

Josipa Alviž

Department of Art History,
Faculty of Humanities and
Social Sciences, University of
Zagreb

Jasmina Nestić

Department of Art History,
Faculty of Humanities and
Social Sciences, University of
Zagreb

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NATIONAL ART AT THE DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE 1970S IN THE CONTEXT OF STATE AND POLITICAL CHANGES*

Abstract

This paper analyses the representation of themes from national art within art history studies at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb in the period from its establishment (1877) until the 1970s. It also draws conclusions about how the shaping of the content of national art, as well as the study program, were determined by changes in the socio-political system, which were also reflected in the personnel policy and the structure of the Department. Furthermore, the paper describes the contributions made by individual professors of the Department in the formation of the teaching programs in which topics from national art were taught with almost the same importance and in parallel with those from general art overviews. They were given different designations depending on the political period, such as Yugoslav art, national art, our monuments, domestic monuments, or were even more closely related to the official state designation (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, Banovina of Croatia, Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia).

INTRODUCTION

The first course of study in art history in Croatia was established in 1877, when Izidor Kršnjavi (1845–1927) was appointed associate professor at the newly established *Stolica za povijest umjetnosti i umjetničku arheologiju* (Chair of Art History and Ancient Classical Archaeology) at *Kraljevsko sveučilište Franje Josipa I. in Zagreb* (Royal University of Franz Josef I, 1874). Various researchers from different disciplines have investigated the long and rich history of the course of study, which was founded in the wake of the establishment of the profession throughout the Central European area.¹ The aim of this chapter is to offer insight into the changes that took place in the course of study at (what is today) the Department of Art History² of the Faculty

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¹ For example, papers in: *Zbornik radova sa skupa 140 godina podučavanja povijesti umjetnosti na Sveučilištu u Zagrebu* [140 years of Teaching Art History at the University in Zagreb Conference Proceedings], eds. Dubravka Botica and Miljenko Jurković (Zagreb: FF press, 2022), and *Radovi Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti* [Journal of the Department of Art History], no. 7 (1981).

² Although the Department of Art History received its official title, which it carries to this day, in the academic year of 1960/1961, this title will also be used throughout this text for earlier periods in order to avoid additional

of Humanities and Social Sciences, from its foundation up until the 1970s, with special focus on the representation of courses in national art history and the influence of social-political changes on its formation. Research has shown that the personnel policy of the Faculty and the Department influenced the formation of study programs and the position of national art within them. Of course, we cannot observe these changes without reference to the forms of interference by the state, which changed frequently over the course of this period: first, Croatia was a component of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, then briefly the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, then the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (that is, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), the self-proclaimed Independent State of Croatia and, finally, socialist Yugoslavia. In this regard, the definition of national art also changed in meaning, especially in relation to its geographical extent, as revealed by the names of the courses taught at the Department of Art History from its foundation until 1970s and published in the official Lecture Schedule of the University of Zagreb.³ These schedules, which serve as a key source for this paper, point out the significance that courses in national art had for the personnel policy of the Department, for the education of students, for the formation of future experts and for recognition of the study program and research methods of the Department of Art History in Zagreb.

IZIDOR KRŠNJAVI AND NATIONAL ART DURING THE FIRST DECADES OF ART HISTORY STUDY IN ZAGREB

The creation of the Chair of Art History and Ancient Classical Archaeology was a matter of national interest, in which the wishes of the main actors, among them bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, lawyer and publicist Lacko Mrazović, canon of Zagreb's Archbishopric Franjo Rački and Kršnjavi himself, were aimed at the cultural and academic enrichment of the people. This is perhaps most vividly evidenced by Kršnjavi's programmatic text *Kako da nam domovina se obogati* (How to Make Our Homeland Rich, 1874), in which he explained in a visionary manner the idea of developing the artistic craft as one of the factors in the cultural development of Croatia, along with the establishment of an art society, an art school and the Department of Art History in Zagreb.⁴ After receiving a professorship at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,

explanations. In earlier periods, it existed organizationally as the Seminar for the History of Art and Culture, and before that as the Chair for the History of Art and Art-Archaeology.

³ Lecture schedules at the faculties of the University of Zagreb have been published for each semester of the academic year and are available in the Archives of the University of Zagreb, as well as on website Virtualne zbirke Sveučilišta u Zagrebu [Virtual Collections of the University of Zagreb], accessed November 10, 2021, <https://unizg.eindigo.net/?pr=l&mrx%5B-%5D%5B12903%5D=a>. In order to facilitate readability of the text, it will be referred to in its shorter title version as *Redovi predavanja* [Lecture Schedule] and by indicating the academic year.

⁴ Izidor Kršnjavi, "Kako da nam se domovina obogati" [How to Make Our Homeland Rich], *Vienac*, no. 20, May 16, 1874, 317–319, and no. 21, May 23, 1874, 329–331.

Kršnjavi worked there as the only professor of art history for 35 years, with a break of six years (1891–1896) when he served as head of *Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu Kraljevske hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske zemaljske vlade* (the Department of Religion and Education of the Royal Croatian–Slavonian–Dalmatian Land Government).⁵ During this long period, he strove to offer students overviews of artistic eras and theoretical and problem-based courses, focusing mostly on the art of ancient Greece and the Italian Renaissance. At the same time, he had great freedom in the thematic setting of individual courses, which often corresponded to his research and professional interests. For example, he dedicated as many as 18 courses to Dante, whose personality fascinated him.⁶ Although it is, of course, likely that he mentioned national art to some extent in his lectures on general and stylistic reviews of art, only a few titles of his courses reveal an explicit focus on national heritage. These were the four courses on Croatian medieval art that he offered in the 1900/1901 and 1901/1902 academic years: the course *Povijest kulture u srednjem vijeku s osobitim obzirom na Hrvatsku* (History of Culture in the Middle Ages with Special Focus on Croatia; in three parts) and *Vježbe pred sredovječnim spomenicima u Zagrebu* (Exercises in Front of Medieval Monuments in Zagreb).⁷ The latter was carried out *in situ*, a practice pioneered by his Viennese professor Rudolf Eitelberger, who was his role model not only in the substantive approach to the material, but also in teaching methodology.⁸

