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Baroque Art in Croatia and the Vienna School of Art History

Dubravka Botica

Introduction

The history of studying Baroque art reflects the development of art history in Croatia. The art of the Baroque period was not in the foreground at the early stages of the field's development, nor was it a topical issue later on, such as contemporary or medieval art. The questions on Baroque did not lead to politically charged discussions, such as art and art criticism of the 1950s or the question of national identity in medieval art of the Adriatic coast. The study of Baroque art in Croatia was heavily influenced by the Vienna School of Art History, its most prominent protagonists and research topics, and this influence was present throughout the entire twentieth century. It can be compared to the issue of cultural heritage conservation, which evolved in Croatia under the direct influence of the Vienna School and Vienna as a political centre, not only by adopting ideas but also by establishing institutions responsible for the protection of cultural heritage during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The paper briefly discusses some aspects of work and methods of *Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte* ('Vienna School of Art History') that have had an impact on Croatian art history.¹ It gives a short overview of the beginnings of art history in Croatia with Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski and Iso Kršnjavi, as well as the most important occurrences that shaped the field's development and cultural sphere at the end of the nineteenth century, with the aim of explaining the great upturn in researching and appraising Baroque art at the beginning of the twentieth century brought about by Gjuro Szabo, who adopted the ideas and theses of Vienna School, especially those of Alois Riegl. Gjuro Szabo's contribution to researching Baroque art is beyond measure but has been neglected so far in favour of other aspects of his outstanding work, primarily that as a conservator. Most researchers have focused on his studies of medieval monuments, i.e. forts, and discussions he had led with

¹ The topic of the Vienna School's influence on Croatian art history has been dealt by many researchers, such as *Bečka škola povijesti umjetnosti* translated by Snješka Knežević, Zagreb: Barbat, 1999 or Libuše Jirsak, *Izidor Kršnjavi und die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2008, as well as different conference proceedings on art history founders, especially Iso Kršnjavi and Gjuro Szabo, which shed light on numerous aspects of the relationship between Croatian art history and Vienna School.

contemporary architects.² The paper analyses Szabo's texts on the question of style, which provide the best insight on his view on Baroque art, as well as his extensive reports about monuments that he wrote as the chief secretary of the National Committee for the Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia ('Zemaljsko povjerenstvo za čuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u Kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji'), which has become the main source for researching Baroque art in continental Croatia. Lastly, the paper shortly discusses Szabo's contemporaries and followers, Artur Schneider and Anđela Horvat,³ the latter of which adopted and continued to use Szabo's methods up to the 1980s, applying them to the same corpus of Baroque art in continental Croatia.

Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte

Julius von Schlosser (1866–1938) introduced the term 'Vienna School of Art History' in his text in 1934.⁴ It refers to several generations of art historians who had taught at the Vienna University advocating different ideas and methods, and who had exerted a far-reaching impact on the development of art history by educating generations of art historians from all countries of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. In the initial stage, one of the fundamental activities was the establishment of institutions⁵ and beginning of teaching art history at University in Vienna in 1847 with Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg (1817–1885) as first *Privatdozent*. During this period when art history was being established as a field of study, the empirical approach was most prevalent, and the main task was to define works of art precisely, to identify, list and classify them. These activities were closely connected with the founding of the museums, f.e. Austrian Museum of Art

² This was well demonstrated by the presentation topics researchers held at the conference dedicated to Szabo in 2015, as well as the conference proceedings published in 2018. See: Marko Špikić, ed, *Gjuro Szabo, Zbornik radova znanstveno-stručnog skupa, serija Hrvatski povjesničari umjetnosti*, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2018.

³ On Anđela Horvat's work see: Irena Kraševac, ed, *Peristil, Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti Radovi sa znanstvenog skupa posvećenog stotoj obljetnici rođenja Anđele Horvat (1911. – 1985.)*, 54, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2011.

⁴ Julius von Schlosser, 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte. Rückblick auf ein Säkulum deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Österreich', *Mitteilungen des Institutes für österreichische Geschichte*, 1934, 13: 2, 141–228. For a detailed, recent account of Vienna School's activity see: Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History. Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847-1918*, University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 2013.

⁵ Most important are *Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* ('Central Commission for the Preservation of Monuments'), founded in 1850, *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* ('Institute for Austrian Historical Research') in 1854 or *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* ('Austrian Museum of Art and Industry') in 1864.

and Industry in which Eitelberger played a key role.⁶ Characteristically for the first period of the Vienna School, he carried out another important project, the art topography of Dalmatia, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens ...* ('Artistic monuments of medieval Dalmatia 1862, reprinted in 1884).⁷

Among the numerous experts at the Vienna School, there were several people whose ideas and works had a key influence on the development of art history in Croatia: Alois Riegl (1858–1905),⁸ second-generation professor, and Max Dvořák (1874–1921), Riegl's successor at the Department of Art History at the Vienna University. Riegl would particularly pave the way for the development of Baroque studies by advocating an approach based on comprehending the principles of artistic development throughout history, in which he included new, hitherto neglected periods in academic research. According to Riegl, *Kardinalfrage der Kulturgeschichte* ('the cardinal question of cultural history') was not classical art, which had hitherto been at the centre of attention, but the transition from the Antiquity to the Middle Ages, which represented a particular projection of the current *fin de siècle* state in the Monarchy into the past.⁹ Riegl believed that each epoch is determined by a specific *Kunstwollen*, i.e. artistic volition that is the driving force of all stylistic changes, which differ in their structure. Each epoch has its place in the universal historical development, and the changes of the artistic volition

⁶ About the beginnings of the scientific development of the field and its connection with museum activities see: Knežević, *Bečka škola*, 8; Matthew Rampley, 'Art history and the politics of Empire: Rethinking the Vienna School', *The Art Bulletin*, 91:4, December 2009, 446–462, 446, Rampley, *The Vienna School*, 16, 21.

⁷ *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Nona, Sebenico, Traù, Spalato und Ragusa*, ('Artistic monuments of medieval Dalmatia in Rab, Zadar, Nin, Šibenik, Trogir, Split and Dubrovnik'), published in 1862, reprinted in 1884. In Croatian translation by Libuše Jirsak: Rudolf von Eitelberger, *Srednjovjekovni umjetnički spomenici Dalmacije: u Rabu, Zadru, Ninu, Šibeniku, Trogiru, Splitu i Dubrovniku: sa 115 ilustracija u tekstu i 26 tabli prema crtežima arhitekta Winfrieda Zimmermanna*, Vienna, 1884, Zagreb: Leykam, 2009.

All works of art of the region were carefully documented in the topography, using systematization and enumeration as the key scientific methods 'This represented one of the key ways in which art historical scholarship attempted to place its inquiries on a scientific footing, through the production of systematic inventories of its object domain.' Rampley, 'Art history and the politics of empire', 450.

⁸ His most important works are *Stilfragen* (Berlin, 1893), *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, 1901), *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom: Vorlesungen aus 1901-1902*, eds Arthur Burda and Max Dvořák, Vienna: A. Schroll, 1908.

⁹ Ján Bakoš, 'From universalism to nationalism. Transformation of Vienna School ideas in Central Europe, art history as a state science', 83. See also: Katharina Scherke, 'Der formale Ansatz Alois Riegls und die Entwicklung nationaler Kunsthistoriographien in der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie – dargestellt am Beispiel Ljubo Karaman', 108. Both in: Robert Born, Alena Janatková, Adam S. Labuda, eds, *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs, Humboldt-Schriften zur Kunst- und Bildgeschichte I*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2004.

