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# Musei e mostre tra le due guerre

a cura di Silvia Cecchini e Patrizia Dragoni

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Saggi

# The Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb in the interwar period: from a utopian project to a renowned institution

Ljerka Dulibić\*, Iva Pasini Tržec\*\*

## *Abstract*

The basis of today's Strossmayer Gallery's collection is the bequest of European Old Masters' paintings collected by Bishop J.J. Strossmayer (1815-1905), with the fundamental desire to enlarge the scope of the Croatian cultural tradition through the appropriation of European elite culture. The meaning and function of the Gallery changed considerably over time. Before WWI, the Strossmayer Gallery was a utopian project in the sense that its mission was not only to fabricate what was seen to be a missing artistic past, but also to create the foundations for a future, native art. After WWI, with the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the national state was, at least in some form, realized, and the Gallery now turned its attention to concrete matters. In this paper, we follow the paths of intensive professionalization of the wide range of activities in the interwar period, retracing not only

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the history of museum presentation, or the history of Art History and of Art Conservation in Croatia, but also some traces of the general development of the dynamic, intertwined and significant relationship between Art History, Art Conservation and the museum.

Il nucleo dell'odierna collezione della Galleria Strossmayer è costituito dal lascito delle opere dei maestri antichi europei raccolti dal vescovo J.J. Strossmayer (1815-1905), il cui scopo fondamentale fu di allargare la tradizione culturale croata con l'appropriazione della cultura elitaria europea. Con il passare del tempo, il significato e la funzione della Galleria cambiarono considerevolmente. Prima della Prima Guerra Mondiale la Galleria Strossmayer fu un progetto utopistico nel senso che la sua missione non era solo di riempire il vuoto visto come il passato artistico mancante, ma anche di creare le fondamenta per una futura arte locale. Dopo la guerra, con la formazione del Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni, lo stato nazionale fu, almeno in un certo senso, realizzato, e i responsabili della Galleria si concentrarono sui compiti concreti. Il presente articolo delinea un processo, svoltosi tra le due guerre, che si può definire di intensa professionalizzazione, ritracciando non solo la storia degli allestimenti museali, o la storia della storia dell'arte in Croazia, ma anche alcune tracce dei percorsi di sviluppo delle relazioni tra la storia dell'arte, la conservazione dei beni culturali e il museo.

The basis of today's Strossmayer Gallery's collection is the bequest of European Old Masters' paintings collected by Bishop J.J. Strossmayer (1815-1905)<sup>1</sup> in the period from the 1860s until the 1880s, on the European art markets of Italy (Rome, Venice, Florence, Milan) and Germany (Köln)<sup>2</sup>. As a 19<sup>th</sup> century Church prelate of a high social status and strong political influence, Strossmayer spent considerable time, money and effort on collecting, with a fundamental desire to enlarge the scope of Croatian cultural tradition through the appropriation of European elite culture. When the Strossmayer Gallery first opened its doors in 1884 on the second floor of a newly constructed building (fig. 1)<sup>3</sup>, it contained approximately 250 works of art, the majority of which were paintings: some two hundred Old Master works from various European schools dating from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and perhaps twenty contemporary paintings by 19<sup>th</sup>-century German and Slavic artists. The paintings were arranged throughout five large display rooms. The sixth display room housed miniatures and cartoons by Friedrich Overbeck for the Đakovo Cathedral, the see of Strossmayer's diocese, while the anteroom contained several sculptures, tapestries and liturgical garments. The collection also displayed copies of famous works of art and their graphic reproductions in editions by the English Arundel Society<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Josip Juraj Strossmayer (Osijek, 1815 – Đakovo, 1905), bishop of Bosnia-Đakovo and Srijem, was a central figure of the Croatian political, social, clerical, and cultural history of the second half of the nineteenth century. Cfr. Flego 1995-96, pp. 288-289.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. Dulibić, Pasini Tržec 2015; Dulibić, Pasini Tržec in print(b); Pasini Tržec, Dulibić 2014; Pasini Tržec, Dulibić 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Dulibić, Pasini Tržec in print(a); Dulibić, Pasini Tržec 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. Brunšmid 1917, p. 156.

The ideas underpinning the Gallery's foundation placed it squarely within the universe of institutions springing up all over Central Europe<sup>5</sup>. Within the context of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, high culture was one of the few realms in which alternative social and political visions could be articulated. The institutionalization of the arts and sciences was perceived as a guarantee for a stable, free society. Before WWI, the Strossmayer Gallery had been a utopian project in the sense that its mission was not only to fabricate what was seen to be a missing artistic past, but also to create the foundations for a future, native art. After WWI, with the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the national State was, at least in some form, realized.

Abandoning the realm of the imaginary, the Gallery now turned its attention to concrete matters. The interwar period was marked by an intense professionalization of a wide range of activities: vivid international interrelations with museum institutions and professionals across Europe were fostered, a grand campaign for the systematic registration and conservation of Croatian cultural and artistic heritage was initiated in the Strossmayer Gallery, and the Gallery's permanent display was rigorously modernized. In the interwar period, the Gallery's display was reconstructed twice, with only the second grand reconstruction of 1926 being duly noted and remembered as «the restoration of the Gallery». However, the first postwar intervention of 1920, which was not as grand as the second one, nor as present in the media, was marked by a want of modernization and a consciousness of the necessity for the preservation of artworks.

