Horizontal Art History

13 April 2023



Piotr Piotrowski (1952-2015)

On the Spatial Turn, or Horizontal Art History¹

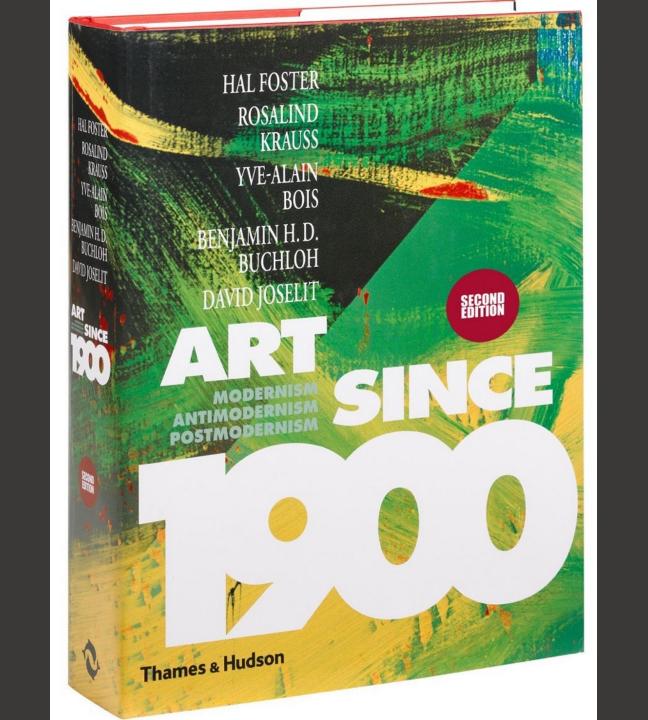
Piotr Piotrowski — UNIWERSYTET IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA, POZNAŃ

eral prominent art historians connected with the October quarterly, is definitely one of the best available overviews of twentieth-century art.2 The considerable amount of artistic material covered in the book has been ordered chronologically decade by decade, with each year covered in terms of major events. These are presented not so much as separate incidents, but rather as aspects of the intellectual processes that were characteristic of a given period. On several occasions the historical narrative has been interrupted by the authors' 'round table' debates. The analyses relies on the latest methods of research, in many cases elaborated by the authors themselves. Each segment of the book, moreover, has been supplemented by an appropriate reading list and references to the other sections. This offers the reader a chance to follow specific artistic processes, series of events, and the evolution of individual artists 'above,' as it were, the subsequent narrative pieces. The book closes with a glossary of twentieth-century art, an index, and an enormous bibliography. All in all, Art since 1900 is an excellent academic textbook, virtually indispensable for study of twentieth-century art. It is perfectly clear and written in the current idiom of art history. The question I am going to ask here pertains, however, to geography.

There is absolutely no doubt that Art since 1900 is a textbook focusing on Western art - the art produced in the cultural and political centers of the West: Paris, Berlin, Vienna, London, New York and others. This does not mean, however, that it does not mention any examples of art created outside the West or on its periphery. Apart from Russia and the role of Moscow and St. Petersburg (or Petrograd), the reader will find in the book information on the selected problems of twentieth-century art in Brazil, Mexico and Japan, as well as in Central Europe. It is perhaps the first publication with such a wide scope, expanding the artistic geography of the last century. This is particularly important since the book is intended as an academic textbook. The problem is that it does not revise the tacit assumptions of the modernist artistic geography. It ignores the perspective of critical geography, as well as what Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann calls 'geohistory.'3 It thereby fails to reveal the historical significance of the space and place where specific art is actually produced. In other words, Art Since 1900 refuses to deconstruct the relations between the center and the periphery of the world history of modern art. The group of art historians to which the authors of the book once belonged has done much to revise the paradigm of art-history studies, founding their project of a critical art history on the inspirations drawn from social sciences, feminism, queer theory, etc. Still, the authors of Art Since 1900 made no attempt

ART SINCE 1900, a study published recently by sev- to critique the modernist artistic geography, nor did they revise its premises according to their own critical methodology. Consequently, the accounts of art produced outside the centers in Western Europe and the United States have been written within the Western paradigm. In this context, an exception has been made in the case of Russia. Its influence on the development of the international (Western) avant-garde cannot be overstated and its role has been distinctly highlighted in the book. This is, however, nothing new. The history of the first great Russian avant-garde has been part of the Western canon of twentieth-century art at least since the time of Alfred Barr. Its inclusion in any historical narrative is not so much an innovation as a basic obligation. What is really significant is the presentation of the art of other regions as fragments of the global or universal art history established in the West. This reveals both the West-centric approach to art history and the premises of modernist art geography.

I call this type of art-history narrative 'vertical.' First of all, it implies a certain hierarchy. The heart of modern art is the center - a city or cities - where the paradigms of the main artistic trends come into being: Berlin, Paris, New York and other cities of the West. From those centers particular models move to the periphery, radiating all over the world. Hence, the art of the center determines the specific paradigms, while the art of the periphery is supposed to adopt the models established in the center. The center provides the canons, the hierarchy of values and the stylistic norms; it is the role of the periphery to adopt them in the process of reception. It may happen, of course, that the periphery has its own outstanding artists, but their recognition, their consecration in art history, depends on the center: on the exhibitions organized in the West and the books published in Western countries. That was what happened to the outstanding Polish constructivists Katarzyna Kobro and Władysław Strzemiński, and to Czech surrealists such as Toyen and Jindřich Štyrský. Naturally, their contemporaries recognized them as peers. For instance, in his lecture delivered in Prague on 29 March 1935, André Breton said that surrealism was developing in Paris and in Prague in two parallel ways.4 The artists of the international avant--garde did not view the artistic scene from a vertical perspective: to the Dadaists, Bucharest and Tokyo were just as important as Berlin and Zurich. It was art history that developed the hierarchical, vertical discourse ordering artistic geography in terms of center and periphery. On the subject of Dadaism, let me mention the extensive, excellent history edited by Stephen Foster: volume four provides information on art outside the (Western) centers. The title of volume four is telling: The Eastern Dada Orbit. There one finds accounts of the



Centres and Peripheries

'The history of European art has been largely the history of a number of centres, from each of which a style has spread out. For a time, whether short or long, this style dominates the art of the period, turning in effect into an international style, while remaining metropolitan at the centre and becoming more and more provincial as it reaches the periphery. A style docs not develop spontaneously over a large area . It is the creation of a centre, a single unit that provides the impulse. The centre may be small, like fifteenth century Florence, or large, like Paris before the war, but it has the self-confidence and coherence of a metropolis.'