'cannot be subjected to value judgement: therefore, all styles have equal value'.¹⁰ In his work *Spätromische Kunstindustrie* ('Late Roman art industry', 1901), Riegl presented and applied the method of studying art history without passing value judgement: art historians must not be influenced by their own or contemporary taste, but they have to take into consideration the *Kunstwollen* of each epoch and its materialization in cultural monuments. In this manner, he contributed to the research of periods that had not hitherto been appraised or had been regarded negatively, such as Baroque, and gave a new definition of a monument, i.e. a work of art.¹¹

However, prior to beginning of the scientific research of Baroque art, this style was 'present' and very popular in interior decoration of high bourgeoisie and nobility in the second half of 19th century in Vienna. Art and especially architecture of the period occupied an important place in the debates about cultural politics in the period of the end of the Monarchy, 'as a visible symbol of imperial identity and as a historical precursor to the present'.¹² For example, curator at Museum of Applied Arts ('Museum für Kunst und Industrie') Albert Ilg (1847–1896) wrote the paper on the future of Baroque style in 1880, praising the style as especially close to Austrian and Viennese character.¹³ Riegl's teaching and his book on the beginnings of Baroque art in Rome, published in 1908, gave new impetus to the study of Baroque art and architecture. An echo of these ideas is also present in Szabo's positive attitude towards Baroque art as an important factor in shaping identity, which he brought to Zagreb.

Art historical methods that were developed in the centre were transmitted to all parts of the Monarchy, and they remained influential even after the break-up of the common state. The main focal points were establishing objective criteria for monument assessment, concentrating on the form, and providing descriptions based on systematized terms.¹⁴ Practical knowledge, stress on museum activities, creating and researching archives and, especially, the preservation of cultural monuments were key components in expert education. The formalism of the Vienna

¹⁰ Original quote: '...ne mogu se razlikovati vrijednosno: stilovi su dakle jednakovrijedni'. Knežević, *Bečka škola*, 8.

¹¹ 'Alois Riegls Intention, die Kunstgeschichte aus den doktrinären Fesseln vorweg determinierten Wertvorstellungen und darauf aufbauender entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Modelle zu lösen und dadurch eine unbelastete Beurteilung vergangener "Kunstwollen" sowie daraus hervorgegangener künstlerischen Leistungen zu gewährleisten, zwangsläufig die Frage nach den neuen Bewertungskriterien des Denkmals aufwerfen musste.' Scherke, 'Der formale Ansatz Alois Riegls', 108.

¹² Rampley, *The Vienna School*, 96.

¹³ More on the topic of the beginning of research of baroque art in Vienna see Birgit Schmidt, 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte und ihre Stellung zur Kunst des Barock', in *Barock since 1630*, eds Agnes Husslein-Arco, Georg Lechner, Alexander Klee, Vienna: Belvedere, 2013, 30-41.

¹⁴ Scherke, 'Der formale Ansatz Alois Riegls', 106.

School – balancing between the universal and particular in art of respective countries, i.e. universal and national art history – marked the art history between the two world wars in Central Europe.¹⁵

Founders' Period – beginnings of art history in Croatia

Researching national art history in Croatia as well as history, archaeology, and history of language and literature reached its full swing in the nineteenth century.¹⁶ As in other Central European countries within the Monarchy, national culture was a subject of particular interest. Culture and nation were treated as the same, and culture in its broadest sense was a key factor in identifying and creating national identity, particularly in marking off one nation from another.¹⁷ The end of the Monarchy proved to be an especially fertile ground for strengthening and fully developing the idea of national determination based on the intertwining of all aspects of cultural heritage.

The middle and second half of the nineteenth century were the times when art history was being established as a scientific study in Croatia. In 1846 the National museum ('Narodni muzej', since 1866 'Zemaljski muzej') was founded,¹⁸ and under the influence from Viennese University and initiative by the bishop of Zagreb Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815–1905) study of art history at the University in Zagreb started in 1878, with Izidor Iso Kršnjavi (1845–1927) as first lecturer. Historian and politician Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816–89), and his work *Dictionary of Yugoslav artists* ('Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih', published 1858–60)¹⁹ is considered to be crucial for the development of art history in Croatia. For

¹⁵ Bakoš, 'From universalism to nationalism', 86–87.

¹⁶ About the beginnings of art history in Croatia see: Marko Špikić, 'Strange parents, unrecognized child. The genesis of Croatian art history in the Vormärz period', *History of art history in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, Jerzy Malinowski, ed, Torun: Society of Modern Art and Tako Publishing House, 2012, 65–72.

¹⁷ 'Angesichts dieser politischen Situation, wurde dem "kulturnationalen" Identifikationprinzipien den Nationsbildungsprozessen der ostmitteleuropäischen Völker eine herausragende Rolle zugewiesen. Die jeweils als das eigene Gut freigelegte und erlebte historische und zeitgenössische Kultur – und damit auch das Kunsterbe und die sie vermittelnde Kunstgeschichtsschreibung – wurden neben der Sprache zu zentralen Kristallisationsmitteln der nationalen Identität, die ihrerseits Treibkraft und gleichzeitig auch Werkzeug der Emanzipationsbewegung war.' 'Vorwort des Herausgebers', Robert Born, Alena Janatková, and Adam S. Labuda, eds, *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der nationale Diskurs, Humboldt-Schriften zur Kunst- und Bildgeschichte I*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2004, 12. See also: Scherke, 'Der formale Ansatz Alois Riegls', 103.

¹⁸ National Museum was founded as result of joint efforts of Čitaonica and Matica Ilirska in Zagreb in collaboration with Croatian-Slavonian economic society ('Hrvatsko-slavonsko gospodarsko društvo').

¹⁹ Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih, 1–5*, Zagreb: Tiskom Narodne tiskarne dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1858–60.

Kukuljević, who was deeply rooted in the Romanticist notion that artistic heritage is the basis and conveyor of national identity, art was closely connected with the question of nation.²⁰ As many other distinguished people of the period, he stemmed from Pan-Slavism, i.e. the Illyrian movement.²¹ Influenced by the Vienna School, his dominant working method was collecting works of art and information about artists, which he published in the *Dictionary*.²² Kukuljević Sakcinski was primarily interested in the Middle Ages, old towns and Gothic art, which he, inspired by the Romanticist ideas, considered to be the carriers of national identity. Baroque art did not arouse too much interest in him as it was too close, too recent, and he mentioned it only incidentally without explicitly naming it.

Kukuljević's interest in old towns and forts is recorded in his work *Some town ruins and towns in the Kingdom of Croatia* ('Njeke gradine i gradovi u Kraljevini Hrvatskoj', 1869). The described monuments became an integral part of the national heritage corpus, and in Kukuljević's opinion, they –i.e. ancient and medieval monuments – presented 'prioritised national heritage',²³ a view which would influence future research for quite some time. His interest in the medieval Zagreb Cathedral is particularly interesting, as he described it unlike anybody else at that time: not only did he provide historical data, but he also wrote about it regarding 'historiography, art, and antiquities'.²⁴ It was precisely the cathedral's renovation that would soon provoke fierce controversy, but it would also contribute to the establishing of art history as a scientific discipline in Croatia. Kukuljević's contribution to monument preservation and the establishment of heritage preservation cannot be overstressed. Having completed *Guidelines for researching, collecting and preserving antiquities in Croatia and Slavonia* ('Naputak za iztraživanje, sakupljanje i čuvanje starina u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji', 1873) and *Memorandum on antiquities in Croatia and Slavonia* ('Promemorija o starinah u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji'), he laid the foundation for the preservation and study of monuments, emphasising

²⁰ 'Razumijevajući kulturu i znanost kao društvene sektore od nacionalnog značaja odnosno važna ideološka sredstva u oblikovanju nacionalne svijesti, Kukuljević je vlastitim organizacijskim i znanstvenim radom postavio institucionalne temelje historiografskih znanosti u cjelini, uključujući i sferu interesa koji se podudara s područjem moderne discipline povijesti umjetnosti.' Ivana Mance, *Zèrcalo naroda. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski: Povijest umjetnosti i politika*, Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2012, 14.

