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MATTHEW PALMER

A TENDENTIOUS PLAN

TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF ST MICHAEL'S KOLOZSVÁR (CLUJ-NAPOCA)

When, during Lajos Bágyuj's restoration in 1956–7, two interior windows were uncovered above the already existing ground level openings in the walls between the side chapels and the chancel of the parish church of Saint Michael's Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Romania) architectural historians had to come to terms with a feature which fundamentally altered the spatial layout of the church (Fig. 1).[1] Prior to the discovery of the windows art historians had paid little attention to the arrangement of the chancel and side chapels.[2] Since Ernő Marosi's suggestion that the arrangement we now find was the result of a plan change the general consensus has been that the openings and the interior windows between the side chapels and the chancel were more the result of accident than design.[3] This conclusion, however, has not prevented architectural historians, including Marosi himself, from making stylistic comparisons with other ecclesiastical buildings.[4] This paper will attempt to find out whether one can come to any understanding of the design at St Michael's Kolozsvár by comparing it with any buildings which appear to resemble it.

I

Those buildings which have thusfar been compared to St Michael's Kolozsvár have been selected on the basis that they have the design's most instantly recognizable features, namely the interior windows and the openings between the side chapels and chancel. The geographical and chronological spread of the buildings previously mentioned is wide stretching as far as Amiens in the west but the degree to which some of these sites are actually relevant to our understanding of the design at St Michael's is open to question. There is always the danger, to quote Paul Crossley's definition of what Erwin Panofsky calls a "pseudo-morphosis", that "a form A morphologically analogous to, or even identical with, a form B, (is) yet unrelated to it from a genetic point of view".[5]

Without wishing to reject the list of sites out of hand we would like to suggest that it could be refined if one considered all aspects of the design at St Michael's Kolozsvár, rather than those deemed significant on account of their peculiarity. Furthermore, one should include features which are conspicuous by their absence. Thus, all the following details should be taken into consideration:

1. Openings at floor level between the chancel and side chapels
2. Windows between two interior spaces
3. Polygonal side chapel apses
4. The height of the side chapels as compared with the chancel
5. The relationship of the east end to the western parts of the building
6. The presence of tracery in the interior windows
7. The presence of a wall passage between the side chapels and the chancel
8. The presence of a rood screen
9. The presence of a spiral staircase in one of the side chapels

If one takes the above features into consideration it becomes clear that the Kolozsvár design is unique thus making comparisons with other buildings all the more problematic. So rather than starting with those elements at St Michael's Kolozsvár which are somewhat out of the ordinary we would like to start with a more general consideration, that of scale.

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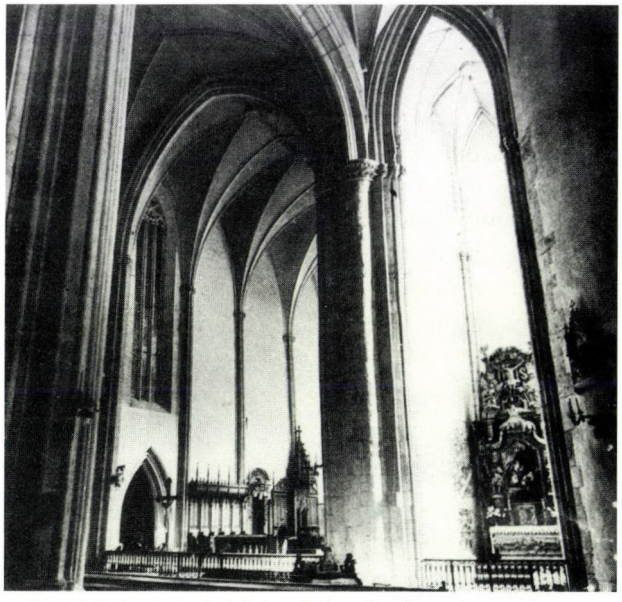

Fig. 1. Kolozsvár, St Michael. Interior from the south-west *(Entz, G. A. 1984 p. 68 [Fig. 3])*

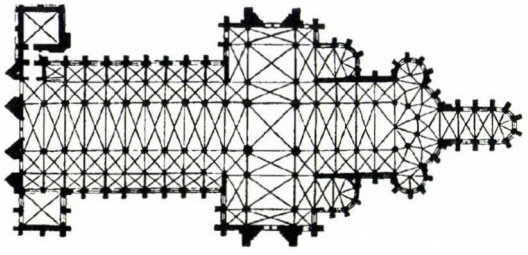

Fig. 2. Rouen Cathedral. Groundplan *(Focillon, H., A nyugati művészet, Gondolat, 1982, p. 232)*

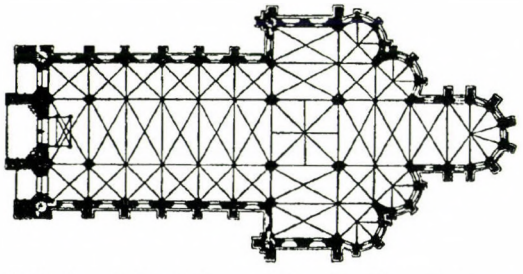

Fig. 3. Braine, St Yved. Groundplan *(Focillon, H., A nyugati művészet, Gondolat, 1982, p. 235)*

If one were to catagorize churches on the basis of size, irrespective of the ecclesiastical building type, they would be: the 'great church', the medium-sized church and the chapel.[6] According to Wilson the great church has the following features:[7]

1. A cruciform plan, with a nave longer than the other three arms

2. A nave and possibly also other arms built to the basilican scheme, that is with side aisles and higher and wider central vessel receiving direct lighting from a clearstorey

3. A middle storey of some kind between the clearstorey and the arcades separating central vessels from the aisles

4. Masonry vaulting over all or most of the aisles and central vessels

5. Longitudinal division of the arms into a series of (in theory) uniform spatial units or 'bays' articulated as a system of linked arches and cylindrical shafts

6. An eastern termination of a complex plan, most commonly an apse with an ambulatory and radiating chapels

7. One or more towers integrated into the main body of the church, usually over the centre of the cross (the crossing) or the west facade of the nave

According to this taxonomy St Michael's Kolozsvár is not a great church. In the absence

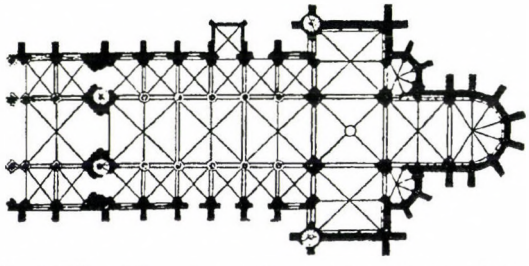

Fig. 4. Dijon, Notre Dame. Groundplan *(Focillon, H., A nyugati művészet, Gondolat, 1982, p. 235)*

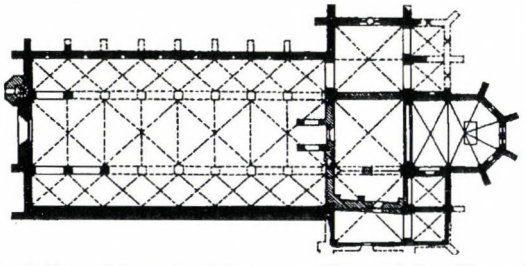

Fig. 5. Kerc, Cistercian Monastery. Groundplan *(Entz, G., 1963, p. 4 [Fig. 1])*

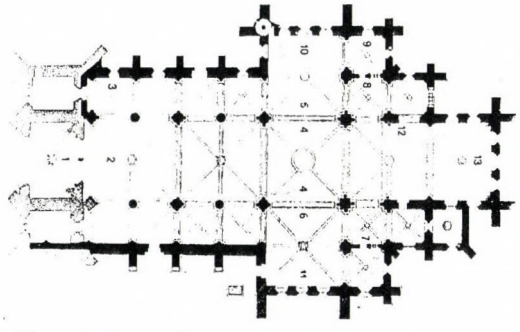

Fig. 6. St Seine, Cistercian Monastery. Groundplan

of a similar taxonomy for the medium-sized small church one can start with Wilson's observation that a church with an internal height of nineteen metres is reasonably small, making St Michael's Kolozsvár a medium-sized church. Using Wilson's taxonomy, apart from the height of the vaults, it is the articulation of the east end which is the medium-sized church's defining feature.

It was the ambulatory which made the great church's east end 'complex'. The ambulatory facilitated ceremonial processions and movement around the high altar and the church's relics, as well as provided space for a greater number of altars.[8] The architect who wanted to provide an ambulatory in a medium-sized church was thus faced with the difficult task of having to satisfy two contradictory requirements within a restricted space: an area for mass circulation around the high altar and chapels for private prayer and saying the mass.[9] When designing a medium-sized church with an ambulatory, whilst maintaining the overall proportions prevalent in the greater church, the plan can only be reduced to a certain degree before the ambulatory gets too low and narrow for human use. The ambulatory of the choir at Morienval Abbey (c.1130) being only 65 centimetres in width, and little more than a wide wall passage, oversteps the limit. Looking at the ambulatory at St-Germer-de-Fly, built between 1150 and 1160, with its vault 19.70 metres in height, and ambulatory chapels which barely fit in between the buttresses, it would appear that the ambulatory is approaching its minimum size. Further reductions in the height of the vault of the wide central vessel, and consequently the height and width of the ambulatory, led to a substantial reduction in the number of ambulatory chapels as was the case for example at St Stephen's, Troyes (1160s), Notre-Dame de Mantes (1170s) and at the cathedral at Limburg an der Lahn (beginning of the 13th century).

Richard Pestell's studies on the architectural origins of Chartres Cathedral suggest that the Chartrian three level interior elevation came about through developments going on within medium-sized church design at St Yved in Braine.[10] The solution was the result of the unleashing of the enormous creative powers needed to solve the problems inherent in medium-sized church design. This energy produced on east end which was suitable for the medium-sized church.[11] The resulting design attempted to find a substitute for the ambulatories and ambulatory chapels of the great churches which was suitable for the medium-sized church. The solution, in which a long chancel lies between two pairs of chapels, the inner of which have two bays as against the outer chapels' one, represents a reduction of the ambulatory whose continued existence can be seen in the western bays of the two inner chapels (Fig. 3). Whether these two bays were actually used to allow movement around the high altar is another question all together.

The groundplan at the Notre-Dame de Dijon (east end built c.1230), the earliest site mentioned in previous comparisons with St Michael's Kolozsvár, marks a development from the St Yved, Braine, design but was in all likelihood a refinement of the Ste Chapelle in Dijon which was itself a faithful copy of St Yved.

Where the four side chapels at Braine are shallow the two side chapels at the Notre-Dame de Dijon are deep (Fig. 4). The remnant ambulatory has been further reduced to such a degree that it has become little more than a doorway between a side chapel and the chancel, with openings above it. Whilst at St Yved the possibility remains that the remnant ambulatory bays may have been used for processions, at the Notre-Dame de Dijon the small doorways were presumably reserved for the clergy alone. The designer had decided that the peace and tranquility of the chapels was paramount. However, the design at the Notre-Dame de Dijon was not merely a refinement of St Yved, Braine. Primarily it looked back directly to the great churches in search of a new lead. The architect of the Notre-Dame de Dijon saw in the new choir and crossing then being built at Rouen Cathedral that space could be opened up with interior openings in the same way one sees in the ambulatory chapels at Ste Madeleine in Vézelay and St Stephen's in Caen (Fig. 7). However, the difference at Rouen Cathedral was that some of the openings between the transept chapels and the ambulatory contained traceried windows. The architect at the Notre-Dame de Dijon consequently started with the groundplan at Rouen Cathedral, took out the ambulatory and ended

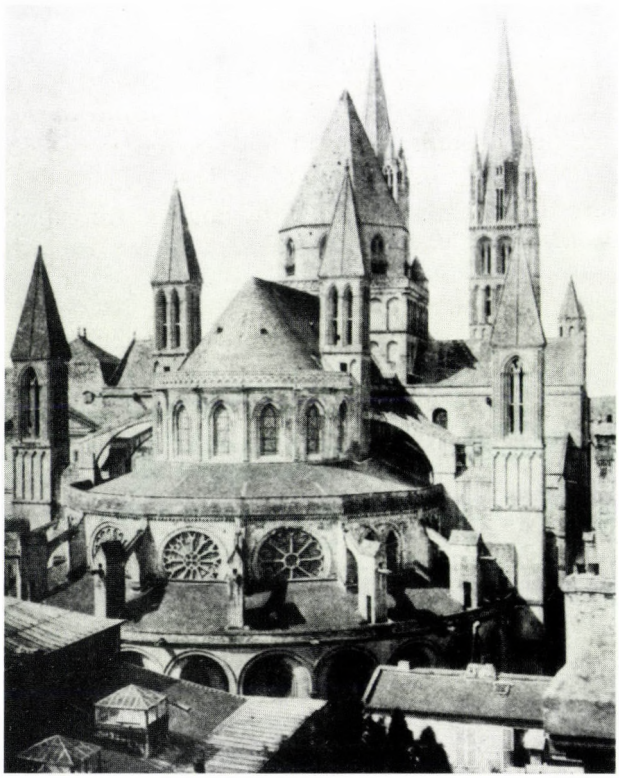

Fig. 7. Caen, St Stephen, Exterior of the east end *(Banister Fletcher, A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method, 1945, p. 305)*

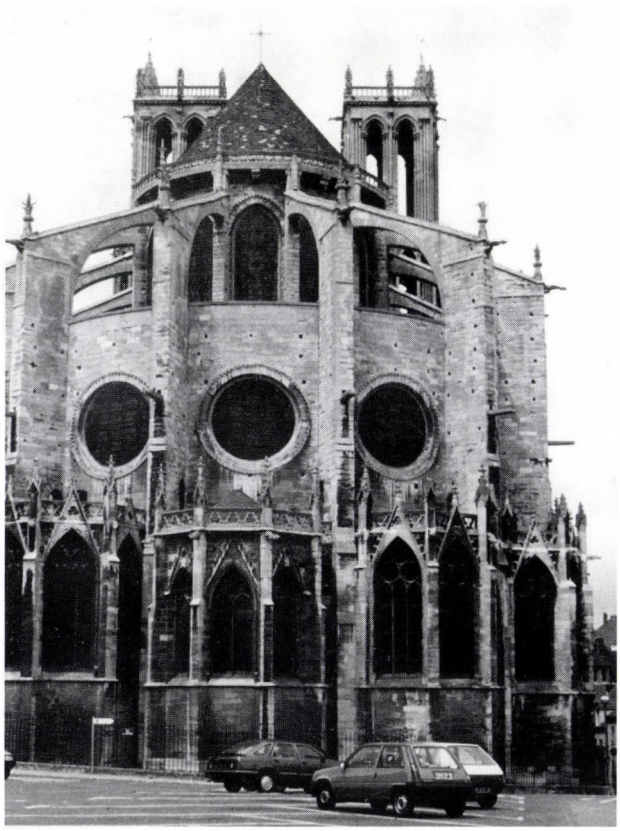

Fig. 8. Mantes, Notre Dame. Exterior of the east end



Fig. 9. Kerc, Cistercian Monastery. Exterior of east end *(Marosi, 1984, p. 385 [Fig. 436])*

up with a transept chapel looking onto the chancel through a window (Figs 20 and 21). For a church so distant in time and space from St Michael's Kolozsvár, the Notre-Dame de Dijon gains significance as a structure attempting to solve those design problems which are peculiar to the medium-sized church.

From the moment the east end of the Notre-Dame de Dijon had been built, the design would have offered an ideal solution to any architect wishing to build a medium-sized church in the Kingdom of Hungary.[12] However, the medium-sized cathedral of Kalocsa, started possibly in 1202, was of a design not dissimilar to that seen at St-Germer-de-Fly rather than being anything in the spirit of St Yved in Braine. In Hungary the closest one comes to a design remotely similar to Braine or the Notre-Dame de Dijon, in the first half of the thirteenth century, is the Cistercian monastery at Kerc (Cîrța, Romania) (Fig. 5).[13]

Kerc had an eastern end which the literature refers to as having Cistercian "colonial characteristics", but there is a case for emphasizing the effort the architect went to, to produce a medium-sized design.[14] The monastery at Kerc and St Bartholemew's in Brassó (Braşov, Romania) have openings between the chancel and the chapels immediately to the north and south (Fig. 5). With the inclusion of the now lost rood screens the arrangement of the eastern parts at the above churches could be interpreted as being a yet, further reduction of the designs seen at St Yved, Braine and the now lost Ste Chapelle,

Dijon. However, the plan was more probably derived from the Cistercian foundation at St Seine near Dijon (begun between 1205 and 1209), which had a St Yved groundplan where the polygonal apses had been replaced with square apses (Fig. 6). At Kerc, St Bartholemew's Brassó and St Seine the openings between the chancel and the nearest side chapels allowed movement from the transept arms to the chancel, although the walls between the side chapels and the chancel were just as much a part of the choir screen as being a part of the building fabric itself.

Despite its position on the periphery of Europe the cistercian monastery in Kerc is a perfect medium-sized design. This is as true for the interior and exterior elevations as it is for the groundplan. In the chancel the pairs of simple lancet windows crowned by a cusped oculus creates a two tiered composition of a beauty and simplicity which eluded architects elsewhere (Fig. 9). The articulation of the western choir at Bamberg Cathedral illustrates the problems architects faced when designing an interior elevation. The architect at Bamberg decided to have two rows of windows but the choice of small upper lancets is far from harmonious. The designs at the Liebfrauenkirche in Trier (begun c. 1227), and St. Elizabeth's in Marburg (begun 1235), prove that two rows of identically sized windows produce a pleasing result in the apse, but both the basilican centralized nave at Trier, where the vaults over the nave ambulatory eat up all but the oculi of the clearstorey windows, and the hall church solution at Marburg, where there is a double layer of windows in the nave aisles, are not entirely convincing. St. Agatha's, Longuyon also solves the problems inherent in designing a medium-sized nave. The aisles have lancet windows whilst the cusped oculus is used in the clearstorey. The success of the designs at Kerc and Longuyon may be attributed as much to their fortunate scale at the small end of medium-sized, as to the skill of the architect.

The ocular windows at Kerc are the result of a development which evolved in tandem with the reduction of the ambulatory in the medium-sized church. The origins of the Kerc oculus can be found in the Ile-de-France and Normandy where they illuminated the tribune levels at St Stephen's, Caen (Fig. 7) and Notre-Dame de Mantes (Fig. 8). Although the Notre-Dame de Dijon also has oculi in the choir triforium these were only inserted in 1711 and are therefore not part of this particular debate. The logic of the Kerc design was that in removing the triforium like that at Notre-Dame, Auxonne the oculus was preferred to the lancet for the top half of the two level apse elevation. The blocking out of the lancets in the traceried clearstorey windows at the Liebfrauenkirche in Trier suggested that the use of the oculi alone was a logical development. The results of this train of thought can be seen at the centrally planned church of the Holy Cross in Prázsmár (Prejmer, Romania). A similar use of oculi can also be found at Vétheuil, Kremsmünster, St Pölten and St Stephen's in Vienna.[15]

How close were such considerations to being of relevance to the architectural history of St Michael's Kolozsvár? With the exception of the Kerc workshop, the vast majority of Transylvanian churches built in the mid 13th century were romanesque in style. However, if the same thought processes used in designing, for example, the Notre-Dame de Dijon were present at Kerc perhaps they were used at the first build in Kolozsvár.[16] As we have just seen, St Elizabeth's Marburg offered another possible solution to the medium-sized east end. The origins of the apsidal transepts at Marburg are still disputed.[17] The east end at St Elizabeth's Marburg does not attempt to reduce the ambulatory, rather the architect had a different brief altogether, an important element of which was the need to maintain the original position of the tomb of St Elizabeth in the new church. The tomb is situated in the northern apse. As at St Yved in Braine the tombs of the founder's dynasty at St Elizabeth's Marburg are placed in the southern transept outside the confines of the chancel surrounded by a choir screen under the crossing. During the thirteenth century attempts to design the perfect medium-sized church can be seen all over Europe. Behind each attempt was the desire to design for the medium-sized church well functioning liturgical spaces with elevations capable of articulating the interior and exterior walls. The architects at St Michael's Kolozsvár, at whatever period, had to confront these very same problems.

II

Is it possible to ascertain the groundplan of the original St Michael's Kolozsvár? Until the site is excavated thoroughly one cannot be certain as to what the groundplan looked like. Thusfar, only three pieces of carved ashlar have come to light. From these three elements: a capital, a base and a horizontal moulding one can only hazard a guess at the articulation of the walls when one is sure that they came from the same period and the same part of the church (Fig. 10). The capital carved with a "Beifuss" design is of a type seen in five capitals in the cloisters of the Foundation of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem in Strakonice (built c. 1230). The design at Strakonice may give us a general idea as to the original appearance of St Michael's Kolozsvár. St Michael's may therefore have had round headed openings, "Kugeldekor" around its windows, and other capital designs of the type seen in the cloisters. Such a design would have resembled Ják, thirteenth century St Stephen's Vienna and the post-Tatar building operations at Gyulafehérvár Cathedral (Alba Iulia, Romania).[18] If one accepts these comparisons then St Michael's Kolozsvár would have been built in a hybrid style in which elements of a mature gothic style were inserted into what was essentially a romanesque architectural system.[19]

If one looks at the "Beifuss" design on the capitals of the northern shaft, and responds of the giant order arch of the west end at Gyulafehérvár Cathedral it is possible that the Kolozsvár "Beifuss" originated from there (Fig. 12). However, the suggestion that a group of masters from Gyulafehérvár worked in Kolozsvár has already been rejected by Géza Entz, despite acknowledging Peter Monoszló, the Bishop of Transylvania's activities as an architectural patron on his estates in Kolozs County.[20] Several villages surrounding Kolozsvár were in Peter Monoszló's hands, and Entz believes that the workshop working on the first build at St Michael's Kolozsvár also operated in these villages, namely Vista (Vişţea), Magyarfenes (Vlaha), Gyalu (Gilău), Türe (Turea) and Kapus (Capuşa Mare). However, comparisons between the capitals at Kolozsvár and Türe are not particularly convincing.[21] According to Géza Entz's dating of Gyulafehérvár Cathedral, the "Beifuss" capital dates from the decades prior to the Saxon uprising in Gyulafehérvár of 1277.[22] The repairs to the damage inflicted on the fabric of the cathedral in 1277 amounted to one of the most major architectural undertakings in the Kingdom of Hungary during that period. During the restoration the architect took the opportunity to remodel both the west and east ends. The original romanesque western portal was dismantled and partly reconstructed as a portal in the southern aisle. The outer carved archivaults of the original portal were reused in the frieze one can see just below the roof of the chancel. Its replacement was a gothic design resembling the west portal at St Elizabeth's Marburg (Figs 11 and 12). What had previously been a short, dark, and rather gloomy chancel became a deep choir illuminated with large traceried windows. In addition the galleries in the transept ends were dismantled leaving an open uninterrupted space (Figs 14 and 15). We believe that all three developments represent attempts to make architectural references to St Elizabeth's Marburg.



Fig. 10. Kolozsvár, St Michael. Capital and base from the original church *(Entz G., 1994, [Fig. 44])*

The main cause for the remodelling of Gyulafehérvár Cathedral after the 1277 disturbances, was the nature of the uprising itself. It triggered an architectural response which contained a symbolism relevant and understandable to the local population. If the source for the above-mentioned features was St Elizabeth's

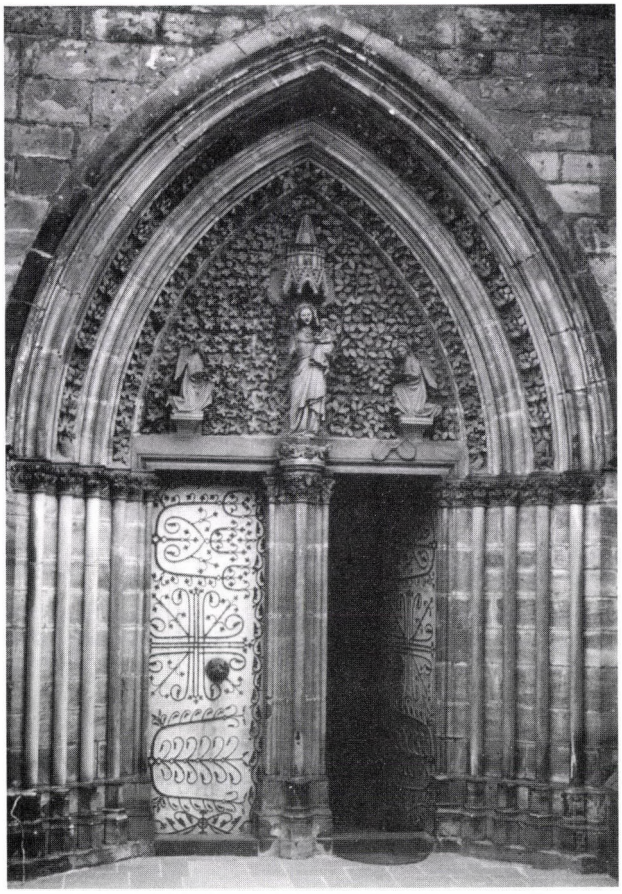

Fig. 11. Marburg, St Elizabeth. Western portal

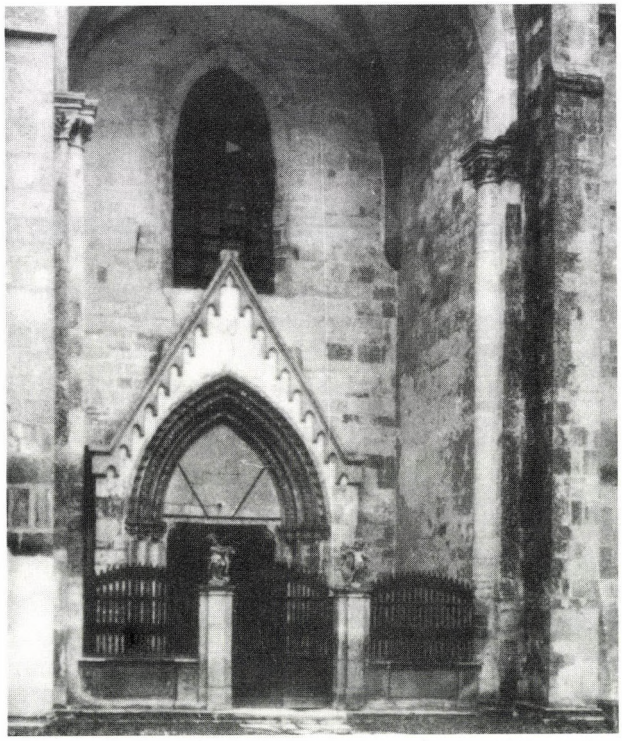

Fig. 12. Gyulafehérvár Cathedral. Western portal *(Entz, G., 1994, [Fig. 57])*

Marburg what would the local population have made of it? The post-1277 cathedral, in particular its west end, was not as fortress-like as its predecessor. It may not be coincidental that the new design looks like St Elizabeth's Marburg's western portal set underneath the giant order in the west wall of Aachen Cathedral. Such a concept would have have had some relevance to those who made the pilgrimage to Aachen, via Marburg.

We are fortunate that two contracts have survived from the post-1277 building campaign. We know that a "Master John from St-Dié in Alsace", who signed a contract on November 1st 1287, worked in Gyulafehérvár. If we accept Wilhelm-Kästner's dating of the west end at St Elizabeth's Marburg at 1275–83 this would make the Marburg portal almost contemporary with Master John's work in Gyulafehérvár.[23] It may have been the case that Master John was himself personally acquainted with the building operations going on in Marburg.[24]

Did Bishop Peter's political inclinations have any effect on the building operations at Gyulafehérvár? As a follower of Béla IV's son Stephen, later King Stephen V (1270–72) and from 1257 the ruler of the eastern part of a divided Kingdom, Bishop Peter Monoszló was rewarded generously for his support. Bishop Peter was given settlements, and indeed Kolozsvár itself, all of which were populated with the foreign guests (*hospes*) Stephen had encouraged to settle in the region.[25] However, five years after Stephen's death in 1272 Peter Monoszló was having to face a Saxon rising in Gyulafehérvár. The fact that the cathedral became the target for the Saxons' anger suggests that the building had been a symbol of oppression.

Having sustained enormous damage the new Marburg-influenced structure offered a new architectural message which was more likely to unite, rather than divide, the local German and Hungarian populations, as St Elizabeth had equally valid German and Hungarian crudentials. The cultural message was spread over an entire region as Gyulafehérvár-influenced portals appeared in Transylvanian churches, particularly in the Saxon villages of Küküllő county.[26] Whilst the western portal at Gyulafehérvár Cathedral resembled St Elizabeth's Marburg, there were also differences. The portal

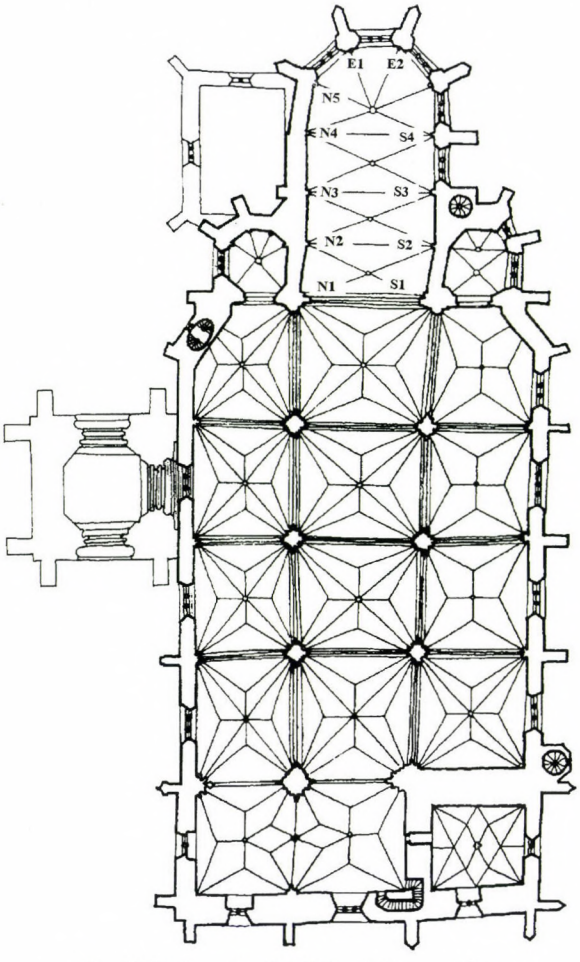

Fig. 13. Kolozsvár, St Michael. Groundplan

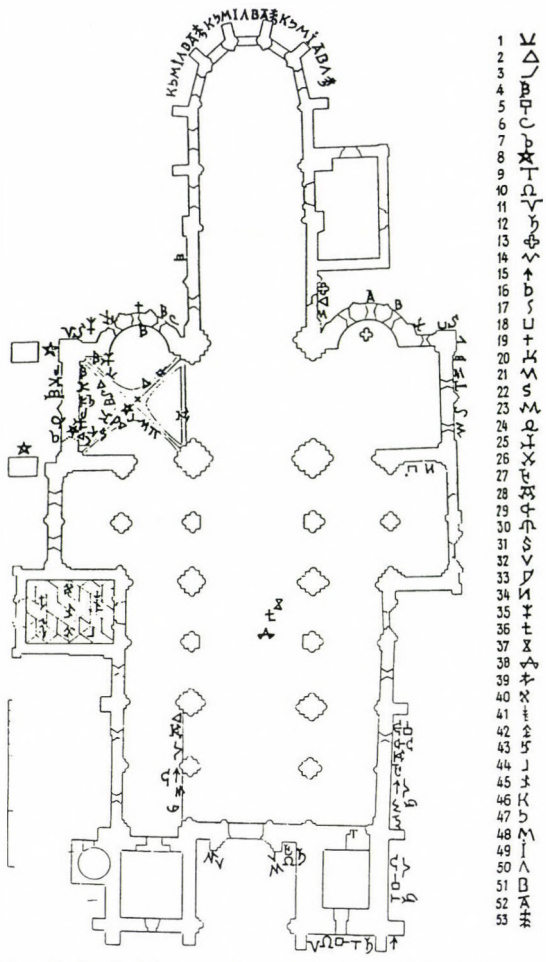

Fig. 14. Gyulafehérvár Cathedral. Groundplan *(Entz, G., 1958, p. 3 [Plate 2])*

at St Elizabeth's does not have a pediment. However, the existence of a pediment over the romanesque west doorway at the parish church in Szászsebes (Sebeş, Romania) suggests that the feature existed in the original romanesque portal at Gyulafehérvár. However, what makes the comparison with the western portal at St Elizabeth's so plausible is the foliage decoration which appears on alternate archivaults around the west portal at Gyulafehérvár Cathedral, and the similarities in the foliage designs themselves.[27] Where the Gyulafehérvár west end design is adopted elsewhere in Transylvania, grapevine motifs are preferred.[28]

If the nave piers of the original St Michael's Kolozsvár stood in the same positions as the present ones, and one adds intermediary piers from the west end to the easternmost free standing piers, one would be left with a nave of six bays similar to that at Gyulafehérvár Cathedral (Figs 13 and 14). The ends of the transepts at the first build at St Michael's would have been in line with the present aisle walls whose positions in fact dictated the width of the aisles during the fourteenth century rebuild. The transepts at Kolozsvár were therefore slightly shorter than those at Gyulafehérvár. One can also assume that the original western towers at Kolozsvár resembled those still standing at Gyulafehérvár, and suggest the west facade also had a giant order arch.[29] The length of the present chancel at St Michael's stands in the same ratio to the nave, as the post-1277 chancel at Gyulafehérvár stands to its nave. Thus, the groundplans of post-1277 Gyulafehérvár Cathedral and the first build at St Michael's Kolozsvár were almost identical, although there was a significant difference in scale. One can conclude, therefore, that despite the presence of a clear site the architect of the post-Tatar build at St Michael's Kolozsvár



Fig. 15. Regensburg, Dominican Church. Exterior of the east end

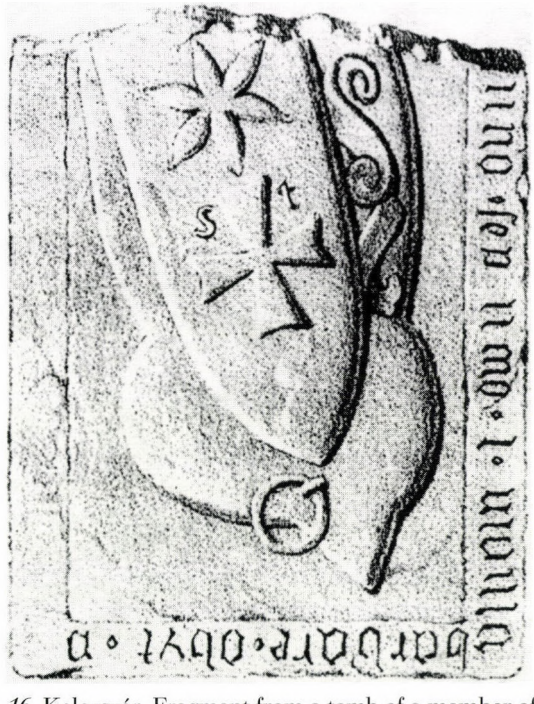

Fig. 16. Kolozsvár. Fragment from a tomb of a member of the Knight's Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem

decided to use Gyulafehérvár Cathedral as his model. The presence of a "Beifuss" design at both sites suggests that perhaps several masons from the pre-1277 workshop worked at both sites.[30]

One can make a reasonable guess at the original appearance of the chancel at Kolozsvár by looking at the Dominican designs which influenced the chancel at Gyulafehérvár and the appearance of the Kolozsvár chancel as it stands today. The buttressing of the Dominican church in Regensburg shares St Michael's Kolozsvár's numerous horizontal mouldings, even to the degree that the uppermost moulding surrounds the whole buttress (Fig. 15). One can also assume that both were originally crowned with a pinnacle and that the design of the present buttresses referred back to the buttresses of the original church.[31]

A fragment of a fourteenth century tomb bearing the arms of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem has been found in the northern side chapel of St Michael's Kolozsvár (Fig. 16). Jakab suggests the chapel must have belonged to the order, especially as the chapel was in that part of the church nearest the Order's Hospital, which lay a few hundred yards to the east of St Michael's in Magyar utca.[32] It is probable that the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem settled in Kolozsvár in the years immediately following the Tatar invasion, when they were called upon to keep a wary eye on the Cuman settlers (*hospes*) who had been invited to guard the eastern border of the Kingdom of Hungary.[33] St Michael's was first built on a site just outside the walls of the old town, in a new development which formed the basis of the planned new town which now forms the centre of Kolozsvár.[34] In contrast to the *Óvár* before the Tatar invasion the new town after the Tatar invasion was more cosmopolitan, and increasingly became the subject of calls for civic status and all the rights and freedoms that went with it.[35] According to a document dated 1257 Kolozsvár was populated with "guests and Saxons". One could conclude, therefore, that the Hospitallers had their own chapel in the post-Tatar church, and that there were chapels to both sides of the chancel. Like Gyulafehérvár Cathedral, St Michael's Kolozsvár was planned to fulfil Bishop Peter's cultural political agenda in what was an extremely unstable period.

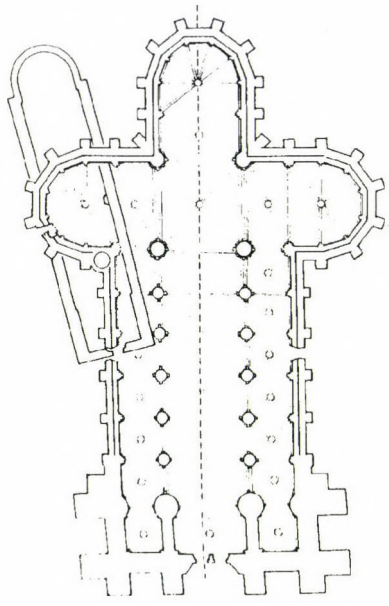

Fig. 17. Marburg, St Elizabeth. Groundplan *(Nussbaum, 1984, p. 58, [Fig. 58])*

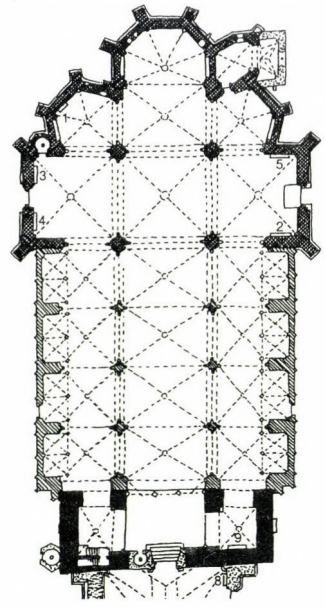

Fig. 18. Oppenheim, St Katherine. Groundplan *(Götz, 1968, p. 74, [Fig. 31])*

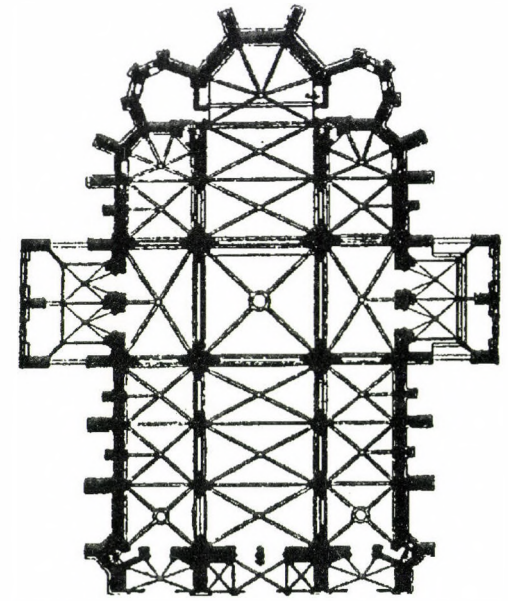

Fig. 19. Troyes, St Urbain. Groundplan *(Focillon, H., A nyugati művészet, Gondolat, 1982, p. 227)*

If the architect/s of Gyulafehérvár and Kolozsvár had wanted to refer in some way to St Elizabeth's Marburg during the last quarter of the 13th century they could also have referred to several recent churches which had also used St Elizabeth's as their model.[36] Perhaps the most important Marburg-inspired church in the second half of the thirteenth century was St Katherine's Oppenheim (begun 1262, Fig. 18).[37] There, the apsidal transepts were remodelled into two polygonal side chapels. It was an attempt to reduce the Marburg design to a format more in keeping with Oppenheim's less grandiose scale. The arches between the chancel and the side chapels, as well as the size of the windows in the northern and southern walls, help to maintain some of the north-south axis which is one of Marburg's characteristic features.

Medieval architects were obviously aware that churches had characteristic features, references to which were likely to make them recognizable. In the case of St Elizabeth's Marburg, Hamann and Wilhelm-Kästner suggest the features were the apsidal transepts, the classical basilican groundplan and the hall nave.[38] The number of buildings which sought to refer to the apsidal apses by reproducing them in their entirety were few.[39] Rather, the merest suggestion of the roundness of the apsidal transepts, as in the Castle Chapel at Marburg, where the walls of one bay of the chapel were widened to form an alcove, was sufficient to make the architectural quotation recognizable. One did not have to go to great lengths to make a church "Elizabethan". The liturgical arrangements of such churches did not faithfully reproduce those at St Elizabeth's Marburg, and consequently interior spaces were given new liturgical roles. At the same time the architect of St Urbain in Troyes (founded in 1262) produced a similar medium-sized design to that of Oppenheim. Rather than looking to Marburg the architect went to Dijon Cathedral in search of his groundplan and elevation (Figs 4 and 19). With a few adaptations, the rejection of the transept being the most drastic, he refashioned the Dijon design in the rayonnant style (Figs 21 and 22).[40]

In contrast to the shortening of the transept at St Katherine's Oppenheim, and its total rejection at St Urbain, Troyes the contemporary structure of St Nazaire in Carcassonne (begun c. 1269) saw the lengthening of the transepts. At Carcassonne each transept bay had a two bay chapel the western bays of which had openings allowing free movement between them, whilst in the eastern bays interior traceried openings allowed visual contact between the chapels (Fig. 23).[41] The origins of the interior windows at Carcassonne appear to have had less to do with Dijon Cathedral than with experimenting with

rayonnant tracery, covering ever more surfaces, and dispensing with ever more walls.[42] The desire to dispense with walls applies also to St Margaret's Chapel at Amiens Cathedral, when, during remodelling (after 1292), a traceried window was built into its eastern wall. This example is worth mentioning as it has previously been compared to the interior window at St Michael's Kolozsvár.[43]

The architect at Carcassonne had found a new use for transepts in medium-sized churches where the architect at St Urban in, Troyes had deemed them defunct. At Carcassonne the transept lost its north-south axis and the transept's focus was turned eastwards towards the chapels. The resulting design gives this medium-sized church a feeling of scale more akin to the great church. (Indeed, one could suggest the quest for a sense of scale was the aim of all architects designing medium-sized churches based on great church models.) Both St Nazaire, Carcassonne and St Urbain, Troyes give the impression of being of the scale of a building, like Regensburg Cathedral, which was in fact twice their size.

The cause of the conceptual link between Gyulafehérvár Cathedral and St Katherine's Oppenheim, based on their common reference to St Elizabeth's in Marburg, may have been caused by the geographical proximity of Oppenheim and St-Dié in the Lower Rhine region. For it was from St-Dié that one of the masters working at Gyulafehérvár came. If one takes into consideration the Cologne master's work on the western facade at St Elizabeth's, Marburg (1275–83), stylistically one is not too distant from similar features found at Oppenheim. It is indeed possible that there was a direct personal link between the later building activities at Marburg and the building work at Oppenheim. It was from this artistic landscape that Master John of St Dié travelled to Transylvania, perhaps with Marburg-type designs. Using this hypothesis, the side chapels at St Michael's Kolozsvár, would have had deep side chapels not dissimilar to those at Oppenheim. Although we have suggested that original build at St Michael's Kolozsvár was, for the most part, based on the design at Gyulafehérvár, it was not necessarily the case that the design was copied down to the last detail. As a new structure on a virgin site the architect had the opportunity to include the most recent developments in architectural design, one of which may have been the crossing tower at St. Katherine's Oppenheim. St Katherine's Oppenheim, St Elizabeth's Marburg, Gyulafehérvár Cathedral and the parish church of Prázsmár in the Barcaság, all had crossing towers, although none of them were lanterns.[44] If St Michael's Kolozsvár had had a crossing tower it could have been adopted from any of the above structures. A possible explanation could have been the intermediary role of the Church of the Holy Cross at Prázsmár, a church possibly modelled on St Elizabeth's Marburg, and founded by the Knights Hospitallers of St John during the period shortly after the Tatar invasion, when the order controlled the Barcaság region. The Order of the Knights Hospitallers' presumably wanted their involvement in the Kolozsvár project to reflect the order's interest in centralized architecture.[45]

St Michael's Kolozsvár was started after 1277 when its architect was in a position to use the repaired and remodelled Gyulafehérvár Cathedral as a model. In 1282 King Ladislaus took Kolozsvár out of the hands of Bishop Peter Monoszló only to return it seven years later.[46] In 1292 the bishop bought Lombföld, a plot of land on the edge of the town. In 1299 this piece of land was exchanged for wooded lands at Laske, Apáthavasa and Szentgyörgy which would have been suitable for producing timber. In 1285 Kolozsvár was plunged into chaos when the Cumans went rampant, molesting, murdering and taking residents off to their encampments. One will never know the state St Michael's Kolozsvár was in 1285, but one could imagine that the choir was fully functional, and that it became a focus for the Cumans' aggressions because of its Johannite associations. Master John of St-Dié, who was then active in Gyulafehérvár from, or shortly after, 1287 could also have been active in any activities going on in Kolozsvár. If one is prepared to accept that Bishop Peter was the patron of St Michael's it is likely that building operations only continued after 1289 when Kolozsvár was once again in his custody. From this sequence of events it would seem that Kolozsvár was returned to Bishop Peter so he could restore order. As at Gyulafehérvár a decade earlier, architecture was used to this end. Thus, from the point of view of

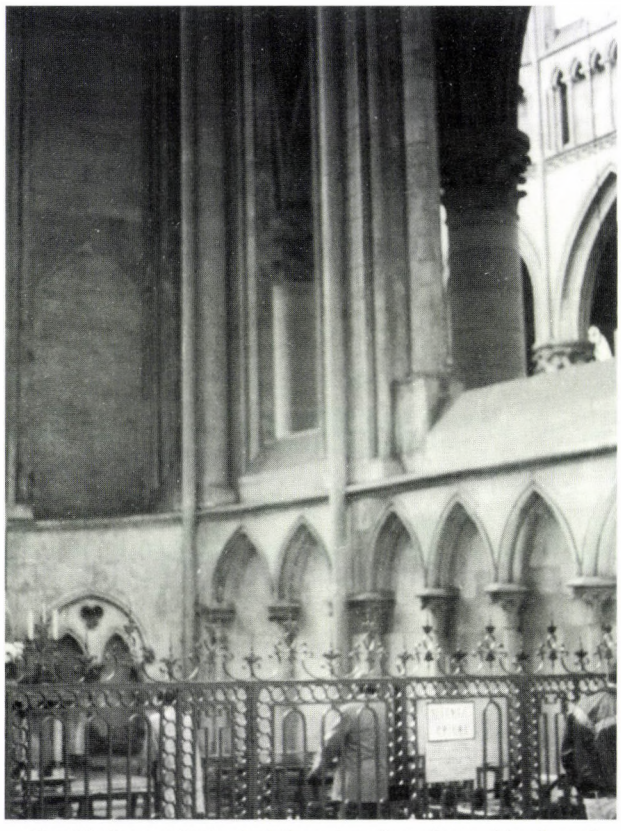

Fig. 20. Rouen Cathedral. Interior of northern side chapel

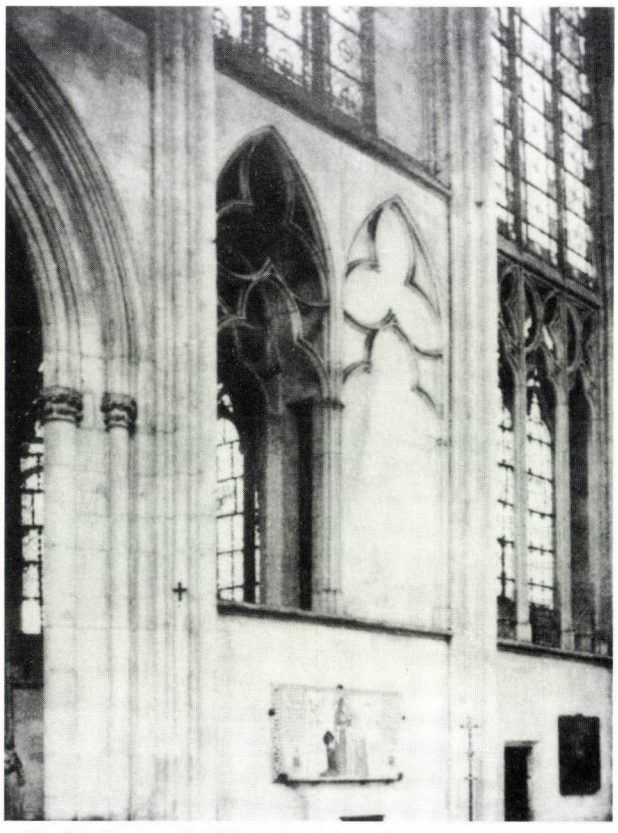

Fig. 22. Troyes, St Urbain. Interior of northern side chapel *(Entz, G. A., 1984 p. 79 [Fig. 14])*

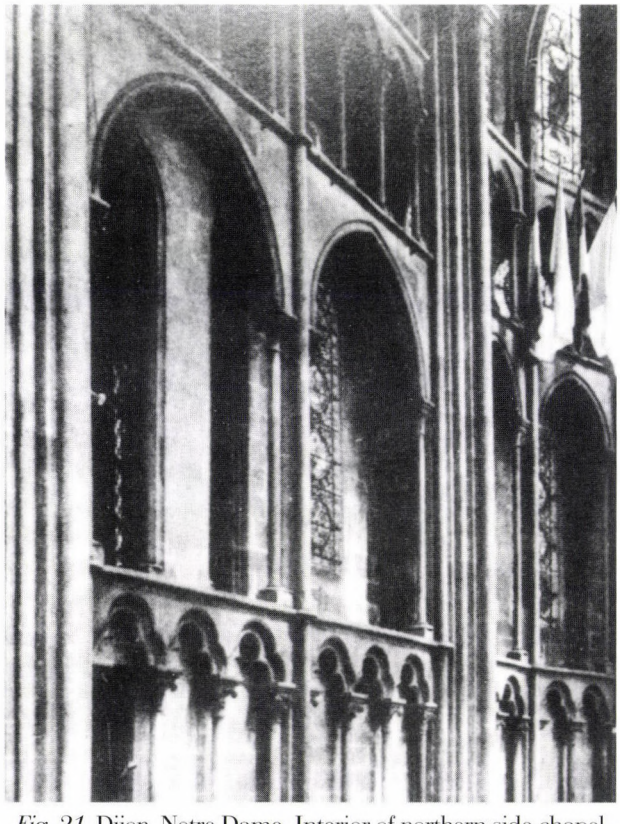

Fig. 21. Dijon, Notre Dame. Interior of northern side chapel *(Entz, G. A., 1984 p. 79 [Fig. 13])*

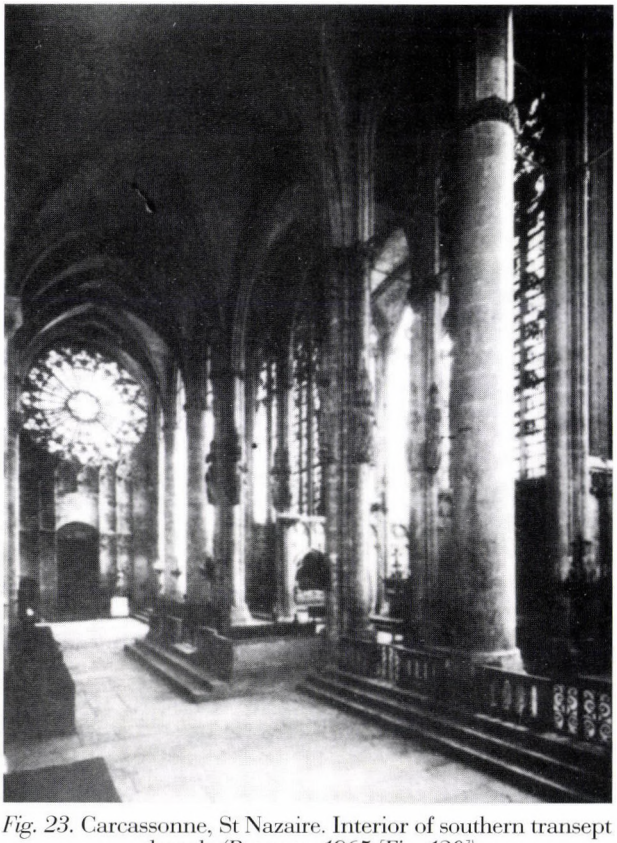

Fig. 23. Carcassonne, St Nazaire. Interior of southern transept chapels *(Branner, 1965 [Fig. 120])*

royal and ecclesiastical cultural politics the original St Michael's Kolozsvár served both the Knights Hospitallers of St John, monitors of the Cuman population, and the ambitions of Bishop Peter Monoszló.[47]

Károly Szabó sees in the 1270s a "strengthening of resolve within the Catholic faith".[48] At the Second Synod of Lyon in 1274 the situation in the Kingdom of Hungary provoked a great deal of concern. Bruno, Bishop of Olomouc, articulated these worries. In a letter to Pope Gregory X dated 16th December, 1273, Bruno writes about the dangerous elements, particularly the Cumans, within Hungarian society. He was particularly concerned about the "evil rituals" going on in the region.[49] We know that Bruno was particularly interested in ritual. On 2nd May 1257 he allowed the issuing of indulgences to worshippers who paid their respects to the altar of St John at St Elizabeth's Marburg, an altar which he had himself consecrated.[50] In the same year he consecrated the parish church in Jihlava. In 1260 he founded, and later consecrated the collegiate church at Kroměriž, the church he was eventually buried at.[51] Bruno, Bishop of Olomouc and Peter Monoszló lived in similar social and religious circumstances. They lived and worked in regions where heathens constituted a menace, and where architecture was in a position to play a role in overcoming it. After the Synod of Lyon in 1274, the Papacy sent a legate, Philip Bishop of Fermo, to bring some kind of order to the Kingdom of Hungary. At the Synod of Buda of 1279, Peter Monoszló's brother Lodomer, who was at that time Bishop of Esztergom (1279–1297/8) influenced Philip when suggesting that Ladislaus IV's most important task would be, firstly to dissuade the Cumans from using their Cuman rites, and secondly, to spread the Christian faith amongst them. Liturgy became more and more of an issue. Much time was devoted to the question of ritual at the Synod of Buda, particularly in relation to the Cuman population. At this time Bohemia and Hungary saw an increase in the number of liturgical ceremonies, particularly those relating to the *Corpus Christi*.[52]

The Synod of Lyon of 1274 was, if one accepts Paul Frankl's suggestion that architectural ideas were exchanged between Leo of Tundorf, Bishop of Regensburg and Cardinal Archer, patron of St Urbain in Troyes, a possible source of architectural ideas for the Hungarian delegates who went there.[53] The groundplan of the post-Tatar building campaign at Zagreb Cathedral resembles the plan of St Urbain in Troyes as that of St Michael's Kolozsvár itself.

The Kreuzkirche in Wrocław, founded on 11th February 1288, was also modelled on St Elizabeth's Marburg.[54] The Kreuzkirche is a medium-sized church. The founding document makes direct reference to St Elizabeth, St Hedwig and St Wenceslas, all of whom who were related to the church's founder Henry IV of Silesia. The founder therefore wanted to make the most of his connections with the Andechs-Meran dynasty. In wishing to make these references, the recently completed (1283) St Elizabeth's Marburg was an obvious choice as a model. In Wrocław the cross form of the Marburg design is emphasized. However, other parts of the church are not copied as faithfully. Despite its short nave, its lower church, and the length of its chancel, the Kreuzkirche attempts to refer to St Elizabeth's Marburg, whilst being familiar with recent developments in Elizabethan design. The changes: the long windows and the "rayonnant" tracery, show that the architect was familiar with developments in the French Court, and reductionist gothic mendicant architecture. However, the design does not go as far as the disintegration of the walls seen at St Urbain Troyes, for example. The cross-shaped groundplan also appears in much smaller scale buildings, namely chapels attached to Cistercian foundations. The chapel of St Michael at Ebrach, like St Elizabeth's Marburg, served as a necropolis. Boleslav III, Duke of Legnica and Brieg's Cistercian foundation at Lubiaż (1312) had a northern chapel leading off the ambulatory which was cross shaped, and also used as a necropolis. The apsed arms of the chapel at Lubiaż made it all the more similar to Marburg and the Kreuzkirche in Wrocław.[55] Similar cross-shaped chapels can be found in Dominican foundations referring back to the chapel of that type at the Dominican foundation in Bologna.[56]

It is interesting to observe that the same reducing tendencies seen in medium-sized churches are also apparent in cross-shaped chapels. Such reductions can be seen in the chapter house at the Franciscan foundation in

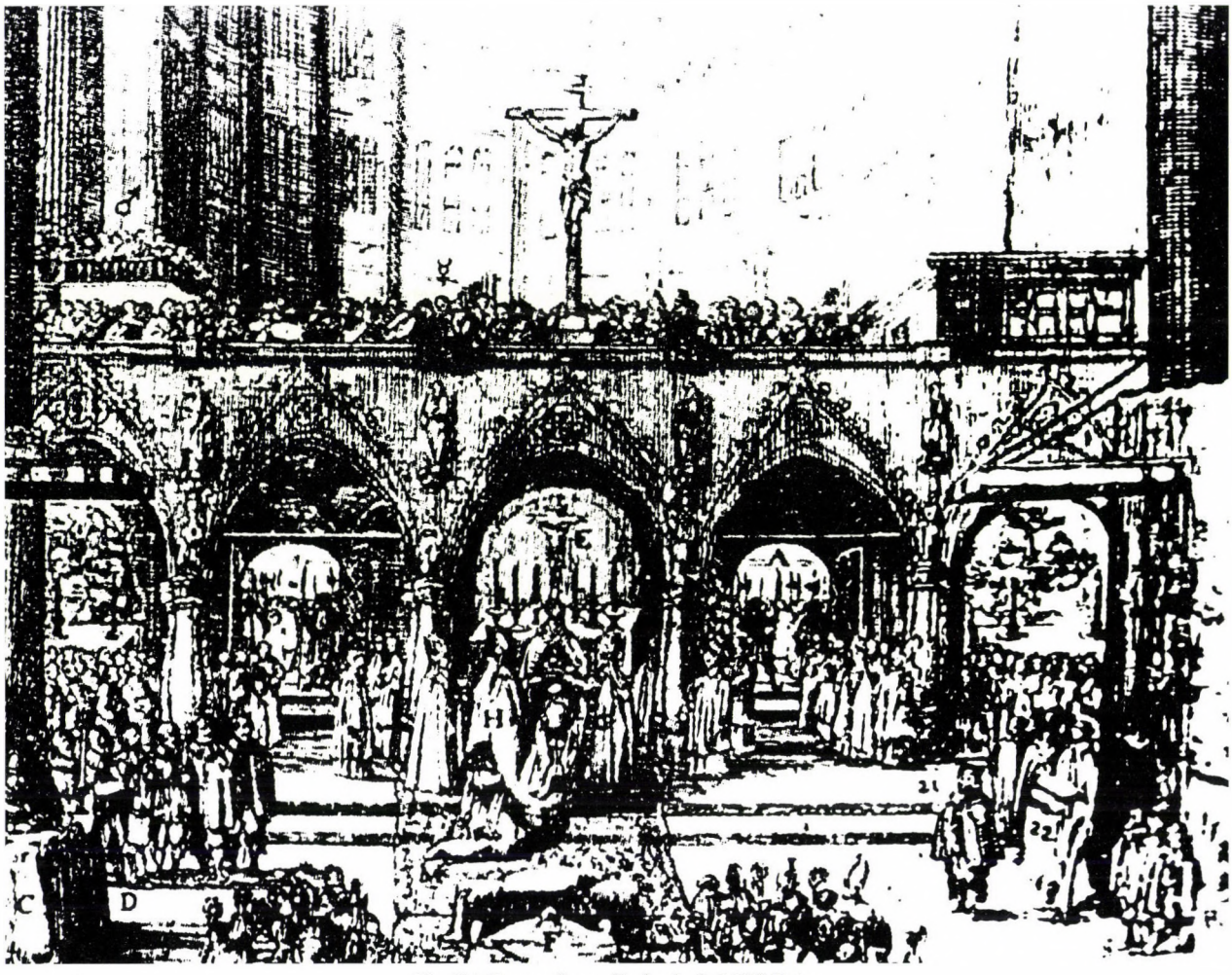

Fig. 24. Regensburg Cathedral. 1630 Print

Sopron and on a larger scale at Maria Strassengel. The latter includes windows and doorways between the side chapels and the chance,l and on those grounds has frequently been compared to St Michael's Kolozsvár.[57] In a 1630 print of Regensburg Cathedral one can see that the wall passage running between the southern side chapel and the chancel was used to gain access to the rood screen (Fig. 24). This solution is a refinement of the design at the Notre-Dame de Dijon.[58] At Regensburg Cathedral the system of wall passages allowed access to all parts of the building. One can walk from the western towers to the chancel, or, perhaps more relevantly, to the sacristy, without having to use the pavement. At the Notre-Dame de Dijon the lower wall passages from the chancel do not lead as far as the nave aisles, however, one can continue to the west end via the wall-passages by climbing the staircases in the western corners of the transepts and continuing at triforium or clearstorey level (Fig. 4).

The wall passages at the Notre-Dame de Dijon, like those at Regensburg Cathedral, provided access to the rood screen. However, at Dijon one could only get to the wall passage, between the side chapels and the chancel, via the entrances to the transept lower wall passages in the western corners of the transept arms. Thus, in order to get to the rood screen one had to shuffle along the lower wall passages, past the stained glass windows, before climbing on to the rood loft. The designs which followed the Notre-Dame de Dijon: St. Urbain in Troyes, and Regensburg Cathedral, placed the staircases in the walls between the side chapels and the chancel. However, the reasons for this were not merely due to an architectural refinement, rather, as we shall see later, it was because the rood screen at the Notre-Dame de Dijon was much longer than

those at Regensburg Cathedral and St Urbain, Troyes. If one looks at the rood screen at Regensburg Cathedral in the aforementioned print, one can see that the rood screen stood to the west of the chancel arch (Fig. 24). Of the five arches in the screen three of them led towards the chancel, although there was an altar blocking direct access under the central arch. The outer arches placed in front of the chancel arch likewise provided chapel space under the screen. The screen did not cover the entire width of the nave, and therefore did not cross the side chapels. On the print it appears as if a wooden staircase took people up from the wall passage to the rood screen after they had gone up the staircases from the side chapels. The design of the rood screen was involved in the reduction process. If one looks at prints of the rood screens which once existed at some of the great French Cathedrals (Paris, Reims, Amiens, Bourges and Chartres for example) they had either free standing spiral staircases, pairs of straight staircases or a single straight staircase. In a medium-sized church, where there were no ambulatories, it was not always possible to provide such grandiose modes of access.

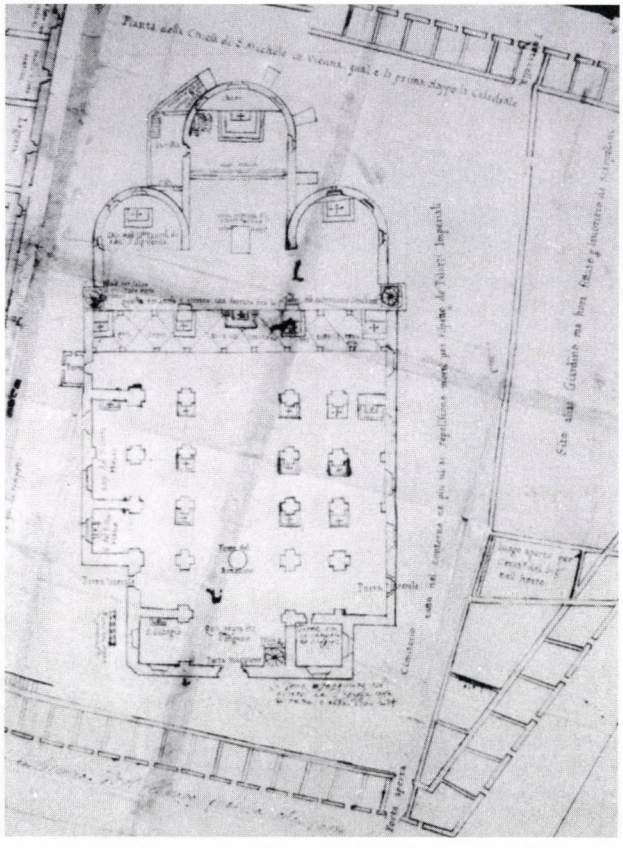

Fig. 25. Vienna, St Michael. 1633–36. Groundplan

In medium-sized churches space had to be used extremely efficiently. Consequently at Notre-Dame de Dijon, staircases, and perhaps the wall passages, within the fabric acquired functions, for example, getting people on and off the rood loft, they previously had not had. Certainly the decision to build the staircases in the western corners of the transept appears strange if they were meant merely to provide access to the rood screen. It almost seems as if a use was found for the wall passages once the screen had been built rather than providing wall passages specifically for that purpose.[59] However, as we shall see the staircases were where they were for a reason. On a 1633–6 groundplan of St Michael's Vienna one can see the rood screen spreads the whole width of the transepts and that the staircases leading to it were placed in the eastern corners of the two transept arms (Fig. 25).[60] From this plan it is possible to reconstruct an equally long rood screen at the Notre-Dame de Dijon, and to define its logic. When staircases in the eastern corners of the transepts made access to the rood screen so much more straightforward, why did the architect at Dijon put the staircases in the western corners? At Dijon the staircases were placed where they were because that is where the staircases were at St Yved and the Ste Chapelle, Dijon. The eastern corners of the transept in all three designs were providing access to chapels either east of the transept as at Braine and Ste Chapelle, or under the rood screen as at Notre-Dame.[61] The chapel under the rood screen at Dijon replaced the polygonal outer chapel in the St Yved design. This was an important development in the reduction process as it replaced the screened chancel which continued under the crossing with a long north-south rood screen immediately west of the chancel arch. At St Michael's Vienna the staircases were built "outside" the walls so that they would not interfere with the design of the screen or the chapels to the east of the screen. This was a possibility the architect at Dijon had overseen. In making one monumental breakthrough the architect of the Notre-Dame de Dijon had been unable to see the next, which was later realized at St Michael's Vienna. Looking back to precedents prevented the architect

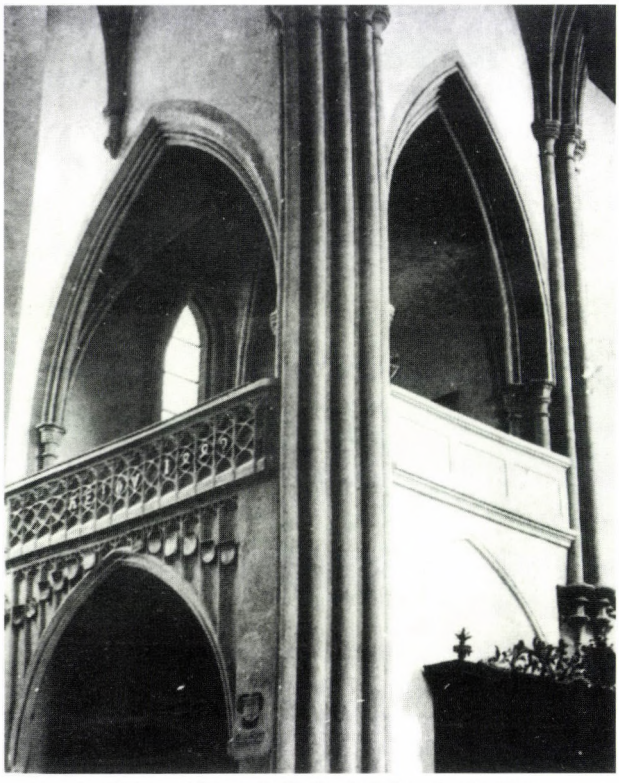

Fig. 26. Wiener Neustadt Cathedral. Interior looking east *(Entz, G. A., 1984, p. 80 [Fig. 15])*

from seeing the easiest option to providing access to the chapels and the rood screen at the same time. This perhaps would have been too much to expect from an architect who had already revolutionized the design of the medium-sized church. So, from the above comparison we can conclude that the rood screen at the Notre-Dame de Dijon went from transept end, to transept end and that the eastern walls of the transept arms were used as reredoses in the chapels under the rood screen, in a similar way to the central and the outer arches of the screen at Regensburg Cathedral. Thus, the three blind arches in the eastern walls of the transept arms would have been an essential part of the reredos design.

The central part of the mid-fourteenth century rood design at St Michael's Vienna resembles the design of the rood screen at Regensburg Cathedral, with a central altar, and altars resting against the eastern piers of the crossing. As a solution, the rood screen at St Michael's Vienna is ideally suited to the medium-sized church. It selected the most satisfactory elements of all its predecessors: the length of the screen, and the spiral staircases placed in the corners of the transept arms, whilst avoiding wall passages. In a sense the wall passage was a false development within the history of the medium-sized screen. This could be accounted for either by the fact that the feature had originated in the great church, or that the wall passage had simply been a design feature, until a use was found for it which eventually became obsolete.

At the present time there are two galleries, built during the reign of Emperor Frederick III, inside the side chapels at Wiener Neustadt Cathedral (Fig. 26). The two spiral staircases in the outer corners of the side chapels date from the 14th century. If one were to use the logic of the designs at the Notre-Dame de Dijon and St Michael's Vienna, and add the observation that the side chapels are illuminated by two lancets placed one above the other, the likelihood is that there were either galleries preceeding the present ones, or that there had been a rood screen passing through the side chapels and across the chancel. This latter possibility is made the more credible by the fact that the screens at Regensburg and St Michael's Vienna incorpated chapels into their designs. Indeed, at the cathedral in Wiener Neustadt it was not deemed necessary to build chapels east of the screen, the eastern wall of the screen itself sufficed. This logic, which was also used in the transepts at the Notre-Dame de Dijon, also explains why the side chapels have square rather than polygonal apses. From the exterior the side chapels at Wiener Neustadt appear to be merely side chapels, whereas inside the exact function of the side chapel spaces is not so clear. What is evident, however, is that the design represents a further reduction of the medium-sized designs at the Notre-Dame de Dijon and Regensburg Cathedral, insofar as the three central arches of the Regensburg design have been enlarged so as to engulf the side chapels. Or conversely, the fabric of the building has been reduced to such a degree that the outer walls of the side chapels have sucked the outer bays of the screen into the chapels themselves. This explains the fact that the screen, or galleries, sit rather incongruously inside the "side chapels".

Similar solutions can be found in smaller church designs. Rood screens could be built into the easternmost bay of the nave, stretching

across from one aisle wall to the other. This solution can be found particularly in mendicant architecture. At the Dominican Monastery in Buda the screen stands in the nave in the second bay from the east. Elsewhere, for example the Franciscan foundations at Sopron, Lőcse (Levoča, Slovakia, Fig. 31), Kőszeg and Keszthely, St Mary's, Brassó and the Hill Church at Segesvár (Sighişoara, Romania), the screen is built against the eastern walls of the aisles. As at Wiener Neustadt, the chapel spaces under the rood screen, as well as the spaces above them, are are illuminated by two separate windows, one above the other, in the aisle walls. The articulation of space in these chapel spaces can not have been much different from those seen in the two mysterious architectural spaces Giotto depicted to both sides of the chancel arch at the Arena Chapel in Padua.

The square ended chapel, of the type seen at Wiener Neustadt, can also be seen at St Michael's in Sopron, although once again the interior rood screen no longer exists there (Fig. 27).[62] As at Wiener Neustadt the northern side chapel at St Michael's is illuminated by two small windows, placed one above the other. It also has a spiral staircase placed in the chapel's south-eastern corner, next to the chancel wall. In this respect the design is also similar to the solutions at Troyes and Regensburg. Thus, the desire to produce a suitable design for the medium-sized based on designs which ultimately derived from great churches culminated in the east end at St Michael's Vienna, the cathedral at Wiener Neustadt and mendicant plans like that at the Franciscan church in Sopron. The Abbey at Garamszentbenedek (Hronský Beňadik, Slovakia), which underwent a major rebuilding in the mid-fourteenth century, cannot be counted as one of their number.[63]

As with the fourteenth century design at St Michael's Kolozsvár, the Benedictine monastery at Garamszentbenedek has a hall nave and the triple apse arrangement in the east end. As at both St Michael's Sopron and the Church of Our Lady in Buda, the abbey has a pseudo-transept, although only the structures at Buda and Garamszentbenedek had polygonal side chapels.[64] What is significant at Garamszentbenedek is that the side chapels are illuminated by two rows of lancets (Fig. 29). Although we



Fig. 27. Sopron, St Michael. Exterior from the north east

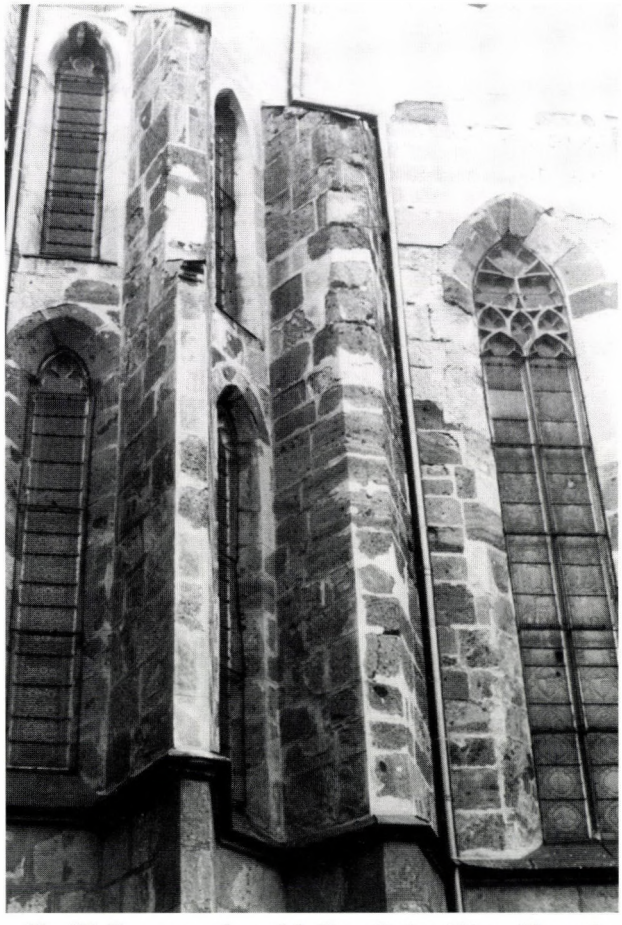

Fig. 28. Garamszentbenedek, Benedictine Abbey. Chancel exterior

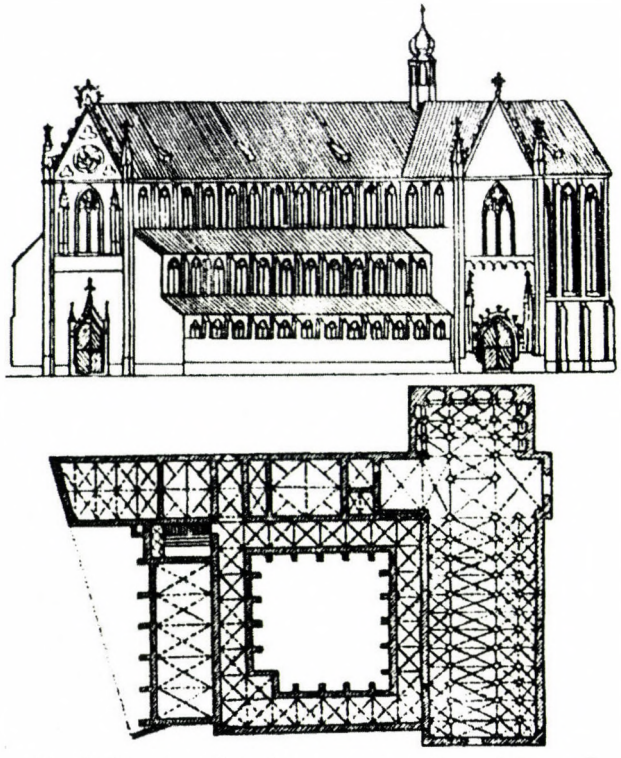

Fig. 29. Zbraslav, Cistercian monastery, Groundplan and drawing by Kuthan

have pointed to the possible presence of a rood screen where two rows of lancets are present, this does not apply to Garamszentbenedek where the apses are polygonal and apart from a small doorway between the southern side chapel and the chancel, there are no openings between the chapels and the chancel to allow a screen through the side chapels and across the chancel, as was probably the case at Wiener Neustadt Cathedral and St Michael's Sopron. Observed from close to, the two side chapels at Garamszentbenedek are full of irregularities. It is easy to imagine that the double row of narrow lancets was an attempt at maintaining structural stability.[65] However, irregularities are not a guarantee that a design lacks an overall concept. At Garamszentbenedek the irregular side chapels were built of ashlar cut with such precision as to suggest that the design was executed according to plan. The two rows of windows were not the result of accident, rather they were the result of the desire to refer to the church of St Elizabeth's in Marburg. The design takes the basic design of the apsed transept arms at Marburg, and then turns them ninety degrees eastwards. The resulting side chapels function in a similar way to those at St Katherine's in Oppenheim, making a reference to the roundness of St Elizabeth's transepts, as well as paying homage to its double row of windows.

III

The cistercian monastery at Zbraslav in Bohemia exercised an enormous influence on late medieval architecture. Founded by Wenceslas II in 1291 its chancel and transept were completed in 1305. As a necropolis and royal foundation it counted amongst one of the most important buildings in central Europe.[66] On account of a few of its characteristic details, the structure cannot be ignored in this study. The two free standing piers which encroach into the crossing are of relevance to our understanding of the development which ultimately led to the design at St Michael's Kolozsvár (Fig. 29). Unlike the design at Notre-Dame de Dijon, the design at Zbraslav retains the Cîteaux-Ebrach-type ambulatory. However, at the same time the chancel arcade is pushed one bay westwards into the space under the crossing. These piers, intruding into the crossing, betray Zbraslav's presence within the reductionist debate. As it created a new vista between the transept arms and the chancel. The design, as at St Nazaire, Carcassonne amounts to a reduction of the "Bernardine" plan. According to the new reduced version, St Nazaire's transept chapels are rejected. The transepts at Zbraslav became large spaces devoid of chapels and screens. The shallowness of the chancel meant that the choir extended westwards under the crossing enclosed by a choir screen. The transepts were presumably used, firstly, as a necropolis for the members of the Přemysl dynasty who were buried there, and secondly, as we shall see later for housing the tomb of Wenceslas II.[67] The intruding piers would have stand under the crossing to the height of the transept, in a similar way to those at the parish church in Klatovy in Bohemia and St Michael's in Sopron.

Amongst the reduced versions of the Bernardine plan one can also include the cistercian monastery in Brno, founded by Wenceslas II's second wife Elizabeth Rejčka in 1323. Its present apsidal transept design is the result of a re-



Fig. 30. Brno, Cistercian Monastery. Exterior from south east

modelling which took place between 1356 and 1397 (Figs 30 and 33). According to Homolka this "trikonchos" design refers back to the courtly art of Wenceslas II, whilst referring to St Elizabeth's in Marburg, as well as the Kreuzkirche in Wrocław.[68]

If one accepts that Kuthan's drawing of the monastery at Zbraslav is accurate, then both churches had long naves, and similarly articulated south transept facades, with a portal, a long window and the edge of the pediment decorated with crockets. The ratio of the size of the transept to that of the nave was similar in both buildings. Indeed one could imagine that before the remodelling, the chancel at Brno was as short as that at Zbraslav and later proved too short for the necropolis it subsequently became. Elizabeth Rejčka wanted to build a church to the memory of her first husband and using his foundation at Zbraslav as a model was the obvious choice, particularly at a time when there was talk that Wenceslas II (died 1305) would be beatified.[69] In addition a wonder had taken place at Wenceslas II's tomb in 1308, causing Elizabeth Rejčka's daughter-in-law Queen Elizabeth to resume building operations at Zbraslav in 1329, and to have a new tomb made for Wenceslas II. However, looking at the later building history of the Cistercian monastery at Brno, it would appear that the cult of Wenceslas II waned over the following two generations, whilst the cult of Saint Elizabeth formed the starting point for later building developments.

Much of this the fourteenth century interest in the cult of Saint Elizabeth, which resulted in the remodelling of the east end at the Cistercian foundation in Brno, can be attributed to Queen Elizabeth of Hungary, Charles Robert's fourth wife.[70] Elizabeth (later the Queen Mother, after the death of her husband in 1342) was a distant relative of Saint Elizabeth, on her mother's side. This fact assured a dynastic link between the Árpád and the Anjou dynasties in the Kingdom of Hungary. Queen Elizabeth of Hungary used the cult of Saint Elizabeth to help to establish the crudentials of the new Anjou dynasty in Hungary. As an active patron of the arts Queen Elizabeth's interest in the cult of St Elizabeth



Fig. 31. Lőcse, Franciscan Monastery. Exterior of the nave from south

was manifested in the foundations of the Collegiate Church of St Mary (completed by 1348), and the Clarissan Monastery (work in progress between 1334 and 1346), both built in Óbuda. The Collegiate Church of St Mary in Óbuda was started ten years after the foundation of the cistercian monastery in Brno. Apart from a few carved fragments and the outline of the groundplan nothing remains of the church. However, from what we have, one can see that the church had a three aisled nave, a triple apsed east end and a pseudo-transept.[71]

In 1353 (Emperor) Charles IV and Anna of Swidnitz celebrated their marriage in Buda, after which they spent three months in Hungary. During her pilgrimage to Aachen with Emperor Charles IV in 1357, Elizabeth (then Queen Mother) travelled through Marburg. Could Elizabeth the Queen Mother have drawn the significance of the cult of Saint Elizabeth to Emperor Charles IV's attention? Charles IV too had dynastic links of sorts with Saint Elizabeth. Elizabeth the Queen Mother was Anna of Swidnitz's great aunt.[72] Charles IV must have been aware of this, as well as the significance of the name Elizabeth in Brno, because of Elizabeth Rejčka's foundation there. Within such a context the remodelling of the Cistercian monastery in Brno may have been an attempt, by the Luxemburg dynasty, to refer to the Elizabethness of its founder. Hence an east end which was modelled on St Elizabeth's Marburg. The reference to St Elizabeth's Marburg at Brno was made using the Marburg-inspired Clarissan Church in Óbuda as a model. At both buildings the side chapels bulge out wider than the side aisles to their west (Figs 32 and 33). In passing one should note that for the reasons mentioned above, the Collegiate Church, and the Clarissan church in Óbuda differ significantly from St Stephen's in Vienna which is, as Wagner-Rieger suggests, the product of a particularly Austrian cultural development.[73] In addition there is a centralizing tendency at the Clarissan church which is entirely absent at St Stephen's. Both churches in Óbuda refer to St Elizabeth's Marburg in a way St Stephen's fails to do (Fig. 36). The Collegiate Church turns Marburg's apsed transepts through ninety degrees, as at Garamszentbenedek, whilst at the Clarissan church, following Oppenheim, has apsed side chapels which radiate out from a point to the west of the chancel arch.[74] It is conceivable that both the Collegiate Church of St Mary, and the Clarissan Church in Óbuda, had two rows of windows in one, two or all of their apses in a manner similar to the side chapels at Garamszentbenedek. Following the Kreuzkirche in Wrocław, it was the monastery at Garamszentbenedek, the Collegiate Church of St Mary, and the Clarissan Church in Óbuda which continued the Elizabethan tradition.

If one looks at a console unearthed at the Collegiate Church in Óbuda, and compares it with consoles in the Chapel of Our Lady at Buda Castle, and the aisles at the parish church in Szászrégen, one can get some idea of the appearance of the interior the Collegiate Church. Perhaps Master Thomas, the patron of Szászrégen, was familiar with the work going on at the Royal Court.[75] Certainly the impression one gains of the interior of the Collegiate Church of

St Mary is of the sombreness and solidarity of the chancels at Garamszentbenedek and St Michael's Sopron, and the Brno nave. Thus, between 1320, the year of Queen Elizabeth's marriage to Charles Robert, to 1343 the year she inherited Óbuda, architectural features derived from St Elizabeth's Marburg were present in the architecture she patronized.[76]

It is likely that the architects working in the Hungarian Court were familiar with the most recent developments going on in Central Europe and southern Germany, and that it is not entirely inconceivable that the two churches in Óbuda, like the Chapel of Our Lady in Buda Castle and the Chapel of Our Lady at the Royal Castle in Óbuda, had triradial vaults which were prevalent in southern German as well as Polish architecture.[77] As a possible model one could mention the Chapel of St Catherine at Strasbourg Cathedral (consecrated in 1349), where the Collegiate console type, the triradial, and the star vault are all to be found (Fig. 39).[78] So, in the 1330s, twenty years before Elizabeth's pilgrimage to Marburg, architects in the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia were producing the buildings which were ultimately to lead to the mature Parler style.[79] One cannot discount the possibility that the rebuilding of St Michael's Kolozsvár was itself a royal project.[80]

Ten years after Elizabeth's pilgrimage to Aachen, Louis the Great of Hungary founded the Chapel of the Virgin Mary at Aachen Cathedral. According to Abraham Hagenburg's 1750s print, the now lost chapel's exterior had a minimum of exterior buttressing in a manner not dissimilar to the church of St Mary in Marburg, a structure Roland Recht believes is close to the oeuvre of William of Marburg, architect of St Martin's Colmar.[81] William died in either 1363 or 1366, before Louis's foundation at Aachen was built. Thus, Louis's chapel was built in a style popular in the 1350s and 1360s. A similar lack of buttresses also occurs at Kolozsmonostor (Manăştur, Romania) a structure which Géza Entz dates as being from the first half of the fourteenth century.[82] Is it conceivable that an architect from the circle of William of Marburg was active in the Kingdom of Hungary? If some such person did indeed exist he would have brought with him knowledge of recent buildings such as the chapel of St Cather-

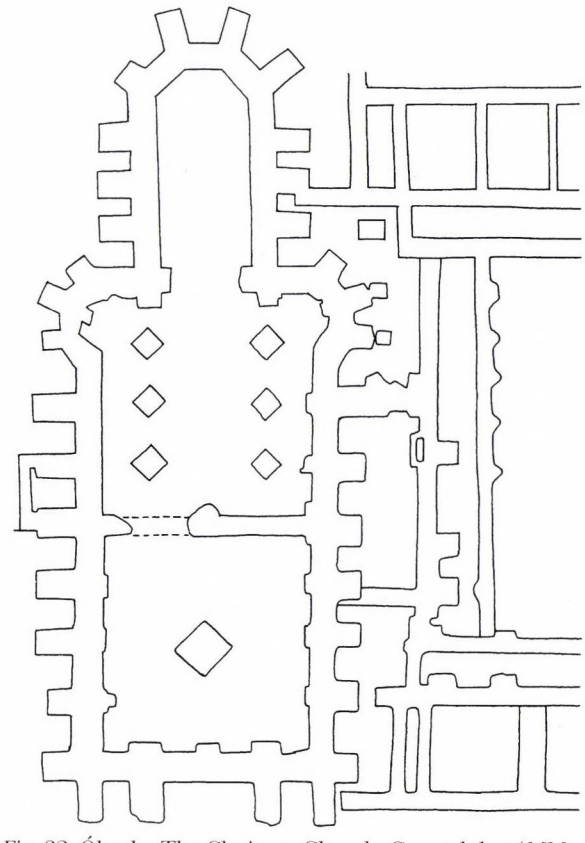

Fig. 32. Óbuda, The Clarissan Church. Groundplan (*MM, p. 304*)

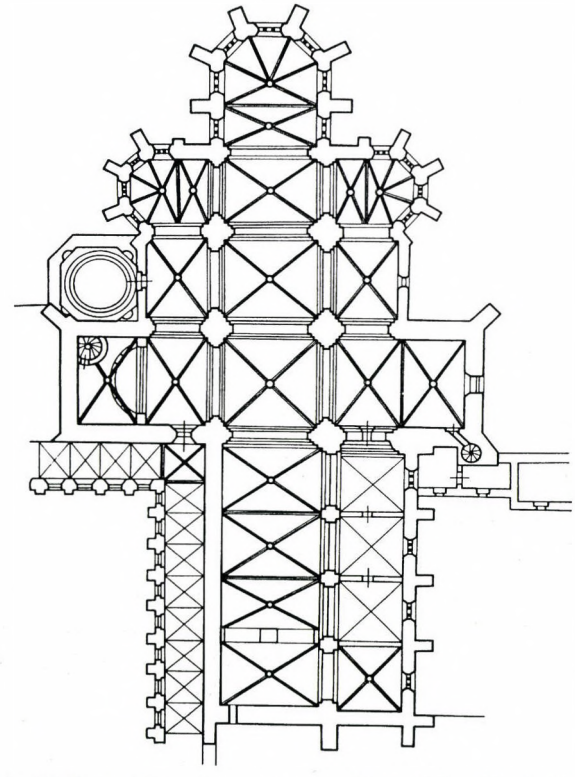

Fig. 33. Brno, Cistercian monastery. Groundplan (*Parler-Kat, Resultband, p. 124, Fig. 2*)

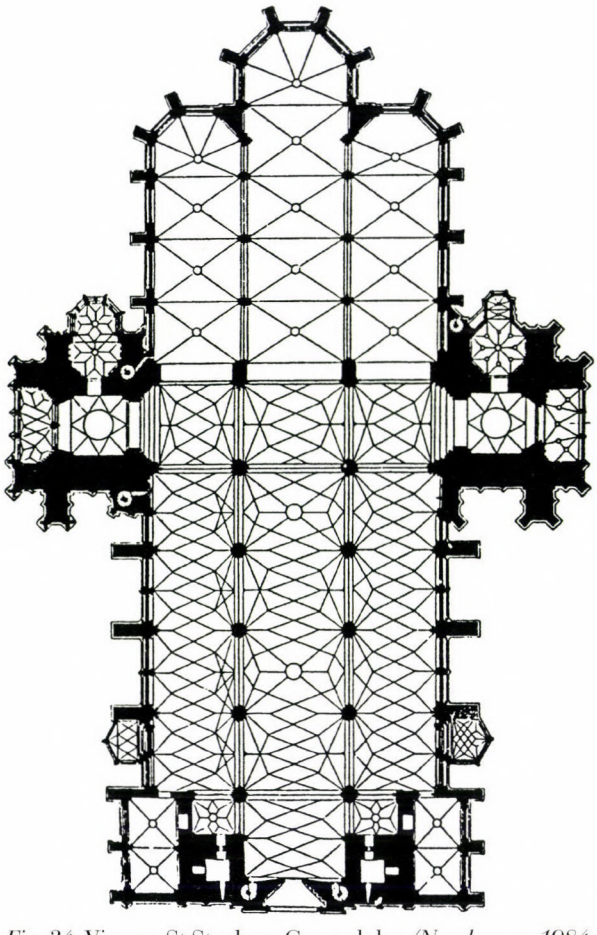

Fig. 34. Vienna, St Stephen. Groundplan *(Nussbaum, 1984, p. 130, [Fig. 92])*

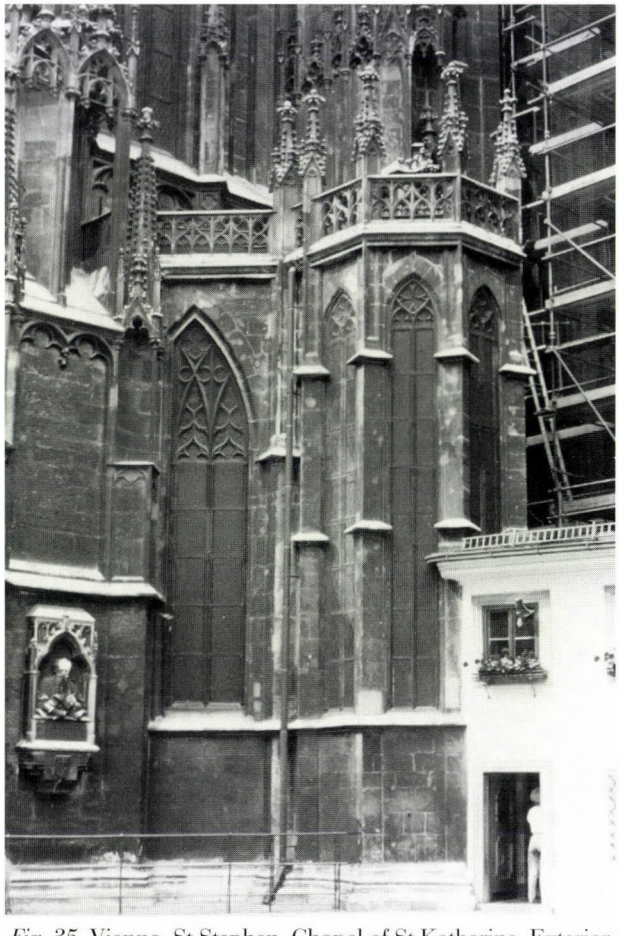

Fig. 35. Vienna, St Stephen. Chapel of St Katherine. Exterior from east

ine at Strasbourg Cathedral, and St Martin's Colmar. If such a figure was active at Kolozsmonostor he could have been involved in work down the road at St Michael's in Kolozsvár.

IV

Thusfar we have looked at possible precedents for the plan and elevations of the eastern parts of St Michael's Kolozsvár. What of the details?

On the exterior of the chancel the buttresses have three main features:

- their diagonality
- their many horizontal drip mouldings of which
- only the very top moulding envelops the whole buttress

Diagonally set buttresses occur elsewhere, in the ambulatory of St Vitus's in Prague, at the Chapel of St Katherine at St Stephen's Vienna, at the parish church at Szászsebes, and at the church of St Mary in Brassó (Fig. 35). At other sites, as we have already seen at St Martin's Colmar, diagonally set buttresses were reduced in size to such an extent that they seem little more than pillasters covering the exterior corners of the polygonal apse.[83] Elsewhere, only parts of the buttresses have diagonal elements as for example at the Notre-Dame de Paris, St Urbain, Troyes, St Martin's in Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia), Maribor Cathedral, the parish churches in Jindřichův Hradec, and Vysoké Myto, St Maria unter der Kette in Prague, the "Mons Paracleti" in Olbyn and St Michael's Kassa (Košice, Slovakia) amongst others. Thus, diagonal elements in buttresses were a regular feature in mid-14th century design, whilst buttresses which were set entirely diagonally were relatively rare.

Of all the sites mentioned above the buttresses at St Michael's Kolozsvár most resem-

bled the chapel of St Katherine at St Stephen's Vienna. Rather than having Kolozsvár's five horizontal drip mouldings, St Katherine's chapel has only three (four, if one includes the moulding which is also part of the roof gallery), of which the lowest formed part of a continuous base around the whole chapel, a feature also present at St Michael's Kolozsvár (Fig. 35). At Kolozsvár, from the fourth horizontal drip moulding upwards, the sides of the buttresses are embellished with blind traceried designs. In a manner similar to the buttresses at the chapel of St Katherine the tracery starts from the point where the window archivaults begin to turn inwards and up towards the point of the arch (Fig. 56). In fact the tracery patterns are part of the pinnacles which are then interrupted by the uppermost horizontal drip moulding. This moulding was either part of a roof gallery, or simply a bold projecting moulding, which surrounded the entire buttress / pinnacle. This mode of articulation can be seen elsewhere, at the Heiligkreuzkirche in Schwäbisch Gmünd, St Martin's Colmar, St James' in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, St Katherine's Kazimierz / Kraków, St Mary's Kraków, St Nicholas's Nagyszombat (Trnava, Slovakia), St Mary's Brassó, and on the tomb of Casimir the Great in Kraków. In most cases this was the characteristic feature of the buttress design. The similarities between St Michael's Kolozsvár and the Chapel of St Katherine at St Stephen's Vienna was most probably due to a shared architect, or workshop, If the same architect was involved Master Conrad, designer of St Katherine's Chapel, would be the most likely candidate. According to Feuchtmüller the chapel of St Katherine was built between 1380 and 1396.[84] Compared with current opinions concerning the dating of building operations at St Michael's these dates are rather late.[85] It is extremely unlikely that Kolozsvár influenced Vienna, particularly as the details and the spatial composition at the chapel of St Katherine are so much more refined.

In comparison with the choirs at St Mary's Brassó and the parish church in Szászsebes, the exterior design at Kolozsvár appears rather understated, as it lacks a sculptural programme. At Szászsebes the sculptural programme amounts to two rows of figures. At both Brassó and Szászsebes the "Chorfassaden" dominate the market squares which lie directly to their east. This conception came directly from the German Imperial towns, notably St Sebald's Nuremberg, and Aachen Cathedral. At Szászsebes the upper row of figures were built into the pinnacles. At St Michael's Kolozsvár it was decided to settle for pinnacles with blind tracery. The lack of sculptural programme at St Michael's Kolozsvár can partly be explained by the fact that the chancel did not face directly onto a market square. A "Chorfassade" was therefore unnecessary. Architectural sculpture would perhaps have been the preserve of the two portals looking straight onto the market square to the south of the church. Like the now lost church of the Corpus Christi in Prague, St Michael's Kolozsvár stood both in the centre of market square, and at the centre of a town plan. Although both churches formed the centre pieces of substantial urban plans they lacked exterior sculptural programmes (Fig. 36). In both designs the design of polygonal side chapels were within the tradition which ultimately looked back to Saint Elizabeth's Marburg.[86]

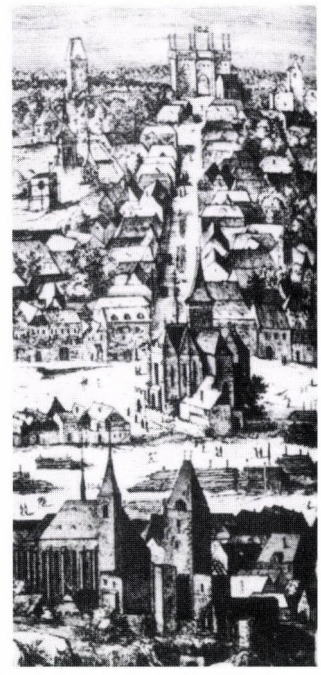

Fig. 36. Prague, The Chapel of the Corpus Christi

The southern side chapel at Kolozsvár, whilst not having diagonally buttresses, had the same number of horizontal drip moulds as in the chancel, although there is no blind tracery above the fourth drip mould (Fig. 56).[87] These,

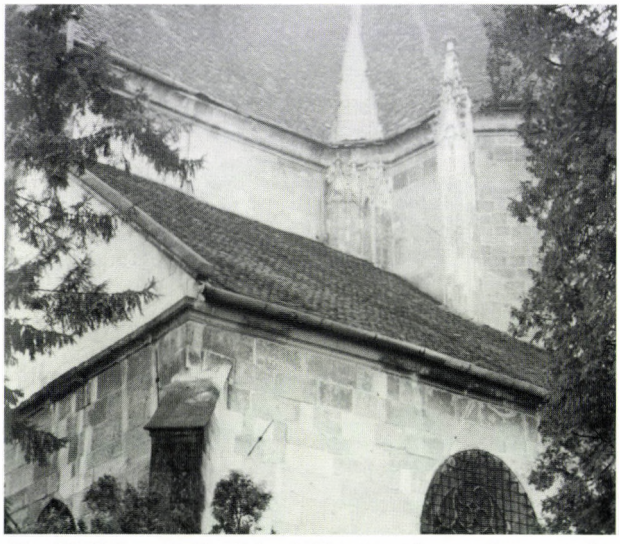

Fig. 37. Kolozsvár, St Michael. Exterior of corner between the chancel and the northern chapel

and other variations in the design, can be explained by sensitive planning. On the northern side chapel the top horizontal moulding, seen elsewhere, is absent. However, as elsewhere, the pinnacles start at the fourth horizontal moulding as can be seen in the blind tracery. Immediately to the west of the northern chapel the fifth uppermost drip moulding reappears in the design. The buttresses on the southern wall of the nave, with one exception, have five horizontal drip moulds, although there are variations in their height (Fig. 55).

The fragment from a tomb found in the vicinity of the northern side chapel appears to prove that the chapel was a burial place, perhaps solely at the disposal of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem (Fig. 16). If one turns back to the design of the tomb of Casimir the Great one could perhaps claim that exterior design of the northern chapel, which differs in detail from the southern chapel, tried to be tomblike. The architect wanted to articulate the interior liturgical functions of each particular part of the church through subtle architectural variations. If one takes the chapel of St Katherine's at St Stephen's Vienna, and the tomb of Casimir the Great, into consideration, it is likely that the original height of the roof at St Michael's was lower than it is at present. The roof would have come down to the uppermost buttress drip moulding in the chancel and southern side chapel while in the northern side chapel the roof would have come down to half way up the pinnacle, with the pinnacles standing free (Fig. 54a). In the corner between the chancel and the northern side chapel, one can see a different type of buttressing and indeed a different pinnacle type, where the diagonality of each member is pushed to such a degree that each individual element appears to melt together, the pinnacles only just reaching above the gallery (Fig. 37). This melting together effect can also be seen on the southern tower, on what Zyklan considers to have been the second stage of the building programme, built under the architect Wenczla Parler (mentioned in the church's accounts in 1403/4, probably active at St Stephen's from 1396).[88]

Up until now, the mouldings in the window jambs have been considered peculiarities which could only be explained away by being part of a change of plan.[89] This conclusion, when one considers that the mouldings appear two thirds of the way up the window, is understandable. However, mouldings can be found in similar positions, either in the interior, or on the exterior of buildings, where they were certainly not the result of an accident. Such is the case at Reims Cathedral, Toul Cathedral, the Liebfrauenkirche in Trier, the Schlosskapelle in Marburg, "Mons Paracleti" in Olbyn, St Nicholas's Nagyszombat and Zagreb Cathedral. The feature is used to help make a distinction between the arch and the jambs of the windows, as well as giving the wall a greater feeling of three dimensionality. This can be seen at the parish church at Jindřichův Hraděc in Bohemia, where the archivault of the window was fluted, to give greater emphasis to the arch (Fig. 38). In addition, the syncopated effect produced at Kolozsvár by the horizontal window moulding, and those on the buttresses, gives the exterior walls a dynamism totally lacking at Szászsebes, for example.

In the interior of the chancel and the side chapels at St Michael's Kolozsvár, the horizontal mouldings, which are at the same level as those on the exterior, are at the same height as the capitals of the interior wall shafts. Thus, the mouldings play an important role in the articulation of the interior, as well as the exterior, walls (Fig. 57). At St Nicholas's, Nagyszombat the north eastern window of the chancel apse

uses a similar device, the difference being that there, the window is widened above the level of the capital of the wall shaft.[90]

Géza Antal Entz has recognized two groups of tracery patterns in the windows at St Michael's Kolozsvár.[91] Two windows belong to the first group, and seven to the second. The first group , as seen on south wall of the chancel, is characterized by the way tracery is packed into the window, the second by the predominance of the spherical triangles in the tracery. G. A. Entz considers the first type to be the older of the two. Although G. A. Entz does not refer to it as such, the window in the diagonally set south-eastern wall of the southern chapel can also be counted amongst the first type.[92] The design of these windows resembles windows at St Michael's Vienna, St Michael's Sopron and the chapel of St Katherine at St Stephen's Vienna (Fig. 35).[93] The similarities between St Michael's Kolozsvár and the last of the above mentioned sites: the tracery design, the length and thinness of the windows, and the similarities in the buttressing systems, bring the two structures into even closer stylistic proximity. Similarities in tracery design, and the length and thinness of the windows can also be found at the chapel of St James in Kassa, and at the church of "Mons Paracleti" in Olbyn (1366–84). At "Mons Paracleti" in Olbyn one sees both closely-knit tracery and Y-tracery, something one also finds at Regensburg Cathedral, the chapel of St Catherine's at St Stephen's in Vienna, and the parish church of Szászsebes. Furthermore, at Olbyn the capitals / consoles of the interior wall shafts are set so low down, in a similar way to the horizontal mouldings at Kolozsvár.[94]

G. A. Entz's second tracery type is open to a greater number of interpretations (Figs 54 and 56). But, according to the hypothesis that the 14th century building operations at Kolozsvár did not undergo a change in plan, changes in tracery patterns can be explained by changes in fashions during the course of the building operations. According to Eszterházy, financial shortages during the course of the project led to building delays, periods of inactivity, and changes in workshop.[95] Ernő Marosi, Géza Entz and Géza Antal Entz go further, and argue that a change in workshop led to a complete change in plan, in which the originally lower



Fig. 38. Jindřichův Hradĕc. Parish Church

side chapels were partly demolished after the vaults collapsed, and replaced with vaults the same height as the chancel. G. A. Entz suggests that from the irregularities in the southern wall of the southern side chapel one can see the original lower level of the vaults before the change in plan.[96] The problem with the above-mentioned explanation is that the horizontal mouldings which were, according to G. A. Entz, the result of a plan change caused by structural instabilities in the southern chapel can in fact be found throughout the chancel and the two side chapels.

