

Competing images: illustrated volumes by Max Dvořák and his contemporaries shaping national Art History

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Introduction

From the nineteenth century onwards, comparative volumes of national architectural histories tended to present architectural monuments as examples of a specific style or art historical epoch and/or as expressions of a certain national belonging. Through popular images, illustrations, and publications some canonical monuments or works of art were anchored in the collective consciousness of art historians as well as laymen and some remain so still today. Hence, the discourse of art history is significantly guided by the available visual material. The images, illustrations, and publications themselves in turn were determined by their authors, their personal interests, contemporary discourse, as well as popular opinions, such as fashions, or ideological and political movements. The first history of architecture, by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur* (Design for a historic architecture, 1721), for instance, discussed the common seven wonders of the world, while medieval architecture following contemporary preferences remained completely disregarded.¹

During the establishment of national art historiographies, numerous efforts to create and challenge an art historical canon of monuments have been pursued – some of them more successful than others. The institutionalisation of art history and its entanglement with cultural and political power served to establish national canons of art history and by extension national identities.² This entanglement of art history and political and cultural power is the focus of this article. It aims to ask what influence art historical images have had on the establishment of national canons in art history and what the results of this intertwining of art historical and political agendas were. It investigates the question of which images of national art were competing for inclusion in the architectural volumes of the time.³

¹ Klaus Jan Philipp, 'Mittelalterliche Architektur in den illustrierten 'Architekturgeschichten' des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts' in Bernd Carqué, Daniela Mondini, Matthias Noell, *Visualisierung und Imagination. Materielle Relikte des Mittelalters in bildlichen Darstellungen der Neuzeit und Moderne*, Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag 2006, (378–416) 384.

² See for instance Hubert Locher, 'The idea of the canon and canon formation in art history' in: Matthew Rampley, et al, *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, Leiden and Boston: Brill 2012, 29–40.

³ The development of scholarly art history in Europe has been the subject of many studies in the past, and the following overview is therefore limited to information considered directly relevant for the following analysis. See for example Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution. Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979; Udo Kultermann, *The History of Art History*, New York: Abaris, 1993; Hubert Locher, *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst 1750-1950*, München: Wilhelm Fink, 2001;

Especially in books on architecture and its histories we find various visualisation strategies seeking to overcome the dilemma of representing the architectural body in a two-dimensional medium and manageable size for scholarly purposes or within an educational context. In volumes of the early twentieth century, there are a multiplicity of reproduction techniques and media.⁴ Among other things, they can be attributed to different audiences, such as experts, laymen, or academics, and led to different forms of presentation. However, respected art historians advocated a clear distinction between the artisans who visualised the material and the scholars who wrote art history. For example, the distinction between picturesque and precise images was more common in the nineteenth century. To avoid the blurring of the boundary between science and imaginative art, the German art historian in Prague Alfred Woltmann (1841–1880), for instance, demanded detailed descriptions and extensive research in scholarly literature at the international congress of 1873.⁵ This requirement can be traced back to the debate on different qualities claimed by images with a scientific impetus and resulting different approaches: on the one hand, visualising an existing work of art with its time-specific and personal characteristics, the representation being considered as ‘neutral’ and ‘objective’, versus, on the other hand, images interpreting the original work. In the latter case, the representation can be characterised by a contemporary artistic language, deviating from the original’s shape.⁶

The publications analysed in this paper approached the dilemma of linking objectivity with didactic function; a problem that persisted and had to be decided by the artist or/and the editors in order to elaborate and convey the narrative of a national art history. The following analysis examines visualisation methods that were considered appropriate for the particular arrangement made. It shows how a visual language understood as ‘objective’ prevailed into the early twentieth century

Regine Prange, *Die Geburt der Kunstgeschichte: Philosophische Ästhetik und empirische Wissenschaft*, Cologne: Deubner Verlag, 2004; Robert Born, Adam Labuda and Alena Janatkova, *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2004; Wojciech Bałus, Joanna Wolańska, *Die Etablierung und Entwicklung des Faches Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland, Polen und Mitteleuropa*. Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2010; Michaela 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: Edition de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 2012; Matthew Rampley et al, *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012; Jerzy Malinowski, *History of Art History in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, Torun: Wydawn, 2012; Wolfgang Cortjaens and Karsten Heck, *Stil-Linien diagrammatischer Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin and Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag GmbH, 2014.

⁴ A detailed analysis of the reproduction techniques, the purposes of their use and the visualization strategies are discussed in my PhD thesis.

⁵ Katharina Krause, ‘Argument oder Beleg. Das Bild im Text der Kunstgeschichte’ in Katharina Krause, Klaus Niehr and Eva-Maria Hanebutt-Benz, *Bilderlust und Lesefrüchte. Das illustrierte Kunstbuch von 1750 bis 1920*, Leipzig: E. A. Seemann Verlag 2005, (27–42) 40.

⁶ Klaus Niehr, ‘Ideal oder Porträt? Das Bild vom Kunstwerk’ in Katharina Krause, Klaus Niehr and Eva-Maria Hanebutt-Benz, *Bilderlust und Lesefrüchte* (9–26) 11.

– not least due to the institutionalisation and the associated standardisation of art historical literature.⁷

Unexpected subjective perspectives on monuments

In the representation of art and architecture, a distinction must first be made between photographic and graphic depictions. Both have been integral to art historical publications to this day. They inform about the design process and record or reconstruct a certain state of construction and are therefore always forms of artistic expression. While photography is mostly reserved for the mechanical recording of a view or detail, an architectural drawing manipulates the original more obviously. The basic forms of architectural drawings have only slightly changed since antiquity: They depict iconic markers with a high level of abstraction on a geometric foundation and aim to condense information in a generally comprehensible way.⁸ Consequently, floor plans, sections, and elevations asserted

⁷ The following statement by Matthias Noell (2006), related to Pugin, can be generalised for the purpose of this research. Noell emphasizes the crucial interplay between reproduction technology and the intention behind the visual representation of the monument, which, among other things, also determined the reception of the images and their survival, or how their 'migration through publications' (*Wanderung durch die Publikationen*), as Gabriele Bickendorff (2006) put it, is decisive: 'Daß diese [Darstellung der Monumente] aber, gleich welcher Art, immer auch Interpretationen oder zumindest Abstraktionen darstellen, wurde im 19. Jahrhundert im Gegensatz zum Diskurs der zeitgenössischen Kunsttheorie offensichtlich zunächst nicht diskutiert. Die "malerischen" Illustrationen verschwanden jedoch nahezu aus dem wissenschaftlichen Diskurs im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts, da sie für den Zweck der Forschung als nicht mehr adäquat angesehen wurden. Die Illustrationen Pugins jedoch waren - da sich bei ihm Bildintention und Reproduktionstechnik auf ideale Art und Weise ergänzten - für Architekten, Architekturhistoriker, Künstler und Architekturstudenten gleichermaßen interessant und über die Jahrzehnte jeder Kritik enthoben.' Matthias Noell, 'Standards of taste. Augustus Carles Pugin und die "Specimens of the Architectural Antiquities of Normandy"' in Bernd Carqué, Daniela Mondini and Matthias Noell, *Visualisierung und Imagination. Materielle Relikte des Mittelalters in bildlichen Darstellungen der Neuzeit und Moderne*, Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag 2006, 417–464; Gabriele Bickendorf, 'Die Geschichte und ihre Bilder vom Mittelalter. Zur "longue durée" visueller Überlieferung', *ibid.*, 136.

⁸ Klaus Jan Philipp, 'Die Imagination des Realen. Eine kurze Geschichte der Architekturzeichnung' in Jörg H. Gleiter, Norbert Korrek, Gerd Zimmermann, *Die Realität des Imaginären. Architektur und das digitale Bild*, Weimar 2008, (147–157) 147. Further, Philipp distinguishes between an objective and a subjective representation of architecture. The former is given by floor plan, section, or elevation, while the latter refers to a perspective depiction of a building, referencing a point of view and subjective or immeasurable relations, such as for example, protrusion. The alleged untruth of this visualisation method has always been discussed among architectural theorists, historians, and architects themselves. According to DIN 1356-1, standard objective and measurable representations of monuments such as floor plan, section, and elevation in orthogonal perspective are compulsory still today. Perspective, iso- or axometric depiction are not recorded in those general rules. (See Klaus Jan Philipp, *Die Imagination des Realen*, 149). [DIN norms are published by the German Institut for Norms, Deutsches Institut für Normierung. Ed.]

themselves as the basic methods of representation of architectural forms. This tradition of visualisation demanded the ability to think abstractly and knowledge of the form and shape of a comparable building or architectural element.⁹ Those forms of representation can be understood as standardised drawings or systematic reproductions. The latter are usually supplemented with various 'views' of a monument. They will not be differentiated further in terms of their representational technique (photography, drawing, or print) but they will instead be divided according to their general visualisation strategies. Accordingly, they are subdivided into three further groups of architectural views: the common perspective on a monument, the uncommon perspective (enriched images), and the *planches explicatives*, explanatory plates on which different visual elements are combined and arranged. As a hybrid form, these latter can also contain standardised drawings and views in the above-mentioned perspectives.

