

On Sculptural Relief: *Malerisch*, the Autonomy of Artistic Media and the Beginnings of Baroque Studies

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When Jacob Burckhardt published his *Der Cicerone* in 1855, and described it as 'a guide to the enjoyment of Italian art', he signalled that he meant to cover artworks of all periods.¹ His own aesthetic preferences lay with the later Trecento and the Quattrocento, but with remarkable objectivity and visual acuity he swept across all artistic periods and gave them their due. He did so from a sense of completeness and fairness, wishing to put the visual evidence before his readers and invite them to look at it, evaluate it and make their own judgments. This conscientiousness and detachment never left him except on one notable occasion – when he came to describe the works of the Roman baroque. In his view, the art that had risen with the Romans, survived the 'thousand years of darkness', and had risen again in the Renaissance had come to a sad hiatus in the seventeenth century. The 'pure boastfulness' ('reine Prahlerei') of the architecture, the repulsive spongy flesh of Bernini's figures, the pathos of their expressions and movements – and he chose *The Ecstasy of St Theresa* as a prime example – made up a long list of offences that baroque artists had committed (Plate 1).² Most important of all was their clear turn towards the '*malerisch*', which he understood not so much as 'picturesque' but as 'painterly', that is, as a will to blur the distinctions between media, and privilege effects associated with painting. In his view, sculpture and architecture had become 'the prisoners' of painting and lost their own identities in this process of contamination.³ To be sure, Burckhardt's eye did not fail him, and whatever the prejudices he was working with, he still described what he saw and even praised, albeit reluctantly, the occasional baroque work of art such as Rainaldi's painterly façade of Sta Maria in Campitelli.⁴ But the overall and lasting impression he left was nonetheless one of sadness at this period's artistic decline.



1 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Ecstasy of St Teresa*, 1647–53, Rome, S. Maria della Vittoria, Cornaro Chapel. Photo: Nimatallah/Art Resource, NY.

Clearly behind this value judgment lay the Hellenophile prejudices of generations of German-speaking art historians and art lovers raised on Winckelmann's strictures and his 'edle Einfalt und stille Grösse' (noble simplicity and quiet grandeur) as the ultimate aesthetic achievement of Western, and indeed, world art.⁵ This value judgment was tacitly applied to the art of all periods, including the Renaissance as well as the baroque. Indeed, so powerful was the consensus that Burckhardt was not concerned with his readers' assent to his strictures, but, anticipating their inevitable reaction, he added an apology for including such art as the baroque in *Der Cicerone*. Having defined *malerisch* to be the essence (*Grundgefühl*) of the baroque style (a period roughly spanning 1580–1780), and having defined it as a 'questionable style', he excused his attempt on the grounds of comprehensiveness.⁶

Some 30 years later, in 1888, Heinrich Wölfflin, Burckhardt's one-time student, friend and lifelong correspondent, published *Renaissance und Barock* in which all the *Cicerone* value judgments on the baroque were reversed. For Wölfflin, the baroque was a positive, internally coherent artistic style, and he famously set it up against the Renaissance, not as its decline but as its polar opposite. Where the chief characteristics of Renaissance art were linearity, closed form, unity and planarity, those of the baroque were painterliness, open form, multiplicity, three-dimensionality/mass (*räumlich/körperlich*) and movement.⁷ In so comparing the two styles, Wölfflin not only set up the baroque implicitly as an equal to the Renaissance, rather than its decline, but he designated *malerisch* (painterly) as its leading characteristic – at least for the figural arts. This time however, *malerisch* was not constructed as a negative or as a loss of internal purpose among the three visual arts, as Burckhardt had claimed, but as a positive, unique and vital moment in Italian art. Indeed, to make his point, Wölfflin took his argument to the extreme and insisted on the periodicity of the phenomenon, arguing that 'even painting can have a painterly period'.⁸ When it came to architecture, rather than applying the same category, he developed more medium-specific ones (colossal size, massiveness and movement), but he extended the positive reading of the baroque that he had outlined in his first chapter, 'Der Malerische Stil' ('The Painterly Style').⁹

The subsequent reception of Wölfflin and the baroque – a long and involved story, as it took some time to shake the prejudices of the field – need not detain us here.¹⁰ What is important to ask is what happened between *Der Cicerone* and *Renaissance und Barock*, in the 30-year span that separated them, to cause such a shift in aesthetic evaluation? The question, I contend, is essential. Beginnings – and this *was* the beginning of baroque studies – tend to determine outcomes. Questions forcefully posed and convincingly answered at such inaugural moments not only open fields of inquiry but also set up patterns that will affect the directions and language of future work. Wölfflin's baroque, arising as it did in the 1880s, carried with it into the scholarship of

later generations subtle prejudices that inform baroque studies to this day. For this very reason, the context that shaped his vocabulary, aesthetic choices and critical position needs to be understood.

Much of the early work on the baroque focused on architecture and sculpture.¹¹ Even Wölfflin's book dealt primarily with architecture despite its general title. Perhaps this was in part because he felt baroque architecture to be most urgently in need of rehabilitation, since its decline into a painterly mode was widely regarded as particularly objectionable. However, interestingly enough, the discourse from which he drew to achieve this aim tended to focus on the sculptural relief. As an artistic medium it was traditionally seen as a branch of sculpture. But the relief was also understood to function as an intermediate genre that owed much to painting while at the same time playing a prominent part in architecture on which it was most frequently deployed. Such a position on the cusp of the three visual arts signalled the presence of a shared domain among them. But the restrained and ultimately austere aesthetic of Winckelmann had not allowed such interpenetration and, in his wake, art historians continued to work with these prejudices. Those art works acknowledged to be good maintained the autonomy of the respective media in which they were executed, and overlaps were taken as signals of decline.

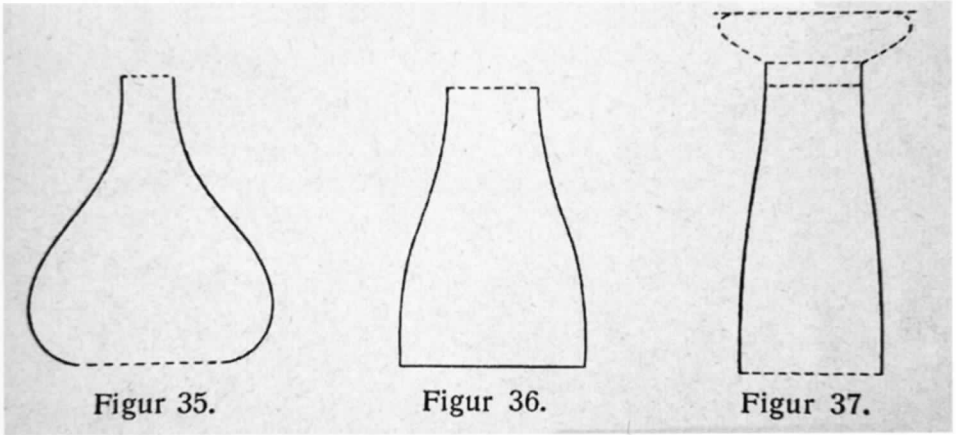
How the relief and its dialogue with the other media came to shape the reception of the baroque, then, is the thread that I will follow. It is here that the concept of *malerisch* was defined, and with it the 'essence' of the baroque that Wölfflin would use, criticize and refine, as well as bequeath to later generations of scholars. Unlike two earlier and complementary essays in which I examined the rise of baroque studies in the nineteenth century – one focusing on the aesthetic shock induced by the dislocation of artworks, in particular of the Pergamon altar, the other on Alois Riegl's response to the conceptions of the baroque that he inherited – this essay attends to discussions about the sculptural relief as diagnostic medium for style change and the ensuing debates on the autonomy of media on the eve of modernism.¹² Clement Greenberg has long been credited with raising the issue of media-specificity in modern art. Yet, as this essay will seek to argue, the genealogy of this idea went back to the generation of Burckhardt, Schmarsow and Wölfflin in art historiography, and still further back to the debates on the *paragone* among artists in the Renaissance.¹³ And the reception of the baroque was only one phase, albeit an important one, in its history.

Neo-baroque and Baroque Historiography

One answer to the question as to what caused the shift in interest that separates Burckhardt from Wölfflin involves politics and technological advances, indeed the connection between the two. Politically, the imperial ambitions of

European states had grown *de pari pasu* with their colonial expansion, their nationalist tendencies and the rise of the first true global economy in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. The artistic articulation – especially the architectural one which was most publicly visible – of this expansive world had also moved from a neo-classical to an out-and-out historicist one and oscillated between styles with nationalist connotations (such as the Gothic, popular at various times in France, England and Germany) and overt imperial ones (such as those associated with the Roman Empire rather than with the Greek *polis*). However, as the nationalist rhetoric sharpened in time and the competition between the imperial powers escalated, pomp and splendour acquired new political and social values. If the phenomenon of overscale, evident in the rise of the *Grosstadt* (metropolis) and *Grossindustrie* (large-scale industry) could call forth the parallel phenomenon of *Grosswissenschaft* (large-scale archaeology) – as Theodor Mommsen argued in 1890 – then how much more was this the case for a ‘Grossrachitektur’. Oversize – now possible due to developments in new materials such as steel and engineering that permitted very large spans – became the natural accompaniment of imperial iconography, as did a new opulence of materials, ornament and colour. Public buildings intended to represent the political, economic and cultural capital of a nation, such as operas, libraries, parliaments, department stores, train stations or exhibition pavilions at the world fairs, and which were usually new building types built for the use of an increasingly metropolitan population, became correspondingly grander and traded in splendour. Massive wall surfaces needed some relief from their potential plainness, and almost inevitably baroque buildings, with their vast spaces and surfaces animated with sculpture and painting on a large scale, became an appealing reference point. In such a context a positive re-evaluation of the historical baroque vocabulary as part of the *mise-en-scène* for the new and old colonial empires was a ready consequence.