Immediately after being named the director of the Strossmayer Gallery on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1920, painter Menci Klement Crnčić (1865-1930)<sup>6</sup> started the reconstruction of the Gallery's display rooms. His minute *Report on the actions performed for the new decoration of the Strossmayer Gallery of Paintings from February 2<sup>nd</sup> until April 15<sup>th</sup> of 1920*<sup>7</sup> is preserved in the Strossmayer Gallery's archives. Crnčić removed the semicircular wooden partitions from the display rooms and organized «new rooms, divided by simple partitions into larger or smaller units»<sup>8</sup> in accordance with «the amount of artworks grouped by

<sup>5</sup> Dulibić, Pasini Tržec 2012b.

<sup>6</sup> Menci Klement Crnčić (Bruck an der Mur, 1865 – Zagreb, 1930), painter and graphic artist, opened a private painting school in 1903 that grew into the Collegiate School of Arts and Crafts, and later on into the Academy of Art, where he was a professor from 1907 until 1930. He was the Strossmayer Gallery's director from 1920 until 1928. Cfr. Šurina 1995-1996, pp. 157-158; Alujević 2016, pp. 157-158.

<sup>7</sup> Izvještaj o radnjama prigodom novog uređenja Strossmayerove galerije slika od 2. februara do 15. aprila 1920. [*Report on the actions performed for the new decoration of the Strossmayer Gallery of Paintings from February 2<sup>nd</sup> until April 15<sup>th</sup> of 1920*], 10<sup>th</sup> April 1920. Strossmayer Gallery Archive (from now SGA), box 1, 1864-1926, 1902-1925. All quotes from croatian language are translated in english by the authors.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*.

period and national schools»<sup>9</sup>, and taking care that the «new display rooms organized in this way allow enough distance for the observation of every single artwork»<sup>10</sup>. In order to achieve an «utmost unity with the inner rooms»<sup>11</sup>, apart from the varnishing work in the display rooms and the building's anteroom, Crnčić had four doors made that open up onto the anteroom, which enabled «an easier traffic through all rooms, not only for visitors, but for the Gallery's personnel as well»<sup>12</sup>. One of these new doors was deemed the main entrance into the Gallery's display rooms, where the custodian's desk with catalogues was placed, as well as a wardrobe, while two guards were intended for the surveillance of the display rooms.

Crnčić especially emphasized the preservation of artworks, explaining the reasons behind the poor state of paintings in great detail. As the greatest problem he stressed the oscillations in temperature as a consequence of inadequate heating of the Gallery's display rooms. He encouraged the conducting of systematic restorations of artworks employing for this purpose in 1924 the first professional Croatian art conservator and restorer Ferdo Goglia (1869-1943)<sup>13</sup>, who would for the following two decades remain the Gallery's only permanent associate for art restoration work. Crnčić took care of the security of displayed artworks, especially those of smaller dimensions which he had «fastened onto iron bars mounted on the wall with bolts»<sup>14</sup>. He prepared a special room in the building's attic where he stored «various necessary equipment»<sup>15</sup>, while the final display room, in which copies and other works «that could not be displayed in the Gallery for various reasons» where held, he organized a space which could be used as a workshop for restoring and copying artworks. He encouraged educational copying of displayed artworks stressing that the «eminently cultivated moment of copying brings about the sense of art, especially of classical art»<sup>16</sup>.

The press of the time deemed director Crnčić's reconstruction of the Gallery praiseworthy, especially because of the removal of the «tall wooden partitions painted a Pompeian red with heavy black frames»<sup>17</sup>, the introduction of «light, freshness and spaciousness»<sup>18</sup> and the arrangement of paintings according to

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>13</sup> Cfr. Vokić 2007, pp. 187-190.

<sup>14</sup> *Report on the actions performed for the new decoration of the Strossmayer Gallery of Paintings from February 2<sup>nd</sup> until April 15<sup>th</sup> of 1920*, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1920. Strossmayer Gallery Archive (from now SGA), box 1, 1864-1926, 1902-1925.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>17</sup> Lunaček 1920.

<sup>18</sup> Kara 1920, p. [1].

«their actual artistic value»<sup>19</sup>. In this sense, by facilitating the conditions for a comfortable perception of the formal and aesthetic qualities of the displayed artworks, the Gallery's display shows some of the current tendencies for modernization in European museum practice. At that time, the display of the Gallery's collection organized according to aesthetic principles was regarded as the most accessible type of display for people without much education, i.g. the general public<sup>20</sup>. However, it was precisely this tendency that was heavily criticized by the first director and author of the first permanent display of the Gallery, Izidor Kršnjavi (1845-1927), who was also the first educated art historian in Croatia and the first professor at the Department of Art History, founded very early at the University of Zagreb<sup>21</sup>. Kršnjavi commented on the naming of Crnčić as the Gallery's director and his intervention into Kršnjavi's earlier permanent display in the following words:

Crnčić ist ein vorzüglicher Künstler, einer unserer Besten, aber von der Einrichtung einer Galerie versteht er ebensowenig als die übrigen Mitglieder unserer Kunstakademie. Sein Erstes war die von mir eingerichtete Galerie nach malerischen Prinzipien umzugestalten. Alle Einbauten, die mit Rücksicht auf die beste Beleuchtung aller Bilder aufgeführt wurden, ließ er entfernen, teilte die Säle in Zimmer ein, wo die Bilder im Seitenlicht aufgehängt waren<sup>22</sup>.