Sir Kenneth Clark, *Provincialism* (London, 1962) p. 3

Main Art Centres in Europe, 1400 – 1900

According to standard accounts of art history

e.g.

 Fauré, Histoire de l'art (1921)

 Henri Focillon, Art of the West (1938)

• Gombrich, Story of Art (1950)

• Germain Bazin, *A Concise History of Art* (1958)





Renaissance Italy

The major centres:

- Florence
- Rome
- Venice
- Naples
- Milan

Giotto (Florence)
Donatello (Florence)
Botticelli (Florence)
Masaccio (Florence)
Raphael (Rome)
Leonardo (Milan)
Bramante (Milan / Rome)
Michelangelo (Florence / Rome)
Bellini (Venice)
Titian (Venice)
Vasari (Florence)







Defining Centres

'One could indeed define the artistic center as a place characterized by the presence of a large number of artists and important groups of patrons who, moved by various motivations – be it their family or self pride, their wish for hegemony, or their quest for eternal salvation – are ready to invest part of their wealth in works of art. This latter point implies evidently that the center must be a place where considerable surplus wealth flows in, which can be directed toward artistic production.'

Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, 'Symbolic Domination and Artistic Geography in Italian Art History, 'Art in Translation 1.1 (2009) p. 9.'

The 'centres' of European modernism, 1870 – 1939 The 'peripheries' of European modernism: **Paris** Prague Berlin **Budapest** Warsaw Moscow Vienna (until 1918) Madrid Munich **Bucharest** Rome / Milan Helsinki London Vienna (after 1918) Glasgow The peripheries of the peripheries: Bratislava Košice Athens Salzburg Edinburgh Szentendre

Symbolic Domination

'... the forced adoption of stylistic and iconographical models from the center; the elaboration by the latter of differentiated style codes, some aimed at the center, and the others at the periphery; the pillaging of the symbolic goods of subjected lands; the exodus of the best talents from the periphery toward the center, and the drift toward the latter of works carrying a high symbolic potential.'

Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, 'Symbolic Domination and Artistic Geography,' p. 26



The 'Master – Slave' Dialectic

(from Georg Hegel, The Phenomenology of Spirit (1807)

Stages of development of consciousness:

- 1. Desire, where consciousness is directed at things other than itself
- 2. Master-slave, where consciousness is directed at another conscious being
- 3. Universal self-conscious, where a conscious being recognizes itself in another, equal consciousness.

The Myth of the 'Master – Slave' Dialectic

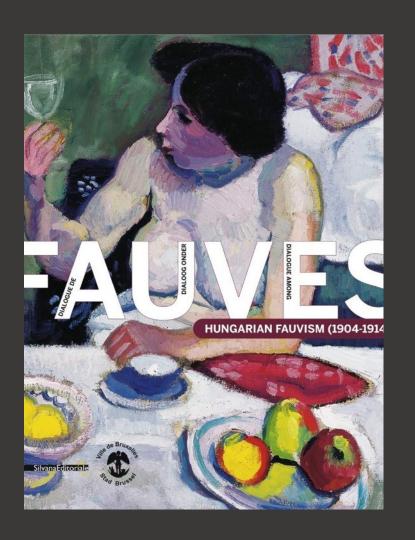
- 1. At first, a conscious being tries to treat another conscious being like an object that it can achieve *mastery* over
- 2. A struggle arises between two conscious beings and eventually the winner demands recognition and subordinates the other
- 3. For Hegel, this is a failed relationship, since recognition of mastery is achieved through compulsion
- 4. For Hegel, true self-consciousness arises only through *free* and *mutual* recognition of two conscious being

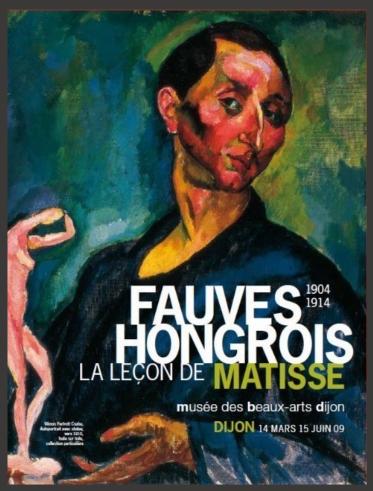
Significance of the Myth of the 'Master – Slave' Dialectic

- 1. A model for understanding social relations (they are always based on conflict and demand for recognition, e.g. Marx's notion of class struggle)
- 2. A model for understanding racial and colonial relations (e.g. Franz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks [1967] argues that due to colonial oppression, white colonizers are not fully self-aware)
- 3. A model for understanding centre-periphery relations in art history (Piotrowski argues that the centre *does not know itself* due to its refusal of recognition of the 'periphery')

Symbolic Domination

Hungarian Fauvism





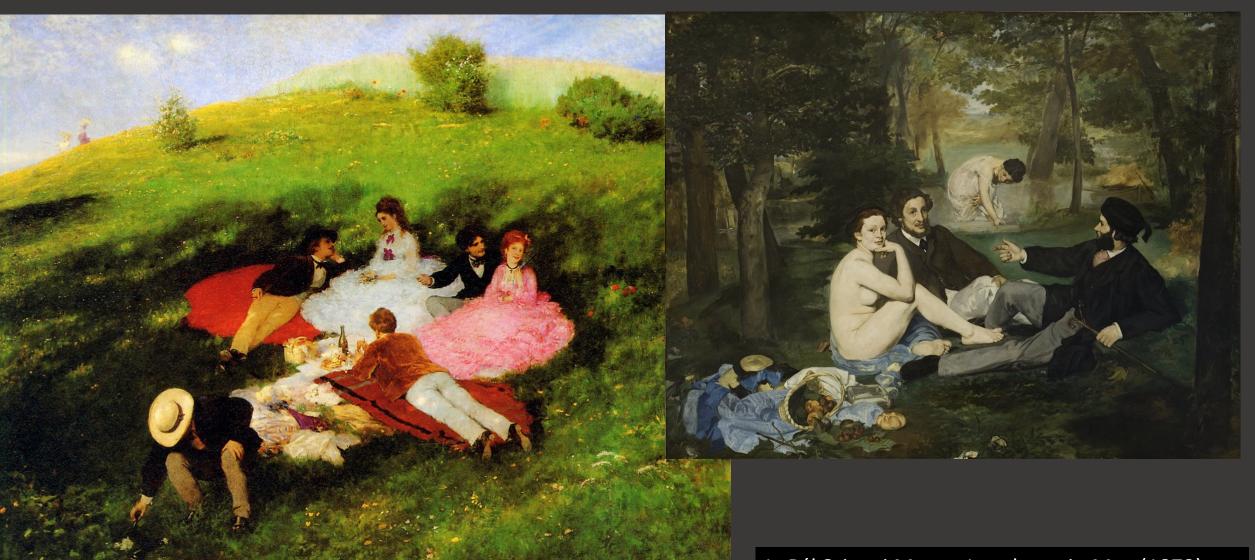
- Exhibitions at Museum of Fine Art, Dijon (2009)
- City Hall of Brussels (2010-11)





