





At the start let me point out how difficult it is to determine how well a scholarly work is received. Art history has long since dealt with the reception of antiquities by artists, a part of reception. Production, distribution, and reception make up the three major research areas in art history. In general, "reception" is determined through similar repetitions of previously existing works or content. Reception mainly appears to be thought of as an active process of acceptance, in contrast to "influence," which assumes a passive recipient. Both notions about the reception of content and form suffer from an imprecise presumption of "historical context." In 1985 Michael Baxandall criticized "influence" as a hollow concept.<sup>1</sup> And for reception, criticism and systematic supplementation through historical explanation are largely lacking.

An investigation of processes of reception should include a search for indicators, criteria, and terms that make conclusions and qualifications possible.<sup>2</sup> In the case of *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe (Principles of Art History)*, the reviews, the print runs, and the translations provide initial indications that then lead to chronology, geographical dissemination, and the names of people involved.<sup>3</sup> For example, it was only in 1952 that a literature professor in Geneva and his wife, Marcel and Claire Raymond, translated the work into French. The book was published in Paris by Plon, and three further editions would also appear in France.<sup>4</sup> Does it make sense to distinguish among national receptions given that Marcel Raymond was a professor of French literature at the University of Geneva and the translation of Wölfflin appeared in France? From its late appearance one must

not conclude that French art historians became aware of the book only in 1952.<sup>5</sup> A Wölfflin work was available in Paris as early as 1911 with the translation into French of his *Klassische Kunst* by Conrad von Mandach, then curator of Bern's Musée des Beaux-Arts.<sup>6</sup>

As for *Principles*, it has been widely noted that fields other than art history adopted its terms and method.<sup>7</sup> One example was provided by the Swiss archaeologist Arnold von Salis, who had studied under Wölfflin in Berlin, earned his doctorate there with a dissertation on Attic comedy, and was awarded a lecturership (*Privatdozentur*) in Bonn on the basis of a habilitation on the Pergamon Altar. In 1919 he published in Leipzig *Die Kunst der Griechen*.<sup>8</sup> In it he dispensed with notes, thinking that scholars would have no need of them and that laymen would find them an imposition. Accordingly, Wölfflin is not even mentioned. However, the archaeologist's demands that "the attempt at a systematic arrangement has to accompany an explanation of historical development" and that "the inner principles of development" need to be identified are close borrowings from Wölfflin.<sup>9</sup> There is also, as in the latter, a skepticism with regard to illustrations as inadequate substitutions for the original works.<sup>10</sup>

One of the transpositions of Wölfflin into another field was Fritz Strich's *Deutsche Klassik und Romantik*, first published in 1922.<sup>11</sup> Strich, who had earned his doctorate in Munich with a dissertation on Franz Grillparzer, had applied Wölfflin's terms to literary study as early as 1916, and on Wölfflin's recommendation assumed the chair in German literature at the University of Bern in 1929. For the first chapter

Hermann Hubacher, *Ganymede*, bronze, 1952, Zurich, Bürkliplatz, signed *Schenkung Heinrich Wölfflin*

Photographer unknown

1. Edwin Scharff, *Heinrich Wölfflin*, 1923, bronze  
University of Zurich, Institute of Art History; author photograph



2. Hermann Haller, *Heinrich Wölfflin*, 1924, bronze  
University of Zurich, Institute of Art History; author photograph



of *Deutsche Klassik und Romantik*, titled “Grundbegriffe,” Strich wrote: “No one will have failed to note how greatly this book is indebted to the art-historical considerations of Heinrich Wölfflin and especially his *Principles*.” The author argued for their validity in the humanities in general.<sup>12</sup> In his first chapter, to be sure, Strich undertook to oppose the “constantly repeated division of human thought into two directions,” in Wölfflin into classic and baroque, with the thesis “eternity is... the highest principle

of human culture.”<sup>13</sup> Strich’s admiration for Wölfflin was such that in 1956 he would call him, in somewhat high-flown terms, “my only teacher and master.”<sup>14</sup> The book *Grundbegriffe der Poetik* by the Zurich Germanist Emil Staiger, published in 1946, could be considered an amendment to Wölfflin, whose lectures the author had attended as a student in 1927/1928.<sup>15</sup>

Friedrich Rintelen provides an example of a negative reception. In 1914 he succeeded Ernst Heidrich in the Basel chair that Wölfflin had held until 1901. After earning his doctorate in Munich with a work on Leibniz in 1902, Rintelen became an art historian and was promoted to lecturer at the University of Berlin in 1909, his qualifying work overseen by Wölfflin. His book *Giotto und die Giotto-Apokryphen* appeared in 1911.<sup>16</sup> Wölfflin is only mentioned in Rintelen’s obituary for Ernst Heidrich: “It is clear how important the impact of Wölfflin’s strict formality on Heidrich’s essentially very flexible nature must have been, but it was no less certain from the beginning that Heidrich could not be completely absorbed in Wölfflin.” According to Rintelen, in his dissertation on Dürer Heidrich had “applied only the theory of Wölfflin, not his way of thinking,” since he was himself “above all totally Heidrich.”<sup>17</sup> In the view of his own pupil Georg Schmidt, this problem common to all pupils had made Rintelen defensive: “Whereas Wölfflin generalized stylistic epochs using terms whose generality is ever in danger of no longer expressing anything essential, Rintelen not only atomized eras and within eras individual artists, but also in the individual artist every single work.”<sup>18</sup> After that there cannot have been much left.

It would be nearly impossible to determine the degree to which Wölfflin’s *Principles* was adopted in university teaching in Switzerland. Lists of courses at the universities of Basel, Bern, Freiburg, and Zurich up to 1945 do not include any course titles that could be related to Wölfflin.<sup>19</sup> Discussion of Wölfflin’s work could of course be subsumed under titles like “Art-Historical Exercises,” or under the numerous lectures on Italian

painting, the Renaissance, or the baroque. Hanspeter Landolt, professor of art history at the University of Basel from 1965 to 1985, relates that he based his undergraduate seminar on Wölfflin's book every year.

Results of a brief survey of the public reception based only on Switzerland's most important newspaper, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, are altogether disappointing. The name Heinrich Wölfflin was first mentioned in 1889 in connection with his little book on Salomon Gessner, then again in 1899 on the appearance of *Die klassische Kunst*. In 1901 his appointment to a professorship in Berlin was noted, in 1910 his elevation to privy councillor, and in 1911 there was one article on his maiden speech to the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften and another on his appointment in Munich. His numerous lectures in Switzerland were reported on, as well as his memorial speech for Heidrich in 1914. In 1921 Wölfflin's small book *Das Erklären von Kunstwerken* was advertised, and beginning in 1923 there were comments on his appointment in Zurich. Between 1888 and 1924 Wölfflin's name appeared fifty-five times in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, but the first mention of *Principles* was on July 13, 1924, in a review of Franz Landsberger's monograph on Wölfflin by the editor T. (Hans Trog).<sup>20</sup> The conclusion: the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* took no interest in *Principles* until 1924, when the book was in its sixth edition. An analogous search of the *Tribune de Genève* archive netted no results.

### Zurich (1924–1945)

In 1924 Wölfflin left the University of Munich and took up the personal chair that was offered to him by the University of Zurich.<sup>21</sup> The universities of Basel and Bern had attempted to lure him back to Switzerland in 1919 and 1920,<sup>22</sup> and negotiations in 1923 had convinced him to pursue his teaching there. His appointment to the art history chair in Zurich, dated October 18, 1923, set the starting date as April 16, 1924, called for a teaching load of four to five hours a week,

and guaranteed an annual salary of 10,000 francs.<sup>23</sup>

Writing that year in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Otto Grautoff sought to justify Wölfflin's departure from Munich, perceived as a kind of desertion.<sup>24</sup> Grautoff, who had received his doctorate at the University of Bern with a dissertation on Nicolas Poussin, became a mediator between Germany and France in the 1920s with his monthly journal *Deutsch-Französische Rundschau*. He reminded readers of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* that Wölfflin came from Switzerland, with its multiple languages, thanks to which the "Swiss mindset" was permeated with Latin notions. He suspected that Wölfflin had adopted from France the habit of introducing a work with a thesis and ending it with a conclusion, just as he had a style of writing that emulated "the short sentences of French thinkers with their even flow of syllables."<sup>25</sup>

From Munich Wölfflin took with him to Zurich the portrait bust by Edwin Scharff he had received as a parting gift from his students (fig. 1).<sup>26</sup> In Zurich the sculptor Hermann Haller also produced a portrait commissioned by friends and admirers (fig. 2). Needless to say, Wölfflin applied to the two his method of comparative analysis: "The Scharff bust... is a truly outstanding work... [I]t is a daily admonition to improvement, for it exerts an authority that goes beyond nature. Pity that it now enters into competition with Haller: I fear that in the comparison the latter suffers."<sup>27</sup> The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* compared Scharff's bust, with its "highly effective exaltation into the lordly, heroic," with Haller's, which presents "such an uncommonly humane, expressive figuration of the head."<sup>28</sup> The modest and somewhat softer Haller portrait appealed to the reviewer more than the archaistic, angular work by Scharff.