The common perspective of exterior and interior views corresponds to representational methods that are used to this day. A church or cathedral, for example, is generally represented from the east with a prominent view of the choir, so that the naves protruding to the rear can be seen diagonally. In the interior, the view from the main entrance to the choir, slightly shifted to one side, is chosen to convey the most comprehensive impression of the monument. Evidently distorting or manipulating perspectives on the monument are avoided in order to guarantee an 'objective' view of the building. Today, traditional graphic and photographic views are supplemented by, for example, aerial photographs, drone images, or 3D views.

The *planches explicatives* are another traditional visualisation strategy in illustrated volumes. Early examples can be found in publications on botany, biology, or medicine.¹⁰ Nonetheless, they do distinctly vary in form, in terms of the technique used to picture the elements, their ordering, and the text. The argumentative structure of the presentation connects a heterogeneous group of images. The arrangement and ordering of the individual fields is used to encourage comparative viewing and can visualise an argument for the differentiation between specific styles or genres.

The last group provides uncommon perspectives and enriched images of monuments – although it is difficult to grasp in a general way. The images assigned to this group share a rejection of the standardised visualisation strategies described earlier. Often in these uncommon perspectives, individual images, details, or visualisation techniques are combined on one plate. Unlike the *planches explicatives*,

⁹ Philipp, *Die Imagination des Realen*, 147.

¹⁰ The simultaneous representation of several images on one panel goes back to early stories of the saints. Memorable examples of the *planches explicatives* can be found, for example, in illustrated botanical volumes from the eighteenth century, in which individual manifestations of a genus are compared with one another. In art history, they were popularised during the course of eighteenth and nineteenth century graphic studies, for example, by Adam von Bartsch and volumes on architectural history, for example by Séroux d'Agincourt. Gaia Englert, 'Bartschs Bücher' in Stephan Brakensiek, Anette Michels and Anne-Katrin Sors, *Adam von Bartsch. Kunst Kommerz Kennerschaft*, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag 2016, 277–290.

their underlying argumentative structure is less apparent, and a rather collage-like image is created. In addition, particularly picturesque depictions that provide extra-architectural information, such as weather impressions, a certain mood (*Stimmungsbild*), landscape details, or other contextual information were considered unusual at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The volumes published and used by Max Dvořák and his contemporaries show that 'uncommon perspectives' on monuments were used more frequently than previously assumed and were at the same time more effective in influencing the construction of patrimony.¹¹ The question arises as to whether this was due to the availability of recyclable images, the heterogeneity of the objects or the background of the authors. Even if most of the authors strove for an overall 'objective' representation of the development of art, they were unable to use a consistent image stock. Missing visual material was often supplemented by older works, so that picturesque engravings and views also became part of their depictions.

It becomes clear that objectivity embodies a code of values, which is a product of history. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison argue that scientific objectivity, as we understand it today, was developed only in the second half of the nineteenth century. Atlases and illustrated volumes became 'manifestations of this new type of scientific objectivity', replacing the practice of 'true to nature'.¹² The atlases were (and still are) used to standardise given research material. It follows that no science can operate without those standardised images, which lend themselves particularly well to comparisons and generalisations.¹³ These images not only 'substitute for things, but they are already admixed with knowledge about those things'.¹⁴ They, above all, represent the knower and a certain collective knowledge. This impregnation of the image with ideologies, personal preferences, and socio-political or economic contexts is the starting point of the following

¹¹ The term patrimony summarises this multilevel meaning of monuments. In contrast to 'monument', lat. *monumentum*, *monere* (to memorise), 'patrimony' denotes not only an object, evoking sometimes emotionalised historical memories, but defines the belonging of the object to a native land as well. Roman origins suggest that patrimony, lat. *patrimonium*, referred to heritage and questions of family legitimacy [see Matthew Rampley, *Heritage, ideology, and identity in Central and Eastern Europe. contested pasts, contested presents*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2012, 2]. Patrimony evokes the association of architectural objects being collective heritage within a native land. This term is primarily in use in France, Italy, and Spain, while in Germany and Austria 'Kulturerbe' is preferred. I chose the English 'patrimony' to indicate not only heritage and cultural heritage, but to imply the national belonging, the ideologised meaning and the intended reception of the monuments presented within the art historical images analysed here.

¹² See Daston, Galison, *Das Bild der Objektivität*, 30 and 34, in P. Geimer (ed.), *Ordnungen der Sichtbarkeit: Fotografie in Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technologie* (pp. 29-99). Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002.

¹³ Daston, Galison, *Das Bild der Objektivität*, 37. 'Objectivity' considered as a standard for scientific and scholarly research is reflected in guidelines for students of art history in most universities today, containing most importantly references, academic language, and formal rules regarding citation, the use of images or the basic structure of scholarly work.

¹⁴ Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity*, New York: Zone Books, 2007, 53.

analysis. Only by recognising this ambivalent form of the image does it become possible to demonstrate a goal-directedness and a function that goes beyond pure visual reproduction.

The overviews (*Überblickswerke*)¹⁵ of national art selected here did not primarily serve to delineate a stringent development of the artistic forms of expression of a nation but instead aim at a survey of existing monuments. These surveys were dependent on the visualisation of objects. Illustrations were seen as a necessary tool to popularise art historical knowledge and thus to shape a national canon. In order to pursue this goal, the overview is presented in various sub-genres: these include, for instance, textbooks and teaching materials for academies and technical universities, manuals for the self-study by laymen, but also scientific treatises as part of the art-historical discourse and state inventory projects. They all tried to link art-historical knowledge with the existing national monuments from a certain geographical or cultural area, conveying and presenting it for a specific purpose. It is therefore necessary to not only critically analyse the different visualisation modes, but also the general form of each individual example, its materiality, the reproduction techniques used, and the editorial context. In the following case studies, three different approaches to the visual representation of national heritage are examined. However, none of the selected volumes can be assigned unequivocally to one of the genres listed above. It becomes rather clear that the individual publications – which at first glance appear to belong to comparative art history, topographies, and textbooks – work across different genres. Consequently, opposing types of images are used across different genres as well. So, the previously divided visualisation strategies - reproduction, systematic reproduction, *planches explicatives*, and enriched images – cannot be limited to one publication genre alone.

On the threshold of art: Jan Sas Zubrzycki's and Stefan Szyller's experimental variety of images

Considering the abundance of material, it makes sense to look at the representation of individual monuments received as national treasures. The southern view of St. Michael in Lublin for example is a motif apparently reproduced several times. Due to its poor state of preservation, the church was demolished in the middle of the nineteenth century and only rebuilt in 1922 according to new plans. The Polish

¹⁵ Klaus Niehr and Katharina Krause provide a general starting point for the categorisation of illustrated books with their *Bilderlust und Lese Früchte. Das illustrierte Kunstbuch von 1750 bis 1920* (The illustrated art book from 1750 to 1920), published in 2005. The following case studies can be assigned to the main category of 'overview works' (*Überblickswerke*). They differ from the genre of universal histories (*Universalgeschichte*), whose aim it is to construct history through continuous connections and genealogical development, requiring a 'meaningful structure according to which the works are to be arranged, and thus perhaps also prior knowledge or an idea of processes and aesthetic principles. An overview, on the other hand, can at least initially abstain from such a stringent plan aimed at securely assembling.' Klaus Niehr, Katharina Krause, 'Überblickswerke' in Krause, Niehr, Hanebutt-Benz, *Bilderlust und Lese Früchte*, (60–74) 60.