A parallel phenomenon that accompanied the turn to the baroque was the rise of the aesthetics-cum-psychology-based theory of *Einführung*, or apperception. Its roots go back to the mid-century to such authors as Friedrich Theodor Vischer and Gottfried Semper who described himself as architect and art historian, thus aiming his work both at the profession and the academy.¹⁴ His *Der Stil* (1860–63) and his many other writings tackled the issue of fabrication and reception of architectural forms in terms very sympathetic to Vischer’s.¹⁵ The basic premise was that the viewer responds to aesthetic stimuli by translating the objects viewed in terms of his own body: swelling, contraction, equilibrium, rhythm, slenderness and so on are all perceived in terms of fundamental body conditions (of muscular tension, breathing, pulse, and so on) by a process of transference. This was not anthropomorphism but understood as a psychological phenomenon, and as the young science of psychology developed, so did the theory of apperception; and its influence



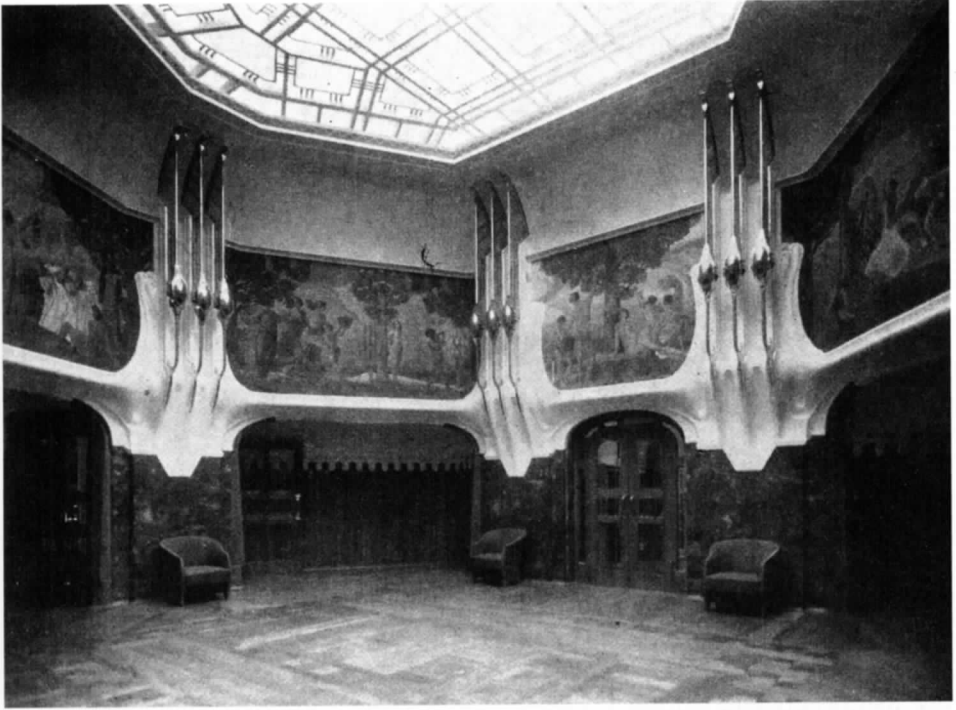
2.1 Theodor Lipps, Illustration from *Ästhetik: Psychologie des Schönen und der Kunst* (1903–1906).

upon art historians and practitioners grew apace. The line that starts here and links together philosophers and scientists like Johannes Volkelt, Hermann Lotze, Robert Vischer, Wilhelm Dilthey and eventually Theodor Lipps, is one that deeply affected the scholars of the baroque, such as Wölfflin (and later also August Schmarsow and Alois Riegl, all also indebted to Gottfried Semper), for whom the *Einfühlung* theory served as entry point into art history.¹⁶ In addition, Semper's own architecture crossed over into the neo-baroque with its grand sequence of spaces, heavy sculptural decoration and rich interiors, from a neo-Sansovinian Renaissance which, in comparison to the restraint of his contemporary Schinkel, had always erred on the side of opulence (Plate 5). This turn to an appreciation of materiality and plasticity of form also favoured an appreciation of the fuller forms of the baroque. Significantly, the paradigmatic form on which scholars focused, and none more so than Theodor Lipps in his aesthetics, was that of the vase/baluster/column sequence and their swelling, belly-like profiles (Figure 2.1).¹⁷

Of course, the rising popularity of the *Einfühlung* theory is an issue of far greater scope than such a cursory account can encompass. However, it is important to stress that, although a theory of general application, it worked best for an art focused on the organic such as that of the baroque with its flamboyantly sculptural/tactile forms, and at least subliminally if not outspokenly encouraged study of the baroque. To be sure, subsequently the empathy theory also played a role in the rise of the near-abstract vocabulary of art nouveau as well as expressionism, but in its earlier phases it encouraged the historicists to reassess styles such as the baroque and rococo.¹⁸ Indeed, art historian and critic Karl Scheffler argued for a direct link between the baroque



5 Vienna, Burgtheater, Gottfried Semper. 1873–88. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

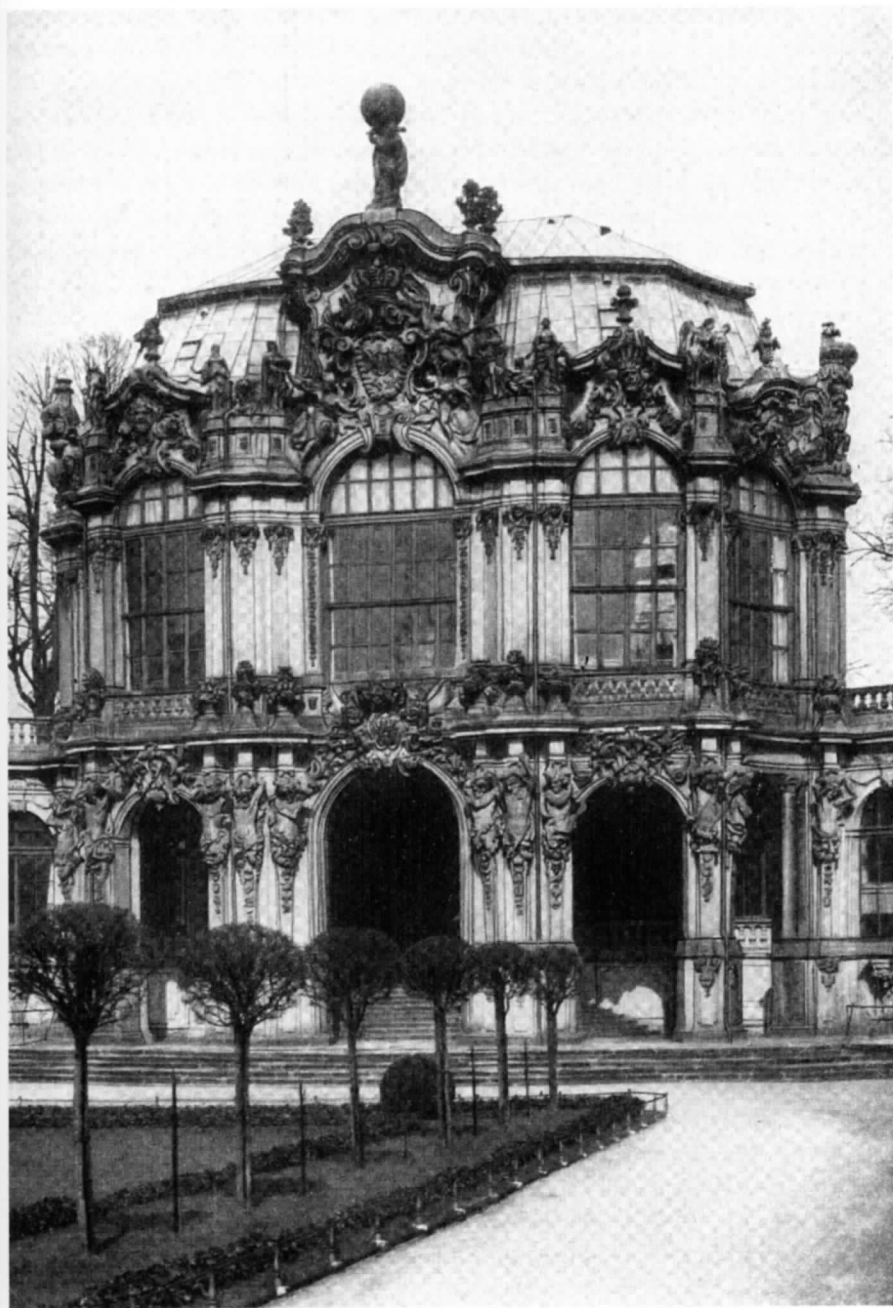


2.2 Henry van de Velde, Museumsaal, Weimar, from Karl Scheffler, *Der Geist der Gotik* (1919).

and these modern movements in architecture in his *Der Geist der Gotik* (1919, but on which he had been working since the turn of the century), thus testifying to the enmeshing between modern artistic interest and historical trends (Figures 2.2 and 2.3).¹⁹