²¹ The Illyrian National Revival was a national, cultural and political movement in Croatia from 1835 to 1848. The main task was to integrate broader social classes into the Croatian nation and to encourage the establishment of institutions needed by the modern society.

²² He donated numerous archaeological items and artwork that he collected through field research to the National Museum, Mance, *Zèrcalo naroda. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski*, 85–86.

²³ Original phrase: 'prioritetna nacionalna baština'. Mance, *Zèrcalo naroda. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski*, 296.

²⁴ Original phrase: 'povjesnice, umjetnosti i starinah'. Mance, *Zèrcalo naroda. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski*, 98.

that the care for national heritage is a statement of patriotism, and that Croatia abounds in monuments which are insufficiently taken care of.²⁵

Kukuljević's ideas long dominated the public and scientific discourse related to monuments, before new generations emerged influenced by the Vienna School. His ideas influenced numerous statements and polemics published in periodicals and daily newspapers, and some of his theses were even adopted by a wider cultural audience. One of the people who popularized and propagated Kukuljević's views was August Šenoa (1838–1881), a writer, editor of *Wreath* ('*Vijenac*') periodical, city senator and archivist, chronicler of contemporary Zagreb, theatre critic, as well as an author of many literary works, articles, journals, travel books, etc. Strongly influenced by the Illyrians, Šenoa expressed his patriotism in a romantic national awakening primarily through language, but also culture and art. In his *Travel books* ('*Putopisi*'), he gave Romanticist descriptions of landscapes, medieval towns, and forts, such as the Okić Fort. In his numerous newspaper articles and feuilletons *Zagrebulje*, he wrote about monuments in Zagreb relying on various archival documents.²⁶ He advocated heritage preservation, although the issue was not at the forefront of his work, and his testimonies about the damage the earthquake of 1880 wreaked on Zagreb and the surrounding area – which he recorded as a city senator – are particularly valuable. In his historical novels, Šenoa faithfully reconstructed the life in medieval cities on the basis of archival documents, but he also researched the eighteenth century, recreating the everyday life in the Baroque period based on historical sources.²⁷ Šenoa's contribution in this aspect of cultural studies has not been sufficiently recognised or studied since the topic of the culture of everyday life has been greatly neglected in Croatia.

The role of Izidor Iso Kršnjavi was also crucial in this period, which has been well recognized and validated in Croatian historiography. Kršnjavi was a founder in the full sense of the word: as already mentioned, he was the first professor of art history at the Zagreb University (1878), he founded the Museum of Arts and Crafts ('*Muzej za umjetnost i obrt*') in 1880, he was an influential head of the Department of Religion and Education ('*Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu*', 1891–95), and he

²⁵ Dragan Damjanović, 'Između Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog i Gjüre Szabe – zaštita spomenika u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj od početka 1860-ih do 1910. godine', Marko Špikić, ed, *Gjuro Szabo, Zbornik radova znanstveno-stručnog skupa*, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2018, 20–21.

²⁶ 'Zagrebulje', 1866, in: Dubravko Jelčić, Krsto Špoljar, eds, *Djela Augusta Šenoa, Zagrebulje i drugi feljtoni*, Zagreb: Globus, 1978, 159.

²⁷ For example, the texts 'Gospodarstvo grada Zagreba prije 100 godina', *Vijenac*, 34, 1877; 'Crtice iz kronike zagrebačke: Broj kuća i žitelja u Zagrebu god. 1785.' and 'Zemljišta svećenička i redovnička na kojima su poslije sagrađene privatne kuće', *Vijenac*, 43, 1879; 'Crkva Svete Uršule', *Vijenac*, 45, 1879, reprinted in: Dubravko Jelčić, Krsto Špoljar, eds, *Djela Augusta Šenoa. Članci, kritike, govori, zapisi, pisma*, vol. 12, Zagreb: Globus, 1978, 284–290, 305, 313–341.

established numerous institutions, greatly shaping and directing the development of art history in Croatia.²⁸

'Distorted' taste and Neo-stylistic restorations – Zagreb Cathedral and St Mark's Church

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the newly awakened interest in monuments also raised awareness about the need for their restoration. The key examples of intended stylistic restorations are two Zagreb medieval churches: the cathedral and St Mark's Church. Both buildings have artistic as well as cultural and political significance, as they bear testimony to the long history in the new metropolis. Their inventory was made over the course of centuries that followed their construction, mostly during the Baroque period. Consequently, the discussions about the need for the buildings' restoration and stylistically uniform refurbishment contain the first discourse on Baroque art in Croatian art history. Naturally, Baroque was predominately viewed negatively. Kukuljević already had an unfavourable attitude towards it, or to be more precise, he disregarded it because he considered the Baroque centuries to be too recent. For him, they were not a stylistic expression of a distant past,²⁹ and thus were not worth writing about. With the exception of Dubrovnik, Kukuljević wrote negatively about Baroque art, especially in cases of Baroque inventory found in medieval churches. Consequently, in 1872 he described the Baroque inventory of St Mark's Church as a result of a 'distorted taste', while the windows did not correspond to the 'style of the church'.³⁰ He was far less critical in

²⁸ As the head of the Department of Religion and Education, Kršnjavi implemented a number of reforms in secondary and higher education. During his administration, a large number of schools and churches were built and renovated (high schools in Zagreb and Sušak, Music Institute ('Glazbeni zavod'), and the completion of the Croatian National Theatre building in Zagreb). He restored cultural and artistic monuments (the restoration of the Zagreb Cathedral and Greek Catholic Church in Križevci). He was the first art history professor at the University of Zagreb (1878–1918), and he encouraged the founding of the Art Society ('Društvo umjetnosti', 1878), Museum of Arts and Crafts (1880), and Crafts School ('Obrtna škola', 1882). He was the first director of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters ('Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora'), and he reorganized the Archeological Museum. For a detailed bibliography, as well as the latest overview of Kršnjavi's activities in all fields, see: *Iso Kršnjavi – veliki utemeljitelj, Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa*, Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević, eds, Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti i Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.

²⁹ Mance, *Zercalo naroda. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski*, 307.

³⁰ Original quote containing the cited phrases: 'Poslie ova spomenuta dva požara izgubi crkva sv. Marka sav prvobitni vid i sliku. U XVII. vijeku bijahu ljudi posvuda izgubili klasičan ukus, i sto godj se je gradilo i snova popravljalo ovoga vijeka, nosi tragove **izkvarenog ukusa**. Osobito izopačeno su sgrade romanskoga i gotičkoga slika u ono doba prilikom popravljanja na užasan način. I naša domovina ima zato dosta žalostnih dokazah na stolnoj crkvi zagrebačkoj i na mnogih inih manastirskih i župnih crkavah i kapelah; ali

his descriptions of foreign Baroque churches, for example, the ones in Rome, because they were more in accordance with the classical norm.³¹ Kukuljević was the first one to write about the Baroque altars and pulpit from the Zagreb Cathedral, thus introducing them into the public discourse of art history. Quite interestingly, he regarded the pulpit (Angel-atlant by Venetian Sculptor Paolo Callalo, 1696) as one of the finest works of art,³² but soon his ideas would give way to a strong current of advocating Neo-stylistic renovations.

