

Evonne
Levy

Baroque and
the Political
Language
of Formalism
(1845—1945):

Schwabe

Burckhardt
Wölfflin
Gurlitt
Brinckmann
Sedlmayr



Evonne Levy
Baroque and the
Political Language
of Formalism
(1845—1945)
Burckhardt, Wölfflin,
Gurlitt, Brinckmann,
Sedlmayr

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, or translated, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Editorial work: Stephanie Fay

Graphic design: Jiri Oplatek, claudiabasel

Type: Times Europa, Grotesque MT Extra Condensed

Paper: Z-Offset

Production: Schwabe AG, MuttENZ/Basel, Schweiz

Printed in Switzerland

ISBN Print: 978-3-7965-3396-9

ISBN E-Book (PDF): 978-3-7965-3397-6

rights@schwabe.ch

www.schwabeverlag.ch

for Robert

Contents

Acknowledgments	9
-----------------	---

Introduction	13
--------------	----

Chapter 1	
Jacob Burckhardt: “Jesuit Style” to <i>Barock</i>	34

Chapter 2	
Heinrich Wölfflin: Social and Political Thought in Early Formalism	96

Chapter 3	
Cornelius Gurlitt’s Baroque Trilogy (1887–1889) and Confessional Politics	172

Chapter 4	
Albert Erich Brinckmann: The European Baroque of a Political Opportunist	244

Chapter 5	
Hans Sedlmayr’s Austrian Baroque: <i>Ganzheit</i> to <i>Reichsstil</i>	302

Aftermath	359
-----------	-----

List of Illustrations	369
Abbreviations	371
Bibliography	372
Index	385

This is my second book that first took on shape in Berlin, where I arrived from Toronto as a Berlin Prize Fellow at the American Academy just days before the World Trade Center Towers fell into the earth. In the ensuing days flowers were placed before the fence of the Academy's Wannsee villa by neighbors in an impromptu gesture of solidarity, and Susan Sontag, far from New York City, read to us the strong piece she published soon thereafter in the *New Yorker* about the attacks. There is no singular event as I write in 2014 that punctuates the end of this project quite like the one marking its beginning. But when I visited the 9/11 Memorial in New York City a few months ago, passing through the now no longer new security regimes of public spaces, I was reminded of how much the world has changed, as have I. Thinking back to this project's beginnings I cannot help placing its coincidence with 9/11 in my reader's path, for one of the aims of this book is to reenvision the history of art history amidst world-changing events.

This scope of this project changed almost from the moment I began my research, from a short study of an exemplary politically generated term, the "Jesuit style," to a much larger book on the Baroque. I would like to express my gratitude to the many institutions, granting agencies, archives and libraries, and individuals that supported this project as it expanded and hope that I do not leave anyone out. The American Academy in Berlin first saw the potential in a short book on the Jesuit style and politics. I am grateful to its then director, Gary Smith, to trustee Fritz Stern, to the wonderful staff of that institution for all their efforts to facilitate my work, and to a collegial group of fellows there with whom I had many important exchanges. The Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst provided support for research in Germany between generous grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, without the support of which the crucial archival research on the five figures at the center of this study could not have been completed. A fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts in 2009–10 brought me every day into I. M. Pei's sublime building, with its magnificent library, steps from the Library of Congress, and into conversation with a marvelous group of scholars. I would like to thank the dean, Elizabeth Cropper, associate deans Peter Lukehart and Therese O'Malley, former dean Henry Millon, the staff, and all my fellow fellows,

especially Albert Narath, David Getsy, Giovanni Careri, and Andrew Hopkins.

I conducted research for this project in many archives and libraries; in some of them I spent considerable time, and in some I was interested in materials that were in the process of being catalogued. My thanks to Marc Sieber of the Jacob Burckhardt-Stiftung for granting me access to the Burckhardt papers, and to the staff of special collections at the Universitätsbibliothek in Basel for being so accommodating over many years of visits. Mikkel Mangold generously shared his work on Burckhardt's encyclopedia entries prior to publication. My thanks to Elli von Planta and Evi and Walter Levin, who all made me feel at home in Basel. Matthias Lienert and Oliver Guelk facilitated my work on Cornelius Gurlitt's papers as they were being catalogued at the Technische Universität in Dresden. My thanks to colleagues Henrik Karge, Jürgen Müller, and Bruno Klein at the TU in Dresden for their hospitality and interest in my project. I owe a particular debt to Jürgen Paul for sharing his unparalleled knowledge of Gurlitt and for much inspiration. Over the course of a month in Cologne I was graciously hosted by the Kunsthistorisches Institut and especially the Architecture Library, where A. E. Brinckmann's papers are maintained. I would like to thank Ursula Frohne, Susanne Wittekind, Stefan Grohé, the staffs and librarians (especially Gabriele Behrens and Barbara Gehlen), and above all Norbert Nussbaum for making a space for me and for their interest in the project. At the Zentralinstitut of Munich, art history's most haunted house, I found the best library for research into the Germanophone history of the discipline, and the knowledgeable guidance of Christian Fuhrmeister, Iris Lauterbach, and Thomas Lersch, amongst others. In Vienna I received support for my work from Sebastian Schütze, Friedrich Polleross, and above all Georg Vasold, then archivist at the Kunsthistorisches Institut. For access to Hans Sedlmayr's Nachlass in Salzburg's Landesarchiv I am most grateful to his daughter, Madame Susanne Guéritaud-Sedlmayr, who also graciously gave me permission to quote from her late father's papers and to publish a photo of him. Andrea Gottdang at the University of Salzburg arranged access for me to a collection of Hans Sedlmayr's offprints in her institute. At the Columbia University Archives, Farris Wahbeh miraculously found a folder of letters from Hans Sedlmayr in Meyer Schapiro's papers, still in cataloguing. Archivists at the Smithsonian Archives of American Art in Washington, D.C., and the Warburg Institute Archive in London were similarly helpful.

Over the course of a decade I presented papers at various conferences and institutions where I received valuable feedback. I would like to thank especially Jens Baumgarten, Tristan Weddigen, Werner Oechslin, Caroline van Eck, Maarten Delbeke, Richard Woodfield, Hans Aurenhammer, Iris Lauterbach, Maurizio Ghelardi, and Sabine Frommel, who organized such occasions. I was honored to be invited to teach from this material as guest professor at the University of Frankfurt and at the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales*, Paris. I am especially grateful to Hans Aurenhammer, Giovanni Careri, and Éric Michaud for the invitations and much more.

My thanks to my engaged colleagues, then and now, at the University of Toronto, especially Alison Syme, Zeynep Çelik Alexander, Björn Ewald, Alexander Nagel, Marc Gotlieb, John Paul Ricco, Kajri Jain, Rodolphe el-Khoury, Philip Sohm, Matt Kavalier, Giancarla Periti, and Christy Anderson. My thanks to the various chairs and deans at the University of Toronto and the University of Toronto Mississauga who supported the research leaves and sabbaticals that facilitated the different stages of the research and writing of the book.

Amongst my other interlocutors at various points, including editors of journals where articles drawing upon the materials researched for this book saw print, I would like to thank Daniel Adler, Geoffrey Batchen, Daniela Bohde, Kathryn Brush, Ute Engel, Hal Foster, Joseph Imorde, Walter Kahn, David Levin, Thomas Y. Levin, W. J. T. Mitchell, Margaret Olin, Alina Payne, Regine Prange, Rudolf Preimesberger, and Wilhelm Schlink.

Thanks too to my former doctoral students Carolina Manzone and Elena Napolitano for their interest along the way. I was ably assisted by Emily White on the scholarly apparatus and by Anna Stainton, who did valuable research at various stages of this project and helped with translations. I am especially grateful to Stephanie Fay, who edited and copyedited the entire manuscript with great care. Jonathan Blower provided many new translations and reviewed all of the English translations of German passages in the final manuscript and improved them in almost every case, although responsibility for errors rests ultimately with me. Every effort was made here to present to both English and German readers the German primary texts on which the arguments are based as well as references to available translations (many of which have been modified) of the key texts.

A few colleagues and those nearest and dearest deserve special mention for giving generously of their time. Sabine Arend

guided me expertly through the Brinckmann Nachlass and other archival trails in Berlin and Cologne; Albert Narath, Maurizio Ghelardi, Paul Jaskot, Peter Parshall, Christopher Wood, and Lionel Gossman took the time to read chapters and to comment on them; and Martin Warnke and Horst Bredekamp are most likely unaware of how much they inspired me in conversation and by their example. My thanks to Marianne Wackernagel of the Schwabe Verlag for her interest in the project and her many efforts on its behalf. Publication of the book was generously supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Finally, I am grateful to my mother for her long years of interest and encouragement. I hope she will read this book with my late father perched in spirit on her shoulder. He would have liked this book best. My partner Robert Levit read the whole book, which he already knew from a decade-long conversation about what has become our shared project. This book is dedicated to him with love.