In the wider context of the art institutionalization process in Croatia, the Strossmayer Gallery was, among other things, supposed to strengthen the educational purpose of the Academy of Art, whose connectedness with the Gallery was strongly insisted upon by Menci Clement Crnčić, its director and an established artist himself. Kršnjavi's criticism could, obviously, be explained as a defense of the scholarly and art-historical purpose of the Gallery, as well as the art historical profession's status<sup>23</sup>. However, one should not disregard the fact that Kršnjavi himself was a painter by vocation, who had, at the very onset of the Gallery's construction, advocated that a painters' studio be built alongside the main display rooms, considering that «the painter shall always somehow be a guardian of the Gallery»<sup>24</sup>. Kršnjavi's reaction to Crnčić's version of the

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. Noordegraaf 2004; Sheehan 2000.

<sup>21</sup> Izidor Kršnjavi (Našice, 1845 – Zagreb, 1927), art historian, painter and politician. In 1877 he became the first professor of Art History at the University in Zagreb and in 1883 the first director of the Strossmayer Gallery. His efforts led to the founding of the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb in 1880 and the School of Arts and Crafts in 1882. As the head of the Department of Religious Affairs and Instruction (1891-1895) he implemented a series of reforms for middle school and high school education. During his administration, a number of churches and school institutions were also built. Cfr. Maruševski 1995-1996, pp. 486-488. On Kršnjavi as the first director of the Strossmayer Gallery cfr. Pasini Tržec, Dulibić 2015a; Dulibić, Pasini Tržec 2012a.

<sup>22</sup> Kršnjavi 1926.

<sup>23</sup> Cfr. Vujić 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Izidor Kršnjavi to Franjo Rački, Vienna, 15<sup>th</sup> December 1876. Archive of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, XII A 332/19.

Gallery's display is, on one hand, a mirror image of the previous longstanding views on museum presentation, but on the other hand it is definitely the voice of the wounded author of the previous display who, ironically, dug into Crnčić for suspending the «functional, semicircular walls and the systematic chronological division of the collection's material, exchanging it for the so-called painterly views dictated by the format within the collection, thick, bulky partitions, etc.»<sup>25</sup>.

Crnčić's display in a newly renovated exhibition space was only the first step in the process of implementing contemporary museum standards into the Strossmayer Gallery. Crnčić had retained the then already outdated principle of displaying almost all of the artworks from a gallery's holdings, but this, however, proved to be unsustainable, especially with the new display. It then became completely clear that «however much Crnčić wanted to keep with tradition by displaying less valuable works to the detriment of the more valuable ones' space, it will have to be decided in time to either be more picky with what to display, or to try for another display room»<sup>26</sup>. Crnčić himself soon decided to be «more picky» with what was displayed. Having in mind the entirety of the display's reconstruction, in 1925 Crnčić initiated the summoning of «an outstanding, renowned specialist, who can provide trustworthy instructions on the value and provenance of certain artworks, enabling the creation of a reliable catalogue of paintings»<sup>27</sup>. As a well-known expert «of extensive theoretical and practical qualifications»<sup>28</sup>, Gabriel Térey (1864-1926), the chairman of the Picture Gallery of the National Museum of Budapest, was invited to Zagreb in similarly carefully chosen words like thirty years before when he had been invited to hold the position in Budapest, namely as an «art historian of great acclaim»<sup>29</sup>.

Térey had imported into the Strossmayer Gallery a methodology which was then new and contemporary, and with his intervention the principle of displaying all of the collection's artworks was terminated. The Hungarian expert only spent a short time in Zagreb, a total of twelve days in September 1925, and only six days in September 1926<sup>30</sup>. He studied the collection and selected 331 works, out of a total of 498, for allocation in twelve display rooms (fig. 2). His idea of reducing the number of works being shown according to their value, in order to avoid making the gallery space too crowded, «because all cluttering diminishes artistic appearance»<sup>31</sup>, his respect for open spaces, groups of works displayed along the timelines of their development, as well

<sup>25</sup> Kršnjavi 1926.

<sup>26</sup> Kara 1920, p. [1].

<sup>27</sup> Umjetnički razred 1926, p. 61.

<sup>28</sup> Manojlović 1927b, p. 182.

<sup>29</sup> Orsolya 2006, p. 170.

<sup>30</sup> Cfr. Manojlović 1927a, p. 238. Térey himself provided a written report: Térey 1927.

<sup>31</sup> Manojlović 1927b, p. 184.

as choosing the colors of the backboards for the paintings on display in order to bring out the paintings' formal and stylistic qualities, all show how attuned Térey was to contemporary museum practice and requirements. As he noted

In a first-class gallery, what is important is quality not quantity, and for this reason particular care has to be taken not to hang the objects too closely to one another. It is only in this way that the objects can be appreciated. The way the pictures are hung in a gallery has to be synoptic, so that the really good pieces meet the eye of the visitor immediately. When arranging the pictures, issues of artistry and aesthetics must be taken into account so that each wall, each cabinet and each gallery room constitutes an enclosed, unified whole. Above all, one room must only have works hanging from the same country and the same period [...] The uniform tone of the gallery walls is not appropriate for every school; consequently, an appropriate tone must be selected that suits the schools in question<sup>32</sup>.