It is also important to recognize that the concern with the body of the viewer and the physicality of the art work – even if mediated by the eye and the mind – surfaced in a world accelerating towards industrialization and mass production on a scale that dwarfed any fabrication by the human hand, and with systems for whom the human body had ceased to be relevant (for example, steel girders). Thus, the *Einfühlung* theory, with its focus on the body, marked the reaction, the reflexive phenomenon of resistance, to a contemporary condition, precisely at the moment when the role of the body entered into crisis, displaced, as it was, from the centre. Architects, philosophers and art historians responded in their own ways to this anxiety and their work created a favourable terrain for the appreciation of the baroque.²⁰

A third major factor in the process of re-acquaintance with the baroque was the historical mentality of the period. Architects and historians worked



2.3 Dresden, Zwinger. From Karl Scheffler, *Der Geist der Gotik* (1919).

more closely together in the nineteenth century than they do now, and it is rewarding in this light to attend to Cornelius Gurlitt's testimony on the process that rehabilitated the baroque as a building style. In charting the course of contemporary art in his *Die deutsche Kunst des XIX Jahrhunderts* (1899), he moves from the Renaissance revival to the neo-baroque, as if one revival naturally followed the other, just as the historical styles had done in the early modern period. This sequence of historical repetitions, which was self-evident to him, nevertheless required agency and Gurlitt points to art historians like Robert Dohme (who, he claimed, borrowed much from his own manuscript on the baroque), Friedrich Adler, Anton Springer, August von Zahn and Gustav Ebe as the catalysts for this change.²¹ More importantly, Gurlitt singles out Albert Ilg's *Die Zukunft des Barockstils* (1880) and himself as the promoters of the 'actual recovery of the style' in the active profession.²² As a teacher at the Technische Hochschule in Dresden – a notable late-baroque German capital, which also boasted Semper's splendid Opera House – his voice was certainly heard by many architects, as was his support of Paul Wallot, the architect of the Reichstag, which, after a decades-long debate, was built in a style approaching the baroque. Indeed, Gurlitt's description of Wallot's detailing – 'broader, juicier, fuller' – bears more than a casual similarity with Wölfflin's earlier description of characteristically baroque features.²³



2.4 Celebration of the 100th anniversary of the DAI on the steps of the Pergamon altar, Berlin, 1929.

But important though these shifts in sensibility may have been, they were nevertheless external agents. Scholarly prejudices, critical assessments and aesthetic categories do not respond by natural osmosis to such broad societal swings in taste or philosophical, even historical, trends; and we must look for discipline-specific catalysts of change. In this case I would like to argue that one particular event caused a profound upset in existing certainties and mobilized art historians, archaeologists, artists and writers to engage in a sustained and intense collective debate, marking a categorical shift in thinking in several fields. That event was the arrival in 1879 of the Pergamon altar in Berlin (Figure 2.4).

Although a complex architectural ensemble, its most prominent feature (then as now) was the spectacular Gigantomachia relief on its socle. It is around this relief that debates clustered, and allowed terms and concepts that had lain dormant for generations to be spelled out, defined and redefined with reference to a specific set of formal features. Most importantly, the issue of the relief as artistic genre on the cusp between the arts moved into the foreground for scholars on this occasion and precipitated a rethinking of the autonomy of the three visual arts. In the process a vocabulary was crafted and with it a sensibility that found an immediate application in the evaluation and characterization of the baroque.

The Ancient Relief and the Concept of *Malerisch*

It is useful to review briefly the main thrust of the debates centred on the Pergamon altar relief since they set the stage for the re-reading of the baroque. The historical circumstances of the Pergamon discovery are well known.²⁴ The excavation of the site of Pergamon was begun in 1870 by the German architect/engineer Carl Humann. Trained at the Technische Hochschule in Berlin, but suffering from lung disease, he sought a more benign climate and moved to the Middle East where he was occupied with the construction of the railway in the service of the Ottoman Sultan. It was in his capacity as railway engineer that he discovered the Pergamon site and began its excavation. Coming upon the extraordinary frieze depicting the Gigantomachia, he alerted the Berlin archaeologists and museum officials to the find. Even though Humann was fully aware of the significance of the discovery, he was unable to convince Ernst Curtius, the then leading light of German archaeologists, of its importance.²⁵ Too taken with his youthful dream of excavating Olympia, he was far less interested in the Hellenistic find. In any event, Curtius's bias was decidedly not in favour of the extreme emotions and gestures displayed in the Pergamon reliefs. However, Alexander Conze, who succeeded him as director of the antiquities collections of the Berlin museums and became subsequently also secretary of the powerful Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut (DAI),

saw things differently.²⁶ Almost as soon as he took up his new office, he responded to Humann, travelled to Pergamon to inspect the find, devised a way of acquiring the reliefs from the Sultan and had them shipped home in 462 crates. On 26 November 1879 they were displayed in Schinkel's Altes Museum to an invited crowd of dignitaries, journalists, scholars and artists.²⁷

The effect of the Pergamon marbles exceeded anything Humann and Conze could have hoped. Writers, artists and politicians all reacted to this 'acquisition' and discovery with an equal measure of bewilderment, aesthetic appreciation and national pride. From Ivan Turgenev, who wrote 'A Letter to the Editor' for the newspaper *Vestnik Evropy* (1880) in which he presented the marbles as a challenge to Winckelmann's exaltation of classicism, to Adolf von Hildebrand, who drew many of his insights into the effects of sculptural reliefs for his *Das Problem der Form* (1893) from a sight of the Pergamon marbles, the intellectual elite responded with great energy.²⁸ But the acclaim did not end there. An ancient monument rivaling the Elgin marbles, the altar on display in Berlin visibly justified Germany's claim to be a *Kulturnation* and seemed to confirm its role as leader among nations.²⁹ Arriving as it did shortly after unification and the victory over the French, the altar provided a rallying point for national self-confidence and was used as a symbol of a new imperial age, in both academic and popular culture, from scholarly books to the exhibition grounds and the souvenir market.³⁰

Archaeologists and art historians reacted no less enthusiastically, but debates proliferated. No one denied the importance of the find, which appeared almost immediately in general works of Greek sculpture like Johannes Overbeck's *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* (1881–82) and received unqualified praise.³¹ But what caused consternation were two facts: what had been traditionally evaluated as an art of decline (Hellenistic art) had produced a masterpiece worthy of standing beside any from the classical age; and the conventional view that only works of art that used the features characteristic of their medium could achieve the heights of perfection was now proven wrong. The Pergamon frieze presented a treatment of sculptural relief that was acknowledged to be painterly (*malerisch*) and this should have, but evidently did not, diminish its aesthetic quality.

Although no scholar of ancient art remained unaffected by the debate that ensued, the principal protagonists were Alexander Conze, the Berlin archaeologist and museum administrator who had moved heaven and earth to bring the marbles home, and Heinrich von Brunn, professor of Classical Archaeology at the university of Munich.³² Ostensibly the debate in the field was about how this work ought to be integrated into the canon. A significant find, and securely dated, it became a reference point to locate other, less well-documented art. Where might the Laocoon fit? What were the implications for an appreciation of Roman imperial sculpture (generally seen as a further decline vis-à-vis the Greek)?³³ Leaving the problem of dating to one side, Conze



2.5 Alcyoneus, pulled by his hair by Athena, east frieze of the altar of Pergamon, 164–156 BCE. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY.

and Brunn cut to the chase. Both realized that locating artworks in stylistic pigeonholes depended on value judgments of a few key formal features. In the case of the Pergamon marbles, these were two: its ‘painterliness’ (or *malerisch* qualities) and hence the effect of media overlaps or blurring; and its naturalism and pathos that was superbly executed and powerful, but flew in the face of ‘the quiet grandeur’ of Winckelmannian classicism (Figure 2.5).

