

Identity built on myth. Fact and fiction in the foundational narrative of the 'Cracow School of Art History' and its relations to Vienna¹

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To the memory of Ada Hajdu

The 'Cracow school' as 'an enclave of Viennese art history'²

Strategies of remembering and forgetting, or 'memory and 'oblivion' can only have relevance if they are connected to an anticipation of the future, as Wessel Reinink pointed out in the twenty-ninth Congress of Art History held in Amsterdam in 1996.³ This contention is supported by Hubert Locher's excellent study on the role of handbooks in the nineteenth century.⁴ The process of creating canons and archives of collective cultural memory has been a widely discussed topic in the history and anthropology of culture over the last decade. The works of Jan and Aleida Assmann, in particular, have uncovered the crucial mechanisms of recalling the past to create a present-day identity. Aleida Assmann has analysed the structure of storage and functional memory, showing that elements of storage memory can be retrieved to fulfil the specific goals of functional memory.⁵ For art historiography, the analysis of the process of recalling, assimilating and re-constructing the past is a methodologically meaningful way of identifying contemporary aims; in this case, the aim of maintaining the distinctiveness of Cracow's art historical tradition.

In his study of continuity and shifts in the so-called 'Vienna School of Art History', Ján Bakoš identified the core features underlying the continuity of the School's art historical research: the idea of art history as an academic discipline founded on historical evidence and a strong belief in the validity of its

¹ This research forms part of the project *Art Historiographies in Central and Eastern Europe. An Inquiry from the Perspective of Entangled Histories*. ERC Starting Grant, 2018–2023 (terminated in July 2021 after an unexpected death of Ada Hajdu in 2020).

² Adam Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki. Studia i szkice*, Kraków: Universitas, 2005, 67.

³ Wessel Reinink, 'Opening address', in: A.W. Reinink, Jeroen Stumpel (eds), *Memory & Oblivion. Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996*, Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999, 5–10, here 7.

⁴ Hubert Locher, 'Das Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte: die Vermittlung kunsthistorisches Wissens als Anleitung zum ästhetischen Urteil', in: A.W. Reinink, Jeroen Stumpel (eds), *Memory & Oblivion. Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996*, Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999, 69–87.

⁵ Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 126–130.

methodology.⁶ In Cracow, the term 'school' emerged in connection with the earliest pupils of its first institutionally rooted scholar, Marian Sokołowski. Both Stanisław Turczyński⁷ and Julian Pagaczewski wrote lengthy obituaries of Sokołowski that described him as the perfect teacher, whose dream was to 'educate the young generation of researchers "methodically"'.⁸ Pagaczewski (professor extraordinarius since 1917, obtained a second chair in art history at Jagiellonian in 1921),⁹ Sokołowski's favourite pupil, can be considered his first *de facto* successor as Jerzy Mycielski, who succeeded Sokołowski to the chair of art history, mainly relied on traditional methods of attribution and connoisseurship. Sokołowski's teaching would in turn be passed on by Pagaczewski to his pupil and friend Adam Bochnak, who obtained PhD under Pagaczewski in 1920; starting from 1948 he was a contract professor and in 1953 he gained a chair of art history. The term 'Cracow School', used – as Stefan Muthesius claimed – 'copiously' by the influential scholar of the next generation, Adam Małkiewicz,¹⁰ is in reality only applicable to the limited group of Sokołowski, Pagaczewski and Bochnak.

This paper presents an analysis of the methodological approaches first introduced to Cracow by Sokołowski by the symbolic gesture of his turn towards Vienna, and a detailed demystification of its genesis and endurance. Called 'the father of art history in Poland', Sokołowski created a coherent Polish model of art historical practice and theory and defined himself from the very beginning as a pupil of the Vienna School.¹¹ In a *curriculum vitae* submitted in 1876 to the Jagiellonian University, Sokołowski claimed that he had studied art history in Vienna 'under the supervision of Rudolf Eitelberger and Moritz Thausing'.¹² While unsupported by the archival sources,¹³ this choice of mentorship has great symbolic significance in indicating the intended methodological approach of the new department. In Polish art historical discourse, references to the Vienna School would prove central to defining the identity of the Cracow milieu. The 'Cracow School', as thoroughly analysed by Stefan Muthesius, was highly institutionalised by its involvement with the university and a Polish Academy of Learning. Muthesius also

⁶ Ján Bakoš, *Discourses and Strategies: The Role of the Vienna School in Shaping Central European Approaches to Art History and Related Discourses*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 2013, 11.

⁷ Stanisław Turczyński, *Maryan Sokołowski 1839–1911. Wspomnienie pośmiertne i bibliograficzny spis prac*, Kraków, 1912.

⁸ Turczyński, *Maryan Sokołowski 1839–1911*, 8.

⁹ Adam Małkiewicz, 'Julian Pagaczewski (1874–1940)', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 36, 2011, 23.

¹⁰ Stefan Muthesius, 'The Cracow school of modern art history: the creation of the method and the institution 1850–1880', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 8, June 2013, 2.

¹¹ On Sokołowski, see Magdalena Kunińska, *Historia sztuki Mariana Sokołowskiego*, Kraków: Universitas, 2014.

¹² Curriculum submitted for the habilitation: Cracow, Jagiellonian University Archive: file no. AUJ, WF II 121: *Teczki akt habilitacyjnych*.

¹³ First noted by Lech Kalinowski, 'Marian Sokołowski', *Stulecie katedry historii sztuki UJ (=Zeszyty Naukowe UJ: Prace z Historii Sztuki)*, 19, 1990, 11–35. In reality, Sokołowski studied history under Ottokar Lorenz, Max Büdinger and H. Zeissberg; palaeography under Theodor von Sickel and the history of Rome under J. Aschenbach, as apparent from the student transcript in the Archive of Vienna University (Archiv der Universität Wien, Rektoratsarchive (14. Jh.–20. Jh.), *Studentenevidenz (Matrikel, Nationale) (1377–1916)*.

has demonstrated the important role played by the obituaries and biographies of key figures written by Adam Małkiewicz, Bochnak's pupil, in consolidation of the coherent and homogenic image of Cracow's intellectual tradition:

Adam Bochnak, a prominent representative of the school in the mid-twentieth century, could praise ... 'the perfection of the scientific methods, the enormous [degree] of exactitude and precision...' of his teacher Julian Pagaczewski [...]. Bochnak himself was praised for the precision of his work: 'Owing to [his] unusual erudition he could spot the smallest factual mistake, catch the smallest error...'. According to his pupil, Adam Małkiewicz, Bochnak was the 'great continuator' of the School [...].¹⁴

Małkiewicz, who for many years published leading studies on art historiography in Cracow, was responsible for elaborating and strengthening a specific coherent vision of this environment, while at the same time emphasising its links to the Vienna School. Beginning with a 1983 lecture in Vienna, he became the key advocate of the 'Cracow School' that has enjoyed uncontested prominence until recently.¹⁵ In 2005 *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki. Studia i szkice* [From the History of Polish Art History. Studies and Essays], a collected volume of previously published art historiographical studies was published and its contextualising narrative strategies are worth noting. While one part of the book is devoted to the profiles of individual scholars, another, entitled 'History – Methods – Problems', is dedicated to the study of theoretical topics, including the relationship of Polish art history to the Vienna School. This is similar to the model proposed by Julius Schlosser and adopted in Cracow by Adam Bochnak in both his *Zarys dziejów polskiej historii sztuki* [The survey of the History of Polish Art History] of 1948 and *Historia sztuki na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim* [Art History at the Jagiellonian University] of 1968.¹⁶ Here Bochnak briefly discusses the figure of Sokołowski, and then devotes more space and attention to his pupils, demonstrating the evolutionist ideology of the Cracow group. What is more, in 1964, Tadeusz Mańkowski proposed an alternative name for art history in Cracow: the School of Marian Sokołowski.¹⁷ By doing this he recognised, as can be assumed, the contribution of the individuals to the 'school' and established a line master-pupil relation.

