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BEYOND *KUNSTWOLLEN:* ALOIS RIEGL AND THE BAROQUE

I. Riegl's Background

When Alois Riegl turned to "later" modern art in his teaching at the University of Vienna in the mid-1890s, the topic had only recently become a full-fledged part of academic inquiry.[1] As he pointed out in his lectures, and as Cornelius Gurlitt had noted prominently in his inaugural book on Baroque architecture, in the wake of Johann Joachim Winckelmann the study of ancient art had claimed the center of gravity of scholarly endeavor for so long that even Renaissance art had become a topic of acceptable scientific research with some difficulty. It had taken the success and sustained efforts of someone such as Jacob Burckhardt, and his enthusiasm and faith in its value as model, to raise the Renaissance to anything approaching a similar canonic status.[2] This process of rehabilitation had not been without its difficulties, as Burckhardt himself had had to face the prejudices of the field. When he was appointed at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (ETH) in Zurich, it was "despite" the fact that he was no archaeologist, as the members of the committee apologetically noted when they justified their decision.[3] Alongside the far more flamboyant figure of his colleague Gottfried Semper, who, besides being an architect of great repute, had also published as an art historian (or so he described himself) on the development of the arts from the most distant antiquity onward, Burckhardt had to start with ancient art before he could get to the art of the later periods.[4] But by the 1890s, the academic subjects taught in German-speaking countries—Germany, Switzerland, and Austria—had expanded, and Riegl naturally followed the path that led from the Renaissance inching closer and closer toward his own time.

Although in his introduction, Riegl dutifully lists the available literature in the field—from Burckhardt's scattered comments on the Baroque in *Der Cicerone* (1855) to Josef Strzygowski's more recent *Das Werden des Barock bei Raphael und Correggio* (1898)—a literature to which he was certainly indebted—his own, rather idiosyncratic, academic trajectory contributed as much to his way of conceiving the subject.[5] As has often been stressed, Riegl's beginnings had been modest.[6] Having studied with noted medievalist Moritz Thausing as well as with Rudolf von Eitelberger (the first chair of art history at the University of Vienna since 1852 and the first director of the Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Vienna since 1864), he had become interested both in Medieval art and in the anonymous, popular art of the period. His work on painted wooden *Bauernkalender* (1888), like his *Habilitationsschrift* on *Altorientalische Teppiche* (1891), resulted from these interests, which revolved around the phenomena of copying, script, ornament, and

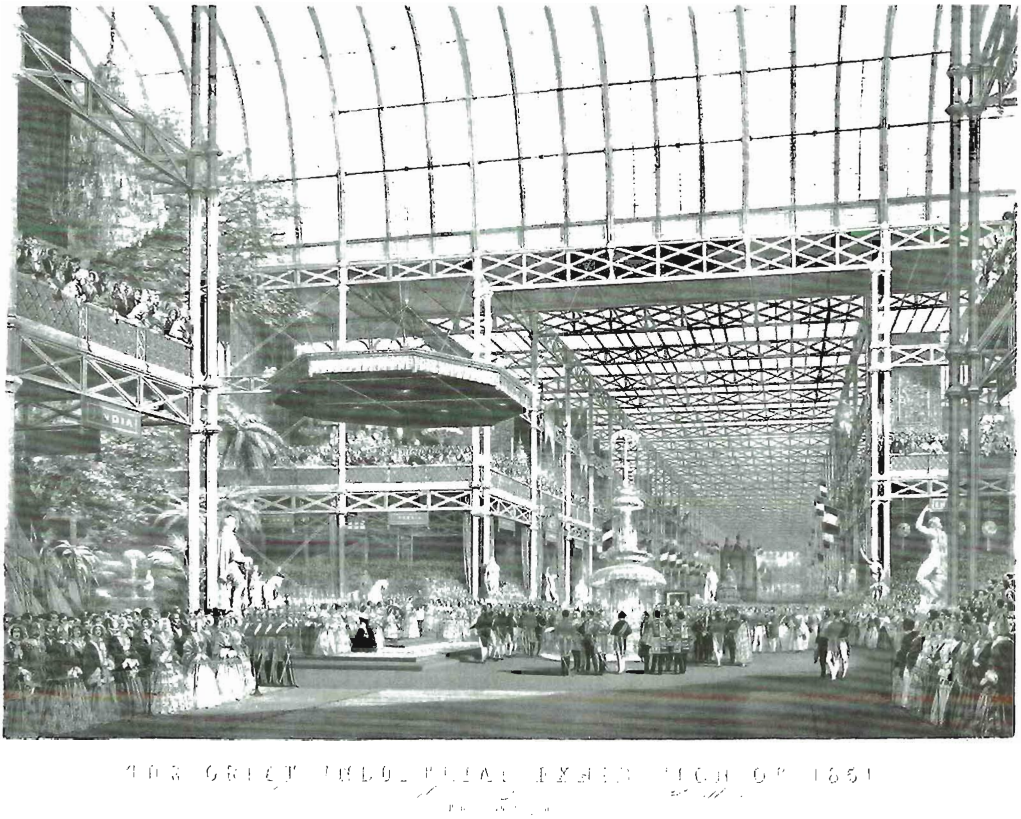


Fig. 1. Interior view of the Crystal Palace during the Great Exhibition at Hyde Park, London, in 1851. London, Guildhall Art Gallery.

crafts.[7] His careful, object-focused, close historical analyses made him a natural choice for a museum position, and this is where he started his career, rising from unpaid researcher to curator of textiles at the recently founded Museum für Kunst und Industrie.

Like Riegl's choice of study, this trajectory was less unusual than it might now seem. Starting in 1851, the hugely successful World Exhibitions had drawn attention to the impact of industrial manufacturing upon the applied arts and raised a number of issues that led to full-fledged debates (fig. 1).[8] The small, portable, and highly consumable objects of (luxury or everyday) household use lay at the core of these debates. Most prominently, Semper (in Germany), Henry Cole (in England), Count Leon de Laborde (in France), and Eitelberger and Jakob von Falke (in Austria) pointed to the consequences of the riotous expansion of industrially produced goods upon contemporary culture.[9] Both popular taste and artisanal work were seen to be threatened, under siege due to the assault of cheap objects hurled forth by the machine.[10] What ensued was a systematic effort in many European countries to harness, direct, exploit, and benefit from this energy without losing more than was gained in the process. Most famous in the scholarly literature is John Ruskin's and William Morris's rejection of the machine and the ensuing and related Arts and Crafts movement in England. But this was only one and, indeed, a smaller part of the reaction to the effects of the Industrial Revolution on the arts. Governments and their education-focused arms played a comparatively more systematic and significant role in how the situation evolved. Acutely conscious of the advent of the first global economy and the opportunities for world trade it offered, many worried about their country's potential success in this competitive market. Britain, Germany, and Austria shared this anxiety, fully aware that the energy deployed in America and the long-standing tradition of education, state support, and patronage of manufacturing in France far outpaced their own.[11] Of course, this does not mean that French administrators were any less concerned, since they could feel the hot breath of their pursuers on their backs.[12] The result was a form of collective anxiety that caused a host of sophisticated education programs, complete with museums, collections and scholarly infrastructure, to come into being.

To this macroeconomic concern with the arts, the architect Gottfried Semper's major treatise *Der Stil* (1860–63) made a particularly lasting contribution.[13] In his view, the monumental arts developed out of the crafts by a process of translation. Ornament was a particularly important element in this process, as the memory of form-making at more primitive stages and in materials such as textiles, clay, or wood remained embedded in the ornaments of later artistic products in metal or stone. The motifs that he identified and traced across millennia connected pottery with Doric temples, arabesques, palmettes, and wave motifs—all forms induced (so he argued) by the materials and their fabrication (weaving, glazing, incising, and so on)—with those occurring on column bases and capitals, on architraves or pediments.[14] These translations showed the survival of forms once they became invested not only with symbolic value but also with a body and crafting relevance: the physical manner of tying a knot in weaving, like the tendency to ornament joints of the human body (rings, bracelets, necklaces, belts, and so on), was transposed into stone ornament and created a near physical link between the architectural construct and the organic bodies it housed. Given this profound connection between "high" and "minor" art forms, it followed that for Semper civilization itself was at stake when a culture was unable to produce a vigorous art from the ground up.

Much in later nineteenth-century academic culture reinforced Semper and also was indebted to him. The nascent fields of anthropology, archaeology, and art history, like the museum movement, did much to buttress his definition of objects as the DNA of culture, and, since the boundaries between disciplines were as yet fluid, the dialogue between them was strong and fertile: indeed, Semper himself had drawn from natural history and paleontology, from Georges Cuvier to Charles Darwin.[15] The archaeologists' growing bounties from their large-scale excavations, which were sent back home in huge shipments of crates, provided an avalanche of objects that museums had to classify and exhibit; likewise, the ethnographic and anthropological collections caused museum storage and display cases to swell. Such collections were the result both of easier and safer travel to the outposts of the empire and of the growing interest in showcasing the successes of colonial expansion.[16] Since the museum became such a powerful tool supporting this discourse—serving as both its link to a mass audience and its visible arm—the attention paid to objects that could be housed and displayed within museums' walls raised them to the level of primary sites of research and established the phenomenon of a *Sachkultur* (culture of objects) that was unprecedented.[17]

The correlative of this broad-based interest in objects was an interest in style. As Suzanne Marchand has observed, style was a useful, even essential, tool for sorting quickly through the amorphous materials accumulating in the museum storage at an alarming pace and provided yet another link between disciplines from anthropology to art history.[18] Inevitably, ornament—easily traceable even on the smallest pottery shard or artifact—became the primary (and most convenient) location where scholars looked to identify style. First posited by Semper, this relationship between style and small objects (especially their ornament) was thus accepted as self-evident and allowed a productive conversation between disciplines.[19]

It is in this milieu then that Riegl came to maturity and it is to this milieu that he owed his enthusiasm for peasant calendars, carpets, ornament, and the museum for applied arts, all of which found their way into his early publications, from his articles on lace making, the future of domestic "industry" (*Hausindustrie*), and oriental carpets to his more famous *Stilfragen* (1893).[20] Much has been made of Riegl's apparent tendency to turn to neglected areas. Yet, this is not entirely true. Although it may appear that Riegl was working on the margins of the discipline, focused on the minutiae of exhibits in a museum away from the center of art historical discourse, this was far from the case. Set up by Semper as the leading indicators of culture and the origin of the high arts, the objects of daily use and of the applied arts were precisely the location where scholars from many different fields developed theories about culture. In fact, *where* Riegl worked and *what* he worked on lay at the very epicenter of discourse at the time. His *Kunstwollen*—first adumbrated in *Stilfragen*, which itself was a response to Semper (at one level) and to the materialist Semperians (at another), and then systematically investigated in *Die spätrömische Kunst-Industrie* (1901)—developed from such an apparently "narrow" starting point and expanded to embrace all the arts (high and low) and demonstrate a basic human aesthetic drive that manifests itself historically in a variety of forms and formats.[21]

To be sure, expanding the aesthetic to include all material culture could not have been conceivable without the Semperian object "revolution": once the focus shifted to the impulse behind making rather than its output, the sphere of art expanded dramatically and became much more inclusive. Riegl was not alone in following this path; personalities such as Wilhelm von Bode, Aby Warburg, Julius von Schlosser, and others shared his interest in the applied arts and started their careers by working on such material, although nowadays these apparently humble beginnings are largely forgotten.[22] Scholars have tended to look at Riegl's Hegelianism in the development of his *Kunstwollen*, at his response to psychology, phenomenology, and nineteenth-century empiricism. But this, I would argue, was only one half of Riegl. For the other, Semper and the location of objects at the center of culture as its diagnostic site in the world that surrounded him was arguably as important, if not more so.[23]

As a result, when Riegl started teaching at the University of Vienna, he brought with him two complementary orientations: one focused on objects and applied arts, enriched by the museum environment in which he had worked and by the methods borrowed from disciplines working with material culture such as archaeology and anthropology; the other aimed at the macro perspectives of art history, toward large, all-embracing systems that explained the trajectory of all Western art much in the spirit of Semper. Indeed, the books he was seeking to write in this period—*Die spätrömische Kunst-Industrie* and the *Historische Grammatik der bildenden Künste* (both started around 1897 to 1898)—reveal this drive toward broad system-making.[24] But his concomitant lectures on the Baroque, on Dutch and Spanish painting, on ornament and German art, and on other topics spanning from antiquity to the eighteenth century constituted the laboratory where his general observations were tested against specific examples, revised, and worked out. Despite the variety of topics that attracted him, the interest in the applied arts remained a constant in Riegl's published work from the period, a form of *tertium comparationis* that allowed him to maintain a connection between the micro and macro aspects of art. Between 1894 and 1902—the period within which he returned to the Baroque three times in his *Vorlesungen* (lectures)—he published articles on Empire furniture (1898) and the famous essay on the Vafio cup (1900) at the same time as he was publishing two essays on "Kunstgeschichte und Universalgeschichte" (1898).[25] What may thus appear as heterogeneity in his work—since during this period he also wrote on Salzburg architecture, Jacob van Ruisdael, the preservation of monuments, and the Dutch group portrait—was in fact a series of vertical and horizontal cuts through the arts of various periods, genres, and media that allowed him to connect the high and the low in an attempt to ground *Kunstwollen* through meticulous observation.