For his sixtieth birthday Wölfflin was presented with a festschrift by his friends and pupils, as well as an impressive encomium from Erwin Panofsky.<sup>29</sup> Sigfried Giedion discussed the festschrift in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of July 13, 1924, and at the



3. Haus zum Sihlgarten, Talacker  
39, Zurich (1829)  
*Wikimedia Commons*

4. Michael Stettler, c. 1935  
*Private collection*



same time the editor Hans Trog reported on the monograph by Landsberger and its support of Wölfflin's notion "that to the expressive component as one root of change in style a second has to be added that remains

independent of the particular atmosphere of the time."<sup>30</sup>

This became Wölfflin's central focus in his Zurich years.<sup>31</sup> He gave lectures before large audiences, to be sure, but he had no pupils, for he oversaw only a single dissertation.<sup>32</sup> Only much later would Wölfflin confess that his teaching in Zurich was not very satisfying, despite its "numerical success": "I soon recognized that the connection to the students that had automatically been established at the various universities in Germany failed to develop."<sup>33</sup> In his inaugural lecture on June 14, 1924, "Die geschichtliche Betrachtung der Kunst" (The historical consideration of art), Wölfflin discussed the relationship between art history and other disciplines and literary texts. He called for a history of the eye, since this organ occupied "such an important place in the creation of a worldview as orientation in life."<sup>34</sup> He introduced the same theme once again in the essay "Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Eine Revision," which appeared in the German journal *Logos* in 1933.<sup>35</sup> That essay begins with the thesis that any "historical consideration of art" gives rise to the danger of "allowing what is specific to art...to wither away." Placing the "specific" at the center of the discipline of art history, explaining it from its own presuppositions, and studying the inherent laws in its development as well as the way it is determined by "folk character" were Wölfflin's central concerns.

On Wölfflin's seventieth birthday the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* published a two-page spread with congratulations from Ricarda Huch, Julius von Schlosser, Otto Grautoff, Ludwig Justi, Joseph Gantner, Willy Fries, and Gotthard Jedlicka.<sup>36</sup> The *Basler Zeitung* followed with encomiums from Walter Ueberwasser and Sigfried Giedion.<sup>37</sup> A few days later the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* published a report on Wölfflin's retirement ceremony at the University of Zurich.<sup>38</sup> It particularly emphasized that the distinguished professor had asserted that his most urgent task was "to combat with all his energy the excessive tributes to him

5. Hermann Hubacher, *Heinrich Wölfflin*, 1944, bronze  
University of Zurich, Institute of Art History; photograph by SIK-ISEA, Zürich (Philipp Hitz)

appearing in letters and publications.” He denied being a “great art historian,” for he had uncovered no new material and had held himself “deliberately aloof” from the history of ideas. All that he could claim was having worked out “specific laws in the development of fine art.” His modesty was capricious, for the claim of having worked out art’s developmental laws was the most one could have hoped for in the first decades of the twentieth century.

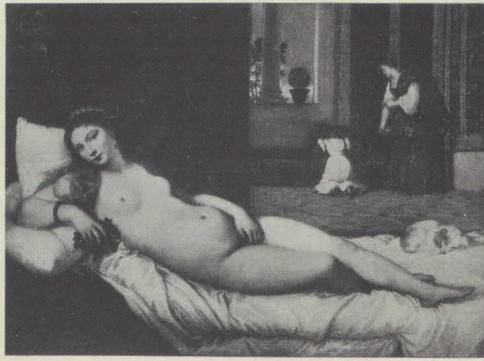
After withdrawing from teaching and to a great extent from public life, Wölfflin found himself somewhat isolated, despite continuing veneration and the many visitors who found their way to his apartment in the Haus Sihlgarten at Talacker 39 in Zurich (fig. 3). The house, built in 1826–1829 by Hans Conrad Stadler, was especially pleasing to Wölfflin, who considered it a model of “simple, precise, and comprehensible form”; in 1933 he described it as follows: “The house stands there, crystal hard and crystal clear as a sharp-edged white cube.”<sup>39</sup> Years later one of his visitors, the young architect and art historian Michael Stettler (fig. 4), wrote of his impressions on meeting Wölfflin in the autumn of 1940 and from repeated visits up until 1944. Stettler stepped into the “urbane scholar’s room with the Titian copy,” where Wölfflin sat at a “sarcophagus-like writing table,” and rose before the young visitor “to towering height” or to full “privy councillor, professorial” dignity.<sup>40</sup> Stettler also witnessed a visit to Wölfflin by Max Planck, from Berlin.

Wölfflin’s eightieth birthday was marked by publication of the festschrift *Concinnitas: Beiträge zum Problem des Klassischen*, which alluded to Wölfflin’s engagement with Leon Battista Alberti. Its contributions came from the most varied disciplines.<sup>41</sup> Former pupils commissioned a portrait bust from the sculptor Hermann Hubacher, but Wölfflin shied away from a third sculptural immortalization (fig. 5). Before sitting for it he quizzed the sculptor: “Aren’t you too good for such work; and is it really rewarding to immortalize a head that exhibits the most obvious signs of decline?”<sup>42</sup> In January



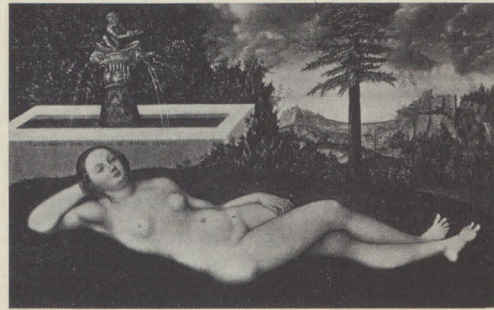
1944 Wölfflin appeared in the sculptor’s atelier, and in 1964, on the occasion of the centennial of the art historian’s birth, Hubacher published the entries in his diary about the portrait sittings.<sup>43</sup>

On January 30, 1942, Wölfflin asked the sculptor what the cost would be for a sculpture he was thinking of presenting to the city of Zurich: “It would have to be a *male* figure (Zurich already has a quantity of female ones) and indeed one of *strength*, so that the regularity of his physique comes through, disciplined beauty! The architectural setting would also have to be very severe.”<sup>44</sup> In 1944 Wölfflin wrote a few lines to Hubacher: “I am still pleading for a freestanding figure next to the lake, to my mind a male figure would have to be placed there.”<sup>45</sup> In 1952 the sculpture *Ganymede* (essay frontispiece) was installed on the shore of Lake Zurich.<sup>46</sup>



62. Tizian, Venus (Florenz)

Wir greifen zunächst auf zwei Bilder des vorigen Kapitels zurück, die stehenden weiblichen Aktfiguren des Franciabigio und des Baldung Grien (Abb. 58 und 59). Die Verschiedenheit des Eindrucks im Sinne der stillen und der lauten Form wird von niemandem geleugnet werden, wesentlich aber ist nicht der andere Körperbau, etwa der auffällig hohe Bauch bei Baldung, sondern die Art wie der Deutsche die Funktion in der Form wirksam werden läßt. Man sieht das schon in der Wendung des Kopfes, im Achselgelenk, im durchgedrückten Knie, aber auch die scheinbar unbewegte Form ist hier durchweg mit Spannung geladen, so daß die Schenkel, ein herabhängender Arm ein ganz anderes Aussehen gewinnen. Auch bei dem Bauch ist es weniger die Rundung an sich als die Funktion des Vorspringens, die der deutschen Zeichnung ihren Nerv gibt. Wie still ist die Plastik des italienischen Körpers und wie einleuchtend ihr Zusammenhang mit der lässigen Bewegung! Und so das Bildganze: es ist der Unterschied des ruhig fließenden italienischen Ornaments und der drangvolleren deutschen Ranke.