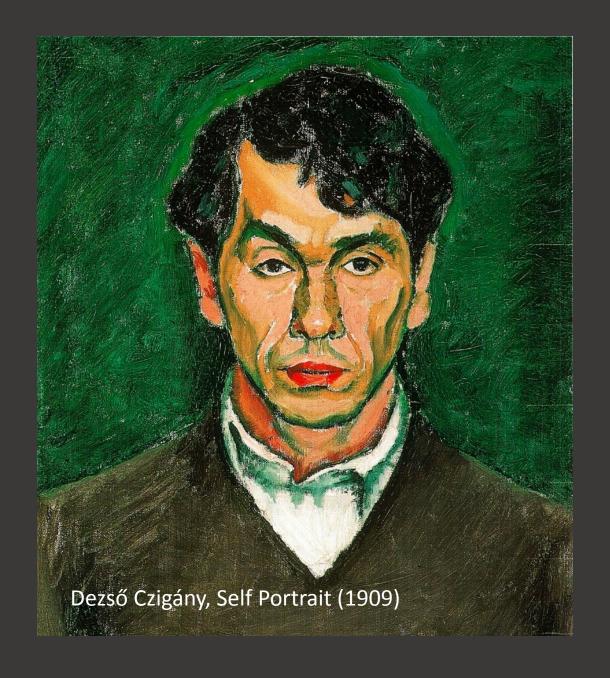
L: Claude Monet, Poppies at Argenteuil (1873)

R: Pál Szinyei Merse, Poppies in the Field (1902)



L: Pál Szinyei Merse, Luncheon in May (1873)

R: Edouard Manet, Déjeuner sur l'herbe (1863)



Attendance at Académie Julian (1901-7) in Paris by young Hungarian artists, such as:

Dezső Czigány Béla Czóbel Csaba Vilmos Perlrott Róbert Berény

Some also study at the Académie Matisse (1908)

Exhibit in Paris at the Salon d'automne and the Salon des indépendants.

Frequent visitors at the Salon of Gertrude Stein in Paris

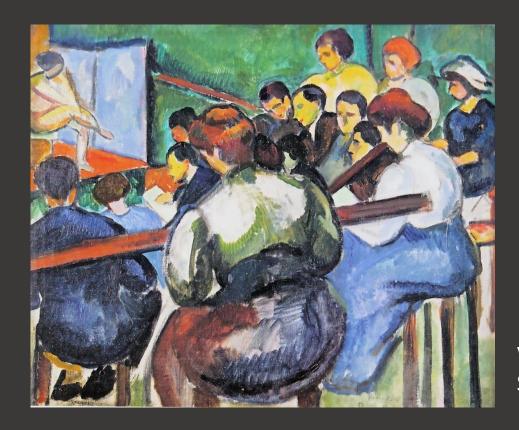
Académie Matisse

1907 – 1911

Hungarian students included:

Géza Bornemisza Vilmos Perlrott-Csaba





Vilmos Perlrott-Csaba School of Painters (1907)



Henri Matisse Women with Hat (1905)

Károly Kernstock – Portrait of a Young Girl (1909)

Desző Cigány – Actress with Yellow Hat (1907)

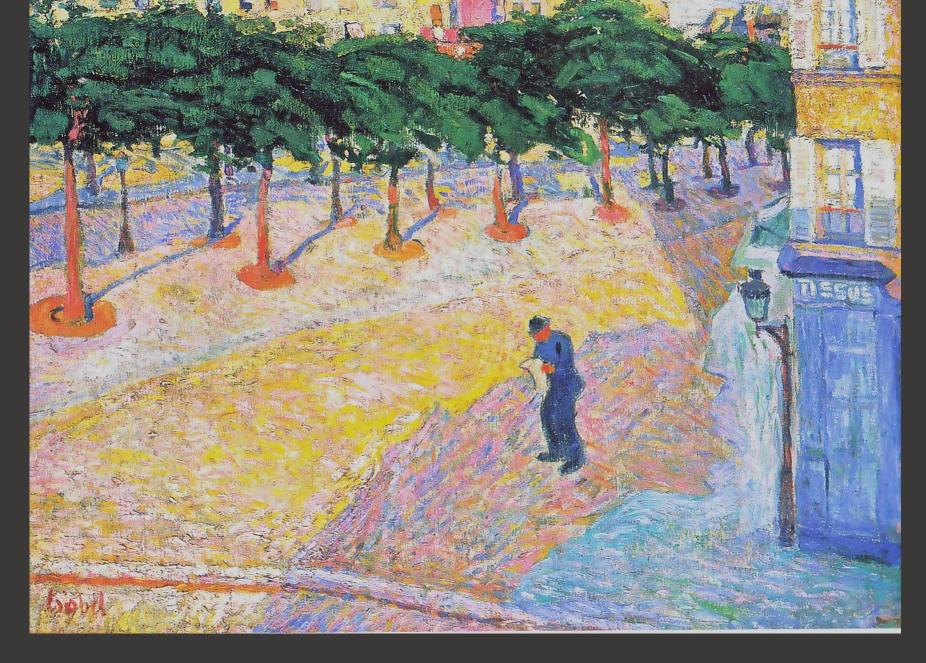




L: Paul Signac The Port of Saint Tropez (1901)