This way of representing the history of the discipline in biographies of prominent figures lasted until the second decade of the twenty-first century when

¹⁴ Muthesius, 'The Cracow school of modern art history', 32.

¹⁵ See Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*; Adam Małkiewicz, 'Die Kunstgeschichte in Polen und die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte', in: Hermann Fillitz and Martina Pippal (eds), *Akten des XXV Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Wien 4.–10. September 1983*, Bd. 9, Wien: Böhlau, 1985, 157–160.

¹⁶ Adam Bochnak, *Zarys dziejów Polskiej historii sztuki*, (*Polska Akademia Nauk, Historia Sztuki w Monografiach*, vol. 22), Kraków: PAU, 1948; Adam Bochnak, 'Historia sztuki na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim', *Studia z dziejów Wydziału Filozoficzno-Historycznego UJ* (=Zeszyty Naukowe UJ, *Prace Historyczne*, 16, 1968, 224–262). On the connection with Schlosser see Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, 73.

¹⁷ Tadeusz Mańkowski, 'Ze Studiów nad historiografią sztuki w Polsce', *Muzealnictwo*, 12, 1964, 13–20.

two volumes of *Rocznik historii sztuki* [*A Yearbook of Art History*] were entirely devoted to the profiles of individual researchers, albeit captured from a range of perspectives.¹⁸ In contrast, in this issue, Małkiewicz's biography of Pagaczewski illustrates the traditional approach.¹⁹ Supported by keen student–master relationships, the continuity of the art historical tradition practised in Cracow was underpinned by its reliance on the Vienna School as the main reference point, once again. Yet in reality, it was marked by an imperfect history of the latter, limited to the period represented by Julius Schlosser and Hans Tietze for its main theoretical assumptions as well as for its research and teaching methods.

Anniversary Vienna School

It is significant that, in addition to the obituaries mentioned above, the most important studies of Cracow art historiography were delivered in 1982 and 2007 to celebrate 100 and 125 years since the creation of a Chair of Art History in Cracow.²⁰ The landmarks of the coherent being of the 'Cracow school' were naturalised there. The first was the use of the philological-historical method, supplemented by the formal-stylistic one and the analysis of primary sources. It was the crucial for both: teaching, but also a format of the institutional publications, where the favoured form became a monograph based on this landmark. The second was the periodisation of the Vienna School, with Rudolf Eitelberger and Moritz Thausing seen as protagonists of the 'older school', while Franz Wickhoff and Alois Riegl represented the 'new school'. It was the theories of the 'new school' that were adapted by Sokołowski's pupils, who continued the formal-genetic method. Because of the commemorative and circumstantial character of papers pointed above I decided to use the term 'anniversary Vienna school' to describe the limited vision of Viennese milieu created for purpose of 'Cracow school' identity by Cracow scholars.

It should be added that these survey texts, focused on preserving the continuity of the 'Cracow School', had substantial difficulty in evaluating scholars who did not subscribe to Sokołowski's line of thinking. This led to the marginalisation of figures such as Zofia Ameisenowa²¹ or Vojeslav (Polish spelling:

¹⁸ *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 26–27, 2011–2012.

¹⁹ Małkiewicz, 'Julian Pagaczewski (1874–1940)', 21–27; Małkiewicz builds on the work of Adam Bochnak, 'Julian Pagaczewski', *Stulecie Katedry Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, (*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace z Historii Sztuki*), 19, 1990, 51–59, here: 53. The papers were originally delivered in 1982 and published eight years later.

²⁰ Adam Małkiewicz, 'Historia sztuki na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim 1882–2007 / History of Art at the Jagiellonian University 1882–2007', in: Joanna Wolańska and Rafał Ochęduszek (eds), *Historia sztuki na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim 1882–2007*, Kraków: Instytut Historii Sztuki, 2007, 2–22.

²¹ Ameisenowa never had official pupils as the supervisor of the graphic collection of the Jagiellonian Library. Her position in academia was in some way similar to the tradition of private scholar: apart from her official post, she helped young art historians like Lech Kalinowski or Jan Białostocki in informal way; for more see Magdalena Kunińska, 'In search of the Jewish identity: Zofia Ameisenowa and research into Jewish iconography and its place in Polish art history discourse', in: Jerzy Malinowski, Renata Piątkowska, Małgorzata

Wojśław) Molé²², a student of Max Dvořák and Josef Strzygowski. In Molé's case, this was due to Małkiewicz's endorsement of Julius von Schlosser's exclusion of Strzygowski from the Vienna School.²³ In 1934 Schlosser wrote:

Since the other chair was created for Strzygowski to meet his personal goals and purposes, and these have nothing in common with the Vienna School, indeed often contradict them, it can be omitted entirely from our historical sketch. It was the older rather than the newly created department which Sickel in his reforms had given the role of training professionals for the museums and commission for the preservation of monuments.²⁴

His point was reiterated by Małkiewicz:

Of the Viennese art history professors who aroused widespread interest in Poland in the 1920s, was Strzygowski, who broke entirely with the Viennese tradition of practising this discipline and, since he was in conflict with the group, he does not belong among the representatives of the 'Vienna School'.²⁵

The understanding of the term 'school' itself was derived from the Viennese model. As a result, in Malkiewicz's words, 'the institutionalisation of research, in particular the establishment of university departments, favoured the transmission of the

Stolarska-Fronia and Tamara Sztyrna (eds), *Art in Jewish Society*, Warszawa–Toruń: Polish Institute of World Art Studies & Tako Publishing House, 2016, 255–261.

²² Molé was a chair of the Department of Art History of Slavonic Nations, and in 1952, of the Department of History of Medieval Art and the Group of Art History Departments. During the years 1956 – 1960 he was director of the Institute of Art History.

After: Agnieszka Sulikowska, 'Wojśław Molé (1886-1973)', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 37, 2021, 39–48; here 40.

²³ Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, 50–51.