II. Why Baroque Now

It is then Riegl's location within a very particular milieu at a particular time in the development of the discipline that makes his reading of the Baroque so important. And we will return presently to the effects of Semper and the nineteenth-century *Sachkultur* on this this reading. But if his broad range of interests constituted one coordinate along which Riegl's lectures at the University of Vienna developed, the other was without a doubt the rehabilitation of the Baroque that had been in the works for the past twenty years.[26] Certainly, by the later 1890s, the Baroque was no longer a pariah among historical styles and the days when Burckhardt could describe Gianlorenzo Bernini's sculptures as "repulsive" and the Baroque more generally as "a questionable style" had long since passed.[27] The change had been wrought by a number of factors, including the turn in later nineteenth-century architecture toward an increasingly opulent and sculptural Renaissance style—most evident in Semper's own work in Dresden, Zurich, and Vienna—that had eventually crossed into the neo-Baroque, as Gurlitt testifies in his *Die deutsche Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (1899) (fig. 2).[28] The large public buildings that the growing metropolis required—monumental spaces that new materials such as iron and steel could now span—invited a heightening both of the visual incident and of its scale on the walls of these new structures, which might otherwise have seemed too stark and austere. In addition, the display aesthetics of growing empires went hand in hand with their imperialistic politics, and the richness and scale of the architecture

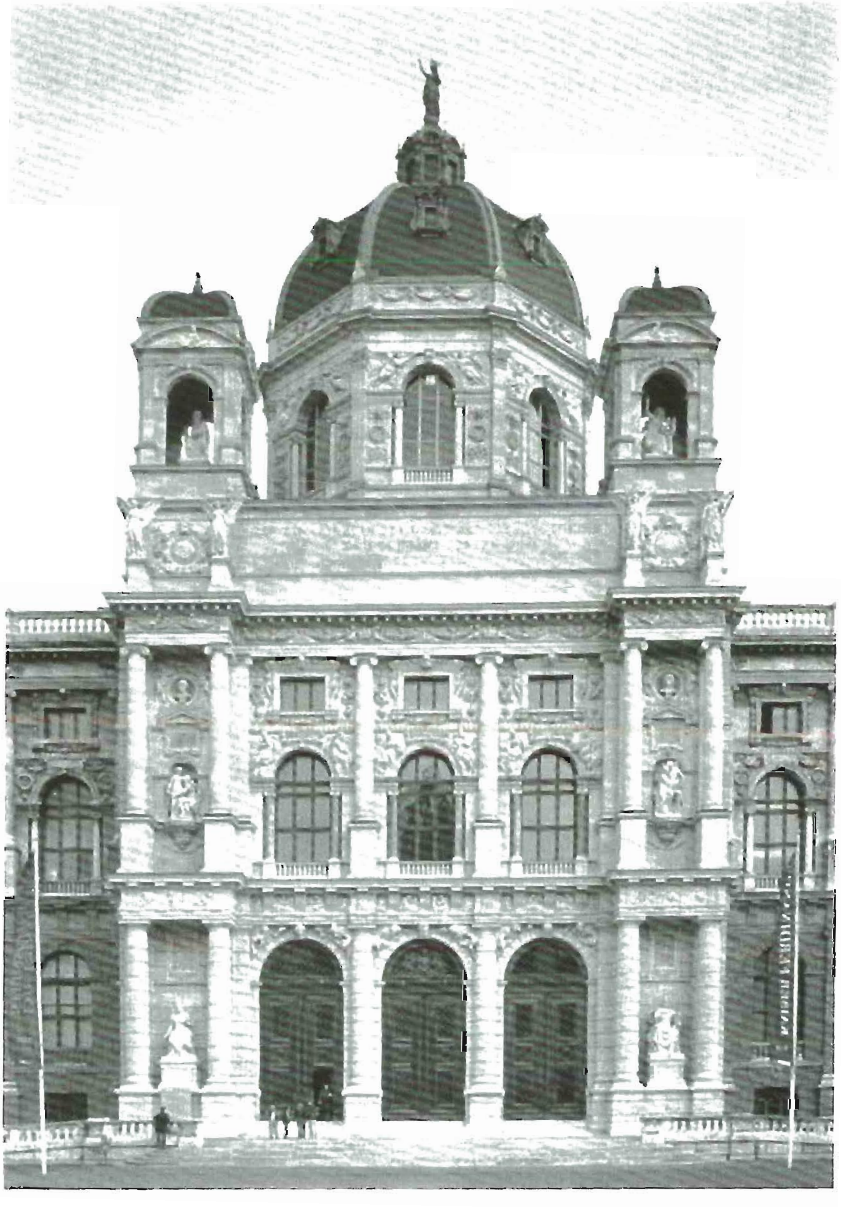
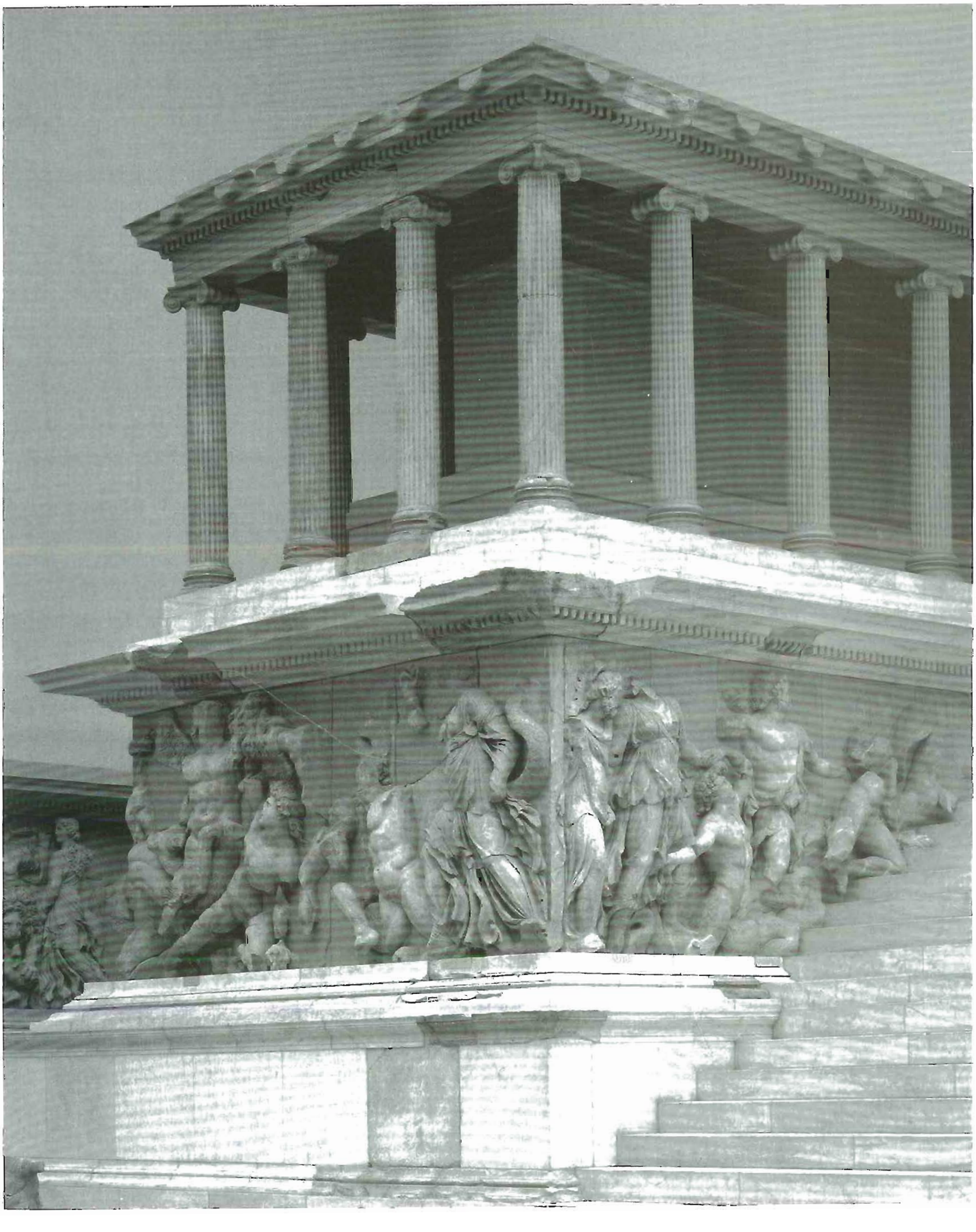


Fig. 2. Gottfried Semper (1803–79). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

was the natural visible backdrop of these ambitions. Riegl's Vienna was a case in point. The capital of a vast yet now increasingly threatened empire, it boasted an architecture that was even more display-oriented and conceived to impress than that of other cities, thus signaling like a seismograph the rumbling of the empire's upcoming dissolution.[29] No wonder that in this physical environment, surrounded by neo-Baroque palaces and institutional buildings that echoed and amplified the rich stock of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century palaces and churches, scholars' interests should also embrace the historical style that lay at their origin.

Fig. 3. War of the Gods against the Giants, north side of the Zeus altar from Pergamon, ca. 180 B.C.E. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

But perhaps the most immediate call to a revision of prejudices had been the momentous arrival of the Hellenistic Pergamon altar in Berlin starting in 1879. As



I have discussed elsewhere, this hybrid artwork representing giant bodies locked in mortal combat and contained with some difficulty within an elegant architectural frame, had caused a *mise en abime* of the classical Winckelmannian aesthetics of "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" that had informed all aspects of artistic discourse for the better part of two centuries (fig. 3).[30] The entire arts community, from archaeologists to artists and art historians, was mobilized in the face of this challenge and responded in ways that revolutionized the field. Open-minded as ever, Burckhardt acknowledged the aesthetic quality and impact of the find.[31] Though still intact, his own bias toward the early Renaissance, the natural pendant to classical antiquity within the spectrum of modern styles and speaking to the same taste for quiet refinement, had also begun to relax, allowing later art outside the canon to seduce him.[32] Like his unpublished *Randglossen* (marginal glosses) to later Italian art and especially to sculpture, in which he revised his early distaste for the Baroque, his essays on Constantinian art and on Peter Paul Rubens amply testify to this fact.[33]

Burckhardt was not alone. The debates over and evaluations of the "ancient Baroque"—as it came to be known—succeeded one another and tended to revolve especially around the feature that became identified as its leading characteristic: its *malerisch* (painterly) effect. From archaeologist Alexander Conze to art historians such as Heinrich von Brunn and Guido Hauck, all jumped into the fray.[34] The debates raged over what seemed to be the principal stumbling block in assessing the altar's relative value within the canon: the overlap of media effects. Painterly features had invaded the purely plastic qualities of sculpture, not to mention enlivened its architectural components. Traditionally, such blending and loss of aesthetic identity, not to say autonomy, had been classified as a weakness. Of course, the quality of the altar's sculptural frieze was not in question, as even the most conservative of scholars agreed on its value. But the application of *malerisch* as a blanket term to describe the altar remained a problem, and scholars worked hard to develop an alternative critical vocabulary.