Similarities between St Michael's Kolozsvár and the chapel of St Katherine at St Stephen's Vienna also exist in the vaulting at the two sites (Figs 13 and 34). Thus, the star vaults in the nave at St Michael's Kolozsvár could have been connected to the vaulting in the nave, in a similar way to the way the vaulting in the apse of the chapel of St Catherine's is linked to the star vault in the chapel space immediately to the

west. Indeed, if one looks at the easternmost bay of the nave at Kolozsvár, the two easternmost ribs are perfectly mirrored by the two westernmost ribs in the vault of the chancel, beyond the chancel arch. Such an observation gives support to the idea that the nave and the chancel belonged to one unified architectural conception from the very start of the building campaign. Current opinion is that a plan change took place when the lower vaults of the side chapels collapsed. The vaults in the side chapels were then heightened to the same height as the chancel, according to a new plan of which the hall nave was part. Using this hypothesis the plan change was made towards the end of the first campaign and continued from c. 1400, when the nave was constructed.[97]

Who was the patron of the rebuilding of St Michael's Kolozsvár? In previous studies much importance has been attached to a letter, received from Avignon, allowing St Michael's Kolozsvár to issue indulgences. Issued in 1349 this is considered to be the terminus post quem for the rebuilding of the church, despite the fact that no mention is made of building activity in the document.[98] Géza Entz takes a mention of a Society of the Altar of St Katherine, in a document dated 1368 to be proof that an altar of that name already existed in newly constructed part of St Michael's.[99] If one is to accept the above dating of the building campaign, then the original St Michael's Kolozsvár only survived a century or so. Why was it deemed necessary to demolish the old building when the cathedral at Gyulafehérvár more or less survives in its post-1277 form? This must have been due partly to the rapid changes in Kolozsvár's status as a settlement. In 1316 Kolozsvár was given the freedoms and privileges that went with becoming a free town and consequently the church of St Michael's, particularly as an institution now led by a priest elected by the town's citizens, had to reflect and satisfy very different needs.[100] It was indeed the citizens of Kolozsvár who demanded the right of St Michael's to issue indulgences, and therefore raise funds for the good of the church.[101] The priests of St Michael's Kolozsvár in the fourteenth century came from the upper echelons of society.[102] According to Jakab, Benedek was vicar of St Michael's when building operations began.[103] He was a highly respected member of the church, and had been a canon at Gyulafehérvár Cathedral. Of Benedek's successors, Imre, Miklós and Bálint, we know that Bálint had also been a canon. The document giving permission to issue indulgences in 1349 was reinstated in both the 1380s and 1397, with the number of days for which the indulgences were increased in number. Thus, if a starting date for the rebuilding of St Michael's is considered too early, especially bearing in mind the possible influence of the chapel of St Katherine's in Vienna, perhaps more importance should be attached to the reissuing of the 1349 document rather than the 1349 document itself. The current view is that Pope Boniface IX's letter, allowing St Michael's Kolozsvár to issue indulgences in Kolozsvár in 1400, heralded the beginning of work on the nave.[104]

A significant number of the students in the Hungarian *natio* at the University of Vienna came from Transylvania.[105] The education they got there was likely to lead to an illustrious career within the church. One such career, that of a priest in Buda, who had been born in Transylvania, saw him become rector at the Royal Chapel in Fehéregyháza near Óbuda in 1393, and vicar of St Mary's Brassó in 1412. A Transylvanian priest's career often meant going either to the University of Vienna, or the Collegiate Church at Óbuda, which was to form the basis of the University of Buda.[106] It was in this environment, whether in Vienna or Óbuda, that the vicars of Kolozsvár had the opportunity became familiar with the latest trends in architecture even to the degree of becoming acquainted with individual architects and workshops. The church in Hungary was not short of enlightened patrons of the arts.[107]

The Chapel of St Katherine at St Stephen's played an important role in the life of the University of Vienna. The Chapel lay adjacent to the university building and students would pass it as they entered the church through the southern portal. Furthermore, St Katherine was the patron saint of the university.[108]

What was the origin of the unique star-vaulted hall nave one sees at St Michael's Kolozsvár? One possible answer is Wrocław, where both the Kreuzkirche and St Maria auf dem Sande used complete star vaults and "incomplete" star vaults, lacking diagonal ribs,

in the central aisle of the nave (Fig. 42). However, in both churches the side aisles were narrow and were vaulted by triradials with two windows per main arcade arch, rather than star vaults. Due to the greater width of the side aisles at Kolozsvár, star vaults could be accommodated, and therefore the side walls did not have to resort to two windows per bay.[109] The hall nave at Kolozsvár resembles the great hall naves of Swabia, particularly those at the Frauenkirche in Esslingen and the original plan drawn up for Ulm Münster.[110] However, the geographical proximity of Vienna makes St Stephen's a more likely design source.[111] Thus, the desired effect at St Michael's Kolozsvár would have been of a St Stephen, Vienna hall nave attached to an enlarged version of the eastern part of St Katherine's Chapel.

The diagonal wall between the side chapels and the nave at Kolozsvár can be found immediately to the west of the apse at the chapel of St Katherine. From this one can conclude that this feature at St Michael's Kolozsvár was once again a conscious design, rather than an accident brought about by a change in plan. Further proof fact that the diagonal wall was part of a

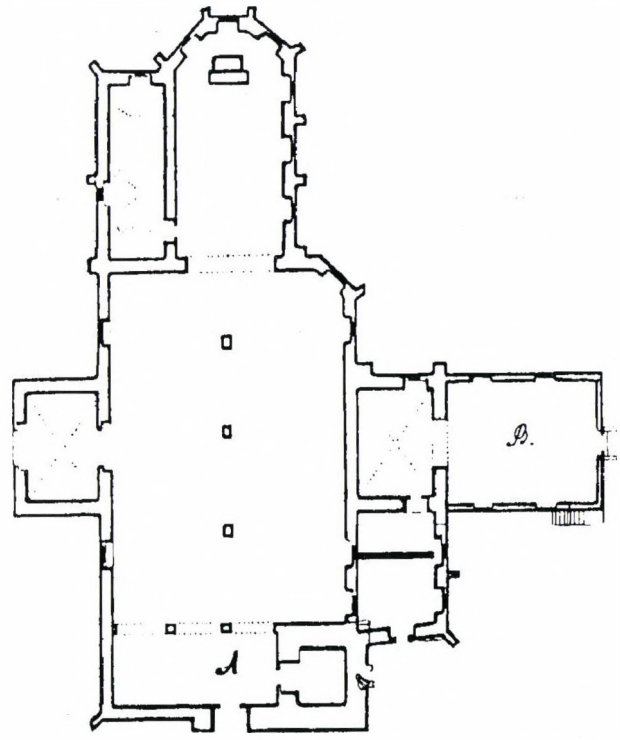

Fig. 40. Nagybánya, St Stephen. Groundplan *(Marosi, 1971, Fig. 16)*

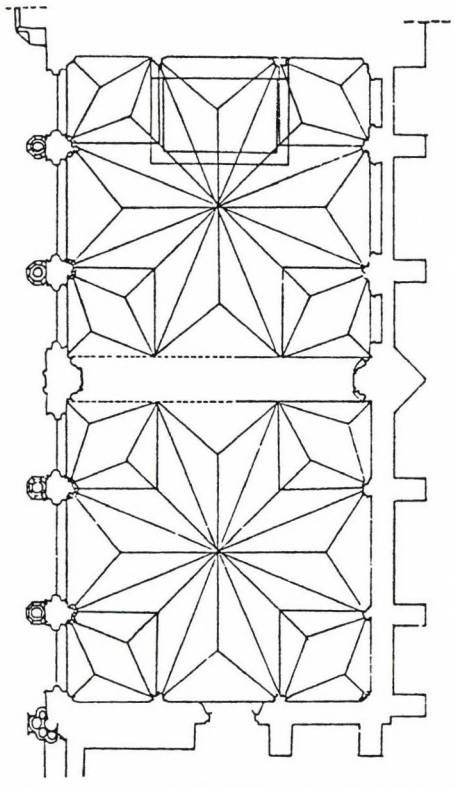

Fig. 39. Strasbourg Cathedral, The Chapel of St Catherine. Groundplan *(Parler-Kat, IV, p. 106, Pl 1)*

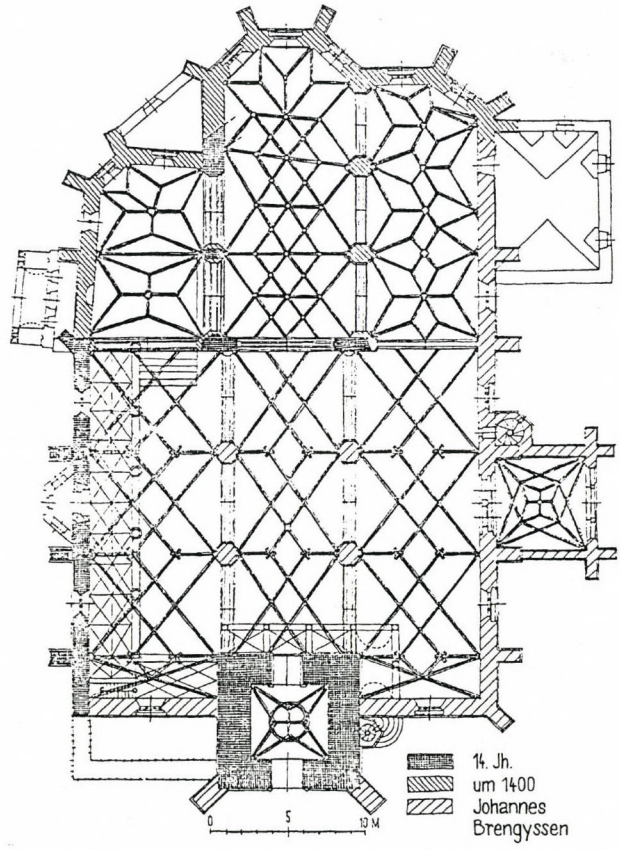

Fig. 41. Eperjes, St Nicholas. Groundplan *(Marosi, 1971. Fig. 34)*

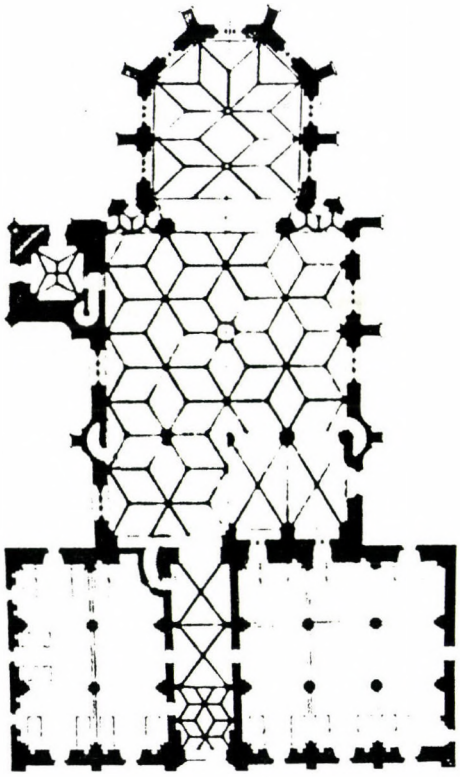

Fig. 42. Braunau, Spitalkirche. Groundplan *(Nussbaum, 1984, p. 249, Fig. 196)*

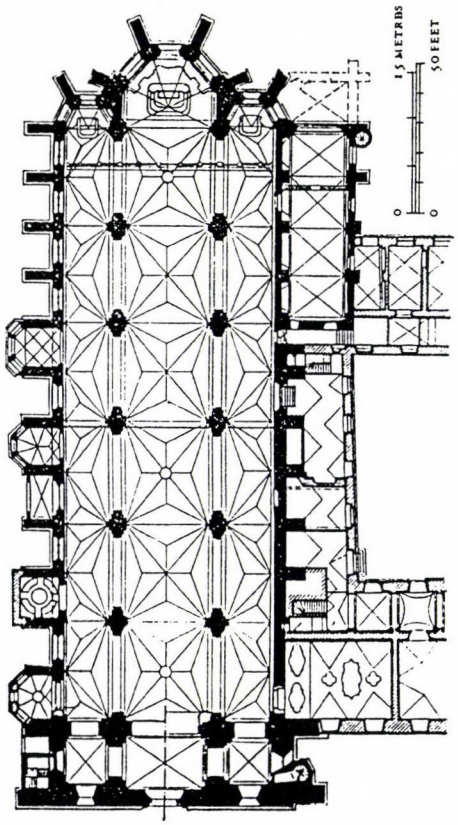

Fig. 43. Wrocław, Maria auf dem Sande. Groundplan *(Parler-Kat, II, p. 492)*

unified can be found in the vaults, where the ribs in the northern side chapel running south-eastwards towards the chancel continue to run at the same angle as the diagonal wall from where the ribs start. A similar arrangement exists in the southern side chapel as well. Furthermore, the continuation of the wall base from the northern side aisle to the chancel suggests, not only that the northern side chapel was built before the southern side chapel, but proves that the early stages of the campaign, the nave and chancel were of one build and one plan.[112] In the octagonal bays at the eastern end of the aisles one has an incomplete star vault to the north, and an stunted "incomplete" star vault to the south. An octagonal bay of the type seen in the easternmost bays of the side aisles at St Michael's was also present at the now lost St Stephen's in Nagybánya (Baia Mare, Romania) (Fig. 40). St Stephen's Nagybánya had a two aisled nave in which the southern aisle ended in a sloping eastern wall. In the eastern bay of the southern aisle at Nagybánya one could imagine a vault not dissimilar to that occupying a similar position at the chapel of St Katherines' at St Stephen's Vienna. In the eastern bay of the northern chapel at St Nicholas's Eperjes one has a cross between the star vault of the St Katherines' chapel type, and the "incomplete" star vault (Figs 34 and 41). In that part of the vault adjacent to the diagonal north-eastern wall a triradial is inserted.

At St Michael's Kolozsvár the star vault does not appear in every bay (Fig. 13). In the southern aisle the three easternmost bays are vaulted with incomplete star vaults.[113] The chapel of St Catherine in Strasbourg, and its predecessors, used the star vault in conjunction with the triradial (Fig. 39). At Eperjes, and presumably Nagybánya, the triradial was used to cope with sloping walls with windows in them.[114] At Kolozsvár such problems did not exist, as the diagonal walls did not have windows in them. The ribs could therefore run undisturbed into the walls. Having observed the similarities in the vaulting at the chapel of St Katherines' at St Stephen's Vienna and St Michael's Kolozsvár, as well as other details, one could contemplate the possibility that the side chapels at Kolozsvár had delicate hanging bosses of the type seen in

Vienna.[115] Hanging bosses also appear at St Nicholas's Nagyszombat.

The intricacy and delicacy of the side chapel designs; the interior traceried windows, the rib-like wall supports, and possibly the daring vaults with hanging bosses, could have been the cause of a history of structural instability in that part of the building. It was a history which started with the almost immediate collapse of the vaults, and continued with the decision to fill in the interior windows after a fire in 1697, and ended withl Bágyuj's renovation in 1956/7 at which time the uncovering of the window caused the side chapels to become extremely unstable.[116]

The eastern bay of the nave is a little longer in an east-west direction than the other bays in the nave (with the exception of the westernmost bay). There are three possible explanations for this:

a) the crossing of the first build at Kolozsvár stood where the easternmost bay of the nave is today, and this was the result,

b) a rood screen was planned to stand in this bay of the nave and required additional space,

c) the larger bay was centre of a centralizing tendency in the eastern part of the church.

For the first of these possibilities we have already seen that the easternmost bay of the central aisle of the nave stood on what was the crossing of the original church. The building campaign in the second half of the fourteenth century started with the demolition of the old chancel, and the construction of its replacement to the east of the crossing. The crossing remained standing until the chancel and side chapels' were completed. It was then that work started on the rebuilding of the nave starting from the old western towers. The fact that the west towers were not demolished (they subsequently became the core of the remodelled east end) explains why the western bay of the nave is longer than those bays immediately to the east.[117]

Before one makes a judgement on the second possibility one has to be sure that a rood screen did in fact exist. Thusfar, research has not considered the possibility that there may have been a screen at St Michael's. If there was a rood screen where would it have been? Architectural excavations at the Collegiate Church of St Mary in Óbuda have proved that there was a

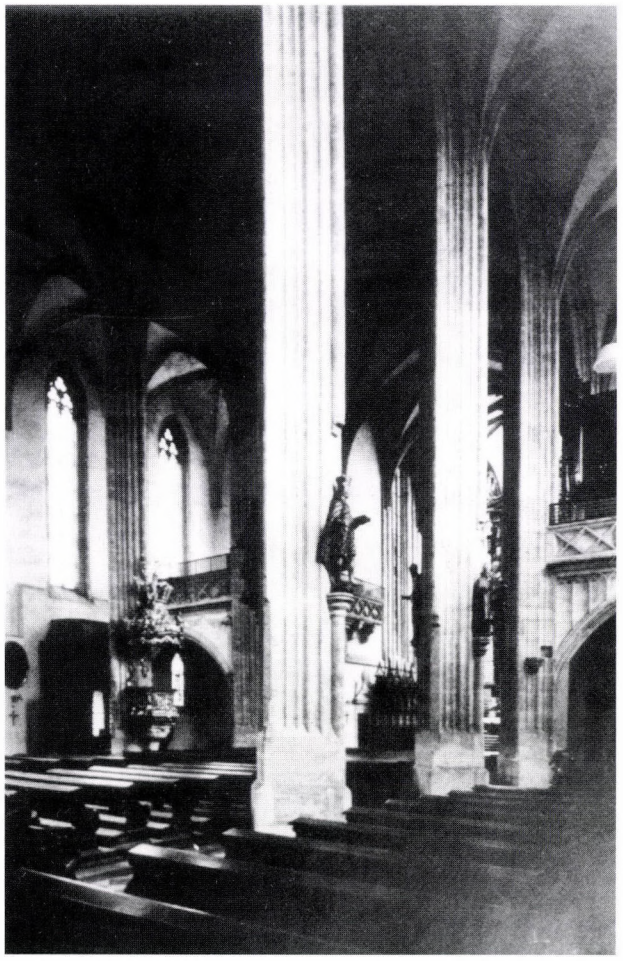

Fig. 44. Kutná Hora, St James. Interior nave from west *(Parler-Kat, II, p. 635)*

screen there. It went continued west of the chancel arch occupying the whole of the easternmost bay of the central nave aisle. It is likely, therefore, that access to the screen at the Collegiate Church was via a spiral staircase similar to that at Maria auf dem Sande in Wrocław. However at Kolozsvár it is more likely that access to the rood was via the staircase in the diagonal wall of the northern aisle and the gallery over the easternmost bay (Fig. 54). We have documentation from the fifteenth century describing the chaplains singing at the Mass of the Virgin Mary during the week, and schoolchildren singing during major masses. Such singing could have taken place on the rood screen or a gallery.[118]

At Maria auf dem Sande in Wrocław, a wall between the arcade arches amounted to a screen, which went from the apse three bays into the hall "nave" (Fig. 43). What is of interest to us is that there are openings in the easternmost



Fig. 45. Colmar, St Martin. Interior of chancel

and westernmost, bays of the screen into the choir space. The easternmost openings facilitated movement between the choir and the side chapels. From the perspective of the side chapels, the openings stood in exactly the same spot as they did at St Michael's Kolozsvár. The difference being that at Wrocław the openings were built into the choir screen whereas at Kolozsvár the openings were built into the structure of the building. At Maria auf dem Sande the apse of the chancel is short, whereas at Kolozsvár there are three whole bays east of the chancel arch plus the apse (Figs 13 and 43). If the choir at Wrocław were of a similar length to that at Kolozsvár (apse plus three bays) the choir would extend exactly to where the remains of the rood screen now stand. Seen from the perspective of the nave, the western openings into the choir are in the same position as they are at St Michael's Kolozsvár, that is to say, in the westernmost bay of the choir. Therefore, one could interpret the St Michael's Kolozsvár design as being a reduction of the Wrocław design, because at St Michael's the walls of the choir serve the same purpose as the side walls of the choir screen. Rather than having two sets of side entrances into the choir, one from the chapel, and one next to the rood screen, as at Maria auf dem Sande one set of openings is sufficient. The rood screen at St Michael's therefore stood directly in front of the chancel arch.

The giant order wall shafts, which face the nave from either side of the chancel arch, are of a massiveness not seen elsewhere in the nave (Fig. 1). Previous studies have not devoted much space to the shafts' design. The fact that the transept chapels at St Nazaire in Carcassonne also combine interior traceried windows, and giant order piers, may be instructive (Fig. 23). At both sites the giant order appears at the entrance to chapels, and are not related to the nave support system.

The interior traceried window, whilst being relatively rare in late medieval architecture, was nevertheless present. Apart from the examples already mentioned above, the design of the choir of the church of St Martin's in Colmar, rebuilt in the second half of the 14th century, included traceried rose openings between the extremely narrow ambulatory and the chancel (Fig. 45). The resulting visual effect from the ambulatory was that of an interrupted view of the choir windows through a tracery curtain, what Paul Frankl calls a "multiple image", when discussing other similar buildings.[119] Interior traceried openings can also be seen at Sens Cathedral, and the nearby church of St Mathurin in Larchant. By the mid-14th century traceried designs could be found on almost any surface of a building. Traceried patterns appeared on the walls immediately adjacent to windows, as for example at Krakow Cathedral, St Vitus in Prague and Wells Cathedral. Such designs helped to confuse the relationship between walls and windows, interiors and exteriors.[120]

Galleries like that over the easternmost of the northern aisle at St Michael's Kolozsvár can be found at several churches,[121] but the view from it into the choir through a traceried window was unique. One can get some idea the impression this would have produced when looking at the painting of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, at the church of the Madeleine Virgin Mary in Aix-en-Provence.[122] At the church

of St James in Kutná Hora a gallery occupies each of the easternmost bays of the two side aisles (Fig. 44). The galleries, like the bays in which they are situated, are rectangular in ground plan, and both have staircases. The northern gallery has a staircase in the corner between the chancel and the side aisle, the southern gallery has a staircase situated outside the southern aisle wall. At Kolozsvár the galleries were built into, octagonal bay. The staircase, built into the sloping wall at the east end of the northern aisle, resembles both the staircase in the southern transept at St Vitus, Prague, and the staircase in the southern aisle at St Elizabeth's Kassa.

As we have already mentioned the urban culture of late-fourteenth century Kolozsvár had new needs and requirements. In many ways this is reflected in the presence of the rood screen and the galleries which clogged up the east end of the nave. The screens and the tracery made the host an ever more mysterious object, kept in a chancel, distant from the prying eyes of the laity. In keeping with the new liturgical practices which wished to emphasise the difference between the sacred and the profound glimpses of the host were reserved for rare festivals which were wrapped in rich and complex ritual. One such festival was the Feast of the *Corpus Christi.* Processions played an important part in such ritual. The Thursday Mass of the *Corpus Christi* included a procession which went from the chancel to the side chapel where the host was kept before being taken back to the chancel.[123] Therefore, the ground floor openings at Kolozsvár offered processional access to the chancel.[124] In the 1349 document relating to the selling of indulgences, there is a description of exactly what was to happen on those festivals when the indulgences were to be distributed, including exactly what one could present to the church in return for them.[125] The description of processions around the cemeteries of St Michael's and the chapel of St James, included the hint that giving support, whether in the form of candles or ornaments, gold, silver, vestments, books, chalices and other necessary objects, were a sure way of getting indulgences could indeed be referring to the Feast of the *Corpus Christi*, of which a procession around the cemetery was a part. Furthermore, the liturgical objects requested were all fundamental to the feast.[126] The Guild of the *Corpus Christi* at St Mary, Brassó were given permission to issue indulges in order to raise funds.[127]

We believe that Kolozsvár had a Guild of the *Corpus Christi* like those in Brassó and Nagyszeben (Sibiu, Romania), and like them they had an area of the church dedicated to their activities, presumably an altar, in the parish church.[128] From our knowledge of the Feast of the *Corpus Christi* elsewhere, the host would have been kept in one of the side chapels, and as at St Michael's the northern side was the domain of the Knight's Hospitallers of St John, then the southern side chapel altar must have been the Company's conceivably with a gallery overlooking it, in a manner similar to that in the northern aisle.[129] Access to it may have involved going up the staircase in the northern aisle, and walking across the rood screen. Fragments of wall paintings in the southern side chapel bear out this possible link with the Feast, or Guild, of the *Corpus Christi.* In the northeastern wall of the apse a pope holds a monstrance and to his right St Sebastian, a crowned, haloed figure, looks to the heavens holding a chalice. To his right there are the remains of a king, also holding a chalice in his right hand.[130]

The Feast of the *Corpus Christi* was celebrated by the royal family and popular amongst the priesthood, and the laity, as manifested in the guilds dedicated to the *Corpus Christi*[131]. Thus, the *Corpus Christi* satisfied the needs of three social groups.[132] The architectural similarities and its equivalent position within the urban fabric of the town, suggest the architect was familar with the Chapel of the *Corpus Christi* in the Prague New Town, built soon after the death of Emperor Charles IV in 1378 (Fig. 36).

The ashlar on the two giant order wall shafts to either side of the chancel arch is not well bonded in places. What could have caused these irregularities? There are several carved fragments which may have originated from the galleries or a rood screen. In the westernmost bay of the southern aisle there is a carved lion.[133] In addition in the south-eastern corner of the southern aisle there is a bearded prophet holding a scroll with the inscription *Yaasias pph.*[134] There is also a carving of the Lamb of God and other fragments, for example the two eagles



Fig. 46. Ulm Münster. Capital from nave *(Parler-Kat, II, p. 333 Fig. top left hand corner)*



Fig. 47. Maria Strassengel. Capital

which can now be seen in and around the western portal.[135] In his account of the 1956–57 renovation Bágyuj mentions the existence of all four evangelists' symbols.[136]

The vault of the southern side chapel differs from that of the northern chapel. The arrangement of the ribs in the southern side chapel give the chapel a clearly eastern orientation whereas those in the northern chapel fail to give a clear feeling of orientation, in its true sense of the word. It is possible, therefore, that the two chapels were oriented in different directions. The ribs in the chancel and the side chapels have two main characteristics, firstly, their profile, whose central element is a trapezoid moulding, and secondly the fact that the wall shafts and the ribs have the same profile as each other. The trapezoid profile is rare. It is present at Szászsebes, and appears in mendicant architecture in southern Germany.[137] Apart from the parish church in Szászsebes, the church whose ribs and wall shafts resemble St Michael's Kolozsvár the most is the church of St James in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, where the trapezoid ribs run from floor to roof boss, interrupted by only the thinnest of capitals.[138] The capitals in the chancel and side chapels make a distinction between the ribs of the vault and the wall shafts without actually providing an opportunity for a change in profile. However, despite their size, the capitals provide a sculptural programme of sorts, albeit understated. Of all the sites which have a similar kind of sculptural programme that in the cloisters at Passau Cathedral resembles the carving at Kolozsvár the most (Figs 48–51). Although nothing remains of the vaulting in the Passau cloisters, there is enough evidence to show that the wall shafts also continued into the vaults, although the main rib elements were chamfered rather than being trapezoid.

The sculptural programme we see at St Michael's Kolozsvár today is far from complete. Whether because of the collapse of the vaults or some other reason, the programme remains but a fragment of the original conception. On one side of capital S3 one can see a man tending to his pig whilst on the other Cain is depicted killing Abel. The pig farmer's round head and posture resemble the style of the figures in the Passion / Crucifixion Retable attributed to Wölfel of Neumarkt now at the Landesmuseum, Alte



Fig. 48. Passau Cathedral. Cloisters, pier



Fig. 49. Passau Cathedral. Cloisters, capital with Beifuss design



Fig. 50. Passau Cathedral. Cloisters, capital St Laurence



Fig. 51. Passau Cathedral. Cloisters, capital vine leaves

Galerie in Graz (Inv. No. 302). Several scenes are depicted on capital S4, a sculptor is carving a pinnacle, a mask, figures, and large, curve backed, trefoiled, vine leaves.[139] On one of the capitals in the nave at Ulm Münster, one can see two musicians sitting in recesses made of foliage. At Kolozsvár two students sit in front of their master in a similar manner. The figures at Kolozsvár come from the same formal world as the Ulm programme carved by the Reissnadel Master. Capital N2 like the two above-mentioned capitals is decorated with foliage of the vine leaf type. Two wrestling figures are depicted amongst the trefoil leaves and the grapes, in a manner very similar to an equivalent scene on a capital on the north wall of the parish church at Szászsebes (Fig. 52).[140] The scale of the figures and their gestures remind one of a scene from the martyrdom of St Laurence in the cloisters at Passau Cathedral, a site where vine leaf designs can also be found (Figs 50–51).



Fig. 52. Kolozsvár, St Michael (137) *(Entz, G. A., 1984 p. 76 [Fig. 10])*

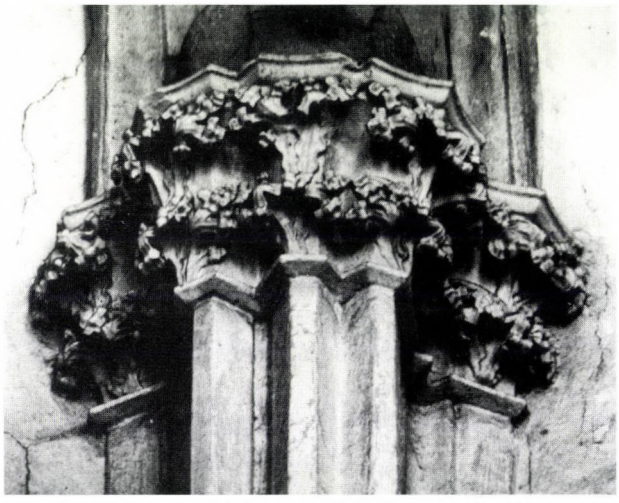

Fig. 53. Kolozsvár, St Michael (136) *(Entz, G. A., 1984 p. 77 [Fig. 11])*

Géza Antal Entz believes the capitals can be divided into two groups, based on an analysis of the leaf designs and the designs' positions in the chancel and the side chapels. The first type, which corresponds to our vine leaf type can be found on both sides of the chancel next to the chancel arch (Fig. 52). However, the fact remains that a capital of Entz's first type (N2) stands right next to a capital of the second type (N3) on the northern wall of the chancel (Fig. 53). The second capital type has equally undulating but thinner and longer leaves much like the "Beifuss" design frequently used by the Parlers.[141] Carvings of both types are used indiscriminately on the horizontal mouldings in the window jambs. It would therefore appear that both designs originated from a single workshop. What cannot be denied, however, is that there is a great deal of variety within the capitals. According to Lívia Varga, this variety, (she has identified nine leaf types in the capitals, and three window moulding types) was the result of stylistic changes, and variations in quality, within the Kolozsvár workshop.[142] This view appears to be strengthened when one considers Ulm Münster and the cloisters at Passau Cathedral where one sees two distinct styles of vegetable ornamentation within one workshop. Furthermore both styles resembled those in Kolozsvár.

In the design of the portals, as with the planning of the nave, it is the continuation from the past which should be emphasized. Their designers, who were working between the 1420s and 1444, considered to be the terminus ante quem for St Michael's Kolozsvár, looked to the same architectural landscape as their precedessors for influence.[143] The portals which resemble those at St Elizabeth's Kassa were the result of a movement of ideas which originated in southern Germany, at sites like the Frauenkirche in Esslingen, and then swept actors Poland and then Hungary.[144] Kassa and Kolozsvár came into contact with such portal designs at the same times as the church of the Virgin Mary in Buda, and the Chapel of the *Corpus Christi* at the Clarissan Church, Óbuda.[145]

Masters from Kassa may have participated in the building of the staircase and the portals but the concept, and indeed the plans, had already been drawn up by the end of the 14th century. All three portals betray the same three dimensionality, and daring in design seen in the side chapels. It was therefore the task of the Kassa masters to complete the structure using the details and techniques most appropriate to them.

The Kingdom of Hungary played an active role in what is general referred to "International Gothic" and St Michael's Kolozsvár is without a shadow of a doubt what G.A. Entz calls "a product of the flowering urban culture of medieval Hungary". The town's geographical position meant that it was well placed to pick up influences from all over Europe. Indeed, the same can be said for many towns in Transylvania. The variety of designs in the great urban centres



Fig. 54. Kolozsvár, St Michael. Exterior of chapel

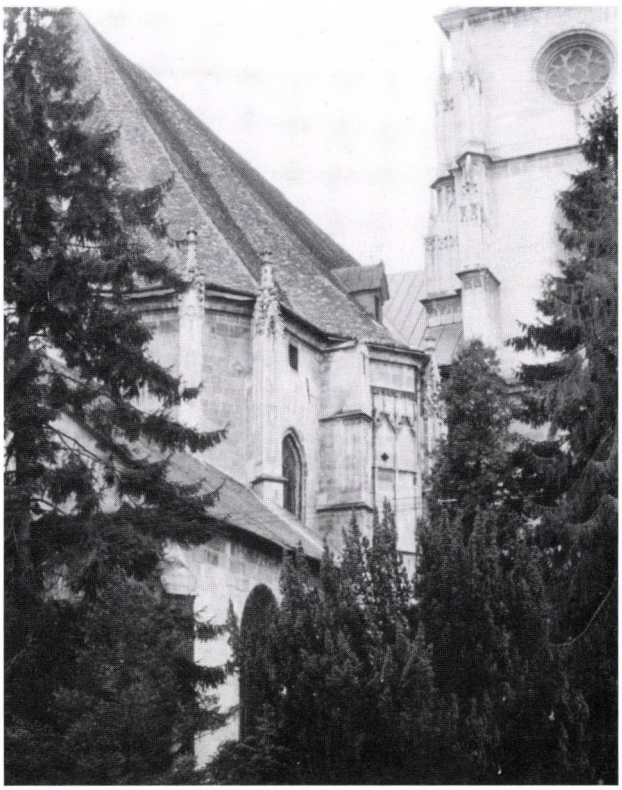

Fig. 56. Kolozsvár, St Michael. Exterior of northern chancel



Fig. 55. Kolozsvár, St Michael. Exterior from south

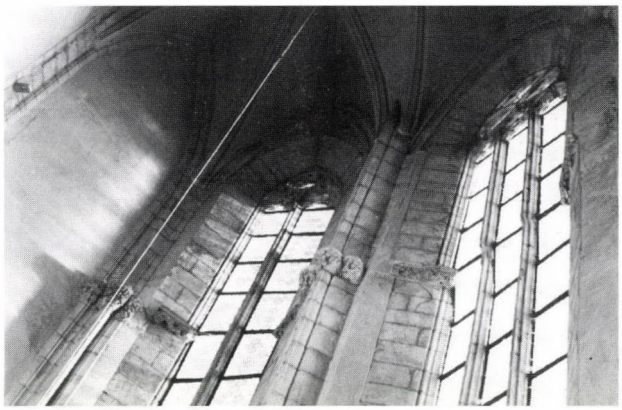

Fig. 57. Kolozsvár, St Michael. Interior southern chapel

of Transylvania is conspicuous. The design at St Michael's adopted the latest architectural ideas in Vienna, the parish church at Szászsebes is an example of the "Enns-Pöllauberg solution" and St Mary's Brassó has a "Chorfassade" referring to Aachen Cathedral .The constant movement of ideas, masters and architects meant that the architectural history of the rebuilding of St Michael's Kolozsvár was constantly open to new ideas which ultimately came from the architectural landscape which produced the architecture of the Parler family. However, although we have seen that the design of St Michael's Kolozsvár has a long and complex history, the fact remains that the late fourteenth century building operation was the work of an architect who was familiar with, and perhaps active at, the chapel of St Katherine at St Stephen's Vienna, and indeed the Chapel of the Corpus Christi in Prague. The building we see today is but a shadow of a grand conception drawn up in the 1380s, and adhered to until its completion in 1444.

NOTES

Much of the data collected for this paper was gathered during five cycle rides from Eger to London. Some of the sites I visited because they were mentioned in the literature, others I came upon in the intervening stretches. Covering Europe from east to west and choosing the flattest routes possible (though never the same), at something approaching the pace of a horse, there must have be hours, or even days when I peddled down routes well trodden in the Middle Ages.

[1] Bágyuj, L., "Beszámoló a kolozsvári Szent Mihály templom 1956/57. évi helyreállítási munkálatairól", *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*, 1957, pp. 24–32.

[2] For list of the most important literature on St Michael's, Kolozsvár see Entz, G. A., "Die Pfarrkirchen von Klausenburg und Mühlbach in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts: Baugeschichte und Stilbeziehungen", *Acta Historiae Artium (AHA)*, XXX, Budapest, 1984, p. 106 (footnote 3); Palmer, M. R., *A kolozsvári Szent Mihály templom hármasszentélye: Egy térkoncepció története* (Diss.), Budapest, 1995.

[3] Marosi, E., "Einige tendenziöse Planänderungen", *Acta Technica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 77, Budapest, 1974, pp. 322–23.

[4] If one includes Wagner-Rieger, R., "Architecture", *Gotik in Österreich*, Krems, 1967, pp. 334–339, 373–377; idem, "Bildende Kunst: Architecture", *Die Zeit der frühen Habsburger. Dome und Klöster*, Wiener Neustadt, 1979, pp. 116–119, which add sites by inference the list of sites compared with St Michael's Kolozsvár runs as follows: Amiens Cathedral, St Michael's Vienna, St Stephen's Vienna, Wiener Neustadt Cathedral, St Elizabeth's Wrocław, The Church of Our Lady Buda, Csetnek (Štitnik, Slovakia), Notre Dame Dijon, Garamszentbenedek, Gurk Cathedral, Kremsmünster, Mariasaal, Mátraverebély, The Collegiate Church, Óbuda, Perchtoldsdorf, The Emauskloster Prague, Sélestat, St Michael's Sopron, Maria Strassengel, St Urbain Troyes and Völkermarkt.

[5] Crossley, P., "Lincoln and the Baltic: The Fortunes of a Theory", *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson*, 1990, p. 179; See also Götz, W., on "Bildseite" and "Sinnseite" in *Zentralbau und Zentralbautendenz in der gotischen Architektur*, Berlin, 1968, p. 14.

[6] Wilson, C., *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130–1530*, London, 1990, p. 7; Panofsky, E., *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, 1951; Branner, R., *Burgundian Gothic Architecture*, London, 1960, p. 54; Götz, op. cit., p. 74.

[7] Wilson, op. cit., p. 7.

[8] For the functions of the ambulatory see Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, Princeton, 1946 (2nd ed. 1979), pp. 87–89; Frankl, P., *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries*, Princeton, 1960, p. 10; Wilson, op. cit., p. 37.

[9] For the problems of designing an ambulatory in a medium sized church see Branner, op. cit., p. 22; Wilson, op. cit., p. 28–29; Fernie, E., *The Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral*, Oxford, 1993, p. 151.

[10] Pestell, R., "The Design Sources of the Cathedrals of Chartres and Soissons", *Art History*, 4, 1981, pp. 1–13.

[11] For designs of the St Yved type see Götz, op. cit., pp. 70–79; Branner, op. cit., pp. 58, 176. St Yved, Braine was founded by Agnes, wife of Robert I Count of Dreux and functioned as the Counts of Dreux's necropolis. Yolande (d. 1273), Agnes' great grand daughter gave financial contributions to Dijon Cathedral and Yolande's husband's grandfather, Hugh III, Duke of Burgundy founded the Ste Chapelle in Dijon.

[12] For the importance of the Notre-Dame de Dijon in central European architecture see Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn: Esztergom in der Kunst des 12.–13. Jahrhunderts*, Budapest, 1984, p. 164; Wagner-Rieger, *Mittelalterliche Architektur in Österreich*, St Pölten/Wien, 1988, p. 86.

[13] The dating of the present fabric at Kerc is disputed, the most recent archeological evidence (Nägler and Rill) points to a campaign after rather than before the Tatar invasion of 1241–42. For further details see Entz, G., "Le Chantier Cistercien de Kerc (Cîrţa)" *AHA*, IX, 1963, pp. 2–38; Idem, "Die Baukunst Transsilvaniens im 11–13. Jahrhundert, *AHA*, XIV, 1968, pp. 21–25; Idem, *A középkori Magyarország gótikus építészete 1242–1390*, Part I (of three parts, Sci diss), Budapest, 1976, pp. 69, 71–76; idem, *Erdély építészete a 11–13. században*, Kolozsvár, 1994, p. 43.

[14] Kerc as a colonial cistercian type building see Marosi, op. cit., 1984, p. 163.

[15] For further details on oculi designs in Austria see Schwarz, M., "Die architecturgeschichtliche Analyse bis 1626" in *St Michael: Stadtpfarrkirche und Künstlerpfarre von Wien 1288–1988 (SMW)*, (ed. Albrecht-Weinberger) Wien, 1988, p. 112; Marosi, op. cit., 1984, p. 241 (footnote 747); Wagner-Rieger, op. cit., 1988, p. 105.

[16] For architectural activity in and around Kolozsvár in the last quarter of the 13th century see Entz, G., op. cit., 1994, pp. 54–57. For possible influence of the Kerc workshop at Kolozsvár see Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, III, p. 30.

[17] Götz, op. cit., pp. 22–35. Götz's conclusion, now deemed untenable, was that the groundplan at St Elizabeth's Marburg could only be explained by the influence of the centralized architecture of the Teutonic Knights. One of his chief arguments was based on the supposition that the church of the Holy Cross in Prázsmár was built by the Teutonic Knights before the construction of St Elizabeth's Marburg. On both latter points Götz has been proved to have been mistaken.

[18] However, there are no "Beifuss" capital designs at the parish church at Ják.

[19] Within the context of Austrian gothic architecture such a style would be called "Babenbergische Sondergotik" where, according to Wagner-Rieger, the deliberately non-French, non-gothic style was immediately recognizable as being Hohenstaufen and part of a prevalent Hohenstaufen cultural policy. For further information on the architectural relationships between the sites mentioned see Neuwirth, J., *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst in Böhmen bis zum Aussterben der Premysliden*, Prag, 1888, p. 257; Entz, G., "La Cathédrale de Gyulafehérvár", *AHA*, VI, 1958, pp. 22–27; Dercsényi, D., *The Church of Ják*, Budapest, 1979, pp. 34–35; Chadraba, R., Denkstein, V., & Krása, J., *Dějiny Českeho Výtvarného Umění*, Praha, 1984, pp. 69–73, 73, 87, 100; Marosi, op. cit., 1984, pp. 130–33; Wagner-Rieger, op. cit., 1988, pp. 78–85; Veit, S., "Die stilistische Entwicklung der Kapitalplastik", *SMW*, pp. 124–131.

[20] Entz, G., op. cit., 1958, pp. 29–30; idem, op. cit., 1976, I, p. 80; idem., in *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 (MM)* (ed. Marosi), Budapest, 1987, p. 318; idem., op. cit., 1994, p. 55; Győrffy Gy., *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, III, Budapest, 1987, pp. 335–36.

[21] The carving on the portal at Lodomér Monoszló's foundation at the village of Monoszló in western Hungary resembles the work at the villages mentioned above

[22] Entz, G., op. cit., 1958, pp. 24–25.

[23] Hamann, R., & Wilhelm-Kästner, K., *Die Elisabethkirche zu Marburg und ihre künstlerische Nachfolge*, Marburg, 1927/29, p. 36.

[24] Géza Entz is of the opinion that Gyulafehérvár tends more towards Trier, Magdeburg and Reims. See Entz, G., op. cit., 1958, p. 29.

[25] Entz, G. A., *A kolozsvári Szent Mihály templom helye a magyarországi építészetben* (Diss) Budapest, 1976, pp. 85–90; Győrffy, op. cit., pp. 335–36, 357–59; Szűcs J., *Az utolsó Árpádok*, Budapest, 1993, pp. 147–48.

[26] Entz, G. A., "Egy 13. századi kaputípus továbbélése

Erdély építészetében a 14-15. században", *Művészetörténeti Értesítő*, XXXI, Budapest, 1982.

[27] Similar designs can be found at the parish churches in Szászrégen and Ótorda.

[28] Marosi, in *MM*, pp. 452–56.

[29] Entz, G. A., in *MM*, p. 558.

[30] For the denial of an architectural link between Gyulafehérvár and Kolozsvár see Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, I, p. 145.

[31] For the importance of the mendicant orders in the reception of gothic into Hungary see Marosi, "A koldulórendi építészet Magyarországon", *Koldulórendi építészet a középkori Magyarországon: Tanulmányok*, Budapest, 1992, pp. 19–20.

[32] Jakab, E., *Kolozsvár története*, Budapest, 1870–1888, pp. 290–92.

[33] Győrffy, op. cit., p. 357; idem, *Magyarország keleti elemei*, Budapest, 1990, p. 277; Szűcs, op. cit., pp. 13, 33–37.

[34] Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, I, p. 80.

[35] Győrffy, op. cit., pp. 357–58.

[36] The involvement of the Hospitallers of St John may have provided the impulse for a building drawing on references to St Elizabeth's Marburg see Hamann, op. cit., p. 140.

[37] Götz, op. cit., pp. 74–75. Further evidence for the architect's conscious reference to St Elizabeth's Marburg can be found in the the presence of a whole window dedicated to the life of St Elizabeth in the clerestory of the nave.

[38] Hamann, op. cit., p. 35.

[39] The church of St Mary in Frankenberg being a notable example see Götz, op. cit., pp. 35–36.

[40] Branner, *St Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture*, London, 1965, p. 107. St Sulpice de Favieres may have played an intermediary role in this development see Branner, op. cit., 1960 p. 58.

[41] Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1962, pp. 129–30; Branner, op. cit., 1965, p. 109; Focillon, H., *Art d' Occident*, Paris, 1938.

[42] Bony, J., "French Influences on the Origins of English Gothic Architecture", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XII, 1949, p. 71 (note 3).

[43] Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1984, p. 80 (Fig. 15). On dating on the Chapel of St Margaret see Frankl, op. cit., 1962, p. 283 (footnote 101).

[44] Above the crossing vault at Gyulafehérvár Cathedral there are the remains of what looks like a previously existing, or planned, crossing tower.

[45] For work on Prázsmár see Entz, G., op. cit., 1963, p. 35; Götz, op. cit., pp. 26–31; Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, I, p. 69; Marosi, op. cit., 1984, p. 163–64; Marosi, in "Künstlerischer Austausch - Artistic Exchange", *Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte Berlin*, Berlin, 1992, p. 20. For the Order of the the Knights Hospitallers of St John's presence in the Barcaság see Szűcs, op. cit., p. 19.

[46] The document relating to this transaction is extremely confused and contradictory. The explanation given in the main text is the only way of deciphering it. See Győrffy, op. cit., p. 286.

[47] Peter Monoszló the great surviver see Szűcs, op. cit., pp. 148, 288–89

[48] Szabó K., *Kun László*, Budapest, 1886, p. 79.

[49] *Dictionaire de Théologie Catholique*, Paris, 1926, p. 1390.

[50] Hamann, op. cit., p. 30.

[51] Neuwirth, op. cit., p. 257. *Wetzer und Weste Kirchenlexikon*, 2, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1883, p. 1376.

[52] Browe, P., *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, München, 1932, pp. 43, 57, 77, 204.

[53] Frankl, op. cit., 1962, pp. 129–30.

[54] Hamann, op. cit., p. 49; Götz, op. cit., p. 36; Nussbaum, N., *Deutsche Kirchenbaukunst der Gotik: Entwicklungen und Bauformen*, Köln, 1985, pp. 135–37; Marosi, op .cit., 1992, p. 30.

[55] Götz, op. cit., p. 38; Crossley, op. cit., p. 69.

[56] Gyürky, K., *Das mittelalterliche Dominikanerkloster in Buda*, Budapest, 1981, pp. 125–31, Grzibkowski, A., "Early Mendicant Architecture in Central and Eastern Europe. The Present State of Research", *Arte Medievale* 1983/1, pp 136, 151.

[57] Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1984, p. 80 (incl. footnote 29).

[58] The idea may have got to Regensburg via St Urbain Troyes. We have no way of knowing whether St Urbain indeed had a rood screen but a church dedicated to the Pope who legitimized the Feast of *Corpus Christi* would no doubt have celebrated the Feast with all the liturgical furniture that went with it.

[59] Gervase of Canterbury and Villard de Honnecourt both mention the wall passages' importance in fighting fires,

[60] Milan, Archivio Provinciale di Barnaba, Cartella B 24, Nr. 14.

[61] However, the impression remains that at the Notre-Dame de Dijon that wall passages were used simply because they existed in great churches and their medium-sized followers and that a use was then found for the wall passages once they were part of the fabric.

[62] As at the cathedral at Wiener Neustadt, the literature on St Michael's Sopron does not mention the possibility of a rood screen. See Hekler, A., *Ungarische Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1937, p. 40; Csatkai, E., & Fülep, L., *Magyarországi műemléki topográfia II: Sopron és környéke műemlékei*, Budapest, 1953, pp. 387–404; Marosi, "Stiltendenzen und Zentren der spätgotischen Architektur in Ungarn", *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch der Universität Graz*, VI, 1971, p. 3; idem, op. cit., 1974, p. 323; idem, op. cit., 1987, p. 327; Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, I, p. 46.

[63] If one wanted confirmation that the architect of St Michael's Vienna was really taking into consideration the ideas we have suggested one should turn to the Spitalkirche in Braunau. (1417–39) (Fig. 42). This church includes many of those elements inherent in the quest for a successfully designed medium-sized church. The result is a design with two low side chapels, which are little more than shallow apses, with arched doorways into the chancel. In the bay to the west of the side apses there is first a simple low lancet followed by a taller traceried window. The lancet as we have seen, for example at St Mary's Brassó, would have illuminated the space under the rood screen. This screen at Braunau, whilst resembling that at St Michael's Vienna, as we shall see later, also combined the functions of the rood screen and the galleries which existed at St Michael's Kolozsvár. In addition the nave at Braunau was originally vaulted with a huge star vault resembling that at the chapel of St Katherines' at St Stephen's Vienna. In this way the Spitalkirche in Braunau takes the development of the medium-sized church well into the fifteenth century.

[64] The design at Garamszentbenedek also resembles those at St Stephen's Vienna, the Collegiate Church in Óbuda and Maria Strassengel although it does not have their openings between the side chapels and the chancel.

[65] Csemegi, J., "A garamszentbenedeki apátsági templom alaprajzának építészettörténeti vizsgálata" *A Magyar Mérnök- és Építész- Egylet Közlönye*, LXXIII, Budapest, 1939, pp. 110–14; Marosi, op. cit., 1974, pp. 312–321; idem., op. cit., 1987, p. 533; Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1976, III, p. 38; *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon (9–14. század)* (ed. Kristó, Gyula), Budapest, 1994, p. 230.

[66] For Zbraslav's influence on Bohemian architecture see: Crossley, "The vaults of Kraków cathedral and the cistercian tradition", *Podlug Niela i Zwyczaju Polskiego. Studia z historii Architektury: Sztuki i Kultury Ofiarowane Adamowi Miłobędzkiemu*, Warszawa, 1988, p. 72 (footnote 24).

[67] Homolka, J., "Zur Kunst der Gotik in Böhmen", *Kunst der Gotik aus Böhmen*, Köln, 1985, pp. 39, 45; Crossley, op. cit., 1988, p. 68; Marosi, op. cit., 1992, p. 12.

[68] Götz, op. cit., p. 40; Sedlák, J., "Die Architektur in Mähren in der Zeit der Luxemburger", *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350–1400 (Parler-Kat.)*, Resultband, Köln, 1980, pp. 123–25; Homolka, op. cit., p. 45.

[69] For work on the original groundplan at the cistercian

monastery in Brno see Götz, op. cit., p. 40; Sedlák, op. cit., p. 125. Both argue that the original design was modelled on St Elizabeth's Marburg.

[70] For the durability of the cult of St Elizabeth see Götz, op. cit., p. 36 (and footnote p. 63); Heinemeyer,W., *Die heilige Elisabeth in Hessen*, Marburg, 1983, pp. 31–32, 72–73.

[71] Bertalan Vilmosné in *Magyarországi műemléki topográfia IV, Budapest műemlékei I* (ed. Horler M.), Budapest, 1955, pp. 399–401; Gerevich, L., *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages*, Budapest, 1971, pp. 60–61; Entz G. in *MM*, p. 305.

[72] In 1363 Charles IV married Elizabeth of Pomerania. She was also related to Elizabeth the Queen Mother, Charles Robert's widow.

[73] Wagner-Rieger, op. cit., 1979, pp. 119–120.

[74] For Garamszentbenedek and the Collegiate Church, Óbuda see Gerevich, op. cit., p. 61.

[75] Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, II, p. 31; idem, op. cit., in *MM*, pp. 306–7; Marosi, in *MM*, p. 323.

[76] Snieżyńska-Stolot, E., "Queen Elizabeth as a Patron of Architecture", *AHA*, XX, 1974, p. 18, suggests that St Elizabeth, Marburg-inspired buildings appeared only after Elizabeth, the Queen Mother's pilgrimage to Aachen (via Marburg) in 1357.

[77] Ibid., pp. 26–27; Crossley, op. cit., 1988, p. 67; idem, op. cit., 1992, p. 177.

[78] Recht, R., "La Chapelle Saint-Venceslas et la sacristie de la cathédral de Prague et leur origine strasbourgeoise", *Actes du XXIIe Congres International d'Histoire de l'Art*, Budapest, 1974, pp. 523–26; idem., "Strasbourg et Prag" *Parler-Kat.*, IV, Köln, 1980, pp. 106–17; Wortmann, R., "Die südwestdeutsche Würzel der Langhausarchitektur der Heiligkreuzkirche zu Schwäbisch Gmünd" *Parler-Kat.*, IV, pp. 118–22.

[79] It is possible that Viennese architects such as Markus and Johannes Zeyricker, architects of Maria Strassengel and "professors" at the cistercian monastery at nearby Rein, took part in architectural projects in the Kingdom of Hungary. If one compares the interior arrangements at Strassengel with those at Garamszentbenedek as well as the designs of the piers and the capitals one could suggest possible involvement there. See also Śnieżyńska-Stolot, op. cit., p. 22.

[80] Elizabeth the Queen Mother also funded provincial projects namely: The Franciscan foundation at Lippa, the Augustinian foundation of St Anna in Esztergom, the parish church in Hatvan, and the church of the Corpus Christi in Terebes. See Snieżyńska-Stolot, op. cit., p. 30; Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, II, p. 20.

[81] Recht, R, in *Parler-kat.*, I,. Köln, 1978, p. 283.

[82] Entz, G., in *MM*, p. 305.

[83] Nussbaum, op. cit., pp. 154–58.

[84] Zykan, M., "Zur Baugeschichte des Hochturmes von St Stephan", *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 1970, p. 30; Feuchtmüller,R., in *Parler-Kat.*, II, Köln, 1978, p. 416.

[85] The following dates have been suggested for the first fourteenth century building campaign: 1360–90 in Vătăşianu,V., *Istoria artei feudale in tarile Romîne*, Bucuresti, 1959, p. 223; 1370s (up until 1400) Marosi, op. cit., 1974, p. 325; Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, III, p. 30; idem., op. cit., 1984, p. 78, Entz, G. A., in *MM*, p. 558. For date of plan change: 1370s: Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1976, p. 98; Machat, C., in *Parler-Kat.*, II, p. 473. c. 1400: Marosi, op. cit., 1974, p. 325. Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1976, p. 115.

[86] Götz, op. cit., pp. 79–83.

[87] In the walls of the southern side chapel there are a few rows of pink coloured stone at the level of what would have been the fifth and highest horizontal moulding.

[88] Zykan, op. cit., p. 45.

[89] Marosi, op. cit., 1974, p. 325; Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1984, p. 107 (footnote 18).

[90] The fact that this solution only appears in one window at St Nicholas's Nagyszombat requires further explanation. Elsewhere in the Kingdom of Hungary one sees the results of architects who sought to use frequently used architectural elements in new ways. One sees the architects at St James's, Lőcse, St Catherine's Gölnicbánya (Gelnica, Slovakia), the Benedictine foundation at Garamszentbenedek, St Nicholas, Nagyszombat and the parish church at Jindřichův Hraděc changing the mouldings of wall shafts midshaft in order to create a variation on a much used theme. Such a view contradicts Marosi's opinion that such irregularities were the result of plan changes. See Marosi, op. cit., 1974.

[91] Entz, G. A., *A kolozsvári Szent Mihály templom középkori építészettörténete*, (undergraduate thesis), Budapest,. 1973, p. 117.

[92] Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1976, pp. 36, 46. Further examples can be found at Regensburg Cathedral; St Urbain, Troyes; St Nazaire, Carcassonne; Königsfelden; St Vitus, Prague; the "Mons Paracleti" Olbyn and Szászsebes.

[93] The design can also be found in Wrocław, Brno, Lőcse and Kassa.

[94] Magirius, H., in *Parler-Kat.*, II, p. 583.

[95] Eszterházi, J., "A kolozsvári Szent Mihály egyház története és építészeti leirata", *Archaeológiai Közlemények*, III, 1863, p. 60.

[96] Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1976, pp. 109–10 (incl. footnote 108).

[97] Ibid., pp. 115–17.

[98] Idem., op. cit., 1984, pp. 66–68, 107 (footnote 10). The document can be found in Jakab, op. cit., pp. 104–6. Idem. in *MM*, p. 433.

[99] Győrffy, op. cit., p. 359.

[100] Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, III, p. 130.

[101] Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1984, p. 66.

[102] Mályusz, E., *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1971, pp. 59, 120–22.

[103] Jakab, op. cit., p. 322.

[104] Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1984, p. 77; idem, in *MM*, p. 558.

[105] Mályusz, op. cit., p. 129; Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, III, p. 101.

[106] Mályusz, op. cit., p. 110.

[107] Demeter Meszesi (Futaki), János Lászai, András Báthori, András Széchy and Imre Czudar to name but a few.

[108] Zykan, op. cit., p. 32.

[109] In naves where the arcade supports were widely spread the use of triradial vaults in the aisles meant that on the interior walls the vault required three consoles per bay and hence two windows rather than one.

[110] Wortmann, *Parler-Kat.*, I, Köln, 1978, p. 325; idem., "Hallenbau und Basilikabau der Parler in Ulm" *600. Jahre Ulmer Münster: Festschrift*, Ulm, 1977, p. 122.

[111] Zykan, op. cit., p. 44. Wortmann, op. cit., 1977, pp. 117–20.

[112] Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1976, p. 35.

[113] For the differing origins of complete and incomplete star vaults see Nussbaum, op. cit., p. 136.

[114] For the origins of triradials see Crossley, op. cit., 1990, p. 173.

[115] One can add the chapel of St Katherines' to this list. See Recht, op. cit., 1978, p. 278.

[116] Bágyuj, op. cit., p. 26.

[117] Entz, G. A., in *MM*, p. 438.

[118] In a similar manner to the angel choirs at Hildesheim. For reference to the Kolozsvár document see Békefi, R., *Népoktatás története Magyarországon 1540-ig*, Budapest, 1906, p,125. For almost identical ritual in the diocese of Wrocław see Browe, op. cit., p. 49.

[119] Frankl, op. cit., pp. 43, 63, 132. "Its abstract geometrical pattern make it appear autonomous, independent of physical aims and considerations imbuing the church with its immaterial spirit".

[120] Bony, J., *The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250–1350*, London, 1979, p. 2.

[121] In the late 14th century for example at James's Kutná Hora, St Elizabeth's Kassa and probably the Franciscan church in Sopron.

[122] A similar effect would have existed at ground level when looking through the traceried openings in the the rood

screen at Strasbourg Cathedral. See Branner, op. cit., 1965, pp. 83–3.

[123] Browe, op. cit., pp. 142–49.

[124] Ibid., p. 149. "Manchorts wurde das Sakrament während des Chorgebets auf dem Hochaltar ausgestellt und erst nachher in Prozession zum Nebenaltar gebracht".

[125] Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1984, p. 67.

[126] Browe, op. cit., pp. 43, 89–101, 178.

[127] Kühlbrandt, E., *Die ev. Stadtpfarrkirche A.B. in Kronstadt*, Kronstadt, 1927. See Browe, op. cit., p. 145 for similar activities at Nagyszeben.

[128] Browe, op. cit., p. 147; Mályusz, op. cit., p. 313.

[129] Darkó, L., "A kolozsvári Szent Mihály templom 1956–57 évi helyreállítása során feltárt falfestményekről", *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*, Bukarest–Kolozsvár, 1957, p. 209. The walls in the northern side were decorated with a knight kneeling before the Virgin Mary.

[130] Ibid., p. 208. For the importance of the monstrance during the feast of the *Corpus Christi* see Browe, op. cit., p. 97.

[131] In 1351 Louis the Great of Hungary was given permission by the pope to celebrate the Feast of the *Corpus Christi* every Thursday at the Church of Our Lady in Buda. Elizabeth, The Queen Mother, was buried in a chapel at the Clarissan Church in Óbuda dedicated to the *Corpus Christi* a structure at which no expense was spared. Gerevich, op. cit., 1971, pp. 70–71.

[132] Marosi in *MM*, p. 156. However, the origins of the Feast of the *Corpus Christi* at St Michael's Kolozsvár may have had a longer history perhaps dating from the turbulant years before the Synod of Buda (1279). See Browe, op. cit., p. 43.

[133] Bágyuj, op. cit., p. 31.

[134] Eszterházi, op. cit., p. 61; Grandpierre, E., "A kolozsvári Szent Mihály templom története és építészete 1349-tól napjainkig" *Erdélyi Múzeum, XLI*, 1936, p. 13; Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1976, p. 65.

[135] Eszterházi, op. cit., p. 59.

[136] Bágyuj, op. cit., p. 31. Bágyuj wrote that in 1956/7 a winged lion now used as a consol in the north eastern wall of the chancel apse had been moved from the easternmost window in the southern nave aisle. He also mentions the existence of all four symbols of the evangelists. At the present time the whereabouts of the bull is unknown.

[137] Entz, G., op. cit., 1976, III, p. 32 (footnote 52); Entz, G. A., op, cit., 1984, pp. 37–39.

[138] See also the chapel of St Catherine at Strasbourg Cathedral. Recht in *Parler-Kat.*, IV, p. 278.

[139] Similar leaf designs can be found at the cloisters at Passau Cathedral, Szászsebes and the Transylvanian portals mentioned above.

[140] Figures in rich foliaged surroundings are also to be found at Maria Strassengel, St Vitus in Prague, Garamszentbenedek, the cloisters at Passau Cathedral and Kloster Eberbach.

[141] Entz, G. A., in *MM* p. 438. G. A. Entz's second capital type can with little difficulty be called a "Beifuss". This design which frequently appears in the architecture of the Parlers, for example the "Konsolbüste" from Cologne, and the nave capitals at Ulm Münster 140. Varga, op. cit., 1984, pp. 44–5. See Legner, A., *Parler-Kat.*, I, p. 187; idem., "Die Kölner Parlerbüste – Botanik und Petrographie" *Parler-Kat.*, III, Köln, 1980, pp. 33–36. Examples in Hungary include the Franciscan Church and St Martin's Pozsony, Garamszentbenedek and Szászsebes.

[142] Varga, L., *A szászsebesi evangélikus templom középkori építésztörténete*, Budapest, 1979, p. 37.

[143] According to the inscription next to the west door the building was completed in 1444. See Entz, G. A., op. cit., 1976, III, p. 99.

[144] Koepf, H., "Die Esslinger Frauenkirche und ihre Meister, *Esslinger Studien*, 1980, pp. 17–21. Miłobędzki, A., in *Parler-Kat.*, II, p. 479.

[145] Tóth, S., "Kaschau, Elisabethkirche, von der Westfassade her betrachtet, *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, 1993, p. 121.

LIA LINDNER

DAS UNIVERSUM AVANTGARDE[1] – VERNETZUNG[2] ODER VERABSCHIEDUNG?

Als zu Beginn der 90er Jahre die Paul-Getty-Foundation in Los Angeles, USA, ein kunsthistorisches Übersetzungsprojekt[3] eingerichtet hatte, mit dem Ziel bisher nicht übersetzte, wichtige Literatur der ostmitteleuropäischen Länder aus diesem Bereich zu fördern, war dies ein bisher einmaliges Unternehmen, längst überfällige Literatur und Quellenmaterial der Forschung zugänglich zu machen. Darüber hinaus war es eine wertvolle Anerkennung der Notwendigkeit, den wissenschaftlichen Austausch zwischen West und Ost, besonders auch auf diesem Wege, zu unterstützen.[4] Gleichzeitig deutete dieses Projekt erneut auf Lücken in der bisherigen wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung hin, wie dies nachfolgend am Beispiel der Ungarischen Avantgarde gezeigt werden soll. Lücken, die sich durch die Absenz wichtiger Literatur und Quellen ergaben, und die in der Folge dann die Betrachtungsweise der Kunst aus den Ländern Ost- und Ostmitteleuropa oft einseitig geprägt haben und prägen. Bereits in den 60er Jahren hat Ewald Rathke – für den Bereich des Konstruktivismus – auf die dringend notwendige Erschließung der Quellen hingewiesen: „Die Erforschung der Epoche des Konstruktivismus ist trotz des geringen zeitlichen Abstandes durch vielfache Hindernisse erschwert. Die Literatur ist weit verstreut und viel Quellenmaterial, vor allem über den Konstruktivismus in Rußland, nicht erreichbar. (...) Zukünftigen Bemühungen muß es vorbehalten bleiben, die Detaillierung zu erarbeiten."[5] Die veränderte Situation in Europa nach 1989 bot hierzu ganz neue Möglichkeiten: den freien Zugang zu Archiven, die ungehinderte Begegnung mit den Kunstwissenschaftlern, die zwar nicht in allen Ländern gleich, aber oftmals behördlicherseits erschwert wurde. Diese neuen Chancen wurden unterschiedlich genützt, wobei sich zeigt, daß der Bereich Ausstellungen und Museen, sich, besonders während der letzten zehn Jahre etwa, dynamischer entwickelte, gerade im Hinblick auf eine veränderte Betrachtungsweise, die vormals oft von der system-politischen Teilung Europas geprägt war.[6] Demgegenüber erscheinen die selbständigen wissenschaftlichen Publikationen zur Avantgarde der Länder Ost-, Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas aus westlicher Sicht immer noch in geringerer Zahl. Die Literatur zum Thema „Avantgarde" wird darüber hinaus seit einiger Zeit in nicht zu übersehendem Maße von Entwicklungen okkupiert, die im Kapitel „Politisch-ideologische Tendenzen" nachgezeichnet werden. Martin Warnke hat mit seinem Aufsatz „Erinnerung", auf den nachfolgend eingegangen wird, eine eindrucksvolle Stellungnahme dazu gegeben. Betroffen sind von dieser pauschalen Diffamierung und schnellstmöglichen Verabschiedung von der Avantgarde besonders die Länder Ost-, Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas. Wenn die Avantgarde nach den politischen Veränderungen in Europa erneut in die Rolle eines politischen Feindbildes gezwungen wird, so ist zu befürchten, daß eine weitere Erschließung von Quellen zu diesem Thema als unnötig, wenn nicht gar als überflüssig deklariert wird. Auch aus diesem Grund ist eine Fortsetzung der Übersetzungstätigkeit nötig, um mittels vorlegbarer Quellen, falschen Behauptungen und Verleumdungen zu entgegnen.

Von theoretischer Seite her, hat der griechische Kunsthistoriker Nikos Hadjinicolaou bereits 1983 mit seinem Aufsatz „Kunstzentren und Periphere Kunst"[7] im Hinblick auf eine veränderte Betrachtungsweise, eine wertvolle Anregung gegeben. Hadjinicolau plädiert für eine vergleichende kunstwissenschaftliche Methode,

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jenseits politisch-ideologischer Grenzen und für die Wiedereinführung einer „kunsthistorischen Hilfsdisziplin", der Kunstgeographie, allerdings – so schreibt Hadjinicolaou – in einer reformierten Form. Der ideologische Mißbrauch der Kunstgeographie in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus brachte die Sache selbst gänzlich in Vergessenheit. Es wäre fatal, gerade heute, noch bevor wir das gesamte Material der Avantgarde und Moderne aus Ost-, Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa kennen, und ehe es überhaupt erschlossen ist, wiederum erneut politischen Angriffszielen unwidersprochen auszuliefern. Und es hieße einen wesentlichen Beitrag der Avantgarde und Moderne, und hier besonders der Avantgarde aus Ost-, Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa, zur „Kultur- und Sehgeschichte dieses Jahrhunderts"[8] zu eliminieren. Im Falle der Ungarischen Avantgarde betrifft dies einen ganz spezifischen Beitrag zur „Analyse des Sehens"[9], auf den Ryszard Stanislawski schon kurz hingewiesen hat, der in seinem ganzen Ausmaß und der Vielheit künstlerischer Beiträge in diesem Jahrhundert aber noch nicht entsprechend untersucht wurde.

Ungarische Avantgarde (1908–1941): „Nyolcak és Aktivisták/ Die Acht und die Aktivisten" Kurze Anmerkungen zum derzeitigen Forschungsstand

Die Ungarische Avantgarde umfaßt den Zeitraum etwa von 1908 bis 1941, der nachfolgend in vier Sequenzen unterteilt wird:

I. Die Zeit von 1908 bis 1918
II. Die Räterepublik 1918/1919
III. Sturz der Räterepublik und Emigration der ungarischen Künstler nach Wien, Berlin, Dessau, in die Sowjetunion und Niederlande, 1919–1925
IV. Rückkehr vieler ungarischer Künstler nach Budapest 1925–1941

Die nachfolgenden Ausführungen beziehen sich auf den Zeitabschnitt „I.". Die Aussagen über den Forschungsstand in der westeuropäischen und amerikanischen Literatur, die Zeit zwischen 1908 und 1918 betreffend, gelten auch für den zweiten und dritten Zeitabschnitt. Eine ausführliche Beschäftigung, die Zeit der Rückkehr vieler ungarischer Künstler aus der Emigration betreffend, fehlt weitestgehend. Hierzu gehören besonders das Werk des Künstlers Ödön Palasovszky, seine Manifeste und Schriften, das von ihm begründete Tanztheater, der „Munka-Kör"/Arbeitskreis, die Zeitschriften „Munka"/Arbeit und „Dokumentum", initiiert und herausgegeben von Lajos Kassák, die eindrucksvollen Photokunstwerke der ungarischen „Socio-Photographie", so z.B. von Árpád Szélpál, Ferenc Háar, Lajos Gros u.v.m.

Sowohl für die Zeit von 1908 bis 1918 als auch für die Jahre bis 1925 läßt sich sagen, daß bislang zwar eine Vielzahl von Ausstellungen stattgefunden hat, – sei es als Einzelausstellungen über die Ungarische Avantgarde und Moderne, oder Ungarische Kunst als Teil von Ausstellungen zu diesem Thema –, daß demgegenüber aber wenige selbständige Aufsätze in westlichen wissenschaftlichen Fachzeitschriften publiziert wurden.

Die Ungarische Avantgarde repräsentieren in der Zeit von 1908 bis zur Emigration im Jahre 1919, zwei Künstlergruppen: die „Nyolcak"/Die Acht,[10] gegründet im Jahre 1908, und die „Aktivisták"/Aktivisten,[11] die sich als Gruppe im Jahre 1915 formierten. Vielmals, wenn im Ausland von der Ungarischen Avantgarde die Rede ist, wird diese Avantgarde nur zu oft im Sinne eines einheitlich verstandenen Begriffes verwendet, werden in einem Atemzug die Gruppen „Nyolcak" und „Aktivisták" unter diesem Begriff subsumiert, ohne differenzierter auf die sehr wesentlichen künstlerischen und geistig-ideellen Unterschiede einzugehen. Dies gilt dann nicht, wenn es sich um Ausstellungen handelt, die mit der Beteiligung ungarischer Kunsthistoriker stattfinden oder von ungarischen Kunsthistorikern selbst organisiert werden, wie z.B. die Ausstellung „Nyolcak és Aktivisták"/Die Acht und die Aktivisten,[12] die 1981 in Budapest stattfand und bereits ein Jahr früher in London[13] gezeigt war. Hier wurde sehr klar der unterschiedliche gesellschaftspolitische Hintergrund der beiden Gruppen herausgestellt. Die Künstler der Gruppe „Nyolcak" orientieren sich mehr nach Frankreich, waren stark von der Kunst Paul Cézannes und den Kubisten beeinflußt. Einige ihrer Mitglieder standen dem „Vasárnapi Kör"/Sonntagskreis,[14] dem „Galilei-Kör"/Galilei-

Kreis[15] und dem bürgerlich-radikalen Kreis um Oszkár Jászi sehr nahe.

Eine Bearbeitung der künstlerischen Aspekte der „Nyolcak" wie auch der „Aktivisták" im Zusammenhang mit dem geistigen und gesellschafts-politischen Hintergrund, mit seinen internationalen Verbindungen, steht aus westlicher Sicht noch aus.

Zwei wichtige Bücher von Krisztina Passuth „A Nyolcak festészete"/Die Malerei der Acht[16] und „Magyar Művészet a két világháború között"/Die Kunst zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen[17], blieben bislang unübersetzt. Die Tatsache, daß diese Bücher nicht übersetzt worden sind, läßt sich nicht auf eine politische Färbung im sozialistischen Stil zurückführen, wiewohl solches in der ungarischen kunsthistorischen Literatur nicht festzustellen ist. Der Katalog zur o.g. Ausstellung „Nyolcak és Aktivisták" – in englischer Sprache, u.a. mit Aufsätzen von Júlia Szabó und Krisztina Passuth –, hat viele Aspekte dieses für die europäische Kunst- und Geistesgeschichte so wichtigen Kapitels dargestellt, doch wurde es von der westlichen Forschung bislang nicht weiter berücksichtigt oder fortgeführt. Auf eine wichtige Ausstellung soll an dieser Stelle hingewiesen werden, die durch die einzelnen Aufsätze in dem hierzu erschienenen Katalog – widerum aber überwiegend von ungarischer Seite – auf diese Querverbindungen eingegangen ist. Der Schwerpunkt dieser Ausstellung lag jedoch, wie es der Titel schon ankündigte, auf der „Ungarische(n) Avantgarde in der Weimarer Republik.[18]

„Standing in the Tempest. Painters of the Hungarian Avantgarde 1908–1930"[19], eine Ausstellung und gleichnamige Katalog-Publikation von Steven Mansbach, wurde 1991 in Santa Barbara, USA, gezeigt. Erstmals wurde hier, in dieser Größenordnung und Auswahl, dem Publikum in den Vereinigten Staaten die Ungarische Kunst dieser Epoche vorgestellt. Diese Ausstellung, die nachfolgend auch im Nelson Atkins Museum in Kansas City, Missouri und im Krannert Art Museum in Champaign in Illinois zu sehen war, markiert zusammen mit der bereits früheren Ausstellung „Hungarian Art. The Twentieth Century Avant-Garde"[20] der Indiana University in Bloomington einen eindrucksvollen Beginn. In Zusammenarbeit mit den Wissenschaftlern in Europa, durch weitere Forschungen und universitäre Einbindungen wäre dies eine wünschenswerte Fortführung der Arbeit in diesem Bereich. Bei der Ausstellung in Santa Barbara nahmen wiederum Júlia Szabó und Krisztina Passuth als Autorinnen teil, sowie Olivér Botár, Kunsthistoriker aus Kanada, der sich ebenfalls mit der Ungarischen Avantgarde beschäftigt. Professor Steven Mansbach vom „Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts" in Washington und Olivér Botár in Kanada, sind die bedeutendsten, hier zu nennenden Kunsthistoriker, die sich mit großem Engagement dem Kunstgeschehen in den Ländern Ost- und Ostmitteleuropas aus amerikanischer Sicht widmen.

Gleichfalls blieb auch die bereits vorhandene Literatur über die Künstlergruppe „Aktivisták", deren Geschichte schon vor Jahrzehnten von ungarischer Seite aufgearbeitet und publiziert wurde, unübersetzt.[21] Die Gruppe der „Aktivisták"/Aktivisten um den Künstler und Schriftsteller Lajos Kassák stand ideell und künstlerisch dem deutschen Expressionismus, dem holländischen „De Stijl" und dem russischen Konstruktivismus nahe. Die Betrachtung der Ungarischen Avantgarde in der westlichen Literatur endet meist mit den frühen 20er Jahren. Lajos Kassák und viele andere ungarische Künstler mit ihm, haben in fast unermüdlicher Arbeit und trotz politischer Verfolgungen die Avantgarde-Kunst auch nach dem Sturz der Räterepublik im Jahre 1919, über die Zeit in der Emigration in Wien, und dann wiederum nach 1925 in Budapest, bis etwa 1941 fortgeführt.

Die von Kassák herausgegebenen Zeitschriften „A Tett"/Die Tat (1915–1916), „MA"/Heute (1916–1925), „Dokumentum"/Dokument (1926–1927) und „Munka"/Arbeit (1928–1939), sind beredte Zeugnisse für die internationalen künstlerischen und literarischen Verbindungen dieser Zeit, zwischen West-, Ost-, Ostmittel- und Südost-europa. Viele Aufsätze aus diesen Zeitschriften, die wesentliche Dokumente und Quellen für die Forschungsarbeit darstellen, sind nicht übersetzt. Eine sehr wertvolle Basisarbeit für die wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen zu diesem Thema, wurde bereits zu Beginn der 70er Jahre durch das Petőfi-Literatur-Museum geleistet. Zu nahezu allen ungarischen Avantgarde-Zeitschriften dieser Zeit publizierte

das Petőfi-Museum jeweils einzelne Repertorien-Bände, die aber in keiner westlichen Publikation Beachtung finden. Für die Sekundärliteratur gilt gleichermaßen, so zeigt sich, daß bisher kaum Aufsätze der ungarischen Kunsthistoriker aus den wissenschaftlichen Fachzeitschriften Ungarns übersetzt wurden, und sich somit keinerlei größere wissenschaftliche Kommunikation über dieses Thema entwickeln konnte.

Europa, Europa

Die zuletzt wohl größte Ausstellung zu diesem Thema aus künstlerischer Sicht fand im Jahre 1994 in Bonn statt –: „Europa, Europa. Das Jahrhundert der Avantgarde in Ost- und Ostmitteleuropa".[22]

Pontus Hulten, einer der Kuratoren dieser Ausstellung, unterstrich in seinem Vorwort „den ausgesprochenen Reichtum der kulturellen Welt des Ostens", und bilanzierte die bisherigen Umgangsformen mit diesem kulturellen Reichtum von Seiten des Westens wie des Ostens zutreffend: „Zwischen ihrer Vernachlässigung in den kapitalistischen Ländern und dem perversen Interesse, das ihr in den totalitären Staaten entgegengebracht wurde, durchlitt die Kultur in diesem Jahrhundert ein oftmals schwieriges Schicksal."[23] Eine solchermaßen entstandene Situation nun zu verbessern, so Pontus Hulten, ist das Ziel der Ausstellung „Europa, Europa". Bevor auf ganz wesentliche Grundsatzformulierungen von Seiten der Kuratoren dieser Ausstellung eingegangen werden soll, über die zukünftigen neuen Betrachtungen der Avantgarde in Ost- und Ostmitteleuropa, einige kurze Anmerkungen zum Begriff „Europa". Die Publikationen zu diesem Thema – eine nicht unbeträchtliche Zahl – apostrophieren in ihren Titeln allzuoft – einer Ouvertüre gleichsam – den Namen „Europa". Sie sind einer genaueren Betrachtung wert.

Von welchem Europa ist hier jeweils die Rede? – So eine erste neugierige Frage. Und welche Länder werden in dieses „Europa" aufgenommen? Was die zumeist nicht näher begründete Auswahl und Zusammenstellung der immer wieder anders erscheinenden „Europa(s)" anbetrifft, so fühlt man sich bisweilen an die antike Fabel der „Europa" erinnert, an das „Mädchen Europa, dem sich Zeus in Gestalt eines Stiers naht."[24] „Wir sind gewohnt", so schreibt Barbara Mundt im Katalog dieser Ausstellung, „von einer Entführung zu sprechen, und von einem Raub schreiben auch die antiken Dichter. Doch bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts zeigen Werke der bildenden Kunst nur vereinzelt Europa als Opfer der Perfidie oder Brutalität einer Gewalttat. Dies blieb im wesentlichen unserem Jahrhundert vorbehalten."[25] Viele der Publikationen zum Thema „Avantgarde" oder „Moderne", die zusätzlich „Europa" auf die symbolischen Fahnen ihrer Buchtitel geschrieben haben, erwecken den Ein-druck, als würde sich jeder, nach einem gewissen Belieben, die Länder seiner Vorliebe für das von ihm favorisierte Europa rauben, und es als das einzig wirkliche entführen. „Europa, Europa" – die Ausstellung in Bonn 1994, bevorzugte folgende „europäische" Zusammensetzung: Amerika, England, Frankreich, Kroatien, Polen, Rumänien, Tschechien und Ungarn. Unbeachtet blieb das Kunstgeschehen z.B. in Skandinavien, Finnland oder Österreich. Eine Ausstellung in Budapest aus dem Jahre 1995, mit dem Titel „Europe. Creation & Recreation"[26] zählte zu diesem Europa: Deutschland, Schweiz, Österreich, Ungarn, Finnland, Dänemark, Schweden, Norwegen, Baltikum, Kroatien. Manfred Peter Hein, in Finnland lebender deutscher Lyriker, hat seiner Meinung über die Aussparung gewisser Länder in Bezug auf Europa mit dem Titel seines Buches Ausdruck verliehen: „Auf der Karte Europas ein Fleck."[27] Dementsprechend repräsentieren diesen „Fleck" bei Manfred Peter Hein die Länder: Bulgarien, Estland, Finnland, Kroatien, Lettland, Litauen, Polen, Rumänien, Serbien, Slowakei, Slowenien, Tschechien und Ungarn. In eben diesem Gewande „Europa" erscheinen immer wieder Bücher, deren Begriff von Europa oft weniger dem Thema und der Sache entspricht, als mehr dem Primat des sog. „Neuen". Der Band „Manifeste und Proklamationen der europäischen Avantgarde (1909–1938)"[28] ist im Prinzip ein wichtiger Sammelband für diese Zeit. Die in diesem Band aufgeführten Länder sind: Belgien, Bulgarien, Deutschland, Finnland, Niederlande, Polen, Portugal, Rumänien, Rußland/Sowjetunion, Spanien, Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn und die Vereinigten Staaten. Dem Buch ist sicher die gute Absicht nicht abzu-

sprechen, die Manifeste der Avantgarde-Kunst im internationalen Kontext zu publizieren. Jedoch ist die Anzahl der Manifeste, die den einzelnen Ländern jeweils zugeordnet wurde, symptomatisch für das Augenmerk, das bisher den einzelnen Ländern zugemessen wurde: Bulgarien - ein Manifest, Finnland - ein Manifest, Deutschland, Frankreich, Italien, Rußland und die Niederlande sind den Manifesten nach in der Überzahl, von Ungarn sind fünf Manifeste abgedruckt, die abrupt, wie eingangs erwähnt, zu Beginn der 20er Jahre enden, obwohl die Epoche, laut dem Titel des Buches, bis zum Jahre 1938 reicht, und in Ungarn auch nach 1922 wichtige Manifeste erschienen sind. Bei genauerer Betrachtung der Texte stellt sich heraus, daß kaum neue Übersetzungen hinzugekommen sind, daß in neuem Gewande bereits bekannte Texte einen anderen Rahmen der Zusammenschau erhalten haben. Auch die Auswahlbibliographie, so einschränkend und explizit der Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit hier abgewiesen wird, unterläßt in Bezug auf das gestellte Thema vorrangig wichtige, bereits ins Deutsche übersetzte Literatur. Alle umfangmäßige Beschränkung oder gar Verkaufsargumente in Rechnung stellend, ergibt sich aus dieser Zusammenstellung ein ungleiches Bild und ein falscher Eindruck über die Avantgarde dieser Zeit. Und dies spiegelt sich dann in sog. Übersichtsbüchern wider, wie beispielsweise in dem Buch „Die Kunst der Moderne. Zur Struktur und Dynamik ihrer Entwicklung".[29] Außer den Namen László Moholy-Nagy und Victor Vasarely werden keine weiteren Namen aus Ungarn genannt. Der ganze Reichtum und der Beitrag dieser ost- und ostmitteleuropäischen Länder zur Avantgarde und Moderne in diesem Jahrhundert fällt weg. Es entsteht der Eindruck, eine Moderne existiere nur im Westen, im Osten Europas gab es nur eine Nachahmung, und zur Kunst wurde dann und nur dann ein Werk, wenn der Künstler aus dem östlichen Teil Europas im Ausland blieb. Auch vor diesem Hintergund ist die Kontinuität der Übersetzungen für die Forschung wichtig. Wie eingangs schon erwähnt, kommt dem Reclam-Verlag, wie auch dem Kiepenheuer-Verlag, beide in Leipzig - noch zu Zeiten der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik - bei den Übersetzungen von Quellentexten zur Avantgarde und Moderne aus den Ländern Ost-, Ostmittel-, und Südost-Europa ein ganz besonderes Verdienst zu. Die Quellenbände des Reclam-Verlages zur Avantgarde aus Tschechien, Serbien, Rußland, Rumänien und Polen, haben viel von dem kulturellen Reichtum dieser Länder bekannt und zugänglich gemacht, und nur selten findet sich eine Publikation zu diesem Thema, die nicht auf diese Quellentexte verweist oder sie in irgendeiner Form zitiert. Diese Reihe wurde nun, nach der Übernahme durch den Reclam-Verlag in Westdeutschland, weitestgehend eingestellt, mit der Begründung, daß sich für solche Bücher kaum ein Publikum interessieren wird.

Als im Jahre 1991 das Kunstgeschichtliche Forschungsinstitut der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Budapest, zusammen mit dem dortigen Goethe-Institut, ein Symposion über den ungarischen Kunstkritiker Ernő Kállai (1890–1954) veranstaltete[30], betonte Professor Ernő Marosi, Direktor des Kunsthistorischen Forschungsinstitutes in Budapest, daß dieses Symposion auf einer so internationalen Ebene u.a. auch deswegen möglich wurde, da bereits eine umfangreiche Übersetzungsarbeit hierzu von Tanja Frank[31] aus Dresden geleistet war. Ernő Kállai, ungarischer Kunstkritiker, der Anfang der 20er Jahre zusammen mit László Moholy-Nagy in Berlin und am Bauhaus war, schrieb teilweise auch in deutscher Sprache, doch der überwiegende Teil seiner Publikationen erschien in ungarischer Sprache. Übersetzungen sind, wie dieses internationale Symposion über Ernő Kállai zeigte, für die Forschung unentbehrlich, und sie sind darüberhinaus wichtig, um der Tendenz einer zunehmenden Diffamierung der Avantgarde, in Teilen auch der Moderne, entgegenzuwirken.

Politisch-ideologische Tendenzen

Karl Ruhrberg, gleichfalls Kurator der Ausstellung „Europa, Europa" in Bonn, schrieb in seiner Einführung: „Nicht zufällig lautet - im Gegensatz zu gewissen »postmodernen« Tendenzen der Zeit - der Untertitel: »Das Jahrhundert der Avantgarde in Mittel- und Osteuropa«. Denn die vielbeschworene Krise der Avantgade ist weit weniger eine Krise der schöpferischen Künstler in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart unseres Jahr-

hunderts, als eine jener Leiermänner unter ihren Apologeten, die selten zu differenzieren verstanden. Sie übertrugen statt dessen den primitiven, anachronistischen Fortschrittsglauben, von dem sich inzwischen auch die seriöse Wissenschaft längst verabschiedet hat, auf die Werke der Künstler."[32] Ich möchte der Bezeichnung „Leiermänner" ebenso widersprechen, da sie einen allzu abwiegelnden Charakter ausdränken, wie der Vermutung, daß diese Leiermänner „selten zu differenzieren verstanden." Vielleicht wollten sie es auch nicht. Ihre Argumentationsstruktur zeigt eher einen sehr bewußten und gezielten Weg.

Auf zwei deutschsprache Publikationen soll an dieser Stelle hingewiesen sein, die mit einem schlichten „und" die Avantgarde mit dem Faschismus gleichsetzen.[33] Die Gleichsetzung von Kommunismus und Faschismus, wie verstärkt in den letzten Jahren geschehen, ist eine politische, bisweilen mehr eine propagandistische Angelegenheit. Eine solchermaßen direkte Übertragung auf die Kunst, konkret auf die Avantgarde, ist ein Teil dieser Politik. Beide Publikationen sollen hier, in diesem Zusammenhang, nicht weiter erörtert werden. Jedoch kann ein Aufsatz wie jener von Dirk von Petersdorff, „Das Verlachen der Avantgarde"[34] stellvertretend und exemplarisch sein, zeigt er doch u.a., daß dem Autor nicht einmal die Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte seines Landes so viel wert ist, als daß er sie nicht für eine Art von Gesinnungsexhibitionismus opfern würde, nur um mit der Avantgarde, gleichsam im pauschalen Rundum-Schlag, abzurechnen.

„Man schaut zu", so endet Dirk von Petersdorff seinen Aufsatz, „wie die Romantiker ihre »Feder in Nebel tauchen«, ihren ästhetischen »Orden« begründen, »so mystisch, so hehr«, den Turm zu Babel neu errichten wollen und verzweifeln angesichts des allgemeinen Spotts."[35] Wer den Schaden hat, braucht für den Spott nicht zu sorgen - so sagt das Sprichwort, und es wäre zu diesem Aufsatz eine passende Erwiderung. Die Brüder Schlegel, Novalis, Schelling, Schleiermacher und Tieck werden bei Dirk von Petersdorff heraufbeschworen, der Band „Die ästhetische Prügeley" von Rainer Schmitz[36] herbeizitiert. „Sinn des Bandes ist es", so Dirk von Petersdorff, „die Avantgarde als Unterhaltung zu nehmen".[37]

Wovon ist hier die Rede?

Von „Avantgarde als Unterhaltung", vom „Verhältnis des Expressionismus zur NS-Bewegung", von den „Verirrungen russischer und italienischer Avantgardisten des 20. Jahrhunderts", und diese Verirrungen „zeigen die Affinitäten deutlich, die zwischen totalitärer Politik und avantgardistischen Utopien bestehen."[38] Auf welche Weise haben die Brüder Schlegel, Tieck oder Novalis um 1800, mit El Lissitzky, Tatlin oder Malewitsch im Rußland des beginnenden 20. Jahrhunderts zu tun, worin lassen sich konkret Parallelen zwischen dem Expressionismus und dem Nationalsozialismus ziehen, und von welchen Expressionisten ist die Rede? Geht es um einen Vergleich der künstlerischen Ausdrucksmittel, um Literatur oder um Musik? Antworten auf diese Fragen erhalten wir nicht. Dafür hält der Autor einen geradezu reichhaltigen Behauptungskatalog ohne Beweise bereit - pauschalisierend, ungeachtet um welches Land es sich handelt, um welche Zeitepoche, wie unterschiedlich die histo-rischen Hintergründe der Länder sind, gleich ob es sich um Kunst, Literatur oder anderes handelt. In einem Ton von Häme und Spott, der so übervoll ist, daß sich der Autor innerhalb von 20 Zeilen gleich zweimal wiederholt, erfahren wir: „Avantgardisten sind wertvolle Menschen. Sie sind das Gegenteil von Spießern. Immer wieder wurden sie verfolgt, mit Teer umwickelt oder als »Pinscher« beschimpft. Das liegt daran, daß sie ein höheres Bewußtsein haben und nicht wollen, daß alles käuflich wird und unsere Welt immer kälter. (...) So könnte ein Schulaufsatz zum Thema »Avantgarde« beginnen. Und das Thema ist wichtig, denn die Avantgarde lebt: - im Museum, wo die historische Avantgarde (Expressionismus, Dadaismus, Futurismus etc.) aufbewahrt wird, - in Künst-lerdörfern und Künstlerbegegnungsstätten, wo weißgesichtige und großäugige Neoavantgardisten verpflegt und umsorgt werden (...), - in deutschen Kindergärtnern, Lehrern und Pastoren, die ein höheres Bewußtsein haben und nicht wollen, daß alles käuflich wird und unsere Welt immer kälter (...)."[39]

Und weiter: „Avantgardisten sind auf sich selbst fixiert. Wenn sie nicht gerade vorm Spiegel stehen, treffen sie sich mit Gesinnungsgenossen im Hinterzimmer und attestieren sich gegenseitig Bedeutsamkeit."[40]

Beweis für die „neurotischen Züge der Avantgardeästhetik“[41] ist für von Petersdorff das Theaterstück „Der hyperboeische Esel oder die heutige Bildung“ von August von Kotzebue, der eben diese „neurotischen Züge“ mit „erstaunlichem Scharfblick entlarvt“ hat. Von Petersdorff lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit in diesem Theaterstück auf das Generationenthema, auf die Verhaltensweisen dem Alten wie dem Neuen gegenüber, auf Reaktionen gegenüber neuen Ideen oder Verände-rungen, und auf das Infragestellen bzw. Hinterfragen des Bestehenden. Eine Familie in Kotzebues Stück erwartet ihren Sohn nach langjähriger Studienzeit zurück: „Dieser Karl ist auf der Jenaer Universität bis in den Haarschnitt hinein – so eine Art Topfdeckelfrisur, genannt »Römerschnitt« – Romantiker geworden, und seine Rolle ist von Kotzebues gänzlich aus hochtönenden Zitaten Friedrich Schlegels zusammengesetzt. (...) In den Gesprächen mit seiner Mutter, seiner Verlobten, seinem Onkel und schließlich dem Landesherren »antwortet« Karl auf die ihm gestellten Fragen mit assoziativ herbeigezogenen romantischen Aperçus, und bügelt damit alle an ihn gestellten Erwartungen ab. Liebe, Glaube, Geld, Politik – all das wird genialisch erledigt. FÜRST: Noch immer weiß ich nicht, was sie eigentlich gelernt haben? KARL: Ich trage einen Theorien-Eyerstock im Gehirn und lege täglich wie meine Henne meine Theorie.“[42]

„Kotzebues Stück wurde unter schallendem Gelächter in Leipzig aufgeführt“ schreibt von Petersdorff an gleicher Stelle weiter. Mit diesem Beispiel macht der Autor deutlich, worum es ihm eigentlich geht -: jede Art des Andersseins, des Andersdenkens ist ein Grund zum Lächerlichmachen, zur Diffamierung. D.h., jede Abweichung vom Gewohnten und Bekannten ist verdächtig und wird ins Lächerliche gewendet, um dann durch geschickte Diffamierung zum Feindbild stilisiert zu werden. Das Hauptanliegen des Autors war, so scheint es, seinem Feindbild ein Schafott zu konstruieren.

Der Kunsthistoriker Meyer Schapiro schreibt in seinem Aufsatz „Über die Humanität der abstrakten Malerei“, bezogen auf die Verhaltensweisen dem Alten und Neuen gegenüber: „Das Verlangen nach Ordnung, das alles Neue verdammt, ist oft ein Verlangen nach einer bestimmten Ordnung, das die Unzahl von Ordnungen ignoriert, die Maler geschaffen haben und noch schaffen werden. Ich meine hier nicht das Verlangen nach einer neuen Ordnung, sondern vielmehr die Sehnsucht nach einer schon bekannten Ordnung, einer vertrauten und beruhigenden. Es gleicht dem Begehren Hirnverletzter, das von einem großen Arzt und Menschen, dem Neurologen Kurt Goldstein, folgendermaßen beschrieben wurde: »Der Ordnungssinn eines Patienten ist Ausdruck seines Gebrechens, ein Ausdruck seiner Verarmung, was einen wesentlichen menschlichen Charakterzug betrifft – die Fähigkeit der angemessenen Haltungsänderung«.“[43] Dirk von Petersdorffs Gesinnungspräsentation hat wenig mit der Avantgarde zu tun, am wenigsten mit dem Wesen der Avantgarde und ihren unterschiedlichen Formen in den einzelnen Ländern. Die Romantiker um 1800 mit dem Expressionismus zu diffamieren oder mit der russischen Avantgarde oder umgekehrt, diese Rechnung geht nicht auf Warum sie, die Avantgarde, und zum Teil auch die Moderne, gerade heute und jetzt diffamiert werden soll, hat Jürgen Habermas aufschlußreich dargestellt. An anderer Stelle werden wir darauf zurückkommen.

Die Tendenzen solcher Richtungen deuten auf eine Gefahr hin, die zu Befürchtungen Anlaß gibt. Gerade jetzt, nachdem die alten politisch-geographischen Grenzen weggefallen sind, bereits wieder neue geistig-ideologische Grenzen errichtet werden. Nicht zuletzt auch deshalb wird im Katalog der Ausstellung „Europa, Europa“ betont: „Von den Organisatoren der Ausstellung wird der Avantgardebegriff grundlegend anders verstanden. »An die Stelle des Fortschrittsparadig-mas muß die Verhältnisbestimmung von Einzig-artigkeit und Ausdifferenzierung treten«. Denn: »Offensichtlich sind für jede Gesellschaft beide Kräfte unverzichtbar: Erhaltung und Veränderung«.“[44] Und an anderer Stelle des Kataloges Christoph Brockhaus: „Avantgarde ist in diesem Zusammenhang alles, was gegen Widerstände vielfacher Art revolutionäre und progressive Perspektiven, das heißt humanitäre Erneuerung und Vertiefung angestrebt und verwirklicht hat.“[45] Über die Formen der Verabschiedung von der Avantgarde und in Teilen auch von der Moderne ließe sich bereits ein eigenes Kapitel schreiben. Bezugnehmend auf die politisch-ideologischen Tendenzen, be-

tonte Martin Warnke, anläßlich eines Symposions zum Thema „Die zweite Moderne“: „Auch auf die Gefahr hin, in diesem Kreis hervorragender Kenner und Geister abgestanden und vertrocknet zu erscheinen, möchte ich an eine Denkfigur erinnern, die lange mit der künstlerischen Moderne unlösbar verbunden war, die aber inzwischen in Vergessenheit geraten zu sein scheint. (...) Sie hat es aber nicht verdient sang- und klanglos untergegangen zu sein, deshalb möchte ich die Gelegenheit nutzen, um in Erfahrung zu bringen, ob sie bewußt oder unbewußt, ob mit oder ohne Gründe fallengelassen worden ist. Wenn ich damit lächerlich werde, wäre mir das auch ein aufschlußreiches Resultat.“[46]

Dieser Zustand des sang- und klanglosen Vergessens, des Hinwegsehens und Schweigens über die Art der Diffamierung, ist um so schwerwiegender, als es die Arbeit derer, die sich sachlich mit der Bedeutung Abstrakter Kunst im 20. Jahrhundert beschäftigten und beschäftigen, mehr und mehr in den Hintergrund drängt. Und dieser Umstand ist nicht unbedeutend im Hinblick auf die öffentliche Meinung. Die hervorragenden Arbeiten von Werner Haftmann oder von Meyer Schapiro seien hier stellvertretend genannt, für viele andere Wissenschaftler. Um so wichtiger sind an solcher Stelle heute wieder Stimmen, wie jene von Martin Warnke: „Mich beunruhigt jedoch im Augenblick das Verschwinden dieser so lange mit der Moderne verknüpften Denkfigur und mich interessieren die Gründe hierfür mehr als die Verifikation ihrer objektiven Berechtigung. Es ist aber doch noch immer richtig, daß kaum je in der Kunstgeschichte eine Kunstrichtung um dieses ihr unterstellten kritischen Gehaltes willen so umfassend, andauernd und brutal verfolgt, zerstört und verboten wurde, wie die moderne Kunst in den neuzeitlich und topographisch weiträumigen totalitären Systemen dieses Jahrhunderts. (...) Ich persönlich glaube jedenfalls, daß der Ansatz, der in der Moderne eine der grundlegenden kritischen Energien in der Kultur- und Sehgeschichte dieses Jahrhunderts verfolgt, von deren objektiver historischer Funktion mehr begreifen kann, als jede Rekonstruktion eines stilgeschichtlichen Ablaufes oder als dichotomische Setzungen, die alles zwischen einem Großen Abstrakten und einem Großen Konkreten ablaufen sehen, oder aber als alle umständlichen Registraturen innovatorischer Akte. Deshalb scheint mir das Verschwinden des emphatischen Avantgardebegriffs begründungsbedürftig zu sein.“[47]

Unverzichtbar bei der Erörterung über das „Verschwinden“, oder das „Verlachen“ der Avantgarde, sind die Gedanken von Jürgen Habermas, der diese Zustandsbeschreibung um den Terminus des „Verächtlichmachens“ noch vergrößert. Habermas' Ausführungen sind hilfreich bei der Frage nach den Ursachen, dem schwierigen Umgang mit der Abstrakten Kunst, Avantgarde und Moderne des 20. Jahrhunderts betreffend, indem sie gesellschaftspolitische Hintergründe und darin vorherrschende Zielsetzungen beleuchten. In seinem Aufsatz „Moderne und postmoderne Architektur“ charakterisiert Habermas die verschiedenen, in das Wort „postmodern“ eingepflanzten Inhalte, und die später dann politisch motivierte Inbesitznahme des Begriffes: „Auch der Ausdruck postmodern hat zunächst nur neue Varianten innerhalb des breiten Spektrums der Spätmoderne bezeichnet, als er im Amerika der fünfziger und sechziger Jahre auf literarische Strömungen angewandt wurde, die sich von den Werken der frühen Moderne absetzen wollten. In einen affektiv aufgeladenen, geradezu politischen Schlachtruf verwandelt sich der »Postmodernismus« erst, seitdem sich in den siebziger Jahren zwei konträre Lager des Ausdrucks bemächtigt haben. Auf der einen Seite die Neukonservativen, die sich der vermeintlich subversiven Gehalte einer „feindseligen Kultur“ zugunsten wiedererweckter Tradition entledigen möchten; auf der anderen Seite jene radikalen Wachstumskritiker, für die das Neue Bauen zum Symbol einer durch Modernisierung angerichteten Zerstörung geworden ist.“[48] Der in diesem Zusammenhang von Jürgen Habermas formulierte Satz, „verächtlich gemacht wird dabei nur der einzige Fundus, aus dem wir schöpfen können – die kulturelle Moderne“,[49] führt natürlich zu der Frage nach der Gesinnung jener, die „verächtlich machen“, die der Avantgarde den Vorwurf machen, sie sei „totalitär“ und habe „eine tiefsitzende Aversion gegen den Pluralismus“[50], und sie führt zu der Frage nach der Befindlichkeit einer solchen Gesellschaft, ihrer Kultur und ihren Zielsetzungen: „Die Neukonservativen möchten um beinahe

jeden Preis, jedenfalls ziemlich rabiat, am kapitalistischen Muster der gesellschaftlichen Rationalisierung festhalten. Sie geben dem Wachstum der Wirtschaft vor'm Sozialstaat Priorität. Den negativen Auswirkungen dieser Politik auf die sozial integrierten Lebensbereiche, auf Familie, Schule, politische Öffentlichkeit usw., soll gleichzeitig ein Stoßdämpfer aufgesetzt werden, und zwar mit einer Rückkehr zur biedermeierlichen Kultur, zu entwurzelten, aber rhetorisch wieder aufgezäumten Traditionen. Noch nie war das Luhmannsche Wort von der Ideologieplanung so wahr wie heute. Aber die Rückverlagerung der Probleme, die seit dem 19. Jahrhundert mit guten Gründen vom Markt auf den Staat verschoben worden sind, nun wieder auf den Markt, das kann die Lösung kaum bringen. Die Probleme werden ihr Hin- und Hergeschobenwerden zwischen den Medien Geld und Macht überdauern. Und wie die Traditionspolster, von denen die kapitalistischen Gesellschaften jahrhundertelang gezehrt haben - und die sie aufgezehrt haben, ohne sie regenerieren zu können - wie der Traditionalismus gerade aus einem historisch aufgeklärten Bewußtsein erneuert werden sollte, ist mir nicht klar."[51]

Zusammenarbeit

Dem „Verschwinden", dem „Verächtlichmachen", dem Mißbrauch und der Verunstaltung künstlerischer Absichten kann einerseits durch die Erschließung von Quellen, bzw. Originaltexten begegnet werden. Quellentexte sind Beweise ge-gen falsche Behauptungen. Behauptungen, wie jene, daß Avantgarde-Künstler den Faschismus, den Stalinismus usf. ermöglicht haben. Vergessen wird hier offensichtlich der Widerstand, den viele Künstler diesen Ideologien entgegengesetzt haben, vergessen sind die Verfolgungen, denen Künstler in diesen Regimen ausgesetzt waren, und duß sie in diesen Regimen auch getötet wurden. Deshalb kann andererseits die Bedeutung der internationalen Zusammenarbeit auf diesem Gebiet nicht groß genug unterstrichen werden. Positiv bewerten deshalb auch die Kuratoren der Ausstellung „Europa, Europa" diese neu entstandenen „Möglichkeiten zu einem freieren Kultur- und Erfahrungsaustausch"[52]. Denn bezeichnend für die Situation gerade in diesem Teil der kunsthistorischen Forschung ist eine Absenz von Kooperation und Koordination: „Also wird die Geschichte der europäischen Kultur unseres Jahrhunderts und insbesondere seiner zweiten Hälfte, wie wir zuversichtlich glauben, neu geschrieben oder gemeinschaftlich zusammengestellt. Dank manch' beharrlicher Bemühungen entstehen bereits einzelne Kapitel dieser Geschichte. Allerdings geschieht dies verstreut, zusammenhanglos, ohne ein »Gewebe«, das die Milieus, Begebenheiten, Namen und Werke miteinander verbindet", schreibt Ryszard Stanislawski.[53]

Die in dem Katalog „Europa, Europa" so grundsätzlich gestellten Forderungen nach verbesserter koordinierter Zusammenarbeit, die in ihrer Nachdrücklichkeit begrüßenswert sind, von denen man sich wünscht, daß sie einmal an einem zentralen Ort, oder an einem Institut vielleicht realisiert werden können, bedürfen einer Hinzufügung. Es fällt auf, daß oftmals eine, durch die Institute der Länder Ost- und Ostmitteleuropas zu diesem Thema bereits geleistete wissenschaftliche Arbeit erst gar nicht beachtet wird, oder daß die Publikationen der Wissenschaftler dieser Länder, gleichwohl sie in englischer oder deutscher Sprache vorliegen, ignoriert werden und somit dann in die westliche Forschungsarbeit nicht miteinbezogen werden. Im Falle der Ungarischen Avantgarde wurde - wie bereits eingangs erwähnt - kaum je in der kunsthistorischen westlichen Literatur das geistig-politische Umfeld z.B. der Gruppe „Nyolcak"/Die Acht berücksichtigt. Das gilt für die Beziehungen einzelner Mitglieder zum bürgerlich-radikalen Kreis um Oszkár Jászi, die Verbindungen zum „Vasárnapi Kör"/Sonntagskreis oder zum „Galilei-Kör"/Galilei-Kreis. Ein wichtiger Aufsatz, - obwohl in deutscher Sprache vorliegend -, wie jener von Olga Zobel, „Ungarns Gesellschaft und Staat bei Oszkár Jászi"[54] blieb bislang unberücksichtigt. So wird immer wieder von Neuem gerade in diesem Bereich der pionierhafte Neubeginn formuliert, der bei genauerer Betrachtung, das schon Vorhandene ignoriert. Ein zusätzliches Beispiel ist der Aufsatz des ungarischen Historikers Jenő Szűcs „Die drei historischen Regionen Europas"[55], in dem Szűcs die Gemeinsamkeiten der kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Westeuropa und Ost-

mitteleuropa seit dem Mittelalter untersucht. Im Jahre 1983 war dieser Aufsatz in ungarischer Sprache erschienen, im gleichen Jahr wurde er in englischer Sprache in Budapest publiziert. Die Ausgabe in deutscher Sprache aus dem Jahre 1990, enthält keinerlei Hinweise auf diese englische Übersetzung. D.h., 1983, elf Jahre vor der Ausstellung „Europa, Europa" waren diese, im heutigen europäischen Sinne, schon sehr vorausgreifend formulierten Gedanken von Szűcs, zuerst in englischer Sprache, dann in deutscher Sprache zugänglich. In eben dieser Ausstellung, 1994, brilliert der Autor Krzystof Pomian – prinzipiell den gleichen Gedanken von Jenő Szűcs folgend – mit seinem Aufsatz „Vier Europas, eine Kultur?"[56] In mathematischer Konsequenz ließe sich die Geschichte der europäischen Regionen, oder „Europas" mit „n+1" fortsetzen, und jeder wäre ein Pionier auf seinem Gebiet. In Untersuchungen oder Darstellungen über die Kunst von Rembrandt, Dürer usw. wären diese Sprünge und Auslassungen in der For-schung nicht vorstellbar. Die Geschichte der europäischen Kultur in diesem Jahrhundert neu zu schreiben, wie Ryszard Stanislawski es zu Recht wünscht, unter neuen und veränderten Bedingungen, setzt voraus, die eben gewonnenen Chancen nicht leichtfertig fallen zu lassen, wegen einer lautstarker werdenden politischen Diffamierung. Die gefällige Hinnahme solcher Tendenzen würde in vielen Ländern Ostmitteleuropas der Diskussion um die Schließung verschiedener Forschungsinstitute oder Archive vielleicht sogar je Vorschub leisten, um so mehr geringer sich das Interesse von Seiten des Auslandes artikuliert oder bemerkbar macht. Viele Archive sind, wie z.B. in Budapest, dem Kunsthistorischen Forschungsinstitut der Akademie der Wissenschaften zugeordnet. Wie in diesem Archiv, so befinden sich in vielen anderen Archiven dieser Länder wichtige Dokumente, die für die Forschung zum Thema „Avantgarde und Moderne in Ost- und Ostmitteleuropa und Südosteuropa" unerläßlich sind. Das gilt auch für jene Teile von Europa, die schon fast in Vergessenheit geraten sind, wie die Bukowina, das ehemals östlichste Kronland der österreichisch-ungarischen Donaumonarchie mit seiner Hauptstadt Czernowitz. Von dem großen Reichtum der Literatur, hauptsächlich entstanden in der Zeit von der Jahrhundertwende bis zum Beginn des Zweiten Weltkrieges, wurde so vieles vergessen. Paul Celan, Rose Ausländer, Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger u.a. m.), wurden hier in Czernowitz geboren. Die Avantgarde-Zeitschriften aus dieser Zeit, wie sie noch in den Archiven von Czernowitz zu finden sind, blieben bislang unbeachtet. Es wäre für die Forschung ein großer Verlust, die Kommunikation mit den Ländern im östlichen wie im nördlichen Europa nicht aufzunehmen und weiterzuführen. Viele dieser Länder haben kontinuierlich durch Ausstellungen, oder durch Publikationen, die eigene Geschichte der Avantgarde und Moderne einem größeren Interessentenkreis zugänglich gemacht, wie z.B. Finnland, Estland und Litauen, ohne daß ihnen dabei stets die gebührende Aufmerksamkeit zugekommen wäre. Dies zu ignorieren, hieße der Verleumdung Vorschub leisten, und den pauschalen Verurteilungen und Siegesallüren („gescheiterte Utopie" oder „Avantgarde = Faschismus") folgend, eine stillschweigende Akzeptanz aufzubauen. Die Chancen der Zusammenarbeit nach den politischen Veränderungen zu nützen, bedeutet in erster Linie, durch die Erschließung der Quellentexte und des Bildmaterials, sowie durch die systematische Erfassung der Avantgarde-Zeitschriften aus den einzelnen Ländern, (wie es die Kunsthistorikerin Eva Körner aus Budapest schon vor Jahren angeregt hatte), Grundlagen für die theoretische Arbeit in diesem Bereich zu schaffen. Die Reihenfolge hat sich in diesen Ausführungen aufgrund der aktuellen Umgangsformen mit der Avantgarde nur dem Platz nach geändert.

