



Focus on Form

*J. J. Tikkanen, Giotto and Art Research in the
19th Century*

Johanna Vakkari

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Cover picture:

J.J. Tikkanen, Giotto's colour composition in *Kiss of Judas*,
in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua, 1882.

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CHAPTER II J. J. TIKKANEN IN THE CONTEXT OF GIOTTO STUDIES

In this chapter I analyse Tikkanen's dissertation in relation to previous research on Giotto and the approaches of art-historical scholarship in his own day. I also discuss the influence of 19th-century art on Tikkanen's interpretations of Giotto. With reference to Tikkanen's correspondence and his sketchbooks, I investigate his reasons to undertake a study of Giotto, the questions posed by him, his specific subjects of study and the methods that he followed while working in Italy. The presentation of the tradition of Giotto studies begins with the issue of the "rinascità", the rebirth of art, for in its relationship with adherence to nature it is linked to Tikkanen's core problem of "künstlerische Können", artistic ability. Therefore, the conception of Giotto originating in the 14th century and subsequently problematized by Vasari, in particular, is discussed separately. A further entity is provided by the art-historical tradition that began with Friedrich Rumohr, as its problematic of redefining Giotto, with related issues of attribution, dating and style, differs fundamentally from the Vasarian approach. I apply the earlier research tradition as a comparative framework for Tikkanen's dissertation. Another, to some degree more abstract, context is formed by the theoretical and methodological aims of art history in the period concerned. I seek to demonstrate connections between them and Tikkanen's new form analysis.

II.1. Why Giotto?

I am the man through whom the extinct art of painting came back to life.
Whose hand was as controlled as it was fluent.
My art was deficient in nothing that lies within nature.
None was permitted to paint more or better.
You may marvel at the superb tower, resounding with sacred music,

¹⁸⁹ "Ille ego sum, per quem pictura extincta revixit, / Cui quam recta manus, tam fuit et facilis. / Naturae deerat, nostrae quod defuit arti. / Plus licuit nulli pingere, nec melius. / Miraris turrim egeriam sacro aere sonantem? / Haec quoque de modulo crevit ad astra meo. / Denique sim lottus, quid opus fuit illa referre? / Hoc nomen longi carminis instar erit." – Vasari 1994 [1568], 72. English translation: *Giotto as a Historical* 1998, 19–20.

Which, based on my module, rose right up to the stars.
In a word, I am Giotto. To tell what has to be told,
My name alone will deserve a lengthy panegyric.¹⁸⁹

These lines alone, by Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) on the pedestal of Giotto's funerary monument in the Duomo of Florence, would be sufficient reason to choose Giotto as a subject of study in terms of the evolution of artistic ability. This was namely the area that the 23-year-old Johan Jakob Tikkanen defined as his own when writing from his first long tour abroad to his mentor C. G. Estlander:

With regard to my art-historical thinking, it found the following direction in Dresden. There are in general three ways to conceive of art history, the cultural-historical, the aesthetic, and specifically the art-historical. The first studies the need for the different forms of beauty in various periods (as based on the characteristic features of cultures), the second explores the greater or lesser aesthetic justification of these forms, and finally the last one studies the development of artistic ability (the command of subject, nature and material), the struggle of art with these great forces, from initial naïve dependency to final, total supremacy.¹⁹⁰

Although these considerations were born before Tikkanen chose to try his luck one more time in art studies in Munich, he still subscribed to the same basic view a year later, when he finally opted for a career as an art historian. The scheme of three different art histories suggested by Tikkanen was naturally based on the way the field was defined at the European level. At the University of Helsinki, he had come to know research in aesthetics, philosophy, literature and art history and, as far as his reading lists from his student years suggest, he was familiar with these fields from the authors of Antiquity through Kant and Schlegel to the scholars of his own day, such as Vischer and Zim-

¹⁹⁰ "Hvad min konsthistoriska tankegång beträffar, tog han i Dresden följande riktning. Det finnes öfverhufvud tre olika sätt att uppfatta konsthistorien: ett kulturhistoriskt, ett estetiskt, ett specifikt konsthistoriskt. Det förstnämnda undersöker tidernas behov af (efter kulturens olika lynne) olika former af skönhet, det andra det mer eller mindre estetiskt berättigade i dessa former, det sista den konstnärliga förmågans (att behärska ämne, natur och material) utveckling, den konstnärliga kampen med nämnda stormakter, från den första naiva beroendet till den slutliga, absoluta suveräniteten." – Letter from Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 6.1.1881. SLSA 252.8.

mermann.¹⁹¹ Moreover, he was abreast of the debate on the relationship between cultural history and art history that was still in progress in the late 19th century. Tikkanen knew the works of Taine and in his letters to Estlander he often mentions his admiration of Burckhardt.¹⁹² Tikkanen's university textbooks included Carl Schnaase's *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, one of the main general art histories of the 19th century, in which the author proceeds from a Hegelian point of departure to combine the history of art with the cultural-historical, topographic, religious and philosophical context. Tikkanen did not want to commit himself to cultural-historical or aesthetic points of departure, but instead specifically wanted to operate in a "purely art-historical" field. This approach, which underscored artistic talent, was based on his personal interest in the problematic of creating art. It does not appear to have any direct basis in 19th-century European art-historical research, unless we consider Franz Theodor Kugler's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei seit Constantin dem Grössen* to be a source of inspiration. Kugler, too, was particularly interested in the history of human creativity.

In his own works, Tikkanen had not found any earlier studies on the overall development of artistic ability. His view that this subject had not yet been explored thoroughly was also reinforced by Moriz Carrière, who taught art history at the Munich Academy of Arts.¹⁹³ It is nonetheless obvious that he did not come upon this subject of research in a total void. For example, the way in which he defines his specifically art-historical approach, studying "the development of artistic ability (the command of subject, nature and material), the struggle of art with these great forces, from initial naïve dependency to final and total supremacy" is most likely based, at least in part, on the introduction to the second chapter of Vasari's *Le vite*.¹⁹⁴ In other respects as well, Tikkanen's perspective is linked quite clearly to Vasari, who also paid particular attention to the evolution of artistic talent, discussing in his introductory chapters and in terms of specific artists the difficulties that artists had to surmount in order to achieve expression true to nature.¹⁹⁵ Basing on the Vasarian tradition, Tikkanen also regarded art as having achieved perfection in the High Renaissance.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ J. J. Tikkanen's notebook on lists of reading matter from 1878–1879. – Hhtai JJT.47a.

¹⁹² Letters from J. J. Tikkanen to Carl Gustaf Estlander 19.8.1881 and 30.12.1881. SLSA 252.8.

¹⁹³ Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 5.9.1881. SLSA 252.8.

¹⁹⁴ Vasari 1994[1568], 87.

¹⁹⁵ Vasari 1994[1568], 53, 56, 86–87, 183–188; Kliemann 1991, 38–39.

¹⁹⁶ Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to Carolina Tengström 15.7.1881. SLSA 820.1. Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to Robert Castrén 20.7.1881. SLSA 820.3.

Tikkanen's interest in the history of artistic talent is fundamentally related his own experiences, having viewed art since his youth also from the perspective of someone who creates art, thus being able to consider the activities of an artist also from within the process. This, too, is a connection with Vasari, who because of his identity as an artist can just as well be defined as an artist thinking historical as an art historian (of whom only few have created art themselves alongside research).¹⁹⁷ I naturally do not present a parallel of Vasari and Tikkanen as artists – at issue here is the approach and ability to make observations of works of art and their related creative processes. Over three centuries had nonetheless passed between Vasari and Tikkanen's time, and comparisons of their views are not without problems, as the whole field of the arts had greatly changed, and questions such as creativity and the individuality of the artist were viewed in a completely different light in the 19th century than in Vasari's day. On the other hand, it would be more interesting to compare Tikkanen with other 19th-century scholars who had been trained in the arts or were artistically gifted, such as Wilhelm Lübke (1826–1893)¹⁹⁸, Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle (1819–1897)¹⁹⁹, Julius Lange, Adolfo Venturi (1856–1941)²⁰⁰ or Adolph Goldschmidt (1863–1944)²⁰¹.

In Tikkanen's view, it was an outright impediment to the discipline that scholars had insufficient knowledge of the artistic process, of the numerous problems concerning artists, techniques and the creation of artworks. According to him, it was precisely this that made scholars borrow their ideas and terms from a different discipline and to blend too much philosophy with art history.²⁰² He obviously did not want to return to the old debate of whether only artists were able to assess and evaluate art. Instead, he called for better

¹⁹⁷ Kliemann 1991, 34.

¹⁹⁸ Lübke originally planned to become an artists, with intention of studying at the Academy of Art in Düsseldorf, but he nonetheless chose university studies in Bonn followed by Berlin.. – Karlholm 1996. 92.

¹⁹⁹ Levi 1988, passim.

²⁰⁰ The Modena-born Venturi was a self-taught art historian. He went to study at the Accademia delle Belle Arti in Modena in 1872, and upon graduating travelled to Venice, Florence and Rome, where became familiar with contemporary art, especially the *macchiaioli*. In 1878, aged only 22 he was appointed, as the result of a competition, to the post of keeper (ispettore) of the Galleria Estense of Modena, and ten years later he was given a position at the department of antiquities and arts (Direzione generale delle antichità e delle belle arti) at the Ministry of Education in Rome. On Venturi's biography, see Venturi 1991[1927], passim; Agosti 1996, passim.

²⁰¹ Goldschmidt had also received instruction on drawing and printmaking as a young man. – Brush 1996, 164, note 24.

²⁰² Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 13.8.1881. SLSA 252.8.

empirical expertise.²⁰³ At a personal level, the roles of artist and scholar were from the beginning completely separate for him.

On the whole, I have had the opportunity during this time to observe the mutual opposition of artistic and abstract thought. How unbelievably difficult it was for me, when I was still training to be an artist, to contemplate and organize abstract concepts, while now I find it an outright impossibility to produce a proper artistic idea, even an image of some kind of clarity.²⁰⁴

This question was also related to an interesting document from the early stages of Tikkanen's career as an art historian, presumably dating from the early 1880s. This is the unpublished manuscript *Något om konstkritik och konstvetenskap*²⁰⁵ which primarily discusses the differences of the artist and the critic and their mutually different relationship to art and concepts of beauty. The main content of this text is the justification of the

²⁰³ For long, one of the basic issues of connoisseurship in art, was whether anyone else than artist can evaluate art, whether the artist's professional skills also made him the best expert on the subject. During the Renaissance, mostly artists had written about art. Giulio Macini (1558–1630), physician to Pope Urban VIII, was one of the first laymen to take up this subject. For this very reason, he begins his book by arguing, with reference to authors of Antiquity, why a person who is not an artist is entitled to evaluate art and he notes that he regards artists to be even poorer connoisseurs than those who do not practice art themselves. – Mancini, 1956 [ca. 1620], 5–11. Some twenty years later, the French artist Abraham Bosse (1602–1676) came to the conclusion that also others could become good connoisseurs of art. – Bosse 1649, 4–7. This point was still debated actively in the 18th century. Most artists felt that they were the only ones able to judge works of art. According to the opposing view, the artist was not sufficiently objective in this respect. – Pears 1988, 189–193. Writing in 1745 on the attribution of drawing, the Frenchman Antoine-Joseph Dezalliers d'Argenville (1680–1745), who was not an artist himself, pointed out that in judging the quality of a work artists were generally better than others, but others could also learn this skill through practice. – D'Argenville, I, 1745, XXII. On the other hand, he claimed that artists were by no means always able to distinguish the original from a copy. – D'Argenville, I, 1745, XXVIII. In his book *An Enquiry into the Beauties of Painting* (1760) the artist Daniel Webb presented a view in opposition to his profession: “[Artists] seldom, like Gentlemen and Scholars rise to an unprejudiced and liberal Contemplation of true Beauty. The Difficulties they find in the Practice of their Art, tie them down to the Mechanic; at the same time, that self-Love and Vanity lead them into an Admiration of those strokes of Pencil, which come nearest to their own...” – Pears 1988, 192.