In his essay on the Greek relief ('Über das Relief der Griechen' of 1882), Conze reviewed the attitudes to the '*malerischer Relief*' and used the altar to strike a blow at this prejudice against the blurring of genres into each other. His essay sought to demonstrate first, that the painterly relief had been invented by the Greeks themselves, and thus was not a degenerate form introduced by the Romans (whose artistic merit he also wished to resurrect); and second, that for the Greeks painting and relief were not distinct, but were co-extensive, and that one could speak of relief-like Greek painting, just as one could speak of a painterly relief.³⁴ Indeed, he insisted that relief as genre could be understood as a special form of painting. The painterly quality of the altar relief also finally put to rest the opposition between ancient and modern work, Conze concluded, by proving that ancient sculpture also had a painterly period, and the frequent comparisons between the altar's Gigantomachia and the art of Michelangelo or Andreas Schlüter, he continued, amply proved the point (Plate 6).³⁵

In 1884 Heinrich von Brunn also took up the issue in a 60-page essay on the Pergamon marbles (shortly thereafter to be published as a book) in which he berated Conze and others for looking for *malerisch* qualities in the frieze. Like other scholars of the antique, he wanted to retain the importance of the Laocoon group for Hellenistic art against the rising fame of the Pergamon frieze, and he chose Conze (and to a certain degree also Reinhard Kekulé) as his principal target. However, unable to deny its importance, he sought to assign the Pergamon frieze to a separate category: rather than painterly, he saw it as 'tectonic-decorative', that is, a compositional element of a larger architectural whole.³⁶ To make his point, Brunn used a drawing of the altar seen from a great distance, arguing that the frieze was to be read like a decorative carpet and the function of the violently interlocking bodies was to explain the forces at work in the architectural superstructure (whose foundation or podium it was, after all). Thus Brunn offered a reading of the ensemble based on empathy theory (*Einfühlung*) but without naming it in so many words. Citing Gottfried Semper (from whom he certainly picked up the carpet analogy), he argued that the Gigantomachia was the foundation of the architectural complex coming alive, the embodiment of the forces of the superstructure weighing down upon the base.³⁷ Therefore, in his view its function was architectural not painterly: he insisted that there was no suggestion of space behind the figures to produce a painterly effect; the frieze fulfilled a tectonic function.³⁸ Therefore, after a close formal analysis, he concluded that the frieze was an element of the overall architecture and did not belong to sculpture.³⁹

One year later, a third scholar, Guido Hauck, made a particularly public mark on the debate, in the form of an anniversary address for the Kaiser's birthday on 31 March 1885.⁴⁰ Hauck, also responding to Conze, argued against the universal application of *malerisch* to all forms of art



6 Andreas Schlüter (1622–1714), Maske eines sterbenden Kriegers. Um 1700. Berlin, Zeughaus. Photo: Staatl. Bildstelle Berlin. Nrs. 6; 8. From Max Sauerlandt, *Die Deutsche Plastik des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1926.

and even berated Lessing for confusing painting and sculpture in that great landmark of German literature, *Der Laokoon oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* (1766).⁴¹ Hauck acknowledged the traditional association of 'painterly' with features of decline and confusion – that is, with signs of deterioration – and in so doing, he confirmed the prejudices attached to its use.⁴² For him, 'painterly' meant 'decorative', and he insisted that Hellenistic art was the first to import such elements into the relief. In words that recalled Conze and anticipated Heinrich Wölfflin, Hauck concludes: 'We can speak of a relief conception in ancient painting just as we can speak of a painterly treatment of the relief.'⁴³ As he charted the trajectory of the painterly relief from here – very much in the spirit of Burckhardt – he saw a line of development leading to the reliefs of the Roman triumphal arches, and he pointed to the Renaissance as their ultimate heir: Ghiberti introduced perspective into the relief and it was from there onwards that painting assumed precedence in the reciprocal relationship between them. For Hauck this was the ultimate blending (not to say confusion) of the two media which was not rectified until Thorwaldsen, Hauck's contemporary hero, abandoned the painterly staging for reliefs and returned the medium to its pure (Greek) origins.⁴⁴

However, media contamination through *malerisch* effects was not the only aspect of the frieze to worry scholars. A connected issue was its naturalism. More commonly found in painting (and Roman portrait sculpture, which was not highly valued at the time), it too brought sculpture into dangerous contact with painting. Here, too, contemporary evaluations of painting played a role: those suspicious of the 'naturalism' of the modern school of history painting (such as the work of Carl Theodor von Piloty, much championed by the pro-baroque Cornelius Gurlitt) were equally suspicious of historical art that displayed such features.⁴⁵ Brunn, for example, argued that naturalistic detail ('superficialities') often affected viewers more than they realized, as if implying that it was a cheap trick to draw the spectator in.⁴⁶ Throughout, when dealing with the naturalism of the Pergamon altar, his tone and vocabulary shifted to a slight pejorative: the representation was that of superficial appearances; the competition with reality was pushed to (mere) illusionism; the imitation of nature replaced free, ideal re-creation; the artist was seeking to exceed nature, and so on.⁴⁷ In his view, the dramatic pathos of the Pergamon altar frieze was not the real purpose of the work; instead, it was a means to display mere virtuosity, as was the case in epideictic rhetoric, and, in the end, it succeeded in being only decorative.⁴⁸ However, the undeniable quality of the Pergamon frieze shook the general consensus of historians that naturalism was a weakness and offered another opportunity to sharpen critical positions.⁴⁹ Thus Conze did not allow prejudice to cloud his reading, and insisted that this 'frightening naturalism' was 'nevertheless part of a grand style'.⁵⁰ And this 'nevertheless'

ultimately allowed him to take a position on the issue of decline. For him, the Pergamon marbles finally proved the quality of later Greek (Hellenistic) art, which until then had been much in question.⁵¹

Baroque, Ancient and Modern

What is clear from these debates surrounding Hellenistic art is that the categories invoked – *malerisch*, overlaps between different media, naturalism, the dynamic of stylistic changes – plucked chords that resonated across the whole discipline of art history. Most importantly, the scholars of antiquity had established a pattern by their frequent comparisons between the Pergamon frieze and ‘modern art’ that ranged from late Renaissance to baroque. Such comments had arisen from the first reactions of the art world, from both artists and critics, but historians also took them on. As we have seen, Conze compared the reliefs with the work of Michelangelo (whose late style was considered at the time to mark the beginning of the baroque) and Andreas Schlüter (the late-baroque sculptor of the Prussian court); Ludwig von Ulrichs compared them with Rubens and Wagner, while Overbeck, who associated the Parthenon reliefs with Mozart and Raphael, compared them to Rubens and even to modern orchestral works. Even Burckhardt engaged in this game of analogies when he proposed Rubens as a meaningful later counterpart.⁵² Without stepping outside his discipline, Brunn had done the same in *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* (1857–59) long before the Pergamon marbles had reached Berlin. Here he described the art of the Diadochi, as it was then known, as mercifully (he implies) free of wilful mannerisms and baroque excessive fantasy (‘barocke Phantasterei’), thus connecting once again Hellenistic art with evaluations of the baroque.⁵³ The ancient/modern comparison became so quickly self-evident that it even turned up in Baumeister’s lexicon, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* (1887) where the Pergamon frieze was compared with the baroque representations of the Kurfürst on the Lange Brücke in Berlin. Indeed, this comparison allowed the author to reflect upon the relative value of period styles of so-called ‘decline’ – a breakthrough in historical objectivity generally credited to Alois Riegl, but evidently current some years before his *Spätromische Kunstindustrie* (1901) – and to observe that they must be evaluated within their own times, not relative to each other.⁵⁴ Finally, so strong was the consensus to equate the two ‘baroque moments’ that by 1912, Arnold von Salis could write a whole book on the baroque style in ancient art.⁵⁵

Clearly such comparisons suggest a *modus operandi* among art historians. Since finding similarities between ‘modern’ and ancient art was something of a commonplace, it should come as no surprise that the

aesthetic that privileged the Early Renaissance – as in Burckhardt's case – or the High Renaissance, drew from the preferences and the prejudices of ancient scholars. And since the later Hellenistic and Roman sculpture was perceived as a decline in ancient art, so was the baroque with which it shared its *malerisch* and naturalistic features. Indeed, Conze hinted at this connection with remarkable lucidity when he argued that those scholars who had dismissed the ancient painterly relief were also contemptuous of *Zopf* (a pejorative term, used for German baroque-cum-rococo) (Plate 7).⁵⁶

As a result, the debates and evaluations generated by the Pergamon frieze also presented a tool to cut the Gordian knot of the relationship between the Renaissance and the baroque. Once Hellenistic 'baroque' was absorbed into the evaluation of Greek art and its quality acknowledged, its early modern counterpart could also be re-evaluated. Both issues in the Hellenistic debate – the turn to naturalism and *malerisch* – were also at the heart of understanding how the Renaissance had turned into the baroque, a problem Burckhardt had posed already in his *Der Cicerone*. And this is precisely the problem that the young Heinrich Wölfflin set himself when he embarked upon his *Habilitationsschrift*: 'What happened to the Renaissance? Why did the Renaissance end?'⁵⁷

Burckhardt, Wölfflin and Architecture as Relief

What did the debate achieve? What did the scholars of antiquity find that became transposed into baroque studies? What new vocabulary was crafted in the process? Clearly, the debate did much to propel *malerisch* to the centre of critical terms and to vindicate the post-classical relief as genre. Indeed, the treatment of the sculptural relief was what had attracted Burckhardt's criticism in the first place and it is from here that his negative view of later Renaissance and baroque art derived. He expressed this view mostly in his notes and lectures, but his recurring attention to the subject is a clear sign that the genre attracted him and disturbed him at the same time.⁵⁸ In some ways the preeminence of the relief in assessing artistic value is only to be expected as what had survived of Greek monumental art – the traditional yardstick for all art that followed – was essentially architecture and sculpture, and the reliefs a large part of it. Thus, seen from the vantage point of the Elgin or the Aegina marbles, Cellini's reliefs on Perseus' socle seemed repulsive to Burckhardt in their painterliness, and the baroque Bernini a further degeneration from here.⁵⁹ Like all his hellenophile generation, Burckhardt was trained to view sculpture as the pinnacle of the figural arts. As a result he was far more concerned with seeing the impact of painting on sculpture in the Renaissance (especially by way of the altarpiece as device encouraging it) than the reverse, which was equally common.⁶⁰



7 Potsdam, Schloss Sansouci. Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff and Friedrich Christian Glumes. Begun 1744. Photo: Alina Payne.