Introduction

What shaped the concept of the Baroque in art and architectural history? The answer offered in this study of five of the most influential Baroqueists of art history's "heroic" first century — Jacob Burckhardt, Heinrich Wölfflin, Cornelius Gurlitt, A. E. Brinckmann and Hans Sedlmayr — is that the concept itself was a political necessity. Over the course of the century-long inquiry described in this book, art historians developed a political language of formalism that characterized architectural forms as the embodied relationship between the individual and the state. This book provides, amongst other things, a much-needed political chapter in the history of formalism.

In identifying and charting the response of these art historians to political pressure points, I show why the Baroque needed to be discussed at particular moments and in particular places. The account begins amidst the Jesuit crisis manufactured by Swiss liberals in the 1840s, when the Basler Jacob Burckhardt first postulated a confessionally driven concept of a *Jesuitenstil* (Jesuit style), a placeholder for the Baroque. In the late 1880s, in the wake of the foundation of the second German Reich, Gurlitt in Dresden and Wölfflin in Munich and Basel were both preoccupied with the form of the state but conveyed diametrically opposed attitudes towards the emergent *Grossstaat*. In the 1920s and the 1930s, two more divergent German Baroquees were envisioned by National Socialist-identified art historians, Hans Sedlmayr in Austria and A. E. Brinckmann in Germany. In each case, the art-historical concept of the Baroque was demanded and shaped by politics: by political events, political philosophy, and, not least, the political beliefs and activities of art historians themselves. In confronting the Baroque, these art historians — almost always politically conservative — persistently took up questions of political philosophy, principal amongst them, what is the ideal relation of the individual to the state?

In the politically motivated art histories under discussion here, the political formation of the historical period and the effects of its artistic production had to be reconciled with the form of the state in the present. Prior to Quatremère de Quincy's widely disseminated characterization of the Baroque in the wake of the French Revolution as a "nuance of the bizarre," baroque architecture bore two political stigmas that had to be dispelled before the Baroque could become a fully developed art-historical concept. Associated on the one hand with the absolutism of the ancien régime and on the other with the papacy and the internationalist Jesuits, the political organization of

the seventeenth century stood on both counts in opposition to the nineteenth-century project of nation and state formation. Immersion in the Baroque also entailed reopening the file on elite forms of representational architecture that Enlightenment architectural theorists had displaced for more vernacular and practical building types.¹ Lagging decades behind ancient and medieval art, baroque architecture would begin to be studied intensively by art historians only in the late 1880s.

This happened, not because the historicist imagination had finally arrived at the Baroque, as if through an inevitable progression, but rather because political circumstances pressed those who studied the history of art to compare that epoch to their own. Over the next hundred years, Germanic art historians found ways to reconcile this problematic period of architectural production with the political values and needs of the day or to use it as a negative example. Given the intensity of confessional issues in European politics in the late nineteenth century, it is no surprise that the Austrian Catholic Sedlmayr could embrace the Baroque, whereas the anticlerical Swiss scholars Burckhardt and Wölfflin resisted it, at least for a time. And it was owing to the efforts of the German Protestant scholar Gurlitt that Brinckmann, also Protestant, could embrace the German Baroque without question. Reconciliation to the Baroque was all the more pressing in places like Dresden and Vienna, where baroque churches and palaces constituted what Giulio Carlo Argan termed the “nucleus of prestige” of European cities.²

Though there have been many studies of the Baroque as a concept, until very recently scholarship treating the history of ideas has tended to divorce our discipline from contemporary events and from the nearby disciplines of history and political theory, overlooked drivers of the art-historical discourse of the Baroque.³ This study puts the Baroque back into the worlds of the art historians who gave it shape.⁴ As such, it is not a comprehensive historiography but a series of case studies of five key figures with very different ideas and political biographies, who inhabited very different worlds. The aim is to define through them and their work what was politically at stake in the concept of the Baroque in Germanophone countries, where in spite of the differences in the Swiss, Austrian, and German situations, a coherent discourse, defined by a shared formal language, quickly emerged and persisted. There are politically driven histories of the Baroque in France, Italy and Spain, in Mexico and Brazil, in short, anywhere there was an art history and a Baroque. But the German-language

scholarship is arguably the most consequential, with leading figures in art history having participated in defining the terms of this debate on the Baroque, implicating their own politics in the methodological premises of the discipline.

The idea that the history of a culture or place and the spirit of a time are revealed in art and architecture — a proposition nourished by the geography of art — has been foundational in art history.⁵ In this pursuit of spirit, since the very beginnings of historical reflection about the arts, political organization — the form of governance — has proved to be an irresistible measure of artistic achievement. Already in 1746, Étienne de Condillac asserted in his *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* that the character of a people was tied to its government and that only when the latter was fixed would a people find its unique national character, language, and arts.⁶ Johann Joachim Winckelmann took up the consequences of Condillac's thinking for art history, characterizing the flowering of the arts in Periclean Athens as conditioned by the climate of Greece, on the one hand, and its democracy, on the other. The arts, he intoned, flourish more in freedom than under tyranny.⁷

The connection Winckelmann drew between democracy and the arts would receive a decisive new formulation in Burckhardt's *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860). Working between political history and cultural history, Burckhardt understood the constructed — that is, aesthetic — dimension of the state, famously entitling the first part of his book "The State as a Work of Art."⁸ In a sense, Burckhardt was reversing a Renaissance analogy between good rule and good building: Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528), a text at the center of Burckhardt's work, is full of architectural metaphors for good rule.⁹ Burckhardt, however, did not equate good rule with democracy. Writing before (some say anticipating) the French Revolution, Winckelmann, son of a cobbler, grew up in a society still mired in a system of court patronage and therefore could not see freedom as Burckhardt did. Over the long nineteenth century, democracy did not look unambiguously positive, at least not to most of the politically conservative art historians under examination here. Burckhardt, who lived in the free but conservative city of Basel most of his life, worried about the dangers of mass democracy in the liberal, centralized state towards which Switzerland was moving inexorably. Accordingly, he complicated considerably Winckelmann's notion of the conditions under which the arts could flourish. Later this

skepticism would allow Burckhardt to see past his own anticlericalism to find value in the Baroque.

Although Burckhardt, as much a cultural historian as an art historian, famously saw the state as a work of art, he did not interpret art's forms as direct embodiments of the state. In linking history, architecture, and political form, Burckhardt found a fellow traveler in Gottfried Semper, his colleague from 1855 at the Zeitgenössisches Technisches Institut in Zurich. In a lecture, "Über Baustile," delivered at the Zurich Rathaus in 1869, Semper assailed the evolutionary view of the history of architecture, arguing emphatically that new styles "always arise from new cultural ideas formed in individual, organizing minds" and that "political and legislative influence governed architecture."¹⁰ It was Semper who first proposed a language to describe the relation between forms and political organization. Not only was opulence an indicator of political decadence and Jesuitical persuasion for the anti-clerical Semper, but the building blocks of architecture were composed according to normative political notions of the coordination and subordination of individuals in a state.¹¹ The composition of a work of architecture was understood in the same manner as the composition of state, community, or society. Semper's remarks, *in nuce*, provided the basis for an enduring and tenacious preoccupation in architectural history with showing how the components of a given work of architecture embody the relation of an individual to social and political forms of organization.

It would be Burckhardt's student Heinrich Wölfflin who, in one of the inaugural works on baroque architecture, *Renaissance und Barock* (1888), would translate Burckhardt's insight and Semper's schematic formulation into what I call the political language of formalism: that is, a descriptive poetics of architectural form as a built expression of the form of the state. Wölfflin, who identified with Winckelmann's notion of freedom as part political ideal and part homoerotic longing, clung to the classical ideal far longer than Winckelmann. But nothing in Winckelmann prepares us for the formal language Wölfflin developed to show freedom and subordination expressed in architecture. Wölfflin's contemporary Cornelius Gurlitt employed a remarkably similar politically inflected language at the very same time in his trilogy on baroque architecture (1887–89), though this use of language has remained mostly unremarked — unsurprising given the long-standing dissociation of formalism and politics.¹²

Figuration was present from the very beginnings of political thought. For Aristotle, the state was like a well-proportioned

ship or, even better, a well-proportioned body, with parts that remained in proportion as they grew.¹³ For Thomas Hobbes, who likened state formation to the sculpting of the human form, a man-made automaton that closely imitated human movement was the model for the body politic.¹⁴ But his most enduring visualization of the commonwealth, which appeared on the frontispiece to his *Leviathan* (1651), was an image of a gigantic sovereign, bearing symbols of ecclesiastical and secular authority. Its body contained the multitude that composed the commonwealth, which is “more than Consent, or Concord; it is a real Unitie of them all, in one and the same Person, made by Covenant of every man with every man.”¹⁵

While such metaphors and images are richly revealing, the language of part and whole is even more basic to the theorization and figuration of the ideal relation of governed to government and individual to the state. Aristotle, who was not alone in using the language of parts and wholes in other arenas of knowledge, defined a state as “a composite thing, in the same sense as another of the things that are wholes but consist of many parts; it is therefore clear that we must first inquire into the nature of a citizen; for a state is a collection of citizens.”¹⁶ The key works in the history of political thought did not all abstract the state and its constitutive parts in these terms. Plato did not envision his republic in this way, and nor did Hobbes, whose body politic was made up of subjects, not parts. And for Hegel the question was not which form the state should take but that it should *have* a shape. The atomistic civil society and the economic sphere that operated alongside the state were figureless in his political thought, whereas the state, understood as a whole, could be figured.¹⁷ In short, political thought had a formal imagination dominated by a geometry of parts and wholes.

