The 'value of drawing' and the 'method of vision'. How formalism and connoisseurship shaped the aesthetic of the sketch[*]

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What is the most genuine quality of drawing? In accordance with his profession, connoisseur Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville offered a clear answer about an admittedly problematic question that is even nowadays, although not rendered obsolete, at its core predominantly confined to his area of expertise – judging an artwork's quality ('le bon & le mauvais d'un ouvrage').[1] Despite connoisseurship being 'superseded by iconographical studies' in the second half of the twentieth century, it was 'the exclusive analytical tool in the study of Italian drawings [even two decades ago]',[2] and the judgment of artistic quality, however undefined the term may be, remained a vital part. Dezallier d'Argenville's definition of such artistic qualities, for instance, extended well beyond whether a work of art was 'good' or 'bad',[3] and was largely dependent on what he quite simply referred to as a 'tasteful' drawing. According to him, these drawings consist of '[invention], correctness, good taste, grand judgment, expression of emotions, higher thoughts, a spiritual touch, & a free hand […]'.[4] His assessment certainly mirrored certain ideas of Giorgio Vasari's concept of *disegno* as an immediate manifestation of intellectual

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[1] Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre*, Paris: De Bure [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxij. – However, there are even scholars who claim that connoisseurship follows no goal at all: Hal Opperman, 'The Thinking Eye, the Mind That Sees: The Art Historian as Connoisseur', *Artibus et Historiae*, 11:21, 1990, 10.

[2] Carmen C. Bambach, 'Bernard Berenson. *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters Classified, Criticised and Studied as Documents in the History and Appreciation of Tuscan Art, with a Copious Catalogue Raisonné*, 1903' in *The Books that shaped Art History. From Gombrich and Greenberg to Alpers and Krauss*, Richard Shone, John-Paul Stonard, eds, London: Thames & Hudson, 2013, 30.

[3] Dezallier d'Argenville was fully aware of the problematic implications not only of judging these aesthetic qualities, but also of the role the connoisseur's personal taste played in making these judgements. Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre*, [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xix.

[4] 'L'invention, la correction, le bon goût, un grand jugement, l'expression des passions, la pensée élevée, une touche spirituelle, & la liberté de la main […].' Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre*, [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxij. Friedländer linked the immediacy of drawings to their originality: Max J. Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* Boston: Beacon Press, 1942, 235.

ideas,[5] but simultaneously expanded this notion well beyond Vasari's scope. The admittedly broad-stroked definition of a 'tasteful' drawing implicitly echoed specific characteristics of what he considered to be a sketch – something quickly executed ('jette sur le papier', 'avec beaucoup de vitesse') and spiritual ('une pensée executée avec beaucoup d'esprit'),[6] because the 'connoisseur aimed to know the mind, the sensibility, of the artist, graphed most sensitively by the pen or chalk drawing.'[7] For Dezallier d'Argenville, this 'sensibility of the artist' was indeed connected to the question whether a drawing is an original or a copy, which was not only determined by analysing the drawing's graphic execution (hatching, contour, lineament, etc.), but also associated with handwriting as the artist's most individual expression, intertwining artistic thoughts and the movement of the hand: 'Like a type of handwriting that distinguishes people from one another; so the character of one is never like any other'.[8] Regardless of its fluid boundary with other subgenres of drawing, the connotations of the 'tasteful' drawing ('touche spirituelle, & la liberté de la main') are nowadays irrevocably associated with the sketch.[9] The spiritual touch and free execution were the reasons why the sketch has been, to this day, associated with a variety of connotations, among which immediacy, spontaneity, and the nonchalant and non-chromatic line are the most significant.[10] Gradually, these characteristics formed a preference for the genre that currently dominates the

[5] Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite (…)*, Paola della Pergola, Luigi Grassi, Giovanni Previtali, eds, Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1967, vol. 1, chap. XV, 115.

[6] Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre*, [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xvij. Despite the fact that Dezallier d'Argenville largely based these thoughts on Roger de Piles treatises, their notions with respect to the sketch differ significantly, see: Roger de Piles, *Les Premiers Elemens de la Peinture pratique*, Paris: Chez Nicolas Langlois, 1684, esp. chap. X, 21–23.

[7] Christopher S. Wood, *A History of Art History*, Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019, 151.

[8] 'Comme un genre d'écriture, qui distingue les hommes entr'eux; de sorte que le charactére de l'un n'est jamais celui de l'autre', Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre*, [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxvi. – This connection of thought, movement of the hand, and the impossibility of copying this individual graphic mark was one of the most impactful methodical approaches of connoisseurship. In fact, it was the focal point of some of the most controversial contributions in the field of connoisseurship, e.g.: Alexander Perrig, *Michelangelo's drawings: the science of attribution*, New Haven (et al.): Yale University Press, 1991.

[9] For an overview, see: Joseph Meder, *Die Handzeichnung. Ihre Technik und Entwicklung,* Vienna: Schroll-Verlag, 1919, esp. 284–293; on the aesthetic of the sketch in the early modern age: Roland Kanz, *Die Kunst des Capriccio. Kreativer Eigensinn in Renaissance und Barock,* Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002, esp. 217–225; Nicola Suthor, *Bravura. Virtuosität und Mutwilligkeit in der Malerei der Frühen Neuzeit,* Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2010, esp. 87–111; on the practice of sketches and their role in the early modern workshop: Francis Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy,* New Haven/London: Yale University Press, [1981] 2000.

[10] Giorgio Vasari laid the groundwork for this interpretation: Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori (...)*, Paola della Pergola, Luigi Grassi, Giovanni Previtali, eds, vol. 1, chap. XV, 115–121.

academic discourse on drawing.[11] This sort of immediacy and spirit ('istraordinaria facilità') had, in fact, already been highlighted by Filippo Baldinucci in his *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno* (1681).[12] By following his writings on the stain-like formless characteristics of the *macchia*,[13] Dezallier d'Argenville combined both the 'spiritual touch' and the 'free hand' in an attempt to define the sketch ('[les] premiers pensées, les esquisses') as an artwork that was particularly hard to imitate precisely because of its connection with the artist's spirit ('[ces] traits simples & francs sont difficiles à imiter, ils sont si spirituels, qu'il manque toujours quelque chose aux copie que l'on en fait').[14] The connoisseur not only 'aimed to know the sensibility of the artist'[15] as an end in itself, for the 'spiritual' line served as a stepping stone for attribution and authenticity.

While oftentimes considered a mere 'vehicle' for painting or other artworks,[16] the sketch was gradually defined as a subgenre that was, above all else, associated with the most inherent aesthetic qualities of drawing – its immediacy and 'unfinished' nature.[17] Notwithstanding that these characteristics are now partially considered general attributes of drawings, and therefore have an impact on the interpretation of, for instance, preparatory drawings, this has not always been the consensus. Preparatory drawings and sketches were viewed as subgenres with entirely different functions and aesthetics, and early art historical writings between the late nineteenth and the middle of the twentieth century – both from within the connoisseurship, the history of style ('Stilgeschichte'), and formalism – contributed immensely to their definition as genres as well as to the study of drawing that

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[11] Among the latest contributions on sketches: Matthias Wivel, 'Lotto and the Renaissance oil sketch', *Contesti, significati, conservazione*, Francesca Coltrinari, Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo, eds, Treviso: ZeL edizioni, 2019, 307–323; Nicola Suthor, '(Non)transparency in the description of a sketch. Rembrandt's ''Christ Carrying the Cross''', *Spur der Arbeit*, Henrike Haug, Magdalena Bushart, eds, Cologne (et al.): Böhlau Verlag, 2018, 127–144; Carmen C. Bambach, '''Porre le figure disgrossatamente''. The sketches of Leonardo and the creative imagination', *Leonardo da Vinci*, Pietro C. Marani, Maria Teresa Fiorio, eds, Milan: Skira, 2015, 51–61.

[12] Filippo Baldinucci, *Vocabolario toscano dell'arte del disegno (…)*, Florence: Per Santi Franchi, 1681, 86. On the impossibility of imitating the sketched line, as opposed to hatching, for instance: Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre,* [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxvij.

[13] On the *macchia* and its relation to the linearity of *disegno*: Gottfried Biedermann, 'Der Begriff der ''macchia'' in der Barockmalerei', *Barock: regional–international*, Götz Pochat, Brigitte Wagner, eds, Graz: Akad. Dr.- und Verl.-Anst., 1993, 344–351.

[14] Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre,* [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxx. – For the parallels between the sketch and the *macchia*: Kanz, *Die Kunst des Capriccio,* 2002, 219.

[15] Wood, *A History of Art History*, 2019, 151.

[16] In contrast, the most recent research on 'autonomous' drawings follows a narrative that does not necessarily tie drawings to other art works, e.g.: *Jenseits des disegno? Die Entstehung selbstständiger Zeichnungen in Deutschland und Italien im 15. und 16. Jhr.,* Daniela Bohde, Alessandro Nova, eds, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2018.

[17] For the 'unfinished' in Italian Renaissance art and its relation to drawing: Carmen C. Bambach, 'Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Notions of the Unfinished in Art', *Unfinished: Thoughts Left Visible*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016, 30–42.

nowadays favours the sketch above all other forms and techniques (e.g. 'pen works').