Although they were fewer in numbers than their opposition, the supporters of Neo-stylistic purifications belonged to the most powerful ranks of society, with Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, a great patron and one of the most influential people in the Croatian cultural sphere at that time, at their forefront. He viewed the Baroque sculptures in the Zagreb Cathedral extremely negatively, arguing for a neo-Gothic restoration based on plans first made by Friedrich von Schmidt (1825–1891) and later Hermann Bollé (1845–1926): ‘eyesores and botch-ups created during an age when aesthetics lay in a grave and when distorted taste defiled even the most beautiful of buildings’;³³ ‘the church possesses nothing of beauty or artistry’.³⁴ The strong support of the idea of pure style – or, as Strossmayer put it, the idea of ‘reverting the church to its original state’³⁵ – resulted in an aggressive purification of both the cathedral’s (1875–82) and St Marc’s interiors (1879–1902), which especially intensified after the earthquake of 1880. However, for the development of art history and study of Baroque art in Croatia, it is important to mention a text written by Franjo Rački (1828–1894) in 1888, who strongly advocated the neo-Gothic restoration of the cathedral and its inventory, describing its pulpit as ‘no masterpiece even for

malokoja izkvarena je onako, kako župna crkva sv. Marka u Zagrebu. Osobito ona promijeni svoje vanjsko lice skoro sasvim. Mjesto tankih šiljastih i lijepo izkićenih okruglih prozorah načiniše masivne neukusne prozore na oblo, koji **slogu crkve** nimalo ne odgovaraju...’ Cited in: Mance, *Zěrcalo naroda*. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, 307.

³¹ Mance, *Zěrcalo naroda*. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, 320–321.

³² Vlasta Zajec, ‘Izvještaji Artura Schneidera i fotografski izvori za proučavanje nekadašnjih oltara zagrebačke katedrale’, Ljerka Dulibić, ed, *Artur Schneider (1879.-1946.)*. Zbornik radova znanstveno-stručnog skupa, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2016, 193.

³³ Original quote: ‘...grdobe i prikrpine nastale u vijeku kad je estetika u grobu ležala i kad je pokvareni ukus najljepše zgrade grdno kvario.’ Artur Schneider, ‘Strossmayer i religiozno slikarstvo njemačkih nazarenaca’, *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, knj. 252, Umjetničkoga razreda 1*, Zagreb: JAZU, 1935, 1–73. Cited in: Anđela Horvat, ‘Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj’, Anđela Horvat, Kruno Prijatelj and Radmila Matejčić, eds, *Barok u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1982, 8.

³⁴ Original quote: ‘...u cijeloj crkvi nema ništa lijepa ni umjetna’. Cited in: Zajec, ‘Izvještaji Artura Schneidera’, 193.

³⁵ Original quote: ‘...crkvu u prvobitno stanje povratiti’. Cited in: Damjanović, ‘Između Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog i Gjüre Szabe’, 23.

the Baroque period'.³⁶ Although Rački's judgement on the value of the monument is extremely negative, it is – to the best of my knowledge – the first mention of the Baroque style in Croatian written discourse, which appeared in the same year as Heinrich Wölfflin and Cornelius Gurlitt published their books in which they used the term 'Baroque' to describe a stylistic period.³⁷

Neo-stylistic restorations also had strong opponents. Already in 1875, Iso Kršnjavi warned in his text *Let us not demolish antiquities* ('Ne rušimo starine') that many interiors would be stripped bare.³⁸ In this period, the already awakened awareness about the importance of heritage preservation extended to the Baroque works of art, and the heavy damage caused by the earthquake of 1880 contributed to the rise of awareness about the monuments that had been lost.³⁹ A new outlook on the value of works of art emerged, in which even Baroque inventory was appraised positively. It was in such circumstances that Josip Brunšmid (1858–1929), the head of the National Museum Archaeological Department ('Arheološki odjel Narodnog muzeja'),⁴⁰ who was, in fact, the main conservator before the establishment of the National Committee for the Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia in 1910, suggested a four-category classification of monuments in 1906. According to Brunšmid, the last 'most important series of monuments include[d] still functional erect churches and secular buildings',⁴¹ for the preservation of which a commission should be set up, which would oversee the work carried out on edifices 'dating to the end of eighteenth

³⁶ Original quote: '...nije nikakvo remek-djelo niti dobe barocco sloga'. Franjo Rački, 'Žrtvenici u prvostolnoj crkvi', *Glasnik Društva za umjetnost i obrt*, 3:1, Zagreb: Društvo za umjetnost i umjetni obrt, 1888, 30. Cited in: Zajec, 'Izvjestaji Artura Schneidera', 193–194. Franjo Rački (1828–1894) was historian, theologian, journalist and politician, close to bishop Strossmayer in his political views on Slavic question in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy.

³⁷ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien*, München: Bruckmann, 1888; Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstils, des Rococo und des Klassizismus in Belgien, Holland, Frankreich, England*, Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert, 1888.

³⁸ With this text, Kršnjavi wanted to prevent the planned demolition of the Zagreb Stone Gate. See: Damjanović, 'Između Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog i Gjüre Szabe', 23.

³⁹ August Šenoa, 'Stolna crkva zagrebačka poslije potresa', *Zagrebulje V*, Zagreb. Šenoa described the damage the earthquake had caused to the Zagreb Cathedral romantically, pointing out that the church had not crumbled and that it 'was now to be rejuvenated on the basis of the design of ingenious Schmidt'. He regretted that the earthquake had robbed the city of its vistas and sights. Cited in: Jelčić, Špoljar, *Djela Augusta Šenoa*, 311.

⁴⁰ Brunšmid, who was the museum's director from 1895 to the foundation of the National Committee in 1910, performed the role of the chief conservator in the country. See: Damjanović, 'Između Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog i Gjüre Szabe', 25.

⁴¹ Original quote: '...najvažnija serija spomenika jesu još u porabi stojeće crkve i profane građevine'. Cited in: Damjanović, 'Između Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog i Gjüre Szabe', 35.

century or to the end of Empire that hold some relevance'.⁴² It is important to emphasise that only a decade and a half had passed since Baroque was viewed as derogatory and the works of which should be removed from church interiors to the rise of awareness about the necessity for protecting Baroque heritage. This new change sparked the study of Baroque art, which would soon begin with Gjuro Szabo.

Conservators and new approach to Baroque – Gjuro Szabo

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were several events in Zagreb that gave great impetus to the development of heritage preservation and adoption of contemporary theoretical approaches. The aforementioned Neo-stylistic renovations of the cathedral and St Mark's interior and exterior, as well as the damage inflicted by the earthquake of 1880 in Zagreb and the surrounding area, raised awareness about works of art dating from different stylistic periods. Interventions during the new regulation of Zagreb Kaptol, the demolition of the old Kaptol City Hall (1876) and, especially, the Bakač Tower (a part of the Renaissance defensive walls around the cathedral, torn down after fierce discussions in 1906), and finally, the setting up of the Dolac Market (finalized in 1930) provoked numerous, often fierce debates in the Croatian public about the preservation, restoration and demolition of monuments. These events significantly contributed to the rise of awareness about the need for effective heritage preservation, but also to the development of art history as a scientific study.

Gjuro Szabo (1875–1943) played a prominent role in these discussions. During his art history and German philology studies in Vienna (1892–96) and travels to Prague and Nuremberg, he became acquainted with the topical ideas on heritage preservation and research. As he himself remarked on his studies in Vienna,

Jakob Minor⁴³ and (Richard) Heinzel⁴⁴ were his main tutors who introduced him to the knowledge of the vast Germanic world, taught

⁴² Original quote: '...iz vremena do konca XVIII. stoljeća ili do konca "empire" koje imaju neku važnost'. Cited in: Damjanović, 'Između Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog i Gjuro Szabe', 35.