Mitchell Schwarzer is amongst the very few intellectual historians to have commented on the ubiquity of political imagery in nineteenth-century architectural discourse.¹⁸ Schwarzer was correct in positing that architectural theory at this early stage revolved around the relations between subject and state, having taken it “upon itself to analyze the problem of state control and hegemony.”¹⁹ Architectural historians looking at the Baroque (often in comparison to Renaissance architecture) saw parts everywhere subordinated to wholes (rather than coordinated in them), subsumed into masses (rather than individual and free), and repressed (rather than independent). Insofar as the Baroque began to be understood widely around 1900 as, in its essence, a

German feeling for form (*Formgefühl*), baroque forms came to be seen as a positive expression of German or Austrian (national) identity as well as its evil twin, cosmopolitanism.

The Baroque was arguably the art-historical concept most deeply implicated in the persistent polarity in postrevolutionary European political thought between a desire for a shared European culture, or cosmopolitanism, and varieties of national consciousness.²⁰ Cosmopolitanism was one of the German Baroque's most intractable problems. Because so many German cities had been laid to waste by the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), building projects in the wake of the destruction were entrusted to Italian, Dutch, and eventually French architects, and German architects lost their rudder. Consequently, the seventeenth century was long considered an extreme low in German cultural history. The German Romantics, who lived in an insecure *Kulturnation* that could not define itself by a fixed territory or unified state, reconciled the cosmopolitanism-nationalism polarity as diversity-in-unity, but this concept became fraught in the Napoleonic era amidst claims to French universalism. As a result, bolder counterclaims began to be made for the German origins of Europe and Germany's essential role in constituting Europe. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the cosmopolitan ideal was diminished amidst growing nationalism, only to be revived in the wake of World War I, when the discourse of a united Europe was renewed, especially in Germany, which could point to a long but interrupted tradition of cosmopolitan thought.²¹

The classic definitions of German culture that revolved around cosmopolitanism had a clear and direct application to architectural form. For example, Wilhelm von Humboldt's notion of cosmopolitan fusion, a positive striving for pluralism or a national differentiation that led to mutual understanding, hinges on imitation, which is a central artistic operation. Alternatively, architectural styles could be understood through Novalis's view that "German nature is cosmopolitanism mixed with the strongest individuality"; or according to Schlegel's early view of the nation as coming into being through the cosmopolitan acceptance of something foreign that might transform it, or his later, more conservative understanding of freedom as the opposition to all foreign influence; or in relation to Fichte's view that the "ultimate purpose of all national culture is to extend itself to the entire human race."²² The study of the Baroque in particular compelled architectural historians to resolve once and for all Germany's self-critical debate about the originality of German

art and of the Germans themselves. A. E. Brinckmann's practice of art history, shaped by his propaganda activities in World War I, was the most deeply marked by the debates over cosmopolitanism. The Franco-German dimension of the European question, which dominated the interwar debates, was a touchstone for his Baroque, as were his efforts to promote German art and German art history over French.

That questions of national identity were central to architectural history is well known and an unavoidable part of this story, but those questions are by no means its main theme.²³ My interest lies rather in how political events and the political philosophies and views of the art historians on whom I focus (which included some nationalist sentiments) propelled the creation of a formal language of the Baroque and served as touchstones for understanding the period for well over a century. Some of these architectural histories can be read as companion pieces to key works of historicopolitical thought, such as Heinrich von Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1879–94) or *Die Politik* (1897–98), Friedrich Meinecke's *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (1908), and the Austrian Heinrich Ritter von Srbik's *Deutsche Einheit* (1935). The form of the state was *the* preoccupation of the nineteenth-century German school of history. Political scientists looked to historians for the principles of politics, rather than the other way around.²⁴ Richard Sigurdson's observation that political history and cultural history in nineteenth-century German thought have been considered too distinct should be extended to art history as well.²⁵

True, not everyone agreed that the form of the state was decisive, and indeed this question was very much embedded in the discipline's long-running debate over the autonomy of art.²⁶ But Wölfflin's political formalism in particular would prove especially tenacious. Only in the late 1920s and 1930s, with the infusion of the language of parts and whole from Gestalt theory and *Strukturanalyse*, would Hans Sedlmayr break the grip of Wölfflin's vocabulary and substitute one based in holism. Art historians have been debating ever since just how politically motivated Sedlmayr's conservative critique of an already conservative discipline was in his early work of the 1920s. In spite of his efforts (or perhaps because of them), the terms set out for baroque architecture by Wölfflin and Gurlitt continued to attract the same politically overdetermined descriptions for decades.

If the form of the state in political thought was central to the nineteenth-century historiography of baroque architecture,

towards 1850 the seeds were already sown for the sociological turn it would take at the end of the century. In his magisterial study of the reasons for the fall of the ancien régime, *Les Origines de France contemporaine* of 1849, the historian and aesthetic theorist Hippolyte Taine (1828–1893) used an architectural metaphor to describe debates over France's constitution, with the social classes envisioned as clients fighting over the form of their ideal French home:

Peremptory advisers constructed a constitution as if it were a house, according to the most attractive, the newest and the simplest plan, holding up for consideration the mansion of a marquis, the domicile of a bourgeois, a tenement for workmen, barracks for soldiers, the communist phalanstery and even a camp for savages. Each one asserted of his model: "This is the true abode of man, the only one a man of sense can dwell in." In my opinion, the argument was weak; personal fancies, in my judgment, are not authorities. It appears to me that a house might not be built for the architect, nor for itself, but for the owner and occupant. . . . To ask the opinion of the owner, to submit plans to the French people of its future dwelling, was too evidently a parade or a deception: A people, on being consulted, may, indeed, tell the form of government they like, but not the form they need; this is possible only through experience; time is required to ascertain if the political dwelling is convenient, durable, proof against inclemencies, suited to the occupant's habits, pursuits, character, peculiarities, and caprices.²⁷

Pursuing the analogy, Taine noted that the French had pulled their edifice down thirteen times in eighty years, and the only surviving buildings (of state) had been adapted and repaired from primitive nuclei over time, rather than constructed according to "reason" in onetime building campaigns. In a parallel fashion, the right constitution would possess character as the product of a unique past. It had to be discovered, not invented or willed like historicist architectural styles.

Specifically, Taine argued that the form of the state would be arrived at through the historical study of France's social strata, for *Les Origines de France contemporaine* is a study of class. It was read avidly by Heinrich Wölfflin, starting in the 1880s, especially on his trip to Paris in 1889 to study with Taine. At the end of the 1890s — the decade which saw socialist parties in ascendance

all over Europe — Wölfflin's *Die klassische Kunst* (1898) registered the author's social turn, putting him in step with modern sociology.

In the early 1900s it was widely recognized that one of the founders of sociology, Georg Simmel, had shifted the focus of the discipline from the form of the state (and church) to the structure of society.²⁸ A polymath working across philosophy, aesthetics, and the new discipline of sociology, Simmel was the first to give a name to the "sociological aesthetic."²⁹ By this he meant that there were forms of social organization that were, amongst other things, also deeply aesthetic. The forms that interested him most were those generated by two conflicting tendencies of the time. Simmel aligned the first, bourgeois individualism, with its accompanying anxiety about the collective, with the fragmentary, ungraspable, asymmetrical forms of Impressionism. He aligned the second, socialism, with collective forms because it wished to eradicate the unpleasant effects of the individual strivings of capitalism. Socialism, like all tyrannies, favored order, hierarchy, and especially symmetry. And materialism was not just a matter of economic justice; it was also, Simmel asserted, an aesthetic matter. Frederic J. Schwartz placed texts by Simmel and Wölfflin side by side to show that at the turn of the twentieth century, the crisis of modernity was inscribed in the very notion of style — slow, enduring, and whole, in contrast to fast and ephemeral modern fashion.³⁰

Simmel's sociological aesthetics had a wide reach in art history, even before 1930, when sociologists and art historians openly debated its terms.³¹ Although modern art (Impressionism, Postimpressionism) offered itself up most readily to sociological analysis, the Baroque, the historical period in which modern art was deemed to be rooted, could be explored in similar ways. So the fragmented, atomistic brush of the painterly Rembrandt or Velázquez was touched as much as that of Manet. The sociological turn shifted the focus of the *Geisteswissenschaften* (humanistic disciplines) away from the form of the state to the form of society without, however, leaving politics behind. Rather, multidisciplinary works such as Ferdinand Tönnies's *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (published in 1887, but widely read only when reissued in 1912) linked politics and society, describing forms of traditional social organization in communities and their modern transformation in urban settings.³² Sociologists used the basic political philosophical vocabulary so readily taken up by art historians — of coordination and subordination, of parts and wholes — to describe

relations between persons in society rather than between persons and the state. The sociologist Erich Rothacker noted in 1930 that all variants of the terms “whole” and “parts” characterize style and human society equally, and Wölfflin’s chapter in the *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915) on “multiple unity and unified unity” could easily read as a sociological tract.³³