Considering the fact that Kršnjavi taught over 150 art history courses during his long-term teaching activity at the Faculty, the small number of courses dealing with national content, as well as the great freedom in the order of courses throughout the semesters, testify that art history studies did not have a firmly structured program within its first four decades and that there was still no systematic teaching of national art. Although he was extremely involved in the artistic and cultural events in Croatia at the time,⁹ Kršnjavi did not express his affection for the national art of his time more strongly in his teaching work at the university. Tihomil Stahuljak, who was also later a professor at the Department of Art History, offered an explanation of this situation by noting that Kršnjavi had been the only professor at the Chair for many years and therefore justifiably focused on the general history of art, but also that he had worked at a time when there were not many written works

5 Olga Maruševski, *Iso Kršnjavi kao graditelj. Izgradnja i obnova obrazovnih, kulturnih i umjetničkih spomenika u Hrvatskoj* [Iso Kršnjavi as a Builder. Construction and Renewal of Educational, Cultural and Artistic Monuments in Croatia] (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2009, first edition 1986), 39–44.

6 Josipa Alviž and Jasmina Nestić, “Izidor Kršnjavi i počeci poučavanja povijesti umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj” [Izidor Kršnjavi and the Beginnings of Art History Teaching in Croatia], in *Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa Iso Kršnjavi – veliki utemeljitelj*, eds. Ivana Mance and Zlatko Matijević (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti; Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 160–161.

7 See *Lecture schedules 1900/1901 and 1901/1902*.

8 Alviž and Nestić, “Izidor Kršnjavi i počeci poučavanja povijesti umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj,” 154.

9 See more papers published in the conference proceedings: *Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa Iso Kršnjavi*, eds. Mance and Matijević.

and publications about Croatian art.¹⁰ His retirement also had a political dimension: “About ten days after the fateful October, 29 [1918, author’s note] for all of us Croats, the doors of the University suddenly closed to Kršnjavi,”¹¹ and he retired in November 1918.¹² That “fateful” event was the decision by the Croatian Parliament on the severance of state-law ties with Austria-Hungary and on Croatia’s accession to the new (short-lived) Država Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba (State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs), with the acknowledgement of the supreme authority of the National Council.¹³

ARTUR SCHNEIDER AND PETAR KNOLL – THE BEGINNINGS OF SYSTEMATIC TEACHING ON NATIONAL ART AT THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN ZAGREB

The new state system that came into being with the proclamation of the Kraljevstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, hereinafter cited as the Kingdom SCS) on December 1, 1918 required a completely different approach to teaching content for almost all social, humanistic and artistic subjects at all levels of public education, as well as at the University of Zagreb (renamed Hrvatsko sveučilište / the Croatian University in 1918 and, then again in 1919, Sveučilište Kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca / University of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes).¹⁴ The course of study in art history in Zagreb also followed these requirements in terms of content and organization by including courses related to the art of the newly founded Kingdom of SCS immediately, in the 1919/1920 academic year. Artur Schneider (1879–1946), who had been working at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences since 1913 as a private assistant professor lecturing on the history of Italian Renaissance art,¹⁵ was appointed as an honorary private assistant professor in April 1919 precisely “for lectures on history of art with

10 Tihomil Stahuljak, O studiju povijesti umjetnost [On Studying Art History], 1979, Jura Gašparac Archives.

11 Tihomil Stahuljak, Iz prošlosti nastave povijesti umjetnosti na Sveučilištu u Zagrebu (25. veljače 1978.) [From the Past of Teaching Art History at the University of Zagreb (February 25, 1978)], 10, Jura Gašparac Archives.

12 Tihomil Stahuljak, “O stogodišnjici nastave povijesti umjetnosti na Sveučilištu u Zagrebu” [On 100 years of Teaching Art History at the University of Zagreb], *Radovi Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti*, no. 7 (1981): 12.

13 Stanislava Koprivica-Oštrić, “Konstituiranje Države Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba 29. listopada 1918. godine” [Constitution of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs on the 29th of October, 1918], *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, vol. 25, no. 1 (1993): 45–71.; Hrvatski sabor [Croatian Parliament], accessed November 10, 2021, <https://www.sabor.hr/hr/o-saboru/povijest-saborovanja#no-back>.

14 *Sveučilište Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca u Zagrebu 1874–1924.: spomenica akademickoga senata* [University of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Zagreb 1874–1924: Memorial of the Academic Senate] (Zagreb, Tisak Zaklade tiskare Narodnih novina, 1925), 70. For more about the University of Zagreb in the period after the First World War, see: Hodimir Sirotković, “Sveučilište između dva rata (1918–1941)” [University between the Two Wars (1918–1941)], in *Spomenica u povodu 300-godišnjice proslave Sveučilišta u Zagrebu I*, ed. Jaroslav Šidak (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 1969), 125–171.