²⁴ Julius von Schlosser, 'The Vienna School of the History of Art - Review of a Century of Austrian Scholarship in German', transl. by Karl Johns, *Journal of Art Historiography* 1, 2009, 38–39 (a translation of 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Institut für Geschichtsforschung*, 13, Innsbruck: Wagner, 1934); Małkiewicz used a Schlosser essay only. I am grateful to R. Woodfield for a comment that in fact Molé was listed as a graduate of Strzygowski's (Die an der Lehrkanzel Strzygowski in Graz und Wien gearbeiteten Dissertation bis Juni 1932 in *Josef Strzygowski-Festschrift Zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern*. Klagenfurt: A. Kollitsch, 1932). The *festschrift* was published before Schlosser's essay, which was written in response. Strzygowski had declared his commitment to an oppositional response to the Institute for History in his *Die Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften* published in 1923. The *Festschrift* was followed up by Karl Ginhard in 1933: *Verzeichnis der Schriften von Josef Strzygowski*, edited with Alfred Karasek (Klagenfurt: A. Kollitsch, 1933).

²⁵ 'Spośród wiedeńskich profesorów historii sztuki powszechne zainteresowanie budził w Polsce w latach dwudziestych Strzygowski, który całkowicie zerwał z wiedeńską tradycją uprawiania tej dyscypliny i skonfliktowany ze środowiskiem – nie był zaliczany do grona reprezentantów "szkoły wiedeńskiej"' (Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, 75).

'founders' views to colleagues, students, and 'followers'²⁶. This definition of 'school' derives from the social sciences where teaching is a main tool for the reproduction of shared ideas.²⁷ The result of such an approach was the 'crystallisation and consolidation of environmental differences'.²⁸ This strong institutional cohesiveness defined in different words by Stefan Muthesius,²⁹ cannot be analysed without reference to Vienna.

Characteristically, the adaptation of Viennese innovations to the academic milieu of Cracow is associated with the term 'modern art history', as opposed to so-called 'starożytnictwo' (antiquarianism or archaeology of art in broad sense). The 'Vienna School', perceived as quintessentially 'modern', has represented the core methodological model for institutional teaching in Cracow until very recently. Later representatives of the Cracow School constantly referred to the achievements of the Vienna School, insofar as these lent support to specific research methods. In addition, the normative role ascribed to Riegl's formal method was for a long time an influential factor in the assessment of works written even earlier than those of Sokołowski's pupils, what is more Sokołowski himself was mainly praised by Małkiewicz for introducing the element of formal analysis:

Philological and historical methods for researching works of art were fully developed by Sokołowski, not without input from the Viennese circle of historians associated with The Institute of Austrian Historical Research (Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung). These made the artwork itself the primary source, and enriched the method by elements of formal comparative analysis.³⁰

Małkiewicz praised the same analytical ability in Sokołowski's disciple Pagaczewski:

Pagaczewski also adopted Sokolowski's philological-historical method of research, which considered the work of art itself as the fundamental source, subjecting it to analysis whose results were used to draw conclusions from written sources. In the second decade of the century, he was fascinated by the methodological concepts of Heinrich Wölfflin and by his research methods based on genetic analyses. For Pagaczewski, analysis of form

²⁶ 'Instytucjonalizacja życia naukowego, w tym zwłaszcza powstanie katedr uniwersyteckich, sprzyjała przekazywaniu przez założycieli tych dwóch środowisk własnych postaw współpracownikom, uczniom i kontynuatorom' (Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, 57).

²⁷ See Elizabeth Mansfield (ed), *Art History and its Institutions. Foundations of a Discipline*, London–New York: Routledge, 2002.

²⁸ Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, 57.

²⁹ Muthesius, 'The Cracow school of modern art history', 1.

³⁰ 'Filologiczno–historyczną metodę badania dzieła sztuki znakomicie rozwinął Sokołowski, zresztą nie bez wpływu wiedeńskiego środowiska historyków skupionych wokół Instytutu Badań Austriackich, a nadając samemu dziełu rangę podstawowego źródła wzbogacił ją o elementy komparatystyki formalnej' (Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, 59).

became crucial since it enabled the in-depth characterisation of the style of the work.³¹

Moreover, finally, Bochnak is appreciated for developing the same methodology:

As a researcher and teacher, Bochnak consciously furthered the approach of his master Julian Pagaczewski, who was actually the informal successor of Marian Sokołowski, thereby continuing the tradition inaugurated by the oldest Polish chair of art history. Both the advantages and the disadvantages of the Cracow School of art history shaped the personality of Adam Bochnak, and through him, affected subsequent generations of Cracow graduates. [...] For Bochnak, the main subject of interest, and at the same time the primary focus of historical and philological analysis, was the work of art itself, in both its material and artistic aspects. [...] So, according to the Cracow tradition of art history, he combined the philological-historical method with the stylistic-genetic one.³²

Myth and Facts

The main characteristics of this Cracow-born 'anniversary Vienna School' will be described later; for the moment, the significance of Sokołowski's affiliation to the group of Eitelberger and Thausing's students should be reconsidered. This affiliation – as must be proved – was possible outside an official programme of studies and it became a symbolic gesture and an initial phase of the myth-building of the 'Cracow School'. If myth, according to Paul Ricoeur, is a 'story about astonishing creatures playing a role in constructing the contemporary identity of a group of people', then the Viennese art historians are those creatures. Furthermore, Ricoeur, building on the work of Emile Durkheim, has emphasized the social role of

³¹ 'Również od Sokołowskiego przejął Pagaczewski filologiczno–historyczną metodę badawczą. Uznając za podstawowe źródło samo dzieło sztuki, poddawał je źródłoznawczej analizie, której wyniki uzupełniał wnioskami wysnutymi ze źródeł pisanych. W drugiej dekadzie stulecia zafascynowały go koncepcje metodologiczne Heinricha Wölfflina i jego badania nad stylem; odtąd obok rozważań genetycznych istotną stała się dla Pagaczewskiego analiza formy, umożliwiającą pogłębioną charakterystykę stylu danego dzieła.' (Małkiewicz, 'Julian Pagaczewski (1874–1940)'; see also Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, 146).

³² 'Jako badacz i jako dydaktyk Bochnak świadomie kontynuował postawę swego mistrza Juliana Pagaczewskiego, będącego faktycznym, choć nieformalnym następcą Mariana Sokołowskiego, toteż w jego osobie została podtrzymana tradycja najstarszej polskiej katedry historii sztuki. Zarówno zalety, jak i wady krakowskiej szkoły historii sztuki kształtowały osobowość Adama Bochnaka, a za jego pośrednictwem oddziaływały na następne pokolenia krakowskich absolwentów' and 'Zgodnie więc z tradycją krakowskiej historii sztuki metodę filologiczno–historyczną łączył Bochnak z metodą stylistyczno–genetyczną. Choć sztukę badał głównie z pozycji historyka, traktował ją jako zjawisko autonomiczne, rządzące się własnymi prawami [...] Zgodnie więc z tradycją krakowskiej historii sztuki metodę filologiczno–historyczną łączył Bochnak z metodą stylistyczno–genetyczną. (Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, 161–162 and 166).

myth, given that it 'relates to the events that happened at the beginning of time which have the purpose of providing grounds for the ritual actions of men today'.³³

Art history as an academic subject and political practice: Marian Sokołowski and Rudolf Eitelberger