Theorie

Ansätze einer kunsttheoretischen Arbeit jenseits politisch-ideologischer Grenzen wurden immer wieder formuliert, fanden aber weder eine systematische Fortführung noch eine Umsetzung im Bereich der Avantgarde des 20. Jahrhunderts. Besonders erwähnenswert ist in diesem Zusammenhang der Aufsatz des griechischen Kunsthistorikers Nikos Hadjinicolaou „Kunstzentren und Periphere Kunst".[57] Hierin kritisiert Hadjinicolaou die wertende kunsthistorische Betrachtung des Zentrums (im Westen) über die sog. „nachahmende" Kunst an der

Peripherie (im Osten), als einseitig, und dem Wesen der Kunst nicht gerecht werdend.[58] Hadjinicolaou plädiert deshalb für die Wiedereinführung einer „kunstwissenschaftlichen Hilfsdisziplin", wie er es bezeichnet, der Kunstgeographie, allerding nach einer gründlichen Reformierung.[59]

Hadjinicolaous Gedanken wurden wiederholt und bestätigt, in den Aufsätzen zur Ausstellung „Europa, Europa", ohne daß in diesem großen Ausstellungsunternehmen sein Aufsatz Erwähnung gefunden hätte. Das Kunstgeschehen Europas im 20. Jahrhundert, so nochmals die Kuratoren, beruht auf „wechselseitiger Inspiration, auf einem ständigen Austausch von Ideen zwischen Ost und West". Somit versteht sich die Ausstellung als Beitrag zur „Entmystifikation der »beiderseits« herausgebildeten Vorstellungen vom gespaltenen Europa": „Die Behauptung, es existieren in Europa »zwei andersartige und fremde Kulturen« war schon immer eine unhaltbare These, die durch den Kalten Krieg und die vorprogrammierten Ideologien auf beiden Seiten des Eisernen Vorhanges als »Opium fürs Volk« unter die Leute gebracht wurde. Der Sozialistische Realismus chauvinistischer, systemverherrlichender Prägung auf der einen, die kosmopolitische, zum Symbol angeblicher oder tatsächlicher westlicher Freiheit hochstilisierte abstrakte Kunst auf der anderen Seite, wurden unter solchen Aspekten zu politischen Propagandazwecken instrumentalisiert. Dabei fiel das schlichte Faktum unter den Tisch, daß es neben der offiziellen gleichzeitig immer noch eine andere Kunst gab, die selbst in den östlichen Diktaturen nie gänzlich zu unterdrücken war, nicht einmal in der Sowjetunion."[60]

Die Kunstgeschichte, und das zeigen weite Teile der Literatur zum Thema „Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts", hat die politisch-ideologischen Grenzen lange akzeptiert, verinnerlicht und zur Grundlage einer Betrachtung, ja sogar einer Wertung gemacht. Diese Verinnerlichung läßt sich jedoch nicht nur auf die Zeit des 20. Jahrhunderts begrenzen, auf die politische Systemkonfrontation Kapitalismus : Kommunismus, sie reicht weiter zurück, und zeigt, daß die politischmotivierte Beurteilung der Kunst oft vor der Betrachtung der Kunst selbst rangiert, und diese Gefahr eine latente ist.

Der Aufsatz „Die ungarische Kunstgeschichte und die Wiener Schule" von Ernő Marosi[61] zeigt an einem Beispiel aus dem 19. Jahrhundert, wie das herrschende politisch-gesellschaftliche Weltbild auf die Wertung der Kunst Einfluß nahm. Ernő Marosi bezieht sich in seinem Aufsatz auf die Tätigkeit der Österreichischen Zentralkommission für Ungarn, eingerichtet zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmäler. Rudolf Eitelberger, Professor für Kunstgeschichte in Wien, reiste in seiner Eigenschaft der o.g. Kommission im Jahre 1854 und 1855, also nach der Niederschlagung des ungarischen Freiheitskampfes, nach Ungarn. Eitelbergers Ausführungen nehmen zunächst eine durchaus kritische Haltung ein, gegenüber der bislang nicht wahrgenommenen oder ignorierten Kunst der unmittelbaren Nachbarländer. Gleichzeitig aber richtet er seine Aufmerksamkeit ganz auf jene Kunstwerke in Ungarn, die die gleichen Merkmale aufweisen, wie jene im „Zentrum":

„Die größte Bedeutung der frühen Tätigkeit der Zentralkommission ist nicht derart den einzelnen denkmalpflegerischen Eingriffen zuzumessen", schreibt Ernő Marosi, „als eher jenen Expeditions-Reisen, die zur Entdeckung, Veröffentlichung von Denkmälern führten. Das Aufschliessen von Ungarn, das bisher mit Recht als »terra incognita« betrachtet wurde, erhielt in der Einleitung des Aufsatzes von Eitelberger eine programmatische Formulierung. Seine Ausflüge 1854 und 1855 nach Ungarn führten zur Entdeckung einer ganzen Reihe unbekannter, ja sogar verkannter Denkmäler, die für die Kunstgeschichte Mitteleuropas große Bedeutung besassen. Er (Eitelberger, d. Verf.) stellte fest: »(...), daß das gebildete Europa von manchen Ländern ferner Welttheile besser unterrichtet ist, als von Ländern, die fast im Mittelpunkte Europas, an einer der Wasserstrassen und in der Nähe jener Länder liegen, an welche sich die Geschichte der christlichen Civilisation durch Jahrhunderte fast ausschließlich geknüpft hat.« (...) Ohne Zweifel war Eitelberger einer der ersten, die bestrebt waren, die Geschichtsschreibung ungarischer Kunst in eine richtige Bahn, d.h. die Beurteilung in mitteleuropäischen Rahmen zu lenken: »Die Erkenntnis, die aus der Einsicht in die künstlerische Natur der mittelalterlichen Baumonumente hervorgeht, dass es auch im

Mittelalter im innigsten geistigen Verbande mit Mitteleuropa gestanden, daß dieselben Bauformen, dieselbe Kunstanschauung an der unteren Donau herrschte, wie an der oberen und am Rheine, ist ein entscheidender Gewinn für Ungarn«."[62]

Der „entscheidende Gewinn für Ungarn" und somit die wertungspositive Aufnahme und Plazierung seiner Kunst war durch die Tatsache gegeben, so sah es Eitelberger, daß „diesselben Bauformen" auch an der unteren Donau zu finden waren, wie an der oberen und am Rheine. Bestätigt schien Eitelberger darüber hinaus die eindeutige Wanderung der Kunst von West nach Ost. Damit entfiel die Untersuchung nach anderweitigen Einflüssen ebenso, wie die Frage nach dem kulturellen Erbe, der kulturellen Tradition Ungarns, oder dem „wie anders" sind die Bauwerke tatsächlich an der unteren Donau. Mittels Kunst bekräftigte Eitelberger die vorherrschende Anschauung seines Landes, und Ernő Marosi weiter:

„Diese positiven Feststellungen gewannen eine seltsame Schärfe durch die Tatsache, dass ihnen eine absolutistische Regierung des Gesamtreiches eine spezifische Aktualität verlieh, von welcher, nach der Unterdrückung des ungarischen Frei-heitskampfes, die unabhängige Staatlichkeit Ungarns aufgehoben wurde. Diese Regierung sorgte auch für die Forschungen und Expeditionen der Zentralkommission. Es besteht die Frage, ob die Unternehmungen Eitelbergers und der Zentralkommission den Charakter der kulturellen Einrichtung einer Kolonisationsgewalt haben? Eitelberger ist jedenfalls bestrebt, eine objektive und überzeugende Beweisführung - im Bewußtsein der politischen Vorbedingungen - dadurch zu unterstützen, dass er den ungarischen Nationalismus als aufgehoben und als Vergangenheit bezeichnet: »Die durch unzweifelhafte Kunstdenkmale beglaubigte Wanderung der Kunst von Westen nach Osten, die lebendige Erkenntnis, Ungarn gehöre auch auf diesem Felde in die Reihe jener Völker, die an den Fortschritten mittelalterlicher und christlicher Denkungsweise warmen Antheil genommen, kann jedem Ungarn nur erfreulich sein, um so erfreulicher, als gegenwärtig alle jene Hemmnisse und Schranken auf politischem Gebiete weggefallen sind, die Ungarn so häufig und so lange verhindert haben, von den Fortschritten moderner Cultur in Wissenschaft, Kunst und gesellschaftlichem Leben vollen Nutzen zu ziehen. Die Verbindung Ungarns mit Mitteleuropa ist nicht immer gehörig gewürdigt worden. Ihre Bedeutung in das gehörige Licht zu stellen, verhinderten am meisten politische Leidenschaften«."[63]

Fazit dieses Beispieles ist, daß der Maßstab der Beurteilung von Kunst, wie hier, nicht nur von der Verinnerlichung bzw. Identifikation mit dem herrschenden System geprägt ist, sondern überproportional der Sache selbst gegenübersteht. Marosis Aufsatz ist in diesem Sinne ein Indiz dafür, daß Kunstgeschichte Gefahr läuft, politische Grenzen nachzuvollziehen und sie geistig zu betonieren.

Die Voraussetzung für die praktische Erfüllung jener Idee von der „Entmystifikation der Vorstellung, daß zwei andersartige und fremde Kulturen in Europa existieren", wie die Kuratoren der Ausstellung „Europa, Europa" betonen, ist jedoch nicht die Rückkehr zur Stunde Null, sondern das Anknüpfen an solche Traditionen in der Kunstgeschichte, wie sie z.B. von der Wiener Schule zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts begonnen wurden, und wiederum heute durch Professor Konrad Oberhuber, Wien, auf seine Weise fortgeführt werden. Das Werk des amerikanischen Kunsthistorikers Arthur Kingsley Porter (1883–1933)[64] muß an dieser Stelle besonders erwähnt werden, und natürlich der Kunsthistoriker Aby Warburg. Ihre Arbeiten und Untersuchungen sind beispielhaft für die Herangehensweise an die Kunstwerke selbst, im Hinblick auf die Wanderung von Motiven und Stilen, und im Sinne einer vergleichenden Kunstforschung. Dem griechischen Kunsthistoriker Nikos Hadjinicolaou kommt das Verdienst zu, diese Gedanken wieder in Erinnerung gebracht zu haben, wenn auch nunmehr schon vor mehr als 15 Jahren.

ANMERKUNGEN

[1] Die Schweizer Monatszeitschrift „DU", Zürich, veröffentlichte im Oktober 1988 eine Sondernummer zum Thema „Die Liebe zur Geometrie". Der Zeitschrift beigelegt war zu diesem Thema ein Plakat mit dem Titel „Das Universum der geometrischen Kunst", eine Art kunstgeographischer Zusammenschau des geometrischen Stiles und seiner Ausbreitung über die ganze Welt, mit der Benennung der wichtigsten Künstler in den einzelnen Ländern. In Analogie hierzu ist dieser Eingangstitel hier gewählt, und als Anregung gleichermaßen, denn auch für die klassische Avantgarde aus dem ersten Drittel dieses Jahrhunderts, wäre dies ein spannendes und wichtiges Unterfangen –: Unabhängig von politischen Grenzen, das künstlerische Geschehen innerhalb dieser Epoche darzustellen, und darin die wechselseitigen Beziehungen, oder wie Karl Ruhrberg es nannte, die Vernetzungen.

[2] „Die Kunstgeschichte Europas im 20. Jahrhundert beruht auf »wechselseitiger Inspiration« (...), auf einem ständigen Austausch von Ideen zwischen Ost und West, wobei die Frage nach den Prioritäten völlig belanglos ist, weil sie ständig wechseln. (...) Die lange, nur zum Teil ideologisch-politisch begründete Absenz östlicher Kunst in westlichen Museen hat uns im Westen dafür in gleicher Weise den Blick verstellt, wie die selbstherrliche »Einbürgerung« der Werke östlicher Künstler in den westlichen Kulturkreis. Die Frage, ob die »Avantgarde als Idee« in Ost- und Mitteleuropa entstanden ist« (...), kann dabei völlig außer Betracht bleiben. Westliche und östliche Avantgarde lassen sich nicht aus-einanderdividieren. Sie sind völlig ineinander verzahnt oder wie man heute sagen würde – »vernetzt«." ; Karl Ruhrberg, in: Kat. *Europa, Europa – Das Jahrhundert der Avantgarde in Mittel- und Osteuropa.* Ausstellung. Bonn, 1994, S. 19

[3] Die Ausschreibung trug den Titel „Translation Fellowships in Art History" und wurde am „Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen" in Wien durchgeführt. D.Verf.in nahm an diesem Projekt im zweiten Halbjahr 1996 teil, mit Übersetzungen aus der ungarischen Zeitschrift „Nyugat"/ Westen, die in Ungarn zwischen 1908–1941 erschienen war, und zu den herausragendsten Zeitschriften dieser Zeit zählt. Die Auswahl der Übersetzun-gen galt den Texten zur ungarischen Avantgarde und Moderne zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen, sowie dem sechsteiligen Essay „Europäische Kunst und Ungarische Kunst" des ungarischen Kunstphilosophen Lajos Fülep (1885–1970). Literarische Themen waren in der Zeitschrift „Nyugat" ebenso vertreten, wie künstlerische und kulturelle Berichte, Kritiken, Essays oder Streitgespräche, neben gesellschaftlichen und politischen Themen. Bedeutende Schriftsteller und Künstler publizierten hier, wie z.B. Béla Balázs, Mihály Babits Endre Ady, György Lukács, Zsigmond Móricz u.a. Eine Auswahl literarischer Texte aus „Nyugat" wurde in deutscher Sprache im Reclam-Verlag, Leipzig, im Jahre 1989 unter dem Titel *Nyugat und sein Kreis.1908-1941* publiziert.

[4] Formuliert wurde das Ziel des Projektes in der Ausschreibung: „The Fellowships are designed to promote the translation – from an Eastern into a Western European language, or vice versa, or from one Eastern European language into another – of books that advance the understanding of art. The Program aims to fill important gaps in literature related to the understanding of art and its history, including art history, aesthetics and philosophy of art, and to encourage a broader exchange of ideas in these fields."

[5] Rathke, Ewald: *Konstruktive Malerei 1915–1930.* Hanau, 1967, Vorwort o.S.; In die Tat umgesetzt hat viel von dieser Übersetzungsarbeit der Reclam-Verlag, Leipzig, der in Einzelbänden Texte der Avantgarde aus Krakau, Tschechien, Rumänien, Jugoslawien, Rußland u.a. publizierte, hauptsächlich bis Anfang der 90er Jahre.

[6] hierzu Ryszard Stanislawski: „Die Konsequenzen dieser Teilung berührten am dramatischsten das kulturelle Leben; nicht nur, wenn auch vor allem, die Künstler selbst, sondern auch die Rezipienten der Kultur, die Öffentlichkeit in beiden Teilen des gespaltenen Europa. Das gilt im Bewußtsein für die auf beiden Seiten geschriebene und ebenso fest verankerte Kunst-, Literatur- und Ideengeschichte, die infolge der Nichtberücksichtigung vieler bedeutender Künstler und sogar Kunstrichtungen letztlich die Wahrheit drastisch verfehlt. Ein augenfälliges Beispiel hierfür sind ferner die Museumssammlungen moderner europäischer Kunst, bei denen der geografische Radius für die Auswahl von Kunstwerken sich auf erstaunliche Weise mit der politischen Aufteilung in West und Ost deckt." in: *Europa, Europa – Das Jahrhundert der Avantgarde in Mittel- und Osteuropa.* Ausstellungskatalog. Bonn, 1994, S. 21

[7] Hadjinicolaou, Nikos: Kunstzentren und Periphere Kunst. In: *Kritische Berichte. Mitteilungsorgan des Ulmer Vereins Ver-band für Kunst und Kulturwissenschaften*, Gießen 1983, Heft 4, S. 36-56

[8] Warnke, Martin „Erinnerung", in: Klotz, Heinrich (Hg.): *Die zweite Moderne. Eine Diagnose der Kunst der Gegenwart.* München, 1996, S. 73; das gesamte Zitat, siehe dazugehörige Seite bei Anm. 47

[9] „Die »Systematischen Tendenzen« (Titel einer Ausstellungssequenz; d.Verf.) sind eine bewußte Erinnerung an die verpflichtende Herausforderung des Rationalismus in der Kunst, häufig unter Berufung auf die Naturwissenschaften, auf die Technik und die Analyse des Sehens. Beispiele hierfür sind die Arbeiten von Victor Vasarely, Vjenceslav Richter oder Nicolas Schöffer und der Teilnehmer der Bewegung »Neue Tendenzen« in Jugoslawien. (...).": Ryszard Stanislawski, Europa, Europa. Zur Ausstellung. In: Kat. *Europa, Europa – Das Jahrhundert der Avantgarde in Mittel- und Osteuropa.* Bonn 1994, S. 25

[10] zu den Künstlern dieser Gruppe gehörten: Róbert Berény, Dezső Czigány, Béla Czóbel, Károly Kernstok, Ödön Márffy, Dezső Orbán, Bertalan Pór, Lajos Tihanyi

[11] hierzu gehörten: Sándor Bortnyik, Valéria Dénes, Sándor Galimberti, János Kmetty, János Mattis-Teutsch, József Nemes-Lamperth, Vilmos Perlrott-Csaba, Lajos Tihanyi, Béla Uitz

[12] *Nyolcak és Aktivisták/The Eight and the Activists. A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria és a Janus Pannonius Múzeum Kiállítása/ Exhibition of the Hungarian National Gallery and the Janus Pannonius Museum of Pécs.* Budavári Palota/ Royal Castle of Buda, 5 February–26 April 1981

[13] *The Hungarian Avantgarde. The Eight and the Activists.* Hayward Gallery, Arts Council of Great Britain, London, February 27th to April 7th, 1980

[14] in dt. Sprache erschien eine Auswahl von Texten der Mitglieder des Sonntagskreises: Éva Karádi/Erzsébet Vezér (Hg.): *Georg Lukács, Karl Mannheim und der Sonntagskreis.* Frankfurt 1985

[15] siehe hierzu: Zsigmond Kende: *A Galilei-Kör megala-kulása*/Die Entstehung des Galilei-Kreises. Budapest 1974

[16] Passuth, Krisztina: *A Nyolcak festészete.* Budapest 1967

[17] Passuth, Krisztina: *Magyar művészet a két világháború között.* Budapest 1974

[18] Kat. *Wechsel Wirkungen. Ungarische Avantgarde in der Weimarer Republik.* Gaßner, Hubertus (Hg.), Marburg 1986

[19] Mansbach, Steven (Hg.): *Standing in the Tempest. Painters of the Hungarian Avantgarde 1908–1930.* Santa Barbara, USA, 1991

[20] *Hungarian Art. The Twentieth Century Avant-Garde.* Indiana University, Bloomington 1972

[21] siehe dazu: Szabó, Júlia: *A magyar aktivizmus története 1915–1925.* Budapest 1981, sowie: Bori, Imre/Körner, Éva: *Kassák. Irodalma és festészete.* (Kassák. Literatur und Malerei). Budapest 1967; Kassák, Lajos: *Az izmusok története.* (Die Geschichte der Ismen). Budapest 1972

[22] Kat. *Europa, Europa. Das Jahrhundert der Avant-*

garde in Ost- und Ostmitteleuropa. Stanislawski, Ryszard/ Brockhaus, Christoph (Hg.), 4 Bde. Bonn 1994

[23] ebd. S. 19

[24] Kat. *Europa.* Berlin 1988, S. 7

[25] ebda. S. 8

[26] Kat. *Europe. Creation & Recreation.* Budapest 1995

[27] Hein, Manfred Peter: *Auf der Karte Europas ein Fleck. Gedichte der osteuropäischen Avantgarde 1910–1930.* Zürich 1991

[28] Asholt, Wolfgang/Fähners, Walter (Hg.): *Manifeste und Proklamationen der europäischen Avantgarde (1909–1938).* Stuttgart und Weimar 1995

[29] Bocola, Sandro: *Die Kunst der Moderne. Zur Struktur und Dynamik ihrer Entwicklung. Von Goya bis Beuys.* München 1994

[30] die Vorträge dieses Symposions erschienen unter dem Titel: Kállai und die Kunstkritik in Deutschland und Ungarn. In: *Acta Historiae Artium.* Tomus 36, Budapest 1993

[31] Frank, Tanja: *Ernő Kállai – Vision und Formgesetz – Aufsätze über Kunst und Künstler von 1921 bis 1933.* Leipzig/Weimar 1986

[32] siehe Anm. 22, S. 20

[33] Dröse, Franz/ Müller, Michael: *Die Macht der Schönheit. Avantgarde und Faschismus oder Die Geburt der Massenkultur.* Hamburg 1995; Grimm, Reinhold/Hermand, Jost (Hg.): *Faschismus und Avantgarde.* Königstein 1980

[34] von Petersdorff, Dirk: Das Verlachen der Avantgarde. Rückblick auf eine ästhetische Prügeley. In: *Neue Rundschau,* Nr. 4, Frankfurt 1995, S. 69–73

[35] ebda. S. 73

[36] Schmitz, Rainer: *Die ästhetische Prügeley. Streitschriften der antiromantischen Bewegung.* Göttingen 1992

[37] ebda. S. 73

[38] ebda. S. 73

[39] ebda. S. 69

[40] ebda. S. 72

[41] ebda. S. 72

[42] ebda. S. 71

[43] Schapiro, Meyer: *Moderne Kunst – 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.* Köln 1982

[44] siehe Anm. 22, S. 19: Gaßner, Hubertus: *Ostkunst – Blick nach Osten,* unveröffn. Ms., 1990, S. 2; Kolakowski Leszek: *Die Moderne auf der Anklagebank.* Zürich 1991, S. 48

[45] siehe Anm. 22, S. 28

[46] Warnke, Martin: Erinnerung, in: Klotz, Heinrich (Hg.): *Die zweite Moderne. Eine Diagnose der Kunst der Gegenwart.* München 1996, S. 71–75

[47] ebda. S. 73

[48] Habermas, Jürgen: *Die Neue Unübersichtlichkeit.* Frankfurt 1985, S. 12

[49] ebda. S. 183

[50] siehe Anm. 34, S. 73

[51] siehe Anm. 48, S. 183

[52] siehe Anm. 22, S.17

[53] siehe Anm. 22, S.21

[54] Zobel, Olga: Ungarns Gesellschaft und Staat bei Oszkár Jászi. In: *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* (Hg.) Georg Stadtmüller, Mainz, Bd. 3, 1971, S. 135–175; siehe ebenso Anm. 14: „Georg Lukács, Karl Mannheim und der Sonntagskreis".

[55] Szűcs, Jenő: *Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról.* Budapest 1983; engl. Übersetzung: The three historical regions of Europe. In: *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae* 29 (2-4), Budapest 1983, S. 131–184; dt. Übersetzung: *Die drei historischen Regionen Europas.* Frankfurt/ M. 1990

[56] siehe Anm. 22, S. 35

[57] siehe Anm. 7

[58] siehe hierzu auch: Strauss, Thomas (Hg.): *Westkunst-Ostkunst. Absonderung oder Integration?* München 1991

[59] „Die Kunstgeographie ist in Mißkredit geraten. Und dies zu Recht. Denn viel zu lange war sie das Werkzeug nationalistischer, völkischer und rassischer Manomanien. Auf Ratzels (teilweise zurechtgemachte) Anthropogeographie gestützt, hat sie sich in Deutschland vor allem auf die Frage von Kunstlandschaften und Stammeseigentümlichkeiten (...) innerhalb eines nationalen Territoriums (oft mit der Idee seine gegebenen Grenzen oder ihre Erweiterung zu rechtfertigen) konzentriert. Der Streit um die Grenzen von Elsass und Lothringen (...), der Streit über die »Nationalität der Gotik«, die Frage nach der Ostgrenze Deutschlands, die Suche nach dem deutschen Wesen in der Kunst (.), diese waren die wirklichen Fragen, für die man drei Jahrzehnte lang Kunstgeographie betrieben hat. Und im Namen dieser Interessen hat man alle kulturellen, sozialen und politischen Aspekte der Kunstgeographie ignoriert.": Hadjinicolau, Nikos: siehe Anm. 57 und Anm. 7, S. 48

[60] siehe Anm. 22, S. 19

[61] Marosi, Ernő (Hg.): *Die ungarische Kunstgeschichte und die Wiener Schule: 1846–1930.* Collegium Hungaricum, Wien 1983

[62] ebda. S. 16

[63] ebda. S. 16

[64] Porter, A. Kingsley: *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads.* New York 1969, (Erstveröffentlichung: 1923)

ZSÓFIA BEKE

IL POEMA *L'AEROPLANO DEL PAPA* DI MARINETTI COME FONTE DEI MOTIVI DELLA VISIONE DALL'ALTO NELL'AEROPITTURA FUTURISTA ITALIANA[1]

All'inizio del XX secolo la visualità, "il visualismo" in generale – grazie anche all'invenzione del volo e della fotografia, parallelamente all'impressionismo rivoluzionario e scandaloso nell'arte – sembra diventare sempre più dominante nel campo della sensazione umana, in confronto del concettualismo o dell'arte concettuale, della letteratura e anche forse, come sintomo parallelo, del realismo stesso. L'importanza della visualità e dell'immagine si mette in risalto anche nel campo della letteratura, non solo attraverso del contenuto (letterale), ma si manifesta ed *è presente visualmente*, effettivamente anche nella forma e nella struttura. Non pensiamo qui esclusivamente ai *simboli*; alle descrizioni metaforiche delle visioni poetiche, ma anche alla sinestesia, e oltretutto, alle poesie visive e al movimento cosiddetto "parole in libertà" di Marinetti. Durante e dopo gli anni del Finesecolo è tutto sommato la visualità a dominare la letteratura e ad invadere anche l'arte della descrizione verbale.

Nello stesso tempo c'è anche una tendenza inversa all'inizio del Novecento soprattutto nell'arte del cubismo francese, del dada e nel futurismo italiano: le forme e i generi nuovi e liberi della letteratura (poesie visive, *manifesti*, ritagli di giornale, tropi, voci, parole, frammenti di parole, giochi di parola, lettere o caratteri individuali, segni morfologici e quelli d'interpunzione, ecc.) ispirano i generi visuali: la pittura, l'arte decorativa, gli affissi, invadendo anche il campo della fotografia stessa, similmente all'azione "espansiva" del prefisso "aero-", il quale offre un aspetto e un punto di vista veramente nuovo e specifico in quasi ogni campo dell'arte figurativa in Italia. Questo "nuovo" punto di vista però è *la vista, la visione dall'alto*.

Benedetto Croce nella sua *Critica* condanna il futurismo così: *né poesia, né arte*.[2] Dal punto di vista del saggio presente invece, il futurismo è poesia e arte insieme. Ágnes Czobor, critico contemporaneo ungherese del futurismo italiano, costata appunto nel 1938[3] che i futuristi *erano illogici nella teoria, ma erano molto logici nella pratica*, dando, attraverso uno sviluppo logico, una forma nuova al contenuto – o concetto – preesistente e intendendo l'arte come una realtà sempre attuale e dinamica. *Il barbarismo* del futurismo è un barbarismo comunque molto consapevole e manifestazione dell'idea di un tempo tendente alla riduzione e alla semplificazione.

Siamo arrivati così alla tesi fondamentale, anche dal nostro punto di vista, del futurismo; cioè alla *riduzione* o *semplificazione*. Prima del futurismo l'arte e la letteratura *analizzavano*. L'impressionismo con il suo sguardo analitico decomponeva la luce, le forme, l'aria; e né la letteratura faceva altro che analizzava l'anima umana. Il futurismo non fa l'analisi, ma sintetizza e fa conclusione. E importanti sono non i particolari, ma l'intero in cui perdono i componenti. Questo modo sintetico di vedere è la caratteristica principale del futurismo.[4] Questa costatazione è fondamentale considerando anche il secondo futurismo fra le due guerre. Anche la visione dall'alto ha questa caratteristica unificativa del colpo d'occhio (della vista).

Questo studio tenta di conoscere e far conoscere il *futurismo* da un punto di vista *aerea*, che non significa un metodo meramente ottico-compositionale, ma fa vedere pure una *tematica*, un'iconografia (con una simbologia speciale) propria e adeguata del futurismo italiano, che possiede una caratteristica differente dagli altri movimenti dell'Avanguardia. Questa proprietà

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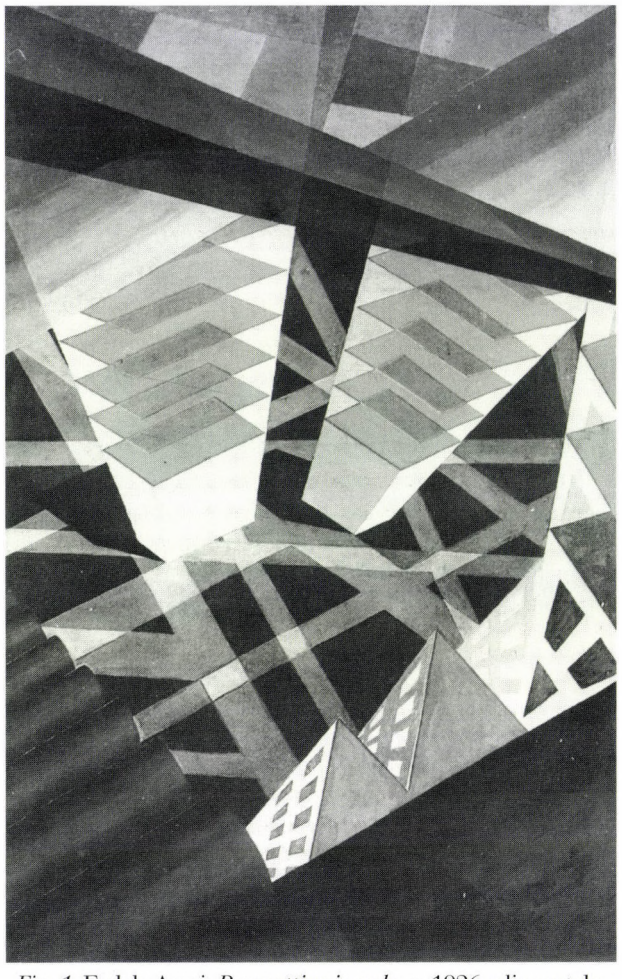

Fig. 1. Fedele Azari: *Prospettive in volo*, c. 1926, olio su tela, 120 × 80, coll. priv., Roma

del futurismo però è ambivalente, la quale ambivalenza o bipolarità deriva anche dalla posizione politica d'Italia soprattutto fra le due guerre. Attraverso a questo doppio effetto del movimento italiano si può esaminare pure come usano le dittature totalitarie l'espressione artistica e i differenti modi di manifestarsi del modernismo. Il futurismo era moderno in forma, ma mostrava una forte tendenza "socialista-nazionale" in contenuto, usando in diverse maniere i temi e motivi letterari. Il futurismo accettava e usava i metodi degli altri movimenti non-figurativi diversi dell'avanguar-dia che erano contro la tematica (cubismo, orfismo, ecc.), ma offripa tematica per loro.

Il due carattere principali del futurismo però sono: 1.) quello imperiale-fascista-neoclassico e 2.) quello cattolico.

I manifesti e "il linguaggio" dell'aria

In quello che segue esaminiamo i manifesti futuristi come fonti dei motivi per la tematica futurista – per noi interessante – del volo. Attraverso questo studio si chiarisce il carattere più importante e specifica del futurismo: la *sintesi* della forma e il contenuto.

Vediamo adesso le fonti, i documenti scritti del futurismo che ispiravano, anche se solo potenzialmente o in modo indiretto – come sintomi parallelli del volo –, le opere visuali dell'*aeropittura* futurista, soprattutto dal punto di vista dell'*astrazione* o della *composizione circolare*, attraverso ai *motivi*, ai *temi iconografici* della pittura e della letteratura del volo.

Il giovane Filippo Tommaso Marinetti arrivato da Parigi, fonde insieme a Paolo Buzzi, Cavacchioli, Folgore, Govoni e Lucini, una rivista col titolo *Poesia*. Il futurismo, in sostanza, è nato con questa rivista, già in quest'anni. Anzi, Marinetti scrive già nel 1902 a Parigi il suo poema transcendentale, *La Conquête des Étoiles*, pubblicato in italiano solo nel 1910 col titolo *La Conquista delle Stelle*, il quale ha già una caratteristica fondamentale un po' romantica aspirante all'altezza del cielo e delle stelle.

Il manifesto futurista, pubblicato nel 1909 nella *Figaro* parigiana, già indica i principi dell'aeropittura degli anni Trenta: *Noi siamo sul promontorio estremo dei secoli! ... Perché dovremmo guardarci alle spalle, se vogliamo sfondare le misteriose porte dell'Impossibile? Il Tempo e lo Spazio morirono ieri. Noi viviamo già nell'assoluto, poiché abbiamo già creata l'eterna velocità onnipresente.*[5] Il futurismo, insieme all'intenzione di superare altezze terrenee, voleva vincere anche lo Spazio e il Tempo *(i secoli)*. Quest'ultimo, voleva lasciarlo dietro se stesso, e il primo, voleva saperlo – anche in senso letterale – sotto se stesso. Il domine per i futuristi, al di sopra dell'universo, come nel cielo così in terra; come su, così anche giù, è sempre la Velocità. *Noi canteremo le grandi folle agitate dal lavoro, dal pacere o dalla sommossa (...), le officine appese alle nuvole pei contorti fili dei loro fumi (...) e il volo scivolante degli aeroplani, la cui elica garrisce al vento come una bandiera e sembra applaudire come una folla entusiasta.*[6]

I manifesti futuristi, come vediamo, sono molto ricchi delle immagini, dei visioni e (medi-

ante più tardi per esempio l'uso eccessivo dei infinitivi) sono molto dinamici mediante le "azioni" descritti e le personificazioni. Secondo i manifesti futuristi il volo arricchisce il pittore o il poeta futurista non solo di un nuovo punto di vista (quello dall'alto), ma gli offre anche una nuova esperienza o avventura, un nuovo tipo di sensibilità – con le parole di Prampolini: *... siamo entrati con l'aeropittura nella piena sensibilità aerea ... per giungere alle alte mete di una nuova spiritualità extraterrestre.*[7]

Volare significa allontanarsi[8] – dichiara Gerardo Dottori, padre dell'aeropittura degli anni Trenta – e il *Manifesto dell'Aeropittura Futurista* (1929) – scrivono i futuristi torinesi – *indica la possibilità di un nuovo stato d'animo del pittore che dal volo ritrae sensazioni ed ispirazioni non confrontabili ad alcuna tradizione. Tutte le precedenti scoperte...sono ancora suggerite dal sentimento umano che tende, attraverso l'aeroplano, ad un suo sviluppo e al suo massimo innalzamento. È il sentimento cioè dell'uomo che si serve dall'aeroplano per moltiplicare le sue forze.*

Abbiamo oggi realizzato delle prime opere direttamente ispirate dalla sensibilità aerea. La velocità, la simultaneità, le prospettive aeree e i nuovi lirismi suggeriti dal volo furono i modificatori della nostra sensibilità, ma noi non intendiamo esprimere la loro emozione. Intendiamo invece servirci dell'aereo (che è la più perfetta visione della natura meccanica) per rendere lo «spirito dell'epoca». Le nostre opere devono perciò realizzare i «nuovi simboli» dell'epoca moderna; i «paesaggi cosmici» che si rivelano a noi con il superamento di ogni valore terrestre; gli «organismi aerei spirituali» che rappresentano ... le nuove divinità e i nuovi misteri creati dalle «macchine».[9]

Che cosa cambia il futurismo nella forma letteraria? (...) Volendo introdurre ogni colore, odore, sapore e sopratutto ogni voce della vita nel libro, usa così spesso le onomatopee, per questo rifiuta i periodi minuziosamente compassati, per questo abbandona la forma inceppata dei versi, ma crea le parole in libertà, le parole libere e infine per questo trasforma anche la tipografia abituale. Le lettere, l'interpunzione, le righe, poichè neanche nella vita parliamo sempre alla stessa voce, con la stessa formazione delle labbra e non facciamo passi sempre uniformi analoghi alle lettere allineate in ordine falansteriale nei libri non-futuristi. Utilizza anche i segni matematici per rendere il suo argomento più concettoso, chiaro e comprensibile. Non accentuando l'Io, utilizza l'infinitivo con predilezione.... Come contenuto, la poesia futurista è strettamente collegata con la filosofia futurista. Questa filosofia è la filosofia dell'agire, dell'azione, e di questa deriva che la poetica futurista è enfatica (retorica) e polemica.[10]

La lingua futurista, possiamo considerarla infatti una lingua visualmente astratta, parallela all'astrazione della visione dall'alto dell'aeropittura futurista. L'ambizione espansiva – idealistica e anche artistica – dei futuristi verso il cielo e verso l'altezza si collega apertamente con quella militare e politica della potenza aerea d'Italia. Secondo il *Manifesto dei pittori futuristi* dell'11 febbraio del 1910, "l'arte vitale" è soltanto quella che *trova i propri elementi nell'ambiente che la circonda. (...) così noi dobbiamo ispirarci ai tangibili miracoli della vita contemporanea, alla ferrea rete della velocità che avvolge la Terra, (...) ai voli meravigliosi che solcano i cieli, (...) alla lotta spasmodica per la conquista dell'ignoto.*[11]

Il *Manifesto tecnico del futurismo*[12] (dell'11 aprile, 1910) descrive più largamente dei principi della rappresentazione visuale del movimento, del dinamismo caratteristico della composizione pittorica. Il manifesto chiarisce in differenti punti il rapporto fra la visione dall'alto e la circolarità: *Il gesto per noi, non sarà più un momento fermato del dinamismo universale: sarà, decisamente, la sensazione dinamica eternata come tale. Tutto si muove, tutto corre, tutto volge rapido. Una figura non è mai stabile davanti a noi ma appare e scompare incessantemente. Per la persistenza dell'immagine nella retina, le cose in movimento si moltiplicano, si deformano, susseguendosi, come vibrazioni, nello spazio che percorrono. (...) Lo spazio non esiste più: una strada bagnata dalla pioggia e illuminata da globi elettrici s'inabissa fino al centro della terra. Il Sole dista da noi migliaia di chilometri; ma la casa che ci sta davanti non ci appare forse incastonata dal disco solare?*

Le immagini futuristi convenienti al modo sintetico di vedere obbediscono alle sorgenti della luce arrivante dall'alto, al punto di vista verticale dei "globi elettrici". Lo spazio circolare

intorno al punto di vista della sorgente di luce si manifesta sulla tela anche come un motivo rappresentato identificato con il punto di vista dello spettatore che – similmente alle rappresentazioni degli egiziani e dell'anticità – non è solamente un osservatore esteriore, ma anche participante e membro dello spazio del quadro come un aviatore–aeropittore futurista battente il panorama e la superficie della terra con lo sguardo dall'alto: *(...) Perché si deve continuare a creare senza tener conto della nostra potenza visiva (...)? I pittori ci hanno sempre mostrato cose e persone poste davanti a noi. Noi porremo lo spettatore nel centro del quadro. (...) Fuori dall'atmosfera in cui viviamo noi, non sono che tenebre. Noi futuristi ascendiamo verso le vette più eccelse e più radiose, e ci proclamiamo Signori della Luce, poiché già beviamo alle vive fonti del Sole.*

Già nel 1912, quasi vent'anni prima degli aero-manifesti, Marinetti concepisce il *Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista,*[13] le prime righe del quale potranno essere il motto anche del manifesto dell'aeropittura di più tardi: *In aeroplano, seduto sul cilindro della benzina, scaldato il ventre dalla testa dell'aviatore, io sentii l'inanità ridicola della vecchia sintassi ereditata da Omero. Bisogno furioso di liberare le parole, traendole fuori dalla prigione del periodo latino! Questo ha naturalmente, come ogni imbecille, una testa previdente, un ventre, due gambe e due piedi piatti, ma non avrà mai due ali. Appena il necessario per camminare, per correre un momento e fermarsi quasi subito sbuffando!*[14]

Secondo al brano di sopra, fu la sensazione del volo alla riforma dell'espressione tradizionale della grammatica e della sintassi. L'impressione del volo, la *simultaneità* e il cambiarsi continuo e veloce delle immagini viste dall'alto rendeva ridicola la comunicazione verbale, la quale, in confronto alla velocità dell'aeroplano, sembra essere davvero lenta, pesante e trabalzante. Marinetti s'ispirava dall'esperienza del volo per la rivoluzione e il liberamento delle parole: *Ecco che cosa che mi disse l'elica turbinante, mentre filavo a duecenti metri sopra i possenti fumaiuoli di Milano. (...) Siccome la velocità aerea ha moltiplicato la nostra conoscenza del mondo, la percezione per analogia diventa sempre più naturale per l'uomo. Bisogna dunque sopprimere il come, il quale, il così, il simile a. Meglio ancora, bisogna fondere direttamente l'oggetto coll'immagine che esso evoca, dando l'immagine in iscorcio mediante una sola parola essenziale.*[15]

La visione dall'alto – il modo più nuovo, moderno e più veloce di *vedere sintetico* – riforma le personificazioni, le metafore "terra terra", insomma "le analogie immediate", alla quale *gli scrittori si sono abbandonati finora (...) Hanno paragonato per esempio l'animale all'uomo o ad un altro animale, il che equivale ancora, press'a poco, a una specie di fotografia*[16]. L'*analogia* che oltre dell'invenzione della fotografia si nutrisce sopratutto dell'effetto della visione dall'alto e che si manifesta nella letteratura e anche nella pittura futurista. *L'analogia non è altro che l'amore profondo che collega le cose distanti, apparentemente diverse ed ostili. (...) La poesia deve essere un seguito ininterrotto di immagini nuove (...). Quanto più le immagini contengono rapporti vasti, tanto più a lungo esse conservano la loro forza di stupefazione. (...) Per dare i movimenti successivi d'un oggetto* – similmente al percorso continuo del volo – *bisogna dare la catena delle analogie che esso evoca, ognuna condensata, raccolta in una parola essenziale.*[17]

Marinetti considera la visualità come la forza espressiva primaria e principale delle parole. Nella sua arte le immagini sono a dominare *sopra* le parole. Marinetti vede le cose in immagini, pensa in immagini e utilizza immagini per la sua creazione artistica. Considerando per il concetto dell'analogia definito da Marinetti, si vede bene che il "collegamento", il "concatenamento", il "condensamento", la concentrazione e lo scorto o l'accorciamento (e anche l'abbreviazione) trovano il loro "denominatore comune" nel modo sintetico di vedere, cioè l'impiegamento delle immagini *simultanee*, l'unificazione, la composizione *sincronica* – come sulle pitture, così anche nelle parole e nelle immagini-parole (v. anche Uspenskij). Questo modo "alla futurista" di comporre; la *simultaneità*, lo *scorcio*, la *concentrazione*, la *sintetizzazione* si uniscono, si esprimono e si manifestano per lo più mediante il modo di vedere (e comporre) più vasto, sintetico, complesso e additivo, ma – e appunto per questo – anche più distante e astratto; cioè mediante *la vista dall'alto.* E questo

modo di vedere predomina nelle visioni poetiche del Marinetti talmente che nelle composizioni delle aeropitture futuriste, come dimostrano appunto le parole del manifesto di Marinetti; perché come l'aviatore, così il pittore ed altrettanto *il poeta divinatore che saprà liberarsi dalla sintassi tradizionale, pesante, ristretta, attaccata al suolo, senza braccia e senza ali perché soltanto intelligente. (...)*

Le intuizioni profonde della vita congiunte l'una all'altra, parola per parola, secondo il loro nascere illogico, ci daranno le linee generali di una psicologia intuitiva della materia. Essa si rivelò al mio spirito dall'alto di un aeroplano. Guardando gli oggetti, da un nuovo punto di vista, non più di faccia o per dietro „ ma a picco, cioè di scorcio, io ho potuto spezzare le vecchie pastoie logiche e fili a piombo della comprensione antica.

Voli tutti che mi avete amato e seguito fin qui, poeti futuristi, foste come me frenetici costruttori d'immagini e coraggiosi esploratori di analogie. Ma le vostre strette rete di metafore sono disgraziatamente troppo appesantite dal piombo della logica. Io vi consiglio di allegrirle, perché il vostro gesto immensificato possa lanciarle lontano, spiegate sopra un oceano più vasto.

Noi inventeremo insieme ciò che io chiamo l'immaginazione senza fili. (...)

Indiscutibilmente, la mia opera si distingue nettamente da tutte le altre per la sua spaventosa potenza di analogia. La sua ricchezza inesauribile d'immagini uguaglia quasi il suo disordine di punteggiatura logica. Essa mette capo al primo manifesto futurista, sintesi di una 100 HP lanciata alle più folli velocità terestri.

Perché servirsi ancora di quattro ruote esasperate che s'annoiano, dal momento che possiamo stacciarci dal suolo? Liberazione delle parole, ali spiegate dell'imaginazione, sintesi analogica della terra abbracciata da un solo sguardo e raccolta tutta intera in parole essenziali. (...) Noi entriamo nei dominii sconfinati della libera intuizione. Dopo il verso libero, ecco finalmente le parole in libertà![18]

Il *colpo d'occhio*, la sintesi *abbracciata da un solo sguardo* in un'immagine totale, la *sintesi* costruiscono una nuova unità del volo, della visione dall'alto e della concezione della libertà.

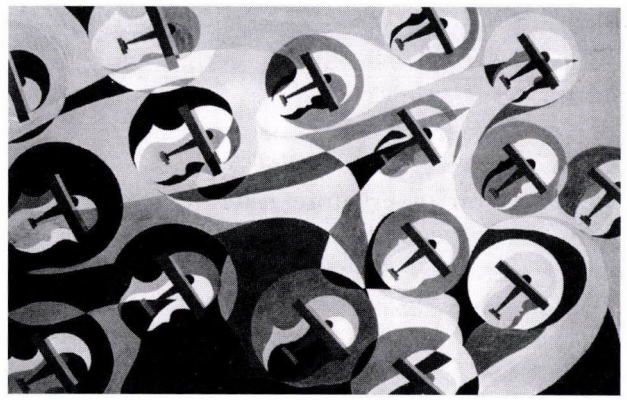

Fig. 2. Enzo Benedetto: *Aeroplani*, c. 1926; tempera su carta, 60 × 90; coll. dell'artista, Roma

Nel *Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista* le caratteristiche dell'analogia sono illustrate dai passi delle poesie proprie di Marinetti: *(...) nella mia Battaglia di Tripoli /Milano, 1911/ (...) ho introdotto intuitivamente una gran parte dell'universo: (...) Ed ecco una gran dama allo spettacolo... vastamente scollacciato, il deserto infatti mette in mostra il suo seno immenso dalle curve liquefatte, tutte verniciate di belletti rosei sotto le gemme crollanti della prodiga notte.*[19]

Vale la pena a paragonare questa visione descritta con alcune aeropitture dove il paesaggio visto dall'alto si unisce simultaneamente con una figura nuda femminile – come vedremo nei capitoli seguenti più tardi.

Manifesto futurista dell'aeropittura[20]

Così aeropittori e aeropoeti
salgono sempre più per insegnare
ad amare dall'alto in basso
quel sorprendente fastoso e multiforme
popolo di nuvole che Leopardi Baudelaire
ci avevano insegnato ad amare
dal basso in alto, malinconicamente.

F. T. Marinetti 1934[21]

Che cosa può essere l'Aeropittura? Un movimento? Una tematica moderna? Una propganda politica del fascismo? Una tecnica artistica composizionale? Un programma? Oppure un riferimento alla tecnica militare moderna?

Prima dell'analisi del poema grandiosa vediamo le circostanze della nascita dell'aeropittura. Il movimento pittorico sembra che sia venuto alla luce mediante un manifesto, il 22 settembre del 1929, sulle pagini della Gazzetta

del popolo, a Torino. La sua concezione invece sia successa già nel 1908, appunto con *L'aeroplano del papa, prima esaltazione lirica in versi liberi del volo e delle prospettive aeree della nostra penisola dall'Etna a Roma, Milano, Trieste.*

Il manifesto di pittura denomina, già nelle prime righe, qualche aeropoesia come i suoi antenati: *Aeroplani di Paolo Buzzi, Ponti sull'Oceano di Luciano Folgore, e Caproni di Mario Carli.*

La seconda generazione del futurismo già negli anni Venti comincia a dipingere consapevolmente aeropitture: *Nel 1926, il pittore e aviatore futurista Azari crea la prima opera di aeropittura* Prospettive di volo, *esposta nella Grande Sala Futurista alla Biennale Veneziana. Nel 1929, il pittore Gerardo Dottori orna l'Aeroporto di Ostia con una mirabile decorazione aviatoria futurista, impetuoso slancio di aeroplani nel cielo di Roma con eliche fusoliere ali trasfigurate sintetizzate e ridotte a tipici elementi plastici. Questa opera di Gerardo Dottori, già notissimo per il suo grande* Trittico della velocità, *segna una data importante nella storia della nuova aeropittura.*[22]

Il manifesto è sottoscritto da Giacomo Balla, Benedetta Marinetti, Fortunato Depero, Gerardo Dottori, Fillia, F. T. Marinetti, Enrico Prampolini, Mino Somenzi e Tato.

Gli effetti visuali, ottici e tecnici descritti sopra costituiscono la novità, l'originalità e le caratteristiche – che derivano dalla sensazione comune del volo e della visione, o panorama vista dall'alto – dell'aeropittura futurista. Così nasce sulla tela un dinamismo di nuovo genere che, unificando le caratteristiche della vista dall'alto e il modo di comporre centrale e concentrico, sostituisce e contiene in se stesso il concetto non solo della fotografia ma anche della cinematografia – in un solo quadro.

Il futurismo vuole fare sempre qualcosa nuova. Il suo entusiasmo verso la macchina lo porta sopra la terra, nelle regioni del cielo. Per questo esso crea la prospettiva celeste che si realizza nella cosiddetta aeropittura, in confronto a quella terrestre. Nella prospettiva del volo invece non esiste nessuna regola a regolare la prospettiva di terra. Con l'aeropittura il futurismo rimane fedele ai suoi principi fondamentali; al *dinamismo* e al *sintetismo*. Nella prospettiva del volo non esiste nessun punto fermo o costante, e il dipingere dall'alto esige il modo di vedere sintetico.

L'aeroplano del papa *e la tematica, i motivi e l'iconografia dell'aeropittura*

Fra le opere letterarie di Marinetti forse il romanzo profetico intitolato *L'aeroplano del papa* (Milano, Poesia, 1914; orig. fr.: *Le monoplane du pape*, Parigi, Sansot, 1912) è l'opera più esplicitamente "aerea" o "vista dall'alto", cioè è un'intera e complessa visione dall'alto. Marinetti, ritornato dalla guerra – nel 1911 si svolgeva la guerra di Libia, dopo di quale Italia diventa posseditore di Libia –, scrive la sua opera visionaria, la previsione profetica della guerra mondiale. *Predice che la prossima grande guerra sarà vinta dai aeroplani. Lui stesso è un aviatore di un aereo. Ruba il papa col suo aereo, lo porta sopra il campo di battaglia e infine lo butta nel mare Adriatico.* (trad. da B. Zs.)[23]

Vediamo allora le immagini, le visioni con i loro mezzi visuali (e in secondo luogo quelli poetici) del poema, le quali influenzavano senza dubbio anche la tematica, l'iconografia e la composizione dell'aeropittura futurista italiana soprattutto negli anni Trenta.

Il romanzo poetico è composto di undici capitoli. Il primo è il *Volando sulla Sicilia, nuovo cuore d'Italia.* Nei primi versi,[24] *Orrore del tetro cubo della mia camera / da sei lati chiusa come una bora!*, Marinetti soffre della clastrofobia della sua camera e anche della Terra stessa che dipende dalla forza della gravità (*Orrore della Terra, vischio sinistro alle mie zampe d'uccello*). C'è il contrasto fra l'alto e basso; fra leggero e pesante. Quel contrasto è un contrasto antagonistico per Marinetti fra il futuro leggero e libero e il passato pesante, incastrato ed immobile, e quest'ultimo costringe Marinetti a *salire... fuggire in alto e lontano*, lontano più possibile dalle forme chiuse dei cubi e dei quadri, lasciando laggiù la forma costante sferica-rotonda del globo della Terra.

La capacità più alata dello spirito, dell'intelletto del poeta, secondo il Marinetti, è l'immaginazione insieme alla sua realizzazione poetica, *l'eloquenza dell'analogia.*[25] Così scelse Marinetti



Fig. 3. Giacomo Balla: *Aeorumore*, c. 1923; olio su tela, 77 × 77; coll. priv., Roma

per il motto della *Conquista delle Stelle,* nel 1902, i versi del Dante: *O insensata cura de' mortali, / Quanto son difettivi sillogismi, / Quei che ti fanno in basso batter l'ali!* (Paradiso, Canto XI.)

L'aeroplano

Nella parte più grande delle aeropitture si uniscono simultaneamente la visione vista dall'alto e l'aeroplano stesso testimoniante del punto di vista dell'osservatore, tutto o parte, spesso moltiplicato, e si vede soprattutto il motivo circolare dell'*elica* roteante. Lo spettatore (cioè il punto di vista) e il paesaggio visto dall'altezza sono collegati non solo dalla *distanza* (altezza o spazio fra i due), ma anche dal *tempo*, anzi, dalla *velocità*, che occorrono per l'adempimento della distanza. La visione allontanata, diminuita e astratta e il punto di vista in moto costante sono creatori della sintesi del tempo, dello spazio e della velocità, sulle aeropitture.

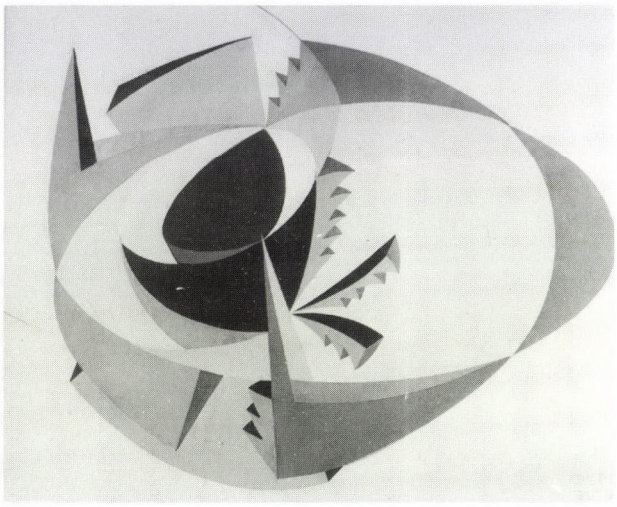

Fig. 4. Fortunato Depero: *Ciz ciz quaglia (Astrazione animale)*, 1915

Gerardo Dottori nel 1928 ha formato l'aeroporto di Ostia quasi ad un vero *spazio volante.* Le eliche degli aeroplani dipinti formavano – costituendo spirali – vortici roteanti suscitando così la sensazione della librazione simile al volo. La macchina, il movimento e l'aviatore; il volo, l'aeroplano, l'artista e il poeta sono fusi, come lo dimostra anche l'aeropoema di Marinetti, dove nei suoi versi, diciamo di "ars poetica", s'identifica di cuore con l'elica: *Son fuso col mio monoplano / sono il trapano enorme, ronzante, / che fora la scorza pietrificata della notte. / Più forte! Più forte! ... In tondo, bisogna scavare / e profondamente, in questa fibra nera / cementata dai secoli! / Dovrò forse ancora / per molto tempo sbattere le ali / Come un avoltoio inchiodato sulla porta del cielo? / Questo punto resiste? Cerchiamo più in alto! Infrangiamo / la triste vetrata dell'alba giallente!... / Elica! Elica forte del mio cuore monoplano! / Trivello formidabile, entusiasta e prepotente! / Non senti scricchiolare le esecrabili tenebre / sotto il tuo sforzo tagliente?*[26]

Un'opera di 1931 del Dottori, il *Stormo di aeroplani* e quello del Balla, *Balbo e trasvolatori italiani,* rappresentano il stormo delle eliche roteanti arrivanti – come se siano libellule – in fronte allo spettatore del quadro. Questo moto concentrico e turbinante è contribuito evidentemente al movimento roteante dell'elica. Ma gli aviatori, l'aeroplano, il volo stesso e le aeropitture futuristi rivaleggiano anche con la dina-mica, la distanza, la velocità di luce del Sole.

Questa vittoria conquistante il cielo si manifesta attraverso al motivo ingrandito e frontale dell'elica radiante similmente al Sole. Nell'opera *Eliche innamorate* del Benedetto, l'elica roteante come l'amante del paesaggio policentrico, è incapace di liberarsi dal ricordo dell'immagine e della visione di esso che sotto di essa, si divide, si moltiplica in mille e mille frammenti che si rispecchiano, similmente all'effetto del rifrangimento della luce, come tantissime macchie solari.

Il rivaleggiamento dell'elica con il Sole è un elemento ricorrente anche del poema di Marinetti: il poeta volante con l'aiuto del moto-trivello perforatrice e roteante dell'elica riesce ad *infrangere (...) la scorza pietrificata e nerastra* della notte, fino che ... *Un grande sfacelo di porpora empie lo spazio / sull'arco illimitato dell'orizzonte, / e il Sole, enorme frutto succoso, / balza subitamente con gioia radiosa / fuori dal guscio molliccio dell'ombra!...*[27]

Gli *Aeroplani* di Giulio D'Anna[28] illustrano i versi citati sopra. Alcuni dischi solari lottano almeno con tre aeroplani mentre sulla tela, come elementi composizionali uguali, si equilibrano e si sintetizzano e diventano a forme astratte geometriche: ruote, rettangoli e croci come sulle opere di Veronesi,[29] di Prampolini[30] che citano esplicitamente anche le composizioni del cosiddetto *Suprematismo* russo come di Malevic, di Moholy-Nagy e di El Lissitsky.

Secondo questi la sensazione del volo sia espressa o suscitata dalle forme geometriche angolari: dal quadro, dal rettangolo e soprattutto dalla forma ridotta dell'aeroplano visto dall'alto; dalla croce. In confronto di essi, è il cerchio a rappresentare una base, una visione o territorio stabile e costante ricordante alla forma o curva dell'orizzonte della Terra sempre diminuente sotto l'aeroplano, oppure anche al sempre grande rivale: all'avversario sempre splendido e luminoso, inaccessibile e insuperabile; al Sole. In queste pitture il moto e il volo è rappresentato dalle forme angolari, senza però l'arco di un cerchio in fondo o di sotto del quadro la composizione perde dal suo dinamismo.

Attraverso alle opere dei futuristi si vedono bene i due metodi (o modi di comporre) principali, i quali esprimono in modo più esplicito il moto, la dinamica e la velocità alzata nell'altezza dei cieli; cioè mediante alla composizione circolare e all'effetto "V" già fatto conosciuto dal manifesto dell'aeropittura: (*Il decollare crea un inseguirsi di "V" allargantisi.*)

Sulle aeropitture finora viste la dinamica del volo si è fatta percepita dalla forma circolare e centrale dell'elica. Questo modo circolare, concentrico, orfico, vorticoso o spirale di rappresentare la velocità è considerabile come un certo tipo di sintesi, sia relativo ad un'aeroplano artificiale o il suo prototipo naturale: all'uccello (v. Balla: *Aerorumore* (Fig. 3); Depero: *Movimenti di uccello* e *Ciz ciz quaglia /Astrazione animale/* (Fig. 4), Francesco Di Cocco: *Rondini in volo*, poi anche Delaunay: *Hommage à Blériot*). Paragonando questi effetti di movimento simultaneo centralmente componati alle composizioni della pittura astratta dei "nuovi fotografi" degli anni 'Venti, viene in evidenza che la visione dall'alto, la dinamica del volo, la fotografia e l'astrazione sono collegati fra loro e si uniscono nei primi tre decenni del XX secolo e si accordano sopratutto nell'aeropittura futurista. Fra le aeropitture di guerra è degna di nota quella di Tato,[31] *Diavolerie di eliche*, dove l'aeroplano attaccante si vede da sopra.

Il principio composizionale dell'effetto "V" accentuante il volo, il moto e la velocità nella pittura – che è non solamente l'abbreviazione della *velocità* oppure della *vittoria* –, si fonda sulle fasi di movimento linearmente consecutivi. La composizione esprimente il vettore o la direzione del movimento in un modo ottico molto più coerente, è considerabile in fondo un metodo forse meno astratto, sebbene sia astratizzabile o geometrizzabile agli estremi – nel caso di velocità massimale, p.es. di luce, riducando o rinchiudendo, come un ventaglio, le aste (le ali) del V in una linea unita. Quest'effetto di ventaglio si vede bene su quasi tutte le opere (non solo) dei futuristi, dove il movimento, oppure il dinamismo vuole essere indicato.

Sulle due ultime opere i due effetti, il cerchio e la V si uniscono mediante il sincrono del volo e dell'aeroplano. In queste pitture la sintesi e la circolarità derivante dalla visione dall'alto, secondo anche il manifesto dell'aeropittura, viene dall'effetto della virata aerea.: *Nelle virate il punto di vista è sempre sulla traiettoria dell'apparecchio, ma coincide successivamente con tutti i punti della curva compiuta, seguendo tutte le posizioni dell'apparecchio stesso. In una virata a destra i frammenti panoramici diventano circolari e corrono verso sinistra moltiplicandosi e stringendosi, mentre diminuiscono di numero nello spaziarsi a destra, secondo la maggiore o minore inclinazione dell'apparecchio. Queste visioni roteanti si susseguono, si amalgamano, compenetrando la somma degli spettacoli frontali.*

Sulle illustrazioni così, l'effetto-V-entaglio manda fuori le curve dei cerchi come le radioonde. Queste curve oppure onde possono indicare la luce come il movimento, ma sono chiamati sopratutto ad esprimere la velocità unificatrice il tempo con lo spazio.

Il pilota-artista e il paracadutista

In base ai manifesti futuristi, l'esperienza del volo arricchisce l'aviatore non solo di un nuovo punto di vista (cioè di quello dall'alto), ma anche di una nuova sensazione, una nuova sensibilità; con le parole di Prampolini: *siamo entrati con l'aeropittura nella piena sensibilità aerea ... per giungere alle alte mete di una nuova spiritualità extra-terrestre.*[32]

Volare significa allontanarsi – dichiara Dottori e i futuristi torinesi scrivono così: *Il Manifesto dell'Aeropittura Futurista (1929) indica la possibilità di un nuovo stato d'animo del pittore che dal volo ritrae sensazioni ed ispirazioni non confortabili ad alcuna tradizione. Le sensazioni di velocità dovevano essere le prime a interessare la fantasia dell'artista che vedeva nell'aeroplano la possibilità di afferrare una serie di paesaggi e di orizzonti ignoti, con altre prospettive ed altri lirismi. Tutte le precedenti scoperte plastiche sono ancora suggerite dal sentimento umano che tende, attravaerso l'aeroplano, ad un suo sviluppo ed al suo massimo innalzamento. È il sentimento cioè dell'uomo che si serve dell'aeroplano per moltiplicare le sue forze. (...) La velocità, la simultaneità, le prospettive aeree e i nuovi lirismi suggeriti dal volo furono i modificatori della nostra sensibilità, ma noi non intendiamo esprimere la loro emo-zione. Inten-*



Fig. 5. Tato: *Sensazioni di volo (Lancio col paracadute)*, 1931., olio su tela, 94 × 77, coll. priv. Roma



Fig. 6. Tullio Crali: *Prima che si apra il paracadute*, c. 1940, olio su legno, 54 × 141; Gall. Civica d'Arte Moderna, Udine

diamo invece servirci dell'aereo (che è la più perfetta visione della natura meccanica) per rendere lo 'spirito dell'epoca'. (...) Le nostre opere devono perciò realizzare ... gli "organismi aerei spirituali" che rappresentano plasticamente le nuove divinità e i nuovi misteri creati dalle macchine.[33]

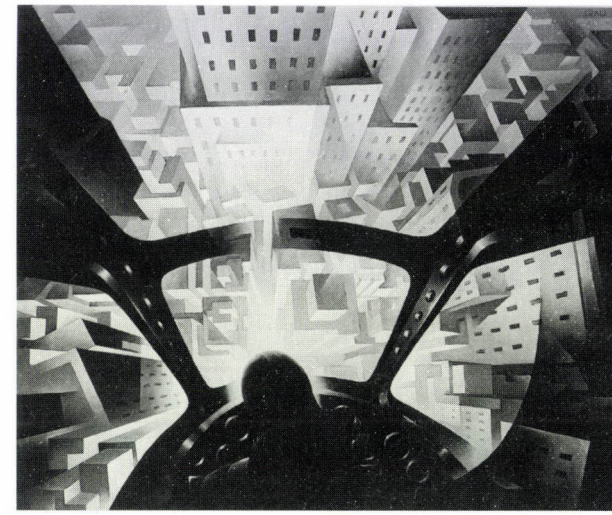

Fig. 7. Tullio Crali: *In tuffo sulla città (Incuneandosi nell'abitato)*, 1939–40, olio su tela, 130 × 155, proprietà dell'artista

Per i futuristi cioè è evidente che *il pittore non può osservare e dipingere che partecipando alla loro stessa velocità*[34] (degli elementi di una nuova realtà derivante dalla prospettiva aerea). Per questo, nelle loro opere si uniscono il punto di vista e le esperienze aeree del poeta, del pittore, dell'artista, dell'aviatore o paracadutista, e s'identificano così anche con la sensazione o l'impressione, con i differenti punti di vista aerei ed estetici degli spettatori delle aeropitture radicalmente cambiate. La visione dall'alto insomma, insieme alla sensazione del volo è considerabile come rappresentante della libertà. Attraverso cioè a questo nuovo punto di vista elevato s'identifica lo spettatore del quadro con l'aviatore, con il paracadutista e con il punto di vista dell'aeropittore (Fig. 5–7).

Nel suo aeropoema Marinetti vuole alzarsi sempre più *In alto! Nel cielo più alto! Ecco m'appoggio / sulle elastiche leggi dell'aria... / Ah! Ah! Son già sospeso a picco sulla città / e con la mano accarezzo velocissimamente / il globo immenso dell'atmosfera, / enorme dorso del massacrante pericolo / che mi separa dal mare!...*[35]; vedendo tutto dall'alto in misura microcosmica, come se sia una ninfea o un piatto, ma facendo parte del macrocosmo, anche Marinetti-pilota stesso fa parte di una cornice, un arco, un cerchio, una vortice, oppure – come un pilota che fa un volo a picco o come un paracadutista – del globo dell'atmosfera. Queste visioni costituiscono il principio compositivo

anche del cosiddetto *Vorticismo* inglese: *Vedo e sento, giù in fondo, a picco sotto i miei piedi,/ lo spaventevole urto possibile / contro il petto del mare, più duro della pietra!*[36] La sensazione della picchiata è simile a quella di una caduta sulla strada; è una visione comica e inferiore, eppure una sensazione spaventevole.

Finestre, balconi, piazze, vie

> *Tutti i balconi sono gonfi*
> *come foruncoli di calore!...*
> *Stanno per scoppiare, e ne gronderà sanie*
> *giù nella strada...*[37]

Il pilota volante è *una finestra aperta innamorata del Sole*, dell'altezza, dello spazio infinito, *che verso il Sole s'invola! / Chi ancora potrà rattenere le finestre / le finestre affamate di nuvole / e i balconi briachi di luce / che stasera si strappano dai vecchi muri delle case / per balzar su nello spazio?*[38]

La visione delle finestre *affamate di nuvole* volanti verso il Sole e l'immagine dei balconi staccati dalle vecchie case e balzanti nello spazio è infatti analoga al panorama visto attraverso alla finestra della cabina del pilota e anche alla problematica della cornice di un quadro, di una visione infinita di un panorama, della visione ego- o policentrica, del confine fra il mondo percepito dalla vista e il campo visivo raffigurato immobile sulla tela inquadrata di una realtà pittorica.

Nelle aeropitture come sono per esempio l'*In tuffo sulla città* (Fig. 6) del Tullio Crali; l'*Aerosensualità* di Ambrosi e di Italo Fasullo – *Mitragliamento aereo* –, la finestra dell'aereo sostituisce la tradizionale prospettiva delle vedute dalle finestre e dai balconi (nelle pitture p. es. del Caspar David Friedrich e di Caillebotte[39]).

Vale la pena a paragonare le pitture viste nell'ultimo capitolo con l'opera (*Io e la città*, 1913) di Meidner e con quelle di Boccioni: *Visioni simultanee*[40] (1911) e *La strada entra nella casa*[41] (1911). Come si vede, il panorama delle vie, piazze e città sotto la vista dal balcone o dalla finestra del cittadino, è un elemento preferito delle pitture anche del "Primo Futurismo", così come sulle aeropitture del "Secondo Futurismo", p. es. sul *Trittico della Velocità* (Fig. 8–10) del Dottori, continuando la tradizione già cominciata dalle illustrazioni di Caspar David Friedrich e di Caillebotte.

Queste due vedute simultanee di città summenzionate di Boccioni sono fondamentali considerando non solo il punto di vista della vista dall'alto e l'iconografia delle aeropitture, ma sono significative anche come esempi del metodo "dinamico-egocentrico" di comporre di quella visione simultanea della città, con quale il futurismo o Boccioni evidentemente influenzava anche l'espressionismo tedesco, come anche nel caso di Meidner. In questi casi del tipo di visione "egocentrica" della città, il rappresentato (il cittadino) e il rappresentatore (il pittore) e lo spettatore hanno un punto di vista comune concentrico, intorno a cui la veduta, il panorama della città, le vie, strade ecc. si ordinano. *La pittura è una finestra alla natura?* La città e il suo abitante sono fusi e inseparabili. L'autoritratto di Meidner è uguale all'immagine, al ritratto o alla visione della città che circola intorno e dentro la testa di lui. Boccioni però, con l'aiuto della tecnica futurista della *simultaneità* e della *compenetrazione*, unisce e compone in una sola composizione il punto di vista del pittore, dello spettatore e del rappresentato (la madre del pittore) guardante fuori dal balcone, con il panorama roteante-accerchiante intorno la casa, evadendo la camera.

La città però, secondo gli futuristi-aeropittori, ha una caratteristica non soltanto *egocentrica*, ma anche *policentrica*, dipendente dal numero degli abitanti che sono considerabili microcosmi, piccolissimi centri e punti di vista nel macrocosmo della città. Seconda anche il manifesto dell'aeropittura di più tardi, l'aeropittura stabilizzante una visione o veduta vista dall'alto deve essere policentrico, ma questa policentralità composizionale non contrasta con l'egocentralità futurista.

Vomito dall'aereo

La vista sotto il pilota si cambia, si trasforma in ogni istante a causa della velocità sottosonica sempre diversa; la visione percepita – priva ancora dell'ordine compositiva artistica – è, per il primo colpo d'occhio confusa, disordinata, scomposta, autonoma, capricciosa e infrenabile, come lo afferma anche il manifesto dell'aero-

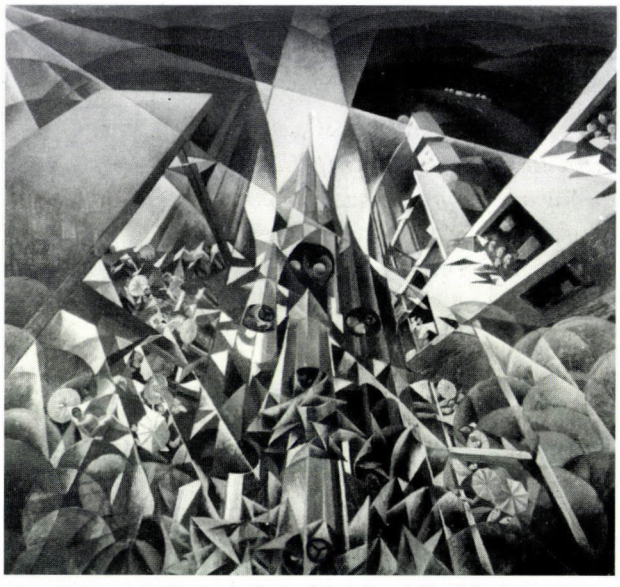

Fig. 8. Gerardo Dottori: *Il via (Trtittico della Velocità)*, 1925–26, tecnica mista su tela, 128,5 × 139, Comune di Perugia

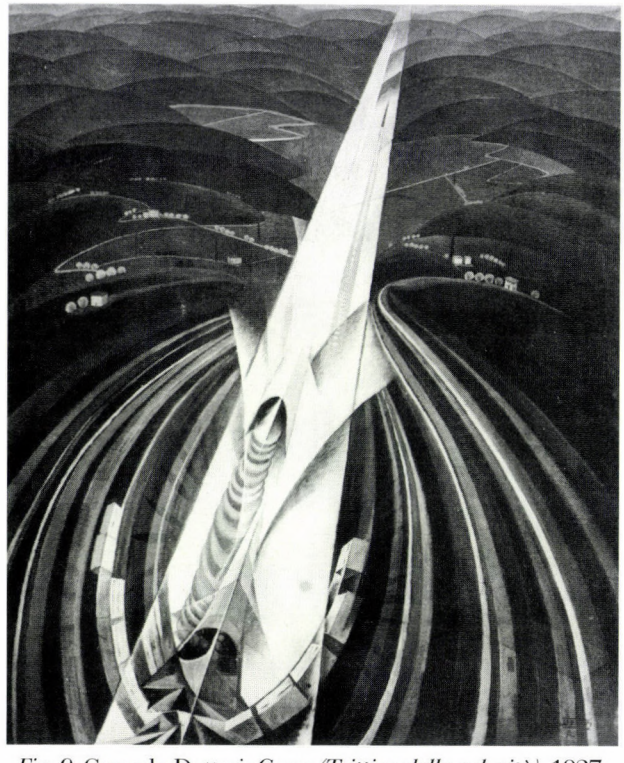

Fig. 9. Gerardo Dottori: *Corsa (Trittico della velocità)*, 1927; olio su cartone, 129 × 110; coll. priv., Roma

pittura: *appena caduta dal cielo*[42]. Si capisce comunque che in base ai versi del Marinetti, questa prospettiva aerea sembra casuale, rigettata, buttata, - oppure citando - *vomitata sulla terra*: *Stomaco mio volante... / ...vomita, vomita pure, stomaco mio, sulla terra! / È l'ultima zavorra che getterò per salire / e per giocar leggermente a saltamontone / sulle schiene villose delle montagne!...*"[43]

Lo *stomaco volante* del Marinetti però è rivoltato dall'odore dell'olio di ricino del motore, il quale infetta tutti e cinque i sensi - inclusa anche la vista - del pilota. Il poeta infatti essendo disgustato dell'aspetto visuale della terra, incorraggia lo stomaco di versare il contenuto sulla terra mise-rabile.

Supponibilmente ispirata dalla poetica visuale e visionaria, l'aeropittrice e aviatrice praticante di guerra, Barbara, ha dato il titolo *Vomito dall'aereo*[44] ad una sua pittura.[45] La reazione biologica del vomito è parallela all'azione distruttiva dei bombardamenti aerei di guerra combattuta anche dalla volontà di distruggere dei futuristi, ma tutte e due le azioni sono condotte, pilotate e motivate primariamente dal senso visivo umano, cioè otticamente e visualmente[46]. Le pitture di Barbara, quella suddetta e la *Pensieri in carlinga*,[47] accentuano veramente la decomposizione distruttiva, la confusione incompatta e astratta della visione volante dall'alto, la mancanza del sistema stabile e della gerarchia della prospettiva che sono le caratteristiche della sensazione e delle impressioni del volo e poi, delle visioni dell'altezza e della velocità in continuo cambiamento.

La sintesi del Tempo e dello Spazio

È davvero e meramente la vista dall'aereo a capovolgere la composizione di un'aeropittura? È il punto di vista dall'alto che offre l'unica possibilità per il campo visivo a raccogliere ad un solo colpo d'occhio un panorama totale di 360 gradi. In una pittura la composizione derivante dall'elevato punto di vista è evidentemente quella centrale-circolare che sostituisce un giro intorno a se stesso fatto dall'osservatore. L'aereo, in questo senso è una camera rotante, che nello stesso tempo pare di girare un film dell'universo circostante, la quale unisce il tempo e lo spazio in una visione totale al posto dello sguardo umano, grazie alla sua velocità e altezza.

La parte decima del poema di Marinetti racconta *I collari del tempo e dello spazio* unificando e disponendo le visioni descritte simultaneamente dominate dalla problematica del

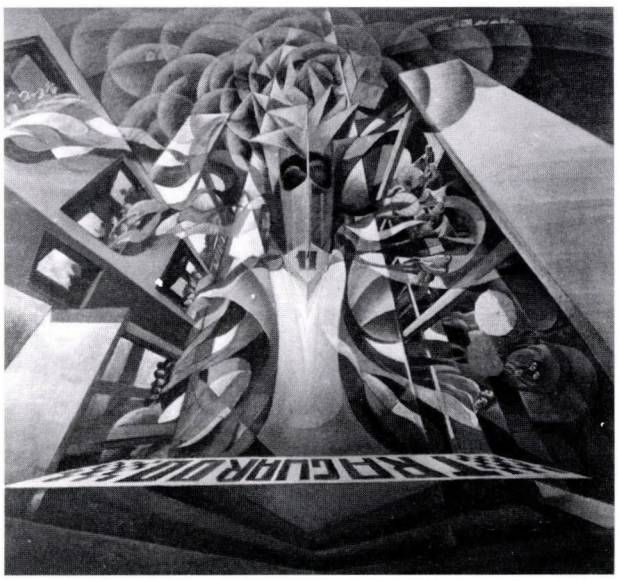

Fig. 10. Gerardo Dottori: *Arrivo (Trittico della velocità)*, 1925–26 tecnica mista su tela, 128,5 × 139, Comune di Perugia

tempo e della quarta dimensione, in composizioni circolari. Le ombre fuggenti delle nuvole, correnti sotto l'aeroplano, proiettate sulla superfice dei prati, indicano le proiezioni della quarta dimensione, cioè *i collari*, i rapporti del tempo e dello spazio, producando così un effetto visuale cinematograficamente unito: *La mia ombra azzurreggiante corre obliqua / sulle praterie soleggiate. / Balza dall'ombra d'una nuvola / all'ombra d'un'altra, come un ginnasta / che salti dall'uno all'altro trapezio.... / Sotto i miei piedi, in senso contrario, / la campagna fugge coprendosi tutta / d'immense crepe imbizzarrite... ./ Quel villaggio s'inabissa, / quella città si polverizza, / mentre, là, quel vallone si slancia a galoppo sfrenato. / Quella collina gonfia il suo ventre / poi bruscamente si vuota, e ricostruisce / lentamente il proprio scheletro!*[48]

Si chiarisce poi, come nega il pilota il Tempo crollando lo Spazio visto sotto, mediante l'altezza e la velocità e come si manifesta quel disprezzo in una visione circolare e vorticosa: *In modo strano si torce e s'ammucchia il paesaggio, / poi cade a pezzi, a poco a poco, / crollando in torrenti di case, in ruscelli di verde, / interminabilmente, sotto di me, a rovescio.... / Laggiù, il Veneto s'annega / coi fianchi ignudi dei suoi fiumi carnali / nella marea crescente dei vapori violetti.... / O Tempo ti sputo in faccia ! / (...) / So che la mia velocità e la mia febbre t'irritano !...*[49] La *cavezza* del pilota (Marinetti) è infatti il fascio "tirato" dall'aereo, cioè la via immensa percorsa dalla velocità, che *è almeno cento volte più larga / di quella che lega quel treno sorpassato! / Fra un'ora tu dovrai allungare la mia / all'infinito!... / Sotto le fiere stelle guerriere, / che vortici! che vortici! / Cado su una profondità...*[50]

In base alla concezione di questo studio, l'espressione compositiva più adeguata della visione dall'alto sulle aeropitture, è quella circolare-centrale, poiché è un punto di vista assai alto a sostituire la rotazione di 360 gradi – come nei casi delle rappresentazioni panoramiche e dei ciclorami – eseguita dallo spettatore girante in tondo su se stesso nel foco o nel centro di una pittura panoramica di 360 gradi, per aver un'immagine o una visione quasi "totale" sulla città, sul mondo (sul microcosmo) circostante. In questo senso l'aereo in moto continuo è una camera girante un film sostituente lo sguardo roteante dello spettatore-osservante e cinematografante (girante in tondo) l'universo intorno, in 360 gradi. Marinetti, nel suo poema grandioso dà una visione veramente astratta e surreale del Tempo e dello Spazio, i quali sono vinti dal punto di vista dall'alto dell'aereo futurista: *O Tempo! Mi scaglierò contro di te, / e ti spezzerò le ali, / e romperò la tua voce asmatica d'orgolio! / Chiama pure alla riscossa lo spazio, / vecchio avoltoio podagroso / che lascia dietro di sè como striscia di bava / il bianco nastro delle strade e i grandi archi / dell'orizzonte, simili a immense lumache / arrotondate!... / Tempo! Spazio! Sole divinità padrone del mondo! / Io mi ribello contro di voi!*[51] Il tempo qui è analogo all'aereo, al mezzo e al simbolo infatti della velocità che è vinto e oltrapassato dal Marinetti, dal Futurismo, dalla visione sotto la vista del pilota, girante, girevole come una ruota simile alla curva, all'arco dell'orizzonte: *Spazio! Tu mi mettesti intorno al collo, / come una cavezza, / questo mutevole orizzonte / irto di monti, di piani e di città capellute!... / Tu mi lasciasti, sola libertà, / la distanza che separa la mia gola palpitante / dal cerchio chiuso dell'orizzonte.... / Ora io t'impongo – comprendi? – d'allargarlo / di più, sempre di più, finchè si schianti! / Tempo! Spazio! Che direste / se bruscamente attraversassi, in dieci secondi, / l'intervallo che mi divide / da questo rotondo orizzonte.....?*[52]

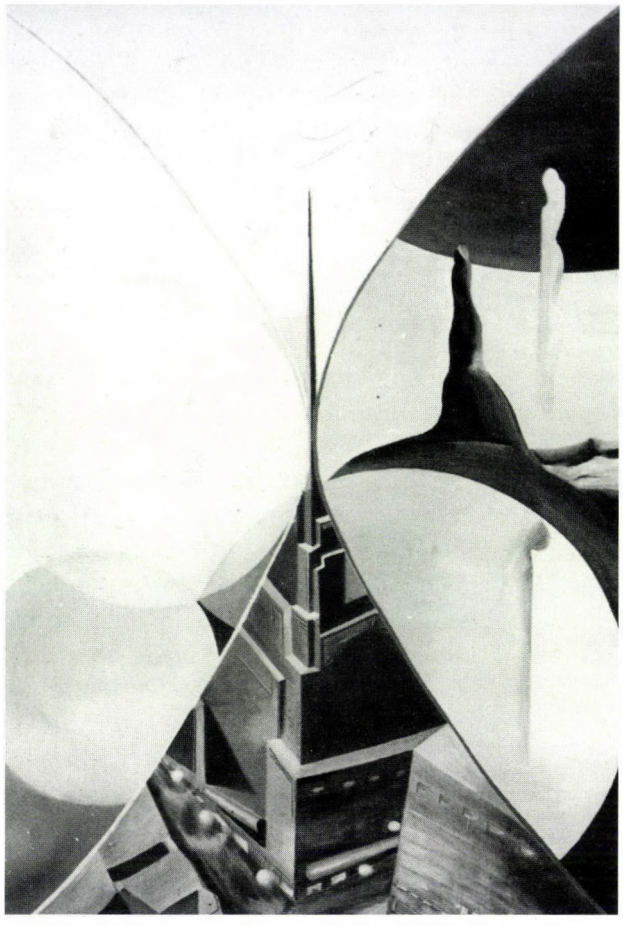

Fig. 11. Benedetta: *La grande X*, c. 1930; olio su tela, 129 × 90; Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, Parigi

Durante il volo, il pilota prende posto al centro, cioè in foco dell'orizzonte formante un cerchio di 360 gradi, unificando e componendo così col suo punto di vista di aeropittore-pilota, gli elementi sempre cambianti del panorama sotto il suo sguardo: *Spazio, io ti costringo, volando, / a mettermi intorno al collo, incessantemente, / senza riposo, ad ogni istante / un sempre nuovo orizzonte!... / Carezze sempre diverse e sempre più cupe!...*[53]

Una simile visione e il componimento rotondo si manifesta nell'aerofotografia del Masoero[54], nelle aeropitture di Tullio Crali, di Marisa Mori,[55] di Fillia,[56] di Benedetta e di Italo Fasullo (*Mitragliamento aereo*); *Ma tutt'intorno c'è una cornice assai più grande, / assai più elastica.... / E' la giornata solare.*[57]

C'è però un altro aspetto pittorico di questa visione sovversiva, perturbante e intanto unificatrice. Queste composizioni esprimono, invece della composizione circolare, dei "panorami totali" mediante un'iperbola, la cosiddetta *grande X* oppure per la *forma di coppa*, composizioni sempre centrali (Fig. 11).

È specialmente interessante l'aeropittura di Barbara,[58] dove la curva circolare fatta dall'aereo e le ali sconvolti formanti un'iperbola dell'aereo sono a dare alla composizione una sintesi simultanea. È notevole anche la verticalità di quest'opera assomigliante alle composizioni di Peruzzi. Queste composizioni "sconvolti" si organizzano, si strutturano, si sintetizzano delle volte alle opere anche più ordinate, ben regolate e sistemate in diverse maniere, creando così quattro tipi principali delle composizioni differentemente sintetizzati:

1) pitture astratte, "campate in aria", "atmosferiche", "spirituali", "interplanetaricosmiche" e di quattro dimensioni, nelle quali si uniscono la composizione amorfa e quella circolare-sferica.

2) le aeropitture di guerra, che sono anche documenti della distruzione dei bombardamenti aerei.

3) composizioni cubistiche, geometriche sintetizzanti gli elementi rettangolari della visione dall'alto e i motivi unificatori, sintetici della composizione circolare di panorama – p. es. l'orizzonte, il disco solare, i dorsi delle colline, l'arcobaleno, l'elica, ecc.

4) vedute dei paesaggi circolari, concentriche.

In queste pitture è comune l'effetto cosiddetto (dal Marinetti) *di vomito* e il criterio *campato in aria* (appena caduto dal cielo) accentuato dai manifesti di aeropittura che si organizzano in composizioni unite.

Una strada per l'astrazione: l'aeropittura "stratosferica, cosmica e biochimica"[59]*. La quarta dimensione*

> *Noi vogliamo modellare l'atmos-fera. Le distanze fra un og-getto e l'altro non sono degli spazi vuoti ma delle continuità di materia di diversa in-tensità*[60]

In connessione con le ultime pitture menzionate nell'ultimo capitolo, vediamo qualche aeropitture "astrali" ed eteree,[61] le quali sono vicini alle pitture della direzione prescritta da Marinetti: *Enrico Prampolini en s'éloignant du verisme et de tout souvenir de la réalité, exprime le sens humain et terrestre des métamorphoses que*

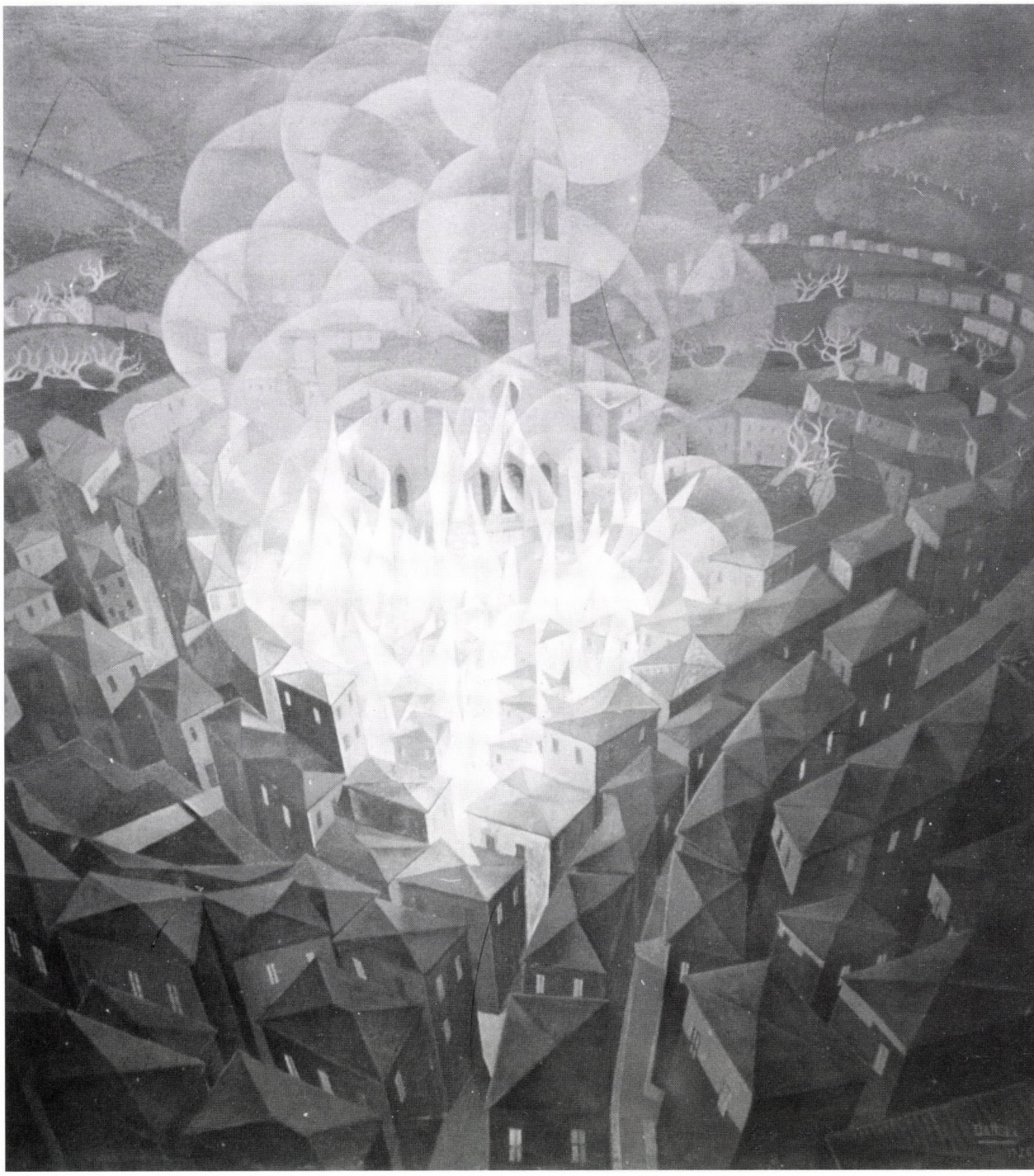

Fig. 12. Gerardo Dottori: *Incendio-città*, 1925, olio su tela, 209 × 188,5, Comune di Perugia

l'homme possède dans son élan stratosphérique. Il peint avec puissance de volume et de couleur les drames de la géologie, de l'électricité interplanétaire et des ondes cosmiques. Avec la plus grande matérialité, la plus grande rudesse et la plus grande vaporosité il fixe sur la toile toute l'inexprimable et tout la fantasie de l'univers.[62]

I titoli delle pitture di Prampolini – *La quarta dimensione*, *Il seduttore della velocità*, *La fabbrica delle emozioni (Immagini radiofoniche)*, *Il pilota dell'infinito*, *Forme e forze nello spazio*, *Rarefazione siderale*[63] – suggeriscono la sintesi del tempo e dello spazio e stanno in connessione al concetto astratto della

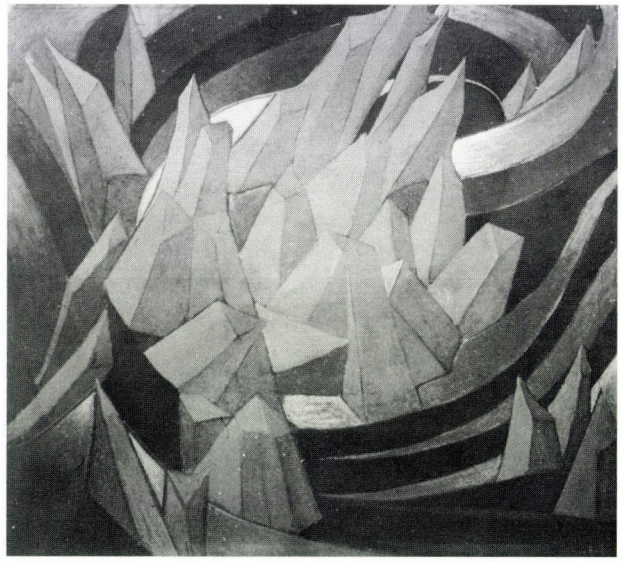

Fig. 13. Gerardo Dottori: *Rossi-verdi*, 1921, olio su tela, 58 × 65

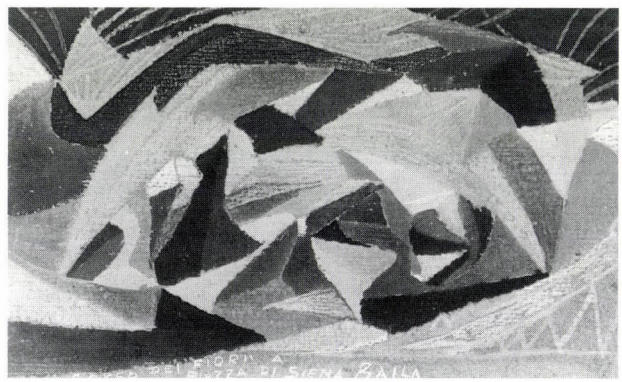

Fig. 14. Giacomo Balla: *Corso dei fiori a piazza di Siena*, c. 1915



Fig. 15. Leonardo Dudreville: *Paesaggio al tramonto*, 1913

quarta dimensione. Nel movimento dell'aeropittura, il concetto della velocità e la simultaneità, unificatrice del tempo e spazio, della vista dall'alto e della composizione circolare; poi le conseguenze pittoriche-tecniche del volo, conducono a dare un'iconografia speciale dell'espressione e del manifestarsi della quarta dimensione.[64]

Le aeropitture elencati adesso di Prampolini, hanno una tematica, titolo e modo di comporre simili a quelle del loro ispiratore. Sulle opere purtroppo qui non pubblicate[65] prende spicco una formazione sferica denotando un globo trionfante; sulle altre opere però,[66] questa sfera trionfa sopra la verticalità del quadro e l'angolarità delle loro elementi, similmente al protagonista della favola illustrata di El Lissitsky, il cerchio rosso[67].

Ci sono per opere dove il cerchio, perdendo gradualmente le sue relazioni associanti al globo della terra[68], si comporta meramente come una cornice circolare oppure una lente d'ingrandimento trasparente[69] diventando sempre più astratto, orfico e piano[70] avvicinandosi alle pitture orfiche[71] di Delaunay.

Vulcani, eruzione naturale, distruzione e decostruzione

La tematica dei vulcani è in stretta relazione con il capitolo trattante l'effetto del *vomito* dal punto di vista diciamo *decostruttiva* della composizione di una pittura. L'immagine dell'eruzione vulcanica nel poema di Marinetti è l'espressione della distruttività della guerra. La visione, l'impressione e, diciamo, la sensazione percepita dall'alto di un cratere in eruzione però, è simile all'effetto *pennacchio* fatto da una bomba gettata dall'aereo (Fig. 12–15) oppure da una goccia caduta sulla superfice dell'acqua (Fig. 16–17).

Il *vulcano saggio* è il simbolo del dinamismo della guerra nell'arte e nella poesia futurista. Nel suo poema, Marinetti dedica due capitoli al vulcano. Nel secondo capitolo egli – essendo librato sopra la bocca fiera e mugghiante dell'Etna, attraverso la quale si rivela segretamente il suo stomaco sfondato come una città sotterranea – parla dei *Consigli del Vulcano* : *Etna! chi mai potrà danzare meglio di me / e*

dondolarsi sulla tua bocca fiera / che mugghia a mille metri sotto i miei piedi?... / Ecco io scendo e m'immergo nel tuo fiato solfidrico / tra I globi colossali dei tuoi fumi rossigni, / e odo il pesante rimbombo echeggiante / del tuo stomaco vasto che frana / sordamente come una capitale sotterranea. / Invano, la rabbia carbonosa della terra / vorrebbe respingermi in cielo![72]

La composizione verticale dell'"aero-arazzo" bellico di Depero, rappresentante sullo sfondo un cratere vulcanico[73] è parallela all'aeropittura *Ritmi di danza*[74] di Prampolini. Lui progetta la decorazione della scena futurista *Il Vulcano*[75] nel 1931, la cui composizione è analoga a quella del Caviglioni.

Dobbiamo qui menzionare una seria delle pitture del Dottori[76], dove la prima opera del 1935, col titolo *Armonie di forze contrarie*, possiamo considerarla ad una aero-sintesi dei due motivi principali del capitolo presente; quello del vulcano o i cimi frazionati delle montagne e quello della centralità o concentricità derivante dei bombardamenti, oppure dei ritmi astrali delle esplosioni siderali. *Le forze contrarie* del titolo hanno un significato concreto nella composizione *Esplosione* del 1916, ma dal punto di vista composizionale concludono – visualmente – i due tipi degli elementi già notati; il motivo concentrico simile ai crateri vulcanici della città bombardata, L'*Incendio-città* (Fig. 12) e quello astratto-orfico dei *Ritmi astrali* siderali.

Marinetti descrive a lungo la scena dinamica dell'eruzione del vulcano nella parte intitolata *I teatri vulcanici*. Nei primi versi il cratere del vulcano assomiglia a una ferita aperta, rossa e sanguinante incessantemente. Questa ferita simbolizza anche la fessura sulla terra fatta da una bomba o un obice: *Poi, lentamente, attraverso la bruma / s'abbozza un rossore, la giù, / come un'immensa piaga color di rosa / sotto molli filacce di fumo violetto... / Tutto s'è impiccolito, ed io contemplo / davanti a me dei fiori, bocche informi / di grotte paffute...*

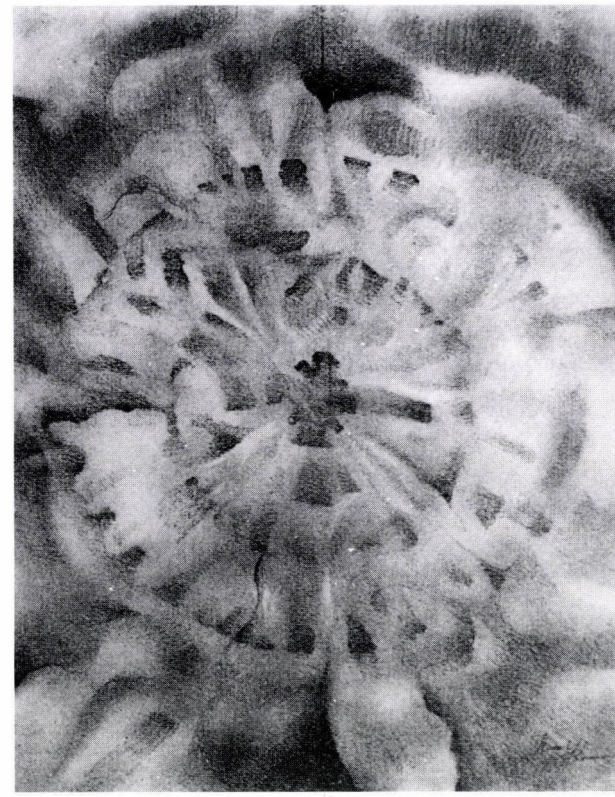

Fig. 16. Romolo Romani: *La goccia*, 1911

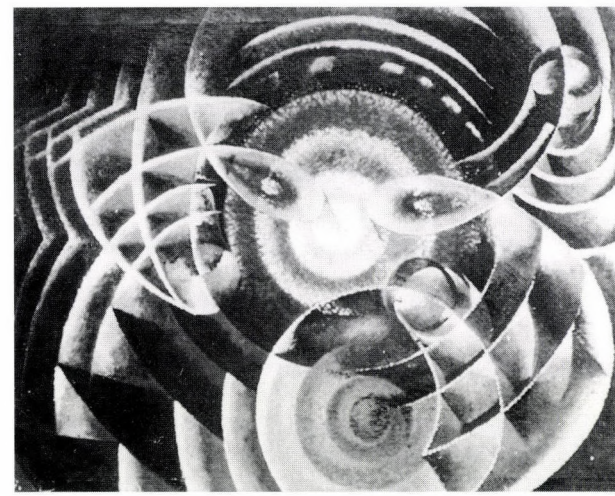

Fig. 17. Italo Fasullo: *Simultaneità atomica*, 1940, olio su tela, 97 × 127, coll. priv., Monselice

Bombardamenti della guerra aerea

Gli aeropittori e gli aeropoeti futuristi – aeropiloti di guerra – partecipavano attivamente alla guerra e ai bombardamenti, così furono testimoni ed osservatori della sensazione e dell'impressione visuale dell'effetto di una bomba caduta sulla terra. Nelle loro rappresentazioni artistiche la bomba caduta diventa – come un pennacchio – al foco, al centro della composizione vorticosa, spirale o concentrica (Fig. 18).