However, the Pergamon marbles changed all that.⁶¹ By the 1880s Burckhardt himself shifted positions. The Pergamon reliefs, which he examined in photographs (which he purchased almost immediately) and in person, having gone to Berlin with the express purpose of seeing them, contributed to this shift.⁶² His enthusiasm is evident in the letters he wrote to his architect friend Max Alioth on the spot: 'I re-read 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!'⁶³ And in his lecture notes of the 1880s Burckhardt concluded his enthusiastic description of the reliefs: 'It is surely no longer ethos, but pathos, and what pathos!'⁶⁴ Such views spilled over into his appreciation of baroque art. He had already begun to respect its architecture.⁶⁵ But his lecture notes for the 'Neuere Kunst seit 1550' from circa 1884–85 show this revision to have also embraced sculpture: Bernini is no longer a villain and *malerisch* no longer a pejorative.⁶⁶

Such a shift was symptomatic of a more general revision in the field, and it opened the door for Wölfflin to examine the baroque in his attempt to understand the phenomena of transition, transformation and decline in art.⁶⁷ Indeed, the period from c. 1400 to 1750 was still something of an amorphous mass, and defining the edges of the Renaissance was of some urgency. Although in *Der Cicerone*, Burckhardt had drawn a sequence that ran from Early to High Renaissance, then Mannerism and finally the baroque, he did not deal with Mannerism in his *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Italien* (1867), nor did others take it up, and the transition from Renaissance to baroque remained essentially uncharted.⁶⁸ Thus when Wölfflin came upon the scene, the recent refinement of stylistic periods for ancient art arising from the Pergamon debates provided him both with a useful model and an incentive to follow suit. Conze, Brunn and all the other participants in the debates were battling the same problem as Wölfflin: how to bring some stylistic order to the visual material of antiquity and on what criteria to base it. In the modern period, where Wölfflin's work was located, dating was not so much the issue as it was for his archaeologist colleagues, but stylistic transformation was. Thus, when he turned to the baroque, it was in part to understand the Renaissance, a definition which, as he acknowledged years later, he had vainly sought to find in Burckhardt.⁶⁹ Instead, ancient art history provided him with a model: 'A parallel phenomenon can be observed in the history of ancient art, where the term baroque has also begun to gain currency. Ancient art "dies" under similar conditions as the art of the Renaissance,' he concludes.⁷⁰

Even more pointedly, Wölfflin listed the main protagonists of the Pergamon debate, Brunn, Kekulé and Conze, in his defence of *malerisch* as a

positive stylistic category.⁷¹ This reveals where he felt his true debts lay, for his texts were usually almost devoid of footnotes. Indeed, Brunn had been one of his most admired teachers and it is to him that he dedicated *Renaissance und Barock*.⁷² But perhaps the most striking statement of indebtedness is to be found in his preface: 'For now, I have abandoned my plan to include a parallel presentation of the ancient baroque. It would have been too much of a burden for this little book. However, I hope to present this remarkable comparison elsewhere soon.'⁷³ And, taking this argument even further, and much like the scholars writing on the Pergamon marbles, Wölfflin also compared the baroque with the art of his own time, specifically with Richard Wagner's music.⁷⁴

In this context of defining edges and transitions, locating Michelangelo's work was something of a litmus test. Although he was principally a sculptor who translated a 'stone carving' aesthetic into painting and architecture, the *terribilità* of his figures invited comparison with the pathos of the Pergamon marbles and the highly animated figures of baroque art (in both painting and sculpture). Burckhardt noted this connection, as did Conze and others among the scholars of the antique. In addition, whether through coincidence or editorial insight, Brunn's long essay on Pergamon was printed next to August Schmarsow's article on Michelangelo's Medici chapel in the 1884 *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, and whether fortuitous or not, almost begged the connection. Following suit, and ignoring Burckhardt's intermediate Mannerism, Wölfflin likewise identified Michelangelo as 'father of the baroque' and opened his investigation of the transition from one style to another precisely with his work.⁷⁵ The connection between Michelangelo and the baroque was vital for one very important reason: it reinforced the sculptural reading of baroque forms, particularly in architecture.

Wölfflin's sculptural bias was also reinforced by the connection between the Pergamon debates and empathy theory. As we know, Wölfflin had been working with these ideas since the days of his doctoral studies in Munich. But Brunn's description of the relief as the representation of forces within architecture reinforced Wölfflin's reading of Semper and Volkelt from whom he had drawn his own brand of empathy-cum-phenomenological readings of architecture, and offered a powerful example. Until then, Wölfflin had dealt with abstractions, never naming a single work of art in his doctoral dissertation 'Prologomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur' (1886). However, the Pergamon altar offered him a brilliant case-study and Brunn's reading of the formal features of the work a perfect application of empathy theory to an actual example of the highest quality. Reading it detail by detail, Brunn turned empathy theory (which, though he indicates his reliance on Semper, he does not name) into art history and away from abstract aesthetics. In short, he

showed how it could be used. Wölfflin had already used Brunn's formal analyses in his dissertation. Indeed, he was quite candid about the origins of his thinking and cited enthusiastically the striking connection between architecture and sculptural composition in the Pergamon altar as Brunn proposed.⁷⁶ Moreover, this citation occurred at a key moment in the 'Prologomena' in connection with the acroteria figures of the Greek temple, 'which, relieved from weight, can move freely', and which Wölfflin thus read as the antithesis of the Pergamon podium. Visually most compelling, this passage marked the climax of his reading of ornament as the expression of 'excessive force to form', which concluded his analysis of architecture.⁷⁷

But the emphasis on the corporeality of artistic forms that he owed to Brunn came to a head in *Renaissance und Barock*. A decade later, August Schmarsow responded to this emphasis and criticized Wölfflin's reading of baroque architecture precisely for privileging its corporeality over spatial innovation. This was not a vain attempt to showcase his own mode of defining architecture styles through their characteristic treatment of space ('Raumgefühl'), for indeed, Wölfflin had insisted on the sculptural matter of architecture – its ornament and its carved façades which he read as so many large, deeply cut, animated reliefs. Drawing from empathy theory, Wölfflin argued that bodies respond to bodies and that the reception of all forms is processed in analogy with the body.⁷⁸ For him architecture was first and foremost 'die Kunst körperlichen Massen' (the art of corporeal forms). And his example, as Schmarsow testifies, left a deep mark upon the field.

Although *malerisch* is associated with Wölfflin more than with any other art historian, he actually distances himself from the category when he turns to architecture; indeed, he is ambivalent about it. To be sure, he applies it magisterially to painting and sculpture (where he cites copiously the Pergamon literature), but he rejects it for architecture.⁷⁹ In part, this must have been to distance himself from his contemporaries, including Burckhardt, who had used *malerisch* as an overarching category to describe the 'strong relief and therefore powerful light/shadow effects', restlessness, movement, piling up of forms, and illusion of depth in baroque architecture.⁸⁰ Robert Dohme, for example, who published *Die Geschichte der deutschen Baukunst* in 1887 and spent a sizeable part of the book on the baroque, also used *malerisch* copiously.⁸¹ And yet, Wölfflin's 'new' categories for the analysis of architecture are not that different and the general perception that he endorsed *malerisch* as a leading characteristic of *all* baroque art, architecture included, is ultimately not substantially wrong. At least two of his three categories for architecture – movement and massiveness – are essentially the same as movement and corporeality, which he gathered under *malerisch* for the figural arts.

