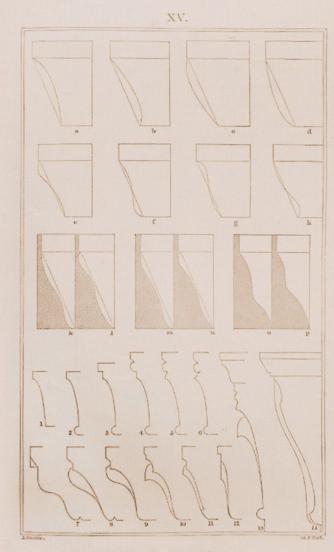
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OSKAR BATSCHMANN
THE ANALYSIS OF FORM:
HEINRICH WÖLFFLIN,
FRITZ BURGER,
JOHANNES ITTEN

1 John Ruskin Cornice Profiles, in *The Stones of Venice* (New York: John Wiley, 1880), vol.1, pl.15 Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest



Cornice Profiles.

# ANALYSES OF FORM

The year 1893 saw the publication of two important works on the study of form in art: Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst (The Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture) by the Florence-based German sculptor Adolf Hildebrand was published in Strasbourg, while Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik (Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament) by the Viennese art historian Alois Riegl was published in Berlin. In his introduction Riegl, with unusual vehemence, railed against the 'materialist interpretation of the origin of art', which he branded as 'Darwinism imposed upon an intellectual discipline'.2 He was above all concerned with the origin, transmission and transformation of forms, for example those of the acanthus or of the arabesque. In 1901 he reiterated his rejection of the view that 'a work of art is nothing else than a mechanical product based on function, raw materials and technique'.3

Hildebrand, who in his book explored the relationship between the idea of form and 'visual impressions', declared the visual arts to be the one activity that seeks to bridge the divide between the two and to make them 'one'. In the foreword to his *Die Klassische Kunst* (Classic Art), Heinrich Wölfflin claimed that the modern public was more interested in questions of a purely artistic nature than in biographical anecdotes and historical circumstances. Such questions, he argued, had been neglected by art history, and Hildebrand's book had thus fallen 'like a refreshing shower upon parched earth'. The historical point of view which had been adopted by art historians, Hildebrand alleged, had missed the 'true artistic content', which was something that remained untouched by the changing times.

In 1911, in his inaugural address to the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Wölfflin emphasised the 'formal and analytical approach' as the essential feature of his book on Dürer of 1905.7 By analysis, Wölfflin meant the study of space and of lines and their different weights, as well as the treatment and direction of light, which he explains, in his book on Dürer, with reference to the artist's engraving of Saint Jerome in his study. Having described the formal aspects of this composition, he asks the reader. as if in a lecture, 'Have we finished our analysis?', only to draw attention to the fact that no mention has been made of the subject or meaning of the print.8 Writing about Dürer's drawings in his Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe (Principles of Art History), for example, Wölfflin noted, 'If one analyses the strokes of the modelling, the earlier sheet also proves to be a product of purely linear art in that the layers of shading are kept entirely transparent.'9 These are examples of Wölfflin's formal and analytical approach and of his analytical descriptions.

We tend to use metaphors to describe artistic forms. On a single page of *Renaissance und Barock* (Renaissance and Baroque), for example, Wölfflin used the terms 'purest style', 'lucid expression', 'strict form', 'exaggerated version', followed by numerous other metaphors to contrast the styles of the two periods. <sup>10</sup> In his first lecture at the Weimar Bauhaus in the academic year 1921/1922, Paul Klee addressed the problem of metaphorical terms, citing the example of *movement*: 'In the first place, what do we mean by movement in the work? As a rule, our works don't move. After all, we are not a robot factory. No, in themselves our works, or most of them, stay quietly in place, and yet they are all movement.' Equally metaphorical are the 'leaning' trees and 'rising' clouds in Fritz Burger's description of



Cezanne's *Large Bathers*.<sup>12</sup> Only a year earlier, in 1912, Kandinsky had used powerfully metaphorical language to describe a composition by Cezanne in which individual parts of the body were 'driven more and more strongly from the bottom to the top, as by an inner impulse'.<sup>13</sup>