La scena del *La battaglia* – descritta come esperienza personale del Marinetti – costituisce

dall'aereo una visione concentrica: *Due vaste macchie attirano i miei sguardi. / S'allargano. / La più piccola, a sinistra, è rossastra. / Sembra una pozza di sangue.... / Sono le dense file dei volontari. / Sul suo fianco sinistro riluce / un'ampia macchia grigia, / simile ad una enorme lastra di piombo. / E' l'esercito regolare. / Le masse paral-lele dei soldati s'avanzano a scatti / verso le alture rocciose / ornata senza posa, da invisibili batterie: / folli lingue rosse e piume bianche.... / Lassù! Lassù! / Ecco il fronte strategico dell'esercito austriaco / sapientemente disposto / in fondo a questo amfiteatro dei monti....*[77]

Durante la guerra Mussolini accettava l'idea del suo consigliere di sviluppare sopprattutto la forza e il potere dell'arma aerea per poter aquistare il predominio imperiale. Il poeta assomiglia la guerra ad una scena teatrale sempre circolare e rotonda: *Dobbiamo attraversare la platea e salire, / sotto i fuochi convergenti dei palchi / che lancian folgori, / salire su fino all'invisibile palcoscenico / dal sipario di fumo!...*[78]

Marinetti scorge *a poco a poco nella sua tragica ampiezza tutto il mobile oceano della battaglia dall'onde maestose, lunghe tre chilometri*: *... Ma mentre m'avanzo, lo spettacolo impazza, / s'imbroglia, si complica... /Tutto sembra illogico. /.../ Quell'altro reggimento / Gira semplicemente, intorno ad un ostacolo invisibile... / Quei fiumi, quei torrenti di fantaccini grigiastri / dovrebbero comporre un mare azzurro..../ Inesplicabilmente, scompaiono, svaniscono / in quei crateri minuscoli di vulcano / disposti in batteria, / che li assorbono con lunghi singhiozzi / e poi li sputano a destra e a sinistra!...*[79]

Si manifesta una forza invisibile dall'alto, quasi da "Deus ex machina", il potere immenso privilegiato della vista d'uccello, il potere di un osservatore dall'alto come è il potere ottico-osservante di un pilota. Ritorna di nuovo l'immagine dei *crateri minuscoli di vulcano disposti in batteria* che costituiscono l'attività sotterranea della guerra.

Marinetti scrive continuamente tutto quello che vede, che sente, che fiuta, che tocca o tasta, che assapora; ci presenta insomma ogni suo esperimento dei cinque sensi, senza ragionare, senza cercare il motivo o lo scopo; facendo vedere, offrendo un elenco fluttuante, vorticoso, delle volte molto confuso, ma ogni volta in modo molto espressivo, impressivo e soprattutto visuale. E la guerra è veramente una vera esperienza che possiede ed esige tutti i cinque sensi – incluso anche l'essere stesso – dell'uomo: *Quei filari di vigne si sbarazzano / rapidamente di tutta la loro polvere estiva, / come sotto l'as-prezza d'una violenta spazzola. / E, vicinissimo, un gran bosco / par calpestato da piedi invi-sibili. / Formiche-soldati, cavallette-cavalli / e grossi topicannoni ne escono / precipitosamente, per stendersi / più lontano, senza riparo, / con un'apparente stupidità, / in quei campi di frumento, che perdono / tutto l'oro e si coprono di grigio!*[80]

Il linguaggio visualmente "astratto" della vista dall'alto nel poema futurista di Marinetti si manifesta attraverso i mezzi poetici delle strane metafore, le personificazioni surrealistiche, i paragoni e le sinestesie. La tematica offerta dal futurismo qui sembra concretizzare una visione del surrealismo. Questa tematica molto concreta e purtroppo reale è quella della guerra mondiale e del fascismo. Nel corso della scena seguente, la battaglia *suggerisce... / la visione d'una fonderia smisurata.... / Quei villaggi fiammeggiano come alti forni! / Quella cavalleria lanciata a corsa / par che lavori come un'officina: / le zampe hanno movimenti di ruote / sotto gli ordini gridati, cinghie di trasmissione, / fra tutti gli obici vomitati come volanti, / dalla miscia fumante, grande caldaia!... / Nello stampo delle colline, i reggimenti / arroventati si fondono e si formano. / Un battaglione si schiaccia / come un pezzo di ghisa. Eccolo piatto / sul suolo, e sussultante. / Ad un tratto si spezza / sotto i piloni invisibili degli schrapnels. / Ed ecco la colata dei fuggiaschi fumanti, / che si perdono là, nel ribollimento / di quella cavalleria liquefatta!*[81]

La metafora della battaglia; *la fonderia smisurata* è un'immagine alternativa anche del ruolo, dell'azione del vulcano (v. il capitolo precedente): *...Esplosione / d'un reggimento che cade a pezzi / come un gran masso di marmo / irritato di luci, congestionato di bianca follia!... /.../ Avanti, malgrado le volanti forbici della mitraglia / e le tenaglie del sole, che alla nuca vi stringono!*[82]. La natura si trasforma visualmente sotto il potere, sia molto invenzioso, sia tanto distruttivo della tecnica alata e fra le mani del potere di una guerra imperialista.

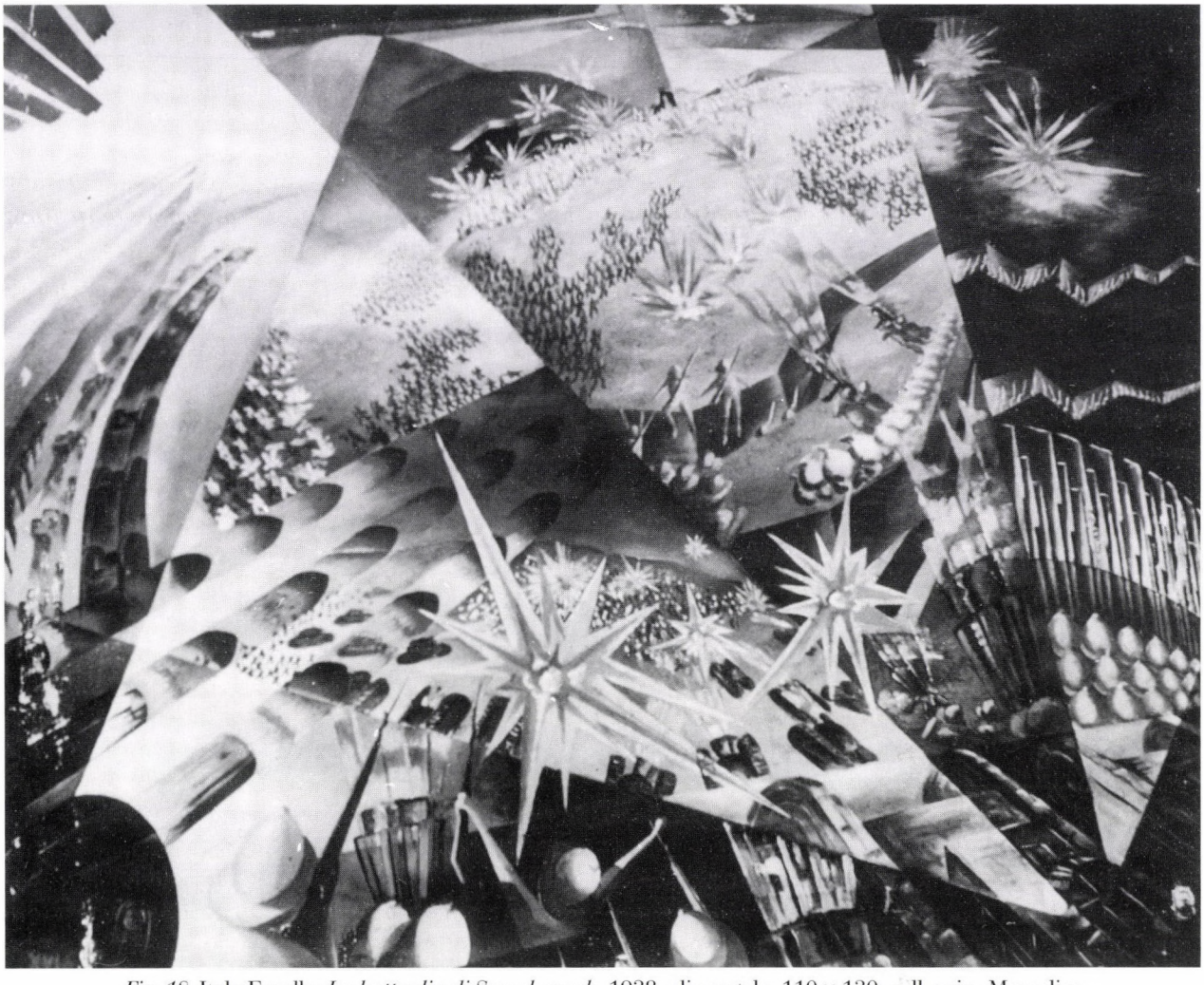

Fig. 18. Italo Fasullo: *La battaglia di Sassabanech*, 1938, olio su tela, 110 × 130, coll. priv., Monselice

Nella scena del *roseto garibaldino* però *Il cielo è divenuto la vivente fornace / che formano, salendo, le fiamme dei loro occhi! /.../ Ogni morente è un rosaio dai temerari profumi, / ogni morente sboccia per l'ultima volta / nel suo letto spinoso d'angoscia e d'ironia.... / Ogni morente scopre le sue piaghe brucianti / sotto i lunghi getti parabolici di sangue / che sprizzano dalle arterie recise.... / Innumerevoli fontane dai getti intrecciati! / Fontane imporporate da un tramonto dei tropici.*[83]

Similmente alla pittura vista dall'alto, l'*Avventura d'Africa*, dipinta nel 1936 da Renato Di Bosso[84], la squadra è *Quel lungo e nero corteo di cavallette, / giù nel cavo della sfera infinita.*[85]

Marinetti dà la visione della guerra, per gran parte all'analogia dell'immagine della primavera, come la guerra fosse una fioritura felice della natura. A dire la verità, i futuristi non facevano parte consapevolmente nella guerra e nemmeno nel fascismo; era piuttosto il regime di Mussolini a usare loro al suo scopo di propaganda verso la gente d'Italia: *Oh, strana fioritura di roteanti bandiere / che coprono l'alberature / di uno sfarfallìo multicolore! / Mirabolante assalto di api mostruose / che vorrebbero suggere fiori / nei miracolosi giardini solari / cullati dalle onde!... / Quasi ne odo il ronzìo che s'allarga / fra l'odio minaccioso e nero / delle corazzate, concise, immote e contratte / come scorpioni colossali e pasciuti....*[86] La descrizione della guerra è la più lunga e più fluttuante, sempre ritornante nel poema gigantesca.

Ritorna di nuovo la costruzione circolare sotto l'immagine del *formidabile treno delle corazzate* che *si ferma / con una detonazione, / spaventevole laccio esattamente lanciato / sulle alture coronate d'austriaci, / per strangolare nel*

suo gran nodo sonoro / il corpo intero del paesaggio / che ha per cuore ribollente la battaglia! / Poi, dolorosamente, il laccio del frastuno / s'allenta, e lascia libera / quella preda che non si può sradicare....[87] Poi, si ripete l'esplosione sotto la metafora dei vulcani in eruzione: *La prima fila, formata di sei dreadnoughts, / diventa un arcipelago imprevisto / di emergenti vulcani in eruzione*![88]

Non è sorprendente cioè il paragone fra il bombardamento aereo e l'eruzione vulcanica, tanto l'usa spesso anche Marinetti nel suo poema. É interessante peró che si chiama un gruppo degli aeropittori napoletani appunto *Circumvisionisti* che può riferirsi alle vedute panoramiche, ai ciclorami e anche alla denominazione della città di Napoli: a *Circumvesuvio*. Il nome scherzoso puó suggerire insomma anche l'espressione e il modo di vedere concencentrico-centrale delle aeropitture: *A Napoli lotta vittoriosamente il Gruppo dei Futuristi Circumvisionisti, che dai crateri del Vesuvio e dalle scogliere strapiombanti di Capri sanno estrarre un futurismo ardente ricco di colore napoletano.*[89]

Marinetti mostra continuamente al papa le vedute dei bombardamenti, *l'albero insradicabile delle esplosioni / che proiettava lontano i suoi fogliami di piombo. / La sua cupola d'acciaio, poc'anzi, / girava su se stessa, lucendo come un astro / sotto lo scivolìo accanito degli shrapnels.... / Finalmente ecco il guscio / della gran tartaruga di ferro / bitorzoluta e tutta a squame turchine.... / Il forte finge di dormire / nel suo fossato profondo, buco scavato su misura / nel fianco della montagna / che da ogni parte arrotonda lunghe schiene scattanti / di furibondi gattacci.... / Scoscendimenti fasciati di ferri puntuti / e inghirlandati di cespugli di chiodi! / Mucchi bizzarri d'istrici colossali!....*[90]

La visione concentrica delle esplosioni viste dall'alto è simile ora ad un albero, ora ad una cupola. Le figure delle immense tartarughe e degli istrici colossali sono immagini immote, lentissime, moribonde e miserabili dall'altezza. Sono animali della terra laggiù, sorpassati, dominati e vinti dal colpo mortale dell'occhio del semideo alato, dell'uomo in aereo. *I nostri due eserciti s'avanzano scavando / l'orizzonte notturno, sventrando / le città che tremano mascherate / dal gran gesto brutale dei nostri riflettori! /... / E voi, Garibaldini, sappiate che vi porto / nel mio ventre, / con una calda ebbrezza materna!... / Io sento schricchiolare i vostri piedi possenti / per i sentieri coperti delle mie viscere!... / Distruggerre! Bisogna distruggere! / Distruggere senza fine !...*[91]

Infine cioè, con la guerra (aerea) la visione dall'alto diventa davvero un potere immenso e distruttivo non solo agli occhi, ma anche nelle mani dei futuristi, e purtroppo anche dei futuri fascisti: *Le mie vene son strade / ingombrate dalle grandi partiglie / di duecento batterie / che sboccano improvvisamente / sulla mia bocca spalancata, / sulle alture / dei miei occhi, sull'arco orizzontale / del mio petto.... / Rapidamente puntate, esse sparano, / sparano con furore.... / sull'Austria vinta!....*[92]

In confronto – o in paragone – di questi esempi offensivi, bellici e manifestamente fascisti, il poeta ungherese Miklós Radnóti descrive simultaneamente due visioni – due punti di vista opposti: uno vicino, mortale e terreno, soggettivo, ma molto "costruttivo", difensivo, penetrante nei particolari e nei ricordi umani, e un'altro elevato, oggettivo, aereo, allontanato, ma molto distruttivo e offensivo – dando un'iconografia bellica dell'aereo nella sua poesia del gennaio del 1944 (*Nem tudhatom...*).[93]

Campagne geometriche, *villaggi, borghi e province*

Per Marinetti i piccoli borghi e i villaggi visti dall'aereo (Fig. 40–41) sono immoti, pigri e ibernati. Il capitolo *L'esecrabile sonno* del poema condanna le case e i cittadini del borgo dormente: *Voi meritate che gli obici / sfondino a un tratto i vostri tetti e vi schiaccino, / marmellate coniugali! / Puah! sembrate caduti a terra, / piatti come sterchi di vacca*![94]

Queste visioni delle piccole città ritornano spesso anche sulle aeropitture (Fig. 19–20). Nel poema ritorna di nuovo l'immagine regolata dalla luce del Sole, geometrica-costruttivista come l'immagine delle *tombe di giganti*, ma questa volta è l'alternarsi e l'ordine rettangolare dei campi, delle vigne coltivate e dei prati a provocare l'effetto pittorico già conosciuto: *Campagne geometriche! Quadrati innumerevoli / di campi arati, di vigne e di prati! / Son tombe di giganti? / Intorno a ognuna il sole*

accende lentamente / quattro file di verdi candelabri...[95]

La visione della campagna primaverile esposta al sole ritorna con l'apparizione della schiera dei giovani studenti: *...la polpa del paesaggio primaverile / ...soffre un poco / dei primi tagli geometrici incisi dal sole.... / Volo seguendo l'abbagliante evasione / dell'aurea pianura lombarda senza confini.... / Sono vestito del più bel cielo del mondo, / succinta veste orientale a larghi fiori / color di turchese ad a rami dorati....*[96]

Il sonno tanto condannato dal giovane futurismo è pure una critica del romanticismo e dei Crepuscolari. Durante il volo le città e i villaggi diventano *i barbieri eleganti e diligenti delle montagne e delle pianure* (Fig. 20): *Poiché proprio non val la pena / di pettinare quel poggio, o d'ammorbidire / l'acconciatura bionda di quella collina, / o di rifare la scriminatura di quella vigna!... / E i boschi lontani non si lagneranno più / d'esser dimenticati dai vostri pettini, / con le loro capigliature sudicie arruffate // Vedo già in sogno, un po' dappertutto, / vastissimi campi di battaglia / che si scamiciano mettendo a nudo / il petto villoso, sudante, / della terra scorticata dagli obici, / dan-zanti amuleti... / la terra tatuata di cavalli morti, / in basso rilievo!... // Salgo, e subito gli alberi diventano cavoli. / Quella valle vomita a un tratto quattro villaggi. / Ma quell'altra s'affretta ad ingoiarli! / Affonderai, bel casale, / fra poco, ne sono sicuro, / nell'acqua verde e increspata del tuo bosco.... / Dov'è?... Scomparso.*[97] L'immagine del villaggio vomitato poi scomparso è analoga alla visione delle eruzioni vulcaniche simboleggianti e rappresentanti il bombardamento distruttivo degli aerei militari del fascismo.

Sogno e realtà si alternano fra di loro, mediante la velocità del volo che offre un ordine geometrico dall'alto e la quale abolisce la distanza collegata dal tempo, unendo in questo modo il tempo e lo spazio (paragonando con i versi già citati nel capitolo: *La sintesi del Tempo e lo Spazio*).

Anche le piccole città marittime possono essere paragonati con le loro rappresentazioni sulle aeropitture: *In quella rada violacea bagnata di silenzio / un villaggio dormente / si tira ancora sugli occhi dei suoi vetri vermigli / il serico morbido azzurro lenzuolo delle onde. / E quell'altro villag-gio, / come un pezzo di ferro arroventato dal sole fuma e stride / fra le cangianti tenaglie del mare,*[98] offensore naturale della terraferma abitata.

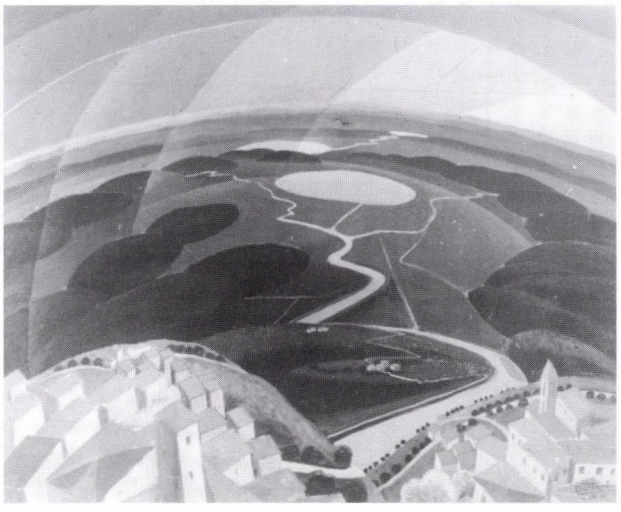

Fig. 19. Gerardo Dottori: *Paesaggio IX.*, 1931, olio su tavola, 61,5 × 80,5; Comune di Perugia

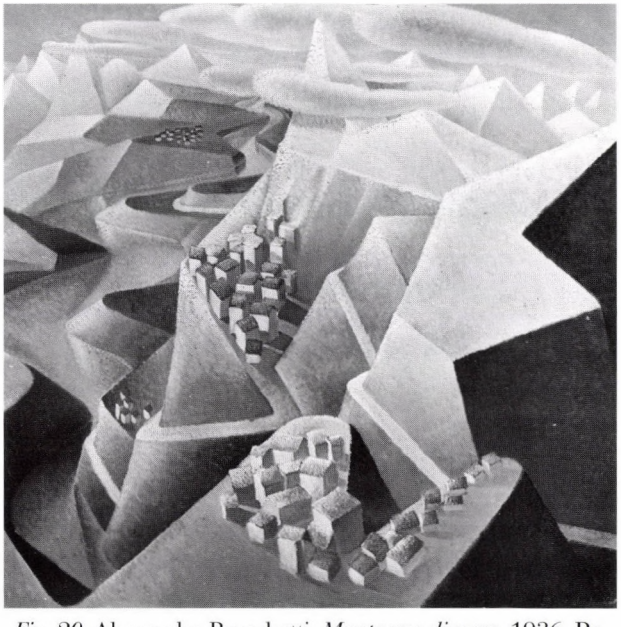

Fig. 20. Alessandro Bruschetti: *Montagne di neve*, 1936, Perugia, 104 × 104 (fot.: Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest no. 173)

Le aerovisioni del mare

Vedo e sento, giù in fondo, a picco sotto i miei piedi, / lo spaventevole urto possibile / contro il petto del mare, più duro della pietra![99] –

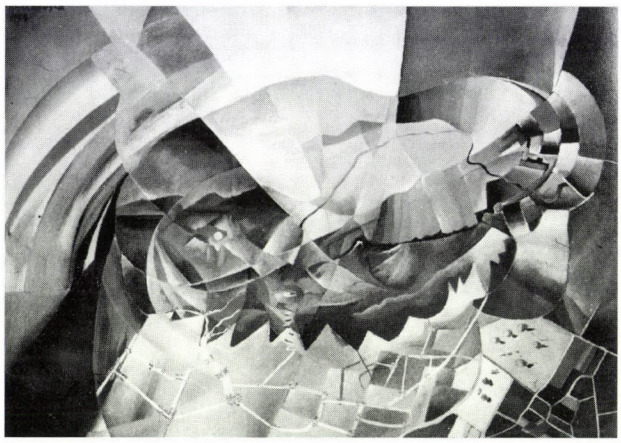

Fig. 21. Emilio Buccafusca: *Aeropittura del Golfo di Napoli*, c. 1934; olio su legno; 70 × 50



Fig. 22. Marcello Nizzoli: *Vele*, 1914

Che cosa sia il mare dall'alto? Una vasta e potente entità femminile che si trasforma di continuo, piena di tensione e di dinamismo plastico della vita: *Un vasto odore salato?... Il mare! Il mare!... / Il mare: innumeri schiere / di donne turchine che si vestono!... / Vedo la schiuma delle loro gracili nudità intrecciante, / chine a bere l'ultima inebbriante sorsata di luce / nel tondo deserto del cielo!*[100]

Ma tutte le membra, ogni parte dell'impero del mare, viste dall'altezza del "continente aereo", diventano ridicole, pietose, lamentevoli, miserabili e disgraziate: *Pretensiosi isolotti dalle pompose vesti di smeraldo, / voi non siete per me se non larghi fiori palustri, / piatti sull'acqua, corrosi da grasse mosche nerastre. / Già come un turbine vi sorpasso, / e con la mano accarezzo velocissimamente / il globo immenso dell'atmosfera, / enorme dorso del massacrante pericolo / che mi separa dal mare!...*[101]

L'aeropittura intitolata *Un incontro con l'isola* di Benedetta, aviatrice praticante (?) di guerra e giovane moglie del Marinetti, dà l'illustrazione dei versi pittorici del suo marito già citati. Il dipinto di Henry Valensi però, sintetizza anche in un modo molto espressivo la stessa visione del Marinetti:[102] *l'isolotto pretensioso* come *largo fiore palustro; il piatto sull'acqua e il globo immenso dell'atmosfera.* Gli aeropittori Buccafusca (Fig. 21) e Cocchia danno le composizioni similmente sferici delle isole e dei golfi, rendendole centriche e circolari mediante l'immagine riflettante sintetica, unificatrice dell'isola, del cielo e dell'acqua.

Marinetti guarda ridendo dall'alto *le lenti velieri beccheggianti* che sembrano essere insetti caduti nell'acqua *a zampe all'aria*: *E lasciatemi ridere di voi, / lenti velieri beccheggianti, / simili a insetti a zampe all'aria che non possono / nè mai potranno – lasciatemi ridere! – / rimetter sul suolo le zampe!*[103]

Le aerofotografie fatte da Bayer[104] e da Moholy-Nagy[105] offrono le illustrazioni più fedeli di questi versi alla fine degli anni venti. I velieri-insetti tradotti nel linguaggio pittorico dal Marcello Nizzoli (Fig. 22) e di Depero sono un po' lontani dal linguaggio astratto della visione dall'alto e lontani anche dal carattere *insetto rovesciato* di un veliero o di una barca, ma seguono piuttosto le composizioni già viste delle montagne (Fig. 15) simili alle cime delle onde del mare o dell'Oceano.

Le aeropitture italiane – similmente all'opera vorticista del 1913 dell'inglese Nevinson,[106] preferiscono sintetizzare i motivi ondeggianti, fluttuanti e circolanti del mare e delle navi. La circolarità (cioè la composizione circolare) sotituisce così il punto di vista dall'alto nelle pitture p. es. di Dottori, sintetizzanti il mare col cielo.

La visione vista dall'alto delle grandi torpedinieri dà un'immagine piuttosto gentilmente favolosa che reale; le navi immense si trasmutano nelle tartarughe lente ed immobili: *Oh gioia! oh gioia!... Bisogna pure ch'io lasci / un istante le leve, per batter le mani alla squadra! / Sono venti tartarughe favolose, immote sotto di me, / con gole di cannoni protese / fuori dai gusci metallici, / e tutt'intorno il guizzare delle torpediniere / e delle barche – rospi che sgambettano / sui loro piccoli remi folleggianti!... / I marinai sulle tolde sono schiacciati e tondi / ...A*

mille metri sotto le mie ali / il mare s'annera di rabbia!...[107]

Prima dell'invenzione dell'aereo, nelle vedute e nei panorami lungimiranti, fu la visione del mare a rappresentare il cosiddetto "panorama totale" dilatato, il quale, nei casi del punto di vista molto più elevato del volo, è sostituito dall'immensa volta celeste. Le navi dell'etere però sono i velivoli e gli aeroplani. La superfice del mare è uno specchio immenso, nel quale è riflesso l'azzurro infinito della sfera celeste. La volta del cielo e lo specchio del mare sono collegati e nel contempo separati dalla linea dell'orizzonte: *Non vedo più la linea tenue dell'orizzonte.... / Il mar turchino s'è inalzato / per unirsi al cielo turchino, / forando il fondo d'un vaso immenso e liscio / da cui lentamente io vaporo come un incenso.*[108]

Ci sono tratti comuni fra i due imperi dell'alto e del basso: i buffi, i colpi del vento, i quali increspano ugualmente la superfice, le onde, le schiume del mare e delle nuvole e danno impulso ai velieri e ai velivoli – ma nell'aeropoesia e nell'aeropittura futurista italiana tuttavia il cielo è il Domine.

L'aereopoema descrive a lungo lo scontro o l'incontro delle forze del cielo e del mare: *Il mare s'incava.... Vortici innumerevoli.... / Poi tutto si ricompone.... Guardiamo!... /.../ Ecco un altro pennacchio abbagliante d'acqua scarlatta. / Lugubre detonazione nelle budella / sonore, interminabili del mare....*[109]

Queste visioni vorticose e turbinose delle battaglie navali-marittime della guerra si manifestano nelle aeropitture di Peruzzi, di Dottori (Fig. 23) e di Ambrosi. Similmente ai futuristi, quel dibattito turbolente è dipinto anche da Dudreville[110].

Sopra la superfice trasparente del mare, Marinetti vede *i periscopi dei sottomarini* oziosi. Le bombe cadute su di loro dall'aereo futurista for-mano *pennacchi abbaglianti*: *Il sottomarino è sventrato. La prua / affonda a vista d'occhio.... /.../ Il terzo pescecane vuol pagliaccescamente morire.... / Mi mostra il suo culo, fuori dall'acqua /.../ Uno sputacchio sopra la poppa, prima che affondi!...*[111]

Nei versi seguenti incontriamo lo scambio, il ruolo complementare delle parti del mare e del cielo che si riflettono, ma in questo caso è la luce dei fari a legarli e ad unirli simultaneamente.

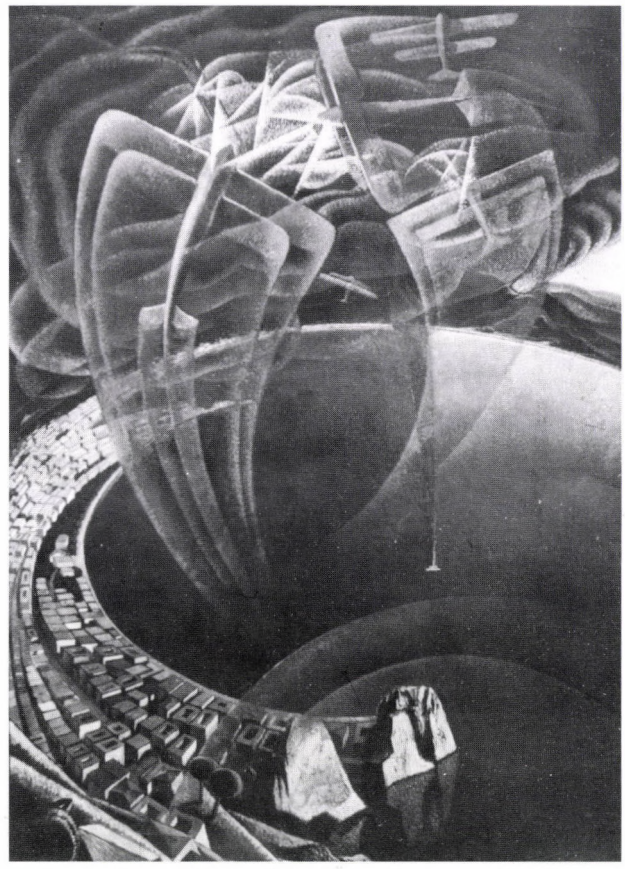

Fig. 23. Gerardo Dottori: *La battaglia aerea sul Golfo di Napoli*, XXIII. Esp. Internazionale d'Arte di Venezia; foto Giacomelli, Venezia, Fototeca di MTA/MKI: B.3415

L'aeropittrice Barbara dipinge pure dall'aeroplano la visione notturna di un *Porto mediterraneo in festa*[112], dove i fari impennati danno luce agli alberi delle navi. Il poeta-pilota vede così dall'alto: *Il mare e il suo gran popolo prigioniero / che urla tra mura di ferro!... / Vedo i fari, le sue sentinelle, / ritti e più terribili perchè tacciono, / violenti e immensi nella tenebra immensa. / Alcuni spingono ovunque / sguardi di cacciatori affaccendati / altri chinano sui flutti le loro aste d'oro, / pescatori dalle lenze luminose.... / O fari, o poveri pescatori disillusi! / Che mai volete da questo mare vuotato? / Alzate la testa, e guardate: / tutti i pesci d'oro grasso che cercate / guizzano lassù nel cielo!*[113]

"Paesaggio femminile", *vedute figurali*

Marinetti visita con il papa la casa della sua amica, sopra la quale l'aereo fa dei giri: *Per la seconda volta, io formo, volando, / una corona*



Fig. 24. Teobaldo Mariotti: *La primavera*, 1935–36, olio su tavola, 160 × 103, coll. priv, Valeggio sul Mincipio

terribile di spine / sulla tua bella fronte che sanguina!...[114]

Poi la *snella figurina* dell'amica del poeta, vestita di bianco, *trascolora piamente nella castità del paesaggio*[115]. Questo tipo di pittura simultanea che unisce la figura femminile con il paesaggio visto dall'alto, è un esempio che ritorna spesso nei paesaggi dipinti dagli aeropittori, i quali citano – con la loro superfice femminile – anche l'immagine personificata delle rappresentazioni del mare del capitolo precedente (Fig. 24–25). *Ma quando scendo, il tuo alito mi profuma.... / i tuoi prati indolenti mi lanciano a soffi / l'odore ebbro dei fieni / e il profumo del tuo seno inquieto, / e la voluttà profonda della terra....*[116]

Queste visioni femminili del paesaggio, apparsi sopratutto nelle aeropitture, sono metafore coerenti della pretesa conquistatrice della guerra e anche della sua espressione artistica futurista (v. le pitture già trattate). *Discendere in quel recinto?... Tu scherzi, / amica mia!... Le tue messi, i tuoi pascoli, / il tuo giardinetto gentile, / con le sue aiuole ingenue, attente, immateriali, / e coi suoi bianchi sentieri obbedienti, / e con le sue piante parlanti, dalle foglie aggraziate / riccamente ornate di perle!... / Eh! via!... Un trampoliere gigantesco quale io sono / con ali tanto possenti / devasterebbe, scendendovi, un simile paradiso!...*[117]. Le forze virili degli aeroplani prendono possesso della *madre debole comune della Terra* dall'alto, o – secondo la poesia del Marinetti – occupano, conquistano *le donne* anche del *mare*.

Le cosiddette *aeropitture sacre* di Fillia si servono del linguaggio dell'iconografia tradizionale spirituale cristiana. Queste sue rappresentazioni sono la *Tendenze spirituali*; *L'uomo e la donna* e la pittura che allega la figura femminile giacente e il suo bambino mediante la circolarità della visione dall'alto: *Nudo/Femminilità*.[118]

Due dipinti di Fillia, fatti nel 1931 evocano similmente la figura femminile del mare, del cielo e della terra, ridotte a forme geometriche. Le due opere danno le visioni sempre trasformanti – e trasformabili –, dinamiche e plastiche delle carte geografiche astratte viste dall'alto. Questi "montaggi" creano due composizioni, quella di una *Figura*[119] e quella della *Donna, cielo, paesaggio*[120] col metodo compositivo della "sintesi", della "simultaneità" e della "compenetrazione" futurista. Anche Almandi – attraverso il dinamismo delle linee moltiplicate degli *Elementi di nudo e ambiente*[121] – e Dottori – nella sua *Flora* – sintetizzano in uno – con un ritmo circolare, mediante la luce dall'alto – il nudo femminile e l'immagine elevata dello sfondo.

Costituiscono un gruppo speciale delle aeropitture figurali che rappresentano Mussolini, Il Duce oppure un pilota vincitore sintetizzato con la città dominata e vista dall'alto[122] (Fig. 26).

Il dinamismo, "l'ornamentazione"[123] *e la viltà della folla*

Il tema più particolare della visione dall'alto è quello della *folla* o *massa*. Attraverso il poema del Marinetti vediamo come diventa l'uomo, perdendo la sua propria individualità, un piccolo particolare, un piccolo puntino dell'in-

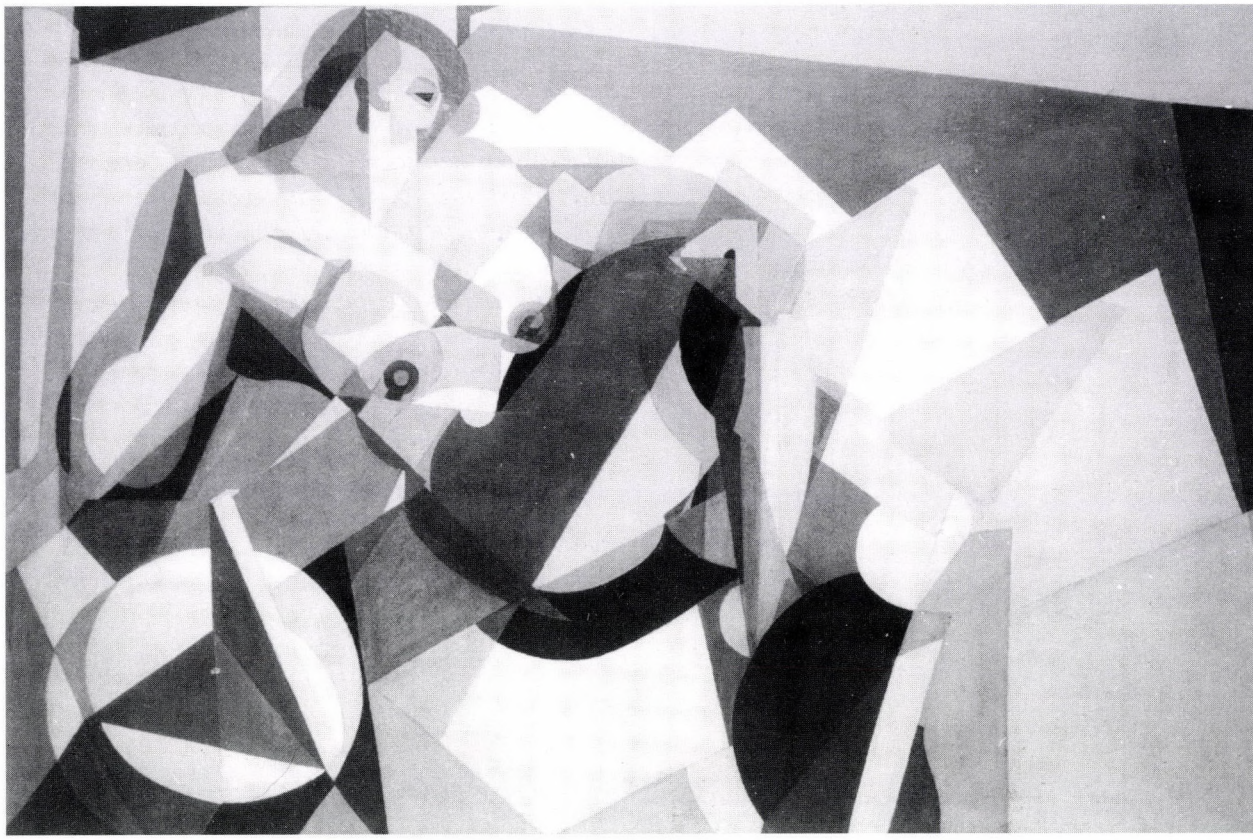

Fig. 25. Enrico Prampolini: *La geometria della voluttà*, c. 1923

sieme, della massa intera dell'umanità. Ma senza questi puntini o particolari non esisterebbe nè il totale, né l'intero, né la folla. Questi piccoli individui della folla però, diventano visibili, abbracciabili solo dalla vista dall'alto. Ed essendo nella folla – priva di un punto visivo comune – si percepisce solo un dettaglio ingrandito di un frammento o di un particolare... *Sulle aeropitture degli spazi, dei paesaggi, delle campagne e delle città, il concetto dell'ornamento deriva non dall'interno dei dati di fatto, ma prevale attraverso di essi.*[124]

Gl'individui coscenti umani diventano dall'alto in un attimo agli esempi replicabili, riproducabili, uniformizzati come sono illustrati dal Rodin, Bazille, Grandville e Caillebotte,[125] oppure si vedono meramente come un cappello rimasto infilato sull'albero, un berretto calpestato sulla strada, oppure come piatti lasciati a bordo della nave, e così via, fino all'astrazione totale.

Mi sono affezionato a vedere le cose dall'alto – dice un protagonista misantropo in un film di Buñuel –, *perché si vede tutto molto più chiaro dall'alto... Laggiù sta formicolando tanta gente. Da questo punto si vede in verità che razza di rettili è la gente*![126] Marinetti però, arrivato sopra i Giardini del Vaticano, vede col disprezzo il *Papa, carceriere della terra (...) / sorcio mostruoso delle fogne del cuore, / vecchio scarafaggio nutrito d'immondizie,.../ battaglio di campana funerea*, poi: *Dalla mia altezza ti vedo guazzare / come un'anitra gigantesca / nella scarlatta pozzanghera dei cardinali, / e poi entrare in uno stagno violetto di vescovi, / e poi troneggiare in un gran letamaio / di monaci e di preti... / Intorno a te s'affollano i corvi tuoi fratelli, / nei fuligginosi giardini del Vaticano.... / ... Sono io, sono io che precipito / dall'alto sulle vostre sudanti tonsure* ![127]

La Sua Santità del papa è *L'esca aerea* della folla laggiù dei soldati e del popolo pietoso. Il Pontefice è il simbolo di Dio, arriva come "Deus ex machina", come una pioggia o temporale, dall'alto. Marinetti qui predice il futuro Concordato, prima quello Lateranense fra il Vaticano e il Governo Italiano, poi fatto nel 1933 fra il Governo fascista tedesco e Cardinale Pacelli, il



Fig. 26. Dottori: *Aeroritratto del pittore*, Fototeca di MTA/ MKI: B. 3413

futuro Pio XII. Marinetti gli fa vedere quella gente: *Scavalco, a volo, rapidamente / il vostro grande esercito in fuga.... / File innumerevoli di schiene piegate, / frustate dalla paura, arrestatevi! /...../ Guarda: tutto l'altipiano è selciato, / bellamente, di faccie accalcate / che contemplano il cielo. // Tutto l'esercito, a bocca aperta, / aspetta il tuo ser-mone... / ... della montagna, davvero! /... / Sua Santità, che io faccio dondolare / sopra le vostre teste, vi darà / fra poco la santa benedizione. / Dalle sue mani, la vittoria / pioverà sull'esercito!*[128] Questa visione è simile alle manifestazioni e celebrazioni obbligatorie per i membri del regime comunista-socialista di una dittatura, p. es. di China o del periodo del Stalinismo in Russia. Durante a queste manifestazioni gli abitanti diventano dall'altezza del podio celebrato, veramente formiche o piccoli puntini del tessuto di una massa governata fluttuante, costituente una tela o un quadro bidimensionale negli occhi elevati dell'osservatore, del Domine governatore.

Gli esseri umani visti dall'alto si astratizzano lo stesso, diventano oggetti di una natura morta, illuminati da un fascio di luce lasciata accesa, tazze di birra lasciate sulla tavola della piazza: *Ecco là i vasti cappelli schiumosi / delle cocottes, / grandi tazze di birra fresca e traboccante, / nella luce cruda, / sulla tovaglia bianca di quella piazza....*[129]

La luce trionfante sulla notte gioca con le figure, con le visioni e allucinazioni delle ombre: *...Quelle forme nere / sono falene allucinate dalle lampade, / o sorci furtivi allettati / dal formaggio a mille buchi di quella casa.... / Più lontano, in fondo a quella piazza, / vedi quel ventaglio frene-tico d'ombre nere..../ Sono strilloni che vendono ali bianche ai passanti!*[130]

La fluttuazione dell'intera massa con il potere dinamico irresistibile e inarrestabile è descritta da Marinetti come "un'oceano umano", simile alle aeropitture del Tato (*Dinamismo di folla*[131] e *L'assalto*, di Menin (Fig. 27) e del Depero: *Subway*, *Folla ai treni sotterranei*. Non è per caso che le rappresentazioni delle battaglie son fatte vedere da un alto punto di vista. Sul quadro rappresentante una battaglia dipinta da Altdorfer, per esempio *le singole figure, gli individui perdono la loro indipendenza o autonomia, ma l'insieme ha però un aspetto gigantesco. Il significato dell'individuo sparisce, mentre la collettività ambisce all'onnipotenza.*[132] L'opera già menzionata del Depero unisce la massa turbinosa nella sotterranea vista dall'alto e la circolarità della composizione "*vorticista*" in una composizione dinamica. *La folla rotola monotona, oscuramente, / le sue masse pullulanti / e le sue voluminose colate! / Trecentomila operai, / fiume immenso di cappelli di paglia / dai fulgori metallici sotto gl'inaffiatoi / abbondanti e troppo azzurri / delle lampade elettriche!...*[133]

La folla è come l'acqua ondeggiante, come un flusso, come il mare, come l'oceano, come una vortice immensa: *Non v'è modo di correre, entrando, / per quanto affascini e attiri / il fragore del mare umano / che s'allarga gaudioso nell'immensa arena. / La crepitazione delle lampade elettriche / che s'accaniscono a imbellettare le muraglie / di indaco e di gesso abbagliante / esaspera la folla ribollente.*[134]

Marinetti – con *l'aspetto ridicolo d'un uccello appollaiato su un albero..., sta arringando i pesci che girano nei vortici / d'un fiume.... Voi siete nell'acqua sorda / della folla, mentre io sono in cielo !* [135] – è sempre dominatore grazie al suo punto di vista elevata.

L'immagine seguente presenta la folla come un tessuto colorato, come un gran pezzo di seta

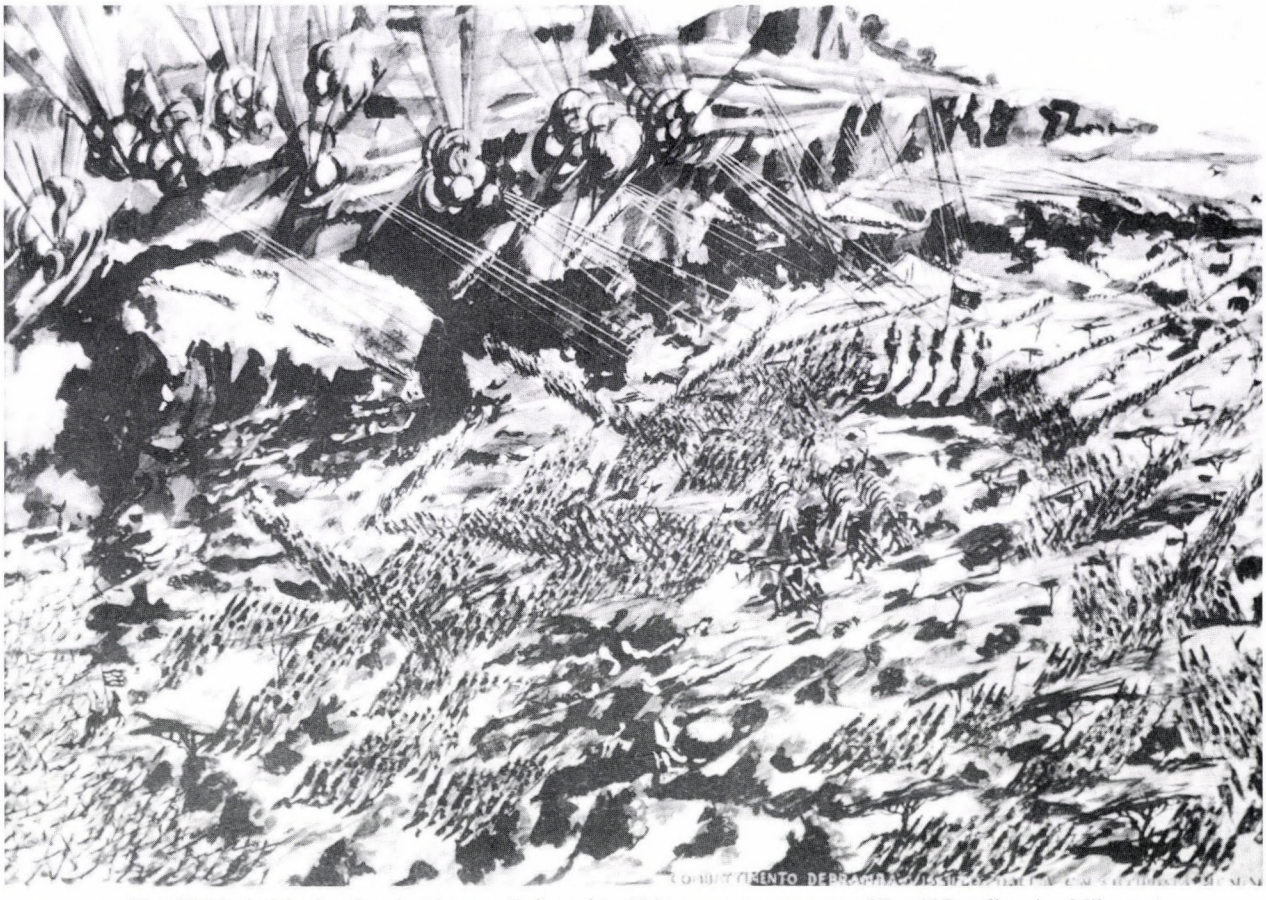

Fig. 27. Mario Menin: *Combattimento Debrambà*, 1936, tempera su carta, 80 × 120, coll. priv., Milano

elastica della superfice del mare, oppure una mobigliatura, o un materasso immenso: *Ecco la folla, ocellata di vecchi capelli di paglia / dai nastri neri che fingono / gli amoerri elastici del mare! / Ecco l'immenso materasso / delle forze popolari, vivo e sordido, / e sfondato, e sventrato.... / Ed ecco la sua imbottitura: / canape, lana, cotone, peli e capelli, / carne sudante, stupidità, / e tutto questo sprizza da mille fori...*[136] La visione ultima riferisce anche al conoscuto gioiello di vetro fuso tipico veneziano, più precisamente di Murano, di *Millefiori* colorato.

Nell'altro momento, la folla diventa un *brulicare di vermi*: *Bisogna che quest'arena s'inclini ad un tratto / come un'immensa brocca piena di vino sanguinante / sulla frontiera, e l'inondi! / La Guerra! La Guerra!*[137] – al che i giovani studenti rispondono con il motto futurista della guerra: *La guerra cambierà tutto, completamente! / Guerra vuol dire officine chiuse, aria aperta*[138], poi essi esaltano e lodano l'aeroplano futurista, il simbolo dell'idea della guerra, della ribellione e del futuro: *Gloria al monoplano futurista! / Gloria agli operai guerrieri! / Morte ai pacifisti!... Passati come sabbia / attraverso il vaglio tumultuoso della folla! / Gettaci il tuo vecchio papa!...*[139]

Arena, amfiteatro, circo o il Colosseo

La visione della folla nell'arena descritta e disegnata prima, si completa con l'immagine della città che assomiglia ad un *formidabile arsenale* (Fig. 28). Palermo *appari da lungi... / come un formidabile arsenale / difeso a destra e a sinistra dalle mura dei monti. / Quella tua lunga strada in pendìo che si tuffa nel mare, / fa con la doppia linea delle sue bianche terrazze / un enorme cantiere, / su cui può scivolare la dreadnought ideale / che sgombra l'orizzonte! / Giù nella strada profonda l'andirivieni febbrile / dei calefati, e su in alto il lacerarsi soave / delle brezze color di rosa!*[140]

Nel corso del capitolo precedente abbiamo già visto com'è il rapporto entro la visibilità della

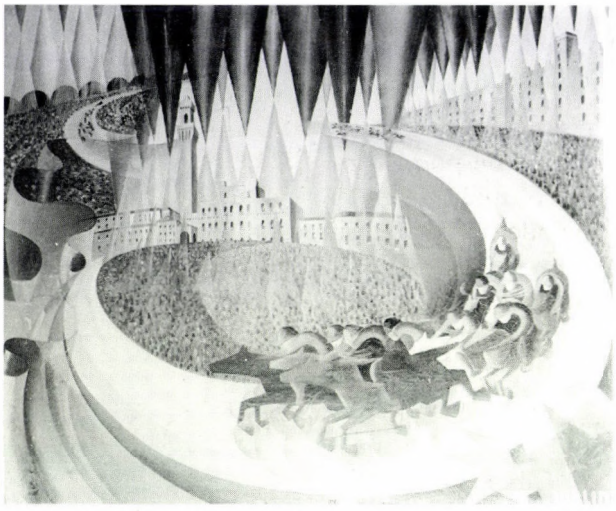

Fig. 28. Corrado Forlin: *Splendore simultaneo del Palio di Siena*, 1937, olio su tela, 130 × 150, coll. priv., Venezia

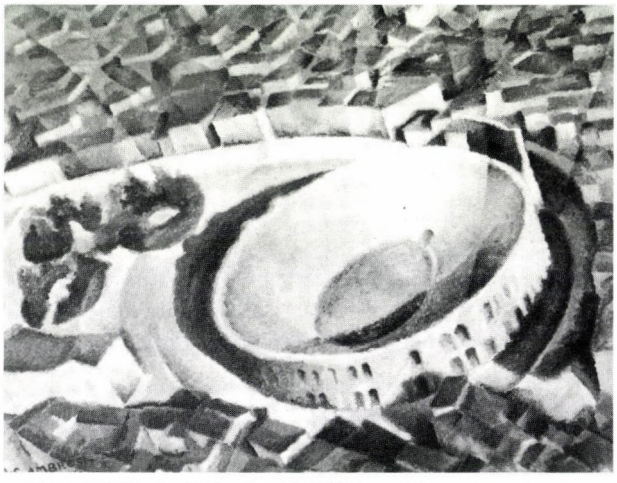

Fig. 29. Alfredo G. Ambrosi: *L'Arena*, 1931, olio su legno, 50 × 62, coll. Italo Balbo, adesso: coll. priv., Roma



Fig. 30. Tato: *Sorvolando in spirale il Colosseo*, c. 1931, olio su tela, 80 × 80, coll. priv., Roma

massa e la formazione, lo stato del cerchio (o circo) di un'arena, simile al campo visivo di un panorama. I motivi dell'arena, il teatro, l'amfiteatro, il cerchio e lo stadio sono manifestazioni o fenomeni inversi dei cerchi o semicerchi delle vedute panoramiche. Nel caso dei panorami o ciclorami tradizionali, cioè nel caso della cosiddetta *visione totale*, l'osservatore o "circo-guardante" sta nel centro del cerchio chiuso dalla linea dell'orizzonte. Questo punto centrale (l'origo) è idealmente il punto più alto nell'interno del campo visivo o dell'orizzonte (cima di un monte, torre, posta alta, vedetta o belvedere, ecc.). La costruzione delle architetture circolari qui trattate però mette possibile che il punto centrale sia ben visibile da ogni punto distante circostante. Si tratta infatti del cambio del ruolo e la posizione fra lo spettatore e lo spettacolo visto (o veduta). Sulle vedute panoramiche globali (o convesse) il piccolo cerchio al centro indicante la posizione dello spettatore (*place du spectateur*) – che nel circo uguale alla palestra (o palco scenico) – è lasciato vuoto oppure sostituito da una descrizione. Nel caso della costruzione "convessa" del teatro, amfiteatro, circo o dell'arena, è il pubblico a essere in una posizione "scura" (come nel caso di una *camera oscura*) per centralizzare, concentrare e condurre lo sguardo e l'attenzione al centro dell'arena, del palco scenico circolare.[141] Nel primo caso il panorama si comporta come una lente divergente che apre e allarga lo spazio intorno allo spettatore girante al centro, nel secondo caso però si parla di una lente convergente. *Il teatro* ideale *sferico* p. es. di Andor Weininger[142] unisce questi due casi in una costruzione perfetta, ideale e dinamica; nella forma più completa del globo. (L'ungherese Weininger, membro del BAUHAUS, è solo un esempio dei ideatori internazionali del cosiddetto *Teatro Ideale* nei primi decenni del XX. secolo. Vale la pena qui menzionare l'idea falansterica conosciuta descritta da G. Orwell e non dimentichiamo che in Berlino, durante il nazismo anche lo Stadio diventava campo di concentramento.)

Vediamo allora una visione dell'arena descritta da Marinetti: *Guardate: per quella porta / che non può più resistere / la folla s'ingolfa mareggiante e vorticosa, / spremendosi con tanta violenza / che ne sprizzano in alto innumeri biciclette. / Ognuna solleva la sua al disopra del capo, / rovesciata, a ruote all'aria! / Sono le ruote simboliche della velocità ideale / portate in processione lentis-simamente.*[143]

Il motivo diletto nelle aeropitture italiane è quello del Colosseo, insieme all'ippodromo, allo stadio e al circo. Le loro rappresentazioni e le aerofotografie dall'alto rendono possibile che tutto il campo del teatro, sia il pubblico che gli attori, siano percepibili da un solo punto di vista comune.

Come illumina la luce dall'alto i calciatori di uno stadio nell'aeropittura del Dottori, così nell'opera di Ambrosi l'*Arena* (Fig. 29) forma un cerchio quasi completo visto dall'alto.

Sono molto interessanti inoltre le pitture di Tato, *Sorvolando in spirale il Colosseo* (Fig. 30) e di Bosso – *Spiralando sull'Arena di Verona*, nelle quali si unisce il volo spirale e la composizione centrale-concentrica della visione. Tutte le due aeropitture accentuano, già con il loro titolo, il dinamismo della forma spirale, la quale abbraccia il Tempo e lo Spazio in una composizione circolare, diciamo della quarta dimensione.[144] Si manifesta così la forma spirale dalle tre dimensioni in una composizione piatta, in una forma circolare, rotonda, che è infatti la sua proiezione di due dimensioni.

Dapprima – come l'abbiamo visto – solo il motivo raffigurato del Colosseo forma un cerchio al centro dell'immagine. L'inquadratura della composizione di Tato, essendo un quadro regolare, è già una forma geometrica regolare; centrale. Le opere di Bosso però, sono completamente circolari, nell'ultima manca anche il motivo stesso concreto. È la città stessa che diventa una ruota, ad un disco vorticoso rotativo, dando un effetto del volo spiralico sopra la città...

Spirale, serpentina, scala a elica e vortice

Il movimento dinamico a spirale, *il trapano accanito della battaglia che scava in tondo*, la serpentina che porta sulla cima dei monti, il turbine, l'elica vorticosa e la scala a chiocciola; tutti sono i componenti fondamentali delle visioni descritte nelle aeropoesie e dipinte nelle aeropitture[145] (Fig. 31). Questo moto rappresenta in modo più adeguato il movimento dinamico verticale che porta verso l'alto, verso il cielo. Attraverso quel movimento spirale diventa la composizione circolare più dinamica, anzi, più elevante. Per Balla la spirale è presente sulle sue composizioni già fin dagli anni '10: *La linea della velocità astratta* (1914, Coll. Aldobrandini, Roma).

Marinetti intanto s'innalza, *seguendo le spirali d'un gran cirro color di rosa*[146] come sale – similamente *A* (una) *foglia morta* – Tullio Crali sopra la città: *Sotto i miei piedi, le montagne che guardo / verticalmente, / con le lor cime granulose e gron-danti / d'una poltiglia rossastra, sembrano / colossali grumi di sangue staccati dal sole, / fantastico gomitolo di cadaveri / roteante nell'infinito.... / Dove vai, nuvola occidentale, / che porti a tracolla l'ultimo tuo raggio rosso, / come un fucile insanguinato, / e le tue colline purpuree, rigonfie / come carnieri pieni di selvaggina?... / Io salgo sempre più in alto, da gradino a gradino, / come si sale una scala gigantesca.*[147] *E poi ritorno indietro, involandomi / verso i chiari ossami dei monti / che i trapani accaniti della battaglia / scavano in tondo.*[148] È sempre il movimento dinamico collegato alla guerra, a comporre la visione, rotolandola e costituendo così un movimento simultaneo di cui componenti (vettori) sono così orizzontali come pure verticali. E appunto questa caratteristica è la caratteristica speciale e propria del movimento spiralico (di un'elica, di una scala a chiocciola, una vortice, ecc).

Si potrebbe illustrare e dimostrare graficamente come crea un movimento costante e perpetuo di rotazione (*Splendore simultaneo del Palio di Siena* (Fig. 28)), un movimento spirale di tre dimensioni, in dipendenza del tempo. Non è un caso comunque che Marinetti, nei suoi versi, diciamo, di "ars poetica", s'identifica di cuore con l'elica: *Son fuso col mio monoplano / sono il trapano enorme, ronzante, / che fora la scorza pietrificata della notte. / Più forte! Più forte! ... In tondo, bisogna scavare / e profondamente, in questa fibra nera / cementata dai secoli! / Dovrò forse ancora / per molto tempo sbattere le ali / Come un avoltoio inchiodato sulla porta del cielo? / Questo punto resiste? Cer-*



Fig. 31. Riccardo Müller-Dénes: *Spiralata bellica*, 1932, olio su tavola, 41 × 33, coll. priv., Roma

chiamo più in alto! Infrangiamo / la triste vetrata dell'alba giallente!... / Elica! Elica forte del mio cuore monoplano! / Trivello formidabile, entusista e prepotente! / Non senti scricchiolare le esecrabili tenebre / sotto il tuo sforzo tagliente?[149]

La lotta si continua finché... – arrivando di nuovo alla forma circolare dell'orizzonte e del Sole componante in tondo la visione: *Un grande sfacelo di porpora empie lo spazio / sull'arco illimitato dell'orizzonte, / e il Sole, enorme frutto succoso, / balza subitamente con gioia radiosa / fuori dal guscio molliccio dell'ombra!...*[150]

Nei versi citati predomina un movimento fortemente dinamico. Innanzitutto c'è il movimento spirale vorticoso derivante dall'elica oppure dalla virata spiralica dell'aereo, poi, dopo il *grande sfacelo*, con l'apparizione del disco immenso e brillante del sole, è di nuovo il cerchio, la forma della ruota o l'arco dell'orizzonte ad abbracciare la visione.

Naturalmente non manca questo dinamismo centrale e circolare neppure alle pitture contemporanee, anzi, lo prende una parte sempre più importante all'iconografia e nella composizione di queste aeropitture: le pitture di Dottori, *Sorvolando in spirale il Colosseo* di Tato (Fig. 30), *Aerocaccia* di Tullio Crali, di Depero, e di Balla (Fig. 3), ecc., inoltre di altre aeropoesie, di poesie visive e delle parole in libertà: *L'elisse e la spirale* di Buzzi, *Cavalcando il Sole* del Cavacchioli, *Looping the Loop* di Bétuda e l'*Atleti dell'aria* del Soggetti...

Fasci e cerchi di luce

La luce che getta per terra i suoi raggi dall'alto si comporta come un'ascia: *Arrota le tue ascie, o Luce della battaglia, / e taglia la carne ruvida delle mura, / e ammucchia le tue colossali fascine di sarmenti, / per meglio appiccar fuoco / alle arruffate capigliature dei giardini!*[151] Nei versi di Marinetti sono i raggi del Sole a mettere un ordine "geometrico" nella capigliatura assonnata dei villaggi.

I raggi delle sorgenti naturali di luce (la Luna, il Sole ecc.) sono domati, sparsi o concentrati, anzi – mediante il potere vittorioso e artificiale dei riflettori e delle lampade elettriche –, sono vinti dalle pennellate dei futuristi. L'azione romantica sorvegliante della Luce che fa da madre è ridicola e miserabile per i futuristi: *In-*

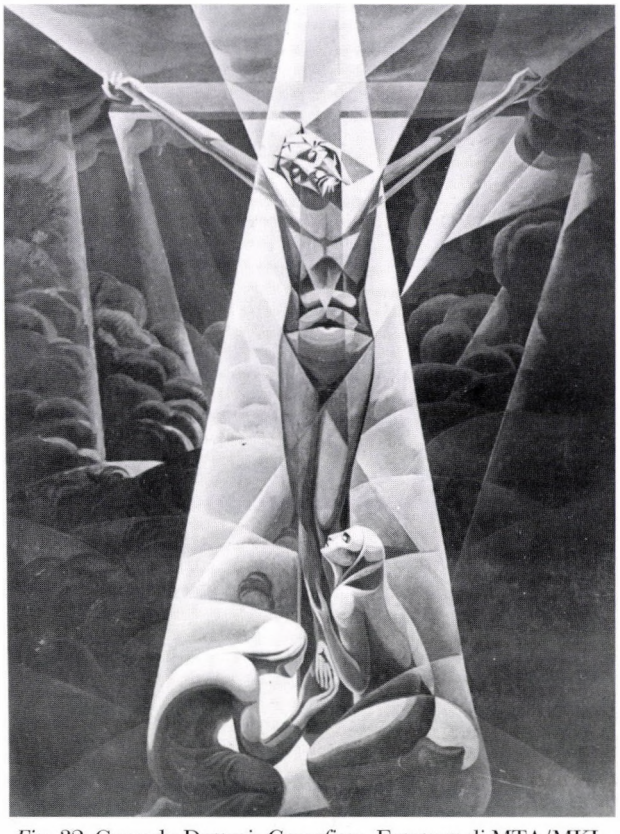

Fig. 32. Gerardo Dottori: *Crocefisso*, Fototeca di MTA/MKI: B.3411

vano, invano la luna vi accarezza, beffandovi / con le sue lunghe derisioni di luce! / Invano, invano la luna allunga il braccio lucente / del suo raggio più lascivo, per scoprire / la nudità dormente e sospirante dei fiumi! / Oh! luna triste, sonnolenta e passatista, / che vuoi mai ch'io mi faccia / di quelle meschine pozzanghere rimaste dal diluvio?! / Io ti cancello d'un tratto, accendendo / il mio bel riflettore dall'ampio raggio elettrico, / più nuovo, più bianco del tuo!... / S'abbandona il mio raggio sulle terrazze, / inonda i balconi in amore, / e fruga negli offerti lettucci delle vergini....[152]

Due diversi punti di vista rivaleggiano. Uno, smagliante e splendido, rappresentante quello della Luna passatista, romantica, malinconica, triste, miserabile, accarezzante, dolce, affascinante, incantevole e magica; l'altro invece splendente per la gloria del Futuro, insieme alla tecnica, al dinamismo e la velocità del Presente che è *il disco*, il cerchio del raggio di luce elettronico, il quale è diretto con superiorità contro alla luce debole della Luna. Questa forza dinamica della luce elettrica viene usata anche come com-

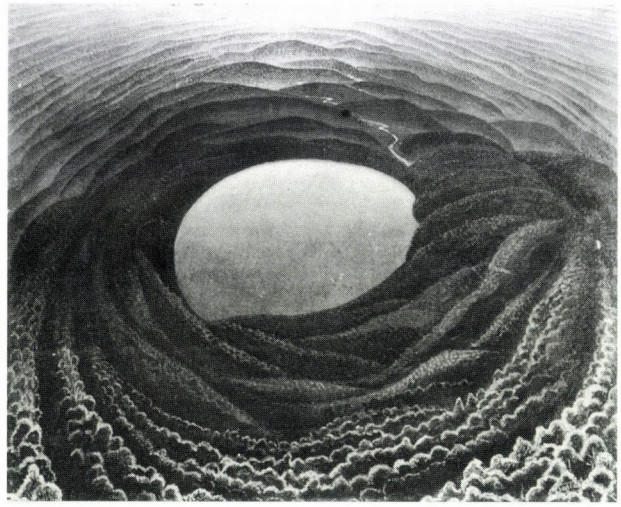

Fig. 33. Gerardo Dottori: *Lago umbro*, c. 1942, olio su cartone, 45 × 55, coll. priv., Perugia

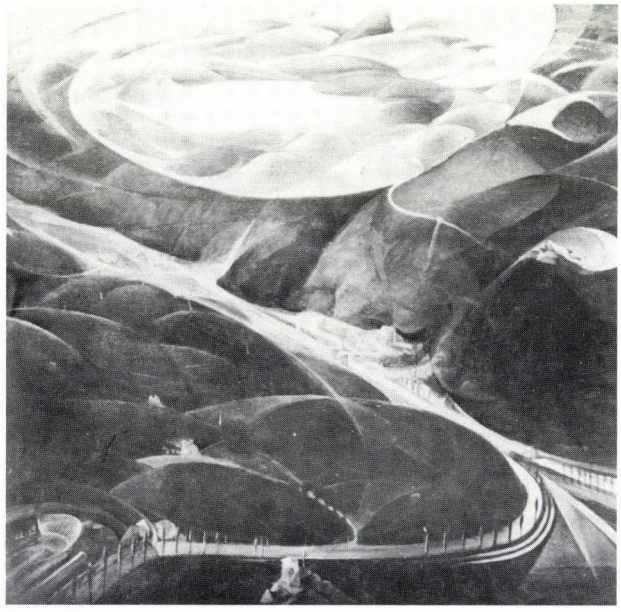

Fig. 34. Giuseppe Preziosi: *Paesaggio umbro*, XIX. Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte di Venezia, 1934. XII.; Fototeca dell'ASAC della Biennale, Foto Giacomelli Venezia, N.701; MTA/MKI Fototeca, B.3538

posizione, come una certa coesione unificatrice, sintetizzatore e rilevante circolare o rotonda nelle aeropitture p. es. del già citato Dottori (e v. anche le opere del *Lucismo* russo, l'*Orfismo*, Kupka; Delaunay, Ciurlionis e Moholy-Nagy).

Il fascio di luce arrivante dall'alto può dare un aspetto, un'aura sacrale alla visione (Fig. 32).

Laghi, centralità e rispecchiamento

Il fascio di luce può diventare anche un fonte scherzoso del rispecchiamento e della trasparenza (Fig. 33–34). Le visioni più geniali, originali ed estetici delle aeropitture degli anni Trenta rappresentanti la riflessione reciproca dei laghi (spesso vulcanici) e del cielo, sono quelli dell'aeropittore umbro, Gerardo Dottori (Fig. 33). I laghi dipinti dal Dottori sembrano essere lenti fotografiche, di tipo convergente, le quali concentrano circolarmente i monti, le valli ed i fiumi circonvicini. Sulla superficie di questi laghi però, sono proiettati le nuvole *dell'acqua* (cioè della superficie inversa) *del cielo*. Vediamo un altro modo di esprimere questo effetto doppio di specchio dei laghi o dell'acqua, nelle opere di Meschini[153] e di Alimandi,[154] nelle quali non si sa già se sia il lago a rispecchiare il cielo, o al contrario; oppure due laghi o "due cieli" siano visibili ecc.: *Il mare: innumeri schiere / di donne turchine che si vestono!... / Vedo la schiuma delle loro gracili nudità intrecciante, / chine a bere l'ultima inebbriante sorsata di luce / nel tondo deserto del cielo!*[155]

I volti della città

Per arrestarmi, le città
levano altissime le loro braccia di pietra....
e poi svaniscono, rase
dalla falce azzurra di quel fiume ricurvo![156]

Se vogliamo abbracciare con la vista – con l'espressione propria: *per un colpo d'occhio* – una città, considerendola un micro- o macrocosmo naturale, p. es. in una carta geografica, allora si accentua il suo aspetto globale o centrale derivante sempre dal modo di comporre della visone dall'alto.

1. Roma passatista – "splendore geometrico"

Nel capitolo quinto (*La pesca della Gran Foca verniciata*), volando sopra la Campagna romana, Marinetti costata: *Più stupida d'una tacchina, la Campagna romana / fa la ruota sotto di me.*[157]

Durante la discesa, una città moderna o futurista dà un volto piuttosto costruttivista, ret-

tangolare-geometrico dall'aereo, facendo vedere i suoi grattacieli, le sue torre, i tetti, i ponti, le fabbriche, ecc. (Fig. 1, 7, 12, 35).

Avvicinando la terra però dall'alto, Marinetti non vuole credere ai propri occhi, ma sente l'odore, *un fetore di tomba* di Roma: *Mi chino sulla bussola fino a toccarla col naso, / e non leggo, e non so.... / È Roma, è Roma, questo sepolcrale fetore!... / Roma, la mia capitale!... Roma, immensa topaia, / gran mucchio di cartaccie, lugubremente colonizzato / da migliaia di sorci, di tarli, di scarafaggi ufficiali!*[158]

Guardando orgogliosamente la *città passatista* dall'alto, il poeta-pilota futurista è contento di essere al di sopra della città di Roma terrena: *Mi fermo sopra Roma, all'intersecazione / solenne delle strade celesti, / felice di essere in mezzo al gran popolo / simbolico e mutevole delle Nuvole*[159] Il volo per i futuristi non è meramente una sensazione ottica o visuale derivante dalla visione offerta dall'altezza, ma è accentuatamente *una sensazione*, un'esperienza vissuta della vita... e non della morte, la quale è sempre lasciata giù, diminuita, allontanata dall'impero celeste: *Gli agonizzati occhi vetrati del Vaticano* però / *Sembrano, ora, crani colossali / di mastodonti scomparsi, / o piuttosto gli ossami / d'una catena di monti scarniti. / E che vedo, più in giù?... / Vedo la più putrescente delle paludi / sotto un volo giallastro di zanzare sinistre!... / Palude selciata d'orecchie verdi / di cadaveri annegati.... E tutt'in-torno, / tristi giardini carbonizzati, / il cui terriccio nerastro è imbottito d'ossa e d'escrementi....*[160] La vita di sotto diventa ad un cimitero con abitanti moribondi, agonizzanti, inquadrati nel loro essere bidimensionale, collegato alla superficie della terra.

L'effetto del dondolare del volo dà l'aspetto assonnato alla Città del Vaticano sempre condannato da Marinetti: *Avrai rialzo e ribasso a piacer tuo, / vecchio agente di cambio della Borsa delle anime! / Ecco il cielo che non avesti mai, / per quanto tu l'abbia venduto / in grosso e al minuto, / mille volte, fra i tuoi campanili monotoni, / ciarlatani da fiera, / seduti accanto alle cupole, salva-danai! / Nel salire e nello scendere con me / riprenderai il sonno della tua vecchia coscienza, / assuefatte alle dolcezze dell'altalena.*[161] La composizione della visione unisce simultaneamente l'alto e il basso, e l'immagine snella (dei campanili) e grossa (delle cupole del

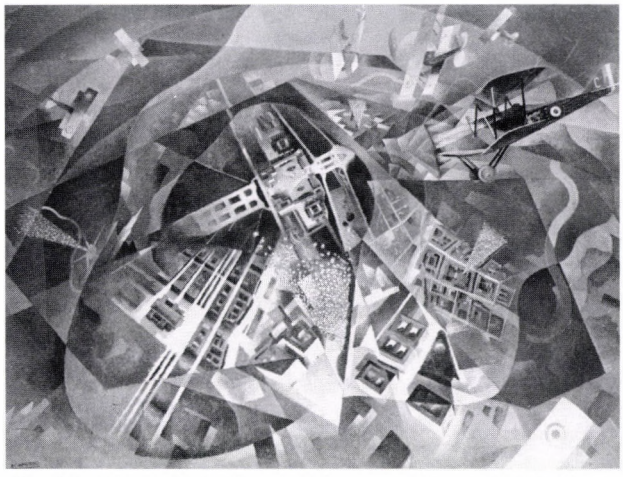

Fig. 35. Alfredo G. Ambrosi: *Volo sopra Vienna*, 1933; olio su tela, 151 × 192, Presidenza della Repubblica, Roma

Vaticano, dell'Impero del Papato): *La cattedrale di San Pietro /...emerge sola, / granchio dal vasto dorso marmoreo / arrotondato a cupola, /che vorrebbe afferrarmi tra le chele colossali, / dei suoi due colonnati.*[162]

Il pilota alato offre allora al Pontefice – al luogo del potere della Terra offerta a Gesù dalla voce del Tentatore sul cima del monte – il potere del Cielo: *Reclamavi il potere temporale ?... / Io ti do ben di più!... Ti do il cielo !... / Ti do un potere assoluto / sui vasti domini degli uccelli, / delle nuvole e delle stelle ! / Ecco il cielo e l'infinito!... Prendi !*[163]

Per un pilota di guerra (come lo furono Marinetti e gli altri aeropoeti e aeropittori), l'immagine della grande città (Fig. 36) assomiglia ad un mucchio d'immondizie disordinato e miserabile, mentre nell'impero elevato del cielo c'è ordine, candore, chiarezza e "pace". Paragonando le composizioni delle città nemiche (come è quella di Vienna (Fig. 35) alle rappresentazioni pittoriche delle grandi città italiane (p.es. di Roma), domina invece quest'ultima: la capitale vincitrice, fiera, lussuosa e acconciata.

2. Grattacielo, torre, cupola e campanile

La geometria costruttiva della prospettiva del volo mette in ordine la confusione prodotta dalla guerra e trionfa sopra anche dei grattacieli (Fig. 37). La prospettiva aerea circolare-concentrica è capace di concentrare-centralizzare, "inceppare" anche la foresta dei grattacieli. In con-



Fig. 36. Roberto Marcello Baldessari: *Spiralata tricolore sopra Roma*, 1923; olio su tela, 100 × 80, coll. priv., Rovereto

fronto di questa composizione, ci sono aeropitture a essere più fedeli alle leggi dell'ottica che avvicinando al punto di vista dell'osservatore (lo spettatore o l'aviatore) allargano la prospettiva, così i paralleli dei grattacieli diventano divergenti (Fig. 1, 7).

I campanili e le torri sono contributi necessari delle città italiane, posseditori del predominio elevato sopra la città. Marinetti offre pure quel dominio al papa: *Ecco il cielo che non avesti mai, / per quanto tu l'abbia venduto / in grosso e il minuto, / mille volte, fra i tuoi campanili monotoni, / ciarlatani da fiera, / seduti accanto alle cupole, salvadanai!*[164]

Similmente alle rappresentazioni pittoriche delle aeropitture e delle aerofotografie, il poema di Marinetti presenta le cupolee e i campanili italiani così: *Le cupole, gonfie pance di giganti, galleggiano / nei vapori violeti del crepu-scolo, / qua e là forati da campanili d'oro, / pugnali dritti che vibrano ancora nelle loro ferite sonore...*[165]

Ogni città dell'Italia ha come attributo almeno una torre di chiesa e un campanile e abbastanza spesso anche una cupola che sono illustrati dalle aeropitture (Fig. 36).

Le torri di Babele della vita moderna emergono e – in confronto della forza di gravità – aspirano a conquistare il cielo. È comprensibile così che – evitando lo scorto, cioè il diminuire o l'accorciatura umiliante della vista dall'alto – bisogna accentuare la vista frontale, il prospetto laterale o il profilo di esse.

3. Vie, piazze e tetti

Per il papa – sacra preda del Marinetti – è abbastanza insolito *di volare sospeso, a questo modo, / sulla crudele foresta dei tetti, / sui loro colossale denti di sega, / sui loro energici pendii dalle braccia tese / verso gli abissi delle strade, / peschiere in cui guizzano le lampade elettriche / prese tra i fili loquaci del telefono....*[166]



Fig. 37. Gino Simonetti: *Sagittari FIAT*, Fototeca di MTA/MKI: B. 3603

Marinetti vuole alzarsi sempre più *In alto! Nel cielo più alto! Ecco m'appoggio / sulle elastiche leggi dell'aria... / Ah! Ah! Son già sospeso a picco sulla città / e sul casalingo disordine / dei suoi palazzi disposti come utile mobilia.... / Ora dondolo appena come una lampada accesa / sulla piazza centrale, tavola apparecchiata / dai numerosi piatti fumanti che si muovon da soli, / fra uno scintilliò di bicchieri / sfilanti elettricamente! / ... ed io salto / da ramo a ramo / sull'enorme foresta illusoria dei fumi / che salgono dalle officine...*[167], vincendo, grazie al volo, la forza della gravità e facendo una sintesi fra il fumo elevante e la sopensione, costituendo così un'unità di due direzioni contrari in una sola visione.

La vista dall'alto qui rivela la disordine intima e familiare della città, la disordine di una natura morta sospesa, priva di gravità, una natura sebbene morta ma molto dinamica, delle luci elettriche *che si muovon da soli*. La rappresentazione delle aureole rotonde delle lampade elettriche, la cosiddetta *compenetrazione* e *simultaneità* degli oggetti illuminati è abbastanza frequente nei dipinti concentrici, "orfici" anche dei primi futuristi, p. es. del Balla (*Lampada ad arco*, 1911–12), e fra i secondi futuristi sopratutto di Gerardo Dottori (Fig. 12).

La composizione dell'aeropittura di Franco Costa e di Forlin è disintegrato; gli edifici sembrano essere deviati o declinati dalla vista dall'alto del pilota. Ambrosi però, solleva la superficie della piazza della città, secondo il punto di vista dell'aviatore, per renderla parallela con la tela del quadro.

Marinetti assomiglia l'immagine della città notturna con la rete telefonica ad *un'immensa tela di ragno, / formata dalle correnti di bava telegrafica, / che s'agganciano, lontano, / a tutti i punti dell'orizzonte....*[168], mentre il Parlamento... *prolunga le sue sedute / in quel palazzo nero, / a cui il lucernario tutto aperto / dà l'aspetto di una damigiana sturata.....*[169]. È sempre un mezzo della tecnica moderna, cioè la rete telefonica a collegare la vita dei cittadini della metropoli, ma anche una visione dinamica di un quadro sia di un'aeropoesia o di un'aeropittura.

Intanto, *fuori da queste mura la guerra circola già come un sangue impetuoso, nelle vie, vene scoppiate dell'Italia.*[170] La guerra *circolante* intor-no alle mure di una città, è una visione originale e propria, aerodinamica del Futurismo. I giovani studenti comunicano sulla situazione bellica della città: *Le finestre e i balconi traboccano di deputati. / Possiamo dunque aprire la seduta all'aria aperta. / La piazza è vasta. Quel monumento / di generale defunto è già carico / di frutta umane chiassose, / bel trionfo da tavola che odora / sulla tovaglia smagliante / tra la pioggia adamantina delle lampade elettriche!... / Quello è il settore degli assassini. // Sui tetti dei tramvai, le prostitute / che già vi stanno arrampicate / faranno vento agli oratori con la flora e le penne / dei loro cappelli tropicali,*[171] dove si manifesta la guerra come simbolo della libertà, con l'aria aperta, finestre aperte, ecc.

Come ogni motivo del poema di Marinetti, così pure l'immagine vista dall'alto della città è subordinata al possesso della guerra trionfante degli aerei dell'aria.

4. Fabbriche, camini e fumaiuoli

Infine, ogni volto o immagine della città visto dal pilota-poeta o dall'aeropittore futurista, attraverso la finestra dell'aereo, rende ridicola l'aria romantica della Luna e i suoi raggi civettuoli, debolmente provocanti: *Forse la luna li strappò alle piramidi, / quei mantelli turchini / che drappeggia sui mucchi di letame e d'ossami / dall'odor caldo, forte e accanito!... / Tu vuoi – non è vero? – abbellirli / di nostalgia comovente, / o stupidissima luna!*[172] / *dal pavimento lucido.... / I suoi isolotti color di rame, / sono chiomati di scintille, come dinamo....*[173]

I panorami e le vedute dei tetti di case (Fig. 12, 20, 35) e delle fattorie assomigliati dal Marinetti alle ali rosse volanti, evocano i soggetti delle prime fotografie: *Destatevi, tranquille fattorie! / Aprite, aprite le ali rosse dei vostri tetti, / per volare con me verso il tuo battito forte, o Sicilia, / nuovo cuore d'Italia, balzato fuori dal suo petto / nello slancio delle conquiste!...*[174]

Alla fine del sesto capitolo Marinetti presenta la grande città fumante di Milano dall'aereo, alla sua *zavorra*, a Sua Santità: *...e fra poco / vedremo spuntare all'orizzonte, / come proboscidi sollevate di elefanti, / i possenti fumaioli di Milano!...*[175] La veduta dei camini e fumaiuoli delle città industriali è un soggetto frequente

anche delle aeropitture futuriste-costruttiviste proclamanti il dinamismo delle metropoli – v. le opere del Fillia e del Tato. Attraverso questi motivi l'aerovisione descritta o dipinta viene dominata dalla composizione dinamica verticale (il fumo salente, le lacrime cadute, ecc.)

Il settimo capitolo (*I sindacati pacifisti*) descrive l'assedio del *grasso fumo viscoso che sta per dare l'assalto alla fragile luna e per insudiciarne le diafane mani, tutte ingemmate di lagrime puree*[176]: *Mi dondolo su tre fabbriche / di concimi azotati e di nero animale.... / Le vedete?... Vi amo, forti officine, accosciate / su leve e bascule invisibili, / che spingete sempre più in alto / le grandi balle d'un fumo massiccio!... / Ma sì, sputate dunque, a bocca piena, / contro quella luna testarda e maniaca, / che vuole imporvi i suoi travestimenti egiziani! / Ah! ah! S'è divertita a coprire / i vostri fumaiuoli / di vecchie pelli d'obelischi!... Che schifo!*[177]

Si vede adesso un'immagine inversa del mondo, dove – attraverso la visione dall'alto – sono belle le fabbriche e gloriosi i fumaiuoli ed è la Luna a diventare infine schifosa.

La tomba dei papi

Il titolo dell'ultima parte è *La battaglia di Monfalcone o la tomba dei papi.* Il panorama della battaglia è molto sensitivo (Fig. 27, 38) col ritorno di una visione orizzontale derivante dal piatto superficie sanguinante della battaglia: *Bizzarramente passeggiano al largo / quattro pontoni imbottiti di fieno e letame // Sembrano lembi di praterie strappati / dalla violenza d'un torrente, / che vadano alla deriva....// Sulla spiaggia, più lontano, / ecco i sanguinolenti macelli, / vaste zattere violacee e purpuree / che beccheggiano sotto il peso schiacciante / ed i flosci sussulti / delle bestie sventrate che uomini rossi / stanno squartando / in mezzo al flusso e riflusso del sangue.*[178]

L'immagine della battaglia navale dà uno spettacolo rosso dal sangue, ma invece di essere tragico, quello spettacolo è piuttosto vivo, comico e ridicolo, similmente alle metafore e paragoni delle visioni dinamiche seguenti: *Gli automobili dei generali / simili a torpediniere avvolte nella nebbia // O lunghe strade gessose, mostruosi serpenti.... / vedo passare pei vostri corpi anellati / gli automobili ingoiati, / simili a veloci bocconi che scendano! / Eccone uno che preme duramente / quella strada nerastra, simile a un sanguinaccio / tra le frenetiche dita delle sue ruote, / per farne sprizzar fuori / un ripieno di polvere lattiginosa e arricciata. // La campana, rigata da lunghe file militari, / come un'immensa lira dalle corde policrome, / vibra tutta ai pizzicati di mille automobili!...*[179]. Il dinamismo intensifica dai suoni "policromi" manifestanti visualmente, in modo molto sensitivo.

L'immagine concentrica dei soldati intorno ai pozzi ricompone, unisce, abbraccia di nuovo la veduta della *campana rigata da lunghe file militari* e dei *mostruosi serpenti* delle *lunghe strade gessose*, in una forma o composizione rotonda: *I soldati s'accalcano intorno ai pozzi / come farfalle intorno alle lampade.*[180]

Dapprima Marinetti voleva porre il Papa sulla cima del Castello di Miramare di Trieste, ma invece di elevare il Pontefice verso il cielo, lo butta piuttosto nel mare, nominandolo il sovrano dei pesci. Gli cede finalmente solo l'abisso profondo, invece di dargli l'altezza.

Sono infine *I pescicani becchini* a sepellire Sua Santità nel fondo del mare Adriatico, e Marinetti si sente ad un tratto *liberato dalla sua zavorra; / leggiero, libero e possente!...*[181]

Conclusione

La poesia e la pittura del futurismo – insieme all'aeropoesia e all'aeropittura – voleva trionfare con il suo punto di vista superiore sul romanticismo (con il pilota-poeta D'Annunzio, l'ultima pietra di confine del romanticismo e l'antenato nello stesso tempo del movimento dell'Aeropoesia e Aeropittura del futurismo) e in senso lato, anche sul mondo intero. Marinetti invece non si attiene alle sue proprie teorie, né nello stile, né nelle idee, nemmeno in tantissime altre cose... In base ai manifesti e all'uso della parola, la luce sentimentale della Luna non ha nemico più grande del Marinetti... *Evidentemente vuole uccidere la luce della Luna, ma sotto il gesto distruttore c'è la passione fanatica vecchia romantica.* – scrive Czobor[182] dal punto di vista contemporaneo.

Ágnes Czobor, allora giovane studiosa ungherese del futurismo in 1938 si manifesta però

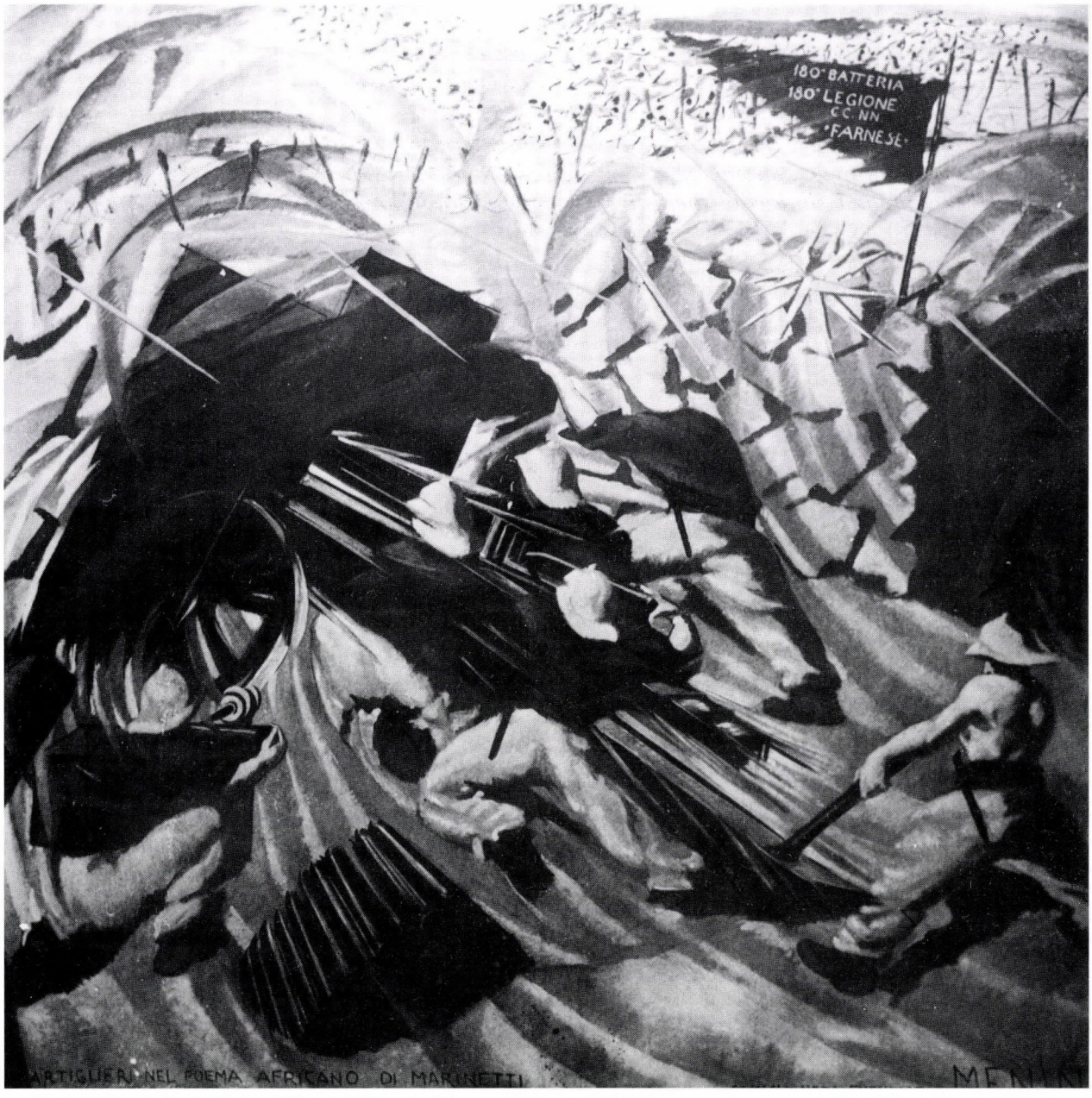

Fig. 38. Mario Menin: *Gli artiglieri del Poema africano di Marinetti*, 1938, tempera su carta, 140 × 140, coll. priv., Milano

in modo ambivalente, ma quest'ambivalenza illustra molto bene la situazione d'Ungheria fra le due guerre e il nostro orientamento ambivalente verso l'Italia e verso l'arte italiana. La mia scelta di far presentare il futurismo attraverso pure lo sguardo allora contemporaneo di Czobor è fatta a scopo di paragonare le diverse e bipolari punti di vista italo-ungheresi, sia nel campo artistico, sia in campo ideologico e politico fra le due guerre. Spetta a un saggio futuro analizzare e paragonare questi rapporti fra i due paesi, stati amici. Troviamo però qui necessario a menzionare il *Novecentismo* ungherese facendo un riferimento in noce all'influenza d'Italia sull'Ungheria.

Come abbiamo già menzionato, in Italia il Futurismo aveva due direzioni entro o fuori dell'influsso del Novecentismo generale – una col tematica sacrale-cattolica e l'altra neoclassica e imperiale-fascista –, così l'Ungheria ha trovato una soluzione accettabile nell'arte italiana fra le due guerre, creando la cosiddetta *Scuola di Roma* diretta da Tiberio Gerevich – promotore di un programma artistico del Novecentismo un-

gherese nell'Accademia D'Ungheria a Roma e commissario di governo della Biennale di Venezia –, in tematica cattolica ma come movimento artistico abbastanza conservativo. Bisognerebbe esaminare nel futuro più dettagliatamente, cosa significava in Ungheria negli anni Venti e Trenta la strada particolare italiana nell'arte, dal punto di vista di uno Stato totaliariato fra il fascismo e cattolicesimo. Il futurismo non essendo un movimento politico anzi, né fascista, ma artistico e ideologico, poté collegare le ambizioni imperialistiche con il Neoclassicismo (v. l'architettura imperialista a Roma, p. es. di EUR) e il Novecentismo così in Italia come in Ungheria. La nostra *Scuola di Roma* novecentista indicava così una via d'uscita dal fascismo, dal nazismo, anzi, senza cadere sotto l'influenza del Realismo socialista.

L'altra strada o aspetto peró del futurismo o del Novecento, soprattutto nell'arte, determinava o formava in Ungheria un'orientamento verso a sinistra, che accettava formalmente, ma non ideologicamante il linguaggio moderno del futurismo italiano ricercato e fatto conoscere da Czobor. Quest'orientamento s'incorporava nel movimento del cosiddetto *Attivismo* partorito da Lajos Kassák (con i giovani artisti attivisti: Béla Uitz, Sándor Bortnyik, József Nemes-Lampérth, Moholy-Nagy, ecc.), già fin dal periodo del *primo futurismo* italiano, sotto l'influenza anche dell'avanguardia europea.

Nel corso di questo studio abbiamo avuto l'intenzione di analizzare in primo luogo non i mezzi poetici del poema di Marinetti, ma sopratutto i mezzi visuali-pittorici, cioè le visioni e le immagini viste dall'alto, descritte o presentate dell'opera. Il nuovo punto e modo di vista del futurismo è quello dell'aereo; un modo sintetico e simultaneo del vedere, del componare e del concentrare il mondo circostante.

La visione dall'alto, insomma, non è soltanto un modo di vedere, ma anche un modo di percepire, un modo di pensare, un modo di comporre, un linguaggio e praticamente un modo di esprimersi, un'ideologia intera.

APPENDICE:

PER UNA CRONOLOGIA DEL VOLO E DELL'AEROPITTURA FUTURISTA

1903 Volo del monoplano di Wilbur Wright
1910 Intervista con D'Annunzio: *Per il dominio dei cieli*, (Milano, 10 febbraio); La pittura *La città che sale* del Boccioni
1910–11 Delaunay: *Torre d'Eiffel* (pittura simultanista)
1911–12 Guerra di Libia – Italia è la prima a usare aerei da ricognizione nel bombardamento dei campi Turco-Arabo.
1911 Volo "Parigi-Roma" di André Beaumont
1912 Guerra Bulgaro-Turco; Marinetti: *Le monoplan du pape* (in francese); *Il Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista*. Delaunay: *Finestre*; Larionov: *Lucismo rosso;*
1913 *Coppa di* (Jacques) *Schneider*; Pitture suprematiche di Malevich
1914 Scoppio della prima guerra mondiale – successi in volo di Francesco Baracca; "conquista del cielo/dell'aria" menzionato dal Boccioni in: *Pittura e Scultura Futurista (Dinamismo plastico)*; Si costituisce il Gruppo *Nuove Tendenze*, a Milano
1915 Manifesto di *Ricostruzione Futurista dell'Universo* di Balla e di Depero
1916 *Movimenti di uccelli* di Depero
1917 Fondazione della rivista (di Evola, Fiozzi e Venna): *Noi* (contatto del Futurismo con Dada); Grosz: *Metropoli*
1918 Volo sopra Vienna di D'Annunzio
1919–22 *Valori Plastici* del *Novecento*
1919 *Il teatro aereo futurista* di Fedele Azari; *Volo di rondini* di Balla o/e (?) *Rondini in volo* Di Cocco; *Grande Mostra Futurista* nel Palazzo di Cova a Milano, organizzata da Marinetti. Nasce il BAUHAUS; El Lissitsky: *Proun I.*
1920 Volo Roma-Tokyo di Arturo Ferrarin
1923 *Aerorumore* di Balla; Ministero di Aereo/dell'Aeronautica/dell'Aviazione – con l'intenzione di unire l'aviazione militare e civile.
1924 Manifesto del Surrealismo
1925 Prampolini a Parigi; Volo del Colonello Francesco De Pinedo
1926 Aeropittura *Prospettive in volo* del pilota/pittore Azari; Fritz Lang: *Metropoli* (film)
1927 Volo famoso "New York-Parigi" dei Fratelli Lindbergh
1928–29 Volo Mediterraneo e volo sopra Europa Centrale di Italo Balbo
1928 Volo di Mario De Bernardi – battente il record di *Coppa Schneider*; Volo Transatlantico Roma-Brasilia di Ferrarin e di Carlo Del Prete; *Manifesto dei pittori circumvisionisti* napoletani e Mostra Collectiva a Capri
1929 Contratto Lateranense fra il Vaticano e il Governo Italiano. *Manifesto dell'Aeropittura* (Giacomo Balla, Benedetta Marinetti, Fortunato Depero, Gerardo Dottori, Fillia, Enrico Prampolini, Mino Somenzi); *Primo dizionario aereo italiano* di Marinetti e Azari; Mostra dei *Circumvisionisti* da Bragaglia, a Roma; G. Dottori: *Circumvisionisti da Bragaglia* (Supple-mento speciale con il Vesuvio, in: *A e Z*, gennaio, no. 17.); Dovgenco: *Arsenale* (film); *Vecchio e nuovo* (film) di Eisenstein; *Uomo con la macchina da presa* (film) di Dziga Vertov
1930 Gruppo "Cercle et Carré" (col Prampolini); scrittura *Oggi e Domani* di Fillia; *La Nuova Pittura Futurista* nella Biennale di Venezia

1931 Gruppo "Abstraction and Creation" (col Prampolini); scrittura del Sironi nel Popolo d'Italaia (31 ottobre); Trionfo di Balbo (Rio de Janeiro); I. Quadriennale di Roma

1933 Trionfo di Italo Balbo (Chicago); *Mostra di Aeropittura e Arte Sacra Futurista* ad Atene (Ambrosi e Crali). Concordato fra il Governo fascista tedesco e Cardinale Pacelli, il futuro Pio XII.

1934 Marinetti presenta gli aeropittori nella XIX. Biennale di Venezia; *Mostra Aeronautica Italiana*, Milano; *Manifesto tecnico dell'Aeroplastica Futurista* (degli artisti milanesi); *Mostra dell'Aeropittura Italiana* nel Palazzo dell'Arte a Milano; *Manifesto Futurista dell'Architettura Aerea*; *Mostra Futurista di Aeropittura* ad Amburgo, poi a Berlino, org. dal Vasari

1935 Guerra in Etiopia. Mostra *Les futuristes italiens* nella Gall. Bernheim a Parigi

1936 Etiopia è possessa dall'Italia. XX. Biennale d'Arte di Venezia, dove i futuristi sono ospitati nel padiglione russo

1937 Picasso: *Guernica*

1938 *Manifesto dell'Aeroscultura* (Gazzetta del Popolo, Torino, 19 febbr.); Mostra di *Aeropittori Futuristi* nella Galleria del Milione; XXI. Biennale d'Arte di Venezia, dove Marinetti presenta *I futuristi aeropittori d'Africa e Spagna*

1939 Scoppio della Seconda Guerra Mondiale; Offensiva d'Italia contro Albania. Patto d'Accaio fra Italia e Germania. III. Quadriennale di Roma che cade nel trentennale del Futurismo, dove i futuristi espongono con gli astrattisti per far fronte contro il Novecento e le restrizioni razziali in arte; *24 Giovani Aeropittori Futuristi* (PEN, Roma, giugno-luglio); Il libro *L'Aero-porto* di Ignazio Scurto

1940 XXII Biennale d'Arte a Venezia, dove Marinetti presenta i futuristi sul tema prefissato dell'aeroritratto simultaneo. Viene pubblicato il catalogo *Aeropoeti Aeropittori di Guerra*

1941 Forlin organizza una mostra commemorativa di Italo Balbo con un catalogo *Futuristi Aeropittori di Guerra*

1. FONTI SCRITTE-LETTERARIE E DOCUMENTI DELL'AEROPITTURA, DEL SECONDO FUTURISMO E DEGLI ANNI TRENTA

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Futuristi Aeropittori di Guerra, Gruppo Futurista Savaré, 9a Mostra di Aeropitture di Guerra, in onore del Trasvolatore Italo Balbo, organizzata sotto gli auspici dell'Ufficio Stampa e Cultura Fascista,Castello Estense, Ferrara

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NOTE

[1] Questo studio fa una parte della mia tesi di laurea scritta in ungherese, col titolo *Contributi alla storia della visione dall'alto nelle arti figurative*, soprattutto da un punto di vista teoretica generale facendo una raccolta delle diverse rappresentazioni d'arte viste dall'alto; e per un altro motivo di far conoscere in Ungheria il movimento futurista dell'aeropittura. Per questo ho trovato importante pubblicare le fonti e i documenti scritti (tradotti da me anche in ungherese) - ma supponibilmente conosciuti in Italia - dell'Aeropittura e del Secondo Fututrismo. Secondo le mie conoscenze però, la più recente pubblicazione in italiano del *L'aeroplano del papa* di Marinetti sia uguale a quella prima del 1914 (Edizioni Futuriste di 'Poesia' Milano).

[2] citato da Agnes Czobor (v. sotto), ma senza indicazioni e dati precisi

[3] Czobor, Ágnes: *Marinetti és a a fututrizmus*, Budapest, 1938, pp. 4–5. (traduzione di Beke Zsófia)

[4] idid. pp. 7–8. (traduzione di Beke Zsófia)

[5] v. in: *Per conoscere - Marinetti e il futurismo*, a cura di Luciano De Maria, Milano, 1977, p. 6.

[6] ibid.

[7] Manifesto di Enrico Prampolini, in.: Salaris, Claudia: *aero...futurismo e mito del volo*, parole gelate, Roma, 1985

[8] Salaris, ibid. p. 17

[9] Salaris, ibid. pp. 17–18.

[10] Czobor, Agnes: *Marinetti és a futurizmus*, op. cit. pp. 8–9. (trad. da B. Zs.)

[11] De Maria, 1977, p. 21.

[12] ibid. pp. 23–26.

[13] ibid. pp. 77–84.

[14] ibid.

[15] ibid.

[16] ibid.

[17] ibid.

[18] ibid. op. cit. pp. 82–83.

[19] ibid. op. cit. pp. 79–81.

[20] v. in: *Mostra futurista di Aeropittura e di scenografia*, 1931, Milano, Galleria Pesaro, (cit., p. 5.) e: Claudia Salaris: *aero... futurismo, e mito del volo*, le parole gelate, Roma, 1985, pp. 16

[21] F. T. Marinetti, dal catalogo della *XIX. Esposizione Biennale d'arte di Venezia* (1934), cit. in.: *Aereo e pittura*, p. 33.

[22] Il manifesto si continua così:

Noi Futuristi dichiariamo che:

1) le prospettive mutevoli del volo costituiscono una realtà assolutamente nuova e che nulla ha di comune con la realtà tradizionalmente costituita dalle prospettive terrestri;

2) gli elementi di questa nuova realtà non hanno nessun punto fermo e sono costruiti dalla stessa mobilità perenne;

3) il pittore non può osservare e dipingere che partecipando alla loro stessa velocità;

4) dipingere dall'alto questa nuova realtà impone un disprezzo profondo per il dettaglio e una necessità di sintetizzare e trasfigurare tutto;

5) tutte le parti del paesaggio appaiono al pittore in volo:

a) schiacciate

b) artificiali

c) provvisorie

d) appena cadute dal cielo;

6) tutte le parti del paesaggio accentuano agli occhi del pittore in volo i loro caratteri di:

a) folto

b) sparso

c) elegante

d) grandioso;

7) ogni aeropittura contiene simultaneamente il doppio movimento dell'aeroplano e della mano del pittore che muove matita, pennello e diffusore;

8) il quadro o complesso plastico di aeropittura deve essere policentrico;

9) si giungerà presto a una nuova spiritualità plastica extra-terrestre.

Nelle velocità terrestri (cavallo, automobile, treno) le piante, le case ecc., avventandosi contro di noi, girando vicinissime le vicine, meno rapide le lontane, formano una ruota dinamica nella cornice dell'orizzonte di montagne mare colline laghi, che si sposta anch'essa, ma così lentamente da sembrare ferma.

Nelle velocità aeree invece mancano questa continuità e quella cornice panoramica. L'aeroplano, che plana si tuffa s'impenna ecc., crea un ideale osservatorio ipersensibile appeso dovunque nell'infinito, dinamizzato inoltre dalla coscienza stessa del moto che muta il valore e il ritmo dei minuti e dei secondi di visione-sensazione. Il tempo e lo spazio vengono polverizzati dalla fulminea constatazione che la terra corre velocissima corre sotto l'aeroplano immobile.

Nella virata si chiudono le pieghe della visione-ventaglio (...) per lanciarsi verticali contro la verticale formata dall'apparecchio e dalla terra. Questa visione ventaglio si riapre in forma di X nella picchiata mantenendo come unica base l'incrocio dei due angoli.

Il decollare crea un inseguirsi di V allargantisi.

Il Colosseo visto a 3000 metri da un aviatore, che plana a spirale, mutan di forma e di dimensione ad ogni istante e ingrossa successivamente tutte le facce del suo volume nel mostrarle.

In linea di volo, ad una quota qualsiasi, ma costante, se trascuriamo ciò che si vede sotto di noi, vediamo apparire davanti un panorama A che si allarga man mano proporzionalmente alla nostra velocità, più oltre un piccolo panorama B che ingrandisce mentre sorvoliamo il panorama A finché scorgiamo un panorama C allargantesi man mano che scompaiono A lontanissimo e B ora sorvolato.

Nelle virate il punto di vista è sempre sulla traiettoria dell'apparecchio, ma coincide successivamente con tutti i punti della curva compiuta, seguendo tutte le posizioni dell'apparecchio stesso. In una virata a destra i frammenti panoramici diventano circolari e corrono verso sinistra moltiplicandosi e stringendosi, mentre diminuiscono di numero nello spaziarsi a destra, secondo la maggiore o minore inclinazione dell'apparecchio.

Dopo avere studiato le prospettive aeree che si offrono di fronte all'aviatore, studiamo gl'innumerevoli effetti laterali. Questi hanno tutti un movimento di rotazione. Così l'apparecchio si avanza come un'asta di ferro doppiamente dentata ingranandosi da una parte e dall'altra coi denti di due ruote che girano in senso opposto a quello dell'apparecchio, e i cui centri sono in tutti i punti dell'orizzonte.

Queste visioni roteanti si susseguono, si amalgamano, compenetrando la somma degli spettacoli frontali.

Noi futuristi dichiariamo che il principio delle prospettive aeree e conseguentemente il principio dell'Aeropittura è un'incessante e graduata moltiplicazione di forme e colori non dei crescendo e diminuendo elasticissimi, che si intensificano o si spaziano partorendo nuove gradazioni di forme e colori. Con qualsiasi traiettoria metodo o condizione di volo, i frammenti panoramici sono ognuno la continuazione dell'altro, legati tutti da un misterioso e fatale bisogno di sovrapporre le loro forme e i loro colori pur conservando fra loro una perfetta e prodigiosa armonia.

