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## Gothic? Renaissance? Mannerism? Interpretation Models for Central European Sculpture After 1500

Some two years ago, like many of you I was walking through the important exhibition of Slovak Gothic art in Bratislava, and I was showing around a large group of Czech historians and archivists<sup>1</sup>. They didn't ask the questions which we, art historians usually ask before the objects of our research – and which we, in turn, teach our students to ask, and to which we are used to giving our own answers. The situation forced me to see some well known historical topics of art with fresh eyes and I would like to invite you to share the experience for a moment. The sculptures forming a group attributed to a fictive Master of the Royal Figures from Matejovce (Mateóc / Matzdorf) in Spiš (Szépes / Zips) look definitely queer and deformed, but they cannot be sidetracked as low quality production (Fig. 2, 3)<sup>2</sup>. I was reminded of similar reactions to the name-giving relief of the Master of Lamentation from Žebrák, who was probably active in České Budějovice (Budweis) in Southern Bohemia around 1520 and must have learned from Hans Leinberger's style in the neighboring Upper Bavaria (Fig. 1)<sup>3</sup>.

We are used to dismissing similar disturbing phenomena by calling them "expressive". They were analyzed in a classical way in the twenties and thirties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Wilhelm Pinder et al. In the framework of mentality and cultural styles of that period they were understood as means of making the complicated nature of the transitional period visible in forms of visual arts, being tacitly compared to contemporary expressionist art. With the help of the tertium comparationis of "expression", another group of features typical for some of the Central European wooden sculpture of the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, namely the new quality of extremely developed spatial values, was assigned under the same label. Here we can mention, for example, such carvings as the Zwettler Altarpiece and its related group, including the Altarpieces from Mauer bei Melk and from Breisach, the Habsburg hold in Switzerland; or the Abtenauer Altarpiece by Andreas Lackner<sup>4</sup>. Again, Hans Leinberger must be counted here, and also paintings, e.g. the Holy Blood Altarpiece from Pulkau in Upper Austria, or the sculptures and panels from Banská Štiavnica (Selmecbánya / Schemnitz) in Slovakia (Upper Hungary)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The form of the conference lecture has been retained in the present text. It was written in the framework of the Research Centre for History of Central Europe at the Masaryk University Brno (MSM0021622426). For the exhibition in Bratislava see: *Gotika*, [Exh. Cat. Slovenská národná galéria], Bratislava 2004.

<sup>2</sup> *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, ed. D. Buran, Bratislava 2003, pp. 757-758 (Gábor Endrödy).

<sup>3</sup> P. Kováč, *Sv. Trojice z Českých Budějovic Mistra žebráckého Oplakávání*, "Ars" 1996, p. 142-151.

<sup>4</sup> *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich. Spätmittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. A. Rosenauer, München 2003, pp. 345-348, 361-362 (L. Schultes).

<sup>5</sup> *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich...*, p. 358 (L. Schultes); *Gotika...*, pp. 735-739 (M. Šugár and G. Endrödy).



The expressive quality of these features, developed often in sensuously rounded forms, modeled in deep relief with audaciously undercut draperies and details, was interpreted as a "Late Gothic Baroque" art. The existence of such a label does not, however, satisfy our need for understanding any more. It was based on the assumption, that there exists a special kind of art historical "law of return". According to it, each artistic style inherently and inevitably develops in a series of periods following each other: the primitive, the classical and the baroque<sup>6</sup>. The exaggerated and expressive forms of the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century thus not only made visible the pains accompanying the birth of the Reformation, but, at the same time, marked the final phase of the Gothic style. We are, however, unable to believe any longer in clearly defined laws which would rule the coming and passing of visual styles. We should also take into account the fact, that formally similar formal features in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century art, from where the category of "baroque" was taken, are no longer explained as expressions of passionate nature of either artists or the period as such, but as thoughtfully devised rhetorical and theatrical devices introduced into visual art as specific means of indicating differing operational modes.