Autonomy against Media Overlaps

It is clear from this account that the debates focused on the Pergamon reliefs hit at the heart of the aesthetics that shaped art history as a discipline. It was the event that allowed discussion and questions surrounding the baroque sensibility to crystallize, focused them on one object, and kept them intense, causing a sustained amount of intellectual energy to be concentrated there. The fall-out was significant, and ran from upsetting established values to the development of an art historical methodology. Thus, for example, Wölfflin's famous comparative method also derived from the very debate within which he developed his definition of the baroque. To be sure, the dialectical method was already profoundly embedded in his thinking, not only through his father's advice but also since his early studies of philosophy with Dilthey, but the precision that arose from the Pergamon altar debates, through the comparisons it invited with other major works of ancient art, additionally reinforced this method and showed how well it could work for art history.⁸²

The dramatic arrival of the Pergamon frieze, like a comet on the art historical sky, worked to place the sculptural relief at the centre of scholarly attention as a symptomatic genre, a genre where the reciprocal relationship between the arts at any one time revealed itself with greatest clarity. Known since the Renaissance as the 'dolce/amaro' (bitter/sweet) and 'imperfetto' of sculpture (according to Vincenzo Borghini and Giorgio Vasari respectively) for being the intersection point between architecture, sculpture and painting, the relief had evidently always caused unease.⁸³ It is perhaps this location in an unstable borderland that allowed it to become such a contested medium, as well as a site where the dialogue between the arts could be best gauged. And understanding this dialogue was important since not all arts provided equal leadership in the movement towards a new style – or so argued Burckhardt and Wölfflin, but also Schmarsow and Riegl, when attempting to understand the shift towards the baroque.⁸⁴

The Pergamon debates about its architectural, plastic, and/or painterly features only reinforced this evaluation of the relief as diagnostic site for shifts in style. Even the young Aby Warburg was drawn to the issue when he chose his topic for August Schmarsow's seminar in Florence in 1889. His paper was intended as a critique of the Laocoon by way of Quattrocento art, specifically Ghiberti's 'painterly reliefs', but modern art and the relationship between painting and sculpture was his real object.⁸⁵ Likewise modern in intent was Hildebrand's *Das Problem der Form* (1893), which also resulted from the encounter with the Pergamon frieze and extended its influence and the importance of the relief as medium into the next decade and beyond.⁸⁶ Wölfflin's original inclination to read architecture as sculpture and, indeed, as relief (with his emphasis on 'animated'



2.6 Rome, S. Susanna. Façade. Photo: Alina Payne.

façades among which Sta Susanna holds a key position), was reinforced by Hildebrand who contended that the relief effect was (and should be) the true aim of sculpture (Figure 2.6).

In his book, Hildebrand had famously merged painting, sculpture and architecture, and defined 'Plastik' (sculpture) as the 'Belebung der Fläche' (animation of the plane).⁸⁷ For him sculpture had evolved from drawing (the relief being its three-dimensional impression into stone); even free-standing sculpture was tributary to the picture plane, according to him, since in its origin it derived from the sculptural ensembles set up against the pediment wall of the Greek temple. This conception of contamination of media included architecture itself which in his view was a form of relief, and therefore partook of the same artistic conception as sculpture and painting.⁸⁸ Reviewing the book in the year of its publication, Wölfflin insisted that the relief was the foundation of all artistic forms, and later argued against an 'in the round' experience of sculpture in favour of the 'direct frontal view' that photographs permitted.⁸⁹

Far removed from the baroque, the 'tactile values' of Bernard Berenson's fourteenth-century Tuscan art carried the sculpture and relief bias into later evaluations of painting. His enthusiastic notes in the margins of his own copy of Hildebrand, where he pencilled 'BRAVO' in capital letters beside the statement that the sculptor had no choice but to imagine a 'picture' as his basis (that is, a plane), records one of the last significant moments when the reception of the Pergamon marbles percolated into art history.⁹⁰ A new departure point for a reading of the Renaissance through sculpture, it testified to the degree to which the relief could be theorized, and channelled it into the larger pool of art historical problems.

Notes

1. Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*, 1st edn, Basel: Schweighauser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855; 2nd edn 1869.
2. Burckhardt describes the façade of SS. Vincenzo and Atanasio as pure boastfulness ('reine Prahlerei'). *Ibid.*, p. 301; on the 'Bernini-Styl', *ibid.*, pp. 550 ff.
3. *Malerisch* was primarily defined as 'picturesque' in contemporary German dictionaries, but Burckhardt uses it consistently to describe effects characteristic of painting technique ('painterly'). On the concept more broadly as it was used subsequently, see Alina Payne, 'Architecture, Ornament and Pictorialism: Notes on the History of an Idea from Wölfflin to Le Corbusier', in K. Koehler (ed.), *The Built Surface* (London: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 54–72. For Burckhardt's statement on the decadence of the relief, see Jacob Burckhardt, 'Randglossen zur Skulptur der Renaissance', in M. Ghelardi, S. Müller and M. Seidel (eds), *Jacob Burckhardt Werke. 16. Die Kunst der Renaissance* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), vol. 1, p. 600.
4. Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, p. 301.
5. This bias is evident in Burckhardt's published and unpublished texts. For example, with reference to the relief, he states: 'das Relief hat zugegebener Massen einmal, nämlich in der Blütezeit der griechischen Kunst die absolute Vollkommenheit erreicht'; 'Die Gesetze der Gattung, wie sie die Griechen thatsächlich aufgestellt, sind, wie gesagt, nach unserm Gefühl, ewige ...'; 'wer aber

- auch nicht das römische oder vollends das griechische Alterthum zum Massstab des Straftheils gegen das Relief der Renaissance nehmen will, kann ihm vielleicht aus dem pisanischen und florentinischen Style ... entgegenhalten.' Burckhardt, 'Randglossen zur Sculptur der Renaissance', pp. 582, 597.
6. Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, vol. 2, pp. 309 and 296.
 7. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock* (Basel/Stuttgart: Schwabe, 1965; reprint of 1888 edn) pp. 34–6.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 28. 'Eine Geschichte des malerischen Stils ist noch nicht geschrieben. Sie müsste sehr interessante Resultate liefern.' *Ibid.*, p. 35, n. 2.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
 10. For historiographies of the baroque, 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), pp. 1225–54; and Evonne Levy, 'Architecture and Religion in Seventeenth-century Rome', *Studiolo* 2 (2003), pp. 219–53. On the prejudices against the baroque that Wittkower still had to contend with in the 1920s and 1930s, see Alina Payne, 'Rudolf Wittkower', in U. Pfisterer (ed.), *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2008), pp. 107–23.
 11. For example, see Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien: 217 Illustrationen und zahlreichen Zierleisten, Vignetten und Initialen* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert [P. Neff], 1887); August Schmarsow, *Barock und Rokoko: Eine Auseinandersetzung über das Malerische in der Architektur* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1897); even Alois Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* (Munich and Mittenwald: Mäander, 1977; reprint of Vienna, 1908), dedicated much of his text (albeit unfinished) to architecture.
 12. Alina Payne, 'Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Wölfflin and German Art History at the *fin de siècle*', *RES: Journal of Aesthetics and Anthropology* 53:4 (Spring/Autumn 2008), pp. 168–89; and Alina Payne, 'Beyond Kunstswollen: Alois Riegl and the Theoretization of the Baroque', in A. Hopkins and A. Witte (eds and trans.), *Alois Riegl: The Development of Baroque Art in Rome* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010), pp. 1–23.
 13. Clement Greenberg, *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, ed. J. O'Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986–93), vol. 4, pp. 90–95.
 14. For the empathy theory in architecture, especially after Semper, see Harry Mallgrave (ed. and trans.), *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873–1893* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Publications Program, 1994).
 15. Gottfried Semper, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1878; 1st edn 1860–63.)
 16. Wölfflin's doctoral dissertation was a detailed analysis of the empathy-generating effects of the classical architectural vocabulary deeply influenced by Volkelt's seminar at Munich. On Wölfflin's Munich years, see Joan G. Hart, 'Heinrich Wölfflin. An Intellectual Biography', PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1981, pp. 65ff.
 17. See especially Theodor Lipps, *Ästhetik: Psychologie des Schönen und der Kunst* (Hamburg and Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1903–1906).
 18. The classic example of influence upon contemporary art is that of Worringer's work on the expressionists. Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (Neuwied: Heuser, 1907).
 19. Karl Scheffler, *Der Geist der Gotik* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1919).
 20. For an in-depth discussion of the phenomenon and its consequences, see Alina Payne, *From Ornament to Object* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).
 21. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst des XIX Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1899, 2nd edn 1900), p. 74.
 22. 'die tatsächliche Wiederaufnahme des Stils'. Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst*, p. 74. Gurlitt refers to his own *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert [P. Neff], 1887) as source for the neo-baroque.
 23. 'breitere, vollere, saftigere Architekturbehandlung'. Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst*, p. 638. Compare with Wölfflin's description of baroque detailing: 'Es ist als wäre der harte, spröde Stoff der Renaissance saftig und weich geworden.' *Renaissance und Barock*, p. 48.