Questa armonia è determinata dalla stessa continuità di volo. Si delineano così i caratteri dominanti dell'Aeropittura che, mediante una libertà assoluta di fantasia e un ossessionante desiderio di abbracciare la molteplicità dinamica con la più indispensabile delle sintesi, fisserà l'immenso dramma visionario e sensibile del volo. Si avvicina il giorno in cui gli aeropittori futuristi realizzeranno l'Aeroscultura sognata dal grande Boccioni, armoniosa e significativa composizione di fumi colorati offerti ai pennelli del tramonto e dell'aurora e di variopinti lunghi fasci di luce elettrica.

[23] Czobor, Ágnes: *Marinetti és a futurizmus*, Budapest, 1938. p. 25

[24] Marinetti: *L'aeroplano del papa*, Milano, cit. p. 1.

[25] Poe citato da Marinetti nella *Conquista delle stelle*, 1902 (v. Szabó: *A futurizmus*, p. 215)

[26] *L'aeroplano del papa*, pp. 12–13.

[27] ibid. p. 13.

[28] D'Anna, Giulio: *Aeroplani*, 1931 (ripr. in.: *Mostra Futurista di Aeropittura e di Scenografia*, op. cit.)

[29] *Composizione*, 1936 (ripr. in.: *Omaggio a Casorati, Artisti del '900 italiano*, Gall. Narcisso, 1967, no. 51.)

[30] *Forze di volo nello spazio* (ripr. in.: Salaris, op. cit. p. 28.)

[31] Tato: *Diavolerie di eliche*, 1936 (ripr. in.: *Aereo e pittura...*, op. cit. fig. 190)

[32] il manifesto di Enrico Prampolini, v. Salaris: *aereo...*, p. 17.

[33] ibid. pp. 17–18.

[34] ibid. p. 16.

[35] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 6.

[36] ibid.

[37] ibid. p. 98.

[38] ibid. p. 1.

[39] Caillebotte, Gustave: *Rue Halévy vista dal sesto piano*, 1878, New York, Coll. priv. (ripr.in.: Varnedoe, fig. 252, p. 244); e Caillebotte, Gustave: *Boulevard vista dall'alto*, 1880, Coll. priv., Parigi (ripr. in.: *Caillebotte*, cat., 1994, fig. 48)

[40] 1911, Wuppertal, Von der Hezdt-Museum; ripr. in: *Futurismo e Futurismi*, p. 122.

[41] 1911, Hannover, Kunstmuseum Hannover mit Sammlung Sprengel; ripr. ibid. p. 123.

[42] Salaris, Claudia, op. cit. p. 16.

[43] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 4.

[44] Barbara: *Vomito dall'aereo*, 1938 (ripr. in.: Salaris: *Barbara. Aeropittrice Aviatrice Futurista*, a cura di Claudia Salaris, Ed. Alzaia. fig. 6)

[45] olio su cartone telato, 59,5 × 40 cm, 1938, ripr. in.: *Bar-bara*. ibid., s. d., no. 6.

[46] cf. Giuseppe Colajanni: *L'occhio e il volo, Appunti di medicina aeronautica*, in: *Le vie dell'aria*, 1939–XVII, 28 marzo: *Per quanto inadeguato alle esigenze del volo, l'occhio è l'organo che più facilmente si adatta agli squilibri fisiologici e funzionali che si determinano man-mano che ci si eleva nello spazio, squilibri dovuti ai mutati rapporti con la superficie terrestre e con gli oggetti del mondo esterno, all'elevata velocità dell'aeroplano, all'azione di agenti fisici di varia natura. Tuttavia in particolari contingenze possono manifestarsi dei perturbamenti funzionali o patologici quali da rendere difficile o pericoloso l'esercizio del volo...* etc. L'autore tratta lungamente le conseguenze e gli effetti ottici-visuali causati dall'altivolo: nell'aumentare dell'altezza del volo fino a 1000 metri la superficie della terra si declina finché non si trasformi (otticamente) a una coppa, ecc.

[47] v. in: *Barbara*, op. cit. no. 9.

[48] *L'aeroplano del papa*. p. 193.

[49] *L'aeroplano del papa*. p. 193.

[50] ibid. pp. 200–202.

[51] ibid. pp. 197–199.

[52] ibid. pp. 197–199.

[53] ibid. pp. 200–202.

[54] Masoero, Filippo: *Tonneau*, aerofotografia, 1931 (ripr. in.: *Photographie futuriste*, n. 60, p. 74)

[55] Mori, Marisa: *Ritorno dalle colonie estive* (ripr. in.: *Stile Futurista*, no. 8–9, 1935–XIII, p. 21)

[56] Fillia: *Più pesante dell'aria*, 1933–34 (ripr. in.: *Aereo e pittura*, n. 100)

[57] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 200.

[58] Barbara: *Battaglia aerea*, 1942 (ripr. in.: Salaris: *Barbara*, fig. 16)

[59] nominata così da Marinetti, nel *Stile Futurista*, 1935, maggio, p. 7

[60] Boccioni, 1912, cit. in.: *Manifesto dell'ardentismo nell'aeropittura*, (in: Salaris, p. 30)

[61] Benedetta: *Lirismo del volo* (repr. in.: Averini, 1953, p. 20) e Tano, Bruno: *Respirare il mare volando*, 1931–33 (ripr. in.: *Aereo e pittura*, n. 184)

[62] scrive Marinetti (in: *L'Aéropeinture futuriste, ouvre une nouvelle ère de la peinture*, in: *Stile Futurista*, anno II. maggio 1935, pp. 7–8

[63] Prampolini, Enrico: *La quarta dimensione*, (ripr. in.: Averini, 1953, p. 21); *Il seduttore della velocità*, 1932 k. (ripr. in.: *Aeropittura Arte Sacra Futurista*); *La fabbrica delle emozioni (Immagini radiofoniche)* (ripr. in.: Averini); *Il pilota dell'infinito*, 1932 (repr. in.: Balestieri); *Rarefazione siderale*, 1940 (ripr. in.: *Gli anni del Premio Bergamo*, 1993)

[64] Per il rapporto fra il futurismo e la quarta dimensione vedi: Darlymple-Henderson, Linda: *The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1983; e L. D.-Henderson: *Italian Futurism and "The Fourth Dimension"*, in: *Art Journal*, 1981/41/4.

[65] Diulgheroff: *Aeropittura*, 1932 k. (ripr. in.: *E. Prampolini et les aéropeintres fut...*, 1932, Paris); Abbatecola: *Record di durata*, (ripr. in.: *Stile Futurista*, n. 6–7, 1935–XIII.); Monachesi, Sante: *Velocità-cielo*, 1936 (ripr. in.: *Annitrenta*, n. 5. p. 198); Zucco, Mario: *Composizione*, 1932 k. (ripr. in.: *Aeropittura Arte Sacra futurista*, 1932); Caviglioni: *Esploratore dello spazio*, 1931 (repr. in. Crispolti: *Una presenza concreta*, in: *Notizie Torino*, 1960, p. 10); Crali, Tullio: *Duello aereo*, 1929 (ripr. in.: Calvesi, 1972); Crali, T.: *Lussuria aerea*, 1931 (opera dispersa, ripr. ibid.); Oriani, Pippo: *Paesaggio interplanetario*, c. 1932 (repr. in.: *E. Prampolini et les...*, 1932); Delle Site, Mino: *Viaggi interplanetari*, 1937 (*Mino delle Site*, 1989); Prampolini, E.: *Palombaro dello Spazio (Scaphandrier de l'espace)*, Coll. Comte Emanuele Sarmiento, Paris (ripr. in.: *E. Prampolini et ...*, Paris, 1932); Prampolini, E.: *La maglia della stratosfera*, (ripr. in.: *Aeropittura Arte Sacra Futurista*, 1932); Fillia: *Spiritualità Aerea* (ripr. in.: Averini, p. 21); Fillia: *Spiritualità aerea*, c. 1930 (ripr. in.: *Aereo e pittura*, n. 99.); Munari, B.: Bozzetto per *Ali d'Italia*, 1930 (ripr. in.: *Annitrenta*, p. 182).

[66] Vottero, Elia: *Aeropittura-disintegrazione*, 1933 (ripr. in.: *Aereo e pittura*, n. 197); Peruzzi, Osvaldo: *Conquista dello spazio*, c. 1934 (ripr.: ibid., n. 140); Diulgheroff, Nicolai: *Simultaneità atmosferica*, c. 1934 (ripr. in.: *Aereo e pittura*, n. 76); Fillia: *Mistero aereo*, c. 1931., coll. privata, Torino (ripr. in.: Crispolti: *Il secondo futurismo*, fig. 16)

[67] v. in: *El Lissitzky*, red. di Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers, Dresden, 1967. fig. 84 (80–91)

[68] Tato: *Decorazione per* L'Ala Littoria *a Parigi*, XI. Fiera di Parigi, 1935 (ripr. in.: *Stile Futurista*, N. 10, 1935–XIII., tav. 32.); Benedetta: *Cime arse di solitudine* (ripr. in.: Salaris, p. 26); Pozzo, Ugo: *Le comunicazioni* 1934 (ripr. in.: *Annitrenta*, p. 181)

[69] Crali, Tullio: *Aerocaccia II.*, 1936 (ripr. in.: Coen, p. 51); Crali, T.: *Uomo e cosmo*, 1933 (ripr. in.: *Crali Aeropittore futurista*); Ciacelli, Arturo: *Circuiti Aerei Satelliti* (ripr. in.: Passoni, 1970); Delle Site, Mino: ?, 1932 (ripr. in.: *Mino Delle Site*, Crispolti, 1984)

[70] Diulgheroff, Nicolai: *Composizione*, 1928, Torino, Coll. comm. Pino Falco (ripr. in.: *Aspetti del Secondo Futurismo torinese*, fig. 100); *Trasparenze*, 1928, proprietà dell'artista, Torino (repr. in.: Crispolti: *Il secondo futurismo*, Tav. VI.)

[71] Delaunay, R.: *Forme sferiche* (ripr. in.: Kepes, 1979)

[72] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 18.

[73] Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Roma

[74] ripr. in.: *Stile Futurista*, no. 8–9, 1935–XIII. Tav. 20.

[75] ripr. in.: *Mostra Fut. di Aeropitt. e di Scenografia*, Fir. 1931

[76] Dottori, Gerardo: *Armonie di forze contrarie*, 1935 (ripr. in.: *Dottori*, 1994); *Rossi-verdi*, 1921 (ripr. in.: *Dottori*, 1994); *Rossi-verdi*, 1925 (ripr. ibid.); *Ali sopra le trincee*, 1918 (ripr. in.: *Aereo e pittura*, n. 78); *Ritmo astrale* (bozzetto), (repr. ibid. n. 77); Beöthy, István: *Kompozíció*, 1930 (ripr. in.: *Ungarische Avantgarde*, fig. 112); Dottori, G.: *Esplosione*, 1916–17 (ripr. in.: *Dottori*, 1994); *Incendiocittà* (I.; II.), 1925 (ripr. ibid.); *Ritmo astrale*, 1916 (ripr. in.: *Dottori*, 1994); *Motivo astratto* (bozzetto), 1925 (ripr. ibid.)

[77] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 222. (trad. da B. Zs.)
[78] ibid. p. 222.
[79] ibid. p. 223.
[80] ibid.
[81] ibid. p. 124.
[82] ibid. pp. 231-233.
[83] ibid. pp. 234-235.
[84] ripr.: *Aereo e pittura*, no. 70.
[85] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 239.
[86] ibid. pp. 240-241.
[87] ibid. p. 242.
[88] ibid. p. 242.
[89] *Arte Futurista, Pittura Scultura Architettura Ceramica...*, 1930 Firenze, p. 9
[90] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 247.
[91] ibid. p. 257.
[92] ibid. pp. 258-259.
[93] *Ki gépen száll fölébe, annak térkép e táj / s nem tudja, hol lakott itt Vörösmarty Mihály; / annak mit rejt e térkép ? gyárat s vad laktanyát, / de nékem szöcskét, ökröt, tornyot, szelíd tanyát; / az gyárat lát a látcsőn és szántóföldeket, / míg én a dolgozót is, ki dolgáért remeg, / erdőt, füttyös gyümölcsöst, szöllőt és sírokat, / a sírok közt anyókát, ki halkan sírogat, / s mi föntről pusztítandó vasút, vagy gyárüzem, / az bakterház, s a bakter előtte áll és üzen...* etc - Per la versione italiana cfr. *Scritto verso la morte*, Roma 1964: /Non posso sapere... /: *Per chi vola qui sopra, questo paesaggio è una carta geografica, / e non sa dove abitava, qui Mihály Vörösmarty* (poeta ungherese del XIX. secolo), *che cosa nasconde per lui questa carta geografica? una fabbrica, una caserma, / ma per me nasconde la cavalletta, il buo, la torre, la mite fattoria; / lui vede la fabbrica attraverso il binocolo, le terre coltivate, / e io vedo anche il lavoratore, che trema per il suo lavoro, / il bosco e il fischiettanta frutteto, la vigna e le tomba, à e tra le tombe una nonna che piange silenziosa, / e ciò che dall'alto è solo una ferrovia da annientare o un'officina, / è la casa cantoniera, e la guardia ferroviaria le sta davanti e manda messaggi...*
[94] ibid. pp. 159-160.
[95] ibid. op. cit. p. 5.
[96] ibid. p. 174.
[97] ibid. pp. 183-185.
[98] ibid. p. 14.
[99] ibid. p. 7.
[100] ibid. p. 6.
[101] ibid. p. 6.
[102] Valensi, Henry: *Le isole Baleari* (ripr. in.: *Stile Futurista*, no. 6-7, 1935-XIII. Tav. 12)
[103] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 6.
[104] Bayer, Herbert: *Der Kleine Hafen in Marseille*, 1928 (ripr. in.: Haus, p. 93)
[105] Moholy-Nagy, L.: *Boote im alten Hafen von Marseille*, 1929 (ripr. in.: Haus, fig. 45, p. 93)
[106] Nevinson, C. R. W.: *The Arrival*, 1913, Courtesy Tate Gallery, London (ripr. in.: *Futurism and the development of Vorticism*, *Studio International*, 1967/173/888)
[107] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 7.
[108] ibid. pp. 238-239.
[109] ibid. pp. 219-221
[110] Perugini: *Crociera atlantica del Decennale*, c. 1933 (ripr. in.: *Aereo e pittura*, no. 138); Tano, Bruno: *In velocità su paese a mare*, 1941; Dottori, G.: *Bozzetto per aeropittura di guerra*, 1942 (ripr. in.: *Dottori*, 1994); Dudreville, Leonardo: *"Dissidio domestico quotidiano"*, 1913, Filadelfia, Museum di Richard e Nancy Lee Miller (ripr. in.: Calvesi: *Il futurismo*, Tav. LIV)
[111] *L'aeroplano del papa*, pp. 219-221
[112] Barbara: *Porto mediterraneo in festa I-II*, 1939 (ripr. in: Salaris, p. 21. e i due bozzetti in: *Barbara*, fig. 11-12); Moholy-Nagy: senza titolo (Porto di Marseille), 1929 (ripr. in.: Haus, Tav. 41); Giedion, Siegfried: *Pont Transbordeur* (ripr. in.: Haus, p. 92)
[113] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 10.
[114] ibid. p. 150.
[115] ibid. p. 156.
[116] ibid. p. 150
[117] ibid. p. 155.
[118] Fillia: *Tendenze spirituali*, 1929? (ripr. in: E. Coen, p. 50); *Nudo/Femminilità*, c. 1928. Torino, Coll. Federico Leumann (ripr. in.: *Notizie Torino*, p. 27); *L'uomo e la donna* , Coll. Conte Sarmiento, Parigi (ripr. in.: *Aeropitt. Arte Sacra Futurista*, La Spezia, 1932
[119] Fillia: *Figura*, c. 1931, Coll. Germana Colombo, Torino (ripr. in.: *Aspetti del Sec. Fut. torinese*, no. 31);
[120] Fillia: *Donna, cielo, paesaggio*, c. 1931, Gall. Notizie, Torino (ripr. ibid. no. 34)
[121] Almandi, Enrico: *Elementi di nudo e ambiente*, 1931. proprietà dell'artista, Torino (ripr. ibid. no. 152)
[122] Ambrosi: *Il Duce* (ripr. in.: *Il volo*);
[123] per la tematica dell'ornamentazione della folla v. Siegfried Kracauer: *Der verbotene Blick*, Reclam-Verlag Leipzig, 1992, pp. 172
[124] ibid. p. 174. (trad. di Beke Zs.)
[125] Rodin, Auguste: *Studio della testa di Victor Hugo*, 1883, Musée Rodin, Parigi (v. in.: Kirk Varnedoe: *A Fine Disregard - What Makes Modern Art Modern*, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990, paperbeck edition published by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York, 1994., fig. 242, p. 235.); Bazille, Frédéric: *Studio*, prima del 1870, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Parigi (ripr. ibid. fig. 251, p. 242); Grandville (ibid., fig. 248, 259); Caillebotte (ibid, fig. 218, 252)
[126] ?
[127] *L'aeroplano del papa*, pp. 87-88.
[128] ibid. pp. 248-249.
[129] ibid. pp. 97-98.
[130] ibid. pp. 98-99.
[131] Tato: *Dinamismo di folla*, 1922 (ripr. in.: *L'aeropittore futurista Tato*)
[132] Mezei, op. cit. cap. 6.2.1.
[133] *L'aeroplano del papa*, pp. 120-121.
[134] ibid. pp. 121-122.
[135] ibid. p. 128.
[136] ibid. pp. 123-124.
[137] ibid. p. 128.
[138] ibid. p. 130.
[139] ibid. p. 142.
[140] ibid. p. 15.
[141] Panaggi: *Couverture pour un livre futuriste*, 1928 (ripr. in.: *Photographie futuriste*, p. 98)
[142] Weininger, Andor: *Il teatro sferico* (BAUHAUS) (ripr. in.: *Ungarische avantgarde)*
[143] *L'aeroplano del papa*, pp. 120-121.
[144] *Intersection of a Spiral and a Plane*, Hinton, *The Fourth Dimension*, 1904 (ripr. in.: Henderson - *Art Journal*, 1981, 41/4, fig. 12. p. 321)
[145] Bruschetti, Alessandro: *Il turbine*, (disegno) 1932 (ripr. in.: Passoni, 1973); Bruschetti, A.: *Caduta a vite su paese*, 1936 (ripr. in.: Passoni, 1970)
[146] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 238
[147] ibid. pp. 238-239.
[148] ibid. p. 221.
[149] ibid. pp. 12-13.
[150] ibid. p. 13.
[151] ibid. p. 9.
[152] ibid. p. 9.
[153] Meschini: *Visione dall'alto* (ripr. in.: *Il Volo*)
[154] Alimandi, Enrico: *Paesaggio*, c. 1931, Torino, proprietà dell'artista (ripr. in.: *Aspetti del Secondo Futurismo torinese*, fig. 160)
[155] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 6.
[156] ibid. p. 185.
[157] ibid. p. 80.
[158] ibid. p. 8.
[159] ibid. p. 8.
[160] ibid. pp. 94-95.
[161] ibid. p. 96.

[162] ibid. p. 96. - Valensy, Henry: *Sintesi di Roma nel tempo e nello spazio* (ripr. in.: *Stile Futurista*, N. 6,7.- 1935 (Tav. 12)
[163] *L'aeroplano del papa*, pp. 95-96.
[164] Prampolini, E.: *Forme e forze nello spazio*, (ripr. in.: Averini, 1953, p. 95-96.)
[165] *L'aeroplano del papa*, p. 8.
[166] ibid. p. 97.
[167] ibid. pp. 3-4.
[168] ibid. p. 100.
[169] ibid. p. 102.
[170] ibid. p. 102.
[171] ibid. p. 104.
[172] ibid. p. 119.
[173] ibid. p. 80.
[174] ibid. p. 5.
[175] ibid. p. 116.
[176] ibid. p. 118.
[177] ibid. pp. 118-119.
[178] ibid. op. cit. p. 210.
[179] ibid. op. cit. pp. 212-213.
[180] ibid. op. cit. p. 215.
[181] ibid. p. 256.
[182] ibid. op. cit. p. 39.

ÁGNES BERECZ

AU DELÀ DE RESSEMBLANCE LES PAPIERS DÉCOUPÉS DE HENRI MATISSE ET LES PLIAGES DE SIMON HANTAÏ[1]

REMARQUES PRÉLIMINAIRES

Les manières de l'aveuglement

Dans ce texte il ne s'agit pas d'une comparaison entre les peintres ci-dessus, il veut être davantage une interprétation commune parlant des différences et des similitudes entre ces deux oeuvres. L'utilisation du mot «source» annonce que je ne considère pas l'influence de Matisse dans l'art de Hantaï comme une liaison stylistique; je cherche à éviter de traiter la peinture hantaïenne comme la manifestation d'une influence, dans ce cas, celle de Matisse, et je préfère examiner la façon d'être de la pensée picturale de Matisse dans le pliage comme la continuation d'un discours pictural. Par conséquent, en cherchant les traces de la tradition matissienne, je m'efforce d'interroger la façon par laquelle la transformation et le renouvellement des questions picturales de Matisse se représentent dans les pliages de Simon Hantaï.[2]

Si on cherche les traces de la tradition matissienne dans la peinture de Hantaï, on discute aussi la façon d'être du modernisme pictural se manifestant dans les pliages.

Étant consciente de deux interprétations possibles que la généalogie des pliages de Hantaï nous principalement offrent (la lecture moderniste et la lecture «gestuelle»), on veut l'accentuer l'im-portance de la tradition moderniste classique – dont la figure emblématique est Matisse – dans l'art de Hantaï, à travers la lecture, l'analyse commune de leurs oeuvres.

Le pliage de plus près

Après ses peintures surréalistes, gestuelles, depuis 1960 Hantaï ne fabrique ses toiles que par la méthode du pliage. La sentence de Hantaï – «il y a Pollock, il y a Matisse» – nous renvoie à la base de sa peinture, à son tour d'esprit. Le pliage est une expérience de synthèse picturale qui unifie le geste pollockien et les ciseaux des papiers découpés de Matisse; il est une méthode qui est la recomposition et la métamorphose des ciseaux de Matisse – la réalisation la plus consistante de l'idée de «forme-couleur» cézannienne – et même la transformation de la toile libre de Pollock.

La méthode du pliage de Hantaï consiste en actes de froisser, puis de défroisser la toile découverte de couleurs, ainsi les parties de la toile qui ne contactent pas de couleurs, restent vides et blanches, tandis que les parties teintes constituent une surface spéciale, formée de plis, de crevasses, grâce aux traces des couleurs.[3] La surface plane est brisée par l'acte du froissage, et elle garde l'effet de l'intervention même après le défroissement de la toile. Dans la méthode du pliage, deux phases sont à distinguer: le pliage, l'acte de froisser, de faire des plis, et le dépliage, l'acte de déplier, de défroisser. Pendant le dépliage, Hantaï élimine le caractère de relief des toiles en essayant de les déplisser. Entre ces deux phases, il y a le processus de la peinture du tableau: ce que l'on voit avant le pliage est la toile vide, qui deviendra un tableau prêt, complet après le dépliage. Le dépliage n'est pas l'opposé de l'acte du pliage, mais son extension, l'état dans lequel le tableau se manifeste. L'acte de la peinture est pratique dont le résultat et la trace sont le tableau lui-même; le pliage est une sorte de métamorphose de la toile.

Au cours du pliage, Hantaï peint à l'aveugle, ce n'est pas le tableau entier, mais les parties pliées de la surface qu'il voit en travaillant sur la toile. Donc à la fin du procès, la révélation de la toile par le dépliage ressemble au dévoilement, à l'inauguration d'une sculpture dont le sculpteur n'a pas été présent au modelage, mais il évoque

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Fig. 1 Simon Hantaï, *Les Meun*, huile sur toile, 74,5 × 65 cm, 1968; collection privée



Fig. 2 Henri Matisse, *Nu bleu IV* – papiers gouachés, découpés et collés sur papier, 102,9 × 76,8 cm, 1952; Musée Matisse, Nice

aussi la technique de la photographie, le tirage d'un cliché photographique. Les pliages sont toujours les étapes d'une série, c'est-à-dire d'une séquence formelle, et c'est à l'aide de ces étapes que l'histoire du pliage se réalise. Toute série a une histoire, un trait particulier qui se distingue l'un de l'autre. Comme par exemple, la première présentation de la monochromie est la série de *Meuns*, dans laquelle, à partir de 1966, à part le blanc, Hantaï n'utilise qu'une seule couleur, et où l'on peut interpréter les parties colorées des toiles comme l'agrandissement des éléments de la série *Manteaux de la Vierge*.

Le contexte d'une liaison

La littérature spéciale parlant de la peinture de Hantaï ne manque pas des études qui s'occupent de la question des rapports de Hantaï à la tradition picturale, particulièrement à l'art de Matisse et à travers celui-ci, à l'art de Cézanne. C'est Marcelin Pleynet qui souligne en premier l'importance de l'art de Cézanne pour Hantaï, en parlant de la similitude de l'idée de l'art de Hantaï et celle des aquarelles tardives de Cézanne, et qui examine également le rapport entre l'art de Matisse et celui de Hantaï. De même que Dominique Fourcade, il accentue la parenté entre Cézanne, Matisse et Hantaï en dessinant une sorte de modèle évolutionniste à la base de l'apparition du blanc et celle du vide dans leurs peintures.[4]

Mais à côté des exemples de la littérature spéciale concernant Hantaï, il faut faire allusion également aux ouvrages de la littérature sur Matisse dans lesquels on peut apercevoir une intention d'examiner les rapports entre l'art de Matisse et les artistes contemporains. À propos de cela, on peut tenir la «tradition matissienne» – l'expression que l'on a déjà utilisée au sens général – pour un nouveau cliché de l'histoire de l'art contemporain. Parmi plusieurs ouvrages consacrés à la représentation de l'influence de Matisse, on peut énumérer non seulement le catalogue de la Fondation Maeght intitulé «*A la rencontre de Matisse*», le catalogue du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nantes intitulé «*Depuis Matisse... la couleur*», mais aussi la nouvelle installation de la MNAM où juste à côté de la salle de Matisse se placent les toiles de Hantaï sous un titre commun: «L'espace et couleur».[5] En lisant le cinquième numéro des Cahiers Henri Matisse intitulé «Matisse aujourd'hui»

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dont le sujet principal est le rapport entre Matisse et les artistes contemporains, l'on peut rencontrer, parmi tant d'autres, les noms de Viallat et de Hantaï qui sont toujours mentionnés comme les successeurs les plus éminents de l'héritage matissien.[6] (Néanmoins, la plupart des critiques tiennent l'activité du groupe «Support-Surface», y compris Claude Viallat, pour une conséquence tardive de l'influence de Matisse et de Hantaï.)

Si on reprend les rapports de Hantaï et de Matisse dans le cadre de cet essai, ce n'est pas pour fabriquer de nouvelles interprétations, mais pour trouver une autre façon de les lire, évidemment sans oublier l'importance de Cézanne. Vu qu'en établissant le rapport d'histoire de l'art, les auteurs cités ne le traitent pas profondément, on a l'intention d'élargir le discours en se concentrant sur la comparaison des oeuvres de nos deux artistes et sur l'interrogation de leurs carrières et pensées picturales. Considérons les textes mentionnés ci-dessus, comme une sorte d'invitation pour une enquête qui trouve sa source dans une ressemblance évidente, on dirait stéréotypée, c'est-à-dire, dans ce qui se manifeste en voyant à côté des *Nus bleus* (fig. 2) de Matisse une toile de *Meun* (fig. 1) de Hantaï. Qu'est-ce qu'il y a derrière la similitude semblante?[7]

Autour d'une tradition et de la couleur

Avant tout, on doit évoquer l'art de Cézanne. L'inspiration cézannienne est sans doute l'une des marques les plus dominantes de l'art de Hantaï, parallèlement aux presque tous les peintres du XXe siècle. Bien qu'il est impossible d'examiner profondément les influences diverses de Cézanne, c'est-à-dire, l'histoire de la réception de l'art de Cézanne – puisque ce travail exigerait de repenser l'histoire de la peinture occidentale du XXe siècle – il nous semble indispensable d'évoquer certains points de la réception de l'art cézannien, principalement ceux qui concernent la peinture de Hantaï.

Si on parle de la réception de l'art cézannien en rapport avec Hantaï, il faut qu'en grandes lignes on évoque aussi l'histoire de cette réception en Hongrie. Sans que l'on accentue son importance dans la peinture de Hantaï, il nous semble inévitable de signer qu'au niveau des séquences formelles, l'art cézannien devenait non seulement connu en Hongrie, mais aussi l'exemple, une sorte de langage commun et une base des imitations pour la peinture moderniste ou progressive hongroise de la première moitié du siècle. Ainsi, les caractères formels de la peinture de Cézanne sont déjà vus et connus pour la jeune Hantaï à travers des oeuvres des peintres hongrois contemporains. Par ailleurs, cette appropriation de l'art de Cézanne par les peintres hongrois se produisait en relation étroite avec le discours théorique parlant de l'oeuvre de Cézanne, et il faisait une contribution très importante au développement de la critique d'art moderne hongroise également. À partir des essais primordials de Lajos Fülep en 1906[8] jusqu'à la fin des années quarante, Cézanne et sa peinture était continuellement et profondément traité par les plus grandes figures de critique d'art hongrois.[9] Même si Hantaï ne faisait pas connaissance de la littérature théorique interrogeant l'oeuvre de Cézanne, il devait connaître la tradition hongroise de cette peinture cézannienne. On parle de tradition hongroise, car dans les années quarante lorsque Hantaï suivit ses études à l'École des Beaux-Arts de Budapest, l'art de Cézanne n'était pas présent comme l'influence, mais comme la partie intégrante de la peinture en Hongrie.

Pour Hantaï, et pour sa génération apparue après la deuxième guerre mondiale, le caractère dominant de l'inspiration cézannienne n'est plus l'importance de la construction picturale et de «la réalisation sur la nature»,[10] qui signifie le refus d'une sorte d'imitation objective au profit de la réalisation des «sensations», comme pour les peintres de la période de l'avant-garde classique. Pour Hantaï, ce qui devient le plus important des diverses influences, c'est – en citant Max Raphael – «la tache de couleur, comme fonction et comme élément constructif».[11] D'où vient l'idée de la couleur cézannienne, c'est-à-dire, dans quel contexte historique apparaît-elle?

Il est indubitable, que c'est au dernier siècle que les premières théories sur la couleur – la façon de sa représentation, de ses lois etc. – apparaissent, c'est-à-dire, c'est l'âge de l'accomplissement d'un cours qui considère la couleur comme la clé et aussi le but de l'expression picturale. Ce discours était une tradition vivante



Fig. 3 La Chapelle du Rosaire des Dominicaines de Vence – 1947-juin, 25, 1951

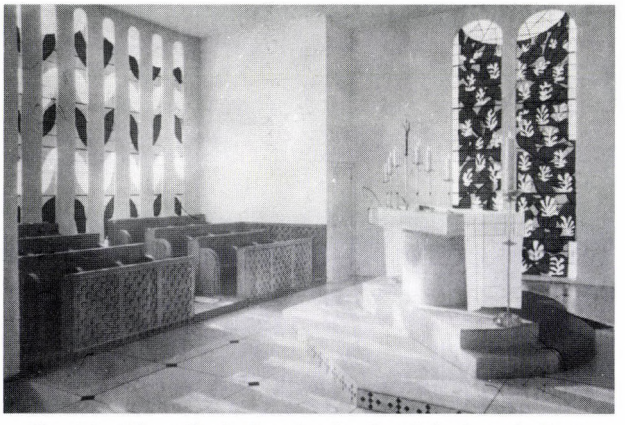

Fig. 4 La Chapelle du Rosaire des Dominicaines de Vence

pour Cézanne et aussi pour Matisse, et supposablement, on n'exagère pas quand on dit que même la monochromie de l'art du XXe siècle trouve ses racines à cette époque-là. Cependant on peut présumer que cette tradition; le colorisme français du XIXe siècle appelé la «synthèse française» par Martin Kemp,[12] inspire également les artistes contemporains – y compris Hantaï, naturellement – justement par l'intermédiaire de l'art de Matisse. Par conséquent, on se permet de considérer la carrière de Matisse, comme un passage entre la tradition chromatique du XIXe siècle, une tradition fortement prémoderne et l'art de notre siècle, la fin du modernisme pictural. Au cours du dernier siècle, la problématique de la couleur se trouve au centre primordial de l'intérêt artistique. Toutes les questions qui se posent à l'égard de l'expression picturale, de la représentation, de l'imitation de la nature, c'est-à-dire, à l'égard des problèmes constants de la peinture, cherchent à trouver leurs réponses à l'aide de la couleur. Au début, c'est le point de départ pour Cézanne contre l'impressionnisme, puis pour «... arriver à posséder une bonne méthode de construction.»[13]

Le célèbre impératif souvent cité nous dirige vers l'essentiel de la couleur dans la peinture de Cézanne: «On ne devrait pas dire modeler, on devrait dire moduler.»[14] Moduler – dit Cézanne, c'est-à-dire comme dans la musique: construire par les atomes de la vision, créer par les éléments purs, quasi abstraits, comme les plans des couleurs ou des notes, composer un tableau dans l'ensemble dont toutes les parties ont leurs propres importances et valeurs, dont les parties ne sont pas subordonnées, ni hiérarchisées. Pour cette construction picturale qui se base primordialement sur la couleur, «il faut, pour le peindre, dans son essence, avoir ces yeux de peintre qui, dans la seule couleur voient l'objet, s'en emparent, le lient en soi aux autres objets.»[15] Les racines des couleurs de Hantaï et celles de Cézanne demeurent dans le chromatisme substantiel, comme celles de Matisse également. Ce chromatisme substantiel ne suppose pas l'idée de la couleur isolée, il ne présume que la couleur a du sens en elle-même, mais il cherche à examiner son rôle, sa conduite, sur la surface de la toile et dans la structure de la construction picturale. La couleur et la construction nous amènent à l'art de Henri Matisse, notamment à ses papiers découpés. Il n'est pas difficile apercevoir la parenté entre Cézanne, qui construit avec la couleur et Matisse, qui dessine avec elle.

Matisse définit son propre art comme la formation de l'ensemble du dessin et de la couleur représentée par les papiers découpés et le plus précisément par la chapelle de Vence (fig.



Fig. 5 Henri Matisse, *Polynésie, le ciel* – papiers gouachés, découpés et collés sur papier, 200 × 314 cm, 1946; MNAM, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

3–4). Dans le cas des papiers découpés il n'y a pas de ligne, ni dessin; tout vient de la couleur, le tableau est dessiné par les panneaux des couleurs.[16] Les aplats colorés de Matisse sont toujours en rapport avec l'idée de l'espace infini ou de l'espace rempli par la lumière, comme on peut lire dans un de ses textes: «...j'ai une peinture bridée par des conventions nouvelles d'aplats par lesquels je dois m'exprimer entièrement, de tons locaux exclusivement sans ombres, sans modelés, qui doivent réagir les uns sur les autres pour suggérer la lumière, l'espace spirituel.»[17] Les frontières des formes des découpés sont déterminées par ses couleurs, c'est la couleur qui construit, donc on peut dire que dans la peinture post-cézannienne, c'est Matisse, qui donne jour à nouveau aux «forme-couleurs»[18] de Cézanne. La couleur des papiers découpés de Matisse possède une existence double, car elle prend la fonction et même la nature physique du dessin. Par conséquent, on perçoit la couleur comme non seulement un phénomène physique, mais aussi comme une forme ayant sa propre extension.[19] Les formes de la surface se sont séparées par les couleurs. Les séquences formelles, répétitives ayant une qualité de patron, articulent la surface en lui donnant un rythme, et elles entrent en «communication visuelle.»[20] L'exemple le plus remarquable de cette communication visuelle et de l'isolation des motifs picturaux est celui des certains papiers découpés, comme la *Polynésie, la terre* (fig. 5); *La piscine* ou bien *Le perruche et la sirène* (fig. 7) de 1952. À propos de ce dernier, Matisse dit à Verdet le suivant: «Il y a des feuillages, des fruits, un

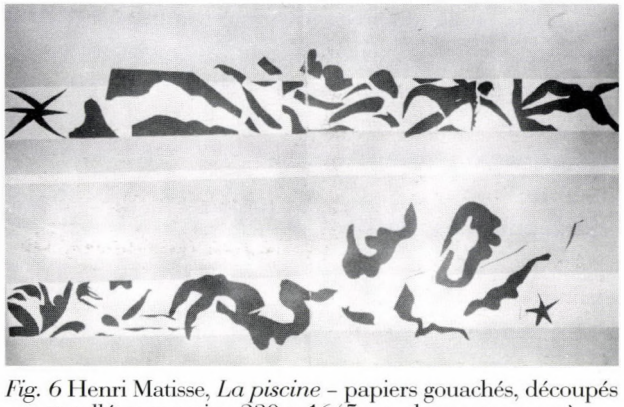

Fig. 6 Henri Matisse, *La piscine* – papiers gouachés, découpés et collés sur papier, 230 × 1645 cm, deux panneaux à montrer face à face, 1952. MoMA, New York

oiseau. Mouvement modéré, apaisant. J'ai retiré ce motif [la sirène] que vous voyez là-bas, isolé à droit; j'ai retiré, parce qu'il avait un mouvement violent. Ce mouvement faussait la partition générale. Un andante et un scherzo qui se heurtaient.»[21] En conséquence, il faut regarder *Le perruche...* par une espèce de vision unifiante, il faut intégrer les motifs divers – le perruche et la sirène – et les autres parties – les feuillages – de la surface du tableau.

On pourrait examiner les papiers découpés sans faire une attention particulière à l'existence des figures; on pourrait parler simplement des motifs du tableau au lieu de parler des fragments figuratifs. L'isolation des motifs se fait par les parties blanches, vides de la surface. La surface blanche de *La piscine* (fig. 6) n'est pas un territoire à remplir: c'est le gage du fonctionnement des éléments picturaux. Le blanc de l'arrière-plan souligne le rythme, l'épaisseur et l'éclairement des motifs habillés et construits par la couleur. Pour Matisse, le blanc de la toile est le champ primordial de toute la construction du tableau, la base picturale de toute la composition, et également une surface assurant le moyen essentiel pour le mélange et pour la communication des couleurs; c'est le blanc qui donne la possibilité aux couleurs d'exprimer leurs coloris. Couleur, lumière et sur-, les «forme-couleurs» de Cézanne et les cise-aux de Matisse – comment ces notions peuventelles être liées à la peinture de Simon Hantaï?

LECTURES PARALLÈLES

L'univers blanc

En comparant *La piscine* de Matisse et une toile des *Meuns* de Hantaï, tout d'abord il faut que l'on pose une question très simple et naïve qui nous amène au premier niveau de l'interprétation et de la description des tableaux: que voit-on? Alors, on voit deux toiles monochromes donnant une très grande importance à la surface blanche de la toile. Les parties vides sur la surface consistant en taches de couleur représentent une figure féminine chez Matisse, tandis que la toile de Hantaï ne veut rien représenter, à part la couleur elle-même et une non-couleur, le blanc. Ces deux tableaux ne se composent que des aplats colorés et de la surface blanche. Forme, couleur, elle sont les mêmes, et tous les autres moyens de la peinture sont abandonnés, négligés. Les formes de la surface des tableaux sont équivalentes aux couleurs, c'est-à-dire, ce sont les plans de la couleur, que l'on voit si on voit les formes. C'est la couleur pure qui coupe la forme de la surface, donc c'est par la couleur pure que la surface devient un tableau; la ligne est la limite, le bord des plans colorés.

Pour mieux démontrer le comportement et la façon d'être de la couleur, on cite encore deux toiles: *Le perruche et la sirène* (fig. 7) de Matisse (1952) et le *Blancs* (1973, fig. 8) de Simon Hantaï. En regardant les deux toiles, il est évident que leur organisation picturale se ressemblent: elle se base sur un contraste, une différence entre les parties colorées et la surface blanche. Chez Matisse les aplats colorés de la surface non-colorée forment de figures stylisées (feuillages, grenades, sirène, perruche), alors que le contraste de *Blancs* de Hantaï se manifeste entre les plis, les creux, les parties teintes et la surface blanche, non-peinte. Mais ce n'est pas à l'existence des figures que l'on trouve la véritable source de la différence entre les deux tableaux. Les aplats de la grande gouache sont appliqués et superposés sur une surface blanche, ils ont un vrai arrière-plan, tandis que les plis de Hantaï ne consistent qu'en creux de la toile et en trace du pigment, dans le cas du pliage il n'y a pas d'adjonction: les plis ne sont pas appliqués, ni superposés, la surface blanche de la toile n'est pas leur arrière-plan, c'est-à-dire, on ne peut pas séparer la surface des plis, les deux composants ne sont pas subordonnés. Le *Blancs* de Hantaï est le reste d'une structure jadis, l'empreinte d'une structure qui n'est pas dissociable, alors que le papier découpé de Matisse est une composition. La racine de cette dissemblance réside dans le procès picturale que l'on examinera plus tard.

En restant toujours aux exemples précédents: quelle est la fonction de la surface blanche par rapport aux parties peintes des tableaux? Il est peut-être bizarre que l'on s'oc-



Fig. 7 Henri Matisse, *Le perruche et la sirène* – papiers gouachés, découpés et collés sur toile, 337 × 773 cm, 1952; Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam

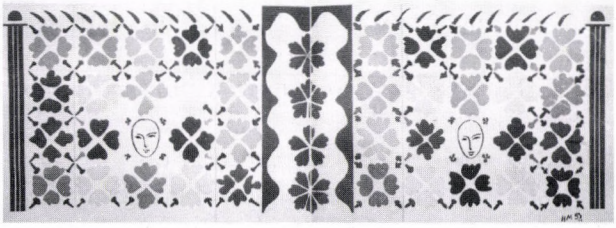

Fig. 9 Henri Matisse, *Grande décoration aux masques* – papiers gouachés, découpés et collés sur toile, 353,7 × 997 cm, 1953; National Gallery of Art, Washington

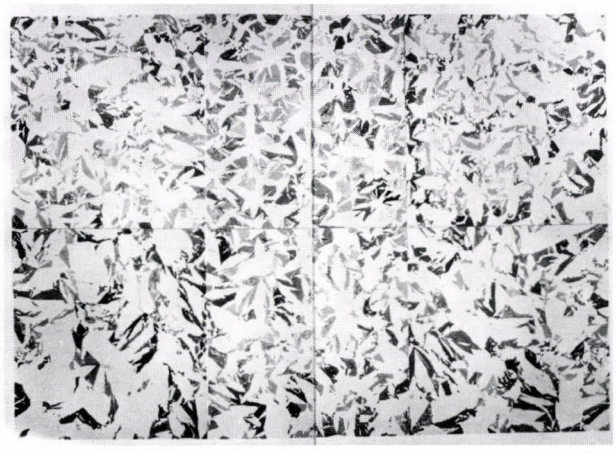

Fig. 8 Simon Hantaï, *Blancs*, acrylique sur toile, 180 × 187 cm, 1973; MNAM, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris



Fig. 10 Henri Matisse, *La tristesse du roi* – papiers gouachés, découpés et collés sur papier, 292 × 386 cm, 1952; MNAM, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

cupe de la signification de la surface blanche à propos de Matisse, mais en observant ses papiers découpés où les surfaces (*Grande décoration aux masques* – fig. 9, *La piscine*, *Le perruche...*, *La négresse* etc.) et les formes blanches (*Polynésie, le ciel* – fig. 1; *La femme avec l'amphore;* les feuilles de *Jazz*, les projets de *La Chapelle de Vence*, *La tristesse du roi* – fig. 10, *L'escargot* etc.) jouent toujours un rôle très important, la question se pose: pourquoi l'artiste laisse vides certaines parties de la composition? Matisse nous donne l'explication lui-même: «Le blanc intermédiaire est déterminé par l'arabesque du papier-couleur découpé qui donne à ce blancambiant une qualité rare et impalpable. Chaque groupe particulier de couleurs a en lui-même une atmosphère particulière. C'est que j'appellerai l'ambiance expressive.»[22] Donc il y a un rapport interactif, une connexion réciproque entre les formes découpées et la lumière de la surface blanche ou des éléments blancs, et grâce à cette connexion, la transparence des lumières et des coloris se réalise à travers toute la surface.[23]

Dans les *Blancs* de Hantaï, en l'absence de la subordination, on ne peut découvrir aucun signe de la hiérarchie entre les parties peintes et les non-peintes du tableau, autrement dit, la surface blanche est aussi importante que les plis colorés. Même le titre paradoxal de la série polychrome représente bien le changement de l'ordre conventionnel. À l'époque précédente – dans le cas de *Meuns*, par exemple – les taches blanches, non-peintes, autrement, les blancs réservés rendent dynamique et complète la couleur, mais la série *Blancs* change cette logique. Ici, c'est déjà le blanc qui est rendu dynamique par les couleurs, donc le blanc, c'est-à-dire, la surface blanche, le vide qui constitue le tableau. C'est Pleynet qui utilise le mot «explicite» pour caractériser les couleurs de la toile et le mot «implicite» pour marquer le blanc.[24] En changeant perpétuellement, le blanc se manifeste toujours autrement par rapport aux couleurs. Dans

les toiles de Hantaï, il n'y a pas de blanc unique, mais en dépendant des couleurs concomitantes, de la force de lumière naturelle et de la luminosité de l'espace ambiante, paradoxalement, les blancs existent en multiplicité, sous diverses apparitions. C'est l'explication du mot préféré de Hantaï: «bíborfehér», c'est-à-dire, le blanc lilas.[25] Le blanc des oeuvres de Hantaï donne une base, un champ fondamental au tableau, parallèlement aux papiers découpés de Matisse, et détermine les coloris des couleurs et même ses jeux chromatiques. Mais tandis que toute la peinture de Matisse est destinée à exprimer l'intensité de la couleur, et par cela à analyser le fonctionnement de la lumière, chez Hantaï cela n'arrive que par l'usage d'une seule couleur (justement à l'exception de la série *Blancs*) ou sans couleur – dans le cas de *Tabulas lilas* – à l'aide du blanc de la toile.

La présence dominante, ou pour mieux dire, constructive da la couleur blanche chez Matisse et chez Hantaï marque un changement par rapport à la logique picturale de la peinture occidentale. Mais quelle est la signification de cette sorte d'utilisation de la couleur blanche dans la peinture de Matisse et de Hantaï? Il est évident, que ce qui fait exceptionnelle la présence du blanc, c'est que le blanc n'a jamais été traité comme une vraie couleur dans l'histoire de la peinture occidentale. Dans la tradition, la logique de l'usage des couleurs cherche toujours à remplir, à couvrir la surface blanche par les formes et par les aires colorées selon la règle de *horror vacui*, et elle évite l'utilisation du blanc. Il n'a jamais une signification particulière, autrement dit, le blanc signifie le néant, il est le signe du vide. Donc les pliages et les papiers découpés sont à l'opposé de cette tradition, également à la peinture de la monochromie blanche, mais pas de la même façon. Le blanc est une non-couleur qui n'a pas de coloris ou selon le *Fahrbenlehre* de Goethe: «le blanc est l'immatérialité; une couleur non-exprimée, qui n'existe pas purement dans la nature, seulement par la lumière du soleil»,[26] alors que la couleur, par rapport au blanc, est «un degré de l'obscurité»[27] ou par les mots de Kirchner «vaincue de la lumière» («lumen opacatum»).[28] En invoquant toujours le *Fahrbenlehre* de Goethe, on trouve également l'explication du phénomène du «blanc lilas» ou du «blanc pourpre» de Hantaï: selon Goethe la saturation et l'affluation des couleurs, c'est-à-dire leur augmentation cause le phénomène de la culmination et par l'augmentation du blanc se manifeste son point culminant qui est le pourpre.[29]

En regardant la peinture de Matisse et de Hantaï on reconnaît le principe chromatique: toutes les couleurs de la nature ne sont que les reflets de la lumière – «toute la nature est reflet», dit Delacroix –, la couleur n'existe pas en elle-même, son existence est relative et accidentelle. C'est pourquoi que la manifestation de la couleur blanche par la surface non-peinte du pliage donne le sens aux toutes les autres parties du tableau, et organise la vision de la toile. À propos des rapports chromatiques, dans une conversation avec Matisse, André Verdet lui demande: «Considérez-vous avec Cézanne qu'il y a eu un bleu vert et un bleu jaune? – Je dirai simplement que la couleur n'a d'existence que par ses rapports.» – dit-il.[30] (Néanmoins, la peinture monochrome s'appuie justement sur ce phénomène, puisque quand on voit une toile bleue de Yves Klein, par exemple, on perçoit toujours par rapport au mur blanc sur lequel elle est accrochée.)

Le texte de Goethe et surtout la mention de «l'immatérialité» du blanc est la clé de la voûte du concept de la *Chapelle de Vence* (fig. 3, 4) et également de *Tabulas lilas* de Hantaï. Le pliage de Hantaï n'utilise que la couleur blanche, la couleur «non-exprimée» de la lumière. L'explication de son titre nous renvoie à ce phénomène chromatique dont on a déjà parlé par rapport aux *Blancs*: d'une part à l'existence, à l'apparition multiple de la couleur blanche, d'autre part au procès de la culmination du blanc qui se termine par l'apparition de la couleur lilas ou pourpre. Le *Tabulas lilas* est un tableau qui ne veut pas reproduire, ni représenter le blanc – il est un moyen, un médium qui permet à la lumière de se manifester; selon la terminologie un peu poétique de Marcelin Pleynet, «les pliages de Hantaï cherchent l'identité de la lumière.»[31] Ce qui se passe dans le cas de *Tabulas lilas*, c'est l'immatérialisation du tableau: il perd sa qualité physique, le blanc de la toile et la lumière de l'espace s'unifient, et cette lumière avec la couleur naissante apparue en tant que «lilas» pour le spectateur, remplissent l'espace et nous entourent. En s'immatériali-

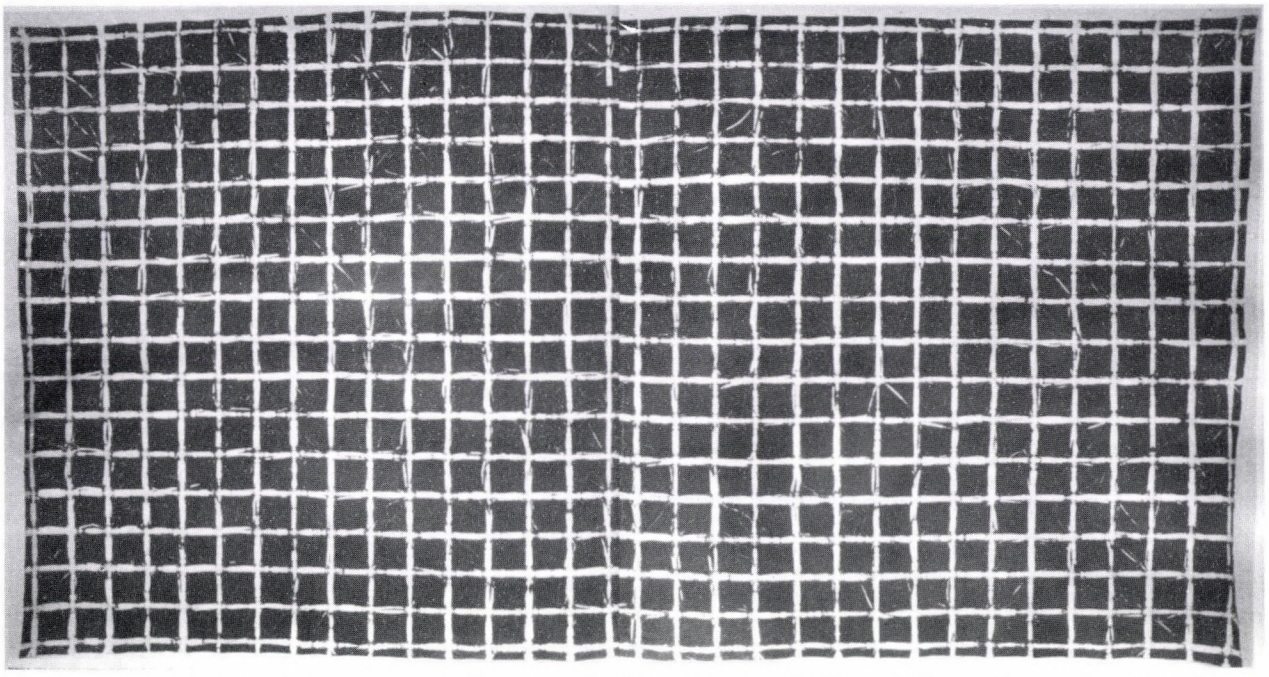

Fig. 11 Simon Hantaï, *Tabula*, huile sur acrylique sur toile, 300 × 574 cm, 1974; MNAM, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

sant, le tableau devient une partie de l'espace; le *Tabulas lilas* de Hantaï n'est plus un tableau accroché sur le mur. Mais que se passe-t-il dans la chapelle de Vence?

«Dans la chapelle de Vence, qui est l'aboutissement de mes recherches antérieures, j'ai tenté de réaliser cet équilibre des forces, les bleus, les verts, les jaunes de vitraux composent à l'intérieur une lumière qui n'est à proprement parler aucune des couleurs employées, mais le vivant produit de leur harmonie, de leurs rapports réciproques; cette couleur-lumière était destinée à jouer sur le champ blanc, brodé de noir, du mur qui fait face aux vitraux, et sur lequel les lignes sont volontairement très espacées. Le contraste me permet de donner à la lumière toute sa valeur de vie, d'en faire élément essentiel, celui qui colore, réchauffe, anime au sens propre cet ensemble dont il importe de donner une impression d'espace illimité en dépit de ses dimensions réduits. Dans toute cette chapelle, il n'y a pas une ligne, pas un détail qui ne concoure à donner cette impression.»[32] En entrant dans la chapelle de Vence on comprend le sens des concepts, comme «palpitation», «oscillation», «atmosphère blanc», «l'aveuglement»,[33] «intensité dans la couleur», «la respiration du tableau par la lumière» etc. En étant dans cet espace architectural on a l'impression de comprendre quelque chose sur la peinture.[34] Dans le cas de la chapelle, les connotations architecturales sont évidentes. Néanmoins, si on regarde les vitraux ou les papiers découpés préparatoires, on peut trouver leur généalogie dans les versions de *La Danse*, donc la racine de l'idée du tableau architectural, du concept de l'image murale. Elle fait partie de l'espace ambiant créant un autre espace autour de lui-même, de même que le *Tabulas lilas*. Le sentiment de l'espace infini, qui s'exprime dans la chapelle, est en rapport avec l'idée de l'immensité de l'espace pictural.

Également aux projets préparatoires, les dernières grandes gouaches de Matisse déjà montrent l'intention de la création de l'espace illimité; les figures bleues de *La piscine* débordent la surface blanche de la com-position, il n'y a pas de cadre, pas une limite marquée.[35] Par conséquent, on ne peut pas ré-pondre à la question: où finit-il, le tableau, et où commence-t-il, le mur?

De laisser s'exprimer la lumière, c'est la signification de cet usage unique du blanc, d'une non-couleur dans la peinture de Hantaï et de Matisse.[36] De laisser se produire un phénomène abstrait qui n'existe pas dans la nature, c'est l'interrogation théorique de la base de la peinture classique.

Les allusions spatiales

Comme on l'a déjà signalé,[37] les passages de Matisse entre la qualité sculpturale et picturale ont une connotation particulière par rapport au pliage de Hantaï. Les papiers découpés de Matisse se représentent également le mélange des diverses expressions artistiques, celui de la peinture et de la sculpture. Les ciseaux de Matisse coupe la couleur littéralement, et par ce geste, il sépare et délimite l'espace de la couleur, c'est-à-dire, la forme à l'intérieur de la surface. Au fond du geste de l'usage des ciseaux, du découpage, se trouve une sculpture: le modelage et l'isolation d'un espace particulier, par rapport à l'espace physique, réel. Selon les propos de Matisse: «Découper à vif dans la couleur me rappelle la taille directe des sculptures.»[38] Parmi tant de similitudes entre l'art de Hantaï et de Matisse, on peut mentionner cette nouvelle, notamment, l'usage sculptural ou quasi-sculptural de la matière par rapport aux limites habituelles de la peinture.

La méthode du pliage utilise la toile comme une matière sculpturale, elle touche de très près au modelage, puisque pendant le froissement de la toile jusqu'au moment du dépliage, le tableau futur est un relief, une oeuvre tridimensionnelle. À ce propos, on peut considérer la méthode du pliage comme telle qui temporalise l'acte de la peinture. Au fond des «formes-couleurs» de la surface, dans les abîmes des plis, la densité du pigment est visible, perceptible même après le dépli-age. Donc les parties peintes, les taches colorées, épaisses signalent les relations spatiales; le tableau garde les traces de son ancienne qualité sculpturale, de quasi-relief, du procès jadis grâce auquel il est fabriqué – il rappelle la méthode de sa création.[39]

Dans ce contexte, on peut citer même la fonction des plis de la sculpture classique où les plis sont les éléments importants dans l'expression du corps humain. D'une part, les plis des vêtements, et des drapeaux représentent les lignes, les formes du corps, d'autre part, ils voilent et masquent le corps. Ils le couvrent en nous laissant la tâche de l'imaginer en tout entier, de le compléter par ses parties cachées. En fonction de cette utilisation classique des plis, la signification de l'acte du dépliage devient encore plus importante: ce qui se passe au cours du dépliage c'est non seulement la glorification du «flatness» greenbergien, mais aussi un essai pour l'aliénation de l'acte de la peinture, une sorte de l'éloignement et l'abnégation consciente, parmi d'autres, de l'idée de la «belle surface», qui dominait la peinture abstraite-lyrique dans les années cinquante et soixante en France. Jusqu'à l'acte du dépliage on peut interpréter la qualité quasi-relief et le phénomène de l'inverse du plan des pliages comme tels qui représentent une différence profonde par rapport à la dominance des surfaces, des aplats colorés des découpés de Matisse. Mais le geste du dépliage avec toutes ses connotations touchant près de la question de neutralisation de la surface et de l'intention de son aplatissement, en faisant renvoi à l'art de Matisse à nouveau, cesse cette différence provisoire.

Par l'aide du dépliage, Hantaï ne veut pas nous rappeler sa méthode, il ne veut pas nous donner la chance d'une interprétation facile. Contrairement à tous ses efforts, la toile existe comme l'empreinte d'elle-même en gardant très fortement les traces de l'intervention. Sous cet angle, on peut considérer les nouveaux tableaux de Hantaï fabriqués à l'aide de la sérigraphie et de la photographie (Laissées 1981–1998) comme des nouvelles étapes de l'histoire du pliage – sans aucune allusion évolu-tionniste – ou comme un nouveau état dans lequel le geste de Hantaï (le dépliage) portant sur la neutralisation de la peinture, est plus manifeste.

Le processus

Matisse peint sans ses mains, il n'a que des ciseaux, Hantaï peint à l'aveugle en s'accroupissant à côté de la toile: tous les deux réduisent et changent le cours conventionnel du procès pictural, et en même temps ils délivrent leurs peintures de tout ce qui est futile et insignifiant.[40] Tout ce qui demeure à la fin de ce processus, c'est la couleur et la ligne chez Matisse, le blanc chez Hantaï. Contrairement à la similitude de leurs attitudes artistiques leurs méthodes manifestent une différence primordiale. En conséquence, une question, dirigeant vers la résolution de cette interdiction, se pose: quelles sont les sources communes de cette similitude et comment se produise la différence mentionnée

ci-dessus? Tout d'abord, il faut que l'on se penche sur le procès pictural pour mieux comprendre et même pour expliquer les dissemblances existant entre la peinture de Matisse et celle de Hantaï.

Selon le témoignage du très beau livre de Mme Delectorskaya,[41] à partir de la fin des années trente Matisse était tenté de faire ses images par l'aide d'une nouvelle méthode, d'un nouveau moyen. C'est en 1937 qu'en créant les projets préparatoires pour le rideau d'un spectacle du ballet russe de Monte Carlo (*«Étrange farandole» ou «Rouge et noir»* chorégraphié par Léonide Massine), Matisse commence d'utiliser le découpage. Il prend le papier coloré, puis il le découpe en forme et au fond il ne fait que transposer toute sa peinture précédente: il continue la création des tableaux par les aplats, les surfaces colorées pour obtenir l'harmonie avec l'aide des rapports chromatiques. En découpant les papiers colorés, Matisse crée toujours des figures qui se conduisent comme des patrons de la surface. Tous les tableaux faits par la méthode du découpage sont les résultats de la composition, d'une acte fortement prémédité.

Dans ce qui précède on traitait déjà le procès du pliage où pendant le froissage, le pliage de la toile Hantaï s'accroupissant sur la terre, à côté de la toile agit à l'aveugle et mécaniquement, quasi-automatiquement. Le caractère quasi-accidentel de son acte continue pendant toute la peinture de la toile: après la phase précédente du processus Hantaï jette le pigment sans savoir les conséquences de son mouvement et à la fin du dépliage, au cours du dévoilement de la toile, le tableau se manifeste pour lui comme inconnu.

Il semble que, dans le cas de Hantaï on ne peut pas parler de composition, ni de préméditation au cours de la création du tableau. À cet égard en s'occupant de la dissemblance des deux méthodes, présumablement on doit répondre aux questions interrogeant le rôle de l'automatisme, de l'inconscient et du hasard chez Hantaï et la façon par laquelle la préméditation et la création consciente se produisent chez Matisse.[42]

Le problème du hasard, de l'accidentel et de l'inconscient est traité par plusieurs auteurs, comme par exemple Arthur Koestler,[43] Anton Ehrenzweig[44] ou Rudolf Arnheim,[45] qui l'examinent sous l'aspect psychologique. Mais au cours des dernières décennies, il devenait un sujet, qui est l'un des plus importants parmi les questions théoriques de l'art et il se rattache aux nouvelles interprétations et même à la révision de l'avant-garde.[46] Il y a lieu de remarquer que l'on n'a pas de possibilité de discuter le rôle général du hasard dans la création artistique, puisque ce discours serait équivalent avec l'examination la plus profonde des phénomènes de la psychologie des arts, de plus, il nous paraît qu'il n'y a qu'une seule façon par laquelle on peut mettre au point la question du hasard, celle des recherches individuelles, ainsi, on ne cherche qu'à éclairer certains points d'un problème portant sur la question du fonctionne-ment, du comportement du hasard au cours de la peinture de Hantaï.

Comme on a déjà dit, les pliages de Hantaï se composent des séries. Toutes les séries sont les résultats d'une recherche préparatoire, elles sont les solutions d'un problème pictural. Tout ce qui se passe au cours de la peinture de la toile, soit un mouvement ou bien un geste inconscient, soit la place du pigment jeté – tout cela peut arriver par hasard ou inconsciemment à l'exeption du travail préparatoire. Voilà, justement ce qui distingue le pliage de Hantaï des oeuvres «classiques» de l'art accidentel, comme par exemple des oeuvres d'Arp ou des collages de Schwitters, et en même temps, cette propriété crée la parenté entre celui et les découpages de Matisse. En ce qui concerne la présence du hasard, on doit donc dissocier nettement la phase préparatoire et le processus. Sous ce point de vue, la différence des méthodes picturales mentionnée plus-haut elle nous semble moins caractéristique, parallèlement à la signification du hasard dans la peinture de Hantaï. À ce propos, il y a une question qui se pose: peut on vraiment parler de l'inconscient, du hasard en relation avec une acte artistique comme la peinture?

C'est Ehrenzweig, qui attire l'attention sur la cohérence de l'espace visuelle et de la composition picturale avec le geste, le procès créatif motivant par le hasard ou par l'inconscient en soulignant la nature double ou ambiguë du procès créatif. Son concept, parallèlement à celui de Rudolf Arnheim,[47] cherche à socier le hasard, l'accidentel et le travail prémédité, con-

scient du peintre, ou pour mieux dire, il s'efforce de ne pas les séparer définitivement: «L'artiste incorpore immédiatement l'accident dans sa planification, sans qu'on puisse de ce fait le distinguer de son projet plus intentionnel. C'est la relation subjective à la planification de l'artiste qui décide du caractère de l'accident.»[48]

En poussant encore cette idée, on trouve un passage qui peut nous aider à continuer de réconcilier la partie consciente et celle inconsciente du processus créatif, celui du concept de spontanéité. Il nous faut évoquer les recherches d'Ehrenzweig considérant le contrôle l'inconscient identique à celui spontané à nouveau.[49] Il est évident qu'une partie de la création inspirée par l'inconscient, par une sorte de spontanéité appuie notablement sur les instincts. Chez Matisse on trouve une idée aussi surprenante que celle d'Arnheim: «Ordonner un chaos, voilà la création. Et si le but de l'artiste est de créer, il faut un ordre dont l'instinct sera la mesure.»[50]

En insistant sur le concept d'Ehrenzweig et d'Arnheim et aussi pour le justifier et le soutenir, on cite encore l'un des textes de Matisse comme une sorte de résumé des précédents: «Sans doute il faut peindre comme on chante, sans contrainte. L'acrobate exécute son numéro avec aisance et une apparente facilité. Ne perdons pas de vue le long travail préparatoire qui lui a permis d'atteindre ce résultat. Il en est de mêle en peinture. La possession des moyens doit passer du conscient à l'inconscient par le travail, et c'est alors que l'on arrive à cette impression de spontanéité.»[51]

Si l'on ne peut pas tenir le contraire des méthodes créatives, sous le pont de vue du conscient et de l'inconscient pour la cause fondamentale de différence entre Matisse et Hantaï, il faut la chercher ailleurs et autrement, au lieu du procès, en concentrant strictement sur leurs peintures.

Ce qui vraiment représente cette différence, ce n'est pas l'apparence du hasard, ni même le rôle de l'automatisme; puisque les deux ne sont que des symptômes, des signes superficiels d'une différence plus profonde, qui se manifeste entre la peinture travaillant d'après les objets extérieurs de la réalité ambiante, c'est-à-dire, d'après nature ou modèle, et la peinture abstraite-classique travaillant par l'aide de l'imagination et de la réduction.

À la base de ce rapport réciproque hypothétique entre l'existence de la composition et le hasard, peut-on constater, que c'est plutôt la présence de la composition qui dissocie la méthode de Hantaï de celle de Matisse? Mais quelle sorte de composition? Composer un tableau – c'est l'arrangement des éléments selon un ordre, une nécessité ou l'intention du peintre comptant aussi sur l'accident. Le sujet pictural se compose de ces éléments: des figures, des objets de la nature ou du monde extérieur, des formes géométriques ou celles imaginaires. Même la connaissance la plus superficielle de l'art de Matisse démontre, que la source du sujet de ses tableaux est toujours la figuration classique et les genres classiques de la peinture. En représentant, par une façon emblématique, le modernisme picturale classique il ne s'efforce jamais de peindre un tableau abstrait, il tient à la représentation des sujets classiques, canonisés et réels. Si l'on veut évoquer les tableaux de Matisse, à côté des couleurs vibrantes et la lumière oscillante, qui nous viennent à l'esprit, ce sont les femmes nues, les odalisques, les fenêtres, les intérieurs, les drapeaux décorés, les fleurs, les tournesols etc. Mais qu'est-ce qui nous vient à l'esprit en fonction des pliages de Hantaï? Naturellement, et parallèlement au cas de Matisse, on se rappelle la lumière, le blanc, l'intensité de la couleur et bien évidemment, les plis. On a déjà traité les allusions spatiales et les connotations des plis, mais on a oublié d'interroger leur vraie nature et de répondre à la question qui vient de devenir adéquate et actuelle: qu'est-ce que c'est, le pli?

Il est évident qu'il n'est pas d'une forme, d'un sujet classique, ni un patron imaginaire, il est peutêtre le résultat d'une méthode particulière et même archaïque,[52] la conséquence insé-parable du procès, une forme accidentellement abstraite, l'empreinte colorée de la toile, qui ne pourrait pas exister en soi-même.

Après l'essai de sa définition incertaine, tout ce que l'on peut dire avec certitude absolue, c'est ce qu'il n'est pas de figure.[53]

Composition, hasard, accidentel, conscient et inconscient – ce sont les clés de la voûte du processus de Matisse et celui de Hantaï, mais comment la figurativité et l'abstraction se rattachent aux cohérences des ci-joints?

Avec ou sans figure

Vraisemblablement, le contraire existant entre la figurativité et le non-figurativité, est beaucoup plus important que Matisse croyait,[54] puisque le pliage de Hantaï ne serait pas capable d'exister s'il représentait des figures en les composant. L'un des points primordiaux le plus important du fonctionnement du pliage est le manque de la figuration classique. En conséquence, c'est l'absence de la composition figurative qui donne la possibilité pour l'utilisation des méthodes non-préméditées. Mais on ne veut pas tenir la composition figurative pour le gage des méthodes classiques ou ordinaires, car selon notre opinion, c'est une question du choix, l'utilisation de figure.[55] Hantaï applique une telle méthode qui donne la possibilité pour l'abstraction, mais ce n'est pas la méthode elle-même dont la conséquence représente cette abstraction: elle est le résultat de la décision du peintre. On peut considérer le pliage de Hantaï comme la réduction totale, de l'abstraction absolue des découpés de Matisse: si l'on imagine le tableau découpé de la femme bleue sans la figure, on voit l'un des *Meuns* (fig. 1) bleus – il y a seulement une chose qui manque, la représentation classique. Le plan coloré, la surface oscillante et l'intensité de la couleur sont les mêmes, tandis que Hantaï laisse se représenter le blanc de la lumière et la nature des couleurs, Matisse fait la même chose, mais par la représentation de figure.

Il y a lieu de parler de la question de la décorativité concernant l'art de Matisse et de Hantaï, puisque en observant les découpés et les pliages leur qualité décorative dominante devenait manifeste. Cette décorativité est la suite évidente de l'essence de ces tableaux et comme telle, elle est intentionnelle. La peinture qui cherche à se produire par les plans, les aplats colorés, elle doit se charger du risque de l'étiquette de décorativité, même si cette étiquette peut sembler critique. Sous cet angle, on peut accepter les déclarations de Matisse, selon lesquelles la décorativité se rapporte à la composition du tableau et elle est l'identique à l'expression picturale.[56]

A l'égard de la décorativité il y a un changement très important concernant le status de cette catégorie: pendant les dernières décennies,



Fig. 12 Simon Hantaï, Sérigraphie Étude, tirage sur papier 74 × 65 cm, 1970;

il perdait son attribut péjoratif et devenait plus en plus dominant dû aux tendances abstraites, particuliè-rement, aux peintres de Washington (*post-pain-terly abstraction*). L'influence de Hantaï se manifeste concernant les nouvelles tendances décoratives de la peinture française, comme la peinture décorative de Claude Viallat et l'activité artistique du groupe *Support-Surface* également.

«Il faut regarder toute la vie avec des yeux d'enfants»

Matisse n'a pas de mains, Pollock n'a pas de conscience de ce qu'il fait, Hantaï travaille à l'aveugle en s'accroupissant, Cézanne ne songe pas à la création de la vision en peignant.[57] Par la suite on a l'intention d'éclairer les attitudes artistiques traitées ci-dessus en répondant aux questions suivantes: Qu'est-ce qui est encore commun dans les découpés et dans les pliages? Pourquoi éliminent-ils la virtuosité des mains, pourquoi négligent-ils le talent du peintre? Que signifie-t-il, le regard enfantin dans la peinture de Matisse et de Hantaï?

Le découpage de Matisse est l'aboutissement de sa recherche vers les nouveaux moyens de la peinture, semblablement au pliage de Hantaï.[58] Au lieu de la phrase précédente on pourrait parler d'une sorte de l'experimentalisme, mais on veut davantage éviter cette expression portant sur une connotation avant-gardiste. Mais cette recherche qui est la source de toutes les innovations artistiques,[59] dans la peinture moderniste, n'explique pas l'abnégation des mains, de la virtuosité, du talent du peintre. Quand Matisse découpe, il dénue lui-même du pouvoir et de l'érudition de ses mains, quand Hantaï plie la toile il renonce non seulement à ses mains, mais aussi à ses yeux.[60] Dans le cas de Hantaï, on peut attribuer ce renoncement, d'une part, à l'influence de la peinture d'action américaine, notamment à celle de Jackson Pollock, d'autre part, au changement du contexte pictural, c'est-à-dire, à la fin de la peinture de chevalet. Bien évidemment, leur rapport est extrêmement étroit, puisque ce changement pictural se produise – au moins en partie – en conséquence de l'apparition de l'école new-yorkaise.[61]

En interrogeant la cause de cette abnégation absolue on doit retourner au titre du chapitre et aux questions mentionnées plus-hauts concernant la vision enfantine. Le titre de ce chapitre est emprunté à l'un des derniers textes de Matisse parlant de la sincérité, de la modestie et de la fraîcheur comme critères essentiels dans l'art.[62] Quand Hantaï parle de la nécessité de l'oublie des images extérieurs, sa constatation correspond avec celle de Matisse: «...je pense que rien n'est plus difficile à un vrai peintre que de peindre une rose, parce que, pour le faire, il lui faut d'abord oublier toutes les roses peintes».[63] Selon les mots de Hantaï, il faut redevenir enfant, il faut rapprendre la vision et l'existence enfantin pour voir les choses comme si nous les voyions pour la première fois. Cette vision enfantine qui se manifeste dans les recherches d'Ehrenzweig comme vision syncrétique[64] et qui vient aussi du concept de 'paiveté' de Baudelaire, faisant patrie du vocabulaire et des théories du modernisme pictural, nous donne un nouvel exemple pour les similitudes de l'art de Hantaï et de Matisse. En renonçant à leur mains et aux moyens classiques de la peinture, ils cachent leur propre personnage, ou pour mieux dire, ils dépersonnalisent l'acte créatif.

Ainsi, on peut découvrir une communauté intellectuelle résidant en les oeuvres de Cézanne, de Matisse, de Pollock et de Hantaï, qui probablement le caractère commun de toutes les grandes peintures. L'examination de cette attitude artistique ressemblant, que l'on vient de faire sans l'in-tention de généralisation, veut accentuer principalement la connexion consciente de Hantaï avec l'art de Matisse, autrement dit, l'art de Matisse comme l'exemple choisi de Hantaï.

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Voici comment l'art de Matisse et de Hantaï se correspondent contre leur temps et leur contexte différent, en restant toujours aux problèmes de la peinture moderniste-classique. Finalement, on n'a que l'intention d'éclairer le paradoxe extraordinaire des découpés matissiens et des pliages: ils retournent à l'expression purement picturale, recherchent la base de la peinture – couleur, ligne, forme, espace. Autrement dit, ils interrogent les problèmes fondamentaux de la peinture classique et en même temps, la réalisation de cette expérience se passe par des moyens qui trouvent leur source en dehors des techniques, des moyens classiques de la peinture.

Dans leur peinture on voit se manifester une telle abstraction commune qui est bien plus radicale que telle qui en différenciant leurs oeuvres dirige vers la non-figurativité et par rapport à laquelle, cette deuxième nous semble secondaire sous le point de vue du rapport de Hantaï et de Matisse. L'abstraction comme non-figurativité élimine le sujet de la peinture, tandis que cette abstraction matissienne et hantaïenne élimine la méthode et le moyen de la peinture classique en traitant ses questions.

Matisse et Hantaï font la peinture sans voir la surface et sans avoir la surface – la toile n'est pas d'un territoire à remplir, ni une surface passive: dans les découpages de Matisse il n'y a pas non plus de toile, pourtant dans les pliages de Hantaï c'est la toile elle-même qui se manifestant comme l'empreinte de soi-même est devenue tableau.

Au cours de cet essai on traitait les papiers découpés de Matisse et les pliages de Hantaï comme réponses dialogiques aux questions du modernisme pictural. On parlait des oeuvres se représentant des problèmes picturaux, c'est-à-dire, des peintures, mais des telles peintures qui sont pein-tes sans toucher du pigment, sans pinceau, avec mains propres.

NOTES

[1] Ce texte se développait à la base de mon mémoire de DEA que j'avais rédigé par l'aide d'une bourse du Gouvernement Français à l'Université Paris I en 1996–1997. Il m'est agréable de remercier tous ceux qui m'ont aidé à réaliser: Madame Le Professeur Krisztina Passuth (Université Eötvös Loránd, Budapest), Monsieur Georges Didi-Hubermann (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris) et Monsieur Simon Hantaï et Madame Hantaï. Je saisis l'occasion d'exprimer toute ma reconnaissance à Madame Le Professeur Marina Vanci-Perahim, mon directeur de recherche à l'Université Paris I, qui me motivait maintes fois par ses opinions et ses conseils professionnels.

[2] Dans le cadre de cet essai, on n'a pas de l'intention de parler de l'histoire du rapport résident entre Hantaï et Matisse, ou plus précisément, concernant les pliages de Simon Hantaï, on ne donne pas trop d'importance à la réception de Matisse en Hongrie. Au contraire de l'influence de Matisse en Hongrie se représentant à travers de ses étudiants hongrois et par l'intermédiaire de Béla Czóbel, par exemple, Hantaï ne s'intéressait ni très profondément ni particulièrement à l'art matissien qu'après l'exposition des papiers découpés à Paris en 1953 (*Henri Matisse: Papiers découpés*, 27 février–28 mars 1953, Galerie Berggruen, Paris).

[3] Une autre variation de cette méthode est le nouage où dans la création de la peinture, l'acte de plier est substitué par l'acte de nouer, c'est-à-dire de faire des noeuds sur la toile, comme par exemple, la série *Tabulas*.

[4] PLEYNET, Marcelin, «Simon Hantaï aujourd'hui là où c'était», in: *Hantaï*, Catalogue de l'exposition, CAPC, Bordeaux, 1981. p. 17–21. FOURCADE, Dominique, «Un coup de pinceau c'est la pensée», in: *Hantaï*, Catalogue de l'exposition, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1976.

[5] *À la rencontre de Matisse.* Fondation Maeght, St. Paul, 1969. *Depuis Matisse ... la couleur. Une approche à la peinture française au XXe siècle.* Catalogue de l'exposition, Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1985. On pourrait mentionner également l'installation provisoire du Musée Matisse à Nice, au printemps de 1997, où deux pliages de Hantaï étaient exposés avec l'une des grandes gouaches de Matisse.

[6] MICHAUD, Yves, «Influence et reconstruction: deux cas contemporains de relations à Matisse», in: *Matisse aujourd'hui.* Cahiers Henri Matisse 5. Musée Matisse, Nice, 1992. p. 167–77. En examinant la liaison «traditionnelle» des deux artistes, Michaud interroge les circonstances grâce auxquelles l'influence de Matisse se présente.

[7] Car dans ce travail on ne peut pas s'occuper de la question des différences qui existent entre la ressemblance et la similitude, parmi plusieurs interprétations de ce problème on ne cite que celle de Michel Foucault, qui nous semble la plus intéressante: FOUCAULT, Michel, *Ceci n'est pas une pipe*, Fata Morgana, Montpellier, 1973.

[8] FÜLEP, Lajos: «Salon d'Automne», «Paul Cézanne», *Szerda*, 31 octobre 1906. Repris dans: FÜLEP, Lajos: *Egybegyűjtött írások I.* Budapest, 1988. p. 324–328; 328–330.

[9] Pour ne citer que des plus importants: FÜLEP, Lajos: «Cézanne és Gaugain», *A Hét*, 12 mai 1907. Repris dans: FÜLEP, Lajos: *Egybegyűjtött írások I.* Budapest, 1988. p. 355–359; FÜLEP, Lajos: «Paul Cézanne», *Művészet*, VI. n. 3. Repris dans: FÜLEP, Lajos: *Egybegyűjtött írások I.* Budapest, 1988. p. 359–365. TOLNAY, Károly: «Cézanne történeti helye», *Ars Una*, I. n. 6. (mars 1924). Repris dans: TOLNAY, Károly: *Teremtő géniuszok, Van Eycktől Cézanne-ig.* Gondolat, Budapest, 1987. p. 230–243; KÁLLAI, Ernő: «Vater Cézanne», *Pester Lloyd* (Budapest), 29 aout 1943. Repris dans: KÁLLAI, Ernő: *Művészet veszélyes csillagzat alatt.* Corvina, Budapest, 1981. p. 198–202., sous le titre «Cézan-ne az ősapa». RABINOVSZKY, Máriusz: «Két korszak határán», *Szabad Művészet*, novembre–décembre 1948. Repris dans: RABINOVSZKY, Máriusz: *Két korszak határán.* Corvina, Budapest, 1965. p. 67–73.

[10] CÉZANNE, Paul, *Correspondance*, recueillie, annotée et préfacée par John REWALD, Grasset, Paris, 1978. p. 299. Lettre à Louis Aurenche, 29 janvier 1904. Citée par GOWING, Lawrence, *Cézanne: La logique des sensations organisées*, Macula, Paris, 1992. p. 50.

[11] RAPHAEL, Max, «Kunstwerk und Naturvorlage. Cézanne: Mont Sainte-Victoire», in: *Wie will ein Kunswerk gesehen sein?* Qumran Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, Paris, 1984. p. 13.

[12] KEMP, Martin, *The Science of Art. Optical themes in western art from Brunelleschi to Seurat*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 1990. En cherchant à justifier l'existence de cette synthèse en pratique, il allègue particulièrement l'art de Delacroix , mais il fait une recherche quasi statistique également en théorie, et souligne que la plupart des ouvrages s'occupant de la théorie des couleurs sont écrits en français et ont été publiés à Paris où ils étaient traduits presque immédiatement. Parmi tant d'autres il énumère les suivants: M. E. Chevreul, *De la Loi du contraste simultané des couleurs*, Paris, 1839; G. Grégoire, *Théorie des couleurs*, Paris, 1820; C. Bourgois, *Manuel d'optique expérimental, à l'usage des artistes et des physiciens*, Paris, 1821; P. Bouvier, *Manuel des jeunes artistes et amateurs en peinture*, Paris, 1832. Il est indispensable de mentionner les recherches de Max Imdahl qui, lui aussi, considère l'histoire de la peinture française comme la représentation du tour d'esprit dans lequel la couleur et les théories cromatiques occupent toujours une place particulière – IMDAHL, Max, *Couleur, Les écrits des peintres français de Poussin à Delaunay*, Édition de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, 1996.

[13] *Correspondances*, op. cit. p. 307. Lettre à Charles Camoin, 9 décembre 1904; cité par GOWING, 1992. op. cit. p. 66.

[14] BERNARD Emil, «*Paul Cézanne*», *L'Occident*, juillet 1904. cité par GOWING, 1992. op. cit. p. 30.

[15] GASQUET, Joachim, *Cézanne*, Les Éditions Bernheim-Jeune, Paris, 1926. p. 146.

[16] Néanmoins, on peut observer cette caractéristique en examinant les tableaux précédents, puisque sur la surface de *La Dame en bleu (La robe de théâtre bleue)*, par exemple, ces sont les grands panneaux colorés de l'arrière-plan, qui dominent tout la composition en faisant opposition par rapport aux visages dessinés du tableau. Mais on peut citer également les exemples les plus évidents, comme *La Musique*, *Le Luxe II.* ou les grands panneaux colorés des versions variées de *La Danse*.

[17] MATISSE, Henri: «L'éternel conflit du dessin et de la couleur.» In: MATISSE, Henri, *Écrits et propos sur l'art.* Texte, notes, et index établis par Dominique FOURCADE, Hermann, Paris, 1992. p. 182. Concernant la relation des aplats colorés à la lumière, on peut aussi invoquer la phrase suivante: «On peut provoquer la lumière par l'invention d'aplats comme on en use avec les accords en musique.» MATISSE, 1992. op. cit. p. 204.

[18] L'expression de Kurt Badt, in: BADT, Kurt, *Die Kunst Cézannes*, München, 1956.

[19] Ce mélange, cette réciprocité entre les divers moyens de l'expression est un trait caractéristique de la carrière de Matisse. Sous une autre forme, on peut observer ce phénomène en relation avec les genres et l'emprunt des motifs. Selon les exemples souvent mentionnés dans la littérature spéciale, par exemple les deux femmes étreintes de l'arrière-plan de *La Musique* (1907) se réalisent comme une plastique ronde à l'intérieur de l'espace pictural, tandis que la préfiguration du même motif, la sculpture intitulée *Les deux négresses* a un caractère bidimensionel comme si elle était une image peinte. Cet exemple, entre autres, est cité dans les ouvrages suivants: SCHNEIDER, Pierre, *Henri Matisse*, Flammarion, Paris, 1992.; ELDERFIELD, John, «Describing Matisse». in: *Henri Matisse, A Retrospective*, MoMA, New York, 1992.; ELSEN, Albert E; *The Sculpture of Henri Matisse*, Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1972.; et en particulier dans l'article de William Tucker qui s'occupe de la qualité optique, visuelle des sculptures de Matisse en introduisant l'expression «visual distanced» - voir, TUCKER, William, «Matisse's Sculpture: The Grasped and the Seen», *Art in America*, juin-août, 1975. (v. 63, no. 4.). La peinture de Matisse donne un autre exemple pour le mélange des genres et pour l'emprunt des thèmes, qui se réalise à l'aide d'un moyen classique de composition, notamment par «le tableau dans le tableau» et par sa version «la sculpture dans le tableau», où l'on voit les sculptures comme les objets d'un intérieur ou comme les parties d'une nature morte. Voir par exemple: *Tête ocre* (1937), *Robe bleue, profil devant la cheminée, aux soucis* (1937), *La grande robe bleue et mimosas* (1937), *Fleurs et figure, pot arabe* ou *Fleurs de la St-Henri* (1939). Cette sorte de représentation touche également à la tradition de la peinture d'atelier, qui, en faisant allusion au procès de la peinture, représente non seulement son sujet primordial - dans ces cas les modèles féminins –, mais aussi cet espace dans lequel les modèles et même le peintre lui-même sont situés. Naturellement, le mélange des genres classiques - nature morte, intérieur, nu, portrait... - à l'intérieur d'un seul tableau représente un élément important dans la peinture de Matisse. Néanmoins l'analyse de ces concepts nous semble trop théorique par rapport à notre sujet, c'est pour cela dans ce travail, on n'a pas l'intention de se pencher sur cette question. Le mélange des genres se manifeste également à propos des papiers découpés. En effet, ils forment des passages entre la qualité picturale et la qualité sculpturale et comme tels ils s'attachent même aux pliages de Hantaï comme on le montrera par la suite.

[20] La communication visuelle entre les éléments picturaux du tableau est le concept fréquent de John Elderfield. Voir, ELDERFIELD, 1992. op. cit.

[21] VERDET, André, *Prestiges de Matisse*, Éditions Émile Paul, Paris, 1952. p. 21.

[22] VERDET, op. cit. p. 52.

[23] Cette caractéristique se manifestant en fonction de l'usage et également de la présence du blanc et de la lumière une partie très importante non seulement des papier découpés, mais aussi des oeuvres précédentes. Le colorisme matissien, la radiance de ses tableaux ou selon les mots de Yve-Alain Bois le phénomène de «l'aveuglement» sont les conséquences d'interaction de la couleur et du blanc. À ce propos, on peut citer l'analyse de John Elderfield: «And light, of course, is the only thing that is not imposed on Matisse's figures. Costumes, settings, anatomy even, are imposed. But light is not. In *The Moorish Screen* [*Jeunes filles au paravent mauresque*] and *Odalisque with Magnolias* [*Odalisque aux magnolias*], everything else may be fake, but light has an almost touchable reality to it as it spreads in color across the spaciousness of separated forms.» (ELDERFIELD, 1992. op. cit. p. 43.)

[24] PLEYNET, Marcelin, «*Identité de la lumière*», in: *Hantaï*, Catalogue de l'exposition, ARCA, Marseille, 1983. p. 3.

[25] La traduction littérale en français du mot hongrois est «blanc pourpre». Par l'usage du mot «lilas», la traduction française de Hantaï cherche à éviter des connotations culturelles et religieuses du mot «pourpre». En hongrois on utilise aussi le mot «lilas pourpre» («bíborlila») et cette manière montre que, dans certains cas, on ne distingue pas fortement leurs sens.

[26] Cité par HOWELLS, Bernard, *The problem with colour. Three theorists: Goethe , Schopenhauer, Chevreul.* in: éd. Collier-Lethbridge, *Artistic Relations*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1994. p. 82.

[27] ibid.

[28] ibid.

[29] GOETHE, Johann Wolgang, *Traité des couleurs. Accompagnés de trois essais théoriques.* Textes choisis et présentés par Paul-Henri Bideau, Triades, Paris, 1980. paragraphe 517. et 523. Comme on a déjà expliqué (voir note 21.), la signification originale du «lilas» de Hantaï est le pourpre.

[30] VERDET, op. cit. p. 45.

[31] PLEYNET, 1983. op. cit.

[32] Matisse, «*Il faut regarder toute la vie avec des yeux d'enfants*». in: MATISSE, 1992. op. cit. p. 323.

[33] La phrase de Yves-Alain Bois, auteur de l'un des plus excellents textes sur Matisse, que l'on emprunté dans le titre de l'introduction de cet essai. BOIS, Yves-Alain, «L'aveuglement», in: *Henri Matisse, 1904–17.* Catalogue de l'exposition, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1993.

[34] Marcelin Pleynet considère la chapelle comme «la conceptualisation de l'espace, conceptualisation de la lumière, conceptualisation du mouvement.» in: PLEYNET, Marcelin, *Henri Matisse*, Gallimard, Paris, 1990. p. 238.

[35] A ce propos, il y a lieu de remarquer, que selon Elderfield *La piscine* touche près de l'art environnemental; in: ELDERFIELD, John, *The Cut-Outs of Henri Matisse.* George Braziller, New York, 1978. p. 30.

[36] L'apparition du blanc pose la question des autres façons d'être de la peinture de la lumière (donc même dans l'impressionnisme) et aussi de la peinture monochrome, en particulier, de celle de la «monochromie blanche». On peut distinguer l'oeuvre de Matisse et de Hantaï des représentations explicites ou iconiques du blanc, en grandes lignes. Cette qualité représentative de la couleur blanche se manifeste dans l'intention de mettre accent sur la surface et sur sa facture (Ryman ou Fontana p. e.) ou dans l'utilisation des formes précises, géométriques (comme les grilles, p. e.) qui sont contrastées avec l'autre non-couleur, le noir (Sol Le Witt ou Agnes Martin p. e.) etc.

[37] Voir note 15.

[38] Matisse, «Jazz» in: MATISSE, 1992. op. cit. p. 237.

[39] En fonction des allusions spatiales des plis, il y a lieu de rappeler à l'interprétation de Gilles Deleuze, qui considère la structure double des plis, c'est-à-dire, leurs relations signalant le haut, le bas, le dehors et le dedans, comme la métaphore du baroque. In: DELEUZE, Gilles, *Le pli. Leibniz et le baroque*, Édition de Minuit, Paris, 1988.

[40] Sous cet angle, on renvoie aussi à l'importance de Pollock dans la peinture de Hantaï, ainsi on complète la phrase plushaut: Matisse n'utilise que du ciseaux, Hantaï peint à l'aveugle, pourtant Pollock n'a pas de conscience de ce qu'il fait. La sentence beaucoup de fois mentionnée de Hantaï - «il y a Pollock, il y a Matisse» - éclaircie le rapport du pliage avec le *drip-ping* de Pollock.

[41] DELECTORSKAYA, Lydia, *Henri Matisse ... l'apparente facilité*, Maeght Editeur, Paris, 1988.

[42] Par ailleurs, en découpant les papiers colorés dans l'air, Matisse, lui aussi, agit accidentellement, sans connaître les contours précis de la forme découpée. C'est après le découpage qu'il reconnaît la forme définitive.

[43] En interprétant le procès créatif et la structure de l'oeuvre d'art sous l'influence forte de la psychanalyse, Koestler prête rôle constructif au hasard et à l'importance de l'accidentel. Selon lui, l'inconscient et les fantasmes anciens et primitifs ont toujours l'importance primordiale pendant l'activité créative. (KOESTLER, Arthur, *The Act of Creation*, Hutchinson, London, 1964.) Par la suite, en examinant la cohérence

de la coïncidence, du synchronisme jungien et de la causalité cartesienne, Koestler cherche à créer une connexion très peu convaincante entre les sciences expérimentales, les sciences humaines et la philosophie. (KOESTLER, Arthur, *The Roots of Coïncidence*, Hutchinson, London, 1972.)

[44] EHRENZWEIG, Anton, *L'ordre caché de l'art. Essai sur la psychologie de l'imagination artistique*, Gallimard, Paris, 1974.

[45] ARNHEIM, Rudolf, «Accident and the necessity of art», in: *Toward a psychology of art. Collected essays*. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1966. ARNHEIM, Rudolf, *Entropy and Art. An Essay on Disorder and Order*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1971.

[46] La plupart des ouvrages touchant de la nature du hasard et de l'inconscient traite les tendances de l'avant-garde et du non-art, particulièrement le dada, la peinture surréaliste, l'art conceptuel et la peinture abstraite et gestuelle. Maintenant, on ne cite que ceux qui sont les plus importants pour l'examination présente du problème: BOGLE, Andrew, *Chance and Change in the new arts*, Auckland City Art Gallery, New Zealand, 1985; CAGE, John, *Silence*, Cambridge (Ma.), London, 1966; PINCUS-WITTEN, R; «Against order: Poetical Sources of Chance Art», in: *Against Order: Chance and Art*. Institute Of Contemporary Art, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1970; WATTS, Harriett Ann, *Chance, A Perspective on Dada*, UMI, Research Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1980. Même si la littérature spéciale établissait une cohérence presque absolue entre les tendances cidessus et le hasard, il faut que l'on la mette en doute en s'appuyant sur la constatation d'Ehrenzweig: «Le *dripping* et le *splashing* ne font guère de part à l'accident. Vu sous cet angle, l'usage habile de l'accident est aussi ancien que l'art lui-même.» (EHRENZWEIG, 1974. op. cit. p. 97.) Mais en dépit de la vérité apparente de la sentence précédente d'Ehrenzweig, il faut accentuer l'importance de l'apparition du hasard comme *moyen direct* de la création artistique. Cette sorte du hasard, qui est appliqué ou calculé explicitement dans le procès créatif, se rattache vraiment à l'avant-garde classique. Concernant Hantaï, qui pendant les années cinquante commençait sa carrière en France par l'aide de Breton et réalisait une peinture surréaliste, il nous semble évident que le concept surréaliste du hasard et les techniques par hasard du surréalisme exerçaient une influence sur la méthode du pliage également.

[47] Arnheim, par ses propres mots, parle de «l'usage apparemment accidentel de l'accident comme nécessité». («The apparently accidental use of accidental is revealed as a necessity.» – ARNHEIM, 1966. op. cit. p. 166.)

[48] EHRENZWEIG, 1974. op. cit. p. 98. ou «C'est le privilège de l'artiste de combiner l'ambiguïté du rêve avec les tensions d'une conscience pleinement éveillé. Au moment de l'inspiration, la réalité lui paraît surréel et intensément plastique.» (op. cit. p. 46.)

[49] EHRENZWEIG, 1974. op. cit. p. 29.

[50] MATISSE, Henri, «Notes d'un peintre». in: MATISSE, 1992. op. cit. p. 56.

[51] MATISSE, Henri, «Entretien avec Léon Degand.» In: MATISSE, 1992 op. cit. p. 300–301. Selon Jack Flam, la relation de Matisse avec le monde de l'inconscient et du rêve, qui est pendant les années trente devenue de plus en plus importante pour lui, signe aussi sa réconciliation avec le mouvement surréaliste. In: *MATISSE ET TÉRIADE*, Catalogue d'exposition avec l'introduction de Jack D. FLAM, Anthèse, Arceuil, 1996, p. 22., p. 24.

[52] On peut trouver l'un de ses prototypes bien connus dans l'art folklorique hongrois également.

[53] Sachant que, c'est une chose impossible à donner une réponse acceptable à la question interrogeant la nature du pli, on est pourtant obligé de la poser. Apparemment, il n'a aucun sens d'interroger le dripping de Pollock, les plis de Hantaï ou les raies de Morris Louis, mais on a essayé d'éclairer la façon superficielle par laquelle on a l'habitude de résoudre le problème du sujet ou du patron concernant les tableaux abstraits en le simplifiant l'opposition de la figurativité et de la non-figurativité. Et la difficulté surgissant de la définition du pli, démontre que l'on oublie souvent qu'il y a non seulement deux catégories pour parler des tableaux.

[54] «Je vois la nécessité de m'éloigner de toutes contraintes, de toutes idées théoriques pour me livrer du fond et complètement, en me plaçant hors du moment, de cette mode de distinction du figuratif et du non f.» – dit Matisse, en parlant de *Jazz* et des papiers découpés. MATISSE, Henri, «Lettres à André Rouveyre sur *Jazz*». In: MATISSE, 1992. op. cit. p. 241.

[55] Voir les propos de Matisse: «Mais la pensée d'un peintre ne doit pas considérée en dehors de ses moyens, car elle ne vont qu'autant qu'elle est servie par les moyens qui doivent être d'autant plius complets (et, par complets, je n'entends pas compliqués) que sa pensée est plus profonde.» MATISSE, Henri, «Notes d'un peintre». In: MATISSE, 1992. op. cit. p. 42.

[56] «Expression et décoration ne sont qu'une seule et même chose, le second terme étant condensé dans le premier.» – dit Matisse à Georges Duthuit. In: MATISSE, 1992. op. cit. p. 308.

[57] Il semble peut-être un peu surprenant de parler de Cézanne dans ce contexte, mais les propos de Gasquet nous donne une explication: «Tout ce que nous voyons, n'est-ce pas, se disperse, s'en va. La nature est toujours la même, mais rien ne demeure d'elle, de ce qui nous apparaît. Notre art doit, lui, donner le frisson de sa durée avec les éléments, l'apparence des tous ses changements. Il doit nous la faire goûter éternelle. Qu'est-ce-qu'il y a sous elle? Rien peut-être. Peut-être tout. Tout, comprenez-vous? Alors... je prends, à droite, à gauche, ici, là, partout, ses tons, ses couleurs, ses nuances, je les fixe, je les rapproche... Ils font des lignes. Ils deviennent des objets, des rochers, des arbres, sans que j'y songe.» GASQUET, 1926. op. cit; p. 130–131.

[58] Comme l'on sait, la maladie grave de Matisse jouait aussi un rôle très important dans l'utilisation du découpage.

[59] «On est arrivé à des moyens nouveaux moyens ou plutôt les moyens ont été rajeunis. La rétine se fatigue des mêmes moyens. Elle demande des surprises.» MATISSE, Henri, «Entretien avec Tériade». In: MATISSE, 1992. op. cit. p. 98.

[60] À propos de son aveuglement pendant la peinture, Hantaï cite fréquemment l'une des phrases des *Confessions* de St. Augustin: «*Je résiste aux séductions des yeux pour ne pas embarrasser mes pieds.*» in: BALDASSARI, Anne, *Simon Hantaï*, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1992. p. 42.

[61] Naturellement, la fin de la peinture de chevalet est l'une des fictions de l'avant-garde et comme telle, elle ne prends sa source que de la peinture de l'expressionnisme abstrait, mais aussi de celle de l'avant-garde.

[62] Voir aussi: «Je ne saurais trop insister sur la nécessité pour un artiste de la parfaite sincérité dans son travail qui peut seul donner à l'artiste le grand courage dont il a besoin pour l'accepter en toute modestie et humilité.» MATISSE, Henri, «Le texte.» In: MATISSE, 1992. op. cit. p. 318.

[63] MATISSE, 1992. op. cit. p. 321.

[64] EHRENZWEIG, 1974.

RECENSIONES

ÖSTERREICH UND GOTIKREZEPTION ZWEI BÜCHER ÜBER DIE KUNST DER LETZTEN BABENBERGER UND DIE EDITION EINES KLASSIKERS

Die Literatur über die Kunst in Österreich in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts wurde in den letzten Jahren um zwei bedeutende Bücher vermehrt. Beide lösen lange fällige Aufgaben der Mittelalterforschung durch eingehende Prüfung von Schlüsselwerken der letzten Babenbergerherzöge. Die von Ulrike Seeger behandelten Bauten Herzogs Leopold VI. in Lilienfeld und in Klosterneuburg erschienen für die Zeitgenossen bestimmt alles andere als letzte Werke einer sich zum Aussterben nähernden Dynastie, deren Schicksal für diejenigen, die um die Errichtung des Grabmals Friedrichs II. bemüht waren, bereits Gewißheit war. Das letztere Werk wurde von Friedrich Dahm monographisch behandelt.

Es ist erfreulich, daß es sich um zwei Dissertationen handelt, denn dadurch hat die monographische Bearbeitung an der Systematik der Fragestellung und der Übersicht der Quellen, sowie an der Bemühung um die Schaffung einer weiteren historischen Aussicht viel gewonnen. Die Methodik der Annäherung ist freilich unterschiedlich; beide Autoren haben ebenso auf durch ihr Material – Baukunst in dem einen, Skulptur im anderen Fall – als adäquat nahegelegte Fragen und Methoden konzentriert wie sich auch mit der vorangehenden Literatur auseinandergesetzt. Wohl sind auch Einflüsse der Tradition ihrer Universitäten und ihrer Doktorväter zu spüren. Dankbar verzeichnet man in beiden Fällen vor allem die Themenwahl, die sich an wesentliche und aktuelle Fragen der österreichischen, ja sogar der mitteleuropäischen Kunstgeschichte anknüpft. Wohl wird da nur eine Facette der Geschichte der Kunst in Österreich berührt, aber bestimmt diejenige, die ihre Geschichte im 13. Jahrhundert am meisten kennzeichnet. Ob zu Unrecht oder nicht, man ist dazu geneigt, die beiden Beiträge zusammenhängend, nacheinander zu lesen und dabei zu erwägen, wie sie einander ergänzen. Der ungarische Leser mag sich dabei vielleicht dadurch entschuldigen, daß in beiden Fällen u.a. auch ungarische Denkmäler mit in Betracht gezogen werden.

Für diese gemeinsame Besprechung bot sich uns der Ausdruck „Gotikrezeption" als gemeinsamer Nenner. Es handelt sich nämlich um eine alte Frage, die seit der Verbürgerung der Ansicht, daß die Gotik in Frankreich entstand, wann, wo und woher ihre Formen übernommen wurden, die für die Kunsthistoriker des 19. Jahrhunderts eindeutig die Zukunft, den Fortschritt und die „Entwicklung" selbst verkörperten. Für uns, die u.a. durch Rezeptionsästhetik geschult sind, heißt Rezeption aber nicht nur Annahme fremden Gutes, eine quantitative Bereicherung des „Formenschatzes", sondern auch ein qualitatives Verhältnis und eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Vorbild, die sich als authentischer Ausdruck des Rezipienten deuten lassen. Man forscht heute auch in der Kunstgeschichte oft gerade darum, um solche Aussagen zu gewinnen. Da die aus der Zeit stammende Textüberlieferung gerade hinsichtlich der Rezeption bekanntlich sehr selten und arm ist, gewinnen Forschungen, wie diejenigen, die in den vorliegenden Büchern erörtert wurden, zusätzlich an Bedeutung.

SEEGER, ULRIKE, ZISTERZIENSER UND GOTIKREZEPTION DIE BAUTÄTIGKEIT DES BABENBERGER LEOPOLD VI. IN LILIENFELD UND KLOSTERNEUBURG,

Deutscher Kunstverlag, München, Berlin 1997, 224 Seiten, 98 Abbildungen, mit Stammbaum und einer Abbildung auf Klapptafel

Die zwei Hauptteile des Buchs sind den beiden wichtigsten Denkmälern der Bautätigkeit Herzogs Leopold VI., dem Chor der Zisterzienserstiftskirche Lilienfeld und der Klosterneuburger Capella Speziosa gewidmet. In beiden Fällen – unter Rücksichtnahme auf die Verschiedenheit der Erhaltung – wird gleicherweise methodisch vorgegangen: den Ausgangspunkt bildet jeweils eine Übersicht der Bildquellen und der kunsthistorischen Literatur, und aus einer Analyse resultieren Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Baugestalt und ihre typologische Einordnung. Im Unterschied zu Klosterneuburg, wo sich die Analyse der Pfalzkapelle nicht von der Darstellungstradition, der Erhaltung von Baufragmenten sowie von archäologischen Belegen trennen läßt, wird bei der Erörterung des Chores von Lilienfeld ein Kapitel über die Analyse der Konzeption des Umgangschores hineingeschoben. Dieser Aufbau der monographischen Teile läßt erkennen, daß es sich für die Verfasserin weniger um die Rekonstruktion von ehemaligen baulichen Tatbeständen geht als um die Gewinnung von historischen Kriterien, die dann für Lilienfeld im Kapitel „Gründungsgeschichte und Gründungsmotivationen" ihre Verwendung finden, und die dann im zusammenfassenden Kapitel über die Selbstverständnis Leopolds VI. („Deutung: Genealogische Kontinuität, Landesherrschaft und Reichsfürstenstand") wiederaufgenommen werden. Dem folgen kürzere Betrachtungen über die Nachfolge bzw. über „Zisterzienserarchitektur und Gotikrezeption im Reich zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts". Das Problem, das kurz in der Einleitung skizziert wird, die Bedeutung vom Bau einer Privatkapelle *und* die parallele Gründung eines Reformklosters für die Repräsentation des deutschen Hochadels am Ende des 12. und im 13. Jahrhundert, ist mit glücklicher Hand gewählt und ist geeignet, die zwei, auf die historische Persönlichkeit Herzogs Leopold VI. gerichteten Fallstudien zu einer Einheit zu verbinden.

Die These, daß der Umgangschor in Lilienfeld – trotz verschieden gerichteter Hypothesen der nachträglichen Plan-

änderungen – einheitlich, in einem Zuge ausgeführt ist, und eine Baunaht erst über Umganghöhe, in der Obergadenhöhe des Polygons anzunehmen ist, wird durch eingehende Beobachtungen gut dokumentiert. Es scheint jedoch, daß die zweierlei Konzeptionen, die in der früheren Literatur in der Annahme von zwei Bauphasen ihren Ausdruck fanden, für die Verfasserin auch weiterhin als Deutungsprinzipien gelten. Erstens darin, daß ein Gegensatz zwischen sakral anmutendem Hochchor und Umgangshalle von ausschlaggebend „profanem" Charakter angenommen wird. Zweitens darin, daß man bei berechtigten Beobachtungen über die mangelnde Erfahrung der Bauhütte vergebens nach Hypothesen über den/die Verfasser der als einmalig gekennzeichneten Fusion sucht.