63. L. Cranach d. Ä., Quellennympe, 1518 (Leipzig)

Als neue Bilder bringen wir an dieser Stelle den liegenden Akt, wie ihn Giorgione und Tizian\* gesehn haben, und als deutsche Parallele dazu ein Bild von Cranach\*, das kaum ohne Zusammenhang mit solchen italienischen Vorbildern entstanden ist und darum für die Vergleichung um so instruktiver sein mag. Der individuelle Gegensatz zwischen Cranach und Baldung tritt vollkommen zurück vor der durchgehenden nationalen Gleichheit des Formgefühls. Kein Zweifel, erst das 16. Jahrhundert hat diese lange ruhige Linie bei Tizian (und Giorgione) reifen lassen, das Quattrocento ist kurzatmiger, aber die zappelnde Form Cranachs bedeutet für uns trotzdem eine „Hochrenaissance“ und nicht eine bloße Vorstufe. Die Behandlung der gekreuzten Beine mit den gespreizten Zehen ist ungemein charakteristisch. Wir möchten dabei aber nicht nur auf den Unterschied des Bewegungsmotivs hingewiesen haben — die vornehm lässig gestreckten Beine dort und das Übereinanderschlagen der Beine hier, wo die Kreuzung oberhalb der Knie stattfindet —, der tiefere Gegensatz liegt in der Auffassung der Form als solcher, so daß der Leib in allen seinen Teilen von andern Spannungen erfüllt erscheint als bei Tizian. Und dieses andere Leben wird sich natürlich auch im Bildganzen widerspiegeln.

Wölfflin, Italien

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6. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Kunst der Renaissance: Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1931), 144–145

### Complementary Self-Reception

With the essay “Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl,” reprinted in 1924 in the Swiss journal *Das Werk*, Wölfflin announced his renewed presence in art history in Switzerland.<sup>47</sup> Expanding this essay into a book was what mainly occupied him up until 1931.<sup>48</sup> The book, published as *Die Kunst der Renaissance: Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl* and subsequently in English as *The Sense of Form in Art* (fig. 6), was conceived as a counterpart to *Principles*. In 1921, in *Das Erklären von Kunstwerken*, Wölfflin had assigned to the historian the task of giving to the isolated work “context and atmosphere.” He called the “artist’s entire oeuvre” the “most fruitful” field of study, from which one obtains the notion

of an artistic personality, the characterization of which has to be compared with contemporaries in order to discover how his individuality relates to the “typical genre of the generation.”<sup>49</sup> Wölfflin proposed that artists of a given generation conform in their “essential features,” and that these features constitute a “generational character.” This was followed by the further assumption that for all the changes in styles there is something constant, “something enduring, a national way of creating form that adheres to the specific landscape, and that allows one to speak in general of a German or Italian type of construction.”

In *Principles* Wölfflin wished to deal with “the internal history, the natural history of art so to speak, not with problems of the



7. Serge Libiszewski, Hans Finsler, Teacher of Photography 1932–1958, 1951  
Zurich University of the Arts, Archives; photograph © 2019, ProLitteris, Zurich

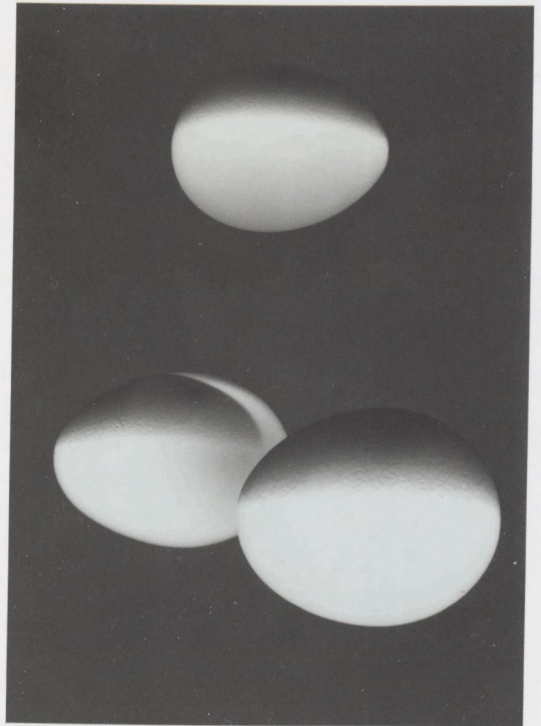
8. Hans Finsler, *Drei Eier Negativ*, 1950  
Kunstmuseum Moritzburg Halle (Saale); photograph estate of Hans Finsler

histories of artists.”<sup>50</sup> To set his work apart from biographical studies, Wölfflin used the expression “art history without names,” which was seen as a provocation.<sup>51</sup> When preparing the fourth edition in 1920, he felt the need to assure readers that he had never doubted the “value of the individual” but brought to his presentation only what lay “beneath” the individual.<sup>52</sup>

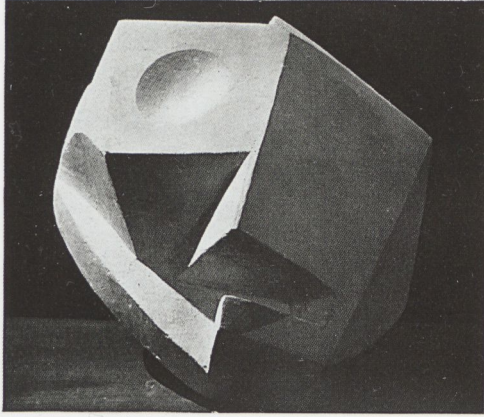
As in *Principles of Art History*, in *The Sense of Form in Art* Wölfflin had no desire to write about artists, or even expressly about art; his subject was “the basic sense of form,” or the “premises of art.”<sup>53</sup> Explaining these was his central concern: in *Principles* it was the shift from the Renaissance to the baroque, in *The Sense of Form in Art* it was the realities of ethnicity or race, defined territorially. In both cases it was a matter of the determination of artistic figures “beneath the individual” — on the one hand owing to the law of development and on the other “laws of race.” Wölfflin worked all his life on this hypothesis of a matrix beneath the individual that determines the artistic activity of all individuals of a given time and a given “people.” To this extent *Principles* and *The Sense of Form in Art* complement each other like time and space.

Wölfflin was perhaps only partially aware of the snares that came with any discussion of a “national” sense of form, for he considered only the difficulty of the approach, not the ideological problem. The issue of ethnic differences (the collective “nature” or character of a people) had become a veritable obsession in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, most notably in the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*. Anthropology influenced German-language writing on art in two important ways: the inclusion of racial theories in the definition of national character and the adoption of “evolution” and “evolutionary history.”<sup>54</sup>

Was Wölfflin hoping with his book from 1931 to retrieve the issue of German nationality from its ideological appropriation by ethnic psychology? Wilhelm Schlink has



noted a “shying away from nationalistic tendencies on the part of the author”: “Just as he rejected, beyond consideration of form, all approaches to the interpretation of art, art epochs, and changes in art based on cultural history, he also held himself aloof from any racial, nationalistic misuse of the



A. Giacometti: Tête 1931 (plâtre), Paris.



S. Brignoni: Tête 1935 (marbre), Meudon.

9. Carola Giedion-Welcker, *Moderne Plastik: Elemente der Wirklichkeit, Masse und Auflockerung* (Zurich: H. Ginsberger, 1937), 82–83

German sense of form.”<sup>55</sup> Yet Wölfflin’s theses were readily subject to misinterpretation. This is evident from the reaction of Julius von Schlosser in Vienna, who in 1934 situated Wölfflin’s book between blood and veins, tribal history and race: “For it is about the engagement of the artistically sensitive German, beginning with Albrecht Dürer, and now here of a biracial Swiss, with the heritage of a southern, Romanic, specifically Italian essence that has lain in our blood since the beginning of our entire tribal history, now overly exalted, now maligned and denied.”<sup>56</sup>

#### Swiss Pupils

Among Wölfflin’s Munich pupils of Swiss nationality were Sigfried Giedion, Joseph Gantner, and Hans Finsler. Finsler became

a famous photographer (figs. 7 and 8) and teacher at Zurich’s Kunstgewerbeschule.<sup>57</sup> In the 1920s Giedion and Gantner turned to modernism, but without losing contact with their teacher.