What I will try to do in my contribution will be to search for such qualifying categories that would help us to understand better the admittedly incoherent group of artworks introduced above. The more matter-of-fact oriented art historians might feel that this is a vain undertaking, since the artworks will certainly remain the same before as after. I am convinced, however, that giving names is not an innocent activity at all. Just recall Adam in the Paradise in the second chapter of Genesis<sup>7</sup> to realize that giving names means nothing less than knowledge in the sense of yielding power. More recently, critical philosophy of language barred us from a naïve assumption, that the words we use to talk about images are merely accidental and therefore irrelevant. A case in point: The ubiquitous metaphor coined by Johann Huizinga in 1906 has labeled "Late Gothic" as the "Autumn of the Middle Ages". The context of this metaphor was at the same time both biologic and sentimental, in other words, typically *fin-de-siècle*. Its rich connotations of opulence, ripeness, ending, decay and general decline have informed the understanding of art which we have gathered here to study. Take for one, for example, the habitual interpretation of the branches in place of vaulting ribs and decorative traceries as dry twigs. Paul Crossley has suggested, in my opinion correctly, that these can be just as well interpreted as fresh branches of living shrubbery, which were twisted and bound by villagers of Northern Europe to build simple huts. Thus they could stand for signifiers of a mythic "native architecture of the German peoples", as described by Vitruvius<sup>8</sup>. Recently, Ethan Matt Kavaler has explained the "organic architecture" as means of presenting the dichotomy of order and disorder and, consequently, showing the images of "the nature in need of order, in need of authority and salvation"<sup>9</sup>.

It does not make much sense to talk about the wooden sculpture in the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century as being "Gothic". If we compare it to a 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and even a 15<sup>th</sup> century sculpture, almost everything is different: the concept of bodily form, relationship between draperies and the core of the figure, ontological (ontic) status of the image as related to the sacred themes and, last but not least, requirements of the audience for its narrative and psychological abilities. What remains is the common artistic task of creating a wooden figure or an altarpiece situated in a church environment in connection with the altar as the centre of the cult, and used in specific liturgical and social situations. We can recognize decorative elements of decisively Italian *all'antiqua* origin in many northern altarpieces around and after 1500, e.g., in the Altarpiece from Spišská Sobota (Szépezzombát / Georgenburg) by Paul of Levoča, or in the Kefermarkt Altarpiece by the Kriechbaum workshop in Pas-

<sup>6</sup> Among recent critical analyses of style, cf. C. Ginzburg, *Style: Inclusion and Exclusion*, [in:] *Wooden Eyes. Nine Reflections on Distance*, New York 2001 (Italian original 1998), pp. 109-138.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. 2:19-20.

<sup>8</sup> P. Crossley, *The Return to the Forest: Natural Architecture and the German Past in the Age of Dürer*, [in:] *Künstlerischer Austausch: Artistic Exchange. Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*, ed. T. Gaethgens, Berlin 1993, vol. 2, pp. 71-80.

<sup>9</sup> E. M. Kavaler, *Nature and the Chapel Vaults at Ingolstadt: Structuralist and Other Perspectives*, "The Art Bulletin" 87, 2005, pp. 230-248, cited from p. 244.



2. Master of the Royal Figures of Matejovce (detail), ca 1500, Slovenská národná galéria

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<sup>10</sup> *Gotika...*, pp. 753-754 (J. Fajt); *Geschichte der Skulptur*, pp. 100-101 (H. W. Singer).

<sup>11</sup> Kavaler, *Nature...*, p. 230.

<sup>12</sup> F. Zeri, *Renaissance and Pseudo-Renaissance*, pp. 326-372.