Sokołowski's 1885 obituary of Rudolf Eitelberger is proof of his high esteem for the older scholar.³⁴ It also reveals his view of art history as a discipline striving towards scientific objectivity and with a role to play in the political life of divided Poland. According to Małkiewicz, this was merely a kind of legend created by Sokołowski for Cracow's benefit. Philippe Lejeune's theoretical discussion of the 'autobiographical pact' may prove useful in this context since it reminds us that stories about one's biography are not objective accounts of chronologically arranged facts and that the subject is to a certain extent defined by their story, through which they gain an identity — in this case, the identity of a professional art historian.³⁵ The pact is constituted in the relation between the creator of the legend and its reader. The author, like the historian, creates certain (often psychologically conditioned) representations of the subject's life, which are inconsistent with the historical record and which are the result of a specific order with its particular emphases and omissions. Sokołowski's persistent self-presentation as a student of Eitelberger speaks volumes about his ambitions and inspiration. His conscious wish was to be associated with the Viennese art historians. This association as emphasized by Małkiewicz turned out to be ideological rather than factual. However, the studies of Ján Bakoš and of Matthew Rampley in particular,³⁶ which deal with the pre-history of the Vienna School (the term applied by Schlosser to the activity of Daniel Böhm and Rudolf Eitelberger),³⁷ have shed new light on this relationship. At this point, we must return to the characteristics of the Vienna school, which were recreated in the Cracow *milieu* by Sokołowski's successors: Pagaczewski, Bochnak and Małkiewicz. Nowadays 'the zenith of research into the relationship between epistemology and ideology is almost over',³⁸ as Ján Bakoš has demonstrated. But as a reviewer of the Bakoš, Branko Mitrovič has argued 'it is hard to imagine how the theoretical constructs that Bakoš is writing about, so profoundly marked by the political and ideological trends of their environments, can be separated from the context that

³³ Paul Ricoeur, *The symbolism of evil*, transl. Emerson Buchanan, New York: Harper & Row 1967, 5.

³⁴ Marian Sokołowski, 'Rudolf Eitelberger. Wspomnienie', *Przegląd Polski*, 19, 1885, 372–376.

³⁵ See Philippe Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, transl. by Katherine Leary; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1989. Published in French in 1975 as *Le Pacte autobiographique*.

³⁶ Matthew Rampley, 'The Idea of a Scientific Discipline: Rudolf von Eitelberger and the Emergence of Art History in Vienna, 1847–1885', *Art History*, 34, 1, 2011, 54–79; Matthew Rampley, 'Across the Leitha: Rudolf Eitelberger, the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry and the Liberal View of Culture in the Habsburg Empire', in: Eva Kernbauer, Kathrin Pokorny-Nagel, Raphael Rosenberg, Julia Rüdinger, Patrick Werkner and Tanja Jenni (eds), *Rudolf Eitelberger: Netzwerker der Kunstwelt*; Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau, 2019, 363–392.

³⁷ Schlosser, 'The Vienna School of the History of Art - Review of a Century of Austrian Scholarship in German', 1.

³⁸ Bakoš, *Discourses and strategies*, 7. The author cannot fully agree with Bakoš.

motivated them'.³⁹ By generalisation, these circumstances allow a better understanding of Sokolowski's references to Vienna.

For while Sokołowski has been acknowledged as the founder of the modern art history department, Pagaczewski was the one who, as Małkiewicz wrote, 'as a researcher and teacher, ... perfected his master's methods and perfected a formal analysis that led to the characterisation of style, thus providing a basis for comparative research'. This improvement, as we also learn from several other texts, 'relied on the adaptation of Vienna School ideas flowing from the writings of Wickhoff, Riegl and early Dvořák that focused Polish researchers' attention on to the form of the work of art and the analysis of written sources'.⁴⁰

Significantly, Riegl, Wickhoff, and Dvořák are grouped under the term 'the younger school' of Vienna. The adaptation of Dvořák's late work *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte* is rather problematic.⁴¹ In 1974, Lech Kalinowski published a treatise on Dvořák's theories which posited that only texts from the second period of his work were significant and applied 'the proper method'. Kalinowski's study, however, seems unrelated to broader trends and does not tackle the scheme of art historical development proposed by Małkiewicz for the discipline, with norms derived from the use of formal-stylistic analysis. Małkiewicz's exaggerated view of Sokołowski's works moves beyond the requirements of formal analysis to his statements regarding the history of culture. By imposing the use of formal method only as a normative principle, Małkiewicz failed to pay attention to the characteristics of the founding father's methodology, which had aimed at the construction of a holistic image of Polish art – in the paradigm of art history as cultural history. Yet Sokołowski himself had been highly supportive of Riegl's method:

Alois Riegl's great work opens a new era in the history of style and ornamental form, explaining their appearance and role in the very last days of the ancient world. From this detailed and close analysis, it can be concluded that in the gradual decay of this civilisation, as of many others, the forms present at the very beginning were seen to re-emerge at the end.⁴²

³⁹ Branko Mitrovič, 'The Vienna school and Central European art history', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 11, 2014.

⁴⁰ Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki*, 60.

⁴¹ For the proper analysis of the phenomenon see Wojciech Bałus, 'The Place of the Vienna School of Art History in the Polish Art Historiography of the Interwar Period', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 21, December 2019, where author discussed also Poznan milieu, and see also, Magdalena Kunińska 'The dignity of art historian: Lech Kalinowski, Jan Białostocki and a response to Max Dvořák *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte* in Poland after the Second World War', a paper delivered in April 2021 at conference *The Influence of the Vienna School of Art History II: The 100th Anniversary of Max Dvořák's Death* in Prague 2021.

⁴² Marian Sokołowski, 'Pasy metalowe polskie tak zwane lwowskie albo przeworskie', *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historji Sztuki w Polsce*, 6, 1897, 11.

University and Museum

Furthermore, the narrative of the 'Cracow School', directly inspired by Schlosser and subsequently by Jan Białostocki,⁴³ regarding the Viennese historians' integration of scholarly and museum activities, led Małkiewicz to unjustified changes to Sokołowski's statements regarding his teaching method. In fact, Sokołowski had written in the detailed art history curriculum:

First, I would offer a study of plaster casts and reproductions of the works of art. After a brief introduction on my part, explaining the monument in the most general way, I like the method to stay very Socratic and thus ask the students questions that lead them to examine the monument more closely, to analyse it in detail, and finally to determine its most important artistic and aesthetic aspects. I want to use the same method to examine and evaluate monuments from Cracow and the surrounding areas during summer semester study trips. My intention is to enable the most detailed possible analysis of related monuments, while at the same time drawing attention to nuanced differences between them.⁴⁴

Małkiewicz began by confronting the students with the original artworks, thus establishing a relation to Viennese practice, which caused repeated misunderstandings. The creation of the departmental collection of artefacts under the name of The Cabinet of Art History in Cracow took Sokołowski over ten years. Before a place for the collections was found at Collegium Novum a newly fund main building of Jagiellonian he had conducted the practical classes in his apartment, which required special permission from the ministry. The history of the cabinet developed in parallel with carving out of space for the new discipline, and Sokołowski was still the only decision-maker. The need for the creation of teaching resources had already been signalled in the curriculum:

The necessary help in all these lectures should be, according to my understanding, a proper apparatus, consisting of plaster casts, photography, heliography, and chromolithographic and lithographic reproductions, which, are at present so widely available. At the beginning, I will be forced to rely on objects from Academy of Arts and Science and Princes' Czartoryski collection, from the illustrated publications of the University Library and especially on the material gathered thanks to the zeal of Prof. Łepkowski of the Archaeological Office of the university, which I promise

⁴³ Jan Białostocki, 'Praktyka muzealna i myślenie historyczne w rozwoju szkoły wiedeńskiej', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 16, 1987, 215–220; Małkiewicz, 'Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki', 70.