²⁰⁴ ”Jag har för öfrigt denna tid haft godt tillfälle att iakttaga, huru det konstnärliga och det abstrakta tänkandet äro hvarandra konträra. Huru otroligt besvärligt var det ej den tid jag ännu med allvar arbetade på min konstnärliga utbildning, att i tänkandet kläcka och ordna abstrakta begrepp, hvaremot det nu vore mig rakt omöjligt att åstadkomma en ordentlig konstnärlig tanke, en ngt så när klar bild.” – Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to Robert Castrén 20.7.1881. SLSA 820.3

²⁰⁵ The title could be translated into English as *On Art Criticism and Art History*.

artist's subjectivity and the requirement of objectivity for critics or scholars.²⁰⁶

Tikkanen did not originally plan to write a doctoral dissertation on Giotto. In a letter to Estlander from late 1881, he presents detailed remarks on the formal aspects of artists of different periods and schools in the Dresden collections (among others, Van Eyck, Mantegna, Veronese, Rubens and Ribera). These formal areas included draughtsmanship, perspective and foreshortening, colour, light and shade and composition and they were commented on in a manner that, according to Osvald Sirén, demonstrated Tikkanen's innate ability to concentrate on the essential in investigating a work of art and his tendency towards analysis.²⁰⁷ Tikkanen's initial dream had been to familiarize himself “with all the schools” and to write art history based on the artistic process.²⁰⁸ The underlying idea may have been studies of specific schools as represented by the scholarship of Crowe and Cavalcaselle or Charles Blanc, albeit at a more form-analytical level. A theme this broad was of course unsuitable for a doctoral dissertation, and Tikkanen was most likely referring to his future career in this letter. While in Munich, he had already chosen 15th-century German painting as his doctoral theme, and he did not change it to Giotto until his journey to Italy.²⁰⁹

In letters to his family from Munich, Tikkanen outlined his plans and ideas in more immediate terms and expressed his enthusiasm more freely than in his letters to Estlander. He noted that he had begun to copy the old masters in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich to learn to understand their techniques and language of form, and how artistic ability (*konstmärlig förmåga*) has been manifested at different times.²¹⁰ Although Tikkanen was still specifically defining his subject of

²⁰⁶ Unpublished manuscript. Hhtai JTT.16b. Tikkanen returns in this connection to the ideas of which he had written to Robert Castrén. – Letter from Tikkanen to Robert Castrén 20.7.1881. SLSA 820.3.

Some of the sentences suggest that the manuscript was partly related to Tikkanen's conversations in the autumn of 1881 with Wladimir Swertschkoff, a Finnish artist who worked in Florence, as this meeting had raised a great many questions on the relationship between artists and critics to which the manuscript responds. – Letters from Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 30.12.1881. SLSA 252.8. and to Reinhold von Willebrand 27.1.1882. SLSA 378.

²⁰⁷ Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 30.12.1881. SLSA 252.8; Sirén 1933, 8.

²⁰⁸ Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 6.1.1881. SLSA 252.8; Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to Robert Castrén 20.7.1881. SLSA 820.3.

²⁰⁹ Letters from J. J. Tikkanen to Carolina Tengström 3.6.1881, 15.7.1881 and 20.8.1881 SLSA 820.1.; letter from J. J. Tikkanen to Robert Castrén 20.7.1881. SLSA 820.3; letters from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 13.8.1881, 7.11.1881 and Nov.1881. SLSA 252.8

²¹⁰ Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to Carolina Tengström 15.7.1881. SLSA 820.1; letter from J. J. Tikkanen to Robert Castrén 20.7.1881. SLSA 820.3.

research at the time, some of his core aims were already present:

It is my task to delve as deeply as possible into artistic creativity, to learn how an artist understands his task and what it should be like (how, for example, it differs from the tasks of a scholar), how he comprehends nature, how he thinks, feels, sees and works, what the influence of the work of art ultimately depends on, and with what means this result is achieved, what difficulties the artist must overcome in his work etc.²¹¹

Tikkanen's conception of the development of creativity could be compared not only to Vasari but perhaps also to Darwin's concept of evolution. His reading-list from university contains not only *On the Origin of Species* from 1859 but also four other studies by Darwin.²¹² In the Nordic countries, the academic generation that preceded Tikkanen had already been influenced by Darwin. Dietrichson, for example, referred directly to Darwin in an 1876 lecture on the development of Oriental art held at the University of Oslo (Christiania).²¹³

Tikkanen also proceeded from the sciences in calling for proper terminology in art history. The Danish aesthetician Georg Brandes, whose works also Tikkanen had read as a student, made Taine's milieu theory known in the Nordic countries, albeit in partly highly critical tones. Lange, some twenty years Tikkanen's senior, had been influenced by both Darwin and Taine.²¹⁴ As art-historical matters could not be defined precisely, many scholars resorted in his opinion to lyrical expression.

I would actually like to see precision that is equal, for example, to botany. This, of course, is impossible, since although the forms of nature can clearly be distinguished, the different interpretations of these forms in art are so

subtle that differences usually cannot be phrased in works, nor perhaps even in general. I am convinced that this difficulty and the lack of basic artistic training have laid down the course of art research.²¹⁵

This reflects the same aim towards defining the discipline in scientific terms and the rejection of florid language as shown by the early holders of the chair in art history at the University of Vienna, or for example by Anton Springer. Tikkanen may have known, via Estlander, the 1873 inaugural lecture of Moriz Thausing (1835–1884), professor of art history at the University of Vienna, although it was not published until 1883. Estlander had attended the first international congress of art history, held in 1873 in Vienna and he remained in the city for some time. Thausing's theme was the position of art history as a science, *Die Stellung der Kunstgeschichte als Wissenschaft*.²¹⁶ According to him, research had to be given a scientific basis, separated from subjective interpretation and aestheticized discussion: "I can truly imagine a better art history, in which the word 'beautiful' does not even appear."²¹⁷ On the other hand, he also emphasized the fact that art history was based on the ability to consider a work of art as an object with certain formal properties, therefore distinguishing from other historical disciplines.²¹⁸ From the outset, the concepts of form and style were underscored in Vienna in addition to empirical research.

Also in the area of form analysis and the history of style, a scientific approach was sought as a starting point instead of subjective observation. A central theoretical issue here was the 'aesthetic of pure visibility', developed from the ideas of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841) and Robert Zimmermann (1824–1898). At the level of aesthetics and art it was developed further by the art theorist Konrad Fiedler (1841–1895),

²¹¹ "Min uppgift är att så långt som möjligt tränga in i det konstnärliga skapandet, lära mig, hur en konstnär uppfattar en uppgift, och huru beskaffad denna bör vara (till skillnad t.ex. från vetenskapsmannens), huru han fattar naturen, huru han tänker, känner, ser och arbetar, hvarpå ett konstvärks effekt beror, och genom hvilka medel detta resultat blifvit nådda, hvilka svårigheter konstnären vid sitt arbete har att öfvervinna, etc." – Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to Robert Castrén 20.7.1881. SLSA 820.3.

²¹² The first Swedish version of Darwin's "Origin of Species", entitled *Om arternas uppkomst genom naturligt urval* was published in 1871. A note shows that Tikkanen had the use of the German translation *Über die Entstehung der Arten durch natürliche Zuchtwahl* from 1859. The other works by Darwin are *Das Variieren der Thiere und Pflazen im Zustande der Domestication* (1859), *Die Abstammung der Menschen* (1871), *Der Ausdruck der Gemüthebewegungen bei Thieren und Menchen*, 1873 and the 1872 Swedish translation of "A Naturalist's Voyage Round the World", *En naturforskares resa kring jorden*. – Tikkanen's notebook, Hhtai JJT.47a.

²¹³ Guleng 2001, 226–227.

²¹⁴ Kolind Poulsen 1999, 67–78. J. J. Tikkanen's notebook on lists of reading matter from 1878–1879. Hhtai JJT.47a.

²¹⁵ "Egentligen skulle jag önska en lika stor precision som t. ex i botaniken. Detta blir väl omöjligt, då ju naturens former låta sig bestämdt åtskiljas, medan konstens olika uppfattningar af just dessa samma former äro så fina, att de ofta, kanske vanligen icke kunna med ord åtkommas. Jag är övertygad om att just denna svårighet jämte saknaden af konstnärlig underbyggnad bestämdt konstvetenskapens riktning." – Letter from Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 13.8.1881. SLSA 252.8. Tikkanen had read Charles Blanch's *Grammaire des Arts du Dessin* and tried to find similar studies in aid of his terminology.

²¹⁶ Sciolla 1995, 4. Thausing's lecture was first published in 1883 in *Österreichische Rundschau*, and then in his own book *Wiener Kunstbriefe* 1884, 1–20. It has recently appeared in a version edited by A. Rosenaurer in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVI, 1985, 140–150. See also Max Dvořák's arguments for art history as a historical discipline in his article "Über die dringesten methodischen Erfordernisse der Erziehung zur Kunstgeschichtlichen", 1913–1914 in *Geisteswissenschaften* 34, 932–936 and 35, 958–961 (republished in *Wiener Jahrbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 1974, XXXVII, 7–19 and 92–) and Hans Tietze's *Die Methode der Kunstgeschichte*, 1913.

²¹⁷ Sciolla 1993, 372–373.

²¹⁸ On this issue in German-speaking art-historical scholarship, see Piel 1963, 18–37.

the sculptor Adolf von Hildebrand (1847–1921) and the painter Hans von Marées (1837–1887). It was also influenced by the aesthetics of Benedetto Croce (1866–1952). Personified above all by Fiedler, this theory claimed that in the creative process of art the world was appropriated as a purely visual phenomenon with main focus specifically on the aspects of form and style.²¹⁹ Theory related to the optical and tactile perception and reception of colour and form were later developed in particular by Franz Wickhoff and Alois Riegl, and Heinrich Wölfflin in his own field of study.²²⁰ Later, as the criteria of the psychology and sociology of art have developed, “pure seeing” has come to be questioned as a utopian concept. In his 1983 article on Warburg, Edgard Wind, for example, takes up this issue in his evaluation of Riegl and Wölfflin:

– – we can approach the problem from the standpoint of psychology and aesthetics, and show that the concept of ‘pure vision’ is an abstraction which has no counterpart in reality; for every act of seeing is conditioned by our circumstances, so that what might be postulated conceptually as the ‘purely visual’ can never be completely isolated from the context of the experience in which it occurs.²²¹

From the very beginning, Tikkanen’s approach to the study of art emphasized form analysis, though not to the degree that he could be included among the scholars who believed in the self-sufficiency of perception. In the early stages of his career, his **view of art history** appears to be most closely related to that of the European scholars who believed in the importance of a command of empiria and those who concentrated on the scientific and formal definition of matters.

In his letters from 1881, Tikkanen defined his own area of research with the term *das künstlerische Können*, noting that he wanted to make a distinction with regard to *das künstlerische Wollen* – the artistic will – the subject of interest of contemporary aestheticians. Alois Riegl’s famous concept *Kunstwollen*, “art will”,

did not become known until over ten years later through his book *Stilfragen* (1893).²²² On the other hand, Rumohr already wrote about *künstlerische Wollen* in his *Italienische Forschungen* published in 1827–1831.²²³ *Will* as a concept was also present in a broad range of theoretical discussion among German-speaking philosophers, particularly of the Vienna school, on the relationships between reality, perceived reality, perception and expression.²²⁴ Although it might seem at first sight that Tikkanen’s theme of study was diametrically opposed to the problem of artistic will, it in fact contained the same questions though addressed from a different perspective. Tikkanen himself regarded his theme as both art-historical and art-philosophical. It was necessary to establish what an artist was and how he worked, but the principles and laws of beauty also had to be considered. Like the Vienna philosophers, he, too, underlined the importance of investigating the relationship between the expression of the perceiver – i.e. the artist – and perceived reality.²²⁵ His perspective, however, was more concrete than that of the philosophers and aestheticians, for he viewed the whole question from the working process of the artist.²²⁶ In many respects, Tikkanen’s ideas can be compared to the views of Julius Lange. They may have been familiar to Tikkanen, as Lange’s article *Om kunstvaerdi* (On the values of art), discussing the study of present-day art, had appeared a few years earlier.²²⁷ Lange also underscored the importance of the artist’s individuality in his opposition to the Hegelian interpretation emphasizing content and neglecting the actual work of art. In underlining that art was always the consequence of the activities of an individual artist, Lange, however, aimed his criticism not only at philosophical-aesthetic speculation but also in a completely different direction, namely at Taine’s milieu theory, which he felt represented art almost as a “product of nature”.²²⁸ Broadly speaking, we could say that the Hegelian concept of the absolute idea, theories of artistic will and Taine’s milieu theory all defined art via greater forces – physical or non-material – while Tikkanen and Lange sought to analyse creative activity and its evolution primarily proceeding from artists and works of art.

When Tikkanen travelled from Germany to Italy in the autumn of 1881, old Italian art became his main

²¹⁹ Vischer’s *Über das optische Formgefühl* (*On the Optical Sense of Form*) appeared in 1873, *Der aestetische Akt* in 1874 and *Über aestetische Naturbetrachtung* in 1890. Fiedler’s *Über den Ursprung der künstlerischen Tätigkeit* was published in 1887, and Hildebrandt’s main work *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (*The Problem of Form in the Fine Arts*) came out in 1893. The writings of Vischer, Fiedler and Hildebrandt, among others, were published in English translation in *Empathy, Form, and Space*, 1994. On recent interpretation of Fiedler’s theory, see *Auge und Hand*, 1997. See also Podro 1984, 37–43 and Podro 1991, 405–413.