15 Josipa Alviž and Jasmina Nestić, “Artur Schneider i nastava povijesti umjetnosti na Mudroslovnom fakultetu u Zagrebu” [Artur Schneider and Teaching of Art History at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb], in *Artur Schneider: 1879.–1946.: zbornik radova znanstveno-stručnog skupa*, ed. Ljerka Dulibić (Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2016), 33.

special regard to works of art, phenomena and monuments on the territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.”¹⁶ In the same year, he taught a course on the Art of the Middle Ages on the territory of the Kingdom of SCS, in parallel with the courses on general history of art. Already in 1921, Petar Knoll (1872–1943) was employed at the Faculty as a university teacher of the history of Yugoslav art, as stated in his appointment.¹⁷ A former clerk and adviser to the Croatian Provincial Government,¹⁸ Knoll had studied History of Art from 1909 to 1913 at the University of Vienna, where he had the opportunity to attend lectures by excellent Viennese art historians, among which he had mostly opted for the courses of Max Dvořák and Josef Strzygowski.¹⁹ Through a wide variety of courses in Zagreb on the art of the Kingdom of SCS, he was able to implement the extensive knowledge he had acquired in Vienna, especially from Strzygowski, who was intensely involved in the art of the Balkans.²⁰ Knoll taught courses on the art of Dalmatia, old Serbian art, early Christian art in Yugoslav countries, the influence of the East on the art of the Balkan Peninsula, the art of Islam in Bosnia, urban planning and the art of old Zagreb, and others, as well as more general courses on the theory of architecture, painting and sculpture, with a focus on local monuments: *Osnovi moderne arhitekture gledom na domaću umjetnosti* (Basics of Modern Architecture with Regard to Domestic Art),²¹ *Opća teorija umjetnosti gledom na domaće spomenike* (General Theory of Art with Regard to Domestic Monuments),²² *Teorija arhitekture gledom na naše spomenike* (Theory of Architecture with Regard to Our Monuments), etc.²³ The already mentioned Stahuljak, who was also Knoll’s former student, highly praised Knoll’s lectures, writing that he “taught with the greatest enthusiasm” about national art and emphasizing that, on “the combination of European and our art (...) Knoll lectured most directly and passionately.”²⁴

Over the next two decades, Schneider’s teaching focused mainly on chronological courses in general art history and monographic analysis of

16 *Ibid.*, 35 (n. 21).

17 *Osobnik Petra Knolla* [Personal File of Petar Knoll], Archives of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb (hereafter cited as AFHSS).

18 For more about Knoll, see Marko Špikić, “Rasprave sveučilišnog učitelja Knolla o očuvanju staroga Zagreba” [Professor Knoll’s Writings on the Preservation of Historical Zagreb], in *Zbornik radova sa skupa 140 godina podučavanja povijesti umjetnosti*, eds. Botica and Jurković, 93–112.

19 Registration forms [Nationalien] of Petar Knoll in the student directories of the Faculty of Philosophy in Vienna (1909–1913), Vienna University Archive.

20 For example: Josef Strzygowski, *O razvitku starohrvatske umjetnosti: prilog otkriću sjeverno-evropske umjetnosti* [On the Development of Pre-Romanesque Croatian Art: Contribution to the Discovery of Northern European Art] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1927), Josef Strzygowski, “Die Stellung des Balkans in der Kunstforschung” [The Position of the Balkans in Art Research], in *Srena Buliciana. Buličev zbornik: naučni prilozi posvećeni Frani Buliču prigodom LXXV. godišnjice njegova života od učenika i prijatelja*, eds. Mihovil Abramić and Viktor Hoffiller (Zagreb; Split: Zaklada tiskare Narodnih novina, 1924), 507–514.

21 *Lecture schedule*, 1934/1935.

22 *Lecture schedule*, 1933/1934.

23 *Lecture schedule*, 1939/1940, 1941/1942.

24 Stahuljak, *Iz prošlosti nastave povijesti umjetnosti*, 23.

artists²⁵ with only sporadic courses in national art,²⁶ whereas Knoll specifically taught courses in national art, which, as a result of the state system at the time, expanded to include Yugoslav art generally. Such course organization laid the foundations for systematically structured studies, the content of which was chronologically based and in which general and national art history were simultaneously taught. This practice has been maintained at this course of study to this day.

It is important to mention that Željko Jiroušek (1911–1997) also worked in the Department of Art History from 1935 onward, initially volunteering as an assistant, but began to give independent lectures in 1946 after he was appointed with the title of private assistant professor.²⁷ In this context, it is important to highlight his publication *Historijsko-umjetnički spomenici Jugoslavije (Art-historic monuments of Yugoslavia, 1938)*,²⁸ the first comprehensive review of Yugoslav art edited by his former professor A. Schneider and published in the 5th volume of the Almanac of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which was advertised as “a practical encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia that provides our public with the latest authentic information about the entire state system and life.”²⁹ So, at the same time when P. Knoll taught national art courses at the Department, Jiroušek, then a young assistant, began his training as an expert in domestic heritage, assisting Schneider in his great undertaking of cataloguing and photographing monuments and artistic heritage in Croatia,³⁰ and also in teaching courses with themes from national art, as evidenced by T. Stahuljak in his records.³¹

NATIONAL ART AT ART HISTORY STUDIES DURING WORLD WAR II

The political changes that followed immediately before and then during World War II were clearly reflected both in the personnel policy of the Faculty and in the course content itself. In terms of art history studies, this was clearly visible in the very titles of the courses. In the 1940/1941 academic year, Schneider taught seminar courses that included the art of Banovina Hrvatska (the Banovina of Croatia), officially established on the August 26, 1939; in

25 He was appointed full professor for art history and culture in 1922. Alviž and Nestić, “Artur Schneider,” 35 (n. 22).

26 Ibid., 45–52.

27 *Osobnik Željka Jirouška* [Personal File of Željko Jiroušek], AFHSS. See also: Danko Šourek, “Uz zagrebačke teme Željka Jirouška” [Željko Jiroušek’s Contributions on Zagreb Themes], in *Zbornik radova sa skupa 140 godina podučavanja povijesti umjetnosti*, eds. Botica and Jurković, 114–115 (n. 7).

28 Željko Jiroušek, *Historijsko-umjetnički spomenici Jugoslavije (od IX do polovice XIX vijeka): arhitektura i slikarstvo (sa općim pregledom umjetničkih epoha i stilova)* [Historic and Artistic Monuments of Yugoslavia (from the 9th to the Middle of the 19th century): Architecture and Painting (with a General Overview of Artistic Epochs and Styles)] (Zagreb: Nadbiskupska tiskara; reprint from Alamahan Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1938).