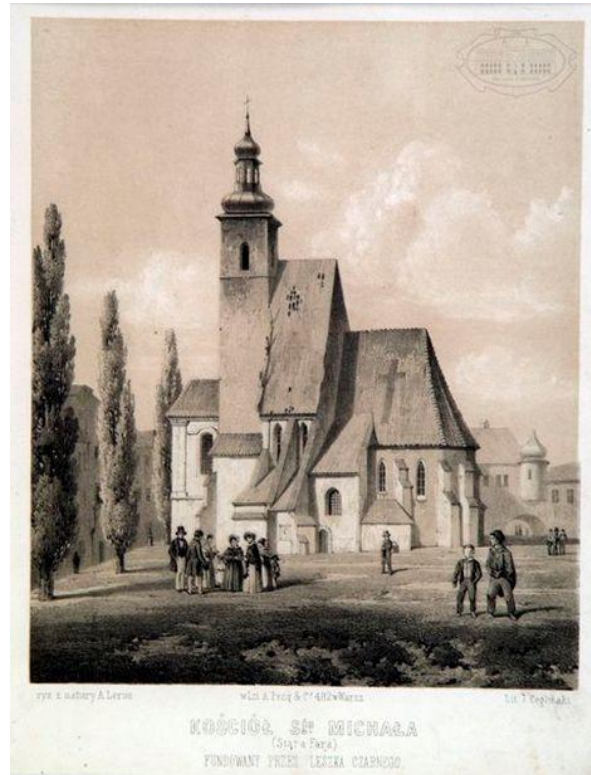


Figure 1 Kościół Św. Michała, plate 11 from Adam Lerue, *Album Lubelskie*, 1857-1859.
Lublin: Zakład Litograficzny Adolfa Pecqa i S-ki.

architect Stefan Szyller (1857–1933)¹⁶ for instance, reproduces a lithograph from the *Lublin album* published between 1857 and 1858 by Adam Lerue, who also made the corresponding drawing himself, as the caption shows (fig.1).¹⁷ The drawing shows the southern view of the church with all its structural defects such as the missing roof tiles. Surroundings like the tall trees in front of the entrance, the city in the background and various groups of people from different social classes are portrayed. The light clouds in gouache technique and the darkly shadowed foreground support these narrative elements. As the original was already 'enriched' as described, Szyller did not alter the drawing in any way when reproducing it for his publication - the bright and lively village atmosphere seems to have been considered appropriate to characterize the monument: The church was smoothly integrated into the city and the surrounding nature. The small structural defects did not detract from its popularity amongst the people of all classes.

Jan Sas Zubrzycki (1860–1935), a practicing architect and professor of art history, first at the University of Krakow and later in Lviv, did not opt for reproduction or schematic representation, but went far beyond that when depicting St. Michael in Lublin for his *Skarb Architektury w Polsce* (Treasury of Architecture in Poland, 1907–1916). He published an enriched image designed by an artist named

¹⁶ See Szyller, *Czy mamy Architektura Polska*, Rys. 22.

¹⁷ Małgorzata Surmacz, *Album Lubelskie wydany w latach 1857–1859 w warszawskim Zakładzie Litograficznym Adolfa Pecqa i S-ki*. See:

https://www.mnwl.pl/DAWNY_LUBLIN_ALBUM_LUBELSKIE_ADAMA_LERUE_-2-859-23.html (23.06.2021).

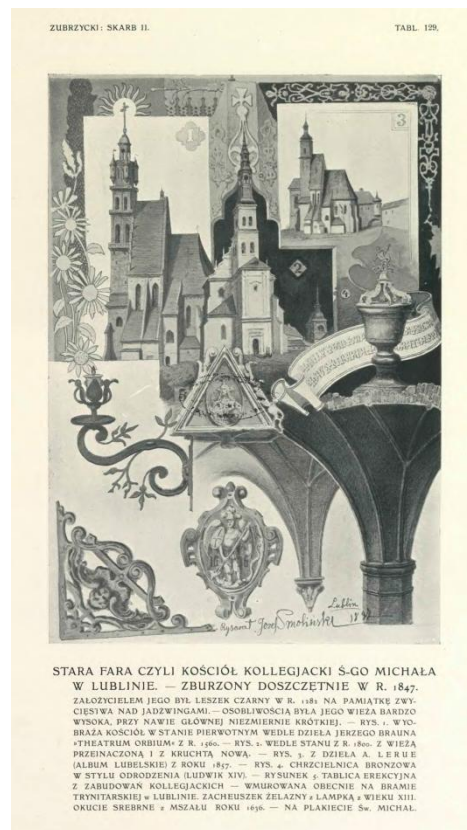


Figure 2 Stara Fara czyli Kościół Kollegjacki Ś-go Michała w Lublinie, plate 129 from Jan Sas Zubrzycki, *Skarb Architektury w Polsce*, vol. 2, 1909. Krakow: selfpublished.

Józef Smolinski (fig.2). Different numbered views of the church are combined here. The caption describes the first view on the right as a depiction from Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.¹⁸ This city atlas eventually contained 546 views, bird-eye and map views of cities from all over the world. Here, it is incorrectly stated that the figure of Lublin was published as early as 1560. However, the view of Lublin was not published until 1617 in the fifth volume. In addition, the respective view of Lublin does not mention any Church of St. Michael, nor is there a comparable representation of a church. Thus, it remains unclear which template was actually used here. The drawing in the middle is supposed to show the state of the western view of the church around 1800. The already known lithograph by Lerue is given as the source for the third view. The spires of the first two overall views are led beyond what is supposed to be a picture frame, encircled by additional decorative motifs. The three views in the upper half of the picture are supplemented by various detailed representations in the lower part of the image. Ornaments, lamp holders, vault structures, the representation of St. Michael in a medallion, an inscription and a chalice are shown. The pictorial elements are placed in front of and behind one another without any discernible hierarchy, overlapping and merging.

¹⁸ N.N.: Braun and Hogenberg. *Civitates orbis terrarium*, see: http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/mapmakers/braun_hogenberg.html (23.06.2021), pl. 48. 1617.

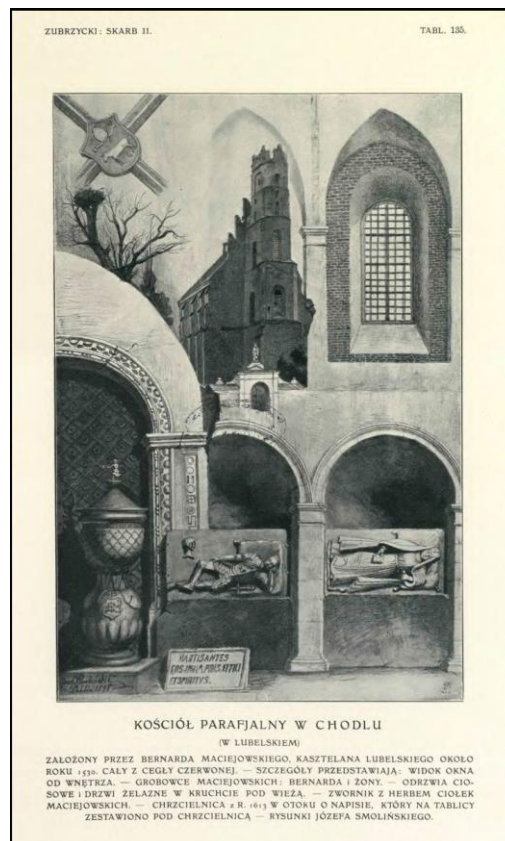


Figure 3 Kościół Parafjalny w Chodlu, plate 135 from Jan Sas Zubrzycki, *Skarb Architektury w Polsce*, vol. 2, 1909. Krakow: selfpublished.

The depiction resembles most likely a souvenir album into which individual elements are pasted and reunited in an associative composition.¹⁹ A comparable approach was used for another plate (fig. 3). The descriptive captions, numbering, and additive representation bear similarities to *planches explicatives*. However, the composition of the image does not make it easier for the viewer to understand the monument in the usual way. On the contrary, they open up new spaces with their own distances and proximities, not corresponding to measurable reality. In general, the drawings by Józef Smoliński reproduced by Jan Sas Zubrzycki convey the impression of a multi-layered body of work, which consists of individual architectural forms, views, and interior design – although they all exhibit a characteristic rich shading, most of them can be attributed to the group of schematic reproduction or standardised drawing. Sas Zubrzycki described this visualisation strategy as a combination of technical and artistic levels – a translation into ‘beautiful forms’.²⁰ This translation complements the image with qualities aimed at

¹⁹ The images could have been published in the artist's Lublin Album. However, precise references are missing.

²⁰ ‘zestawiając technikę z artystyczną formą, historia architektury wyprowadza w rezultacie umiejętne rozumienie tej sztuki pięknej, a to przez zgłębienie ducha konstrukcyjnego i przez tłumaczenie poczucia form pięknych.’ Jan Sas Zubrzycki, *Rozwoj gotycyzmu....*, Krakow: selfpublished 1895, 5.

captivating and involving the viewer. They result in an understanding of the 'esoteric level' of architecture, as Sas Zubrzycki put it.²¹ This variety of images chosen by Sas Zubrzycki admittedly exceeds the common imagery in illustrated volumes. His *Treasury of architecture in Poland* (1907–1916) compiles a heterogeneous imagery of monuments of different ages and styles. Apart from a brief list of figures and image captions, Sas Zubrzycki did not include any written material. The individual tables were published without any recognisable system, be it regarding temporal, stylistic or material connections. Nonetheless, Sas Zubrzycki formed a comprehensive compendium of images that had an impact far beyond the period in which it was created. On the question of whether the volumes were aimed primarily at a lay audience or intended to provide a scientific basis for work, the documents do not give answers on the intentions of the author regarding the choice of images or addressees. Sas Zubrzycki's activities as an architect and art historian suggest that his approach was generally aimed at both target groups. He certainly did not pursue the stringent plan of a comprehensive topography, as my studies on the geographical distribution of the selected objects show, yet the title formulates a certain canonical claim to represent all treasures of Polish architecture.