²²⁰ More on this in Sciolla 1995, 4–5, 16–18; Olin, 1984, 29–36; Olin 1992, *passim*. In analysing figurative properties in *Wiener Genesis*, among other works, Wickhoff proceeds from Herbart’s theories; Riegl 1966, in particular 287–293. On Wölfflin, see e.g. Meier 1990, 63–79.

²²¹ Wind 1983, 24.

²²² On “art will” see Olin 1992, 148–153.

²²³ See Olin 1992, 72, 209 note 16.

²²⁴ See Olin 1992, e.g. 3–16, 93–111.

²²⁵ Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to Robert Castrén 20.7.1881. SLSA 820.3.

²²⁶ Letters from J. J. Tikkanen to Carolina Tengström 15.7.1881. SLSA 820.1. and C. G. Estlander 13.8.1881. SLSA 252.8.

²²⁷ Lange, 1876.

²²⁸ Lange, 1876, 119; Kolind Poulsen 1999, 79.

subject of interest.²²⁹ His first destination in Italy was Milan, and already there he began to study Early Renaissance painting. Having made his way to Florence, he became almost immediately drawn to Cimabue and Giotto.²³⁰ His interest in Giotto appears to have grown the more he saw the artist's works and he prepared the first outline for his coming dissertation already at the end of the year.²³¹

Although the choice of Giotto as a subject appears to be a logical and systematic decision, it is nonetheless hard to say to what degree it was based on the earlier historiography of art and how much Tikkanen simply became fascinated with Giotto's art and felt that he could apply to it precisely the questions that had occupied him for a long while. Though already having a grounding in Italian art and its stages from university, he continued his reading abroad, and by the time he decided on his theme he knew at least the works of Vasari, Burckhardt, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Waagen, Förster and Hettner.²³² If Tikkanen's interest in Giotto was originally based on research literature, his starting points would have been above all Vasari, Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Burckhardt, whom he mentions several times in his letters to Estlander.²³³ Through them he presumably adopted the idea of the rebirth of art and the importance of Giotto in this tradition. But when writing his dissertation, he also studied literature predating Vasari, and for example Cennini figures prominently among his sources. Tikkanen also refers directly to Dante and Boccaccio.²³⁴

The following section discusses conceptions of Giotto's artistic ability and his role in regenerating art, and the problematic relationship of these matters with the concepts of veracity and the ideal from the 14th to the 18th century. I also address comments on the evolution of art, followed by a discussion on the more critical and diverse Giotto studies of the 19th century. A central role here is played by the researchers to whom Tikkanen refers in his dissertation: Rumohr, Burckhardt, Cavalcaselle ja Crowe, Laderchi, Müntz, Dobbert and Quilter.

²²⁹ Letters from J.J. Tikkanen to Carolina Tengström 20.8. and 30.8.1881. SLSA 820.1.

²³⁰ Letter from J.J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 7.11.1881. SLSA 252.8.

²³¹ Letters from J.J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander nov.1881 and 30.12.1881. SLSA 252.8.

²³² See e.g. J. J. Tikkanen's notebook on lists of reading matter from 1878–1879. Hhtai JJT.47a; Letters from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 13.8., 19.8., 5.9., 17.11. and 13.12.1881, and 5.3. and 16.6.1882. SLSA 252.8

²³³ Letters from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander, 19.8.1881, 5.9.1881, 17.11.1881, 30.12.1881, 5.3.1882, 16.6.1882. SLSA 252.8.

²³⁴ Tikkanen 1884a, passim. The section on the 14th and 15th centuries in Ghiberti's *Commentarii* was first published in toto by Cicognara in *Storia della scultura*, 1823. Rumohr also published excerpts from it in *Kunstblatt* in 1821, and later in his *Italianische Forschungen*.

II.2. Giotto in Art History before Tikkanen

“Das künstlerische Können” and the Rebirth of Art: The Vasarian Tradition

Tikkanen's desire to study the evolution of artistic ability – “das künstlerische Können” – and the struggle of art with the command of theme, nature and material, from initial naïve dependency to final, complete mastery, and the choice of Giotto as the subject of his dissertation, link him to issues of the evolution of art and the *rinascita* – the rebirth of art after the Middle Ages.²³⁵ The key role of Giotto as a reformer of art and the “rebirth” were not invented by Vasari, as these concepts had already been presented by several writers of the 14th and 15th centuries. Dante, who may even have known Giotto personally, underlined the latter's precedence over Cimabue in an often-quoted passage from canto 11 in his *Purgatory*.²³⁶ More important, however, is the short story of Forese di Rabatta and Giotto in *Decamerone*, in which Boccaccio presents many of the arguments that were later voiced by Vasari. Here art is said to be the imitation of nature, and in this skill Giotto was regarded as having achieved a level so high that viewers could no longer distinguish the painting from reality. He is compared to the artists of Antiquity, having, according to the author, “– brought back to light an art buried for centuries – –”.²³⁷ The same ad-

²³⁵ Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 6.1.1881. SLSA 252.8.

²³⁶ Dante, *La Divina Commedia*, Purgatorio XI, 94–96: “Credette Cimabue ne la pintura / tener lo campo, e ora ha Giotto il grido, / sì che la fama di colui è scura.” (Cimabue thought/ To lord it over painting's field; and now/ The cry is Giotto's, and his name eclips'd, from the English translation by H. F. Cary) Schlosser 1977 [1935], 50–51; Grassi 1970, 117–119; Panofsky, G. 1991, 15–16.

²³⁷ Boccaccio, *Decamerone* (ca. 1348–53), 6th day. story 5.: “– niuna cosa dà la natura, madre di tutte le cose, ed operatrice col continuo girar de' cieli, che egli con lo stile e con la penna e col pennello non dipingesse sì simile a quella, che non simile, anzi più tosto dessa paresse, intanto che molte volte nelle cose da lui fatte si trova che il visivo senso degli uomini vi paresse errore, quello credendo esser vero che era dipinto. E perciò, avendo egli quella arte ritornata in luce, che molti secoli sotto gli error di alcuni che più a diletta gli occhi degl'ignoranti che a compiacere allo 'ntelletto de' savi dipignendo intendevano, era stata sepolta, meritamente una delle luci della fiorentina gloria dirsi puote: e tanto più, quanto con maggiore umiltà, maestro degli altri ciò vivendo, quella acquistò, sempre rifiutando di esser chiamato maestro – –.” The English translation of the quote is from Rubin 1995, 294. On Boccaccio, see Grassi 1970, 119–121; Panofsky, G. 1991, 16–17, 23. Boccaccio's respect for Giotto is also expressed in his poem *Amorosa visione* (1342, IV: 16–18) – Schwarz – Theis 2004, 70–76; and book XIV of *Geneologie Deorum Gentilium* (n. 1350–1359), in which Giotto is compared to the lauded painter Appelles of Antiquity. – Schwarz – Theis 2004, 335–336, 347–352. Giotto also appears in *Il Trecentonovelle* (before 1400), a short story by Franco Sacchetti. Like Boccaccio, Sacchetti also presents the image of a quick-witted artist aware of his own status. See Schwarz – Theis 2004, 354–358.

miration of adherence to nature was also noted by Giovanni Villani, who wrote in 1334, when the bell-tower, designed by Giotto for the duomo of Florence came under construction: “– – our fellow citizen Master Giotto: the most sovereign master of painting in his age, whose figures and gestures most resemble nature – –”.²³⁸

Although the question of the artist as a creative individual did not come under broader discussion until the 15th century, these contemporary writers already ranked Giotto among the educated class, and not as a craftsman. The first biography of Giotto is contained in *On the Origins of Florence and Its Famous Citizens* written ca. 1380–1381 by Giovanni Villani’s nephew Filippo Villani. This text presents even more clearly than before the parallels of the artists of Florence and Antiquity and the evolution of art in relation to the imitation of nature. Not only equal to the artists of Ancient Greece and Rome, Giotto even surpassed them. Villani appreciates, among other features, Giotto’s ability to arouse the viewer’s emotions.²³⁹ Cennino Cennini’s *The Craftsman’s Handbook* is more important for practical technical information than theoretically, for he stood in a direct continuum in the tradition of painting represented by Giotto.²⁴⁰ Noting that “Giotto changed the profession of painting from Greek back into Latin, and brought it up to date – –”, he underscores, like the above writers, the distinction with regard to the Middle Ages and Byzantine art.²⁴¹

During the 15th century, as the ideals of humanism gained ground, painting and sculpture achieved a position as liberal arts and the nature of treatises on art became more problematized. Major reforms, in particular the development of linear perspective followed by atmospheric and colour perspective, clearly demonstrated how significantly the artist’s command of nature had evolved since the early 14th century. Art approached science and veracity was specifically sought by applying the geometric laws of central perspective to painting and sculpture.²⁴²

²³⁸ Rubin 1995, 287, note 2: *Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, ed. Dragomanni, III, 232 (XI, 12):” e soprastante, e proveditore della detta opera santa Reparata fu fatto per lo comune maestro Giotto nostro cittadino, il più sovrano maestro stato in dipintura che si trovasse al suo tempo, e quegli che piu trasse ogni figura e atti al naturale.”

²³⁹ *Liber de origine civitatis Florentiae et eiusdem famosis civibus*. Schlosser 1977 [1935], 52–53; Grassi 1970, 122–124; Tanturli 1976, 275–278; Panofsky, G. 1991, 16–17; Rubin 1995, 287.

²⁴⁰ *Libro dell’Arte*. His teacher was Agnolo Gaddi, whose father and teacher Taddeo had worked for 24 years in Giotto’s bottega. Cennini 1933 [ca. 1390], 2

²⁴¹ “– – rimutò l’arte del dipingere di Greco in latino e ridusse al moderno”. – Cennini 1933 [ca. 1390] 2; Schlosser 1977 [1935] 93–95; Grassi 1970, 124–127.

²⁴² Grassi 1970, 134–138.

Published in 1436, Leon Battista Alberti’s (1404–1472) theoretical treatise *On Painting* does not present the history of art, nor the early stages of the new art. Except for Filippo Brunelleschi, to whom the book was dedicated, the only artist whom Alberti mentions by name, however, is Giotto. He refers to the *Navicella* mosaic in St. Peter’s and, like Villani, notes the representation of emotions and their effect on the viewers:

They also praise in Rome the boat in which our Tuscan painter Giotto represented the eleven disciples struck with fear and wonder at the sight of their colleague walking on the water, each showing such clear signs of his agitation in his face and the entire body that their individual emotions are discernible in every one of them.²⁴³

In his dedication, Alberti also presents the idea of the rebirth of art by stating that contemporary Florentine art is on a par with the art of Antiquity. Also for him, the purpose of art was to imitate nature, but it was no longer enough to achieve mere similarity. Instead, beauty had to grow by selecting from nature the most perfect features possible and to combine them into an ideal entity. In order to do so, the artist needed not only a good eye but also ingenuity, a mind and invention.²⁴⁴ Alberti’s idealistic conception of art was passed on via Leonardo, Raphael, Vasari and Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1615–1696) to Winckelmann, 19th century art history and Tikkanen’s mentor C. G. Estlander. In this connection, Alberti presented the biological metaphor of the ageing and tiring of nature in that it could no longer produce geniuses in the same way as in its youth, a metaphor that Vasari adopted and developed further.²⁴⁵

In the most important collection of artist biographies of the Early Renaissance, Lorenzo Ghiberti’s (1378–1455) manuscript known as *I commentarii* written ca. 1447–1455, artists are presented with reference to their works and form language.²⁴⁶ Ghiberti also presents the objective of art to be the most skilful possible imitation of nature. By this he means also repre-

²⁴³ “Laudatur et navis apud Romam ea, in qua noster Etruscus pictor Giottus undecim metu et stupore percussos ob socium, quem supra undas meantem videbant, expressit, ita pro se quemque suum turbati animi inditium vultu et toto corpore praeferentem, ut in singulis singuli affectionum motus apparent.” – Alberti – Grayson 1972, 82, Chapter 42, English translation: 83, Chapter 42.

²⁴⁴ *Della Pittura*. Alberti 1998 [1435], 53–54; Grassi 1970, 138–144.

²⁴⁵ Alberti 1998 [1435], 53–54. G. Panofsky 1991, 7–8.