### WÖLFFLIN: EXPRESSION

A history of the analysis of form might include William Hogarth's The Analysis of Beauty of 1753, which bears the subtitle Written with a view of fixing the fluctuating Ideas of Taste.14 Hogarth had previously made comparative studies of profile heads which might invite such an analysis of form, for example, in Characters and Caricaturas of 1743, his subscription ticket for the prints of Marriage à la *Mode.* 15 The analysis of architectural forms was pioneered by John Ruskin, whose Stones of Venice, first published between 1851 and 1853,16 included sets of diagrammatic profiles of mouldings and capitals (fig. 1) as an aid to architectural taxonomy and as illustrations of the evolution of style. According to Hermann Bauer, this is the first 'consistent example' of the analysis of form. 17 As Wolfgang Kemp has shown, Ruskin understood form as the physical expression of 'forces and counterforces'.18

In his book *Renaissance und Barock*, published in 1888, Wölfflin, like Ruskin before him, based his interpretations of stylistic change solely on the changes in architectural

forms.<sup>19</sup> His *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Principles of Art History) of 1915, on the other hand, is considered a paradigm for the description of stylistic changes which is based on the distinction between forms.<sup>20</sup> The identification of stylistic change in terms of Wölfflin's familiar pairs of contrasting epithets could be described as the construction of a history of style which is established by tracing variations of such formal affiliations. To determine whether Wölfflin's approach and his analyses should be considered as merely formalistic, it might be useful to turn to Erwin Panofsky, his alleged polar opposite in the discipline of art history and the most eminent exponent of iconography and iconology.

In 1924, writing in the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, Panofsky paid a remarkable sixtieth-birthday tribute to Wölfflin, but this did not stop him, a year later, from subjecting Wölfflin's *Grundbegriffe* and Riegl's concept of the *Kunstwollen* to a critical reassessment.<sup>21</sup> On 27 April 1930 Wölfflin thanked Panofsky for the gift of his recently published and evocatively titled book *Hercules am Scheideweg* (Hercules at the Crossroads), a primary text of iconology.<sup>22</sup> In the foreword to this learned study, Panofsky had stressed his belief that the analysis of form was inseparable from that of content. He referred explicitly to Wölfflin's remarks about Leonardo's *Last Supper*, which, although fundamentally concerned with its 'formal' aspects, nevertheless reveal how iconographic innovation was reflected in the solutions identified by stylistic analysis.<sup>23</sup>



2 Peter Paul Rubens after Leonardo da Vinci The Last Supper (detail), print made by Pieter Soutman, 1620–30 Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen

What was important to Wölfflin, in the first instance, was Leonardo's break with iconographic tradition, and then the novelty of his composition, in which the disciples are separated into symmetrical groups which, in turn, are divided into smaller groups of animated figures who display their feelings with an 'unheard-of intensity'. This led Wölfflin to conclude that 'an immense fund of new expression [had been] added to art'. 24 And it was precisely this aspect of Leonardo's painting that Rubens emphasised in a drawing made after it, which was subsequently reproduced in an etching by Peter Soutman (fig. 2). There was probably not so much a conflict between Wölfflin's and Panofsky's approach to the analysis of form and content as a difference of emphasis. In the second part of his postdoctoral dissertation of 1920, under the heading 'Stilkritische Folgerungen' (Inferences – Stylistic Analyses), Panofsky not only quoted Wölfflin but also closely followed his analysis of form.25

Wölfflin's discussion of Dürer's *The Feast of the Rose Garlands* (fig. 3), painted in 1506 for S. Bartolomeo, the church of the German community in Venice, may be taken as an example from among numerous such passages of analysis. Wölfflin begins by explaining that the artist was more concerned with producing 'high art in the Italian sense' than with meeting his compatriots' expectations of seeing a familiar, homegrown Virgin 'alongside all the Italian madonnas'. <sup>26</sup> Having thus distanced the artist from his presumed patrons, Wölfflin relates how Dürer, borrowing

some ideas from a woodcut illustration from the Cologne Confraternity of the Holy Rosary of 1476, monumentalised the scene:

But he wanted to elevate the scene to the solemn and splendid, and thus he joined the main figures into a group which governs the whole picture as a powerful motif. Mary and the kneeling figures of emperor and pope are combined to form a closed triangle; the lines of the sides come down at a wide angle from the vertex, the heavily trailing coats go right down to the corners.<sup>27</sup>

Wölfflin identifies the dominant triangle in the composition of The Feast of the Rose Garlands and, with it, the symmetry in the arrangement of the figures and its monumentalising effect. In other words, he analyses the formal aspects of the painting with reference to the way they embody monumentality. He argues that Dürer was interested not merely in symmetry as a form but in constructing a picture with 'a coherent figurative theme'.28 Continuing in this vein, Wölfflin finds that the kneeling figure of the emperor is animated by an 'essentially new kind of feeling', and with the lute-playing angel Dürer approached the realm of 'rapturous ecstasy'. 29 Wölfflin concludes his analysis with a perceptive comparison between Dürer's painting and Giovanni Bellini's large votive painting, The Barbarigo Altarpiece, in the church of S. Pietro Martire on the island of Murano, but notes that Dürer's 'striving after too much effect' had stood in the way of achieving 'a sense of calm festivity'.30



