

Notes on Franz Wickhoff's School and Max Dvořák's Italian Renaissance studies based on new archival materials

Tomáš Murár

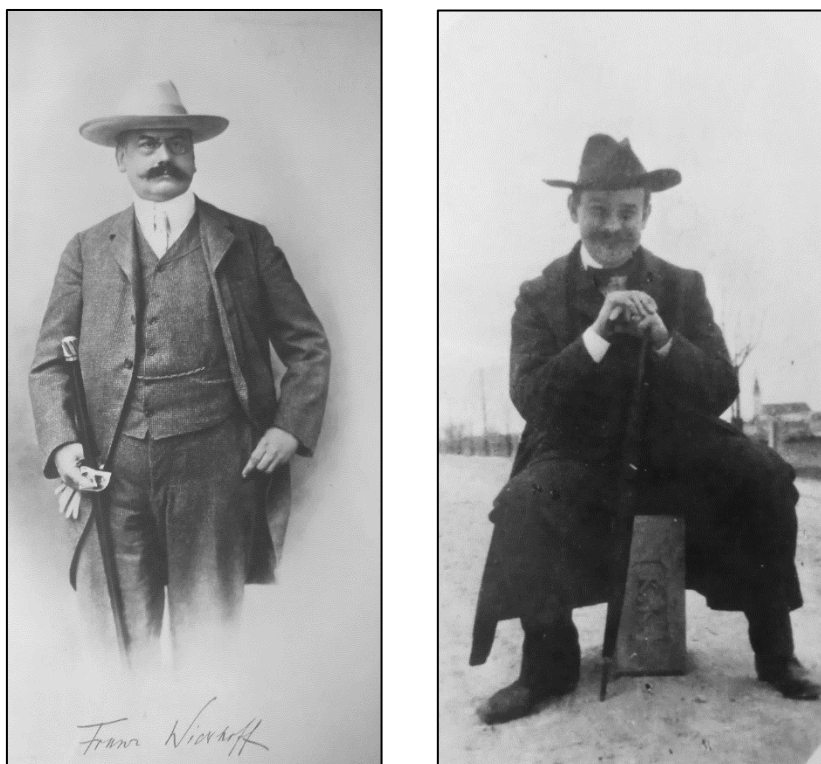


Figure 1 Photo of Franz Wickhoff around 1900 (left) and photo of Max Dvořák (right) around 1913, Archive of the Institute of Art History of the University of Vienna. Photo: author.

When Max Dvořák's (1874–1921) art history is considered,¹ Franz Wickhoff's (1853–1909) and Alois Riegl's (1858–1905) influence is always mentioned in the foreground

¹ See, e.g., Hans Aurenhammer, 'Max Dvořák (1874–1921)', in: Ulrich Pfisterer (Hrsg.), *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte 1. Von Winckelmann bis Warburg*, München: C. H. Beck, 2007, 214–226; Idem, 'Max Dvořák (1874–1921). Von der historischen Quellenkritik zur Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte', in: Karel Hruza (Hrsg.), *Österreichische Historiker. Lebensläufe und Karrieren 1900–1945*, Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2012, 169–200. The most thorough biography of Dvořák, focused mainly on the issue of heritage protection, is by Sandro Scarrocchia, 'Denkmalpflege und Moderne: Die Lehre Max Dvořáks', in: Max Dvořák, *Schriften zur Denkmalpflege*, Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 23–210. Former students of Dvořák's have also provided us with biographies and methodological interpretations of Dvořák's art history, such as Otto Benesch, 'Max Dvořák. Ein Versuch zur Geschichte der historischen Geisteswissenschaften', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 44, 1924, 159–197; Dagobert Frey, 'Max Dvořáks Stellung in der Kunstgeschichte', *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 1,

of the historiographical research.² However, a question that, in my opinion, has yet to be adequately addressed is in what sense and to what extent Dvořák's method of art history was directly formed by his personal relationships with Riegl and especially Wickhoff. This article therefore seeks to show the ways in which Wickhoff and Riegl may have had an influence on Max Dvořák's thinking on art history through their private relationships, which can be reconstructed based on a newly found archival materials, in order to fill in a gap in the historiographic research on the Vienna School of Art History.

Franz Wickhoff is regarded as the more grounded thinker within the Vienna School compared to Alois Riegl, the 'philosopher of the Vienna School'.³ Wickhoff's best-known work is his 1895 commentary on the *Wiener Genesis*,⁴ a sixth-century illuminated manuscript, in which he described the different modes of medieval pictorial narrative, which, he argued, were similar to the visual modes observed in late-nineteenth-century Impressionism.⁵ In his interpretation, Wickhoff employed his concept of the laws that govern the development of art and its forms, laws that were as valid in the sixth as in the nineteenth century, and he argued that the form

1921/22, 1–21; Jaromír Pečírka, 'Max Dvořák. Životopis', in: Max Dvořák, *Umění jako projev ducha*, Praha: Jan Leichter, 1936, VII-XCII.

² From recent historiographical research, the most important contribution on this issue is by Arthur Rosenauer, 'Das Rätsel der Kunst der Bruder Van Eyck. Max Dvořák und seine Stellung zu Wickhoff und Riegl', in: *Wien und die Entwicklung der kunsthistorischen Methode. Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte I/1*, Wien-Köln-Graz, 1984, 45–52.

³ To the best of my knowledge, there is no recent historiographical study dedicated solely to Wickhoff. Therefore, we still need to rely on archival sources and on the writings of his students and colleagues. The most important such writings are by Max Dvořák and Julius von Schlosser. See Max Dvořák, 'Franz Wickhoff', in: Idem, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, München: Piper, 1929, 299–314; Julius von Schlosser, 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte, Rückblick auf ein Säkulum deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Österreich', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* XIII, 1934, 145–225. On the other hand, since as early as 1929 there has been great reception of Riegl's thought and numerous biographical, methodological, and theoretical texts dedicated to Riegl's art history have been written. Among these we can mention, e.g., Hans Sedlmayr, 'Die Quintessenz der Lehren Riegls', in: Alois Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Augsburg-Wien: Dr. Benno Filser Verlag, 1929, XII–XXXIV; Willibald Sauerländer, 'Alois Riegl und die Entstehung der autonomen Kunstgeschichte am Fin de Siècle', in: Roger Bauer (Hg.), *Fin de Siècle. Zur Literatur und Kunst der Jahrhundertwende*, Frankfurt 1977, 125–139; Margaret Iversen, *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory*, Cambridge-Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1993; Michael Gubser, *Time's Visible Surface. Alois Riegl and the Discourse on History and Temporality in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2006; Diana Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875–1905. An Institutional Biography*, Oxford: Routledge, 2014.