⁴³ Jakob Minor (1855–1912), a German philologist, studied in Vienna and Berlin, worked as a professor at the Vienna University from 1885. He researched German classics and Romanticism, including the social context and position between positivism and *Geistesgeschichte*. <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd117048526.html#ndbcontent>

⁴⁴ Having finished his studies of classical and German philology, Richard Heinzel (1838–1905) worked as a university professor first in Graz (1868–1873) and later in Vienna. He founded the seminar of German philology, present Institute for German Studies ('Institut für Germanistik'), and he was also an expert on medieval and early modern period German literature.

him how to understand the language throughout its different periods and comprehend the laws that have been governing it since ancient times, provided him with the knowledge to understand all branches of life and ways in which the life of a great nation manifests itself: poetry, private life, art and, above all, very important parts: architectural works from the earliest beginnings to the present day.⁴⁵

Although Szabo didn't mention him by name, these sentences were written in the spirit of Alois Riegl and his idea of *Kunstwollen*, which shapes all artwork of a particular period.



Figure 1 Gjuro Szabo, photography from 1939, Ministry of Culture, Zagreb, UZKB-F

Gjuro Szabo returned to Zagreb and soon became the first secretary of the newly founded National Committee for the Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, a position he would hold until his death.⁴⁶ He became the leading authority not only on conservation but also on researching historical monuments. He was interested in continental Croatia, and it can be freely said that he pioneered in researching its art history, as previous researchers had been primarily focused on Dalmatia. Szabo brought the sprouts of contemporary conservation to Croatia and planted them. He vigorously debunked

⁴⁵ Original quote: '... Jakob Minor i Heinzel bili glavni učitelji, koji su ga uveli u poznavanje golemog germanskog svijeta, naučili poznavati i jezik u raznim vremenima i zakone po kojima jezik živi od davnine, naučili poznavanju svih grana života, kako se već život velikog naroda manifestira: i poeziju i privatni život i umjetnost i napose veoma važne dijelove: djela graditeljstva od najranijih početaka do današnjih dana.' Mirko Stanisavljević, 'Prof. Gjuro Szabo o šezdesetogodišnjici', *Narodna starina*, 14: 35, 1935, 93–94.

⁴⁶ Szabo also taught at the Classical Grammar School ('Klasična gimnazija'). He was the director of the Museum of Arts and Craft from 1919 to 1926, and the director of the Zagreb City Museum from 1928 to 1943.

the postulates of stylistic restoration and deduction of hypothetical original artistic integrity from monuments and advocated an immersion into the characteristic spirit of the past, which manifests itself in material artefacts and is capable of embodying collective social memory. Szabo was 'a militant anti-Historicist and an advocate of modern art',⁴⁷ who guided by the motto 'conserve, not restore' opposed the neo-Gothic restoration of the cathedral, especially the removal of its inventory along the lines of purification. He clearly regretted artwork 'being thrown out', as he wrote in the 1920s,⁴⁸ describing the stylistic restorations as an act of vandalism and barbarism. Even greater controversy and divide between the opposed camps was caused by the above-mentioned interventions in the Kaptol urban fabric. Heritage preservation came to the fore for the first time in the Croatian cultural sphere, causing heated discussions for and against these interventions. The demolition of the Bakač Tower, in particular, transcended the scope of being just an issue of heritage preservation, and became a question of politics and world views, causing a conflict between the advocates of Modern art and tradition, the 'young' and 'old', the national idea and the imposition of Historicism.⁴⁹

In the wake of these discussions, the National Committee for the Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments was finally formed in 1910, with Szabo as its chief secretary. In the first *Report on the Committee's work...* ('Izvještaj o radu povjerenstva...') from 1911, Szabo programmatically elaborated the Committee's tasks. He emphasized the need for research and claimed that one needs to recognize and familiarise themselves with heritage before attempting to preserve it.⁵⁰ He considerably extended the definition and scope of items that need to be studied and preserved. Riegl's influence is noticeable in Szabo's thesis that every item related to past generations which speaks of times gone by should be

⁴⁷ Original quote: 'militantni antihistoricist i zagovornik umjetnosti moderne'. Franko Ćorić, 'Gjuro Szabo – hrvatski zagovornik kreativnog konzerviranja', Špikić, ed, *Gjuro Szabo*, 46.

⁴⁸ Original quote containing the cited phrase: '... možda će jednom biti moguće pokazati i istorijat sa slikama sviju oltara, koji su onako skladno **izjureni napolje**, te velikim dijelom sasvim propali'. Cited in: Danko Šourek, 'Virtualna katedrala Artura Schneidera', Dulibić, ed, *Artur Schneider*, 163.

⁴⁹ Despite the fierce opposition from art historians, the Kaptol City Hall and Bakač Tower were demolished. The request for their preservation was signed by: Emilije Laszowski, Josip Brunšmid, Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, Ivan Bojanić, Frane Bulić, Luka Jelić, Lujo Marun, Frano Radić, Tadija Smičiklas, Vjekoslav Klaić, Milan Šenoa, Ferdo Šišić, and others. Marko Špikić, 'Razdoblje borbe i izgradnja dogme – Szabo i konzervatorski principi srednje Europe do 1918.', Špikić, ed, *Gjuro Szabo*, 59–60.

⁵⁰ Gjuro Szabo, 'Izvještaj o radu zemaljskoga povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji u godini 1911. Inventarizacija spomenika kotare Klanjec i Pregrada, godine 1911.', *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, n.s. XII*, 1912, 201–295, 202.

preserved:⁵¹ 'Every item that is essentially connected with the life and work of past generations that used to inhabit these lands must be considered a monument.'⁵² This attitude is best reflected in Szabo's descriptions of even the smallest of chapels as well as lists of liturgical vessels he made during his visits, an endeavour in which he was supported by Archbishop Antun Bauer (1856–1937).⁵³ At the Vienna School, traditional heritage and its legacy was considered as a part of visual and architectural heritage. Szabo transmitted this idea to Croatia, emphasizing the importance of small, poor chapels:

[T]he Committee wants to introduce our people to their monuments, which have remained almost completely unknown even to those who have been living in their vicinity all of their lives. It wants our educated people to recognize in these—not very colossal but nevertheless valuable—monuments the beauty of our forefathers' truly artistic work, even the modest one in poor chapels. And whoever notices this beauty will come to love these monuments and will not remain indifferent when it comes to their preservation. The salvation of these monuments lies only in the recognition of their historical and artistic value because we cannot appreciate that which we do not know.⁵⁴

Szabo's article *On style, 'uniformity of style' and artistic creation* ('O stilu, "jedinstvu stila" i umjetničkom stvaranju') from 1914 is particularly interesting,

⁵¹ Riegl equated historical with artistic monuments somewhat earlier, in 1903. See Špikić, 'Razdoblje borbe i izgradnja dogme', 68–69.

⁵² Original quote: 'Mi moramo svaki predmet bitno vezan o život i rad minulih generacija što su na ovom tlu prebivali, smatrati spomenikom.' Szabo, 'Izvješaj o radu zemaljskog povjerenstva', 1912, 206. Szabo also wrote: '... te se unesu u inventar spomenici, prehistorijskog, rimskog i sredovječnog doba, te najglavniji spomenici novoga vremena sve do potkraj XVIII. vijeka, i to tako da se važniji odmah detaljno snime... [a treba uvrstiti i] karakteristične drvene građevine seljačkog puka'.