Evidently, art historians and practicing artists and architects do not always agree on how to write art history. However, in the beginning of the twentieth century, when art history as a discipline was only being differentiated from other subjects, the supposed and intentional separation between fine arts and art history was less distinct: Architects working as professors in art history faculties, painters teaching art history at art academies, and artists conducting research on behalf of state or private institutions were common. At the same time, art historians sought to distinguish their research from aesthetics, which was considered to be subjective and inconsistent, as Moritz Thausing expressed the matter in 1884: 'I can think of the best art history in which the word "beautiful" does not even appear. The art-historical judgment is based solely on the conditions under which a work of art was created, which can be determined through research and visual inspection.'²²

Nevertheless, the need for pictorial reproduction became increasingly urgent. The established art historians who took part in the first Art History Congress in Vienna (1873) concurrently agreed that they had found photography to be the ideal medium for objective representation. Anton Springer argued in the debate regarding the creation of a photographic collection for art history by the formation of the *Gesellschaft Albertina*:

²¹ Wojciech Bałus, "'Polnische Architektur kann nur mit dem Gefühl erkannt werden". Der national-romantische Diskurs in der Kunsttheorie von Jan Sas Zubrzycki (1860-1935)' in Robert Born, Adam S. Labuda, and Alena Janatkova, *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 2004, (138–154) 143.

²² Moritz Thausing (1884): 'Ich kann mir die beste Kunstgeschichte denken, in der das Wort 'schön' gar nicht vorkommt. Das kunsthistorische Urtheil gründet sich blos auf die durch Forschung und Augenschein festzustellenden Bedingungen, unter denen ein Kunstwerk entstanden ist.' (Trans. GS) Moritz Thausing, *Wiener Kunstbriefe*. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann Verlag 1884, 5f.

The study of art history has progressed so far that the needed pictorial apparatus must be manufactured and ordered according to scientific principles if a solid basis for further research is to be gained. [...] It is, I would like to say, about the creation of a treasure trove of documents [*Urkundenschatz*] for art history. [...] For this, too, direct photography on a large scale is the best approach.²³

They aimed at an objective working basis that enabled value-free, scientific judgments; a 'correct, objective measure of art-historical judgment; while the aesthetic judgment is just as subject to changing tastes as the production of art itself'.²⁴

Accordingly, Jan Sas Zubrzycki's views were, and still are, viewed very critically in Polish-speaking art historiography. But especially with regards to the construction of a visual inventory of national art monuments, he must be considered an important protagonist. The series analysed here, *Skarb Architektury w Polsce*, was produced during Sas Zubrzycki's stay in Krakow (1886–1919) and at the beginning of his teaching activity in Lviv at the faculty of architecture and aesthetics.²⁵ The chosen series stands out among publications on architectural monuments with its heterogeneity of presented images and the use of different reproductive techniques. A large part of the monuments was depicted in photographs and standardised drawings like floor plans, sections, elevations, or detailed fragments, as mentioned before. Yet, a relevant group of images, containing collage-like arrangements like the two examples given above, or reproductions of paintings and illustrations from magazines, depicted the monuments in an experimental, associative way. This heterogeneity clearly differentiates the volumes from other contemporary

²³ Anton Springer (1873): 'Das Studium der Kunstgeschichte ist soweit fortgeschritten, dass auch der bildliche Apparat, dessen bedarf, nach wissenschaftlichen Grundsätzen hergestellt und gehorndet werden muss, soll eine feste Basis für weitere Forschung gewonnen werden. [...] Es handelt sich, ich möchte sagen, um die Herstellung eines Urkundenschatzes für die Kunstgeschichte. [...] Auch dafür ist die directe Photographie in grossem Maßstabe die beste Handhabe.' (Trans. GS) N.N., 'Erster kunstwissenschaftlicher Congress in Wien. 1. bis 4. September 1873 (Fortsetzung)' in *Mittheilungen des k. k. Oesterreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie (Monatsschrift)* VIII (98) 1873, (481–504) 500f. [It should be noted that while the project was agreed, it did not come to a successful according to the terms proposed. Ed.]

²⁴ Moritz Thausing (1884): 'ein[...] richtige[r], objective[r] Masstabe kunstgeschichtlicher Beurtheilung [...], und dies ist der historische; während das ästhetische Urtheil dem wechselnden Zeitgeschmacke genau so unterworfen ist, wie die Kunstproduction selbst.' (Trans. GS) Thausing, *Wiener Kunstbriefe*, 38.

²⁵ Vol. I 1907-1909, Vol. II 1909-1910, Vol. III 1910-1911, Vol. IV 1913-1914, (Until his appointment as professor in 1919, Sas Zubrzycki travelled between Lviv and Krakow. Between 1915 and 1918, the university was closed by the Russian occupation). It was a time, in which he also intensively dealt with the coeval art historical discourse and polarised with his romantic theses. For further research on this see Wojciech Batus, *Teoria Sztuki Jana Sas Zubrzyckiego. Studium z pogranicza Historii Sztuki i Historii Idej*, Dissertation, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Krakow: Instytut Historii Sztuki 1989; Jerzy Wowczak, *Jan Sas-Zubrzycki. Architekt, historyk i teoretyk architektury*. Krakow: Historia Iagellonica 2017.

publications and the more systematic approach of other Polish art historians.²⁶ In *Treasury of Architecture in Poland*, Sas Zubrzycki visualised not only an art historical canon of Polish monuments, but also presented a specific visual approach to the artwork itself. His romantic view of history and art history as well as the consistent construction of a national focus allowed for the more experimental presentation and staging of the individual architectural structures and elements, underlining his demarcation from the contemporary art historical debates, especially the Krakow School of Art History.²⁷ Sas Zubrzycki argued for instance, that Polish architecture 'cannot be analysed rationally and scientifically on its own. No! It is a fine art [...] and as an art that has its origins in the inspirations of ancient poetry, it must to a large extent be subject to the judgment of feeling'.²⁸

A more detailed study of visual translation strategies can therefore shed light on his methods and how he thought architectural history ought to be taught. In *'Utwór kształtu. [...]'* (The Creation of the Form, 1915) Sas Zubrzycki described in detail the visual effect that architecture is able to evoke for the viewer and offered reflections on the transfer of architectural forms into two-dimensional images:

The perspective is a spatial image, flooded with light and animated by a shadow. The colours are selected strictly according to the truth of the world, but only represented from one point of view. There can be an infinite number of points of views around a certain architectural work, so the appearance of a shape can be unlimited. A variety of images, [...].²⁹

To ensure this variance of perspective, the standardised forms of visualisation such as floor plan, elevation, and section seemed to be insufficient for reproducing the

²⁶ See Jolanta Polanowska, *Historiografia sztuki polskiej w latach 1832 - 1863 na ziemiach centralnych i wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. F. M. Sobieszczański; J. I. Kraszewski; E. Rastawiecki, A. Przedziecki. Warszawy 1995; Adam Labuda, *Dzieje historii sztuki w Polsce. Kształtowanie się instytucji naukowych w XIX i XX wieku*, Poznań: Wydawnictwa Poynańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk 1996; Wojciech Bałus, 'A marginalized tradition? Polish art history' in Matthew Rampley, et al, *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*. Leiden and Boston: Brill 2012, 439–449; Malinowski, *History of Art History*.

²⁷ See for instance Stefan Muthesius, 'The Cracow school of modern art history: the creation of a method and an institution 1850-1880' in *Journal of Art Historiography* (8), 2013; Stefan Muthesius, 'The beginnings of the "Cracow School of Art History"' in Malinowski, *History of Art History in central, eastern and south-eastern Europe*, 91–99.

²⁸ 'Nie podobna przecie myśleć, jakoby polskie [architektury] mógł kto tylko rozumowo i naukowo rozważać – nie! Jest to sztuka piękna [...] a zatem jako sztuka, bezpośrednio z natchnień pierwotnej poezji wpływająca, w znacznej mierze musi być poczuciem osądzana.' (Trans. GS) Jan Sas Zubrzycki, *Polskie budownictwo drewniane [...] w utworze kształtu*, Krakow: selfpublished 1916, 12.