3 Albrecht Dürer, The Feast of the Rose Garlands, 1506 Narodní galerie Praha, Prague

BURGER: MYSTICISM

In 1913 Fritz Burger, artist, professor of art history at Munich university, and part-time lecturer at the Munich Academy of Arts, published his book *Cézanne und Hodler*, described in the subtitle as 'an introduction to the problems of contemporary painting'.<sup>31</sup>

Burger's discussion of the composition of Cezanne's still life *The Black Marble Clock* (fig. 4) exemplifies his method of analysis: 'One can hardly find a better example of how much Cézanne was sometimes concerned with unity and simplicity, with no ulterior motive.'32 Burger proposes that Cezanne organised the entire composition along bold horizontal and vertical lines, working inwards from the edges of the canvas, noting that the 'rigorous verticality of the tablecloth and of the space behind it' runs counter to the horizontal format of the picture. He deployed a variety of means to ease the transition from the vertical to the horizontal:

By the positioning of the clock at an angle and tying it in with the folded-over corner of the tablecloth and the silhouette of the shell, the clock's verticality is softened and blended into the horizontal format.<sup>33</sup>

Burger also discusses the composition of Cezanne's *Large Bathers*, the painter's third and final attempt to crown his artistic endeavours with a masterpiece –

heedless of the warnings in Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu (The Unknown Materpiece), Balzac's story about the hapless Frenhofer.<sup>34</sup> Burger begins his analysis of the painting with the composition, noting that no single object or body claims priority over any other: 'The tree trunks follow the diagonal lines of the figures and form a strange ogival gate that offers a view of bright cloud, solemnly approaching, towards which some of the figures seem to be turning.'35 Burger seeks to convey the mystical aura of the image, which derives from the apparent harmony between the nude bathers and nature. But his observations on the parallels between the rising clouds, the leaning trees, and the figures set him on a direct path to mysticism: 'Hence the strange silence and mystical grandeur in the picture.'36 From this silence, Burger returns to the individual figures, which, because the artist eschewed individualisation in favour of the repetition of distinctive silhouettes, appear as one. The light blue and greyish yellow, according to Burger, invest the background of the painting with 'an astonishing freshness', in contrast to the figures, which, 'in their dull awkwardness, do not allow us to discern a face or a gesture, nor to think about their social class or their nakedness.'37

Then Burger returns once again to mysticism – to a vision, even, of the cosmos – in describing how regularity and rhythm transform the movement of the chorus of figures into a single gesture 'which shows us the grave, solemn face of the cosmos everywhere behind the trivial details'. Increasingly ecstatic, he finds 'the darkening veil



4 Paul Cezanne

The Black Marble Clock, c. 1869–70

Private collection (FWN 708)

of mystery spreading over the luminous freshness of vitality', and suggests that Cezanne's painting is thus 'perhaps the most impressive manifesto of recent painting, in that it professes mysticism'.<sup>39</sup> Here Burger is referring to Cezanne's debt to the great mystic El Greco and he cites the only known work to substantiate that claim, an early copy of a portrait by El Greco. However, Cezanne's alleged interest in El Greco was so important to Burger that he juxtaposed the two portraits on a double page.<sup>40</sup>

In comparing the two paintings, Burger mentions Rembrandt, Joos van Cleve, Gothic works of art, Leonardo and Gauguin, and includes, in the volume of plates, a pen and ink drawing by Rembrandt and another by Joos van Cleve. He argues that Cezanne's deformation of the head enhances 'its spiritual character, conveyed through the medium of the expression, with its strange mixture of dreamy softness and strength of will also informing the outward appearance'. And it is this process of spiritualisation that Burger is so keen to reveal and describe:

In Cézanne's work, the flesh is sublimated into that silvery luminosity that envelops the eyes and mouth as well as the whole figure in the background with its cool shimmer. The gaze of El Greco's figure meets that of the viewer; in Cézanne's painting it is veiled in something that obfuscates and transfigures in equal measure, and that some-thing suffuses the entire composition.<sup>43</sup>

Wassily Kandinsky's book Über das Geistige in der Kunst, insbesondere in der Malerei (On the Spiritual in Art, and