Before reconstruction work in Zagreb commenced, Menci Clement Crnčić, director of the Strossmayer Gallery, along with the Vice-President of the Academy and Secretary of its arts section, architect Martin Pilar (1861-1942)<sup>33</sup>, took a tour of the National Museum of Budapest,

especially [...] its art-historical section, which is under the management of dr. Gabriel Térey, tuned according to his principles. They spent several days in Vienna studying the displays of all relevant galleries in which the rule is to display only those works that are most valuable. According to their impressions and Dr. Térey's suggestions, M. K. Crnčić began the reconstruction work of the Strossmayer Gallery of Paintings<sup>34</sup>.

The work on the «restoration of the Gallery», which lasted until October 1925, included the walling-in of all doors opening up to the anteroom, except those on the first and last (entrance and exit) display rooms, walls and ceilings were painted white, oak paneling was placed on the floor-to-wall transitions and along all door frames, and iron hanging bars were placed in every display room, so as to enable «hanging and removing paintings at will – so that no nails would be hammered into the walls». The first six display rooms housed works by Italian painting schools from the Trecento to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, display room seven showed paintings from the Dutch Golden Age, and the eighth display room comprised works by French and German painters from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Considering that they were not so numerous, paintings by Early Dutch and German Masters were placed at the very end of the chronological order, in display room number nine, which was smaller than the rest. In this way, the chronological order suffered a «short break», and Térey had to find a

<sup>32</sup> Térey 1927, pp. 177-180.

<sup>33</sup> Martin Pilar (Slavonski Brod, 1861 – Zagreb, 1942), architect and one of the founders and first professors of the High Technical School in Zagreb (1919). He realized many residential and office buildings, schools and churches. His book *Hrvatski građevni oblici* [Croatian construction forms] was based on his research of national built heritage. Cfr. Premerl 1995-96, pp. 61.

<sup>34</sup> Umjetnički razred 1927, p. 27.

solution that would be a compromise between the space for display cases with liturgical vestments, illuminated manuscripts and miniatures<sup>35</sup>. According to Térey's initial idea, the display cases were to be exhibited in a separate room, but even he saw that this would be impossible due to the overall lack of space. Therefore, the display cases were placed separately in various display rooms, leaving them outside of the main display concept that took into consideration the spatial and temporal sequence (fig. 3).

Despite the concessions made during the spatial reconstruction of the Gallery, Térey's intervention defined the basic museographic principle: by a planned sequencing of closed spatio-temporal wholes, a clear distinction was made between the various art schools comprising the collection. Although all catalogues printed so far, as well as all permanent exhibits, have been based on the primary separation of artworks according to period and place of origin, it was only with Térey's concept that this idea was fully and precisely executed. The wooden partitions in the display rooms were thinned out and enveloped in colored cloth «that corresponds to the time period»<sup>36</sup> of the artworks exhibited in a particular room. Térey's intervention also included the reparation of those picture frames that could be repaired, or the execution of new ones, all according to «the aesthetic requirements of the period from which the painting originates»<sup>37</sup>, so that, for example, «paintings from the Early German School were outfitted with black frames with golden rims»<sup>38</sup>. The main principles of Térey's display were in line with the overall tendencies of the interwar period, which brought forth a modification of the principles of display organization of Wilhelm von Bode from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Bode's *Stimmungsräume* is relinquished, as it often involves the displaying of artworks as decorative elements, and replaced by an exhibition type that displays different kinds of artworks (paintings, sculptures, liturgical vestments, illuminated manuscripts, ...) separately. Bode's main principles are kept: a strict selection of artworks, the avoidance of over-crowdedness, an aspiration to the evocation of a particular historical period by displaying related material in certain display rooms and insisting upon the capability of the display to enable an aesthetic perception with all necessary formal qualities of the displayed works. The paintings are now displayed in no more than two rows, taking into consideration that the most important paintings are exhibited in the middle of the wall, and surrounded by other paintings of similar size and thematic content<sup>39</sup>.

While Térey's work was focused on the reorganization of the Gallery's Old Masters section, the newly appointed director of the Strossmayer Gallery, Artur

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. Térey 1927, p. 179.

<sup>36</sup> Manojlović 1927b, p. 185.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>39</sup> Cfr. Noordegraaf 2004.

Schneider (1879-1946)<sup>40</sup> also executed Térey's principles in the final three display rooms, in which paintings of Slavic and Croatian artists from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century were exhibited (fig. 4). Upon his appointment as director of the Gallery in 1928, Schneider «was placed against an important task – to continue the proper work of Crnčić and Térey, to execute in the Modern Art section what they had executed in the sections of Old Masters»<sup>41</sup>. In order to create «our modern art section»<sup>42</sup>, Schneider chose from the available collections of Modern painting «the best and most valuable works that show our artistic development», and «molded them into an organic whole. This, in turn, enabled the well laid out organization of the local painting scene of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century within the Strossmayer Gallery»<sup>43</sup> (fig. 5).