²⁹ 'Perspektywa jest to obraz przestrzenny, obłany światłem i ożywiony cieniem, z dodaniem kolorów dobranych ściśle wedle prawdy świata, ale przedstawiony tylko z jednego punktu widzenia... Punktów widzenia dookoła pewnego dzieła architektonicznego da się znaleźć nieskończona liczba, dlatego wygląd utworu kształtowego może nastroczyć nieograniczoną mnogość obrazów [...]' (Sas Zubrzycki, *Utwór kształtu*, vol 3, 38)

whole appearance of a monument. As in a museum, a combination of different media aids comprehension – the visitor is guided in their observation, but finally imagines the exhibited monument itself and mentally recreates it from the selection of images.

The enriched images, concurrently, accompany standardized forms of representation, such as photography. The photographs in the volumes of *Skarb architektury w Polsce* were printed as autotypes, indicated by the underlying fine cross-grid. Often autotypes were combined with xylographs; here they represent the above-mentioned drawings.³⁰ In total, thirty-nine artists are mentioned in the captions, signatures, and monograms of all four volumes. Yet, Sas Zubrzycki produced most of those images, drawings, and photographs himself (120 in total). However, across the whole publication process the change in the use of different media is visible. Starting in the first volume (1907–1909), reproductions of drawings dominated over published photographs, while in the last volume (1913–1914) this ratio was reversed. Particularly interesting is the fact that besides those ‘objective’ depictions, Sas Zubrzycki used a significant number of enriched images, such as reproductions of paintings, drawings, and graphic artworks by famous Polish artists like Jan Matejko or from popular magazines like the *Illustrated Newspaper (Tygodnik Ilustrowany)*. In those images, the monument is often represented in a historicising environment or suggestively arranged through picturesque use of light and shadow.

Although the artistic starting point for the images was the historical or architectural fact, the synopsis of the individual objects and views gives rise to an imaginative impression of the national monument. The aestheticizing of the image content through light/dark contrasts and the balanced compositions also achieve a mystifying effect. Highlighting the objects or views by ornamental framing exaggerates and evaluates the subject of the picture at the same time, so that an overall sublime impression is created. Compared to other photographic or graphic reproductions in the volumes, the compositions with different media have a special effect, which can be described almost as an emotionalising of the viewer. Since the volumes have relatively little text, the plates are given a central position and weight in the presentation.

Sas Zubrzycki’s outsider position makes it difficult to compare his publications with the essays and books of his art historical colleagues. However, the connection to other publications by Polish architects, aiming to provide an overview of Polish architecture, is convenient. A comparable approach to existing, albeit heterogeneous, image material can be found in the Stefan Szyller’s (1857–1933) *Czy mamy Architektura Polska?* (Do we have a Polish Architecture?), published in 1916 in Warsaw. Like Sas Zubrzycki, Szyller as an architect created some of the drawings and views himself. The rest of the image stock was obtained from other, older and contemporary sources. Figure 4, for instance, shows how Szyller used a watercolour drawing earlier reproduced by Jan Sas Zubrzycki. The grey tones become lighter in the course of the reproduction and a narrow black line frames the depiction of the

³⁰ Eva-Maria Hanebutt-Benz, Kristin Wiedau, ‘Technik des Abbilds. Die drucktechnische Revolution im 19. Jahrhundert’ in Krause, Niehr, Hanebutt-Benz, *Bilderlust und Lesefrüchte*, (43–58) 57.

tower. Below the illustration, reference is made to the author of the original and the corresponding volume from *Skarb Architektury*. As with Sas Zubrzycki, images from illustrated magazines and popular literature were also used; see figure 5. The church shown here was built in the thirteenth century and modernised and stylistically adapted over the course of the centuries, especially during the Baroque period. In the nineteenth century, the structural condition of the church was bad and minor renovation works did not solve the problem. In 1854, the roof turret was rebuilt according to a design of the craftsman Marcin 'Leleweł' Borelowski, giving it a neo-Gothic character. A small floor above the sacristy was also added to serve as a treasury and the roof covering was changed. The existing shingles were replaced with an iron sheet and then later again replaced in the early twentieth century with tiles.

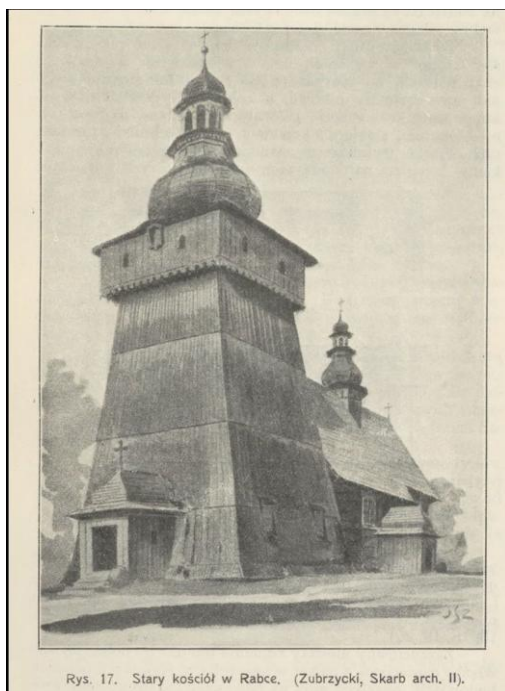


Figure 4 Stary kościół w Rabce, plate 17 from *Stefan Szyller, Czy mamy Architektura Polska?* 1916. Warsaw: Gebethner, Wolff.

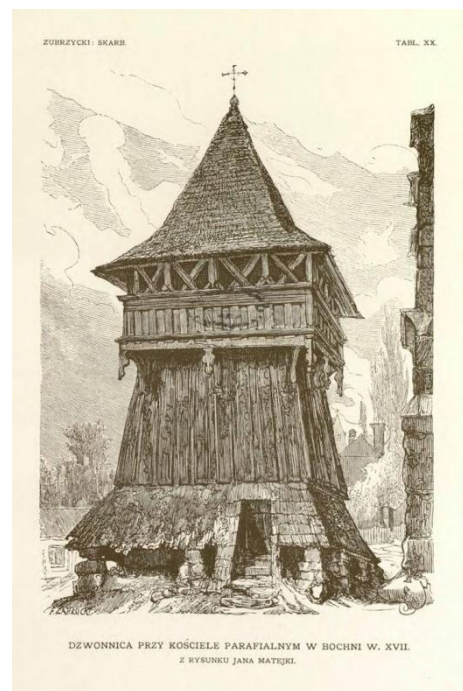


Figure 5 Dzwonnica przy Kościele Parafialnym w Bochni w XVII, plate XX from *Jan Sas Zubrzycki, Skarb Architektury w Polsce, vol. 1*, 1907. Krakow: selfpublished.

In the 1880s, Jan Matejko, whose drawings reappear throughout the publications,³¹ designed the chapel of St. Kinga during the neo-gothic restoration of the chapel lead by the architect Tadeusz Stryjeński. It can be assumed that the drawing of the bell tower was made in this context. A parish church, which stands directly next to the tower, as is clear from a postcard from 1941, is almost completely ignored in the drawing. Only a wall structure can be seen on the right edge of the picture. Thus, the image of the tower was conceived from the back – depicting the eastern facade.

³¹ See for example also Szyller, *Czy mamy Architektura Polska*, Rys. 14.

These first and exceptional examples show how interwoven the individual representations are with one another. The at times inconsistent naming of the image sources requires extensive comparison with corresponding publications. The reuse of the same motifs and artists across the individual volumes provides information on the popularity of the original works and the distribution of the image atlases. It is precisely here that a national canon of patrimony can be determined, linked to certain visual strategies.³² In the following it will also become clear that standardized pictorial forms were not always considered sufficient to depict the meaning, impact and form of a national monument. Sas Zubrzycki's selection of images is certainly an exceptional (almost artistic) phenomenon, but the search for additional images is also evident in other publications.

Standards of scholarly images and their softening: the Bohemian and Austrian art topography

Assuming that architecture may serve to construct, preserve, and protect an identity, even if its political justification was negated in the respective contemporary situations, art topographies and comparable inventories were a popular form of publication in Central Europe at the turn of the century as justifications of the state-subsidised preservation of monuments. Recording and cataloguing the monuments therefore made it possible to focus on preserving them. Following Françoise Choay, those monuments 'become treasures', not only in a spiritual meaning, but also in economic terms.³³ These 'treasures' needed to be documented through photographs or drawings in order to prove and reaffirm their affiliation with a specific (national) stock of objects. The resulting images vouched for the speaker and equally breathed new life into something from the past.³⁴ Thereby artists and art historians using the images could decide on the national value of a monument not only within scientific discourse, but also on their general societal significance.