24. Friedrich Karl and Eleonore Dörner, *Von Pergamon zum Nemrud Dağ: Die archäologischen Entdeckungen Carl Humanns* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1989).
25. Evident in Humann's letter to Conze in which he describes the importance of his discovery: 'Wir haben nicht ein Dutzend Reliefs, sondern eine ganze Kunstepoche, die begraben und vergessen war, aufgefunden.' *Ibid.*, p. 58.
26. Humann first heard back from Berlin about Pergamon on 7 December 1877, when Conze wrote to him; Conze first expressed his desire to undertake excavations in his letter of 26 February 1878. Although Curtius was not moved to excavate Pergamon, he included the plan of the site in his *Beiträgen zur Topographie Kleinasiens* and ensured that Humann was named member of the German Archaeological Institute. Wolfgang Radt, *Pergamon* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1999), p. 311, and Heinrich A. Stoll (ed.), *Entdeckungen in Hellas* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1979), pp. 440 and 449.
27. Karl and Dörner, *Von Pergamon*, pp. 70–71.
28. Hildebrand began writing the essay in 1876 and started sending drafts to Konrad Fiedler in 1881. As such, the conception of the work was contemporary with the arrival of the Pergamon marbles at Berlin, and another famous response to them. On the dating of Hildebrand's first drafts, see Mallgrave, 'Introduction', *Empathy, Form, and Space*, p. 35. For the text of Turgenev's lyrical letter to the editor of the newspaper, see Karl and Dörner, *Von Pergamon*, p. 71.
29. Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany 1750–1970* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 73. On museum politics in Wilhelmine Germany and the ambition to present a global empire image, see Thomas Gaetgens, *Die Berliner Museuminself im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1992), p. 80.
30. Anke Bohne, 'Rezeption des Pergamonaltars im deutschen Bürgertum', in M. Baumbach (ed.), *Tradita et inventa: Beiträge zur Rezeption der Antike* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000), pp. 441–58. On the political implications of the find, see Lionel Gossman, 'Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelmine Germany', *The Journal of Modern History* 78 (September 2006), pp. 551–87. In 1884, Heinrich von Brunn also recorded the almost excessive praise lavished on the new arrivals: '[U]nter dem Eindrucke der ersten allgemeinen Überraschung sich die Lobsprüche bis zur Überschwänglichkeit steigerten.' Heinrich von Brunn, 'Über die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Pergamenischen Gigantomachie', *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen* V (1884), p. 232.
31. 'verdient unsere volle Bewunderung'; '[das wir] neben das Höchste und das Beste stellen können'; 'wirkungsvoll und genial erfunden'. Johannes A. Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, 3rd edn (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1881–82), 2 vols, pp. 230–51.
32. Alexander Conze, 'Über das Relief der Griechen', in *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* XXVI (1882); Brunn, 'Pergamenische Gigantomachie'. See also Alexander Conze, *Pergamon* (Berlin: F. Dümmlers Verlag-Buchhandlung Harwitz und Gossmann, 1880) and Alexander Conze, 'Review of J. Overbeck *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* (1882)', *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, vol. 2 (1882), pp. 897–914.
33. I have discussed at length the lines along which the debates unfolded among ancient art historians and archaeologists in Payne, 'The Pergamon Altar'. Among the most important protagonists of the debates were: Adolf Trendelenburg, *Die Laokoongruppe und der Gigantenfries des pergamenischen Altars* (Berlin: R. Gaertners, 1884); Reinhard Kekulé, *Zur Deutung und Zeitbestimmung des Laokoon* (Berlin and Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1883); Adrien Wagnon, *La frise de Pergame et le groupe du Laocoon* (Geneva: Impr. Centrale genevoise, 1881) and Adrien Wagnon, *Le Laocoon et le groupe d'Athéna à la frise de Pergame* (Paris: no publisher given, 1882); Guido Hauck, *Die malerische Perspektive, ihre Praxis, Begründung und ästhetische Wirkung* (Berlin: Springer, 1882).
34. '[D]as Relief bei den Griechen, namentlich der Malerei gegenüber nicht etwas so für sich gesondertes war, wie bei uns herrschende Vorstellung ist. Es erscheint der Malerei gleichartiger, als man zuzugeben geneigt war, es kann sogar richtiger als eine besondere Art der Malerei, denn als Zweig der Plastik angesehen werden, und jedenfalls, so gut man vom Reliefcharakter der antiken Malerei gesprochen hat, kann man vom malerischen Charakter des griechischen Reliefs sprechen.' See Conze, 'Über das Relief', p. 574.
35. Conze, *Pergamon*, p. 13.
36. Brunn, 'Pergamenische Gigantomachie', p. 284.
37. '[D]ie Gigantomachie [ist] der lebendig gewordene Grundbau, die kämpfenden Gestalten [sind] die Verkörperung der Kräfte, welche an dem Grundbau unter der Belastung von oben mit einander in Widerstreit geraten sind.' Brunn, 'Pergamenischen Gigantomachie', pp. 275–6.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 277 and 282.

39. 'Die pergamenische Ara steht nicht im Mittelpunkte der Kunst der Diadochenzeit im Allgemeinen, sondern der Kunst im Anfänge des zweiten Jahrhunderts und kann also keine rückwärtige Kraft haben für die Beurteilung der Kunst des dritten, um so weniger als ihre *architektonisch dekorativen Reliefs einer ganz anderen Kunstgattung angehören*, als die statuarische Werke des dritten.' [My emphasis] *Ibid.*, p. 234. '[K]eineswegs malerisch sondern durchaus architektonisch gedacht ist.' *Ibid.*, p. 276.
40. 'Die Grenzen zwischen Malerei und Plastik und die Gesetze des Reliefs', Berlin, 31 March 1885.
41. Hauck had worked on the concept of *malerisch* at some length. See Hauck, *Die malerische Perspective*.
42. 'Merkmale des Verfallens', in *ibid.*, p. 10. '[Man war gewohnt] die Hinneigung zu malerischer Auffassung in der antiken Sculptur als ein Zeichen des Verfalls zu betrachten.' *Ibid.*, p. 4.
43. 'Man kann demgemäß ebensogut von einer reliefmässigen Auffassung der antiken Malerei wie von einer malerischen Behandlung des Reliefs sprechen können.' *Ibid.*, p. 4.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
45. On Gurlitt's evaluation of the Piloty school of painting (most famous for grand, neo-baroque machines such as *Thusnelda im Triumphzug des Germanicus*), see Gurlitt, *Die deutsche Kunst*, pp. 74–6.
46. Brunn, 'Pergamenischen Gigantomachie', p. 239.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 260 and 290–91. Overbeck had made a similar evaluation in 1882 though without the critical tone that Brunn employed. Overbeck, *Geschichte*, p. 251.
49. 'Von allen Kunsthistorikern ist der pergamenische Gigantenfries mit seinem frappierenden Realismus also höchste Schöpfung der letzten Entwicklungsstufe hellenistischer Plastik mit Recht viel bewundert worden.' Trendelenburg, *Die Laokoongruppe*, p. 26.
50. '... voll ... schrecklicher Natürlichkeit und doch in einem großen Stile.' Conze, *Pergamon*, p. 13. Overbeck had also noted what he called the 'realism' of the reliefs and saw it in conjunction with the emotional content as the features that later artists picked up from the Pergamon school. Overbeck, *Geschichte*, p. 230.
51. 'Es verschwindet dabei die zu niedrige Vorstellung von einer Zeit des Verfalls, in der man bis vor kurzem – ich erinnere an die samothrakische Nike – sich scheute treffliche Werke entstanden zu denken.' Conze, *Pergamon*. He reiterates this position in Conze, 'Review of J. Overbeck'. Although Conze takes issue with Overbeck, the latter had been only modestly prejudiced when he stated that the reliefs showed an 'unexpectedly' high level of sculptural conscientiousness for this late date. Overbeck, *Geschichte*, p. 250.
52. On Burckhardt's analogies, see Arnold von Salis, *Jacob Burckhardt's Vorlesungen über die Kunst des Altertums: Gedenkrede* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1948), pp. 20–21. The tradition of reading Michelangelo's late style as baroque reached August Schmarsow who reiterated it in his *Zur Frage nach dem Malerischen* of 1896. For Overbeck's comparisons, see Overbeck, *Geschichte*, p. 251.
53. Brunn, 'Pergamenischen Gigantomachie', p. 232.
54. August Baumeister (ed.), *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, vol. II (Munich and Leipzig: Oldenbourg, 1887), p. 1269.
55. Salis lists all those who had made such connections, although not the ones mentioned above. Thus, he names Konrad Zacher (*Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 1880) and Bernhard Förster (*Literarische Beilage der Karlsruher Zeitung*, 1880) who published immediately upon the first showing of the Pergamon marbles; Ludwig von Sybel (*Weltgeschichte der Kunst*, 1888); Maxime Collignon (*Pergame; Restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole*, 1900); Walther Amelung (*Römische Mitteilungen*, 1903); and Reinhard Kekulé von Stadonitz (*Die griechische Skulptur*, 1906). Arnold von Salis, *Der Altar von Pergamon: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des hellenistischen Barockstils in Kleinasien* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1912), pp. 1–4.
56. Conze, 'Über das Relief', p. 566.
57. The *Habilitation* was then as now the most important 'mature' work of a young scholar that would allow him entry into the German academic world. Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, pp. 3 and 57.
58. Burckhardt returned to the subject at least three times in 'Einwirkung des antiken Reliefs', 'Übersicht der Reliefkunst', and 'Das Relief im 16. Jahrhunderts'. Burckhardt, *Werke*, vol. 16.