⁴⁴ 'Też samą metodę chciałbym zastosować do zdeterminowania i ocenienia pomników będących w Krakowie podczas wycieczek letniego semestru a nawet w najbliższych okolicach. Staralibyśmy się przy tym o jak najczęstsze i najliczniejsze zbliżenie ze sobą pomników pokrewnych, ale zwrócenie uwagi na istniejące między nimi odcienia', Marian Sokołowski, 'Program do nauczania historii sztuki w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim [Curriculum of the course of Art History] folio in Teki akt habilitacyjnych [Habilitation acts]', *AUJ (ms WF II 121)*, 22; hereafter as Sokołowski, 'Program'.

myself to use. If this scientific apparatus is necessary for almost all lectures, it will be even more necessary in practical exercises with the students.'⁴⁵

The essential feature of this apparatus and, thus of Sokolowski's whole concept of art history, was the reliance on copies in various media, from plaster models and photography to graphic reproductions, which are all forms of 'transcription' of the work. Interestingly, the use of the collections of the Czartoryski Museum and of the Archaeological Cabinet of the Jagiellonian University, were for Sokolowski only a temporary solution while he created his own teaching 'tool'.

In addition, the final stage of the proposed research methodology focused on the source texts, which were to be critically examined and 'compared' with the monuments. The final step in the evaluation of historical and artistic theses was to verify them while in first-hand contact with the work of art. The irrevocability of the written source and form of the work would be judged against the information derived from the work itself.

The institutional framework and the pre-history of the 'Cracow School

In his works, Małkiewicz disregarded a crucial passage from Sokołowski's teaching curriculum that sheds light on the connection with the first period of the Vienna School. Sokołowski's mention of 'the Socratic method' may have been inspired by Eitelberger's description of Daniel Böhm's working method⁴⁶:

Böhm was then the most educated art connoisseur in Vienna; it is no accident that many valuable works of art wound up in his hands since he kept an eye on what was authentic and essential in art and he did not rest until he acquired it. By collecting, researching and purchasing works of art, he also formulated his own views on the aims of art and art education, and I confess that I never learned so much from anyone in the field of fine arts as I did from him⁴⁷

Eitelberger also admitted that he had fully benefited from this knowledge in his teaching, while Böhm, according to Andrea Mayr, also had teaching in mind:

⁴⁵ 'Niezbędną pomocą przy tych wszystkich wykładach powinien być wedle rozumienia mego odpowiedni naukowy aparat, złożony z gipsów, fotografii, heliografii, chromolitograficznych i litograficznych reprodukcji, który się w naszych czasach tak mnoży. Na początek poprzestać będę zmuszony ze zbiorów Akademii Umiejętności, XX. Czartoryskich, z publikacji ilustrowanych Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej, a szczególnie z materiału zebranego dzięki gorliwości prof. Łepkowskiego w Gabinecie Archeologicznym Uniwersytetu, z którego obiecuję sobie korzystać. Jeżeli zaś ten naukowy aparat jest niezbędny prawie przy wykładach, tym niezbędniejszym się on staje przy ćwiczeniach z uczniami', Sokołowski, 'Program', 22.

⁴⁶ Rudolf Eitelberger, 'Josef Daniel Böhm', in: *Gesammelte kunsthistorische Schriften I: Kunst und Künstler* Wiens der neuen Zeit, Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879, 180.

⁴⁷ Eitelberger, 'Josef Daniel Böhm', 181. See also, Andrea Mayr, 'Rudolf von Eitelberger und Joseph Daniel Böhm. Zur Frühzeit der Kunstgeschichte in Wien', in: *Rudolf Eitelberger: Netzwerker der Kunstwelt*, 49–68.

the goal for many years was to create a collection of artworks from all areas able to illustrate the history of art and its progress throughout different periods using the most convincing sources, and to make them as instructive and useful as possible for art students to compensate for their practical, less than scientific education, given that not all art collections, even some of the larger ones, were particularly illuminating, with their frequently one-sided or even pointless choices that failed to lead students to clear perception and understanding of the difference between real art and ordinary craftsmanship.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, other pathways of institutional connection must also be pointed out. While studying history at the University of Vienna, Sokolowski also attended classes in palaeography. It is worth noting that both Moritz Thausing and Rudolf Eitelberger belonged to the circle of Theodor von Sickel. It is likely that Sokołowski met them in this context. Michael Gubser, in his analysis of the institutional and theoretical environment of Vienna as a catalyst for Alois Riegl's work, pointed out that 'under his [Sickel's] supervision, Riegl, Wickhoff, Thausing, and others have adapted his empirical method to their research'.⁴⁹ Moreover, the relation with Sickel also explains the possibility of 'working under the guidance'⁵⁰ of Eitelberger and Thausing, as Sokołowski described his practice in Vienna in a more informal context. Sickel was one of the key appointments made by Minister Leo von Thun to the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Thun, a Czech nationalist, wrote about the monarchy as an organic whole of separate nations. Thausing was also a member of the Institute from 1859, and in the years 1865–1868, taught classes in 'world history and cultural history' at the Akademie der bildenden Künste. The lectures may have interested Sokołowski, who was travelling widely during this period in pursuit of a career. However, Sokołowski's own declaration is our single source for his education with Thausing.

There was a similar situation at the beginning of Sokołowski's relations with Eitelberger. In 1852, Eitelberger, one of the pillars of the Vienna School, was appointed Chair of 'History of Art and Archaeology' at the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung [Austrian Institute for Historical Studies], which would be directed by Sickel from 1869. From 1871, Eitelberger also lectured at

⁴⁸ 'Zu diesem Zwecke ist auch seit Jahren mein Hauptstreben dahin gerichtet, mir selbst eine Sammlung von Kunstwerken aus allen Kunstepochen zu bilden, um auch die Kunstgeschichte, das vor- und rückwärts Schreiten der Kunst, in verschiedenen Epochen mit den überzeugendsten Zeugnissen belegen zu können, und dadurch das Studium derselben für Kunstschüler zu ihrer praktischen nicht minder, als wissenschaftlichen Ausbildung möglichst geeignet und nützlich zu machen, wozu nicht alle Kunstsammlungen, selbst größere nicht ausgenommen geeignet sind, welche oft nun mit einseitigen oder gar zweckloser Wahl zusammengetragen sind, die Kunstschüler mehr vorweisen und den so wichtigen Unterschied zwischen wahrer Kunst und bloßem Handwerk nicht zur deutlichen Anschauung und Erkenntniß bringen' (Mayr, 'Rudolf von Eitelberger und Joseph Daniel Böhm', 57).