Painting in Particular) of 1912 fully endorses this zealous quest for the spiritual in all forms. <sup>44</sup> He proposes the idea that abandoning 'the whole nightmare of the materialistic attitude, which has turned the life of the universe into an evil, purposeless game', would give rise to the resurrection of the soul. In the nineteenth century, he contends, people strove for material goods and technological progress, and derided as abnormal those who yearned for spiritual nourishment. <sup>45</sup> As a low point, Kandinsky evokes an exhibition in which the artists merely satisfy vanity, ambition and greed, and the public turns away, bored. Kandinsky put his faith in a new era of spiritual reawakening: 'Only a weak light glimmers, like a tiny point in an enormous circle of darkness.'

Kandinsky divines signs of the longed-for 'spiritual turning point' in literature, music and painting, mentioning Maurice Maeterlinck and Arnold Schönberg. <sup>47</sup> He also singles out Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Arnold Böcklin and Giovanni Segantini for their quest for the 'inner life of the external', and Paul Cezanne for a 'new law of form'. <sup>48</sup> About Picasso, Kandinsky writes, 'In his latest works (1911), he arrived by logical means at the destruction of the material, not, however, by its dissolution but rather by a kind of destruction of its various parts and by constructional dispersion of these parts on the canvas. <sup>49</sup> Kandinsky's works of this period, with their patches and dynamic lines of colour, defy any association with the material world, with any object. <sup>50</sup> In pen and ink drawings he analysed the

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archikktouix den der flormendiste.

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Starle Routraste inn Joshassung.

5 Johannes Itten 'Analysen von Gemälden Paul Cézannes' In *Art theoretical diary* 1, Stuttgart, 1914 Kunstmuseum, Bern, Johannes-Itten-Stiftung

movement of lines and planes which had featured in his finished compositions.<sup>51</sup>

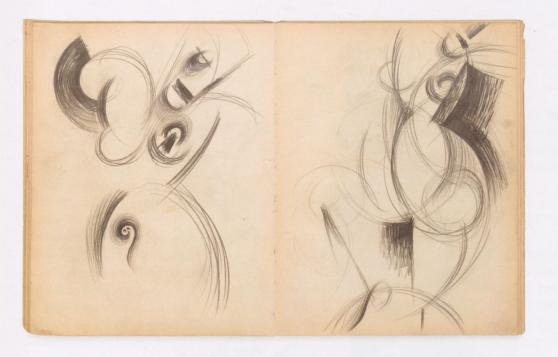
In a footnote to the chapter 'Formen- und Farbensprache' ('The Language of Forms and Colour') in his book of 1912, Kandinsky offers an analysis of Cezanne's *Large Bathers*:

A cogent example of this: the bathing women by Cezanne, composition in triangular form (the mystical triangle!). This construction by geometrical form is an old principle, which has of late been rejected, because it had degenerated into a rigid academic formula no longer possessing any inner meaning, and soul. Cezanne's application of this principle gave it a new soul, with a strong emphasis upon the purely pictorial-compositional.<sup>52</sup>

Describing the individual parts of the bathers' bodies as 'driven more and more strongly upward from below, as if

by an inner storm', Kandinsky makes a connection between Cezanne's composition and his own principle of the 'mystic triangle', which he believes is an expression of the hierarchical structure of humanity and its hope for spiritual advancement. In the introductory essay to the celebrated almanac that was published by the Munich artists' group Der Blaue Reiter, Burger's friend Franz Marc took up these somewhat contorted claims for a close connection between the two artists, declaring earnestly that

Cézanne and El Greco are kindred spirits across the centuries that separate them. Meier-Graefe and Tschudi triumphantly brought 'Father Cézanne' and the old mystic El Greco together. Today, the works of both mark the beginning of a new era in painting. In their world views, both felt the mystical inner construction, which is the great problem of our generation.<sup>53</sup>