⁵³ About Archbishop Bauer's memorandum from 1911 saying that Szabo's task was in the Church's interest see: Martina Juranović Tonejc, 'Gjuro Szabo i zaštita pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta u službi zaštite spomenika', Špikić, ed, *Gjuro Szabo*, 78–79.

⁵⁴ Original quote: '... želi Povjerenstvo da upozna naš svijet s njegovim spomenicima, koji su gotovo sasvim nepoznati ostali i onima koji u njihovoj blizini sav svoj vijek borave. Želi da naši izobraženi ljudi vide i u ovim ne gorostasnim ali vrijednim spomenicima, ljepotu pravog umjetničkog rada naših pređa pa bio taj i skroman u siromašnoj kapelici. A tko god tu ljepotu zapazi, zavoljet će ove spomenike pa neće više ostati ravnodušan kada se bude poradilo o njihovom opstanku. Spas je spomenicima samo u spoznaji njihove historijske i umjetničke vrijednosti, jer ono što ne poznajemo, ne možemo ni cijeliti.' Gjuro Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Krapina i Zlatar', *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 13: 1, 1914, 103–204, 203.

especially if one takes into consideration his viewpoint and style of writing.⁵⁵ The title contains an ambitious reference to Riegl's *Stilfragen* ('questions of style'). Written in a unique manner, the text – picturesque and impassioned – powerfully reflects Szabo's personal views and polemical fervour, much more than his *Reports* written in a formal register. Examining the way in which stylistic characteristics had been interpreted in the nineteenth century, Szabo pointed out the misuse of the term 'style' in Croatia during past several decades and – especially – the idea of uniformity of style.⁵⁶ He discussed the issue of 'completing' monuments and stylistic renovations, which had happened a few decades before, especially the one of the cathedral, openly criticizing the renovators: '[N]ot only did they supplement unfinished works of our forefathers according to their imaginary principles of "the right style", but they also demolished true artistic creations when it turned out that they had not been made "according to this real style" and that they were not "stylistically uniform"'.⁵⁷ He described the idea of 'uniformity of style' in buildings that, such as the cathedral, took longer time to build as particularly problematic.

From all of the texts in Szabo's oeuvre, the aforementioned article was probably most influenced by Riegl's theses. Szabo accordingly believed that monuments spoke of the cultural continuity of Croatian people, that they were an emanation of the spirit of past generations.⁵⁸ *Kunstwollen* and the spirit of the age permeate Szabo's passages:

We believe the spirit of the age is the one that generates style and form, which makes the two only a reflection of opinions, feelings, emotions – in short, everything that constitutes life in a particular period. [...] For us, style is something that is not *vogelfrei*, but something that is characteristic of different periods and nations; we believe that **the spirit of the age is the creator of styles**, so when there is no such spirit, the imitation of form from another period is nothing but a masquerade.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Gjuro Szabo, 'O stilu, "jedinstvu stila" i umjetničkom stvaranju', *Hrvatska prosvjeta*, *Mjesečnik 'Kola hrvatskih književnika'*, 2, February 1914, 95–105.

⁵⁶ Szabo, 'O stilu', 95.

⁵⁷ Original quote: '... ne samo da su stali nadopunjati nedovršena djela otaca po svojim umišljenim zakonima po "pravom stilu", već su i rušili prave umjetničke tvorevine, kad se je pokazalo da nijesu baš sasvim "po tom pravom stilu", da nisu "jedinstvene u stilu".' Szabo, 'O stilu', 96.

⁵⁸ Danijel Vojak and Filip Tomić, 'Konzervatorski koncepti Gjuro Szabe na primjeru restauriranja samoborskog Starog grada prije Prvog svjetskog rata', Špikić, ed, *Gjuro Szabo*, 107–108.

⁵⁹ Original quote: 'Mi vjerujemo, da je duh vremena onaj, koji stvara sebi stil i forme, pa su oni dakle samo odraz mišljenja, osjećanja, ćućenja – u kratko svega života pojedinih epoha [...] Nama je stil nešto što nije "vogelfrei", već vlastitost pojedinih epoha i pojedinih naroda,

Szabo and study of Baroque

In the article *On style, 'uniformity of style'...*, Szabo also discussed the topic of researching and preserving Baroque heritage, pointing out to the specific reluctance restorers had towards the Baroque: 'It is especially important that the conveyors of this erroneous viewpoint **neither tolerated nor understood the Baroque period** and its art. Today we see and acknowledge that this era created great works, grand in both volume and number, which by far surpassed the need of their own time.'⁶⁰ In his words, the restorers had 'scraped the inside of churches, as if monuments were worn-out clothes'.⁶¹ He particularly resented the over zeal of local restorers in removing Baroque art:

St Stephen's Church in Vienna is still completely furnished with Baroque altars, and when they tried to remove them, they realised the altars fitted in the church much better than any imitation, that **they were organically linked to it**. The Baroque world felt that a room was not there to stay empty, it felt space differently from us, so it filled rooms with – in our opinion – too much furniture precisely because it wanted to accentuate the sense of space in its own way.⁶²

Szabo's polemical article is the first valuation and analysis of Baroque art in Croatia, with a short and precise analysis of distinctively Baroque arrangement of space, one of the most prominent features of the period.

As Anđela Horvat pointed out, the negative attitude towards Baroque art, which was very much present at the end of the nineteenth century, was discarded through the activities of the National Committee for the Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments in Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia primarily due to Gjuro Szabo. She also indicated that Szabo was one among the first to use the term

mi držimo da je **duh vremena stvaratelj stilova**, pa kad nema tog duha, onda je imitacija forma nekog vremena u drugo vrijeme tek maskerada.' Szabo, 'O stilu', 97–98.

⁶⁰ Original quote: 'Osobito je značajno, da nosioci ovih krivih nazora **nijesu trpjeli a ni pojмили barokno doba i njegova djela**. Mi danas vidimo i priznajemo da je to doba stvorilo golemo djelo, grandiozna i opsegom i brojem, koja su nadmašila daleko pravu potrebu svog vremena.' Szabo, 'O stilu', 97

⁶¹ Original quote: '...ostrugali crkvu, kao da su spomenici ponošene košulje'. Szabo, 'O stilu', 104.

⁶² Original quote: 'U Stjepanovoj crkvi u Beču stoje još svi barokni oltari, a kad su ih pokušali maknuti, vidjeli su da oni pristaju u crkvu bolje od svake imitacije, da su **upravo organički vezani s njome**. Barokni je svijet osjećao, da nije prostorija zato tu da ostane prazna, on je prostornost osjećao drugačije od nas, pa je pometao i suviše pokušstva – po našem shvaćanju – baš zato, jer je htio prostornost na svoj način istaknuti.' Szabo, 'O stilu', 104.

'Baroque' in Croatian art history.⁶³ Szabo actively contributed to the preservation and study of Baroque monuments. Invoking Brunšmid's monument classification from 1906, he stated in the Committee's statute that eighteenth-century monuments fell within the Committee's purview, i.e. that they should be protected. The restoration of the Church of the Holy Cross in Križevci, which Szabo led in collaboration with the architect Stjepan Podhorski (1875–1945) in 1911, best illustrates the change of attitude towards the Baroque. Szabo supported the idea of preserving the Baroque vault and not replacing it with a hypothetical Gothic vault or wooden coffered ceiling. The awareness about the need for preserving the Baroque layer in the church was also partially motivated by the masterpiece of Baroque sculpture, Francesco Robba's (1698–1757) *Altar of the Holy Cross* (1756), which was relocated there from the Zagreb Cathedral.⁶⁴ Curiously enough, several decades after Baroque altars had been thrown out from the cathedral, a Baroque altar originally commissioned for cathedral, became a valuable argument for preserving this stylistic layer in the church in Križevci.