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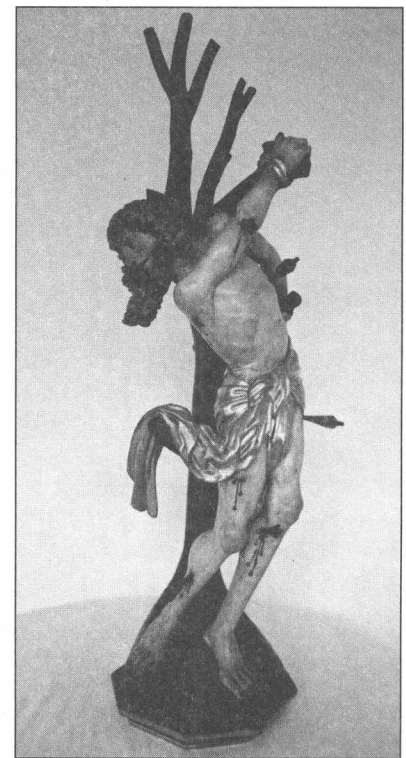
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2. Master of the Royal Figures of Matejovce, Madonna from Hôrka (detail), ca 1500, Slovenská národná galleria, Bratislava



3. Master of the Royal Figures of Matejovce, St. Sebastian from the Altarpiece of Sts Helen and Egidius, ca 1500, St Paul and St Anthony Church, Sásová,

sau<sup>10</sup>. (Throughout my contribution, I am using the personal names as brand-marks, standing for workshops.) They remain relegated to the margins of the structures but their presence proves that the sculptors, and most probably also their audiences and patrons, must have known the new style well. They realized its difference from the local idiom and called it "Welsch". "It makes sense to regard the Gothic style of this time as a mode, a conscious choice, even if an obligatory one, over an opposing Italianate approach."<sup>11</sup> The interest in taking the Italianate Renaissance style over as a complete stylistic idiom was strongly differentiated. Michael Baxandall realized the distance and decided to call his book *Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, but he used the name "Renaissance" to denote the cultural era, not the style of the artworks themselves - in the terms of Federico Zeri's differentiation<sup>12</sup>. This was a prudent solution: if there was any occasion to call Central European wooden sculpture "Renaissance", it would certainly have to pertain to the production of artists such as the Monogrammist I. P., but hardly, e.g., to Hans Leinberger.

After dismissing the adjectives of Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque, what stylistic name remains to be given to the group of carvings introduced in the beginning? We have, in fact, one more stylistic category to consider:

<sup>10</sup> *Gotika...*, pp. 753-754 (J. Fajt); *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich...*, pp. 342-343 (L. Schultes). For detailed photo of *putti* on the base of the St. Wolfgang figure see U. Krone-Balcke, *Der Kefermarkter Altar*, Berlin 1999, p. 86, Fig. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Kavalier, *Nature...*, p. 230.

<sup>12</sup> F. Zeri, *Renaissance and Pseudo-Renaissance*, [in:] *History of Italian Art*, Cambridge-Oxford 1994 (Italian original 1979), vol. 2, pp. 326-372.



namely, Mannerism. I have to stress immediately, that I use this term neither in its original, pejorative meaning, nor in the generalized sense denoting another phase of style conforming to the laws of development – the one in some instances found between the “classic” and the “baroque” periods. What comes to my mind when I watch both the exaggeratedly voluminous forms and the distorted figures, is the Italian Mannerism of late Michelangelo and his followers. To the psychological explanation of the phenomenon set into the framework of the “history of the spirit”, as coined by Max Dvořák in his writings, I prefer to understand the Mannerist extravagancies as a reaction of younger generation of artists who are to enter the stage at the moment, when everybody is deeply convinced that nothing better and more forceful than the great art of their immediate predecessors can ever be created. Italian Mannerists - together with their patrons and public - choose to intentionally exceed the harmony and perfection of the previous, “classical” phase, both in form and meaning. In the Transalpine situation – *mutatis mutandis* – we could conceive similarly about the generation of younger contemporaries and followers of the great master carvers Stoss, Kriechbaum, Riemenschneider or Michel Erhart. Following Baxandall’s ideas, we might see behind these moves also the need to establish a clearly recognizable visual style of individual artists and their workshops, which would serve as a kind of a trademark. (Interestingly, similar train of thought offers itself as a plausible explanation of the more or less contemporaneous appearance of Hieronymus Bosch in the northern Netherlands.)