In 1956, looking back at his unsuccessful application to the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zurich in 1934, Giedion wrote: “Had I stayed in Switzerland, constricted by the perennial battle with small power cliques, I feel that I would never have managed to produce the little I was perhaps destined to say. This is by no means the only reason why I am grateful to America and especially to Harvard University.”<sup>58</sup> Giedion, born in Prague in 1888, completed his studies in mechanical engineering in Vienna in 1913, then took up the study of art history, and in 1922 earned his doctorate under Wölfflin at the University of Munich

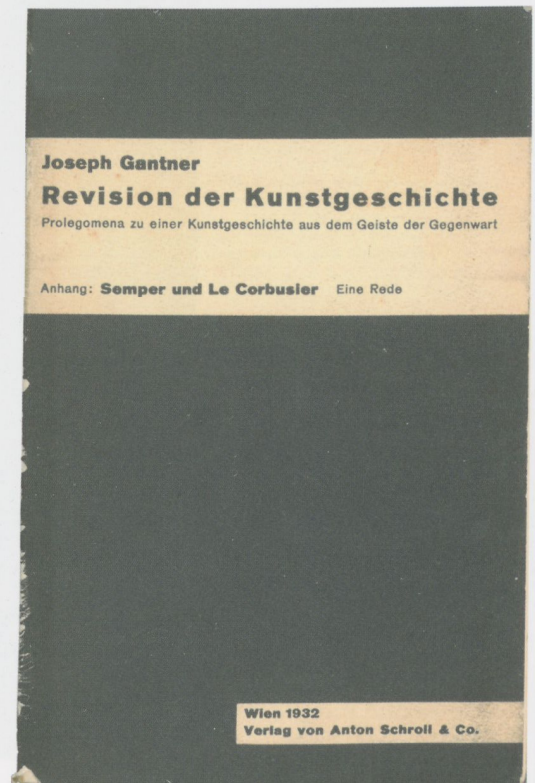
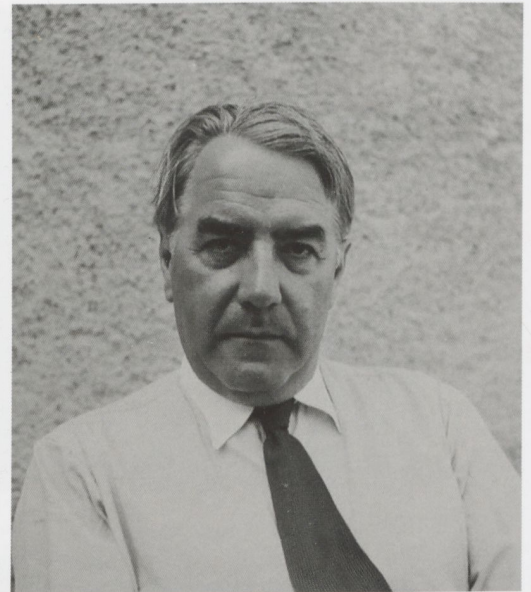
10. Joseph Gantner, c. 1940  
Private collection

11. Joseph Gantner, *Revision der Kunstgeschichte: Prolegomena zu einer Kunstgeschichte aus dem Geiste der Gegenwart* (Vienna: A. Schroll & Co., 1932), cover

with his dissertation, “Spätbarocker und romantischer Klassizismus.” In it Giedion confronted “baroque” and “romanticism” by way of the linking “classicism” and pursued the Wölfflinian question: “How is the romantic vision constructed?”<sup>59</sup> In Munich Giedion became acquainted with his future wife, Carola Welcker, from Cologne, who had transferred from the University of Bonn in 1915.<sup>60</sup> In the spring of 1925 the couple moved from Munich to Zurich, where they received all the important modern artists, architects, and writers in their welcoming home.<sup>61</sup> In 1937 Carola Giedion-Welcker published her book *Modern Sculpture* in German and English editions.<sup>62</sup> With its juxtaposed images (fig. 9), the layout, created by Herbert Bayer, adopts the way Wölfflin’s *Principles* used illustrations.

In 1923 Giedion published a review of the Bauhaus exhibition in Weimar in the journal *Das Werk*.<sup>63</sup> It drew an objection to Bauhaus modernism from the Winterthur industrialist Richard Bühler, a cofounder of the Schweizerischer Werkbund. Giedion wrote a reply, but Joseph Gantner, the journal’s editor beginning in January 1923, rejected it.<sup>64</sup> In it Giedion wrote that it was one of the tasks of the historian to attempt “to explain the often confusing ways of the present day.”<sup>65</sup>

Joseph Gantner (fig. 10) took up this challenge. He had begun the study of art history under Wölfflin in Munich in 1915 and received his doctorate in 1920 with a dissertation on the nineteenth-century reception of Michelangelo.<sup>66</sup> In 1927, as a lecturer at the University of Zurich, Gantner gave his inaugural talk on the subject of Semper and Le Corbusier.<sup>67</sup> As editor of the journal *Das neue Frankfurt* from 1928 to 1932 and from his teaching at the Städtische Kunstschule in Frankfurt, Gantner acquired a profound knowledge of the new architecture and modern design.<sup>68</sup> In 1932 his booklet *Revision der Kunstgeschichte* (fig. 11) was published in Vienna, dealing “with the issue of a timely scholarly reform of art history.”<sup>69</sup> Gantner postulated that “the most important task for younger art history researchers”



was “to reestablish the art-historical way of looking from today’s point of view, thus the examination of the past from the present day.”<sup>70</sup> The notion of working backward from the present instead of following a strict chronology had been repeatedly discussed in Munich circles formed around Hugo von

12. Wölfflin Medal of the City of Zurich, c. 1987, 18-karat gold  
*Treasury of the City of Zurich;*  
*author photograph*



13. Sigfried Giedion  
*gta Archiv, ETH Zurich, estate of*  
*Sigfried Giedion*



Tschudi.<sup>71</sup> Gantner abandoned such revisionist ideas by 1938 at the latest, when on Wölfflin's recommendation he was appointed to the chair of art history at the University of Basel.<sup>72</sup>

In Zurich Gotthard Jedlicka had also realized that he would be unable to attain

a professorship without Wölfflin's approval. When Jedlicka wrote his doctoral dissertation on Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Wölfflin had asserted that he could stand neither the candidate nor the painter.<sup>73</sup>

Gantner as pupil and holder of a chair in Basel and Jedlicka with his chair in Zurich after 1939 were in competition in their veneration of the master and for his legacy; in a Solomonic division Wölfflin's papers would go to Basel, his portrait busts, his library, his photographs, and his writing table to the University of Zurich.<sup>74</sup> Gantner became a widely respected teacher to his numerous students in Basel and tended to Wölfflin's posthumous fame, publishing his writings, diaries, and letters and giving commemorative addresses.<sup>75</sup> Today his increasing preoccupation from the 1940s on with the nebulous "prefiguration" of the work of art seems problematic.<sup>76</sup>

On June 21, 1964, for the hundredth anniversary of Wölfflin's birth, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* published several essays.<sup>77</sup> In 1965 Jedlicka published his memories of Wölfflin, and proposed that a square in Zurich be named after the famous art historian.<sup>78</sup> That idea was rejected, but in 1987 the city of Zurich began to award the Heinrich Wölfflin Medal (fig. 12) for exemplary cultural merit, and in 2013 Tristan Weddigen inaugurated the Heinrich Wölfflin Lectures, presented by prominent representatives of the discipline, at the University of Zurich.

Giedion (fig. 13) probably realized most productively the scholarly concerns of Wölfflin, who followed his international career attentively. In 1928 Giedion published *Bauen in Frankreich, bauen in Eisen, bauen in Eisenbeton* (fig. 14), for which Laszlo Moholy-Nagy devised a way of using illustrations similar to that of *Principles*.<sup>79</sup> In the introduction Giedion wrote that historians should derive from the past elements for the future.<sup>80</sup> Wölfflin responded: "Don't you feel that there are covert lines leading from 'Renaissance and Baroque' to 'Building in France'?"<sup>81</sup> On February 15, 1929, Walter Benjamin sent a highly adulatory letter to Giedion from Berlin-Grunewald: "I am

1843



Abb. 10. Henri LABROUSTE:  
LA RESERVE

(Erdgeschoß der Bibliothek Ste. Géneviève.)  
Gußeiserne Säulen gehen kühn, frei durch  
den Raum, als Teile des in den Bau ver-  
senkten eisernen Skeletts.