Gabriel Térey's endeavors in the Strossmayer Gallery were cut short by his sudden death in 1927, leaving Schneider to continue their execution alone in other fields of museum activity, always relying on Térey's guidelines:

Zur Popularisierung einer Galerie gehören folgende Dinge: 1. Ein guter Katalog mit Illustrationen (in kroatischer und französischer Sprache); 2. wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen in Fachzeitschriften; 3. tadellose Photographien nach den besten und interessantesten Kunstwerken; 4. Ansichtspostkarten mit zweisprachigem Druck und 5. Album mit Reproduktionen der Hauptwerke<sup>44</sup>.

On Térey's initiative, photographs of the paintings from the collection had been ordered from the Munich Hanfstaengl studio<sup>45</sup>, which he then took on a trip to Italy, Austria and Germany, where he visited renowned art historians in order to consult them on questions of attribution and dating. Apart from a valuable collection of high quality Hanfstaengl glass-plate negatives, a few actual photographs have been preserved on whose back are noted suggestions on attribution, as was the usual practice of that generation of art historian connoisseurs<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Art historian and art and music critic, Artur Schneider (Zagreb, 1879-1946), was the director of the National University Library's Graphic Art Collection, professor of Art History at the University of Zagreb, secretary of the Croatian Music Institute and director of the Strossmayer Gallery (from 1928 until his death). Cfr. Bach, 1995-1996, p. 217. On Schneider as director of the Strossmayer Gallery cfr. Gašparović 1980; Pasini Tržec, Dulibić 2016.

<sup>41</sup> S. 1929, p. 634.

<sup>42</sup> Babić 1929, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> S. 1929, p. 634.

<sup>44</sup> Térey 1927, p. 181.

<sup>45</sup> Franz Hanfstaengl [Hanfstängl] (Baiernrain by Bad Tölz, 1804 – München, 1877) was a German photographer and lithographer. After graduating in drawing and lithography in 1833, he founded a publishing house in München, at first making lithographic reproductions of artworks, but then moving entirely onto a new method of reproducing invented by Franz von Kobell (1803-1875). At the same time he pursued photographic portraits. In 1868, his company was overtaken by his son, Edgar Hanfstaengl (1842-1910). Cfr. *Hanfstaengl, Franz*, in *The Dictionary of Art* 1996, p. 135.

<sup>46</sup> Cfr. Pagliarulo 2011.

On the basis of this groundwork of Térey, a slew of alternative suggestions for attributions noted on the backs of photographs, as well as his own ideas propelled by insight into literature and contacts with foreign experts, in 1932 Schneider published the so-called *Appendix to the 6<sup>th</sup> edition of the Strossmayer Gallery catalogue*<sup>47</sup>. This was the catalogue's third interwar edition. Accolades for the first interwar catalogue, published 1922, go to the then director of the Gallery, painter Menci Klement Crnčić, and to architect Martin Pilar, whose joint task it was to «according to necessity, find exemplary analysts who will shorten the catalogue's scope with a hansom editorial process, due to printing»<sup>48</sup>. The catalogue was put together by Petar Knoll (1872-1943), professor of Art History at the University of Zagreb<sup>49</sup>. It was decided that the edition would be without reproductions «because the paintings [...] cannot be well reproduced without major cost, which would make the catalogue overly expensive»<sup>50</sup>. On the heels of that edition was Térey's *Addition to the catalogue* from 1926<sup>51</sup>, a very humble publication that contained but a meager list of exhibited artworks. Schneider's *Appendix* from 1932 (fig. 6) was almost the same, but for a few paintings carefully noted by Térey as works of certain schools Schneider added precise notes on authorship.

The first illustrated catalogue of the Strossmayer Gallery, which contained photographic reproductions of chosen artworks, was published by Artur Schneider in 1939<sup>52</sup>. This publication, entitled *Italian Painting Schools* (fig. 7) was envisaged as the first part of a new, complete, critically and scientifically based catalogue modelled according to «the format of illustrated catalogues of the London National Gallery and the Berlin Kaiser-Friedrich Museum»<sup>53</sup>. And indeed, one can see great leaps forward in the presentation of artworks in this catalogue. Every painting is analyzed in a special catalogue unit that, along with the name of the author and his biography compiled on the basis of the most recent literature, contains the title and technical information on the painting, as well as a precise description, a list of literature in which the work was published and an additional note on alternative attributions which Schneider deemed possible as a result of his contacts with many esteemed art historians, museum directors and administrators of other related institutions around the world<sup>54</sup>. These contacts provided him not only with verifications of

<sup>47</sup> Cfr. Schneider 1932.

<sup>48</sup> Odbor za Strossmayerovu galeriju slika 1922.

<sup>49</sup> Art historian Petar Knoll (Vukovar, 1872 – Zagreb, 1943), taught art history and the history of architecture at the University of Zagreb. Cfr. Dobronić 1995-96, p. 440. Cfr. Knoll 1922.

<sup>50</sup> Umjetnički razred 1922.

<sup>51</sup> Térey 1926.

<sup>52</sup> Cfr. Schneider 1939.

<sup>53</sup> Cfr. Report from the session held on 12<sup>th</sup> March, 1937. Archive of the Strossmayer Gallery, box 3 (1934-1938), file 1937.