In the following, I will focus on some of the most ground-breaking works for the study of connoisseurship,[18] including the writings of Bernard Berenson, Max J. Friedländer, Bernhard Degenhart as well as their intellectual affinities with Heinrich Wölfflin's approach to stylistic developments during the sixteenth century. My emphasis is on Florentine drawings, in particular, since the majority of the examples provided by these scholars is Florentine art. Even though these scholars took fundamentally different approaches towards art historical interpretations and had entirely different backgrounds, their ideas regarding the aesthetic of drawing sometimes coincided with regard to certain expressions and concepts, as indicated in the title, and I am interested in how these ideas changed in different contexts. This essay's goal is therefore neither to trace a seamless methodical or ideological transition between these works, nor to systematically investigate the role of drawing in formalism and connoisseurship since the late nineteenth century; nor is it an attempt to define terms like 'preparatory drawing' or 'sketch' in general. Instead, this essay is divided into two parts: The first part focuses on how, from a formalistic point of view, lines in drawings were considered to shape a compositional form while being independent of colour. In this context, drawing was a tool for painting that was first and foremost an intelligible, 'rational' element of the artwork. It served as a vehicle for an epochal style, catalysed by a discourse on lines in art and the way they were perceived as a stepping stone for epochal styles around 1900.[19] Implicitly, and strictly in the context of the graphic arts, these notions followed up on the sixteenth-century emphasis on the lineament of drawing. Not only did both lineament and contour play an immsensly important role in the art theoretical formation of *disegno*,[20] but also led to the gradual 'equation Disegno-Lineamento'.[21]

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[18] For connoisseurship and its methodical approaches towards drawing, see, for instance: Albert Boesten-Stengel, 'Aporien der Kennerschaft. Zeichenduktus und Strichbild bei Joseph Meder und Bernhard Degenhart', *Die Etablierung und Entwicklung des Faches Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland, Polen und Mitteleuropa*, Wojciech Bałus, Joanna Wolańska, eds, Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2010, 165–182; Joachim Jacoby, 'Oskar Fischel: method and connoisseurship', *Raffael als Zeichner*, Marzia Faietti, Achim Gnann, eds, Florence/Milan: Giunti, 2019, 114–136; on the methodology of formalism and connoisseurship in general, among many: Whitney Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, esp. 45–74; for a broad overview on connoisseurly methods, see, for example: David Ebitz, 'Connoisseurship as Practice', *Artibus et Historiae*, 9:18, 1988, 207–212.

[19] For the relation of lines and the conceptualisation of the 'Mannerism': Paul van den Akker, *Looking for Lines. Theories on the essence of art and the problem of mannerism*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000, with an emphasis on connoisseurship, esp. 237–258; on Wölfflin, see chap. 3, 109–144. – For an interpretation of lines in a cultural scientific perspective, see, for instance: Sabine Mainberger, *Experiment Linie. Künste und ihre Wissenschaften um 1900*, Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos, 2010.

[20] On contour in this particular context, see: Federika H. Jacobs, 'An Assessment of Contour Line: Vasari, Cellini and the 'Paragone'', *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 9, 18, 1988, 139–150.

[21] Wolfgang Kemp, 'Disegno. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Begriffs zwischen 1547 und 1607', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 19, 1974, 225.

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The second part examines the countermovement, which in turn laid claim to a 'spiritual' aesthetic that is often associated with sketches, defining the genre as independent of stylistic developments or other artworks. Here, the line of the sketch was no longer associated with form, but with its opposite, the *macchia*-like dissolution of shapes that produced a set of vocabulary and a variety of aesthetic connotations associated with the genre.

Colour – clarity – painting

Although Heinrich Wölfflin was not primarily interested in drawing,[22] his authoritative works *Die klassische Kunst. Einführung in die italienische Renaissance* (1899) and *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst* (1915) introduced new parameters which connoisseurs were quick to adapt in the following decades.[23] It was fitting that the terms with the biggest impact on the connoisseurship of drawing were 'linear' or 'tactile' ('linear') and 'painterly' or 'optical' ('malerisch'); terms Wölfflin used to contrast Albrecht Dürer's and Rembrandt's (fig. 1) graphic oeuvre.[24] The terms were the first demonstration of his concept of 'modes of seeing' ('Arten des Sehens') which determined stylistic evolutions ('grundsätzlich andere Anschauung')[25] and therefore the apparent differences in Dürer's and Rembrandt's drawings of female nudes. 'Linear' and 'painterly' as opposite 'modes of seeing' fit seamlessly with his choice of images: Dürer's *Study for the Figure of Eve* and Rembrandt's *Standing Female Nude* (fig. 1) symmetrical arrangement in the *Grundbegriffe* not only mirrored the terminological dependencies. Note how the arrangement of artworks had an immense suggestive impact on the reader, and it implied that the images were the obvious choice.[26]

[22] There is one note indicating that he might have been interested in writing a book on the history of drawing, however, he did not pursue the project: 'Geschichte der Zeichnung. Alles zu lange hingeschoben. […] Keine Untersuchung über Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse von x und y.' Heinrich Wölfflin, diary entry, 17 January 1919, Joseph Gantner, ed., *Heinrich Wölfflin, 1864–1945: Autobiographie, Tagebücher und Briefe,* Basel/Stuttgart: Schwabe & Co. AG. Verlag, 1982, 320 ['History of drawing. Postponed everything for too long. […] No investigation of dependencies between x and y.']. The preface to the second edition of *Die klassische Kunst* made mention of the necessity of a history of drawing ('Entwicklung der Zeichnung') for future research in order to better explain the term representation ('Darstellung'). Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst. Eine Einführung in die italienische Renaissance,* 6. ed., Munich: F. Bruckmann-A-G., 1914, x.
[23] On Wölfflin's writing in a broader historical context, one of the most recent contributions: Evonne A. Levy, *Baroque and the Political Language of Formalism (1845–1945). Burckhardt, Wölfflin, Gurlitt, Brinckmann, Sedlymayr,* Basel/Stuttgart: Schwabe & Co AG. Verlag, 2015.
[24] Although Wölfflin attributed the drawing to Rembrandt, it is now considered to be a work from his circle.
[25] Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*, 2. ed., Munich: Hugo Bruckmann Verlag, [1915] 1917, 42.
[26] Hubert Locher, *Kunstgeschichte als historische Theorie der Kunst 1750–1950,* Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2001, 384.
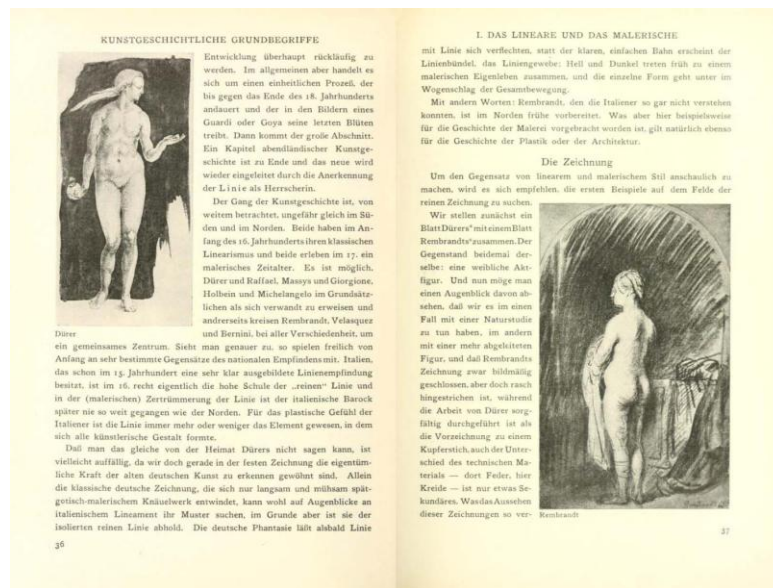
Figure 1 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 36 f.

Superficially, similar distinctions of aesthetic qualities based on the use of various graphic tools were already made during the course of the sixteenth century: The most basic categorisation of graphic styles was premised on drawing materials that produced either 'linear' lines (pen, intaglio engraving, etc.) or more chromatic effects (chalk, wash, etc.).[27] Besides the fact that Wölfflin's *Grundbegriffe* neatly tied in with the connoisseurs' interest in geographical and stylistic considerations, one of the reasons why terms like 'linear' and 'painterly' appealed to connoisseurs was precisely their basic nature that seemingly derives intuitively from the various graphic executions themselves.[28] However, this is not the way Wölfflin interpreted Dürer's and Rembrandt's drawings. Their major difference was not the different drawing tool, but the way in which the contour created form as a result of different evolutions ('Anschauung').[29] He states:

> What makes these drawings appear so different is first and foremost this:
> There, the impression is orientated toward tactile values ('Tastwerte'),
> here toward optical values ('Sehwerte'). […] [In Dürer's drawing] the
> primary accent is the surrounding contour. In Rembrandt's drawing, the

[27] Among many references e.g.: Giovanni Battista Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura (…)*, Ravenna: Francesco Tebaldini, 1587, 55 f.; Raffaelo Borghini, *Il riposo (…)*, Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1584, 140; Benvenuto Cellini, *Due trattati di Benvenuto Cellini Scultore Fiorentino,* Florence: Per Valente Panizzij, & Marco Peri, [1568] 1731, 134; Karel van Mander, *Die Grundlage der edlen und freien Malerkunst (…)*, [Haarlem 1604], Rudolf Hoecker, ed., Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1916, 62; Fra Francesco Bisagno: *Trattato della pittura (…)*, Venice: ii Giunti, 1642, 23 f.

[28] For the adaptation and impact of Wölfflin's language on connoisseurs, such as Bernhard Degenhart and Alexander Perrig: Elvira Bojilova, '''In dem Gesang der Linie offenbart sich die Wahrheit der Form'' – Die Faktur der Graphik als Metapher', *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft,* 64:2, 2019, 209–234.