Please note the chronological parallelism of both phenomena: we are talking about art created on both sides of the Alps predominantly in the second and third decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Have we arrived at a common “spirit of the times”? I would not like to reintroduce this specter in the art historical discourse, but would not it be coming back at us through the chimney if we would agree to use the term Mannerist to characterize Hans Leinberger, so-called Master H.L. or the anonymous carvers from South Bohemia and Spiš? I am convinced this needs not to be the case. It might be important, at this moment, to stress the functional and constructivist nature of the stylistic categories as I am using them. I do not want to say more than the following: the understanding of such sculptures is served much better if we take into account that they were contemporaries to, say, Baccio Bandinelli, than if we think of them as some kind of a late and distorted progeny of the 13<sup>th</sup> century sculpture, as the term “Gothic” would imply. Any further use of the term is subject to a fresh scrutiny of its relevance.

It may serve us a bit more, however. Let us take up the small and exquisite Calvary from Bardějov (Bártfa / Bartfeld), attributed to Paul of Levoča (Fig. 4)<sup>13</sup>. Are we satisfied at the understanding reached by saying that the group steps up the expressive contents of the scene and that the gesture of St. John was adapted from the famous Dürer’s Calvary print? We still lack proper understanding of what, at the time it was created, the difference between the traditional iconography and concept of the scene on the one hand, and this concrete creation of Master Paul on the other could have meant for both the artist and the audience. The Bardějov Calvary has been fittingly characterized by Jiří Fajt and Stefan Roller as an object intended as well for artistic evaluation as for religious contemplation. I would like to suggest that the concept of image as art can be very useful in the search for an explanation that would help us to understand the specific object, the wider group and also the framework of historical mentality where they originally belonged.

The decisive step in the longer process of the move away from the concept of image as a representation of the invisible, above all representation of the holy and of the socially relevant, and towards the concept of image as predominantly art, formed an important aspect of Mannerism in Italy and, as I would like to suggest, also of certain group of contemporary artistic production in Central Europe. Unusually as it may sound, the shift in the status of image connects the late-Renaissance and Mannerist Italy with the pre-Reformation and Reformation situation north of the Alps. From the point of view of later developments, the difference between both areas lay above all in the eventually opposing evaluations of the resulting art status of an image: the Cinquecento concept of *disegno* socially elevated the status of both the image and the artist, because it contained the ability to reach a direct communication of both

<sup>13</sup> *Gotika...*, p. 756 (J. Fajt and S. Roller).

with the Platonic world of ideas. On the other hand, declared images are not irrelevant, because they are not more than mere art.

In the North, an expression of Reformation ideas was recognized in the *Holzichtigkeit* (or monochrome religious images, namely altarpieces). On the one hand, the use of the monochrome was aimed, undoubtedly, also at the presentation of extremely fine handwork and elaboration of the carvings. On the other hand, presentation (or, rather, reduction) of the raw material character of the sculptures communicated both the character of inexpensiveness and a distance to the character of a stylized (virtual) reality of depicted holy figures. Both points of view converge in the artistic, or artificial, character of the image (*Künstlichkeit*). I would like to suggest that the strange formal features, distorted forms, excessive volume and unexpected compositions were elements which has left aside, or behind, the traditional image – this is not an image of Madonna but a sculpture of Madonna.

So far, I was moving carefully with these reflections with a case in point of private devotional devices, which are not a noisier artistic object<sup>14</sup>. We could see the same concept embodied in more than above its liturgical role is confirmed. And it is most probably not by accident that the chrome surface and of new figural

In this place a key difference should be noted in its contents; we should read it as a character

<sup>14</sup> Difference between both terms has been discussed in *Riemenschneider c. 1460-1531*, ed. J. Čihák, Prague, 1997.