In the context of researching Baroque art, Szabo's *Reports on the Committee's work...* have immense value. Szabo first visited the monuments of former Klanjec and Pregrada Districts, where he noticed strong connections with Styria, a research topic that is still current in the context of the transfer of artists and artistic influences. He then visited the districts of Krapina, Zlatar, Ivanec, and Varaždin (the report on the latter has remained in manuscript form).⁶⁵ In his methodology and text structure, Szabo laid the foundation for the scientific study of Baroque monuments – the use of sources and on-the-spot autopsy of monuments – in the context of historical and artistic topographic research. He reconstructed the history of monuments using information from parish chronicles, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski's *Inscriptions*,⁶⁶ canonical visitations and other archival documents. Encompassing everything from secular and sacral architecture, over furnishings, to the works of applied arts, Szabo gave a detailed description of each monument, followed by their analysis and interpretation. The same principle was later adopted by Anđela Horvat in her overview of artwork in north-western Croatia,⁶⁷ as well as by the authors of

⁶³ Horvat, 'Barok', 9. See also Anđela Horvat's foreword to the second edition of Gjuro Szabo's book *Kroz Hrvatsko zagorje*, Zagreb: Spektar, 1974 (first edition in 1940).

⁶⁴ Ćorić, 'Gjuro Szabo', 48.

⁶⁵ Gjuro Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Krapina i Zlatar', *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 13: 1, 1914, 103–204; Gjuro Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Ivanec', *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 14: 1, 1919, 22–97.

⁶⁶ Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Natpisi sredovječni i novovjekni na crkvah, javnih i privatnih zgradah itd. u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, Zagreb: Knjižara Jugoslavenske Akademije, 1891.

⁶⁷ Anđela Horvat, 'Pregled spomenika kulture s područja općine Klanjec', *Kaj*, 3, 1979, 15–70; Anđela Horvat, 'Pregled spomenika culture područja općine Zabok', *Kaj*, 1, 1980, 67–125; Anđela Horvat, 'Pregled spomenika kulture općine Pregrada', *Kaj*, 2–3, 1985, 167–208; Anđela Horvat, 'O spomenicima kulture općine Krapina', *Kaj*, 1: 13, 1982, 87–142.

the *Croatian Art Topography* ('Umjetnička topografija Hrvatske') series published by the Institute of Art History in Zagreb.

There are two dominant aspects in Szabo's *Reports...* on the corpus of Baroque monuments that testify to the influence of Riegl's theses. Firstly, the notion of *Kunstwollen* of the Baroque style, which Szabo interpreted as a collective achievement of an epoch, is strongly present. This is apparent in a number of instances. One of them is his description of the Church of Madonna of Jerusalem at Trški Vrh, one of the most important examples of Baroque *Gesamtkunstwerk* in Croatia, the construction of which started in 1751. Szabo characterised the style of its architecture and furnishings as 'proud and self-confident' in which there is no copying.⁶⁸ According to Szabo, the most prominent painter of the period, Ivan Krstitelj (Ioannes Baptista) Ranger (1700–1753), is '...a man of his time. Just as the Baroque era wanted magnificent rooms for its great people, so it wanted to decorate them in the same manner for its greatest lord, God Almighty'.⁶⁹

The second aspect of Szabo's research, which reflects his adoption of Vienna School ideas, is the already mentioned inclusion of smaller monuments as well as objects of artistic craftsmanship into the corpus of cultural heritage and advocacy of their preservation. One such example is the Chapel of St George in Lepoglava built by the Pauline Order: '[T]he Chapel of St George in Purga near Lepoglava is a Baroque masterpiece: in both construction and furnishing, it is the most successfully executed creation.'⁷⁰ He carefully described and analysed the chapel, paying close attention to its spatial relations, and provided its floor plan and photographs of the interior.⁷¹ (Figure 2) The second example is the Chapel of Suffering Jesus in Kostel. In its description, Szabo pointed out to the chapel's terrible state and stressed the need for its renovation.⁷²

Szabo was especially impressed by the Baroque arrangement of space complemented by illusionistic paintings, which he observed in both small chapels and large churches:

⁶⁸ Original quote containing the cited phrase: 'U razdoblju od manje nego dva decenija ona je i opremljena i oslikana, pa se zato i pokazuje potpuno cjelovita. I najmanji komadić posuđa nosi biljeg svoga vremena; **ponosni i samosvjесni barok** nije htio ni u čem imitacije i slabašnoga kopiranja.' Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Krapina i Zlatar', 159.

⁶⁹ Original quote: '...čovjek svog vremena. Kako je barokno doba željelo veličajne prostorije za svoje velike ljude, tako ih je htjelo prirediti i svom najvećem gospodaru gospodinu bogu.' Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Ivanec', 34.

⁷⁰ Original quote: '[K]apela sv. Jurja u Purgi kod Lepoglave remek je djelo baroka: i gradnjom i opremom izvrsno uspjela tvorevina.' Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Ivanec', 54.

⁷¹ Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Ivanec', 81–82.

⁷² 'Nedaleko od župne crkve stoji skroz zapuštena kapelica trpećег Isusa (sl. 91). ... Do okrugle glave lađe prislanja se zvonik s jedne a svetište s druge strane. Žalibože nema sredstava, da se ova skroz originalna kapelica od propasti spasi.' Szabo, 'Izvještaj o radu zemaljskoga povjerenstva', 233



Figure 2 Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Ivanec', 82-83, (1914) Chapel in Purga Lepoglavka

‘Thus, this work shows us the last section of Pauline painting, revealing that Paulines boldly kept up with the spirit of their time, not caring for the postulates of a stiff tradition. They gave themselves completely to the Baroque period, abundantly using vibrant Baroque colours, its exuberant – for our taste, even too exuberant – compositions, with even more exuberant ornaments, but the refinement of true art always eliminated any intrusiveness and gilded all that effort with a special charm. And yet, the Baroque painters always made sure that their paintings weren’t executed at the expense of spatiality, because the Baroque paid particular attention to space, which was understood differently than it is today. For them, who in their innumerable, unbelievably gigantic buildings created enormous space, it was always important that paintings should increase rather than diminish spatiality.’⁷³

⁷³ Original quote: ‘Tako nam ova slikarija pokazuje zadnji odsjek pavlinskog slikarstva, pa nam se otkriva, kako su pavlini smjelo koracali duhom vremena, ne mareći za postulate ukočene tradicije. Oni su se posve podali svom baroknom vremenu, oni su upotrebljavali obilno žarke boje baroka, njegove bujne i za naš osjećaj i prebujne kompozicije, sa još bujnijim ornamentima, nu uvijek je otmenost prave umjetnosti uklonila svaku nametljivost i pozlatila sav taj rad nekim osobitim čarom. A ipak su barokni slikari uvijek pazili, da im slikarija ne bude na štetu prostornosti, jer je barok pazio osobito na prostor, koji je drukčije

It is also important to mention that the high quality of the *Reports...* graphic design – which includes monuments' ground plans, drawings, and photographs of their interior and exterior – set it apart from other published work of that period. (figures 3 and 4) Although Szabo's *Reports...* were less polemical than some of his other work, such as the article *On style...*, his peculiar personal style and viewpoint, especially his critical stance on nineteenth-century art and Historicism, is still very much apparent: 'Everything that was painted in the nineteenth century should be identified as tasteless (the parish church in Zlatar, the arcaded walkway around the chapel in Trški Vrh, etc.).'⁷⁴



Figure 3 Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Krapina i Zlatar, 160-161, (1919), Chapel in Trški Vrh

Figure 4 Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Krapina i Zlatar, 162-163 (1919), Chapel in Trški Vrh

Szabo's interest in Zagreb Baroque monuments, as well as his interest in researching Gradec ('Upper Town' in Zagreb) and the cathedral, made significant contribution to the study of Baroque art in continental Croatia: '[T]he capital city of Zagreb deserves the utmost attention, especially the cathedral with its Treasury.'⁷⁵ He regretted that the Baroque alterations made to the cathedral in the seventeenth – namely, the erection of the old bell tower (1633) and instalment of Bishop Vinković's portal (1640)⁷⁶ – were removed, as they were considered to be exceptionally poor in

pojmió no što ga mi pojmió. Njima, koji su u svojim bezbrojnim upravo nevjerovatno gigantskim građevinama stvarali silu prostora, njima je bila uvijek briga, da se slikarstvom prostornost poveća, a ne smanji.' Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Ivanec', 86.