6 Johannes Itten Study of a Nude, in *Diary IX*, Vienna, spring 1919, 152–3 Kunstmuseum, Bern, Johannes-Itten-Stiftung

### ITTEN: ECSTATIC EXPERIENCE

Looking at Johannes Itten between 1913 and 1921, we can trace a progression from the observation of form to the analysis of form and, finally, to the inner re-creation of the work of art. During his time in Stuttgart in 1913, Itten covered a sheet with sketches after works by Paul Cezanne (fig. 5) and on the reverse of this sheet, under the title Vom Bild (About the Picture), he drew lines and elementary geometrical forms such as triangles and circles.54 With reference to lines, he wrote that the eye glides along them, whereas a primary mass, such as a black circle, draws the eye towards it. Secondary forms can reinforce or contrast with the primary mass. Itten, who had arrived in Stuttgart in the autumn of 1913, took private lessons with Adolf Hölzel's student Ida Kerkovius and attended Hölzel's lectures before being accepted into his master class in the autumn of 1914.55 Itten based his sketches after works by Cezanne on the illustrations in Julius Meier-Graefe's book about the artist, which had been published by Piper in Munich in 1913.<sup>56</sup> Itten drew the outline of a Cezanne selfportrait in the first frame on the upper left and doubled the contour of the artist's back in the one on the right, connecting the two parallel lines with a few horizontals that invest the form with a three-dimensional character. His annotation on the right reads, 'A doubled contour clearly

shows the architectural structure', and the one further down, 'Contrasts of the two contour lines quietly animated/alignment with the vertical'. The two sketches after portraits of a smoker and of the artist's wife reveal the problem of Itten's high-handed arbitrariness: the emphasis on the oblique and horizontal lines in *The Smoker* is somewhat more comprehensible than the isosceles triangle clasping Mme Cezanne in its vice-like grip. Like many of his contemporaries, Itten tended to find geometric forms in compositions when sometimes there were none, and to mistake this process for an analysis of form.

In his paintings, Itten endowed form with movement to convey a dynamic vision to the viewer. He also experimented with this choreography of dynamic movement in his nude studies. A drawing in his diary for spring 1919 (fig. 6) demonstrates that he had no interest in the immobile, three-dimensional form and its outline. He retraces the shape of the hips and the upper body in multiple lines, capping their upward thrust with numerous horizontally curved strokes and circumscribing the lower and upper hemispheres of one breast. The other breast is covered by an embryo-like shape, which is contained on the left by a wide black semicircle. The mask-like face is inserted obliquely between this 'embryo' and the shoulder. The study on the right continues the play of dynamic planes pushing outwards with multiple curves, while black planes



7 Johannes Itten 'Formanalysen von El Grecos Portrait des Grossinquisitors' In *Utopia, Dokumente der Wirklichkeit,* ed. Bruno Adler (Weimar: Utopia Verlag, 1921) Museum of Fine Arts, Library, Budapest

push in the opposite direction. The dynamic movement of this form shows how Itten revisited and relived the process of artistic creation.

Itten continued to investigate the elementary means of pictorial representation and to develop approaches to pictorial analysis from 1916 to the summer of 1919 at his private art school in Vienna, and from the autumn of 1919 to the spring of 1923 at the Bauhaus in Weimar. With his preliminary course, in which the students became acquainted with the use of materials and the basic principles of design, Itten helped to shape the first phase of the Bauhaus. The course also sought to form the students' physical, spiritual and mental discipline. Itten's students in Weimar, as had his students in Vienna, analysed paintings which were presented to them in the form of photographic reproductions. Rather than simply copying an image, they learned to capture and reproduce its expression by means of lines, planes and contrasts.

Itten described these exercises as the hallowed rebirth of the work of art. This desire for spiritual rebirth was also the driving force behind his Analysen Alter Meister (Analyses of Old Masters), published in 1921 in Bruno Adler's almanac Utopia: Dokumente der Wirklichkeit (Utopia. Documents of Reality). The publication also included Itten's Farbenkugel in 7 Lichtstufen und 12 Tönen (Colour Sphere in 7 Light Values and 12 Tones). The typographic design of the first ten pages of this section features bars, curves, sinuous lines, highlighting, various fonts, rhythms and colours, such that they cannot be read in any conventional way. Itten forces his readers to be mindful, to contextualise as they read, and to follow the instructions slowly and carefully. On the tenth page, finally, there is an instruction to translate a painting into a drawing – a graphic 'movement' - and to sustain that movement, uninterrupted, throughout the analysis. This process, Itten assures the reader, will reap spiritual rewards: 'You experience the

work of art / it is reborn within you.'60 Central to each of the five fold-out plates which follow is a photograph of a work of art overlaid with a transparent, liftable flap that traces the key compositional lines. The graphic/typographic analysis is printed on the left, and is complemented on the right by an evocative text. Written in an expressionist idiom and presented in a dynamic graphic style, it is intended to help the reader to experience and assimilate the work. Thus, El Greco's portrait of the Grand Inquisitor (Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara) is accompanied by Itten's 'movement' drawing and his interpretation of what his lines express (fig. 7): 'Tooth / multiply twisted and tortured lines / all very dark with harsh lights / power / decomposition / lividly torn / ä / ü.'