29 Ibid. (back cover of the publication)

30 Đuro Vandura, Borivoj Popovčak and Sanja Cvetnić, *Schneiderov fotografski arhiv. Hrvatski spomenici kulture i umjetnosti* [The Schneider Photo Archive. Croatian Monuments of Culture and Art] (Zagreb: Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 1999).

31 Stahuljak, *Iz prošlosti nastave povijesti umjetnosti*, 17.

the winter semester the course title was *Seminar (spomenici gotike u Banovini Hrvatskoj)* (Seminar [Gothic Monuments in the Banovina of Croatia]), while in the summer semester it was *Seminarske vježbe. Umjetnički spomenici XIII. do XV. stoljeća u Banovini Hrvatskoj (Seminar Exercises. Art Monuments from the 13th to 15th Century in the Banovina of Croatia)*.³² With the further change of the political situation – the proclamation of Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (the Independent State of Croatia) – the contents and titles of the courses in art history studies lost any trace of the old state. In addition to general courses on the art of the Renaissance and Mannerism, in the 1941/1942 academic year Schneider held courses on artists “born in Croatia, who worked in Italy,”³³ and Knoll taught courses on the art of Dalmatia.³⁴

Major personnel changes took place at the Department during the next academic year: Knoll was retired first (October 8, 1942)³⁵ and Schneider was next (January 26, 1943), after offering courses in general and national Baroque art in the winter semester.³⁶ At the same time, Josip Matasović (1892–1962) was employed at the Department, together with Schneider’s former students Ivan Bach (1910–1983) and Antun Bauer (1911–2000). Matasović’s and Bauer’s employments, and most likely Bach’s as well,³⁷ were declared by the decision of the Ministry of Education of the Independent State of Croatia in 1943. Matasović was appointed full professor for the course *Poviest obće i hrvatske kulture* (History of General and Croatian Culture),³⁸ and Bauer was named a private assistant professor for the course *Poviest novije hrvatske umjetnosti* (History of Modern Croatian Art).³⁹ The period of their activity at the Department of Art History was extremely short: Matasović and Bach taught for only five semesters, and Bauer for four. With the reversal of the political situation after the end of World War II and the establishment of Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija (the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia; November 29, 1945), Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije (AVNOJ; the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) made a decision on February 3, 1945, that mandated the “cancellation and nullity of all legal regulations passed by the occupiers and their helpers during the occupation; on the importance of the decisions made during that

32 *Lecture schedule*, 1940/1941.

33 *Lecture schedule*, 1941/1942.

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Osobnik Petra Knolla*, AFHSS.

36 *Osobnik Artura Schneidera* [Personal File of Artur Schneider], AFHSS.

37 Bach’s personal documentation has not been preserved in the Archives of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, so the circumstances of his appointment remain unknown, but it is known that he became an assistant professor in March 1943. Tihomil Stahuljak, *Iz prošlosti nastave povijesti umjetnosti*, 21.

38 Odluka (17. ožujka 1943.) [Decision (March 17, 1943)], Box 13, Josip Matasović (1059), Croatian State Archives, Zagreb (hereafter cited as Box 13, Matasović, CSA).

39 Dopis Dekanatu Mudroslovnog fakulteta (17. svibnja 1943.) [Letter to the Dean’s Office of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (May 17, 1943)], *Osobnik Antuna Bauera* [Personal File of Antun Bauer], AFHSS.

time; on the abolition of legal regulations that were in force at the time of enemy occupation.⁴⁰ With this decision, all University regulations approved during the Independent State of Croatia were abolished, and those professors who were forcibly retired or dismissed⁴¹ – including Schneider⁴² – were reinstated, whereas those who were appointed to teaching positions during that period without the approval of the university authorities – among them Matasović,⁴³ Bauer⁴⁴ and Bach⁴⁵ – were dismissed. During their short stay at the Department, national art was taught by Bauer, who dealt with topics from contemporary Croatian art, and sporadically by Bach, whose general courses followed the chronological order of the program, thus continuing Schneider’s work.⁴⁶ In the context of this chapter, it is interesting to mention that at the time of their teaching activities, Bauer and Bach were also among the authors of the texts in the two-volume publication *Naša domovina* (*Our Homeland*, 1943), a systematic and comprehensive overview of the history, culture and art of Croatia published by Glavni ustaški stan (the Main Ustaša Headquarters).⁴⁷ Bauer contributed texts to both volumes of this propagandistic publication: in the first volume, the text on archaeological monuments (in the context of the presentation of Croatian historical monuments) and archaeology (in the context of the presentation of Croatian science), and, in the second volume, the text on galleries and museums (in the chapter on contemporary cultural life of Croats)⁴⁸ – in other words, on topics in which he was an expert. For many years, Bauer was active within the Archaeological Institute of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (1936–1941).⁴⁹ He also continued his education at the University of Vienna,⁵⁰ and from 1937 onward he was the head (as well

40 Citation according to Anto Milušić, Hodimir Sirotković and Slobodan Lang, “Sveučilište od oslobođenja do uvođenja društvenog upravljanja (1945–1954)” [The University from the Liberation until the Introduction of Collective Management (1945–1954)], in *Sponenica u povodu 300-godišnjice proslave Sveučilišta u Zagrebu I*, ed. Jaroslav Šidak (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 1969), 189.

41 Hodimir Sirotković, “Kratka povijest Zagrebačkog Sveučilišta” [A Brief History of the University of Zagreb], in *Sveučilište u Zagrebu*, eds. Davor Delić et al. (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1979), 76.