R: Georges Seurat Les Poseuses (1888)





Béla Czóbel – Street in Paris (1905)

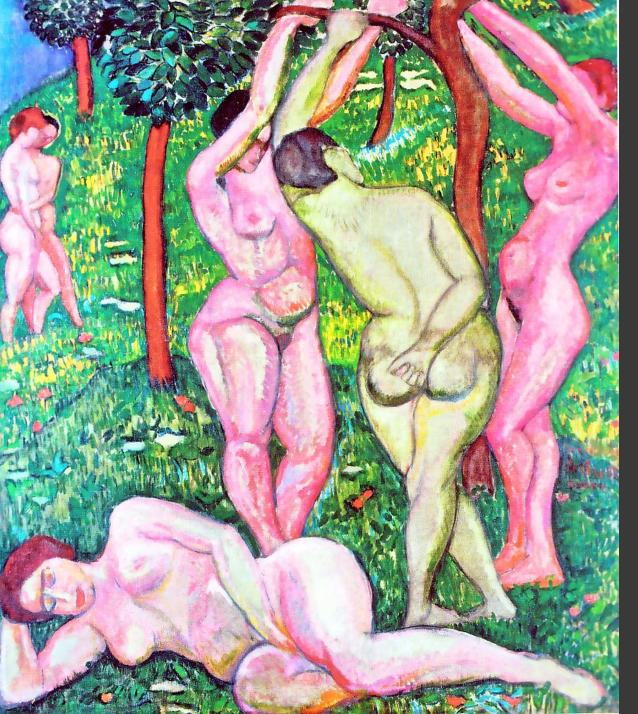




Paul Cézanne, Les Grandes Baigneuses (1894-1905)

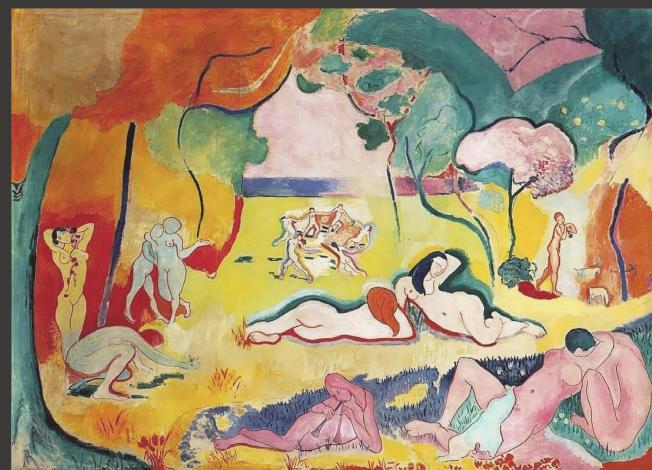


Ödön Márffy Composition with Nudes (1909)



Vilmos Perlrott-Csaba, Nudes in the Open Air (Eden) (1909)

Henri Matisse, Bonheur de vivre (1905)



MODERN ART IN EASTERN EUROPE

FROM THE BALTIC TO THE BALKANS, ca. 1890-1939



pared the way for the next wave of Western art. As early as 1905 at Nagybánya, Béla Czóbel, Lajos Tihanyi, and Sándor Galimberti had sensed in the work of Paul Cézanne a productive path for Hungarian painters. Believing that Cézanne's art heralded the beginning of a new aesthetic era, they and others turned away from the pleinairism of their teachers and called themselves neoimpressionists. Their social platform – indebted philosophically to the emerging German expressionism, especially that of Munich – affirmed also a stylistic affinity with

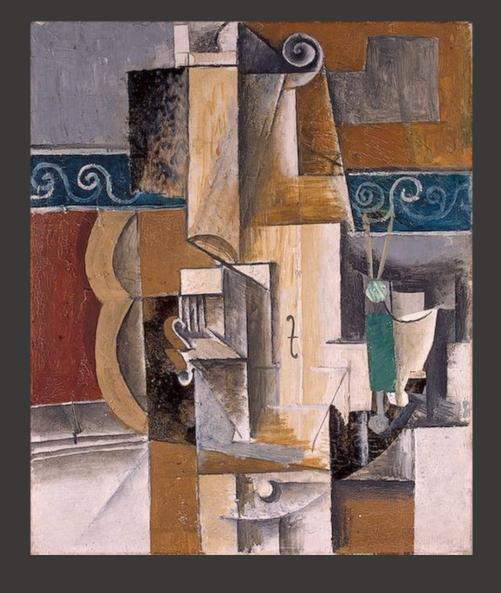
French fauvism, as evinced by Vilmos Perlrott Csaba in the brilliant hues of his *Bathing Youths* (Fig. 331), its composition stemming from the work of Cézanne and Matisse. Advocating a return to a freer and at times even "primitive" style of art and life, Perlrott Csaba and his contemporaries were persuaded that the only effective way to introduce into Hungary the modernism they sought was to absorb it at the source. Thus, between 1905 and 1907, there was a virtual flood of young Hungarian painters into Paris, many by way of Munich. Those who returned to