⁴⁹ 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, 78.

⁵⁰ See footnote 11.

the Kaiserliches Königliches Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie, which he had founded in 1854.⁵¹ In 1871, the museum acquired a separate building. In the same year, the first volume of *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* was published and was subsequently used by Sokołowski in the curriculum of his practical classes.⁵² Following this example Sokołowski, in the same curriculum, proposed his unrealised project for the publication of sources for the study of Polish art. As an associate of Sickel's circle, Sokołowski could share Eitelberger's approach; when they seem to have been in a close relationship, as indicated by Sokołowski's warm obituary of the Viennese scholar.⁵³

It is also interesting to note that it was to Eitelberger that 'our university owed the chair of art history'.⁵⁴ These words can be understood broadly as, on the one hand, proof of Eitelberger's personal commitment to establishment of the academic chair in Cracow and, on the other hand, as accounting for Eitelberger's role in creating kind of institutional research environment in the way described by Rampley,⁵⁵ in which Sokołowski had been immersed in Vienna and which he attempted to reproduce in Cracow. The first point is confirmed by a letter written by Eitelberger to the k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, preserved in The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw.⁵⁶ Written on the letterhead of the Museum für Kunst und Industrie [fig.1], it supports Sokołowski as the best candidate for taking a professorship.

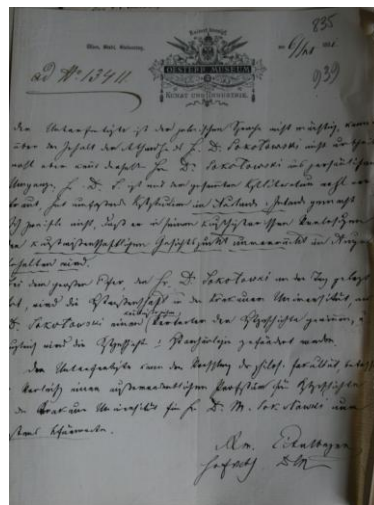


Figure 1: Rudolf Eitelberger, Letter to the k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht, 1881, Warsaw: Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych (The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw) no. 304, file 69u; photo: Magdalena Kunińska

⁵¹ Lectures were open and politically engaged, as Rampley in 'Across the Leitha' shows.

⁵² Sokołowski, 'Program', 22.

⁵³ Sokołowski, 'Rudolf Eitelberger', 372.

⁵⁴ Sokołowski, 'Rudolf Eitelberger'.

⁵⁵ Rampley, 'The Idea of a Scientific Discipline', 61ff.

⁵⁶ Rudolf Eitelberger, *Letter to the k.k. Ministerium für Kultus und Unterricht*, 1881, AGAD, Warsaw, no 304, file 69u.

However, there are many indications that the increased institutionalisation of research on monuments in the Austro-Hungarian Empire was one of the reasons for Sokołowski's move to Cracow. In addition to the university chair and museum, the creation in 1850 of the *Zentrall Kommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* and its role in the gradual consolidation of the academic field in the 1860s are also worth noting. In Alfred Woltmann's 1863 doctorate, which marked the beginning of research into medieval architecture in the Czech lands. Hungary was still considered to fall within the remit of the Austrian Institute for Historical Research. The additional context is the fact that Viennese scholars participated in the famous debate about Hans Holbein's Meyer Madonna, albeit to a limited extent.⁵⁷ In 1873, after Sokolowski's departure, the First Congress of Art Historians met in Vienna. Importantly, the Congress took place under the auspices of the Universal Exhibition Committee. Sokołowski had wanted to participate as an agent of the Galician branch in the exhibition and although he did not manage to find employment there, he was fully acknowledged at all events. Among the issues addressed during the Congress was 'Teaching at universities, academies and high schools', and if the Congress's conclusions about the need to introduce art history to the curriculum of university studies are compared to the views of Józef Szujski and Józef Łepkowski on the necessity of expanding the study programme in Cracow, it becomes clear that Sokolowski was deeply influenced by Eitelberger's example. In 1873, shortly after the Congress, Thausing obtained an academic position in Vienna. If we take into account the intellectual excitement on the eve of the Congress, together with the goals of the Austrian Institute for Historical Studies led by Sickel, it seems plausible that Sokołowski's idea of moving to Cracow was related to his interest in developing a career based on the example of historians from other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The academic ideas that had led to the creation of the famous 'Vienna School' galvanized Sokołowski. In light of recent research on the pre-history of the Vienna School, it must be said that the role of Eitelberger, defined as a 'Netzwerker'⁵⁸ of the art world, lay mainly in the creation of a web of connections across the whole Austro-Hungarian Empire and that Sokołowski's role was fairly similar. These entanglements should be the focus of current art historiographical research.

Written sources and formal analysis: the role of Hans Tietze's *Methode der Kunstgeschichte*

Leaving aside the institutional framework, the 'father of Polish art history' shares with Eitelberger first and foremost a general attitude towards a discipline striving for scientific objectivity. Małkiewicz's description of Sokołowski's method as 'philological and historical, enriched with elements of formal comparison' highlights two crucial aspects: the analysis and criticism of historical sources, and stylistic

⁵⁷ This shaped the institutional framework of the discipline, see Rampley, 'The Idea of a Scientific Discipline', 61–79; Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918*, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2013, 67.

⁵⁸ *Rudolf Eitelberger: Netzwerker der Kunstwelt*; the structure of the publication and the scope of the project, connecting institutions like the university and the museum, also revealed the nature of Eitelberger's role in the capital.

analysis. Sokołowski's disciple, Stanisław Turczyński, pointed to the frequent interdependence of work and context as the axis of the former's work:

The method relied on the principle that the phenomena of the past can only be assessed and presented in a proper light, and their importance for art and culture only demonstrated, on the basis of a detailed analysis of monuments and on their comparison with archival and bibliographic sources that give scientific arguments a lasting value, thereby generating an analysis of measurable accuracy.⁵⁹

Thus, in Sokołowski's method, object analysis was prioritised. However, if there seemed to be a contradiction between the written source and analysis of the monument itself, the conclusions drawn from the latter took priority. Before Sokołowski, the term 'analysis' was understood only in terms of the genetic-comparative method, which, at this stage of the field's development, was quite limited. Sokołowski's 'analysis', on the other hand, was far more comprehensive, encompassing detailed study of the morphological (or, more precisely, 'taxonomic') aspects, iconographic analysis and a deep awareness of the cultural context. Muthesius writes: 'Sokolowski adopts what is later called an iconological approach, and also a cultural history or even a history of mentalities'.⁶⁰ While Muthesius wanted to put it as a case of anticipation, I would neither use the term 'iconology' nor 'anticipation', since a comparison of Sokołowski's research method with the one established in the pre-war period would lead to the error committed by Malkiewicz, namely of over-conceptualising Sokolowski's art history as insufficiently form-focused. Furthermore, it was Sokołowski who facilitated the acceptance of Wölfflin's methods in Cracow. On two separate occasions, he enabled his students, Feliks Kopera and Stefan Komornicki, to undertake research trips to study under Wölfflin. Yet he was, at least initially, sceptical of the Swiss researcher's analyses, deeming them to be insufficiently systematic. On the other hand, he was much more enthusiastic about Riegl's *Stilfragen* of 1893, calling it 'accomplished on the history of style' and using it in his 1897 analysis of ornament.⁶¹ Nevertheless, his decision in 1907 to send Komornicki to study in Berlin under Wölfflin indicates that the founder of the 'Cracow School' regarded the latter's work as having the greatest potential.

