

Wölfflin and the Imagining of the Baroque

FOR many years, historians of art seemed to have little trouble with the concept of the “baroque.” Their confidence in using this periodic category was in large part a result of the descriptive power of Heinrich Wölfflin’s influential text, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (*The Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art*), published first in 1915.¹ As most readers are likely aware, that essay postulates a decipherable evolution of pictorial, sculptural, and architectural form from the Quattrocento to the Seicento in terms of opposing categories of visual beholding. Two ways of seeing the world manifest themselves in two distinct styles of art, that of the Renaissance and that of the baroque. Wölfflin’s numerous and—once he has called our attention to them—self-evident examples are structured upon contrasting optical modalities: linear versus painterly perception, planar versus recessional spatial articulation, clear versus relatively unclear compositional strategies, and so on. A typical pictorial comparison, say between Leonardo’s High Renaissance depiction of *The Last Supper* (fig. 1), an example of the classic plane style, and Tintoretto’s early baroque illustration of the same subject (fig. 2) or, better yet, Tiepolo’s late baroque interpretation (fig. 3) hinges upon compositional contrasts reiterated throughout the book:

Every picture has recession, but the recession has a very different effect according to whether the space organises itself into planes or is experienced as a homogeneous recessional movement. . . . The great contrast between linear and painterly style corresponds to radically different interests in the world. In the former case, it is the solid figure, in the latter, the changing appearance; in the former, the enduring form, measurable, finite; in the latter, the movement, the form in function; in the former, the thing in itself; in the latter, the thing in its relations. . . . The former represents things as they are, the latter as they seem to be. . . .²

Wölfflin’s subject, then, is one of polarity. He finds stylistic contrasts wherever he looks (not only between historical periods, but at times within the same period, and even within the same painting, as we shall see). Never content simply to describe what he sees, his keen character-

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1. Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*. Milan, Sta. Maria delle Grazie, photo Art Resource/Alinari, New York.

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2. Tintoretto, *The Last Supper*. Venice, S. Giorgio Maggiore, photo Art Resource/Alinari, New York.

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3. Tiepolo, *The Last Supper*. Paris, Louvre, photo Art Resource/Alinari, New York.

izations in the *Principles* are themselves transparently structured upon their own principle of compositional contrast. He is always seeing what something is by what it is not—or what it is about to become.

In this essay, I suggest that Wölfflin's text (quite apart from what he says) could itself be read as an exercise in baroque historiography. It is the way he says what he says that counts. Viewed in this way, the apparent inconsistencies in his philosophy of history, the contrived ambiguities of some of his descriptions, the epistemological conflicts among his texts (which several scholars have previously noted), and, perhaps, even his academic resignation and published retraction of several decades later take on a positive charge.³ To turn the vocabulary back upon its user, Wölfflin is neither a linear nor a planar thinker. The friction generated by his contrasts reifies his Hegelian sense of history as conflict and process, and the dissonance of his choices, deliberately subverting

as they do the classical symmetries under which they make their appearance, reinscribe the formal composition of the baroque works about which he speaks, even when he is talking about High Renaissance art.

Before I pursue that line of argument, however, I would like to insert a tendentious qualification about the often glib use of the word “formalism” when characterizing the kind of art history embodied in *The Principles of Art History*, a text that for generations has been read as a supreme example of the history of art as the history of style. To restrict the scope of Wölfflin’s inquiries into the nature of visual representation to the approbation of “formalist” is to ignore the subtle and varied uses that such commitment to understanding works of art might entail. Martin Warnke, for example, has recently placed *The Principles* back into its historical context in order to suggest that the text’s formalist bias constituted a reaction to the appropriation of culture by German politics during the First World War.⁴ By insisting on the “organizational integrity” of forms of beholding, Wölfflin managed effectively to separate art from the pressure of extrinsic historical forces and made claims, as did contemporary artists, about the autonomy of visual culture. The “icy pathos” of the text, according to Warnke, constitutes an act of resistance to the hegemony of looking at works of art as always reflecting the *zeitgeist* of their times.⁵ Although Warnke’s social history of Wölfflin offers compelling reasons for the book’s challenge to the tradition of contextualist art history, I would suggest that there is more “behind” the formalist plot than a singular “contextualist” explanation implies.