It seems that the new field of sociology became formal at the same time that art history became sociological.³⁴ Art historians engaged equally with the terms used to describe social relations and with sociology’s larger preoccupation: the havoc wreaked on society by modernity. Conservatives favored the traditional ties of *Gemeinschaft* over modern *Gesellschaft*. Wölfflin, for example, who located the seeds of the breakdown of traditional class divisions in the seventeenth century, would come to view the Baroque as the precursor to the modern world and thus could not idealize the earlier epoch as intact. Sedlmayr, by contrast, idealized Austria in the seventeenth century as a traditional agrarian society, in which man still stood in firm relation to God. What is more, the sociologists Tönnies, Max Weber, and Georg Simmel, all members of the Berlin-based *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie* (1909), moved in the same social circles and lecture circuits as Wölfflin and served together on the editorial board of the journal *Logos*. Simmel, as the teacher of A. E. Brinckmann, left a strong mark on his work in particular. Sedlmayr studied the sociology of Alfred Vierkandt, Max Weber, and Karl Mannheim as well. While here we are concerned with what art history took from sociology, sociologists drew as much from the methods of art history as they gave back to art historians.³⁵

The larger point is that the art historians under discussion in this book developed what Woodruff Smith has termed “theoretical patterns” in an exchange with the ideas and vocabulary of sociopolitical thought. A theoretical pattern entails a shared set of assumptions, ideas, imagery, vocabulary, and metaphors. Two elements of the late nineteenth-century theoretical pattern identified by Smith can easily be detected in the architectural histories under examination here. One pattern involved change and equilibrium: that is, whether the state was self-regulating and how such an equilibrium model could account for progress. Hegel’s stage model accounted for long-term change but not the reasons for change. Wölfflin’s preoccupation with changes in style and the reasons for them places him in this ideological

set and ties the pattern of change and equilibrium to art history. An aggregation of responses to the Enlightenment idea of the rational individual comprised another theoretical pattern that studied the human being as a fundamental unit of social action and social thought. The art historians with whom this book is concerned considered the individual such a unit of social thought, projecting him into the elements of the classical system of architecture.

It is such a commonplace to speak of the elements of architecture that historians have overlooked the vocabulary art history shares with political thought. I have termed this vocabulary the political language of formalism and it is the principal theoretical pattern mapped out in this book. All but Burckhardt deployed it; Sedlmayr reacted against it, though not altogether. Unlike Thomas Kuhn's concept of the paradigm, which assumes near consensus on an idea, the theoretical pattern allows for disagreement and a plural set of approaches to a given discipline.

The biographical element is essential to this study, for it is one of the aims of the book to give a face to art history; to show how its concepts are shaped by human beings reacting to their historical circumstances. Compared with other disciplines in the humanities, art history has only recently begun to explore its leading figures in a new wave of biographical studies. When I began my research, there were only a handful of biographies — all intellectual biographies — of art historians on the shelves.³⁶ But art history is also personal, and we miss much by not inquiring about the human dimension.³⁷ For example, generational conflicts of an oedipal sort are ubiquitous in these pages: Wölfflin's changing relation to Burckhardt, from early dismissal to mature appreciation; Brinckmann's intensely conflicted relationship with Wölfflin, which saw him at once organizing a *Festschrift* and provocatively contradicting him; and Sedlmayr's creating for himself the role of heir to Alois Riegl, whom he never knew. Or consider ways in which we identify with our subjects: Brinckmann's open admiration for the international globetrotter Filippo Juvarra and Sedlmayr's respect for the rational and independent-minded Fischer von Erlach, figures one often feels they describe as if depicting themselves. But short of being able to put my subjects on the couch to ask what motivated their questions and methods, my aim has been to discern their deeply held political beliefs, for we rarely write against them.

A different register of political thinking characterizes the work of each of the five principal figures in this story. It may come

as a surprise that Jacob Burckhardt is among our subjects, for he has been considered a largely apolitical figure and devoted to ancient and Renaissance art. His much-cited identification, in his *Cicerone*, of the Baroque as a “dialect of the Renaissance gone wild” has stood as shorthand for his views of the period. But they became more complex — and also deeply political — over the course of his long career. He is viewed here as the inaugurator of the study of the Baroque, not with his *Cicerone* of 1855,³⁸ but with his 1845 introduction of the term “Jesuit style” — an entirely negative epithet that has still not died off, although just ten years later he withdrew the notion that the Jesuits had devised such a style. That the concept of a Jesuit style was hatched by Burckhardt at the moment of his own political engagement as a journalist shows the extent to which art history’s terms are interwoven with political events. Art historians too were out in the world. Indeed, it has been largely overlooked that Burckhardt, Gurlitt, and Brinckmann were all journalists who wrote about politics. The opening of journalism to academics in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries allowed writers to cultivate a sensitivity to the framing of politics in words and images that became the ground on which ideologically inflected theoretical patterns were formed. Journalism linked the university and the world of politics.³⁹

This book was originally intended to be a focused study of the highly politicized concept of the Jesuit style. But when I discovered Burckhardt’s disavowal of that term, it became apparent that the one with which he replaced “Jesuit style” and its vicissitudes over the course of his long career and the careers of those who came after him were far more important to this political story. That term was “the Baroque.” For Burckhardt, as historian and art historian, the Baroque proved to be a blind spot. Around the Baroque Burckhardt struggled, unable to conquer his own anticlericalism and conservative politics, the subject of important recent studies of his life and work. His inability to overcome his biases towards the Baroque and assume the much-vaunted Archimedean point that has led him to be appreciated as the clear-thinking prophet of the catastrophes of modernity makes this concept a particularly revealing consequence of political thought on the discipline of art history.

Although the 1870s marked a turning point in Burckhardt’s appreciation of the Baroque, his antipathy is not surprising given

the contribution of his work to the Renaissance Revival in architecture. After the founding of the second German Empire in 1871, an expression of national unity was sought in architecture that would reflect an increasingly secular society with a rising middle class. The “Deutschrenaissance,” a historicist movement in architecture and the decorative arts, emerged shortly after unification. As Wilhelm Lübke put it in 1873, both his epoch and the Renaissance were eras of rebirth.⁴⁰ Touted as the style of freedom — suitable for an age of individualism — the Deutschrenaissance was intended to stitch together a modern bourgeois society in the style of its bourgeois predecessor.⁴¹ One of the key terms used in discussing the German Renaissance and German unification was synthesis: of Gothic and Renaissance, North and South, Catholic and Protestant. The Deutschrenaissance transformed villas and middle-class domestic interiors, shops, beer halls, and even city halls, but the style was not invoked for the most symbolic structures: churches and high government offices.⁴² This task would be left for the Neo-Baroque.

Austria, not Germany, was the first to claim the Baroque as a national style. It was first identified as such in Albert Ilg’s *Die Zukunft des Barockstils: Eine Kunstepistel von Bernini dem Jüngern*, published in 1880.⁴³ In this pamphlet, Ilg, whose aims were more political than scientific, defined a universal Baroque with the capacity to “dissolve the individualities of each people, to embrace the whole globe under a single rule.”⁴⁴ Ilg’s neo-absolutist Baroque made no accommodation for the linguistic and cultural heterogeneity of the newly formed Austro-Hungarian Empire. Dynastic and reactionary, it posited a past and future Austrian style that looked back with nostalgia to autocratic France.

Ilg, by claiming the Baroque for Austria, made it, in a sense, unavailable to Prussian-led Germany. For Protestant Germans, a Baroque inspired by France (Germany’s traditional enemy) would have been as offensive as one inspired by Italian architects accompanying the Jesuits who invaded southern Germany during the Counter-Reformation. Indeed, the devastation of the Thirty Years’ War was long thought to have caused the collapse of German culture, thereby making the Baroque a low point in the history of German art. By contrast, the German Renaissance was considered the last great moment of German artistic autonomy, before Germany became porous to foreign influences, overrun by the Jesuits with their architects and then by the French. Much had to be overcome and time needed to pass after the 1866 defeat of Austria in the Austro-Prussian War before the Baroque became available to Germany.

The interrelated realms of politics, archaeology, and architecture helped Germany come to terms with its Baroque. A crucial shift occurred with Heinrich von Treitschke's important revision of Germany's historical narrative to reflect the new empire's heterogeneity after Bismarck's failure to suppress German Catholics in a disastrous *Kulturkampf*. The foundations of this second German Empire were to be found, not in Luther's bold separation from the Catholic Church nor in Hegel's dream of a homogeneous Protestant Germany, but in the smoldering ruins of the Thirty Years' War, when Germany began to look confessionally heterogeneous. As a result, the princely palaces and churches, the official buildings of the past that marked the skylines of German cities could be — had to be — reevaluated. Looking over one shoulder at the historians and over the other at the architects, Cornelius Gurlitt, a German nationalist from a mixed confessional background, was one of the first to take Germans down the path to an appreciation of their Baroque architecture, writing the first truly sympathetic history and becoming a voice in the debates about the Neo-Baroque and *Neubarock* projects in Berlin.