The monuments listed in those volumes were generally location-bound and immobile, sometimes even destroyed or lost, like the afore-mentioned St. Michael in Lublin.³⁵ This marks the essential difference between those printed compendia and the conventional collection catalogue. Only in a book, often geographically distant monuments can be included in a single collection.³⁶ Both, the art topographies and the overviews of national art become the 'sole and "imaginary" place of the collection'.³⁷ The illustrations held a high status within these topographies, as can be

³² The examples were chosen to show a maximum of artistic freedom in the representation of the monuments. It must be taken into account that Jan Sas Zubrzycki (and Stefan Szyller as well) not only worked as an art historian, but also represented his own artistic views as an architect. In what form the collaboration with artists like Smolinski worked and or how he chose the pictures for publication must remain unanswered at this point. This question will further be discussed in my PhD thesis.

³³ Choay, *Das architektonische Erbe*, 76f.

³⁴ Choay, *Das architektonische Erbe*, 18.

³⁵ Noell, *Wider das Verschwinden der Dinge*, 14.

³⁶ Noell, *Wider das Verschwinden der Dinge*, 27.

³⁷ Noell, *Wider das Verschwinden der Dinge*, 27.

seen in this foreword from 1892: '[Visual] perception is always the first and decisive basis of art-historical research, a good illustration gives more reliable information than the most verbose description.'³⁸ The technical development of photography in the nineteenth century facilitated a mechanical reproduction of art works. The artistic temptation of subjective changes, visual allegories, or fantasy was to be restricted and inhibited.³⁹ This new ideal of scientific representation and universal imagery, however, was often challenged by the substandard levels of detail, accuracy, pellucidity, and colour fidelity of photography. Hence, the value of graphic representation was again recognised even as photographic collections became the 'treasure-trove' of the modern historical sciences⁴⁰: 'Mechanical objectivity was needed to protect the images against subjective projections, but it threatened to undermine the aim of all scientific atlases, to provide the working objects of a discipline.'⁴¹ Concurrently, photography played a crucial and dominant role within the topographies. As an inexpensive and fast medium, considered to be scientifically objective, it was the ideal tool for depicting monuments.⁴² However, just like drawings and other reproduction techniques, photographs often present aesthetic images, shaped by iconographic traditions. The chosen examples show that the desired separation between subjective and objective images was difficult to implement in reality. For this reason, it is all the more appropriate to compare the examples with alternative, artistic perspectives on art history.⁴³

³⁸ 'Die Anschauung ist stets die erste und massgebende Grundlage der kunstgeschichtlichen Forschung, eine gute Abbildung gibt sicherere Aufschlüsse als die wortreichste Beschreibung.' (Trans. GS) Gustav von Bezold, Berthold Riehl, and G. Hager, 'Die Kunstdenkmale des Regierungsbezirkes Oberbayern. Stadt und Bezirksamt Ingolstadt [...], München 1895, S.2-3. Cited after Noell, *Die Erfindung des Denkmalinventars*, 25.

³⁹ Daston, Galison, *Das Bild der Objektivität*, 65.

⁴⁰ Krause, *Argument oder Beleg*, 40. Especially architectural drawings continued to guarantee a systematic and professional approach to monuments, neglecting the inaccessibility (or less accessibility) of this standardised imagery for laymen. Daston and Galison term this compromise between interpretation and absolute indifference 'moralised objectivity'. Daston, Galison, *Das Bild der Objektivität*, 88.

⁴¹ Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity*. New York: Zone Books 2007, 43.

⁴² Regarding the importance of photography for the development of monument statistics see Matthias Noell, 'Denkmalsammlungen, Denkmalarchive. Zur Rolle der Fotografie in den Denkmalinventaren des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts' in Hubert Locher, Rolf Sachsse (Eds.): *Architektur Fotografie: Darstellung - Verwendung - Gestaltung*. München (Transformationen des Visuellen, 3), 2016, 24–39.

⁴³ Especially in Polish-language volumes, one can identify a tendency towards more experimental visual design at this time. This is partly due to the long-lasting popularity of romantic approaches and associated messianism, which shaped Polish culture particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Maria Janion (2006), for instance, emphasises the specifics of Polish Romanticism and its influence on Polish culture, which did not cease in the nineteenth century, but has continued to this day, in particular, the pathetic patriotism it contains (*szlachetny* ideals) – everything for struggle and freedom (cf. *Solidarnosc*). She describes the tradition of Romanticism in Poland as a therapeutic and compensatory function to compensate the trauma of the loss of independence in the eighteenth century. Janion reconstructs the repressed eastwardness by examining the oldest Polish text. In the reconstruction of the east, she sees an alternative way of narrating Polish history – a way out



Figure 6 Hradec J. Najstarší část zámku Jindricho-Hradeckého. Plate 24 from Josef Novák, *Soupis Památek Historických a Uměleckých v Království Českém od pravěku do počátku XIX. století*. Vol. XIV, 1901. Prag: Nakladem Archaeologicke Komise při Česke Akademii Cisaře Františka Josefa Pro Vědy, Slowesnost a Umění.

In art topographies in particular, the need for unequivocal and scientific images was pressing. However, the actual stock of images shows that by no means only 'objective' image material was used. Apart from financial and organizational challenges that prevented some editors from having new (scientific) depictions made, generally accepted images of the monuments were (re)used. This also includes, for example, the general visualization strategies that were considered appropriate for a specific monument. And these could well deviate from scientific standards, as the following example of the castle in Hradec show. The castle is presented in the fourteenth volume of the *Bohemian Art Topography*.⁴⁴ Several pages are reserved for full page images, some of them even coloured, which is rare within this publication context. Enriched images were used to represent the oldest parts of the building; see for example figure 6. As in the depiction of the Lublin Church, the building is shown here in its natural and urban environment. The individual architectural designs are neither emphasized nor retouched or schematized. Instead, the monument is portrayed in a historicizing manner: the genre scene in a cooperage in the foreground creates a folksy atmosphere. The stone, squat houses at the foot of the castle and their poor structural condition underline this impression. The bright sunlight falling from the right casts strong shadows, birds are circling above the castle tower - the whole presentation is filled with information redundant in a scientific context - the purpose of which is to underline the historicity of the castle. A comparable visualisation strategy is used in the depiction of the red tower and large manor kitchen; see figure 7.

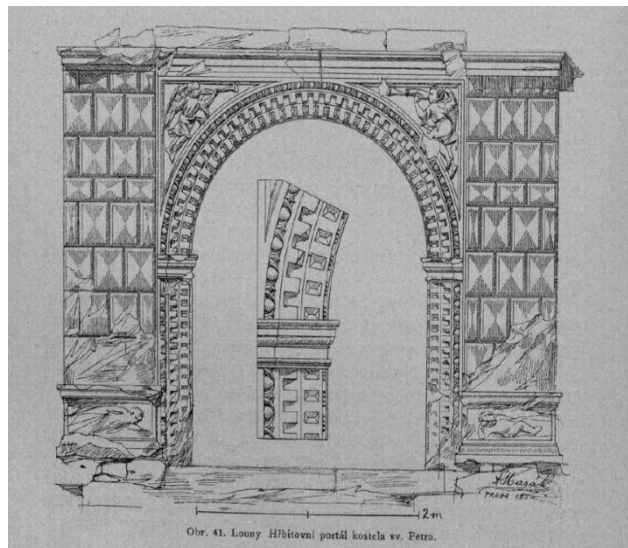
of post-colonial and colonial obsession (fantasies of sacrifice and superiority). See Maria Janion, *Niesamowita Słowiańszczyza. Fantazmaty literatury*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2006.

⁴⁴ *Soupis Památek Historických a Uměleckých v Království Českém od pravěku do počátku XIX. Století*, Prag: Nakladem Archaeologicke Komise při Česke Akademii Cisaře Františka Josefa Pro Vědy, Slowesnost a Umění. 56 vol. 1897-2015.



Obr. 26. Hradec J. Zámek. Červená věž s velkou kuchyní panskou.

Figure 7 Hradec J. Zámek. Červená věž s velkou kuchyní panskou. Plate 26 from Josef Novák, *Soupis Památek Historických a Uměleckých v Království Českém od pravěku do počátku XIX. století*. Vol. XIV, 1901. Prag: Nakladem Archaeologicke Komisse při Česke Akademii Cisaře Františka Josefa Pro Vědy, Slowesnost a Umění.



Obr. 41. Louny Hřbitovní portál kostela sv. Petra.