The main factor in the evaluation of Sokołowski's position by such scholars like Adam Małkiewicz, but also Elżbieta Gieysztor-Miłobędzka⁶², was the association in Poland of the highest methodological achievements with ideas in the work of Wölfflin. Individual approaches were positioned a scale of more or less usage of Wölfflin's formal schema. Hence, mentioning in one breath: Wickoff, Riegl, and early Dvořák. This perspective would define the education of art historians in

⁵⁹ Turczyński, *Maryan Sokołowski 1839–1911*, 8.

⁶⁰ Muthesius, 'The Beginnings of the Cracow School of Art History', in: Jerzy Malinowski (ed), *The History of Art History in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, Vol. 1, Torun: Society of Modern Art and Tako Publishing House, 2012, 91–100, here 94.

⁶¹ Sokołowski, 'Pasy metalowe polskie tak zwane lwowskie albo przeworskie', 10–16.

⁶² E. Gieysztor-Miłobędzką, 'Polska Historia Sztuki, jej konserwatyzm i próby przewyciężenia', *Kultura Współczesna*, 4 (2000): 58–76.

Poland before and after the First World War. For example, Władysław Podlacha in his lectures in Lwów (where he obtained his habilitation in 1916 and became professor in 1919) and in Wrocław 1946 up to his death in 1951, pointed to the same line of succession, while his student Marian Minich spread these ideas to Łódź. Wölfflin's methodology, however superficially understood, has long been a feature of so-called 'modern art history'. The term 'modern' here is used not as temporal concept, but as evaluation of the approach. As Wojciech Bałus has argued elsewhere in this journal, Polish art history in the interwar period did not conceive of itself in terms of regional 'schools', but rather in relation to chosen methodologies, with formal analysis being deemed superior.⁶³ Significantly, this approach dominates modern studies, such as Andrzej Betlej's work on Bochnak's research into Lwów's rococo sculpture.⁶⁴

From this perspective, the 'orthodox' Vienna School, as defined by Ján Bakoš, was founded by Hans Tietze in 1913 with his *Methode der Kunstgeschichte*. Tietze's method formed also the core of Małkiewicz's approach. Tietze's book, widely disseminated in Poland by Władysław Podlacha,⁶⁵ played a central role in shaping Małkiewicz's vision. In addition, Tietze's views on scientific scrutiny and on the role of written sources also explain the combination of philological and historical methods adopted by the 'Cracow School'. As Rampley has demonstrated, both an evaluation of the methodological turn adopted by Riegl as well as the continuous presence of philology were part of Tietze's legacy:

Due to the dominant role played by Riegl's methodological innovations in accounts of Viennese art history, Schlosser's work on documentary sources has tended to be marginalized. Yet it remained a major component of the Vienna School of historiography; Hans Tietze, in his largescale analysis of the discipline, *Die Methode der Kunstgeschichte*, published in 1913, asserted that the analysis of textual sources was central to the discipline, and Julius von Schlosser continued to publish anthologies and critical editions of historical sources until late in his career.⁶⁶

The analysis is relevant to Polish art historiography. Also Tietze's statements are also applicable to assessments of Strzygowski by members of the 'Cracow School', like Tadeusz Szydlowski and Małkiewicz.⁶⁷

⁶³ See Wojciech Bałus, 'The Place of the Vienna School of Art History in the Polish Art Historiography of the Interwar Period', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 21, December 2019.

⁶⁴ Betlej assesses Bochnak's book as of a 'a strictly modern nature, presenting a systematic reading - from the description of the works, through the characterization of style to comparative analysis and including the attempt to determine their impact' (Andrzej Betlej, 'Adama Bochnaka studia nad lwowską rzeźbą epoki rokoka', in: Piotr Jamski and Andrzej Betlej (eds), *Adam Bochnak. Naświetlanie rzeźby lwowskiej. Katalog wystawy fotografii ze zbiorów Instytutu Sztuki PAN*, Warszawa: IS PAN 2008, 29).

⁶⁵ Władysław Podlacha, 'Niektóre zagadnienia nowoczesnej historii sztuki. Uwagi z powodu książki "Die Methode der Kunstgeschichte. Ein Versuch von Dr. Hans Tietze", Leipzig 1913', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 29, 1915, 208–223.

⁶⁶ Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*, 62.

⁶⁷ Małkiewicz, 'Historia sztuki w Polsce', 75–76.

Scientific scrutiny and the politics of science

Yet the relationship should first be defined in relation to the academic goals shared by Sokołowski and Eitelberger in the early days of Polish art history. As demonstrated by Muthesius and Rampley, Eitelberger aimed to rectify the 'gaps' in art historical research into areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that had been left undiscussed in Franz Kugler's handbook.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Sokołowski's desire to create an academic history of art was also underpinned by an awareness of patriotic attempts to 'Polonise' certain works and artists. Sokołowski himself, although attempting to stretch to the easternmost boundaries of Western European art and simultaneously build or even 'invent' a Polish artistic identity, consistently made use of solid scientific research when formulating his arguments. For example, in his detailed monograph on Hans Süss, he noted: 'There were also patriotic enthusiasts who saw distinct Polish types in persons depicted in our composition; sixteenth-century Nuremberg costumes of figures they described as "our and Polish" finally Hans Süss, born in Nurnberg was considered a native Pole'.⁶⁹

The presence of philosophical-historical concepts and the treatment of art history as a form of cultural history belong to the semantic scope of the 'scientific history of art'⁷⁰ in its earlier version. The second half of the nineteenth century, with its '*Detailkenntnis* and [...] the end of the dream of universal evolution'⁷¹ as Michael Schwarzer stated, inspired visions of creating a scientific workshop for the full analysis and even possible inductive reconstruction of artworks. Johannes Rössler⁷² has drawn attention to the phenomenon of 'totalizing' art history in the nineteenth century and the attachment to 'science', understood as applying the empirical

⁶⁸ Franz Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Stuttgart: Ebner Saubert, 1841–42. In fact, the statements of Muthesius and Rampley, which propose a genetic German character for the art history practised in Vienna, also resolve a debate around the genesis of Polish art history. See Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*. On the German origins of Polish art history see, Kunińska, *Historia sztuki Mariana Sokołowskiego*, especially the section 'Marian Sokołowski i powszechna historia sztuki' ['Marian sokołowski and "allgemeine Kunstgeschichte"'].