S. A. MANSBACH

Symbolic Domination

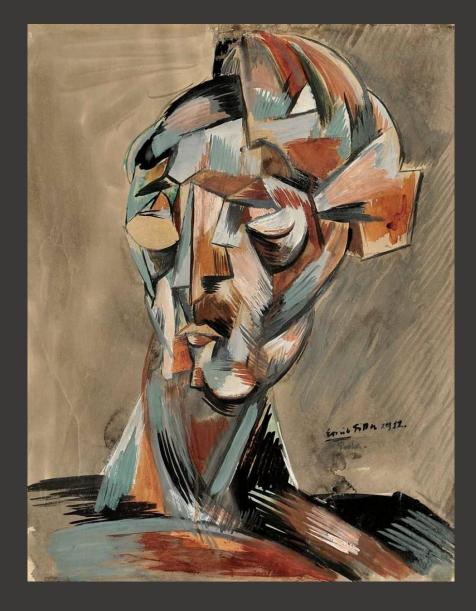
• Czech Cubism



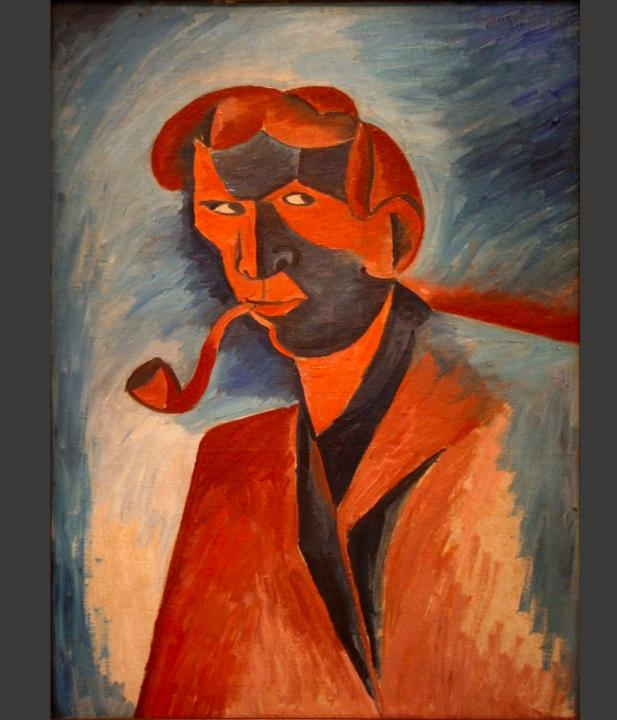
L: Pablo Picasso, Guitar and Violin (1912)

R: Picasso, Woman and Pears (Fernande) (1909)





Emil Filla, Head (1912) Bohumil Kubišta, Smoker (Self-Portrait) (1910)



AODERN ART IN EASTERN EUROPE

FROM THE BALTIC TO THE BALKANS, ca. 1890-1939



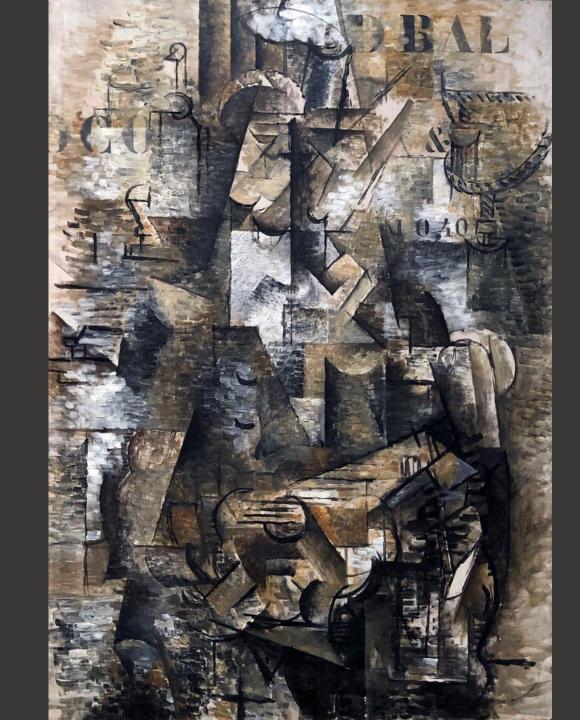
S. A. MANSBACH

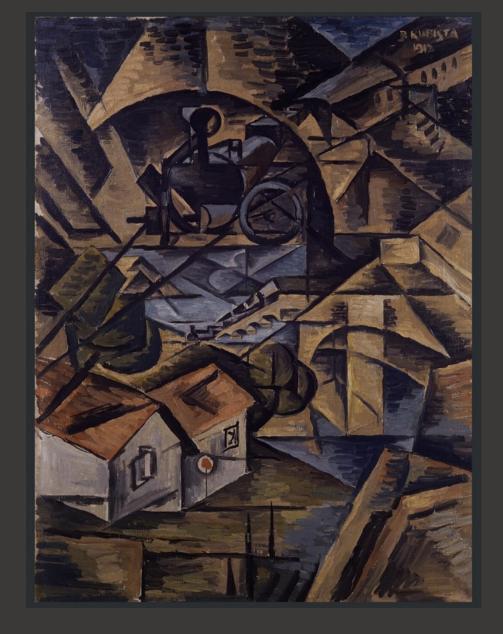
In two other paintings of 1908, Kubišta revealed the excited atmosphere in which he worked. A view of an interior (Fig. 12) and a rendition of a sunflower (Fig. 13) have the thick impasto, emphatic linear brushstrokes, and saturated hues of Vincent van Gogh's canvases as well as their emotional charge. His still lifes (Fig. 14) and landscapes of about 1909 take their premise from Cézanne but transpose the Frenchman's classic balance of form and structure into a new color key of emotional tension. By that time Kubišta had absorbed and harnessed the volatility of the previous year and now represented himself as a figure of consummate spiritual force (Fig. 15). The perfect complement to Filla's enervated Reader of Dostoyevsky (see Plate 2), Kubišta's representation is of a figure of powerful will – one whose self-confidence and conviction appear to exceed those even of Arthur Schopenhauer (Fig. 16), Osma's intellectual icon. In lieu of the strong contours carefully built up to describe the philosopher's physiognomy, a spectral aura surrounds the painter's self-image, emanating through expressionist flashes of yellow gold pulsing around his eyes, along his nose, under his mouth, and on his cheek. Stressing color contrast, free brushwork, and irregularity of outline, Kubišta enhanced the emotional directness of his image while demonstrating his rejection of academic conventions.



Georges Braque L: Violin and Palette (1909)

R: The Portuguese Woman (1911)

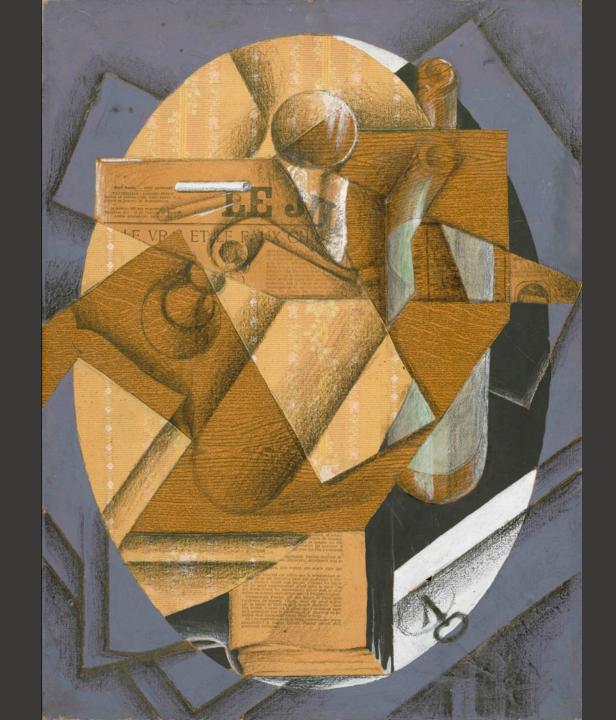




L: Bohumil Kubišta, Train in the Tunnel (1913) R: Kubišta, The Hanged Man (1915)