Baroque studies were the most immediate beneficiary of this process of reevaluation. Indeed, Baroque art, which traditionally was also defined as *malerisch* and dismissed as a decline or a loss of artistic vigor following the Renaissance, shed its pejoratives in sympathy with the reassessment of Hellenistic art. Thus, when Heinrich Wölfflin wrote his trailblazing *Renaissance und Barock* in 1888, he could state in the preface that he had intended to include an evaluation of the "ancient Baroque" but that his "little book" did not afford enough scope for this project, and he promised to return to it at a later date. He never did, and even Riegl himself later noted Wölfflin's project with approval in his lectures on the Baroque and regretted that it had come to naught.[35] But his intention did not go unrealized: in 1912, Arnold von Salis published *Der Altar von Pergamon: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des hellenistischen Barockstils in Kleinasien.*[36] The echoes of the Pergamon find resonated through the century, with Adolf von Hildebrand's *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (1893)—a fundamental contribution for turn-of-the-century formalism—being a powerful testimony of its long-term impact. Such was the altar's effect that several years later August Schmarsow was moved to raise his voice against it. Pointing to the persistent German fascination with sculpture as the main reference point for art criticism, he bemoaned its consequences in an excessive attention to the corporeality of form in architecture at the expense of its spatial characteristics.[37]

III. Predecessors

Such scholarly intensity naturally reverberated within the research work on early modern art. Wölfflin's book was perhaps the most striking example of such transference, but it was not an isolated case. However, if the topic of the Baroque was no longer new by the 1890s, it had certainly not been explored as yet at any great length. Some pioneering studies existed, but consensus as to its characteristics, evolution, origins, or principal actors was far from advanced. Architecture had fared the best in this early phase, and, indeed, Strzygowski and others noted later how far behind Baroque research in the other arts had lagged.[38] Perhaps this should not be surprising, as the contemporary interest in the style created a market among architects and encouraged its study. The earliest historians of the Baroque all dealt primarily with architecture: Wölfflin did so despite the larger claim of the work; so did Gurlitt and certainly Schmarsow, although he was ostensibly seeking to reestablish the balance between artistic media. Even Burckhardt, critical as he was of the style in general, found words of praise that amounted to genuine enthusiasm when dealing with Baroque architecture.[39]

Among the first to devote a book-length study to the Baroque (and to architecture) was Gurlitt, who published *Die Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* in 1887 in Wilhelm Lübke's series that also included Burckhardt's volume on Renaissance architecture, *Die Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien* (1867). Of course, he leaned on *Der Cicerone,* where Burckhardt had conscientiously, if not always enthusiastically, surveyed Baroque art alongside that of all the other periods, as well as on Robert Dohme, who had included some very insightful and appreciative pages on Baroque architecture in his *Die Geschichte der deutschen Baukunst* (1887).[40] But it was all uphill work, which he performed magisterially despite the oblivion that his book has unfairly been assigned to. Refraining from dealing with aesthetics or constructing large models of artistic development, he traveled extensively through Italy, looked at all the buildings he could (all the while apologizing for not being able to spend more time in southern Italy), drew them, returned to them, and committed them to memory—a necessary process in a time when photography was not yet easily accessible, and, although albums of images existed, they were not nearly comprehensive enough to permit the in-depth analysis he was engaged in. It is from such a *sachlich* base of sharp visual autopsy that Gurlitt then proposed a trajectory for architecture's development from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth and beyond (fig. 4).[41]

Wölfflin's *Renaissance und Barock,* his *Habilitationsschrift* that came out the following year (1888), was at one and the same time more ambitious and less comprehensive.[42] His interest lay in the phenomenon of *Stilwandlung* (style change) and its mechanism, and he took the transition from the Renaissance to the Baroque as his test case.[43] Architecture loomed large in his investigation, in part because there were already works on this issue centered on architecture that constituted a critical mass of scholarship—for example, Adolf Göller's *Die Entstehung der architektonischen*

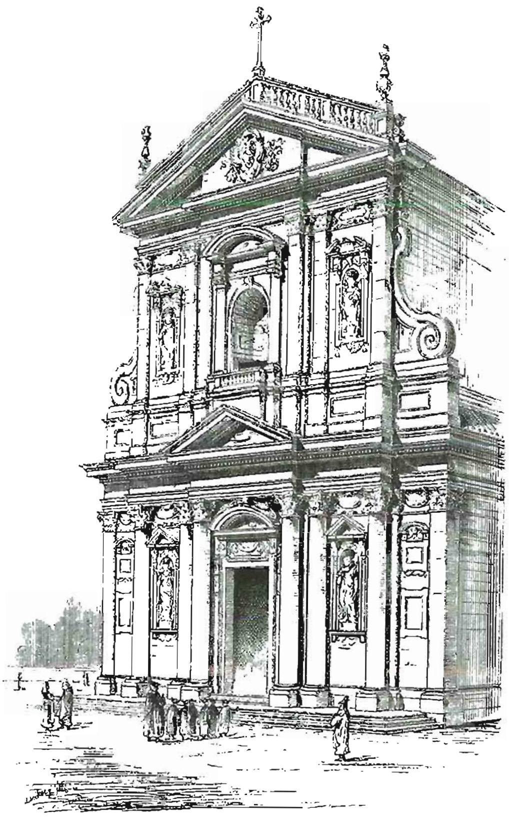


Fig. 2. St. Suzanna, Rom. (Beiſpiel des Barockſtiles)

Fig. 4.
St. Suzanna, Rom.
From Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Ebner & Seubert, 1887), 5.

Stilformen (1888), the position against which Wölfflin developed his own—but also because he had focused on architecture in his dissertation, "Prologomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur" (1886).[44] Not an architect as Gurlitt or Göller was and coming from philosophy and psychology, Wölfflin was naturally more inclined to raise aesthetics-related questions than to survey monuments in great detail. As a result, the tone and language of his book were significantly different, and its access to a broader public much greater. Most important, he identified a number of characteristic features in Baroque artworks that he outlined with a wealth of descriptive details and a richness in vocabulary that brought them vividly to life. Alternating short, punchy, and categorical sentences such as "Die Renaissance ist die Kunst des schönen ruhigen Seins" (the Renaissance is the art of beautiful quiet being) or "Der Barock gibt nur das Grosse" (the Baroque only gives greatness) with longer analytical passages contributed to his persuasiveness.[45] Unlike his architectural historian colleagues whose books laid out plans and details for the benefit of the professional architect engaged in building neo-Baroque buildings, Wölfflin's visually and verbally eloquent analyses were not directly usable but nevertheless provided a powerful reference point for his readers.[46] Because he was interested in the mechanics of

Stilwandlung more generally, *Renaissance und Barock* was less focused on specific artworks than on an aesthetic phenomenon.[47] But while providing large frameworks that had a fascinating effect on his readers (as Schmarsow would later grudgingly observe), Wölfflin necessarily left out much of the detail work.[48]

Nearly ten years later, that is, contemporary with Riegl's lectures on the Baroque, Schmarsow produced two books in reply and opposition to Wölfflin's.[49] Attempting neither to produce a survey of existing artworks in a systematic way such as Gurlitt's nor to understand shifts in taste and artistic sensibility as Wölfflin had, Schmarsow sought to take a hard look at the relationship between the media—architecture, sculpture, and painting—and to understand their internal logic so as to recover their specificity rather than their overlaps. Particularly concerned with the excessive popularity of the category *malerisch* and especially that of the *malerisches Relief*, he felt that it encouraged a blurring of edges between media that obscured their individual characteristic traits.[50] Most important, in his analysis of architecture he introduced *Raumwille* (the will to create space) as architecture's leading stylistic feature.[51] Wishing to return architecture to the architects, painting to the painters, and sculpture to the sculptors, he sought to clarify terms and their applications, although in the end he too had to acknowledge that the reciprocal relationship between media was the surest indication for changes in style. Long sentences (sometimes fourteen lines long) and a predominantly aesthetic orientation that was long on abstractions and short on concrete analysis (and no illustrations) made his book more difficult to read and its main points less punchy and effective than Wölfflin's.

Monographs had been slow to come to the fore in this thinly populated field. Indeed, in his review of the literature, Riegl mentions only three, of which only one focused on a single artist, even if rather superficially. To Hubert Janitschek's work on the Bolognese masters in Dohme's series *Kunst und Künstler Italiens* (1878–79) Riegl adds Strzygowski's work on painting from Raphael to Correggio (1898) and, perhaps the only true monograph among them, Stanislao Fraschetti's book on Bernini (1900).[52] Riegl's warmest praise is for Burckhardt's late work "Erinnerungen aus Rubens," which he sees as a positive invitation to reevaluate Italian art of the same period (Rubens being the most "Italianizing" northerner). Interestingly enough, he does not mention Carl Justi's *Diego Velázquez und sein Jahrhundert* (1888), another monograph focusing on a non-Italian artist—perhaps because it was more of a biography than a real engagement with the artist's oeuvre—though ultimately it falls within the same category. Baroque painters from outside Italy—Rubens, Rembrandt, van Dyck, and Velázquez—had maintained the attention of collectors and scholars, while the taste for the early and high Renaissance in Italy had been so strong and persistent that little attention remained for what had seemed to be the later "questionable style." In addition, in German circles at least, Rembrandt had risen to the level of cultural paradigm thanks to Julius Langbehn's folkish and stridently über-nationalist *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (1890), a book that had enjoyed over thirty reprints in the two years following its publication.[53] The Baroque as such was not Langbehn's concern, but his choice of a Baroque artist certainly added to Rembrandt's popular vogue and to the popularity of the style he was associated with.

IV. Baroque Issues

One other reason for the turn to the Baroque was also the fact that among the most urgent tasks confronting scholarship at the turn of the century was to articulate the period from 1400 to 1800 into more finely characterized segments. Faced with an amorphous and largely uncharted territory, scholars sought to orient themselves within it by establishing some basic coordinates: temporal, stylistic, geographic, and so on. While the paths leading from the early to the high Renaissance could be followed with some degree of confidence, the multiplicity of directions and their intersections in the later sixteenth century and into the first two decades of the seventeenth century presented real problems, and a clear-cut line of development could not be as readily identified. Both Baroque and Mannerism existed as concepts and were already used by Burckhardt himself in *Der Cicerone*, but there was little agreement on their temporal and formal contours. Indeed, earliest among scholars Burckhardt had provided a template for various cuts through the material, and his schema remained a reference point for the subsequent generation.[54] For him, the Renaissance collapsed into Mannerism with the students of Raphael, in whose work one could detect "hie und da ein Rest der Grösse"(here and there remnants of greatness) but which looked like "arme und entfernte Verwandte" (poor and distant relatives) alongside the great masters when hung in the museums.[55] Burckhardt also saw *Schnellmalerei* and the associated rise in artistic literature buttressing it (especially Armenini)—both phenomena related to a growing market of collectors—as another symptom of the turn to the Baroque. However, in his view, not all the arts moved at the same pace. Painting shifted to a Baroque sensibility sooner, while sculpture remained *idealistisch-manieristisch* until 1630.[56] But, even so, he proposed no clear-cut borders between periods and styles. Perhaps in this way Burckhardt was more true to the complexity of the material than his successors, who tended to shoehorn art and artists into various periodization schemes animated as they were by a will to taxonomy and order.[57] Though the issues of when the Baroque started and in which art the new style first emerged remained essentially without an answer, for Burckhardt its principal artist was Bernini, and the key border figure, Michelangelo.

That Bernini was synonymous with the Baroque was clear enough, but where and with whom the various subperiods began and ended remained uncertain. As a result, among the early chroniclers of the Baroque there is much divergence in opinion: some saw Mannerism as a parallel phenomenon to the Baroque and located it only in Florence (while the Baroque remained a specifically Roman phenomenon); others saw it preceding the Baroque, though its geographic distribution remained uncertain. Some scholars (such as Gurlitt) sought to articulate the period even further and identified a *Spätrenaissance* (late Renaissance style) that existed in parallel with Mannerism. But no matter how they carved up the period, all agreed that a *strenger Stil* (severe style) had emerged toward the later sixteenth century, although not all agreed where exactly it belonged in time: as an alternative to Mannerism and part of *Spätrenaissance* or as an early moment in the history of the Baroque.[58]

This attempt at designating subperiods was complicated by efforts (such as Wölfflin's and Strzygowski's) to use artists as signposts. Thus, Wölfflin already located the first glimmers of the Baroque in Donato Bramante's and Raphael's late oeuvres, while others, such as Schmarsow, turned to Michelangelo as the origin of the Baroque and to his followers in Rome as the first to work in this style.[59] Gurlitt followed neither trend and identified a late Renaissance (rather than Mannerism), to which belonged Pellegrino Tibaldi, Martino Longhi the Elder, and Domenico Fontana and which began upon Michelangelo's death, while Bernardo Buontalenti as well as the followers of Jacopo Sansovino and Michele Sanmicheli belonged to the Baroque (which in Gurlitt's view started following Sixtus V's death in 1590).[60] This perplexity in front of a heterogeneous field has not changed materially even today, and the debates as to the relative usefulness of terms such as *Renaissance, Mannerism,* and *Baroque* vis-à-vis the more generic *early modern* rage on. Although Mannerism became a salutary "find" in the 1920s and 1930s (with scholars such as Max Dvořák, Walter Friedländer, and Nikolaus Pevsner picking up and developing an already existing category) so as to break down the sixteenth century into more manageable pieces, its usefulness came into question from the late 1960s onward.[61] Since then the period from 1550 to the 1620s either has been reframed time and again as one entity in and of itself (thus avoiding century marks as stylistic frontiers) or has been absorbed within the "long sixteenth-century" that avoids stylistic monikers altogether.[62] The most recent work on the Baroque dates it from 1620 to 1800 and leaves this complex earlier period out altogether.[63]

Unlike his successors, Burckhardt had not tried to work by styles and artists alone, but had identified one genre as the key to understanding the path that led to the Baroque, and with it he also provided an alternative perspective to the almost exclusive focus on architecture among scholars. For him, the diagnostic site was the sculptural relief. To be sure, this genre had moved into the foreground of most debates at the time, precipitated by the arrival of the Pergamon frieze in Berlin, but it was Burckhardt who had identified the relief as the key for understanding stylistic shifts more generally. Partaking as it did of sculpture (as genre), painting (as approach), and architecture (upon which it was deployed), the relief was the first and best art form to reveal changing relationships between the media and, with it, changing sensibilities that would inform stylistic changes as well. As he argued, once narrative entered the relief (he notes that it already had done so in the later fifteenth century when the relief entered the domain of the altarpiece, but his real bête noire is Benvenuto Cellini), the genre moved away from "pure" sculpture and entered the domain of painting, of *malerisch*; it is this painterliness that slowly eroded its media identity and became the leading characteristic of the Baroque, finding its climax in the work of Bernini.[64] Supporting such an emphasis was Hildebrand, who had also zeroed in on the sculptural relief in his *Das Problem der Form*, one of the most read and influential texts at the turn of the century. Approaching the problem from the perspective of the artist and thus giving it even more weight, he too identified the relief as the key genre among the arts; a move in which he was much applauded and reinforced by Wölfflin.[65] At the time Schmarsow alone recognized that here lay the crux of the discussion and tried to steer it away so as to reestablish criteria that would privilege the recognition of media-specific gestures rather than those that blurred boundaries. Since traditionally the Baroque was seen as *the* site of such blurring par excellence, it is here, on this contested terrain, that he sought to tease out the characteristic features of the individual arts.