Er wies nach, daß die Schüler der Akademie zwar schöne Zeichnungen antiker Details lieferten, aber den innern Organismus der Bauten ganz übersahen. Er lernte einsehen, „daß die besten Bauten vom künstlerischen Standpunkt aus gerade jene seien, die nach einfachsten, wahrsten und rationellsten Methoden konstruiert waren“<sup>1)</sup>.

Er drückte zum erstenmal den erweiterten SINN der KONSTRUKTION aus, wie er sich aus den neuen Möglichkeiten ergab<sup>2)</sup>: Das Wesen der Konstruktion bestehe nicht im isolierten Studium handwerklicher Einzelheiten von Maurer- oder Schlosserarbeit, sondern in der Durchdringung aller Teile eines Baus.

Labrouste gehört zur Generation von 1830, von der in ganz anderm Zusammenhang gesagt wird, daß sie von einem großen Strom getragen werde, vom Verlangen nach Erneuerung des sozialen, moralischen und intellektuellen Lebens<sup>3)</sup>.

Als man Labrouste die Bibliothek übertrug, galt er in den Augen von jedermann als die reinsten Inkarnation des „esprit nouveau“<sup>4)</sup>. Zwölf Jahre hatte man ihn in Paris herumlaufen lassen, ohne ihm auch nur einen Bau anzuvertrauen. Labrouste war über 40 Jahre alt, als man ihm die Bibliothek übergab.

Wissenschaft und Industrie gaben ihm nur sehr geringe Hilfsmittel. Trotzdem ver-

<sup>1)</sup> Eugène Millet: Henry Labrouste. Extrait du bulletin de la société centrale des architectes. (Exercice 1879—80, pag. 5.)

<sup>2)</sup> Es handelt sich um eine der wenigen persönlichen Äußerungen des Architekten H. Labrouste: „Travaux des élèves de l'école d'architecture de Paris pendant l'année 1839“ in Revue gén. d'arch. 1840, pag. 59. „... la construction consiste dans la combinaison de toutes les parties architecturales...“

<sup>3)</sup> Spühler, Der Saint-Simonismus, Zürich, 1926, pag. 22.

<sup>4)</sup> Delaborde, pag. 13.

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14. Sigfried Giedion, *Bauen in Frankreich, bauen in Eisen, bauen in Eisenbeton* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2000; reprint of 1928 edition),

22–23

studying in your book (along with much else in which it touches me most directly) the heart-warming distinction between radical disposition and radical knowledge. You have the latter, and accordingly you are in a position to illuminate, or rather discover tradition from the point of view of the present.”<sup>82</sup> (It was in this sense that in 1938 Giedion tried to arrange a meeting between Le Corbusier and Wölfflin. The latter avoided an encounter with the architect owing to their “generational differences,” though he marveled at him “like a distant aurora borealis.”<sup>83</sup>)

In his autobiographical sketch Giedion refers to his first contact with Le Corbusier in 1925 and the founding of the Congrès international d'architecture moderne (CIAM)

1926

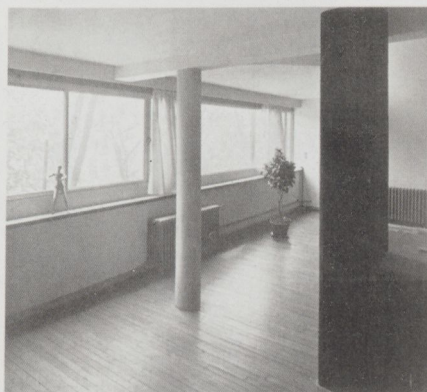


Abb. 11.  
LE CORBUSIER:  
HAUS COOK

Ungefähr 80 Jahre hat es gebraucht, bis man die Freiheit eines Labrouste: eine durchgehende Konstruktion (Säule) auch in einen Wohnraum ohne Hemmung zu zeigen wagte.

suchte er in der Bibliothek Ste. Géneviève zum ersten Mal einem Bau ein eisernes Skelett einzusetzen, vom Boden bis zum Dach. Ste. Géneviève ist gleichzeitig der erste reine Bibliotheksbau in Frankreich. Labrouste witterte im Eisen weitere Möglichkeiten als seine architektonischen Zeitgenossen. Das Material kam seinem Willen entgegen: „Condenser le sens de toutes choses“<sup>1)</sup>! Labrouste versenkt noch das eiserne Gerippe in den Bau, wie ein Werk in eine Uhr:

Der massive Mauerkern, der das Gebäude umschließt, bleibt noch unangetastet, aber in diesen Mauerkern ist vom Erdgeschoß bis zum First ein eisernes System gelegt: Säulen, Decken, Gewölbe, Träger, Dach-Konstruktion.

In einzelnen Räumen des Erdgeschosses (La Reserve) sind gußeiserne Säulen ohne sichtbares Gebälk mit dem Obergeschoß verknüpft. Mitten durch den Raum gehen diese schlanken gußeisernen Rohre, die nur ein schmaler Flansch mit der Decke verbindet. Glatte Funktion, kein Gebälk mit der Andeutung von Stütze und Last, kein Ornament, kein Kapitäl. Das sind Dinge, die heute erst ein Corbusier oder Mart Stam wieder wagen.

Das Obergeschoß, zweischiffiger Lesesaal (84 m lang, 21 m breit), bildet mit dem Dach ein einziges konstruktives Skelett. Die halbkreisförmigen Binder stützen sich auf Gußsäulen und — längs den Wänden — auf Konsolen. Wenn die Pläne richtig Auskunft geben, so hat Labrouste diese halbkreisförmigen Binder bereits in drei Segmenten zerlegt, um sie der Ausdehnung wegen nicht ganz starr zu machen. Bekanntlich

<sup>1)</sup> Delaborde, pag. 13.

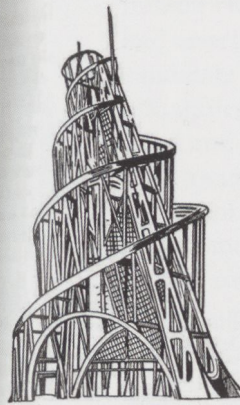
23

in 1928, which he served as secretary until 1956.<sup>84</sup> Walter Gropius arranged for Giedion to be invited to give the Charles Eliot Norton Lectures at Harvard University in 1938/1939. In 1941 they were published as *Space, Time and Architecture* (fig. 15). In his introduction Giedion wrote of Wölfflin: “In our personal contacts with him as well as through his distinguished lectures, we, his pupils, learned to grasp the spirit of an epoch.” This was followed by a critical comment about Wölfflin’s pupils: “Many of his pupils have tried to emulate [his] method of contrasting styles, but none have achieved the same depth and directness.”<sup>85</sup>

Wölfflin forwarded his copy of *Space, Time and Architecture* to Gantner.<sup>86</sup> Gantner commissioned a doctoral student to



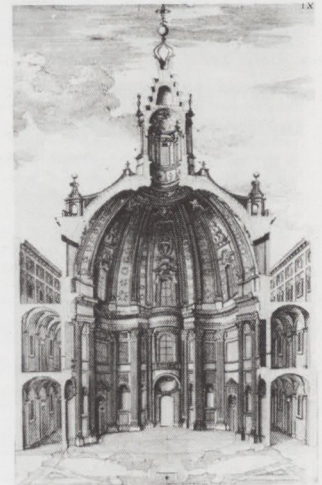
118



52. TATLIN. Project for a monument in Moscow, 1920. This, like the Eiffel Tower and some other monuments of our time, is a contemporary realization of the urge toward the interpenetration of inner and outer space.

← 51. FRANCESCO BORROMINI. Sant' Ivo, Rome. Lantern with coupled columns and spiral. Culminating point for the movement that penetrates the whole design.