Itten's analyses of form in *Utopia* are an expression of hope for a more spiritually minded future. The editor, Bruno Adler, seconded that sentiment and, mindful of the miseries of the recent war, he dedicated the almanac to this longed-for renewal. At the Bauhaus, however, Itten's visual analyses met with incomprehension and rejection. Oskar Schlemmer disliked the calligraphic typography used by a pupil of Itten's, and was critical of Itten's 'school-masterly tone in dealing with the reader'. Paul Klee, who followed Itten's classes in Weimar for a day, commented with some irony on his appearance – 'the head is half schoolmaster, half pastor' and described the visual analysis classes, which were held in a lecture theatre after five o'clock, in a similarly tongue-in-cheek manner:

The Master walked up and down by way of preparation and charging his batteries. Then he presented the formal elements that he wished to discuss in the picture by Matisse, La Danse, which was later projected [on the screen at the front of the room]. He then had the students draw the compositional scheme of this picture, once even in the dark.<sup>64</sup>

According to Klee, the 'Master' constantly walked up and down the steps of the lecture theatre, checking and critiquing, while Mrs Itten sat in the front row. In spite of his ironic stance, Klee was to incorporate some of Itten's ideas in his own teaching methods and in his art, for

example when he moved from an 'internalising vision' to a 'humanisation of the object' in 1923.<sup>65</sup> Klee and Kandinsky continued to explore the elements of pictorial representation without the falderal of mysticism.<sup>66</sup>

## ANALYSES OF FORM AS A MEANS

Most important yet least observed in the literature on the art historical analysis of form is the fact that it invariably relies on linguistic metaphors, even if it is dependent mainly on graphic demonstrations. Moreover, as this brief review of a few examples shows, the analysis of form was conceptualised and carried out in different ways: Ruskin pursued it to analyse forces and counterforces, Wölfflin to classify visual language and to formulate a history of style; Burger used it to conjure up a vision of a mysticism which is implicit in forms, whereas Itten sought to inspire an inner re-creation of the work of art by the ecstatically moved viewer. For each of them, the analysis of form was a means of achieving a purpose that was, at best, only tenuously related to form.

(Translated by Martina Dervis)

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- <sup>2</sup> Riegl 1893, *op. cit.* (see note 1), vi, vii. Quoted in English in Riegl 1992, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 4.
- <sup>3</sup> Alois Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn (Vienna: K.u.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1901), 8. In English: Id., *Late Roman Art Industry*, Archaeologica 36 (Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1985), 9.
- <sup>4</sup> Hildebrand, op. cit. (see note 1), 15.
- <sup>5</sup> Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Klassische Kunst* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1899), vii. In English: Id., *Classic Art* (London: Phaidon, 1994), xi.
- <sup>6</sup> Hildebrand, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 105–6. In English: Riegl 1907, *op. cit.* (see note 1), 102–3.
- <sup>7</sup> Heinrich Wölfflin, 'Antrittsrede zur Aufnahme in die Berliner Akademie', Sitzungsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 31 (1912), 572–8.
- <sup>8</sup> Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1905), 198. In English: Id., *The Art of Albrecht Dürer* (London: Phaidon, 1971), 207.
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- <sup>11</sup> Paul Klee, *Beiträge zur bildnerischen Formlehre* [1921/1922], ed. Jürgen
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  1979), 94; Paul Klee, *Notebooks Vol. 1: The Thinking Eye* (New York and London, 1961),
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- <sup>12</sup> Fritz Burger, Cézanne und Hodler. Einführung in die Probleme der Malerei der Gegenwart, vol. 1 (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1913), 79.
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- <sup>14</sup> William Hogarth, The Analysis of Beauty: Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Beauty (London: J. Reeves, 1753).
- <sup>15</sup> Ronald Paulsen, Hogarth's Graphic Work, 3rd ed. (London: Print Room, 1989), no. 156.
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- <sup>17</sup> Hermann Bauer, 'Form, Struktur, Stil: Die formanalytischen und formgeschichtlichen Methoden', in *Kunstgeschichte: Eine Einführung*, eds. Hans Belting et al., 6th ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 2003), 157–74; see, above all, Hubert Locher, *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Fink, 2010), 348–97; Alexander Markschies, 'Formanalyse', in *Metzler Lexikon Kunstwissenschaft*, ed. Ulrich Pfisterer, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2011), 126–8.
- <sup>18</sup> Wolfgang Kemp, The Desire of My Eyes: The Life and Work of John Ruskin (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1990), 172.
- Wölfflin, op. cit. (see note 10); see the reedition in Heinrich Wölfflin, Gesammelte Schriften, eds. Tristan Weddigen and Oskar Bätschmann, vol. 2 (Basel: Schwabe, from 2020), introduction by Oskar Bätschmann.
- <sup>20</sup> Wölfflin, op. cit. (see note 9).