Another path to the historical Baroque was the rediscovery of the ancient Baroque. When German archaeologists unearthed the magnificent altar erected by the Hellenistic king Attalus I (269–197 B.C.E.) at Pergamon and brought reliefs from it to Berlin in 1879, interest in the Baroque surged. Long considered the product of a decadent, impure, and autocratic regime, the rediscovered Hellenistic works now found many appreciators. Enthusiasts valued their pulsating modernity as well as their representation of a social order that in some ways resembled that of late nineteenth-century Germany; some appreciated that the gods touched the mortals.⁴⁵ The word “Baroque” was now on the lips of many, not because Rubens or Bernini was suddenly the subject of renewed interest and appreciation, but because the undeniable quality of the Hellenistic Baroque reliefs shattered Winckelmann's ranking of ancient art (as well as its revivals). Art history needed to be rethought, though there was no consensus on how to do it. As Lionel Gossman has pointed out, there remained a conservative minority who took the Hellenistic Baroque into account but could not embrace it — figures like the Munich archaeologist Heinrich Brunn and his pupil Heinrich Wölfflin, whose convictions did not permit them to abandon Winckelmann's scheme of flowering and decline.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, the Pergamon moment certainly and definitively opened the eyes of Burckhardt and Wölfflin, acting, as Alina

Payne has put it, as the catalyst for the analogy of ancient and modern Baroques.⁴⁷

The political genealogy that the second German Reich now found for itself in the Hellenistic Empire proved decisive for art history. After a series of Prussian victories, culminating in the defeat of the French in 1870, it was no longer far-fetched to compare Wilhelm I to Attalus I, the ruler of Pergamon who erected the great altar in celebration of his victory over the Galatians. The Berlin Akademie der Künste's *Jubiläums-Kunstaussstellung* in 1886 made this analogy clear to all, juxtaposing the modern German and Hellenistic emperors on coins and ephemeral monuments. The Hellenistic works, whose kinship to Andreas Schlüter's baroque reliefs the publicity for the exhibition made apparent, stimulated Berlin's Baroque Revival in architecture (a movement already in swing in Paris, Vienna, Rome, and elsewhere).⁴⁸ Overcoming Berlin's allegiance to Schinkel's classicism as the face of official Berlin, Wilhelm II reinstated Schlüter's baroque royal palace as the official residence.⁴⁹ Julian Raschdorff designed a Neo-Baroque cathedral and Paul Wallot conceived the Reichstag in a forward-looking Neubarock style: a historicist building for religion and a modern building for the modern governing body.⁵⁰

The rediscovery of the Baroque went hand in hand with architectural practice, stimulating both a historicist Neo-Baroque and a Neubarock architecture, which did not adopt historical forms but freed ornament from tectonics, opening onto a modern conception of architecture. As Albert Narath has shown, the so-called Neubarock drew upon the characterizations of Baroque architecture generated by a new psychological aesthetics that infused art history with terms describing sensations evoked by forms. Baroque architecture, with its emphasis on effects and feelings, was newly appreciated in the psychological aesthetics of Adolf Göller and accordingly provided a model for an architecture of publicity (*Reklamearchitektur*). The attentiveness the Baroque demanded was now understood as a precursor to demands placed by advertisements on the modern spectator: the façade was reconceived as a surface for publicity. This new architecture was modeled not on ideas but on the sensation of forms.

Though Cornelius Gurlitt, of the figures considered here, would be the one most engaged in recasting baroque architecture in the present, the others understood the Baroque as a modern art. Whether as a result of the new experiments in the painterly, or opticality, or the spatial turn, baroque art came to be regarded

as the first art of modern subjectivity. Formalism would be an essential tool in reaching this radical new conclusion.

Of all the figures discussed in this book, Wölfflin, grandfather of formalism, was the most apolitical. But he came of age at a time when art history was self-evidently politically grounded, and no matter how little inclined to political engagement, Wölfflin could not think outside his own politics. He left many more traces of his own political views and reactions to world events than have come to light and been brought to bear on his writings. Indeed, Wölfflin's formalism, particularly as developed in his best-known book, the *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* of 1915, reads almost as a caricature of how the evacuation of politics from art history brought about a formalism removed from the world. His conservatism, initially manifested in his skepticism of the *Grossstaat*, became anxiety about the growth of mass culture and class struggle. His early recourse to *Einfühlungstheorie*, the art historian feeling through his body, and later to Adolf von Hildebrand's call to think through his eyes, has to some extent distracted us from his politics. But Wölfflin never thought of his eye as a neutral organ — it was an “aristocratic” organ. And in spite of his private nature, his conservative social and political views mark virtually every page of his books. His formalism is, I argue, the conscious expression of his politics; a search for terms to describe a worldview that was, as it is for all of us, also political.

Whereas Wölfflin initially approached the Baroque from the south (that is, through Rome), Cornelius Gurlitt came to the Baroque from northern Germany. A self-declared modern man and proud German nationalist, Gurlitt wrote the first monumental survey of baroque architecture, a trilogy on Western Europe (excluding Spain), as a journalist and popularizer, addressing the *gebildete Publikum* (cultivated public) from outside the academy. Most important for him was the third volume, dedicated to Germany, for it is there that the German Baroque found its first real champion. Gurlitt's *Barock* has been characterized as that of an architect, but it can be framed more meaningfully as that of a political unifier, urging Germany in particular to overcome its religious fragmentation. Gurlitt wrote his volumes on the Baroque in the aftermath of Wilhelm II's effort to suppress Catholicism in Germany, the *Kulturkampf*, which backfired and stimulated a strong and enduring Catholic movement. He attempted to reconcile Germany to its confessional heterogeneity with a history of architecture that shows Protestants and Catholics — good Catholics, not bad Catholics, which is to say Jesuits — contributing to the rebuilding of Germany after the Thirty Years' War.

For Wölfflin, who was anticlerical but not engaged in the confessional dramas of German unification, and for his student A. E. Brinckmann later, the confessional question was superseded. Though the new generation accepted the religious issues as settled, it nonetheless took a position on questions of class and the ideal form of political organization. The Baroque satisfied Brinckmann's right-oriented politics. He is present in this study as much for the role of his conservative political views in shaping his concept of the Baroque as for conceiving his own art-historical career as a political career. He gained his appetite for this representative function in World War I, when, posted to one of the first propaganda offices in neutral Holland, he participated in the production of scholarship as cultural propaganda. The Great War left an imprint on the direction of his scholarship on the Baroque too. The acrimonious exchange between the French scholar Émile Mâle and German art historians over the purported derivative-ness of German art affected him so deeply that it shaped his approach to the Baroque as both a national and European phenomenon for the rest of his career. After the Great War, first in Cologne (where he established the university's art history institute as part of the expansion of the discipline in the Weimar era) and then in Berlin (1931–35), he was an engaged public figure, creating a bridge between academia and the kind of historically informed journalism Gurlitt produced.

As *Ordinarius* in Berlin, Brinckmann occupied the most prestigious chair of art history in all Germany when the Nazis came to power. Although he joined the Nazi Party in 1933, the authorities pushed him out of his post at the university in 1935. (He was replaced by Wilhelm Pinder.) He clawed his way back to prominence, however, with a series of publications on European art asserting Germany's importance. What looked like a politically prescient view of European art in 1938 became an alibi after the war, as he attempted to exonerate himself by claiming to have been a good European all along. Among the work of the scholars examined in this book, Brinckmann's Baroque has the least resonance today, owing less to his conservative views, which have been readily absorbed, than to the instrumental nature of his work.

Even Hans Sedlmayr, an even more controversial figure today than Brinckmann, has left a much deeper impression, if not an imprint, on the discipline. Sedlmayr's politics and his intense methodological ambitions, considered separately and together, have received a great deal of study. Indeed, his work has been more highly scrutinized for political motivations and implications

than that of any other figure in this book. Yet there has been a curious reluctance to consider his contribution to the study of the Baroque, one of the two major subjects of his career, in relation to his politics. Here I aim to bring them together, to track, once again and in light of his stark revision of Wölfflinian formalism, just how Sedlmayr's Baroque was a product of his political views.