42 Schneider was reemployed in 1945 and taught in the winter semester of 1945/1946. He died on March 10, 1946. For the certified copy of the decree see in: *Osobnik Artura Schneidera*, AFHSS.

43 *Razrješenje Josipa Matasovića na mjestu redovitog sveučilišnog profesora na Seminaru za povijest umjetnosti i kulture* [Dismissal of Josip Matasović as a Full Professor at the Seminar for the History of Art and Culture], Box 13, Matasović, CSA. Matasović was reemployed in 1946 at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, but at the Department of History, where he taught auxiliary historical sciences. Miljenko Jurković, “Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti” [Department of Art History], in *Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, ed. Stjepan Damjanović (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1998), 143–144.

44 Dopis Dekanatu Filozofskog fakulteta (17. srpnja 1945.) [Letter to the Dean’s Office of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (July 17th, 1945)], *Osobnik Antuna Bauera*, AFHSS.

45 Bach, who was mentioned in documents in 1945 as a former university assistant professor, was probably dismissed in the same way. Zapisnik o primopredaji uprave Seminaru za povijest umjetnosti i kulture (27. kolovoza 1945.) [Record of the Handover of the Administration of the Seminar for the History of Art and Culture (August 27, 1945)], Box 13, Matasović, CSA.

46 *Lecture schedule*, 1942/1943, 1943/1944, 1944/1945.

47 *Naša domovina, I*, and *II* [Our homeland], ed. Filip Lukas (Zagreb: Glavni ustaški stan, 1943).

48 *Naša domovina, I*, ed. Lukas, 239–242, 363–364; *Naša domovina, II*, ed. Lukas, 1014–1025.

49 Various documentation, *Osobnik Antuna Bauera*, AFHSS.

50 *Ibid.*

as the founder) of the Gipsoteka⁵¹ (as stated in the publication). Bach's texts appeared in the second volume of the publication, and they focused on old fine arts in coastal Croatia and Bosnian Croatia, as well as the history of applied art in Croatia.⁵² Among the authors of individual texts were the then young art historians Marcel Gorenc, Zdenko Vojnović, and Tihomil Stahuljak, all former students of Schneider and Knoll. It is interesting to point out that their involvement in this publication, which has been completely obscured in the historiography of Croatian art history after 1945, was obviously not held against them, since they were all later employed as teachers at the Department of Art History. Moreover, among them was the already mentioned Željko Jiroušek, who was then already working at the Faculty as a university assistant, as stated in the publication itself.

“THE ZAGREB SCHOOL OF ART HISTORY” – NATIONAL ART IN STUDY PROGRAMS BETWEEN 1946 AND 1970s

During the initial post-war years, only two teachers, Željko Jiroušek and Grgo Gamulin (1910–1997), taught at the Department of Art History. However, over the next several years, the Department expanded to include a number of experts who mostly came from the circles of the then left-wing intellectual elite. Among them, Gamulin took a leading place both in the art-historian *milieu* and in the wider academic community. Jiroušek and Gamulin belonged to the same generation of Schneider's students. Although both of them had graduated in 1935, Jiroušek became Schneider's assistant immediately after completing his studies,⁵³ while Gamulin was “unemployed because of communism since the day of his graduation on February 15, 1935 until August 31, 1940.”⁵⁴ In the documents related to Gamulin's employment at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the beginning of 1947, one can read that he had spent the years between 1941 and 1945 in the Jasenovac, Stara Gradiška and Lepoglava concentration camps, and from 1945 he served as the head of Kulturno-umjetnički odjel Ministarstva prosvjete u Zagrebu (Cultural and Artistic Department of the Ministry of Education in Zagreb).⁵⁵

51 Today, the Glyptothèque of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. See more in: Magdalena Getaldić, “Povijest Gliptoteke Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti” [The History of the Glyptothèque of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts], *Kroatologija*, no. 1–2 (2018): 43–67.

52 *Naša domovina, II*, ed. Lukas, 669–680, 720–738. The texts can be found in the chapter *Hrvatska umjetnost* [Croatian art], edited by A. Schneider.

53 For more about Jiroušek, see Šourek, “Uz zagrebačke teme Željka Jiroušketa,” 113–126.

54 Dr. sc. Grgo Gamulin – docent – prijedlog za priznavanje godina službe [Grgo Gamulin, PhD – assistant professor – proposal for recognition of years of service], Zagreb, February 19, 1955, *Osobnik Grge Gamulina* [Personal File of Grgo Gamulin], AFHSS. The document wrongly states the year 1948 as the last year in which Gamulin was without employment, but it is clear from the note added on the side of the document that they actually meant the year 1940.

55 Documentation in *Osobnik Grge Gamulina*, AFHSS. For more about Gamulin and his work at the Department of Art History in Zagreb see Sanja Cvetnić, “Pater fundator noster: Grgo Gamulin,” in *Zbornik radova sa skupa 140 godina podučavanja povijesti umjetnosti*, eds. Botica and Jurković, 161–172.

Jiroušek began teaching in the winter semester of the 1946/47 academic year, teaching mostly courses in the history of medieval art in Europe and the history of medieval art in Yugoslavia, with special emphasis on Croatian Romanesque and Gothic Art and with an occasional excursion into the Baroque. As mentioned before, he was the editor and co-author of *Our Homeland* in 1943, so it can be concluded that this publication served as the basis for courses such as *Povijest romaničke umjetnosti obzirom na umjetničke spomenike kod nas* (History of Romanesque Art with Regard to Artistic Monuments in Our Country) and *Upoznavanje srednjovjekovne ikonografije, građevni oblici gotike, proučavanje umjetničkih spomenika gotike u Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji na osnovu postojeće literature* (Introducing Medieval Iconography, Building Forms of Gothic, Study of Gothic Monuments in Croatia and Dalmatia Based on the Existing Literature), which he carried out in the form of seminar exercises between 1947 and 1950.⁵⁶