Die Verfasserin weist wohl mit Recht im Zusammenhang mit der eigenartigen Verbindung des rechteckigen Umgangschors und des inneren Polygons die These von einer Synthese von Ordenskirche und Kathedrale von der Hand. Dabei scheint sie darauf zu vergessen, daß ja parallel mit der zisterziensischen Erfindung der rechteckigen Umgangschöre (Cîteaux III, Morimond usw.) es auch polygonale oder halbkreisförmige Umgangschöre (etwa Clairvaux III, Pontigny III. usw.) gibt. Eine von den frühgotischen Umgangschören mit Kapellenkranz ausgehende Inspiration läßt sich dabei kaum leugnen, aber jeder weitergehende Vergleich mit der Kathedralbaukunst mag sich bis zu tatsächlichen hochgotischen Zisterzienserchören des späteren 13. Jahrhunderts (etwa Longpont, Altenberg usw.) erübrigen. U.E. gehört der Chorbau des Domes zu Magdeburg auch in diese Reihe der Kathedralbauten, deren Wirkung in Lilienfeld zusätzlich noch Fragen der Vermittler stellt. Wer, wenn nicht die unerfahrenen Bauleute es waren, die sich für geknickte Rechteckspfeiler entschieden, um versteckte Hinweise auf den Aachener Münster in die Architektur hineinzukodieren? Hier muß man die Frage stellen, ob wir die von uns herausentwickelten Kriterien der Bauanalyse mit den Prinzipien identifizieren dürfen, die bei der Ausführung gegolten haben. Durch den Umstand, daß die Verfasserin bei der Analyse des Wandsystems der Klosterneuburger Capella Speziosa bei derselben Beziehung ankommt, wird da eine besondere Vorsicht geboten. Im allgemeinen nimmt man statt versteckten Strukturelementen lieber größere Bauformen als Träger von „Wiedererkennungswerten" an, wie der von der Verfasserin vor allem auf das äußere Erscheinungsbild des rechteckigen Umgangschores verwendete zentrale Begriff der Deutung heißt. Polygonal angelegter Hochchor eines Umgangchors ist nur eines der möglichen Vorbilder, die zusammen mit dem rechteckigen Umgang für die Lilienfelder Lösung eine Rolle gespielt haben. Das andere mag etwa eine verlängerte, polygonal geschlossene Chorkapelle gewesen sein, die sich besonders im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts in der Zisterzienserbaukunst in der Tat öfters findet. Letzten Endes kann man den Lilienfelder Chorgrundriß auch als eine Verquickung von einer Chorlösung mit Polygonchor und je drei sich an den Querschiff anschliessenden Kapellen und einer Umgangshalle betrachten.

Auch die Betonung des Unterschieds zwischen Chorinnerem und Umgangshalle scheint übertrieben zu sein. Die schlichten Zwischenpfeiler und die Vorherrschaft der Wandfläche auch im Chorinneren läßt den Gegensatz zumindest als weniger scharf erscheinen. Dadurch erscheint der angenommene Profanbaucharakter des Umgangs auch als eine eher durch das heutige Erscheinungsbild bedingter Eindruck des nunmehr leeren Raumes. Sowohl im Binnenchor als auch im Umgang muß man aber den weitgehenden Verlust der Inneneinrichtung (Gestühl bzw. Trennwände der Altarräume) ins Kalkül ziehen. Auch die ursprüngliche Architekturfassung ist unbekannt. Als Beispiel kann die Erwähnung eines rot gemalten Streifens unter der Konsole eines der Chorarkadenpfeiler angeführt werden, der als Rest einer um 1600 datierten Farbfassung gedeutet wird. Ist diese Datierung durch eine Wanduntersuchung bestätigt? Im Falle einer nachmittelalterlichen Entstehung kann man eventuell auf eine vorangehende Fassung schliessen? Diese Frage ist deshalb wichtig, denn sonst dieses Detail einer Fortsetzung der plastisch ausgeführten Konsolen in der Malerei würde, also der Vortäuschung von kantonierten Pfeilern vorzüglich entsprechen.

Zu den Verdiensten der Arbeit gehört der Nachweis der Pariser Beziehungen – u.zw. nicht nur für Klosterneuburg sondern auch für den Chorbau in Lilienfeld. Dieser Gemeinsamkeit ist m.E. auch die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Bautyp „Kapelle" zuzurechnen, einer Bauform exklusiven Charakters, die sich für den privaten Sakralbau ebenso eignete als auch für die Ausscheidung geistlicher Gemeinschaften (von Domkapiteln bis Mönchskonventen, insbesondere denen der Bettelorden, die diesen Chortyp im späteren 13. Jahrhundert fast als ausschließlich aufgegriffen haben). Die Verfasserin hat eine gründliche und überzeugende Arbeit in der Rekonstruktion der Capella Speziosa und im Nachweis der Veränderungen nach ihrer 1339 erfolgten Übergabe dem Chorherrenstift geleistet. Auch ihre Bedenken, den Bautyp mit der vollausgebildeten gotischen Palastkapelle zu messen, sind überzeugend. Was jedoch die Rekonstruktion und die Betonung des Emporencharakters des Laufganges betrifft, ist eine Intention, nämlich im Dienst der Aussage, daß die Klosterneuburger Kapelle *in die Nähe* der Aachener Pfalzkapelle gerückt werden könnte, kaum zu verkennen. Wenn schon, muß der Rezensent bekennen, daß er an der Pariser Ste-Chapelle mehr und augenfälligere Ähnlichkeiten sowohl mit Aachen (Westbau) als auch mit deutschen Doppelkapellen zu entdecken vermag, als aufgrund der überaus sophistischen Analysen der Klosterneuburger Struktur. Es leuchtet wenig ein und mag vielleicht auf die Überzeugungskraft der Prillschen Zeichnung zurückgeführt werden, daß der Laufgang mit Empore und die zweigeschoßige Wandstruktur mit Doppelgeschoßigkeit gleichgesetzt wird. Die liturgischen Möglichkeiten der Doppelkapellen, auf die oft hingewiesen wird, sind eigentlich nicht konkretisiert, und eine Bemerkung über den Betrachterstandpunkt auf der Westempore im Zusammenhang mit der Burgkapelle von Bösig scheint nahezulegen, daß die Verfasserin die Empore als eine Art Herrscherloge auffaßt. Der einzige Hinweis auf den Zweck der Laufgänge, die Erklärungen zum Aufriß der Kathedrale zu Reims im Bauhüttenbuch des Villard de Honnecourt, rechnet allerdings nur mit einer technischen und mit keiner liturgischen Bestimmung. Unsere Vorbehalte hinsichtlich dieser Interpretation der Klosterneuburger Pfalzkapelle betreffen auch ihre angenommene böhmische Nachfolge (deren stilistischer Kontext ein völlig anderer ist), sowie die Deutung der ehemaligen Thomaskapelle auf dem Grazer Schloßberg (wo das Obergeschoß mit seinen dünnen Mauern und kleiner Apsis recht seltsam für einen mittelalterlichen Bau anmutet).

Trotz unseren Einwänden manchen uns als übertrieben erscheinenden Interpretationsvorschlägen der Verfasserin gegenüber messen wir außer dem wohl bleibendem Beitrag zu den beiden Baugeschichten besonders der historischen Analyse der herzöglichen Bautätigkeit und dem feinfühligen Nachweis ihrer Motivation einen großen Wert bei. Als solche erscheint die systematische Analyse der Rolle der Zisterziensergründung im Landesausbau, der Pflege der Stiftermemoria und der Schaffung eines historischen Umfelds. Der kunsthistorischen Analyse der Klosterneuburger Pfalzkapelle folgt ebenfalls ein Abschnitt, dessen Kern die Kapitel über historisches Bewußtsein und Herrschaftsverständnis bilden. Wohl die wichtigste Feststellung betrifft die Identifizierung der politischen Ambitionen des Stifters mit seinen Intentionen als eines Bauherrn. Die Systematik der Beweggründe dient der Darstellung des historischen Kontexts der beiden Bauten in der Zeit, als sich die Ansprüche der Babenbergerherzöge auf Erhebung aus den Verhältnissen der Landesherrschaft in den Reichsfürstenstand angereift haben. Die Verfasserin sieht die Ursache der ungemein großen Prestige und der Mustergültigkeit der französischen Monarchie seit dem späten 12. Jahrhundert darin, daß es ihr vor allem der Übergang vom Wahlkönigtum zur Erbmonarchie gelang. Diese Formulierung ist offensichtlich besser geeignet für die Kunstgeschichte, denn eine verfrühte Anwendung des Begriffs Hofkunst, den man Branner (und Warnke) folgend jetzt lieber auf die Erscheinung der *Court Art* Ludwigs des Heiligen bezieht.

Die von der Verfasserin angelegten Untersuchungen beziehen sich vor allem auf das Reich. Die vom ungarischen Leser dankbar verzeichneten zahlreichen Hinweise auf Ungarn fallen außerhalb dieses historischen Bezugsystems und können als eine Probe dazu dienen, wie ihre Thesen auf Mitteleuropa bezogen werden können. (Eine andere, wohl von tschechischen Kunsthistorikern zu erörternde Frage ist es, ob Böhmen allein durch Denkmäler der Zeit Königs Přemysl Otakar II. richtig vertreten ist.) Ein erster Versuch, die Methoden und die Vorschläge der Verfasserin am ungarischen Denkmälerbestand nachvollzuziehen, fällt positiv aus. Die Bedeutung von gleichzeitig erbauten Reformkloster und Palastkapelle für die königliche Repräsentation kann für die Gründung des Zisterzienserstiftes Pilis unter Béla III. als evident erscheinen, wobei man keine Erklärung für die relative Bescheidenheit der ungarischen Zisterzienserkirchen findet (sie gehören dem „Kolonialtyp" an, ähnlich wie die polnischen Bauten). Unter Béla III. wurde eine Palastkapelle in der Burg Esztergom errichtet, nicht dem Palast, sondern dem Bergfried angeschlossen, und trotz ihrer klaren Orientierung nach Vorbildern aus dem Pariser Gegend, von völlig anderem Typ als diejenige von Klosterneuburg. Die Parallelerscheinung, die Kapelle des St. Stefan des Protomärtyrers wurde wohl in der Zeit gebaut, als bereits der Erzbischof die Burg besaß, und gehörte dem Baukomplex des Domkapitels an. Denn bereits König Emme-rich hat auf die Königsburg verzichtet, und die königliche Resi-denz wurde nach Óbuda verlegt. Da, in der römischen Ruinen-stadt, die Etzilburg im Nibelungenlied und Sicambria in der alt-französischen Epik heißt, erkennt man offenbar eine Suche nach historischer Legitimierung der Árpádenherrschaft. Um diese Zeit wurde in den *Gesta Ungarorum* des anonymen Notars Königs Béla die Besitznahme des „Palastes" von Attila durch den Fürst Árpád geschildert. Wohl in der späten Regierungszeit Königs Andreas II., im dritten Jahrzehnt des 13. Jahrhunderts entstand hier als eine genaue zeitliche Parallele zu Klosterneuburg eine königliche Kapelle im Rahmen einer königlichen Burg, die durch ihren kastellartigen Typ kaum zu Unrecht im Zusammenhang mit der Anlage der Wiener Hofburg angeführt werden dürfte. Freilich gibt es in Ungarn in dieser Zeit auch einen Kathedralbau französischen Typs, die wohl unter Erzbischof Berthold von Andechs-Meran begonnene Kirche Kalocsa II. Die Parallelen regen zum weiteren Vergleich an, nicht zuletzt unter dem Aspekt, wie sich Königsmacht und Landesherrschaft (bzw. die um 1200 er-stärkte Aristokratie) unterschiedliche soziale Kategorien für Ungarn bedeuten. Um bei einem einzigen Beispiel zu bleiben: die Betonung der Verwendung des Rotmarmors an den Bauten Leopolds VI. und der Hinweis auf Magdeburg und Aachen die Inbetriebnahme des Steinbruchs offensichtlich für den Bau von Esztergom um diese Zeit läßt auch diese ungarische Materialver-wendung, für die man sich bisher stets mit Hinweisen auf Byzanz begnügt hat, in einem neuen Licht erscheinen. Für all das erscheint jedoch ein breiterer mitteleuropäischer Kontext als wünschenswert.

DAHM, FRIEDRICH, DAS GRABMAL FRIEDRICHS DES STREITBAREN IM ZISTERZIENSERSTIFT HEILIGENKREUZ. REKONSTRUKTION - TYPUS - STIL - LITURGISCHE FUNKTIONEN, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Kunstgeschichte Herausgegeben von Hermann Fillitz, Band 3, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien 1996, 84 Seiten, 64 + im Annex I.–VII. Abbildungen

Durch ihren Gegenstand, das Heiligenkreuzer Grabmal Herzogs Friedrich II. schließt sich der von Friedrich Dahm geschriebene Monographie chronologisch der von Ulrike Seeger bearbeiteten Periode Leopolds VI. an. Zum Teil handelt es sich um die Fortsetzung des dort entworfenen Horizonts: im Sinn der dynastischen Nachfolge (die sich mit dem Tod Friedrichs des Streitbaren endet) und auch in dem des Schicksals der landesfürstliche Ambitionen repräsentierenden künstlerischen Unternehmungen der Babenberger. Es gibt freilich Stellen, die in den beiden Arbeiten einander ergänzen. So werden Anzeichen einer um 1206–1209 geplanten Übersiedlung des Zisterzienserstiftes wohl nach Westungarn von Seeger im Rahmen der landesfürstlichen Intentionen Leopolds VI. gedeutet, während dieselben Daten Dahm als Belege der engen Beziehungen der Heiligenkreuzer Mönche zum ungarischen Königshaus aufführt. Schwerwiegender sind unterschiedliche Darstellungen von Tatbeständen, wie die Identifizierung der im Stich nach Salomon Kleiner überlieferten Lilienfelder Tumba mit der Herzogs Leopold VI., während Seeger überzeugend nachgewiesen hat, daß in Herrgotts Buch sich um eine Verwechslung des Herzogengrabs mit dem seiner Tochter Margarete handelt.

Kunstgeschichtlich interessanter sind Verschiedenheiten des Bildes der Kunstgeschichte Österreichs im 13. Jahrhundert, die sich von den unterschiedlichen Blickwinkeln der beiden Verfasser ergeben. Seeger konzentrierte sich vor allem auf das Modernste und wohl im Sinne der Herrscherrepräsentation zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts Schicklichste, wobei sie sich mehr mit dem Kontext im Reich, denn in Österreich befaßte. Für Dahm ergab sich aus der Spannung zwischen Typus und stilistischer Qualität des Friedrichsgrabes die Notwendigkeit der Auseinandersetzung mit der übrigen Kunstproduktion der Zeit in Österreich, wobei er stilistische Anhaltspunkte besonders in der Bauskulptur der Wiener Michaelerkirche sowie in der Tradition der ungarischen Skulptur gesucht hat. Es ist eine angenehme Pflicht für den Rezensenten, die Verwendung seiner früher riskierten These über eine Diskontinuität der Tradition französischer Gotikrezeption als Deutungshypothese bescheinigen zu können. Seeger schweigt über das Schicksal der leopoldinischen Gotikrezeption und nimmt - eigentlich im Sinne des Prinzips der *Translatio imperii* - ihre Verlegung nach Böhmen zur Zeit Königs Otakar an; Dahm erfährt die Kontinuität des Anspruchs und zugleich den Bruch in der künstlerischen Tradition. Was faszinierend und unbedingt zu wissen wäre, ist die besonders angesichts der spätbabenbergischen Baukunst Österreichs entstehende Frage, ob etwa die in Lilienfeld und Klosterneuburg erschienene gotische Formenwelt wirklich spurlos verschwand und wieweit die österreichische Baukunst beeinflußt hat. Als Dahm von Außen eine ungarische Komponente zur Hilfe herbeiruft, muß man bedenken, daß ja in der gleichen Zeit auch die ungarische Kunstgeschichte mit von Österreich empfangenen Einflüssen operiert. Für eine Zahl von Erscheinungen besonders in Westungarn und in den österreichischen Nachbargebieten gerade zur Entstehungszeit der fraglichen Details der Wiener Michaelerkirche bietet u.a. die Hilfskonstruktion der „niederösterreichischen Portalschule" noch immer eine Erklärungsmöglichkeit für die Gemeinsamkeiten.

Dahms Ziel ist vor allem die systematische Erarbeitung einer Rekonstruktion zur Wiederherstellung der ursprüng-

lichen Form der Herzogstumba. Vom Erfolg dieses Bestrebens zeugt der Annex, wo er über – z.T. seine Rekonstruktion weiter nuancierende – konservatorische Untersuchung, Funde und Grabung berichten kann. Seine Arbeit umfaßt vier Schritte: die Rekonstruktion des Hochgrabes durch Integrierung von Fragmenten der Gesamtstruktur zusammen mit der im Heiligenkreuzer Kapitelsaal befindlichen Grabplatte, die typologische Bestimmung der letzteren, ein Deutungsversuch seiner Funktion, sowie eine stilkritische Analyse und Datierung. Die ersten zwei Aspekte erbrachten eine völlig überzeugende Lösung, während über die beiden anderen man noch viel diskutieren könnte, wie es Sándor Tóth bereits tat (in: *Ars Hungarica* 1997/1-2, S. 461-474).

Für die Rekontsruktionsvorstellung und besonders den Nachweis, daß es sich bei den mit einem 5/8 Polygonquerschnitt gebildeten Ansätzen an den Rahmenfragmenten handelt, wurden für die Seitenwandgliederung des Hochgrabs besonders die Aschaffenburger Tumba Herzogs Otto von Schwaben und die Altäre von St. Kunibert in Köln herangezogen (aus der gleichen Zeit und demselben kunstgeographischem Milieu würde noch das Doppelgrab des Gerad von Geldern und der Margerite von Brabant in der Munsterkerk von Roermond ein weiteres Beispiel darstellen). Es scheint, daß durch den Fund eines rotmarmornen Kapitellfragments sowohl der Anschluß der Umrahmung an die Dienste als auch die Polychromie des Grabmals weiter konkretisiert werden konnte. Das Fragment des Vollblattkapitels erinnert übrigens sehr stark an kleinere Rotmarmorfragmente in Esztergom, um die vielleicht die ungarischen Parallelen vermehrt werden können.

Auch die typologische Herleitung der Darstellung und des figürlichen Beiwerks der Grabplatte aus Frankreich ist völlig überzeugend, ja gewissermaßen verblüffend, denn das Heiligenkreuzer Herzogsgrabmal weist zu einer relativ frühen Zeit praktisch den ganzen, in ihrer vollausgebildeten Form z.T. erst von späteren Beispielen bekannten Apparat von Engeln am Kopf und den betenden Mönchen beim Fuß auf. Ob das Vorbild die im Zisterzienserstift Pilis für die Königin Gertrud von Ungarn errichtete hochgotische Tumba gewesen sein konnte, läßt sich nicht mit Gewißheit entscheiden, zumal im gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand (auf neue Erkenntnisse wies in seiner Buchbesprechung S. Tóth, a.a.O. S. 466 hin) nicht alle in Frage stehenden Elemente in Pilis aufgezeigt werden können. Derselbe war es, der mit Recht auf eine geritzte und inkrustierte rotmarmorne ritterliche Grabplatte aus Pilis im Zusammenhang mit dem Friedrichsgrab hinwies. Die fragmentarische Grabplatte von Pilis (vgl. zuletzt den Beitrag von Imre Takács im Ausstellungskatalog *Pannonia Regia*, Budapest 1994, Kat. Nr. IV-22, S. 256 f.) ist für die Heiligenkreuzer Grabplatte in mehreren Hinsichten interessant. Zuerst weist sie einen Unterschied in der Kleidung an: statt dem Waffenrock mit halblangen Ärmeln Friedrichs trug der Ritter in Pilis einen Kettenhemd und einen ärmellosen Mantel darüber, die eine engere Verwandtschaft mit französischen Ritterdarstellungen der Zeit aufweisen. Die andere Lehre der Fragmente von Pilis, die laut der letzten Veröffentlichung hypothetisch auf den 1228 verstorbenen lateinischen Kaiser Pierre de Courtenay bezogen werden mögen, betrifft die Bezeichnung der Sozialstellung der so dargestellten Ritter. Ob die oben angeführte Hypothese über die Beisetzung von Pierre de Courtenay zutrifft oder nicht, die dargestellte Person ist ausdrücklich als ein *Comes* im fragmentarisch erhaltenen Inschrift bezeichnet: [D]EC(US):P(RE)CIVM COMITV(M).FV(IT) HI(C) ALIORU(M). Diese Parallele ist nicht völlig belanglos für die die Person Herzog Friedrichs betreffende politische Manifestation (d.h. derjenigen, die ihn beigesetzt und sein Grabmal bestellt haben). In unseren Augen kommt in der Wahl des Darstellungstypus weniger sein fürstlicher Rang als seine ritterliche Tugend zum Ausdruck. Selbst für die Umstände der Errichtung des Heiligenkreuzer Grabmals wäre von Bedeutung, ob es der Repräsentation der Landesherrschaft oder des Reichsfürstenstandes besser entsprechen würde. Die dritte Lehre liefert der Fundort der Fragmente von Pilis, der Kapitelsaal des Zisterzienserklosters. Aufgrund dieser Parallele mögen sich Überlegungen über eine eventuelle spätere Verlegung des Friedrichsgrabes vom Chor in den Kapitelsaal erübrigen. Die Situation in Pilis ist besonders lehrreich, da die Königin Gertrud, eine königliche Person und Patronin des Stifts wurde ebenso im Chor beigesetzt, wie Herzog Leopold VI. in Lilienfeld, während die beiden als Ritter ausgezeichneten Vornehmen ihre letzte Ruhestätte in Kapitelsälern fanden.

Der Kapitel über „Weltliche und liturgische Aspekte des Grabmals" ist eine gute Zusammenfassung diesbezüglicher Kenntnisse in der gegenwärtigen kunsthistorischen Literatur, ihre Anwendung auf die Heiligenkreuzer Herzogtumba erscheint jedoch eher abenteuerlich. S. Tóth hat bereits seine Bedenken hinsichtlich der von den Mönchsfiguren getragenen „Tafeln" ausgeführt (a.a.O. S. 472). Wir möchten lediglich hinzufügen, daß selbst im Falle, wenn Horst Appuhns Cappenberger Rekonstruktion zuträfe, es keinen Normalfall darstellen und somit zur Rekonstruktion einer ähnlichen Situation in Heiligenkreuz im Mangel anderer Quellen keinen Grund liefern würde. Von den in Betracht gezogenen Gegenständen würde zwar ein Kreuzreliquiar wohl dem Zweck entsprechen, aber keineswegs ein Ring, der nicht nur zu klein ist, sondern auch (wohl als Siegelstempel) einer sorgfältigen Aufbewahrung bedurfte – nicht zu sprechen davon, daß von seinen weiteren Schicksalen nichts überliefert wurde.

Was die stilkritische Analyse und Datierung Dahms betrifft, hat sein früherer Rezensent seine Vorschläge der Herleitung des Stils aus Ungarn im Grunde bejahend empfangen (S. Tóth, a.a.O. S. 467 ff), und statt älteren Parallelen auf solche hingewiesen, die für die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts eher als zeitgemäß erscheinen. Er führte für den Figurenstil zwei Figürchen (das eine ist eine Wasserspeierfigur) aus Zalavár an, und hinsichtlich des Ornaments wies er auf die formale Verwandtschaft mit Fragmenten von Pilis und Kalocsa II. sowie aus der Liebfrauenkirche von Buda hin. Da betreten wir aber bereits das Terrain der Formvergleiche, die besonders in sonst auch zusammenhängenden künstlerischen Kulturen zu immerwährenden Suchen nach stets überzeugenderen (und methodisch jeweils unterschiedlich belegbaren) Parallelen führen können. Für uns genügt es, daß an ungarischen Denkmälern des 13. Jahrhunderts ähnliche Rankenfriese wie in Heiligenkreuz häufig vorkommen. In der sie betreffenden kunsthistorischen Literatur fehlen in der Regel die Hinweise auf Wechselbeziehungen innerhalb der mitteleuropäischen Region, die außer den österreichischen Ländern und Ungarn auch etwa süddeutsche Gebiete, Böhmen und Mähren umfassen würden, nicht. Wir möchten lieber über dieses weit verbreitete, massenhaft durch Denkmäler vertretene und wenig erforschte Phänomen einer künstlerischen Gemeinsprache sprechen, die gleichsam die Folie zur Gotikrezeption bildete. Für das Grabmal in Heiligenkreuz kommt die Rolle eines Kompromisses mit der Gemeinsprache vor allem in der Diskrepanz zwischen Idee und Ausführung, d.h. der überaus fortgeschrittenen Typenwahl und der „romanisch" anmutenden Massigkeit des Bildes zum Ausdruck.

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Wie wichtig die den hier besprochenen Dissertationen ähnlich angelegte monographische Forschungen zur Gotikrezeption sein können, die u.a. auch Vergleiche im mitteleuropäischen Raum anregen, können sie eine umfassende Darstellung der Kunstgeschichte dieser Region kaum ersetzen. Der Mangel des Vergleichs in einem breiteren Rahmen zeigt sich auch darin, daß man sich um keine Vorstellung über den Hang zur Gotikrezeption im späten 12. und im frühen 13. Jahrhundert verfügt. Es ist vielmehr eine nationalistisch gefärbte Angelegenheit, ja eine Tradition der Nationalschulen der Kunstgeschichte dieser Länder, den Anschluß an das Vorbild Frankreichs gleichsam als Sportleistungen zu betrachten, die – womöglich frühen – Zeitpunkte als solche zu registrieren, und vor allem die Einzeltatsachen jeweils getrennt als dynastisch, kulturell oder politisch bedingte Fakten zu begründen. Von den verbindenden Faktoren findet man weniger. In unseren Fällen kann man – ohne jeden Anspruch auf

eine systematische Aufzählung – ausser dem allgemeinen politischen Ideal der Erbmonarchie eine Anzahl solch gemeinsamer Züge verschiedenster Art erwähnen. Im Hintergrund des Ausbaus einer modernen Landesherrschaft findet man überall eine Modernisierung der Regierung – und zwar nicht nur durch das zentralisierte Reformmönchtum, sondern auch durch die Inanspruchnahme gebildeter Juristen in das Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen. Ihre Rolle in der Vermittlung neuer Bildungsideale kann kaum überschätzt werden. Gerade für den mitteleuropäischen Raum scheint ausser den dynastischen Wechselbeziehungen (in deren Rahmen dem überall durch ihre Mitglieder vertretenen Haus Andechs-Meran offensichtlich eine große Rolle zukommt) ein erhöhtes Interesse für die seit dem Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts in ständigem Krisenzustand befindlichen byzantinischen Politik wichtig zu sein. Diese Interessen haben u.a. den Kreuzzugsgedanke, ritterliches Selbstbewußtsein und etwa den Reliquienkult mächtig gefördert. Der Kreuzzug von Damietta 1217 scheint eine Unternehmung gewesen zu sein, an der man alle wichtige Personen dieser mitteleuropäischen Geschichte beteiligt findet – bis zu Bischof Ekbert von Bamberg, um dadurch auf ein wichtiges Abgrenzungsmoment der Region nach Nordwesten hinzuweisen. Auch der mitteleuropäische Strukturwandel unter Kaiser Friedrich II., der zwar in der Lebensgeschichte Herzogs Friedrich II. von Österreich und hinsichtlich seiner Nachfolge oft zur Sprache kommt, wird ebenso wenig für die Kunstgeschichte verwertet, wie der Mongoleneinfall von 1241/42, der die ganze Osthälfte der Region betraf.

Die Erscheinung der Gotikrezeption wird im Reich traditionell hinsichtlich des Ausbaus der landesfürstlichen Territorialmacht gedeutet. In der mitteleuropäischen Region findet man aber auch souveräne Königtümer wie etwa Böhmen und Ungarn, die diese Stellung seit Jahrhunderten besaßen, oder sich in relativ junger Zeit der Kaisermacht gegenüber durchsetzen konnten. Die Beurteilung der Rolle der Přemyslidendynastie für die Geschichte der Region wird besonders in dem Moment problematisch, als sie mit König Otakar II. von Böhmen in die österreichische Geschichte eingreift. Letzten Endes handelt es sich hier auch um einen ersten Konzept der Vereinigung verschiedener mitteleuropäischer Länder in einem Staat, also um ein frühzeitiges Bewußtwerden der Zusammenhänge der Region. Was Ungarn betrifft, verursachen sogar Fragen der Rangstellung von Persönlichkeiten bis heute viel Kopfzerbrechen. Kann z.B. ein ungarischer aristokratischer Bauherr für einen niederösterreichischen Ministerialen als vorbildlich erscheinen? Wie können einzelne Würden, die innerhalb des Reiches und in der ungarischen Regierungsstruktur einen anderen Stellenwert haben, miteinander verglichen werden? Letzten Endes erscheint die Machtstellung des Ungarnkönigs (zusammen mit der kirchlichen Unabhängigkeit, die sowohl von Prag als auch von Wien jahrhundertelang vergeblich angestrebt wurde) und seine Repräsentation für die österreichischen Herzöge als wünschenswertes Vorbild?

Darüber erfährt man wenig und erst zu einer relativ späten Zeit. Die Aussage der künstlerischen Quellen kann man umso weniger entbehren. Um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts, in einer späteren historischen Phase als die der babenbergischen Gotikrezeption, scheinen die Ansichten darüber bereits ausgebildet gewesen zu sein. Es scheint, daß das Bezugsystem vor allem durch Normen der Ritterlichkeit geliefert wurde. Im Heldenroman Biterolf wird um 1254–60 die Steiermark als die Pflegestätte des Turniers, der richtigen Kampfweise der westlichen Ritter dargestellt, während die Böhmen nach diesem Text allein als gute Schwertkämpfer, aber als keine Lanzenkämpfer gekennzeich-net werden, und die Ungarn, Preußen und Polen als solche Völker, die das Turnier überhaupt nicht kennen. Laut der böhmischen Geschichtstradition wurden die Turniere unter König Wenzel I. (1230–54) von einem deutschen Ritter, Ogier von Friedberg importiert. Laut der wichtigsten Fundgrube der ritterlichen Tradition aus steiermärkischer Sicht, der Österreichischen Reimchronik, deren Geschichtserzählung sich um den Tod Friedrichs des Streitbaren ansetzt, war 1264, zur Zeit der Preßburger Hochzeit Herzogs Stefan von Ungarn mit Katherina von Brandenburg der Unterschied der Bräuche der beiden Völker in dieser Hinsicht beträchtlich. Die Ungarn haben einen Attentat befürchtet, als das Gefolge Königs Otakar II. ein Turnier begann, und der Chronist gibt die Warnung *disiu wirtschaft ist gemezzen / als Krîmhilten hôchzît* unter Verweis auf die bekannte Episode des Nibelungenlieds den Gefolgsleuten Königs Béla IV. in den Mund. Für die höfische Epik stellt also die Identifizierung der Ungarn mit den Hunnen das Erklärungsprinzip ihrer verschiedenen Sitten und den gemeinsamen Nenner zugleich dar. Im Biterolf heißen sie sogar *Heunen* und werden mit anderen Völkern Etzils, den *Valwen* und den *Vlâchen* (im Nibelungenlied werden auch *Riuzen*, *Kriechen*, *Poelân*, *Kiewen* und *pescenaere* aufgezählt) nicht nur als des ritterlichen Turniers unkundig beschrieben, sondern auch im ernsten Kampf als fremdartige, unritterliche Feinde gekennzeichnet. Kaum eine Generation später, um 1282–85 erschien auch in der ungarischen Chronikfassung des Simon Kézai die selbstbewußte Ableitung der Ungarn von den Hunnen.

Unser Beispiel ist allein auf eine Einzelfrage, auf diejenige über Werte der höfischen Kultur in den Ländern Mitteleuropas und ihre Unterschiede bezogen. Es soll aber auch die Notwendigkeit einer komplex angelegten Untersuchung illustrieren, denn selbst rein kunsthistorische Probleme, wie das der Gotikrezeption oder ihr Verhältnis zur Stiltradition der Region lassen sich kaum innerhalb der Disziplin behandelt werden, als man sie historisch als Ausdrucksmittel herrschaftlicher Repräsentation, politischer Intentionen oder Lebensformen zu deuten strebt. An diesem Punkt kann man sich nicht nur allein auf die der Disziplin immanenten Deutungsverfahren und -mitteln verlassen, und braucht vor allem historische Wertkriterien. Man braucht ja auch die klare Umgrenzung eines historisch realen geographischen Bereiches – in unserem Falle die von Mitteleuropa. Kurz: man braucht eine moderne Kunstgeschichte Mitteleuropas, zu der Untersuchungen, wie die beiden vorliegenden, eine nützliche Vorarbeit leisten.

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Es ist kaum mehr als ein Zufall, daß sich auf dem Tisch des Rezensenten noch ein drittes Buch befindet, das zwar alles andere als Gotikrezeption zum Inhalt hat, an manchen Punkten jedoch als überaus aufschlußreich für die Behandlung dieses kunsthistorischen Problems in mitteleuropäischem Rahmen erscheint. Es handelt sich um die Ausgabe der Schriften Alois Riegls zur Denkmalpflege. Österreich als Entstehungsland dieser Schriften wäre ein ebenso willkürlich gewähltes Kriterium für eine gemeinsame Besprechung zusammen mit den oben behandelten Monographien, wie etwa das auch für Lilienfeld, Klosterneuburg und Heiligenkreuz zuständige Bundesdenkmalamt in Wien. Inhaltlich weniger willkürlich erscheint unseres Verfahren dadurch, daß ja Denkmalpflege für Riegl bekanntermaßen am meisten Kunstgeschichte bedeutet. Wolfgang Kemp hat Riegl u.E. mit Recht als einen frühen Rezeptionstheoretiker betrachtet, indem sein wichtigster Beitrag *im Verständnis jenes Kraftfeldes, das zwischen den Elementen eines Werkes und zwischen dem Werk und seinem Rezipienten aufgebaut ist*, besteht (Alois Riegl [1858–1905], in: H. Dilly, Hg., *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 1990, S. 56). Das Ziel unserer obigen Ausführungen war es, den durch den aktuellen Ausdruck Mitteleuropa bezeichneten Begriff als Beziehungsfeld und Deutungsprinzip für die mittelalterliche Kunst dieser Region vorzuschlagen. Deshalb halten wir es für gerechtfertigt, den neuen Band mit den letzten Schriften von Alois Riegl gerade unter diesem Aspekt und in diesem Zusammenhang besprechen zu wollen.

KUNSTWERK ODER DENKMAL?
ALOIS RIEGLS SCHRIFTEN ZUR DENKMALPFLEGE,
Herausgegeben von Ernst Bacher,
Studien zu Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege, Bd. XV. Herausgegeben vom Bundesdenkmalamt Wien
Böhlau Verlag Wien–Köln–Weimar 1995, 239 Seiten

Es handelt sich um Schriften aus der letzten Schaffensperiode von Alois Riegl, um das Hauptwerk, den „Entwurf einer gesetzlichen Organisation der Denkmalpflege in Österreich" und um sechs, denkmalpflegerischen Problemen gewidmeten seiner Veröffentlichungen aus dieser Periode, d.h. zwischen 1902–1905, deren Fundort, die Mitteilungen der k.k. Zentral-Kommission oder die Neue Freie Presse jeweils fachliche oder publizistische Absichten bezeichnet. Wie diese Absichten der Durchführung desselben Ziels dienen, illustriert nun die bisher nur wenig bekannte Entstehungsgeschichte des in den Mittelpunkt der Edition gerückten Hauptwerks, der die vorzügliche, liebevolle und gut dokumentierte Einleitung von Ernst Bacher gilt. Denn der 1929 – aufgrund der Teilveröffentlichung von 1903 „Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung" – auf seine „Quintessenz" reduzierte Text erscheint wieder in seinem ursprünglichen Kontext, als Kapitel I. des Entwurfs, dessen Kapitel II. das Denkmalschutzgesetz und Kapitel III. die Bestimmungen zu seiner Durchführung betreffen. Unmittelbar darauf bezieht sich der Zeitungsartikel in der „Neuen Freien Presse" vom 27. Februar 1905. Aus diesen für Leser von verschiedenen Interessen und Bildung gerichteten Schriften entsteht nicht nur das Bild des tatkräftigen und zielbewußten Wissenschaftlers, sondern auch ein Beispiel der Anwendung seines überall betonten Grundsatzes, daß die neue Denkmalpflege Gegenstand einer allgemeinen sozialen Bewegung, eine demokratische Angelegenheit sein soll. Die Öffentlichkeit für diejenige Sache zu gewinnen, die (etwa im Falle der Riesentordebatte) besonders moderne Künstler (den Architekten des Historismus entgegen, als deren Vertreter immer Friedrich von Schmidt erscheint) unterstützen ist das Ziel seiner Publizistik, und das Fach zu derselben Sache zu bewegen, dienen die im Band enthaltenen Aufsätze (Berichte oder Gutachten zu Restaurierungsfragen in Spalato und Krakau, eine Behandlung der Fragen der Restaurierung von Wandmalereien und eine Buchbesprechung).

Diese mächtige Produktion der letzten knapp dreieinhalb Jahre des inzwischen todeskrank gewordenen Riegl bietet schon in ihrem Ausmaß und in ihrer Folgerichtigkeit Ansehen. Der Band ist ein Nachweis der von Kemp vorgeschlagenen Dreiteilung des Schaffens von Riegl (a.a.O. S. 39) und bestätigt die relative Selbständigkeit seiner aus der Beschäftigung mit der Denkmalpflege hervorgegangenen Werke innerhalb seiner wissenschaftlichen Oeuvre. Ebenfalls Kemp wies die methodische Verwandtschaft des *Holländischen Gruppenporträts* von 1902 und des Buchs über den *Denkmalkultus* nach, was darauf hinweist, daß (auch die *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* von 1901 und *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* gehören hierher) Riegls Professorenjahre, denen sein Wort, „er habe nun eigentlich keinen Beruf mehr" gilt, kaum ohne Einfluß auf seinen methodischen Apparat blieben. 1903 wurde er von der Professur befreit und konnte sich wieder der Praxis, den Objekten, (taktisch/haptisch, nicht nur optisch!) wie früher am Museum für angewandte Kunst widmen. Die einleitende Studie von Ernst Bacher ist sehr aufschlußreich durch die Darstellung der Umstände und des Hintergrunds Riegls im Amt, von der Übernahme der Redaktion der Mitteilungen bis zur Ernennung zum Generalkonservator am 1. 4. 1904 bis zu seinem Tode als ihm die gewünschten Arbeitsbedingungen und der Titel eines Hofrats nicht gewährt wurden. Wie melodramatisch auch die Aufzählung der verspäteten Ehrungen an Riegl, seiner Beisetzung 1970 in einem Ehrengrab und die gleichzeitige Benennung einer Straße im 21. Gemeindebezirk nach ihm klingen mag, gehören sie wohl doch in das verblüffend authentische Bild Riegls als eines mustergültigen Beamters der Monarchie Österreich-Ungarn. Man soll letzten Endes zur Erinnerung bringen, daß ja die Ausbildung von Beamtern das Ziel der Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte war. Riegls Universalismus und sein darauf gegründetes Wertsystem scheint eines der letzten Errungenschaften der Blütezeit des Geisteslebens des Kaiserstaates gewesen zu sein. Mit Recht weist Bacher darauf hin, daß Max Dvořáks *Katechismus der Denkmalpflege* 1916/18 einen Schritt zurück bedeutet, und vielsagend ist sein Hinweis auf den Einfluß der politischen Intentionen Erzherzogs Franz Ferdinand.

Riegls Universalismus und seine Absolutisierung der Geschichtlichkeit (der auch im Zusammenhang mit der Frage der Zeitgrenze geschriebenes Wort entspricht, daß es *streng genommen keine Gegenwart* gibt) gründet sich vor allem auf seiner Toleranz. Diese Toleranz gilt sowohl den nationalen Eigentümlichkeiten, dem „Nichtmodernen" und der Barockkunst. In demselben Absatz der Buchbesprechung über „Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege" findet man alle drei dieser Elemente seiner Auffassung von Riegl selbst in demselben Kontext aufgezählt. Es handelt sich hier um die Widerlegung des Begriffs des Nationaldenkmals von Dehio. Riegl beruft sich dabei vor allem auf seine instinktive Neigung zu den römischen Barockvierteln – trotz des ablehnenden Urteils seiner Lehrmeister.

Obwohl das in Riegls „Entwurf" erörterte Denkmalschutzgesetz bereits seit dem letzten Jahrzehnt des 19. Jahrhunderts im österreichischen Herrenhaus vorlag, ist Riegls umfassende methodische und organisatorische Leistung eine reine theoretische, ja sogar utopistische geblieben. Nach seinem Tode schlug die Entwicklung der Denkmalpflege im Kaiserstaat und dann im Bundesstaat Österreich einen anderen Weg ein, wobei bezeichnend ist, daß die vorliegende Edition bis heute, nach beinahe einem Jahrhundert noch eine frische Aktualität besitzt. Es ist überaus kennzeichnend, daß einige im Rieglschen Sinne konzipierten, notwendigen Maßnahmen am Vorabend des ersten Weltkriegs durch die Militärkanzlei Erzherzogs Franz Ferdinand als Protektor der Denkmalpflege durchgeführt werden konnten (vgl. die knappe Übersicht von Walter Frodl, im Ausstellungskatalog *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs, 2. Teil 1889–1916, Glanz und Elend*, Schloss Grafenegg 1987, S. 231 ff).

Von diesem Standpunkt aus gesehen ist das nun wieder in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt allgemein zugänglich gewordene Gedankengebäude des Musterbeamten Riegl das Produkt einer Sternstunde. Es ist auf die illusorische Hoffnung gegründet, daß die Monarchie Österreich-Ungarn reformfähig sei, und daß der Vielvölkerstaat, die Gesamtmonarchie gerade jenes Prinzip vertreten kann, was für Riegl „Menschheitsgefühl" heißt. Wiederum läßt sich am besten die wohl am meisten gereifte Formulierung von 1905 (Neue Strömungen in der Denkmalpflege) anführen, mit dem radikalsten Ausdruck der Annäherung an den biologischen Evolutionismus. Das Argumentieren mit dem Beispiel des Tierschutzes und des Naturschutzes (auch in ihrer Beschaffenheit als soziale Bewegungen) war ein Lieblingsgedanke von Riegl in seiner Kampagne für das Denkmalschutzgesetz, und gerade dieses Moment mag heute – etwa im Sinn des Umweltschutzes oder Kultes – aktualisiert werden. Wohl ohne tieferen Grund, wenn man die starke kantianische Note, die der auf die gesamte Evolution ausgebreitete Interessenlosigkeit, den Kerngedanken Riegls auch ernstnimmt. *Im Kultus der „Naturdenkmale"*

ist auch der letzte Rest von Egoismus - der auf die Menschheit bezügliche - überwunden, und mit der Teilnahme an den vergangenen Geschicken der außermenschlichen Natur der volle Altruismus erreicht. Der Kultus der Naturdenkmale ist der allerunineresserteste: er verlangt von uns Lebenden mitunter Opfer für ein lebloses Naturding. Es handelt sich hier nicht nur um einen Evolutionismus, sondern in dessen Zeichen auch um die Ästhetisierung der Geschichte (was umgekehrt mit dem Aufgehen des Ästhetischen in der Geschichtlichkeit gleichbedeutend ist). Dem Schlüsselbegriff des Alterswertes liegen diese Anschauungen zu Grunde, und im Zeichen der Interessenlosigkeit steht auch im Mittelpunkt des Gesetzentwurfes die Bekämpfung jeder „Egoismen", unter denen er - auch zur Kennzeichnung der verschiedenen Denkmalschutzgesetze - „national-" und „staatsegoistische" Ziele unterscheidet. Es heißt in der Einführung zum als einmalig, ja mustergültig und bahnbrechend konzipierten Denkmalschutzgesetz: *Das Schutzgesetz also, das weder das staats- noch das nationalegoistische Interesse in Österreich hervorzurufen vermochte, wird nun durch ein anderes Gefühl gefordert, das jedoch im Gegensatze zu jenem ein altruistisches ist. Während das Gefühl des Stolzes des Österreichers überhaupt, oder des Böhmen, Steirers, Kärntners usw. oder des Deutschen, Tschechen, Polen usw. auf die Denkmale im Besitze des Staates oder eines Landes oder einer Nationalität noch immer auf der Isolierung gegenüber Anderen, sei es den Ausländern oder der Angehörigen anderer Kronländer oder Nationalitäten beruht hatte, basiert das Gefühl des Alterswertes auf der Zusammengehörigkeit mit der ganzen Welt.* Diese Sätze liest man am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts nur noch als ideale Forderungen, deren Realität bereits 1903 etwa in der Gültigkeit der Devise AEIOV bestand. Während des ersten Weltkriegs und nachher, mit der Auflösung des Kaiserstaates ist gerade das Gegenteil Realität geworden, „staats- und nationalegoistischen" Tendenzen gegenüber läßt sich Riegl bis heute als eine Utopie lesen.

Riegl war jedoch keineswegs naiv. Als er energisch für sein paradoxes Vorhaben plädierte, das universalistisch konzipierte Gesetz (Bacher hat seinen demokratischen Charakter mit Recht betont, der auf der Gleichsetzung des Alterswertes mit dem Stimmungsinhalt, d.h. mit der Anerkennung des Individuums gegründet ist) im Parlament des Kaiserstaates durchzusetzen, sind ihm Reibungsfaktoren keineswegs entgangen. Der eine war der Privatbesitz, der aus dem Gesetzentwurf einfach ausgeklammert wurde. Der andere war das andere Kronland der dualistischen Monarchie, Ungarn. Es ist fast einer Gegenprobe hinsichtlich der Tragweite des Universalismus Riegls gleich, wie er sich auf den Wirkungsbereich österreichischer Gesetzgebung bzw. auf den Tätigkeitsbereich der k.k. Zentralkommission limitiert hat. Denn er mag kaum Illusionen über die Anwendbarkeit seiner Prinzipien über die Grenzen der Kronländer des Kaiserstaates hinaus gehabt haben. Ein Hinweis auf die *in erster Linie durch staatsegoistische Interessen diktierte* ungarische Gesetzgebung kommt allein als ein Vergleich in der Einleitung zum Denkmalschutzgesetz vor. Riegl war wohl dessen bewußt, daß es sich nicht nur allein um prinzipielle Unterschiede in der Gesetzgebung handelte. Der Gegensatz zum gesamtmonarchisch bedingten Universalismus der k.k. Zentralkommission geht auf eine frühere Zeit, auf die ihres Gründers, Rudolf Eitelberger, zurück. Die Wiener Zentralkommission war nämlich anfangs, bis zur Aufhebung der absolutistischen Regierung in 1860 auch für Ungarn zuständig. Ungeachtet der gemeinsamen Grundlage einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Kunst, hat der ungarischen Kunstgeschichte dem mitteleuropäischen Einheitskonzept Eitelbergers gegenüber von vornherein diejenige Betrachtungsweise der Denkmäler (*ein Stück nationalen Daseins*) als Grundlage gedient, die Riegl 1905 bei Dehio kritisierte (*Das Nationalgefühl als Basis des Denkmalwertes hat weder mit dem Bereich des historischen noch mit jenem des kritischen Denkens etwas zu tun.*). Es handelt sich also in beiden Fällen um Traditionen, und diejenige in Ungarn erweist sich als kontinuierlicher. Obwohl die Reformgedanken der Denkmalpflege auch in Ungarn zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts keineswegs unbekannt, blieben selbst das Prinzip „Erhalten, nicht restaurieren" setzte sich nicht durch, die Rezeption der Gedanken Riegls blieb schwach und in der Organisation der Denkmalpflege haben die Architekten ihre bestimmende Stellung bewahrt. Um zu den Ausgangspunkt dieser Buchbesprechung zurückzukehren, die als längere Zeit als paradigmatisch anerkannte Rekonstruktion der Palastkapelle von Esztergom (1938 beendet) entspricht genau derselben Methode (*ergänzte Mauerteile ... als solche stets ausdrücklich durch bestimmte Zeichen signiert*), die Riegl 1905 als Kennzeichen der historischen Wertauffassung Bodo Ebhardts kritisiert hat. Als Walter Frodl 1973 vorsichtig die Eigenart der ungarischen Praxis in der Behandlung historischer Werte beschrieb, und dabei die *Daseinsberechtigung* der Ruinen darin sah, *„in Schönheit zu sterben"* (Einheit von Theorie und Praxis. Zum Centenarium der ungarischen Denkmalpflege, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* XXVII, 1973, S. 105), griff er auf einen radikalen Gedanken Riegls (Alterswert im Verlauf von Werden und Vergehen) zurück. Frodls Beobachtung wurde heftig von ungarischen Denkmalpflegern diskutiert (Horler, Miklós, in: *Acta Historiae Artium* XXX, 1984, S. 361).

Wir haben uns auf das uns mehr zugängliche Beispiel Ungarn beschränkt, jedoch eine Umschau in Mitteleuropa würde von einem Vorhandensein ja sogar vom Aufblühen „staats- und nationalegoistischer" Interessen zeugen. Selbst das Wort Mitteleuropa scheint heute eher eine Stimmung als eine politisch-geographische Realität zu bezeichnen. Diese Gefühlswerte werden im Sinne Riegls Alterswerte, sie erfolgen aus der Betrachtung von Werden und Vergehen. Sie haben nichts mit aktuellen Begriffen und Werten der politischen Geographie zu tun. Ob diese einer Heraufbeschwörung großdeutscher Machtansprüche, den Nostalgien der Habsburgermonarchie oder des russischen kommunistischen Imperiums entspringen (vgl. etwa Ján Bakoš, in: *Künstlerischer Austausch - Artistic Exchange, Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Berlin 1992*, Berlin 1992, Bd. II, S. 53 ff), mag als eine zweitrangige Frage erscheinen. Seit Alois Riegl haben sie nämlich nichts mit Kunstgeschichte zu tun.

Ernő Marosi

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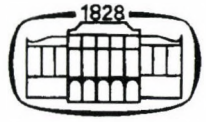
E. MAROSI

TOMUS XL FASCICULI 3–4



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ZSOMBOR JÉKELY

THE GARAI TOMB SLAB AT THE AUGUSTINIAN CHURCH OF SIKLÓS*

It is common knowledge among Hungarian art historians that members of the Garai family, some of the wealthiest landowners in late medieval Hungary, were also great patrons of the arts. One of the Garais' most prized possessions was the castle at Siklós in Southern Hungary. Located within the outer walls of this castle is the present-day parish church, which during the Middle Ages housed an Augustinian priory. Archaeological research commenced some years ago inside the church has revealed further evidence of the patronage of the Garai family. Not only did removal of the whitewash in the Gothic chancel of the church uncover Gothic frescoes, but excavations there also unearthed a large tomb slab carved out of red marble. In the center of this slab, a bearded knight is depicted in full armor. The coats of arms displayed next to the figure identify him as Miklós Garai senior, Palatine of Hungary (†1386). The monument is one of the earliest secular figural tombstones from medieval Hungary, and as such it fills an important gap in our knowledge regarding funerary customs among the laity. Despite considerable advances in the study of grave monuments over the last decades, the emergence of the figural tombstone has been one of the least well known aspects of medieval Hungarian burials, largely due to great losses of this material.[1]

I

Miklós Garai played a crucial role in governing Hungary during the years after the death in 1382 of King Louis the Great, who had ruled since 1342.[2] Louis I, the second ruler in the Hungarian branch of the Angevine family, died without a male heir leaving his throne to his daughter, Mary. She was duly crowned the day after the king's burial at Székesfehérvár, but a female ruler was difficult to accept for the majority of the Hungarian ruling class. Mary was only twelve years old at that time, and the real power was in the hands of her mother, Elizabeth, and the Palatine, Miklós Garai. The Palatine (*regni Hungariae palatinus*) was the highest ranking lay officer of the Hungarian court, and served as chief justice of the realm. Miklós Garai was Palatine from 1375 to 1385, when under pressure from the opposition, he was demoted to the title of Ban of Croatia, while still remaining the most loyal supporter of Queen Mary.[3]

Although Mary was engaged to the young Sigismund of Luxemburg, her supporters decided to arrange a new marriage with the French count Louis Valois. This plan never materialized, and Sigismund finally married Mary in August 1385, but in the meantime, the opposition invited Charles of Durazzo (of the Neapolitan Angevine family) to the Hungarian throne. On December 31, 1385, Charles II was crowned with the crown of Saint Stephen at Székesfehérvár, but after a period of only thirty-nine days, he was brutally murdered by a few of Queen Elizabeth's men, Miklós Garai among them.[4] The country was effectively pushed into a state of civil war, and neither Elizabeth nor Garai was able to control further events. In the summer of 1386, the two royal women, Elizabeth and Mary, with a few of their men, took a trip to southern Hungary, presumably with the intention of quelling the rebellion.

This badly prepared trip cost Miklós Garai the elder his life. The fifteenth-century chronicler János Thuróczy describes the events as follows:

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When on the most solemn feast day of blessed James the Apostle [July 25, 1386] they were proceeding, untroubled by any suspicion of an ambush, through the middle of a field toward the town of Diakó,[5] *the ban [regent of Southern Provinces], János of Horváti, who had collected a large hostile host and was burning for revenge, rushed in a rage against the escorting attendants. The two enemies confronted each other in a harsh struggle; and when the partisans of the queens and the Palatine saw that the enemy had them outnumbered, those who had not yet fallen turned their backs and precipitately fled. [...] And when Garai the Palatine had reflected that for so critical a situation death alone was the remedy, he got down from his horse, joined the queens in their carriage, and, wielding his sword against the enemy, defended himself and the queens with all his strength. But what good was the protection afforded by one hand alone?*

When enemy arms pressed him on all sides, wounding him with deadly arrows, he snapped like reeds the ones that had become lodged in his body, so that they would not get in the way of his sword-hand. And all the while he held off a very large body of men until his feet were seized by a certain knight from beneath the royal carriage, who from that position feared no injury. Garai was thrown to the ground and was there decapitated, as fear of their imminent death and the shrill screams of the queens and their servants increased.[6]

While Thuróczy might have somewhat embellished the events for the sake of dramatic impact, it is obvious that the elder Garai had come to a brutal end. The motivations of the attackers are also clear – their assault was an act of revenge orchestrated by János Horváti, the main supporter of the murdered Charles of Durazzo. The attack meant the end of Elizabeth's behind-the-scenes rule, and a few months later (January 1387) the queen mother was killed by the rebels, while Mary was kept prisoner for almost a year. The events almost led to

the disappearance of the Garai clan as well, as two of Miklós Garai's cousins, János, son of Pál, and Pál, son of István, were also killed, and the Palatine's son, the younger Miklós Garai, was captured as well.[7]

The death of Charles meant that Sigismund was finally able to seize power, and on March 31, 1387, he was officially crowned king of Hungary. He ruled until 1437. Mary and the other captives were freed from their prison, and Sigismund ruthlessly avenged the deaths of Garai and Queen Elizabeth. Quelling several insurrections (most notably in 1401 and 1403), the new king slowly stabilized his rule, creating an alliance with the barons of the realm, including Miklós (II) Garai, son of the murdered Palatine.[8] To strengthen the alliance, the king and Miklós Garai both married a daughter of Count Hermann Cillei, another important member of the baronial league. The younger Miklós Garai received numerous estates from the king in return for his support, and in 1402 became the Palatine himself. The center of the family's estates was at Siklós, a donation it received from Sigismund in or before 1395. Settling at Siklós, the Garai family became the principal patron of the Augustinian canons there, and it is inside their church that the elder Garai's tombstone was found.

II

The former Augustinian church stands inside the outer walls of the medieval castle of Siklós, which is situated on top of a hill nearby to the north. It was originally dedicated to St. Anne, and first mentioned in the papal tithe lists of 1333.[9] During the fourteenth century, the castle was owned by the Siklósi family, and the priory in all likelihood was founded by them. Because they supported Charles of Durazzo, King Sigismund confiscated their castle in 1387, and first gave it to his supporters from the Kakas family and later (by 1395) to the Garai brothers, Miklós and János.[10] The last member of the Siklósi family, *frater* Nicholas, *provincialis* of the Hungarian Augustinian canons, was nominated by the Garais bishop of the Dalmatian island of Ossero in 1399,[11] and with his departure from Siklós, the Garai family had full control over the castle and the priory. Over the years, Miklós Garai came to own dozens of castles, palaces, and about 700 villages, but Siklós remained one of his most important possessions.[12] The castle became the center of the family's estates, primarily because of its convenient location. Being in Transdanubia, Siklós was close to the central towns of the country as well as to several of the family's recently acquired castles (Kőszeg, Simontornya, Csesznek, Pápa); yet it was also close to their older family estates south of the river Drava, with their old seat at Gara (Gorjan, Croatia).[13] Miklós Garai had the castle rebuilt, turning it into a sophisticated residence of the type of new royal castles, and also financed the rebuilding and decoration of the Augustinian church.[14]

The Augustinian church of Siklós is a simple building (fig. 1). Both the church and the adjoining convent on its south side were rebuilt during the eighteenth century, but they still preserve their medieval arrangement. The church consists of a single nave and chancel separated from each other by a triumphal arch. The choir is two bays long terminating in a half-polygonal apse and lit by three slender Gothic windows on the eastern side, and two larger ones opened later on the northern side. The first bay is covered with a simple ribbed cross vault, and a similar structure was adapted to vault the polygonal ending. The ribs spring from large carved stone brackets set midway up the walls. The sanctuary was once fully painted. Today significant portions remain on all the walls and in every section of the vault, as well as on the inner face of the triumphal arch.[15]

The tomb slab was discovered in 1986 during Mária Sándor's excavations carried out inside the church.[16] It was unearthed from a layer of rubble in the middle of the chancel, without any indication of its original context. The slab is broken into two pieces, and the lower left corner of it is lost; this missing area has been restored using artificial stone. The tomb is carved out of dense, polishable, marble-like red limestone. The 19-centimeter-thick slab originally measured 230 × 127 centimeters with the upper two corners cut off. A 20-centimeter-wide border runs around the slab, but this area is only roughly finished. The inscription intended there was never executed. The central field of the tomb, on



Fig. 1. Interior view of the church of Siklós after the restoration



Fig. 2. Garai tomb slab at Siklós after restoration

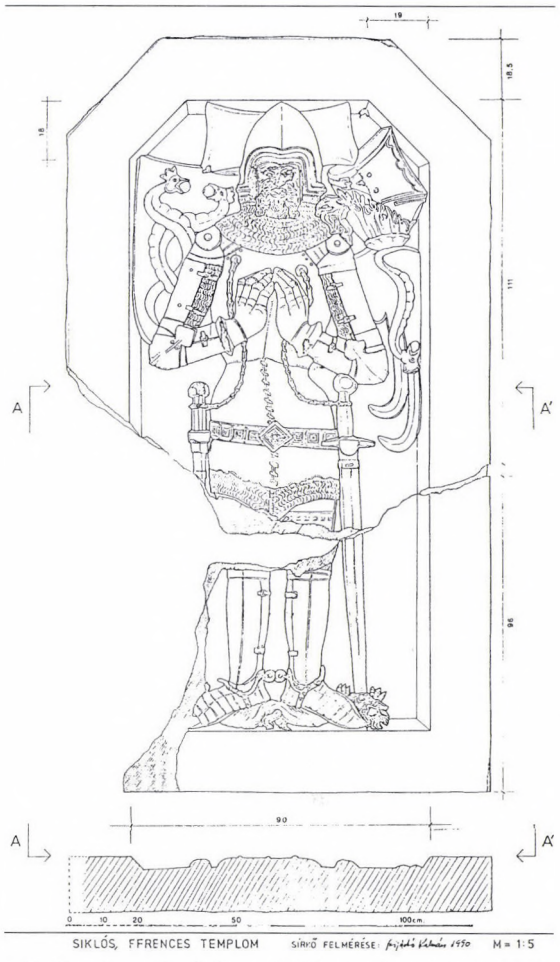

Fig. 3. Garai tomb slab at Siklós – Drawing by Kálmán Szíjártó (Published in Pannonia Regia, p. 278)

the other hand, is fully finished and polished, and is largely occupied by a *gisant* carved in low relief. The figure is in full armor; he wears a chain mail overlaid with a plate armor, and an elaborate belt around his waist. His bearded and somewhat battered head is covered by a pointed helmet and rests on a pillow, while his legs are placed on small dragons. His hands are folded across his chest in a gesture of prayer. Two chains attached to his breastplate lead to weapons on both sides: a longer sword is on his left, while on his right there might have been a mace or another sword of which only the handle survives. On the figure's right there is a shield decorated with his coat of arms, while on the other side a large helmet is displayed. It is turned upside down, with a mantle and crest over it, repeating the heraldic device of the shield – a twisting snake – over a stylized eagle wing (figs. 2–3).

The emblem above the helmet is the heraldic device of the Garai family: a twisting snake, with a crown on its head and an apple in its mouth. The motif is repeated several times in the painted decoration of the Augustinian church as well (fig. 4). The shield on the tomb slab, however, shows two such snakes intertwined. This rare device was only employed by Miklós Garai senior. His seal used in 1377 shows the intertwined snakes, and this is the only other known instance of this form.[17] Otherwise he and all other members of the Garai family adopted the single snake, and this form was confirmed and made official in a charter of King Sigismund issued in Paris in 1416.[18] The double snakes thus indicate that the tomb slab marked the grave of the Palatine, who was so mercilessly killed while protecting his Queen.

This identification immediately raises a problem of dating. As we have seen, the Palatine

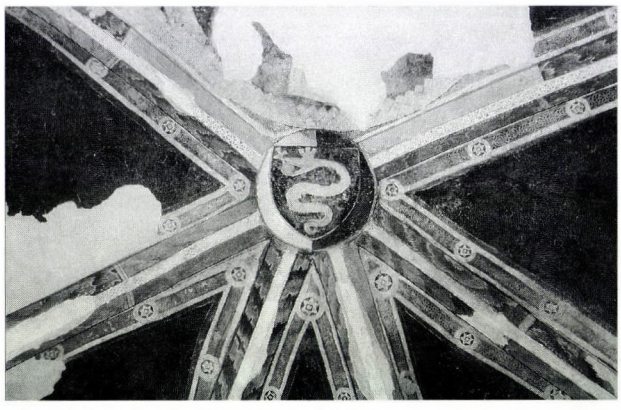

Fig. 4. Garai coat of arms at Siklós on the keystone of the vault

was killed in 1386, yet his tomb stood at Siklós, which was donated to the Garai family only later, probably as late as 1395.[19] In any case, up to 1387 Siklós was certainly owned by the Siklósi family, so the Garai tomb was almost certainly set up in the Augustinian church as a posthumous memorial. It would be easy to suggest that the entire tomb was only carved at this point, but the unfinished state of the slabs seems to contradict this possibility. If the Palatine had already been dead when his tomb was carved, it would be hard to explain why the inscription was never added. The logical solution to this problem is to suppose that the slab was commissioned by Miklós Garai senior himself, and it was carved while he was still alive. The slab was most likely delivered to the Palatine with the inscription indicating the date of death and current information missing. Had it still been in the workshop at the time of his death, there would be no plausible explanation for this omission. After Garai's death, his sons must have transported the slab to Siklós and set it up near their newly acquired castle.

It is not surprising that Miklós Garai decided to prepare his own burial. Preparation for the afterlife was a characteristic feature of late medieval society, and it often included the preparation of tombs in advance as well.[20] The practice appears to have been widespread in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Hungary, although generally the inscription was also carved in advance, with only the numbers indicating the exact year of death left for completion. This was the case for example with the tomb of István Lackfi, which was prepared and set up at Keszthely sometime after Lackfi became the Palatine in 1387. When he was executed ten years later, the year 97 (l xxxxvii) had to be added to the already present numbers (m ccc).[21] Similarly, the dates on Bálint Alsáni's tomb (Garai's relative and bishop of Pécs, died in 1408) were added later, while the beautiful figural tomb of Abbot László Czudar of Pannonhalma probably got its inscription only after the abbot's death in 1372.[22]

Consequently, we might assume that the Siklós tombstone was made on the orders of Miklós Garai senior, and it was probably carved during his lifetime. It is not known what happened to the tomb slab after it was carved and before it was moved to Siklós.[23] The only thing that seems certain is that the body of Miklós Garai never received a decent burial. After the massacre of 1386, no member of the Garai family was in a position to gather his remains and bury them properly. Moreover, we know that his head was sent to Naples and displayed to the public there together with the heads of others responsible for the death of Charles of Durazzo.[24] When the tomb slab was finally set up at Siklós, it must have functioned more as a *memoria* than an actual tomb, and this might explain why its inscription was never finished.

III

If the tomb slab of Miklós Garai was really commissioned by the Palatine himself some time in the 1380s, then it is the first example of a new type of funerary monument in Hungary: the secular figural red marble tomb, which later became common among aristocrats. First however, it is necessary to ascertain whether the style of the tomb slab fits the stylistic characteristics of the 1380s. As we will see, the tomb's material and many of its details follow established practices of Hungarian workshops of this time, but the full figural representation of the deceased in fact begins a new chapter in Hungarian funerary sculpture.

Garai's tomb slab is carved out of a dense red limestone, which, when polished, looks like marble, although in geological terms it is not. Nevertheless, in virtually all the medieval sources, this stone is called marble (*marmor*),

and this is how art historians refer to it as well today.[25] The stone was quarried in the Gerecse Mountains near Esztergom, and its role and applications were comparable to that of the dark-colored Purbeck marble in England, the black Tournai stone throughout northwestern Europe or, to cite a closer analogue, the very similar red marble of the Salzburg region.[26] Pál Lővei summarized the history of the Hungarian red marble throughout the Middle Ages, and showed that the stone had been used since the late twelfth century for various architectural elements and sculpture. Most instances of its use at this time were in buildings and monuments erected under royal patronage. The marble quarries themselves were owned solely by the king until 1204, when parts were donated to the Chapter at Esztergom.[27] The centers of its use were at Esztergom,[28] at the royal abbey of Pilis,[29] and at the Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma.[30]

Already at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the material was also used for making tombs. First ecclesiastics and kings received red marble sepulchers, but as far as we can tell today, these were rather simple monuments.[31] The first known red marble tomb erected for a secular lord is decorated with the full figure of the deceased, and thus serves as an early predecessor to the Siklós slab (fig. 5).[32] This tomb slab was excavated in the former Cistercian Abbey of Pilis, an abbey founded by the king in 1184, which served as a burial place for a few members of the royal family. The incised decoration on the red marble slab depicts a knight in full armor, carrying a sword, shield, and a lance. An inscription in an early Gothic majuscule script runs around the border. The slab most likely marked the grave of a member of the royal family, who has been tentatively identified as Robert de Courtenay, brother of the second wife of Andrew II. He died in 1228. The most important monument at Pilis, however, was the tomb of Queen Gertrudis, who was assassinated in 1213. Her sarcophagus, which was excavated in fragments, was carved probably around 1230 by French sculptors.[33] While the sarcophagus and the figures decorating its sides were carved out of sandstone, the slabs at the bottom and top of it were made of red marble. On the top slab once lay the life-size figure of the queen with

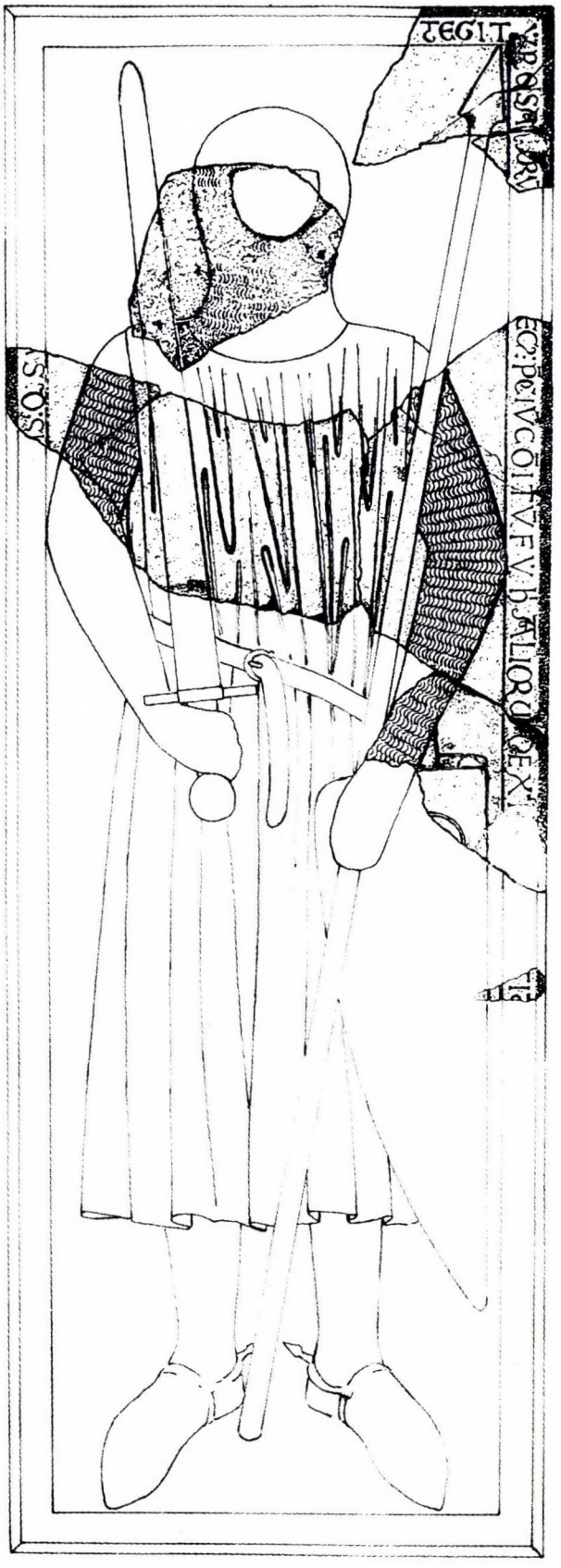

Fig. 5. Red marble tomb slab from Pilisszentkereszt, Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest – Reconstruction by I. Takács and B. Szikszay (Published in Pannonia Regia, p. 257)



Fig. 6. Tomb of Heinrichus Pauher (†1373) from Buda, Budapest Historical Museum



Fig. 7. Tomb of György Bebek (†1390) at Tornagörgő (Hrhov, Slovakia)



Fig. 8. Tomb of László Kakas of Kaza (†1395) from Serke, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

angels at her head. While the type and style of the monument is clearly French, the use of local materials proves that it was carved in Hungary.[34] The tomb of the queen was in all likelihood a somewhat exceptional, royal commission. Nothing comparable is known from contemporary Hungary, but it demonstrates the early associations of figural marble tombs with royal patronage.

Throughout most of the thirteenth century, red marble was often used for royal monuments, but after the 1270s it all but disappeared from Hungarian art.[35] Apart from a few scattered examples, it was not used again until the mid-fourteenth century, when it made a spectacular comeback, and for two centuries remained the material of choice for aristocratic tombs, while also used for other purposes. By the end of the fourteenth century, tombs carved of red marble are found all over the country, and they remained popular until the middle of the sixteenth century. It has long been demonstrated that the majority of these red marble tombs were carved in a very similar manner, although naturally their details change with the times. The first phase of production probably took place at the quarries themselves, and the rough blocks were transported to the carving workshops at major towns such as Buda and Esztergom. The finished or half-completed tombs were shipped from these centrally located workshops to every part of the country, and even as far as Poland to the north, and Croatia and Bosnia to the south.[36] Throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the use of red marble was widespread for other purposes as well, to which the ruins of the palaces of King Matthias at Buda and Visegrád, and the Renaissance funerary chapel of archbishop Tamás Bakócz in Esztergom (1506) attest.[37]

When the use of red marble became common for the tombs of secular lords between 1360–1380, this change went hand in hand with a number of other developments. As Pál Lővei and Lívia Varga have pointed out, most aristocratic tombs bore heraldic devices from that point on, and the inscriptions were carved in a Gothic minuscule script instead of a majuscule.[38] This type of heraldic tomb originates from Austria and southern Germany, and remained

popular in Hungary well into the fifteenth century. The decoration is carved in low relief, with a tilted shield bearing the coat of arms in the center, crowned by a helmet and large crest, while the whole slab is encircled with an inscription. Characteristic examples of these full heraldic tombs include the sepulchers of Heinrichus Pauher (†1373; fig. 6) at Buda, of György Bebek (†1390; fig. 7), whose tomb at Tornagörgő (Hrhov, Slovakia) was carved after 1371, or among the later examples, that of István Perényi (†1437) at Rudabánya.[39]

While Miklós Garai's tomb appears different at first, more than the material ties it to this group of tombs. In fact, most of the details on Garai's tomb have very close parallels with many of the tombs carved in the 1370s and 1380s, especially with slabs carved in Buda. The exceptionally rich material discovered in the churches of Buda, primarily the Church of Our Lady and the adjacent Dominican church indicates that the town was a major center of red marble tombstone carving.[40] Like most Buda tombs of the time, Garai's sepulcher is executed in very low relief, resulting in a flattened gisant. The wide border for the inscription is a common feature of these tombs, while the main decoration – the shield and helmet, or in our case, the figure – is in the somewhat recessed central field. The main decoration stands out in a shallow relief from this deeper field, while the rest of the field is left without any carving. This arrangement – including this 'spacious background' – can be observed, for example, on the tombs of Heinrichus Pauher (†1373, Buda, fig. 6) or that of Nicholas, son of Thomas (†1375, Buda).[41]

While the central shield and helmet have been replaced by the figure, the heraldic elements still play a very important role on the Garai tomb. The same group could be mentioned when comparing smaller elements of the Garai tomb slab with Buda examples. A number of tombs carry similar helmets as the one next to the head of Miklós Garai, and the crest on them is similarly depicted in front of stylized eagle wings. The most important examples include again the tombs of Heinrichus Pauher and Nicholas, son of Thomas, as well as a 1388 tomb from Buda and a 1373 tomb from Székesfehérvár. Even the shape of the mantle covering the

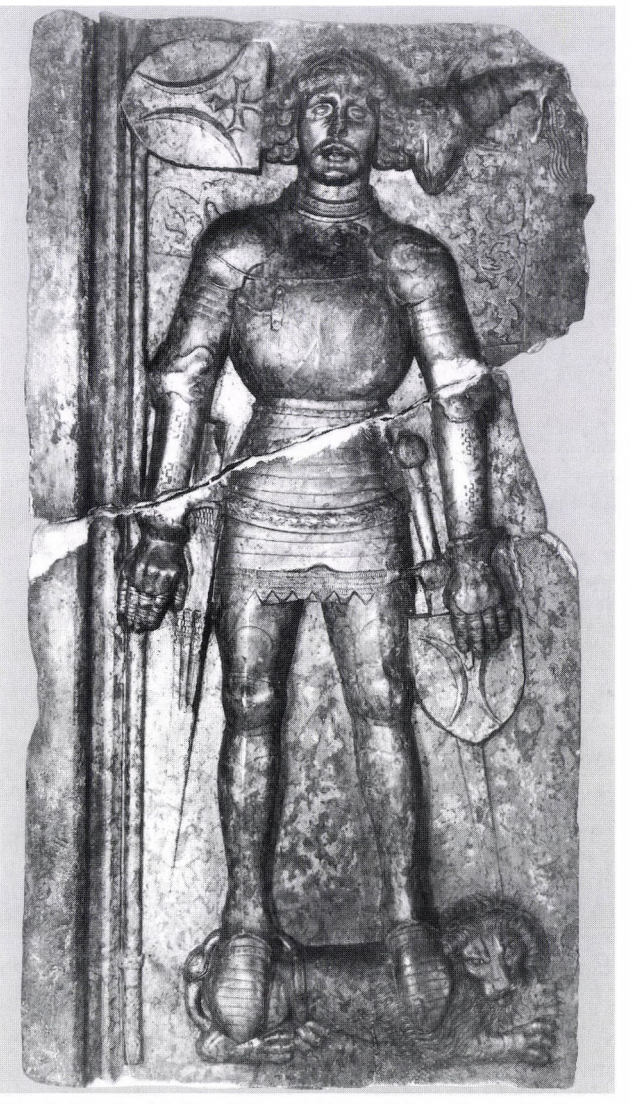

Fig. 9. Tomb of Stibor Stiborici (†1434) from Buda, Budapest Historical Museum

helmet, with its frilled edges, is similar to what we find on some of these tombs, for example on the 1373 Székesfehérvár fragment, or on the tomb of László Kazai Kakas (the same nobleman who held Siklós from 1387, fig. 8).[42] Another characteristic feature of the Garai tomb slab is the shape of its upper part – the upper two corners are cut off diagonally. We also find this motif on tombs from the central part of the country, including once again the 1373 Székesfehérvár tomb, and the tomb of László Kakas. Examples from Buda can also be cited, such as the tomb of the 'Son of Bernard' (his name is not known), and Benedict of Florence.[43]

It should be pointed out here, that these elements of the Buda tombs all have their ori-



Fig. 10. Head and upper part of Miklós Garai from his tomb

gins in the funerary sculpture of southern Germany, especially Bavaria, and Austria. The development of Hungarian funerary iconography largely parallels the development of these workshops, and this fact indicates that the Buda carvers apparently had close connections with southern German and Austrian workshops. Many elements from those regions quickly appear on Hungarian tombs as well.[44]

While the technique and the details of the Garai tomb thus tie it to German-influenced Buda workshops, on the Siklós tomb a new element, the funerary effigy takes over the central role. We have already discussed the earliest examples of figural tombs in Hungary (Pilis), but very few other examples had followed these, and just as red marble disappeared from tomb sculpture between about 1270 and 1360, so did the gisant. Until the 1360s, figural tombstones were only erected under special circumstances, and at that time they became common for members of the high clergy.[45] The two most important works of this phase are the red marble tombs of Sigfrid († 1365) and László Czudar († 1372), both abbots of the premier Benedictine abbey of Hungary, Pannonhalma.[46] From the late fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth century most known tombs of prelates were figural, but such monuments were much rarer for secular lords. It seems that among laymen, first only members of the royal family and aristocrats of the highest standing, such as Miklós Garai, had figural tombs. Apart from the Garai tomb, the earliest surviving examples are the very similar monuments of Stibor Stiborici († 1414), and his son, Stibor Stiborici junior († 1434); both probably carved around 1430[47] (fig. 9), but most barons of the realm still preferred the heraldic tombs.[48] The funerary effigy provided a higher level of representation than the heraldic tombs, and the real breakthrough finally happened in the last third of the fifteenth century with the tombs of the 'banderial lords'. As in Western Europe, the emergence of this type coincides with a change in the status of knights, but a change that happened much later in Hungary than in France, England, or Germany.[49] Miklós Garai's figural tomb is about a half a century earlier than the Stibor tombs, and – apart from isolated early examples – is the first example of the secular figural red marble tombs. As such, it reflects his high standing and power at court, but calls for further examination. A closer look at the figure itself leads us to the sources of this type of representation, and perhaps reveals some of Garai's motives for commissioning it.

The representation of the deceased on the Siklós tomb slab belongs to a well-known type of funerary effigy, which Gerhard Schmidt has called "der liegende Beter" in his study on the Gothic *gisant*.[50] Although the figure is shown lying as if dead (his head is resting on a pillow), his open eyes and praying hands seem to contradict this (fig. 10). The praying *gisant* originates from thirteenth century French royal tombs, and remained the most popular type there, spreading into Germany with somewhat less success.[51] Apart from expressing the faith of the deceased, the type also refers to the liturgy of the burial, and implies the salvation of the perished man's soul. Erwin Panofsky called these tombs 'prospective', but the Garai gravestone is also rich in 'retrospective' elements.[52] The praying figure is clearly represented as a knight in all his earthly glory, in a state of eternal readiness. He wears a full plate armor over his chain mail, and his weapons and shield are prominently displayed on his sides. The custom of representing knights in armor on their tombs is also of French origin, but it soon spread to England, as well as other parts of Europe. For Garai's tomb, the most important parallels are from fourteenth century Germany. Tombs such as Albrecht von Hohenlohe's (Schöntal, Klosterkirche), who died in 1338, already show the same arrangement – a praying knight in armor, with his shield and

weapons displayed by his side. This type spread by 1350, as a number of southern German monuments indicate,[53] and only the armor changed through the following decades. The full plate armor replaced the earlier tunic over the chain mail around the middle of the fourteenth century, in a change observable on French and German tombs alike.[54]

It is precisely these details of the armor that lead us to further parallels that enable a more precise dating of the tomb. The same configuration of armor can be found on the works of the Viennese *Herzogenwerkstatt*, including the first seal of Rudolf IV, as well as Rudolf's portraits on the Stephansdom, and his tomb inside the cathedral.[55] Rudolf died in 1365, so these works also suggest that Garai's armor belongs to the style of the 1360s and 1370s. Apart from the Austrian and southern German monuments cited, the Garai tomb slab is also comparable to a group of Venetian-Paduan tombs from the second half of the fourteenth century. These also represent the armored *gisant* resting on a pillow and on animals, donning very similar arms and armor, with their hands in a gesture of prayer. The tomb of Federigo di Lavellongo (†1373) in S. Antonio in Padua is an especially good example, where even the chains connecting the weapons to the figure's breastplates and the type of belt is almost identical to the Garai tomb, although the separately displayed helmet and shield are missing.[56] These tombs are said to be of a northern type, and their origins are most likely in the same Southern German circle that I have just cited. We thus find the sources of this figure type in the same region that influenced the Buda carvers in their creation of heraldic tombs. When interest in figural tombs arose in Hungary, the Buda carvers once again turned to this same circle for inspiration and models.

The question remains, however, of what Miklós Garai's reasons were for choosing a figural tombstone. Whatever western models he might have been familiar with, they were probably only one source of inspiration for him. Perhaps more decisive for him was the example of his king, Louis the Great, who had erected a number of figural tombs. To better understand Garai's motives, it is necessary, therefore, to briefly examine the Anjou royal tombs at Székesfehérvár.



Fig. 11. Fragment of the tomb of King Louis I (†1382), Székesfehérvár

The royal collegiate church at Székesfehérvár, founded by Saint Stephen (1000–1038), was a remarkable place. It was the coronation church and the burial place of many important kings, including Saint Stephen himself.[57] The first Hungarian king of the Neapolitan Anjou family, Charles Robert (1308–1342), was buried there in 1342, after a gap of more than a century. In an unprecedented event his tomb was robbed by one of the canons in 1349, so King Louis the Great erected a funerary chapel inside the church for the family tombs some time after that. Family members, including his daughter, Catherine (†1374) and eventually he himself were buried there. The tomb of Louis, who died in 1382, was later destroyed together with the chapel and the whole church. Its character can be judged by a passage in Thuróczy's chronicle, describing the preparations for the coronation of Charles II in 1386: *"The Queens were also present... They first walked around the holy altars, then entered the burial chapel of King Louis. When they saw the marble statue of the benign king, their hearts nearly broke, and embracing*



Fig. 12. Two dogs from the lower zone of the northern wall at the church of Siklós

the cold stone, they kissed the sad likeness for a long time, covering the red marble with tears."[58]

Excavations at Székesfehérvár have revealed several red marble fragments identifiable with the tomb of Louis the Great, which can thus be approximately reconstructed.[59] The tomb was in effect a large *tumba*, with figures under ogee arches on its sides. The king's figure was depicted lying on the upper slab of the tomb, his head and feet resting on lions (fig. 11). The sepulcher was under an elaborate baldachin, which most likely enveloped the whole structure. The inspiration for this tomb must have come from the series of monumental baldachins standing in the churches of Naples and erected for members of the Angevine family.[60] Austrian examples, such as the double tomb of Rudolf IV, and his wife, Katharine, also influenced the monuments at Székesfehérvár. Details of the surviving fragments indicate that Austrian and southern German masters, coming from a region where the use of red marble was very common executed the tomb. The red marble might have been used as a revival of earlier royal customs as well. Inspired by the Neapolitan and Austrian examples and motivated by a need for *representatio*,[61] Louis introduced (or reintroduced) the large figural marble tombs into Hungary, and apparently promoted their use in the region. He set up a similar tomb for his daughter Catherine, who died in 1374, and restored earlier Hungarian royal tombs in this fashion. Apart from his father's tomb in Fehérvár, which must have been restored after the 1349 robbery, he perhaps erected a marble tomb for Béla IV at the Franciscan church at Esztergom, a monument only recently identified.[62] Louis also commissioned the tomb of the Polish king Casimir the Great, whom he succeeded on the Polish throne after the latter died in 1370. The tomb is still standing in the cathedral of Krakow, and because of its better state of preservation, the close relationship these monuments had with Austrian works, such as the shrine of St. Coloman in Melk and the tomb of Rudolf IV (died 1365) is more clearly demonstrated.[63] This is especially true of the structure of the whole tomb and its baldachin, while the *gisant* on Casimir's tomb is remarkably similar to certain statues of the King's gallery of Reims cathedral, carved by masters from Brabant.[64]

As we have seen already, Garai spent most of his time at the royal court, and was very close to the royal family, later becoming one of the most loyal supporters of the widow and daughter of Louis I. As one of the biggest landowners in the country, he certainly had the means to commission an elaborate tomb, and it is very likely that he turned to the royal tombs for inspiration. While the idea of an elaborate red marble tomb with a life-size *gisant* follows the model set by Louis, the actual execution of the Garai tomb is quite different from the royal monuments. There is no border framing the king's figure, which was carved in very high relief, as opposed to the framed low relief of the Siklós slab. Even in its battered shape, we can tell that the king is represented holding his insignia, his hair is freely curling over his shoulder, and he was draped in a large mantle over his armor – features also repeated on the tomb of Casimir in Krakow.[65] The king's commission might have provided the idea for Garai, but he turned to a workshop in Buda with his commission. The Buda carvers used their established connections in southern Germany and Austria, and used the type of the praying *gisant* when executing the tomb slab. In any case, Garai's tomb was the first one to follow the example set by Louis the Great and the western aristocracy. Although among members of the aristocracy, the heraldic tombs remained popular in Hungary up to the 1440s, Miklós Garai's tomb initiated a new type, and this eventually became the chosen form of burial for the barons of the court.

IV

When about a decade after his father's death, Miklós Garai the younger decided to set up his father's *memoria* at the family's new estate, he also set out to decorate the church, and transform it into a representative burial site. The tomb might have been erected there in an attempt to create a family burial site inside the Augustinian church. Unfortunately, we do not know how the tomb was displayed, what – if anything – was carved around its base, and where it was located inside the Augustinian church. The broken marble slab was found in the sanctuary, not in its original context. Two medieval graves were excavated in the central axis of the chancel, but the tombs must have been disrupted when the Turks occupied the town in 1543. Remains of earlier burials finally disappeared when a Baroque crypt was built below the sanctuary in the eighteenth century.[66] What does survive on the walls of the sanctuary, however, is an impressive set of frescoes in the style of the Northern Italian Trecento.[67] One element of this decoration – two small dogs as symbols of faith, depicted at the bottom of the northern wall – might have been painted in connection with a tomb, but the original relationship cannot be reconstructed today (fig. 12). The whole process – rebuilding and repainting the church, and erecting the tomb inside – was probably only completed in several phases over the span of about a decade. The insignia of the Order of the Dragon in the crown of a blind window on the southern wall points to a date after 1408, and the Garai coats of arms make the identity of the commissioners clear.[68]

The coats of arms not only represent the patron in this case, but also have a direct connection with the burials inside the sanctuary. They also designate the area of the sanctuary as the exclusive territory of the patron family, where only they and the canons had access. In fact, it is possible that – apart from the canons daily liturgy – the primary function of the church was to celebrate mass regularly on behalf of the family. Although no wills survive that would stipulate this system at Siklós, it must have functioned as a family burial church. The proximity of the church to the premier castle of the family, and the Augustinians credentials in ministering to the dead made this a natural choice.[69] This considerably broadened the original function of the church, which was not used as a family burial site under the Siklósi family.[70]

When complete with tombs and frescoes, the effect of the church's chancel was in all likelihood very similar to Italian family chapels, which were often used for burials. The most famous example perhaps is the Arena chapel in Padua, with the tomb of Enrico Scrovegni, but such chapels abound inside many larger churches.[71] In other cases, the tombs were displayed inside a painted niche, as in the Santo at Padua.[72] A large number of Italian wills stipulate the details of such chapels, often outlining the elements of decoration, including heraldic elements and representations of the patrons.[73] While in Hungary very few such wills survive,[74] such family chapels and burial churches are well known here as well. Some of the best preserved, and most copiously decorated of such family burial churches date from the end of the fourteenth century. The Franciscan church at Keszthely was built by István (II) Lackfi, and he was later buried there. Lackfi became the Palatine in 1387, and was one of the main supporters of Sigismund until 1396, when he changed allegiance. This caused his downfall, and he was executed in 1397.[75] As the king confiscated his estates, including Keszthely, it is certain that preparations for his burial had been made well before his death. As already mentioned, the year of his death was added later to his already completed tomb slab, and the frescoes had been painted before his death as well. At Keszthely, similarly to Siklós, only the sanctuary was painted with a large series of saints and narrative scenes, and Lackfi's coats of arms were also present, for example, on one of the keystones. His tomb was erected in the central axis of the sanctuary's western bay, thus constituting the focal point of the whole ensemble.[76] Another characteristic example is the church at Bántornya (Turnišce, Slovenia), where a member of the Bánfi of Alsólendva family was buried in front of the altar in the sanctuary. The church was painted in the 1380s by Johannes Aquila, for Bánfi László I, who was represented together with his family praying in front of the Virgin. Although this scene was destroyed in 1928, the sanctuary and the triumphal arch are still

adorned by Bánfi's coats of arms and beautiful frescoes.[77]

The church at Siklós is an illustrious member of this group of burial churches, but nevertheless, it never became the Garai family's primary burial place. Some time before his death in 1433, Miklós Garai founded a family chapel next to the Church of Our Lady at Buda.[78] Remains of this chapel came to light (and were dismantled) when Frigyes Schulek rebuilt the entire church at the end of the last century. The chapel stood on the northern side of the church, and opened into the eastern end of the northern aisle with an elaborate double portal, and was richly decorated with reliefs. The Palatine's tomb did not survive, although three graves were excavated inside the chapel, and a red marble fragment with the Garai coat of arms was recovered nearby.[79] Miklós Garai's grandson, Job Garai, also made a donation to the chapel, as it was acknowledged in a charter issued by the town of Buda in 1461. The document describes the Palatine's donation, and mentions the tomb as decorated with coats of arms and inscriptions.[80] As it is clear that the chapel was intended as a burial chapel, similar ideas at Siklós must have been abandoned. Buda, as the true capital of Hungary at the time, became a favorite place for aristocratic residences and burials. Miklós and János Garai had two houses in Buda, one of them being a veritable palace, and they probably spent much time there, being close to the king. Other such aristocrats also established their private chapels in or near the principal churches of Buda, and used them as burial sites.[81] Only the royal basilica at Székesfehérvár (a royal burial site) rivaled it in importance.[82]

Even if the younger Miklós Garai and later members of the family were buried at Buda, the family church was completed at Siklós. Tombs and frescoes must have formed a remarkable ensemble inside the Augustinian church, an ensemble probably left intact until 1543, when the Turks occupied the town. Miklós Garai's tomb and the frescoes were both damaged at this time, and they eventually disappeared from view for centuries. Thanks to the most important discovery of recent decades, the Augustinian church at Siklós once again stands today as one of the most remarkable pieces of evidence of the Garai's lavish patronage.

NOTES

Abbreviations of the most frequently cited sources

Bauch 1976 = Bauch, Kurt, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa*, Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976

Engel–Lővei–Varga 1984 = Engel, Pál–Lővei, Pál–Varga, Lívia, "Grabplatten von ungarischen Magnaten aus dem Zeitalter der Anjou-Könige und Sigismunds von Luxemburg", *Acta Historiae Artium* 30 (1984), 33–63

CDH = *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus et Civilis*. Studio et opera Georgii Fejér. – Buda, 1829–1844

Hurtig 1979 = Hurtig, Judith, *The Armored Gisant before 1400*, New York: Garland, 1979

Körner 1997 = Körner, Hans, *Grabmonumente des Mittelalters*, Darmstadt: Primus, 1997

Louis cat. = *Művészet I. Lajos király korában* [Art in the Time of King Louis I.], exh. cat., ed. Ernő Marosi–Melinda Tóth–Lívia Varga, Budapest: MTA, 1982

Lővei 1991 = Lővei, Pál, "Mittelalterliche Grabdenkmäler in Buda", *Budapest im Mittelalter*, ed. Gerd Biegel, Braunschweig: Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum – Historisches Museum Budapest, 1991, 351–365

Lővei 1992 = Lővei Pál, "A tömött vörös mészkő – 'vörös márvány' – használata a középkori magyarországi művészetben" [The Use of the Hard Lime Stone – 'Red Marble' – in Medieval Hungarian Art], *Ars Hungarica* 1992/2, 3–28

Lővei 1995 = Lővei Pál, "A siklósi plébániatemplom szentélye és középkori falképei" [The Choir and Medieval Wall Paintings of the Parish Church in Siklós], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 5 (1995/1–2), 177–214

Mályusz 1990 = Mályusz, Elemér, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn, 1387–1437*, Budapest: Akadémiai, 1990

Mons Sacer = Mons Sacer 996–1996 – Pannonhalma 1000 éve, I–III [Thousand Years of Pannonhalma] exh. cat. ed. Imre Takács, Pannonhalma, 1996

MoMT 2 = *Magyarországi Művészet 1300–1470 körül, I–II.* (A magyarországi művészet története 2) [Art in Hungary Between 1300–1470], ed. Ernő Marosi, Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987

Pannonia Regia = *Pannonia Regia – Kunst und Architektur in Pannonien 1000–1541*, ed. by Árpád Mikó–Imre Takács, Budapest: Hungarian National Gallery, 1994

Schmidt 1992 = Schmidt, Gerhard, *Gotische Bildwerke und ihre Meister, I–II.*, Vienna–Cologne–Weimar: Böhlau, 1992

Sigismund cat. = *Művészet Zsigmond király korában, I–II.* [Art in the time of King Sigismund of Hungary], exh. cat. ed. László Beke–Ernő Marosi–Tünde Wehli, Budapest: MTA, 1987

Thuróczy = Johannes de Turocz, *Chronica Hungarorum (1488)*, ed. Elisabeth Galántai–Julius Kristó, Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985

Varga–Lővei 1990–92 = Varga, Lívia–Lővei, Pál, "Funerary Art in Medieval Hungary", *Acta Historiae Artium* 35 (1990–1992), 115–167

Zs.O. = *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* [Charters of the age of Sigismund], ed. Elemér Mályusz, Budapest: Akadémiai, 1951–

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[1] The most important survey of medieval tomb sculpture in Hungary is *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*. For a more recent research report, see Pál Lővei, "A középkori Magyarország síremlékei – Kutatási helyzetkép" [Funerary monuments of medieval Hungary – The state of research], *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995/2), 243–251.

[2] The events of 1382–1387 are told by numerous sources. The most accessible medieval chronicle telling the story is *Thuróczy*, chapters 186–198 (I. 188–208). Studies on the period include A. Huber, "Die Gefangennehmung der Königinnen Elisabeth und Maria von Ungarn, und die Kämpfe König Sigismunds gegen die neapolitanischer Partei", *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* 1885, 511–; Antal Pór, "Kis Károly és Erzsébet utolsó évei" [The Last Years of Charles the Little and Elizabeth], *Századok* 30 (1896), 129–147; *Mályusz* 1990, 7–26; János Bak, "The Late Medieval period" in *A History of Hungary*, ed. Peter F. Sugar (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1990), 54–55. The full story of these years is best told in the little book of the eminent medieval historian, Erik Fügedi, *"Könyörülj, bánom, könyörülj..."* [Have mercy, Ban, have mercy...] (Budapest: Helikon, 1986).

[3] See Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* [Secular Dignitaries of Medieval Hungary, 1301–1457] (Budapest: MTA, 1996), I 1–6 and II 81 with further references. On the elder Garai's role in the events after the death of Louis I in 1382, see *Mályusz 1990*, 13–26. *Thuróczy* (chapter 187) calls Garai the "country's most respected man, who was elevated to the post of Count Palatine by Louis, subordinated only to the king".

[4] Charles was the second ruler of Hungary under this name, and he is also known as Kis Károly (Charles the Little). He was attacked by Balázs Forgách and others on February 7, 1386, and died on February 24 at Visegrád.

[5] Thuróczy errs here – contemporary sources and later historians all agree that the group was on the way from Diakó to Gara (today Gorjan, Croatia), the center of Garai's estates. They were ambushed just off the fortified town of Gara, thus the encounter is also known as the 'battle of Gara'.

[6] *Thuróczy*, chapter 196. The English translation is by Frank Mantello from János Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1991), 33–34. Sources contemporary with the event include a letter of Queen Mary from 1387, see *CDH* X/3, 312–323, no. XL. Thuróczy's narrative served as a basis of later chronicles, where the events are sometimes described in even more detail (for example by Bonfini, see A. de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, eds. I. Fógel, B. Iványi, L. Juhász (Lipsiae, 1936), Decas III, Liber 1, lines 290–310). The romantically told story became the basis of a number of nineteenth century historical paintings, for example by Mihály Kovács (1864) and Mihály Szemlér (1868), both at the Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest.

[7] Similar names within the Garai family often lead to confusion. János and Pál killed at the battle of Gara were cousins, Miklós Garai is from another branch of the family. Also killed was Gergely, from yet another, the Botos branch of the family. For details of family history and a family tree, see Mór Wertner, "A Garaiak" [The Garai family], *Századok* 31 (1897), 903–938. The Garai casualties are listed for example in a 1406 donation charter by King Sigismund (giving Liptó County to the younger Garai brothers), see *Hazai Okmánytár* VII [Hungarian charters], (Budapest, 1880), 433–434, no. 401.

[8] During the 1401 insurrection, Sigismund was held captive for several months at the castle of Siklós. For the early phase of Sigismund's rule, see *Mályusz 1990*, 27–69; Hoensch, Jörg Konrad, *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit 1368–1437* (München: C.H. Beck, 1996), 48–118. On the younger Miklós Garai, see Pál Engel, "Garai (II.) Miklós nádor, († 1433)" [Palatine Miklós II Garai] in *Sigismund cat.* I, 416–419.

[9] *Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Regni Hungariae Illustrantia*, I/1 (Budapest, 1885), 266, 276, 310. In 1333 for example: 'Item prior de ordine superpeliciatorum de Soglos solvit XX. banales', (276). Today the church is the main catholic parish church of the town. On the town, see also György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* I. [Historical Geography of Hungary in the Árpád period] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987), 378–379.

[10] Siklós was given to László Kakas and his relative, János of Pásztó, *Zs. O.* I., no. 11. They apparently had troubles using the estate, as in 1388 they needed protection to keep the property (*Zs. O.* I., no. 1938). In a document, dated May 7, 1395, members of the Pásztói, Tari and Kakas families complain in front of the Eger chapter that Sigismund gave their property, Siklós, to the Garai brothers, see *Zs. O.* I., no. 3970; *CDH* X/3, 176, no. 163.

[11] The Garais received this Dalmatian island from Sigismund in 1397, and as patrons, nominated Siklósi to be bishop on March 11, 1399, see *Zs. O.* I., no. 5756 and *CDH* X/2, 743–744, no. 387.

[12] On the family's estates, see Pál Engel, *Királyi hatalom és arisztokrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban: 1387–1437* [The relationship of royal power and the aristocracy in the age of Sigismund] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977). See also István Feld, "Residenzen der Aristokratie der Sigismund-Zeit in Ungarn – Ein archäologischer Forschungsbericht", in *Sigismund von Luxemburg: Kaiser und König in Mitteleuropa, 1387–1437*, ed. Josef Macek, Ernő Marosi, Ferdinand Seibt (Warendorf: Fahlbusch, 1994), 235–253. (Siklós and Garai – 236–237).

[13] Pál Engel, "A középkori Dunántúl mint történeti táj", in *Pannonia Regia*, 19 (for a summary, see "Das mittelalterliche Transdanubien als eine geschichtliche Landschaft", in *Pannonia Regia*, 543–546).

[14] Ilona Czeglédy, "Siklós a Zsigmond-korban" [The castle of Siklós at the time of Sigismund], in *Sigismund cat.* I, 347–351; on the church, see Lővei 1995, 179.

[15] The cleaning and restoration of the frescoes is described in Péter Boromisza, "A siklósi plébaniatemplom középkori falképeinek restaurálása" [Restoration of the Medieval Wall Paintings of the Parish Church in Siklós], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 5 (1995/1–2), 215–228; Klára Deák, "La résurrection du paradis – Peintures murales et restauration des fresques", *Monuments Historiques* No. 201 (1996), 94–97. On the frescoes, see *Lővei 1995*; Mária Prokopp, "Keszthely és Siklós újonnan feltárt gótikus falképei" [The newly discovered frescoes in the churches of Keszthely and Siklós], *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995/2), 158–167; and most recently: Piovano, Claudia, "A siklósi plébániatemplom szentélyének falképei" [Wall-Paintings of the Apse of the Siklós Parish Church], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 7 (1997/1–2), 65–94.

[16] Mária G. Sándor, "Baranya megye középkori templomainak újabb ásatási eredményei" [New results of the excavations of medieval churches in Baranya county], in *A tegnap és ma építészete a történeti településeken* (Budapest, 1989), 69. The archaeological documentation is kept at the Archives of the Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal [National Board for the Protection of Historical Monuments], Budapest. The tomb slab was described and identified by Pál Lővei in *Pannonia Regia*, 276–277, no. IV–49; *Lővei 1995*, 195. The slab is presently set up inside the sanctuary of the Siklós church, officially it is part of the collection of the Janus Pannonius Museum, Pécs.

[17] The seal is at the Budapest History Museum, see *Louis cat.*, 354, no. 260, plate 70 for illustration.

[18] The armorial was destroyed in 1945, see Dénes Rado-

csay, "Gotische Wappenbilder auf Ungarischen Adelsbriefen", *Acta Historiae Artium* 5 (1958), 322, 352. A. Nyáry, *A heraldika vezérfonala* [Guide to Heraldry] (Budapest, 1886), 236; A. Áldásy, *A MNM könyvtárának címereslevelei* II. [Armorials in the Library of the Hungarian National Museum] 1923, 31–33. For other Garai seals, see *MoMT* 2, II, fig. 247.

[19] See note 10.

[20] For preparations for death in general, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death – Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell UP, 1996), 33–47. On preparing tombs before death in Hungary, see Pál Lővei, "Középkori síremlékeink megrendelői köre" [The commissioners of medieval tombs in Hungary], *Pavilon* 4 (1990), 8–13.

[21] *Engel–Lővei–Varga* 1984, 40, no. 5.

[22] On these tombs, see Pál Lővei, "Középkori síremlékeink megrendelői köre", *Pavilon* 4 (1990), 8–13; on László Czudar's tomb, see also Pál Lővei, "Középkori síremlékek" [Medieval sepulchers], *Mons Sacer*, 311, 314, and German translation: "Mittelalterliche Grabplatten und Grabsteine in Pannonhalma", *Acta Historiae Artium* 38 (1996), 89–96. For Alsáni and other examples (Bertalan Gergellaki, †1469; György Schönberg, †1486, tomb from 1470), see *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 120, 131–143. Bálint Alsáni's father, János was married to the daughter of Pál Garai, see Pál Engel, "Alsáni Bálint bíboros" [Cardinal Bálint Alsáni], *Sigismund cat.* I, 405.

[23] Pál Lővei in *Pannonia Regia*, 277, suggests that it might have been set up at Gara, the hometown and family estate of the Garais, just across the river Drava, south of Siklós. Unfortunately no documentary evidence exists to support this hypothesis, and nothing is known about the medieval monuments of Gara.

[24] *Mályusz 1990*, 22. Antal Pór, "Kis Károly és Erzsébet utolsó évei" [The Last Years of Charles the Little and Elizabeth], *Századok* 30 (1896), 147. The heads of Miklós Garai, Balázs Forgách (the assassin of Charles of Durazzo) and János Garai were transported to Naples by bishop Pál Horváti, where they were carried around town and put on display on Sept. 16, 1386, see the 1387 letter of Queen Mary, in *CDH* X/3, 313.

[25] *Lővei 1992*, 3–4 cites several medieval examples; see also *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 117–118.

[26] On the Tournai stone, see Elizabeth Schwartzbaum, "Three Tournai tombslabs in England," *Gesta* 20 (1981) 89–97; C. S. Drake, "The Distribution of Tournai Fonts", *The Antiquaries Journal* (1993), 11–26. On Salzburg, see V. Mayr, *Studien zur Sepulchralplastik in Rotmarmor im bayerisch-österreichischen Raum 1360–1460* (Bamberg, 1972). These marble-like stones were generally used for architectural details, special objects, such as baptismal fonts as well as for tombs.

[27] The village of Tardos was given to the Esztergom Chapter by King Imre, the donation was reinforced by Andrew II in 1218, see György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* II. [Historical Geography of Hungary in the Árpád period] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987), 313. Another mining village, Süttő, was given to the Archbishop of Esztergom by King Sigismund in 1388, see *Zs. O.* I no 824; see also *Lővei 1992*, 4–5; *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 159, note 13.

[28] On the Esztergom red marble monuments (most notably the *Porta Speciosa*), see Ernő Marosi, "Einige stilistische Probleme der Inkrustationen von Gran/Esztergom", *Acta Historiae Artium* 17 (1971), 171–229; Ernő Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn – Esztergom in der Kunst des 12–13. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1984); *Pannonia Regia*, 154–170, cat. no. I–82, 234–236; cat. no. IV–3; and Dora Wiebenson and József Sisa, eds., *The Architecture of Historic Hungary* (Cambridge, MA – London: MIT Press, 1998), 15–18. For an eighteenth-century description of the portal, see György Széless, *Az esztergomi Szent Adalbert székesegyház* [The Cathedral of Saint Adalbert in Esztergom] (Esztergom: Kultsár István társadalomtudományi és kiadói alapítvány, 1998), esp. 67–93.