Not all art historians looked for *Aufgaben* (tasks) and artistic problems as Burckhardt famously did. For most, geographic specificity was a way out of the impasse of organizing the material, and the early focus on Rome as the site of the Baroque in these texts hints at this strategy. Florence-Venice-Rome, the traditional axis for Renaissance studies (for all their exotic appeal, Naples and Sicily were too far off the traveling routes of scholars and dilettantes, as Gurlitt testifies all too readily), did not present homogeneous features, and some scholars correlated these with temporal ones, translating geography into periodization by way of style. Thus, the Venice of Andrea Palladio and Sansovino was classified as late Renaissance by some (Gurlitt), and the contemporary work of Buontalenti and the followers of Michelangelo in Florence (and only in Florence) as Baroque and Mannerism, respectively. For most, however, Rome vaulted to the Baroque straight out of Raphael and Michelangelo; some, such as Wölfflin, included even the late Bramante in this trend, while in his view a mid-century figure such as Jacopo da Vignola was already clearly stamped by the aesthetic of the early Baroque. Indeed, Wölfflin's approach represented an extreme case. For him, there had been no late Renaissance in Rome at all and no period of transition: the high Renaissance had turned directly into the Baroque.[66]

However, regardless of the geography that the path toward the Baroque followed, one thing was clear for all scholars: Rome was its epicenter. The visibility of Rome as a center of Catholic power and as a significant historical topos had risen most recently with two monumental works—Ferdinand Gregorovius's *Die Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter* and Ludwig Pastor's *Die Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*—both of which had made it into print in 1886 and had turned the spotlight on the city.[67] Even if these works were not cited as such, they were topical signposts for a renewed post-unification interest in Rome and its power structures that overflowed into art history. On this issue, Burckhardt, Gurlitt, Wölfflin, and Schmarsow all agreed, even if not all of them addressed the issue head-on or identified the same reasons.[68] On the one hand, for Gurlitt, the imperial-like court of the popes, the status of Rome as center of Christendom, the rise of Jesuitism, and the presence of ancient imperial Roman ruins were the reasons the Baroque style first emerged in Rome, and he set up a pattern of interpretation that Rudolf Wittkower picked up in his classic treatment of the period and which is still followed today.[69] Wölfflin, on the other hand, proposed a theory of "climax locations." For him, the style appears in Rome first because the Renaissance also reached its climax here—the height of the *strenge Form* (severe form)—and hence the symptoms of a new style would be felt here first. He even goes as far as to argue that the Baroque may be *only* a Roman phenomenon.[70] Of course, Wölfflin's answer to the question of *Stilwandlung* was famously the human body—the new *Formgefühl* (feeling for form) arises from the change in posture, in deportment, in *Körpergefühl* (feeling for the body) he

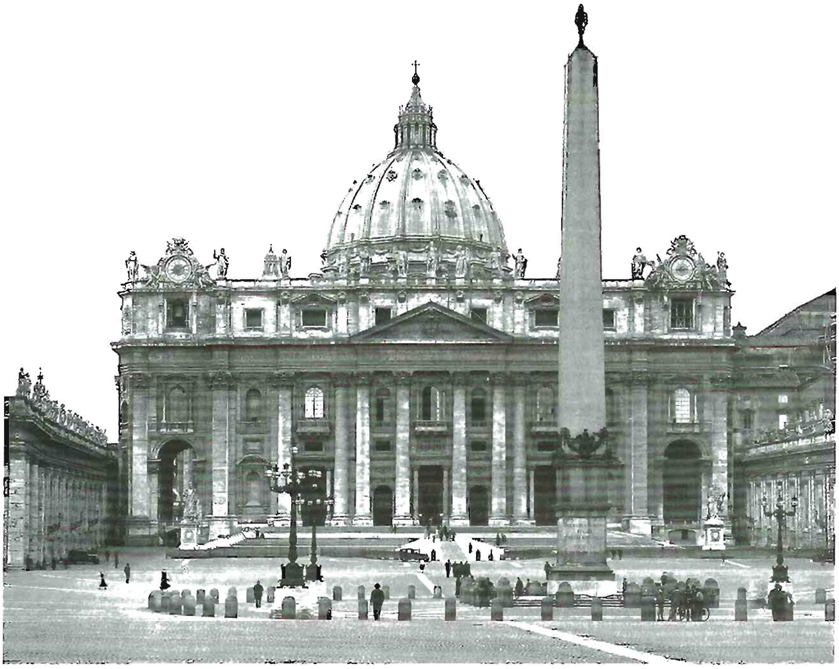


Fig. 5.
Facade of Saint Peter's Basilica. Vatican City.

argued—and this had nothing specific to do with Rome.[71] But his emphasis established a pattern that others would find hard to escape. Gurlitt and Wölfflin were two extremes in their reading of Rome as the cradle of the Baroque, but most other scholars shared at least some part of their views such that the centrality of Rome became something of a commonplace for Baroque studies.

But perhaps the most consistently invoked argument for the tight association between Rome and the Baroque was the presence of Michelangelo in the eternal city in the last decades of his life. Indeed, the two had become synonymous. No matter how much scholars claimed the role of catalysts for artists such as Raphael or Correggio, for them Michelangelo nevertheless remained the real threshold between styles, the one titanic personality who influenced all three visual arts and single-handedly brought about the shift to the Baroque. Formal characteristics of the Baroque on which all agreed—massiveness, monumental scale, heightened plasticity, emotional intensity, dramatic emphasis on the center in compositions—were evident in his work in all media and naturally designated him as the "Vater des Barocks."[72] Schmarsow used Michelangelo in particular to counter the case for the *malerisch*, arguing that his art was profoundly plastic, and that it is this plasticity ("plastisches Wollen") that he brought to the other media, not painterliness.[73] Indeed, Schmarsow's conclusion was that the high Renaissance was *malerisch*, while the Baroque was *plastisch*.[74] Even if not all scholars went as far back as the Sistine ceiling to trace the rising Baroque as Schmarsow did, they all nevertheless included Saint Peter's Basilica as the paradigmatic late work and unfinished building site that would impose the master's style on several generations of artists who succeeded him and force them to come to grips with its implications—in short, assimilate it, confront it, and develop it (fig. 5).

Given this complex tessellation, not to say maze, of period styles and their ostensible locations, it should not seem surprising that most energy was spent clarifying at least the origins of the style and that many early texts focused on the "becoming" of the Baroque rather than on the mature style itself. Wölfflin and Strzygowski (who titled his book *Das Werden des Barock*) are cases in point, but even Schmarsow, who proposed to write a longer history that included the Rococo, spent most of the book on the early phases.

V. Uniqueness of Riegl

As Arnold Witte argues in this volume, Riegl's ultimate intent may have been to write a larger book on the Baroque, and one can only surmise its contours from what he has left behind in his lectures: incomplete yet tantalizingly perspicacious assessments of the formal aspects of artworks. Since the book as published is a fragment and therefore cannot provide a sure sense of the relative significance of his chosen topics—it seems to privilege architecture to a large extent, though the section "Naturalism" (on Caravaggio), which is unfinished, may well have reestablished some balance—the introduction is a useful guide to Riegl's overall picture of the Baroque. Indeed, it is a very lucid statement of his motivations to turn to this subject: not because it has been perceived as an art of decline and neglected for that reason, but because it marks an interesting blind spot in German critical reception. In his view Germans have turned to the art of Italy with great passion since Winckelmann at least, but this love has centered on the art most unlike their own—ancient and Renaissance—while the Baroque, so he contends, appeals less because it is less alien.[75] For example, the heightened spiritual element is common to both northern and southern Baroque, but its representation through heightened bodily movement in Italian art (rather than quiet introspection) repulses rather than attracts. In addition, he notes, iconographical studies (that is, content) have drawn many adherents, and this enthusiasm has also privileged the Renaissance, which lends itself better to such an emphasis.

When it comes to explaining his reading of the Baroque, Riegl's main coordinates are clear: architecture and sculpture, which have maintained their relevance for modern art, are his centers of gravity (and make up three-quarters of the book as it stands); painting, in his view, is less of a leader as well as "less universal" and therefore also the least appealing to modern tastes. Both his periodization and geography are unambiguous: Rome is the fulcrum for being the center of the "Catholic world domination," and the seventeenth is clearly the century of the Baroque. Nevertheless, he identifies an early phase (1550–1630), in which architecture and painting take the lead, and a mature phase (1630 onward), in which Bernini and sculpture reign supreme. Michelangelo is the "father of the Baroque" in all the arts, while Correggio introduces the heightened emotionalism that would characterize later painting.

So far, much of what Riegl says follows in the footsteps of his predecessors. In his evaluation of the existing literature, he acknowledges Burckhardt's contribution, expresses enthusiasm for Wölfflin, less for Gurlitt, and none at all for Schmarsow. For scholars working on painting, he has even less to say.[76] And yet, even those he is

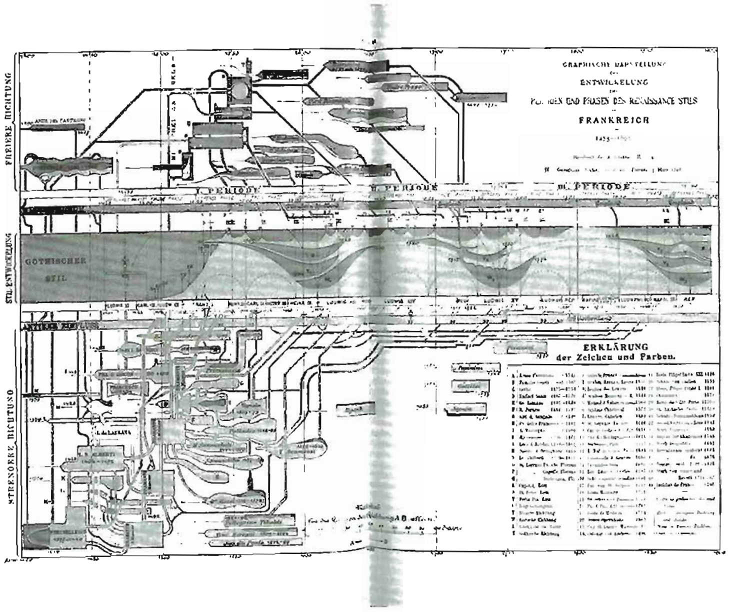


Fig. 6. *Graphische Darstellung der Entwickelung der Perioden und Phasen des Renaissance-Stils in Frankreich von 1475–1895.* From Heinrich von Geymüller, *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Frankreich* (Stuttgart: Arnold Bergsträsser, 1898–1901), vol. 1, after p. 28.

severely critical of left a mark on his vision of the Baroque. Thus for him Correggio is a central figure, just as he was for Strzygowski, as is Michelangelo, who receives the lion's share of attention and the role of watershed figure (due to his work after 1520, Riegl argues, in opposition to Schmarsow, who included the Sistine ceiling).[77] Indeed, if it were not for the excursus on Correggio and the chapter on the history of architecture from late Medieval and early Renaissance onward, it might seem that Riegl was writing a monograph on Michelangelo.

