowanemu budynkowi. Komisja postanowiła przyjąć koncepcje Fundacji Pruskiego Dziedzictwa Kulturowego i Uniwersytetu oraz wyznaczyła oba organy jako podmioty użytkujące Forum Humboldtów. Jako trzeci podmiot dołączyło miasto Berlin, które zamierzało zainstalować w zamku Bibliotekę Miejską celem ożywienia tego miejsca, a wzorem było tu paryskie Centrum Pompidou. W roku 2002 koncepcja ta po bardzo budującej dyskusji została zatwierdzona przez niemiecki Bundestag. Skuteczny okazał się podstawowy zamysł wykorzystania zbiorów z dawnej zamkowej kunstkamery i umożliwienia ich oddziaływania w zmienionych współcześnie warunkach. Aplauz ze strony opinii publicznej był znaczny i po takim pozytywnym przyjęciu powinno było dojść do szybkiej realizacji projektu. Jednak kryzys gospodarczy, który dotknął kraj w pierwszych latach nowego stulecia, sprawił, że wobec liczby ponad 5 milionów bezrobotnych rekonstrukcja zamku Hohenzollernów, angażująca znaczne środki z budżetu publicznego, byłaby posunięciem dalece niestosownym. Projekt postanowiono zawiesić lub z niego zrezygnować. Jednak procesów, które w tej sprawie uruchomiły się już w ministerstwach, nie można było z dnia na dzień zatrzymać, gdyż w międzyczasie podpisano już szereg kontraktów, które wymagały kontynuacji prac. Z tego względu projekt odbudowy zamku był kontynuowany poza świadomością publiczną, mimo że oficjalnie został zamrożony. Wyjaśnia to, dlaczego w grudniu 2007 roku zupełnie niespodzianie rozpisano konkurs na projekt zamku oraz powołano komisję decydującą o jego formie. Komisja miała bezwzględnie strzec podstawowej zasady, zgodnie z którą elewacje zewnętrzne budynku należało odtworzyć w niezmienionej szacie historycznej. Jako ósme ogniwo naszego łańcucha wydarzeń wyłania się zatem podjęta po raz pierwszy kwestia rekonstrukcji nieistniejącego zamku, rozpoczynając tym samym historię, która ma zostać sfinalizowana pod koniec roku 2019.

9. ODBUDOWANY ZAMEK

Konkurs wygrał projekt włoskiego architekta Franca Stelli. Ponownie o charakterze Zamku Berlińskiego zadecydowała włoska tradycja architektoniczna, która naznaczyła dzieło Andreasa Schlütera z około roku 1700, kie-

dy to w bardzo subtelny sposób stworzył on plastyczną kompilację włoskich form szesnasto- i siedemnastowiecznych. Tym razem na szatę zamku wpłynęło nawiązanie do włoskiego racjonalizmu.

Twórczość Stelli wywodzi się z nurtu w historii architektury XX wieku, który wykształcił się pod nazwą włoskiego racjonalizmu po pierwszej wojnie światowej, aby przeciwstawić antyhistorycznemu zapałowi futurystów modernizm nawiązujący do zasad budownictwa antycznego, radykalnie redukujący jednak jego formy architektoniczne do ich matematycznego rdzenia. Kompozycja bazuje na zasadzie kontrastu pomiędzy gładkimi ścianami a silnie rozczłonowanymi partiami, jak to w wielu wariantach pokazał czołowy przedstawiciel nurtu Giuseppe Terragni. Sam Stella kilkakrotnie korzystał z tego rozwiązania, między innymi w swym kompleksie szkolnym w Orgiano. Podstawowa zasada włoskiego modernizmu, konstruującego wszelkie formy według zasad matematycznego *ratio*, proporcji i jasności, zdecydowała o odrzuceniu przez Stellę możliwości przeplecenia kompozycji Schlütera nowo wykoncypowanymi przez niego partiami. Obie koncepcje ostro się zderzają, w tej konfrontacji jednak wyraźniej ze sobą współgrając, aniżeli pozwoliłyby na to pomieszenie obu stylów. Z surową wyrazistością zasada ta dochodzi do głosu w skrzydle wschodnim, które w kierunku Szprewy zainscenizowane jest jako potężny rygiel, zamknięcie samego siebie. Również i tam, gdzie nowy budynek styka się z rekonstrukcją historycznych elewacji po stronie północnej i południowej, nie ma harmonijnego przejścia. Pojawiający się w tym miejscu uskok sprawia raczej wrażenie, że skrzydło wschodnie z właściwym odstępem wznosi się przed właściwą budowlą. Kompozycja elewacji Stelli przewija się w całym budynku. Zaskakującym rozwiązaniem jest powtórzenie wariacji zewnętrznej elewacji skrzydła wschodniego po zachodniej stronie dziedzińca wewnętrznego, tzw. dziedzińca Schlütera (il. 11). W ten sposób rodzi się harmonia płynąca ze zróżnicowania. Kontrast pomiędzy gładko polerowanym kamieniem w elewacji Stelli a historyczną elewacją dziedzińcową Schlütera tworzy własną, różnorodnie się otwierającą kompozycję.