- <sup>21</sup> Erwin Panofsky, 'Heinrich Wölfflin: Zu seinem 60. Geburtstage am 21. Juni 1924', Hamburger Fremdenblatt (21 June 1924), see Erwin Panofsky, Deutschsprachige Aufsätze, eds. Karen Michels and Martin Warnke, vol. 2 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1998), 1105–8; Id., 'Über das Verhältnis der Kunstgeschichte zur Kunsttheorie: Ein Beitrag zu der Erörterung über die Möglichkeit "kunstwissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe" [1925], in Panofsky 1998, op. cit., vol. 2, 1035–63.
- <sup>22</sup> Heinrich Wölfflin, *Autobiographie*, *Tagebücher und Briefe*, hrsg. Joseph Gantner (Basel: Schwabe, 1984), 408; Erwin Panofsky, *Korrespondenz bis 1968. Eine kommentierte Auswahl in fünf Bänden*, hrsg. Dieter Wuttke, Vol. I: *Korrespondenz 1910 bis 1936* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2001), no. 254, 363–4.
- <sup>23</sup> Erwin Panofsky, Hercules am Scheidewege, und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst (Leipzig: Teubner, 1930), viii-ix.
- <sup>24</sup> Wölfflin 1899, op. cit. (see note 5), 28; Wölfflin 1994, op. cit. (see note 5), 26.
- <sup>25</sup> Erwin Panofsky, Die Gestaltungsprinzipien Michelangelos, besonders in ihrem Verhältnis zu denen Raffaels, Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Gerda Panofsky (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 97–243. In English: Michelangelo's Design Principles, Particularly in Relation to Those of Raphael, ed. Gerda Panofsky-Soergel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020).
- <sup>26</sup> Wölfflin 1899, *op. cit.* (see note 8), 126–31; Wölfflin 1971, *op. cit.* (see note 8), 147.
- <sup>27</sup> Wölfflin 1899, *op. cit.* (see note 8), 126; Wölfflin 1971, *op. cit.* (see note 8), 147–8.
- <sup>28</sup> Wölfflin 1899, *op. cit.* (see note 8), 127; Wölfflin 1971, *op. cit.* (see note 8), 148.
- Wölfflin 1899, op. cit. (see note 8)., 128–9; Wölfflin 1971, op. cit. (see note 8), 148.
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  Wölfflin 1971, op. cit. (see note 8), 150. On the votive altarpiece of Doge Agostino Barbarigo of 1486/1487, see Oskar Bätschmann, Giovanni Bellini (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 90–3, pl. 79.
- <sup>31</sup> Burger 1913; see the monograph *Fritz Burger (1877–1916): 'Eine neue Kunstgeschichte'*, ed. Ulrich Pfisterer (Passau: Klinger, 2016).
- <sup>32</sup> Burger 1913, vol. 1, 120-1.

- <sup>33</sup> Ibid., 120.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid., 79–80; on Cezanne's endeavour, see Oskar Bätschmann, 'Paul Cézannes Grosse Badende: Scheitern am Meisterwerk', in Meisterwerke der Malerei: Von Rogier van der Weyden bis Andy Warhol, ed. Reinhard Brandt (Leipzig: Reclam Verlag, 2001), 171–91.
- 35 Burger 1913, vol. 1, 79.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid., 80.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>40</sup> Cf. Burger 1913, vol. 2, pl. 57, 58.
- 41 Ibid., pl. 59, 60.
- <sup>42</sup> Burger 1913, vol. 1, 81.
- 43 Ibid., 81-2.
- <sup>44</sup> Wassily Kandinsky, Über das Geistige in der Kunst, insbesondere in der Malerei (Munich: Piper, 1912) [published in December 1911]. In English: KANDINSKY 1994, 120–219.
- <sup>45</sup> Kandinsky, op. cit. (see note 44), 13–15; On the Spiritual in Art, ed. by Hilla Rebay, Solomon R. (New York: Guggenheim Foundation, 1946), 18, https://www.csus.edu/indiv/o/obriene/art206/onspiritualinart 00kand.pdf.
- <sup>46</sup> Kandinsky, *op. cit.* (see note 44), 4–5; KANDINSKY 1994, 128.
- <sup>47</sup> Arnold Schönberg, *Harmonielehre* (Leipzig: Universaledition, 1911).
- <sup>48</sup> Kandinsky, *op. cit.* (see note 44), 33–4; Kandinsky 1994, 151.
- <sup>49</sup> Kandinsky, *op. cit.* (see note 44), 34–5; KANDINSKY 1994, 152.
- <sup>50</sup> See Oskar Bätschmann, 'The Form of Color: Kandinsky's Revival of the Arts', in Kandinsky, Marc & Der Blaue Reiter, ed. Ulf Küster (exh. cat. Basel: Fondation Beyeler Riehen, 2016–17, Berlin: Hatje Cantz,