In terms of periodization, Riegl also attempts a geographic-stylistic cut through the material. Thus, he too zeroes in on Rome for the Baroque—because of the importance of the papacy and its imperialism, he argues—although he absorbs Bologna under its umbrella because it was part of the Papal States.[78] Venice is only important for painting, and in his view this unilateral contribution does not constitute a period style, although he acknowledges that Paolo Veronese and Jacopo Tintoretto have points of contact with the Baroque.[79] Moreover, for Venice Riegl sees only a late Renaissance (based on "Kolorismus"), different from the Mannerism of Florence, which he presents as a contemporary style that developed after Michelangelo's death or from the different, yet still "late Renaissance," tradition of the followers of Raphael (in architecture).[80] For the Baroque he identifies a "Jesuit style" in architecture—a throwback to Gurlitt, from whom Walther Weibel had also picked it up for his *Jesuitismus und Barockskulptur in Rom* (1909) and which would lead directly to Wittkower's appropriation of the category—as well as a Counter Reformation "severe style" that evolved in the late sixteenth century in Rome in competition with Florentine Mannerism (probably also following Gurlitt).[81] Nevertheless, faced with a complicated stylistic mosaic, Riegl ultimately offers no definitive schema and retraces his steps, recarving the period in practically every chapter.[82] In some ways, his honest struggle to bring order to the period, like the efforts of his contemporaries, recalls Heinrich von Geymüller's own impossible chart that illustrates the interaction of styles in Renaissance France and suggests a more general perplexity among scholars working with style as taxonomic category (fig. 6).

Finally, and once again like his colleagues, Riegl also concentrates on "Das Werden des Barocks." It is true that the title of the book was subsequently added by the publication's editors in 1908 in an effort to capitalize on existing trends in scholarship and that the manuscripts of the unpublished lectures show him dipping into later Neapolitan and Florentine material too.[83] But even if the book is not based on all his lectures, those included do indicate that the early focus attracted his interest a great deal. As it now stands, the book targets the period from 1550 to 1630 and even more so from 1590 to 1630, although he admits that the real Baroque century is the seventeenth.[84] Like Schmarsow, Riegl too recognizes a *décalage* between the arts at the beginning of the Baroque, but he categorically assigns the role of avant-garde for the period from 1550 to 1590 to architecture alone (while Schmarsow saw a joint leadership between architecture and sculpture arising from Michelangelo's late sculptural style). This is the "severe Baroque" (or severe style), in which painting and sculpture do not participate except in a decorative mode and which "loosens" in the subsequent decades (1590–1630) when the figural arts become progressively more important for the Church and hence also for the definition of the style.[85]

The concept of *décalage* goes back to Burckhardt, who had argued that a stagnant period in sculpture followed Michelangelo's death, while architecture could and did race ahead; and one can assume him to have been the more likely source for Riegl than Schmarsow.[86] For Riegl, therefore, as for his predecessors, architecture is central to the phenomenon of *Werden* (and therefore also of the book) for being the art where the new style first arises and evolves. More incisive in his assessments, Riegl also raises the question: Why? In his view, as a "non-organic" art (more abstract than mimetic, one surmises), architecture more readily allows formal development—in this case, a clearer understanding of Michelangelo's "intentions"—than painting or sculpture does, and so naturally architecture claimed leadership in the development of the new style.[87]

But if Riegl works to a certain degree from within a consensus, he also brings much original thought to the topic. For that originality, scholars have tended to look to *Kunstwollen*—the category that remains Riegl's most famous contribution to art historical method—and, indeed, in the first decades of the century his colleagues in Vienna already were trying to demonstrate its all-embracing presence in his writings. Thus, Hans Sedlmayr, who wrote the introduction to the volume of Riegl's *Gesammelte Aufsätze* in 1929 and assessed his contribution to the discipline, insisted on the centrality of *Kunstwollen* in his oeuvre. Taken together with Karl Swoboda's preface to the volume, in which he highlighted the fact that the popularity of Riegl's works in the 1920s rested with *Stilfragen* (1893), *Die spätrömische Kunst-Industrie* (1901), and *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* (1908), the latter has been assumed to be also a demonstration of *Kunstwollen* theory in action.[88]

Yet, a close reading of the text reveals this to be something of a red herring.[89] Although Riegl was working on *Die spätrömische Kunst-Industrie* at the same time as he was lecturing on the Baroque, his lectures do not follow the same path and do not bring together belt buckles and concepts of space to demonstrate the internal unity of a particular *Kunstwollen* across all artistic media.[90] The term only comes up a few times, and then in connection with individual artists and only laterally with respect to a general time frame or period. Thus, when he uses it with reference to, for example, Michelangelo or Bramante, it is more to signify personal style rather than to reveal a broader cultural-artistic tendency.[91] Not that *Kunstwollen* is absent altogether—Riegl does note that Michelangelo is "conscious" of a new *Kunstwollen* and deliberately tries to "implement" it (*durchführen*)—but the concept has nowhere near the visibility or centrality that it had in his other writings.[92] Instead, this kind of panoramic view occurs in his contemporary essays "Naturwerk und Kunstwerk" (1901) and "Kunstgeschichte und Universalgeschichte" (1898) and in his unfinished book manuscript *Historische Grammatik*, while the work on the Baroque is far more engaged with specific artworks and artists.[93]

Thus, it is only when one sets aside *Kunstwollen* that the full originality of Riegl's method, his visual analyses, and the lateral material that he draws into his evaluation of the Baroque really emerge. And this is where his training and object lesson from Semper and from the museum environment come to the fore. Indeed, the closeness to detailed examination of the art object that he acquired in the process of evaluating lace and glass or carpets and calendars is what strikes a reader first. In that sense, Riegl's Baroque book is closer in *factura* to *Stilfragen* than to *Die spätrömische Kunst-Industrie*. Unlike Wölfflin, who in his treatment of the period buzzes like a busy bee from one building to the next, highlighting a wall treatment here and a detail there without ever stopping long enough to take all of a building's aspects into his purview, Riegl exhaustively, carefully, and methodically dissects individual works with much care and deliberation. Of course, he too is interested in broader, general characteristics and tries to group his observations under some larger headings, but the artwork as an entity, as a whole, never disappears behind its adjectives or the larger outlines of a period style.

Schmarsow had already expressed dissatisfaction with the status quo and tried to counter Wölfflin's "impetuosity" in taking symptoms for characteristics and sketching the Baroque too broadly. Instead, Schmarsow sought "a quiet historical evaluation of the centuries," and, undoubtedly, his whole book was a step-by-step rebuttal of Wölfflin.[94] Without putting it in so many words or attacking Wölfflin, Riegl made a similar attempt, and a more successful one to the extent that he does not get lost in abstract philosophical byways as does Schmarsow. For example, Riegl's in-depth formal analysis of Michelangelo's Medici chapel is remarkable for its sensitivity and originality, though dealing with a work that had received perhaps the most coverage from art historians as proto-Baroque art. Thus, he notes that the small-scale articulation of the walls is intended to monumentalize the figures by contrast and functions as their foil; that the inverted reclining figures on the sarcophagi produce an effect of rotation vis-à-vis each other and add a sense of movement to an otherwise quiet composition; and that the figures placed well out into the space of the chapel deny the wall its role as a reference plane, as was the case in Renaissance wall tombs, and enhance the tactile effect of the whole (fig. 7).

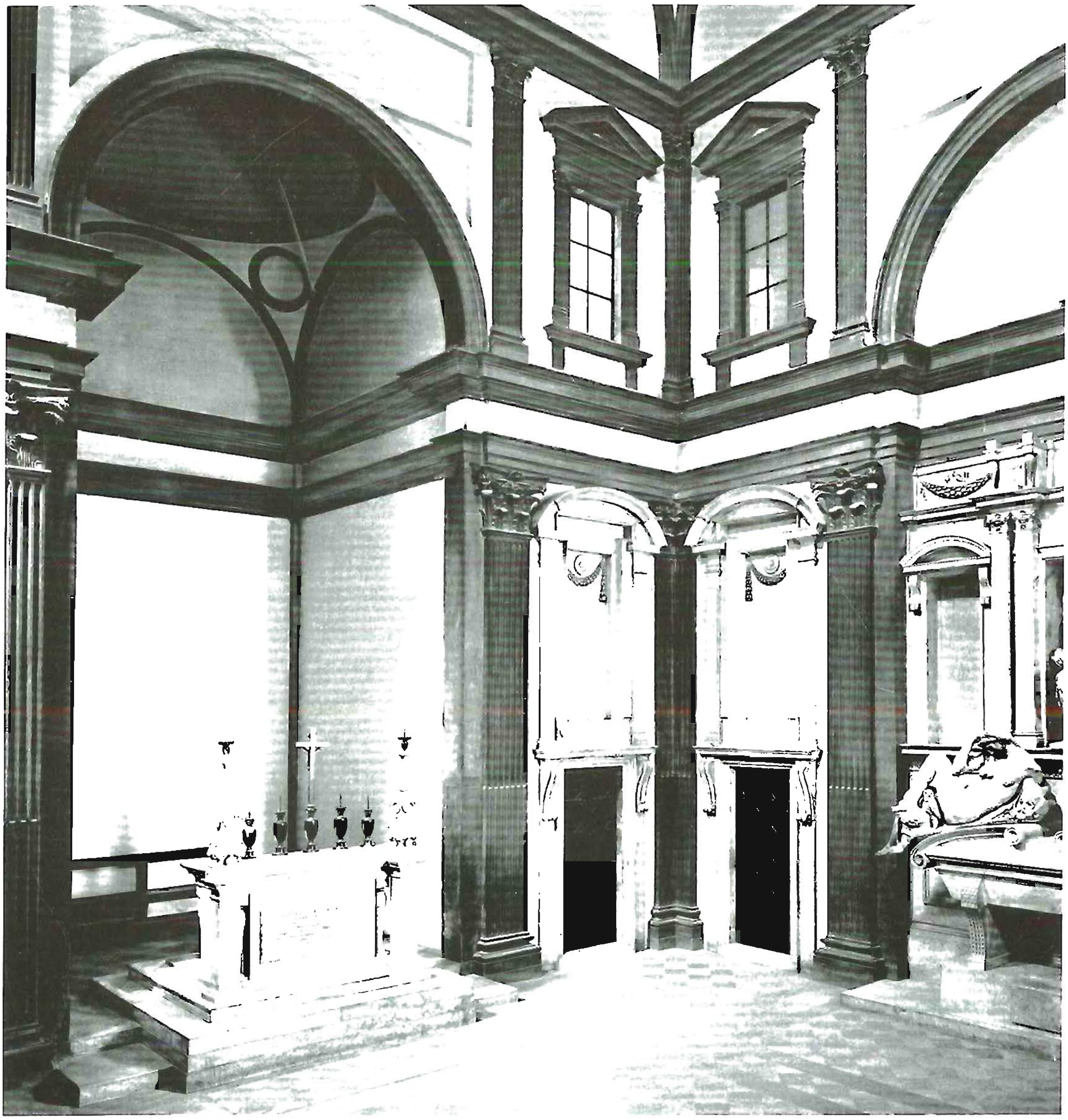


Fig. 7. New Sacristy. Florence, Basilica of San Lorenzo.