⁴ See Wilhelm Ritter von Hartel – Franz Wickhoff (Hg.), *Die Wiener Genesis*, Wien: F. Tempsky, 1895.

⁵ Ulrich Rehm and Andrea Pinotti recently deemed this the most important theoretical contribution Wickhoff made within the Vienna School. See Ulrich Rehm, 'Wieviel Zeit haben die Bilder? Franz Wickhoff und die kunsthistorische Erzählforschung', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* LIII, 2004, 161–190; Andrea Pinotti, 'Story-Telling: Typologies of Iconic Narratives', in: Olga Pombo (ed.), *Image in Science and Art, Fin de Seculo*: LDA, 2017, 33–58.

of a work of art indicated in what phase the development of art was in, regardless of the era in which it was being made. Wickhoff thus showed that 'impressionist' art forms can actually appear in different eras. In order to recognise in any particular era what phase art development was in at the time, one had to view it the right way, and to this end Wickhoff found Giovanni Morelli's (1816–1891) method to be useful.⁶ Even Max Dvořák himself applied this approach in his early studies in art history, and evidence of this method is most apparent in his study from 1903 of the paintings of Jan and Hubert van Eyck.⁷ However, as argued by the editors of Dvořák's posthumously published writings, Karl Maria Swoboda (1889–1977) and Johannes Wilde (1891–1970),⁸ and recently also by Hans Aurenhammer,⁹ around the time of the First World War Dvořák's art history had reached a point where he started to see art history not as a continuous stream of artistic forms whose appearance was determined by the laws of art, but as discontinuous manifestations of these laws shaped and influenced by the spiritual changes of the given time, which in turn were responses to historical ones. This shift in Dvořák's art history is in the historiography of his work regarded as a modification of Riegl's theoretical concept of 'Kunstwollen'.¹⁰

Riegl understood 'Kunstwollen' as a specific 'force' that effected changes in the form of art that were in turn reflections of the historical changes in human thinking; in other words, for Riegl art was a witness to the changing times, which in turn drove the 'will of art' to manifest itself in a certain way.¹¹ It is therefore possible to consider a certain 'collective' element to, not the development of art, as Wickhoff's thinking had it, but the development of artistic consciousness, which can be studied and interpreted in art-historical research. However, for Dvořák, at the time of the First World War art was a manifestation of the *individual's* spiritual witnessing of historical changes. We can thus ask whether Dvořák actually took Riegl's concept of 'Kunstwollen' and reinterpreted it as a method for researching the spiritual stance of the individual in relation to the world expressed through a work

⁶ Wickhoff's use of Morelli's connoisseurship, taught by Moriz Thausing, is mentioned by Schlosser, 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte', 164–167.

⁷ Max Dvořák, 'Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* XXIV, 1903, 161–319.

⁸ Karl Maria Swoboda – Johannes Wilde, 'Vorwort der Herausgeber', in: Max Dvořák, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte. Studien zur abendländischen Kunstentwicklung*, München: Piper, 1924, IX–XII.

⁹ See note 1.

¹⁰ See, e.g., Ján Bakoš, 'Max Dvořák – a Neglected Re-Visionist', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* LIII, 2004, 55–72.

¹¹ Therefore, different eras had different 'Kunstwollens' and thus different art forms. Riegl showed, for example, that the late Roman Kunstwollen differs from the Kunstwollen of the Dutch republic of the seventeenth century, but the functioning of how the will directs the transformation of art forms nonetheless remains the same. See Alois Riegl, *Die Spätromische Kunst-Industrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien: Der K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1901; Idem, 'Das holländische Gruppenporträt', *Jahrbuch des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 22, 1902, 71–278. See also Jaś Elsner, 'The Viennese Invention of Late Antiquity: between Politics and Religion in the Forms of Late Roman Art', in: Idem (ed.), *Empires of Faith in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, 110–127.

of art – this means that around the time of the First World War Dvořák drew his theoretical idea from Riegl's 'Kunstwollen' and support for this claim can be provided by their personal relationship, when Riegl asked Dvořák to take his place as the head of the imperial-royal conservation institute in 1905.¹² Dvořák's intellectual connection with Riegl is also evident in the obituary he wrote on Riegl¹³ and in his editorial activity, as with the help of Arthur Burda he prepared Riegl's lectures on Baroque art for publication in 1908.¹⁴ Riegl's interest in Baroque art influenced Dvořák's own interest in this issue when he was lecturing on the same topic irregularly from 1911 until his death in 1921.¹⁵

These well-known connections between Riegl and Dvořák, however, seem secondary when they are compared to the connections that existed between Dvořák and Wickhoff. Firstly, Dvořák was meant to become Wickhoff's successor as a full professor at the University of Vienna, and even though ultimately, in 1909, the professorship was given to Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941), it was Dvořák who continued Wickhoff's legacy in the art historical department at the Institute of Austrian Historical Research (*Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*).¹⁶ There existed thus the same professional continuity between Wickhoff and Dvořák as there was between Riegl and Dvořák. Dvořák, as in the case of Riegl, also published an obituary after Wickhoff's death and,¹⁷ as in the case of Riegl's posthumously published writings on Baroque art, Dvořák, this time on his own, edited Wickhoff's writings after Wickhoff's death, and they were published in 1913.¹⁸ After Wickhoff's death Dvořák also planned to write Wickhoff's biography, and because of this he was even in close contact with Wickhoff's sister, as he sought to acquire a full understanding of Wickhoff's personal as well as his professional life.¹⁹

¹² See Scarrocchia, 'Denkmalpflege und Moderne: Die Lehre Max Dvořáks', 27–30.

¹³ Max Dvořák, 'Alois Riegl', in: Idem, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, München: Piper, 1929, 279–298. In his letter to Wickhoff from 4 August 1905, however, Dvořák wrote that he did not want to write the obituary on Riegl because it seemed to him too difficult so soon after his teacher's death. For the correspondence of Wickhoff and Dvořák, see the notes below.