2016), 8-17.

- <sup>51</sup> Felix Thürlemann, 'Kandinskys Analyse Zeichnungen', Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 48 (1985), 364–78; Felix Thürlemann, Kandinsky über Kandinsky: Der Künstler als Interpret eigener Werke (Bern: Benteli, 1986).
- <sup>52</sup> Kandinsky, *op. cit.* (see note 44), 58, n. 1; KANDINSKY 1994, 167. Cf. Bushart, 'Die Expressionisten und die Formfrage', in *Das Problem der Form*, ed. Hans Aurenhammer and Regine Prange (Berlin: Mann, 2016), 239–56.
- <sup>53</sup> *Der Blaue Reiter,* ed. Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc (Munich: Piper, 1912), 3.
- 54 See the plates in *Johannes Itten, Kunst als Leben,* ed. Christoph Wagner (exh. cat. Bern: Kunstmuseum; Bielefeld: Kunstforum Hermann Stenner, 2019–20, Munich: Hirmer, 2019), n. p.; Johannes Itten, *Bildanalysen,* eds. Rainer Wick and Anneliese Itten (Ravensburg: Maier, 1988), 22, 59.
- <sup>55</sup> Christoph Wagner, Johannes Itten, Catalogue Raisonné, vol. 1, 1907–1918 (Munich: Hirmer, 2018), 40–5; Ines Rödl, Johannes Itten und die Alten Meister: Genese und historischer Kontext einer neuen Bildanalytik (Berlin: Mann, 2020), 126–34.
- <sup>56</sup> Julius Meier-Graefe, *Paul Cézanne* (Munich: Piper, 1913); on the identification of the models, see Itten, *op. cit.* (see note 54),
- <sup>57</sup> Rödl, op. cit. (see note 55), 207-45.
- <sup>58</sup> Werner Oechslin, 'Verwandlungen durch Johannes Itten: Der Schweizer Maler und Lehrer provozierte die Kreativität und stellte die Konventionen am Bauhaus infrage', Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 4 September 2019, 40.

- <sup>59</sup> Rödl, op. cit. (see note 55), 232-9.
- <sup>60</sup> Johannes Itten, 'Analysen Alter Meister', in Utopia: Dokumente der Wirklichkeit, ed. Bruno Adler (Weimar: Utopia, 1921), 10 typographically designed plates.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid., 10; https://archive.org/details/utopia00adle/page/n81/mode/2up.
- 62 See Rödl, op. cit. (see note 55), 286.
- <sup>63</sup> Paul Klee, *Briefe an die Familie*, ed. Felix Klee, vol. 2 (Cologne: DuMont, 1979), 970, letter to Lily Klee of 16 January 1921.
- <sup>64</sup> Ibid., 970–1; as cited in Robert McCarter, Breuer (London: Phaidon, 2016), see https://www.artspace.com/magazine/ art\_101/book\_report/phaidon-breueressay-excerpt-53922.
- <sup>65</sup> Paul Klee, 'Wege des Naturstudiums', in Id., Schriften, Rezensionen und Aufsätze, ed. Christian Geelhaar (Cologne: DuMont, 1976), 125; Paul Klee: Philosophical Vision, ed. John Sallis (exh. cat. Boston, MA: McMullen Museum of Art, 2012), 17, 162, https://archive.org/details/paulklee philosop00klee/page/n163/mode/2up.
- <sup>66</sup> Cf. Fabienne Eggelhöfer, 'Paul Klees Lehre vom Schöpferischen', diss., University of Bern, 2012, CD-ROM; Marianne Keller Tschirren, 'Dreieck, Kreis, Kugel: Farbenordnungen im Unterricht von Paul Klee am Bauhaus', diss., University of Bern, 2012, CD-ROM; Bätschmann, op. cit. (see note 50), 8–17.