Grgo Gamulin was employed in the summer semester of the 1946/47 academic year and only taught courses in general art history of the Modern Age and Modernism from the 15th to the 20th century. As a rule, he conducted courses related to national art history with his assistants – Milan Prelog (1919–1988), Vera Horvat Pintarić (b. 1926), Radoslav Putar (1921–1994) and Božidar Gagro (1938–2009). Therefore, these courses primarily had the function of introducing young colleagues to the profession of university teachers, but consequently also of raising the status of national art in the art history study program in Zagreb.⁵⁷

In the summer semester of the 1948/49 academic year, Milan Prelog came to the Seminar for the History of Art and Culture as its third member, initially as an assistant to Grgo Gamulin on the courses *Nacionalna umjetnost srednjega vijeka* (National Art of the Middle Ages; summer semester 1948/49), *Predromanička umjetnost na Jadranu* (Pre-Romanesque Art on the Adriatic; winter semester 1949/50) and *Umjetnost naroda Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije* (Art of the People of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia; summer semester 1949/50).⁵⁸ Prelog graduated in art history at the University of Zagreb in 1945, ten years after Jiroušek and Gamulin, and worked as a professor at Muzej Narodnooslobodilačke borbe Hrvatske (Museum of the National Liberation Struggle of Croatia) in Zagreb from the end of 1945 to the beginning of 1947. Before his employment at the Faculty, he had worked for a few months as a teacher at the newly founded Gimnazija Maršala Tita (Marshal Tito Gymnasium) in Zagreb (founded in 1945). His personal file,

⁵⁶ Jiroušek wrote the following chapters in Volume 1 of *Our Country* in 1938: *General Overview of Art; Artistic Epochs and Styles; Cultural and Artistic Spheres in Yugoslavia; Important Historical and Artistic Monuments*; and, *Church Architecture and Painting*. In the 2nd volume published in 1943, he was the author of the text *Overview of the Development of Fine Arts in Civil Croatia: From the 12th until the End of the 18th century*. See Šourek, "Uz zagrebačke teme Željka Jirouška," 123–124. For courses see *Lecture schedules* from 1946/1947 until 1949/1950.

⁵⁷ See *Lecture schedules* from 1946/1947 to 1972/1973.

⁵⁸ See *Lecture schedules* from 1948/1949 to 1949/1950.

that is, his work record, also noted his active participation in the National Liberation Movement between 1944 and 1945 and membership in Savez komunista Jugoslavije (the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia) from 1934.⁵⁹ Together with Gamulin, Prelog soon became the leading and most influential member of the Department in the period between 1950 and 1980.⁶⁰

As a result, there were two mediaevalists working at the Seminar from 1948 forward, private assistant professor Željko Jiroušek and assistant Milan Prelog. The lecture schedules between 1950 and 1959 show that Prelog completely took over the teaching of all courses related to the national history of medieval art, that is, the history of art of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, while Jiroušek taught courses on the general history of medieval art. Initially, Prelog's "national, i.e. Yugoslav" courses varied in title and content: *Srednjevjekovna umjetnost Makedonije i Srbije* (Medieval Art of Macedonia and Serbia), *Gotička umjetnost Dalmacije, Istre, Slovenije i sjeverne Hrvatske* (Gothic Art of Dalmatia, Istria, Slovenia and Northern Croatia), *Srednjevjekovna umjetnost Jugoslavije I. i II.* (Medieval Art of Yugoslavia I and II), *Srednjevjekovna umjetnost u Dalmaciji* (Medieval Arts in Dalmatia), and *XV. i XVI. stoljeće u umjetnosti naših naroda I i II* (The 15th and 16th Century in the Art of our People I and II). Finally, the title *Povijest umjetnosti naroda Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije (srednji vijek I–IV)* (History of Art in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia [Middle Ages I–IV]) was established between the 1955/56 and 1959/60 academic years.⁶¹

In 1949 and 1950, Jiroušek, Gamulin and Prelog were joined at the Department by Zdenko Vojnović (1912–1954), Marcel Gorenc (1915–2009) and Tihomil Stahuljak (1918–2007), at first as part-time teachers, and later as scientific and expert teaching associates. Vojnović, who at the time of his employment at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences held the position of director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb (1952–1954), spent only four years at the Department (1950–1954). Despite this short period, he made a great contribution to the Department by innovating its study program with the course *Opća muzeologija* (General Museology).⁶² Vojnović held courses and practical exercises in the premises of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, which was also going through significant changes at the time in the processing and presentation of its holdings, so the students certainly had the opportunity to

59 Documentation in *Osobniku Milana Preloga* [Personal File of Milan Prelog], AFHSS. Prelog was also a member of the Croatian Leftist Students. See Milan Prelog, "Komunistički pokret na Zagrebačkom sveučilištu od 1938. do 1940." [The Communist Movement at the University of Zagreb from 1938 to 1940], in *Sveučilište i revolucija. Simpozij "Borba za socijalističko sveučilište"*, Zagreb, 8.–10. siječnja 1970. (Zagreb: Sveučilišni komitet SKH, 1970), 25–27.

60 For Prelog's contributions to the profession see the proceedings *Prelogova baština danas* [Prelog's Heritage Today], ed. Katarina Horvat Levaj (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2013.). About his activities at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb see Igor Fisković, "Milan Prelog na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu" [Milan Prelog at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb], in *Zbornik radova sa skupa 140 godina podučavanja povijesti umjetnosti*, eds. Botica and Jurković, 147–159.