[29] Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 42.

> contour has lost its meaning. It no longer primarily carries the form, and it has no particular beauty.[30]

Although Albrecht Dürer's and Rembrandt's drawings indeed served as a vehicle for his stylistic distinction between 'linear' and 'painterly', he did not include any general observations regarding drawing as a genre in his *Grundbegriffe.* Moreover, these polar terms were symptomatic throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and his initial focus on drawing in a separate subchapter of the *Grundbegriffe* served merely as a preface, as the following subchapter already interconnected the practice of drawing with painting.[31]

In *Die klassische Kunst* (1899), however, Wölfflin repeatedly elucidated what he defined as the 'value of drawing' ('Wert der Zeichnung'),[32] further elaborating on the polarity between form ('linear') and non-form ('painterly'). The so-called 'value of drawing' was closely tied to a crucial aesthetic category for the stylistic development of the Italian Renaissance: the 'clarity' ('Klarheit') of the painted figures or the overall composition of a picture.[33] In so doing, he introduced a concept that he would take up again in the *Grundbegriffe.*[34] The fact that he first drew this connection between drawing and the concept of 'clarity' with regard to a painting[35] – and more specifically Leonardo da Vinci's *St. Anne*[36] – is symptomatic of his contextualisation of drawing as a means to illustrate a broader artistic development.[37] As such, the representation and colouring of figures was crucial, for

[30] 'Was das Aussehen dieser Zeichnungen so verschieden gestaltet, ist vor allem dies: daß der Eindruck dort auf Tastwerte und hier auf Sehwerte abgestellt ist. […] [Die] ringsrum laufende Randlinie hat [bei Dürer; E.B.] den Hauptakzent. Bei Rembrandt hat sie ihre Bedeutung verloren, sie ist nicht mehr der wesentliche Träger des Formausdrucks und es liegt keine besondere Schönheit in ihr.', Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 37 f. – For Berenson's concept of 'tactile values', see for instance: Alison Brown, 'Bernard Berenson and ''Tactile Values'' in Florence', *Bernard Berenson. Formation and Heritage,* Joseph Connors, Louis A. Waldman, eds, Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2014, 101–120.

[31] Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, esp. 37–58.

[32] Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst. Einführung in die italienische Renaissance,* Munich: Verlagsanstalt F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1899, 36.

[33] On clarity and line, yet without linking neither specifically to drawing, see: Van den Akker, *Looking for Lines,* 2000, esp. 133–139.

[34] Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, esp. 210–237.

[35] For a comparable 'formalistic' interpretation of drawings and their relation to form and painting, see: Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft,* 5th ed., [Berlin/Libau: Lagarde und Friedrich 1790] Leipzig: Verlag von Felix Meiner, 1922, §14.42, 64.

[36] Leonardo da Vinci, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne,* 1510. Oil on canvas, 168 x 130 cm. Paris: Musée du Louvre, see: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anna_selbdritt_(Leonardo_da_Vinci)#/media/Datei:Leonardo_da_Vinci_-_Virgin_and_Child_with_St_Anne_C2RMF_retouched.jpg [last access: 3.11.2020].

[37] Carmen C. Bambach pointed out that Berenson, on the other hand, 'underestimated the evidence that the techniques and functions of drawing contribute to the history of style', as well as the fact that Robert Oertel's effort in 1940 to link drawing to the stylistic development of the Renaissance 'went unheeded'. Bambach, 'Bernard Berenson. *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters',* 2013, 37. See Robert Oertel, 'Wandmalerei und Zeichnung in Italien. Die Anfänge der Entwurfszeichnung und ihre monumentalen Vorstufen', *Mitteilungen des*

according to Wöfflin, 'in colour, the picture […] is defaced. And what constitutes the value of the drawing is little appreciated and barely perceived by the modern eye.'[38]

Figure 2 Leonardo da Vinci, *Study for the Battle of Anghiari,* ca. 1503/04. Pen and brown ink with wash over stylus on paper, 14.5 x 15.2 cm. Venice: Galleria dell'Accademia, inv. no. 215A. © Wikimedia commons

Surprisingly, he did not make a closer comparison between the finished painting and, for instance, the *Burlington House Cartoon* or any of the other preparatory drawings. Instead, he further developed what he only alluded to in the *Grundbegriffe*.[39] For Wölfflin, the triangular composition with the seemingly motionless poses of the figures was the antithesis of the *Battle of Anghiari* (fig. 2), in which the 'problem of the plastically-rich group' borders on the 'limits of clarity'.[40]

Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, vol. 5, 4:5, 1940, 217–314.

[38] 'Das Bild [*Hl. Anna Selbdritt,* E.B.] […] ist in der Farbe entstellt, und was den Wert der Zeichnung ausmacht, wird von modernen Augen wenig geschätzt, kaum wahrgenommen.' Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 36. For the problem of colour and form, see also: Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1919, e.g. 213–219; as well as Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock. Eine Untersuchung über das Wesen und die Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien,* Munich: Theodor Ackermann, Königlicher Hofbuchhändler 1888, e.g. 21–23. For the historical context of this dichotomy and Wölfflin's formalism: Martin Warnke, 'On Heinrich Wölfflin', *Representations,* 27, 1989, esp. 179. – On a comparable relation between the underlying drawing and colourful painting c.f.: Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* 1942, 220 f.

[39] 'Lionardo, der die farbigen Reflexe und die komplementären Farben der Schatten theoretisch schon genau kannte, wollte doch nicht dulden, daß der Maler diese Erscheinungen in sein Bild übertrüge. Das ist sehr bezeichnend. Offenbar befürchtete er, es könnte die Klarheit und Selbstherrlichkeit der Gegenstände leiden.' Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 217 ['Leonardo, who already knew colourful reflexions and complementary colours of shadows from a theoretical perspective very well, would not tolerate that a painter transferred these phenomena into his painting. This is very telling. Obviously, he feared that both clarity and proud splendor'].

[40] 'Lionardo gedachte den Florentinern einmal zu zeigen, was es heisse, Pferde zu zeichnen. Er nahm eine Reiterepisode als Hauptmotiv der Schlacht heraus: der Kampf um die Fahne.

Figure 3 Peter Paul Rubens (after Leonardo da Vinci), *Battle of Anghiari,* ca. 1600–1608. Black chalk, pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash, gray and white heightening on paper, including mount: 45.3 x 63.6 cm. Paris: Cabinet des dessins du Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 20271. © Wikimedia commons

As an inevitable result of this compositional structure, even Peter Paul Rubens's famous drawing after the *Battle of Anghiari* 'interprets [the fresco; E.B.] in a painterly way' (fig. 3).[41] For multiple reasons, Wölfflin's exclusion of colour was symptomatic for the interpretation of drawing, and, whether intentionally or not, it was a methodical approach that took on connoisseurly notions introduced by the likes of Dezallier d'Argenville.[42] Implicitly, this reduction of graphic lines to colourless entities whose sole purpose was the creation of a specific form was, in turn, merely a vehicle for the concept of Renaissance 'clarity', as his description of Andrea del Sarto's drawings exemplified. Without including any reproductions of Andrea del Sarto's drawings to better illustrate his argument, Wölfflin describes them as

Vier Pferde und vier Reiter in leidenschaftlichster Erregung und im engstem Kontakt. Das Problem der plastisch-reichen Gruppenbildung ist hier auf eine Höhe gesteigert, wo man fast an die Grenzen der Unklarheit stösst.' Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 39 ['Leonardo intended to show the Florentines what it means to draw horses. He chose the horsemen as the battle scene's main motif: the battle over the flag. Four horses and four horsemen in a state of utmost passion and closest contact. Here, the problem of the plastically-rich formation of groups is exalted to a height that almost borders on unclarity.']

[41] Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 39.

[42] Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre,* [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xix. As well as: Jonathan Richardson, *Two discourses. I. An essay on the whole art of criticism, as it relates to painting … II. An argument in behalf of the science of a connoisseur.* London: Churchill, 1719, 132. For a similar distinction of colour from drawing, c.f.: Joseph Meder, *Die Handzeichnung,* 1919. Further on connoisseurship and colour: Joris C. Heyder, 'Farbe und Kennerschaft', *Sehen als Vergleichen. Praktiken des Vergleichens von Bildern, Kunstwerken und Artefakten,* Johannes Grave, Joris C. Heyder, Britta Hochkirchen, eds, Bielefeld: Bielefeld University Press, 2020, 27–50.

follows:

> He treats the joints with an edginess ('Schneidigkeit') […] and brings out
> the functions with an energy and clarity that would guarantee full
> admiration for his paintings, even if the Florentine heritage of the good
> drawing ('der guten Zeichnung') had not blended with painterly ability in
> a way in which it rarely reoccurred in Tuscany.[43]

This connection of clarity and colour was crucial. Wölfflin's account of Michelangelo as 'a particularly gifted draughtsman' ('Mann der Zeichnung im besondern Sinne') who was capable of combining his talent for drawing with *chiaroscuro,* as demonstrated in the *Last Judgement,*[44] not only interconnected the polarity of colour and drawing.[45] Moreover, he further explained the 'nature of the ''good drawing''' ('das Wesen der ''guten Zeichnung'''), which was part of the question of how figural movement ('Bewegungsinhalt') could be represented in a comparatively small space ('auf engstem Raum') – a compositional challenge he initially described as the 'problem of the plastically-rich group'. In the *Tondo Doni,*[46] Wölfflin analogously traces back these characteristics to drawing itself:

> Lineament and modelling have a metallic precision. In fact, it [the *Tondo
> Doni,* E.B.] is no longer a painting ('Bild'), but painted sculpture. Plastic
> imagination ('Vorstellen') has always been a Florentine strength, they are
> a people of sculpture, not of painting. Here, however, the national talent is
> elevated to a height that develops entirely new concepts about the nature
> of the ''good drawing''.[47]

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[43] 'Er behandelt die Gelenke mit einer Schneidigkeit […] und bringt die Funktionen mit einer Energie und Klarheit zur Erscheinung, die seinen Bildern eine volle Bewunderung sichern müsste, auch wenn das florentinische Erbteil der guten Zeichnung sich hier nicht mit einer malerischen Begabung verbunden hätte, wie sie in Toscana kaum mehr vorgekommen ist.' Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 149. – Cf. for the 'clear structure' of a figure in fifteenth-century drawings: Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 156.