²⁴⁶ Ghiberti’s original manuscript has not survived, but is known from a few early copies. The work was first published, with comments, by Julius von Schlosser (Ghiberti – Schlosser 1912). Klaus Bergdolt has published a separate study on the third, or scholarly, part (Ghiberti – Bergdolt 1988) and the most recent study on Ghiberti’s work as a whole has been edited by Lorenzo Bartoli (Ghiberti – Bartoli 1998). On Ghiberti, see also Schlosser 1935, 261–264. Schlosser 1977 [1935], 102–103.

sentation and not just replication, but he does not speak of idealization in the manner of Alberti. The idea of the rebirth of art is already present in the outline of the book: the first part is on the art of Antiquity and the second part is on Florentine art of the 14th and 15th centuries, thus establishing a parallel between them. Also in Ghiberti's texts, Giotto is specifically given credit for the new flourishing of painting.²⁴⁷ Both Alberti and Ghiberti almost completely bypassed the Middle Ages, or presented them as a period when art was sub-standard²⁴⁸, despite the fact that Ghiberti's personal taste can still be described as markedly bound to the Gothic idiom.

Ghiberti laid the basis for the myth of Giotto as a born genius learning directly from nature. According to Ghiberti's story, Cimabue had seen how skilfully Giotto had drawn the picture of a sheep on a rock as a young boy. As a result, Cimabue took Giotto as his pupil.²⁴⁹ In *Giottos Leben*, the first part of Michael Viktor Schwarz's and Pia Theis's book *Giottus Pictor* from 2004, the authors note how the idea of a precocious genius was not new to the Early Renaissance, already having examples in treatises of Antiquity and the Renaissance. As a possible model, they suggest the treatise *De Republica* (1400–1404) by the Milanese humanist Umberto Decembrio. On the other hand, they identify the myth of the self-taught Giotto with Pliny's description of Lysippos. According to them, the story of little Giotto tending sheep may also derive from the Arcadian pastoral idyll of Antiquity that was revived in early Italian humanism.²⁵⁰

Leonardo's treatises reflect strong faith in the "objectivity" of sight, with the natural result that he regarded painting to be the best and most comprehensive way to depict all that exists and to pass on information.²⁵¹ As an exceptionally gifted and analytical observer, he regarded as the main requirements of an artist first to study nature to understand things and only then to go on to depict them in his works. This ideal is aptly expressed in a passage on Giotto in his notebook:

The painter will produce pictures of little excellence if he takes other painters as his authority, but if he learns from natural things he will bear good fruit. We saw this in the painters who came after the Romans. They always imitated each other and their art went ever into decline from one age to the next. After these came Giotto the Florentine who was not content to copy the works of his master Cimabue. Born in the lonely mountains inhabited only by goats and other beasts, and being inclined by nature to such art he began to copy upon the stones the movements of the goats whose keeper he was. And thus he began to copy all the animals he found in the countryside in such a way that after much study he surpassed not only the master of his age but all those of many centuries before.²⁵²

Although the content of the story is based on the legend of Giotto's childhood as recounted by Ghiberti, it may also contain self-reflection and references to Leonardo's own relationship with nature, which evolved during his childhood in Vinci. In any case, he felt that Giotto met the requirements of a good artist, because the latter proceeded directly from nature in his art.

The views on the periodization of art and the biological cycle of its evolution presented by Giorgio Vasari in his *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori* (1568)²⁵³ have had permanent influence on the whole research tradition of art history. Vasari naturally relied on his predecessors, but he also significantly developed the theory of the evolution of art, shaped old concepts and invented new ones. In its extent and diversity, Vasari's study fundamentally differs from all previous treatises on art history, and although complementary works to it began to appear in the 16th century, the next problematized general work on Italian art was Luigi Lanzi's *Storia pittorica dell'Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso alla fine del XVIII secolo* (1795–1796), and even that did not surpass Vasari's *Le vite* at the theoretical level.

Vasari felt that he was living in a period when nature had again, as in the flourishing of Antiquity, met its masters in the works of artists such as Leonardo, Raphael and above all Michelangelo, and therefore he

²⁴⁷ Ghiberti – Bartoli 1998 [1447–1455], 84; Grassi 1970, 146–151; Panofsky 1991, 15.

²⁴⁸ Alberti 1998 [1435], *passim*; Ghiberti – Bartoli 1998 [1447–1455], 83–84; Panofsky 1991, 9–14.

²⁴⁹ Ghiberti – Bartoli 1998 [1447–1455], 83.

²⁵⁰ Schwarz – Theis 2004, 15–17.

²⁵¹ Leonardo's ideas are most extensively presented in *Trattato della Pittura*, compiled by his pupil Francesco Melzi ca. 1530–1550 from his original notebooks. See Philip McMahon's English translation with commentary: *Treatise on Painting [Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270]* by Leonardo da Vinci, 1956. This compendium does contain any references to Giotto or any comparisons in general, in which Leonardo juxtaposes the art of his day with the earlier tradition.

²⁵² Codice Atlantico 141rb/387r. English translation by Kemp and Walker in *Leonardo on Painting*. "Siccome il pittore avrà la sua pittura di poca eccellenza, se quello piglia per autore l'altrui pittura, ma s'egli inparerà dale cose naturali farà bono frutto, come vedemo in ne' pittori dopo I Romani, I quail senpre imitarono l'uno dall'altro e di età in età senpre andava detta arte in dechinazione; dopo questi venne Giotto Fiorentino, il quale [non è stato contento allo imitare l'opere di Cimabue suo maestro]nato in monti soletari ... questo sendo volto dalla natura a simile arte, comiciò a disegnare sopra I sassi li atti delle capre delle quail lui eraguardatore ... che questo dopo molto studio avanzò non che I maestri della sua età ma tutti quelli di molti secoli passati." – Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, I, 371 – 2. no. 660 (Leonardo had drawn a line over the section in brackets).

²⁵³ A less extensive version already appeared in 1550. – Rubin 1995, 300, note 69.

could compare, better than Alberti, the progress of art in the Modern Era to the ages of man: birth, youth and flourishing. The fourth stage of waning is ambivalent in his texts. He sometimes speaks of three stages and sometimes of four, which has made things unclear for later interpreters of his ideas. This is an important distinction, because the three-stage model in particular would seem to exclude the idea of the “ageing” and degeneration of art. Erwin Panofsky claimed that Vasari specifically maintained the three-stage formula, and explained the demise of the art of Antiquity by the fact that, according to Vasari it was due only to external factors, the barbarians, and not to the internal evolution of art. Accordingly, even reborn art did not necessarily have to decline, and under suitable conditions it could continue to flourish. Jukka Ervamaa points out that Panofsky’s view was not completely argued, for Vasari regarded the art of Antiquity as degenerating already during the reign of Constantine, before the barbarian invasions, and he noted in several connections that stages of degeneration inevitably belonged to history. For Vasari, however, the periods of progress, in particular, were important and noteworthy in world history. Through the analysis of style they could be divided into three distinct stages (birth-growth-flourishing). There was also a fourth stage, but it was completely unimportant artistically, undifferentiated in terms of style, and its description was unnecessary, if not impossible.²⁵⁴

Vasari combines his cyclical formula with the idea of the progress of art. Julian Kliemann has underlined Vasari’s purposefulness in presenting the concept of progress. He maintains that this was only a general framework of three stages. Instead, progress was evident in both individual biographies and the way that they were linked to each other. This also entails the idea of the great masters as important steps in the various stages of the process.²⁵⁵ Giotto was the first of these, and Vasari terms the art of the 14th century *maniera di Giotto*, the style of Giotto:

That very obligation which the craftsmen of painting owe to nature, who serves continually as model to those who are ever wresting the good from the best and most beautiful features and striving to counterfeit and to imitate her, should be owed, in my belief, to Giotto, painter of Florence, for the reason that, after the methods of good paintings and their outlines had lain buried for so many years under the ruins of the wars, he alone, although born among inept craftsmen, by the gift of God revived that

art, which had come to a grievous pass, and brought it to such form as could be called good.²⁵⁶

This demonstrates Giotto’s central role in the process of giving rebirth to art, the decline of the period that preceded him, and Vasari’s view of the imitation of nature as its idealization, in the same manner as Alberti had claimed before him. In her discourse-analytical study *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, Patricia Lee Rubin shows in an interesting way how and from what starting points Vasari compiled his biography of Giotto. Not only citing the influence of the writers of the Modern Era, she notes how Cicero’s and Pliny’s accounts of the artists of Antiquity, especially Apelles, were given a new form in the biography of Giotto.²⁵⁷ Rubin also presents a critical analysis of Vasari’s description of Giotto’s oeuvre and maintains that he explicitly sought to underline Giotto’s importance by expanding the list of works.²⁵⁸ Vasari namely “discovered” new works attributable to Giotto on almost all his travels in the 1540s–1560s. In the 1550 edition, Giotto’s oeuvre is given as 43 works in nine towns; twenty-two new works and seven towns were added in the new edition. In addition, Giotto is said to have worked also in France.²⁵⁹

Partly relying on earlier authors, and partly developing new legends, Vasari explains Giotto’s superiority over preceding artists also with reference to his character. He was a friend of Dante and as a quick-witted and insightful person he could engage in intelligent conversation even with princes, kings and the pope. According to Rubin, the image of Giotto presented in the later edition *Le vite* partly reflects Vasari’s own social standing.²⁶⁰

Maginnis in turn points to Vasari’s manner of introducing into the story of the birth of art first a harbinger, followed by the master himself. He explains this with reference to the Christian tradition, linking Vasari’s portrayal of Cimabue with John the Baptist and that of Giotto with Christ.²⁶¹

²⁵⁶ English translation from Vasari 1912–14, 71. “Quell’obbligo stesso che hanno gl’artefici pittori alla natura – la qual serve continuamente per essemplio a coloro che cavando il buono dalle parti di lei migliori e più belle, di contrafarla e imitarla s’integnano sempre – avere, per mio credere, si deve a Giotto pittore fiorentino, perciò che essendo stati sotterrati tanti anni dalle rovine delle guerre i modi delle buone pitture et i dintorni di quelle, egli solo, ancora che nato fra artefici inetti, per dono di Dio quella che era per mala via risuscitò et a tale forma ridusse che si potette chiamar buona.” Vasari 1967 [1550/ 1568], 95.

²⁵⁷ Rubin 1995 passim, but on connections with Antiquity, see in particular 304–306, 309–310.

²⁵⁸ Rubin 1995, 307–319.

²⁵⁹ Rubin 1995, 306.

²⁶⁰ Rubin 1995, 314. I have arrived at a similar conclusion regarding Friedrich Rumohr’s views on Giotto – see below.

²⁶¹ Maginnis 1997, 23, 36. According to his interpretation, a similar pattern is expressed in *Le vite*, also with reference to sculpture. – Maginnis 1997, 25–26.

²⁵⁴ Ervamaa 1973, 8, 13–14. See also Kliemann 1991, 35–36; Kuusamo 1994, 10–12.

²⁵⁵ Kliemann 1991, 41–43.

The myth of Giotto is given a fundamental source-critical re-evaluation in Schwarz's and Theis's study, which seeks to define Giotto as a historical individual, his oeuvre and his influence with reference to surviving archival documents.²⁶² By discussing the sources used by Vasari, and Ghiberti before him, they expand and specify Rubin's and Maginnis's observations of the means with which Renaissance authors constructed the idealized conception of Giotto, an image that remained almost unchanged until the research literature of the 19th century.²⁶³

Vasari's cyclical idea of the process of development in art was repeated by many writers of the 17th century²⁶⁴ and it achieved its most complete form in Winckelmann's main work *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, which appeared in 1764. According to Winckelmann, the purpose of art history was to study the birth, growth, flourishing and demise of art with regard to the styles of different peoples, periods and artists, and to proceed as much as possible from surviving works of Antiquity. Although Winckelmann's merits especially lay in distinguishing Greek Antiquity from the Roman and defining through Vasarian periodization, he also followed this traditional cyclical concept when dealing with European art of Modern Times, thus regarding it as a law of history of at least some universal applicability.²⁶⁵ Winckelmann had considerable influence on the educated classes of his own day as many of his writings were translated into other languages (French, English and Italian) almost immediately. Awareness of Greek art and its unsurpassed values of beauty, as also the values of neo-classicism, were effectively propagated, with long-ranging effects. Tikkanen's academic teacher Estlander was quite faithful to Winckelmann's ideas of the evolution art in Modern Times. Estlander also regarded the Baroque as decline, not to mention Rococo, which he seems to have regarded as outright sub-standard in terms of art and other areas of culture. Admiration of the Winckelmannian tradition is evident in his main work of art history *De bildande konsternas historia* and in various notes related to teaching and other work in his personal archives.