53. FRANCESCO BORROMINI. Sant' Ivo, Rome. Section through interior.



15. Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1941), 118–119

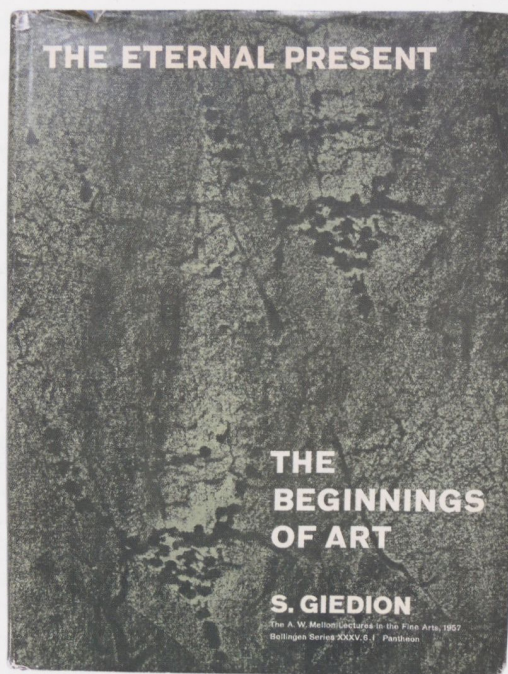
write a review, but he failed to produce one. Gantner then sent the book back to Wölfflin, and wrote to Carola Giedion-Welcker:

“Dear Frau Giedion, I truly felt I had done a good turn in urging the young Hugo Weber to review Giedion’s book. But since you and Giedion would prefer that I write the review, nothing would be easier to accomplish.”<sup>87</sup> It has proved impossible to discover any discussion of the book by Gantner either in the daily papers or in the professional journals. The incident would appear to speak for itself.

Giedion’s next book, an excellent analysis of the industrial culture of the nineteenth century, appeared in 1948 under the title *Mechanization Takes Command*.<sup>88</sup> The subtitle, *A Contribution to Anonymous*

*History*, is an obvious reference to Wölfflin’s provocative expression “art history without names.”<sup>89</sup> In his critique of this unusual book, Arnold Hauser reproved both Giedion and Wölfflin precisely for this doctrine of “anonymous history”: “According to this view, individual artists are no more than the bearers and exponents of such impersonal tendencies, which follow their own autonomous and immanent laws, their own logic, and their own aims.”<sup>90</sup> That was mean-spirited, for Giedion, naturally, was dealing not with artists but with craftsmen, inventors, engineers, and the industrial manufacturers of baths, kitchens, and all manner of machines who largely anonymously advanced the mechanization of various aspects of our lives.

16. Sigfried Giedion, *The Eternal Present: A Contribution on Constancy and Change*, volume 1, *The Beginnings of Art* (New York, 1962), cover



Giedion's last major publication was the two-volume *The Eternal Present* (fig. 16), developed from his A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts.<sup>91</sup> With the invitation to deliver the 1957 Mellon Lectures at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, Wölfflin's most brilliant pupil had arrived at the Olympus of art history. Needless to say, Giedion's subtitle, *A Contribution on Constancy and Change*, took up Wölfflin's problem with the historiography of art. Giedion's examination of the beginnings of painting and architecture was an attempt to reintegrate into art history what Wölfflin's generation had lost to anthropology, ethnology, and prehistory.<sup>92</sup>

### Critical Interest

In 1967 Eduard Hüttinger noted with regard to Wölfflin that his "central methodical theories" appeared to be lost in "an outdated realm of relevance only to the history of scholarship."<sup>93</sup> Despite its wide-scale reception after 1915, by 1967 Hüttinger ascertained a certain indifference to *Principles*, especially on the part of students. He also suggested that, "not to its advantage,"

present-day art history had broken off lively dialogue with Wölfflin's ideas. Interest in Wölfflin's work probably reached its nadir in the 1960s and 1970s. The younger generation adopted different approaches. In my case, as a "great-grandson" of Wölfflin and pupil of Joseph Gantner and Emil Maurer, who was Gantner's pupil, it was those of the Warburg school, especially Erwin Panofsky; the brilliant French rhetoricians; and the German philosophers. On the first day of my studies it was recommended that I read *Principles*—this came from a somewhat older fellow student, who was studying German literature under Emil Staiger. In 1986 a friend from my student days, Andreas Hauser, published an extraordinary analysis of Wölfflin's use of images that taught me to see.<sup>94</sup> Another friend of those years, Werner Oechslin, has focused intensively in the intervening decades on all aspects and problems of the baroque.<sup>95</sup> The next generation, now arrived at the zenith of its activity, is turning to the work of Wölfflin with new interest. Hubert Locher has shown the diachronic and synchronic context for this in his Bern habilitation.<sup>96</sup> Another sign of widespread interest is the project initiated at the University of Zurich by Tristan Weddigen, the publication of a new edition in German and translation into French of the collected works of Heinrich Wölfflin.<sup>97</sup>

### NOTES

Translated from the German by Russell Stockman  
My thanks to Barbara Basting, Therese and Tapan Bhattacharya-Stettler, Rainer Baum, Isabel and Toni Fuchs-Gantner, Evonne Levy, Stanislaus von Moos, Ulrich Pfisterer, Danièle Rinderknecht, Wilhelm Schlink (deceased), Filine Wagner, Tristan Weddigen, and Gerhard Wolf.

1. Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven, 1985), 58–62.

2. See Ingo Herklotz, "Rezeptionsgeschichte," in *Metzler Lexikon Kunstwissenschaft*, ed. Ulrich Pfisterer, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 2011), 391–394.

3. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst* (Munich, 1915); English translation: *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Early Modern Art*, trans. Jonathan Blower, ed. Evonne Levy and Tristan Weddigen (Los Angeles, 2015). On editions and translations, see Matteo Burioni, Burcu Dogramaci, and Ulrich Pfisterer, eds., *Kunstgeschichten 1915: 100 Jahre Heinrich Wölfflin*, Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe (Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich, 2015), 303–349.
4. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principes fondamentaux de l'histoire de l'art: Le problème de l'évolution du style dans l'art moderne*, trans. Claire and Marcel Raymond (Paris, 1952). The book was published without introduction or afterword.
5. See Joan Goldhammer Hart, Roland Recht, and Martin Warnke, eds., *Relire Wölfflin* (Paris, 1995).
6. Heinrich Wölfflin, *L'Art classique: Initiation au génie de la Renaissance italienne*, trans. and intro. by Conrad de Mandach (Paris, 1911). See Zita Caviezel-Rüegg, "Mandach, Conrad von," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D27742.php> (accessed January 22, 2019). Von Mandach was promoted to professor at the University of Bern on the basis of this translation and a few essays and taught there until 1940, from 1936 on as honorary professor.
7. See Claudia Steinhardt-Hirsch, "Die Rezeption der Grundbegriffe," chapter 9 in Burioni, Dogramaci, and Pfisterer, *Kunstgeschichten 1915*, 351–353.
8. Arnold von Salis, *Die Kunst der Griechen* (Leipzig, 1919).
9. Von Salis, *Die Kunst der Griechen*, v–vi.
10. Von Salis, *Die Kunst der Griechen*, vii.
11. Fritz Strich, *Deutsche Klassik und Romantik oder Vollendung und Unendlichkeit: Ein Vergleich* (Munich, 1928).
12. Strich, *Deutsche Klassik und Romantik*, 415.
13. Strich, *Deutsche Klassik und Romantik*, 5.
14. Fritz Strich, *Zu Heinrich Wölfflins Gedächtnis* (Bern, 1956); see Heinrich Dilly, "Heinrich Wölfflin und Fritz Strich," in *Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 1910 bis 1925*, ed. Christoph König and Eberhard Lämmert (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 256–286.
15. Emil Staiger, *Grundbegriffe der Poetik* (Zürich, 1946); Nanni Baltzer et al., "...dass die Luft hier mit Kunst nicht so geschwängert ist wie in Berlin oder München, ist mir sympathisch: Heinrich Wölfflin an der Universität Zürich, 1924–1934," *Georges-Bloch-Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Zürich* 5 (1998): 182–183 (cited subsequently as Baltzer et al., "Heinrich Wölfflin an der Universität Zürich").
16. Friedrich Rintelen, *Giotto und die Giotto-Apokryphen* (Munich, 1911; 2nd ed., Basel, 1923); for Rintelen, see Joseph Gantner, "Der Unterricht in Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Basel 1924–1938," in *Kunstwissenschaft an Schweizer Hochschulen*, vol. 1, *Die Lehrstühle der Universitäten in Basel, Bern, Freiburg und Zürich von den Anfängen bis 1940* (Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Jahrbuch 1972/1973) (Zürich, 1976), 22–23.
17. Friedrich Rintelen, *Reden und Aufsätze* (Basel, 1927), 195; for Heidrich, see Nikolaus Meier, "Ernst Heidrich (1880–1914): Zur Grundlegung der Kunstwissenschaft," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 28 (1980): 19–50.
18. Georg Schmidt, "Friedrich Rintelen 1881 bis 1926," *Das Werk* 13 (1926): 198–204; for Georg Schmidt, see Roger Fayet, "Georg Schmidt und die Frage der künstlerischen Werte," *RIHA Journal*, 0097 (September 26, 2014): 1–32, <https://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2014/2014-jul-sep/fayet-georg-schmidt>.
19. *Kunstwissenschaft an Schweizer Hochschulen*, 1:89–133. The course lists are not complete; the universities of Geneva, Lausanne, and Neuenburg are not included.
20. T. [Hans Trog], "Charakteristikon," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, July 13, 1924, 3; for the mentions, see "Heinrich Wölfflin," *nzz Archiv* 1780, [http://zeitungsarchiv.nzz.ch/search/result/?SEARCH\\_query=Heinrich+Wölfflin](http://zeitungsarchiv.nzz.ch/search/result/?SEARCH_query=Heinrich+Wölfflin) (accessed May 31, 2016), review of Franz Landsberger, *Heinrich Wölfflin* (Berlin, 1924).
21. Adolf Reinle, "Der Lehrstuhl für Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Zürich bis 1939," in *Kunstwissenschaft an Schweizer Hochschulen*, 1:84–86. For Wölfflin's appointment and teaching activity in Zürich, see the carefully documented study by Nanni Baltzer et al. (note 15, above), 170–199.
22. Joseph Gantner, ed., *Heinrich Wölfflin 1864–1945: Autobiographie, Tagebücher und Briefe* (Basel, 1982), 324, 332; Gantner, "Der Unterricht in Kunstgeschichte," 22–23. Heinrich Wölfflin to Anna Bühler-Koller, November 21, 1920, in Gantner, *Heinrich Wölfflin 1864–1945*, 332, 344. Wölfflin had applied for the professorship in art history at the University of Bern on November 22, 1889; see Walther Rehm, *Heinrich Wölfflin als Literaturhistoriker* (Munich, 1960), 133–134 (original of the application letter in the Staatsarchiv des Kantons Bern).
23. *Aus dem Protokoll des Regierungsrates 1923, Sitzung vom 18. Oktober 1923*, Universität Zürich, Archiv.