Picasso Still Life with Compôte and Glass (1914) J OURN





L: Juan Gris – The Table (1914) R: Picasso – Bottle of Vieux Marc, Glass, Guitar and Newspaper (1913)



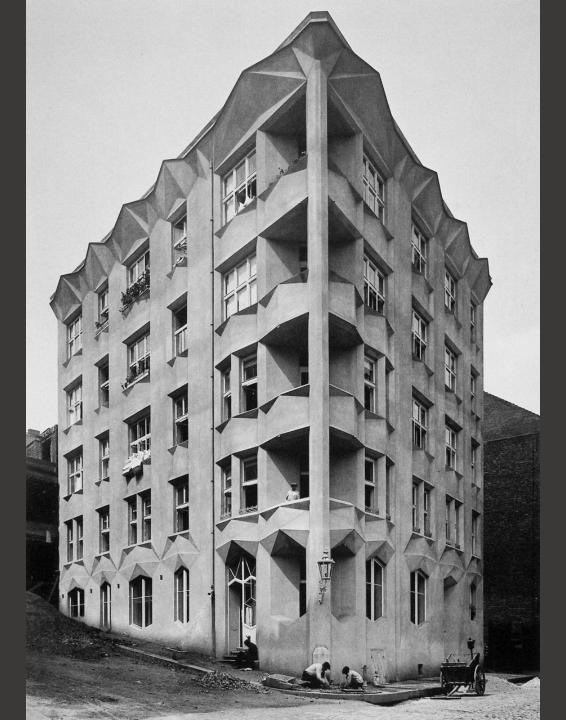


KUBISMUS

NÁKLADEM MORAVSKO-SLEZSKÉ REVUE 1921

Vincenc Kramář, Cubism (Brno, 1921)

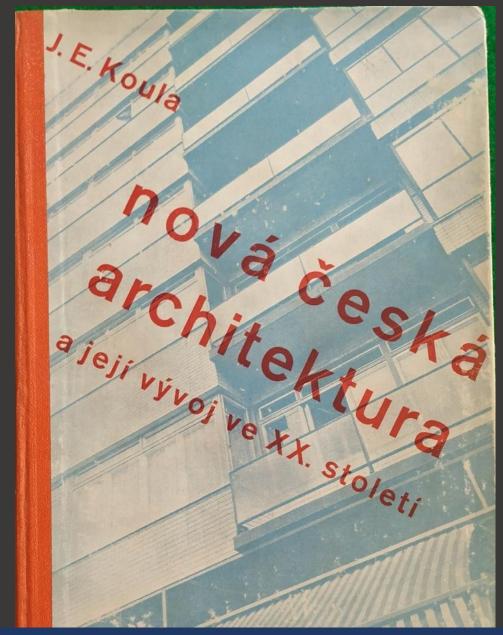


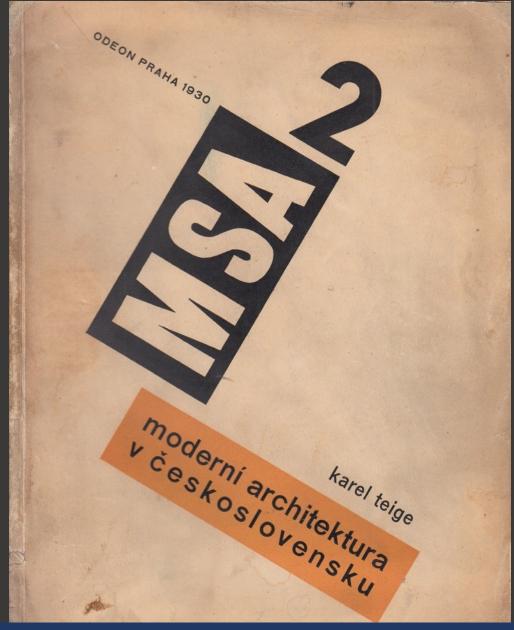


Josef Chochol Apartment block, Vyšehrad, Prague (1914)



Josef Chochol, Vila Kovařovicova, Prague (1912-13)





Jan Koula, Modern Czech Architecture and its Development in the 20th Century (Prague, 1940) Karel Teige, Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia (Prague, 1930)

kubismus

Proti povaze a duchu Kotěrova a Loosova díla, a proti názorům, o něž se jejich práce opírala, začíná se již asi kolem r. 1910 hlásiti určitý protiproud, zjevná reakce, která se v Praze projeví velmi samostatnou, zvláštní, originelní a zajímavou, přes to, že v zásadě bludnou školou kubistické architektury. Proti dekorativismu a folkloru secese i proti utilitarismu a racionelním, konstruktivním tendencím díla Loosova a Kotěrova přichází kubismem ke slovu naprostý a čistý formalismus. Kubistické architektuře české, na rozdíl od materiálového pathosu vrstevnických škol říšskoněmeckých a lehké dekorační eklektické elegance vídeňské, jde především o plastičnost a pohyb hmot. Proti Semperovu a Wagnerovu určení díla jakožto resultanty účelu, materiálu a techniky zdůrazňují kubisté "neschopnost" a "neplodnost" utilitaristického stanoviska a nutnost abstraktní, duchové, dramatické a dynamické formy v architektuře. Proti konstrukci, racionálnosti a účelnosti postavena jako regulativní, elementární a primérní idea tvaru a dynamická komposice hmoty. Proti racionalismu a ryzí tektonice Wagnerovy či Berlageovy školy, která byla označována jako výplod antického či renesančního ducha, hlásá se návrat k baroknímu myšlení, a snad i k barokní formě, pro její dramatičnost. Stará Praha, nikoliv Praha renesanční a klasická, ale Praha barokní a snad také gotická, poutá opět pozornost architektů. "Klubem za Starou Prahu" hlásaná pověra o barokním geniu loci Prahy má obnovený úvěr. V barokní Praze nalézají kubističtí architekti silné prostorové a dynamické dojmy. Začíná se namítati, že wagnerismus a vůbec tendence moderní konstruktivní architektury se do této Prahy nehodí, že jsou příliš suché a střízlivé. Kubističtí architekti, uznávajíce svou poplatnost baroku, vytýkají wagnerovské architektuře vlastně totéž, co před 15-20 lety jí vytýkal krajně konservativní kritik dr. F. X. Harlas, jenž porážel tehdy novou architekturu heslem skutečně populárním, totiž také "starou Prahou", a neshledával v Praze vůbec místa pro moderní stavby. Je zvláštní ironií osudu, slyšíme-li po letech podobné námitky od autorů, kteří se domnívají býti architekty moderními...