With regard to the biographies of artists, the Vasarian tradition can be said to have ended with Luigi Lanzi's *Storia pittorica dell'Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso alla fine del XVIII secolo* (1795–1796). The main focus of this work lies in empirical expertise, the main issues being the correct attribution of works, assigning the artist to the right studio and school, and the definition of schools in a broader national and international context. This approach was essentially linked to the perspective of style history. Lanzi subscribed to Vasari's periodization and was a traditionalist in other respects as well. His importance lies above all in compiling the Vasarian biographical tradition.

Tikkanen's idea of the evolution of art followed the Vasarian-Winckelmannian pattern at least to the degree that he regarded the renewal of art as having begun with Giotto and that the artists of the High Renaissance achieved total command of representation faithful to nature. On the other hand, he does not appear have regarded the classification of art according to a set formula (be it in three or five stages) as important. Tikkanen's normativity is somewhat difficult to define. He did not share principles of classification of Estlander and the latter's predecessors, whereby classical art and the Renaissance are given as the starting points for evaluating other epochs. However, appreciation of the new currents in art of individual periods instead of the imitation of Antiquity and the High Renaissance was a theme that Tikkanen presented in many of his writings.²⁶⁶ The same way of thinking has been regarded as central to Riegl's works, in particular his *Die Spätromische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn* (1901), which made him the first scholar to note the intrinsic value of the art of Late Antiquity.²⁶⁷

Tikkanen, however, was not free of normativeness. He was not a great admirer of the Baroque (perhaps with the exception of 17th-century Dutch art) or the Rococo, and this reservation, possibly derived from Estlander, is evident in some of his later works such as his general history of art from 1910.

²⁶² Schwarz–Theis 2004. This is the first comprehensive source-material study on Giotto. The research project uncovered approximately 100 previously unknown primary sources on Giotto, bringing the current tally to roughly 150. These documents mainly concern various events of everyday life, such as acquiring property, marriages, official appointments, payments etc. The authors arranged them and analysed them in relation to earlier writings and research of Giotto. See Schwarz – Theis 2004, 1–11; 77–87.

²⁶³ Schwarz – Theis 2004, 13–33.

²⁶⁴ Among others, Agucchi, Bellori.

²⁶⁵ Ervamaa 1973, 19–21.

²⁶⁶ Tikkanen 1881, 453. Tikkanen already wrote about these matters to Estlander in a letter from Munich dated 13.8.1881. SLSA 252.8.

²⁶⁷ Wind maintains that Riegl's idea of art or at least forms having an independent history of development, i.e. unrelated to content or surrounding factors, led to the requirement of viewing all genres of art as mutually equal. – Wind 1983, 22–23. If the idea of the automatic evolution of form precludes the normative approach, I believe it will also have the consequence that art of all eras is of equal value.

From Carl Friedrich von Rumohr Until Tikkanen's Close Predecessors

This section discusses the research literature that was chronologically closest to Tikkanen and from which he obtained his general idea of Giotto's oeuvre. After Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, art-historical scholarship had become considerably more source-critical than previously. There was closer focus on the works and increasing form-analytical evaluation. Art historians also rejected the old simplified view of Giotto as a kind of counterweight to Cimabue. Giotto's new art began to be viewed in connection with other, slightly older and contemporary artists, Nicola and Giovanni Pisano in particular. Although veracity remained a core issue, the relationship of Giotto with Antiquity was discussed at least to a minor degree.

Where Luigi Lanzi marked an end to the Vasarian tradition of scholarship, Carl Friedrich Rumohr launched a new, more scientific, orientation of study with his essay collection *Italienische Forschungen* (1827–1831). Quoting Michael Podro, this can be described as *critical art history*.²⁶⁸ Rumohr's book contains series of studies on various aspects of the visual arts, and his thinking appears to be underpinned more by theoretical considerations than the traditions of connoisseurship in art, despite the fact that he regarded empirical expertise to be of prime importance. His texts show that he had seen all the works that he analysed. The main problems considered by Rumohr were the essence of art and its role in human thought and action, and he discusses art in relation to philosophy, aesthetics, religion and society. Rumohr has been regarded as being in a polemical relationship with Winckelmann, and with Kant and Hegel in philosophy. He came to know the works of Winckelmann and Lanzi through his academic teacher, the Italian Johann Dominicus Fiorillo (1748–1821), who was Germany's first professor of art history. This approach to art followed the classical system of values, but was not bound to society in the Winckelmannian sense. Instead, it was based mainly on antiquarian and connoisseurship traditions.²⁶⁹ Rumohr differed radically from the classicist

²⁶⁸ Rumohr's work has also appeared in a single-volume reprinted version (Frankfurt am Main, 1920), with a preface by Julius von Schlosser: "Carl von Rumohr als Begründer der neueren Kunstforschung". On the relationship of Lanzi and Rumohr with later research, see Bickendorf 1993, 25–47; more extensively on Rumohr, see Schlosser, 1920; Gibson-Wood 1988, 152–165.

²⁶⁹ Fiorillo began to teach art history at the University of Göttingen in 1783, being appointed to a permanent professorship in 1813. He was a member of the Accademia Clementina of Bologna and had studied painting under the classicist Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787), one of Europe's best-known portraitists of the period. Since Batoni's home in Rome was a meeting place for intellectuals and artists, Fiorillo presumably also met Winckelmann, Cardinal Albani and Anton Raphael Mengs, all

views of Fiorillo and the examples followed by the latter. He maintained, for example, that the highest ideals of art had been achieved in the Middle Ages and by no means in Antiquity.

In a recent article, Carlo Ginzburg presents an interesting chain of reasoning concerning Rumohr's relationship with art history. Rumohr had contact with the Lukasbrüderschaft or the Nazarenes, converted to Catholicism, and shared the romanticized idea of medieval art in the manner of the Nazarenes. Ginzburg notes that it was the admiration of the Middle Ages that explains why Rumohr did not continue his analyses of art beyond Raphael in *Italienische Forschungen*, since Raphael was precisely the artist whose works were regarded as the termination of the splendour of medieval art. The crumbling of Vasari's authority in Rumohr's eyes is related to the same issue. For Vasari, Michelangelo was the greatest artist and genius that God in His grace had sent to Tuscany, while for Rumohr and like-minded scholars Michelangelo was already a sign of incipient decline.²⁷⁰

Italienische Forschungen is generally regarded as a turning point in the historiography of art also because of its theoretical merits. Rumohr was a scholar with a strict source-critical attitude who argued well for his views, and it has been claimed that his mistakes in attribution were due more to insufficient available information than to any lack of methodological skills.²⁷¹ Rumohr regarded works of art as comprehensive achievements, in which the idea of the work and its execution went hand in hand. Nor did he share the Winckelmannian view of art as a means for passing on moral ideals, not to mention art's role as only a medium in general with which non-visual but linguistically comprehensible ideas could be expressed. For him, art was part of social and religious activity, and since the same laws as for all other human achievements applied to it,

of whom belonged to the elite among those interested in Antiquity in Rome. In Germany, his circle of friends included Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812) who taught classical philology at Göttingen and August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845), both of whom underlined the exemplary nature of the literature of Antiquity, although Schlegel was a leading founding figure of the Romantic school. All in all, Fiorillo was a widely learned man. – Ginzburg 2003, 41–42. Fiorillo's most important studies are *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste von ihrer Wiederauflebung bis auf die neuesten Zeiten I–V* (Göttingen 1798 and 1808) and *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste in Deutschland und den vereinigten Niederlanden, I–IV* (Hannover, 1815–1820).

²⁷⁰ Although Rumohr's exceptionally critical view of Vasari has been noted in several previous connections, Ginzburg's explanation may well be correct – at least it sheds new light on the matter. According to him, the painter and art historian Johann David Passavant, who belonged to the Nazarenes, had brought this up indirectly in his anonymously published book *Ansichten über die bildenden Künste und darstellung derselben in Toscana* (1820). – Ginzburg 2003, 42–443.

²⁷¹ Gibson-Wood 1988, 159–161.

it could be assessed on the same grounds as the latter.²⁷² Podro also maintains that Rumohr particularly attacked Hegel's views and challenged Hegel's concept of the *idea* "in se". Hegel claimed that the idea was expressed in different ways in the art of different periods, and that all manifestations of the idea (i.e. works of art) of different kinds and different periods would ultimately help in forming the *absolute idea*. In that situation, the idea and its manifestation would no longer be distinct. We might say that Rumohr denied the existence of the *absolute idea*. He regarded artists as personalities each of whom had grown from their own starting points, having a certain type of character according to which they realized their works.

Rumohr took a considerably more analytical view of Giotto's abilities and the old sources concerning them than anyone before him. He wanted to redefine Giotto's historical position, character, aims and artistic achievements, thereby challenging the generally accepted idea of the greatness of the artist.²⁷³ In his work, he combined source criticism with empirical research. Rumohr questioned Cennino's and Ghiberti's admiring comments on Giotto as biased, since both of them represented the same artistic tradition that began with Giotto. He sought to view their opinions more diversely than had been done previously and to establish their underlying factors.²⁷⁴ He relates Cennino's view of Giotto's significance to purely technical reforms, but with regard to Ghiberti he cannot avoid admitting that the latter also brought forth aspects other than technique: the choice of subjects and their new treatment.²⁷⁵

Rumohr himself argued for Giotto's role as reformer largely by redefining the latter's nature as an artist. Although in his interpretation, Cimabue and Duccio had already liberated themselves to some degree from the formal medieval treatment of subjects and the medieval manner of painting, Giotto was the first to separate himself completely from this tradition. Rumohr notes his staunch opposition to the views of earlier scholars, who described Giotto as strictly religious, as a reformer had to have not only talent and a strong personality but also had to avoid intellectual commitment to matters that were previously regarded as sacrosanct. He thus regards Giotto, for all the latter's prolificness and diversity, to have been even heedless and indifferent with regard to sacred symbols. This purely artistic attitude led in turn to objective observation of the environment and expression that made contemporaries feel they were experiencing reality itself when viewing

it.²⁷⁶ Rumohr also argued for his view with reference to the accounts of Boccaccio and Sacchetti and to the "Hymn Against Poverty" purportedly written by Giotto himself.²⁷⁷ Although Giotto's secular nature can be argued for with reference to sources, I find this nonetheless to be an apt example of the influence of the scholar's own personality on how he approaches his subject. Rumohr's interpretation of Giotto as a rebellious innovator may reflect his own role in reforming the historiography of art, as the opposition to Hegel and Kant in his thinking can be given a parallel in his hypothesis of Giotto's opposition to religion. Kathryn Brush points to a similar situation of self-reflection: when Wilhelm Vöge, at the age of 26, wrote his epoch-making study on the sculptors of the west façade of the Cathedral of Chartres, he saw them also as young men, using such terms as 'youthful vitality' in this connection.²⁷⁸

In underlining the importance of empirical experience, Rumohr criticizes Ghiberti and Vasari for several mistakes, which he assumes to be due to the fact that they had not seen all the works by Giotto that they mention.²⁷⁹ It is obvious that Rumohr did otherwise and personally saw all the works of art and buildings that he discusses in his book. His method of attribution was largely similar to the comparative method that Giovanni Morelli later compiled from traditional methods of art connoisseurship and launched into art-historical scholarship. Rumohr thus proceeded from a work that he definitely believed to be an original in the artist's own hand, isolating from it a number of traits typical of the artist and comparing them with other works attributed to the same master. Proceeding from this comparative study, he would then define the artist's oeuvre. Paradoxically, the study of works in direct connection with them did not self-evidently lead Rumohr to the correct conclusion with regard to Giotto.

He took as his starting point, the altarpiece *The Coronation of the Virgin* in the Cappella Baroncelli in the Church of Santa Croce in Florence. This was the only work that, to his knowledge, bore Giotto's signature. Although Rumohr regarded this to be prime proof of credibility, the authenticity of the signature has later proven to be debatable. Many researchers do not attribute the work to Giotto himself but instead to his

²⁷⁶ Rumohr – Schlosser 1920 [1831], 255.

²⁷⁷ Rumohr – Schlosser 1920 [1831], 255–263; on the hymn "Chançon Giotti pintori di Florentia" which von Rumohr had found in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurentiana (Cod. 47.) see 259–262. On the latest interpretation of the hymn, see Schwarz-Theis 2004, 63–69.

²⁷⁸ Brush 1996, 84: "There are indications on a number of levels that the way in which twenty-six-year-old Vöge depicted the 'youthful vitality' and creative psyches of the artists at Chartres was to a significant degree self-reflexive. Remarkably he depicted the medieval sculptors as young men, like himself."

²⁷⁹ Rumohr – Schlosser 1920 [1831], 267–274.

²⁷² Podro 1982, 27–30.

²⁷³ Rumohr – Schlosser 1920 [1831], 253.