W czerwcu ubiegłego roku swoją inaugurację miała nowo wybudowana Brama Eosandera (il. 12). W ramach dwudniowej imprezy okolicznościowej zaprezentowano program, który przyciągnął prawie 40 000 osób. To był naprawdę budujący moment, kiedy portal i zdobiące go rzeźby odegrały rolę głównych protagonistów w minimalistycznym otoczeniu. Alegorie Famy umieszczone w przyłuczach stanowią wspaniałe repliki, które w kunsztowny sposób udało się wkomponować jako spolia w zachowany oryginalny fragment. Rekonstrukcja ta niejako sama dekonstruuje temat tej nowej odsłony antycznego łuku tryumfalnego, gdyż przedstawione zwycięstwo samo w sobie jest fragmentem gruzu. Zrekonstruowana brama wpisana jest niczym rekwizyt, dekoracja te-



11. David von Becker, Działdziniec Schlüter, Zamek Berliński, 2018



12. Atrium z rekonstrukcją portalu Eosandera, Zamek Berliński, 2018

atralna, w większy nowoczesny kontekst. Oba bieguny działają na siebie i przeciwko sobie. Ogromny hol wejściowy charakteryzuje surrealistyczne napięcie między rzymską monumentalnością a włoskim modernizmem. Z jednej z galerii roztacza się widok na bramę Eosandera i atrium. Wzrok pada na oryginalne kapitele, które z kolei rekonstrukcyjnie przywołują starożytny Łuk Septymiusza Sewera z Rzymu do Berlina. Natomiast powyżej i poniżej znajdują się dzisiejsze rekonstrukcje. Zarówno historycznie, jak i współcześnie Zamek Berliński odzwierciedla pewnego rodzaju włoskość (*italianità*), zasadniczo zaprzeczając wszelkim wyobrażeniom o inkorporowaniu tu restauracyjnych lub zgoła militarystycznych treści. Komisję przekonała w znacznej mierze także umiejętność Stelli nadania budowli urbanistycznej jakości poprzez prowadzące przez rozległy areał zamkowy ulice, otwarte zarówno w dzień, jak i w nocy.

Dziewiątym elementem historycznych wydarzeń jest zatem powrót owej *italianità* architektury zamkowej, zainicjowanej przez Andreasa Schlütera. Tym razem to włoski modernizm determinuje charakter elewacji wschodniej i dziedzińców Forum Humboldtów.