[44] Michelangelo, *The Last Judgement,* 1536–1541. Fresco, Rome: Sistine Chapel, see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Last_Judgment_(Michelangelo)#/media/File:Last_Judgement_(Michelangelo).jpg [last access: 3.11.2020].

[45] Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 264.

[46] Michelangelo, *Tondo Doni,* ca. 1504–1508. Oil on wood, d. with frame: 120 cm. Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi, see: https://www.uffizi.it/opere/sacra-famiglia-detta-tondo-doni [last access: 3.11.2020].

[47] 'Lineament und Modellierung sind von metallischer Präcision. Es [der *Tondo Doni;* E.B.] ist eigentlich kein Bild mehr, sondern gemalte Plastik. Das plastische Vorstellen ist von jeher die Stärke der Florentiner gewesen, sie sind ein Volk der Plastik, nicht der Malerei, hier aber steigert sich das nationale Talent zu einer Höhe, die ganz neue Begriffe über das Wesen der ''guten Zeichnung'' erschliesst.' Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 48. The question why Wölfflin felt compelled to insert quotation marks remains unanswered, but perhaps they indicate an awareness of the subjectiveness of the expression 'good drawing' or a shift in connotations compared to other uses of this term.

Several aspects converge here: Superficially, factoring colour out of drawing served, yet again, as a means to describe both styles and compositional elements that were conceived as prototypical for the Renaissance, while secretly becoming something else entirely. It no longer served as a stylistic 'tool', but pointed towards the 'linear' qualities and 'tactile values' ('Tastwerte') of the sixteenth century as something that relies on clarity of form more than any other genre of art: sculpture. Just like 'linear' and 'painterly' were co-dependant terms, Wölfflin introduced a counter concept to his notion of a 'rational' element inherent in the 'value of drawing'. However, typically enough, this 'sensitive' treatment of the line was not characteristic of preparatory drawing and therefore not a symptom of painting per se. By focusing on Leonardo da Vinci's technique of parallel hatching, he drew attention to the function of the contour in Leonardo's sketches (fig. 4):[48]

> She [the *Mona Lisa*; E.B.] is a technical mystery. But when the work is completely transparent, e.g. in the ordinary metal point drawings, […] he is no less surprising. One could say he was the first to treat the line in a sensitive way. The way he lets the stroke swell and subside, in the contour, cannot be found anywhere else.[49]
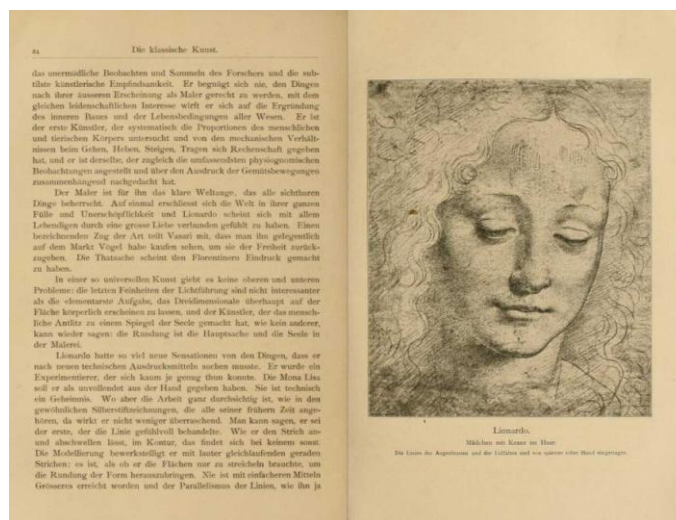

Figure 4 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst*, 1899, 24 f.

Wölfflin was conscious of the inherently aesthetic values created by lines, and he emphasised this importance by dedicating an entire page to this drawing. Not only did lines in drawings evoke 'higher concepts of clarity' ('höhere Begriffe von

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[48] Like Rembrandt's *Standing Female Nude*, this sketch is now attributed to the school of Leonardo, although Wölfflin acknowledges that the eyelid creases and eyebrows have been added by a different artist.

[49] 'Sie [die *Mona Lisa*; E.B.] ist technisch ein Geheimnis. Wo aber die Arbeit ganz durchsichtig ist, wie in den gewöhnlichen Silberstiftzeichnungen, […] da wirkt er nicht weniger überraschend. Man kann sagen, er sei der erste, der die Linie gefühlvoll behandelte. Wie er den Strich an- und abschwellen lässt, im Kontur, das findet sich bei keinem sonst.' Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst*, 1899, 24.

Klarheit'),[50] but even the more 'simple lines'[51] of a drawing as such could potentially create relations of beauty, movement, rhythm,[52] and contribute to an epochal aesthetic. He explained: 'The sixteenth century brings the calm flow of line, the big move, the rhythmic cadence. It is as if a new empathy for the line had awoken […].'[53] In fact, this attribution of specific aesthetic qualities of the line was an essential element in the *Grundbegriffe.* The ambivalence of Wölfflin's conception of lines is no coincidence: Just like the 'linear' style had the potential to contain elements of the 'painterly' and *vice versa,* his notions on Leonardo's lines followed the same *ying-yang*-principle. For Leonardo '[treated] the line in a sensitive way', yet at the same time this 'sensitive' line pointed to the 'rational' formation of form. As such, and very much unlike Rembrandt's drawings, the 'artistic quality' ('künstlerische Qualität') of the sixteenth-century 'classic drawings' ('klassische Zeichnung', 'klassischer Zeichnungsstil', etc.)[54] was a 'continuous, rhythmic movement as a long and evenly thick line' ('[ununterbrochene, rhythmische] Bewegung, als lange, gleichmäßig starke Linie') whose purpose was to create a 'homogenous expression' ('[homogenen] Ausdruck'), a sort of 'clarity of form' ('Formenklarheit').[55]

Line – feeling – sketch

This idea of drawing as 'clarity' was not the only 'formalistic' approach that resonated with twentieth-century connoisseurship, for instance, in the works of Wölfflin's contemporary Bernard Berenson and later Max J. Friedländer. Their work was not only half a century apart, but also founded on entirely different premises. While Berenson created much of his writings while actively practicing connoisseurship, Friedländer's *On art and connoisseurship* was written in exile as a retrospective reflection upon his life's work as a distinguished connoisseur. What connects both connoisseurs, thus, is not so much a consistent view on their practice and its methodological framework, but rather fragments of similar expressions and observations. Unlike Berenson, who did not distinguish between different perception modes,[56] Max J. Friedländer, for instance, took up a variation of Wölfflin's 'modes of seeing' in *On art and connoisseurship* (1942).[57] In a prosaic

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50 Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 97.

51 Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 120.

52 Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 239 f.

53 'Das 16. Jahrhundert bringt den beruhigten Fluss der Linie, den grossen Zug, die rhythmische Kadenz. Es ist als ob überhaupt ein neues Mitgefühl für die Linie wachgeworden sei […].' Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 240.

54 Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 34 and 42.

55 Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 41, cf. also 229 and 231.

56 C. Oliver O'Donnell, 'Berensonian Formalism and Pragmatist Perception', *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft,* 62:2, 2017, 291.

57 Cf. the latest contribution on Max J. Friedländer and the methodical framework of connoisseurship: Giuliana Tomasella, 'Il conoscitore del'arte secondo Max Jacob Friedländer (1867–1958)', *I conoscitori tedeschi tra Otto e Novecento,* Francesco Caglioti, Andrea de Marchi, Alessandro Nova, eds, Milan: Officia Libraria, 2018, 337–348.

tone, he proclaimed that 'the draughtsman's vision differs from that of the painter. […] The draughtsman sees in nature drawings, the painter pictures.'[58] As a result, 'for a long time, painting was nothing but coloured drawing'.[59] He explained this interconnection by echoing this same phrase and by, once again, delimiting drawings from colour. He not only mirrored Wölfflin's 'modes of seeing', but also the aesthetic connotations and considerations regarding the 'rational' aspect associated with them. However, the emphasis was slightly different. According to Friedländer, drawing and form are linked to cognitive understanding, while painting and colour, on the other hand, evoke a sense of feeling.[60] In so doing, he simultaneously expanded more deeply on Wölfflin's notions on 'rational' forms. He explained this particular interpretation of the 'method of vision' by aligning the concept with terms like 'linear' and 'painterly', yet without explicitly mentioning them:

> We come upon the contrast between pictorial method of vision, and the draughtman's method of vision. After I have seen a red circle, I can retain in my memory the red outline or the red colour, according as to whether I am rationally or sensually minded disposed.[61]

Friedländer's 'method of vision' is a specific form of perception analogous to Wölfflin's 'modes of seeing', which translates in specific pictorial representations.[62] As a result, drawing appeals to the artist 'who aims at grasping in appearance that which is permanent, solid and constructive'.[63] Drawing is therefore, once again, reduced to mere outlines fixating the shape of forms. Friedländer borrowed his notion of drawing as a 'constructed' compositional shape directly from Wölfflin, who in turn even associated this 'constructive' element with the metaphor of architecture, which also semantically mirrors this concept: Drawings, although they are mere compositional aids in the process of painting, like in Raphael's *Portrait of a Cardinal* (fig. 5), captivate their beholder with their 'simple lines', making the painting appear 'grand and still like architecture'.[64] In the same way in which

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[58] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship*, 1942, 21.