<sup>15</sup> National Gallery in Prague, Inv. Nr. P544, acquired from the Prague Charles’ University in the early 19th century.

<sup>16</sup> B. Decker, *Reform within the cult image in the late Middle Ages*, eds. P. Humfrey, M. Kemp, Cambridge, 1997.

neither in its original, pejorative meaning, nor in the laws of development – the one in the other. What comes to my mind when I watch the Italian Mannerism of late Michelangelo set into the framework of the “history of the Mannerist extravagancies as a reaction to the Mannerist predecessors can ever be created. Italian Mannerism exceeded the harmony and perfection of the Renaissance situation – *mutatis mutandis* – we can see the ideas and followers of the great master carvers of the Northern Renaissance, we might see behind these individual artists and their workshops, which Mannerism offers itself as a plausible explanation for the strange in the northern Netherlands.)

When we are talking about art created on both sides of the 16th century. Have we arrived at a common “spirit of the age” or historical discourse, but would not it be coming from the Northern Mannerist to characterize Hans Leinberger, so-called Spiš? I am convinced this needs not to be done in a traditional and constructivist nature of the stylistic discourse. Following: the understanding of such sculptures in the Northern Mannerist, say, Baccio Bandinelli, than if we speak of the 16th century sculpture, as the term “Gothic” would lose its relevance.

The late and exquisite Calvary from Bardějov (Bártfa) is a good example of the understanding reached by saying that the gesture of St. John was adapted from the Northern Mannerist, at the time it was created, the difference between the Northern Mannerist on the one hand, and this concrete creation on the other. The Bardějov Calvary has been valued as well for artistic evaluation as for religious significance as art can be very useful in the search for the wider group and also the framework of

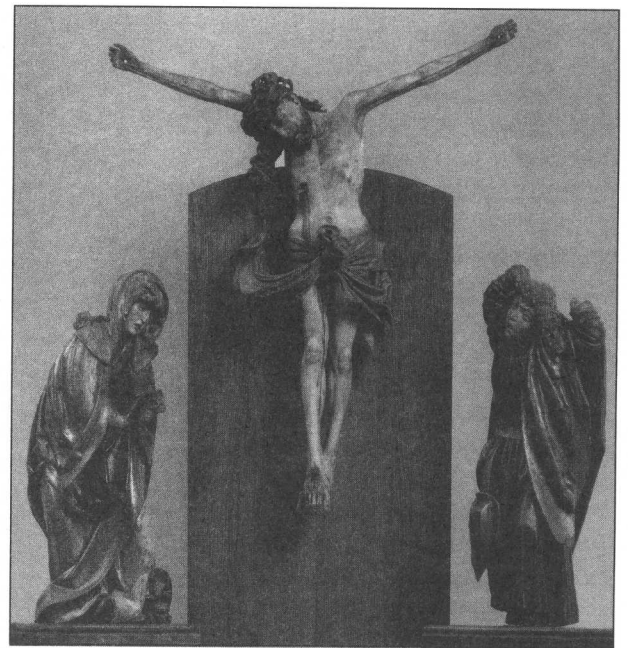
the concept of image as a representation of the sacred, relevant, and towards the concept of image as a work of art, and, as I would like to suggest, also of certain Mannerist features. As it may sound, the shift in the status of image during the Reformation and Reformation situation north of the Alps. The difference between both areas lay above all in the eventually 16th century concept of *disegno* socially elevated and the ability to reach a direct communication of both

with the Platonic world of ideas. Luther, on the other hand, declared images religiously irrelevant, because they are nothing more than mere art.