10. HISTORIA I TERAŹNIEJSZOŚĆ

Im wyraźniej zarysowywały się kształty rekonstrukcji, tym silniejsze stały się słowa krytyki, która od samego początku przeciwna była rekonstrukcji, uważając, że będzie ona stanowiła nową odsłonę ducha Hohenzollernów, a tym samym głęboko reakcyjnego sposobu myślenia, dając mu nowy bodziec. Dyskusje, które od czasu ustawienia fikcyjnej elewacji zamku w roku 1993 wydawały się zakończone, powróciły i powracają z niespodziewaną gwałtownością, a z pewnością towarzyszyć będą budowli również po jej ukończeniu. Powodem tego jest fakt, że Federalnej Republice Niemiec pomimo zjednoczenia kraju dotąd nie udało się stworzyć pozytywnie naznaczonej alternatywy w postrzeganiu niemieckiej historii. Problem polega na tym, że w Niemczech wszystko, co obiera jakikolwiek pozytywnie ukierunkowany cel, mimowolnie łączone jest z podejrzeniem o chęć ograniczenia wspomnień o koszmarze okresu po roku 1933. *Raison d'Être* Republiki Federalnej Niemiec od początku jej ustanowienia polegała w dużej mierze na tym, aby już nigdy nie dopuścić do niczego, co mogłoby się równać z nazizmem. Jej legitymacja do dziś bazuje na negacji reżimu nazistowskiego. Warunkiem istnienia niemieckiej państwowości jest refleksja nad jej naznaczoną winą historią. Na tym tle w roku 2000 zrodził się pomysł, aby w centrum stolicy kraju, który w roku 1939 pograżył wielkie obszary świata w otchłani, stworzyć przestrzeń, w której zestawiono by artefakty z najróżniejszych światowych kultur, aby współ-

nie ze zbiorami bliskowschodnimi i europejskimi Wyspy Muzeów stworzyły wyjątkowy kompleks muzealny. Zgodnie ze słowami wielkiego antropologa Claude'a Lévi Straussa miałby on na celu pokazanie, co ostatecznie łączy ludzi, a nie prowadzi do zniszczeń i dewastacji. Odwrócenie tego stanowiska w roszczeniową postawę porządkowania świata przez pryzmat europejskich, w tym szczególnie niemieckich, kategorii, napiętnowanych *per se* winą, wprowadza z mojego punktu widzenia zamęt, gdyż podejście takie umacnia to, co właściwie zwalcza. Na tle tego, co próbowałem naszkicować Państwu w dziesięciu krokach, być może bardziej zrozumiałe staje się, dlaczego nadal uważam za obowiązek, aby nawiązać do tradycji ustanowionej przez Leibniza, Georga Forstera i braci Humboldtów.

Zamek Berliński od czasu jego budowy w roku 1700 w coraz to nowych uwarunkowaniach odzwierciedla w paradygmatyczny sposób fale dyskusji toczonych na temat takiej właśnie orientacji. Zbudowany z myślą o italianizacji pruskiego centrum, nie stanowiąc w żadnej mierze ucieleśnienia władzy, lecz naczyniem społecznych więzi, był raczej Lewiatanem aniżeli koroną, miejscem mikrokosmicznego skurczenia świata w kunstkamerze w niehierarchiczny sposób. Będąc matką berlińskiej *Alma Mater*, miejscem rewolucji roku 1848 oraz upokorzenia króla pruskiego, stał się następnie ośrodkiem propagandy roszczeń wielkomocarstwowych Hohenzollernów w Drugiej Rzeszy, a później miejscem republikańskiego zawłaszczenia przez Republikę Weimarską. Zniszczony wreszcie jako symbol pruskiego militarystyki i następnie odbudowany w postaci kompromisu autentycznych elewacji zewnętrznych z nowoczesnym życiem wewnętrznym, aby przyjąć tradycyjnych użytkowników – Uniwersytet i pozaeuropejskie zbiory, a także miasto Berlin, stał się ostatecznie przedmiotem zaciekłych sporów jako medium uniwersalnej orientacji bądź jako reakcyjne odtworzenie zarzuconego historyzmu. W obliczu tych licznych zwrotów w swej historii Zamek Berliński może być postrzegany jako swego rodzaju psychogram różnorodnych stadiów niemieckiego stanu ducha.