¹⁴ Alois Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*, Wien: Anton Schroll, 1908.

¹⁵ There are notes on his lectures on Baroque art for these dates in Max Dvořák's estate in the archive of the Institute of Art History of the University of Vienna. I would like to sincerely thank Dr Friedrich Polleroß for his kind help and for granting me access to the archive.

¹⁶ See Hans Aurenhammer, '150 Jahre Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Wien (1852–2002). Eine wissenschaftshistorische Chronik', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 2/3, 2002, 1–10.

¹⁷ See note 3.

¹⁸ Franz Wickhoff, *Abhandlungen, Vorträge und Anzeigen*, Berlin: Meyer und Jessen, 1913.

¹⁹ The biography and the letters exchanged between Dvořák and Wickhoff's sister are preserved in Wickhoff's estate in the archive of the Institute of Art History of the University of Vienna. The biography is unfinished, because, I assume, Dvořák did not find too much of interesting facts to write about from Wickhoff's life. He even noted at the beginning of Wickhoff's obituary: 'There is not much to tell about his personal life [Über seine äußeren Lebensschicksale ist wenig zu berichten].' See Dvořák, 'Franz Wickhoff', 299.



Figure 2 The title page of Dvořák's *Biography of Franz Wickhoff*, after 1909, Archive of the Institute of Art History of the University of Vienna. Photo: author.

This suggests that Dvořák had a much closer personal relationship with Wickhoff, which is further supported by the fact that Dvořák used to spend time with Wickhoff in Venice at the end of almost every spring semester between 1901 and 1909,²⁰ and by the fact that, when Wickhoff was away in Venice or somewhere else, Dvořák – who came from Roudnitz, in Bohemia, and in the early twentieth century did not yet have a permanent place to live in Vienna – was allowed to stay in Wickhoff's apartment in Vienna. Evidence of this close personal relationship can be found not just in the published correspondence between Dvořák and his Prague university professor Jaroslav Goll (1846–1929) and with the historian Josef Šusta (1874–1945), his life-long friend, but also in newly found correspondence between Wickhoff and Dvořák that is being stored in the archive of the Institute of Art History of the University of Vienna.

In these letters, the close personal relationship seems to overlap with the basic relationship of a student with his professor, a point that was already hinted at in 1934 by Julius von Schlosser (1866–1938), who noted that Dvořák was particularly close to Wickhoff 'on a human level'.²¹ This fact is apparent in Dvořák's letters, where he discussed with Wickhoff not just his professional²² but his personal life as well.²³ On top of that, Dvořák's boundless devotion to Wickhoff can be seen in

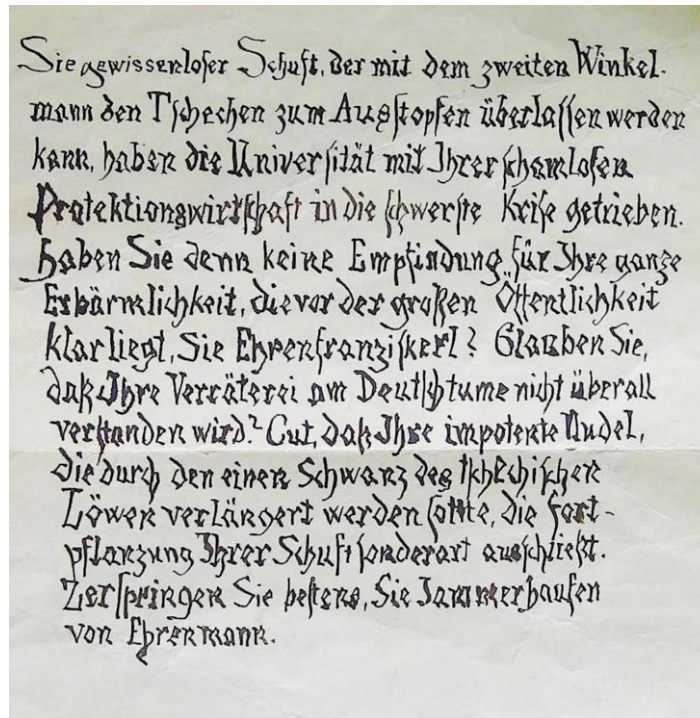
²⁰ As stated by Pečírka, 'Max Dvořák, Životopis', L–LIII, and as it is evident from Dvořák's correspondence with Josef Šusta that was published by Pečírka in 1943. For example, in a letter dated 12 August 1901 Dvořák wrote to Šusta, that, 'I am for now 10 days in Venice with Wickhoff [Já jsem teď 10 dní s Wickhoffem v Benátkách]'. See Max Dvořák, *Listy o životě a umění. Dopisy Jaroslavu Gollovi, Josefu Pekařovi a Josefu Šustovi*, Praha: Vyšehrad, 1943, 83.

²¹ Schlosser, 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte', 193.

²² As we can read, for example, in a letter dated 9 September 1907, when Dvořák informed Wickhoff about his work in Palazzo Venezia in Rome.

²³ This is evident, for example, in a letter dated 12 May 1908, when Dvořák informed Wickhoff about the death of his sister.

almost all of his letters, where Dvořák in most cases signed off with the farewell 'Ihr dankbar Schüler'. Wickhoff, on the other side, was almost fatherly in the protective attitude he assumed towards Dvořák and his professional and personal life,²⁴ which escalated to the point where he asserted Dvořák as Riegl's successor at the University of Vienna, despite the nationalistic attacks on both Dvořák and Wickhoff in 1905, both in the press and on the individual level. For example, articles in German nationalistic journals such as *Wiener Deutsches Tagblatt* accused Dvořák of not even being able to speak proper German and the journal *Neues Wiener Journal* after Dvořák's appointment claimed that a 'Czech' understandably could not properly teach a 'German science'.²⁵ Additionally, a threatening letter can be found among Wickhoff's papers warning Wickhoff that he needed to stop that 'Czech' in his pursuit of teaching at the University of Vienna, emphasising that Wickhoff should instead work to preserve the 'Germanness' (*Deutschtum*) of the university.