I am interested generally in the way works of art might be construed as syntactical prefigurations of their own historiographic response, and I think the well-known works of both Wölfflin and Jacob Burckhardt offer intriguing examples of that process at work.⁶ Like Wölfflin’s, my subject is also one of contrasts: not just between Burckhardt’s contextualist and Wölfflin’s formalist history of art, but also between Renaissance and baroque art as each of their stories becomes emplotted in the confrontation between Renaissance and baroque historiography. This essay is an inquiry into the possibilities of rhetorical correspondences between the formal compositions of art works from a stylistic period and the compositional configurations of the “classic” texts that have spoken so persuasively about them.

For Wölfflin, it is very nearly irrelevant that Leonardo and Tintoretto, or Tiepolo, for example, painted the same subject; the choice of architecture as the paradigm in his first book, *Renaissance und Barock* (*Renaissance and Baroque*), is ample testimony to his lack of interest

in iconography.⁷ What matters is the evidence for the crystallization on canvas of a particular time-bound, formal apprehension of the world:

Not everything is possible at all times. Vision itself has its history, and the revelation of these visual strata must be regarded as the primary task of art history. . . . But although men have at all times seen what they wanted to see, that does not exclude the possibility that a law remains operative throughout all change. To determine this law would be a central problem, the central problem of a history of art.⁸

This quotation is from 1915, but he was already worrying about the difficulties of such a project in 1898 when he wrote in *Klassische Kunst* (*Classic Art*), “. . . it is probably an easier task to collect running quicksilver than to catch and fix the different impulses which go to make the concept of a mature and complex style.”⁹ Even a decade before in 1888 he had asked the question in *Renaissance and Baroque* that would come to shape his life-long inquiries:

What, first of all, determines the artist’s creative attitude to form? It has been said to be the character of the age he lives in; for the Gothic period, for instance, feudalism, scholasticism, the life of the spirit. But, we still have to find the path that leads from the cell of the scholar to the mason’s yard.¹⁰

This earlier quotation immediately situates our discussion in the context of nineteenth-century cultural history, particularly as it is exemplified by Burckhardt, Wölfflin’s teacher and predecessor at Basel. Wölfflin’s equivocating account of the “double root of style” (his phrase)¹¹ has much to do with both his acceptance of the persuasive logic of Burckhardt’s particular variant of Hegelianism and his rejection of his mentor’s synchronic vision. As the elderly Wölfflin would recall, teacher had once told student that “as a whole the connection of art with general culture is only to be understood loosely and lightly. Art has its own life and history.”¹² “It was this conception of the arts as something existing in their own right which Burckhardt never really worked out”¹³ and that became the motivating force of Wölfflin’s ideas. Given this motivation, the corpus of Wölfflin’s work can be read according to the trope of *tessera* coined by Harold Bloom to explain the “anxiety of influence” often “suffered” by poets:

I take the word not from mosaic-making, where it is still used, but from the ancient mystery cults, where it meant a token of recognition, the fragment

say of a small pot which with the other fragments would reconstitute the vessel. A poet antithetically “completes” his precursor, by so reading the parent-poem as to retain its terms but to mean them in another sense, as though the precursor had failed to go far enough.¹⁴

My argument, though primarily about the way works of art shape the rhetorical strategies of their own historical accounts, is secondarily about the simultaneous shaping that an earlier historical text performs on one that manifestly follows. The “anxiety of influence,” in other words, is an intellectual predicament that itself travels along “double routes.” In all three of his texts with which we are here dealing, Wölfflin is concerned—but notably only in prefaces and conclusions—with the theoretical relationship between extrinsic factors (spirits of the age, cultural ideals, social milieux, etc.) and the intrinsic history of form. Contrary to what most of his readers assume, he never made unrelenting claims for an autonomous formal development. He was too much the student of Burckhardt for that. Wölfflin always worried over (as did his incisive critics, including the young Panofsky)¹⁵ what he had to exclude from his purview:

There is a conception of art-history which sees nothing more in the art than a “translation of Life” . . . into pictorial terms, and which attempts to interpret every style as an expression of the prevailing mood of the age. Who would wish to deny that this is a fruitful way of looking at the matter? Yet it takes us only so far—as far, one might say, as the point at which art begins.¹⁶

Burckhardt, of course, would be far from sympathetic with this thinly veiled indictment of his work. Were he a late twentieth-century theorist, he could even go so far as to claim a deliberate misreading or “misprision,” in Bloom’s terms, on the part of his student.¹⁷ The elder scholar’s 1855 *Cicerone* is a model of triumphant connoisseurship.¹⁸ In this text, which itself contains some of the first references in art history to the style of the baroque, Burckhardt admiringly describes individual works in terms of their formal composition and highlights the stylistic genius of individual masters. Five years later in the *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien (The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy)*, however, his approach has altered considerably.¹⁹ Here Burckhardt reads the great masterpieces of Renaissance art as historical documents, symptomatic of fifteenth-century cultural and social attitudes. He spends little time chronicling their formal genius and, perhaps most

significantly (in terms of what Wölfflin would later advocate, despite the synchronic implications of his prefaces and conclusions), does not write of works of art as if there were some kind of historical force or “law” choreographing their transformation over time. Burckhardt characterized the Renaissance as a harmonic, eternally unchanging whole, whose pictures reveal the beauty and virtues of classical stasis. The past is gone forever, the world of the Quattrocento is now framed by time, and it is incumbent upon the historian simply to gesture towards that age rather than to suggest any possibility of renewal. For Burckhardt, the study of history demands arrested time; for his student Wölfflin, it would always be an inquiry into metamorphosis.

Wölfflin’s essays on the art of a period are inevitably plotted upon a substructure of change. He yearns for the transformative powers of historical evolution and is never content to let the characterization of one period rest secure in and of itself. The one book that would, by its circumscribed title, seem to imply a static historical “period,” *Classic Art*, is itself always watching its own descriptive categories undo themselves, change into something other than they are. For Wölfflin, the Hegelian dialectic provides the template for historical description. One has the sense that he only understands the essence of High Renaissance art—by “classic” he means works produced between 1500 and 1525—by reference to what it is not, that is, not baroque, and vice versa.

In a most insightful essay, Marshall Brown takes this observation to its most radical extension. Though he argues that the compositional principles of the *Principles* are entirely those of classicism—clear and logical presentation, careful discrimination between categories, symmetries that reinforce the argument at every turn, and so on—he is in the end convinced that Wölfflin’s “classic” essay is itself a necessary negation of the idea of the classic:

... the difference, between classic and baroque that rationalizes Wölfflin’s system and that establishes at once their radical opposition and their total identity is quite simply this: that *the classic does not exist*. It never existed and can never have existed, for when the classic comes into existence or manifests itself, it does so in the form of existence, which is the baroque. The classic is the baroque.²⁰

Keeping that paradox intact, we should perhaps heed how Wölfflin himself defined the baroque: “The baroque never offers us perfection and fulfilment, or the static calm of ‘being,’ only the unrest of change

and the tension of transience.”²¹ Movement, change, metamorphosis—all readers discern this straightforward impulse towards diachrony in Wölfflin’s works as well as in his descriptive words. Of course, we might ask, “What else could an historical study do?” Political histories, social histories, intellectual histories are always intent upon watching their objects and attitudes in the process of alteration as they succumb to or overcome a variety of extrinsic pressures. Yet it also must be acknowledged that to apply a diachronic mode of understanding to the formalist description of framed works of art requires some maneuvering. How could one describe the completeness and autonomy of a “great” work of art, in other words, a “masterpiece”—Burckhardt’s manifest project in the *Cicerone*—if at the same time such a connoisseur was aware that the painting was in the process of undoing itself (in current parlance, “deconstructing” before the art historian’s very eyes)? What, for example, would happen to the appreciation of a canonical work such as Raphael’s *School of Athens*?