24. Otto Grautoff, "Heinrich Wölfflin zum sechzigsten Geburtstag," *Preussische Jahrbücher* 3 (1924): 242–252; for Grautoff, see Evonne Levy, "The German Art Historians of World War I: Grautoff, Wichert, Weisbach and Brinckmann and the Activities of the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 74 (2011): 373–400; Nikolaus Meier, "Heinrich Wölfflin in München: Kunstwissenschaft und Wissenschaftstopographie," in *200 Jahre Kunstgeschichte in München*, ed. Christian Drude and Hubertus Kohle, Münchener Universitätschriften des Instituts für Kunstgeschichte, vol. 2 (Munich, 2003), 94–111.
25. Grautoff, "Heinrich Wölfflin zum sechzigsten Geburtstag," 243–244.
26. Gantner, *Heinrich Wölfflin 1864–1945*, 367, 368, 371. Edwin Scharff was a founding member of Munich's New Secession in 1913 and became a professor at the Hochschule für Bildende Künste in Berlin in 1923, but in 1937 he was vilified as a "degenerate artist"; see Helga Jörgens Lendrum, *Der Bildhauer Edwin Scharff (1887–1955): Untersuchungen zu Leben und Werk, mit einem Katalog der figürlichen Plastik* (diss., University of Göttingen, 1989; Göttingen, 1994), 11–50. In addition to the portrait bust of Wölfflin in bronze from 1923/1924, he executed a head in black granite in an Egyptian style that is now at the University of Munich.
27. Gantner, *Heinrich Wölfflin 1864–1945*, 370–371; see also Wölfflin to Hermann Hubacher, September 10, 1943, 481–482.
28. [g.], *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 21, 1924, 2.
29. *Festschrift Heinrich Wölfflin: Beiträge zur Kunst- und Geistesgeschichte, zum 21. Juni 1924 überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Paul Wolters, Ernst Beling, and Karl Vossler (Munich, 1924); Erwin Panofsky, "Heinrich Wölfflin: Zu seinem 60. Geburtstage am 21. Juni 1924," *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, June 21, 1924; reprinted in Erwin Panofsky, *Deutschsprachige Aufsätze*, ed. Karen Michels and Martin Warnke, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1998), 2:1105–1108.
30. Sigfried Giedion, "Schriften zu H. Wölfflins 60. Geburtstag," and T. [Hans Trog], "Charakteristikon," 3.
31. For Wölfflin's multifaceted impact, see Meinhold Lurz, *Heinrich Wölfflin: Biographie einer Kunsttheorie* (Worms, 1981), 11–52.
32. Gotthard Jedlicka, *Heinrich Wölfflin: Erinnerungen an seine Jahre in Zürich (1924–1945)*, *Neujahrsblatt der Zürcher Kunstgesellschaft* (Zurich, 1965); Thea and Peter Vignau-Wilberg, "Bibliographie der kunsthistorischen Dissertationen in der Schweiz 1866–1970," in *Kunstwissenschaft an Schweizer Hochschulen*, 1:186, no. Zü 35.
33. Quoted from Gotthard Jedlicka, "Heinrich Wölfflin: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag, 21. Juni 1964," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Sunday, June 21, 1964, insert "Literatur und Kunst." For his "numerical success," see the statistics in Baltzer et al., "Heinrich Wölfflin an der Universität Zürich" (see note 15 above), 175–182.
34. See the reports in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Tuesday, June 17, 1924, 1–2, and Saturday, June 21, 1924, 1; also Reinle, "Der Lehrstuhl für Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Zürich," 86.
35. Heinrich Wölfflin, "Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Eine Revision," *Logos: Internationale Zeitschrift für Philosophie der Kultur* 22 (1933): 210–218.
36. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Sunday, June 17, 1934, 5–6.
37. Sigfried Giedion and Walter Ueberwasser, "Heinrich Wölfflin: Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag," *Basler Zeitung*, June 20, 1934.
38. G. Heider-Hartog, "Festvorlesung Heinrich Wölfflins," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Tuesday, June 26, 1934, Abendausgabe no. 1153, 6, 1.
39. Heinrich Wölfflin, "Die alte Stadt," in *Zürich: Geschichte, Kultur, Wirtschaft*, published with the collaboration of the City Council (Zurich, 1933), 19–48: "Kristallhart und kristallklar steht das Haus als scharf-begrenzter weisser Kubus da."
40. Michael Stettler, "Heinrich Wölfflin," in Michael Stettler, *Rat der Alten: Begegnungen und Besuche*, 3rd enlarged ed. (Bern, 1980), 121–134.
41. *Concinnitas: Beiträge zum Problem des Klassischen; Heinrich Wölfflin zum achtzigsten Geburtstag am 21. Juni 1944 zugeeignet* (Basel, [1944]).
42. Heinrich Wölfflin to Hermann Hubacher, September 10, 1943, in Gantner, *Heinrich Wölfflin 1864–1945*, 481–482.
43. Hermann Hubacher, "Begegnung und Gespräch: Tagebuchnotizen aus dem Jahre 1944," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Sunday, June 21, 1964, insert "Literatur und Kunst."
44. Heinrich Wölfflin to Herman Hubacher, January 30, 1942, in Gantner, *Heinrich Wölfflin 1864–1945*, 477.
45. Hubacher, "Begegnung und Gespräch."
46. Wti., "Ganymed am Bürkliplatz," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 21, 1952, 13; Jedlicka, *Heinrich Wölfflin*, 32.
47. Heinrich Wölfflin, "Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl," *Logos: Internationale Zeitschrift für Philosophie der Kultur* 10 (1922): 251–260; reprinted in *Das Werk* 11, no. 6 (1924): 145–153, and in Heinrich Wölfflin, *Gedanken zur Kunstgeschichte: Gedrucktes und Ungedrucktes* (Basel, 1940), 119–126.
48. It was followed by the publication of shorter essays and a switch from Verlag Bruckmann to Verlag Schwabe in Basel.
49. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Das Erklären von Kunstwerken* (Leipzig, 1921), 7–8.
50. Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915), viii; *Principles* (2015), 75.

51. Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915), v; *Principles* (2015), 72.
52. In defending his notion of “Kunstgeschichte ohne Namen” (art history without names) Wölfflin wrote: “Es bezeichnet aber jedenfalls deutlich die Absicht, etwas zur Darstellung zu bringen, das unter dem Individuellen liegt.” See “In eigener Sache,” *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, n.s. 31 (1920): 397–399; reprinted in Wölfflin, *Gedanken zur Kunstgeschichte*, 15–18; see also the discussion of “Wölfflin-Topoi” in Lurz, *Heinrich Wölfflin*, 13–24.
53. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Kunst der Renaissance: Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl* (Munich, 1931), 8; English translation, *The Sense of Form in Art: A Comparative Psychological Study*, trans. Alice Muehsam and Norma A. Shatan (New York, [1958]), 19.
54. See Eric Michaud, *Les Invasions barbares: Une généalogie de l'histoire de l'art* (Paris, 2015), 174–224; Evonne Levy, *Baroque and the Political Language of Formalism (1845–1945)*; Burckhardt, Wölfflin, Gurlitt, Brinckmann, Sedlmayr (Basel, 2015), 144–156; Oskar Bätschmann, “Heinrich Wölfflin: Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl,” in *Vivace von espressione: Gefühl, Charakter, Temperament in der italienischen Kunst; Kunsthistorische Studien zu Ehren von Sybille Ebert-Schifferer*, ed. Marieke von Bernstorff, Susanne Kubersky, and Maurizia Cicconi, Veröffentlichungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte (Munich, 2018), 299–319.
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60. Iris Bruderer-Oswald, *Das Neue Sehen: Carola Giedion-Welcker und die Sprache der Moderne* (Bern, 2007), 28–55.
61. Bruderer-Oswald, *Das Neue Sehen*, 50–55.
62. Carola Giedion-Welcker, *Moderne Plastik: Elemente der Wirklichkeit; Masse und Auflockerung* (Zürich, 1937).
63. Sigfried Giedion, “Bauhaus und Bauhauswoche zu Weimar,” *Das Werk* 10 (1923): 232–234.
64. See the discussion, the objection, and Gantner’s response, following Giedion, “Bauhaus und Bauhauswoche,” 308–309; and Giedion’s unpublished reply in Hofer and Stucky, *Hommage à Giedion*, 22–24. For E. Richard Bühler, see *Gestaltung, Werk, Gesellschaft: 100 Jahre Schweizerischer Werkbund swb*, ed. Thomas Gnägi, Berndt Nicolai, and Jasmine Wohlwend Piai (Zürich, 2013), 423–424.
65. Hofer and Stucky, *Hommage à Giedion*, 22.
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67. See Joseph Gantner, *Revision der Kunstgeschichte: Prolegomena zu einer Kunstgeschichte aus dem Geiste der Gegenwart* (Vienna, 1932), 62–89.
68. *Das neue Frankfurt: Internationale Monatsschrift für die Probleme kultureller Neugestaltung*, published 1926/1927 to 1931, with the subtitle was *Monatsschrift für die Probleme moderner Gestaltung* beginning in 1928: [http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue\\_frankfurt](http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt) (accessed September 22, 2015).
69. *Das neue Frankfurt* 5 (November–December 1931): 215.
70. Gantner, *Revision der Kunstgeschichte*, 44–61; see the critique by Herbert von Einem, “Aufgaben der Kunstgeschichte in der Zukunft,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 5 (1936): 1–7.
71. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, eds., *Der Blaue Reiter* [1912], Neuausgabe von Klaus Lankheit (Munich and Zürich, 1979), 23.
72. Wölfflin always recommended his own pupils for Basel; see Christine Verzar, “After Burckhardt and Wölfflin: Was There a Basel School of Art History?,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 11 (December 2014): 1–31; Gantner, “Der Unterricht in Kunstgeschichte,” 22–23.
73. Jedlicka, *Heinrich Wölfflin*, 7.

74. *Auszug aus dem Protokoll des Erziehungsrates des Kantons Zürich vom 24. Juli 1941*, Universität Zürich, Rektoratsarchiv 141 A/2.
75. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kleine Schriften (1886–1933)*, ed. Joseph Gantner (Basel, 1946); Gantner, *Heinrich Wölfflin 1864–1945*; see also Joseph Gantner, “Erinnerungen,” in *Kunsthistoriker in eigener Sache*, ed. Martina Sitt (Berlin, 1990), 133–166.
76. See, for example, Joseph Gantner, *Rodin und Michelangelo* (Vienna, 1953).
77. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Sunday, June 21, 1964, supplement “Literatur und Kunst,” with contributions by Gotthard Jedlicka, Hermann Hubacher, and Eduard Hüttinger, and Wölfflin’s address to the PEN Club from 1944.
78. Jedlicka, *Heinrich Wölfflin*, 32.
79. Sigfried Giedion, *Bauen in Frankreich, bauen in Eisen, bauen in Eisenbeton* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1928), published in English as *Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferroconcrete*, trans. J. Duncan Berry (Santa Monica, CA, 1995); *Sigfried Giedion und die Fotografie: Bildinszenierungen der Moderne*, ed. Werner Oechslin and Gregor Harbusch (Zürich, 2010).
80. Giedion, *Bauen in Frankreich*, I.
81. Giedion, “Autobiographische Skizze, [1956],” in Huber, *Sigfried Giedion*, 9.
82. Walter Benjamin to Sigfried Giedion, February 15, 1929, Sigfried Giedion Papers, gta Archiv, eth Zürich, 43B-K-1929-02-15.
83. Heinrich Wölfflin to Sigfried Giedion, January 20, 1938, in Gantner, *Heinrich Wölfflin 1864–1945*, 457.
84. Giedion, “Autobiographische Skizze, [1956],” in Huber, *Sigfried Giedion*, 9.
85. Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, MA., 1941), 2; see Alina Payne, “Architecture, Objects and Ornament: Heinrich Wölfflin and the Problem of Stilwandlung,” in Frommel and Brucculeri, *L’Idée du style*, 137, and, by the same author, *From Ornament to Object: Genealogies of Architectural Modernism* (New Haven and London, 2012), passim.
86. Heinrich Wölfflin to Sigfried Giedion, June 15, 1942: “Dear Herr Giedion, . . . immediately after receipt, I forwarded it [*Space, Time and Architecture*] to Gantner (Basel), who promised to produce a public review.”
87. Joseph Gantner to Carola Giedion-Welcker, June 28, 1942, Sigfried Giedion Papers, Archiv gta, eth Zürich, 43B-K-1942-06-28.
88. Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command, a Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York, 1948).
89. See Stanislaus von Moos, “‘Nachwort’ zu Sigfried Giedion,” in *Die Herrschaft der Mechanisierung: Ein Beitrag zur anonymen Geschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1982), 781–816.
90. Arnold Hauser, review of Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command*, *The Art Bulletin* 34 (1952): 251–253.
91. Sigfried Giedion, *The Eternal Present: A Contribution on Constancy and Change*, 2 vols., The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington (New York, 1962–1963).
92. For the loss of Altamira through neglect, see Ulrich Pfisterer, “Altamira—oder: Die Anfänge von Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft,” *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus* 10 (2007): 13–80.
93. Eduard Hüttinger, “Wölfflins Werk—heute,” *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 12 (1967): 104–116.
94. Andreas Hauser, “Grundbegriffliches zu Wölfflins ‘Kunstgeschichtlichen Grundbegriffen,’” in *Beiträge zu Kunst und Kunstgeschichte um 1900* (Jahrbuch des Schweizerischen Instituts für Kunstwissenschaft 1984–1986) (Zürich, 1986), 39–53.
95. As indications of his unending engagement, see Werner Oechslin, “Barock: Zu den negativen Kriterien der Begriffsbestimmung in klassizistischer und späterer Zeit,” in *Europäische Barock-Rezeption*, ed. Klaus Garber, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1991), 2:1225–1254 and “Das Wort ‘klassisch’ hat für uns etwas Erkältendes (Heinrich Wölfflin),” in *Welche Antike? Konkurrierende Rezeptionen des Altertums im Barock*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, vol. 47, ed. Ulrich Heinen (Wiesbaden, 2011), 1:183–206.
96. Hubert Locher, *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 2010).
97. The first two volumes, *Die Jugendwerke des Michelangelo and Salomon Gessner*, ed. Tristan Weddigen and Oskar Bätschmann, will be published in 2020 by Schwabe in Basel.