Not all the important art historians of the Baroque were conservative, but most were, and this study answers the question why. The Baroque was initially the antistyle for Burckhardt and Wölfflin. Their art histories sounded a warning bell about Jesuit anti-individualism and the looming autocratic state. But both scholars had to be reconciled to the Baroque not only because of their anticlericalism but also because of their conservative suspicion of mass democracy. By contrast, for Gurlitt, full of optimism about the second German Reich, the Baroque needed to be recuperated as a style that could help unite modern Germany. Brinckmann, to whose right-wing view absolutist principles of planning appealed, is perhaps the most difficult of all to assess because he was such an opportunist. Though a professed Europeanist, he consistently intoned the need to topple French cultural hegemony. One of the few liberal figures who made a significant contribution to baroque studies was Alois Riegl, whose outlook Christopher Wood characterized as "liberal optimism about the capacity of the freethinking subject concertized in aesthetic experience."⁵¹ Riegl's liberal outlook was not, however, what Hans Sedlmayr drew from Riegl's work, though he claimed to be his heir. The Austrian Sedlmayr, conservative and Catholic, was drawn to the Baroque's Catholicity, for its continuity with a long Christian tradition rather than its opening to modernity, as Riegl saw it. Sedlmayr, the most outspoken antimodernist of all, would embrace the National Socialist state as the best antidote to the dissolution of traditional society, even though, as Christopher Wood sees it, the new order he desired was an old one: a medieval theocracy.⁵²

This book tells the story of how, and under what circumstances, the art and architecture of a historical period passed from being "bad" to being "good," and how the bases for such judgments were fundamentally political.

1 Daniel Purdy, *On the Ruins of Babel: Architectural Metaphor in German Thought* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press and Cornell University Library, 2011), chap. 2.

2 Giulio Carlo Argan, *The Baroque Age* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), 41–44.

3 For example, Hans Tintelnot, “Zur Gewinn unserer Barockbegriffe,” in *Die Kunstformen des Barockzeitalters*, ed. Rudolf Stamm (Berlin: Francke, 1956): 13–91; Werner Oechslin, “Barock” — zu den negativen Kriterien der Begriffsbestimmung in klassizistischer und späterer Zeit,” in *Europäische Barock-Rezeption*, ed. Klaus Garber (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), 2:1223–54, 2:1207–23; and, recently, an account that does not contend with the considerable German literature, in Helen Hills, “The Baroque: The Grit in the Oyster of Art History,” in idem, ed., *Rethinking the Baroque* (Farnham/Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 11–36. Martin Warnke, who has done the most to account for the political roots of the baroque concept, noted that Tintelnot considered the rehabilitation of the Baroque a matter of taste rather than a political instrumentalization of style (Warnke, “Die Entstehung des Barockbegriffs in der Kunstgeschichte,” in Garber, *Europäische Barock-Rezeption*, 2:1214).

4 See Jutta Held’s inspiring essay “Zur Historiographie der Kunstgeschichte im Nationalsozialismus,” which marks the beginning of a systematic historiography rooted in politics (in *Kunstgeschichte an den Universitäten im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Jutta Held and Martin Papenbrock. Special issue of *Kunst und Politik: Jahrbuch der Guernica-Gesellschaft* 5, no. 34 [Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2003], esp. 12–13).

5 Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

6 Étienne de Condillac, “Du genie des langues,” in *Essai sur l’origine des connaissances humaines*, vol. 2, pt. I, chap. 15, as cited by Éric Michaud, *Histoire de l’art: Une Discipline à ses frontières* (Paris: Hazan, 2005), 53.

7 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Arts of Antiquity* (1764), trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006), 186–88.

8 Eric Slauter, *The State as a Work of Art: The Cultural Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 9–10. Slauter shows that Burckhardt was neither the first nor the last to understand the state as a cultural construction. (Rousseau preceded him by a century.)

9 Olga Zorzi Pugliese, “Unity and Multiplicity: Castiglione’s Views on Architecture in the ‘Cortegiano,’” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 54 (2010–12): 257–66.

10 “Es bestätigt zugleich die Behauptung, dass neue Baustile stets aus neuen, durch einzelne organisatorische Köpfe getragene Kulturgedanken hervorgingen.” Gottfried Semper, “Über Baustile,” in *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin: Spemann, 1884), 412. “Auch hier also politischer und gesetzgeberischer Einfluss massgebend für die Baukunst — von schrittweiser organischer Entwicklung keine Spur.” Ibid. 413. Gottfried Semper, “On Architectural Styles. A Lecture Delivered at the Rathaus in Zurich (1869),” in *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Wolfgang Hermann, with an introduction by Harry Francis Mallgrave (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 275–76. On this lecture, see Chapter 2.

11 Semper, “On Architectural Styles,” 281.

12 As early as 1933, an art historian interested in a sociopolitical language did not detect a political register in the texts of his and a previous generation. Heinrich Lützel, “Zur Religionssoziologie deutscher Barockarchitektur (in Zusammenhang des methodischen Problems),” *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 66 (1931): 557–84.

13 Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. H. Rackham (Loeb Classical Library, 1932), 131.

14 Horst Bredekamp, *Thomas Hobbes: Der Leviathan. Das Urbild des modernen Staates und seine Gegenbilder 1651–2001*, rev. ed. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003).

15 Hobbes, *Leviathan*, chap. 17, as cited in Horst Bredekamp, “From Walter Benjamin to Carl Schmitt, via Thomas Hobbes,” trans. Melissa Thorson Hause and Jackson Bond, *Critical Inquiry* 25 (1999): 255.

16 Aristotle, *Politics*, 173.

17 Shlomo Avineri, *Hegel’s Theory of the Modern State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 77–78, 101, 103.

18 Warnke (“Die Entstehung des Barockbegriffs,” 2:1219) thought there was a strong connection between the art historical concept of the Baroque, especially in Wölfflin and Gullitt, and bourgeois individualism. That Alois Riegl’s use of the terms “subordination and coordination” evoked “their political overtones,” is noted in Margaret Olin, “Alois Riegl’s Concept of Attentiveness,” *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 291. Christopher Wood characterized Riegl’s formal analyses (in *Das holländische Gruppenporträt*) as rendering works of art “literal representations of democratic social structures and, on the level of pure form, as metaphors for those structures.” Christopher Wood, introduction to *The Vienna School Reader: Politics and Art Historical Method in the 1930s*, ed. Christopher Wood (New York: Zone Books, 2000), 28.

19 Mitchell Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6, 9.

20 Mary Anne Perkins, introduction to *Nationalism versus Cosmopolitanism in German Thought and Culture 1789–1914: Essays on the Emergence of Europe*, ed. Mary Anne Perkins and Martin Liebscher (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006), 1–14.

21 Michel Grunewald, “Discours européen et système de Versailles,” in *Le discours européen dans les revues allemandes (1918–1933)*, ed. Michel Grunewald and Hans Manfred Bock (Bern: Peter Lang, 1997), 1–14.

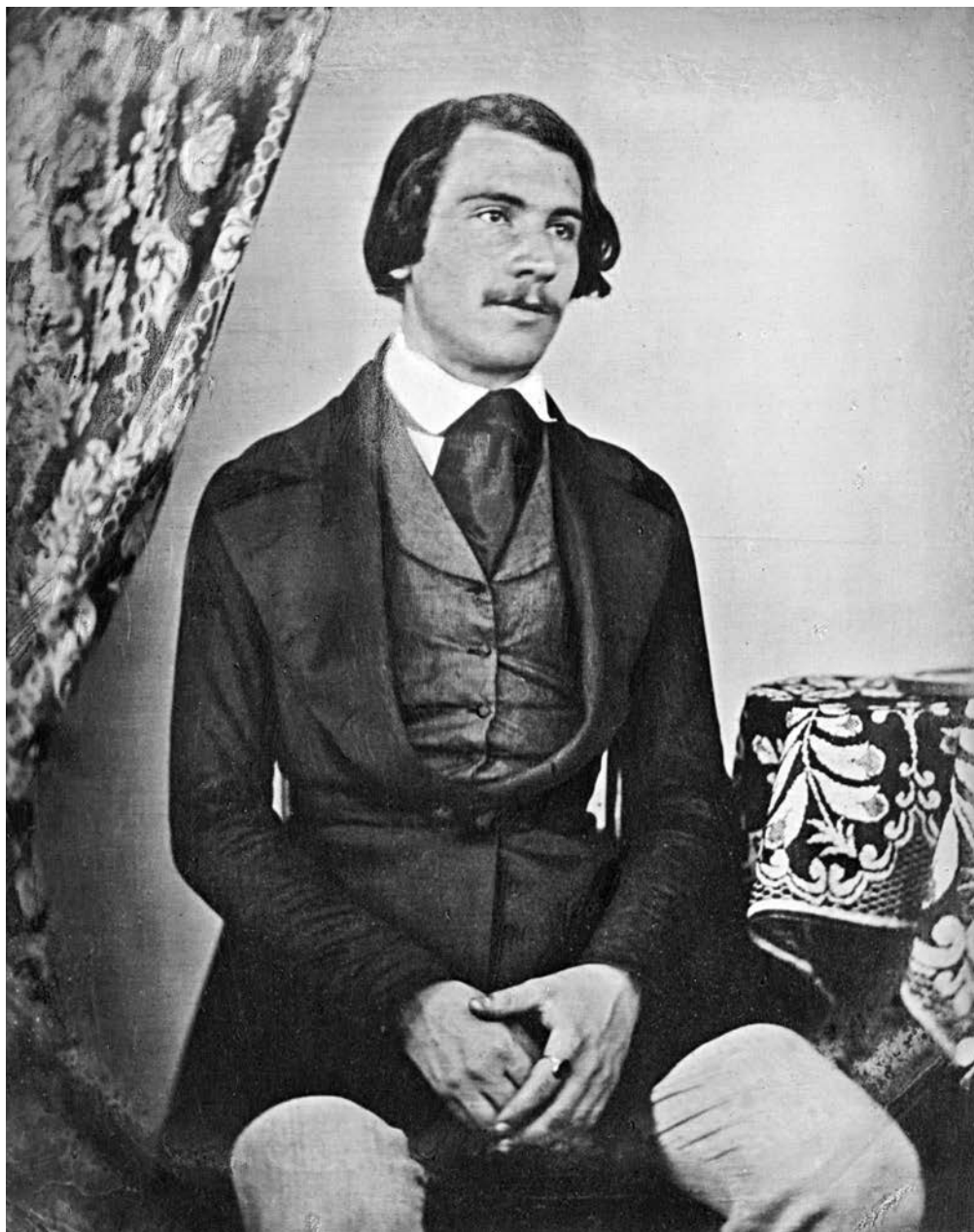
22 Friedrich Meinecke, *Cosmopolitanism and the National State*, trans. Robert B. Kimber with an introduction by Felix Gilbert (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 42 (Humboldt), 55 (Novalis), 65 (Schelgel), 75 (Fichte).