61 See *Lecture schedules* from 1950/1951 to 1959/1960.

62 See *Lecture schedules* from 1950/1951 to 1954/1955.

get to know these novelties first-hand. Vojnović's premature death in 1954, at only 42 years of age, was a testimony in some way to his difficult experiences during World War II when, as a leftist and a member of the partisans, he was sentenced to forced labour in Vienna and a Gestapo prison, from which he left in a significantly impaired state of health.⁶³ In the 1956/57 academic year, the *Museology* course was taken over by Marcel Gorenc, who taught at the Department from 1950 to 1974 and at the same time held the position of director of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.⁶⁴ From 1950 Gorenc taught courses on art of prehistoric and ancient times, primarily Antiquity, in which national art, as the courses' titles suggested, was represented to a lesser extent. The contents from the national artistic heritage were mentioned in only two of his courses: *Seminar: Prehistorijska umjetnost u našim krajevima* (Seminar: Prehistoric Art in Our Regions), which he taught in the summer semester of 1952/53, and *Seminarske vježbe: Spomenici antikne umjetnosti iz naših krajeva* (Seminar Exercises: Monuments of Antiquity in Our Regions) in the winter semester of 1955/6.⁶⁵ Of the three professors, only Stahuljak devoted significant attention towards national art through non-compulsory working groups that focused on the Baroque artistic heritage of Zagreb and the mandatory course *Barok u Hrvatskoj* (Baroque in Croatia) (introduced in the 1960/61 academic year), which he taught alongside the course in *Zaštita* (Protection), i.e. *Čuvanje spomenika* (Preservation of Monuments).⁶⁶

64 Kruno Prijatelj (1922–1988) joined the Department in the summer semester of 1957/58 as a part-time teacher and taught courses on art in Dalmatia and the Dalmatian School of Painting, based on the research he had published in monographs and papers, such as *Barok u Splitu* (Baroque in Split; 1947), *Slike domaće škole XV. stoljeća u Splitu* (Paintings of the Local School in the 15th Century in Split; 1951), *Andrija Medulić Schiavone* (1952), *Umjetnost XVII. i XVIII. stoljeća u Dalmaciji* (Art of the 17th and 18th Century in Dalmatia; 1956) and *Ivan Duknović* (1957), to list some of the titles he had published before he was employed at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb.⁶⁷

In the 1959/60 academic year, Milan Prelog took over from Željko Jiroušek most of the courses in the general history of medieval art, which he taught in

63 See Stanko Stančić, "Zdenko Vojnović: prilog povijesti Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt," [A Contribution to the History of the Museum of Arts and Crafts: Zdenko Vojnović], *Informatica museologica*, vol. 38, no. 1-2 (2007): 96–103.

64 "Gorenc, Marcel," *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje* [Croatian Encyclopaedia, online edition], accessed March 25, 2023, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=22704>.

65 See *Lecture schedules* from 1949/1950 to 1973/1974.

66 See *Lecture schedules* from 1950/1951 to 1979/1980. For more about Tihomil Stahuljak's teaching activities see Dubravka Botica, "Umjetnost baroka u nastavi i istraživanju Tihomila Stahuljaka na Odsjeku za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu" [Baroque Art in Tihomil Stahuljak's Teaching and Research Practice at the Department of Art History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb], in *Zbornik radova sa skupa 140 godina podučavanja povijesti umjetnosti*, eds. Botica and Jurković, 127–145.

67 See *Lecture schedules* from 1957/1958 to 1972/1973. See also "Prijatelj, Kruno," *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, accessed, March 25, 2023, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=50331>; Tonko Maroević, "Kruno Prijatelj," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, no. 22 (1998): 211–217.

parallel with the national courses. These courses covered the period from Late Antiquity to the 15th century, as can be seen from their titles: *Umjetnost kasne antike na području FNRJ* (Art of Late Antiquity in the FNRJ), *Umjetnost ranog srednjeg vijeka na području FNRJ* (Art of the Early Middle Ages in the FNRJ), *Razvoj umjetnosti na području Jugoslavije od IV–IX stoljeća I i II* (Development of Art in Yugoslavia from the 4th to the 9th Century I and II), *Umjetnost naroda Jugoslavije od X–XIII stoljeća – I i II* (Art in Yugoslavia from the 10th to the 13th Century – I and II), and *Umjetnost naroda Jugoslavije od XII (XIII)–XV stoljeća I i II* (Art in Yugoslavia from the 12th (13th) to the 15th Century I and II).⁶⁸ From 1959/60, however, Željko Jiroušek mostly taught in so-called working groups, which students enrolled in by choice, as a kind of elective course. Jiroušek focused these working groups on monuments in Zagreb, more specifically the topography of late medieval Zagreb, Zagreb's Gothic architecture, the construction phases of the medieval Zagreb cathedral, fortifications and the urban development of Zagreb's Gradec and Kaptol neighborhoods, with the exception of the working group dedicated to the monuments of early medieval decorative sculpture in Dalmatia, which he conducted in the 1970s.⁶⁹ Most of these courses were related to research topics that Jiroušek had dealt with at the beginning of his university career between 1936 and 1943.⁷⁰ In the context of the course on the national history of art, Jiroušek, Prelog and Stahuljak were joined by Božidar Gagro from 1962 as Gamulin's assistant in *Seminarske vježbe iz Novije povijesti umjetnosti naroda FNRJ* (Seminar Exercises in the Recent Art History of the FNRJ), which later became *Umjetnost naroda Jugoslavije u XIX. i XX. stoljeću* (Art in Yugoslavia in the 19th and the 20th Century).⁷¹

Gamulin's practice of gradually introducing assistants was also continued by Milan Prelog, who hired Radovan Ivančević (1931–2004), Marija Planić Lončarić (1933–1992), Tonko Maroević (1941–2020) and Igor Fisković (b. 1944) in his courses. In this regard, Gamulin and Prelog played a crucial role in the selection of young academic staff and the personnel policy of the Department, with the aim of modernizing, expanding and deepening the study program with topics related to iconography, art theory, spatial culture, visual culture and communication. Marija Planić Lončarić, who joined the Department in 1961 as Prelog's assistant in the courses on art history of the Middle Ages, led, among other things, seminars in art history of Yugoslavia, which now for the first time included field teaching, i.e. joint fieldwork of the Department and Institute of Art History in Istria, the Kvarner region, and Dubrovnik.⁷²