²⁷⁴ Rumohr – Schlosser 1920 [1831], 253–254.

²⁷⁵ Rumohr – Schlosser 1920 [1831], 254–255.

workshop. Accordingly, Rumohr's analysis, which was methodologically completely logical, can be regarded as unsuccessful.²⁸⁰ At the least this polyptych, in the light of present research, is not a definite starting point for defining characteristics. Instead, they should be sought by investigating numerous works attributed as reliably as possible to Giotto, such as the *Maestà* in the Uffizi Gallery and the murals of the Arena chapel. Rumohr also leads to another point of debate that is still being discussed, namely the fresco cycles of the upper church of Assisi. He did not attribute any of these to Giotto, dating them instead to a 15th-century artist named Parri di Spinello, partly because he interpreted some of the buildings shown in the frescoes to be based on the architecture of Brunelleschi.²⁸¹ With regard to the frescoes of the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua, he states that they were over-painted by an unskilled hand and in such poor condition that nothing could be said of their artistic value.²⁸² It is true that the works were in poor condition in Rumohr's time, but it is nonetheless surprising that he could not perceive their significance in the slightest manner.²⁸³

Rumohr regarded the evaluation of Giotto's language of form as a means of defining the artist's oeuvre. This still concerned connoisseurship, not research into the history of style. Although the Baroncelli altar was possibly incorrect or at least insufficient as a starting point, it nonetheless belonged to the school of Giotto. Therefore, the characteristics isolated by Rumohr include many (including features related to the shapes of the eyes and nose and the treatment of drapery) that appear in later evaluations of Giotto's works, and which may also have influenced Tikkanen, although the latter could have arrived at similar assessments on a purely visual basis as well.²⁸⁴

Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1879), who taught art history at Zürich and Basle wrote of Giotto in his books on the Italian Renaissance, *Cicerone* (1853) and *Die*

Kultur der Renaissance in Italien. He had adopted from his teacher Leopold von Ranke a systematic source-critical approach and an orientation towards writing general works in the subject.²⁸⁵ Burckhardt aimed at a rational form of presentation, and in a sense to distance himself from overly aesthetic discussion. Although J. J. Tikkanen knew both works by Burckhardt, Cicerone was more important for him with regard to Giotto. It was actually a mixture of a travel book, tourist guide and art-historical study. With the aid of comparative form analysis, the author presents the main works of art and architecture in Italy within a geographical and chronological framework. Prior to writing these books, Burckhardt had edited a revised version of his teacher Franz Kugler's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei*, which had presumably provided him with a good overall idea of the history of art. Cicerone, however, was based less on earlier studies than on Burckhardt's own observations from collecting material in Italy over a period of seven months.²⁸⁶

Although Burckhardt's main frame of reference was Vasari's *Le vite*, he also relied on various local histories, and his estimates, for example of attributions or the age of monuments or works, were not always quite correct, owing no doubt to the paucity of the source material. His later works are based to a considerable degree on a systematic treatment of earlier research literature and accurate source criticism.

In *Cicerone*, Burckhardt presents a kind of overview of the oeuvre of Giotto and his school, and its artistic characteristics. As this was nonetheless a concisely written book in the manner of a travel guide, the analyses are not detailed. Tikkanen apparently used this work mainly as a guide to which works by Giotto could be seen in various locations, while on the other hand he clearly admired Burckhardt's logical and clear presentation.

Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle studied the details of artworks morphologically, considering their anatomy and physiognomy, the grouping and composition of figures, draughtsmanship and colour. He also considered paintings in terms of technique and condition. As a whole, his analyses are more precise than those of earlier studies. Springer, for example, who translated the first part of *New History* into his own mother tongue in 1869, specifically noted this point and compared the methods of Crowe and Cavalcaselle to those of archaeology. According to Donata Levi, the Italian art historian who has studied Cavalcaselle the most, these starting points were, however, already present in the studies of the earlier connoisseurs, Kugler, Johann David Passavant (1787–1861) and Gustav Friedrich

²⁸⁰ Rumohr–Schlosser 1920 [1831], 264. Gibson-Wood 1988, 161.

²⁸¹ Rumohr – Schlosser 1920 [1831], 269.

²⁸² Rumohr – Schlosser 1920 [1831], 270.

²⁸³ In 1961 Alessandro Prosdocimi published his thorough account of the Cappella degli Scrovegni in the 19th century history. His study presents matters related to the restoration of the frescoes and how the city of Padua managed to obtain the chapel after a process of various stages. The chapel was in truly poor condition when Rumohr visited Padua and restoration was not begun until 1867. The fate of both the chapel and the frescoes hung in the balance on many occasions. The purchase of chapel by the city was delayed for a number of reasons, and in 1868 the Arundel Society of London offered to buy it. Had it been sold to the Arundel Society, the frescoes would have been removed and taken to England. – Prosdocimi 1961, 5–15, 21, 28. I wish to thank Professor Lionello Puppi for drawing my attention to this study.

²⁸⁴ On present-day views concerning the Baroncelli altar, see Flores d'Arcais 2001.

²⁸⁵ Clark 1959, 95.

²⁸⁶ For more details, see e.g. Müller 2002.

Waagen (1794–1868), and particularly in the analytical studies by Rumohr and Ernst Förster.²⁸⁷ Cavalcaselle did not only study individual works of art, focusing instead on larger entities in many connections. Levi cites as an example an analysis of Nicola Pisano (1215–1278/84) that goes on to address the Greek-Byzantine and Italian-Byzantine schools.²⁸⁸ Cavalcaselle's importance in the history of art connoisseurship lies particularly in the manner in which he applied in his studies the teachings of his predecessors in a new and more systematic manner in his studies.

In *Geschichte der Italienische Malerei* published in 1869, J. A. Crowe and Cavalcaselle extensively discuss Giotto's career and art. They were the first to publish diagrams of the iconographical programmes of Giotto's main works, the Cappella degli Scrovegni and the Saint Francis cycle in Assisi. The significance of their work lies above all in its precise and detailed description, as prior to this no studies of similar extent had been published on Giotto's art. As the chronology of Giotto's oeuvre was largely unclear at the time of writing, Crowe and Cavalcaselle emphasize their use of the form-analytical approach alongside archive sources.²⁸⁹ They truly appear to have made use of all known archive sources and analyses by earlier scholars, but instead of form analysis their approach concentrates more on explaining iconography and the descriptive investigation of works. They do not present any comprehensive view of Giotto's style of the characteristics of his art.²⁹⁰

Unlike Rumohr, they regarded the paintings of the Arena chapel in Padua to be the most important works by Giotto and they greatly admired their beauty. In 1857 Cavalcaselle had personally participated in assessing the condition of the frescoes and the measures required by them, which means that he knew the material thoroughly.²⁹¹

His starting points for the analysis of works were completely different than Rumohr's. Accordingly, we may assume that Cavalcaselle had every opportunity to expand his analysis to greater diversity and to be more form-analytical, which however is noted in the book. Levi's study of Cavalcaselle's methods nonetheless displays a thorough attempt to chart and understand Giotto's art.²⁹² The authors clearly did not intend to analyse form as such, but instead to present a ra-

tional overall view of Giotto's oeuvre. Their working methods were largely based on the traditional principles of connoisseurship, the investigation of issues of technique and archive studies.

Camillo Laderchi's thirty-page article on Giotto from 1867 is a good example of the source-critical attitude of the time. Laderchi criticizes and comments on old sources, Rumohr, Cavalcaselle and other 19th-century writers in equal measure, seeking to demonstrate the mistakes of Giotto attributions by re-reading sources and relying on iconographic evidence among other material.²⁹³ The main focus of his article is on issues of attribution and related form analysis. Laderchi presents a wide-ranging analysis of the elements of Giotto's form language, such as physiognomy, forms and movements of figures, the representation of drapery, light and shadow, colour and perspective and depiction of space.²⁹⁴ The overall approach of the form analysis, however, is of a general nature. Laderchi sees the artist's *inventio* particularly in themes that are new and interpreted in a new manner, and in fine abilities of narrative, in which he regarded Giotto to be more skilled than many later artists. He also regarded Giotto to be a good observer of nature, who knew how to represent things with veracity and their characteristic vividness. Giotto is particularly appreciated for his portrayal of the movements and actions of figures, which he could apply correctly and in moderation, avoiding theatrical gestures. He could also create compositions in such a manner that nothing distracted the viewer's thoughts from the main theme. Although all the figures functioned individually, the action formed a single whole.²⁹⁵

As for Cavalcaselle, Giotto was still for Laderchi the master who changed art from Byzantine to Italian. He regarded the technical starting points of Giotto to be in the art of Cimabue, while the artistic goals stemmed from Giotto's own soul, being based on his friendship with Dante. Laderchi strongly opposed any attempts to link the reforms achieved by Giotto with examples from Antiquity or the Pisanos' sculptures and their classicist elements.²⁹⁶ Quite surprisingly, he also opposed the traditional manner of interpreting these reforms solely as the renewal of Florentine art, as distinct from the Siennese tradition. According to Laderchi, Giotto was specifically able to skilfully combine the Florentine and Siennese traditions.²⁹⁷ Completely unlike Rumohr, he explained the renewal of art with reference to Giotto's religiosity, which gave him

²⁸⁷ Levi 1988, 283–284.

²⁸⁸ Levi 1988, 182–183.

²⁸⁹ Crowe – Cavalcaselle 1869, 209.

²⁹⁰ Crowe – Cavalcaselle 1869, 175–279.

²⁹¹ Prosdocimi 1961, 16–17. The restoration of the frescoes that was begun in 1867 was approached with great reverence for the task. Pietro Selvatico, who led the work, made sure that the process was preceded by detailed investigations and the works were even photographed before any measures were taken. – Prosdocimi 1961, 30–31. Levi 1988, 7–9.

²⁹² Levi 1988, 122–124, 131–132.

²⁹³ Laderchi 1967: e.g. on the attribution of the Bargello frescoes, see 39–45.

²⁹⁴ Laderchi 1976, 34.

²⁹⁵ Laderchi 1976, 32–34.

²⁹⁶ This interpretation is presented in Rosini's *La scultura maestra della pittura nel secolo XIII*.

²⁹⁷ Laderchi 1976, 34–36.

the ability to create convincing depictions of moral allegories, emotions, ideals to be converted into visual language, or actual narrative themes. He does not, however, reject Rumohr's point according to which the simplicity of Giotto's figures and their difference from tradition was due to the fact that the art of the new monastic orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, required a new type of figure because of their new (more secular) views alone. At the same time, the themes of their art changed. As the works now took as their subjects completely new events, it was necessary to create types of representation in harmony with contemporary life. There were no reasons for focusing on old examples or the narrative types of earlier art.²⁹⁸

Laderchi's criticism of Vasari is a good example of his source-critical attitude. In noting that the facts presented by Vasari are incomplete and confused, he is even more critical than Rumohr. But he also takes a realistic position by observing that the 200-year interval between Giotto's death and Vasari's book was too long for anyone to even assume that the material compiled in *Le vite* could always be correct. He also criticized Cavalcaselle for outlining Giotto's oeuvre on the basis of style analysis, regarding this method to be uncertain and unduly influenced by preconceptions and random considerations.²⁹⁹ This suggests that Laderchi either regarded his own form-analytical method to be completely different or that he felt that Cavalcaselle had not practised sufficient source criticism in support of his style analysis.

Giotto naturally had a role in four significant general art histories written in the 19th century: Theodor Kugler's (1808–1858) *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei seit Constantin dem Grössen (1837) and Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (1842), Karl Schnaase's *Geschichte der bildenden Künste* (1843–1864), Anton Springer's *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (1855) and Wilhelm Lübke's *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte* (1860).³⁰⁰ Insofar as Tikkanen's notes and letters permit conclusions, he had read all these books before beginning his dissertation.³⁰¹

Because of its emphasis on the Middle Ages alone, Schnaase's study was definitely the most important one for the conception of Giotto. This particularly concerned the second, revised version of the book, in

which he was assisted by Eduard Dobbert. Its fifth part *Das Mittelalter Italiens und die Grenzgebiete der abenländischen Kunst* appeared in 1876, and with regard to Giotto it is quite obvious that it was updated to include the most recent articles. Schnaase's approach to the study of art was based to a great deal on Hegelianism and is theoretically oriented as a whole. In discussing the relationship of art of the turn of 13th and 14th centuries with nature, he proceeds from the ideas of Dante, who maintained that there were three kinds of beauty: divine beauty, the beauty of nature and the beauty of art.³⁰² He notes Dante's manner of depicting nature and the activities of man, and maintains that it marked the beginning of a new kind of world view:

This preference for the natural appearance can probably be called incipient *naturalism*, only that it differs from the modern in still being essentially based on the scholastic worldview. For it nature is not any separate second revelation, but rather only a newly discovered commentary on things universally ecclesiastical.³⁰³

According to him, the same new, truthful depiction of nature was already evident in the visual arts, particularly in the works of Nicola and Giovanni Pisano and Giotto.³⁰⁴

While Schnaase presents the main features of the oeuvre of Giotto, paralleling his own views with those of earlier authors, the main emphasis of his analysis is on interpreting Giotto's form language and iconography. He took as his main starting point the paintings in the Cappella degli Scrovegni, noting quite perceptively reforms related to Giotto's themes and expression.³⁰⁵ The bases for the language of form were presumably provided by Rumohr and Laderchi in particular, but Schnaase interprets iconography, for example, in a completely new way in many connections. Among other considerations, he emphasizes Giotto's manner of representation of the life of the parents of the Virgin and the allegories of virtues and vices that differs from both earlier and later tradition.³⁰⁶ Contrary to some ear-

²⁹⁸ Laderchi 1976, 34–35; Rumohr, 1998 [1823], 8–9.