⁶⁹ Marian Sokołowski, 'Hans Sues von Kulmbach jego obrazy w Krakowie i jego mistrz Jacopo dei Barbari. Przyczynek do historii malarstwa w epoce przejścia ze średnich wieków w renesans i stosunki artystyczne Krakowa z Norymbergą w XVI wieku', *Sprawozdania*, 2, 1883, 53–117. On the page 54 he notes: 'Nie brakło zresztą i patriotycznych entuzjastów, którzy od wielu lat w postaciach naszych kompozycji widzieli wyraźne polskie typy, w strojach ich nasze polskie stroje z XV wieku i Norymberczyka Hansa Suesa uważali za rodowitego Polaka'.

⁷⁰ See the analysis of 'naukowość' [science] the scientific character of the 'Cracow School' by Muthesius, who wrote that the 'Polish term "naukowy" is a cognate of the German "wissenschaftlich" and comprises both the sciences and the humanities' (Muthesius, 'The Cracow school of modern art history', 1–2).

⁷¹ Michael Schwarzer, 'Origins of the art history survey text', *Art Journal*, 54, 1995, 27.

⁷² Johannes Rössler, 'Kunstgeschichte als Realpolitik. Anton Springer und die ideengeschichtlichen Komponenten der Institutionalisierung' in: Wojciech Bałus and Joanna Wolańska (eds), *Die Etablierung und Entwicklung des Faches Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland, Polen und Mitteleuropa (anlässlich des 125-jähriges Gründungs-jubiläums des ersten Lehrstuls für Kunstgeschichte in Polen)*, Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2010, 85.

method and the positivism of that phase of the history of art history. Yet the adoption of positivism was, as noted by Rampley, a political declaration.⁷³ In his analysis of the establishment Vienna school, Rampley points out that in former Poland the development of art historical thinking was shaped by other currents as well, most notably the rise of liberalism and the impact of its engagement with positivism. Polish liberal thought had much in common with liberalism, and this was part of the Viennese heritage derived directly from Eitelberger. So while some of the activities cannot be called 'scientific' in the narrow sense, the broad scope of how art history was defined derives from the sustained concept of its twofold character. Sokołowski's obituary of Eitelberger cited above, effectively encapsulates his opinion on the matter:

The first [branch of the discipline; MK] attempts to know and understand the development of the past centuries, to account for their artistic blossoming, to guess the moral and material causes [...] secrets of techniques. The second intends to apply these results to our own needs, to renew broken traditions and to awake the creative impulse that was arrested or weakened at the end of last century. The first found expression in the study of art history; the second in an organisation of art academies, educational institutions and museums, related to contemporary needs.⁷⁴

This statement outlines the dual nature of historical and artistic research: the analysis of art works is seen as leading to the involvement of art history in contemporary concerns, namely the revival of the artistic life which had been destroyed by the partitioning of Poland in the eighteenth century. In this respect, Sokołowski is in agreement with his mentor Paweł Popiel, a positivist politician and long-time conservator in Western Galicia. In his obituary of the latter, Sokołowski wrote that Popiel attempted 'to raise the standards of education and to revive the artistic development of the Stanislawowski period, the last time of enlightenment after which the darkness of partitioned life and inferiority enveloped us'.⁷⁵ We find a similar statement in the art history curriculum Sokołowski prepared in 1878.⁷⁶

⁷³ Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History*, 26–33. See also Rampley, 'The Idea of a Scientific Discipline', 54–79.

⁷⁴ 'Pierwsza usiłuje poznać i zrozumieć rozwój ubiegłych wieków, wydrzeć im zagadkę rozkwitu, odgadnąć moralne i materialne przyczyny [...] tajemnice [...] technik. Druga pragnie te rezultaty zastosować do naszych własnych potrzeb [...] odnowić przerwane tradycje i obudzić pod tym względem ruch twórczy, który się z końcem wieku ubiegłego zatrzymał i osłabł. Pierwsza znalazła wyraz w nauce historii sztuki; druga w nowej i od naszych wymagań zależnej organizacji instytucji wychowawczych, akademii sztuk pięknych, szkół rysunkowych i muzeów, mających przede wszystkim na celu uszlachetnienie sztuką przemysłu i rzemiosł' (Sokołowski, 'Rudolf Eitelberger', 372).

⁷⁵ Popiel took: 'usiłowania do podniesienia oświaty i rozbudzenia artystycznego rozwoju czasów Stanisławowskich [...] ostatniego kroku konającej lampy, po których ogarnęły nas ciemności porozbiorowego życia i niewoli': Marian Sokołowski, 'Paweł Popiel. Nekrolog napisany przy współudziale W. Łuszczkiewicza', *Sprawozdania*, 5, 1896., 23.

⁷⁶ As in footnote 42.

Conclusion

Beginning with the statement that the history of art history is written with an eye to the present, Heinrich Dilly proposes an analysis of 'the anniversary papers', as I dare to name a variable set of speeches and occasional papers prepared for the purpose of institutional anniversaries, and treats them as evidence of a 'methodological orientation'.⁷⁷ As the study of those documents suggests, the 'Cracow School of Art History', an advocate of the formal-genetic method, was also shaped by specific political circumstances when its principal author, Adam Małkiewicz, presented views contrary to official communist doctrine. It still unclear whether the application of the traditional formal-genetic method in Cracow was intended as a specific immunization against Marxist doctrine. It undoubtedly provoked numerous criticisms, including those of Witold Dalbor,⁷⁸ who, in assessing the achievements of Polish art history up to 1956, declared that Sokołowski's approach had contributed to the 'provincial' complex of the country's art history. According to Bakoš, this explains the longevity of Viennese formalist methods within the art historical practice of the Cracow School. As Branko Mitrovič notes in his review:

Bakoš's judgment of the impact of the Vienna School in this situation is generally favourable: formalism made it possible for these protagonists to look for genetic links; the causal approach to explanation offered the opportunity to identify the place of a particular phenomenon in a genetic chain while the emphasis on the method prevented them from an easy relapse into romantic nationalism. [...] This is why 'genetic formalism', in contrast to 'Geistesgeschichte', had the most substantial impact on the development of the majority of national historiographies in Central Europe between the two World Wars.⁷⁹

In Cracow, the tradition lasted even longer and became part of anti-communist resistance, on the one hand, and of the identity of the local 'school' on the other.

Afterwords

The principal 'keeper of the flame' of the 'Cracow school', Adam Małkiewicz, died on 25th June 2021, after this paper was completed. The symbolic sign of the continuity present in the 'school' was for him a portrait of Sokołowski, passed from master to pupil in the rhythm of generational exchange, which he called a 'challenge

⁷⁷ Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution. Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979, 49.

⁷⁸ Witold Dalbor, 'Ocena dorobku historii architektury polskiej', *Studia i Materiały do Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 1, 1956, 3–58.

⁷⁹ Mitrovič, 'The Vienna school and Central European art history', 3.

cup' for the school protagonists; it found a safe place in one of the university's museums.⁸⁰

Reflection on the genesis of the Cracow way of conducting art historical research is still a fresh point for research, leaving blind spots in evaluation and missing a critical evaluation of the choices in terms of the shape of curriculum or curriculum methods applied.

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⁸⁰ 'The story of the painting: -Małkiewicz, Leona Wyczółkowskiego portrety Mariana Sokołowskiego', *Opuscula Musealia*, 17, 2010, 51–63.