Předními představiteli kubismu v české architektuře jsou Pavel Janák, Josef Gočár, Vlastislav Hofman, Josef Chochol a Jiří Kroha. Přenášejí prin-



Pavel Janák (1913): Návrh popelnicového pomníku — Monument aux morts — Urnen-Denkmal



Vlastislav Hofman (1917): Návrh pomníku — Monument aux morts — Entwurf eines Grabmals

začaté na rozhraní století Berlagem, bratry Perrety, Wagnerem, bylo v té době zdánlivě oslabeno a zatlačováno do pozadí romantickými a individualistickými módami architektonickými, které nebyly než pozdní ozvěnou secese a jugendstilu, výhonkem dekoratérství van de Veldeova; když tyto módy vyvětraly, uchylovala se středoevropská architektura bezmocně zpět do nížin eklekticismu a akademické tradice. V té době byla Praha ohniskem vzniku a rozvoje nové architektonické formy. Teoretikové očekávali, že z architektonického kubísmu vyvine se tu nový slohový útvar. Tento sloh, s naivní vírou očekávaný který však neměl nikdy příliš naděje, že vůbec bude existovati, poutal svou výjimečností a originalitou, v době určité stagnace, zájem ciziny. Paul Fechner ve své knize "Der Expressionismus" zmiňuje se s uznáním o nové pražské kubistické architektuře. Časopis "Montjoie!", redigovaný zesnulým básníkem Canudem, konstatuje, že vývoj architektury, všude stagnující, pokračuje svobodně v Praze. Chronologicky pozdější než experimenty českých autorů, nicméně v podstatě úplně paralelní zjev objevil se v Paříži r. 1913 na "Podzimním Salonu": sochař Duchamps-Villon vystavoval tu návrh plastického průčelí:

III. a) Kubismus

Právě tak, jako secesse zplošněla a stala se téměř zednickou rutinou, která ovládla i stavby malých domků na venkově, ztratila i předválečná moderna na své průbojnosti a stala se fasádnickým dekoratérstvím, mnohdy bezduchým, jak je patrné na př. na četných nájemných domech na Rašínově nábřeží v Praze v sousedství Kotěrova Pensijního ústavu. Slovo "poesie" ve Wagnerově hesle moderní architektury "účel, konstrukce a poesie" počíná se některými průbojnějšími architekty vykládati jako dramatisace rovnováhy hmot. Proti plošným "poctickým detailům", stylisovaným květům, čtvercům, kosočtvercům a jiným obrazcům, bez kterých se nemohlo obejít průměrné dekoratérství průčelí v této době, žádá tehdy (r. 1910) Pavel Janák plastickou formu. To vede k předválečnému období českého kubismu a poválečnému plastickému dekorativismu. A teprve mnohem později, ve snahách nové architektury po r. 1920, je toto úsilí pochopeno jako plastické vyřešení celé hmoty budovy, nikoli jen jejich částí a podrobností. Prvé příznaky snah o dramatický výraz v architektuře se jeví na př. v návrhu Gočárovu na přestavbu pražské radnice z r. 1909, který pro svou odlišnost a téměř výstřednost byl kdysi velmi populární. V detailu jsou příznačné pro nové období podrobnosti Janákova mostu přes Štvanici (z r. 1910), především budky pro výběrčí, podstavce pro Štursova sousoší.

Rok 1910 lze považovat za bod obratu v české architektuře. Mladší generace si tehdy uvědomuje ústy Pavla Janáka, že "tvoření moderní architektury mělo dosud spíše charakter očistný, sociální než výtvarný". Touží po plastické formě, po řešení problému prostoru, touží po tom, aby mohla uvést hmotu do pohybu. V Praze vzniká r. 1911 spojením mladých architektů s kubistickými malíři a literáty "Skupina", jejíž orgán Umělecký měsíčník se stává významnou tribunou české kubistické architektury. Praktickým výsledkem umělecké práce bylo založení Pražských uměleckých dílen r. 1912. Tam se pokusili jejich zakladatelé architektů J. Gočár a



Josef Chochol: vila v Praze pod Vyšehradem (1913)

a šikmými plochami počal pokrývati tvary oblými a barevnými. Svým velkorysým pathosem ovlivnil malířské i architektonické začátky B. Feuersteina. Za světové války provedl L. Machoň úpravu Švandova divadla v Praze na Smíchově (1917—18) v kubismu umírněném, klasicisujícím a barevném, v duchu snah o barevnost průčelí, které se u nás již tehdy počinaly ohlašovat. Učitelské domy Otakara Novotného, postavené roku 1919 v Praze V, jsou kubistické iiž iaksi opožděně.