²⁹⁹ Laderchi 1976, 35–36.

³⁰⁰ See Karlholm 1996, passim and Karlholm 2006, passim; Schnaase 1876, 352 – 385; Lübke 1893 [1860], II, 84–88. Springer 1888[3. ed], 257–273. Already as a student, Tikkanen could read Lübke's book in his mother tongue, as it had been translated into Swedish in 1872. In 1896 he also acquired a Finnish version of the work, which had been translated in 1893.

³⁰¹ Tikkanen's notebook on lists of reading matter from 1877–1879. Hhtai JJT.47a.

³⁰² Schnaase 1876, 337.

³⁰³ "Man kan diese Vorliebe für die natürliche Erscheinung wohl einen beginnenden *Naturalismus* nennen, nur dass derselbe sich noch von dem modernen unterscheidet, noch wesentlich auf dem Boden der scholastischen Weltanschauung steht. Der natur ist ihm noch nicht eine gesonderte; zweite Offenbarung, sondern nur ein neu aufgefundener Commentar der allbekanten kirchlichen." Schnaase 1876, 340. Schnaase's italics.

³⁰⁴ Schnaase 1876, 341.

³⁰⁵ Schnaase was also perplexed by Rumohr's indifference to the paintings of the Arena chapel – Schnaase 1876, 360, note 1. On the analysis of the paintings and iconographical programme of the Arena chapel, see Schnaase 1876, 361–369.

³⁰⁶ Schnaase 1876, 362, 368–369. On the other hand, Schnaase underlines several times that a new iconography was not solely Giotto's own invention, but was influenced for example by clients or the Florentine learned circles, other than Dante, with whom Giotto was in contact. – Schnaase 1876, 360, 362.

lier scholars, Schnaase regarded it as obvious that Giotto had adopted the influences of his reduced form language from Nicola Pisano, and by no means directly from the art of Antiquity.³⁰⁷ He regarded the strong influence of Giotto's art on viewers to be based above all on forceful psychological expression. It also permitted reference to more profound moral and spiritual values, and not just a narrative of the lives of holy personages in the historiographical manner.³⁰⁸

Schnaase is regarded as representing the cultural-historical approach in the study of art. Giotto was also bound to the culture, religion and society of his day, but all these background factors were an integral part of form-analytical investigation.

Giotto studies preceding Tikkanen include the works of two art historians whom Tikkanen later came to know personally. In the 1870s, Eduard Dobbert, professor of art history at the Technische Hochschule in Berlin and the most important acquaintance of Tikkanen's early career, had published articles on both Giotto and the Pisanos. His concept of art history as a field of study has been compared to that of Herman Grimm (1828–1901), professor of art history at the University of Berlin and a Renaissance scholar with an artist-centred perspective on research, and to that of Georg Dehio (1850–1932), professor of art history at the University of Strasbourg, who instead was a researcher of the Middle Ages and oriented towards the history of style. All three, however, shared the view that works of art should be viewed with reference to their historical, philological and theological background. Otherwise a work would not be understood. In other words, they regarded art history to be part of cultural history, and they did not find the formalistic method to be useful.³⁰⁹ Another interesting figure was the Frenchman Eugène Müntz, professor of aesthetics and art history at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, whom Tikkanen came to know personally on his second tour abroad in 1886, while working in the library of the *École des Beaux-Arts*.³¹⁰ When Warburg defined the various orientations of art history in a letter to Goldschmidt in 1903, he distinguished scholars who wrote of the history of artists in superlative terms (from Vasari to Morelli, Adolfo Venturi, Carl Justi, Wilhelm Bode and Bernard Berenson) from methodologists, i.e. those who studied style history or the history of typical forms. Along with himself, he included in the latter

group Semper, Springer, Schlosser, Wölfflin, Vöge, Wickhoff, Goldschmidt, Hegel, Taine, Müntz and Carl Lamprecht (1856–1915), among others.³¹¹ He also maintained that this group fell into several sub-groups. Where he studied the history of typical forms upon the terms of mimic human nature, Lamprecht, Müntz and Gurlitt, for example, studied them with reference to customs and behaviour.³¹² Generally speaking, it could be said that both Müntz and Dobbert viewed style in a broader cultural context, and their approaches do not greatly differ from each other.

Though primarily a historian, Dobbert had also studied aesthetics and archaeology. His main areas of research were old Byzantine art, in particular the development of visual themes of Late Antiquity in Byzantium, and Italian 14th-century art, such as the works of the Pisanos, Giotto and Orcagna. He was interested in iconographic themes and their cultural-historical connections, as shown by research themes such as the Holy Communion in Byzantine and medieval art and the origins of the crucifix. He wrote his study on Nicola Pisano, *Ueber den Styl Niccolo Pisano's und dessen Ursprung*, as a *Habilitationsschrift* thesis for a docentship at the University of Munich, but before receiving the post he was invited to Berlin, where he worked for the rest of his life. His other studies in this area, "Die Pisani" and "Giotto", were published in 1878 in *Kunst und Künstler Italiens bis um die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* edited by Robert Dohme.

Running to 50 pages, Dobbert's text on Giotto focuses on describing the latter's main works, in the Church of San Francesco in Assisi and the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua, discussing them in relation to their own time and its culture.³¹³ In terms of analysis, the most important part, however, is the final section of the text following the presentation of Giotto's oeuvre, in which Dobbert comments on the views of earlier scholars and presents new observations on Giotto's compositions and language of form.³¹⁴ As a rational scholar, he notes in several connections his doubts regarding the legends and anecdotes in biographies of Giotto and seeks to separate fact from fiction. Perhaps the most interesting comment is on the image of Giotto created by Rumohr. Dobbert suspects that Rumohr's need to represent Giotto as a secular person was related to his own admiration of the Middle Ages, which was toned by Romanticism and even led him to convert to Catholicism. As Rumohr highly valued the religious visual tradition of the Middle Ages, as well as Cimabue and Duccio, who continued it, he had to explain Giotto's reforms in some other way than as

³⁰⁷ Schnaase 1876, 360.

³⁰⁸ Schnaase 1876, 382.

³⁰⁹ Adler 2004, 442.

³¹⁰ In a letter to Estlander, Tikkanen notes having visited Müntz, who had been friendly saying that he had read Tikkanen's study on Giotto and bringing to Tikkanen's attention a German translation of a published work by Kondakoff. – Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 6.12.1886. SLSA 252.8.

³¹¹ Brush 1996, 98–99; Vuojala 1997, 34.

³¹² Vuojala 1997, 34.

³¹³ Dobbert 1878b, passim.

³¹⁴ Dobbert 1878b, 38–51.

surpassing earlier art. The most useful means was thus to link Giotto to the secularization of culture and to the new conception art that proceeded from it. The scholar could thus consider ecclesiastical and secular expression as if they were parallel phenomena that did not have to be placed in any mutual order of precedence.³¹⁵ Dobbert's own observations, for example on Giotto's compositions later influenced Tikkanen's analyses.

Eugène Müntz's articles "Boniface VIII et Giotto" and "Les precurseurs de la renaissance", which is more loosely related to this theme are source-critical studies largely based on research in archives. The first-mentioned article addresses papal commissions made by Giotto in Rome, while also providing a clear picture of late 13th and early 14th-century architecture and visual art in Rome, in addition to discussing to some degree papal commissions of art elsewhere in Italy. The approach is partly cultural-historical, for by studying the professional and social situation of artists and craftsmen Müntz shows how at the same time as the last Roman artisan families died out in the early 14th century, Tuscan artists gained a leading position in Roman art. This situation continued throughout the 14th and 15th centuries.³¹⁶ The article corrects confused dates presented by Vasari on Giotto's professional activity. Of particular importance is the presentation of visual and written documents concerning Giotto's fresco *Boniface Declaring the Jubilee Year of 1300* in the Lateran Basilica for they show the work to have been of larger composition than previously assumed and one of a series of three mosaics.³¹⁷ At the level of form analysis, Müntz was one of the first to note the connections between the architectonic and decorative elements used by Giotto in his paintings and the works of Roman master marble artisans of the Romanesque period. The 'marmorari' included the Cosmas family, the name of which became synonymous with a certain type of mosaic-decorated marble work ("Cosmatic work").

The other article is on the transfer of elements from Antiquity into Renaissance art, in which connection Giotto is not analysed to any great degree, since Müntz found in his art only few features adopted from Antiquity. These were, for example, often naked sculpted figures rising from high pedestals in a few frescoes. The figures are joined to each other with wreaths. There are also some draperies pointing to sculptures of Antiquity and buildings with references to the architecture of the classical tradition.³¹⁸ Like Dobbert, Müntz naturally regarded Nicola Pisano to have been more important than Giotto in passing on classical themes. Pisano's place of birth had become the subject

of extensive scholarly debate, especially since it was difficult to explain the marked commitment of his art to the examples of Antiquity.³¹⁹

It is a significant fact that in the 19th century many scholars were no longer content to view Giotto's art only in relation to nature. The approach was now expanded to include Antiquity. On the other hand, preceding medieval (and particularly late medieval) art was no longer regarded as purely a period of decline conquered by Giotto, but also as a period interesting in its history of motives, upon which the art of Modern Times could draw. By the late 19th century, the history of motives had become a significant new area of research and it seems that even where no definite continuum could be seen, there was an explicit desire to find one. I would claim that this is related to Müntz's observation, sensible in principle, that perhaps also Giotto, the reformer of Italian art, would have – like Nicola – taken the art of Antiquity as his model if he had been given the opportunity to see classical frescoes. Now, however, the available starting points were only sculpture and reliefs.³²⁰

II.3. Tikkanen's Dissertation

J. J. Tikkanen worked in Italy for eleven months, from October 1881 until September 1882. During this time, his main objective was not only to familiarize himself with Giotto's oeuvre, but also to see as much as possible of the work of Giotto's predecessors and successors. It was above all important to be able to analyse the works in direct contact with them, but alongside this he read earlier studies and bought research literature to take home to Finland. Upon his return, he worked on his dissertation for slightly over a year, making use of research literature and his notes from Italy. An important development was to begin correspondence with Dobbert, whose articles on the Pisanos and Giotto represented the current state of research in this field. Dobbert advised Tikkanen on literature and problems of research, finally reading the dissertation and checking its German language.

Tikkanen had prepared his first plan for his dissertation in December 1881. By this time his approach was clearly form-analytical, containing the following areas: composition, drawing, modelling, use of light and shade, colour and brushwork.³²¹ In connection with *composition* Tikkanen writes of the clarity of outline,

³¹⁵ Dobbert 1878b, 39–41

³¹⁶ Müntz 1881a, 113–115.

³¹⁷ Müntz 1881a, 129–131.

³¹⁸ Müntz 1920 [1881b], 17–19.

³¹⁹ Müntz 1920 [1881b], 5–7.

³²⁰ Müntz 1920 [1881b], 16.