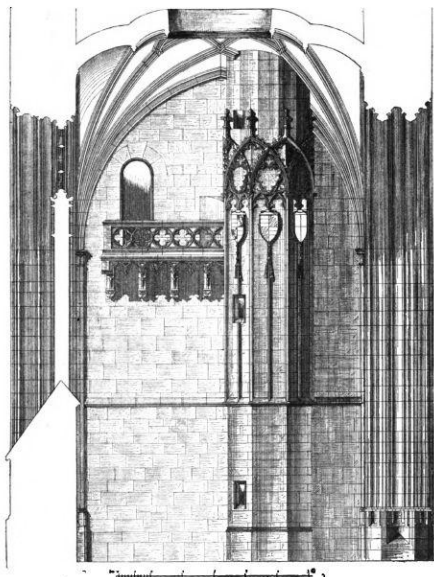
Figure 8 Hradec J. Zámek. Poled do kaple z kruchy. Plate 90 from Josef Novák, *Soupis Památek Historických a Uměleckých v Království Českém od pravěku do počátku XIX. století*. Vol. XIV, 1901. Prag: Nakladem Archaeologicke Komisse při Česke Akademii Cisaře Františka Josefa Pro Vědy, Slowesnost a Umění.

Figure 9 Louny. Hřbitovní portál kostela sv. Petra. Plate 41 from Bohumil Matějka, *Soupis Památek Historických a Uměleckých v Království Českém od pravěku do počátku XIX. století*. Vol. II, 1897. Prag: Nakladem Archaeologicke Komisse při Česke Akademii Cisaře Františka Josefa Pro Vědy, Slowesnost a Umění.

In the topography, representations such as these are juxtaposed with standardized drawings and photographs in common perspective. It is notable that the diversity and heterogeneity of the image collections are based, among other things, on visualisation strategies and the documentation of the related image sources. The connection between image content and those visualization strategies must therefore be investigated. The *Bohemian Art Topography* was initially published by Josef Hlavka in 1897, later by various others on behalf of the Czech Commission for Archaeology. Authors of the individual volumes changed frequently, although some scholars made regular contributions.⁴⁵ Here, the volumes published between 1897 and 1937 are taken into account.⁴⁶ The different choice of images can be linked to the respective authors. For example, the volumes under the direction of Ferdinand Vaněk and Karel Hostaš show more heterogeneous visual material than those by Antonín Podlaha or Antonín Cechner. Accordingly, in addition to standardised drawings such as floor plans, there are also many graphic views, a few *planches explicatives*, and often also reproductions after paintings or drawings; see figure 8 found in those volumes. Some of the arrangements even show an experimental approach to organising the limited space and condensing knowledge. This creates unusual compositions. The examples show how individual architectural fragments are integrated into other views; see figure 9. Other depictions change from an exuberant wealth of detail to sketchy abstraction; see figure 10. Enriched images like the depictions of the castle in Hradec, however, were used when the relation of a monument to the (Czech) people and the national history was to be highlighted. This was the case, when the furnished interiors of residences, estates, gardens, or village buildings were depicted. Then art history intersects with folklore and a wider range of images is obviously appropriate. However, these oscillating boundaries (related to visualization strategies) did not conform to the scholarly standards of all art historians. Naturally, the publication of the *Bohemian Art Topography* did not go unnoticed in Vienna.

⁴⁵ Regular contributions were made for example by Antonín Cechner (1904, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1921, 1930), Bohumil Matějka (1898, 1907, 1908), Antonín Podlaha (1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1903, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1911, 1912), Ferdinand Vaněk, Karel Hostaš (1899, 1900, 1902, 1907), or Zdeněk Wirth (1902, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1910).

⁴⁶ With a few German-speaking exceptions, the volumes were published in Czech. Despite the changing political conditions, the attempt at a Bohemian, national monument inventory was divided according to geographical areas. Each volume gathers the monuments of one respective district. Only Prague is represented in four volumes published between 1903 and 1912. Regardless of the changing authors, the volumes generally have one or more introductory forewords. The monuments are presented in alphabetical order by location, both in text and images. Most images are embedded within the text. The text-image layout concurrently decided the design of the individual book pages. Only individual images are shown on full pages.



Tab. VIII. Řez přízemku věže.
(Nave před restaurací)

Figure 10 Řez přízemku věže. Tab. VIII from Antonín Podlaha, Kamil Hilbert, *Soupis Památek Historických a Uměleckých. Metropolitní Chrám Sv. Víta v Praze*, 1906. Prag: Nakladem Archaeologické Komise při České Akademii Císaře Františka Josefa Pro Vědy, Slovesnost a Umění.

Max Dvořák, who succeeded Alois Riegl as a key player in the implementation of the *Austrian Art Topography*, wrote in 1902: 'The inventories are being published in Czech and German, and as far as I can tell they are on the whole well produced, if rather inconsistent. The illustrations often leave much to be desired; pictures by dilettantes should only be used in exceptional cases.'⁴⁷ The *Bohemian Art Topography* in a way combined the scientific approach advocated by Dvořák with a more heterogeneous outlook as described before. The wide range of authors discussed, contributing to the topographical project, favoured the varying form in contrast to the picture inventory of the Austrian topography, which is homogeneous. The differences between the two projects are fundamental, even if they are hardly apparent at first glance. The Austrian topography was funded as a state project, while the Bohemian topography was published by the Czech Commission for Archaeology, a commission of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts. In contrast to the Austrian art historians, the contributors probably only had limited access to the materials collected by state institutions and personnel (regional committees, preservationists, etc.). The publication of a Czech national project may even have been created with the ambition of deliberately providing image material on specifically Czech art monuments that deviated from the official Austrian-Hungarian possessions. Material that documents the intention of the authors or the

⁴⁷ After a first volume was published under the direction of Alois Riegl in 1889, Max Dvořák succeeded him in this position in 1906. 'Die Inventare erscheinen böhmisch und deutsch und sind, soweit ich Gelegenheit hatte sie nachzuprüfen im ganzen und grossen gut gemacht, wenn auch nicht gleichmässig. Die Abbildungen lassen manchmal zu wünschen übrig, man sollte nur ganz ausnahmsweise Aufnahmen von Dilettanten benutzen.' Max Dvořák, 'Topographie der historischen und kunst-Denkmale im Königreiche Böhmen' in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 23, 1902, 371. [trans. and quoted after Jonathan Blower, 'Max Dvořák, Wilhelm Bode and the "Monuments of German Art"' in *ars* 44 (1), 2011, 92–115, 104.

production process of the individual volumes regarding their picture inventory is unavailable and these comments thus remain speculation. Nonetheless, it becomes clear that not only financial resources and available infrastructure, but also ideological reasons must have contributed to the selection of images. Especially, the heterogeneity of the authors and their personal handling of the image material suggest this. At the same time, Dvořák's critical assessment of the unscientific 'amateurish' volumes is not just a factual statement, but also a simultaneous emphasis on the relevance of an official, professionally and academically established Austrian art topography, in contrast to and competition with existing 'provincial' topographies.

It can be assumed that Dvořák's criticism of illustrations published, quoted, was directed in particular at the group of uncommon and enriched images, which he considered inadequate. His criticism resulted in a clear idea of how a topography should be assembled: with accurate information 'on the date of origin, the artist, and the general and regional significance of the artworks under discussion, the groups they can be associated with and the historical questions and problems they pose'.⁴⁸ Dvořák's demands of 'scientific objectivity'⁴⁹ were, hence, not only satisfied by accuracy and comprehensive analyses, but also accompanied by the use of objective and scientific visual material as presented in the *The Austrian Topography* (*Österreichische Kunsttopographie*)⁵⁰. The latter was published regularly in volumes on individual regions from 1907 onwards. The volumes have a transparent and scientific appearance and altogether they follow the same structure: the forewords are accompanied by a historical introduction, only then are the individual monuments presented in alphabetical order. Photographic views predominate, as one might expect. On some pages, those are combined into collections that resemble *planches explicatives*; see figure 11. As far as my analyses indicate, there are no or very few examples of enriched images in these volumes that go beyond the image

⁴⁸ Dvořák, *Topographie der historischen und kunst-Denkmale im Königreiche Böhmen*, 106.

⁴⁹ Lorraine Daston and Peter Gallison (2002, 2007) argue that scientific objectivity, as we understand it today, was developed only in the second half of the nineteenth century. Atlases and illustrated volumes furthermore became 'manifests of this new type of scientific objectivity', replacing the practice of 'true to nature'. See Daston, Galison, *Das Bild der Objektivität*, 30 and 34. The atlases were (and still are) used to standardise given research material. It follows that no science can operate without those standardised images, which lend themselves particularly well to comparisons and generalisations. Daston, Galison, *Das Bild der Objektivität*, 37. 'Objectivity' considered as a standard for scientific and scholarly research is reflected in guidelines for students of art history in most universities today, containing most importantly references, academic language, and formal rules regarding citation, the use of images or the basic structure of scholarly work. See for example: Bochum University (<http://www.kunstgeschichte.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/mam/files/anleitungshausarbeiten.pdf>, 16.06.2020), Goethe University in Frankfurt/Main (<https://www.kunst.uni-frankfurt.de/de/studium/hinweise-und-handreichungen/hinweise-zur-anfertigung-einer-hausarbeit/>, 16.06.2020) or Humboldt University in Berlin (http://www.kunstgeschichte.hu-berlin.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/HU-Leitfaden_2.0_Web.pdf, 16.06.2020).