<sup>54</sup> Among Schneider's correspondents of the time were Bernard Berenson, Raimond van Marle, Adolfo Venturi, Richard Offner, Max Jacob Friedländer, Léon Rey, Boris Lossky, Otto Benesch,

authenticity and attribution of certain paintings in the Gallery's collection, but also served to incite the interest of foreign experts for the works in the collection with the goal of including the works from Zagreb into the international art-historical repertoire and weaving the Strossmayer Gallery into the world-wide web of museum institutions<sup>55</sup>.

Alongside these efforts of introducing contemporary museum principles and including the Strossmayer Gallery into the circle of European museums and galleries, the Society of Friends of the Strossmayer Gallery was founded in 1928, whose task it was to enrich the Gallery's collection with «valuable works of Old and Modern artists»<sup>56</sup>. Following the example of societies like *Amici di Brera* and *Amis du Louvre*, the trustees of the Strossmayer Gallery took care that «the valuable artworks, paintings and sculptures especially, were not taken out of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, but remained in the country, to primarily be preserved for the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb»<sup>57</sup>. Through the Society, six paintings were acquired for the Gallery in the period from 1929 to 1942<sup>58</sup>. These acquisitions, along with several other donated paintings, were the only additions to the Gallery's collection in the interwar period. It would seem that the primary concern of the period was to organize the existing collection of the Strossmayer Gallery, considering that more care was given to the implementation of new museum standards of artwork presentation.

In the history of the Strossmayer Gallery, the fourth decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is remembered by the public mostly with regard to a series of events commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Gallery's founding. In 1934-35, the Academy organized in its anteroom a succession of retrospective exhibitions entitled «One Hundred Years of Croatian Art 1830-1930», with accompanying richly printed catalogues edited by Artur Schneider<sup>59</sup>. Schneider contributed to the events with a lecture on *Strossmayer as an art collector*, which was based on archival research of the correspondence between Bishop Strossmayer and his

William Suida, Frida Rosenfeld, Detlev Freiherrn von Hadeln, Dorothea Westphal, Raymond Escholier, André Grabar, Karl Wilhelm Hiersemann, Ludwig F. Fuchs, Georg Ritter von Klarwill, Franz Naager, Joseph von Overstratzen, Rodolfo Pallucchini, Detlev von Hadeln, Dirk Hannema, Roberto Salvini, Walter Gernsheim, Philip Pouncey, George Buehr, Georges Huisman, Werner Cohn, Wladimir Semtscheschen, Josef Garzuly, Oskar Pollak, Belle da Costa Greene, Hans Heinrich Max Börger, Hans Möbius, Roberto Salvini, James B. Childs, Rino Valdameri, Wilhelm Waetzoldt, Johann Buchheit, Heinrich Bodmer, Irene Kunze-Kühnel, Frederik Casparus Wieder, Kornél Divald, Emma Bondy, Charles L. Kuhn, Rene Huyghe, Philip James, Walter William Spencer Cook, Bernhard Degenhart, Clotilde Brière-Mismé, Fernand Beaucamp, Pieter Koomen, Georges Huisman, Ugo Ojetti, Coriolan Petranu.

<sup>55</sup> Cfr. Pasini Tržec, Dulibić 2015b.

<sup>56</sup> Mihalić 2008, p. 37, n. 16.

<sup>57</sup> The Rulebook of the Society of Friends of the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb, compiled on 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1928, approved under reference number 23.995-1928, on 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 1928; in: file 1353, group VI, inv. no. 2225, Societies' Rulebooks, Croatian National Archive.

<sup>58</sup> More in Pasini Tržec 2014.

<sup>59</sup> Cfr. Šamec Flaschar 2011, p. 33.

advisors and mediators on the subject of acquiring artworks for his collection<sup>60</sup>. Schneider was the first to notice the importance of determining the context of acquiring artworks, as well as establishing the earlier provenance of the works, which is today an invaluable step in the complete assessment of any painting from the Strossmayer Gallery's collection. He also included archival sources into his research, using personal correspondence as an historical source. Apart from keeping high standards for the analysis and presentation of artworks to the expert public, special activities for the wider public were being organized (for example, lectures for students of the Public University), which was a tendency in accordance with the democratization process of the museum and museum audience, prevalent during the Second Museum Reform Movement<sup>61</sup>.

In the always ongoing process of improving the various aspects of museum practice, the Strossmayer Gallery became at this time a pivotal referential place for a wide variety of scientific and expert issues. This position of central importance that the Gallery acquired at the time was mirrored in the fact that the initiative for the cataloguing and photographic evidencing of cultural heritage on the Croatian national territory began precisely under the wing of this institution. The first step undertaken in the project had been the registration of moveable heritage, directly connected to the basic activities of the Strossmayer Gallery. As had been defined in 1930, the foremost task of the Strossmayer Gallery was

to fill itself with paintings of Old Masters, especially if the works are found in our fatherland. But this task must be expanded, so that, if by chance it could not fill its lap with original paintings from our fatherland – produced by domestic or foreign artists – for which the Gallery's authorities must ascertain: 1. Where the works are held; 2. Keep the works from being taken out of our fatherland; 3. Have the works conserved. [...] it should come to be that [...] the director of our Gallery travels [...] with the intention to investigate where paintings such as these [in the Strossmayer Gallery] could be found, by whom they are made, in what shape they are, etc. [...] so that an inventory of such works can be made, that each painting be properly marked, its state of conservation identified and good photographs of it produced<sup>62</sup>.