Vnitřní

Právě tak, jako byla šikmými plochami "dynamisována" průčelí, byl "dynamisován" i nábytek, na kterém, jako na architektuře v malém, mohly býti vyzkoušeny levněji než na pozemních stav-



Josef Gočár: dům U Černé Matky Boží v Praze I (1912)

bách různé formové otázky. Nábytková vnitíní zařízení prodělala obdobný vývoj s hlediska formově slohového jako tak zv. velká architektura. V secessi byla zbavena historisujících příkras, lžihistorické, nepravé nádhery, usilovalo se o pravý a přírodní materiál, leč právě tak jako průčelí domů nezůstaly ani plochy nábytkových zařízení bez ornamentů, vzniklých stylisací rostlinné přírody. Nešlo jen o ozdoby, ale často o přetvoření základních forem nábytku, především sedacího. Vznikly židle a křesla, výtvarnou formou někdy až



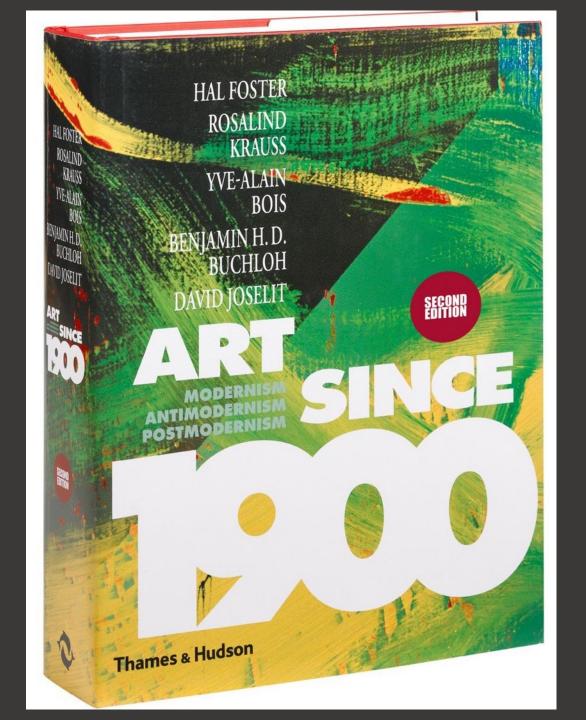
'Only the institutional entanglement of the creative work of the four architects with the activities of the artists involved in the Prague *Skupina* speaks in favour of using the term 'Cubism' in connection with Czech architecture from the period after 1912.

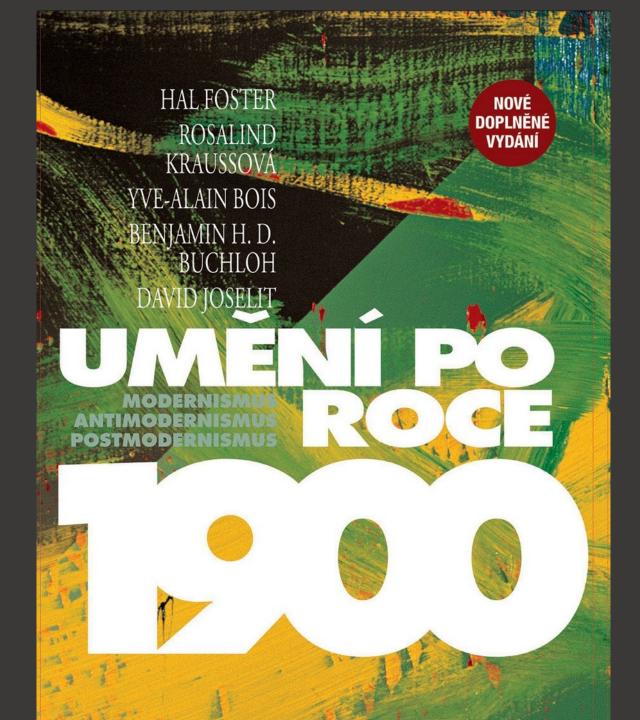
... it has a paradoxical consequence: it devalues the originality and conceptual depth of Czech 'modern art' and reduces it merely to being a marginal articulation of the convergence of the Prague periphery and the Parisian centre.'

Jindřich Vybíral, Český kubismus na trhu symbolických statků in Michal Novotný, ed., *Kubismus v české architektuře. Sto let poté* (Prague, 2013) p. 18 and 19

Zdeněk Kratochvíl, Le plus grand cirque cubist, *Umělecký měsíčník* (1914)

Horizontal Art History



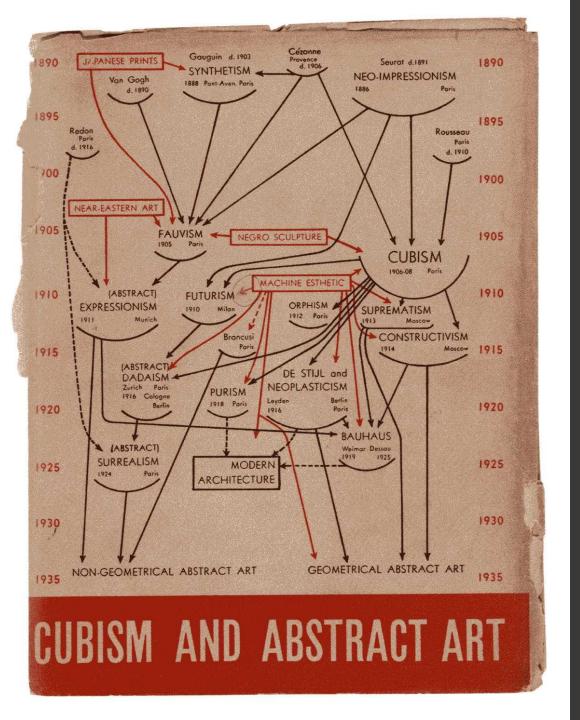


A horizontal art history should begin with the deconstruction of vertical art history, that is, the history of Western art. A critical analysis should reveal the speaking subject: who speaks, on whose behalf, and for whom? This is not to cancel Western art history, but to call this type of narrative by its proper name, precisely as a "Western" narrative. In other words, I aim to separate two concepts which have usually been merged: the concept of Western modern art and the concept of universal art. Western art history can thus be relativized and placed next to other art historical narratives – in accordance with the horizontal paradigm. The consequence of such a move will be a reversal of the traditional view of the relationship between the art history of the margins and that of "our" art history (read: of the West).

Piotrowski, 'Towards a Horizontal Art History' p. 54

Some principles:

- Approach the 'center' from the viewpoint of the periphery 'the marginal observer sees that the center is cracked'
- Critique the 'canon' and 'style': both of these are not as uniform as the 'center' imagines
- 'A canon is always an effect of an analytical and historical construction' (p. 55)
- Dismantle the opposition between 'universal' (i.e. French / German / US) modernism and 'national / local' (i.e. Czech / Polish / Hungarian / Slovak) modernism
- Relativize the center 'French' modernism is also a 'local' modernism
- 'Transnational' art history 'negotiating values and concepts along other lines than the opposition of the national versus the international' (p. 58)



Alfred Barr

Cubism and Abstract Art (New York, 1936)