⁵⁰ *Die Österreichische Kunsttopographie*. 19 volumes, Wien: Schroll. 1889-1926.

combination within *planches explicatives* shown before. The desire to produce a series that is as transparently structured and formally scientific as possible is obvious.

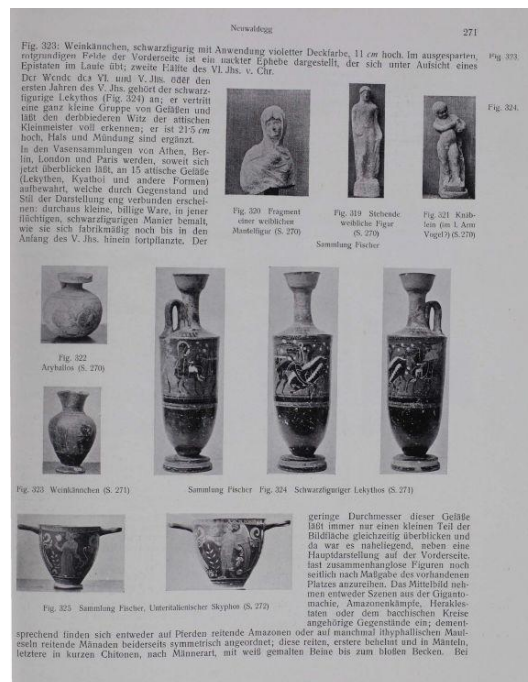


Figure 11 Neuwaldegg, p. 271 from Hans Tietze, *Die Österreichische Kunsttopographie: Die Denkmale der Stadt Wien*, 1908. Wien: Schroll.

Referring to the initially mentioned importance of monuments for the search for national identity at the beginning of the 20th century, these publications – regardless of their differences in content and visual appearance – became the treasury of a nation. The images within vouching for the speaker and equally breathing new life into something from the past, as formulated before. The examples briefly showed that different strategies to visually revive those monuments were used and considered adequate. In addition to the art topographies there were, of course, a large number of different book genres that made images of national monuments available as well, like the examples by Jan Sas Zubrzycki and Stefan Szyller. Some of these volumes close the gap between purely scientific, art-historical publications and information material for lay people, those interested in and also those working with architecture and art. It is therefore not the aim of this article to compare the examples described and to evaluate their functionality, but on the contrary to illuminate the variance and breadth of the images that are associated with 'national art'. These images have something in common other than their supposed or not intended scientific nature.

Conclusion: competing images with an 'educational mission'

The art historian and/or artist publishing illustrated volumes of national architecture pursued an additional goal besides the establishment of a fundamental inventory and the working objects for art. Dvořák for instance formulated the

opinion that the illustrated volumes and especially the art topographies had a social mission. He wrote,

While in Italy and France the monument registers are seen almost exclusively as a means of national monument protection, in Germany they have been designed in the form of art topographies into literary undertakings that have their own independent mission in public life. Yet there is a great difference of opinion about what this mission should consist of.⁵¹

Dvořák goes on to explain the particular mission and purpose of art topography. In his opinion, art topographies have 'a literary and educational mission'.⁵² Topographies should have influence on 'social emotional life' (*soziale Gefühlsleben*), the '*Heimatliebe*', which is based on the evolutionary development of life.⁵³

Here the entanglement described at the beginning between scientific claim and ideological task becomes particularly clear. The volumes not only serve to process scientific materials, but an identification of national heritage plays a fundamental role in the construction of national identity. The way to get there differed significantly in some cases, as the previous examples showed. Scientific and alternative approaches were often diametrically opposed. In contrast to Dvořák, who demanded a strictly objective approach, Sas Zubrzycki abandoned purely scientific methods and recognized subjective sensations. Although Dvořák too aimed to inspire the '*Heimatliebe*', as quoted above, this mission was to be fulfilled by the topography without deviating from scientific standards.

The topographic mission generally can be identified as patriotic art history. The projects presented here differ from the mere inventory since patriotic art historians like Jan Sas Zubrzycki, and even if it doesn't seem like it at first glance Max Dvořák and the authors of the *Bohemian Art Topography*, strive for a coherent

⁵¹ Dvorak, *Österreichische Kunst-Topographie*, XIII 'Während in Italien und Frankreich die Denkmalverzeichnisse fast ausschließlich als ein Behelf des staatlichen Denkmalschutzes angesehen werden, hat man sie in Deutschland in der Form von Kunsttopographien zu literarischen Unternehmungen gestaltet, die ihre eigene selbständige Mission im öffentlichen Leben zu erfüllen haben. Worin aber diese Mission bestehen soll, darüber herrscht eine nicht minder große Meinungsverschiedenheit.'

⁵² 'Die Topographien müssen nicht nur ebensowenig als die administrativen Verzeichnisse von Voraussetzungen ausgehen dürfen, welche unseren Anschauungen von der historischen Evolution widersprechen, sondern im Gegenteil ihren über das mechanische Inventarisieren hinausgehenden ideellen Inhalt der neuen Denkmalbewertung entnehmen müssen, die, wie wir gehört haben, auf Wahrnehmungen und Impressionen beruht, welche auf den genetischen Dokumentalinhalt der Denkmale und in konkreter historischer Formulierung auf deren Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der heimatlichen künstlerischen Kultur und der Kunst im allgemeinen zurückgeführt werden können.' Dvořák, *Österreichische Kunst-Topographie*, XVIII.

⁵³ Dvořák, *Österreichische Kunst-Topographie*, XVIII.

narrative⁵⁴ with the subject of the people's spirit (*Volksgeist*) as the author of the listed works of art. Locher (2001) elaborates:

It is essential that the patriotic narrator sees himself as a speaker and interpreter of the folk spirit manifested in the works, but at the same time he wants to appear as an objectively judging scientist. [...] National art history becomes a decidedly political project in that the aim is to certify the people's collective identity through the description of "their art".⁵⁵

Here, Locher formulates the ambivalence in which Dvořák's demand for an objective-scientific topography and the promotion of '*Heimatliebe*' is based. In the eyes of many coeval critics, Sas Zubrzycki's approach was dilettante. However, as the *Treasury of Architecture in Poland* shows, a heterogeneous body of images was a strategy implemented to stimulate the viewer. The imaginative images encourage the viewer to use their subjective and also emotional reaction to gain knowledge in addition to a purely stylistic analysis – so does the incoherent image inventory of the *Bohemian Art Topography*. Historicizing forms of representation ensure that the coherent national history is also tangible in the images of the monuments, especially when art history comes close to the study of handicrafts and folklore. In these images the complexity and entanglement of scholarly research and national ideology. The basic assumption, however, applies to all images in science communication – even those Dvořák would have declared professional, objective and scientific: On the one hand, 'visual archives' like the volumes presented here served as a collection of working objects for art and architectural history. On the other hand, they became the visual representative of (national) heritage, constructing, shaping, and establishing identities in Central Europe regardless of their supposed objectivity.

These findings lead to some more general conclusions. Even though there are different canonical selections of monuments with varying criteria and justifications, they are able to shape identities, especially when the political justification of a nation or culture is negated in the respective contemporary situations. This makes the illustrated volumes of the early twentieth century so interesting and controversial. At the turning point of multi-ethnic empires like Austria-Hungary and the establishment of nation states, the search for national

⁵⁴I call it narrative, even if the topographies or illustrated books without text do not have a comparable narrative to the art-historical overviews and histories of art. National art is always a product of an ideologized narrative.

⁵⁵'Vom reinen Inventar unterscheidet sich solche patriotische Kunstgeschichte durch die von einem urteilenden Autor getragene Konstruktion einer kohärenten Erzählung auf der methodischen Basis der Stilgeschichte, die stets ein Subjekt, Volksgeist als Urheber der verzeichneten Kunstwerke annimmt und zur Anschauung bringen will. Wesentlich ist, daß der patriotische Erzähler sich als Sprecher und Deuter des in den Werken manifestierten Volksgeistes versteht, zugleich aber als objektiv urteilender Wissenschaftler auftreten will. [...] Nationale Kunstgeschichte wird zum dezidiert politischen Projekt, indem es darum geht, dem Volk seine kollektive Identität über die Beschreibung ‚seiner Kunst zu bescheinigen.' Locher, *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst*, 200.

independence and, on the other hand, the attempt to modernise large empires in their heterogeneity also shaped the fundamental works of art history of this time. And yet this connection is all too often overlooked. Not only do those many art-historical texts provide important information about the mindset of their authors but also about the images used. These images, with all their different strategies of reproduction, became the visual archive of European art, often completely independent of their originally competing art historical contexts, are still often in use to this day.

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