Sie gewissenloser Schuft, der mit dem zweiten Winkelmann den Tischchen zum Ausstopfen überlassen werden kann, haben die Universität mit Ihrer gewissenlosen Protektionswirtschaft in die schwerste Krise getrieben. Haben Sie denn keine Empfindung für Ihre ganze Erbärmlichkeit, die vor der großen Öffentlichkeit klar liegt, Sie Ehrenfranziskaner? Glauben Sie, daß Ihre Verräterei am Deutlichkeit nicht überall verstanden wird? Gut, daß Ihre impotente Nudel, die durch den einen Schwanz des Ikkhshihere Löwen verlängert werden sollte, die Fortpflanzung Ihrer Schufti jederart ausschließt. Zer Sprengen Sie bestens, Sie Jammerhaufen von Ehrer Mann.

Figure 3 A threatening letter addressed to Wickhoff, 1905, Archive of the Institute of Art History of the University of Vienna. Photo: author.

²⁴ In a letter dated 5 August 1903, Dvořák thanked Wickhoff for his 'väterlich-liebe Worte', and in a letter from 9 March 1903, Dvořák addressed Wickhoff as 'Lieber Freud und Vater'.

²⁵ See 'Das Deutsch des Herrn Professors Dvorak', *Wiener Deutsches Tagblatt*, 21 Dezember, 1905, 4; 'Das Lehrkanzel für Kunstgeschichte an der Universität', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 9 August, 1905, 6. Dvořák in the letter from 16 July 1905 expressed his belief that he really was unable to speak German very well because he was Czech, showing that Dvořák was accused of this much earlier than the newspaper articles document. Nevertheless, Wickhoff probably talked him out of his uncertainties, as evidenced by Dvořák's gratitude for Wickhoff's support in this matter.

Before the start of the autumn semester in 1905, when in early September Dvořák was officially appointed as an extraordinary professor at the University of Vienna as the successor to Alois Riegl, German students wrote a memorandum and addressed it to the rector of the University of Vienna in which they protested Dvořák's appointment on the grounds that he was Czech and demanded his dismissal. When the rector did not grant the German students' request and allowed Dvořák to teach,²⁶ protests were organised during his lectures and his speeches were interrupted and nationalistic insults were hurled at him. These protests reached a climax on 28 October 1905, when nationalistic students filled the whole auditorium in which Dvořák was lecturing and disturbed the lecture throughout its duration (the protest lasted almost two hours).²⁷ Nevertheless, Wickhoff, who was not bothered by official or unofficial attacks, continued to back Dvořák, as is evident from the official defence he made of his student in the press, where he called Dvořák the rising star of the emerging generation of young art historians.²⁸ By the end of 1905, mostly thanks to Wickhoff's conviction of the correctness of his suggestion to appoint Dvořák as Riegl's successor, the protests had gradually wound down, which is apparent from the gratitude Dvořák repeatedly expressed in his letters to Wickhoff.²⁹ However, Dvořák's close bond with Wickhoff was not built on Wickhoff having helped secure him a permanent job at the university. Their 'love' for each other had much earlier roots, as we can see in a letter Dvořák wrote to Wickhoff on 30 December 1902:

Not only have I learned so much more from you about so many things than I have from anyone else in this world, but I have never felt so much love and understanding from anyone else as I have from you [...] and it is my deepest longing to be able to thank you a little with joy and love. Your approval pleases me more than any other success. You can already look back on your work with pride and joy in the years in which other teachers are actually only beginning to teach, because you have already created a school that no other in our discipline can compare to, both on the level of its scholarly method and on the level of general education, and one does not have to be a prophet to be able to predict that sooner or later the principles that this school is built on and that we have you to thank for will gain general acceptance.³⁰

²⁶ Which was the opposite outcome to what happened when Dvořák was invited to teach in Fribourg in Switzerland in 1904. See Pečírka, 'Max Dvořák. Životopis', LVI–LVII.

²⁷ See 'Demonstrationen an der Universität', *Die Zeit*, 28 Oktober, 1905, 1111.

²⁸ See Franz Wickhoff, 'Max Dvorak', *Neue Freie Presse*, September 16, 1905, 21–22.

²⁹ These events are explored in more detail in a paper I am preparing for the conference proceedings from 'Art History and Its Institutions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire' taking place in Cracow on 28–30 September 2023.

³⁰ Wickhoff's Estate, Archive of the Institute of Art History of the University of Vienna, Dvořák's Letter to Wickhoff dated 30 December 1902: 'Ich habe nicht nur Niemandem in dieser Welt so viel gelernt in allen Dingen als von Ihnen, sondern auch von Niemandem so viel Wohltaten und Liebe empfangen, als von Ihnen [...] und es ist meine innigste Sehnsucht es Ihnen ein wenig mit Freude und Liebe danken zu können. Ihre Zustimmung freut mich mehr, als jeder andere Erfolg. Auf Ihr Werk können Sie bereits in Jahren, in welchen andere

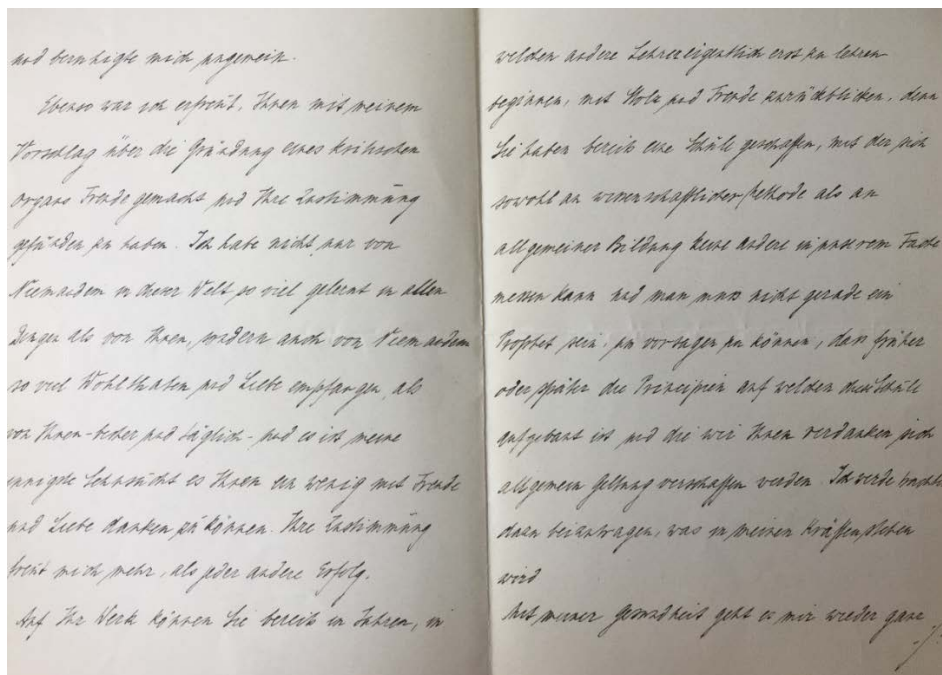


Figure 4 Dvořák's letter to Wickhoff from 30 December 1902, Archive of the Institute of Art History of the University of Vienna. Photo: author.