Perhaps we are getting ahead of ourselves. This is a study in contrast, as I said, and we will only recognize the shift in historiographic consciousness in Wölfflin—following his strategy—if we morphologically categorize the kind of composition that preceded it. Here is Burckhardt on the *School of Athens* (fig. 4):

The wonderfully beautiful hall, which forms the background, [is] not merely a picturesque idea, a consciously intended symbol of the harmony between the powers of the soul and the mind. In such a building one could not but feel happy. Raphael has translated the whole thought and learning of antiquity entirely into lively demonstration and earnest listening. . . . We find in the picture a most excellent arrangement of the teachers, listeners, and spectators, easy movement in the space, richness without crowding, complete harmony of the picturesque and dramatic motives.²²

Harmony, balance, easy movement, symmetry, richness without crowding—these are the virtues of a Renaissance work of art. They are also, by the way, the virtues of Burckhardt’s cultural history of the Renaissance. He is not interested in where this world of images came from (he pays little or no attention to the medieval consciousness) and even less in where they are going. What matters is the fixing and framing, in his own composition, of the timeless ideals of harmony and balance that gave birth to the unity of Renaissance culture.

I have argued elsewhere that the narrative composition of his 1860

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4. Raphael, *The School of Athens*. Rome, Vatican stanze, photo Art Resource/ Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, New York.

Civilization of the Renaissance is derived from Renaissance principles of pictorial composition, specifically those articulated by Leon-Battista Alberti. A connoisseur of Renaissance art, Burckhardt learned from the painters how to look, how to visualize. His text, formally analogous to a painting by Raphael, makes everything appear in proportion, makes everything fit together, leaves nothing out of place. In both cases—that of text and image—the organon through which this panoramic view is systematized, this Albertian graph of space, is above all dependent upon the gaze of a becalmed, external viewer whose directed focus singularly legitimates the arrangement of the rich and abundant details of the optical field. The perspective system originated by Alberti in the middle of the fifteenth century, in this sense, could be construed not just as a painterly device that permits the artist to locate objects spatially in a certain manifest scheme of relationships, but also as a kind of cognitive map for the nineteenth-century cultural historian whose impulse is to relate events, attitudes, and personalities in a coherent, temporal architectonic. It might well be the case that Renaissance paintings pre-

sented Burckhardt with a strategy for representing (re-presenting) the Renaissance; that is, that the works of art of the period compositionally prefigured their own historiographic response.²³

But back to Wölfflin. Does he speak, as well, of symmetries, harmonies, closed forms, tectonic strength, in his description of *The School of Athens*? Well, of course, he must, for two principal reasons: (1) in order to substantiate my claim that works of art compositionally predict their own histories (!), and (2) because these are the very attributes with which he distinguishes Renaissance sensibilities from those of the baroque. But does he also freeze this world irrevocably in place, or do the Renaissance works upon which he casts his eye frequently suggest the possibility of a spring thaw? And where do we locate his position as an historian? Here is an excerpt from a lengthy passage on Raphael's painting from *Classic Art*. In addition to the many references to change, note also how the use of contrasts is so frequently employed, even if they are posed only to be resolved into harmonies:

It is clear that Raphael himself had developed and become more inventive, for the situations are more sharply characterised, the gestures more telling, and the figures more easily remembered. . . . The two Princes of Philosophy stand side by side in noble calm; the one with arm outstretched, whose hand, palm down makes a sweeping gesture over the earth is Aristotle, . . . the other, Plato, with uplifted finger points heavenwards. We do not know what inspired Raphael to characterise the opposite qualities of the two personalities in this way. . . . The group around Pythagoras is still more interesting. A man in profile sits writing on a low seat, with one foot on a stool; and behind him are other figures pressing forward and leaning over him—a whole garland of curves. . . . Analysis of the fresco should not stop short at single figures, for Raphael's rendering of movement in individual figures is a lesser achievement than the skill with which he builds up his groups and there is nothing in earlier art which can in any way be compared with this polyphony. . . . It is by figures like these that we must measure Raphael's progress. . . . Around the central figures symmetry reigns, but this is relaxed on one side to allow the upper mass to stream unsymmetrically down the steps and destroy the equilibrium, which is again restored by the asymmetry of the foreground groups. . . . Here the relationship between the figures and the space they occupy is thought of in an entirely new way.²⁴