[59] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship*, 1942, 46.

[60] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship*, 1942, 43.

[61] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship*, 1942, 44. He repeats the same expression on p. 53 as an opening statement for the chapter entitled 'The concept of 'pictorial'.

[62] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* 1942, 21. For Friedländer, this specific 'vision' could also affect the beholder of a drawing who would then revive the 'vision' himself. Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship*, 1942, 242. – For these assumed perceptions and their impact on drawings, especially on the relation of forms and lines, see: Adolf Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst,* 3rd ed., Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, [1893] 1901, esp. 23.

[63] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* 1942, 55. Cf. for a similar point of view: Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst,* [1893] 1901, 54.

[64] 'In was für einfachen Linien das Ganze sich hier darstellt, gross und still wie eine Architektur!' Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 120.

Figure 5 Raphael, *Portrait of a Cardinal (Cardinal Francesco Alidosi),* 1510/11. Oil on panel, 79 x 61 cm. Madrid: Museo del Prado. © Wikimedia commons

Wölfflin associated a specific function of the line with Andrea del Sarto's drawings, Berenson, for instance, followed a similar approach while describing Giotto's *Ognissanti Madonna* (fig. 6), since '[nothing] here but has its architectonic reason. Above all, every line is functional; that is to say, charged with purpose'.[65] For Friedländer, the same limitation to shapes and forms defined drawing: 'Drawing means to gauge, to fix proportions, to abstract, to pass over, and to eliminate the confusing play of colour and light.'[66] At the same time, however, he was conscious of the fact that colour, although to some extent in rivalry with form, could not entirely be separated from it. In analogy to the relative terms 'linear' and 'painterly', which merely indicate nuances of certain epochal styles,[67] he reconciled these conflicting elements by underscoring the extent to which both colour and line contained characteristics of their opposing counterpart. Friedländer hence collated all these aspects in a separate chapter dedicated to drawing: Here, stylistic oppositions like 'linear' versus 'painterly' and overall characteristics of the genre seamlessly blended into each other. Fittingly, his understanding of the sketch coincided with Dezailler

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[65] Bernard Berenson, *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance, New York/London: G. P. Puttman's Sons*, 1896, 15 f. For an interpretation of this passage with respect to Berenson's concept of 'tactile values', see: O'Donnell, 'Berensonian Formalism and Pragmatist Perception', 295–297. – For the metaphor of 'architecture' in Degenhart's essay, see: Albert Boesten-Stengel, 'Aporien der Kennerschaft', 2010, 176.

[66] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship*, 1942, 55 f.

[67] See Friedländer's own statement on the relativeness of these terms: Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship*, 1942, 53 f.

Figure 6 Giotto, *Ognissanti Madonna,* ca. 1300–1310. Tempera on panel, 325 x 204 cm. Florence: Galleria degli Uffizi.
© Wikimedia commons

d'Argenville's concept, who equally underscored its connection to handwriting ('comme un genre d'écriture'),[68] as well as with notions of the *macchia*.[69] Friedländer explained:

> Painting has gradually realized the specific possibilities given to its means. Drawing, on the other hand, was carried away into the movement, becoming pictorial with richness of tonality and increased looseness of stroke; on the other hand it developed the special style conformable with its means, in the sketch, in the rapid notations, in the writing down of a sudden flash of an idea for a picture.[70]

Implicitly, the most genuine quality of drawing ('special style conformable with its means') was, in fact, neither 'painterly', nor the 'construction' of shapes as in the

[68] Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre*, [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxvi. – This connection of thought, movement of the hand, and the impossibility of copying this individual graphic mark was one of the most impactful methodical approaches of connoisseurship. In fact, that was the focal point for some of the most controversial contributions in the field of connoisseurship, e.g.: Perrig, *Michelangelo's drawings: the science of attribution*, 1991.
[69] Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre,* [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxx.
[70] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship*, 1942, 220.

preparatory drawing determined by the 'method of vision', but rather the sketch. Berenson[71] reiterated this purely linear quality of drawing, as well, for a drawing that is

> fully modelled […] ceases to be draughtsmanship, and becomes a kind of painting, a kind of pastel painting. Drawing, then, as an art by itself, is one where the line predominates, where modelling should be procured as little as possible by chiaroscuro, as much as possible by contour.[72]

For connoisseurs, thus, the sketch became a crucial category of drawing precisely because of this suggestive link to the artist's mind through the quality of line. Berenson therefore first introduced the sketch as a way to account for Mantegna's opposition to his so-called Florentine tradition. Regardless of his lack of interest in defining the sketch, it was simply described as 'a feeling for line',[73] something that according to Dezallier d'Argenville had demonstrated 'expression of emotions' ('expression des passions').[74] With a similar focus on the 'empathic' aspect of lines, and without illustrating his train of thought by linking it to a particular artwork, Wölfflin had characterised Leonardo's treatment of the line as 'sensitive' ('der erste, der die Linie gefühlvoll behandelte') (fig. 4).[75] Berenson, on the other hand, further elaborated on this concept while merely alluding to diverse 'modes' or 'methods of seeing' inherent in draughtsmen or painters in a chapter entitled *The drawings of Andrea Mantegna*. According to him, however, Mantegna's paintings (fig. 7) – though he did not name any particular painting – adopted a quality that was intrinsic only to certain drawings:

> The painted masterpieces of Andrea Mantegna discover a feeling for line […]. The inevitable speed and the unfailing precision of line, which we encounter in almost any of Mantegna's well-preserved paintings, are not the qualities which we find in his drawings. In these Mantegna is, in fact, more pictorial than in his pictures; and he is more pictorial in swift, unstudied sketches than in carefully wrought-out cartoons. […] His firsts thoughts are those of an artist who perceives form in masses and not in outlines […].[76]

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[71] For Berenson's methods of connoisseurship, among many: *Berenson and the Connoisseurship of Italian Painting. A Handbook to the Exhibition,* David Allan Brown, ed., Washington D.C.: Schneidereith & Sons, 1979.

[72] Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters,* 1903, vol. 1, 226 f.

[73] On a comparable line of thought, see: Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters, 1903,* vol. 1, 60 and 74.

[74] Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre,* [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxij.

[75] Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 24. See also Friedländer: 'There is marvellous vitality in the intermitted handling of Leonardo's sketchy drawings, which nobody can copy without neutralizing the *staccato* or else – if the imitation be mechanically cautious – without losing the suggestive effect.' Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* 1942, 241. Italics of the text.

[76] Bernard Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art,* 2. ed., London: George Bell and Sons, 1902, 48.
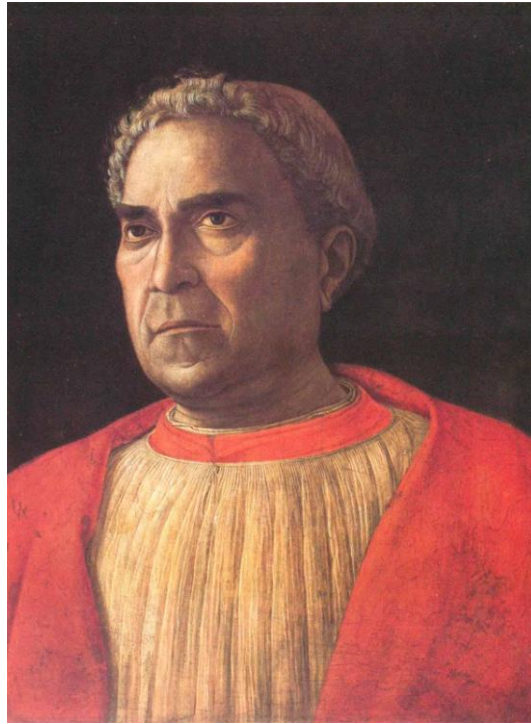
Figure 7 Andrea Mantegna, *Portrait of Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan,* 1459–1460. Tempera on panel, 44.8 x 33.9 cm. Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie. © Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

For Berenson, too, the brittle relation between painting, sketch, and drawing – and even between 'linear' and 'painterly' styles – was characterized by 'relative gradations' ('relative Urteile').[77] However, and implicitly, Berenson considered this to be exceptional both for the genre and for Mantegna's geographically 'inherited' artistic ideal –, the roles seem reversed: For Mantegna specifically, the sketch was a representation of 'form in masses', and therefore 'pictorial'. Although his overall interest as a connoisseur largely followed Giovanni Morelli's methods,[78] Berenson did not apply this approach to drawing. Instead, the aesthetic of the line in painting was, comparable to the sketch, the result of a swift execution. He therefore concluded that '[the] slighter the effort, the greater the effect of mass; the stronger the effort, the greater the effect of line.'[79]

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[77] Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 35.

[78] See Ivan Lermolieff [Giovanni Morelli], *Die Werke italienischer Meister in den Galerien von München, Dresden und Berlin,* Leipzig: Seemann, 1880.