59. 'eine ganz einseitig malerische Erzählung in odiiösen, aufdringlich manieristischen Formen. Der Sieg blieb dann in Florenz wie in Rom entschieden dem malerischen Prinzip.' He finds Giambologna (a northerner in whom the forces of Florentine sculpture collected one more time) a saviour of Florentine art at this time vis-a-vis Cellini. *Ibid.*, 'Randglossen zur Sculptur der Renaissance', p. 600.
60. On the relief in the Renaissance, and in particular the media overlaps, see Alison Wright, 'Sculptural Values: Reading Fictive Relief in Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century Italy', in D. Cooper and M. Leino (eds), *Depth of Field: Relief Sculpture in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford and Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 223–49.
61. See above note 5.
62. 'Anderes gewaltig Bewegtes aus jener Zeit [Nike's of Samothrace] lerne ich jetzt aus dem Altar von Pergamon kennen, wovon ich mir die größeren Photographien habe kommen lassen.' Letter of 6/7 March 1882 to Max Alioth in Jakob Burckhardt, *Briefe an einen Architekten 1870–1889* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1913), p. 190.
63. Letter of 10 August 1882, *ibid.*, p. 204. Marchand notes yet another critical comment by Burckhardt: 'This discovery has thrown the archaeologists' system into confusion! The narrow aesthetic is shaken to its roots, everything that had been written about the pathos of the Laocoon is waste paper, now that we have witnessed this frightful event.' Marchand, *Olympus*, p. 99.
64. 'Ethos ist's freilich nicht mehr, sondern lauter Pathos, und was für welches!' Salis, *Burckhardt's Vorlesungen*, p. 20.
65. In a letter of 5 April 1875 to 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.' Burckhardt, *Briefe*, p. 6.
66. '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, wie etwa bei Begarelli und wie im Relief seit dem XV Jahrhundert, sondern durch ein schon sehr weit links geratenes, völlig naturalistisch gewordenes Malerisches.' Jacob Burckhardt, *Nachlass: Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Malerei Neuere Kunst seit 1550*, vol. 18, eds Eva Mongi-Vollmer and Wilhelm Schlink (Munich: C.H. Beck, and Basel: Schwabe & Co. Ag, 2006), p. 266. On the dating of the *Vorlesungen*, see *ibid.*, pp. 1272 ff.
67. On Wölfflin's interest in the transition of styles (*Stilwandlung*) as a phenomenon, see Alina Payne, 'Architecture, Objects and Ornament: Wölfflin and the Problem of *Stilwandlung*', in S. Frommel, M. Ghelardi and A. Payne (eds), *L'idea di stile nella storiografia artistica* (Geneva: Droz, forthcoming).
68. Amongst the very few was Wilhelm Lübke in his *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte* (1876), and Springer, but they did not focus on Mannerism which did not emerge as a period style. Hart, *Wölfflin*, pp. 149 and 199, n. 30 and 31. Burckhardt's work on architecture was first published as *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Italien* by Wilhelm Lübke in Kugler's series in 1867. Burckhardt republished it under the title of his own choice, *Die Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien*, in 1868.
69. 'Der Übergang von de Renaissance zum Barock ist eines der interessantesten Kapitel in der neueren Kunstentwicklung.' Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, p. 10. '[In Burckhardt] sucht man umsonst nach einer Definierung dessen, was nun Renaissancestil sei ... Auch im *Cicerone* ist es nicht anders gehalten. Vielleicht hängt damit die besondere Kraft der Empfindung für das Einzelwerk zusammen.' Heinrich Wölfflin, 'Jacob Burckhardt', in *Gedanken zur Kunstgeschichte* (Basel: Schwabe, 1941), p. 135.
70. 'Eine parallele Erscheinung bietet dagegen die Geschichte der antiken Kunst, wo denn auch der Name barock sich allmählich einzustellen beginnt. Die antike Kunst "stirbt" unter ähnlichen Symptomen, wie die Kunst der Renaissance.' Wölfflin footnotes, as the latest to propose such a parallel, L. v. Sybel, *Weltgeschichte der Kunst* (1888). Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, Introduction, p. 11.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 22, n. 3; p. 23.
72. In a letter of 22 November 1889, Wölfflin stated: 'Als Lehrer, die ich am höchsten verehere, nenne ich Jacob Burckhardt in Basel, und Heinrich von Brunn in München.' Joseph Gantner (ed.), *Jacob Burckhardt und Heinrich Wölfflin: Briefwechsel und andere Dokumente ihrer Begegnung 1882–1897* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1988), p. 79.

73. 'Den Plan, eine parallele Darstellung des antiken Barocks mitzugeben, habe ich in letzter Stunde fallen lassen. Das Büchlein wäre dadurch zu sehr belastet worden. Ich hoffe, bald an anderem Orte die merkwürdige Vergleichen ausführen zu können.' Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, Preface.
74. 'Man wird nicht verkennen, wie sehr gerade unsere Zeit hier dem italienischen Barock verwandt ist ... Es sind die gleichen Affekte, mit denen ein Richard Wagner wirkt.' *Ibid.*, p. 65.
75. 'von jeher berühmt als der "Vater des Barocks"'. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
76. 'Über den frappanten Zusammenhang zwischen Architektur und Composition der "pergamenschen Gigantomachie" vergl. Brunn in seinem Aufsatz, Berlin 1885.' Heinrich Wölfflin, 'Prologomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur', in Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. J. Gantner (Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1946), pp. 13–47, pp. 38 and 41, n. 2.
77. '... die dem Druck enthoben, hier frei sich entfalten können'; and 'überschüssige Formkraft'. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
78. 'Körperliche Formen [architecture] können charakteristisch sein nur dadurch dass wir selbst einen Körper besitzen.' Wölfflin, 'Prologomena', p. 15. 'Jeden Gegenstand beurteilen wir nach Analogie unseres Körpers'; 'Und nun ist klar, dass sie [die Architektur] als Kunst körperlichen Massen nur auf den Menschen als körperliches Wesen Bezug nehmen kann.' Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, p. 56.
79. 'Sollen wir dem Barock nach den hier entwickelten Gesichtspunkten betrachten? Ich gestehe, dass es mir nicht passend scheint, den Begriff des malerischen zu Grunde zu legen.' Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, p. 37.
80. Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, pp. 309, 298, 299 and 301.
81. On one page alone the term comes up nine times to describe the nature of baroque architecture; he also highlights the relief and figural sculpture (three times), he returns to the effects of light and shade ('the magic play of light and shadow', as he puts it) four times and he draws attention to the animation ('Belebung') of the architectural elements (also four times). Robert Dohme, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Baukunst* (Berlin: Grote, 1887), p. 374.
82. On Eduard Wölfflin's influence on his son, and Dilthey's (and philosophy's) effect on the young Heinrich, see Hart, 'Wölfflin', p. 139.
83. Benedetto Varchi and Vincenzo Borghini, *Pittura e Scultura nel Cinquecento*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Livorno: Sillabe, 1998), pp. 128–9. On this issue in the Renaissance, see Alina Payne, 'Alberti and the Origins of the *paragone* Between Architecture and the Figural Arts', in F.P. Fiore and C. Frommel (eds), *Alberti teorico dell'arti* (Florence: L. Olschki, 2007), pp. 347–68.
84. On this issue, see Payne, 'Beyond Kunstwollen'.
85. Aby Warburg, 'Die Entwicklung des Malerischen in den Reliefs des Ghiberti. Entwurf einer Kritik des Laokoon an der Kunst des Quattrocento in Florenz', in Aby Warburg, *Opere I*, ed. Maurizio Ghelardi (London: The Warburg Institute, and Turin: Nino Aragno, 2004), pp. 53–75.
86. 'Ein Buch wie Adolf Hildebrands *Problem der Form* ist wie ein erfrischendes Regen auf dürres Erdreich gefallen.' Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Klassische Kunst* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1899), p. 1.
87. An example of his overarching theory that embraces all the arts is his definition of architecture: 'Architektur fasse ich dann nur als Bau eines Formenganzes, unabhängig von der Formensprache.' Adolf von Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1893), p. viii.
88. 'bei allen Stilunterschieden, welche die Architektur aufweist, bleibt die Aufgabe, ihre Formen als Reliefwirkung zu einigen ... der Architektur als Kunst dasselbe Gestaltungsprinzip innewohnt, wie der Plastik und der Malerei.' *Ibid.*, p. 82.
89. '[E]rst 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*.' Heinrich Wölfflin, 'Ein Künstler über Kunst', in *Allgemeine Zeitung*, n. 157 (Munich, 11 July 1893), in Joseph Gantner (ed.), *Kleine Schriften* (Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1946), p. 88; and Heinrich Wölfflin, 'Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 7 (1896), pp. 224–48, and 8 (1897), pp. 294–7.
90. Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form*, pp. 108–10.