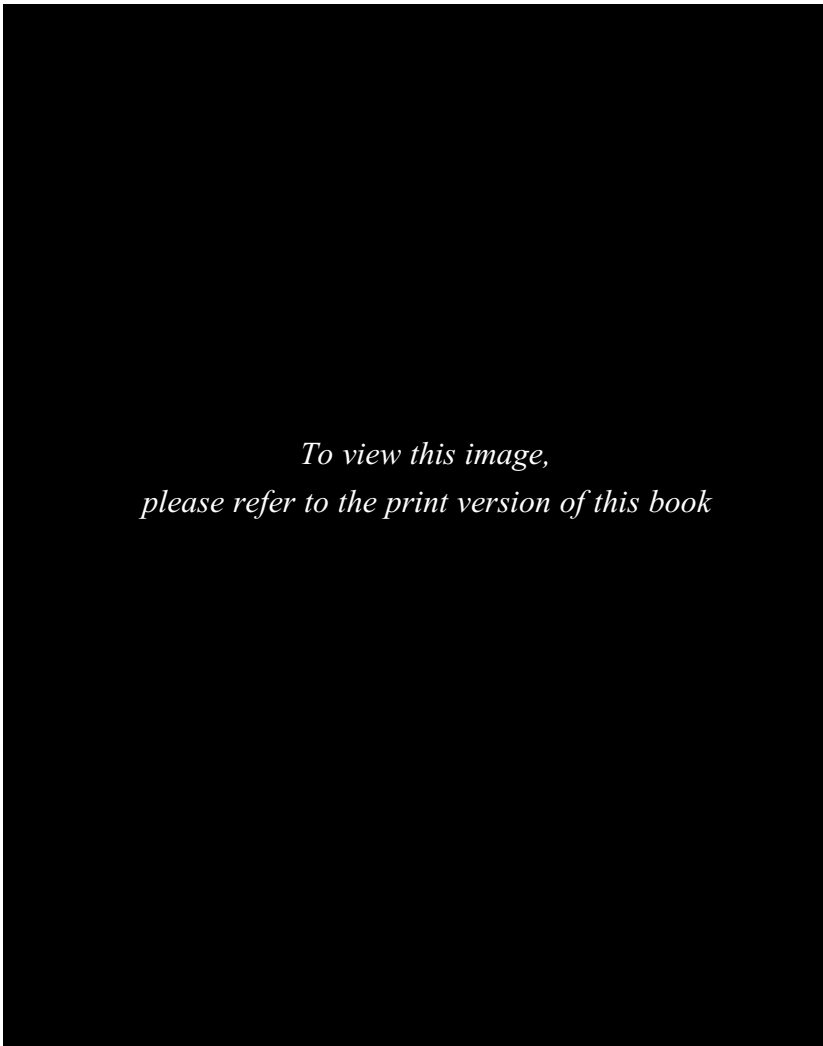
The breathless suggestion here of anticipation, of something that will yet come to be, is undeniable. Terms such as progress, movement, poly-

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5. Rubens, *The Raising of the Cross*. Antwerp Cathedral, photo Art Resource/Alinari, New York.

phony, increase, asymmetry, inventiveness, abound. I suggest the inevitable: Wölfflin is reading his images retrospectively. Having abandoned his mandated position as the fixed observer on the other side of a Renaissance perspective painting, Wölfflin has scurried forward, surveyed the course of art history, and then circled round behind to find predicted in the Renaissance the compositional tendencies that are reified in the baroque. In other words, the pre-eminence of the baroque has shaped his recitation of the classic.