Thus, as the archival materials suggest, the personal relationship that existed between Dvořák and Wickhoff was deeper than that between Dvořák and Riegl (I am not aware of the existence of correspondence as extensive as this between the latter two), which lends support to the idea that Dvořák would have had the opportunity to observe Wickhoff up close as he was developing his new methodological approach to the study of art history.³¹ The next question prompted by a study of these archival materials is thus whether this early devotion of Dvořák to his teacher is reflected in his method of art history, most notably in his famous conceptualisation of art history as the history of the spirit (*Kunstgeschichte als*

Lehrer eigentlich erst zu lehren beginnen, mit Stolz und Freude zurückblicken, denn Sie haben bereits eine Schule geschaffen, mit der sich sowohl an wissenschaftlicher Methode als an allgemeiner Bildung keine andere in unserem Fache messen kann und man muss nicht gerade ein Prophet sein um vorsagen zu können, dass früher oder später die Prinzipien auf welchen diese Schule aufgebaut ist und die Ihnen verdanken sich allgemein Geltung verschaffen werden'.

³¹ The notion that at the beginning of the twentieth century Wickhoff developed a new method of art history can be also supported by the fact that for the first time the concept of the 'Vienna School of Art History' appeared in Vincenc Kramář's obituary on Franz Wickhoff in 1909. Kramář was a student of Wickhoff and Riegl and a friend of Dvořák. The awareness of 'Wickhoff's school' is also apparent outside the community of Wickhoff's students, as can be shown in a letter around 1900 from Friedrich Dörnhöffer to Wickhoff. See Friedrich Polleroß, 'Ein "coloristisches Prachstück" und ein "geharnisches Telegramm an der Rector": Gustav Klimt, die "Philosophie" und Franz Wickhoff', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 3, 2022, 17–23, here 21.

Geistesgeschichte), which has so far been associated more with Riegl's 'Kunstwollen'?³²

An example of this possible methodological connection between Dvořák's and Wickhoff's art history is Dvořák's interest in the Italian Renaissance art that, next to Medieval and Baroque art, was the one area of art that he studied the most, which can be documented in the notes to his lectures in the archive of the art historical institute of the University of Vienna.³³ Riegl was interested in the Middle Ages as well as Baroque art, but it is almost impossible to find in his archived notes or in his published papers any sign of a deeper interest in the Italian Renaissance. On the other hand, even though Wickhoff is today known most for his interpretation of a sixth-century manuscript, his main scholarly interest was Venetian Renaissance painting of the early sixteenth century, and the work of Giorgione in particular, but he also dealt with the work of Botticelli, Raphael, Michelangelo, and Giulio Romano.³⁴ The same pattern can be found in Dvořák's oeuvre. Since 1901 he had researched the art of Tintoretto, which for him constituted a synthesis of the Italian Renaissance, 'of Titian and Michelangelo'.³⁵ Dvořák had even planned to write a broad study of the art and the time of Tintoretto, for which he conducted extensive research in the Venetian archives when he was staying with Wickhoff in the city on the lagoon.³⁶ However, because he was appointed as a professor at the University of Vienna in 1905 at the same time he was named the head of the institute of heritage protection (he assumed both posts after Riegl) he was unable to find enough time to finish this project.

It was only around the time of the First World War that, according to historiographical research, Dvořák found some time to write again and he formulated his new method of 'Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte', which is mostly associated with the publication of his book *Idealism and Naturalism in Gothic Sculpture and Painting* in 1918.³⁷ At that time, just after the war, Dvořák also lectured

³² The title of 'Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte' is not originally from Dvořák, but from editors of his posthumously published papers, Swoboda and Wilde.

³³ Dvořák's estate consist mostly of his lecture notes among which those dedicated to Middle-Ages, Baroque and Renaissance art can be found through Dvořák's whole career at the Vienna University. Partly these archival notes were researched by Hans Aurenhammer, currently is elaborated a new research of all of these sections of Dvořák's estate by the author of this article and by his dear colleagues, Sabrina Buebl and Francesca Bottura. See Hans Aurenhammer, 'Max Dvořák and the History of Medieval Art', *Journal of Art Historiography* 2, 2010.

³⁴ Schlosser, 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte', 164; Dvořák, 'Franz Wickhoff', 301.

³⁵ Pečírka, 'Max Dvořák. Životopis', LII–LX.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ Max Dvořák, *Idealismus und Naturalismus in der Gotischen Skulptur und Malerei*, München-Berlin: R. Oldenburg, 1918. For the interpretation of the 'Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte' see Aurenhammer, 'Max Dvořák (1874–1921). Von der historischen Quellenkritik zur Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte', 194–200. Aurenhammer shows that the idea of idealism and naturalism was for the first time thought through by Dvořák in 1916 in his lecture series 'Idealismus und Realismus in der Kunst der Neuzeit'. The notes from this lecture series were translated into Czech and published in journal *Umění* already in 1971

at the University of Vienna on Italian Renaissance art, from its beginnings in connection with Giotto up to its end, in a style that Dvořák labelled 'Mannerism', which he elaborated in detail in his lecture on the work of El Greco at the end of 1920.³⁸ It is also possible to trace the basic contours of the 'later' version of Dvořák's art historical method in these lectures, but this version of his method of art history was not as disconnected from his previous thinking as it is usually interpreted to be in reference to his book on Gothic sculpture and painting from 1918. I would argue, based on Dvořák's interest in Italian Renaissance art, that there is no gap between Dvořák's thinking before and after the war, when, on the contrary, it is possible to observe a gradual clarification of Dvořák's complex thinking.