Wszystko to jest tak paradoksalne jak samo życie, jeśli pozwolą Państwo na tak trywialne stwierdzenie. Lecz nie dochodzę do żadnego innego wniosku. Losy Zamku Berlińskiego rozgrywały się pomiędzy zniszczeniami a nadzieją na harmonijne współżycie społeczne, którego horyzonty wyobrażano sobie znacznie szerszej, aniżeli mogły pozwolić na to lokalne warunki, i w ten sposób los jego potoczy się dalej. W swej szacie zewnętrznej, będącej jednym z najbardziej imponujących twórców europejskiego baroku, pozostanie ze względu na swą historię miejscem projekcji różnorodnych stanowisk. Jeżeli miałoby się to powieść – jednakże już bez udziału historii o podobnie dramatycznych wstrząsach, jakie ucieleśnia nowo wybudowany zamek – wówczas Forum Humboldtów spełniłoby swoje zadanie.

ZAKOŃCZENIE

W ten sposób dotarłem do końca mojego wystąpienia. Powód, dla którego stanąłem przed Państwem nie bez emocjonalnego zaangażowania – poza wypowiedzianymi słowami – tłumaczą dwie fotografie (il. 13). Pierwsza z nich pochodzi ze spuścizny mojego ojca. Została wykonana w czasach założenia poznańskiej historii sztuki. Ukazuje mojego ojca na koniku na biegunach, który jako element sztafażu znajdował się w zakładzie fotograficznym. Na rewersie fotografii widoczna jest nazwa owego zakładu. Rodzice mojego ojca mieszkali w Poznaniu, stąd zdjęcie to wykonano w Atelier Apollo przy Wilhelmstraße, dzisiejszych Alejach Marcinkowskiego, a skoro zebraliśmy się dzisiaj w Zamku Cesarskim *Wilhelmsschloss*, w Centrum Kultury, to istnieje tu pewne luźne powiązanie. Adam Labuda, z którym spędziłem szczęśliwe wspólne lata pracy na Uniwersytecie Humboldtów w Berlinie, jest prawie w tym samym wieku co ja. Gdyby nie horror inwazji na Polskę ze wszystkimi jej konsekwencjami, Adam Labuda i ja być może uczęszczalibyśmy do tej samej klasy w jednym z poznańskich liceów i zaprzyjaźnilibyśmy się ze sobą



13. Gerhard Bredekamp, fotografia, Atelier Apollo, Poznań, ok. 1919

znacznie wcześniej, niż stało się to w końcu jeszcze przed upadkiem muru berlińskiego.

Szanowni Państwo, mam nadzieję, że udało mi się wyjaśnić, dlaczego możliwość wypowiedzi przed Państwem tu w Poznaniu na temat dramatu historycznego związanego z Zamkiem Berlińskim, pierwszego wielkiego zlecenia polskiego dworskiego artysty Schlütera, była dla mnie szczególnie ważna. Ufam, że udało mi się wykazać, że w swej szacie architektonicznej, reprezentującej złamane wielkomocarstwowe ambicje, oraz w obliczu idei swej sztukamery wart jest on obrony i wypełnienia nową treścią.

Drodzy Państwo, poznańskiemu Instytutowi na kolejne 100 lat życzę pełnej sukcesu kontynuacji wspaniałego pierwszego wieku działalności! Bardzo dziękuję za uwagę.

Tłumaczenie z jęz. niemieckiego:
Agnieszka Lindenhayn-Fiedorowicz

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FROM THE BERLIN PALACE TO HUMBOLDT FORUM.
A PARADIGM OF CONFLICT IN GERMAN HISTORY

Summary

The lecture concerns the Berlin Palace (*Stadtschloss*) and presents a view of its long history, starting with its construction in the Baroque style by an artist of the Polish origin, Andreas Schlüter, up to its contemporary reconstruction with a new institutional function (Humboldt Forum). The ten sections of the text not only present architectural and artistic history of this residence but also pivotal historical events and contexts which affected the dimensions and meaning of its functioning. The palace, entangled into German history but also reflecting it, especially as regards the 19th and 20th centuries, becomes both a starting point for an evaluation of this history and posing questions about the future. Along with the ferociously debated, present-day reconstruction and its museum function, it also seems to be a psychogram of diverse stages of the condition of German spirit.

Keywords:

Berlin, Humboldt Forum, residential architecture, architecture and power, kunstammer, university

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