[79] Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art,* 1902, 49. On p. 52 and p. 58, he repeated the same, although with variations. – Cf. his thoughts on more 'effortless', less 'elaborate' and 'rapid' sketches in comparison to other drawings: Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters,* 1903, vol. 1, e.g. 4, 33, 37, 44, 49, 52, 68, 70 f., 95, 171, 208, 218 f., 243 f., 248, 268. However, he often mentioned 'sketches' without explicitly attributing these characteristics to them, or even attributed 'more elaborate' than others ('highly finished'), Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters,* 1903, vol. 1, 297.

One aspect, however, was essential for Berenson's brief chapter on drawings: His more detailed analysis of lines, contours, and hatching styles was largely detached from his analysis of the overall figure and its pose, shape, and form. Implicitly, this also laid the groundwork for a connoisseurship widely concerned not with overall shapes of forms, but with the shape of lines and hatchings, in particular. Berenson's emphasis on the 'mere love of line',[80] this 'surety of line'[81] and 'beauty of the outlines'[82] became an impetus for connoisseurship, whose main focus gradually shifted towards graphology.[83] In this sense, Friedländer's description of Peter Paul Rubens's oil sketches (fig. 8) associated the artwork with the artist's state of mind ('the painter [reveals] himself in the flow of handwriting').[84] Berenson's reasoning, in contrast, seemed to follow in the wake of a historical narrative introduced and popularised by Giorgio Vasari's accounts:[85] It was an emphasis on graphic lines considered to be genuinely Florentine and a 'conscious ideal'.[86]

Berenson's division of sketches into either 'first thoughts' or 'over-elaborated' drawings[87] not only implied a variety of aesthetic assumptions about the genre and the function of drawings, but also set a methodical directive that was quickly adapted and adjusted during the course of the first half the twentieth century. It followed precisely those predisposed graphological impulses. Bernhard Degenhart's *Zur Graphologie der Handzeichnung. Die Strichbildung als stetige Erscheinung innerhalb der italienischen Kunstkreise* (1937), for instance, combined a variety of aspects

[80] Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art,* 1902, 54.

[81] Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art,* 1902, 58.

[82] Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art,* 1902, 61.

[83] This methodical approach is best illustrated in: Bernhard Degenhart, 'Zur Graphologie der Handzeichnung. Die Strichbildung als stetige Erscheinung innerhalb der italienischen Kunstkreise', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte,* vol. 1, 1937, 223–343, as well as: Perrig, *Michelangelo's drawings,* 1991. – On various aspects of graphology in a historic perspective, among others: Eva Horn, 'Der Mensch im Spiegel der Schrift. Graphologie zwischen populärer Selbsterforschung und moderner Humanwissenschaft', *Zwischen Literatur und Anthropologie. Diskurse, Medien, Performanzen,* Aleida Assmann, Ulrich Gaier, Gisela Trommsdorf, eds, Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2005, 175–199; Peter Geimer, 'Linien des hellen Wahnsinns. Das Zittern des Graphologen', *Randgänge der Zeichnung,* Werner Busch, ed., Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2007, 55–73; Sigrid Weigel, *Grammatologie der Bilder,* Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2015, esp. 41–64.

[84] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* 1942, 189. He repeats a similar notion on p. 169.

[85] For the discourses on *disegno* and *colore,* see: Kemp, 'Disegno. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Begriffs zwischen 1547 und 1607', 1974, 219–240; as well as Marzia Faietti, 'Giorgio Vasari's Life of Titian. Critical Misinterpretations and Preconceptions Concerning Venetian Drawing', *Drawing in Venice. Titian to Canelleto,* Catherine Whistler, ed., Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2015, 39–49.

[86] Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art,* 1902, 58. Friedländer, on the other hand, was fully aware of the problematic implications this entanglement of new methodical approaches to 'traditional' historical narratives entailed. In a laconic tone, he pointed out this predicament as 'Vasari's partiality for Florence is even now productive of confusion.' Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* 1942, 213.

[87] Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art,* 1902, 48 and 59.

Figure 8 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Lion Hunt,* ca. 1620. Oil on panel, 50 x 44 cm. Munich: Pinakothek © Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Alte Pinakothek, Munich

discussed above. His focus, too, laid on linear details and different hatching styles without any attention to their overall figural purpose, but with inherited 'racial' explanations for stylistic developments,[88] and an implicit preference for Florentine drawings based on their assumed superiority with respect to linearity. This not only openly contradicted his proclaimed 'objective' approach regarding the categorisation of each geographically determined hatching style, but also laid the groundwork for a set of premises that shaped his approach as a whole.[89] To proof his methodical objectivity, he compared his own approach to that of a linguist, and therefore not only underscored, yet again, the *leitmotiv* of connoisseurship's tendency to see drawing as a form of semiotic handwriting,[90] but also expanded this interpretation of drawing by describing it as a specific form of language with various dialects, etc. Similarly to Berenson's ideas on Mantegna's drawings, Degenhart distinguished between sketches and 'more elaborate' drawings ('ausgearbeitete Zeichnungen').[91] However, unlike Berenson, the majority of his interpretations focused on what he considered to be 'elaborate' drawings, and only discussed the sketch in a separate chapter ('Das Skizzenblatt'). This division into subgroups is inextricably linked to a spectrum of connotations he associated with different hatching styles. According to Degenhart, these two groups constitute two different approaches to drawing.

[88] To my knowledge, of all the connoisseurs discussed here, Max J. Friedländer was the only one who disagreed with the concept of inherited artistic ideals and styles, see: Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* 1942, 57.

[89] For some of the most important methodical premises on which Degenhart's analysis is based: Boesten-Stengel, 'Aporien der Kennerschaft', 2010.

[90] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 252.

[91] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 245.

He explained this line of thought as an introduction to his chapter on sketches as follows:

> Italian drawings range between two poles of artistic possibilities, of which one is the line as an expression and the other is the line as a reproduction, between the purposeful and purposeless stroke; either a line that self-reliantly carries a tune ('selbstgültiger Melodieträger') or one that represents the idea of an object ('Gegenstandsvorstellung'). That means there is either a disposition towards musical sensation or another one, which can range from a functional and structural penetration of natural conditions ('Funktions- und Strukturdurchdringung von Naturgegebenheiten') all the way to an intense study of the issue at hand. Applying this to the constitutive element ('bauende Zelle') of a drawing, a group of strokes, the notion of graphic beauty is inseparable from the structural clarity of the pictorial lines ('des Linienbilds'), whereas in the other case, a certain concept of the beauty of lines ('Linienschönheit') does not exclude even an opaque complication of both stroke system ('Strichführung') and technique […]. The latter type of drawing carries the reason for its creation ('Entstehungsgrund') profoundly in itself and is most complete when it is most self-reliant ('am selbstgültigsten'), while the former is most complete when it becomes the sharpest instrument for the clarification of problems and forms.[92]

The circular reasoning notwithstanding, his definition of the different subgroups is dense. Without ever once explicitly mentioning Wölfflin's 'modes of seeing' or Friedländer's 'method of vision', Degenhart nonetheless mirrored Friedländer's 'method of vision', according to which the draughtsman 'aims at grasping in appearance that which is permanent, solid and constructive'.[93] This 'solid and constructive' element is embedded in Degenhart's understanding of the drawing's function as 'the sharpest instrument for the clarification of problems and forms.' The 'constructiveness' was even synonymous with the force of the Florentine drawing

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[92] 'Die italienische Graphik ist zwischen zwei Pole zeichnerischer Möglichkeiten eingespannt, die sich in der Linie als Ausdruck und der Linie als Wiedergabe verkörpern, im zweckhaften und zweckfernen Strich, einer Linie, die selbstgültiger Melodieträger und einer, die Verkörperung einer Gegenstandsvorstellung ist. Dadurch steht eine musikalisches Empfinden erreichende Gesinnung einer anderen gegenüber, die von der Funktions- und Strukturdurchdringung von Naturgegebenheiten bis zum intensiven Problemstudium reicht. Übertragen auf die bauende Zelle der Zeichnung, die Strichgruppe, ist hier der Begriff graphischer Schönheit von der strukturellen Klarheit auch des Linienbilds untrennbar, dort schließt eine bestimmte Vorstellung von Linienschönheit auch undurchsichtige Komplizierung der Strichführung und Technik nicht aus […]. Letztere Art der Zeichnung trägt ihren Entstehungsgrund zutiefst in sich und ist am vollkommendsten, wenn sie am selbstgültigsten ist, erstere aber, wenn sie zum schärfsten Instrument der Klarstellung von Problemen und Formen wird.' Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 330.
[93] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* 1942, 55. Cf. for a similar point of view: Adolf Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst,* [1893] 1901, 54.
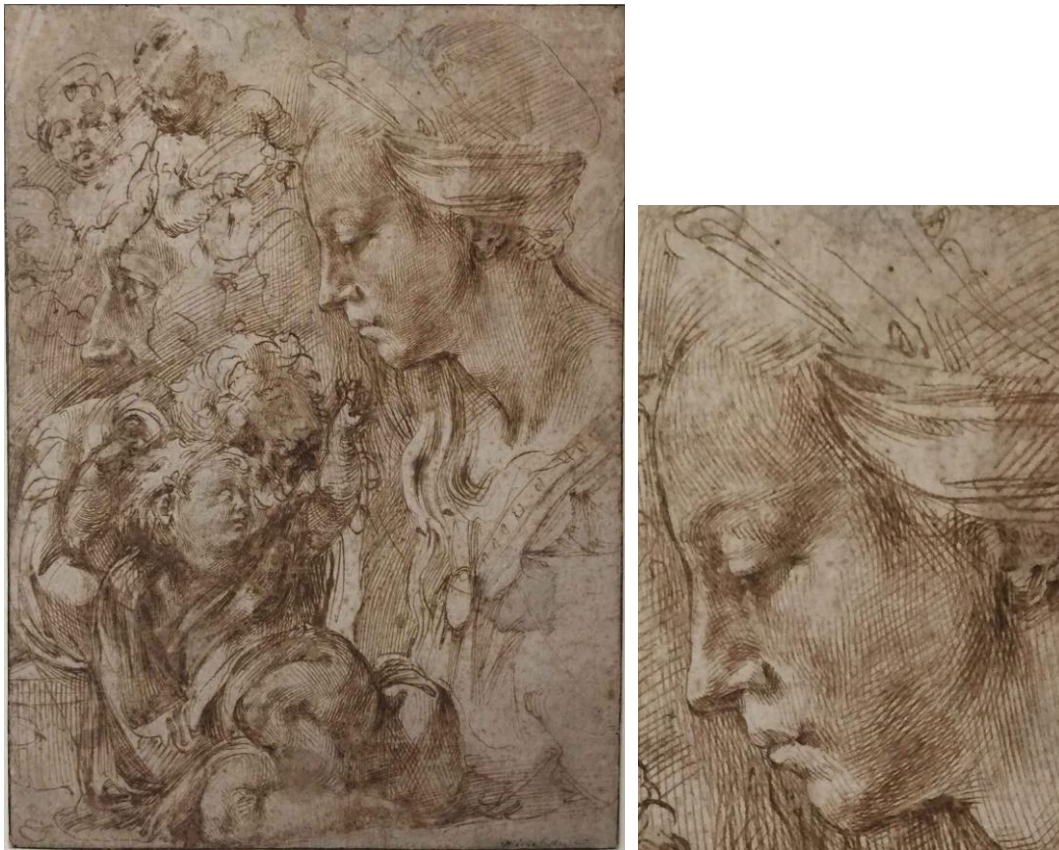
Figure 9, detail of 9 Michelangelo (?), *Study of the Virgin and the Christ Child on a Cushion,* ca. 1498–1501 (?). Brown ink and pen on paper, 28.7 x 20.9 cm. Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, KdZ 1363. © Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz

itself, as he illustrated using a detail of Michelangelo's *Study of the Virgin and the Christ Child on a Cushion* (fig. 9 and fig. 9 detail), demonstrating the draughtsman's ability to express the 'constructive' Florentine spirit in the hatching ('Kraftfelder im Kopftuch, Kraftfelder von Strichgruppen im Gesicht').[94] The 'value of drawing' as providing 'clarity', on the other hand, is more closely reflected in Wölfflin's metaphor of the drawing as 'constructive architecture'. He thus defined Florentine drawings analogously to the two opposing types of drawings previously described, namely, purposeful and purposeless: 'The attention to the intrinsic value ('Eigenwert') or beauty of lines gives way to a desire to lend them utmost clarity. The hatching is built like architecture, mechanically robust, so to speak.'[95] Simultaneously, the lines in a drawing, although connected to a form of

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[94] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 232.

[95] 'Die Rücksicht auf Eigenwert oder Schönheit der Linien tritt zurück hinter dem Willen zu ihrer äußersten Klarheit. Wie Architektur ist die Schraffur aufgebaut, sozusagen mechanisch standfest.' Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 230. Degenhart, too, uses Leonardo da Vinci's drawings to describe the specific beauty of line in the same way Wölfflin did. Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 247.

compositional 'construction', become an agent for 'representational clarity'.[96] Without referencing Wölfflin, he followed up on his thoughts regarding the 'constructive' and 'linear' drawing that not only contributes to a figure's attitude, but, moreover, to the 'overall impression of the hatching' ('Gesamtstrichbild').[97] In this particular context, he adopted Wölfflin's terminology of 'linear' and 'painterly' to his methodical needs: Following Giorgio Vasari's well-known paradigm of the Florentine *disegno* and the Venetian *colore*, he contrasted the 'tectonic' or 'constructive' quality of the Florentine drawing, for instance, with the Venetian drawing and its 'painterly dissolution' ('malerische Aufgelöstheit').[98]

For Degenhart, on the other hand, the sketched line is the antithesis of this 'constructing' type of drawing, yet without necessarily being bound to a 'painterly' aesthetic. Although he broadly linked Wölfflin's notion of the 'painterly' style to Venetian drawings and their characteristic colouring, he first and foremost emphasised its relation to beauty and feeling by describing it as 'harmonious' ('harmonisch').[99] Just like Friedländer, he drew an analogy between colour, music and, ultimately, a feeling stirred in the beholder.[100] In many ways, this combined the 'mere love of line',[101] the treatment of the line 'in a sensitive way',[102] the 'feeling for line',[103] the 'empathy for line',[104] the 'line as expression',[105] and even the 'expression of emotions' ('expression des passions').[106] While Degenhart's essay laid claim to a groundbreakingly differentiated – and objective – terminology in order to systematise various artistic centres in Italy, this inherently 'self-reliant' ('selbstgültig') quality of the sketch[107] surprisingly eluded his efforts of categorisation. Wölfflin, too, observed this almost autonomous quality of the line. As a means to address the 'lack of clarity', he implicitly emphasised the line's active role in this development towards autonomy by using an active verb, as if he were talking about a person: 'The line has emancipated itself to a completely independent life, and therein lies its new appeal […].'[108] Degenhart's observations regarding the various subgenres of drawing were not only based on the assumption that some

[96] '[…] ein tragender Linienverband im Dienst gegenständlicher Klarheit.' Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 250. He repeats variations of his argument multiple times, e.g., Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 227 f.

[97] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 227 f.

[98] 'Der Venezianer aber verwandelt sie [die Linie; E.B.] in Bruchstücke von malerischer Aufgelöstheit, der Florentiner verfestigt sie, beinahe bis zur Konstruktion eines tragfähigen, klaren Gerüsts.' Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 228.

[99] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 278.

[100] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* 1942, 43 f.

[101] Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art,* 1902, 54.

[102] Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 24.

[103] Berenson, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art,* 1902, 48.

[104] Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 240.

[105] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 330.

[106] Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre,* [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxij.

[107] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 330.

[108] 'Die Linie hat sich zu einem ganz selbstständigen Leben emanzipiert, und darin beruht der neue Reiz […]. Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 229.

drawings qualify as sketches, while others serve as an means to an end for a painting or another artwork, but also implied a quasi-semiotic interpretation of lines, hatchings, and contours in those drawings considered to be more 'elaborate' ('ausgearbeitete Zeichnungen').[109] In case of the last-mentioned type of drawings, lines and hatchings were bound by graphological rules that contributed to the compositional 'construction' of the image and the distinction between the 'true-born and imitated form'.[110] Sketches, on the other hand, were governed by an aesthetic that consists purely in the line in and of itself. As such, lines were no longer quasi-semiotic elements referencing the form of an object, but purely 'self-reliantly carrying their own tune' ('selbstgültiger Melodieträger').[111] The beholder thus struggles to recognise the line's connection to the object or form: 'One has to consciously free oneself from the spell of these lines, which are forceful despite of their delicacy, to actually be able to contemplate what it represents, etc.'[112] As a result of this supposed lack of terminology regarding sketches, some drawings with 'free' lines are meant 'to be felt instead of described'.[113]

Here, the connoisseurly focus on graphic details like hatching – originally a formalistic element for Wölfflin's opposition of 'linear' and 'painterly' – in combination with the emphasis on the 'emphatic' side of perception implied an 'apparent configuratedness of artifacts'[114] that could not be put into words, and could therefore not be objectified. In this regard, the methical adjustments resulted in an 'emphatic' approach that was, despite adopting certain elements, in a way, the direct opposite of formalism.[115]

What is more: Both the artworks as well as the corresponding terminology could easily be instrumentalised to serve a methical – or even political – agenda, and to be little more than references to large-scale research narratives on styles,

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[109] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 245.

[110] Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship,* 1942, 240.

[111] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 330.

[112] 'Man muß sich bewußt vom Bann dieser, trotz ihrer Zartheit zwingenden Linie freimachen, um zur Betrachtung des Gegenständlichen usw. zu kommen.' Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 288.

[113] '[Der Strich erscheint] mehr erfühl- als beschreibbar […].' Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 284. – In fact, Berenson, too, observed a similarly 'empathic' side to certain drawings, an elusive and indescribable *je ne sais quoi*, when admitting that he was indeed '[inclined] towards Gambo because […] of something in the hatching'. Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters,* 1903, vol. 1, 97.

[114] Whitney Davis, 'Subjectivity and Objectivity in High and Historical Formalism', *Representations,* 104:1, 2008, 10.