This claim can be made on the basis of the fact that besides the lecture notes devoted to the above-mentioned art historical periods (Middle Ages, Renaissance, Baroque), Dvořák, just before the First World War formulated a new method for the interpretation of early modern art that went beyond the stylistic categorisation and was centred on the construction of a network of paradigmatic artworks that served as vehicles of art-historical meaning in the past as well as in the present, and which were thus discontinuous in relation to the development of art. Probably because of this unusual method of interpretation, which was seemingly unrelated to the theoretical concepts of the Vienna School of Art History, these notes were ignored as unimportant archival materials by the editors of Dvořák's posthumously published papers, as well as by other researchers interested in Dvořák's art history. However, as I will try to show, thanks to these notes the above-noted influence of Wickhoff's thinking on Dvořák's art history can be reconstructed as impacting Dvořák's art history to a much larger degree than Riegl's, and, additionally, the line of argumentation set out in these lectures can actually be understood as the 'foundation' of Dvořák's concept of 'Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte', which means that it can thus be understood as rooted in the thought of Franz Wickhoff.

Dvořák spoke to his students about this new approach in the spring semester of 1913 in a lecture series titled the 'Interpretation of Selected Works of Art' (*Erklärung ausgewählter Kunstwerke*). In this series of lectures Dvořák talked about, among other works, Giorgione's *Venus* (ca. 1510) from the Dresden Picture Gallery,³⁹ which for the sake of my argumentation serves as the best vehicle through which it is possible to demonstrate the connection between his and Wickhoff's thinking. At the start of the lecture on Giorgione's *Venus*, Dvořák focused on the motif of the recumbent Venus, and he looked to antiquity for a comparison, because in works

to commemorate fifty years since Dvořák's death. See Rudolf Chadraba, 'Inedita Maxe Dvořáka', *Umění* 6, 1971, 618–627.

³⁸ For Dvořák's lecture on El Greco, see Dvořák, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte*, 259–276. For his lecture series on the Italian art see Max Dvořák, *Geschichte der italienischen Kunst im Zeitalter der Renaissance. Das 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, München: Piper, 1927; Idem, *Geschichte der italienischen Kunst im Zeitalter der Renaissance. Das 16. Jahrhundert*, München: Piper, 1928.

³⁹ Other works that Dvořák interpreted were Pisanello's *Portrait of Lionello d'Este* (ca. 1440), Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* (1512), Tintoretto's *Last Supper* (1594), and Velázquez's *Spinners* (1657).

from that period Venus was usually shown standing.⁴⁰ Dvořák traced down how the standing Venus in ancient art became the fifteenth-century Venus painted by artists such as Sandro Botticelli and Lorenzi di Credi, who also portrayed her in a standing position. Then he concentrated on Giorgione's lying Venus and he explained the change in her position as the disappearance of her complementary role in relation to a male figure: according to Dvořák, fifteenth century Florentine painting was concerned with historical or other representative meanings which were primarily embodied through the male body and to which the female figure was meant only as a counterpart defined by the male principle of the standing, erect body. However, in early sixteenth-century Venetian painting, the landscape became a newly examined topic, explored for its possibilities of colour and light, and where the male figure was too dominant to second the delicacy of the landscape; therefore, the female figure started to be used as the main topic of the painting, without it having to be just an accompaniment to the male figure in a representative function.⁴¹

According to Dvořák, thus, Giorgione's *Venus* was not meant to lead the spectators to know or understand the image in a historical or other representative sense; it was meant to invite them to contemplate their immediate experience of the work in the present and the female body as the primary source of stimulation for experiencing the here-and-now surroundings suggested by the landscape in the background. The Venus's closed eyes seem to support this observation, in the sense that what is created is the interior vision of a female-dreamed world, without it being determined by a male counterpart and the plastically oriented male experience of the 'given' world in which the standing Venus was used as a supplement to the male-oriented world. This transformation of the Venus motif, as Dvořák argued, was not something that was visible in the light of the inexorable evolution of art but could only be revealed from the perspective of the initiatory

⁴⁰ Max Dvořák, 'Erklärung ausgewählter Kunstwerke', Manuskript, Estate of Max Dvořák, Archive of the Institute of Art History of the Vienna University, 1913, box 5, bundle 5: 'In order to answer this question, it is necessary to consider two aspects: firstly, the formal and secondly, the spiritual relations with ancient art that were present in Venetian art at the beginning of the Cinquecento. First it must be said that, as a formal problem, the standing Venus was of no importance at all. The Venus was in Greek art a female counterpart to the male athlete [diese Frage zu beantworten ist es notwendig, das wir zwei Momente in Betracht ziehen: erstens die formalen, zweitens die geistigen Beziehungen zur antiken Kunst welche in der venezianischen Kunst am Anfang der Cinquecento anwesend waren. Da muss man vor allem sagen, dass als formales Problem, die stehende Venus gar ohne jede Bedeutung war. Sie war in der griechischen Kunst das weibliche Gegenstand zu den menschlichen Götter und Athleten Figuren]'.
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⁴¹ As Dvořák reasoned, this meant that in Florentine painting the usually male figure was 'thrown' (*geworfen wurde*) into its surroundings, and therefore defined itself (thanks in part also to linear perspective) as a 'plastically' (*plastische*) expressed existence. In the case of sixteenth-century Venetian painting, Dvořák observed in reference to the emancipation of the female figure that the figure was 'carried' (*getragen wurde*) into the landscape, which then acquired a new symbolism: the scene of the painting was no longer a 'window to the world', as Leon Battista Alberti had described it in the early fifteenth century.

effect of the immersive-emergent experience of a work of art.⁴² Thus, Dvořák was convinced that it was possible, on the basis of selected and exceptional works of art, such as Giorgione's *Venus*, to demonstrate paradigmatic changes that occurred in the consciousness through history, not however on the basis of principles transcending individual art forms, but on the basis of the experience that the artwork should have stimulated in the observer as its primary meaning. In the Renaissance, as Dvořák showed in his lecture series in 1913, this primary meaning was the emotional emphasis of the bodily-lived reality, as he showed in his interpretation of the change of the meaning of painting in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries based on the relevance of the male and female body to the observer's consciousness.