The collection of photographic glass-plate negatives, referred to as *Croatia's Historical and Art Monuments*, very well known to Croatian scholars as the *Schneider Photographical Archive* was formed in the fourth decade of the twentieth century as the result of a grand campaign of photographic recording of Croatia's cultural and art heritage. This ambitious and often, due to various circumstances, adventurous field work, which had often been interrupted because of diverse financial and political difficulties, began in October 1930 and was stopped with the beginning of WWII. It eventually comprised approximately two hundred localities, cities and towns in the regions of Istria,

<sup>60</sup> Schneider 1935.

<sup>61</sup> Noordegraaf 2004, pp. 88-89.

<sup>62</sup> Umjetnički razred 1931, pp. 26-28.

Dalmatia and some parts of continental Croatia. The photographing had been accompanied by cataloguing and basic analyses. On the basis of the notes taken at the sites and the photographs themselves (fig. 8), Schneider compiled an elementary inventory and topographical index which were published in the meantime, and are still in use today<sup>63</sup>. The special meaning of this pioneer work is primarily seen in the fact that many of the photographs from the Schneider's archive are still the most valuable visual information about many monuments that have vanished, been destroyed, or ruined. Many monuments and artworks had then been examined by a professional art historian for the first time. Schneider's methodical and exhaustive reports of the yearly visits to diverse localities, that had been regularly published in the Academy's annals under the title *Popisivanje, proučavanje i fotografsko snimanje starih umjetnina* [Cataloguing, Researching and Photographing Old Artworks], are the Academy's basis for «engaging with authorities in the issuing of an official Act for the protection of old artworks, which are decaying or being taken out of the country»<sup>64</sup>.

With the intensifying of various complex activities that the Gallery performed, and the expansion of its influence outside of the walls of its display rooms, events that came about during the 1930s confirm that the long-term history of the Gallery, primarily conceived as «an educational repository» of European Old Masters' Paintings, reflects the general development of Art History and of Art Conservation as scholarly disciplines in Croatia. During the Gallery's interwar history, one could retrace not only the history of the implementation of new standards of museum presentation, or the history of art history and of art conservation in Croatia, but also some traces of the general development of the dynamic, intertwined and significant relationship between Art History, Art Conservation and the museum.

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<sup>63</sup> Vandura *et al.* 1999.

<sup>64</sup> Umjetnički razred 1938.

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*Appendice*

Fig. 1. The building of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters – The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1941 (photo Croatian National Archive)



Fig. 2. Strossmayer Gallery's permanent display, post reconstruction 1926 (photo Strossmayer Gallery)



Fig. 3. Strossmayer Gallery's permanent display, post reconstruction 1926 (photo Strossmayer Gallery)



Fig. 4. Strossmayer Gallery's permanent display, post reconstruction 1926 (photo Strossmayer Gallery)

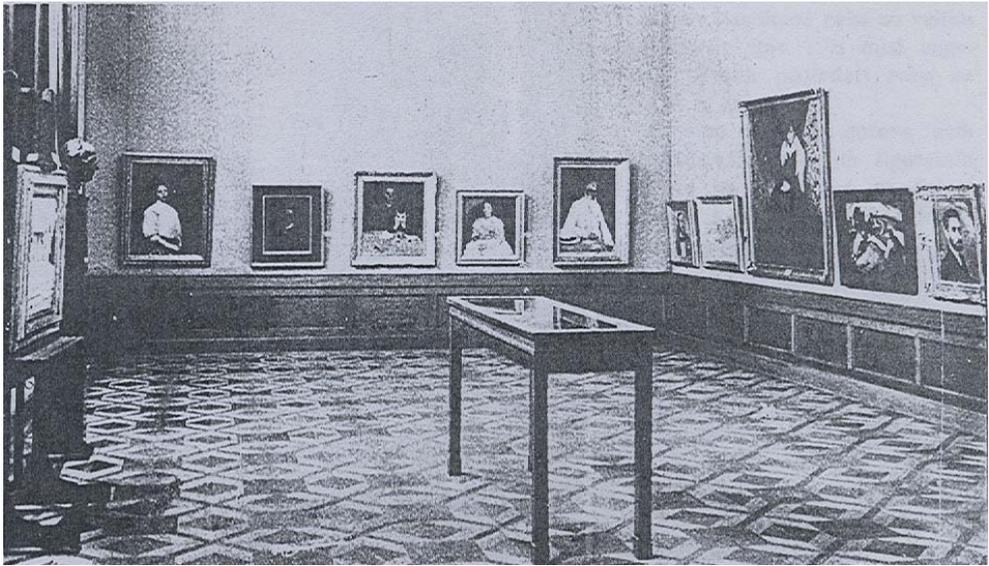


Fig. 5. Strossmayer Gallery's permanent display, post reconstruction 1928/29 (photo from the magazine «Svijet», 1929)