The baroque, and here I offer the visual analogue of Rubens' *Raising of the Cross* (fig. 5), "never offers us perfection and fulfilment, or the static calm of 'being,' only the unrest of change and the tension of transience."²⁵ What views the historian catches are necessarily oblique ones, for the flux of visual experience permits no stasis, no fixed perspective on the subject. The experience of baroque art is designed to overwhelm. With this observation, he interjects, we have hit the "nerve-centre" of the new style (for example, fig. 6, Gaulli's fresco in the Church of the Gesu in Rome):



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6. Giovanni Battista Gaulli (Baciccio), *Adoration of the Name of Jesus*. Rome, Church of the Gesu, photo Art Resource/Alinari, New York.

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7. Raphael, *The Expulsion of Heliodorus*. Rome, Vatican, photo Art Resource/Alinari, New York.

It is . . . in the church alone that it finds full expression. . . . The comprehensible is refused, the imagination demands to be overpowered. It is a kind of intoxication with which baroque architecture fills us. . . . We are consumed by an all-embracing sensation of heaviness, helpless to grasp anything, wishing to yield totally to the infinite.²⁶

But that sentiment is just what it should be, for “what is regular is dead, without movement, unpainterly.”²⁷ Even Raphael, the most “classic” of painters, is always painting works that generate a creative tension between what they are and what they might be. “How unlimited and inscrutable is the spatial structure of *The Expulsion of Heliodorus* [fig. 7] compared with the *School of Athens*! [fig. 4],” both, of course, painted by Raphael:²⁸

For the public of that time, the greatest surprise must have been the way in which Raphael disposed his scenes, since no one was accustomed to any other arrangement than that of setting the principal action in the centre of the picture, yet here there is a great void in the middle, with the

decisive action taking place at the extreme edge. . . . People at that date must really have felt that they were actually watching the sudden miracle taking place.²⁹

Once again, we return in this quotation to a perceptual world in flux, to an artistic form in the process of unwinding or unmaking itself. Because the description of Raphael's *Heliodorus*, like the painting itself, is organized according to the mandates of elegantly balanced oppositions, it might be identified as an exercise in a classic mode of apprehension. Again, the structure of Wölfflin's text is patently symmetrical, but with a twist. The symmetries are articulated only to serve as a prelude to the inevitable struggle towards asymmetry. The equipoise between the oppositions, as Wölfflin describes them, is always on the verge of being undermined. Opened up, he claims, is "a great void in the middle." Anticipating the baroque, Raphael has used his oppositions as parenthetical marks enframing a void, an emptiness between. What matters is not so much the contrasts themselves as the active and activating difference that has arisen between them. It is a space of difference—not the space that stable objects occupy, but the unfilled space between things. He has problematized the notion of contrast as well as the notion of an objective historical viewpoint, for he (Raphael, or Wölfflin?) will not let oppositions stabilize themselves. The shifting world of appearances demands that differences, unfilled space, will always be evidence of unresolved conflicts that propel the course of history onwards.

The driving inner factor, Wölfflin implied in the 1933 revision of his ideas, is the regenerative effect of picture upon picture, of form on form.³⁰ Each form of beholding presupposes a previous one. Oppositions are established only so that the friction between them opens up a space of difference; the possibility of closure is always negated. Such a characterization, of course, makes Wölfflin a distinctly "modern" thinker, in the tradition of Nietzsche, Heidegger, Derrida, all of whom have argued that the Western philosophical project of finding identity—to saying something, that is, that is identical to "Truth"—is to miss the fact that identity is always based on difference; that identity always has difference and absence within it. Even the apparent lawfulness of a high classic painting by Raphael hovers on the edge of unlawfulness as it struggles to cope with "the great void within the middle," as Wölfflin called it.

The language of art and artifice inevitably invades the historical imagination. The fluidity, the emphasis on the shifting perceptual world, the

lack of absolutes that Wölfflin finds so characteristic of the baroque imagination are also characteristic of his imagining of the baroque. Hence, as readers we need not worry excessively about ambiguities or inconsistencies in Wölfflin's own work—for example, the focusing on the temperament and personality of the Renaissance genius at the same time as he claims to be writing an art history without names, or his clearly shifting position on the relationship between inward and outward histories of form. “Just as we can hear all kinds of words into the ringing of bells,” he said in 1915, “so we can arrange the visible world in very different ways for ourselves, and nobody can say that one way is truer than the other.”³¹ Incommensurability is the signature of the baroque historian as surely as it is the hallmark of a baroque work of art.