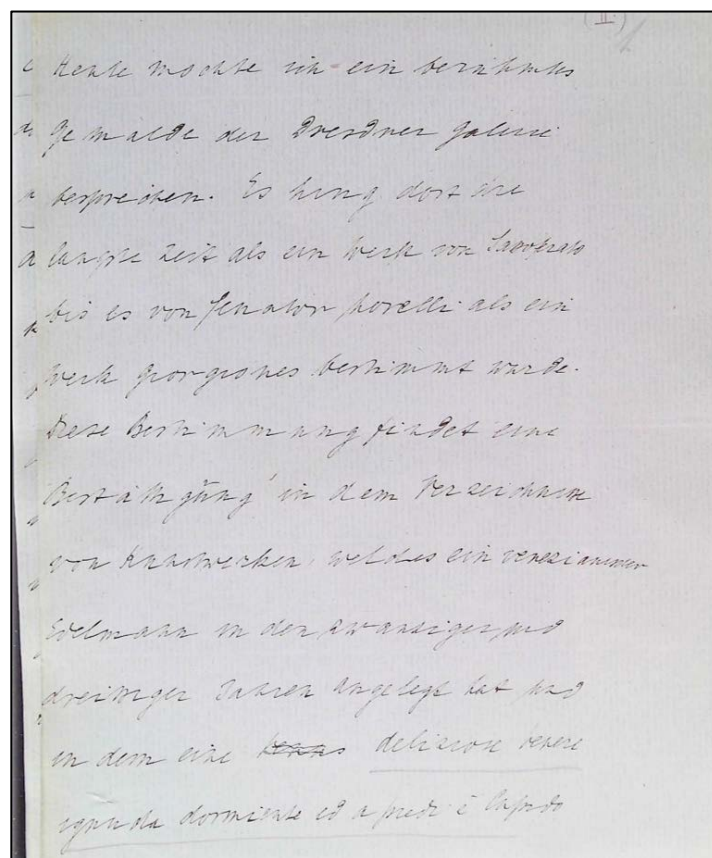


Figure 5 Dvořák's notes on Giorgione's *Venus* from his lecture series 'Erklärung ausgewählter Kunstwerke', 1913, Archive of the Institute of Art History of the University of Vienna. Photo: author.

What is important for us regarding Dvořák's reading of Giorgione's *Venus* from his lecture series in 1913 is that Dvořák was already interested in Giorgione's art around 1900, most probably under Wickhoff's influence, as we can find this type of interest in Dvořák's letter to Wickhoff from 1903. In this letter, Dvořák – as well

⁴² I analyse this notion of Dvořák's lecture series in detail in a study that is about to be published in *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 64, 2023.

as discussing his plans relating to the first issue of their newly planned journal of art history (launched in 1904 under the title *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*) and his reporting on the operas that he visited – mentioned that he answered Wickhoff's letter with a delay because he had travelled to Dresden, where he had a chance to observe Giorgione's *Venus* in the best manner, because the painting was, as Dvořák wrote, 'located next to the window, so I could have seen it in the best possible way'.⁴³ The first interesting thing in Dvořák's discussion of Giorgione's painting from 1903 is that he pointed out the heavy repainting on the work – for example, he noted that the left shoulder and left hand were heavily remodelled, and that the eyes of the *Venus* did not seem, in Dvořák's view, to have originally been done by Giorgione. Dvořák added that the red cloth on which *Venus* is lying was supposedly overpainted by Titian. What he believed had been done by Giorgione's hand was *Venus*'s hair and her entire body – as well as the landscape, to which, in Dvořák's view, the viewer ought to direct his or her attention. At this point, however, Dvořák's letter ends, but that he was drawn to Giorgione's landscape as the quintessential means to understanding his art, an idea he had elaborated in his 1913 lecture series, is already evident in his letter to Wickhoff in 1900, when he pointed out that in the Doria Pamphilj Gallery in Rome he had seen a small painting assigned to Lorenzo Lotto, but, according to Dvořák, the landscape indicated it might actually have been a painting by Giorgione.⁴⁴

Dvořák wrote about his ideas on Giorgione's art to Wickhoff not only as to a mentor, but also as to someone for whom Giorgione's art was a life-long interest, as mentioned above. This viewpoint can be supported by Wickhoff's correspondence, where he discussed his monograph on Giorgione with an English publisher in 1899.⁴⁵ It is also evident from the daily press, where Wickhoff identified the Vienna painting of *David with the Head of Goliath* as Giorgione's original, unlike Bernard Berenson (1865–1959), who was convinced it was a copy.⁴⁶ Wickhoff's interest in Giorgione's painting is also evident in his study from 1895, posthumously republished by Dvořák in 1913.⁴⁷ In the beginning of the study, Wickhoff asked in reference to previous methods of art history:

In which layers of reflection do these art lovers live, to whom it does not even occur to ask how the artist's spirit relates to the materials he wanted to

⁴³ Wickhoff's Estate, Archive of the Institute of Art History of the Vienna University, Dvořák's Letter to Wickhoff from 5 December 1903: 'beim Fenster, so dass ich sie so gut sehen konnte als nur möglich.'

⁴⁴ Wickhoff's Estate, Archive of the Institute of Art History of the Vienna University, Dvořák's Letter to Wickhoff from 19 February 1900.

⁴⁵ Wickhoff's Estate, Archive of the Institute of Art History of the Vienna University, Dr. Williamson's Letter to Wickhoff from 14 April 1899.

⁴⁶ See 'Ein neuer Giorgione in Wiener Hof-Museum', *Neue Freie Presse*, 13 June 1902, 7.

⁴⁷ The original text was published in the same year, when Wickhoff's commentary on the *Wiener Genesis* was issued, thus elaborating a similar theory of pictorial narrative stressed by Pinotti and Rehm as Wickhoff's main theoretical merit within the Vienna School. See note 5.

depict, how he processes the materials within himself, conquers them and brings them, remodelled by his individuality, before the viewer's eyes?⁴⁸

And then, when discussing Giorgione's *Tempesta* (ca. 1508), Wickhoff noted:

Such a picture is not actually a narrative, the story is not to be read from the picture, like, for example, from a Greek vase or a fresco by Giotto, but the people are stimulated or reflective, and initially characterised as individualities, resonating more lyrically with the sensations of the landscape than they are linked to each other by any dramatic plot.⁴⁹

And last but not least, Dvořák in 1913, as an editorial note to Wickhoff's lecture on modern painting from 1897, wrote:

In his introductory words Wickhoff spoke of the fact that in all earlier periods the visual arts were a reflection of the whole spiritual culture [geistigen Kultur] of the age.⁵⁰