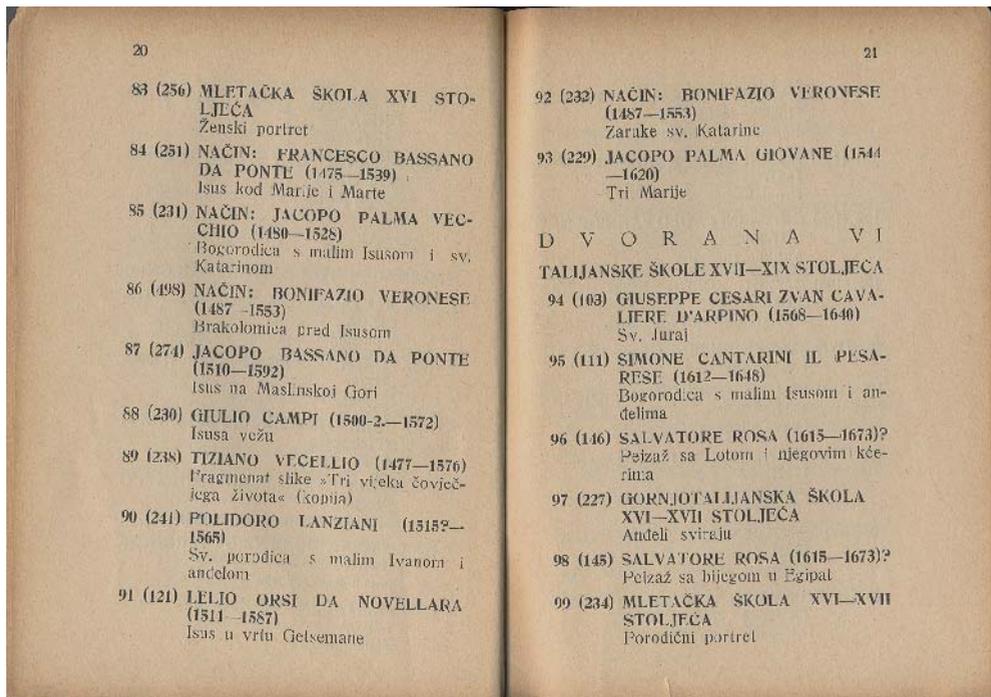


Fig. 6. Catalogue of the Strossmayer Gallery, 1932

## D V O R A N A I

## UMBRO - FIRENTINSKI MAJSTOR XV. STOLJEĆA

## 1 (44) ZARUKE SV. KATARINE

U pejzažu sjedi Bogorodica i drži lijevom rukom malog Isusa, koji sjedi na njezinu lijevom koljenu. Lijevo kleči krunom ovjenčana sv. Katarina pružajući desnu ruku, koju svojom desnom drži Bogorodica, Isusu, da joj nadjene prsten. Lijevom se rukom svetica upire u kotač, svoje znamenje. U pozadini pejzaž s gradom, rijekom i brežuljcima u daljini.

Tempera, drvo, v. 0.415, š. 0.325.

Suvremena kopija izgubljene slike Francesca Pesellina (1422.—1457.). Sačuvan je nešto izmijenjen crtež po toj slici. Vidi B. Berenson, *The drawings of the Florentine painters*, Chicago University Press 1938, broj 1839.

*Literatura.* A. Schneider str. 41. (s reprodukcijom na str. 22.) kao: umbrijska škola XV. stoljeća.

*Druge atribucije:* W. Suida: učenik Fra Filipa Lippija; R. van Marle: Lorenzo da Prato.

## BARTOLOMMEO CAPORALI

*Umbrijska škola. 1420?—1505? Suvremenik i suradnik Benedetta Bonfiglija, a učenik Benozza Gozzolija. Utjecali su na nj Boccaci, Piero della Francesca, a kasnije i Perugino.*

## 2 (32) BOGORODICA S MALIM ISUSOM, SV. FRANJOM I SV. BERNARDINOM

U sredini sjedi na prijestolu Bogorodica držeći u naručju malog Isusa, koji desnom rukom blagosilja, a lijevom drži češljugarku. Ispred prijestola stoje, označeni natpisima u svojim aureolama, lijevo sv. Franjo Asiški, a desno sv. Bernardin. Gore u pozadini lijevo i desno po dva andela, dva sklopljenih, a dva raširenih ruku. Na podnožju prijestola nalazi se natpis:

Ø Å Ø Ð Ø M Ø CCCC Ø XIII Ø

Tempera, lipovina, v. 0.430, š. 0.320.

*Literatura.* B. Berenson str. 125.; R. van Marle XIV., str. 130. uz napomenu, da se na slici razabira veoma znatan utjecaj Benozza Gozzolija.

## BASTIANO MAINARDI

*Firentinska škola. Oko 1450.—1513. Učitelj mu je bio Domenico Ghirlandajo, s kojim je i mnogo surađivao.*

## 3 (92) BOGORODICA S MALIM ISUSOM

Desno kleči Bogorodica i klanja se sklopljenih ruku malom Isusu, koji sjedi lijevo na niskom zidu blagosiljajući desnom rukom, a lijevom držeći

Fig. 7. Catalogue of the Strossmayer Gallery, 1939



Fig. 8. Artur Schneider during the listing and photographing of Croatia's artistic heritage, 1939 (photo Strossmayer Gallery)

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