Bearing this in mind, recall the conclusion of the first passage quoted from Wölfflin, the comparison between the two *Last Suppers*, but this time consider it as though it were a description of the formal contrast between Burckhardt's harmonious vision of the Renaissance and Wölfflin's inevitably baroque point of view. In the case of the Renaissance, he said, “it is the solid figure, in the latter, the changing appearance [that matters]: in the former, the enduring form, measurable, finite; in the latter, the movement, the form in function; in the former, the thing in itself; in the latter, the thing in its relations. . . . The former represents things as they are, the latter as they seem to be. . . .” As Brown says, “On the one side, we have absence, rest, law, silence, death; on the other, presence, movement, freedom, voice, life. It could hardly be clearer that in affective terms Wölfflin's sympathies are entirely with the baroque.”³²

My task here, however, has been to assign primacy to the thought rather than to the thinker. Taking my cue from Wölfflin, I pose the possibility of an “anonymous history of the history of art.”³³ My argument is that historical artifacts, particularly visual ones, are themselves always laboring, more or less successfully, to systematize their own historical accounts, as signs producing other signs.

Yet the “double root” of my inquiry has also led to the suggestion that histories of art can and do shape their own historiographic successors, as is the case with Burckhardt and Wölfflin. Clearly, we cannot forsake naming altogether. Historiography, like art, possesses its own inward history. Implicit in Wölfflin's analysis is the claim that the artists of the baroque are always repainting the Renaissance in their own terms. Changes in perception can only be plotted against previous states of affairs. To be faithful to his own “principles,” Wölfflin's texts can be read as exercises in baroque historiography only if they are morphologi-

cally posed in opposition to the formal, classical, symmetrical ideology of works that came before. Clearly his life-long preoccupation with resisting or redoing the paradigmatic cultural histories of his predecessor (both as teacher and chair of art history at Basel) has parallels here.³⁴ In Bloom's terms, Burckhardt's Renaissance provided the *tesserae* for Wölfflin's baroque: "Strong poets make . . . history by misreading one another, so as to clear imaginative space for themselves."³⁵

To take this concatenation of rhetorical resonances—between works of art and their histories, between histories and their historiographic successors—to its most extreme extension is also necessarily to call my own analysis into question. The schematic of this essay has itself been compelled to replicate the dialectical movements of Wölfflin's imagining of the baroque. On the one hand, the binary modes of his stylistic contrasts and comparisons between Renaissance and baroque works of art have become transformed here into stylistic contrasts and comparisons between Renaissance and baroque histories in order to emphasize the way in which works of art exert a stylistic grip on their subsequent accounts. On the other hand, Wölfflin's characterization of a "double root of style" (by which he meant intrinsic and extrinsic causes, with an ideological emphasis on the intrinsic) has itself suggested a way of reading the configuration of the *Principles* as not only indebted to the compositional strategies of baroque works of art but also to the rhetoric of his historiographic predecessors, Burckhardt in particular. Wölfflin's imagining of the baroque, in other words, presents such a compelling and enduring historiographic scheme that it is difficult to escape its obsessive lure of always making something become other than what it first appeared to be.

NOTES

An earlier version of this essay appeared in *Kongress-Akten* (Wölfenbuttel, 1991).

1. *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst* (Munich, 1915), or *Principles of Art History: The Problem of Style in Later Art*, trans. M. D. Hottinger (1932; reprint, New York, 1950). Future references are to the translation.

2. *Ibid.*, 20, 27, 82, 87–88. Stylistically speaking, Tintoretto's painting is Mannerist. Although Wölfflin compares it to Leonardo's *Last Supper*, he remarks that Tiepolo's interpretation of the same subject yields an even more dramatic comparison.