23 A comprehensive account is expected in Ute Engel, *Stil und Nation. Barockforschung und deutsche Kunstgeschichte (ca. 1830 bis 1933)* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, forthcoming in 2015).

24 Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 3, 7.

25 Richard Sigurdson, *Jacob Burckhardt’s Social and Political Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 59.

- 26 Éric Michaud points out that Schnaase explicitly denied it in the face of liberal, revolutionary France. See Michaud, *Histoire de l'art*, 60. See also Christopher Wood, "Why Autonomy?" *Perspecta* 33 (2002): 48–53.
- 27 Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, *The Ancient Régime*, rev. ed., trans. John Durand (New York: Henry Holt, 1885), v–vi.
- 28 David Frisby, *Georg Simmel*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 18.
- 29 Georg Simmel, "Soziologische Aesthetik," *Die Zukunft* 17 (1896): 204–16, reprinted in Georg Simmel, *Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Otthein Rammstedt (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1992), 5:197–214; translated as "Sociological Aesthetics," in Simmel, *The Conflict in Modern Culture and Other Essays*, trans. K. Peter Etkorn (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968), 68–80.
- 30 Frederic J. Schwartz, *Blind Spots: Critical Theory and the History of Art in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), chap. 1.
- 31 The only account of the debate that I have found stresses art-historical texts of the 1930s, especially those of Max Raphael, and except in its discussion of Semper, does not acknowledge that certain terms used to describe forms as carrying sociological meaning — specifically, those referring to the form of the state — were carried over from earlier texts. See Johannes Werner, "Soziologie und Pädagogik der Kunst: Das Ganze und die Teile," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 26 (1981): 117–26. The art historian Heinrich Lützel ("Zur Religionssoziologie deutscher Barockarchitektur," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 66 [1931]: 557–84) saw an application of sociology to the furnishings and spatial qualities of baroque churches, in terms defined by texts that I will argue are already knowingly informed by politico-sociological awareness and intent. See further Chapter 2.
- 32 Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Civil Society*, ed. Jose Harris, trans. Jose Harris and Margaret Hollis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), ix.
- 33 The sociological terms of Wölfflin's formalism were first and to my knowledge uniquely remarked upon in the proceedings of a conference dedicated to the sociology of art. Ernst Rothacker, "Der Beitrag der Philosophie und der Einzelwissenschaften zur Kunstsoziologie," in *Verhandlungen des Siebenten Deutschen Soziologentages vom 28. September bis 1. Oktober 1930 in Berlin* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr & Paul Siebach, 1931), 148–49.
- 34 On Simmel as a "formal sociologist," see David Frisby, *Sociological Impressionism: A Reassessment of Georg Simmel's Social Theory* (London: Heinemann, 1981), 8.
- 35 See esp. Jeremy Tanner, "Karl Mannheim and Alois Riegl," *Art History* 32 (2009): 755–84, and Schwartz, *Blind Spots*.
- 36 In the past ten years, book-length biographical studies of Émile Mâle, August Grisebach, Wilhelm Worringer, Fritz Wichert, Alfred Lichtwark, Fritz Saxl, Ernst Kris, Richard Hamann, and Heinrich Lützel, amongst others, have appeared. There has been no attempt at a biography of any major figures except Jacob Burckhardt, who was a historian as well as an art historian. Even Aby Warburg, around whose work there is a massive literature that includes Gombrich's intellectual biography, has not received a purely biographical treatment though other members of his banking family have. Erwin Panofsky's biography is constituted in effect by seven volumes of published correspondence.
- 37 Nikolaus Meier, "Heinrich Wölfflin in München: Kunstwissenschaft und Wissenschaftstopographie," in *200 Jahre Kunstgeschichte in München: Positionen, Perspektiven, Polemik*, ed. Christian Drude and Hubertus Kohle (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2003), 108.
- 38 For the typical view, see Heinrich Lützel, "Der Wandel der Barockauffassung," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 11 (1993): 621.
- 39 Woodruff D. Smith, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany 1840–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 75–76, 83–84.
- 40 Ralf Mennekes, *Renaissance der deutschen Renaissance* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2005), 381.
- 41 Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory*, 69–71; Mennekes, *Renaissance der deutschen Renaissance*, 408–18.
- 42 For building types, see Stefan Muthesius, review of *Die Renaissance der deutschen Renaissance*, by Ralph Mennekes, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67 (2008): 139–40.
- 43 Albert Ilg, *Die Zukunft des Barockstils: Eine Kunststepel von Bernini dem Jüngern* (Vienna: Manzschke, 1880); Elisabeth Springer, "Biographische Skizze zu Albert Ilg (1847–1896)," in *Fischer von Erlach und die Wiener Barocktradition*, ed. Friedrich Polleross (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), 319–45; Peter Stachel, "Albert Ilg und die 'Erfindung' des Barocks als österreichischer 'Nationalstil,'" in *Barock, ein Ort des Gedächtnisses: Interpretation der Moderne – Postmoderne*, ed. Moritz Csáky, Federico Celestini, and Ulrich Tragatschnig (Vienna: Böhlau, 2007), 100–52; Andreas Kreul, "Zwischen Pathos und Neuordnung: Die Fischer von Erlach-Monographien von Albert Ilg," in *Fischer von Erlach und die Wiener Barocktradition*, ed. Friedrich Polleross (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), 389–404.
- 44 "alle früheren zu verdrängen, alle Völkerindividualitäten zu verschmelzen und seine Herrschaft in einem festgeschlossenen Ring um den Erdball zu legen." Ilg, *Die Zukunft des Barockstils*, 34, as discussed by Francesca Torello, "Engaging the Past: Albert Ilg's Die Zukunft des Barockstils" (paper presented at the Sixty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, New Orleans, LA, 13–17 April, 2011).
- 45 Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- 46 Lionel Gossman, "Imperial Icon: The Pergamon Altar in Wilhelmian Germany," *Journal of Modern History* 78 (2006): 551–87.
- 47 Alina Payne, "Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Wölfflin, and German Art History at the Fin de Siècle," *Res* 53/54 (2008): 168–89.
- 48 Albert Narath, "The Baroque Effect: Architecture and Art History in Berlin, 1886–1900," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2011), chap. 1. For a broader survey of Neo-Baroque works in Europe dating to as early as the 1850s, see Warnke, "Die Entstehung des Barockbegriffs," 2:1211–3.
- 49 Douglas Klahr, "Wilhelm II's Weisser Saal and its Doppelthron," *German History* 27 (2009): 490–513.
- 50 Narath, "The Baroque Effect," esp. chap. 3.
- 51 Wood, introduction to *Vienna School Reader*, 14.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 15.



1. *Jacob Burckhardt*, photographic print after a daguerreotype, Paris, 1843.

Chapter 1

Jacob Burckhardt: “Jesuit Style” to *Barock*

In October 1843, twenty-six-year-old Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) returned to his native city of Basel after almost four years of university study in Berlin, summer study in the Rhineland, and travel to Belgium and Paris (fig. 1). Within a year he was preparing his first university lecture courses and had been hired as editor of Switzerland's foremost conservative newspaper, the *Basler Zeitung*. As editor he was expected to write lead articles on domestic matters and compile international news. He wrote to his friend Gottfried Kinkel that he took the position “mainly in order to exterminate by slow degrees the odious sympathy that exists among the ruling clique here for absolutism of every kind (e.g., the Russian) and on the other hand to come out against our raucous Swiss radicals; the latter I find precisely as repellant as the former.”¹ Early on he declared himself a conservative. He was wary of democracy and the strong centralized state alike.