In the North, an expression of pre-Reformation ideas was recognized in the *Holzichtigkeit* (or monochrome<sup>14</sup>) of religious images, namely altarpieces. On the one hand, the use of the monochrome was aimed, undoubtedly, also at a better presentation of extremely fine handicraft elaboration of the carvings. On the other hand, presentation (or, rather, representation) of the raw material character of sculptures communicated both the rhetoric of inexpensiveness and a distanced opinion to the character of a staged (or virtual) reality of depicted holy persons. Both points of view converge in stressing the artistic, or artificial, character of the image (*Künstlichkeit*). I would like to suggest that the strange formal features of distorted forms, excessive volumes and unexpected compositions were employed in order to pronounce the image as a work of art, as an artificial object which has left aside, or behind, the aspirations at representing the holy in any strong sense. A curious example may be provided by an early 16th century remake of a Beautiful Madonna from Bohemia (Fig. 5)<sup>15</sup>. To put it briefly - this is not an image of Madonna that represents the Virgin; this is an artistic image which represents an earlier sculpture of Madonna.

So far, I was moving carefully around Veit Stoss, but his late Bamberg Altarpiece can serve us to conclude these reflections with a case in point. The new form of frame employed here was derived not from Italy, but from private devotional devices, which have always stood close to the border between the religious image and connoisseur artistic object<sup>16</sup>. We could say, that what occurred was a shift in measures, from small-size sculpture to the same concept embodied in monumental forms. The prevalence of the artistic status of the Bamberg Altarpiece above its liturgical role is confirmed by the demands on future users recorded by sculptor's son Andreas Stoss. And it is most probably not by accident that it is only in this late creation where Veit Stoss made use of both monochrome surface and of new figural forms and drapery motifs.

In this place a key difference should be introduced: the rise of art does not mean a proportional decline of religious contents; we should read it as a change in the religious functioning of the image. The long-held art historical precon-



4. Paul of Levoča, Calvary, 1520-1530, Šarišské museum, Bardejov

<sup>14</sup> Difference between both terms has been recently stressed by E. Oellermann, *Polychrome or Not? That is the Question*, [in:] *Tilman Riemenschneider c. 1460-1531*, ed. J. Chapuis, Washington 2004, pp. 113-123. - ("Studies in the History of Art" 65).

<sup>15</sup> National Gallery in Prague, Inv. Nr. P5473. The correct dating was recognized by Jaromír Homolka in an art historical seminar at the Prague Charles' University in the early 1980s. The Madonna has been published fleetingly as an early 15th century sculpture by M. A. Kotrbová, *Středověké umění ze sbírek Národní galerie na státním hradě Kosti*, Praha 1977 [s.p.].

<sup>16</sup> B. Decker, *Reform within the cult image: the German winged altarpiece before the Reformation*, [in:] *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, eds. P. Humfrey, M. Kemp, Cambridge 1990, pp. 90-105.



5. Virgine with Child, ca 1520, National Gallery, Prague

ception, starting with the Romantics at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, considered the two as inevitable opposites<sup>17</sup>. Recent inquiries in early 16<sup>th</sup> century art on both sides of the Alps begin to prove that the opposition between artistic, or aesthetic, images, and images in Christian cult, as confirmed by Hans Belting's seminal book *Bild und Kult*, may be too schematic. Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* was construed as a thoroughly cultic image, and the "organic vaults" of Central European churches can be read as visualizing "dramas of redemption, of deliverance from the chaotic environment of an unreasoning nature (...), nature departing from God's initial imprint."<sup>18</sup> The shift in measures of the forms used for altarpieces may be also understood as a shift in roles from the private to the public: the mental setting of private devotion with its moralization and interiorization of religion fuses with the public character of cult images as the Reformation rises. These suggestions could be verified by future research looking for possible correlation between the employment of these new artistic forms and reformist attitudes of the patrons.