This closeness to the work, evident throughout, which acknowledges complexities rather than only highlighting new symptomatic gestures or seeking overarching commonalities, makes Riegl's reading of each artwork a small gem in and of itself. *Sachlich* conceived, these readings allow for a more complex as well as richer picture of the Baroque to emerge—not a Baroque *style* perhaps, but a powerful sense of Baroque *works.*

Methodologically speaking, Riegl's way of carving into the relatively amorphous Baroque material was certainly based on formal analysis, but unlike Wölfflin's history of art without artists, Riegl paid significant attention to individuals and their regional origins (if Lombard or Bolognese, in painting as in architecture); that is, he acknowledged a context of formal possibilities that marked each artistic personality and that led to the development of a Baroque sensibility.[95] Indeed, these observations lead to one of his most clear-sighted conclusions that nuances the already well-established emphasis on Rome: for him, all Roman art was "international art," like Catholicism, only its flowering was specifically Roman.[96] Moreover, like Burckhardt, he also thinks in terms of *Aufgaben*—ongoing problems or issues that artists turn to repeatedly and that become characteristic of the efforts of a particular generation. The shift of interest from the courtyard to the palace facade, the relationship of column versus the pilaster, the treatment of the wall, and the rise of the longitudinal plan over the central one in church design are examples of such problems, and he returns to them systematically so as to assess each artist's contribution to a generational dialogue as the Renaissance gradually morphs into the Baroque.[97]

When it comes to terminology and definition of the style, much was already present in the literature. Gurlitt had first attempted a pithy definition, and it certainly summarized a consensus: the Baroque style had evolved from a classical foundation toward a willfully free, overly exaggerated, and ultimately excessive form of expression.[98] Of course, at Wölfflin's hands much had been added to the list of characteristic features, not least of all his famous polar opposites: linear/painterly, multiplicity/unity, planarity/massiveness, contained/infinite. Yet even though he had added much, Riegl makes the style come even more alive, and the distinctive features he identifies are greater in number and more nuanced. Inevitably, he too compares the Renaissance to the Baroque so as to zero in on the differences, and his catalog of descriptive terms also tends toward a group of four pairs—"Nahsicht/Fernsicht," "taktisch/optisch," "objectiv/subjektiv," "plastisch/coloristisch."[99] This was not lost on Wölfflin, who immediately recognized similarities with his own system and argued that the *taktisch/optisch* pair was none other than his own linear/painterly.[100]

But, if present, these categories are fleshed out by a host of others. Among the most interesting is Riegl's emphasis on a Baroque tendency in architecture toward "organische Gestaltung der anorganischen Materie" (organic formation of nonorganic matter) and he points to the shell motif in Michelangelo's architecture (Palazzo dei Conservatori, Porta Pia, and others) as a diagnostic element for a rising Baroque sensibility (fig. 8).[101] Elsewhere he insists *contra* Schmarsow that only the Baroque presents a *Raumstil* (spatial style), not every architectural style (he is probably right, as not all styles are characterized by spatial innovations);[102] that in sculpture and architecture "die bewusste Steigerung des Schattens und Schattenschlag" (conscious increase of shadow and cast shadow) constitutes another significant feature;[103] that in the figural arts "Steigerung der Empfindung" (the escalation of feeling), "Verbindung der Figuren in der Komposition" (the connection between figures in the composition), and "Orientierung vom Subjekt aus" (the orientation from the subject's point of view) are key.[104] Across the arts he notes a rising interest in "sheer materiality," the presence of a dominant center, a push toward depth over surface, "die Ruhe des Ganzen" (the repose of the whole) versus "die Bewegung der Theile" (movement of the parts) elsewhere formulated as the contrast between "das Ruhende" (the resting) versus "das Strebende" (the striving).[105] Finally, he also posits a category of hybrid artworks which he names *Kleinarchitektur* (small-scale

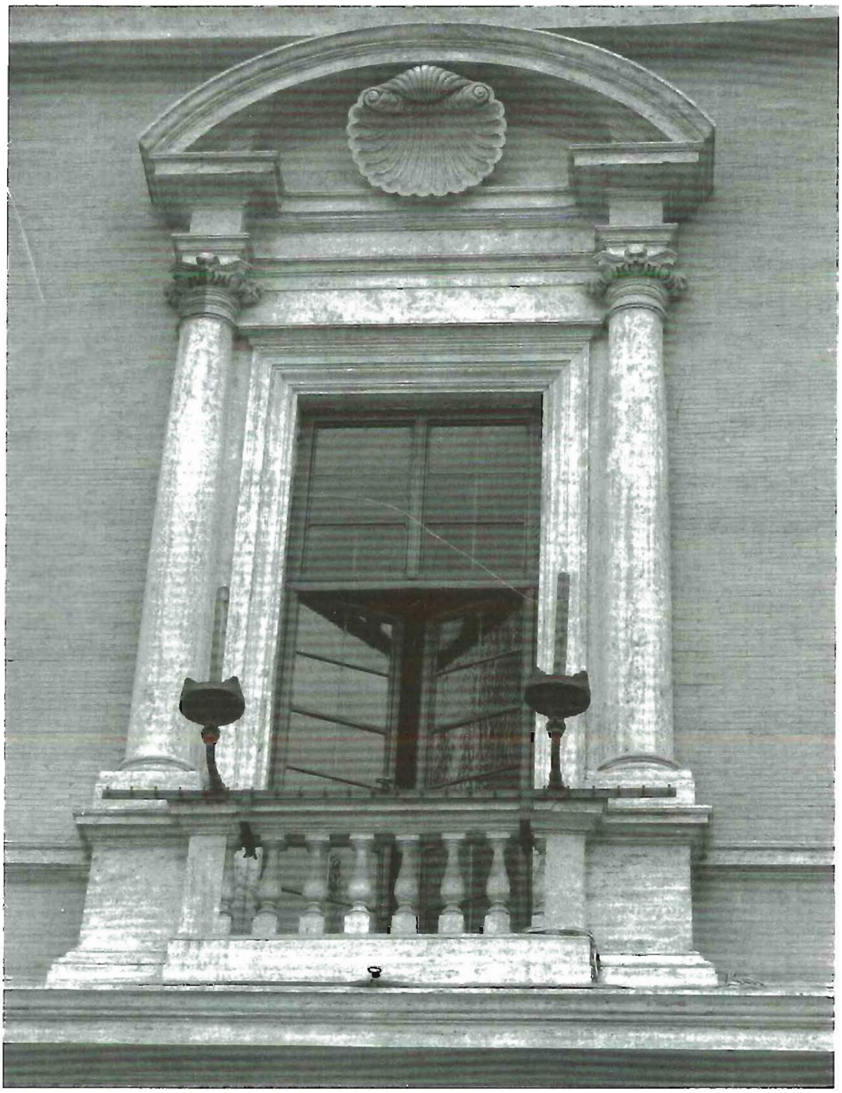


Fig. 8.
Detail of a window designed by Michelangelo. Rome, Palazzo Nuovo.

architecture), which includes fountains and which he also, on occasion, describes as "kunstgewerblich" (pertaining to the applied arts).[106]

To be sure, Riegl works hard to find the glue that holds the Baroque style together. But he cannot abandon the attentive autopsy of individual works either. Both tug at him and the tension between overarching concepts and methodological *Sachlichkeit* are palpable. In this sense too Semper's example looms large. In his *Der Stil* Semper swept across history, connecting Assyrian vestments with Renaissance palaces into one metanarrative, but he did so while focusing on the small artistic gestures, on the details. Although drawn to a similar approach, in *Stilfragen* Riegl had been severely critical of Semper's cavalier treatment of historical fact and insisted on a more careful examination of evidence.[107] It was imperative therefore that his own work satisfied both, and finding a space in which to negotiate successfully between these two poles—between high and low, large and small—is what his project was ultimately about. And it is because the spontaneity of the lectures can still be felt at its core that *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* best illuminates this struggle.

One of the most sobering additions Riegl made to the roster of topics surrounding the Baroque was his attentive review of the primary sources. For him, the writings of the critics and theorists on the lives and works of contemporary artists—such as Giorgio Vasari, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, Giovanni Baglione, Giovanni Battista Passeri, Filippo Baldinucci, and to some degree also Domenico Bernini and Carlo Cesare Malvasia—are essential documents, as they "betray contemporary cultural tendencies."[108] Indeed, Riegl's successor in Vienna, Schlosser, may well have found here the conceptual origin of his fundamental *Die Kunstliteratur* (1914–20).[109] Another original addition is Riegl's insistence in comparing the work of Italian artists with that of their northern contemporaries such as van Dyck, Rubens, Rembrandt, and others.[110] This was a recurring question of great interest for German-speaking scholars such that even Wölfflin's career had been bracketed by it: originally intending to write his dissertation on Salomon Gessner, he eventually wrote a book on Albrecht Dürer (1905) and returned to his fascination with the comparison north/south in his last book, *Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl* (1931).[111] This is not to say that references to northern artists do not occur in other works as well, but Riegl develops a picture of each sensibility and draws conclusions. It is in moments like these that Riegl sharpens his vision of the Baroque, and it is through comparisons such as this one that he reaches his original insights. Finally, Riegl's Baroque is packed with scattered gems: an excursus on the attitude toward antiquity and its preservation in Rome contemporary with his *Denkmalkultus* article that shows his manner of working on similar topics in various historical periods at once;[112] brilliant vignettes focused on Saint Peter's, the Medici chapel, and the centrally planned church; recurring references to the Gothic that he associates with the Baroque;[113] and the all-too-short (because unfinished) section on *Naturalismus*.

* * *

As an unfinished work and a partially published text, *Barockkunst in Rom* could only reach so far. Yet interestingly enough, as Swoboda noted, it was one of Riegl's best-known works. This may seem odd to us today, as its English translation had to wait until its hundredth anniversary, but its popularity in the 1920s was evidently great. The new enthusiasm to research the Baroque and its demise into Neoclassicism, which galvanized younger scholars at the time—Rudolf Wittkower, Edward Kaufmann, Sigfried Giedion, Nikolaus Pevsner, and others—clearly caused the book and its author to regain importance within the discipline as one of its pioneers.[114] Wittkower—who in 1957 produced the categorical survey in the Penguin series, the status of which has not yet been materially challenged—certainly leaned heavily on Riegl, whom he acknowledges in his bibliography (while he completely omits Schmarsow), and on Gurlitt, the latter perhaps being the most ill-treated by history. While Wittkower describes his book as "a revolutionary work," posterity has not taken him at his word and noticed just how much of Gurlitt appears on his every page, from periodization to the treatment of individual buildings and architects. Never translated into English, Gurlitt's book was so completely absorbed within Wittkower's that there was no longer any need to read it.

This has not been the fate of Riegl's book, notwithstanding its onetime fame. His incisive readings of individual artworks that did not smooth over problem areas did not allow for a straightforward presentation of the Baroque and hence did not invite much of a following. Had he written the book he intended, perhaps these tensions would have disappeared beneath the will to a unified narrative. But if this absence affected its reception, as it stands *Barockkunst in Rom* offers a more unmediated and intense—because more direct—response to the confrontation with the artworks. As such, it alerts the reader to many unresolved problems that remain current to this day. For example, huge personalities such as Michelangelo were very difficult to place. They still are. When Vasari concluded his biographies of 1550 with Michelangelo, he was acknowledging a caesura, a mountain that obstructed the view beyond, a difficulty in continuing his linear progression toward artistic perfection. When reading Riegl, this becomes very evident, even more than from evaluations of Michelangelo in contemporary or later monographs. Likewise, the period 1590 to 1630 and that of 1550 to 1590 are still left in a relative limbo. With the recession of Mannerism from scholarly interest, like the recession of style as a leading category, these decades have remained orphaned. To be sure, scholarly work has grown apace on the artists who flourished in these periods. But the question as to how they fit into the larger picture tends to be avoided. Scholars still speak of the Renaissance and the Baroque, but where and how they began and ended, not to mention why, has ceased to be of interest. But if and when these topics resurface and recapture scholars' attention, Riegl's sober judgment and observant eye will be there to guide them. A formalist exercise, perhaps, but his attentive, hard look at art objects is worth revisiting once in a while as a necessary and useful foil to all that contextualism has deposited on the shores of art history.

Notes

This essay derives from chapter 3 of Alina Payne, *From Ornament to Object: Modern Architecture and the Rise of a Theory of Objects* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, forthcoming). I am most grateful to Maurizio Ghelardi and David Kim for their comments on an earlier version of the manuscript.

1. Riegl gave three sets of lectures on the topic of early modern Italian art: "Kunstgeschichte des Barockzeitalters" in 1894–95, "Italienische Kunstgeschichte von 1550 bis 1800" in 1898–99, and "Italienische Kunstgeschichte 1520 bis 1700" in 1901–2. For details, see the essay by Arnold Witte, this volume, pp. 34–59.
2. "[E]s war noch ein Wagniss, die italienische Renaissance preisend darzustellen" ([I]t was still a risk to present the Renaissance in a favorable light) says Gurlitt in his opening sentence with reference to Burckhardt. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1887), vii. For a historical account of the unfavorable reception of the Baroque starting with Neoclassicism, see Werner Oechslin, "Barock: Zu den negativen Kriterien der Begriffsbestimmung in klassizistischer und späterer Zeit," in Klaus Garber, ed., *Europäische Barock-Rezeption* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 1225–54.