[115] Heinrich Wölfflin, although refusing to be viewed as a formalist, also rejected any sort of emotional interpretation of art: 'Ich gelte als Formalist, als kühl. Ich bin es nicht. 'Grundbegriffe' geschrieben, nicht um die Geschichte zu mechanisieren, sondern um Urteil exakt zu machen. Das Willkürliche, die bloße unkontrollierbare Gefühlseruption war mir immer widrig.' Heinrich Wölfflin, diary entry, 29 Febuary 1924, Gantner, ed., *Heinrich Wölfflin, 1864–1945: Autobiographie, Tagebücher und Briefe,* 1982, 368 ['I am taken as a formalist, as cool. I am not. Did not write 'Grundbegriffe' in order to render history mechanical, but to make the judgement precise. I have always been repugnant to arbitrariness, the purely uncontrollable eruption of emotion.'].

periods, etc.[116] In Degenhart's *Graphologie der Handzeichnung,* for example, the narrative of the 'linear' and 'constructive' qualities of Florentine drawings as opposed to the 'painterly' or 'painterly dissolution' ('malerische Aufgelöstheit') styles of the Venetians was underscored by his selection of images that, very much like in Wölfflin's *Grundbegriffe*, suggested they were the obvious choice. Yet the rigorous reproduction of details oftentimes misconstrued the artwork as a whole (fig. 9, fig. 9 detail). Does the beholder, after all, recognise Degenhart's 'forcefields of lines' ('Kraftfelder von Strichgruppen') in the Madonna's face?[117] Similarly to Berenson's thoughts, the reduction of the sketch to a 'Venetian' and 'painterly' quality followed a narrative first established by Florentine treatise in the sixteenth century; a narrative that tied the sketch to the characteristics of the *macchia,* a formless stain-like drawing technique that was traditionally opposed to any linear drawing. Degenhart therefore used a similar term to characterise Jacopo Tintoretto's drawings ('bis zur Fleckenhaftigkeit aufgelöst').[118] One of the main problems here was linguistic in nature, for terms such as 'sketch' or even 'quality' were never clearly defined nor critically examined, even though Degenhart's approach to connoisseurship claimed the connoisseurs' language was objective, which was – paradoxically – precisely why his terminology could easily be manipulated, re-contextualised, and even misused. As a result, Degenhart's dichotomy between 'linear' Florentine drawings and 'painterly' Venetian sketches was just as much determined by 'relative gradations' ('relative Urteile') as Wölfflin's original terms themselves.[119] To some extent, relative gradations, ambivalence, and fragility of art historical language were, in part, indicated by micro-typographical signs, such as the use of inverted commas when characterising the 'nature of the ''good drawing''' ('das Wesen der ''guten Zeichnung''') or the subtle use of the term 'as if' when interpreting the 'empathy for line'.[120] Wölfflin, at least, was only too familiar with these linguistic pitfalls. Laconically, he stated that 'one would need a thousand words to describe all transitions' between those two poles.[121]

Method of vision – reception modes

However, this 'formalistic' heritage that linked Degenhart's methodological

[116] This was even outlined in some of the early reviews Degenhart's essay received, cf. Ludwig H. Heydenreich, review: 'Bernhard Degenhart, *Zur Graphologie der Handzeichnung. Die Strichbildung als stetige Erscheinung innerhalb der italienischen Kunstkreise*', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 7:2, 1938, esp. 168; Reiner Haussherr, 'Kunstgeographie. Aufgaben, Grenzen, Möglichkeiten', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 34, 1970, 158–171; as well as: David Summers, 'Heinrich Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe'*, 1915' in *The Books that shaped Art History. From Gombrich and Greenberg to Alpers and Krauss*, Richard Shone, John-Paul Stonard, eds, London: Thames & Hudson, 2013, 45.
[117] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 232.
[118] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 227.
[119] Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 35.
[120] 'Es ist als ob überhaupt ein neues Mitgefühl für die Linie wachgeworden sei […].' Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst*, 1899, 240.
[121] 'Man müßte tausend Worte haben, um alle Übergänge bezeichnen zu können.' Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 35.

approach to Wölfflin's writings was frail. While superficially adopting Wölfflin's terminology, and even pursuing his ideas on 'constructive' drawings, Degenhart's essay in part followed an entirely different set of parameters: The division between preparatory drawings and 'free' sketches entailed implications that, as a result, also reattributed Dezallier d'Argenville's definition of the 'tasteful'[122] to specific functions of drawings. Implicitly, both Wölfflin and Degenhart considered the only 'formalistic' criteria of the so-called 'tasteful' drawing – 'correctness' – to be exclusively applicable to preparatory drawings, while sketches, on the other hand, regardless of the subgenre's brittle definition, eluded this categorisation almost entirely. Because they supposedly did not primarily offer any insight into compositions – since their lines and hatching did not follow a compositional form due to their spontaneous and 'free' nature –, the connoisseurly interest in them was predominately motivated neither by a 'formalistic' interest regarding form, mass, figure, and space, nor the association between a drawing and another artwork as a means of attribution. On the contrary, the connoisseur's interest in the sketched line, in particular, can be traced back to an 'anecdote of connoisseurship': the line of Apelles that became his distinguishing mark.[123] And just like Apelles's line was recognisable to the viewer, there seemed to be something immediate, yet indescribable in the sketched line that perhaps even corresponded with a certain inability on the part of the connoisseur to explicitly verbalise his judgement.[124] In fact, this *je ne sais quoi* not only linked the sketch to the sensibility of the artist, but also to that of the connoisseur.[125] Connoisseurs have indeed found different ways to approach these indescribable elements of drawing that all, each in their own way, emphasised a specific feeling: For Berenson, this feeling was simply 'something in the hatching',[126] for Degenhart it was the line's ability to 'self-reliantly carry its own tune' ('selbstgültiger Melodieträger') that was meant 'to be felt instead of described.'[127] And while Wölfflin, too, considered Leonardo to be 'the first to treat the line in a sensitive way',[128] questions regarding how the sketch should be described and what it entails beyond its graphological characteristics, quite tellingly, simply remained unanswered in Friedländer's *On art and connoisseurship*.

This synchronisation between the picture and its beholder through an emotional aspect also gives rise to two methical implications that were crucial for the connoisseurship of drawings: First, the graphological aspect that, in a quasi-semiotic way, linked the line not only to the artist's imagination, but more importantly, to his mindset. As such, the sketch was a sort of handwriting and therefore, by nature, defied being charged with any clear and distinct 'meaning',[129] a specific 'function',[130]

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[122] Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre,* [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxij.

[123] David Rosand, 'Una linea non stentata', *Linea I. Grafie di immagini tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*, Marzia Faietti, Gerhard Wolf, eds, Venice: Marsilio, 2008, 18.

[124] Bambach, 'Bernard Berenson. *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters'*, 2013, 35.

[125] Wood, *A History of Art History*, 2019, 151.

[126] Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters,* 1903, vol. 1, 97.

[127] Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 330 and 284.

[128] Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 24.

[129] Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 37 f.

and an 'architectonic reason', as was assigned to some preparatory drawings.[131] This characteristic was, to some extent, already inherent in the wording of the 'tasteful' drawing, for taste has traditionally been considered highly subjective. It is, indeed, reflected in Dezallier d'Argenville's definition of the genre with terms such as 'good taste, expression of emotions, higher thoughts, a spiritual touch, & a free hand […]'.[132] The second implication is the emphasis on the 'emphatic' aesthetic of the sketch, which went far beyond both connoisseurly and formalistic interests. In so doing, it tied the sketch to a specific form of reception aesthetic ('Rezeptionsästhetik')[133] that heavily relied on a powerful, yet vague concept of art that, for better or for worse, amalgamated all these aspects of the 'tasteful' drawing to a single notion: expression.[134] The idea that the sketch claimed its own reception aesthetic[135] – one intensely influenced by the notion of expression – is, *ex negativo*, apparent in various interpretations. While preparatory drawings were considered to direct the beholder's gaze towards forms, shapes, and compositions, the 'free' and 'spirited' line of the sketch was not bound to any morphology. Instead, it was considered autonomous. It 'emancipated itself to a completely independent life',[136] it was inexplicably 'self-reliant' ('selbstgültig').[137] It was a means to its own end, and therein resided its inherent 'value'. It was considered a sort of swift self-realisation, a direct mirror of the artist's spirit that, as such, needed to be recognised by its beholder, and demanded its own perception mode. But these implications of this perception mode were, to some extent, and with admittedly different connotations, already implied by concepts like Wölfflin's 'modes of seeing' ('Arten des Sehens') or Friedländer's 'method of vision'.

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130 Wölfflin, *Die klassische Kunst,* 1899, 149.

131 Berenson, *The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance,* 1896, 15 f.

132 '[…] le bon goût, un grand jugement, l'expression des passions, la pensée élevée, une touche spirituelle, & la liberté de la main […].' Dezallier d'Argenville, *Abregé De La Vie Des Plus Fameux Peintre,* [1745] 1755, vol. 1, xxij.

133 Wolfgang Kemp, 'Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik', *Der Betrachter ist im Bild. Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik,* Wolfgang Kemp, ed., Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag 1992, 7–28. Particularly on the perception of lines in drawings: Johannes Grave, 'Die Zeit der Zeichnung. Zeichnen und Sehen, Zug und Nachvollzug', *Romantik und Moderne. Zeichnung als Kunstform von Caspar David Friedrich bis Vincent van Gogh,* Hein-Thomas Schulze-Altcappenberg, Anna Marie Pfäfflin, eds, Berlin/Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2016, 21–27.

134 More recently, several approaches toward the connection between linearity and expression have been made, among them: David Rosand, *The Meaning of the Mark. Leonardo and Titian,* Kansas City: Spencer Museum of Art, 1988, David Rosand, *Drawing Acts. Studies in Graphic Expression and Representation,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001; Daniela Bohde, 'Der Topos der 'expressiven' Linie und die zeichnerischen Strategien von Wolf Huber und Albrecht Altdorfer', *Das Expressive in der Kunst 1500–1550. Albrecht Altdorfer und seine Zeitgenossen*, Jiří Fajt, Susanne Jaeger, eds, Berlin/Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2018, 25–41.

135 For a similar interpretation with respect to eighteenth-century drawings: Grave, 'Die Zeit der Zeichnung', 2016.

136 Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe,* [1915] 1917, 229.

137 Degenhart, 'Graphologie der Handzeichnung', 1937, 330.

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