⁷⁴ Original quote: 'Sve što je XIX. vijek naslikao, mora se nazvati neukusnim (župna crkva u Zlataru, cinktura oko kapele u Trskom Vrhú itd.)'. Szabo, 'Spomenici kotara Krapina i Zlatar', 137.

⁷⁵ Original quote: '[G]lavni grad Zagreb zasluđuje dakako najveću pažnju, posebice u njemu katedrala s riznicom.' Szabo, 'Izvještaj o radu zemaljskoga povjerenstva', 206.

⁷⁶ The portal mirrors the form of the portal from the Ják Abbey, Hungary, but it is not its imitation. 'Barokni majstor ne zna "imitirati", on je narudžbu izveo i stvorio barokno djelo, uzevši od svog originala samo raspored.' Szabo, 'O stilu', 102.

the nineteenth century. He kept returning to the subject of Zagreb and its architecture,⁷⁷ and in his later works he gradually started writing more from the position of a cultural historian rather than a conservator or an art historian.⁷⁸

Associates and students – Artur Schneider and Anđela Horvat

Another art historian who, alongside Gjuro Szabo, played a significant role in the early stages of studying Baroque art in Croatia was Artur Schneider (1879–1946). He studied in Vienna, and was particularly interested in the Renaissance and Baroque, as well as theatre. He was the first one to use the term ‘Rococo’ in a public lecture *Rococo and its culture* (‘Rokoko i njegova kultura’) that he held on 22 February and 19 April 1907. Schneider worked as a long-time professor at the Department of Art History in Zagreb teaching courses on Renaissance and Baroque art. From the academic year of 1919–20 to his retirement in 1943, he held a regular course on Baroque art during the summer semester at the aforementioned department.⁷⁹ In addition to his work as a university professor, Schneider carried out a remarkable project of enumerating and photographing monuments across Croatia (1937–40), an undertaking with which he paved the way for generations of future researchers.⁸⁰ In the corpus of monuments that he recorded, Baroque works of art in continental Croatia are numerically well represented. As Schneider himself pointed out, ‘the Baroque art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left a significant mark on the entire Croatian culture, especially that of Zagreb’.⁸¹

At the Department of Art History, Željko Jiroušek (1911–1997) and Tihomil Stahuljak (1918–2007)⁸² also partook in researching Baroque art in continental Croatia and Zagreb, but their activity falls outside the scope of this paper. The true upholder of Szabo’s ideas was Anđela Horvat. Just like him, she spent her entire life working as a conservator, from which stemmed her interest in the Baroque art of continental Croatia. Her methodology was based on a direct contact with the

⁷⁷ All of Szabo’s work on Zagreb was compiled in the publication: Snješka Knežević, ed, *Gjuro Szabo, O Zagrebu*, Zagreb: Zagrebački holding, 2012.

⁷⁸ Tihomil Stahuljak, *Gjuro Szabo. Djelo jednog života*, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti, 1995, 142.

⁷⁹ Josipa Alviž and Jasmina Nestić, ‘Artur Schneider i nastava povijesti umjetnosti na Mudroslovnom fakultetu u Zagrebu’, Dulibić, ed, *Artur Schneider*, 46.

⁸⁰ About the project and list of photographs see: Đuro Vandura, Sanja Cvetnić, and Borivoj Popovčak, *Schneiderov fotografski arhiv: hrvatski spomenici culture i umjetnosti*, Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora, 1999.

⁸¹ Original quote: ‘... barok XVII. i XVIII. stoljeća dao istaknuto obilježje cjelokupnoj kulturi hrvatskoj, a napose zagrebačkoj.’ Artur Schneider, ‘Popisivanje i fotografsko snimanje umjetničkih spomenika zagrebačkih godine 1937.’, *Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti za godinu 1936/37.*, 50, 1938, 148.

⁸² Tihomil Stahuljak published Szabo’s biography, *Gjuro Szabo djelo jednog života*, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 1995.

monuments, maximally objective criteria for analysis, the avoidance of value judgement, inclusion of all monument types, and use of archival sources. Her approach resulted in a remarkable contribution to art history in the form of numerous written works, from which one should single out *Between Gothic and Baroque* ('Između gotike i baroka', 1975). In her book, Horvat was the first one after Szabo to meticulously research and process monuments of continental Croatia, recognizing their *Kunstwollen*, which manifested itself as a pluralism of stylistic phenomena.⁸³ This was especially important because at that time a majority of researchers still had not abandoned stylistic classification, which quite often included value judgement, and were primarily focused on researching the art of coastal Croatia.

Conclusion

The idea of an all-encompassing style that manifests itself in all aspects of artistic creation is perhaps the most present legacy of the Vienna School in Croatian art history, which has long been preserved. In the foreword to the book *Baroque in Croatia* ('Barok u Hrvatskoj'), Milan Prelog (1919–1988) wrote about a stylistic expression that was present in all types of art, even the smallest ones. He also emphasized how Baroque permeated even folk art, which has been perceived since nineteenth-century Romanticism as an inherent expression of national identity.

Similarly, Ađela Horvat wrote that Baroque was not just a style but a 'universal culture of that period',⁸⁴ which was first brought by the Jesuits and high-ranking feudal lords and later gradually adopted by all social classes, engaging even the broadest social strata.⁸⁵ It was precisely this characteristic of the Baroque style – its ability to encompass all social classes, not just the elite – that was particularly stressed in art historical texts during the socialist period. By using this kind of narrative, an artistic style of the ruling strata became appropriate for research in a period that emphasised social equality.⁸⁶ Thus, the idea of an all-encompassing manifestation of style, which formed under the auspices of the Vienna School, became an argument that justified researching the Baroque period through different contexts and narratives in a completely different political and social context.

⁸³ Ađela Horvat, *Između gotike i baroka. Umjetnost kontinentalnog dijela Hrvatske od oko 1500 do oko 1700*, Zagreb: Društvo historičara umjetnosti NRH, 1975. See also: Dubravka Botica, 'Današnje čitanje teza Ađe Horvat. Arhitektura XVII stoljeća u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj "Između gotike i baroka"', *Peristil*, 54, 2011, 143–150.

⁸⁴ Original quote: 'sveopća kultura tog vremena'. Horvat, 'Barok', 3.

⁸⁵ 'Općeevropska estetika u doba baroka prodiere u našu sredinu s feudalnim dvorcem kao i s crkvom, odnosno kapelom, pilom, javnom plastikom, javnim raspelom ili kojim drugim oblikom gotovo sve do posljednjeg sela.' Horvat, 'Barok', 5

⁸⁶ Dubravka Botica, 'Baroque in Croatia. Presentation of baroque culture in Croatia in the socialist period', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 15, December 2016.

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