3. His own tempered revision appeared as "Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Eine Revision," *Logos* 22 (1933): 210–18. Martin Warnke refers to the mystery surrounding his "inexplicable resignation" of his academic chair in Munich in 1924 and his desire to return to Switzerland in "On Heinrich Wölfflin," *Representations* 27 (Summer 1989): 172–87. See also Joseph Gantner, *Heinrich Wölfflin, 1864–1945: Autobiographie, Tagebücher, und Briefe* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1982); Meinhold Lurz, *Heinrich Wölfflin: Biographie einer Kunsttheorie* (Worms, 1981); Joan Hart, "Reinterpreting Wölfflin: NeoKantianism and Hermeneutics," *Art Journal* 42 (Winter 1982): 292–300; Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven, 1982); and Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History* (Ithaca and London, 1984).

4. Warnke, "On Heinrich Wölfflin."

5. *Ibid.*, 177, 178.

6. My discussion of "prefiguration" owes much to Hayden White. See, for example, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1974), and *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978).

7. *Renaissance und Barock* (Munich, 1888), or *Renaissance and Baroque*, trans. K. Simon (Ithaca, 1964). Future references are to the translation.

8. *Principles*, 11, 17.

9. *Die klassische Kunst: Eine Einführung in die italienische Renaissance* (Munich, 1899), or *Classic Art: An Introduction to the Italian Renaissance*, 8th ed., trans. Peter Murray and Linda Murray (Ithaca, 1952), 251. Future references are to the translation.

10. *Renaissance and Baroque*, 76–77.

11. *Classic Art*, 287.

12. *Renaissance and Baroque*, 2. Murray cites this letter in his introduction from Burckhardt's unpublished lecture notes as quoted by Wölfflin in *Gedanken zur Kunstgeschichte* (1941), and remarks that Wölfflin realizes that this advice seems to contradict most of Burckhardt's work. See also "Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Eine Revision."

13. Peter Murray, introduction to *Renaissance and Baroque*, 2.

14. Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford, 1973), 14.

15. See Panofsky, "Das Problem des Stils in der bildenden Kunst," *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 10 (1915): 460–67.

16. *Classic Art*, 287.

17. Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence*, 5: "But nothing is got for nothing, and self-appropriation involves the immense anxieties of indebtedness, for what strong maker desires the realization that he has failed to create himself?"

18. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens* (1855), 4th ed., ed. Wilhelm Bode (Leipzig, 1879); or *The Cicerone: An Art Guide to Painting in Italy for the Use of Travellers and Students*, trans. A. H. Clough (New York, 1908). Future references are to the translation.

19. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), 2 vols., ed. Benjamin Nelson and Charles Trinkaus (1929; reprint, New York, 1958).

20. "The Classic Is the Baroque: On the Principle of Wölfflin's Art History," *Critical Inquiry* 9 (December 1982): 397.

21. *Renaissance and Baroque*, 62.

22. *Cicerone*, 151.

23. Holly, "Burckhardt and the Ideology of the Past," *History of Human Sciences* 1 (Summer 1988): 47–73; and "Past Looking," *Critical Inquiry* 16 (Winter 1990): 371–96. The concept of prefiguration is Hayden White's (see footnote 3). See also Peter Gay, *Style in History* (New York, 1974); and Karl Weintraub, *Visions of Culture* (Chicago, 1966).

24. *Classic Art*, 93–96.

25. *Renaissance and Baroque*, 62.

26. *Ibid.*, 86.

27. *Ibid.*, 32.

28. *Ibid.*, 34.

29. *Classic Art*, 101–2.

30. "Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Eine Revision."

31. *Principles*, 29.

32. Brown, *The Classic Is the Baroque*, 394.

33. This phrase comes from the original preface to the 1915 edition of *Principles*.

34. Warnke emphasizes that "everywhere it was common practice to embed art in cultural history, to project an association between art and the reigning will, or reigning conceptual currents," and he cites the influence of Hermann Grimm and Wilhelm Dilthey in particular, "On Heinrich Wölfflin," 176. My focus here has been almost exclusively on Burckhardt.

35. Bloom, *Anxiety of Influence*, 5.