68 See *Lecture schedules* from 1959/1960 to 1983/1984.

69 See *Lecture schedules* from 1959/1960 to 1981/1982.

70 See Šourek, "Uz zagrebačke teme Željka Jirouška," 116–124.

71 See *Lecture schedules* from 1961/1962 to 1965/1966.

72 See *Lectures schedules* from 1960/1961 to 1979/1980. See also Radovan Ivančević, "Marija Planić-Lončarić i istraživanje prostora. In memoriam" [Marija Planić-Lončarić and Spatial Exploration. In Memoriam], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, no. 16 (1992): 265–267.

In accordance with the described personnel reinforcements, the lecture schedules started to list three chairs beginning in the 1963/64 academic year: 1) the chair for the history of ancient art; 2) the chair for general and national art history of the Middle Ages and 3) the chair for general and national art history of Modern Age. In the 1968/69 academic year, they transformed into 1) the chair for general art history 2) the chair for national art history and 3) the chair for theory of visual arts. The organization of a separate chair for national art history speaks in favour of the increasing representation of the teaching content on domestic artistic heritage in the study program and the equal value placed on courses dedicated to national art and those on the general history and theory of art. However, it is important to point out that in the period between 1946 and 1976, the majority of courses that dealt with art in Croatia and other countries of Yugoslavia was devoted to medieval art, whereas a significantly smaller part focused on Baroque art, and the smallest portion on the art of Modern Age and Modernism. These relationships primarily reflected the efforts of Professor Prelog, who, with his continuous offering of courses dedicated to Croatian and Yugoslav artistic heritage, educated a whole series of excellent experts. Even during their studies, these students of Prelog realized the importance of intertwining theoretical knowledge and practical experience of working with monuments on site.⁷³

In the context of Prelog's contribution to the research of national art history and teaching about it, it is worth highlighting a quote from his 1978 paper *Umjetnost na tlu Jugoslavije između Evrope i Mediterana* (Art on the Territory of Yugoslavia between Europe and the Mediterranean), in which he critically addressed the problem of the regionalist approach to research and the professional presentation of the art of Yugoslavia:

Starting from undeniable facts that the development of art on the territory of Yugoslavia took place in different historically conditioned regions, our history of art today should not direct its work towards fixing closed regions. Such efforts must lead to deformations of the real historical and art-historical content. Of course, a complex presentation of the entire development of the history of art on the territory of our country cannot be achieved by constructing some fictitious unity, nor by isolating individual regional complexes. The immediate proximity of certain regions, mutual connections created by different forms of communication, impose the necessary need to observe this regional development in a certain interdependence. A critical attitude towards different boundaries that previous research, domestic and foreign, has drawn across the territory of our

73 See Radovan Ivančević, "Riječ o Milanu Prelogu" [A Word about Milan Prelog], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, no. 12–13 (1988–89): 11, 14.

country is a necessary assumption for the presentation of the entire art-historical situation in the past and present.⁷⁴

Consistent with this point of view, and in addition to teaching work that focused on art in Croatia and Yugoslavia, Prelog's engagement also resulted in a series of synthesizing publications, among which we should single out *Pregled razvoja umjetnosti u Hrvatskoj* (Overview of the Development of Art in Croatia, 1959) and *Romanika na tlu Jugoslavije* (Romanesque Art on the Territory of Yugoslavia, 1984). His participation in the realization of many important exhibitions was also of great importance, including *Minijatura u Jugoslaviji* (Miniatures in Yugoslavia; 1964) at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb and *Umjetnost na tlu Jugoslavije od predhistorije do danas* (Art on the Territory of Yugoslavia from Prehistoric Times to the Present; 1971) at the Grand Palais in Paris, to name just a few. In 1982 he initiated the Art Topography of Croatia project within the Institute of Art History in Zagreb.⁷⁵

CONCLUSION

The continuous offer of courses on the history of Croatian artistic heritage and the artistic heritage of other provinces of Yugoslavia at the Department of Art History of the University of Zagreb began in the 1920s. Over the subsequent decades, it clearly reflected the frequent state-building transformations that took place in the aforementioned period. This has been primarily reflected in the courses' titles in which, depending on state and political changes, phrases such as the *territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes*, *Banovina of Croatia*, *Yugoslav countries*, *Yugoslav art*, and *art in the FNRJ* appeared, as well as their more neutral forms, such as *our monuments*, *domestic monuments*, *artistic monuments in our country*, and *national art*. The desire for a broader understanding of the history of art on the territory of Yugoslavia was primarily reflected in Knoll's teaching in the period between the two World Wars and in Prelog's teaching after World War II. This approach certainly contributed to the positioning and status of the Zagreb Department of Art History as a higher education institution with both educational and scientific qualities in the context of related Yugoslav institutions, such that some authors have begun to use the phrase *Zagreb School of Art History*, bearing in mind its peculiarities, primarily in the approach to national artistic heritage.⁷⁶ The power and influence that changed political and state circumstances have on all aspects of life, including scientific life, is illustrated by the fact that with the breakup of Yugoslavia (1991), topics related to the artistic heritage of the former Yugoslav countries have completely disappeared from the then study program of the Department in Zagreb.

74 Milan Prelog, "Umjetnost na tlu Jugoslavije između Evrope i Mediterana" [Art on the Territory of Yugoslavia between Europe and the Mediterranean], *Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti*, vol. 21, no. 1 (1978): 14.

75 See Ivančević, "Riječ o Milanu Prelogu," 11–13.

76 See Ivančević, "Marija Planić-Lončarić," 265.