3. Franz Kugler's letter convinced the committee. Werner Kaegi, *Jacob Burckhardt: Eine Biographie* (Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1956), 3:567; and Arnold von Salis, *Jacob Burckhardts Vorlesungen über die Kunst des Altertums: Gedenkrede...* (Basel: Verlag Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1948), 3:567.
4. Kaegi, *Burckhardt,* 572–98.
5. Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens,* vol. 2 (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1884); and Josef Strzygowski, *Das Werden des Barock bei Raphael und Correggio: Nebst einem Anhang über Rembrandt* (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1898).
6. Margaret Olin, *Forms of Representation in Alois Riegl's Theory of Art* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1992).
7. Alois Riegl, "Die Holzkalender des Mittelalters und der Renaissance," *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichischen Geschichtsforschung* 9 (1888): 82–103. He returned to this topic when he wrote "Ein kärtnersicher Bauernkalender," *Carinthia* 1 (1891): 13–23. His doctoral dissertation had been on a related topic. Alois Riegl, *Die mittelalterliche Kalenderillustration, ihr Ursprung und Entwicklung bis zur vollständigen Ausbildung der Typen im 11. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universität-Buchdruckerei, 1889).
8. See, for example, Martin Wörner, *Vergnügung und Belehrung: Volkskultur auf den Weltausstellungen, 1851–1900* (New York: Waxmann, 1999).
9. Semper spent several years in Britain after the revolution of 1848 and was significantly involved in the debates on the applied arts arising from the 1851 World Exhibition. However, although he gave lectures and published articles in English in the early 1850s, the larger part of his oeuvre was in German and affected the German-speaking countries where he was subsequently active (Switzerland and Austria). For a review of his life and work see Harry Francis Mallgrave, "Introduction," in Gottfried Semper, *Style,* trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Michael Robinson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004), 1–70.
10. Leon de Laborde, *De l'union des arts et de l'industrie,* 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1856); Henry Cole, *Fifty Years of Public Work of Sir Henry Cole, K. C. B., Accounted for in His Deeds, Speeches and Writings,* ed. Alan S. Cole and Henrietta Cole, 2 vols. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1884); Rudolf von Eitelberger von Edelberg, *Die Kunstbewegung in Oesterreich seit der Pariser Weltausstellung im Jahre 1867: Im Auftrage des K. K. Unterrichts-Ministeriums* (Vienna: K. K. Schulbücher, 1878); and Jakob von Falke, *Die Kunstindustrie der Gegenwart: Studien auf der Pariser Weltausstellung im Jahre 1867* (Leipzig: Quandt & Händel, 1868).
11. Falke, director of the Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Vienna, expressed the consensus: "Dieses Museum hat die Aufgabe zur Besserung des gegenwärtig so tief gesunkenen Geschmacks beizutragen" (This museum has the mission to contribute to the improvement of contemporary taste which has sunk very low). Jakob von Falke, *Geschichte des modernen Geschmacks* (Leipzig: T. D. Weigel, 1880). The South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria & Albert Museum) was founded for similar reasons. See Anthony Burton, *Vision and Accident: The Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V & A, 1999).
12. Laborde, *De l'union des arts,* 515–16.

13. Gottfried Semper, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten; oder, Praktische Aesthetik: Ein Handbuch für Techniker, Künstler und Kunstfreunde* [1860–63], 2 vols. (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1878). The treatise was based on a series of public lectures and articles produced in the 1840s and in London in the 1850s that had galvanized the British arts scene and contributed much to the foundation of the South Kensington Museum. Gottfried Semper, "Science, Industry and Art," in idem, *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings,* trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Wolfgang Herrmann (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989). On the reception of his ideas on the continent, particularly in the museum world of Vienna, see essays in Peter Noever, ed. *Kunst und Industrie, die Anfänge des Museums für angewandte Kunst in Wien* (Vienna: MAK & Hatje Cantz, 2000).
14. For example, see Semper, *Der Stil,* 1:18–19.
15. For an example of the conversation between disciplines, see Alfred Haddon, who stated: "Professor G. Semper was the first to show that the basket-maker, the weaver, and the potter originated those combinations of line and color which the ornamentalist turned to his own use when he had to decorate walls, cornices and ceilings." Alfred Haddon, *The Decorative Art of British New Guinea: A Study in Papuan Ethnography* (Dublin: Academy House, 1894). Conversely, Riegl turned to and footnoted Hjalmar Stolpe, "Entwicklungerscheinungen in der Ornamentik der Naturvölker," *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 22 (1890): 19–62. The annotations and footnote apparatus in Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style,* ed. David Castriota, trans. Evelyn Kain (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1992), offer an exhaustive picture of his wide-ranging source material.
16. Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1996), 73.
17. See, for example, Peter Noever, ed., *Kunst und Industrie: Die Anfänge des Museums für Angewandte Kunst in Wien . . .* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2000).
18. Marchand, *Down from Olympus,* 107.
19. Gottfried Semper, *Über die formelle Gesetzmässigkeit des Schmuckes und dessen Bedeutung als Kunstsymbol,* Monatsheft des wissenschaftlichen Vereins (Zurich: Meyer & Zeller, 1856); reprinted in Gottfried Semper, *Kleine Schriften,* ed. Manfred Semper and Hans Semper (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1884), 304–43.
20. Alois Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie* (Berlin: G. Siemens, 1894); Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Berlin: Siemens, 1983); and Alois Riegl, "Neuseeländische Ornamentik," *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 20 (1890): 86.
21. Riegl, *Stilfragen,* 2. In 1901 Riegl responds to Semper at greater length; see Alois Riegl, "Naturwerk und Kunstwerk (1901)," in idem, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Vienna: WUV-Universitätverlag, 1996), 49–62.
22. For example, Wilhelm von Bode, *Kunst und Kunstgewerbe am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: B. & P. Cassirer, 1901); and Wilhelm von Bode, *Die italienischen Hausmöbel der Renaissance* (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1902). Warburg famously wrote "Arbeitende Bauern auf burgundischen Teppichen" (1907; translated as "Peasants at Work in Burgundian Tapestries"), while Schlosser

worked on wax effigies. For Warburg's modus operandi, see Gertrud Bing, "A. M. Warburg," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 299–313.

23. On Riegl and Hegelianism, see Henri Zerner, "Aloïs Riegl: Art, Value, and Historicism," *Daedalus* 105 (1976): 177–88. Most recently on Riegl and the issue of history/time, see Michael Gubser, *Time's Visible Surface: Alois Riegl and the Discourse on History and Temporality in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 2006); see also Wolfgang Kemp, "Alois Riegl," in Heinrich Dilly, ed., *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Reimer, 1990), 37–60.
24. For Riegl as the father of *Strukturanalyse* and his determining influence on the "New Vienna School" generation (Hans Sedlmayr, Otto Pächt, Guido Kaschnitz von Weinberg, and Fritz Novotny), see Christopher S. Wood, "Introduction," in idem, ed., *The Vienna School Reader* (New York: Zone, 2000), 9–72.
25. For the articles he was writing in this period, see Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*.
26. For an overview of the critical reception of the Baroque from the late seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, see Henry A. Millon, "Introduction," in Henry A. Millon, ed., *The Triumph of the Baroque*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1999). On the context for a revision of the Baroque in the last decades of the nineteenth century, see Alina Payne, "On Sculptural Relief: *Malerisch*, the Autonomy of Artistic Media and the Beginnings of Baroque Studies," in H. Hills, ed., *Reframing the Baroque* (London: Ashgate, forthcoming).
27. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, 301, 550.
28. Gurlitt, an architect and teacher at the Technische Hochschule in Dresden and author of many works on contemporary art and architecture as well as the Baroque, testifies to this phenomenon when he describes the consequences of Semper's work for the next generation. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts; ihre Ziele und Thaten* (Berlin: Bondi, 1899), 26–27.
29. On the political associations of the Baroque particularly in Germany, see Lionel Gossman, "Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelmine Germany," *Journal of Modern History* 78 (2006): 551–87. Symptomatic of Austrian unease regarding its empire was the publication of *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, 24 vols. in German, 21 vols. in Hungarian (Vienna: K. K. Hof- & Staatsdruckerei, 1886–1902), an effort to signal Habsburgian universalism. See C. Zintzen, "Enzyklopädische Utopie: Ethnographie als Stiftung von Einheit im Diversen," in Ákos Moravánszky, *Das entfernte Dorf: Moderne Kunst und ethnischer Artefakt* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 183–205; and Katharina Weigand, ed., "*Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild:* Ein kulturpolitisches Instrument am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts," in Jurij Fikfak and Reinhard Johler, eds., *Ethnographie in Serie: Zu Produktion und Rezeption der "österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild"* (Vienna: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie, 2008), 62–80.
30. Alina Payne, "Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Wölfflin and German Art History at the *Fin de Siècle*," *Res* 53/54 (2008): 168–89.
31. In a letter to his architect friend Max Alioth, Burckhardt writes from Berlin: "I reread your letter once again and came across the Nike of Samothrace, which is surely superb—but imagine something like twenty of these eight-foot women,

among them some very well preserved, in the frieze of Pergamon! All filled with furious vehemence and in the grandest style, which sets a good amount of art history on its head." Jacob Burckhardt to Max Alioth, 10 August 1882; published in Jacob Burckhardt, *Briefe an einen Architekten, 1870–1889* (Munich: Müller & Rentsch, 1913), 204.

32. In a letter of 5 April 1875 to Max Alioth, Burckhardt states: "Mein Respekt vor dem Barocco nimmt stündlich zu und ich bin bald geneigt, ihn für das eigentliche Ende und Hauptresultat der lebendigen Architektur zu halten. Er hat nicht nur Mittel für alles, was zum Zweck dient, sondern auch für den schönen Schein" (My respect for the Barocco grows hourly and I will be soon inclined to see it as the real ending point and result of the animated architecture. It has not only means for everything that serves this purpose, but also for the beautiful appearance). Burckhardt, *Briefe*, 6.
33. See Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kunst der Renaissance. I*, ed. Maurizio Ghelardi et al., vol. 16 of idem, *Jacob Burckhardt Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Munich: Beck, 2006). Burckhardt's essay on Rubens ("Erinnerungen aus Rubens") occupied him for many years. It was not published until 1898, posthumously. His essay on Roman art in the age of Constantine (1853) was also revised and enlarged for the second edition of 1880. Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantin's des Grossen* (Basel: Schweighauser, 1853). Wölfflin also quoted from Burckhardt's "Kunstwerken der belgischen Städte" (1842) in his 1932 edition of *Renaissance und Barock*.
34. For a full bibliography, see Payne, "Portable Ruins."
35. Alois Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* [1908] (Munich: Mäander, 1977), 45.
36. Arnold von Salis, *Der Altar von Pergamon: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des hellenistischen Barockstils in Kleinasien* (Berlin: Reimer, 1912).
37. August Schmarsow, *Zur Frage nach dem Malerischen, sein Grundbegriff und seine Entwicklung* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1896). On this issue, see Alina Payne, "Architecture, Ornament and Pictorialism: Notes on the History of an Idea from Wölfflin to Le Corbusier," in Karen Koehler, ed., *The Built Surface*, vol. 2, *Architecture and the Pictorial Arts from Romanticism to the Twenty-First Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 54–72.
38. Strzygowski, *Das Werden des Barock*, 78; Walther Weibel, *Jesuitismus und Barockskulptur in Rom* (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1909), 5.
39. Even as early as his *Cicerone* Burckhardt was reluctantly positive about Rainaldi's painterly facade of Santa Maria in Campitelli. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, 301.
40. Robert Dohme, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Baukunst* (Berlin: Grote, 1887). In fact, Dohme had been the first choice for the volume on Italian Baroque but turned it down and recommended Gurlitt.
41. August Schmarsow draws particular attention to this point ("nicht von vorhergefassten Grundsätzen aburteilen") in an effort to critique the Burckhardt/Wölfflin axis. August Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko: Eine Auseinandersetzung über das Malerische in der Architektur* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1897), 43.
42. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien* [1888] (Basel: Schwabe, 1986).

43. Alina Payne, "Architecture, Objects and Ornament: Wölfflin and the Problem of *Stilwandlung*," in Sabine Frommel, Maurizio Ghelardi, and Alina Payne, eds., *L'idea di stile* (Geneva: Droz, forthcoming).
44. Wölfflin was well aware of Göller's ideas and responds to them in his *Renaissance und Barock*. Göller sought to explain style change by pointing to the disenchantment with the excessive repetition of forms and a diminished response to their stimulation. He had anticipated ideas from his 1888 publication in Adolf Göller, *Zur Aesthetik der Architektur* (Stuttgart: Wittwer, 1887), and the work had been enthusiastically taken up by the architectural community in reviews and articles in the leading journals like *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* and *Deutsche Bauzeitung* (where it was reviewed by Gurlitt in 1887). It is precisely this argument that Wölfflin set out to engage; he cites both Göller's 1887 and 1888 publications. Adolf Göller, *Die Entstehung der architektonischen Stilformen: Eine Geschichte de Baukunst nach dem Werden und Wandern der Formgedanken* (Stuttgart: Wittwer, 1888); Cornelius Gurlitt, "Göller's ästhetische Lehre," *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 17 December 1887, 602–4, 606–7; Heinrich Wölfflin, "Prologomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur," in idem, *Kleine Schriften (1886–1933)*, ed. Joseph Gantner (Basel: Schwabe, 1946), 13–47; for the translation of this essay, see *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873–1893*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art & the Humanities, 1994).
45. Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, 22, 45.
46. For example: "Der Barock verlangt eine breite, schwere Massenhaftigkeit" (The Baroque requires a broad, heavy massiveness) or "der alte Stil dachte linear, seine Absicht ging auf den schönen Fluss und Zusammenklang von Linien, der malerische Stil denkt nur in Massen: Licht und Schatten sind seine Elemente" (The old style thought in linear terms, its purpose aiming at the beautiful flow and harmony of lines; the painterly style thinks only in terms of mass: light and shadow are its elements). Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, 28, 30.
47. Wölfflin's departure point was contemporary architecture's floundering within historicism without ever coming to rest on any one particular style. Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, preface.
48. Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko*, 46.
49. Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko;* and Schmarsow, *Zur Frage*.
50. Schmarsow, *Zur Frage*, 23: "Ich sehe in dieser Einseitigkeit, wie gesagt, nur das Weiterwirken des plastischen Ideales, das in der Antike herkommend ihren Masstab für alle Baukunst nur vom hellenistischen Tempel entlehnt" (I see in this unilateral approach only the continuing effect of the plastic ideal that used the ancient Greek temple as its only reference point). Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko*, 22:

    > Es ist also eine Verirrung der aesthetischen Lehre, wenn sie, den Grad von Belebung übertreibend, die Analogien unserer Körpergefühle überall sucht und dieses objektiven Widerhaltes vergisst. Fur die Anhänger dieser Auffassung geht ein grosser wichtiger Bestandteil der Architektur als Kunst verloren.
    > (It is therefore a mistake of the aesthetic position when, exaggerating the level of enlivenment, it seeks analogies with our bodily sensations everywhere and

forgets any objective resistance. A major and important part of architecture as art is lost for the supporters of this theory.)