[29] László Gerevich, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* [The Cistercian Abbey at Pilis] (Szentendre, 1984); László Gerevich, "Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der Zisterzienserabtei Pilis", *Acta Archaeologica* 35 (1985), 111–152. On the architectural fragments from Pilis, see also *Pannonia Regia*, 238, cat. no. IV–4 (Imre Takács).

[30] The *Porta Speciosa* at Pannonhalma, dating from 1220–1230, uses contrasting red marble and colorful painted limestone, and is a chief work of High Gothic in Hungary. Imre Takács, "Werkstätten der Gotik im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert", in *Pannonia Regia*, 545–552 (translation of 22–33); Imre Takács, "Pannonhalma újjáépítése a 13. században" [The rebuilding of Pannonhalma in the 13th century] in *Mons Sacer* I 170–236. A German translation is available: "Die Erneuerung der Abteikirche von Pannonhalma im 13. Jahrhundert," *Acta Historiae Artium* 1996, 31–65, see esp. 52–57.

[31] The most important examples are the red marble coffins of Béla III (†1196) and his wife, Anne Chatillon at Székesfehérvár, and a group of inscribed slabs from Esztergom, see *Lővei 1992*, 5–7; Imre Takács, "Esztergomi síremléktöredékek a 13. századból" [Esztergom tomb fragments from the 13th century], *Ars Hungarica* 16 (1988/2), 121–132.

[32] On this tombstone, see Imre Takács's entry in *Pannonia Regia* 256–257, cat. no. IV–22.

[33] See note 29, and Imre Takács, "Gertrudis királyné síremléke" [The tomb of Queen Gertrudis] in *Pannonia Regia*, 248–256, cat. IV–21; Imre Takács, "Fragmente des Grabmals der Königin Gertrudis", *Die Andechs-Meranier in Franken: Europäisches Fürstentum im Hochmittelalter* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 103–109.

[34] It is perhaps not coincidental that just at this time Villard de Honnecourt was in Hungary, and most likely visited the abbey of Pilis as well. Although it has been suggested that Villard might have carved the tomb, this is unlikely. The idea was suggested by László Gerevich, "Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der Zisterzienserabtei Pilis", *Acta Archaeologica* 35 (1985), 128–130. It is not accepted by Takács in *Pannonia Regia*, 250–251. On the trip of Villard to Hungary, see most recently Imre Takács, "Villard de Honnecourt utazása a művészettörténetben" [The travels of V. H. in the art historical literature], *Ars Hungarica* 22 (1994), 15–19.

[35] Sources tell us that for example the tombs of Saint Margaret (†1271) and Stephen V. (†1272) on Margaret Island (Budapest) were made of red marble, *Lővei 1992*, 4, citing the c. 1510 Hungarian version of the Margaret legend (Combos, A. F., *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*, Budapest, 1937–38, II, 1518–19, 1542). See also *Lővei 1991*, p. 361; *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 122, 159, note 16. Later, in the first half of the fourteenth century, a new, white marble sepulcher was erected for Saint Margaret, see Pál Lővei, "The Sepulchral Monument of Saint Margaret of the Arpadian Dynasty", *Acta Historiae Artium* 26 (1980), 175–221.

[36] László Gerevich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1971), 93–94; *Lővei 1992*. The marble was shipped for example to Zagreb, see Pál Engel–Pál Lővei, "A gerecsei vörösmárvány használata Zágrábban és környékén a középkorban – Verwendung des Rotmarmors von Gerecse in Agram und Umgebung im Mittelalter", *Annales de la Galerie nationale Hongroise* (Budapest, 1991), 47–51.

[37] On the architecture and sculpture in the court of Matthias, see *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541* (Schallaburg, 1982), 275–318 (Jolán Balogh on the Buda palace), 376–393 (Miklós Horler on the Visegrád palace), 660–676 (J. Balogh and M. Horler on the Bakócz chapel). On the Bakócz chapel, see also Miklós Horler, *The Bakócz chapel of Esztergom Cathedral* (Budapest: Helikon–Corvina, 1990). Most recently, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450–1800* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), 39–46; and Dora Wiebenson and József Sisa, eds., *The Architecture of Historic Hungary* (Cambridge, MA–London: MIT Press, 1998), 45–59. Another fragmentary monument of exceptional quality is the red marble shrine of Saint Paul the

Hermit from Budaszentlőrinc, erected between 1484–88, see *Pannonia Regia*, 352–353, cat. no. VII–23.

[38] *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 123–124. A list of such tombs from between 1360–1390 is given on p. 160, note 43, a list of later tombs on p. 161, note 50. On the general use of heraldic devices in Hungary, see Ágnes Kurcz, *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13–14. században* [Knightly Culture in Hungary in the 13–14th centuries] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988), 122–124; *MoMT* 2, I, 216–217.

[39] Bebek was *magister tavernicorum* of the queen, for his tomb (carved after 1371), see *MoMT* 2, II, fig. 618; Engel–Varga–Lővei, "A tornagörgői, egy bazini és egy ismeretlen helyről származó sírkőről" [On tombstones from Tornagörgő, Bazin and from an unknown place], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 30 (1981), 255–259; *Engel–Lővei–Varga 1984*, 44, no. 2. On other similar tombs, see *Engel–Lővei–Varga 1984*; *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 123–131; *MoMT* 2, I, 459–463.

[40] Buda's central role was first suggested by Kornél Divald, *Budapest művészete a török hódoltság előtt* [The art of Budapest before the Turkish conquest] (Budapest, 1903). Henrik Horváth localized the main workshop to the Dominican monastery: Henrik Horváth, "A székesfővárosi Múzeum középkori lapidáriuma a Halászbástyán" [The medieval lapidary of the Museum of Budapest in Fishermen's Bastion], *Magyar Művészet* 8 (1932), 89–128, 149–165, see esp. 112–114. Although this exact localization is not likely, the central role of the Buda workshops was also accepted by László Gerevich, *The Art of Buda and Pest in the Middle Ages* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1971), 93–94; Dénes Radocsay, "Les principaux monuments funéraires mèdiévaux conservés à Budapest", *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay* (Braga, 1971), 461–486; *Lővei 1991*; *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 124–125. On the Dominican church, see Katalin H. Gyürky, *Das mittelalterliche Dominikanerkloster in Buda* (Budapest, 1981).

[41] Thomas, son of Nicholas, corrected in the frame to Nicholas, son of Thomas, see *MoMT* 2, I, 460, II, figs. 616, 617. Other examples from Buda also there, see figs. 612, 613. On later examples, the empty areas of this field are usually filled by the fringes of the mantle of the helmet.

[42] For illustrations, see *MoMT* 2, II, fig. 613 (Buda, 1388), 621 (Székesfehérvár, 1373). László Kakas's tomb is at the Hungarian National Museum, it comes from Serke (Širkovce, Slovakia), see *MoMT* 2, II, fig. 622. See also note 10.

[43] There are about twenty surviving tombs or fragments with this arrangement, ranging in date from the second quarter of the 14th century to the early 16th, *MoMT* 2, I, 335, and II, figs. 175, 176, 612, 621, 622, 634, 1219, etc. The tomb of the painter Ábel from Buda and that of Master Miklós of Felsőlendva from Segesd (Saies, Romania, 1346) are the earliest Hungarian examples of this type, see *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 120.

[44] For example the stylized bird wings in profile originate in Austria and Upper Bavaria, and they became especially common in Pfalz, in Württenberg and Central Frank Land, *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 126, with examples in 161, note 44; *MoMT* 2, I, 462.

[45] The history of the gisant is well researched, I will only concentrate on Hungary here. See on the origins, Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: Abrams, 1964), 49–59; *Bauch 1976*; *Hurtig 1979*; *Körner 1997*, 99–117. See also Gerhard Schmidt, "Die gotischen 'Gisants' und ihr Umfeld" (1987) in *Schmidt 1992*, I, 28–45. Among fourteenth century tombs in Hungary, there is an exceptional figural tombstone for a (foreign) knight at Beszterce (Bistrița, Romania), dated 1327, see Lívia Varga, "Neudeutung der Bistrizer Grabplatte", *Beiträge zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte und Denkmalpflege*, ed. Christoph Machat (Munich, 1983). A number of crude examples also exist, these are very hard to interpret and date (Kisnána, etc.), *MoMT* 2, I, 340–341; *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 120–122. Other special cases include the shrine of Saint Simeon at Zára (Zadar, Croatia), executed between 1377 and 1380 by Francesco di Antonio da Mediolano, see *MoMT* 2, I, 496–497, and II, figs 795–802.

[46] The earliest surviving and dated figural tombstone of a prelate was made for András Szécsi, bishop of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Romania) (†1356). The red marble slabs at Pannonhalma are still preserved in the south aisle of the church, see *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 131–133; Pál Lővei, "Középkori síremlékek," *Mons Sacer* I, 310–314, and German translation: "Mittelalterliche Grabplatten und Grabsteine in Pannonhalma", *Acta Historiae Artium* 38 (1996), 89–96. For later tombs of prelates, see *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 120, 131–143.

[47] The younger Stibor's tomb was discovered in 1907, the tombstone comes from the southeast side next to the Church of Our Lady in Buda. Fragments of another, very similar tombstone were found at Székesfehérvár, it marked the tomb of Stibor Stiborici senior (†1414), probably set up by his son. See *Sigismund cat.* II, 281–283, 291–294 (no. Sz. 47–49); *Engel–Lővei–Varga 1984*, 47–50, no. 9–11; *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 134–136, *MoMT* 2, I, 589–591. The master of these tombstones uses certain stylistic devices present on a group of the Gothic statues found at the Buda castle in 1974, see Ernő Marosi, "Vorläufige kunsthistorische Bemerkungen zum Skulpturenfund von 1974 in der Burg von Buda", *Acta Historiae Artium* 22 (1976), 362.

[48] These aristocrats are by this time commonly called 'barons', not only because they held baronial offices, but because of their status and wealth, see Peter F. Sugar, ed., *A History of Hungary* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1990), 57. On the barons, see János Bak, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 13–16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1973), esp. 27–38; Erik Fügedi, *A 15. századi magyar arisztokrácia mobilitása* [Social Mobility of the Hungarian Aristocracy during the Fifteenth Century] (Budapest, 1970). See also Pál Engel, "Zsigmond bárói" [The barons of Sigismund], *Sigismund. cat.*, I. 114–129. On their tombs, see *Engel–Lővei–Varga 1984; Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 133–137, 149–157.

[49] Judith Hurtig has demonstrated in her study on the armored *gisant* that such a change took place in England, France and Germany at the turn of the thirteenth century. As members of the nobility became important patrons, they aspired to erect "monuments that express the pride in their newly acquired social position and power". *Hurtig 1979*, 188–226. The quote is from 214. In Hungary, the increasing separation of the higher and lower ranks of the nobility culminated in the laws of 1498–1500, which spelled out those aristocratic families who had to go to war with their private armies, under their own banderole. It is members of these families, who tend to get figural tombstones, with their banderoles prominently displayed on them. See *A History of Hungary*, ed., Peter F. Sugar (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1990) 78, and for the tombs of these aristocrats, *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 148–152.

[50] Gerhard Schmidt, "Die gotischen 'Gisants' und ihr Umfeld" (1987) in *Schmidt 1992*, 31–34.

[51] *Hurtig 1979*, 22; Gerhard Schmidt, "Die gotischen 'Gisants' und ihr Umfeld", (1987) in *Schmidt 1992*, 31–34. On the thirteenth century French tombs, see also Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France – The Late Middle Ages. A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources* (1908) (Princeton University Press, 1986), 356–368. For German monuments, especially the early fourteenth century Marburg tombs, see Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein, "Der Ritter im Heergewäte – Bemerkungen über einige Bildgrabsteine der Hochgotik", in *Studien zur Geschischte der Europäischen Plastik – Festschrift Theodor Müller*, ed. Kurt Martin et al. (Münich: Hirmer, 1965), 73–91.

[52] The type – especially when combined with censing angels at the figure's head, has been called 'liturgical' by Judith Hurtig, distinguishing it from 'commemorative' tombs. *Hurtig 1979*, 11–13; see also Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: Abrams, 1964), 60–63. On the eschatological nature of this type, see Gerhard Schmidt, "Die gotischen 'Gisants' und

ihr Umfeld" (1987) in *Schmidt 1992*, 38–39. The preservation of earthly memory and a preoccupation with the afterlife was also often combined in contemporary Italian wills, see Samuel K. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death – Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore–London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992), esp. 242–243.

[53] Kuno von Falkenstein, Kirchzarten/Br. († 1334), *Bauch 1979*, 137–138, fig. 221; Berthold von Zähringen c. 1350, Freiburg/Br., *Bauch 1976*, 345, n. 456, and fig. 352a; Hans von Ybs, †1368 at Ips, Niederösterreich, see Karl Lind, *Sammlung von Abbildungen Mittelalterlicher Grabdenkmale aus den Ländern der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie – Kunsthistorisches Atlas* X/1 (Vienna, 1892), fig. XIII/1; – Harry Kühnel, "Grabdenkmäler in Niederösterreich", in *Die Gotik in Niederösterreich – Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte eines Landes im Spätmittelalter* (Wien, 1963), 186–187, fig. 175. See also the 'activated' figure of Konrad von Seinsheim at Schweinfurt, *Hurtig 1979*, 104–107, fig. 168, 162. The term 'activated' ('die aktivierte Liegefigur') comes from Gerhard Schmidt, "Die gotischen 'Gisants' und ihr Umfeld", (1987) in *Schmidt 1992*, 35–37. The other feature these tombs all share with the Siklós slab is the raised and generally inscribed border around the figure, a revival of the thirteenth-century box tombs, *Hurtig 1979*, 104–107.

[54] *Hurtig 1979*, 44.

[55] This connection was raised by Ernő Marosi, in his review of the *Pannonia Regia* catalogue, *Acta Historiae Artium* 37 (1994–1995), 338; and "Pentimenti. Korrekciók a 14–15. századi magyar művészet képén" [Pentimenti – Corrections in the picture of 14–15th century Art in Hungary], in *Koppány Tibor hetvenedik születésnapjára – Tanulmányok*, István Bardoly–Csaba László, eds. (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1998), 101, 118. On Vienna, see Gerhard Schmidt, "Die Wiener 'Herzogenwerkstatt' und die Kunst Nordwesteuropas" (1977/78) in *Schmidt 1992*, I, 142–174.

[56] *Bauch 1976*, 139–140, fig. 225; *Hurtig 1979*, 176–177, fig. 326. See also Wolfgang Wolters, *La Scultura Veneziana gotica (1300–1460)*, (Venice: Alfieri, 1976), 203–204, cat. no. 117; for similar examples, see also cat. no. 115, 116.

[57] On the town and the basilica, see Gyula Siklósi, "Székesfehérvár", in *Medium Regni – Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats* (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 45–88, with earlier bibliography. On burials at Fehérvár: Pál Engel, "Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári bazilikában" [Burials inside the Medieval Basilica at Székesfehérvár], *Századok* 121 (1987), 613–637. On the Székesfehérvár sarcophagus of St. Stephen, most recently dated to 1083 (the time of Stephen's canonization), see Sándor Tóth, "A székesfehérvári szarkofág és köre" [The sarcophagus at Székesfehérvár and related monuments], *Pannonia Regia*, 82–87, with earlier bibliography. See also Dezső Dercsényi, *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika* [The Royal Basilica of Székesfehérvár] (Budapest, 1943).

[58] *Thuróczy*, chapter 193. Translation my own. Once again, the passage served as a source for 19th century historical paintings, see Sándor Liezen-Mayer's *Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary at the Sarcophagus of Louis the Great*, 1864, illustration in Júlia Szabó, *Painting in Nineteenth Century Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina, 1985), p. 236.

[59] Eva Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Remarques sur le tombeau de Louis le Grand," *Acta Hungariae Artium* 14 (1968/3–4), 215–222; Alán Kralovánszky–Ernő Szakál–Pál Lővei, "I. Lajos székesfehérvári síremléke" [The Székesfehérvár tomb of Louis I] in *Louis cat.*, 165–203, cat. no. 100–110; *Pannonia Regia*, 275–276, cat. no. IV–48.

[60] On the tombs in Naples, see *Bauch 1976*, 179–184; *Körner 1997*, 152–156. On the associations and sacral aspects of baldachins, see *ibid.*, 84–89. More recently on the royal tombs in Naples, see Pál Lővei, "Anjou-magyar síremlékek és címeres emlékek Nápolyban" [Hungarian Angevine tombs and heraldic monuments in Naples], *Ars Hungarica* 26 (1998/1), 18–51, referring to Enderlein, Lorenz, *Die Grablegen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266–1343. (Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana, Band 12)* (Worms an Rhein, 1997).

[61] On representing the king at the funeral, see Ernő Marosi, *Kép és hasonmás – Művészet és valóság a 14–15. századi Magyarországon* [Image and Likeness – Art and Reality in the 14th and 15th Centuries in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1995), 45–48 (English summary: 251–252), discussing the funeral of Charles Robert in 1342. See also "A Royal Funeral", in *Medium Regni – Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats* (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 82–83.

[62] The identification of this tomb with Béla's new tomb is not certain, see *Pannonia Regia*, 274–275, cat. no. IV–47. Fragments of another contemporary figural tomb for a woman named Barbara are known from Buda, see *MoMT* 2, I, 636.

[63] For the historical background, see Paul W. Knoll, "Louis the Great and Casimir of Poland", in *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland* (New York, 1986), 105–127. On the tomb, see Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Nagrobek Kazimierza Wielkiego w katedrze wawelskiej" [The tomb of Casimir the Great in the Cathedral of Krakow] *Studia do Dziejów Wawelu* IV, Krakow, 1978, 1–115; see also Piotr Skubiszewski on the tomb of Casimir, *Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350–1400: Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern: ein Handbuch zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Kunsthalle Köln*, 1–3, ed. Anton Legner (Cologne: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1978), II, 482. On the connections between Melk, Vienna and Krakow, see Pál Lővei, "A székesfehérvári Anjou-sirkápolna művészettörténeti helye" [The art historical place of the Angevine burial chapel at Székesfehérvár] in *Louis cat.*, 215, n. 34. On the Viennese monuments, see Rupert Feuchmüller, "Die Fürstenbildnisse an der Wiener Stephanskirche", *Parler cat.* (as above) II, 417–421; Gerhard Schmidt, "Die Wiener 'Herzogenwerkstatt' und die Kunst Nordwest-europas" (1977/78) in *Schmidt 1992*, I, 142–174.

[64] The comparison of figures 61–63 at Reims with the Krakow tomb was made by Gerhard Schmidt, "Bemerkungen zur Königsgalerie der Kathedrale von Reims" (1972), in *Schmidt 1992*, 118–119.

[65] Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Nagrobek Kazimierza Wielkiego w katedrze wawelskiej" [The tomb of Casimir the Great in the Cathedral of Krakow] *Studia do Dziejów Wawelu* IV., Krakow, 1978, 1–115.

[66] *Lővei 1995*, 198.

[67] See note.

[68] The Order of the Dragon was created by King Sigismund in 1408 to strengthen his ties with the Garai–Cillei League and to ensure the succession of his rule even on the female line. Miklós and János Garai were among the founding members. Béla Baranyai, "Zsigmond király ú.n. Sárkányrendje" [The so-called Order of the Dragon of King Sigismund], *Századok* LX (1926), 561–591, 681–719; Pál Lővei, "A Sárkányrend fennmaradt emlékei" [The Surviving Monuments of the Order of the Dragon] in *Sigismund cat.* I, 148–179; Pál Lővei, "Der ungarische Drachenorden" in *Die Ritter, Burgenländische Landesausstellung* (Güssing, 1990), 64–67.

[69] On the Augustinian canons, and their role in caring for the souls (of both the dead and the living), see Karl Bosl, *Regularkanoniker (Augustinerchorherren) und Seelsorge in Kirche und Gesellschaft des europäischen 12. Jahrhunderts* (München, 1979); *Die Stifte der Augustiner-Chorherren in Böhmen, Mähren und Ungarn*, ed. Floridus Röhrig (Klosterneuburg–Wien, 1994).

[70] There is evidence that they were buried in the nearby Benedictine Abbey of Szenttrinitás. In 1392, Miklós Siklósi made a donation to Szenttrinitás, to ensure his salvation, as well as that of his parents and ancestors, resting in the monastery, see *Zs.O.* I 2591.

[71] On the uses of such chapels, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death – Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell UP, 1996), 115–122; Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350–1500 (Oxford History of Art)* (Oxford–New York: Oxford

Univeristy Press, 1997), 184–204. Enrico Scrovegni's tomb is from the 1360s, see *Bauch 1976*, 175.

[72] *Hurtig 1979*, figs. 322, 326. Further examples in Wolfgang Wolters, *La Scultura Veneziana gotica (1300–1460)* (Venice: Alfieri, 1976).

[73] Fourteenth-century Central Italian wills have been analyzed by Samuel K. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death – Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore–London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992).

[74] Géza Entz, "Középkori végrendeletek művészeti vonatkozásai" [Art Historical Aspects of Medieval Wills], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 2 (1953), 171–175.

[75] Pál Engel, "A Lackfiak", in *Sigismund cat.* I 427–430.

[76] The tomb was removed from the floor in 1896. On the frescoes, see Mária Prokopp, "A keszthelyi plébánitemplom gótikus falképei" [The Gothic frescoes of the church of Keszthely], *Építés- és Építészettudomány* 10 (1980), 367–385; Mária Prokopp "Keszthely és Siklós újonnan feltárt gótikus falképei" [The newly discovered frescoes in the churches of Keszthely and Siklós], *Ars Hungarica* 23 (1995/2), 155–158.

[77] The red marble slab was removed from the church, and now lies broken up outside the church, see Pál Lővei, "Az alsólendvai Bánfi család egy tagjának bántornyai sírköve – Der Grabstein in Turnišce eines Mitglieds der Familie Bánfi von Alsolendva" *Johannes Aquila und die Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts. Beiträge der Tagung vom 15.–20. Oktober 1984 in Velem*, ed. Ernő Marosi, Budapest: MTA, 1989, 87, 127–128. On Johannes Aquila, see also Janez Höfler–Janez Balažic, *Johannes Aquila* (Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1992); *Gotik in Slowenien: Ljubljana, 1. Juni bis 1. Oktober 1995*, exh. cat. ed. Janez Höfler (Ljubljana: Narodna Galerija, 1995), 232–237. See also Tamás Bogyay, "A bántornyai falképek donátorairól" (The patrons of the Bántornya frescoes), *Ars Hungarica* 14 (1986), 147–158. For a monograph on the church, see Marijan Zadnikar–Janez Balažic, *Turnišce – Zgodovinska in umetnostna podoba farne cerkve* (Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1994).

[78] József Csemegi, *A budavári főtemplom középkori építéstörténete* [The medieval building history of the Church of Our Lady in Buda] (Budapest, 1955) 33, 102–104. The monographer of the church dates the building of the chapel to after 1412, when the transformation of the main church into a hall church was completed, because the chapel joins the then newly built northern apse. See also *MoMT* 2, I, 526, 577–578.

[79] The red marble fragment was excavated near the Church of Our Lady, it probably comes from the Garai chapel. The slab dates from between 1425–1475, and it was reused in the first quarter of the 16th century, when the figure of a man in a hat was carved in high relief on the back of it. It is not known whose tomb it marked, see *Engel–Lővei–Varga 1984*, 58–59, no. 23; *Lővei 1991*, 527, no. 910; Gyöngyi Török – Vilmos Osgyáni, "Reneszánsz kőfaragványokról" [On some Renaissance Fragments], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 30 (1981), 103–104. The only other known tomb of a member of the Garai family is the tomb of Ilona Garai from Szentgotthárd. She died in 1441, and was buried next to his husband, Miklós Szécsi, see, *MoMT* 2, II, fig. 1683; *Varga–Lővei 1990–92*, 128, 131, figs. 21–22. It is a heraldic tomb, with the twisting snake of the Garais.

[80] József Csemegi, *A budavári főtemplom középkori építéstörténete* [The medieval building history of the Church of Our Lady in Buda] (Budapest, 1955), 11. Lajos Némethy, *Nagyboldogasszonyról nevezett budapestvári főtemplom történelme* [The history of the Church of Our Lady] (Esztergom, 1876), 54–55.

[81] For the houses of the Garai brothers at Buda, see *MoMT* 2, I, 132, 417. Among other aristocratic burials, the most important is that of Stibor Stiborici junior, who died a year after Miklós Garai (1434). He was also buried near the Church of Our Lady, see note. Apart from Stibor, other aristocrats with private chapels at the Church of Our Lady include János Ernuszt (died at 1476), as it is known from his will. A fragment of his tomb also survives, see *MoMT* 2, I, 698–699.

[82] Pál Engel, "Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári bazilikában" [Burials at the medieval basilica of Székesfehérvár], *Századok* 121 (1987), 613–637. Aristocratic burials at the royal burial church include the Palatine Fülöp Drugeth (†1327), the elder Stibor (died 1414, see note 67), Filippo Scolari (Pipo Spano, died 1426), and István Rozgonyi, comes of Temes (received permission from Sigismund in 1327), see 626–630.

FERENC DÁVID

DIE NEUZEITLICHEN JAHRHUNDERTE EINER GOTISCHEN KAPELLE

DIE GESCHICHTE DER GISELA-KAPELLE IN VESZPRÉM 1765–1938

Im 17.–18. Jahrhundert läßt sich eine Reihe vereinzelter Gesten der Würdigung, Beibehaltung oder Nachahmung alter Kunstformen – Historismen – nachweisen. Die ihr Zustandekommen begründende Absicht kann mittels Einzeluntersuchungen der Fälle nachgewiesen werden, zumeist aber nur teilweise. Einige Beispiele seien erwähnt: die Kopie des Jáker Portals am Agramer (Zagreb) Dom, das Ödenburger (Sopron) Rathaus, in dessen Wand ein römischer Stein zum Beweis des römerzeitlichen Ursprungs der Stadt eingemauert wurde, mit beigefügter gelehrter Erklärung (nach 1676),[1] die Erneuerung der Porta Speciosa der Benediktinerklosterkirche von Pannonhalma, die als Verweis auf das siebenhundertjährige Bestehen des Klosters mit einem romanisch nachempfundenen Neubau der Stiegen in die Unterkirche verbunden war (1700–1701)[2]; die Vorgangsweise der nach Jahrhunderten nach Zirc zurückkehrenden Zisterzienser, die neben den Ruinen der mittelalterlichen Kirche ihre neue Kirche errichteten, aber einen originalen romanischen Bündelpfeiler an der ursprünglichen Stelle beließen und die Statue des hl. Emerich daraufstellten, den sie für den Stifter des einen Altars hielten (1751).[3] Neben diese ist der Abriß der Veszprémer Gisela-Kapelle und ihre Rekonstruktion in mittelalterlicher Form zu stellen.

Die schöne kleine Kapelle befindet sich in der Burg Veszprém zwischen dem Dompropsthaus und dem Bischofspalais. Der Platz ist beträchtlich, hier verbreitert sich, hierher führt die Hauptstraße der Burg, ihn begrenzt der Dom und ihn ziert die Dreifaltigkeitssäule mit ihrer Vielzahl von Statuen. Die Kapelle befindet sich in der etwas versteckten Nordostecke des Platzes, in einer schmalen Schneise zwischen jeweils ein Geschoß höheren und reich mit barocken Gliederungen versehenen Gebäuden. Ihre Fassade bildet ein Portalbau im römischen Triumphbogensystem: Die abwechselnd rot und weiß, also die Farben des Arpadenhauses tragenden, gestreiften Steinwände und Halbsäulen tragen ein hohes, dreiteiliges Gesims. Auf ihm wurde in einer Attikawand die Inschrifttafel mit der Geschichte des Gebäudes angebracht.[4] Der Portalbau umfaßt einen spitzbogigen Eingang, durch den man einige Stufen hinab wie in die Tiefe geht, in einen gewölbten, kellerartigen Raum, den das durch die Tür hereinfallende Licht sowie das einzige Fenster in der gegenüberliegenden Altarraumwand erhellt. Es ist ein schlichtes Gebäude mit rechteckigem Grundriß, sein Schiff überwölben zwei Kreuzgewölbe seinen kleinen durch einen Triumphbogen abgeteilten Altarraum überdeckt ein drittes Joch.

Das Gewölbe tragen auf gedrungenen Konsolen aufsitzende dicke, keilförmige Rippen. An der Kreuzung der Rippen und am Abschluß der Gurte befinden sich Schlußsteine: Diejenige im Schiff stellen eine Rosette, einen Blätterkranz und einen sich in den Schwanz beißenden Drachen dar, das Agnus Dei ist der Schmuck am Triumphbogen und eine segnende Hand im Wolkenkranz der im Altarraum. Dieser Gegensatz von sehr einfachen Rippenformen und reicher plastischer Verzierung ist ungewöhnlich, strahlt eine unbekannte Harmonie aus, von barbarischer Wirkung. Die Wände sind bemalt, über hohen, gemalten Sockeln stehen in dunkelblauem Feld schlanke Gestalten in weißer Tunika mit plastischer Glorie mit Kerben, von denen einige Pergamentrollen in der Hand halten: es sind Apostelfiguren. Ihre Gestaltung ist in unseren Gegenden fremdartig und dennoch bekannt: sie ist „more graeco" byzantinischer Art, verweist also auf jene Kultur, die auch im

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Abb. 1. Die Westfassade der Gisela-Kapelle, Veszprém, Illustration aus J. Ranolder: Elisabeth (Gisela?) Herzogin von Bayern, erste Königin von Ungarn, Wien 1854

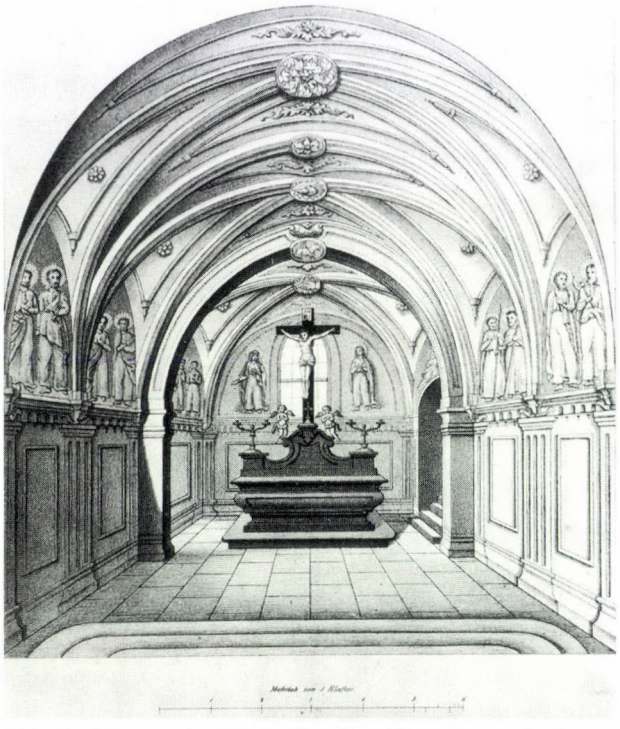

Abb. 2. Inneres der Gisela-Kapelle, Veszprém nach Osten, Illustration aus J. Ranolder: Elisabeth (Gisela?) Herzogin von Bayern, erste Königin von Ungarn, Wien 1854

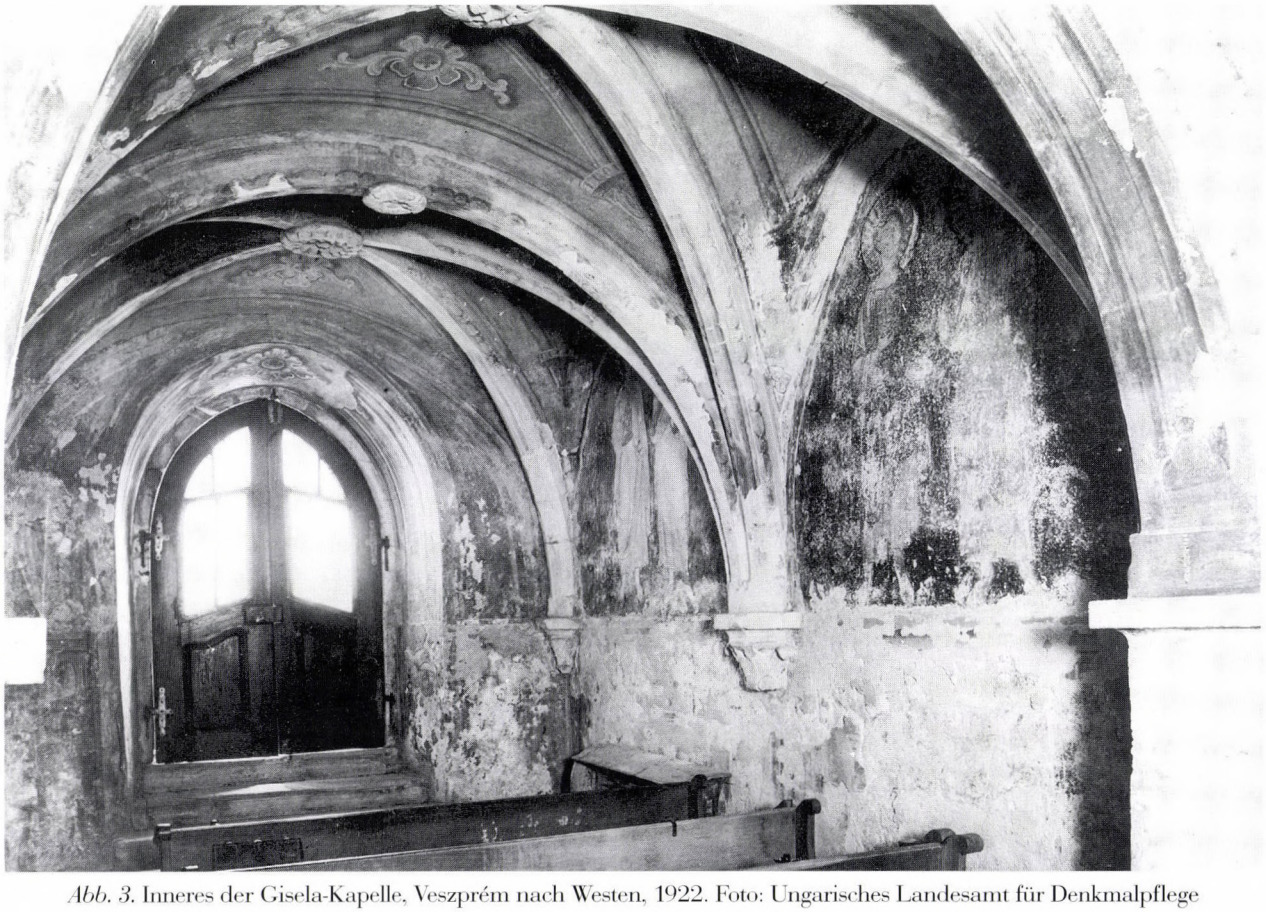

Abb. 3. Inneres der Gisela-Kapelle, Veszprém nach Westen, 1922. Foto: Ungarisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege



Abb. 4. Inneres der Gisela-Kapelle, Veszprém nach Osten, 1922. Foto: Ungarisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege

18. Jahrhundert als der Stil christlicher Antike galt.

Die Inschrifttafel auf der Fassade erzählt die Geschichte des Gebäudes: SACELLUM HOC QUOD A BEATA GISELA S. STEPHANI PRIMI REGIS APOSTOLICI CONIUGE CONDITUM ESSE TRADITUM DIU DESOLATUM IGNATIUS KOLLER DE NAGY MÁNYA EPISCOPUS VESPRIMIENSIS PRIORI FORMAE ET NITORI RESTITUIT ATQUE ALTARE CHRISTO DOMINO PRO NOBIS CRUCIFIXO DICATUM CONSECRAVIT X. DIE MENSIS APRILIS ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXXII. Also: Diese Kapelle, die der Tradition gemäß die fromme Gisela, die Ehefrau des ersten apostolischen Königs, Stephans des Heiligen, gegründet hat und die lange Zeit verlassen lag, hat der Bischof von Veszprém Ignác Koller von Nagymánya in früherer Gestalt und Schönheit wiederhergestellt und zu Ehren des für uns ans Kreuz geschlagenen Herrn Christus den Altar am 10. April 1772 geweiht.

Tatsächlich wurde die Kapelle nicht zur Zeit von Königin Gisela, sondern im 13. Jahrhundert als Doppelkapelle errichtet. Sie war die Kapelle eines Palais und gehörte zu einem der Nachbargebäude. Die Kapelle im ersten Stock war, wie bei Gebäuden ähnlichen Typs üblich, höher als die im Erdgeschoß, reicher gegliedert, mit Wandpfeilern und Rippen feineren Querschnitts und gleichfalls Fresken an den Wänden.

Von der mittelalterlichen Kapelle sprechen keine Urkunden, aber über das dazugehörige Gebäude gibt es Angaben, wenn sie auch nicht eindeutig zu interpretieren sind. Die Meinungen in der Fachliteratur sind darüber geteilt, ob es sich um das Palais der Königin oder das des Veszprémer Bischofs handelt, und nicht unabhängig davon auch in der Frage der Datierung der Kapelle, da sie nur mit einer einzigen Königin, mit Maria Laskaris, aber mit mehreren bedeutenden Veszprémer Bischöfen im 13. Jahrhundert in Verbindung gebracht werden kann. Die Formen der Steinmetzarbeiten der „Gisela-Kapelle" sind verwandt mit den wichtigsten Denkmälern der ungarischen Frühgotik, und ihre gewissermaßen alleinstehende byzantinisierende Malerei ist an sich hochbedeutsam.[5]

Die zweigeschossige Kapelle ist im Laufe der Türkenzeit unversehrt geblieben. Im 18. Jahrhundert wurde die Kapelle im Erdgeschoß als Keller des Nachbarhauses genutzt, und man wußte von ihrem hohen Alter. Man nannte sie (oder die über ihr liegende) St.-Georgs- oder St.-Emerich-Kapelle in Erinnerung an das Wissen darum, daß der Heilige Herzog Emerich in Veszprém, in der St.-Georgskapelle sein Keuschheitsgelübde abgelegt habe. Und weil die nördlich vom Dom gelegene St.-Georgskapelle spurlos verschwunden war,[6] hat man dieses Gebäude mit diesen teuren Erinnerungen identifiziert.

Die Besitzer der beiden Nachbargrundstücke, der Bischof und der Dompropst, betrachteten beide dieses Gebäude als das ihre. Als dann Bischof Ignác Koller den Bau eines neuen Palais beschloß, löste er die Gegensätze dadurch auf, daß er den ebenerdigen Raum als Kapelle gestaltete. Die Fundamentierung des von Jakab Fellner entworfenen neuen Bischofspalais war auf jeden Fall mit dem Abriß des gotischen Gebäudes verbunden, stand doch dessen eine Wand an der Stelle der äußeren Hauptwand des neuen Palais. Von der zweistöckigen Kapelle blieb nach dem Abriß nur die Nordwand erhalten. Sich nach ihr richtend, stellte man die untere Kapelle so wieder her, daß man ihre fehlenden Mauern im großen und ganzen in der Linie der früheren aufsetzte, die beim Abriß sorgfältig aufgehobenen Gewölberippen wieder einbaute und als Schlußsteine Skulpturen aus der oberen Kapelle verwendete. Auf den neuen Wänden ergänzte man die alte Malerei. Nach dem Muster der vorhandenen ließ man von dem Malermeister byzantinisch geartete Apostelpaare in einer der früheren ähnlichen Färbung malen, mit der charakteristischen plastischen Glorie um die Köpfe der Heiligen.

Selbstverständlich war diese Nachahmung ein seltsames Gebilde. Sie zeugte vor allem davon, wie primitiv der Meister im 18. Jahrhundert das Werk seines mittelalterlichen Vorgängers einschätzte. Der Maler wollte die Seitenwände um jeden Preis vereinheitlichen, weshalb er unter die Figuren phantastische, für mittelalterlich gehaltene Pfeiler und einen Sockel mit Bogenreihen konstruierte. Den Charakter der Kapelle vervollständigte der Heilig-Kreuz-Altar an der Ostseite, dessen Form absichtlich einfach und dessen Titel zur Ikonographie der mittelalterlichen Wandbilder passend war und mit diesen zusammen die Aussage einer Unterkirche, ähnlich einem Bestattungsort, ausstrahlte.

Was erklärt diese unübliche Vorgangsweise, die so sorgfältige Wiederherstellung bzw. Rekonstruktion einer mittelalterlichen Kapelle, noch dazu als das Werk jenes Bischofs, der in der Nachbarschaft der Kapelle ein ausgesprochen zeitgemäßes, durchaus modernes Palais bauen ließ? Ich meine, diese Frage beantwortet János Róka, der gelehrte Domherr von Vác, Verfasser der Biographie von Ignác Koller,[7] der die Angaben über die Veszprémer Bischöfe in einem Band sammelte.[8] Koller bemühte sich darum, den verehrungswürdigen Leib Königin Giselas aus der Passauer Niederburg nach Veszprém bringen zu lassen. Er konnte auch die Königin zur Unterstützung seiner Absicht bewegen. Maria Theresia setzte sich mit Erfolg beim Bischof von Passau dafür ein.[9] Wenn Koller nicht sein Tod (1773) daran gehindert und er seine Absicht verwirklicht hätte – folgert Róka 1775 –, „würde heut Vesprim mit den Überbleibseln der frommen Gisela wie Ofen mit der Hand des heil. Stephans prangen".[10]

Die Kapelle war also gewiß zur Aufnahme des Grabes bestimmt, damit – wie János Róka in seinem Buch über Königin Gisela 1779 schreibt[11] – Ungarn und in Ungarn lebende Bayern ihre Verehrung an ihren Überresten bezeigen können.[12]

Für die Art, die Kapelle zu gestalten, gibt es keine Analogie, weder in der Nähe noch in der Ferne. Deshalb können wir nur die hinter ihr stehende historisierende Absicht in einen Kontext stellen: Das 18. Jahrhundert war für Ungarn die Zeit der Neueinrichtung nach der Türkenzeit, und diese machte man sich als renovatio, als Wiederherstellung des mittelalterlichen Ungarn, bewußt. In der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts stand eine solche Absicht hinter dem Ausbau der Überreste der Budaer Burg zum königlichen Palast (seit 1748) oder hinter dem Versuch Ferenc Barkóczys, den Sitz des Primas von Esztergom wiederzubeleben (seit 1761). In beiden Fällen handelte es sich um renovatio institutionis; um die Wiederherstellung von Institutionen und die Errichtung von Gebäuden, die genügend weiträumig und glanzvoll für sie waren. In Esztergom stieß man bei der Vorbereitung des Platzes für den neuen Dom auch auf Denkmäler einer glanzvollen Vergangenheit, auf Werke von Steinmetzen. Das eine dieser, die Bakócz-Kapelle, deren Konstruktion aus Rotmarmor und „römische" Formen mit ihrer Vollkommenheit in den Beschauern Ehrfurcht erweckten, gedachte man zu erhalten und in die neue Kirche einzubeziehen,[13] das andere, die Porta Speciosa des mittelalterlichen Domes, ließ György Klimó, der spätere Pécser Bischof, für sich selbst abbilden. Das bis heute wichtigste Dokument der Esztergomer St.-Adalbert-Kirche ist das Gemälde Klimós, das aus der Sommerresidenz des Bischofs in Mecseknádasd ins Museum gelangte.[14] Ferenc Barkóczys früher Tod (1765) machte den Esztergomer Bautätigkeiten ein Ende, seine Absicht wurde mehrere Generationen später, in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts verwirklicht. Der Bau des Budaer Palastes verlief glücklicher und wurde 1771 mit der Weihe der Palastkapelle beendet. Wohl wurde bis dahin der Plan, daß Maria Theresia samt ihrem Hof für längere Zeit nach Buda umziehe, aufgegeben. Die für die Empfindlichkeiten der Ungarn so hellhörige Königin fand allerdings die passende Geste, mit der die Ablehnung ausgeglichen werden konnte: Sie beschaffte aus Ragusa (Dubrovnik) die Heilige Rechte, ließ sie feierlich nach Buda überführen und verordnete, sie in der Kapelle der königlichen Burg unterzubringen.[15] Mit der Reliquie Stephans des Heiligen ehrte sie den Ursprung des ungarischen Königreiches, und Buda erhielt diese Ehrung als mittelalterlicher Sitz der ungarischen Könige. *„wer hätte geglaubt können, dass wir beede ... diesen ersten, grossen heiligen König eine Residenz erbaut haben ..."* – schrieb Maria Theresia mit Anspielung auf die Unterbringung der Heiligen Rechte an Antal Grassalkovich.[16]

Der andere Kontext ist der kirchengeschichtliche: Die zweite Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts ist die Zeit der Niederschrift der Geschichte der ungarischen Bistümer. Die Serie (Győr 1747; Esztergom 1758; Eger 1768; Vác 1770; Várad 1776; Veszprém 1779; Pécs 1782; Bistum Siebenbürgen 1790; Kalocsa 1800) ist verdienstvoll und höchst auffällig. Die Betonung liegt jeweils auf den Anfängen und damit auf den Verdiensten, die die einzelnen Bistümer am Beginn des ungarischen Christentums hatten. Beim Lesen entsteht das Gesamtbild einer wahren *Hungaria Sacra*. Veszprém kann sich der frühesten Denkmäler rühmen. Auf dem Gebiet des Bistums reicht die Geschichte des Christentums vor der



Abb. 5. Apostelpaar vom Freskenzyklus der Nordwand der Gisela-Kapelle, Veszprém, 1922. Foto: Ungarisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege



Abb. 6. Inneres der Gisela-Kapelle, Veszprém nach Westen, 1972. Foto: Ungarisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege



Abb. 7. Gisela-Kapelle, Veszprém Westfassade nach 1938, Foto: Ungarisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege

Ankunft der Ungarn zurück, und Königin Gisela, deren besonderes Verhältnis zum Bistum János Róka betonte, hat den schon bestehenden Dom nur erneuert. Daneben erinnert er in seiner Monographie an den Aufenthalt der frommen Margarete in Veszprém und daran, daß damals der Veszprémer Bischof auch das Amt des Kanzlers der Königin ausübte. Diese Würde der Veszprémer Bischöfe ist mit einer ihnen noch wichtigeren und die Hierarchie der Bischöfe bestimmenden Frage verbunden: Geht das Recht der Veszprémer Bischöfe, bei der Krönung der Königin deren Schulter mit der heiligen Krone zu berühren und ihre Stirn mit heiligem Öl zu salben, bis auf Königin Gisela zurück?[17] In diesem Zusammenhang war es den Veszprémer Bischöfen so wichtig, ihr besonderes Verhältnis zur Königin Gisela öffentlich sichtbar werden zu lassen.

Die Gisela-Kapelle hat den ihr zugedachten Zweck nicht erfüllt. Kollers ursprüngliche Ab-



Abb. 8. Gisela-Kapelle, Veszprém, Inneres nach 1938, Foto: Ungarisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege

sicht geriet so sehr in Vergessenheit, daß sie seit dem 18. Jahrhundert niemand mehr erwähnte. Die Kapelle hat aber dennoch etwas von der historisierenden Absicht bewahrt: An historischen Wenden stand sie im Mittelpunkt des Interesses.

1854 schrieb der Veszprémer Bischof János Ranolder ein Buch als Gratulation zu Franz Josephs und Elisabeths Eheschließung. Es ist die Biographie der Königin Gisela und erzählt, wie segensreich ihre Tätigkeit für die Ungarn gewesen ist. Gisela – deren Name der Ableitung des Bischofs gemäß eine gemeinsame Wurzel mit der von Elisabeth hat – kann Elisabeth als Vorbild dienen, und ihre ungarischen Landsleute dürfen beglückt darauf warten, daß die Königin bayerischer Abstammung ihnen ebensolchen Segen bringt, wie ihre große Vorgängerin. Die Lebensbeschreibung Giselas gibt dem Verfasser Anlaß, von dem besonderen Verhältnis der Veszprémer Bischöfe zu den ungarischen Königinnen zu sprechen, das aus der Zeit Giselas stamme, sowie seine Erörterung durch die Beschreibung der Veszprémer Gisela-Kapelle zu ergänzen und mit zwei Bildern zu veranschaulichen. Die Kapelle sei der gegenständliche Beweis dieses Verhältnisses.[18]

Daß die Worte János Ranolders beim Herrscherpaar Gehör fanden, erwies sich daran, daß seine erste Tochter in der Taufe den Namen Gisela erhielt. Der zweite Teil seiner Erörterung verwirklichte sich allerdings erst für seinen Nachfolger: Kardinal János Hornig, Bischof von Veszprém, krönte am 30. Dezember 1916 die letzte ungarische Königin.

Die erste kunstgeschichtliche Bearbeitung der Gisela-Kapelle stammt von Arnold Ipolyi. Das kleine, schöne und in gewisser Hinsicht einmalige Baudenkmal hat unter den Wissenschaftlern neue Anhänger gewonnen. An der Jahrhundertwende photographierte Péter Gerecze die Kapelle und nahm sie in seine damals sehr ausgesuchte Auswahl auf. Den Stadtführern und Zeitungsnachrichten von Veszprém kann man

aber entnehmen, daß sie sehr selten gebraucht wurde, deshalb wurde sie feucht, und ihre Fresken vergingen langsam. Anfang der zwanziger Jahre befreite man einen Teil der ursprünglichen Wandbilder von ihrer barocken Übermalung, und diese wissenschaftliche Sensation weckte noch stärkere Aufmerksamkeit für die mittelalterlichen Werte der Kapelle.

Das folgende Jahrzehnt brachte in Veszprém neue Ergebnisse der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung. József Lukcsics und Gyula Pfeiffer bearbeiteten die Zeit der katholischen Restauration,[19] und Jenő Gutheil beschrieb von neuem die Denkmäler des Mittelalters. Gutheils Untersuchungen basierten auf einer genauen Lesung der auf Veszprém bezogenen mittelalterlichen Urkunden und geschahen in der Absicht, die Lokaltradition zu stärken, den Ursprung des Veszprémer Christentums im 9. Jahrhundert nachzuweisen, den Beleg zu führen, daß Stadt und Bistum der Königin untertänig waren, sowie ihre historische Rolle in den gleichen Rang mit Esztergom und Székesfehérvár zu erheben.[20]

Daneben war es das Jahrzehnt dre Stärkung der Kenntnis der Kunstdenkmäler und der des organisierten Fremdenverkehrs. So wurden also viele Anstrengungen vereint, als man sich auf das größte Fest der Periode, den 900. Todestag Stephans des Heiligen vorbereitete. Bis zu diesem Jahr wurden der Viadukt und die neue Kirche in der Vorstadt fertiggestellt, die Bischof Nándor Rott zu Ehren der hl. Margarete weihte. Damals restaurierte man die Margareten-Ruine und stellte eindrucksvolle Statuen Stephans des Heiligen und Giselas am Rand der Burgmauer auf. Die Komposition von József Ispánky hat den Charakter der Naumburger Stifterfiguren.[21]

Für die Renovierung der Gisela-Kapelle fand sich im letzten Moment ein Mäzen, der Domherr und Seminardirektor István Beöthy. Die Restaurationsarbeiten und die bauliche Umgestaltung übernahm Ferenc Dex aus dem Kreis von Tibor Gerevich. Dex traf mit dem Erlebnis der Restaurierung des Esztergomer Königspalastes in Veszprém ein und restaurierte das Gebäude in sehr kurzer Zeit. Seine Arbeit richtete sich auf die Freilegung der mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien und die Sichtbarmachung der mittelalterlichen Details des Gebäudes, also auf die Trennung des Mittelalters von den neueren Teilen. Er sorgte dafür, daß der neue Putz, die Ziegelfußböden, Türen, Fenster und Gitter den neuen Geist zum Ausdruck bringen, der in der italienischen Schule der Restaurierung von Kunstdenkmälern entstanden war, und das Gebäude in allen Details auf die Verehrung des Originals hinweise.

Am von Dex entworfenen Altar wurde kaum mehr die Messe gelesen, der Bau wurde aus einer Kapelle zum Kunstdenkmal, zur geschichtlichen Reliquie, also dazu, wozu sie der Veszprémer Bischof Ignác Koller – auch wenn er sich anders ausgedrückt hatte – einst bestimmte, und um den Preis, daß der mittelalterverehrenden Purismus jeden Quadratzentimeter seiner Arbeit vernichtet hatte.[22]

ANMERKUNGEN

[1] Den römischen Inschriftstein fand man 1532 beim Abriß der Liebfrauenkirche am Burggraben, die Inschrift enträtselte der Wiener Humanist Wolfgang Lazius. Der in die Rathauswand eingesetzte Stein und seine Inschrift wurde bei der die ganze Stadt einäschernden Feuersbrunst 1676 beschädigt. Die Inschrift ergänzte man aufgrund der über hundert Jahre früher erschienenen Publikation von Lazius, schnitt sie in eine neue Steintafel und mauerte sie zusammen mit einer die Geschichte des Steins erzählenden Inschrift erneut in die Wand des wiederhergestellten Rathauses ein. Die drei Steine sind heute im römischen Lapidarium des Fabricius-Hauses in Sopron zu finden.

[2] *Mons Sacer. Pannonhalma 1000 éve* (1000 Jahre Pannonhalma). Pannonhalma 1996, I. 288–289, II. 101–102.

[3] Von der mittelalterlichen Kirche blieb außer diesem Pfeiler nur eine Inschrifttafel übrig, die von König Emerichs (1196–1204) Altarstiftung zeugte. Diese Tafel wurde im Chor der neuen Kirche, der Basilica minor, untergebracht und der Pfeiler mit dem Denkmal des hl. Emerich geschmückt. Vgl. Tibor Hümpfner: A zirci apátsági templom ásatása 1912–13 (Die Ausgrabung der Zircer Abteikirche 1912–13). *A Veszprém megyei múzeumok évkönyve* 1964, 119–140 und Ferenc L. Hervay: *Repertorium historicum ordinis cisterciensis in Hungaria*. Roma 1984.

[4] Die Barockfassade der Kapelle wurde 1938 verstümmelt: Man brach die Attika ab, damit die Fragmente des Stockwerkes der mittelalterlichen Kapelle besser sichtbar seien. Die originale Komposition zeigen uns ein Foto vom Anfang des Jahrhunderts und eine Vermessung aus dem vergangenen Jahrhundert, die Illustration des später zu behandelnden Buches von Bischof Ranolder. Die Inschrifttafel steht heute im Kapelleninneren.

[5] Melinda Tóth: *Árpádkori falfestészet* (Wandmalerei der Arpadenzeit). Budapest 1974, 73–76; Jenő Gutheil: *Az árpádkori Veszprém* (Das arpadenzeitliche Veszprém). Veszprém 1977; Alán Kralovánszky: Újabb adatok a veszprémi Gizella kápolna középkori és újkori történetéhez (Neue Angaben zur

mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Geschichte der Veszprémer Gisela-Kapelle). *Építés- Építészettudomány* 15 (1983); Melinda Tóth: Falfestészet az Árpádkorban (Wandmalerei in der Arpadenzeit). *Ars Hungarica* 1995/2, 143–144.

[6] Katalin H. Gyürky: Die St.-Georg-Kapelle in der Burg von Veszprém. *Acta Archaeologica* 1963 342–407.

[7] Joane Baptista Róka: *Vita Ignatii Koller de Nagy-Mánya Vesprimiensis episcopi.* Posonii–Cassoviae 1775 und J. Róka: *Das Leben Ignaz Kollers.* Pressburg–Kaschau 1776. Bei übereinstimmenden Zitaten Textes berufe ich mich im weiteren auf die deutschsprachige Ausgabe.

[8] Joanne Róka: *Vitae vesprimiensium Praesulum.* Posonii 1779.

[9] Der Passauer Bischof Leopold Ernst Firmian (1763–1783) stand jenen Hofkreisen nahe, welche Pfleger des Sankt-Stephan-Kultus waren, und seine Verdienste würdigte Maria Theresia mit der Verleihung des Sankt-Stephan-Ordens im Jahre 1765, vgl.: *Namensverzeichnis der Persönlichkeiten, die in den Jahren 1764–1914 mit dem Kö. Ungarischen St. Stephan-Orden ausgezeichnet worden sind.* Budapest 1914, 7.

[10] Róka 1775. 83.

[11] Johann Roka: *Das Leben der seligen Gisela ersten ungarischen Königin.* Wien 1779, 62–64.

[12] Eine solche Lösung des Problems der Gisela-Kapelle ist trotz des scheinbaren Reichtums an schriftlichen Quellen nur eine Hypothese, die Zeitpunkte der Kapellenrekonstruktion lassen sich mit denen der Anstrengungen Kollers für die Heimholung der Gebeine der Königin Gisela bisher nicht in Übereinstimmung bringen. Den Bau des Bischofspalais beschloß Koller 1765, die mittelalterliche Kapelle wurde 1766 abgerissen, über die Fertigstellung der Kapelle berichtet erstmals im Zusammenhang mit dem Bau der Wasserleitung zur Versorgung des Burgberges der Ad-limina-Bericht des Veszprémer Bischofs 1769: „Capellam episcopali residentiae adnexam, quae a B. Gisela, S. Stephani Regis coniuge sructa traditur, plurium saeculorum squalore foedatam congerie lapidum prope sepultum, eruta circum terra pristino decori restitui et publici cultus feci." Vgl. Vanyó Tihamér: *Püspöki jelentések a magyar Szent Korona országainak egyházmegyéiből 1000–1850* (Bischofsberichte aus den Bistümern der Länder der ungarischen Heiligen Krone 1000–1850). Pannonhalma 1933, 310. Das erste bekannte Datum der Absicht hinsichtlich der Gisela-Überreste stammt von 1771: In diesem Jahr korrespondierte der Passauer Bischof mit dem Heiligen Stuhl: K. Hielscher: *Königin Gisela.* Passau 1986, 283.

[13] Jolán Balogh: La capella Bakócz di Esztergom *Acta Historiae Artium.* 1956. 1–198. Nach Róka hatte Koller die Absicht, in Veszprém eine St.-Stephans-Kapelle zu bauen, „welche zu Gran, die von Kardinal Bákács de Erdőd erbauet worden, nicht unähnlich gewesen wäre". Róka, Koller 1776, 87.

[14] Georgius Széless: *Descriptio inscriptionum Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Strigoniensis cognominatae Szép Templom.* Strigonii 1765 reprint 1998. Ernő Marosi: Esztergomi stílusrétegek 1200 körül (Esztergomer Stilschichten um 1200). In: *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541.* Budapest 1994, 159–170.

[15] Georgius Pray: *Dissertatio historicocritica de sacra dextera Divi Stephani primi Hungariae regis.* Vindobonae 1771.

[16] Ferenc Dávid: Az idősebb Grassalkovich Antal jegyzéke egyházi építkezéseiről, 1771-ből (Die Liste von Antal Grassalkovich sen. über kirchliche Bauvorhaben, aus 1771). In: *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria évkönyve* 1991, 229.

[17] Wie aktuell diese Frage im 18. Jahrhundert war, zeigt sich daran, daß der Veszprémer Bischof sie 1714 und 1790 dem Herrscher vorlegte (erfolglos) und daß sie dies auch im folgenden Jahrhundert blieb, erweist sich daran, daß über sie eine kirchenrechtlich-historische Studie von Buchumfang verfaßt wurde: Ferenc Kollányi: *A veszprémi püspök királynékoronázási jogának története* (Die Geschichte des Königin-Krönungsrechtes des Bischofs von Veszprém). Veszprém 1901. Károly Lányi, der wichtige Kirchengeschichtler der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, war der Ansicht, diesen Rang habe den Bischöfen von Veszprém der Kirchenjurist Ignác Koller wiedererworben: *Magyar föld egyháztörténetei* (Die Kirchengeschichten der ungarischen Länder). Nagyszombat 1843.

[18] Johann Ranolder: *Elisabeth (Gisela) Herzogin in Bayern, erste Königin von Ungarn.* Wien 1854.

[19] Pál Lukcsics–János Pfeiffer: *A veszprémi püspöki vár a katolikus restauráció korában* (Die Veszprémer Bischofsburg in der Zeit der katholischen Restauration). Veszprém 1933.

[20] Jenő Gutheil: *Veszprém Szent Imre városa. Adatok Veszprém Szent István kori történetéhez* (Veszprém, die Stadt des hl. Emerich. Angaben zur Geschichte Veszpréms in der Zeit Stephans des Heiligen). Veszprém 1930; ders.: *Árpádházi Boldog Margit Veszprémben* (Die selige Margarete aus dem Arpadenhaus in Veszprém). Veszprém 1942; ders.: *Az árpádkori Veszprém* (Das arpadenzeitliche Veszprém). Veszprém 1977, 1979.

[21] Jenő Gutheil: *Veszprém és a Szent István év* (Veszprém und das Jahr Stephans des Heiligen). Veszprém 1937.

[22] Weder die Geschichte der Gisela-Kapelle noch der verehrungswürdigen Überreste der seligen Gisela war mit 1938 abgeschlossen. Die Kapelle wurde in den siebziger Jahren von neuem freigelegt und Anfang der neunziger Jahre wiederhergestellt, und ein Teil der Überreste der seligen Gisela gelangte 1996 von Passau nach Veszprém, vgl. M. Császár (Hrsg.): *Boldog Gizella* (Die selige Gisela). Veszprém 1996.

KATALIN GELLÉR

JÓZSEF RIPPL-RÓNAI'S SECESSIONIST IMAGE OF ARCADIA

THE UNITY OF THE LIFEWORK

Famous for the severity of his judgment, Lajos Fülep wrote about him in 1910: "... *I find some disharmony between his talent and intellect*". Nevertheless, it was Rippl-Rónai for him who implied "*what could be termed impressionism in the better sense of the word*". What is more, he saw him as the Cézanne and Gauguin of Hungarian painting in one person, or more precisely, as a worthy colleague of the Nabis starting in their wake.[1] Later, he demoted him to a somewhat more modest place in the history of Hungarian painting, severing him from the mainstream represented by Cézanne and Gauguin. He regarded him as the exponent of "decorativeness" who bridged "the void" between "naturalism and the new endeavours in opposition to it". Fülep missed "substantial conceptions" in Rippl-Rónai's works.[2] In later analyses of his relations to contemporary French masters, the question of his connection with symbolism was also touched on. Most of his critics focussed on how he tore himself from the stream of indigeneous Hungarian development of art and became a solitary innovator, deviating from the model represented by the Nagybánya school, too. That is one reason why the Rippl-Rónai literature has devoted so central attention to the analysis of his Paris period: all earlier monographs and the studies in the catalogue of the recent lifework exhibition also embark on it in detail.[3] All this notwithstanding, still only having the press reviews and mainly Rippl-Rónai's Memoirs and selected letters as the main source, the evaluation of the early years has lacked subtlety for decades. The studies of the latest catalogue have arrived at some new assumptions with the tool of stylistic criticism, but the currents of that-time French art and spiritual life still await detailed analyses. This, as well as the analysis of his search for his own course, may be largely precipitated by the investigation of his graphic art, apart from his contacts with symbolism.[4]

An unbiassed study of the works of Rippl-Rónai back home from Paris, a closer look at his adjustment to the Hungarian art scene making up its arrears by the 1910s including in the first place his collaboration with Art nouveau architects might also afford more insights than his light-hearted finger exercises. In this regard, the latest show of his works at the National Gallery has convinced me that one of the main characteristics of his oeuvre was continuity, the incessantly renewing consistency of the basic principles he elaborated in France both in painting and in his murals and applied art works.

The role of drawing and prints

A year before the setting up of the Nabis as a group, in 1887, József Rippl-Rónai – as the same time as with Károly Ferenczy and Béla Iványi-Grünwald – arrived in Paris from Munich, followed upon his encouragement by István Csók as well. Rippl-Rónai's recollections and Csók's Memoirs preserve two different Parises, as their painting differs as well.[5] Unlike Rippl-Rónai, the others lured to Paris by Bastien-Lepage spent a short time in the city, and though they shunned the official academy, they only got in touch with similarly ineffective fashionable free schools (Colarossi painting school, Julian Academy) and the officially acknowledged realm of art in which, similarly to Budapest and Munich, the choice of theme still played a salient role. All returned to naturalism, Béla Iványi-Grünwald and István Csók to genre scenes of peasants, in a

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renewed form, though. Csók the painter of *Erzsébet Báthory* and the *Vampires* was treading the path of academic painting, influenced in part by Munich symbolism. The fundamental difference, however, reflected by both the painted works and their verbal recollections, is that all had seen works by Manet, Renoir, Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec and Whistler, and Puvis de Chavannes had even shaken their faith in the primacy of Bastien-Lepage, yet they all remained the followers of naturalism. Or, to put it more precisely, their effect – that of Puvis de Chavannes with Ferenczy and Renoir's with István Csók, was only to assert itself later, and indirectly.

Much struggle and searching preceded Rippl-Rónai's settling on his own course, the realization of the superiority of style "grown by and for itself", as Lajos Fülep put it, over the theme.[6] And that he did in the portrait, interior and genre scene, in which genres the Nabis brought their revolution – a more modest one than that of the impressionists in landscape and light painting – to glory earlier. Among the Nabis Rippl-Rónai felt closest to those who span on the themes and joy of life of the impressionists, instead of those who were attracted to mysthic and religious topics. Similarly to Vuillard and Bonnard, in Rippl-Rónai's works the home, the everyday life, metamorphosed into the shrine of quiet, profound sensations. In the Nabis' pictures everyday, seemingly accidental scenes are transformed into a new reality via the conscious construction of composition, colour and light – and that applies to the entire oeuvre of Rippl-Rónai as well.

Critics, similarly to the mentioned Lajos Fülep, hailed him as the first major representative of self-contained pictoriality, a great artist of style. That might have overshadowed later the analysis of the themes and spiritual background of the early works. Having lost faith in Munkácsy's painting and searching for new roads, Rippl-Rónai's early attemps in painting and drawing reflect the typical themes and synthetic experiments characterizing his French contemporaries. Around 1894, new endeavours comparable to the most daring formal experiments of the Nabis in search of a new synthesis can be discerned in Rippl-Rónai's graphic works, earlier predominated by secessionist form-creation.

Even a cursory glance at the writings of 19th century French theorists and art critics, for example Charles Baudelaire's articles, reveals what central importance they assigned to the concept of the new painting of modern life, the representation of contemporary life, the search for the symbols of modern life. The themes of the Nabi artists were also predetermined by the legacy of impressionism – the increasingly subjective description of the street, the city, the everyday life. However, upon the influence of symbolism, they increasingly turned away from the external world, towards inside venue, landscapes of the mind. Gauguin's teaching was the single major influence to abandon illusionism and head for formal synthesis.

Rippl-Rónai also represented the typical venues and figures of the Paris life, his immediate surroundings (*Bowlers*, 1892, *The large glass*, 1893). Most characteristic is *Moulin Rouge* (1897), a graphic work uniting impressionistic elements and decorative construction capturing a fleeting moment, but this moment is lifted from the incessant flow of impressions by synthesizing rendering (Fig. 1). The female figure in the foreground is shown in planarity, her profile adjusted to the plane, the gesture of her hand is unnatural, strongly stylized. The arm in the black gloves and the hat giving the impression of arabesques evoke both Toulouse-Lautrec's posters and Pierre Bonnard's figures in black stockings. In several of Rippl-Rónai's works one finds transitions between the plane and traditional perspective, the main "theme" of Bonnard's works, e.g. *Passers-by* (1894) in search of ways to step beyond impressionism. The French master pastes, as it were, the female head on the picture surface, indicating space with the subtle turn of the head only. Similar radical planarity in spatial arrangement is to be found in Rippl-Rónai's graphic output.

Rippl-Rónai's paintings based on dark hues and heavy outlines represent a singular style which marks his *Woman in bed*, for example, characteristically marked off from Edouard Vuillard's variations on the same theme (*In bed*, 1891, *Woman in bed*, c. 1891) or from Toulouse-Lautrec's portrayal of the misery of prostitutes. As compared with Vuillard's thematically similar painting of 1891 whose composition is planar, almost geometrical, Rippl-Rónai suggests the



Fig. 1. József Rippl-Rónai: *Moulin Rouge*, 1897, Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest

plasticity of bodies and objects with subtly curving lines. Toulouse-Lautrec's sharply exposing, shocking approach to the prostitutes is alien to the Hungarian master's mental disposition, and so is the compassion that imbues the caricaturistic conversation scenes of the French master seen through by his keen eye.

Rippl-Rónai's landscapes suggest that the search he launched deserting the Munkácsy mannerism must have been most diverse. The *Romantic landscape* and *Tourbillon* (1899) pay homage to Gustav Courbet, while the much later *Blossoming sour cherry tree* (1909) evokes the impressionists, first of all Claude Monet (*Sous les Lilas*, 1872). The Banyuls landscape marks a new chapter in his syntheticism in which the colour planes are accentuated by the heavy outlines, presumably upon the example of Gauguin's work held in such high esteem by the Nabis.

The landscapes and townscapes are fewer in number than the interiors and portraits, in which, similarly to his fellow Nabis, the psyche, the stirs of the soul, the atmosphere is to be expressed first of all through the close formal connection, even unification of the figures with the space around them.

The Nabis discovered and admitted among them Rippl-Rónai after the exhibition of *My grandmother* (1894), though he can have known their works earlier. His success must owe to the singular elaboration of the synthetic approach

and the subtle chromaticism which could use "colourlessness" as a tool of characterization. Via the secret society of the Nabis determined to renew art, Rippl-Rónai got acquainted with the circle of Revue Blanche, could attend Mallarmé's famous Tuesday sessions and acquired commission from Bing, who supported the decorative plans of the Nabis.

What were the influences that guided the one-time pupil of Munkácsy to arrive at pictorial and graphic conclusions analogous to the most outstanding masters of French art nouveau? Drawing must have had an immense share in it. "*In Munich... I did hardly anything for four years but drew.*" Add to that the experiences gained during the years at Munkácsy's side, which amounted to the recognition that "*I know ... what I need not do when I make a work*".[7] Starting out from the mentioned composition of *In bed*, I venture the statement that he belonged to the generation of contemporary graphic artists such as Toulouse-Lautrec, Theophile Steinlen, Eugène Samuel Grasset and Félix Vallotton trying to elaborate a decorative synthesis. In view of the graphic character of the paintings it might not seem too far-fetched to presume that drawing was the medium through which he managed to bridge the immense gap between experiences gained in Munich and around Munkácsy on the one side and contemporary French efforts on the other.

The ink drawings, watercolours and lithographs of the 1890s are the first to herald his new style. What is more, these graphic works show his most daring stylization close to the Nabi "distortions". The significant impact of the art of the Far East can most clearly be discerned here.

As far as I see it, it was not only his long French sojourn (1887–1901) but also his individual graphic sensibility that guided him to the new endeavours being tested in the then unacknowledge artistic workshops. The first large-size paintings, the crop of the often analyzed "black period" with their powerful outlines and monochromic palette all provide proof (*Bowlers*, 1892, *Two women in mourning*, 1892) and *Woman in bed*. In his interiors, the thick black contours almost merge with the background (*Dusk in an intimate room*, 1892). In *Two women in mourning* (1892) the female figures are locked in their solitude also suggested by the grey twilight of the room.

His insistence on black as the colour to start out from must have also owed to the influence of a follower of Manet, Jean-Louis Forain, whom he remembered with great reverence in his Memoirs as well. Forain had his first showing at Boussot-Valadon in 1890. His *Woman in black* represents the transition between Manet and the symbolists of art nouveau.

The graphic character, the role of the line is apparent in every work of his. His work aligns with the trend of the arabesque cult of secessionist artists in which the decorative line suggests motion. Pewny Denis most appropriately remarks of the *Woman with a Bird-cage*: "For the sake of the fine line, she leans back at the waist, almost like in a dance movement."[8]

His contact with the Nabis who united with equal weight drawing and painting must have reinforced this line. In his lithograph *Woman reading by lamplight* (1894) published in Revue Blanche the female figure pasted to the plane is shown from an unusual perspective, "in distortion" (Fig. 2). The composition is similar to Paul Signac's milliners, Vuillard's *Woman at mending*. His *Carpet weaver* (the 1890s) is also highly reduced, pushed to the verge of abstraction. The *Woman in an arm-chair* represents Gauguinian principles and secessionistic practice. The consistent assertion of the plane of the sheet, the decorative elegance of the outline, the maturity of the composition all promote this drawing to the peak of his graphic output also implying the possibility to supersede secessionism. This work of harmonious balance, marking the extreme to which Rippl-Rónai progressed in abstraction must have been made after his acquaintance with the Nabis. Similarly consistent elaboration of the interrelation between line and plane can only be found in his applied arts designs, such as his *Carousel* composition (1897) but there it is already centered around decorativeness.

His *Female nude* of 1890 (*Margaritte Renard*) represents another similarly salient point in his drawing, discovered earlier. The most outstanding graphic artist of impressionism and synthetism was seen by György Gombosi as the herald of various Hungarian avantgarde tendencies in one.[9] The body of his female figure drawn in ink evokes the pulverized contours and



Fig. 2. József Rippl-Rónai: *Woman Reading by Lamplight*, 1894, Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest

scintillating surface of Bonnard's female nudes turned towards the light, but the massive construction already anticipates the ink drawings of the 1910s.

The Japanizing ink drawings and lithographs reveal yet another Rippl-Rónai: the lightning-fast perpetuator of the moment (*Bunch of flowers*, the 1890s) on the one hand, and the consistent assertion of the two dimensions (*Flower still-life*, 1900) on the other. This again attests to his strong affinities with the Nabis, and his own secessionist formal idiom elaborated independently of them, before he made friends with them (1895). It aptly illustrates what importance he himself assigned to the art of the Far East that in his show at the Royal Hotel in 1900 he exhibited his collection of Japanese and Chinese ink drawings and prints together with his own works, as a frame of value reference, so to speak.[10]

Symbolist signs of Rippl-Rónai's Art nouveau: woman with a flower, woman in a garden

The models for his series of painted female portraits of 1892 in enlogated format and dark tone, a milestone in his art, were retraced by research to the salon pictures he had met with around Munkácsy and mainly to the impact of James Abbott McNeill Whistler whose Japanizing works immensely influenced the art nouveau as such. A native of Baltimore, Whistler, who stayed alternately in London and Paris from 1861, was on the zenith of his popularity in Paris in 1892, as Rippl-Rónai also recalled in his Memoirs. He settled in Paris that year and produced a lithograph for the cover of *Vers et Prose*, a volume by the most outstanding poet of French symbolism, Stéphane Mallarmé. His *My mother's portrait* of 1871 was one of the most admired works shown at the Paris World Exposition of 1889. In István Csók's Memoirs one can also read that all Hungarian painters in Paris admired the portrait which was purchased by the French state in 1891.[11]

According to his memoirs, Rippl-Rónai was also helped in his search by his Scottish painter friend, James Pitcairn Knowles. Though little is known of Knowles, it can be presumed that similarly to several English and Scottish artists studying in Paris, he had a mediating role between the arts of the two countries. Besides Whistler, Rippl-Rónai must also have known the pre-Raphaelites at the peak of popularity in Paris. Within Great Britain, Whistler's popularity was greatest in Scotland, where he substantially influenced the "Glasgow Boys", including Robert Brough, the maker of the *Fantasies of Madness* (Fig. 3), similarly to Rippl-Rónai.[12]

His first known painting with signs of innovation, *Woman in a white-spotted dress* (Fig. 4), is a typically transitional work. Its formal execution is as hesitant as is the gesture of the tender female figure. Whether I accept the earlier dating (1889) or the more recent one (1892), the silhouette-like figure evokes the unfolding prior to secessionism.[13] This is especially conspicuous in comparison with the left-hand section of Pierre Bonnard's wall painting entitled *Women in a garden* of 1891 which shows another woman in a white-spotted dress stylized into an arabesque.[14] With his *Woman in a white-spotted dress*, Rippl-Rónai set out on a course which came to full bloom in Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec's and Pierre Bonnard's posters of the 1890s (see Bonnard: *France-Champagne*, 1891; Toulouse-Lautrec: *La Revue Blanche*, *Misia Natanson*, 1895) (Fig. 5).

Rippl-Rónai's portraits painted in 1892 and clearly displaying the influence of Whistler in pose and colour harmony represent a road deviating somewhat from that of the Nabis. The portrait series stretching from the *Woman with a Bird-cage* to the embroidery with the motif of a woman holding a flower show Rippl-Rónai as the most French of the Hungarian painters who had incidentally seen the pictures of his British contemporaries as well. While the start of the Nabis was determined by Paul Gauguin's painterly legacy – the homogeneous colour patches enclosed by strong contours – apart from the subsequent recurrence of the rich impressionistic heritage, Rippl-Rónai also drew on the more traditional painting of Whistler who did not sever his ties with the masters of English romanticism-historism, the pre-Raphaelites.

His works based on linearity and colour reduction which launched him on a new course, and the conception of light-and-shade that led him to the masterpiece of the *Woman with a Bird-cage* (Fig. 6), are usually traced back to

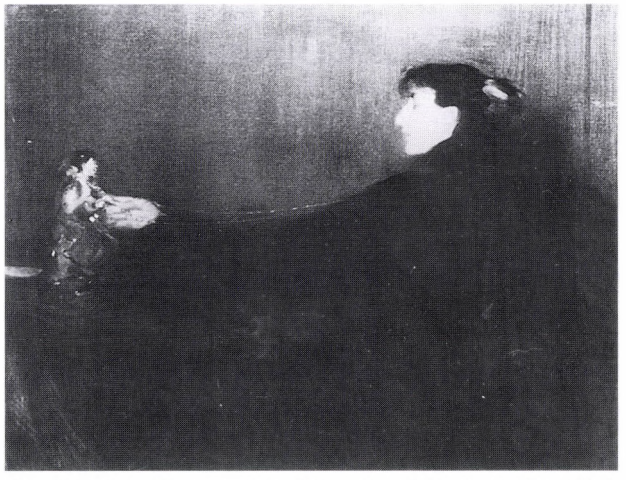

Fig. 3. Robert Brough: *The Fantasies of Madness*, Tate Gallery, London



Fig. 5. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec: *La Revue Blanche (Misia Natanson)*, 1895



Fig. 4. József Rippl-Rónai: *Woman in a White-spotted Dress*, 1889 (1892), Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest

Whistler's large portraits showing the figures almost washed into the homogeneously painted background which he exhibited during his second stay in France. Rippl-Rónai's female figure holding the cage mysteriously unfolds from the dark background, carrying the idea of fleeting-

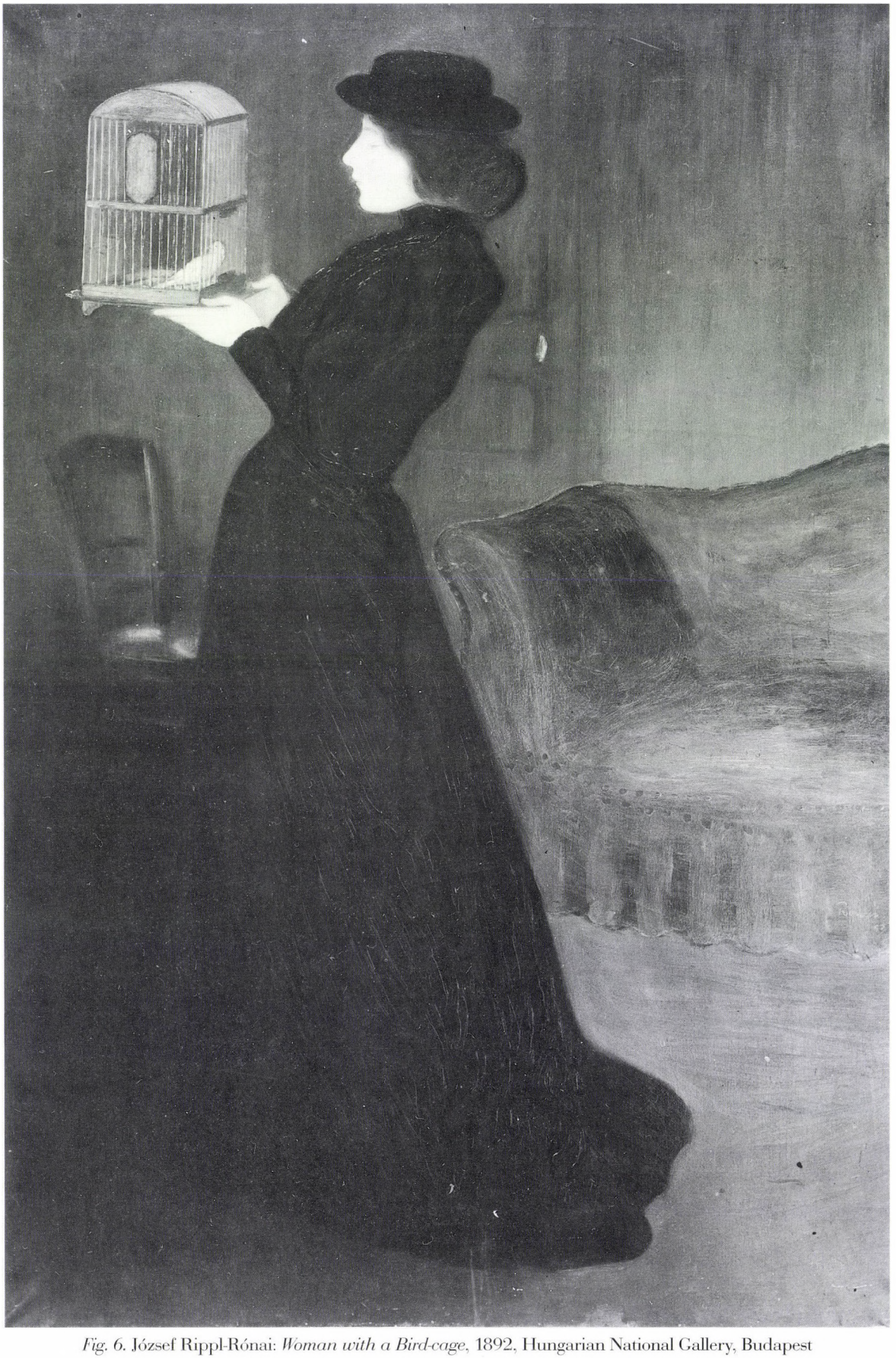

Fig. 6. József Rippl-Rónai: *Woman with a Bird-cage*, 1892, Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest

ness, mortality, thrown into deeper relief by the background's emptiness and darkness, its blue and green colours suggesting a distance from life. The darkness and lustre of the colours are suggestive, alluding to hidden meanings. The relatively narrow interior space and its darkness harmonize with the solitude of the figure. The imprisonment of the bird in the cage is the basis for their existential relationship, which is stressed by the wing-like female hand. The modest furnishing of the background is hardly visible, against which the light patches of the face and the cage stand out sharply, yet softly. The inward-looking, radiant white face is in kinship with Burne-Jones's and Odilon Redon's transfigured portraits. Their companionship suggests silence, a secret. Not unlike the symbolist artists, Rippl-Rónai omitted the anecdote: the meaning of the painting cannot be defined precisely, evoking a melancholic state of mind. The work is a peculiar mixture of romantic longing away from here and the cult of an artificial world embraced by symbolism.

Apart from the undeniable influence of Whistler, British sources may also be reckoned with as inspiration for the *Woman with a Bird-cage*. Mária Bernáth had some time earlier proposed the probable influence of a pre-Raphaelite painting, W. H. Deverell's *The Pet*, to which I would add the Scottish painter David Octavius Hill's calotype (*Girls at a Bird-cage*, 1844) and more remotely, Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Veronica Veronese* (1870–2, Fig. 7). Rossetti's picture is imbued with an expectant silence. It shows a female firgure waiting to the encaged bird's song to get inspiration for her violin playing. The bird and the female figure refer to the inner relationship between painting and music, to the almost mystic connection between nature and art.

In the wake of Whistler, Rossetti attached the detail of a poem in French to the frame of the picture.[15] Rippl-Rónai refrained from literary additions, but similarly to Rossetti's green and Whistler's white harmonies, he built his picture on the subtlest possible hues.

His early works raise the question of his use of black as a colour under the influence of the contemporary symbolism of black. In Mallarmé's interpretation, black was the colour of dimness which carried the true meaning, that is, allusion, as against exact description. In Huysman's novel *A rebours*, Des Esseintes furnished black interiors, entertained his guests to solemn funeral repasts (*repas de deuil*) where guests were given plates lined with black (*des assiettes bordées de noir*).[16] Rippl-Rónai also knew count Robert de Montesquiou-Fesenzac, who inspired Marcel Proust, too, and who was the model for the overrefined, extravagant hero of Huysman's novel.[17] (Whistler painted his portrait in 1891–2: *Arrangement in Black and Gold: Comte Robert de Montesquiou.*)



Fig. 7. Dante Gabriel Rossetti: *Veronica Veronese*, 1870–2, Delaware Art Museum, Samuel and Mary R. Bancroft Memorial

Yet the real compositional analogies of the *Woman with a Bird-cage* are among the works of the art nouveau showing female figures taking delight in some beautiful object, as attested by his painting, the pendant of the *Woman with a Bird-cage*, *Slender Woman with a Vase* (Fig. 8). The moulding of the figure also owes to his admiration of Far Eastern art. The model was Mme Leroi d'Étiolles, who had a painting school in Paris, and who mediated the Japanese brush drawings decorating his home in Neuilly, as he described in his Memoirs.[18]

As a continuation to his series of full-length

portraits of 1892 is the white-dressed *Woman holding a rose* (Fig. 10), a painting of subtle grey hues.[19] Although its composition fits the 1892 series perfectly, it may have also been inspired by a Whistler painting the second version of which is better known. Whistler painted *The White Girl* (*Symphony in White, No. 1*, 1862, Fig. 8) during his first Paris sojourn and showed it first in *Salon des Refusés* in 1863, scoring success only in a narrow circle. It was first discovered by Fernand Desnoyers, who wrote about it: "*C'est le portrait d'un spirite, d'un médium. La figure, l'attitude, la physionomie, la couleur sont étranges. C'est tout à la fois simple et fantastigue...*"[20] In the interpretation of contemporary French criticism, Whistler was a symbolist artist. In his book of essays published in 1883, Joris-Karl Huysmans analyzed Whistler's Miss Alexander in a similar vein: "*... son personnage est ressemblant, est réel, ... mais il y a aussi un côté surnaturel émané de ce peintre mystérieux...*"[21] Huysmans described Whistler as an artist stretching the boundaries of painting towards poetry. "*M. Whistler, dans ses harmonies de nuances, passe presque la frontière de la peinture; il entre dans le pays des lettres, et s'avance sur les mélancoliques rives ou les pales fleurs de M. Verlaine poussent.*"[22]

This reading might shed a new light on Rippl-Rónai's works as well, for his contemporaries found a closer resemblance between his works and symbolism, and Verlaine's musicality, than his subsequent critics in Hungary did. Henri Sorsène, for example, wrote a poem to Rippl-Rónai's pastel *Pale woman* with the title *Pale flower*.[23] Károly Lyka wrote about his pastels in the same tone: "capturing of transcendental feelings, visions..."[24]

The use of the gilt frame is perhaps also Whistler's inspiration. In his letter to his mother, Rippl-Rónai stressed: "There's another large picture or colour drawing, a life-size female figure in white clothes, in a long gilt frame set against the wall, not just casually so, but with definite deliberation, the place sought carefully."[25] Triggering off a new fashion, Whistler put Swinburn's poem written on gold paper on the frame of the second version of *The White Girl (Symphony in White, No. 1*, 1862), *The Little White Girl: Symphony in White, No. 2*.[26] The pensive heroine of *The Little White Girl* sees approaching old age in the mirror. Rippl-Rónai applied a topos of art nouveau, but the delicate female figure, just as the flower in her hand, allude to transience, as does the choice of colours.

In 1894, when his relationship with the Nabis had strengthened, an increasing number of symbolist signs appeared in both his themes and form design. The admiration of Whistler must have also tied him to the group, for it was Mallarmé and his pupils who first discovered the American painter. They probably met first in Manet's studio and as their correspondence suggests, they became close friends. In 1888 Manet translated Whistler's writing entitled Ten O'Clock.[27] Rippl-Rónai recalled him as the guest of Mallarmé's famous Tuesdays: "Whistler was also a regular guest, and withdrawing into a corner, he listened to the ornate conversation of the host from there."[28]

According to his Memoirs, Rippl-Rónai had a liking for Mallarmé's poems, though his account of his famous Tuesdays lacks any suggestion of the special appeal that made these gatherings memorable for the participants and turned Mallarmé into the leader of the symbolists. What for Rippl-Rónai was "ornate conversations", was "parole transfiguratrice" for the person who recalled most precisely the symbolist movement, André Fontainas, talks that opened the eye of their generation and helped to find themselves.[29]

There is no trace of the mystical tenets, occultism or theosophy, but after his closer contact with the Nabis beginning with 1894, he also experimented with symbolist themes. The surviving sketch for his tapestry entitled *Idealism and Realism* (1894–5) is subtle and fluent but proves at the same time that "symbolizing the thought" was not his cup of tea.[30] The female nudes in the larger upper part of the tapestry signify the calm and ease of Arcadia, and the toiling peasants in the lower part stand for realism. The catholicism of his friend Maurice Denis inspired him to a single work on a religious theme, *The birth and death of Christ* (1906–8). Its sketch was still made in France.

The typical themes of symbolism: myth and legend elaboration had no appeal to him, neither did the admiration of the Mallarmé circle for Wagner affect him. Rippl-Rónai knew and



Fig. 8. James McNeill Whistler: *The White Girl: Symphony in White, No. 1*, 1862, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., Harris Whittemore Collection

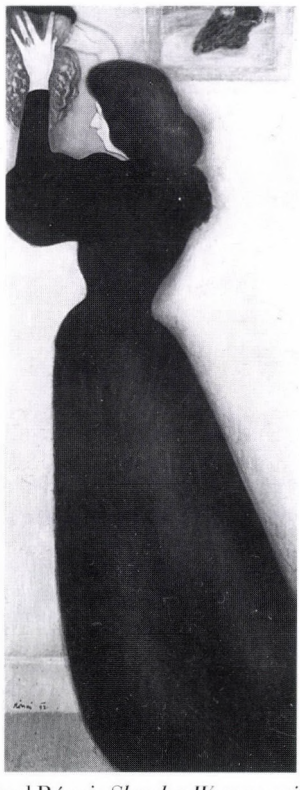

Fig. 9. József Rippl-Rónai: *Slender Woman with a Vase*, 1894, Private Collection



Fig. 10. József Rippl-Rónai: *Woman Holding a Rose*, 1892, Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest



Fig. 11. József Rippl-Rónai: *Woman in a Red Dress*, 1898, Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest



Fig. 12. József Rippl-Rónai: *Walking Woman*, 1895, Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest

discussed in his Memoirs "the intelligent artistic aspirations" of Revue Blanche, the artists "who could understand and live through Verlaine's poetry, for example, or Mallarmé's sophistication", but he added subtly: "their works are their best advocates".[31] His affinities were with those in the variegated symbolist group who, like Charles Morice, solely believed in the truth of the manifested thing, that is, in originality, instead of the doctrines contructed by different schools: "*il n'y a plus d'écoles littéraire, il n'y a que des manifestations individuelle...*"[32]

In Hungarian painting, analogies to Nabi symbolism such as Maurice Denis's *Les arbres verts* (c. 1893) and Paul Sérusier's *Présentation* (1890) can be found among Tivadar Csontváry Kosztka's sacred works alloying the religious traditions of several centuries but without definite ties to any religious iconography, such as *The Lonely Cedar* and *Pilgrimage to the Lebanese cedar.*[33]

The influence of the spiritual profile of the Mallarmé circle is most obvious in the illustrations of *Les Vierges* (1895, Fig. 12) ordered by Bing. He came closest to suggesting the correspondences here. The theme of the coloured lithographs is the woman in a garden, woman with a book, which is tangential with the theme of ages, the union of the natural and intellectual worlds, the unity of a golden age or Arcadia.

Rippl-Rónai's first book illustrations were inspired by Mallarmé, as he recalled in his Memoirs. He put his illustrations subsequently into his prose volume entitled *Pages*. *Pages* mentioned by Rippl-Rónai in his Memoirs was published in Brussels in 1891, with Renoir's woodcut on the cover (l'eau-forte).[34] The book contained the following writings: La Phénomène futur, Plainte d'automne, Frisson d'hiver, Le Démon de l'Analogie, Pauvre enfant pâle, La Pipe, Un spectacle interrompu, Réminiscence, La déclaration foraine, Le Nénufare blanc, La Gloire, L'Écclésiatique, Morceau pour résumer Vathek, Divagation, Hamlet, Ballets, Le Genre ou des Modernes, Un Principe des Vers, Lassitude, Richard Wagner, Rêverie d'un poète français.[35] These writing, with some additions and omissions, were later republished under the title *Crayonné au Théâtre.*[36]

It was probably no accident that Georges Rodenbach was chosen for the text of Les Vierges. The Belgian symbolist writer belonged among Mallarmé's disciples, and his words written to Rippl-Rónai's drawings also emanate the influence of the leader of the symbolists. He may have come across this name in one of Mallarmé's prosaic works earlier.[37] Rodenbach was the writer of twilight, of dying and of melancholic moods (*Le Règne du silence*, 1891, *Bruges-la-morte*, 1892). His grey tones were in harmony with Rippl-Rónai's paintings of that period.

At first sight, Rippl-Rónai's lithographs about women walking in a garden absorbed in their readings appear as successful variants of the secessionist topos of woman with a book. The movement of the women, their interrelation, however, suggest a symbolic reciprocity, and so does their close inner mental and formal unity with the setting. The landscapes are *paysages d'âme*, suggesting abstract emotions, thoughts. Besides the lack of action, the introversion of the ethereally stylized figures, the motifs of reading and contemplation, the walk indicates contact with the landscape, with life.[38] If it is possible to speak about symbolic ambiguity and universalism, then it is about these illustrations.

As has been noted, Rippl-Rónai's illustrations are close to the representions of ages favoured by his contemporaries, including the Nabis (cf. Bonnard: *Woman in a garden*, 1891, Vuillard: *La récolte*, 1898). Rippl-Rónai chose the summer, the life (fruit harvest) while Knowles picked winter, the death.[39]

There is no knowing to what extent Rippl-Rónai had insight into Mallarmé's peculiar venture, the all-embracing *Livre*, but some passages in the French poet's essay *Le livre. Instrument spirituel* may characterize the illustrations as well: "*l'hymne, harmonie et joie, comme pur ensemble groupé dans quelque circonstance fulgurante, des relations entre tout*".[40] Mallarmé's method of analogies is missing from Rippl-Rónai who put the aim of his book in these words: "We were trying to find harmonies, not contrasts. Rare movements, simple ones that may carry expression, profound sentiments, intimity."[41]

They may also be taken for illustrations of the symbolist ideas formulated by Maurice Denis, who had the following to write about the impressionist and symbolist painters: "*Ils ont préféré dans leurs oeuvres l'expression par le décor, par l'harmonie des formes et des couleurs, par la matière employée, à l'expression par le sujet. Ils ont cru qu'il existait à toute émotion, à toute pensée humaine, un équivalent plastique, décoratif, une beauté correspondante.*"[42] Rippl-Rónai's lithographs are closer to the Nabi works emanating a harmonious joy of life than to the white-hot glow of Mallarmé's symbolism, or the mystical works of Rosicrucian group (Hubert de la Rochefoucauld: Walking Woman, Armand Point: Legend).

In this of his works, Rippl-Rónai's formal execution also closely approached the Nabis, especially Maurice Denis in his illustration of Rossetti (*La demoiselle élue*) and Paul Ranson's arabesque style. In the 1890s, Denis formulated the theme of women picking fruits in his design for a stained glass, in a mural, and in a ceramic picture. His painting *Harvest* (*La récolte*) is also the representation of human ages: in the fore, a mother and her infant can be seen, in the fore- and mid-ground, children are picking fruit and a couple are kissing. Paul Ranson's gouache possibly made for a tapestry also elaborates this theme with artistic, unnatural lines. The garden and a walk were frequent themes with the writers and poets of Revue Blanche as well. The presentation of the garden as an Arcadian setting leads over to the ensemble of glass ceiling, windows, shades, furniture pieces, ceramics and upholstery designed for the Andrássy dining-room, and to the murals and stained glass he made after his return. In the latter, Rippl-Rónai addressed himself to this theme at the same time as his Hungarian fellow painters Béla Iványi-Grünwald and Károly Kernstok.

Perhaps even the Mallarmé essays on ballet in *Pages*, though evoking Loie Fuller, had some influence upon Rippl-Rónai's pictures of dancing which were directly inspired by Isadora Duncan. Not only his pastel made after a photo published in the 1902 issue of *A Hét* is a case in point but two earlier portraits of red-haired women also have features reminding of the red-haired dancer.[43]

The stages of Rippl-Rónai's inner development can also be retraced via the portraits mentioned often and in diverse contexts. He began his pastel series of female portraits before Paris. His *Female head* of 1886 already shows the light-and-shade effects predominant in his later pastel portraits. This slightly mysterious atmosphere was to become typical of his portraits. In the *Female portrait* of around 1891, he formulated the character traits of the former picture more light-handed, with greater craftsmanship. The decorative line of the hat is the direct precedent of *Lady with a black veil (Mme Mazet).* His new style must also have been influenced by Eugène Carrière. What displays Carrière's influence is not only his *Brooding woman* of 1892 but also, mainly in his female portraits, the circular composition, the soft outlines, and the gentle tones.

The transitional, uncertain moods and the reign of silence in his female portraits assume their true significance in comparison with the literary output of the period. The influence of symbolist portraits based on the contrast of light and darkness (Edward Burne-Jones: *Miss Amy Gaskell*, 1893) can be discerned throughout the entire period up to Picasso (*Girl in a Chemise*, c. 1905). With their material, fugitivity and transparency, his pastel portraits of ephemeral beauty and rich hues allude to the flight of the irrevocable moment. However, compared to Lajos Gulácsy's *Woman among grave-posts*, a

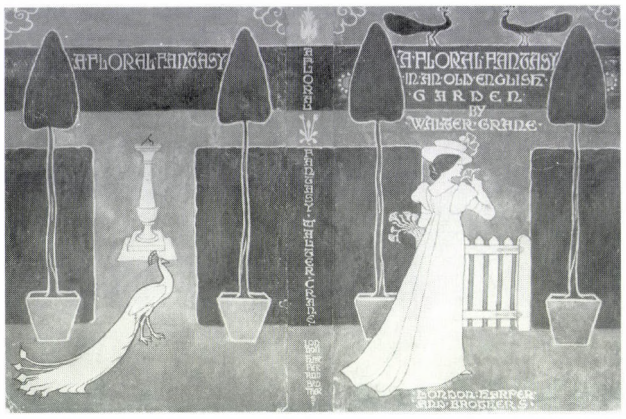

Fig. 13. Walter Crane: *A Flower Fantasy in an old English Garden*, 1899, Design for a Book Jacket



Fig. 14. Eugene Grasset: *Spring*, 1884, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris

pastel made after 1914, Rippl-Rónai's is less symbolistic. Most of the pastel portraits regarded as paintings by the artist represent a third version between the mysticism of Odilon Redon and the secessionist portraits of Louis Anquetin, who handled light as a decorative element, a homogeneous colour patch, as well as those who were influenced by Whistler such as the Scottish painter Bessie MacNicol in her *Study in Mauve and Green* (c. 1895).

Apart from the web of influences, the innumerable analogies mainly prove that Rippl-Rónai's work was rooted in the art of the fin-de-siècle. Adding his personality and interpretation, he unfolded therefrom his own pictures which also emanate the harmony of finding, then of consummating the right road.

Working for Bings business, he shared the enthusiasm of the Nabis for applied arts in the service of everyday life. The Nabis transferred the formal devices of Gauguin's synthetism to decorative art: the decorative surface constructed of unified colour patches with thick outlines. Proof of this is Rippl-Rónai's ceramic picture *Carousel*, a composition predominated by, or arranged around a huge blue colour patch. The elaborate landscapes on the plates resemble the works of Jan Thorn Prikker's compositions built from tiny lines in the wake of Van Gogh.

After the paintings *Woman with a Bird-cage*, *Woman holding a rose*, *Slender woman with a vase*, the embroidery *Woman in a red dress* (Fig. 11) is the secessionist consummation of the motif of a woman immersed in watching a fine object or holding a flower or bird-cage. Its closest kins are also found among art nouveau works such as a book cover by Walter Crane (Cover design for the book: *Flower fantasy in an old English garden*, 1899, Fig. 13), among then current book illustrations, posters, glass paintings. The figure holding a flower in her hand is in perfect harmony with her surroundings like Flora, standing in garden of lush vegetation closed off with a fence (a favourite motif of Japanizing Nabis paintings).[44]

As he recalled in his Memoirs, he began designing embroidery upon Aristide Maillol's encouragement. One variant of the *Woman in a red dress* is related closely to Maillol's tapestry, the *Enchanted garden*.[45] While the French artist,

however, is more obviously connected to tradition in his work, Rippl-Rónai borrowed more from the current endeavours of the decorative arts. To create the motif of the flattened horse-chestnut leaves, he used directly or indirectly the figures in Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* (1856) used the world over by designers and those in Eugène Grasset's pattern book (*La plante et ses applications ornamentales*), which was more familiar in France. The graceful female figure reminds one of the pre-Raffaelite women, first of all those by Burne-Jones (*Flora*, tapestry) and more closely of Eugène Grasset's stained glass, and so does the rampant garden (Fig. 14). The fence motif in the background also crops up in Japanizing Nabis paintings. The spatial arrangement of Kerr-Xavier Roussel's stained glass *Le Jardin* or *La Fenêtre* is also in kinship with Rippl-Rónai's composition.

Red tulips are the protagonists in the embroidery *Female head with flowers* (1898, Fig. 15) and in the trimmings made for the Andrássy dining room. In the tapestry and the book design made up of tiny flowers the models brought into fashion by William Morris can also be detected. More distantly, the head in the embroidery peeping from behind the curtain of tulips echoes the Japanist Aubrey Beardsley. The motif of stylized tulips was very popular among English masters, e.g. on Beardsley's cloth binding for a Wilde volume (*Under the Hill and Other Essays in Prose and Verse*. London, New York, 1894). It also appears in the wall tapestries of C.A. Voysey. The high priority given to the tulip in the border of *Woman in a red dress* (the woman also holds a tulip or a rose) may also be connected to the endeavours of the Hungarian trend of art nouveau to "magyarize" the style, aligning subtly with the national current using motifs believed to be indigeneous. It anticipated the Hungarianizing tendencies modelled upon English examples in principles but drawing directly on local folklore (see e.g. Lajos Kozma's figure in front of a curtain with tulip design in his first cycle of drawings).[46]

Rippl-Rónai's broad and extensive influence upon Hungarian art has not yet been thoroughly explored, whereas the ancestors, for example, of Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch's elongated Japanizing female portraits are among Rippl-Rónai's portraits. Even more difficult is to trace the intricate

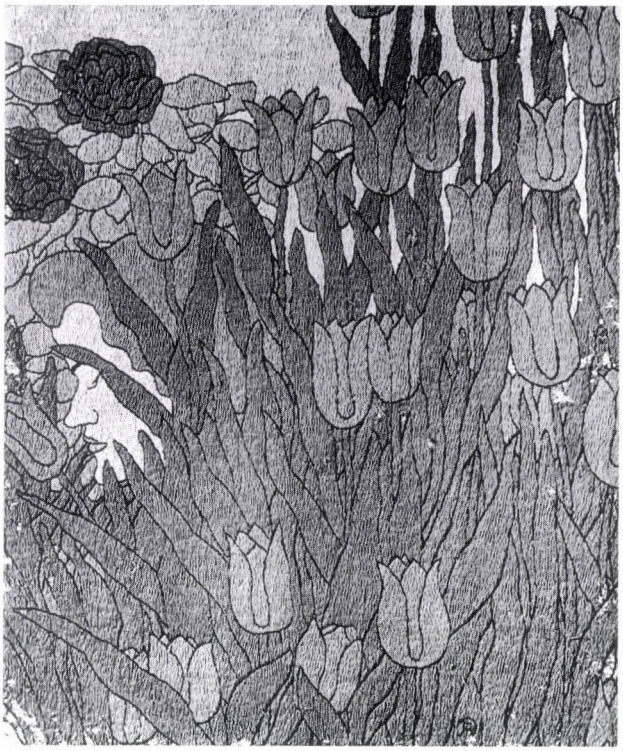

Fig. 15. József Rippl-Rónai: *Female Head with Flowers*, 1898, Private Collection



Fig. 16. Henrik (Henry) Darilek: *Wall plate*, 1900, Rudolf Schmutz Collection, Vienna

relationship between Rippl-Rónai and the Zsolnay maiolica factory. In Henrik (Henry) Darilek's wall plate of 1900 the female head with curly hair peeping through red flowers (not tulips) must have been inspired by József Rippl-Rónai's embroidery, *Female head with flowers* (1898, Fig. 16).

Ripp-Rónai at home: the unity of the lifework

"As many rooms, as many colour harmonies"[47] – Rippl-Rónai wrote of the *Quai Voltaire* flat of Misia Natanson, the muse of the Nabis – and this variety of colour appears to have revived in his interiors at home. The dark-lit Paris interiors give way to familiar Biedermeier furniture and the typical figures of his Kaposvár environment.

The union of impressionist and secessionist elements continued to characterize his output produced at home. The works display the principles elaborated in Paris: the preservation of the freshness of the impact, the decorative spatial structure, strong outlines (*Uncle Piacsek with dolls*, 1905). These "classically" mature interiors eliciting rapturous eulogies from the critics, and the slightly pessimistic implications of even the lighter pieces were extremely popular for reasons similar to his English contemporary Walter Richard Sickert who revived the genre pictures with French overtones in England, although his works also foreshadowed the exhaustion of this elaborate style.

Rippl-Rónai plunged into novel experiments in 1907, which again reinforce his portrait as an artist insisting consistently on his pictorial principles but capable of revival, one who progressed abreast of the times again, just as he did in Paris. His pictures get filled with light-saturated bright colour chords reminiscent at times of the masters of Russian secessionism. The elegant pastel harmonies alternate with whites and blacks contrasted with yellows and reds. Painterly decorativeness overcomes everythings. He handles colours as he handled light and shade earlier. Light and colour unite in a red chair arm (*In the garden*, 1909), in the monochromic dress of a woman or the homogeneous patch of the garden lawn. Rippl-Rónai uses white as a colour, e.g. in *Girl in a white dress* (1910s) and *Sleeping women* (1912).