To conclude, please allow me a brief summary: the way of creative assimilation in the North of what we recognize as Late Renaissance style was pursued effectively in painting between Albrecht Dürer, Albrecht Altdorfer or Quentyn Massys, and the Romanists. The situation was different in sculpture in Central Europe, because of the strong tradition of great Late Gothic wooden carving. Inclusion of individual, mostly decorative and marginal Italianate motifs was one way of coming to terms with Renaissance art. Another effective way meant to appropriate from the South not forms or motifs, but the shift in the status of image from predominantly representing the holy, to the prevalence of artistic quali-

ties. As far as this shift corresponded with pre-Reformation and Reformation ideas, it provided a basis for what we might want to call a specific "style". We in Central Europe should perhaps think more about the Anglo-Saxon tendency to call the whole period "Renaissance" instead of "Late Gothic". As Jeffrey Chipps Smith has recently noted, "the term Renaissance, however imperfect, still conveys the richness and diversity of these two centuries [1380-1580] better than competing labels, such as Late Gothic or Early Modern. This was a dynamic period of artistic innovation, not an end, as the term Late Gothic implies."<sup>19</sup> Since, however, we have no adequate name to call this style, and since hardly anyone sane would wish to insert another one to the "goose-march of styles", we might as well leave the things as they are.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the brief but inspiring discussion of the topic in B. Decker, *Das Ende des mittelalterlichen Kultbildes und die Plastik Hans Leinbergers*, Bamberg 1985, p. 119.

<sup>18</sup> M. V. Schwarz, *Unsichtbares sichtbar*, [in:] *Visuelle Medien in christlichen Kult*, Wien 2002, pp. 173-216; cited from Kavalier, *Nature...*, pp. 244-245.

<sup>19</sup> J. Chipps Smith, *The Northern Renaissance*, London 2004, p. 12.

*Gotyk? Renesanse? M  
środkowoeuropejskiej p*

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wieczną koncepcję świętego wi



### *Gotyk? Renesans? Manieryzm? Modele interpretacyjne do analizy rzeźby środkowoeuropejskiej po roku 1500*

Skoncentrowałam się na pytaniu, jakie określenie pasuje najlepiej do skategoryzowania pewnej grupy środkowoeuropejskich rzeźb z początku szesnastego wieku. Charakteryzuje je wybujała forma, niekonwencjonalna kompozycja i przesadnie stylizowane i zdeformowane draperie i fizjonomie postaci. Terminy „późny gotyk” i „renesans” dostarczają pewnych modeli ułatwiających interpretację dzieł. Według mnie powinniśmy również rozważyć użycie terminu „manieryzm”, ponieważ mamy tu do czynienia z dziełami powstającymi równoległe z twórczością włoskich manierystów okresu późnego Michała Anioła. Grupy te mają pewne cechy wspólne. Obydwie łączy szczególnie podejście do pojęcia wizerunku jako dzieła sztuki, które w tychże samych dekadach stopniowo wyparło średnio-wieczną koncepcję świętego wizerunku.

antics at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the opposites<sup>17</sup>. Recent inquiries in early 16<sup>th</sup> the Alps begin to prove that the opposition images, and images in Christian cult, as seminal book *Bild und Kult*, may be too schematic. *Anna* was construed as a thoroughly cultic of Central European churches can be read mption, of deliverance from the chaotic en- nature (...), nature departing from God's ini- sures of the forms used for altarpieces may in roles from the private to the public: the tion with its moralization and interiorization ic character of cult images as the Reforma- could be verified by future research looking een the employment of these new artistic of the patrons.

v me a brief summary: the way of creative what we recognize as Late Renaissance in painting between Albrecht Dürer, Albrecht Dürer, and the Romanists. The situation was al Europe, because of the strong tradition of rving. Inclusion of individual, mostly deco- e motifs was one way of coming to terms er effective way meant to appropriate from is, but the shift in the status of image from the holy, to the prevalence of artistic quali- rmation ideas, it provided a basis for what perhaps think more about the Anglo-Saxon hic". As Jeffrey Chipps Smith has recently chness and diversity of these two centuries rly Modern. This was a dynamic period of ce, however, we have no adequate name to ther one to the "goose-march of styles", we

es mittelalterlichen Kultbildes und die Plastik Hans Wien 2002, pp. 173-216; cited from Kavalier, *Nature...*,