There was thus already evidence in Wickhoff's texts from the end of the nineteenth century of an interest in the deeper individual notion of the spirit, which was to be stimulated by the art work. This notion, as Dvořák's letters and notes both show, had already been influencing his thinking since 1900. From this point of view, we can therefore observe Dvořák's gradual professional development in the shadow of Wickhoff's art historical method, consequently meaning that Dvořák's elaboration of the new method of paradigmatic art history together with his editorial work on Wickhoff's papers in 1913 does not need to be seen as a coincidence, but rather as two sides of the same coin in terms of the influence exercised by Wickhoff's theoretical focus on the viewer's pictorial experience. The source of this influence may lie in the deep devotion Dvořák felt toward Wickhoff, and Dvořák's elaboration of Wickhoff's rather than Riegl's method of art history can be thus interpreted as the culmination of Dvořák's 'deepest longing to be able to thank [Wickhoff] a little with joy and love' and as the 'confirmation of the general acceptance of Wickhoff's school of art history', as Dvořák wrote to Wickhoff in 1902 would happen sooner or later.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Franz Wickhoff, *Abhandlungen, Vorträge und Anzeigen*, 1: 'In welchen Schichten des Nachdenkens leben diese Kunstfreude, denen es gar nicht in den Sinn kommt, zu fragen, wie sich der Geist des Künstlers zu den Stoffen stellt, die er darstellen wollte, wie er die Stoffe in sich verarbeitet, bezwingt und von seiner Individualität neu gemodelt dem Beschauer vor Augen bringt?'

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 14: 'Es ist ein solches Bild nicht eigentlich erzählend, es ist nicht die Geschichte von dem Bilde abzulesen, wie etwa von einer griechischen Vase oder einem Fresko des Giotto, sondern es sind die Menschen angeregt oder nachdenkend, zunächst als Individualitäten charakterisiert, mehr lyrisch mit der Landschaft zu einer Empfindung zusammenklingend, als durch eine dramatische Handlung untereinander verknüpft.'

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, 21: 'In den einleitenden Worten sprach Wickhoff davon, daß in allen älteren Perioden die bildende Kunst ein Spiegelbild der ganzen geistigen Kultur des Zeitalters war.'

⁵¹ The connection between Wickhoff and Dvořák rather than Riegl and Dvořák can be also supported by the relationship of these art historians toward the modern art – Wickhoff supported Klimt's painting of *Philosophy* for the new Vienna university building in 1900,

Hence, the way Max Dvořák's art history represents the further elaboration of 'Wickhoff's school' can be traced as individual dots that are connected by the interest of both Viennese art historians in Italian Renaissance art and that gradually reveal what both Wickhoff and Dvořák wanted to achieve in their scientific inquiry. These 'dots' can be represented as follows: *1900/1903 – Dvořák wrote his letters to Wickhoff about Giorgione's *Venus* and the importance of the landscape in Giorgione's art in general; concurrently, Dvořák was conducting research on Tintoretto's art in Venice, where he was residing with Wickhoff; *1913 – Dvořák was lecturing on selected works of Renaissance art, in which he repeated his thoughts on Giorgione's *Venus*, this time more clearly showing what use the landscape had served in helping viewers to gain a proper understanding of the painting; concurrently, Dvořák edited the papers by Wickhoff that largely dealt with Giorgione's art as an expression of the 'geistige Kultur' and emphasised the role of the viewer's experience with the work of art; *1918/1920 – Dvořák published his book on Gothic sculpture and painting, in which he described 'art history as the history of the spirit' and emphasised the individual experience of the artist as well as the viewer; concurrently, he was lecturing on the Italian Renaissance of the sixteenth century, and he labelled the late period of that century as Mannerism, which he described as the most individualised form of artistic expression in the history of art.⁵²

If we connect these dots correctly, in the way that this study suggests, the concept of the 'Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte' as a part of the Vienna School of Art History needs to be reinterpreted as the legacy of Franz Wickhoff's School and Max Dvořák's Italian Renaissance Studies.

even though in the time of the Professor-protests he was in Rome. In the same time Riegl was in Vienna but he did not step into the debate for the defence of the modern art. That was because he was not fond of the modern art as it can be evident from his text 'Die Stimmung als der Inhalt der moderner Kunst' from 1899, in which for him the modern art represented the work of more realist painter Max Liebermann. Dvořák on the other hand was an enthusiast of the modern art, as it can be evident in his appreciation of Klimt's designs for the university's *Festsaal*, similarly to Wickhoff's position. Dvořák wrote about his opinion to Šusta on 12 April 1901: 'Klimt's painting made a similar impression on me as it did on you. I also liked Klimt's other paintings very much. I know of no other artist of our time who draws the human body so brilliantly. And Klimt is surely unmatched by any other Austrian artist. Now the rumble against the painting will start again, because the academic senate of the university here wants to protest. The paintings will probably not come to the university at all, but will be purchased for the new modern gallery. In principle, it's annoying, but the paintings will gain and the painters won't care. [Obraz Klimtův na mne udělal podobný dojem jako na Tebe. Také ostatní obrazy Klimtovy se mi velice líbily. Neznám jiného umělce naší doby, který by tak brilantně kreslil lidské tělo. A Klimtovi se jistě jiný z rakouských umělců nemůže rovnat. Teď začne ruml proti obrazu znova, poněvadž akademický senát zdejší university chce podati protest. Obrazy nejspíše vůbec do university nepřijdou, nýbrž zakoupí se pro novou moderní galerii. Principiálně je to k zlosti, ale obrazy tím získají a malíři to bude asi jedno]. Dvořák, *Listy o životě a umění*, 81.

⁵² For a more detailed analysis of Dvořák's interpretation of Mannerism connected to the Italian Renaissance, and especially to Michelangelo as the founder of Mannerism, see Tomáš Murár, 'Max Dvořák's Michelangelo', *Journal of Art Historiography* 25, 2021.

Tomáš Murár is a research fellow at the Department of Historiography and Art Theory of the Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague in the Czech Republic. His research focuses on scientific methodologies of art history developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and on the philosophy of art from sixteenth century until today. He regularly organises international conferences researching the influence of the Vienna School of Art History before and after 1918 (held in 2019, 2021, 2023) and he is the author of numerous articles and book chapters in Czech, English, and German.

murar@udu.cas.cz



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