In July 1844 Burckhardt wrote a controversial article on the divisive and politically pivotal question: Should Lucerne be allowed to invite the Jesuits to teach in the canton.² It begins by acknowledging that the Jesuits have historically been unwelcome in Calvinist Switzerland:³

We must speak here about one of the most difficult and terrible conflicts. We have never misled ourselves or our readers about the nature and the character of the order, which has invaded Switzerland for two hundred years and grows stronger; the Jesuits seem to us a curse on the land and on the individuals who fall into their hands; in our Switzerland they have broken countless budding spirits and will break more. We know their intellectual inanity, the lamentable superficiality of their educational methods, their deceptive representation of our history and of their subversiveness, at least a part. We see their influence on many places growing. We fear especially for reorganized Wallis.⁴

Descended from a family long tied to the Swiss Reformed Church and suspicious of an order perennially accused of deceptive and manipulative tactics, Burckhardt was openly anti-Jesuit. Yet in this article, he did not endorse the categorical expulsion of the order. He took this position in part strategically and in part out of a respect for law and justice. Each time the radicals encroached on the religious orders, they strengthened them, he argued; martyrdom should not be a tool put in the hands of the Jesuits by the liberals. He did not favor attacking the Jesuits, whether directly

or indirectly. Rather, he wrote, “Here a wide field of national action is open, especially for free-thinking Catholics in those Catholic cantons where the Jesuits are not yet present; sure enough a difficult, bitter, silent piece of work, where only one’s conscience is remunerated, but worthy to fulfill a life that is, in the highest sense, dedicated to the fatherland.”

In this article Burckhardt implicitly endorsed the Jesuit presence in Switzerland by defending the rights of cantons themselves to determine the question, whether for toleration or expulsion. He goes on to warn that Switzerland’s cantonal independence in the matter — the cornerstone of his conservatism — was a better defense against the Jesuits than centralized power in France, where the Jesuits were about to have the education of French youth put back in their hands by the monarch:

There are states which, supported by favorable times, can at certain times carry out regulations like that of the expulsion of the Jesuits; the strong centralized monarchies are such states, with their imposing armed forces and far-reaching administration. But consider the strongest heroes of this type; take France for example! — There it can be shown how Charles X still had the power to close the Jesuit house of St. Acheul when the order displeased him. Louis Philippe, the July Monarch who, to a certain degree, had to treat all the parties gently, cannot do the same, although it is for that purpose in the Constitution that the order is banished by solemn vows from France. Before the eyes of the Chamber and supported by one of the strong parties within it, the French clergy now readies itself to put the education of the people and the well-educated in their hands, in order to commit them at least in part to the Jesuits. That something which here is against the will of the great majority should be implemented by the well-educated French may give us some measure of what is completely possible in the fragmentation of our cantons and division of political parties.

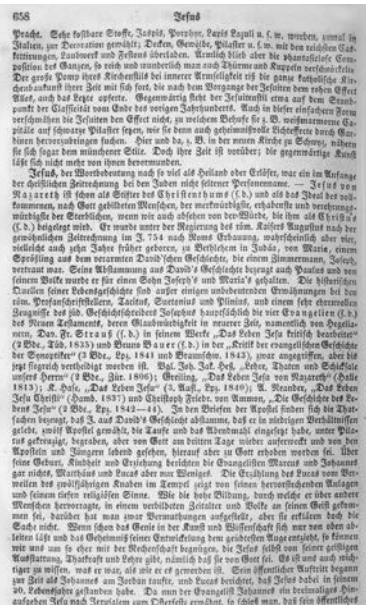
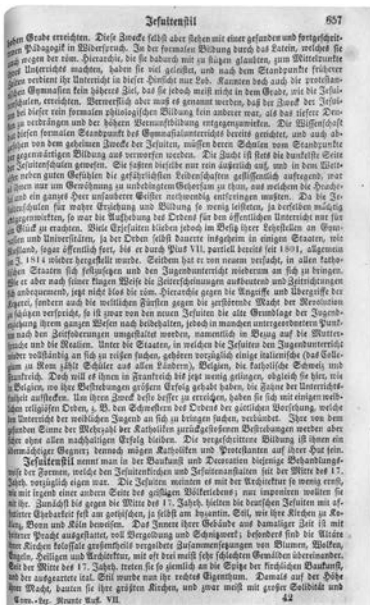
If even France cannot keep the Jesuits out, Burckhardt argues, the Swiss liberal fantasy that a centralized state will be able to put down the Jesuit menace once and for all is delusional.

As a consequence of his particularist position — supporting local autonomy over the central government favored by the liberal and progressive national Swiss movement which posed the expulsion of the Jesuits as one of its cornerstones — Burckhardt

did not last out the fall as editor of the *Basler Zeitung*. Although he continued to write on Swiss politics for a Cologne newspaper, it is well known that as a result of this experience, which he referred to in 1845 as having been “truly a very thorough political education,”⁵ he turned away (though not immediately) from overt engagement in politics. As a number of historians have stressed recently in revising the traditional account of Burckhardt’s apoliticism, however, he did not rebuke a politically engaged writing of history, or, for that matter, of art history.⁶

We need not wait to see how Burckhardt's political views shaped his art-historical work. For during the weeks when this journalistic life was landing him very visibly in the middle of Swiss politics (the liberals warned him that he was a marked man), Burckhardt was also keeping his hand in art history, one of two primary subjects of his studies (along with history) at the University in Berlin. His professor and friend Franz Kugler had recommended that Burckhardt be asked to write the art history entries for the ninth edition of the Brockhaus *Conversations-Lexikon*, then

2. Jacob Burckhardt, "Jesuitenstil," *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände: Conversations-Lexikon*, 9th ed. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1845), 7:657–58.



in preparation.⁷ He was commissioned to revise articles from a previous edition and prepare entries on new subjects, an assignment covering an impressive range of topics for someone of his youth. By 28 July 1844,⁸ he had sent the Dresden publishing house a batch of new and revised entries for the volumes covering *E* through *L*. Included was an original article that he had proposed to Brockhaus on a new topic, the “Jesuitenstil,” just then in circulation amongst art historians (fig. 2). Burckhardt defined it as follows:

The Jesuit style in architecture and decoration designates that treatment of forms which was especially typical of Jesuit churches and Jesuit houses from the middle of the seventeenth century. The Jesuits are as insincere in their architecture as they were in every other aspect of the spiritual life of the people; they only wanted it to be imposing. Then, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the German Jesuits showed an affected respectability in adhering to the Gothic, indeed even the Byzantine style, as their churches in Coblenz, Bonn, and Cologne demonstrate. The interiors of their buildings from that era are decorated with a buoyant pomp full of gilding and carving. Their altars are especially colossal: mostly gilded ensembles of flowers, clouds, angels, saints, and architecture, often with three very bad paintings stacked up. From the middle of the seventeenth century, they reached the apex of ecclesiastical architecture and made the degenerate Italian style entirely their own. When they were at the height of their power, they built their largest churches, and for the most part these were made with great solidity and pomp. For the decoration, especially in Italy, were chosen very costly materials: jasper, porphyry, lapis lazuli, and so on; ceilings, vaults, pilasters, and so forth, overloaded with the richest coffering, foliage, and festoons. But the unimaginative composition of the whole remained poor, despite the rich and wondrous convolutions of their towers and cupolas. The grand pomp — and inner poverty — of their ecclesiastical style swept all contemporary Catholic architecture along with it, and this, following in the path of the Jesuits, sacrificed each and every last thing for the sake of raw effect. Currently, the Jesuit style is close to the classicism from the end of the last century. Even in this simpler form, the Jesuits do not spurn mere effect, to which end they place, for example, white marble capitals on black pilasters, just as they

also try to create mysterious lighting effects with curtains. Here and there, for example in the new church at Schwyz, they even approximate the Munich Style. However, their time has passed; art will no longer allow them to impose their will upon it.⁹

Burckhardt wrote the Brockhaus Jesuit style entry in the same weeks that he was focusing on the issues raised by the presence of the Jesuit order in Switzerland — his first and last active engagement in Swiss politics. That engagement presents us with a rare moment in art history when political events indisputably developed hand in hand with art history's terms, and the art historian himself was in the eye of the storm. The overwhelming negativity of Burckhardt's concept of the Jesuit style, with its emphasis on the impoverishment of the Jesuit imagination and the manipulation implied by the deployment of material splendor, has bled into the definition from the anti-Jesuitism Burckhardt expressed in the *Basler Zeitung*.¹⁰ At the time he wrote the entry, the art-historical term "Baroque" was not yet on the horizon; it had not yet appeared in the Brockhaus lexicon, and this entry should be understood as a placeholder for it. The Jesuit style encapsulated the sumptuousness of décor and the centrality of Catholic institutions that would be key to some definitions of the Baroque.

Although the Society of Jesus was a marginal preoccupation for Burckhardt over his long career, the issues raised by the art and architecture commissioned by this controversial order touched on the deepest themes of what would become a lifelong inquiry into the Baroque. Indeed, the Jesuit style article arguably marked a turning point and helped shape his mature views. In what follows, these two diverse writings are held up to each other, located in political events, in Burckhardt's youthful political convictions, and in the context of architectural politics in contemporary Europe. In the second part of the chapter I offer an explanation for Burckhardt's rejection of the Jesuit style and of the function in his thinking of the terms he used as replacements, Baroque and Counter-Reformation.