Compared to the "colourlessness" or monochromy of the early paintings giving the impression of graphic works, the paintings of the "maise" period is predominated by explosive pictoriality in the picture texture being broken down to small spots.[48] The unity of the decorative plane and the preponderance of one or another colour continued to prevail, however. The line still lived a separate and emphasized life, on equal footing with colour. The setting seen through a "grey glass" gave way to rooms in a single colour. The basic colour is broken down to tiny dots of colour, the basic structure is firm, somewhat in the manner of Bonnard's interiors painted in the 1910s, but the fundamentally harmonious decorativeness of the pictures is not overshadowed by a structure often reduced to a few main lines.

Rippl-Rónai never used the surface construction of colour bands filled with arabesques or Japanizing patterns familiar from Bonnard's and Vuillard's interiors. He was much more influenced by Vuillard's "small blacks" and even Vuillard's compositions patterned upon Japanese models that divide the space vertically, combined with a more geometrical construction than earlier. (Cf., e.g., Vuillard's *Dressmaker's workshop*, 1891 or *An interior*, 1893, and Rippl-Rónai's *Uncle Piacsek in front of the black sideboard*, *Yellow music room*, Fig. 17, *Studio interior*, from 1906 and 1910.)

The surface filled with powerful large brushstrokes, the vigorous contours, the reduction of colour, the empty spaces in a painting such as the mentioned *Yellow music room* (1910) all evoke the memory of Vuillard, e.g. his painting entitled *Misia in Villeneuve-sur-Yonne* showing the interior of the rural cottage purchased by Thadée Natanson in 1897, with Misia in the open door (Fig. 18). Compared to Vuillard's gently harmonizing palette with whites, faint lilacs and blues, Rippl-Rónai used intensely glaring colours. Another feature he shares with Vuillard is that he set his figures against the monochromous plane of the wall, omitting all perspective, as if we were looking at a stage.

His graphic works also prove Rippl-Rónai's adherence to the principles he had adopted during his Paris start and their development. In the ink drawings of his album published in 1913, the strong thick outlines all but tear the figures from space, suggesting plasticity even as patches laid out in the plane. The interruption of the outline suggests permanence and vibrant movement at the same time.

Rippl-Rónai's outstanding double portraits from *My parents after 40 years of marriage* (1897) to *Elek Petrovics and Simon Meller* (1910)[49] – which are generally acknowledged as

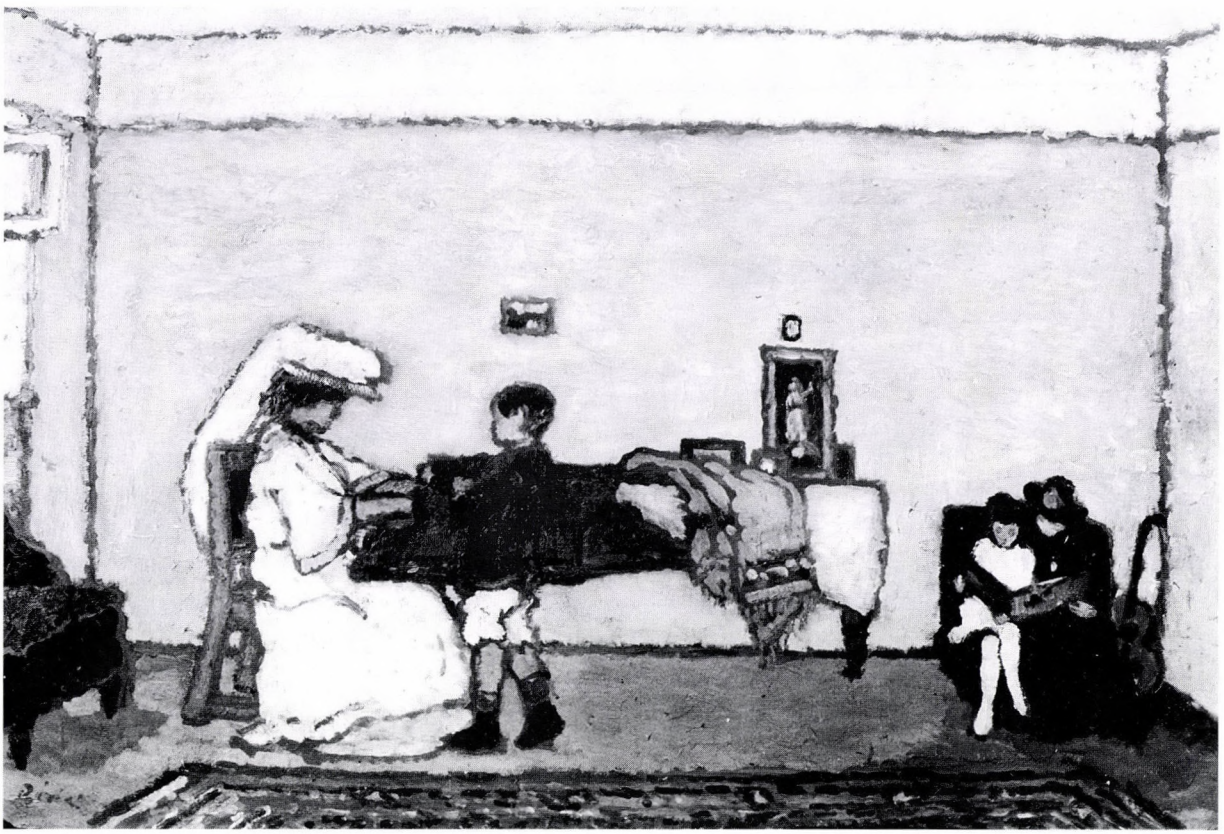

Fig. 17. József Rippl-Rónai: *Yellow Music Room*, 1906, Private Collection

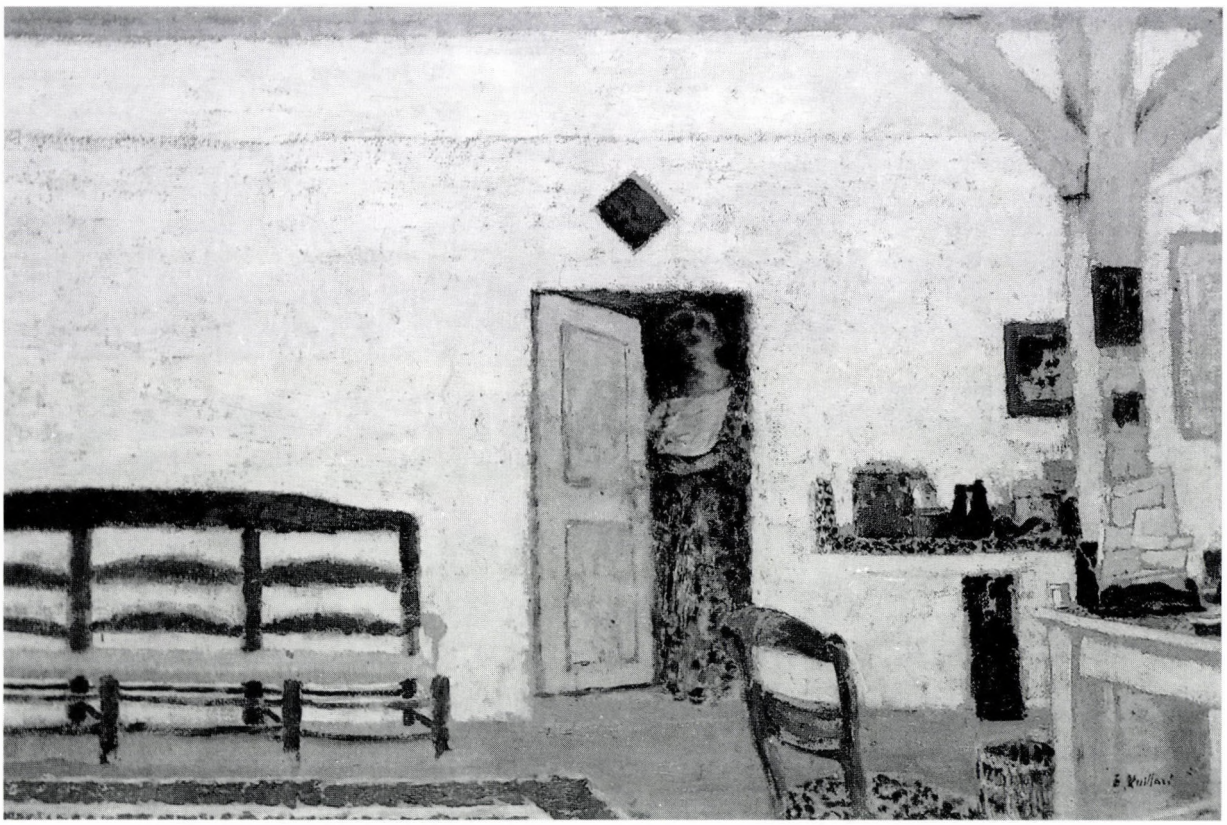

Fig. 18. Edouard Vuillard: *Misia in Villeneuve-sur-Yonne*, c. 1897, Musée des Beaux Art, Lyon

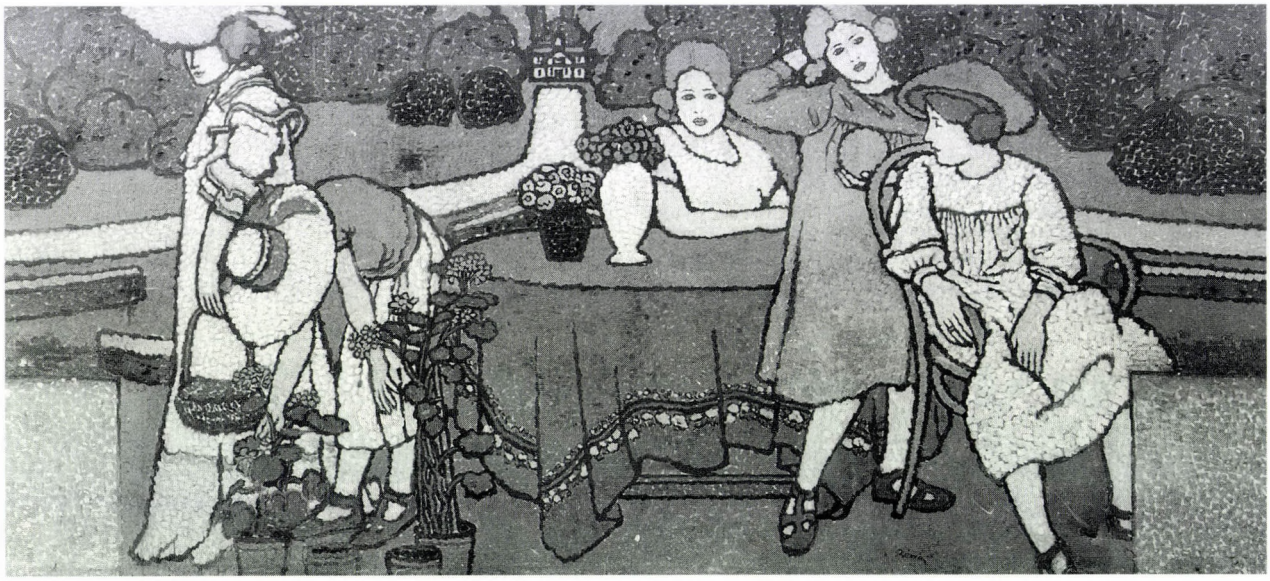

Fig. 19. József Rippl-Rónai: *Mrs Miksa Schiffer with her Daughters*, 1911, Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest



Fig. 20. Béla Iványi Grünwald: *In the Garden*, 1912, Katona József Museum, Kecskemét

classic masterpieces – display an ever freer use of colour parallel with the preservation of the strong outlines. Though he did not achieve the mastery of the *Aristide Maillol* portrait (1899) for quite some time, his late portraits – such as the graceful and decadent picture of the actress Zorka Bányai (*Zorka Bányai in a black dress*, 1919) are late decadent analogies to Maurice Denis's figures. After many a light-handed finger-exercise, as it were, it was again the genre of the portrait in which his most daring work, *Portrait of pianist Riccardo Viñes Roda* (1914) was created echoing the free treatment of colour of the Fauves.

"...were looking forward to the large modern walls..."[50]

Especially fruitful was Rippl-Rónai's contact with the representatives of Hungarian art nouveau architecture, first of all the Vágó brothers.[51] He touched on in his Memoirs the significance of that-time architecture, the revival of all-round artistic endeavours reminiscent of the Renaissance age.

In his murals resembling the frontally represented, static garden scenes of Vuillard and Bonnard made in the 1890s, traditional perspective, the evocation of the open spaces acquire signal importance. The murals were not only made to be decorative but wished to literally lead Nature into the interior. Their comparison with, say, Pierre Bonnard's wall pictures for the dining room of Misia Sert or with Van Rysselberghe's mural in the Hotel Solvay designed by Horta would be the subject of a separate paper.

In his large gardenscape painted for the Schiffer villa designed by József Vágó, Rippl-Rónai actually created an interior in the open. Figures emanating infinite calm – the members of the family – sit or stand around the table laid with a red cloth in the foreground (*Mrs Miksa Schiffer with her daughters*, Fig. 19). There are vases full of flowers on the table, and in the foreground, a little girl is watching pot-flowers. The central part of Béla Iványi Grün-

wald's triptych painted for the Merchants' Casino in Kecskemét (*Snack*) also shows females figures around a table in a landscape (Fig. 20).

Like his contemporaries mixing post-secessionism and avantgarde form-creation, Béla Iványi Grünwald and Károly Kernstok, Rippl-Rónai painted Arcadian pictures. The same applies to his *Park with nudes* (1911–12) – what is more, nearly all of Rippl-Rónai's "maisy" wall paintings appear as if made for murals. Both the compact, planar still-lifes (*Flower still-life*, 1908–10) and the portraits (*Lazarine and Anella*, 1911) are mosaic-like. The stained glass for the window of the Ernst Museum and its design for a wall painting also belong to the Arcadian themes.

Of all the Hungarian painters who went to Paris, Rippl-Rónai was the first to share a common language with the artists of a context with an immensely richer tradition in painting. The Nabis recognized in him a master of kindred endeavours who spoke a unique variant of their fin-de-siècle style composed of heterogeneous elements. In the 1910s, he became one of the leading representatives of the "west-oriented" artistic efforts. Unlike many "prodigal sons" who – like Alfons Mucha in Bohemia and Sándor Nagy in Hungary – became adherents of an ideological painting insisting on traditional national themes, Rippl-Rónai remained loyal to the principles of painting – the practice of synthetism and decorative construction – which had been elaborated in France.

NOTES

[1] Lajos Fülep: Rippl-Rónai József. *A Ház*, 1910/10, 228. Republished: Lajos Fülep: *A művészet forradalmától a nagy forradalomig* [From the revolution of art to the great revolution]. Articles, studies. Ed.: Árpád Tímár. Budapest, 1974, Magvető, 213–4.

[2] Lajos Fülep: *Magyar művészet* [Hungarian Art]. Budapest, 1923, 153.

[3] Catalogue of the latest Rippl exhibition: *Rippl-Rónai József gyűjteményes kiállítása* [Collected works of József Rippl-Rónai]. Hungarian National Gallery March-Sept. 1998; the most recent monograph analyzing the entire Rippl-Rónai oeuvre in detail in an international perspective, Mária Bernáth: *Rippl-Rónai József*, Budapest, 1998

[4] As was brilliantly proven by Éva Bajkay speaking about Rippl-Rónai's lithographs. Éva Bajkay: Rippl-Rónai József a modern magyar litográfia atyja [The father of Hungarian lithography: József Rippl-Rónai] In: *Modern magyar litográfia 1890–1930*, [Modern Hungarian Lithography], Catalogue, Miskolc Gallery, 1998, 45–58.

[5] József Rippl-Rónai: *Emlékezések* [Memoirs]. Budapest, 1911 (A Nyugat); István Csók: *Emlékezéseim* [My memoires]. (Bp. 1945, Officina) Budapest, 1990 (Akadémia Kiadó).

[6] Lajos Fülep: Nemzeti Szalon [National Salon], *A Hét* March 17, 1907. Republished: Lajos Fülep, op. cit. 1974, 191.

[7] Rippl-Rónai: Memoirs, op. cit., 39.

[8] Denise Pewny: *Rippl-Rónai József (1861–1927)*. Budapest, 1940, 33.

[9] György Combosi: *Új magyar rajzművészet. Rippl-Rónaitól a Nyolcakig* [New Hungarian drawing. From Rippl-Rónai to the Eight], Budapest, 1945, 7.

[10] Katalin Gellér: Rippl-Rónai József és a távol-keleti művészet [Rippl-Rónai and the art of the Far East], *Művészet* 1987/11–12, 50–55; Japanizmus a magyar festészetben és grafikában [Japanism in Hungarian painting and drawing], *Ars Hungarica* 1989/2, 179–90.

[11] István Csók, My memoires, op. cit., 93; Mária Bernáth sees the Whistler portrait as an inspiration for Rippl-Rónai's My grandmother. Collected Works of Rippl-Rónai, op. cit. 1988, 244.

[12] Peter Vergo: *Vienna 1900* (catalogue), National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh (1983), 1984, 40.

[13] See: Mária Csernitzky's description of the picture. Collected Works of Rippl-Rónai, op. cit. 1988, 213–5.

[14] Katalin Gellér, Japanism... op. cit., 185.

[15] Description of the picture by Barbara Bryant. In: *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Watts. Symbolism in Britain, 1860–1910*, Tate Gallery, London 1997, 197.

[16] J.-K. Huysmans: *A rebours*, Paris, 1903, Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 16.

[17] Rippl-Rónai mentioned their joint exhibitions. Rippl-Rónai: Memoirs, op. cit., 53.

[18] Rippl-Rónai: Memoirs, op. cit., 53.

[19] More recently, it is dated to 1892, although it is so closely related to the female figure in his embroidery of 1898 that it was often exhibited as its sketch; its first express mention dates from 1895, too. Collected Works of Rippl-Rónai, op. cit. 1998, 234–5.

[20] Fernand Desnoyers's brochure is cited by J.-K. Huysmans, op. cit., 321–2.

[21] J.-K. Huysmans: *L'Art moderne*, Certains. Paris, 1975, Série "Fins de Siècles", Union Générale d'Éditions, 325–6.

[22] J.-K. Huysmans, op. cit., 328; Pale is the most frequently used adjective by Maeterlinck as well. Ursula Perucchi-Petri: Das Werk von Maurice Denis. In: *Maurice Denis*, Catalogue, Tokyo, Kyoto, 1981, no. 1.

[23] It was published in *A Hét* (1891/23) in Fruzsina Szalay's translation. In: *Collected Works of Rippl-Rónai*, op. cit. 1998, 51.

[24] Károly Lyka's article: *Budapesti Napló*, April 15, 1899.

[25] József Rippl-Rónai's letter to his mother. Neuilly, Nov. 24, 1895. In: István Genthon: Rippl-Rónai kiadatlan levelei [Rippl-Rónai's unpublished letters]. *Képzőművészeti Almanach* I. Budapest, 1969, 143.

[26] Christopher Newall: Themes of Love and Death in Aesthetic Paintings of the 1860s. *The Age of Rossetti...* op. cit., 39.

[27] Stéphane Mallarmé: *Oeuvres complètes*. Texte établi et annoté par Henri Mondor et G. Jean-Aubry. Paris, 1945, Librairie Gallimard, 1605–6.

[28] Rippl-Rónai: Memoirs, op. cit., 130.

[29] "Ceux qui n'ont point joui de ces réunions-là peuvent-ils imaginer une parole transfiguratrice à ce point, et à propos de tout sujet, comme ingénument cérébrale, selon le délice de sa voix timbrée, nuancée, sourde un peu, enveloppante et assurée? Elle configurait le visage evident et précis de ce dont soudain nous prenions conscience, de ce que nous sentions naître du plus précieux et du plus inconnu de nous-mêmes et qui se dressait à nous consubtantiel et nécessaire." "Nous

venions, asidus, rue de Rome, dissiper une cécité. Nous nous élevions, ces soirs-là, outre nous-mêmes; nous n'étions plus absents de nous." André Fontainas: *Mes souvenirs du symbolisme*, Bruxelles, 1991, Éditions Labor, 114–5.

[30] André Fontainas, op. cit., 34.

[31] Rippl-Rónai: Memoirs, op. cit., 82.

[32] André Fontainas, op. cit., 28–9.

[33] Katalin Gellér: op. cit., 185.

[34] Stéphane Mallarmé: *Oeuvres complètes*. op. cit., 1336, 1356.

[35] Stéphane Mallarmé: *Oeuvres complètes*, op. cit., 1562.

[36] Stéphane Mallarmé: *Divagations*. Paris, Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1897, 153–231; *Oeuvres complètes*. op. cit., 293–351.

[37] In his *Les fond dans le ballet* Mallarmé mentions a writing by Rodenbach, for instance. Stéphane Mallarmé, *Divagations*, op. cit., 183.

[38] Éva Bajkay's researches suggest that Rippl-Rónai interpreted his illustrations as representations of summer. Éva Bajkay, op. cit., 48.

[39] Éva Bajkay, op. cit., 48.

[40] Stéphane Mallarmé: *Oeuvres complètes*, op. cit., 378.

[41] Cited by Béla Lázár: Látogatás a műteremben Rippl-Rónai Józsefnél [Visiting Rippl-Rónai in the studio], *Modern Művészet* 1906/1, no. 4, 201–2.

[42] Maurice Denis: *Théories 1890–1910. Du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique*, Paris, 1920, 27.

[43] The photo was published in *A Hét*, 1902, no. 15; The Rippl-Rónai drawing was reproduced in *A Ház* 1910/10, 223, see *Collected Works of Rippl-Rónai*, op. cit. 1998, 193; The presumed earlier Duncan portraits are: Female head with red hair (c. 1892), Red-haired woman (prior to 1892), although the latter is identified in the catalogue by György Szűcs as someone else. *Collected Works of Rippl-Rónai*, op. cit. 1998, 225–6.

[44] In her description of the work, Éva Csenkey notes that the tapestry also recalls the *hortus conclusus* representations defined in the medieval iconography of the Virgin. In: *Collected Works of Rippl-Rónai*, op. cit. 1998, 465.

[45] Ágnes Prékopa: József Rippl-Rónai's decorative art. In: *Collected Works of Rippl-Rónai*, op. cit. 1998, 97.

[46] Lajos Kozma: *The Great sonata*, 1908, Museum of Applied Arts (Archives), Budapest.

[47] Rippl-Rónai: Memoirs, op. cit., 128.

[48] Analogies to the "maise"-like brushwork ought to be sought in the softer, more impressionistic texture of the late secessionist painters of Vienna – Wilhelm List, Carl Moll, and not only in the French masters' output.

[49] The decorative undulating line connecting the figures, the planar representation of mass draw the dual portraits close to Felix Vallotton's synthetism. See the Series Intimities (*The incorrigible*, 1898).

[50] Rippl-Rónai: Memoirs, op. cit., 155.

[51] He painted their portraits: the dual portrait of the Vágós is also united by the colour range of the background predominated by vermillion. *Collected works of Rippl-Rónai*, op. cit. 1998, 122–3, 370–1.

IN MEMORIAM
ÉVA KOVÁCS 1932–1998



December 14th 1998 saw the passing away of Éva Kovács, undisputedly one of the greatest art historians Hungary has produced this century. She lived sixty six years, and her life's work, which, whilst not being the most voluminous, was highly significant in the institutions she served. This has become all the more apparent now one is forced to search in vain for a successor. The fact is that one person alone would simply not be able to continue her research and find solutions to the problems she grappled with. In many of her chosen areas it will be some time before a worthy successor emerges here in Hungary. In her passing the *Acta Historiae Artium* has not only lost a regular contributor of long-standing but a previous member (1981–1993) of its editorial board.

Éva Kovács was born in 1932 in Jászárokszállás in the northern part of the historical Jász region on the Great Hungarian Plain. It was there that she went to primary and secondary school before attending the Loránd Eötvös University in Budapest. She studied Art History in the politically troubled years of 1951 to 1956. It was in the departments of classical philology and history, rather than that of art history, that she encountered the prevailing political atmosphere at the university. Éva Kovács was taught by one of the great figures of the inter-war period Professor Tibor Gerevich (1882–1954), the prominent medievalist whose influential personality and professional knowledge made a big impression on a vast majority of the students. Indeed, despite the adverse political situation some excellent academics taught at the department. The topic for Éva Kovács's undergraduate thesis, the remodelling of King Stephen I of Hungary's chasuble into a coronation mantle was given to her by Dezső Dercsényi who had previously been Gerevich's pupil himself. Gerevich and Dercsényi worked together for a considerable length of time on the National Monuments Commission. Éva Kovács's Hungarian art historical writing remained true to the old classical traditions, despite the fact that her formative years were spent in an age which expected something radically different. Her thesis, which appeared in its final form in the *Acta Historiae Artium* in 1958, saw her destined to becoming a medievalist. Indeed, the following

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years saw a flood of articles on medieval topics, primarily concerned with goldsmithswork from the Árpád period as well as other European works. Curiously, however, it was in the Modern Department of the Museum of Fine Arts that she worked from 1955. There she was responsible for the post-1800 collections of European paintings and sculpture. She worked with István Genthon (1903–1969) who, it could be argued, was the academic who had the greatest influence on her. It was he she referred to as her master, and whose memory she was anxious to foster until the very end. She finalized the text of the article (G. I.: "Monumenti artistici ungheresi all'estero" *Acta Historiae Artium* 16 [1970] 5–36) published from material taken from Genthon's massive collection, namely his (unfinished) corpus on Hungarian artistic monuments abroad. Genthon, who was also Gerevich's pupil, himself started out as a researcher engrossed in the study of medieval art, but essentially he was a man who understood everything and knew everything. His dazzling knowledge of literature and history remains legendary decades after his death. Together they organized several major survey exhibitions from works taken from the museum's collections (1956: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Foreign Masters; 1962: Munkácsy's Foreign Contemporaries; 1965: French Painters from Delacroix to Picasso), and a visiting exhibition containing a selection of modern pictures from the Dresden Picture Gallery (Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Masters at the Dresden Picture Gallery, 1961). The distance separating such art works from Éva Kovács's medieval research interests show her to have had an unusually wide range of interests. The work of Kokoschka entranced her to the same degree as a quality piece of medieval or secession goldsmithswork. She had an instinctive feeling for quality. Those who met her, however briefly, became quite aware that Éva Kovács was totally at home with art in its entirety; it was probably for this reason that she was no ordinary medievalist.

In 1970, after 15 years of service at the museum Éva Kovács joined the then recently (1969) formed Art Historical Research Group which became part of the network of research institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Here, giving up, or at least pushing her interests in modern art into the background, she devoted her whole time to medieval research. The fact that she was able to do so much work in the two decades from her joining until her retirement was due partly to the work she had done previously and the research she did irrespective of the opportunities offered by the Institute. Her pigeon hole was always full of notes and dozens of half solved, or totally insoluble, problems. Éva Kovács arrived at the research institute a mature researcher who was already aware of the challenges which lay ahead and the nature of the academic problems she herself would have to confront. Her first official task was the preparation, as co-editor with Dezső Dercsényi, of the first volume, on the Romanesque period, of a planned, but sadly never completed, eight volume synthesis of the History of Art in Hungary. As ex officio for the period up to 1300 she had to deal with artistic problems relating to the period, in whatever area, she had to work together with other Hungarian researchers as well as write the volume. This was not really her kind of work, indeed she greeted the project in question with great scepticism, forever emphasizing the primary importance of basic research over general surveys. Nevertheless, it was work from which she was able to benefit. Indeed, she took part in the Institute's other scholarly programmes; of particular importance were her writings which appeared in the catalogues for the 1982 Louis the Great, and the 1987 Sigismund exhibitions. These years also witnessed her own academic progress: in 1973 she wrote her M.A. thesis on the top half of the Esztergom Calvary of King Matthias Corvinus, and in 1993 she defended her academic doctorate in which she analysed the mechanisms of Valois court luxury, displaying a bewildering command of the material. It has to be added that both works, which are still only available in their original hand-written form, amount to resumés of her extensive, ongoing research work. Whilst her doctorate allowed her to put her research down in a condensed form, from the point of view of academic appraisal the final product looked rather ad hoc. Éva Kovács was never particularly interested in academic titles. The academic research process, which she ultimately compared to sieving sand, was what she always considered to be of ultimate importance, and of more im-

portance than any intended aim. When a selection of her articles was published, it was clear that the forty pieces, previously to be found scattered amongst journals, exhibition catalogues, studies, represented an unusually rich academic career. She would dearly have loved to have completed more, and her forward to the volume betrays her feelings of sadness and resignation, despite the fact that the book as it stands is absolutely captivating. The sadness now is ours, irrevocably. We can no longer tell her of the awe in which we hold her work because Éva Kovács died suddenly just a few days before the official publication of her marvellous book.

Although the impetous behind her studies, and the choice of the objects she researched, were undisputedly the result of Hungarian academic practice, one should not forget the foreign scholar she was in constant contact with. If one were to name but three, one should start with Marie-Madelaine Gauthier, who also died recently, with whom Éva Kovács had a long-standing professional relationship and a close friendship going back decades, Danielle Gaborit-Chopin her "partner" at the Louvre, and Percy Ernst Schramm, his generation's expert on the history of insignia. She met all of the above at the beginning of the 1960s at a summer medieval course in Poitiers. By that time it was already clear that Éva Kovács's interests were going to concentrate on an area which was already being vigorously debated within international circles. To be able to operate within her field it was essential that her books and articles appeared in foreign languages, indeed almost to the detriment of her work in Hungarian. The *Acta Historiae Artium* gave her publishing space on many occasions. Thus, it was only with the publication of her postumous collection that many of her articles first became available in Hungarian. This point is worth mentioning because those unable to read Hungarian will not be able to appreciate that in her native tongue Éva Kovács wrote in a clearly expressed academic prose style which was not indeed without literary pretensions.

Throughout her life Éva Kovács's work was motivated by two very important collections of treasures: one the Hungarian Crown Jewels the other belonging to the Treasury in Esztergom, or to be more precise the medieval objects therein. They were two potential *catalogue raisonné*, which, with the passing of time, became more and more intertwined. The analysis of the history of the coronation insignia led on to an investigation of the all the treasuries belonging to the rulers of Hungary, and ultimately to a complete catalogue of medieval royal monuments, or at any rate up those up to the middle of the fifteenth century, of which the analysis of artistic representation within the courtly circles of Hungarian rulers was an inseparable part; her investigations into the Calvary of King Matthias Corvinus in the Esztergom Treasury led in the same direction, namely to the unravelling of the history of the gothic ronde-bosse enamel through to the mechanisms of luxury in the courts of France and Burgundy. Whilst relying on stylistic criticism, the analysis of primary written sources, the study of iconography and the classical art historical tools necessary to study iconography Éva Kovács became more and more drawn towards the study of the history of insignia, particularly when her analyses became more concerned with the history of insignia rather than the concrete material artistic richness of the objects themselves. The chronological extent of her research stretched from the Carolingian period through to the middle of the fifteenth century. It is typical that it was neither the object's *all'antica* significance as a new Calvary made for King Matthias nor the fact that is was the "great jewel" of the court of King Matthias, neither its representational features nor the fact that the Calvary had been passed down through the centuries as a relic of King Matthias that captured Éva Kovács's imagination, rather she saw it merely as one particular masterpiece of French goldsmithswork which happened to have been Philip the Bold's new year's present to Margaret of Flanders. But would not it have been marvellous if she had, just once, lent her own unique perspective to Hungarian court art at the end of the fifteenth century! That it may indeed have happened will unfortunately have to remain a *casus irrealis*. The fact that she was able to follow two very different strands of thought at one and the same time can clearly be seen in the progression her published work took: at any one time one could find her publishing her conclusions on objects from very different ages and varying geographical regions. The arti-

cles interweave and interact, revolving around certain objects and masterpieces which are forever being drawn back to our attention.

The first perpetually reemerging topic was the Hungarian crown jewels, and the coronation mantle in particular. When she started researching the crown jewels when writing her undergraduate dissertation, that physical manifestation of the Kingdom of Hungary was still in the United States of America locked away from the eyes of the world. In Hungary the crown jewels were a tabu subject, so, it was a unique moment when, in her capacity as a researcher, she was invited to take part in the authentication of the crown jewels (together with Joachim Szvetnik, the legendary restorer of goldsmithswork) at Fort Knox in the winter of 1977–78, and to accompany the treasures home. Following this she took on the role of a kind of guardian of the crown, and within the art historical community it was her name which became most indelibly associated with the crown jewels. She was finally able to examine them in great detail and it was to her that people looked to when attempting to solve the crown jewels' mountain of unsolved problems. It was the mantle which interested her most; she took part in the restoration of the massive and much damaged object, working together with the restorers in her capacity as expert. It is perhaps significant that one of the last articles she wrote just happened to be about the mantle (1993, *Ars Decorativa*). In the forward of the posthumous publication one can read the Casula article, which Éva Kovács wrote in 1958. Its inclusion, as an example of her earlier work, allows a comparison with the 1993 article which displays an entirely different way of interpreting the iconographical programme. It appears that not only the text, the original inscriptions of the bell chasuble, was sufficient to allow a full explanation of the representational structure as one also needed to take into account the effect of a specific pictorial tradition as well. She also dealt with the *corona latina* as well, and to an even greater extent the consequent significance of the Hungarian crown and the regalia, being at pains to take to task the purveyers of the sub-academic folklore literature which has grown up around the Hungarian crown in Hungary in recent decades.

Apart from those produced during the Árpád period the other major pieces of goldsmithswork she researched in great detail were artistic representations produced in the courts of the Angevin monarchs, particularly those of King Louis the Great. Over a number of years she worked tirelessly recording and researching applied art objects scattered over a wide area, from marvellous collections like those at the treasury in Aachen to the smallest of fragments, like for example the groups of precious stones on the cross of the Krakow crown, which she identified as coming from an Angevin devotional picture which until then had only been known from written sources. For the period covering the reign of King Sigismund she was most interested in the Order of the Dragon, comments about which she wrote in the catalogue for the Art of the Age of King Sigismund exhibition. This inevitably linked up with that interest which she held so dear, namely, the history of symbolism within European artistic culture in general, irrespective of whether the objects themselves were "Hungarian" or "non-Hungarian".

The topic which constantly reappears in her work was French medieval goldsmithswork and embroidery. From her beginnings, studying the Calvary of King Matthias Corvinus at the Esztergom Archdiocesan Treasury, Éva Kovács ended up researching artistic representation in the Valois courts, certain particular works leading her towards the history of medieval orders. The source material which she accumulated, evaluated and reevaluated was absolutely vast, indeed it was ultimately breathtaking: Éva Kovács dealt mainly with the most well-known masterpieces in the field of the gothic applied arts – the Calvary of King Matthias Corvinus rightly belonging to this catagory. She was totally at home with the history of French *ronde-bosse* enameling, which was clearly apparent to those who attended her 1980 lecture at the round table conference on the history of gothic enamels held at the British Museum in London. In this work she analysed the written sources with supreme confidence, relating her data to the major works still in existence. She rewrote the whole history of the *ronde-bosse* enameling stating that the golden age of the technique can be dated to around 1400. The datings previous to this had been based on purely formal analyses and the objects in question were consequently redated

and reordered chronologically. She also studied the role which this representative medium played in the court of Sigismund, King of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor, in Buda. Apart from goldsmithswork she also studied medieval embroidery produced for the Valois courts, particularly the career of Étienne le Bièvre, who also happened to have been of Hungarian descent. With a dazzling attention to detail she brought to life the work of this particular master whose life's work is preserved only in written documents. Finally she sensed that perhaps the most beautiful late medieval embroidery in existence was the vestment of the Order of the Golden Fleece currently in Vienna, a work closely related to the work of Étienne le Bièvre. So once again we have reached the point from which nearly all Éva Kovács's works set out, the philological interpretation of written sources and their relationship to the works still in existence. Her stylistic interpretation included an understanding of the technical questions and the detailed discussions which went on with the court artists, as well as an understanding of the attitudes of those outside the artistic community whose demands were dictated by the religious orders or the prevailing political climate. Éva Kovács's science was that of the complex *haute école*, which, while never dismissing the object's central importance, took the object in question to new levels of meaning.

This homogeneity, this all-seeing, all-surveying eye is also apparent in her writings on the Valois courts, which unfortunately are only available in their Hungarian written form. Their publication is of great urgency to the Hungarian academic community, for it would not only pass on a valuable tool to the hands of those currently engaged in research, but also add to the prestige of Hungarian academic research. For the sake of being dramatic one could say that the recently published comprehensive monograph was Éva Kovács's masterpiece, but it is closer to the truth to say that she wrote several masterpieces. Even if a number of these are still to see the light of day she has still left her readers with those dazzling insights which occasionally jump out from her work. The collection of essays which was published shortly after her death deserves to come out in a foreign language version, and the publication of the dissertation she wrote on the Calvary of King Matthias Corvinus in 1977 is long overdue. So much needs to be done. However, the most difficult task which lies ahead is to continue Éva Kovács's research work. This is a demanding, thrilling yet seemingly hopeless task.

Árpád Mikó

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RECENSIONES

MICHAEL CAMILLE: MASTER OF DEATH. THE LIFELESS ART OF PIERRE REMIET ILLUMINATOR (Yale University Press 1996, 286 pages, 192 plates)

Michael Camille introduces the reader into the work of an artist of remarkable quality, who has been unacknowledged so far; by choosing more than thirty manuscripts from the striking wealth of manuscript paiting in Paris in the 14th–15th century. Paris was a centre of art which had a decisive effect on contenmporary European court art both in respect of style and iconography. Although Pierre Remiet's name is not unknown to researches (cf. Paolo d'Ancona, Erhard Aeschlimann: *Dictionnaire des miniaturistes du moyen âge et de la renaissance dans les differentes contrées de l'Europe*, Milan, 1949), it does not feature either in Millard Meiss' fundamental summary of the French painting in the period (*French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*. I–III. London, 1967–1974) or in Charles Sterling's more recent work discussing the manuscript painting in Paris in a longer period (*La peinture médiévale à Paris 1300–1500*. I–II. Paris, 1987, 1990). Out of the manuscripts whose ornamentation Camille attributes to Pierre Remiet in part or in full, Meiss mentions eleven, and when touching on questions of style, he attributes the relevant illustrations mainly to the Master of the Boqueteaux (Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy) and his workshop as his late works.

Pierre Remiet's name has not been preserved by his signature on one of his works, which cold not be identified on the basis of the sources which mention him. There is one remark – "*Remiet ne faites rien cy car je y feray une figure qui y doit estre*" – beside a space left empty to paint an illustration on fol. 18v of a manuscript (ms. fr. 823) in *Bibliothèque Nationale* containing *Pèlerinages de vie humaine, Pèlerinage de Jesus-Christ, and Pèlerinage de l'âme* by Guillaume de Deguileville made in 1393 which makes it possible to identify him as the illuminator of the first 12 gatherings. We learn from Camille's note 3 on p. 259 that researches give different interpretation to this line, which instructs the painter is interpreted diversely in research literature. Henry Martin thought that the remark was written by an assistant to his master, but François Avril, and H. Toubert in his wake, held the opposite view: i.e. the instruction was addressed to an assistant. In agreement with Paul Durrieu's opinion Camille attributes the remark to the scribe, Oudin de Cavarnay. While these views do not question the identification of Pierre Remiet with the painter of the gatherings of the manuscript mentioned above, a marginal note on fol. 8v of the codex in the British Library entitled *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (Ms. Royal 20 D.i.) – "*Ci faut le secont cayer que maistre Renaut doit avoir, qui fu baillié à Perrin Remiet pour faire l'enlumineure de l'autre cayer*" – poses several problems. This volume of Orosius's work was made in the Neapolitan court around 1340, so, naturally one finds no illustrations by master Remiet in it. What startles the researcher is that no illustrations by Remiet are found in the copy of Orosius's work made in Paris and contained in a codex (Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale* ms. fr. 301), purchased together with the Neapolitan manuscript by Jean, Duc de Berry in 1402. The illumination of a great part of the Paris manuscript is the work of the Orosius Master named after this very work and of another painter assisting the master who is identified by Camille aas Pierre Remiet in the Deguileville manuscript. Avril identifies the assistant with Remiet (Camille p. 261, n. 44). Camille is of the opinion, however, that Remiet might have given the second gathering of the Neapolitan manuscript – as mediator – to another painter, or maybe he contributed to another, now lost copy of the Neapolitan codex. Considering that the 14th century work has another copy apart from the Paris mnuscript (London, British Museum Stowe 54), and in view primarily of the weight of the conclusion inferred from the remark in the Deguileville manuscript, his argumentation appears convincing.

Pierre Remiet's work can be dated one the basis of the codex illustrations stylistically connected to the Deguileville manuscript between the 1370s and the 1410s. His earliest work which can be dated, the portrait of Nicole Oresme, is in a translation of Aristotle and Pseduo-Aristotle made for Charles V in 1375 (Paris, private collection). The rest of the decoration of this manuscript was made by Remiet's master (the above-mentioned Master of Boqueteaux), the Master of the Coronation of Charles V and the Master of the Livre du Sacre. Remiet's last illuminations can be found in a two-volume *Bible historiale* of around 1415 (Brussels, *Bibliothèque Royale* ms. 9001–9002). In the latter, Remiet – working together with younger and more fashionable painters such as the Master of Berry's Clères Femmes and the Master of the Cité des Dames – was assigned mainly some marginal figures. In his long career, he worked together, with other noted illuminators including the Master of Luçon, Pseudo-Jacquemart and the Virgil Master. The persons who commissioned and later owned his works included members of the royal family and their court, the renowed book collectors of the age: Louis d'Orléans, Jean de Berry, Philippe le Bon, Jeanne de Navarre, Philippe le Hardi, Nicolas Rolin; most of his works include easily dated manuscripts of French poems by contemporary authors, and works by ancient and Christian writers translated into the French vernacular.

The exploration and arrangement of Pierre Remiet's oeuvre and the relevant sources, valuable as they are, create only the background to Camille's book, but they are not its ultimate goal. The author undertakes far more than that: the meticulous, differentiated and well-structured presentation of the conception of death in Paris in the late Middle Ages, and specifically in the late 14th and early 15th century through Remiet's work, and conversely, through the colourful and lively description of the culture of the age, he aims to explore Remiet's world. Of course the reader may ask to what extent Remiet's death depictions represent his whole oeuvre and the period's general conceptions of death. But however paradoxically it may sound to us, it is a fact, that death became a fundamentally important element of life in the Middle Ages, especially towards the end of that period; as a result of looking at life on earth as a transitional form of existence, and at death as a moment of personal reckoning and entry into eternal life, which could be joyous or tormenting.

Camille's book consists of a short preface, an introduction and six chapters. As the author self-reflexively notes in

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the Introduction, his current theme is more specific compared to his earlier interests (*The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* – 1989, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* – 1992). To put it more precisely, having changed the point of view, he approaches the overriding questions of medieval society and art from details, in a more strictly limited framework. In the introduction, Camille expounds his views on the importance of being personal and subjective in historiography and historical interpretation; he wants to give the reader the opportunity of experience. The first chapter deals with the name of Master Remiet, the sources referring to him, his studies and the reconstruction of the circumstances of his work. The remaining five chapters (2–6) explore the views of death classified in a system and based on the works of Remiet. The titles of chapters two to six are as follows: The Birth of Death, The Life of Death, The Face of Death, The Body of Death, and The Death of Death. In The Birth of Death, Camille discusses the views on the genesis of death from the original sin of the first pair of men, especially of Eve, connecting death born of a women and hence assuming a feminine character to the mystery of birth and partly to sexuality. The Life of Death describes representations by Remiet of mainly violent deaths known in French, pagan and Hebrew-Christian tradition on the basis of *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Livy's *Histoire romaine*, Aristotles *Politiques*, as well as Guyart Desmoulins' *Bible historiale*. (The copies of *Grandes Chroniques de France* to which Pierre Remiet, among others, also contributed are: London, British Library Add. MS 21143, Lyon, *Bibliothèque Municipale* ms. 880, Paris, *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* ms. 5223, Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale* ms. fr. 2813. Livy's relevant volumes are: *Bibliothèque de Bordeaux* ms.730, Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale* ms. fr. 268, and mss. fr. 269–272. Artistotle manuscripts include: Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale* ms. fr. 9106, and a codex in a private collection in Paris. Desmoulins: Brussels, *Bibliothèque Royale* mss. 9001–9002, Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale* ms. fr. 158, Soissons, *Bibliothèque Municipale* mss. 210–212.) In The Face of Death Camille explicates the views on the theologically elusive concept of the moment of death, the difficulty of its artistic representation, its depictions in female form, and some ideas about old age, illness and preparations for death. The Chapter entitled "The Body of Death" discusses out the fears elicited by the awareness of the nakedness and rotting of the body after death, and embarks on bizarre beliefs and customs aimed to prevent post-mortem decomposition. The author states that Remiet's drawing – perhaps executed by an assistant – on fol. 15r of *Lay de la fragilité humaine*, a manuscript in Paris's *Bibliothèque Nationale* (ms. fr. 20029) showing a naked dead body lying on his sarcophagus was created ten years before the first known example of the iconographically identical French *transi* sepulchres (tomb of Guillaume de Harcigny in Laon †1393). In the Middle Ages, when matter was only conceived as some sort of manifestation of the spirit, the basis of the *memento mori* representations of the body – and even of the attempts to conserve the body or parts of it were ideas that pointed beyond the physical reality of the body and carried some symbolical meaning. (Connected views, the conception of the king's body as a corporation, the representative of the whole of secular society, are demonstrated by Camille apropos a manuscript in the Morgan Library: The King's New Bodies: An Illustrated Mirror for Princes in the Morgan Libray. In: *Künstlerischer Austausch*. Artistic Exchange. *Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*. Berlin 15–20. July, 1992. Hrsg.: Thomas W. Gaehtgens. Bd. II. 393–405.) The chapter "The Death of Death" is about the parting of body and soul, the purgatory, the eternal life gained with resurrection or the eternal death as penalty, as well as Christ's dying on the cross as the triumph over death. Thus, chapters 2–6 outline the fate of death personified as a living being, from its birth owing to the original sin of the first pair of men to its defeat by redemption.

The book is complemented by a catalogue of manuscripts illuminated by Remiet with bibliographical data, mostly noting other painters working on the mentioned codices as well, without, however, always giving the numbers of the decorated folios; by a short bibliography of the frequently quoted references; by 465 notes often adding substantial information to the main text; by a complex index of names, subjects and codices, as well as 192 quality photos mainly reproducing Remiet's works.

As this brief review has shown, Camille's work is not in the line of traditional monographs of individual artists. In the wake of J. Huizinga and the *Annales* school, the author's ambition is to show the artist he is interested in and his cultural historical setting in a complex way, in rich details and at the same time producing a colourful reading. In view of this complexity, it is understandable that a more minutely detailed analysis of Pierre Remiet's style and intriguing compositions is somewhat pushed to the background – for example, no mention is made of M. Meiss' statement that the Flight into Egypt on fol. 191v in the Deguileville manuscript of Paris that has preserved Remiet's name for posterity is the first example of a somewhat later important compositional-iconographical type that shows Mary on the donkey with her back turned to the viewer. Nor are Remiet's stylistic sources and changes presented in detail or his works arranged precisely among the contemporary crop. However, the elaboration of these questions in case of a practically unknown master cannot be substituted for by the mentioned manuscript catalogue in the Appendix. As seen from this brief summary Camille's book displays a certain duality of genre – or is rather an attempt at a new genre. (Camille's reviewer in the Art Bulletin, Larry Silver also noted this peculiarity – *The Art Bulletin*, June 1998, 378–380 – but he claims that despite Camille's intention, the work is still basically a monograph.) Camille tries to present Pierre Remiet's art within the contemporary cultural setting and to interpret his works for today's readers, instead of relying on the customary tools of artist monographs focusing on stylistic criticism in the first place. In connection with this, his aim is rather to outline a picture that the available historical material allows, than to provide data to help the reader reconstruct history. The demotion in significance of the style critical examination in favour of other methods is typical of our age. Behind this, there lies a natural change of interest in the scholarship at every age, but it also seems that the new and more plausible results achieved by recent methods of art history narrow down the applicability of older methods. Recent studies, which lay greater emphasis on the context of the creation of particular pieces of art, such as the role of the patron's taste, technical possibilities, or different prefigurations in forming style, have changed our understanding of stylistic changes in the work of artists, and they have changed the reliability of dating on the basis of style analysis. Michael Camille's brilliant work can be used and enjoyed by both art historians or historians, who are interested in manuscript painting in late medieval Paris or in the art, culture and intellectual climate of the age. At the same time it isan exciting document of the current stage of transformation that art history is undergoing.

Anna Boreczky

UNO *SCRIBA* AL SERVIZIO DELL'IMPERATORE E IL SUO TRATTATO DI ARCHITETTURA

VITRUVIO, *De architectura*, A cura di Pierre Gros, Traduzione e commento di Antonio Corso e Elisa Romano, I–II. Giulio Einaudi editore, Torino, «I Millenni», 1997. pp. 1563

«Cum vero attenderem te» – scrive Vitruvio all'*Imperator* Augusto (che viene nominato in questo modo a partire dal V libro del trattato) – *«non solum de vita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei constitutione habere sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum, ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta, verum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates, non putavi praetermittendum quin primo quoque tempore de his rebus ea tibi ederem, ideo quod primum parenti tuo de eo fueram notus et eius virtutis studiosus. Cum autem concilium caelestium in sedibus inmortalitatis eum dedicavisset et imperium parentis in tuam potestatem transtulisset, idem studium meum in eius memoria permanens in te contulit favorem. Itaque (...) ad apparationem ballistarum et scorpionum reliquorumque tormentorum refectionem fui praesto et cum eis commoda accepi.»* (1, *praef.*, 2.) È la dedica all'imperatore di un architetto che presenta il proprio trattato in compenso per il *„favor"* goduto da parte del sovrano. Questo architetto non è un „libero professionista" secondo i termini moderni, ma piuttosto un impiegato di stato che dipende dal rispettivo magistrato. L'architetto, all'epoca di Vitruvio, appartiene agli *„scribae"* o *„apparitores"*, che provengono dalla classe media della società romana e fanno carriera in base ai loro rapporti con i politici. Possono essere considerati come esperti dei propri settori e, avendo ricevuto una buona educazione, non è sorprendente che alla fine di una tale carriera professionale siano capaci di compilare un trattato di carattere generalmente tecnico.

La nuova edizione italiana del *De architectura*, che dopo quelle del Marini (1830) e del Ferri (1960) è un'impresa veramente magistrale e completa, contiene non soltanto una nuova lettura e versione italiana del testo classico, ma propone anche una nuova interpretazione della figura di Vitruvio nonché del suo trattato. Pierre Gros, il curatore dell'edizione, nel suo saggio introduttivo[1] interpreta il *De architectura* come «prolungamento e ampliamento dell'*officium*» di uno *scriba* (o di un *apparitor*), che era al servizio dello stato (e cioè dell'imperatore). Il curatore ricostruisce la carriera professionale dell'architetto romano come «un'attività avviata sotto Cesare, che prosegue durante il secondo triumvirato al servizio di Ottaviano, per approdare a un ritiro senza dubbio raggiunto durante i primi anni del principato.» (*Intr.*, XVII)[2].

Questo servizio è primieramente militare («fornitura e riparazione di balliste, scorpioni e altre macchine da getto»; 1, *praef.*, 2.) ma – come dimostra l'esempio della basilica di Fano nel caso di Vitruvio – gli *apparitores*, dopo il servizio militare, potevano lavorare anche in costruzioni pubbliche. Analogamente all'attività pratica, anche la teoria architettonica viene determinata dall'idea di servizio. Secondo il Gros (*Intr.*, XIX) la concezione centrale del trattato[3] è appunto la volontà di servire le decisioni dei magistrati, che sono responsabili delle costruzioni architettoniche. Per questo si riconosce il carattere pratico dell'opera, anche se Vitruvio parla spesso di *doctrina* e di *scientia*, rivendicando la precedenza di una teoria che significa la conoscenza dei concetti indispensabili alla pratica di un'arte. L'originalità del *De architectura* sta nel fatto – conclude il Gros – che Vitruvio cerca di creare una tipologia «capace di fornire, a coloro che dirigono i lavori edilizi, un quadro normativo che soddisfi tutta la casistica». (*Intr.*, XXVI)

Dopo questa analisi «sociologica» del trattato vitruviano e dello *status* dell'autore, il Gros affronta i problemi tradizionali dell'interpretazione, come la cronologia, l'ambiente culturale, la terminologia, le fonti, le illustrazioni grafiche e gli altri. Grazie alle recenti ricerche e ai simposi[4], nonché alla collana delle edizioni dei singoli libri del *De architectura* curate dagli studiosi francesi[5], l'autore può dare nuove risposte a tali domande.

Nella questione della cronologia della composizione del trattato il Gros può ricostruire di sicuro solo un periodo preparatorio del lavoro, che risale all'epoca ancora repubblicana. In questo periodo Vitruvio viene considerato ancora come un architetto-ingegnere dell'età ellenistica. È molto più incerta invece la fase della redazione, sia dal punto di vista compositionale che da quello cronologico. Il Gros tende a supporre che Vitruvio abbia originariamente concepito un'opera che trattava soltanto degli edifici pubblici e privati e solo in una fase posteriore egli completasse il trattato. Quanto alla datazione, un rigoroso esame del testo permette di considerare una compilazione sommaria dell'opera alla fine del secondo triumvirato e all'inizio del principato, non escludendo un aggiornamento posteriore del trattato (alcune prefazioni sarebbero state scritte più tardi). In questo modo il *De architectura* sarebbe un documento dell'epoca che precedeva il periodo dei grandi lavori pubblici di architettura commissionati dal *princeps* ai quali Vitruvio già non prese parte. (*Intr.*, XXXI–XXXII)

Vitruvio dunque non è il cronista dell'era nuova del principato, piuttosto egli va considerato come un rappresentante della crisi della repubblica. In questa stagione di transizione, l'attività degli uomini di cultura viene motivata dalla necessità di «raccogliere la materia dispersa». Nella volontà di sintetizzare le norme, di creare sistemi unificati, il Gros trova profonde analogie tra il *De architectura* (4, *praef.*, 1), il *De oratore* (1, 187 sgg) di Cicerone e il *De re rustica* (1, 1,7 e 3,2,13) di Varrone (*Intr.*, XXXIV). Anche se in varie dimensioni, sia Cicerone che Vitruvio si trovano di fronte al problema di come parlare in latino delle cose di cui finora si parlava solo in greco. È questa la causa delle sue inesattezze ed oscurità, che saranno così fortemente criticate dai posteri (ad esempio da Leon Battista Alberti). Talvolta invece trova fortunate soluzioni, quando la versione latina è capace di sostituire l'originale greca: è il caso del latino *commodulatio*, che riproduce il greco *symmetría*, in base all'analoga struttura dei due termini[6].

Per quanto riguarda ormai la novità dell'opera vitruviana essa consiste piuttosto nella metodologia che nel contenuto. L'intenzione dell'autore è sintetizzare e ordinare *(corpus e perfecta ordinatio)*. Ma – come constata giustamente il Gros – la realizzazione non corrisponde perfettamente a tale progetto. I concetti e le definizioni non sono validi nell'intero corso del trattato e non funzionano come ordinatori adatti a realizzare un programma coerente. Per questo il Gros considera Vitruvio piuttosto un *raccoglitore* che un *ordinatore* (*Intr.*, XLV). I proemi presentano un problema particolare, in quanto essi interrompono di tempo in tempo sia la logica che la forma del trattato. Il Gros comunque li considera come parti organiche dell'opera. In ultima analisi, la mancanza di una struttura logica del trattato non diminuisce il valore informativo, che consiste appunto nella molteplicità degli argomenti. L'opera è indispensabile proprio per il suo carattere enciclopedico.

Nel costruire il suo *corpus*, Vitruvio segue le norme della *diaírésis* aristotelica, ma tra il termine *genus* e *species* (anziché *pars*) non stabilisce un rapporto chiaro e costante. L'unico termine fisso, «invariante specifico» (espressione del Gros) nel trattato è la *symmetría*, di cui Vitruvio offre un equivalente latino con la *commodulatio*. Studiando questo termine fonda-

mentale del trattato vitruviano, il Gros lo esamina in rapporto all'*eurythmia* che viene usato in relazione alla *symmetría*. Egli constata che l'*eurythmia* «non è un concetto autonomo», in quanto «indica soltanto il risultato visibile della *symmetría*, e come tale, viene considerata come inglobata in essa. (*Intr.*, LIV) È da notare però che esiste un terzo termine, la *proportio*, che è pure in relazione alla *symmetría* e, secondo la definizione (3,1,1), gerarchicamente dipende da essa. In greco si chiama *analoghía*, di cui la *proportio* sembra essere la traduzione. «*Aedium compositio constat ex symmetria, cuius rationem diligentissime architecti tenere debent. Ea autem paritur a proportione, quae graece αναλογια dicitur. Proportio est ratae partis membrorum in omni opere totoque commodulatio, ex qua ratio efficitur symmetriarum.*»[7] Come si vede, la *proportio*, similmente alla *symmetría*, viene tradotta in *commodulatio*, che rende più confusa la relazione tra i termini. Il problema di tale relazione sembra essere connesso a quello posto dal Gros, cioè come mai l'astratto sistema dei rapporti proporzionali possa essere considerato come la fonte esclusiva della *venustas* (bellezza). Riprendendo la proposta di Panofsky[8], che pure riconosce il carattere astratto della *symmetría* definendola come principio estetico, la *proportio* sarebbe la realizzazione in pratica di architettura di tale norma estetica. La proporzione servirebbe dunque a tradurre in rapporti matematici l'astratta norma dell'armonia, che esiste sostanzialmente nella natura. In questa concezione l'*eurythmia* viene considerata la tecnica e l'effetto delle cosidette «correzioni ottiche», adoperate dai Greci per evitare le illusioni ottiche dello spettatore.

È un tema abbastanza frequente negli studi vitruviani il problema delle illustrazioni grafiche nel trattato. Nel testo del *De architectura* si trovano circa dieci allusioni ai disegni illustrativi, che invece non sono sopravvissuti; i manoscritti più remoti non contengono alcun materiale grafico (nel MS Harleianus 2767 di Londra ad es. c'è solo un disegno rappresentante una rosa dei venti, ecc.). Per il Gros il problema non sta tanto nell'esistenza o nella mancanza dei disegni nella versione originale del trattato, quanto piuttosto nel motivo della modesta importanza della rappresentazione grafica per un architetto come Vitruvio. Basandosi su un *locus* del trattato (4,8,7), il Gros interpreta la relativa scarsa quantità delle illustrazioni come sintomo di un'indiscutibile ambizione intellettualistica dell'autore. Questo significa che, mettendo l'accento sull'espressione verbale e non sulla rappresentazione grafica, Vitruvio cerca di trasformare la prassi architettonica in un'arte liberale. Proprio per questo – conclude il Gros (*Intr.*, LXII) – ogni disegno può essere la confessione di debolezza, cioè può dimostrare l'incapacità dell'autore di esprimersi correttamente in scrittura.

È un altro tema largamente discusso dagli studiosi quello delle fonti citate nell'opera vitruviana. La critica ha già da tempo constatato che la conoscenza degli autori elencati da Vitruvio stesso (7. *praef.*) non era attendibile e si è formata una generale perplessità quanto alla profondità delle sue conoscenze. Il Gros, pur riconoscendo che Vitruvio molte volte non comprende bene le sue fonti o le interpreta in modo inesatto, cerca di respingere la globale accusa di superficialità contro l'autore antico. In base ad una dettagliata ricostruzione delle singole fonti e della tecnica di utilizzazione da parte di Vitruvio, egli ritiene opportuno dichiarare che l'autore classico aveva una cultura più vasta di quella che finora gli era convenzionalmente riconosciuta. Nel corso di questa suddetta ricostruzione delle fonti vengono esaminate prima quelle greche poi quelle latine.

Tra le prime è indiscussa l'importanza di *auctores* come Ermogene, Aristosseno di Taranto, Ctesibio (citati esplicitamente) e molti altri (non nominati), mentre tra le altre, cioè tra gli scrittori latini, risultano conosciuti Varrone *(Disciplinarum libri)* e Lucrezio *(De rerum natura)*. Rimane così indiscusso l'eclettismo di Vitruvio, e non solo per quanto riguarda le fonti da lui usate, ma anche quanto alle diverse discipline trattate. In quest'ultimo campo si dimostra ben informato per esempio nelle questioni della matematica, della geometria e dell'astronomia, mentre in alcune discipline (nei problemi del clima, ecc.) risulta un incolto trasmettitore delle informazioni prese dalle fonti. Alla questione, da dove Vitruvio potè prendere i suoi così molteplici insegnamenti, il Gros risponde elencando i suoi diversi maestri, i *maiores*, gli *antiqui* e i *praeceptores*, di cui gli ultimi non sono identificabili, dato il carattere orale del loro insegnamento (*Intr.*, LXIX sgg). Infine il Gros non trascura le conoscenze provenienti dalle esperienze della lunga carriera professionale dell'autore, soprattutto nel campo dell'idraulica e delle macchine da getto.

Le esperienze di Vitruvio, acquisite in diversi siti da lui menzionati (Alicarnasso, Atene), e l'esattezza delle descrizioni permettono di supporre la sua presenza personale in questi luoghi. La predominanza dell'elemento orientale in queste esperienze e l'influsso determinante di Ermogene (almeno nel campo dell'architettura dei templi) presenta il problema del rapporto tra l'architettura orientale e quella italica nel pensiero vitruviano. Il Gros – condividendo il parere di altri studiosi – ritiene che Vitruvio ebbe l'intenzione di elevare l'architettura d'Italia al livello di quella orientale. Si tratta di una volontà di integrare in un sistema modulare l'architettura classica-ellenistica greca e quella italica. In questo modo Vitruvio risulta codificatore di una varietà esistente, ed oltre questo, sembra essere difensore di valori tradizionali di fronte alle soluzioni innovative della pratica di allora. Nella conclusione del suo saggio introduttivo il Gros vede un dramma personale dell'autore antico nel conflitto tra un passato ormai chiuso e un presente mutevole, ma proprio in questo contrasto egli riconosce il vero valore del trattato. «Questa posizione scomoda, tra i prestigi di un passato immobile, le cui esperienze sono state definitivamente filtrate e codificate, e i rivolgimenti di un presente in cui tutte le forme sono in mutamento, in cui la stessa pratica dell'architettura si modifica profondamente, è senza dubbio stata vissuta dolorosamente da Vitruvio. Ma in questa ambiguità di fondo consiste oggi, ai nostri occhi, tutto il valore del *De architettura.*» (*Intr.*, LXXVII).

Nella presente edizione si trova un altro saggio introduttivo in cui Elisa Romano si occupa dei problemi filologici e stilistici del trattato[9]. È opera sua insieme ad Antonio Corso – anche la traduzione e l'apparato filologico dell'edizione. Se il Gros voleva ottenere una revisione dell'opinione generale quanto alla cultura di Vitruvio, lo vuole fare anche la Romano, nel campo della lingua e dello stile usati da Vitruvio. Certo, è da tempo che gli studiosi modificarono già la dura critica dello stile vitruviano iniziata ancora da Leon Battista Alberti[10] e sviluppata dalla filologia tedesca,[11] nella presente interpretazione l'antico autore viene presentato addirittura come creatore di un nuovo linguaggio tecnico. Infatti, per poter trattare correttamente i diversi temi, fu necessario inventare in latino un linguaggio, una terminologia speciale, che allora non esisteva se non in greco. Questo linguaggio è un „ibrido" – per usare l'espressione della Romano – che integra in sé diversi strati provenienti dalla lingua poetica, da quella colloquiale dei ceti colti e tante volte recupera elementi della lingua arcaica (*Intr.*, LXXVI).

Nello stile di Vitruvio – constata la Romano – manca l'equilibrio, è uno stile «diseguale», conseguenza della varietà dei temi trattati e delle difficoltà affrontate dall'autore. Momenti ridondanti si alternano a quelli lapidari, puramente tecnici, in alcuni casi invece si trovano addirittura descrizioni poetiche. Oltre tutto, bisogna individuare anche un'indiscutibile intenzione didattica che si manifesta nelle ripetizioni, nelle serie elencative e in altre simili formule.

Per concludere, sempre secondo la Romano, la prosa di Vitruvio viene caratterizzata da un'incertezza tra l'uso di formule retoriche ed espressioni di esattezza tecnica, che produce tante oscurità ed incomprensibilità delle comunicazioni. Leggiamo infatti: «Questo linguaggio che oscilla fra la sciatteria e l'artificio retorico, fra l'oscurità della brachiologia e l'eccesso della ridondanza, che si muove fra modelli letterari, addirittura poetici, e il bisogno di precisione legato alla trasmissione di un sapere tecnico, rispecchia (...) il movimento indeciso, oscillante fra enciclopedismo e specializzazione.» E in-

fine, «Tuttavia, come il trattato di Vitruvio, pur rimanendo interno alla tradizione enciclopedica, contiene le premesse per la fondazione di un sapere nuovo, così la sua lingua, capace di muoversi fra le categorie teoriche e gli esempi pratici, di esprimere concetti astratti e indicazioni concrete, contiene le premesse per il linguaggio dell'architettura moderna.» (*Intr.*, XCV).

A tale moderna visione di Vitruvio, articolata nei saggi del Gros e dalla Romano, corrisponde il testo (versione latina e traduzione in italiano) curato da Antonio Corso ed Elisa Romano.

La versione latina è fedele ad un testo *standard* dell'edizione curata da V. Rose e H. Müller-Strübing (Teubner, Leipzig, 1867) che non esclude tuttavia delle nuove letture in diversi casi (le nuove varianti sono elencate nella *Nota critica*, a pp. 1437-1453). Quanto all'ortografia, nel testo viene conservata la trascrizione in simboli greci di quelle parole che sono scritte in questo modo nella maggior parte dei manoscritti. Rimane intatta pure la divisione del testo in capitoli che esiste ormai convenzionalmente nelle edizioni moderne.

La versione italiana vuole essere piuttosto traduzione dell'originale che darne un'interpretazione. I traduttori non cercano ad ogni costo «precisi» equivalenti dei termini latini usati da Vitruvio, mettendo tra virgolette le forme italianizzate dell'originale latino. Così, ad esempio, nel caso spesso studiato del *«quod significatur et quod significat»* (1,1,3), dove i due termini latini vengono tradotti letteralmente in italiano, questo fatto viene segnalato come se si trattasse di una citazione[12].

Come abbiamo visto, i due saggi introduttivi si occupano – giustamente – solo del trattato e del suo autore, trascurando il problema della fortuna del trattato vitruviano attraverso i secoli della storia europea. Dobbiamo notare comunque che l'influsso di Vitruvio sulla cultura architettonica dei posteri è tuttavia presente nell'edizione in questione. Si pensa ai due saggi di Maria Losito[13] che concludono la magistrale edizione.

È noto come nel Rinascimento la giusta ricostruzione della voluta del capitello ionico presentò un problema centrale, dato che la descrizione di Vitruvio risultava poco comprensibile e mancava pure un disegno esplicativo. Interi trattati cercavano di risolvere tale problema ancora nella seconda metà del XVI secolo[14]. La Losito, seguendo minuziosamente la storia rinascimentale della ricostruzione, avanza l'ipotesi che due momenti, cioè la conoscenza della geometria antica e quella degli esempi architettonici, avvrebbero reso possibile trovare il metodo corretto. Si tratta di un progresso, la cui prima tappa è l'attività di Alberti che parte dalla costruzione di Archimede della spirale (che fu la base geometrica anche della ricostruzione vitruviana) e prende come modello architettonico probabilmente i capitelli ionici del Teatro di Marcello a Roma. Diversi altri tentativi sono conosciuti; Serlio, Dürer e Giovan Battista da Sangallo propongono metodi sempre più evoluti. La ricostruzione di grande precisione è sicuramente opera di Salviati e da lui «rubano» la soluzione gli architetti del tardo Cinquecento, Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane e Palladio. Questo metodo viene poi codificato dal Barbaro nelle sue edizioni di Vitruvio del 1556 e del 1567[15].

L'altro tema, quello dell'*analemma*, trattato dalla Losito è pure un fenomeno che trova la sua interpretazione rinascimentale più evoluta nelle edizioni cinquecentesche di Barbaro. Si tratta del fondamento teorico della *gnomonica*, la seconda parte dell'architettura nel sistema vitruviano. La definizione del concetto anche in questo caso è poco comprensibile[16] e rendeva indispensabile i chiarimenti del Barbaro nelle edizioni del 1556 e del 1567. Come dimostra la Losito, il Barbaro, nelle sue edizioni (latina ed italiana) del 1567 utilizza i risultati del matematico urbinate Federico Commandino, che nel 1562 pubblica il *De analemmate*, la traduzione latina dell'opera di Tolomeo[17]. In questo senso l'analemma vitruviano viene concepito dal Barbaro come «la proiezione ortogonale dei circoli della sfera celeste (quindi dei tre piani orizzontale, verticale e meridiano) su un piano» e tali proiezioni vengono applicate alla costruzione di quadranti solari, utilizzando la teoria descritta in un'altra opera di Commandino[18]. Infine, utilizzando sempre gli studi di Commandino, il Barbaro arriva ai problemi della prospettiva. Con questo la storia della geometria proiettiva arriva ad un punto cruciale, in quanto la prospettiva in questo momento rientra nella sfera della scienza uscendo definitivamente dal mondo dei pittori e dei volgarizzatori, dove aveva avuto un'evoluzione speciale per più di un secolo.

La presente edizione viene conclusa dalla *Nota ciritica* (vedi sopra), da una *Bibliografia* (pp. 1455-1510), un elenco delle *Abbreviazioni* (pp. 1511-1525) e gli *Indici* (pp. 1527-1563).

L'opera è illustrata. Schizzi, fotografie, riproduzioni di incisioni e di pitture parietali offrono un'interpretazione grafica del testo vitruviano.

Gábor Hajnóczi

NOTE

[1] *Vitruvio e il suo tempo*,nella presente edizione, pp. IX-LXXVII (traduzione di Monica Guerra).

[2] Il saggio introduttivo del Gros verrà segnalato in questa nostra recensione come *Introduzione*.

[3] Il *De architectura* viene definito „trattato". Gros accetta dunque il termine usato nella critica vitruviana; cfr. p. es. Francesco Pelati, *La basilica di Fano e la formazione del trattato di Vitruvio*, in «Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di archeologia», XXXIII-XXXIV (1947-49), pp. 153-174.

[4] Si citano soprattutto due opere importanti della «scuola francese», il Vitruve, *De architectura concordances*, a cura di L. Callebat, P. Bouet, Ph. Fleury e M. Zuinghedau, Olms-Weidmann, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 1984 e il *Dictionnaire des termes techniques du «De architectura» de Vitruve*, a cura di L. Callebat e Ph. Fleury, Olms-Weidmann, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 1995. Tra i simposi alludiamo prima di tutto a quello organizzato a Roma (26-27 marzo 1993), i cui atti sono stati pubblicati nel volume *Le projet de Vitruve. Objet, destinataires et réception du «De architectura»*, *Acte du colloque international*, a cura di P. Gros, Roma, 1994.

[5] Editions Les Belles Lettres, Paris, «Collection G. Budé» di cui attualmente sono disponibili i volumi I, III, IV, VII, VIII, IX e X, a cura di L. Callebat, Ph. Fleury, P. Gros, J. Soubiran e di altri.

[6] La parola „modus" è l'equivalente del „métron". Comunque il *commodulatio* non sostituirà del tutto la *symmetría* che rimarrà l'unico «invariante specifico» del trattato (il Gros se ne occupa più avanti, *Intr.*, LIV sgg).

[7] All'epoca di Vitruvio l'analoghía significava probabilmente «sistema proporzionale». Quanto alla traduzione del termine greco in latino cfr. p. 273-4, n. 28 della presente edizione.

[8] Cfr. *The History of the theory of Human Proportions as a Reflection of the History of Styles*, in *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1970, l'intero 2. cap.

[9] *Fra astratto e concreto. La lingua di Vitruvio*, ed. cit. pp. LXXIX-XCV. Nelle citazioni continuiamo ad usare il titolo *Introduzione*.

[10] *De re aedificatoria*, 6,1. a cura di G. Orlandi, Il Polifio, Milano, 1966, pp. 420-21.

[11] Tra i primi Eduard Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, (I[a] ed. 1898), Lipsia, 1974.

[12] «Come in tutti i campi, infatti, così anche, più che altrove, in architettura si ritrovano questi due elementi, „ciò che è significato" e „ciò che significa".» Ed.cit. p. 13.

[13] *La ricostruzione della voluta del capitello ionico vitruviano nel Rinascimento italiano (1450-1570)* e *L'analemma vitruviano e il IX libro del De architectura di Daniele Barbaro (1556-67)*, ed. cit. pp. 1409-1436.

[14] Giuseppe Salviati, *La regola di far perfettamente col compasso la voluta et del capitello Ionico, et di ogni altra sorte*, Venezia, 1552 [con dedica a Mons. Daniele Barbaro]; Giovanni Battista Bertano, *Gli oscuri et difficili passi dell'opera ionica di Vitruvio*, (...), Mantova, Ruffinello, 1558.

[15] *La ricostruzione...*, p. 1418 sgg.

[16] « Αναλημμα est ratio conquisita solis cursu et umbrae crescentis ad brumam observatione inventa, e qua per rationes archi-tectonicas circinique descriptiones est inventus effectus in mundo.» *De arch.*, 9,1,1.

[17] *Claudii Ptolemaei liber de Analemmate a Federico Commandino urbinate instauratus, et commentarius illustratus. Eiusdem Federici Commandini Liber de Horologiarum descriptione*, Roma, Paolo Manuzio, 1562.

[18] *Liber de Horologiarum*, vedi *supra*. Cfr. *L'analemma...*, p. 1431.

BEMERKUNGEN ZU EINEM NEUEN KATALOG

Andrea Teuscher: Die Künstlerfamilie Rugendas 1666–1858. Werkverzeichnis zur Druckgraphik. Augsburg 1998

Die Zusammenstellung graphischer Kataloge gehört nicht zu den leichten und beliebten Aufgaben. Die Ursache dafür ist im Wesen der Technik, in der Vervielfältigung zu finden. Die ausschlaggebende Bedeutung der Graphik liegt in der Informationsvermittlung und Geschmacksbildung, die gerade durch die Vervielfältigung begünstigt wurden; das Aufstöbern der zerstreuten Exemplare, ihre Identifizierung und die Rekonstruktion ihrer Entstehungsgeschichte erfordert aber viel Geduld und Fleiß. Jedoch könnten die graphischen Blätter außer spezifischen graphikgeschichtlichen Ergebnissen durch ihre genauen Daten und Texte als wichtige Quellen auch für andere Zweige der Kunstgeschichte dienen. Das alles ist in erhöhtem Maße für den Kupferstich gültig.

Deshalb können wir das vor kurzem veröffentlichte Werk von Andrea Teuscher, den Katalog des graphischen Oeuvre der Mitglieder der Familie Rugendas, die sich als Maler, Graphiker und Verleger betätigenden Repräsentanten der reichen Augsburger Kunstgeschichte mit großer Freude begrüßen. Als Vorläufer ist der bescheidene Band von Heinrich Graf von Stillfried zu betrachten, der zwar zur Zeit seiner Entstehung den Erfordernissen der Zeit entsprach, eine neue Bearbeitung ist aber schon mit der Tatsache zu begründen, daß er vor 120 Jahren erschienen ist (Stillfried, Heinrich Graf: *Leben und Kunstleistungen des Malers und Kupferstechers Georg Philipp Rugendas und seiner Nachkommen*, Berlin 1879).

Für den heutigen Verfasser stehen zahlreiche früher unbekannte Hilfsmittel zur Verfügung, wir dürfen nicht bewundern, daß das Material, welches Stillfrieds Werk enthält, bei Teuscher auf mehr als das Zweifache angewachsen ist. Das ist der langjährigen Forschung im weiten Kreis großer Sammlungen, zu verdanken. Ausgangspunkt war natürlich Augsburg, was sowohl das Material der hiesigen Museen als auch die Ergebnisse der Museumsarbeit der Kollegen betrifft. Ein großer Verdienst des Buchs von Teuscher ist, daß sie die Reproduktionen jedes bekannten Blattes veröffentlicht und damit für die Fachleute und interessierten Sammler sowie Kunsthändler die Unterscheidung von Kopien und Fälschungen leichter möglich macht.

Im Katalog sind Arbeiten von 8 Rugendas zu finden: Neben dem Schlachtenbildmaler und Akademiedirektor Georg Philipp Rugendas d. Ä. (1666–1742) seine Söhne, Georg Philipp d. J. (1701–1774) und Christian (1701–1781), der auch in Wien tätig war, Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas (1712–1772), der auch in Ungarn arbeitete und Johann Gottlieb/Gottlob, dessen Person ungeklärt ist und von dem nur ein einziges Werk im Katalog vorkommt. Johann Lorenz d. Ä. (1730–1799), der Enkelsohn von Georg Philipp d. Ä. und sein Sohn Johann Lorenz d. J. (1775–1826), der seinen Namen durch die Verewigung von Napoleons Schlachten bekannt gemacht hatte, schließlich der weltgereiste Johann Moritz Rugendas (1802–1858), der mehrere Reisen in Südamerika machte und über seine Reiseerlebnisse Werke von bedeutendem Quellenwert hinterließ. Mit ihm starb die Familie Rugendas aus.

Im Katalog handelt es sich nach den Teilen über Familienmitglieder ein Kapitel über Thesenblätter, ein anderes über Porträts. In den beiden letzten kleineren Abschnitten sind die nicht einwandfrei bestimmten Blätter und Attributionen vorhanden.

Die Werke einzelner Künstler sind nach Techniken gruppiert, eventuelle Serien werden immer angegeben. Die Verfasserin behandelt auch die Blätter, die nach Kompositionen fremder Künstler gemacht wurden. Jedes bekannte Exemplar der einzelnen Blätter ist im Katalog vorhanden, neben ihnen finden wir aber auch die zu ihnen gehörenden Vorstudien. Zur imposanten und lückenfüllenden Arbeit von Andrea Teuscher können wir nur gratulieren, sie bedeutet eine sichere Grundlage für die weitere Forschung.

Meine bescheidenen Ergänzungen können die Verdienste der Verfasserin keinesfalls beeinträchtigen, da ein vollständiger Katalog von einem so großen Oeuvre schwer vorzustellen ist. Daß ich mich zu diesem Thema jedoch äußere, hat eine konkrete Erklärung. Eine Abteilung des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums, die 1884 begründete Historische Bildergalerie hat die Aufgabe, Gemälde und Stiche, die Quellenwert für die ungarische Geschichte besitzen, zu sammeln. In dieser Sammlung werden mehr als hundert verschiedene Blätter der Familie Rugendas aufbewahrt. Im 18. Jahrhundert nahmen ungarische Soldaten an mehreren Kriegen teil, die Schlachtenbilder, Lagerszenen und militärischen Trachtenbilder wie auch die Bildnisse der Zeitgenossen besitzen also hinsichtlich dieser Epoche Quellenwert.

Im folgenden möchte ich solche Blätter beschreiben, die in der Historischen Bildergalerie aufbewahrt werden und die in der Fachliteratur bekannt sind, jedoch Frau Teuschers Aufmerksamkeit entgingen. Meine Ergänzungen beziehen sich auf drei Familienmitglieder: Georg Philipp d. J., Jeremias Gottlob und Johann Lorenz Rugendas d. J.

Georg Philipp Rugendas d. J.

1. Reiterbildnis des Generals Ferenc Nádasdy (Abb. 1)

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „FRANCISCUS E COMITIBUS DE NADASD / Perpet.Ter. Fogaras et Comitat. Comarom. Albensis vero Supremus Comes, Regn. Dalmat. Croat. et. / Sclav. Banus, Ord. Milit. Theres. Mag. Crucis Eques S. S. M. M. Actualis intim. Consiliarius /

Camerar. General Camp Mareschallus etc. nat. d. 30. Sept. 1708."

Signiert rechts unten: „G. Philipp Rugendas inv. delin. sculp. et excud. Aug. Vind."

Mezzotinto, Platte: 34,5 × 22,3 cm

A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Történelmi Képcsarnoka (Historische Bildergalerie des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums = MTKcs), Inv.Nr. 3422

Zur Serie der fürstlichen Reiterbildnisse, VW 433

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: *Magyar művelődéstörténet* (Ungarische Kulturgeschichte). Band IV, Budapest o. J., zwischen den Seiten 260–261. – D. Pataky: *A magyar rézmetszés története* (Die Geschichte des ungarischen Kupferstiches), Budapest 1951, erwähnt es nicht.

2. Plünderung

Unsigniert.

Tusche, 93 × 234 cm

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 844

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: *A Történelmi Képcsarnok műtárgyainak leíró lajstroma* (Beschreibende Liste der Objekte der Historischen Bildergalerie). Budapest 1907, 64. – Gy Rózsa: Georg Philipp Rugendas budapesti arcképe (Das Budapester Bildnis von Georg Philipp Rugendas). In: *Folia Archaeologica* XVII (1965) 222

3. Lagerszene

Signiert unten links: „G. P. Rugendas Junior invenit et delineavit A. 1743."

Tusche, 86.5 × 124,5 cm

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 845

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: *A Történelmi Képcsarnok*. 1907. 63. – Rózsa 1965, 222

Obzwar die zwei letzten Stücke nicht vervielfältigt wurden, erwähne ich sie hier, denn sie sind bisher der ausländischen Forschung entgangen.



Abb. 1. Ferenc Nádasdy. G. Ph. Rugendas, Mezzotinto

Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas

1. Maria vom Herzen

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „O Maria Mutter eines gutten Her-/ tzen erwerbe mir ein Hertz, welches / seÿ nach deinen und dem Hertzen / deines geliebten Sohn unsers Herrn / und Heyland Jesu Christi. / Diese Bildnus Maria von Hertzen genant, hat / in diser grösse von den tag seiner bekherung biß in / Todt auff seiner brust getragen der H: Ignatius / Loyola dardurch villfällige hilff erfahren."

Signiert unten rechts: „Zeller et Rugendas sc: V."

Kupferstich, Platte 12,5 × 7,3 cm

Benediktiner Erzabtei, Pannonhalma

Teuscher kennt es (VW Nr 1363) nur aus der Literatur. Der ungarische Kupferstecher Sebastian Zeller lebte Anfang der 1740er Jahre in Wien, er hätte damals mit Jeremias Gottlob Rugendas zusammen arbeiten können. Es ist auch möglich, daß er Rugendas nach Preßburg rief.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Z. Szilárdfy: Barokk szentképek Magyarországon (Barocke Andachtsbilder in Ungarn). Budapest 1984, 30. – Gy. Rózsa: Grafikatörténeti tanulmányok (Graphikgeschichtliche Studien). Budapest 1998, 28

2. Gnadenbild aus Trencsén (Trenčin)

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „Vera Effigies Virginis Matris, Trenchiny in Tirocinio S. I. Novitiorum pietati propositae, Romanae ad Nives, quam simillimae."

Signiert unten links: „Ieremias Gottlob Rugendas sculp: Türnau 1741."

Kupferstich, Blatt: 11,8 × 68 cm

Dobó-István-Museum, Eger

Die irrtümliche Benennung der Stadt läßt uns darauf folgern, daß der Künstler sich noch nicht lange in Ungarn aufhielt.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, erwähnt es nicht. – Z. Szilárdfy–G. Tüskés–É. Knapp: Barokk kori kisgrafikai ábrázolások magyarországi búcsújáróhelyekről (Barockzeitliche Wallfahrtsbildchen aus ungarischen Wallfahrtorten). Budapest 1987, Nr. 355

3. Esdras vor dem Volke (Abb. 2)

Inschrift im Bilde: „Attulit Esdras Legem coram mul-/ titudine virorum... et legit in ea / apud Esdras l.2.c.8.v.23."

Signiert unten links: „Jose. Kerner(!) inv. et delin.Poson." Rechts: „I. Gottlob Rugendas sc.Posony." (Der Maler ist unter dem Namen Kriner bekannt.)

Kupferstich, Platte: 8,5 × 15,5 cm

Aus: SACRA / CONCILIA/ ECCLESIAE / ROMANO. CATHOLICAE / IN REGNO HUNGARIAE / CELEBRATA... Collegit ... Illustravit / P. CAROLUS PETERFY VIENNAE AUSTRIAE: / TYPIS KALIWODANIS ... PARS SECUNDA ... / POSONII TYPIS Haeredum Royerianum ANNO MDCCXLII. l. Es gibt Exemplare des Buches, in denen der Name des Malers aus der Signatur fehlt. Über das Buchsiehe: A. De Backer–C. Sommervogel: *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*. Tom. VI, Bruxelles–Paris 1895, Sp. 617–618.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: I. Nagy: Magyarországi képző-művészek a legrégibb időktől 1850-ig (Bildende Künstler in Ungarn von den ältesten Zeiten bis 1850). In: Századok 1874, 91.– K. Garas.: *Magyarországi festészet a XVIII. században* (Die Malerei in Ungarn im 18. Jahrhundert). Budapest 1955, 230. – Pataky 1951, Nr. 10

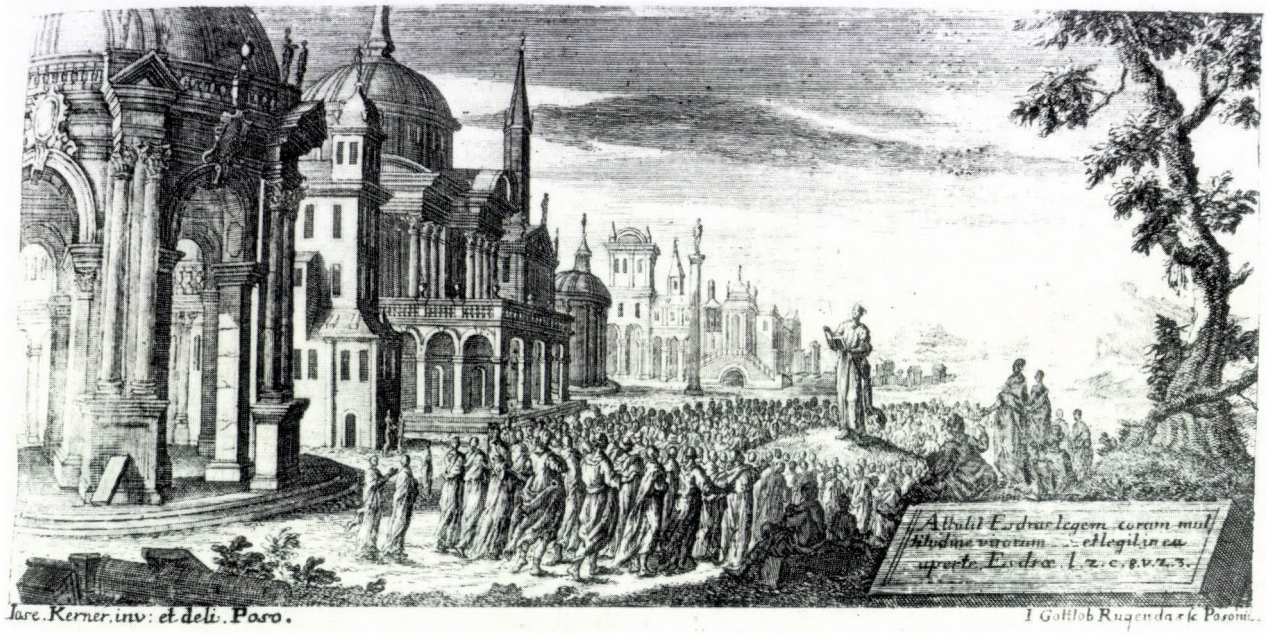

Abb. 2. Esdras von dem Volke, I. G.Rugendas nach J. Kriner, Kupferstich, 1742

4. Brustbild von Miklós Oláh

Inschrift unter dem Bild:" NICOLAUS III. OLAHUS / ARCHI EPISCOPUS STRIGONI: / Obyt Tyrnaviae XVI Ianu. ANNO MDLXVII."

Seitenzahl in der rechten unteren Ecke: „pag. 39."

Signiert unter dem Bild links: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Posony."

Kupferstich, Platte: 20,1 × 14,9 cm

Aus: SACRA CONCILIA... Zwischen den Seiten 38–39. In den früheren Exemplaren des Buches befindet sich hier eine Kupferstich-Kopie des Holzschnittes von Donat Hübschmann über Miklós Oláh aus dem 15. Jahrhundert.

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 3501

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 6. – Gy. Rózsa: Oláh Miklós legrégibb képmása. Járt-e Hans Sebald Lautensack Magyarországon? (Das früheste Bildnis von Miklós Oláh. Besuchte Hans Sebald Lautensack Ungarn?) In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1960, 438

5. Brustbild von Ferenc Forgách

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „FRANCISCUS. I. COMES à FORGACH. / S. R. E. CARD. ARCHI: EPPUS. STRIGO. / Obyt. in S. Cruce XVI. Octo Anno MDCXV."

Seitenzahl in der rechten unteren Ecke: „pag. 190."

Signiert unten links: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Poso."

Kupferstich, Platte: 19,7 × 15,3 cm

Aus: SACRA / CONCILIA ... Zwischen den Seiten 190–191

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 1379

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky ... 1951, Nr. 2

6. Brustbild von Péter Pázmány

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „PETRUS I. PAZMANY, / S. R. E. CARDI. ARCHI: EPISCOPUS STRIGONI. / Obÿt Posonü. IX. Martÿ Anno MDCXXXVII."

Seitenzahl in der rechten unteren Ecke: „pag. 219."

Signiert unten links: „I. G.Rugendas sc. Posonii."

Kupferstich, Platte: 20,3 × 15,6 cm

Aus: SACRA / CONCILIA ... Zwischen den Seiten 218–219

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 3597

BIBLIOGAPHIE: L. Vayer: *Pázmány Péter ikonográfiája* (Die Ikonographie von Péter Pázmány). Budapest 1935, 37–38.– Pataky 1951, Nr. 7

7. Brustbild von Imre Lósy

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „EMERICUS I. LOSY. / ARCHI-EPISCOPVS STRIGONI. / Obÿt Posony. XIII. Martÿ. Anno MDCXLII."

Seitenzahl in der rechten unteren Ecke: „pag. 334."

Signiert unten links: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Posony."

Kupferstich, Platte: 20,2 × 15,8 cm

Aus: SACRA / CONCILIA ... Zwischen den Seiten 334–335

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 2948

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 5

8. Brustbild von György Lippay

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „GEORGIUS VI. LIPPAY. / ARCHI-EPISCOPUS STRIGONI. / Obÿt Posonÿ III. Ianua. Anno MDCLXVI."

Seitenzahl in der rechten unteren Ecke: „pag. 376."

Signiert unten links: „I. G.Rugendas sc. Poson."

Kupferstich, Platte: 20,2 × 16 cm

Aus: SACRA / CONCILIA ... Zwischen den Seiten 376–377

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 2939

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 4

9. Brustbild von György Szelepcsényi (Abb. 3)

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „GEORGIUS VII. SZELEPCSENY. / ARCHI-EPISCOPUS STRIGONI. / Obyt. Litovity XIV. Ianuary. Anno MDCLXXXV."

Seitenzahl in der rechten unteren Ecke: „pag. 393."

Signiert unten links: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Poson."

Kupferstich, Platte: 19,7 × 15,6 cm

Aus: SACRA / CONCILIA ... Zwischen den Seiten 392–393

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 3953

Eine Kopie des Selbstporträts des Autodidakten Szelepcsényi.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: L. Vayer: Szelepcsényi György a művész (György Szelepcsényi, der Künstler). In: *Szentpéteri emlékkönyv*. Budapest 1936, Sonderdruck, 22. – Pataky 1951, Nr. 9

10. Brustbild von György Széchényi

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „GEORGIUS VIII. SZECSENY. / ARCHI-EPISCOPUS STRIGONI. / OBYT Posony XVIII. February Anno MDCLXXXXV."

Seitenzahl in der rechten unteren Ecke: „pag. 398."

Signiert unten links: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Posony."

Kupferstich, Platte: 19,9 × 16,6 cm

Aus: SACRA / CONCILIA ... Zwischen den Seiten 398–399

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 3959

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 8

11. Brustbild von Leopold Kollonich

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „LEOPOLDUS a KOLLONICZ. / S. R. R. CARDI. ARCHI. EPPUS. STRIGONI. / Obÿt Viennae Aus. XX Ianua. Anno MDCCVII."

Seitenzahl in der rechten unteren Ecke: „pag. 409."

Signiert unten links: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Poson."

Kupferstich, Platte: 20,2 × 15,8 cm Aus: SACRA / CONCILIA ... Zwischen den Seiten 408–409

MTKcs.Inv.Nr. 10169

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 3

12. Brustbild von Christian August

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „CHRISTIANUS AUGUSTUS DUX SAXO- / NIAE. S. R. E. CARDI. ARCHI. EPPUS STRIGONI. / Obyt Ratisbonae XXIII. Aug. Anno MDCCXXV.

„Seitenzahl in der rechten unteren Ecke: „pag. 412."

Signiert unten links: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Poson."

Kupferstich, Platte: 20,2 × 15,9 cm

Aus: SACRA / CONCILIA ... Zwischen den Seiten 412–413

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 2631

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, erwähnt es nicht.

13. Brustbild von Imre Esterházy

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „EMERICUS II. Comes ESTERHAZY. / S. R. I. PRINCEPS. ARCHI.EPPUS STRIGO. / ab an: MDCCXXVII. AEtatis: an. LXXVII./ VIVIT et VIVAT."

Seitenzahl in der rechten unteren Ecke: „pag. 423."

Signiert unten links: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Posony."

Kupferstich, Platte: 20 × 15,9 cm

Aus: SACRA / CONCILIA .... Zwischen den Seiten 422–423

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 1193

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 1.

14. Brustbild von Imre Esterházy in Prunkrahmen (Abb. 4)

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „:Cels^{mus} ac Rndss^{mus} / S. R. I. Princeps / EMERICUS e Comit. / ESTERHAZY Archi: Eppus / Strigoniensis./ ex Ord: S.Pauli / primi Eremitae".

Signiert unten links: „Francis. Bolco pinxit." Rechts: „Ieremias Gottlob Rugendas sculp. Posony. 1743."

Kupferstich in Punktiermanier, Platte: 30 × 20,8 cm

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 29

Das Original malte Franz Anton Palko (?–1760)

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: S. Szilágyi: *A magyar nemzet története* (Die Geschichte der ungarischen Nation). Band VIII, Budapest 1898, 144. – Pataky 1951, Nr. 12

15. Fiktives Brustbild von Konstantin dem Großen

Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „FL. VAL. CONSTANTINUS / ROMANORUM IMPERATOR."

Signiert unten links: „Kriner delin." Rechts: „Ier. Gottlieb Rugendas sc"

Kupferstich, Platte: 8,7 × 15,5 cm



Abb. 3. György Szelepcsényi, I. G. Rugendas nach Gy. Szelepcsényi, Kupferstich, 1742



Abb. 4. Imre Esterházy, I. G. Rugendas nach F. A. Palko, Mezzotinto



Abb. 5. Kaiser „Theodorus Lascaris", I. G. Rugendas nach J. Kriner, Kupferstich, 1744

Aus: IMPERATORES / ORIENTIS ... STUDIO / FRANCISCI BORGIA KERI...TYRNAVIAE / Typis Academicis Societatis Jesu . Anno 1744, S. l. Über das Buch siehe: De Backer-Sommervogel, Tom. IV, Bruxelles–Paris 1893, Sp. 1010 Das Buch erschien auch oft als Liber Gradualis: Die Bildnisse befinden sich in diesem auf demselben Platz.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

16. Fiktives Brustbild von Theodosius dem Großen

Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „FL.THEODOSIUS / MAGNUS."

Signiert unten rechts: „I. G. R. sc."

Kupferstich, Platte: 9,8 × 15,5 cm

Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 50

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

17. Fiktives Brustbild von Justinus I.

Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „FL. ANICIUS JUSTINUS."

Unsigniert.

Kupferstich, Platte: 9,8 × 15,5 cm

Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 97

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

18. Fiktives Brustbild von Heraklius

Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „FL. HERACLIUS."

Signiert unten links: „I. B. Kriner del." Rechts: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Posony."

Kupferstich, Platte: 8,9 × 15,4 cm

Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 163

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: I. Szilágyi: Adalékok a magyarországi képző-művészek névsorához (Angaben zur Liste der bildenden Künstler in Ungarn). In: *Történeti Tár* 1880, 163.– Pataky 1951, Nr. 14. – Garas 1955, 230

19. Fiktives Brustbild von Leo dem Isaurier

Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „FL. LEO ISAURICUS."

Unsigniert.

Kupferstich, Platte: 8,9 × 15,5 cm

Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 199

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

20. Fiktives Brustbild von Michael dem Stotternden

Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „FL.MICHAEL BALBUS."

Unsigniert.

Kupferstich, Platte: 9 × 15,4 cm

Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 242

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

21. Fiktives Brustbild von Basilius dem Mazedonier

Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „FL.BASILIUS MACEDO."

Signiert unten links: „I. B. K. del." Rechts: „I. G. R. sculp."

Kupferstich, Platte: 9 × 15,5 cm

Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 262

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

22. Fiktives Brustbild von Konstantinus Ducas

Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „FL. CONSTANTINUS DUCAS."

Unsigniert.

Kupferstich, Platte: 9 × 15,5 cm

Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 349

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

23. Fiktives Brustbild von Alexius Comnenus

Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „FL.ALEXIUS COMNENUS."

Unsigniert.

Kupferstich, Platte: 8,8 × 15,4 cm

Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 364

BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

24. Fiktives Brustbild von Isaak Angelus
Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „FL.ISAACIUS ANGELUS."
Unsigniert.
Kupferstich, Platte: 8,8 × 15,5 cm
Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 419
BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

25. Fiktives Brustbild von Balduin dem Flandrern
Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „BALDUINUS FLANDER."
Signiert unten rechts: „I. G. R. sc."
Kupferstich, Platte: 9 × 15,5 cm
Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 441
BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

26. Fiktives Brustbild von Theodorus Lascaris (Abb. 5)
Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „HENRICUS FLANDER / ET THEODORUS .LASCARIS."
Signiert unten links „I. B. Kriner del." Rechts: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Poson."
Kupferstich, Platte: 8,8 × 15,5 cm
Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 445
BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

27. Fiktives Brustbild von Michael Palaeologus
Gedruckte Inschrift über dem Bild: „MICHAEL PALAEOLOGUS."
Signiert unten links: „I. B. K. del." Rechts: „I. G. R. sc."
Kupferstich, Platte: 8,8 × 15,5 cm
Aus: IMPERATORES ... 1744, 470
BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 14

28. Hüftbild von Christoph Serpilius
Inschrift unter dem Bild: „M. CHRISTOPHORVS SERPILIVS / Eccl. Euang. prim. Modrae. ab an. 1697./ deinde Sempronii ab an. 1708 Pastor / Nat. d. 15. Aug. 1672. Den. d. 20. Aug. 1714./ Insignem pietate VIRUM, meritisque fideque, / Dicta/ Scripta/ Vita /sacrata DEO morsque beata probant. / Mon. piet. in. Patrem desid. filii, SWS."
Signiert unten links: „G. Eichler pinxit." Rechts: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Poson."
Kupferstich mit blauer Farbe gedruckt, Platte: 14,8 × 9,6 cm
MTKcs Inv.Nr. 3904
Pendant von VW Nr. 1318. Gottfried Eichler d. J. (1715–1770) erscheint oft als Vorlagezeichner von I. G. Rugendas.
BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, Nr. 15.

29. Gnadenbild aus Marienthal.
Inschrift unter dem Bild: „Maria Tall."
Signiert unten links: „I. G. Rugendas sc. Posony."
Kupferstich, Blatt: 10,7 × 6,7 cm
BIBLIOGRASPHIE: Pataky 1951, kennt es nicht. – Szilárdfy–Tüskés–Knapp 1987, Nr. 213

30. Gnadenbild aus der Kirche der Ursuliner in Pressburg
Inschrift ober dem Bild: „Obraz Mylostywe Vytalako Gezysse Kteryto/ zwyce nez za sto let W Chrame P. P. Karme – / litanuw w Praze Pobozne se ctí." Unter dem Bild: „Niny ale u Welebnych Radu Swateg Urssu- / ly Paneen w Presspurku w domaceg Kapli – / ce Pod titulem domcyho Towaryswam Kna – / boznemu cleny gest milozeny Gezysse."
Signiert unten links: „J. G. Rugendas sc. Posony."
Kupferstich, Bild: 10,5 × 5,4 cm
Vermächtnis von Sándor Bálint, Eigentum von Péter Bálint, Szeged
BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Pataky 1951, kennt es nicht. – Szilárdfy–Tüskés–Knapp 1987, Nr. 264

31. Unbefleckte Empfängnis
Signiert unten links: „Joseph Kriner inv. et del. in Pressburg." Rechts: „J. G. Rugendas sc".
Kupferstich, Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt.
BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Thieme-Becker: *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler.* Band XXI, Leipzig 1927, 542

32. Zwei Details aus den Fresken der Burg von Preßburg von Paul Juvenel

Aufsschrift auf dem oberen Teil: „CONFORMITAS VOLUNTATIS CUM DIVINA." Auf dem unteren Teil: „FIDES ET CATHOLICAE / RELIGIONIS ZELUS. PIA / SACRAMENTORUM FREQVE- / NTIA AC EVCHRARISTIAE CVLTVS."
Oben in der rechten Ecke: „Tab. CII." Unten links: „Monum. Aust. T. III. V. 1. Rechts: „Kk kkk."
Signiert unten im Bilde links: „F. Rosenstingl del." Rechts: „Rugendas sculp."
Kupferstich, Platte: 38,8 × 23,1 cm
Erschienen in: M. Hergott–R. Heer: Pinacotheca Principium Austriae ... Monumentorum Aug. Domus Austriae. Band III, Teil 2, Friburgi Brisgoviae 1760. Tafel CII.
Wahrscheinlich Werk von Johann Gottlob Rugendas. Da Herrgott bis 1748 in Wien lebte, entstand das Blatt wahrscheinlich davor.
BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Gy. Rózsa: Magyar történetábrázolás a 17. században (Darstellung der Ereignisse der ungarischen Geschichte im 17. Jahrhundert). Budapest 1973. S. 88–89, Abb. 155–156

Johann Lorenz Rugendas d. Ä.

1. Horia und Kloska im Gefängnis
Inschrift unter dem Bild: „Horia und Gloska beede Rebellen wurden von den Kaiserlichen Husaren in den Grossfürstentum Siebenbürgen, in / der Raddeker Waldung, gefangen genommen, den 30. December Ao 1784./ Gezeichnet von einem Freunde, der sie in Arreste gesehen hat. / Und Ano 1785. den 28. Februarii wurden sie vor ihrer schwere That von unten auf geraedert, noch bey Empfindung aufgeschnitten das Eingeweide heraus / genomen, und so dann geviertheilt, die Theile aber zum Schröcken und Beispiel in viel Gegenden auf das Rad geflochten."
Signiert unten rechts: „Johan Lorenz Rugendas ecxud in Augsburg."
Kupferstich, Platte: 19,5 × 30,4 cm
MTKcs Inv.Nr. 11741
BIBLIOGRAPHIE: C. Wilhelmb G.: *Magyarország történetének képeskönyve* (Bilderbuch der Geschichte Ungarns). Budapest 1962, 244

2. Reiterbildnis Josephs II., im Hintergrund mit der Ansicht Wiens
Inschrift unter dem Bild, in der Mitte Wappen mit zweiköpfigem Adler: „IOSEPHUS II. Rex Romanorum Archi-Dux Austriae nat. d. 13. Mart. 1741. El. Franckf../ d. 27. Mart. Coron. / d. 3. April 1764./ Des Friedens erste Frucht, die Deutschland Glück und Ruh / Nach langem Streit gebracht, o Joseph, das bist du! / O dass doch diese Frucht, die uns dein Haus bescherte,/ Mit deinem Leben, Prinz und König ewig nährte! / Electo Rege almam Germania pacem / Accipit, heu tantis precibus votisque petitam / Aeternum colat ille ducem, colat illa quietem / Imperii Austriaco sub divo sanguine tutam."
Signiert unten rechts: „Johann Lorenz Rugendas inv. del. sculpsit et excudit Aug. Vind."
Kupferstich, Platte: 22,3 × 34,8 cm
MTKcs Inv.Nr. 8548
Unveröffentlicht.

3. Bildnis von Maria Josefa

Inschrift unter dem Bild in Kartusche: „IOSEPHA / Roman: Regina Caroli VII./ Caes: Aug: Filia./ nata d: 30. Mart: 1739: nupta d: 13. Ian./ 1765."

Signiert unten rechts: „Ioh. Lorenz Rugendas inv. sculpsit et exudit. Aug.Vind."

Kupferstich, Platte: 30,3 × 29,8 cm

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 2332

Unveröffentlicht.

4. Reiterbildnis des Generals Dagobert Siegmund Graf Wurmser

Inschrift unter dem Bild: „General Wurmser / Eines Kayselich Königlich Husarem / Regiment."

Signiert unten rechts: „J. Lorenz Rugendas fecit et excudit Aug. Vind."

Kupferstich, Platte: 30,7 × 19,5 cm

MTKcs Inv.Nr. 11525

Unveröffentlicht.

5. Bildnis von Ernestus Gideon Baro de Laudon

Teuscher VW bei Nr. 1291 steht: nur aus der Literatur bekannt.

MTKcs Inv. Nr. 2959

György Rózsa

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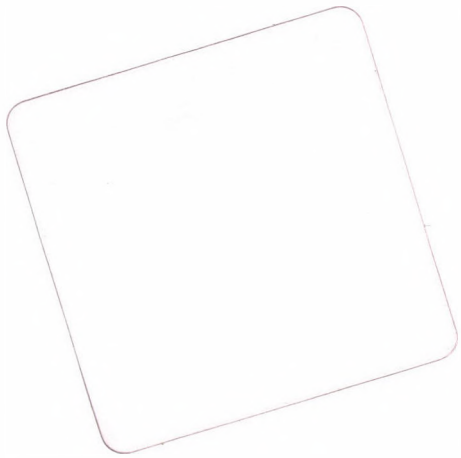

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