51. "Der Raumwille ist die lebendige Seele der architektonischen Schöpfung" (The *Raumwille* is the living soul of architectural conception). Schmarsow's term *Raumwille* has no English equivalent: it draws on Riegl's *Kunstwollen*—the concept of artistic volition—but locates it in the conception of space. Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko*, 8.
52. Strzygowski, *Das Werden des Barock*, 6; Stanislao Fraschetti, *Il Bernini: La sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo* (Milan: Hoepli, 1900).
53. Julius Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1890). The book had been reprinted twenty-three times in the year of its publication and thirty-nine times in the first two years.
54. Schmarsow insists on this point. Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko*, 42–43.
55. Burckhardt, *Neuere Kunst*, 142.
56. Burckhardt, *Neuere Kunst*, 266:

    > Die Sculptur bis circa 1630 idealistisch-manieristisch [...] Um 1630 wird dies Anders; die Sculptur folgt dem Styl der neuere Malerei, dem Affect, der Ekstase und der naturalistischen Auffassung des Geschehenden, fast alles Einzelne wird naturalistisch behandelt [...] Der Bernini-Styl ist nicht bloß eine Ueberwältigung des Plastischen durch das Malerische überhaupt [...] sondern durch ein schon sehr weit links geratenes, völlig naturalistisch gewordenes Malerisches.
    > (Until circa 1630 sculpture is idealist-mannerist [...] Around 1630 this changes; sculpture follows the style of contemporary painting, the affect, ecstasy and naturalistic conception of action; almost everything is treated naturalistically. [...] The Bernini-style is not simply a case of the painterly overwhelming the plastic [...] but of a painterly that has moved very far left, and become completely naturalistic.)

57. Heinrich Wölfflin, "Jacob Burckhardt," in idem, *Gedanken zur Kunstgeschichte* (Basel: Schwabe, 1941), 135.
58. Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko*, 192. Wölfflin describes the Baroque as "die Auflösung des strengen Stiles" (the dissolution of the severe style), hence he uses the category "severe style" as equivalent for the Renaissance; Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, 1.
59. Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, 14; Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko*, 50–122; and Strzygowski, *Das Werden des Barock*, 78–81.
60. Wittkower ultimately helped cut this Gordian knot, if only temporarily, when he decisively designated Michelangelo as Mannerist in two articles of the 1930s, thereby separating the Renaissance from the Baroque with a major bulwark figure that allowed each style to be analyzed autonomously at last. Alina Payne, "Rudolf Wittkower," in Ulrich Pfisterer, ed., *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Munich: Beck, 2008), 107–23.
61. The trend was started by Werner Weisbach, "Der Manierismus," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 45 (1919): 161–83; the essays on Mannerism and anti-Mannerism by Walter Friedländer appeared in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 46 (1925)

and *Vorträge der Bibliothek, Warburg* 13 (1929); Dvořák's *Vorlesungen,* published posthumously as Max Dvořák, *Geschichte der italienischen Kunst im Zeitalter der Renaissance,* 2 vols. (Munich: Piper, 1927–29); and Nikolaus Pevsner, "Gegenreformation und Mannierismus," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 46 (1925): 243–62. Wolfgang Lotz argued against the use of Mannerism as a category for architecture in the Art History Congress of 1967; *contra* John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967); Craig Hugh Smyth, *Mannerism and Maniera* (Locust Valley, N.J.: Augustin, 1963); Gustav René Hocke, *Die Welt als Labyrinth, Manier und Manie in der europäischen Kunst: Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Formgeschichte der europäischen Kunst von 1520 bis 1650 und der Gegenwart* (Hamburg: Rohwolt, 1957); and Manfredo Tafuri, *L'architettura del manierismo nel Cinquecento europeo* (Roma: Officina, 1966).

62. For another cut through the period that does away with Wittkower's century-by-century periodization, see Andrew Hopkins, *Italian Architecture: From Michelangelo to Borromini* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002).
63. Michael Snodin and Nigel Llewellyn, eds., *Baroque, 1620–1800: Style in the Age of Magnificence,* exh. cat. (London: V & A, 2009).
64. Jacob Burckhardt, "Randglossen zur Sculptur der Renaissance," in idem, *Werke,* vol. 16, *Die Kunst der Renaissance . . . Randglossen zur Sculptur der Renaissance* (Munich: Beck, 2006), 456–74 ("Einwirkung des antiken Reliefs"), 582–93 ("Übersicht der Reliefkunst"), 593–602 ("Das Relief im 16 Jahrhunder").
65. Heinrich Wölfflin, "Ein Künstler über Kunst," *Allgemeine Zeitung* [Munich], no. 157, 11 July 1893; published in *Kleine Schriften (1886–1933),* ed. Joseph Gantner (Basel: Schwabe, 1946), 88: "erst wenn die plastische Figur als ein Flaches wirkt, obschon sie kubisch ist, hat sie künstlerische Form . . . Aus diesem Gesichtspunkte ergibt sich als allgemeinste Form künstlerischer Verarbeitung die *Reliefauffassung*" (Plastic form becomes artistic form only when it operates as a plane even if it is cubic . . . From this perspective the relief conception emerges as the most fundamental form of artistic handling).
66. Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock,* 13.
67. Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter: vom V bis zum XVI Jahrhundert,* 8 vols. (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1886–96); and Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters,* 16 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1886–1933).
68. Schmarsow, for example, does not identify Rome in his title but divides his book by a succession of Roman stages of the Baroque ("Zweite Phase des Barock in Rome" (after the death of Michelangelo), "Glanzperiode des Barockstils in Rom" (the period of Maderno, Bernini), "Lezte Phase des römischen Barocks"), etc. Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko.*
69. Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstils,* 10–19. See Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958), 1–9.
70. Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock,* 15.
71. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1966), 77: "What, first of all, determines the artist's creative attitude to form? It has been said to be the character of the age he lives in; for the Gothic period, for

instance, feudalism, scholasticism, the life of the spirit. But we still have to find the path that leads from the cell of the scholar to the mason's yard."

72. Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, 16.
73. Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko*, 67–69, 104.
74. Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko*, 97.
75. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 2.
76. For his criticism, see Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 9–16.
77. See especially Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 31.
78. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 8.
79. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 8.
80. For example, Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 66–70.
81. The formal characteristic of the Jesuit style is "sinnbetörende Schwulst"; Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 112. See also Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 108; and Weibel, *Jesuitismus*. Gurlitt opens his book with an account of Church Reform in Rome. Gurlitt, *Geschichte der Barockkunst*, 10–19; and Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*. For a magisterial review of the literature on Jesuit style and art, see Evonne Levy, "Architecture and Religion in 17th-Century Rome," *Studiolo* 2 (2003): 219–53.
82. For example, in painting he sees a "late Renaissance" ending with the death of Raphael, although in theory it lasted longer. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 92.
83. On the content of the manuscripts not included in the publication of 1908, see Arnold Witte's essay, this volume, pp. 34–59.
84. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 7.
85. "Für die Skulptur war die strenge Gegenreformationszeit nicht günstig" (The severe Counter Reformation was not favorable for sculpture). Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 146, 91.
86. Burckhardt, *Randglossen*, 597.
87. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 94, 77, and 106. The nonorganic/organic dialectic also turns up in Riegl's "Das holländische Gruppenporträt" and in Schmarsow.
88. Hans Sedlmayr, "Introduction," in Alois Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1996), xiii–xxxiv; and Karl Swoboda, "Preface," in Alois Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1996), n.p.
89. Paul Philippot, "Introduction," in Alois Riegl, *L'origine de l'art Baroque a Rome*, trans. Sibylle Müller (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993), 28–31.
90. Riegl gave a lecture on Baroque furniture, but this topic does not show up in his lectures on the Baroque at the university. On Riegl's furniture lecture, see Arnold Witte's essay, this volume, pp. 34–59.
91. For example, he talks about "Michelangelo's architectural *Kunstwollen*." Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 46.
92. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 31 *vs.* 43.
93. Alois Riegl, "Kunstgeschichte und Universalgeschichte (1898)," in idem, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1996), 3–14; and Riegl, "Naturwerk und Kunstwerk (1901)," 49–68.
94. Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko*, 46, 155.
95. He refers to the Fontana and Longhi families of architects as "Comasken-Familien." Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, 127. Riegl notes that Bolognese painters also brought

ideas into architecture—Tibaldi and Domenichino are his examples (p. 91).

96. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 160.
97. For these discussions, see Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 56.
98. Gurlitt, *Geschichte der Barockkunst,* 7: "Der Begriff Barock steht lediglich fest. Mit ihm bennenen wir den Stil, der von antikisierender Basis ausgehend durch bewusst freie, modern vielgesteigerten, am Schluss bis zur Tollheit übertriebenen Ausdrucksform führte."
99. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 32, 33, 71.
100. Riegl had changed his term from *taktisch* to *haptisch,* and it is to the latter that Wölfflin refers. Riegl began using *haptisch* when responding to criticism in an article of 1902 for *Allgemeine Zeitung Beilage.* Heinrich Wölfflin, review of *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom,* by Alois Riegl, *Repertorium fur Kunstwissenschaft* 31 (1908): 356–57.
101. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 77, 108; Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko,* 8.
102. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 85.
103. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 35, 45. Compare with Wölfflin, who also identifies shadow as an important feature but refers less specifically to a "Zauber des Lichtes" (the magic of light) and "Licht und Schatten sind seine [Barock] Elemente" (light and shadow are its elements). Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock,* 47, 63.
104. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 43 and 52, respectively. In Correggio, he identifies "Bewusste Raumkomposition um ein Zentrum, subjektive Aufnahme vom Beschauer; Bewusster Subjektivismus der optischen Aufnahme; Helldunkel und Schlagschatten" (Conscious spatial composition around a center; subjective reception by the viewer; conscious subjectivism of the optical reception; light/dark contrast and cast shadow) (p. 47).
105. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 57, 76, 34, 36, and 82, respectively.
106. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 129, 131. On *Kleinarchitektur* as a useful category to revisit evaluations of fifteenth-century architecture see Alina Payne, "Materiality, Crafting and Scale in Renaissance Architecture," *Oxford Art Journal* 33 (2009): 1–22.
107. In *Stilfragen* Riegl demonstrated by way of a minute analysis that Semper's location of the origins of naturalistic ornament in Central Asia and its connection to the production of carpets was erroneous. Riegl, *Problems of Style,* 305.
108. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 17.
109. Julius von Schlosser, *Materialien zur Quellenkunde der Kunstgeschichte,* 10 vols. (Vienna: Hölder, 1914–20); later published as Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur: Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna: Schroll, 1924).
110. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 177, 181, 195.
111. Wölfflin may have picked up the comparison of north/south from one of his teachers at Munich, Berthold Riehl. See, for example, Berthold Riehl, *Deutsche und italienische Kunstcharaktere* (Frankfurt am Main: Heinrich Keller, 1893).
112. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 97.
113. Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom,* 86.
114. For a review of the reception see the essay by Andrew Hopkins, this volume, pp. 60–87.

ALOIS RIEGL

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Front cover: Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Madonna of the Rosary with Saint Dominic and Saint Peter Martyr* (detail), 1607. See p. 253.
Back cover: Facade of Saint Peter's Basilica, Vatican City. See p. 197.
Frontispiece: Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Facade of the Palazzo Farnese, Rome, built in 1534 (detail). See p. 136.

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