³²¹ Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 30.12.1881. SLSA 252.8.

the general positions of figures, their placement in space, the juxtaposition of masses and the harmony and vividness of major lines. Under *drawing*, he mentions the precision of contours, which was of great importance when using linear perspective, the expressiveness of line, the form of contour (idealization and vividness) and colour values, by which he meant the strength of line. In *modelling* he regarded as important the nature of forms, correct shading and their expressiveness. It was necessary to see whether they were two or three-dimensional, created with line or value, merging together or conflicting. In the *composition of light and shade* it was necessary to see how light and shade were placed in relation to the whole pictorial plane, whether they were idealized and whether aerial perspective was used, which, like linear perspective, was of importance for the impression of space. Under *colour composition* Tikkanen intended to study the harmony of colour, the significance of scaled and local colour and the nature of colours, i.e. their veracity and expressiveness. The colour scale was also important, which was to take into account the number of colours, their values and tones (depth, brightness and degree of warmth). It was also necessary to see how much the artist used pure and mixed colours respectively. In *technique*, Tikkanen felt it was necessary to establish whether it was finished or summary in nature, whether the transitions from one colour and value to another were ungraded or whether there was a distinct contrast between them, and whether the painting was made *alla prima* or with glazes.³²²

The analysis is based on a sound awareness of the principles of painting: drawing, use of colour and val-

³²² ”**Linjekompos.**, gående ut på dels skildringens klarhet (figurernas öfverskådliga och ändamålsenliga uppställning), dels rummets utfyllande, massornas kontrast samt de stora (öfvergröpande) linjernas harmoni (fördold symetri) och lif. – **Teckningen:** konturens korrekthet (linjeperspektiv af största betydhet), karaktäristik (linjernas uttrycksfullhet), konturens form (idealisering och linjelif) samt valör (bestämd ell. försvinnande). **Modellering:** formkaraktäristik (schatteringens riktighet och uttrycksfullhet); flack eller i relief; streck- eller valör- (skugg- och färgmodellering); förmedling eller kontrast. Beroende af belysningen, hvars beskaffenhet, riktning och styrka är af betydelse. **Skuggkompositionen** (ljusets och skuggans fördelning öfver bilden), klärobskyren (ljusets och skuggans idealisering). Luftperspektivet som åstadskommes [sic: åstadkommes] genom valörernas och konturens med distansen aftagande bestämdhet (aftoning). Linje- och luftperspektivet framkalla bildens djup. **Färgkompositionen:** harmoni eller kontrast, stämningens (lasurer af betydelse) ell. lokaltonernas relativa styrka; färgkaraktäristik (färgens sanning och uttrycksfullhet); färgskalan – färgernas antal, valör (mörka ell. ljusa), ton (djup eller höjd / samt värmegrad). Rena eller blandade (indifferent). Teknik: stoffkaraktäristik; genomarbetad ell. flott, fördrifven ell. i kontrast, ”prima” eller ”lasur.”” – Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 30.12.1881. SLSA 252.8. The same points are stated more succinctly in the draft of a letter from J. J. Tikkanen to Eduard Dobbert 24.2.1883. Hhtai JJT.52r.

ue, perspective, composition – all the methods available to the artist are understood in both theory and practice. Although this outline can largely be derived from Alberti, the plan is clearly based at this stage on Tikkanen’s own studies in art and his assumption of what things he could generally consider when studying the artist’s working process. This is still just a theory and as such it could have been applied to investigating the style of any artist. Although this framework largely remained unchanged in the final study, the approach changed in terms of content, for it was natural that only after properly studying the art of Giotto and the period represented by him Tikkanen could identify many of the core problems that made his doctoral dissertation significant. We could, perhaps by way of simplification, say that where the plan in its early stage focused on the relationship between technique and veracity, the final work concentrates on the relationship of narrative to the depiction of reality.

The dissertation has the following table of contents: 1) preface, 2) the state of affairs: subject and composition, 3) gestural language and drawing, 4) modelling: light and shadow, 5) colour and brushwork, 6) ornament and 7) main features of style. In comparison with his first disposition, Tikkanen has thus added several things. Under composition he also treats the history of style extensively, in drawing the main role is given to defining gestural language in terms of style, and a chapter on ornament is a completely new theme. Tikkanen had no doubt originally planned to write a kind of summary, but the historiographical presentation of the chapter “Main features of style” clearly shows how far he had ultimately come from the technically focused expectations of the early stage.

In the preface of his dissertation, Tikkanen defines his theme and material of research, his views on the attributions of Giotto’s works (to which he does not return), and presents the main research literature used by him. He states that he studies the *history of style* and the progress that took place in art in the early 14th century, in addition to viewing Giotto’s language of form in relation to the older Byzantine-influenced style. In fact, in order to define the role of Giotto as a reformer he also had to compare the artist’s works with later art. Tikkanen focuses closely on Giotto’s form language, excluding all issues of attribution and dating, Giotto’s biography and the history of commissioning or creating works. The study is arranged according to the thematic questions indicated by the chapters and in each of these connections there is an analysis of Giotto’s expression with examples. The works are described only to the extent necessary for the specific theme. A core aspect running throughout the work at one level is the question of the relationship of these separate formal elements to veracity and at another level there is the question of the relationship of Giotto’s naturalism with earlier and later art. Although

opinions and conclusions appear throughout the work, the concluding chapter “Main features of style” also presents Tikkanen’s personal view of Giotto’s style, viewing this question in a historiographical perspective. He seeks to demonstrate the differences between the attitudes of the 14th century and his own day regarding art and the respective ways of viewing it. Despite its brevity, this chapter is important, for it is perhaps the best account of the starting points of Tikkanen’s thinking in relation to the conceptions of art of his own day.

In the following section I first discuss Tikkanen’s working methods, also comparing them with the ways in which contemporary art historians approached their subjects. The main material here consists of Tikkanen’s sketchbooks and notebooks and his letters to Estlander. This is followed by an overview of Tikkanen’s conception of Giotto’s oeuvre and how this conception is related to the views of Tikkanen’s predecessors and present-day interpretations. They provide a basis for a detailed discussion of Tikkanen’s formal analysis and for placing it in the context of its own day.

Working Methods

In her book *Cavalcaselle, Il pioniere della conservazione dell’arte italiana*, Donata Levi presents an excellent synthesis of the manner in which 19th-century art historians used their travel notes as an aid in their research.³²³ According to her, travel journals could serve as a connecting aspect in reconstruction the development of art-historical scholarship during the first half of the 19th century. I feel they are still a significant means for considering the second half of the century in this respect. Luigi Lanzi already made use of such a method when writing his *Storia pittorica* in the late 18th century, but it did not become standard practice until the following century.³²⁴ This was primarily influenced by development of art history in a scientific direction and its evolution into an academic area of enquiry, with increasing requirements of argument and source criticism. Where in the past it had been at least somewhat acceptable to rely on descriptions from earlier literature and on graphic representations of works and monuments, the credibility of this material was now questioned. The works had to be seen with one’s own eyes. Nineteenth-century Europe provided improved opportunities for this for a number of reasons, including the fact that large numbers of works were on permanent display in new large museums, for example in Vienna, Paris, Berlin, St Petersburg and London. It

was also possible to visit many private collections. The new organization of collections by country and school and the display of works in chronological order permitted scholars to define more closely their ideas of the “evolution” of art.

Not only museums, but also libraries and archives were organized to serve research more efficiently. For Tikkanen, these institutions in particular were to be significant for his whole career, for his main subjects of study were illuminated medieval manuscripts. Most works of art, however, were in churches and palaces, as they still are. Art historians travelled a great deal, but work on site was not always easy, as poor lighting and in many cases the poor condition of works made it difficult to observe them properly. Giotto’s frescoes in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua are a good example. During Rumohr’s time they had fallen into such poor condition that he felt unable to analyse them at all. Conservation methods did not properly develop to a scientific standard until the 20th century, which means that earlier repairs and restoration were often of a highly dubious nature. Giovanni Morelli, for example, who was familiar with the leading Italian restorers of his day criticized their tendency to ‘improve’ old paintings during restoration.³²⁵

Friedrich Gustav Waagen was one of the most internationally recognized connoisseurs of his day and well versed in German, Dutch, Flemish, English and Italian art. He introduced into art history the *catalogue raisonné* of individual artists and significantly developed museum pedagogy, but in most cases refused to treat in his studies works that he had not seen personally. Appointed in 1844 as the first professor of art history at the University of Berlin, his attitudes had wide-ranging influence.³²⁶ The same applied to his contemporaries, Rumohr, Passavant and Kugler, who also regarded the viewing of original works to be a prime requirement for new art-historical studies. Travel notes initially came into use among art historians specifically in the German-speaking regions.³²⁷

Though by no means all scholars made sketch notes (such as drawings and watercolours) while travelling, because of varying abilities of draughtsmanship alone, notes came into widespread use during the first half of the 19th century. Although most of the art historians of the day had received some kind of instruction in drawing, belonging as it did to the general education of a certain class of society, many of them also had the experience of considerably longer training in art. Before becoming an art historian, Kugler had engaged in art studies for many years, and Passavant had studied in

³²³ Levi 1988, 42–56.

³²⁴ Levi 1988, 43.

³²⁵ Anderson 1991a, 529–540.

³²⁶ Levi 1988, XXX, 120; Stonge 1998, 62. On Waagen, see Woltmann 1875, 1–52; Lightbown 1970; Stockhausen 1996, 316–320; Geismeyer 1980, 405; Sutton 1975, 396–403.

³²⁷ Levi 1988, 43–46.

Paris under David and Gross and later among the Nazarenes in Rome. Charles Eastlake, the first director of the National Gallery in London, had become known as an artist before his museum career. Not only a scholar, Ernst Förster, was also a painter and restorer. As a young man, Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle received thorough training in art first at the drawing schools in Verona and Padua and later at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Venice.³²⁸ Of Tikkanen's contemporaries, Adolfo Venturi for example had been trained as an artist at the Accademia di Belle Arti of Modena before choosing art history.

The type of travel notes depended on the nature of the tour, the scholar's individual working methods and his artistic talent. Eastlake, for example, whose artistic skills cannot be doubted, but whose travels mainly concerned additions to the collections of the National Gallery, made only written notes describing works, recording their attribution and commenting on their condition and opportunities to acquire them.³²⁹ John Ruskin, who was an amateur artist, used travel notes as a learning method, painting and drawing to understand the styles of different artists.³³⁰ Giovanni Morelli, whose studies proceeded from detailed form analysis, did not make note drawings very often. His initial opinion of works followed from detailed investigation and he wrote down thorough analyses of details, which he would later use as evidence for his hypotheses of attribution.³³¹ Wilhelm Vöge (1868 – 1962) drew notes and used a camera as an aid in documentation, for, like Tikkanen, he mainly worked with medieval art, of which there was no published pictorial material.³³²

Drawings and paintings made by scholars while travelling also find a connection with the illustration of scholarly texts. Since photography was still in its infancy in the early 19th century, not to mention its use in printed media, prints remained only possible means of illustration for a long while. There was growing attention to the copying of works of art without bringing them up to date and or in such a manner that the copier's own style would give them false appearance. In the 18th and 19th centuries copying work was commissioned from professional draughtsmen, printmakers and painters, but also from amateurs, who were believed to be more faithful to the original character of the work than a professional artist who might add features dictated by his own tastes in art.³³³

Kugler's "Reiseblätter" (Travel notes) articles published in the journal *Museum* in 1832–1834 discussed works of art in German collections and were illustrated with the author's drawings of works from his travels. In this case, illustrations were necessary, as Kugler presented many works that were not generally known. Cavalcaselle's sketches were also used as illustrations of his and Crowe's studies.³³⁴

Leading European photographic firms, such as Alinari and Braun, had begun to photograph works of art in the 1850s, but especially in the early stages the images were not of high quality and it was most likely impossible to find photographs of details of artworks even in the late 19th century. In addition, the attitudes of art historians varied greatly regarding photographs as a medium of documentation. Where for example Wilhelm von Bode, director of the Berlin Museum, valued photographs as aids and documents and for illustration of studies, Morelli – according to Jaynie Anderson – did not trust photographs and had only a small collection of them.³³⁵ Like his French colleague Charles Blanc, Bode maintained that photographs were necessary for verifying the results of research, but they also gave the reader sufficient information. In the early 1880s, when Tikkanen was preparing his dissertation, photographs of known works of art were quite readily available, as also publications of plates presenting art-historical sites and illustrated exhibition catalogues. Where possible he acquired this material from Germany and Italy. Nineteenth-century photographs, however, still lacked colour, which meant that every time an art historian found himself in a situation where he intended to speak of the colours of a work in a study, but could not write the text while viewing the work, he either had to note the colours in writing or make a watercolour sketch. Cavalcaselle had used different methods varying. Sometimes he only drew the composition, mentioning the colours used in different parts. On other occasions, he painted watercolours, sometimes including further written notes on the colours.³³⁶

The J. J. Tikkanen Archive Collection at the Department of Art History of the University of Helsinki contains 46 sketch- and notebooks. By the former I mean material containing solely drawings and paintings and primarily related to other concerns than research. The latter material consists of both sketches and written notes and is related to art-historical research. The boundaries of these categories, however, are slightly blurred, for when Tikkanen began to prepare drawn and painted notes on the works that he saw, the notes contained few written comments in the early stage, and there was a great deal of material not concerning art.

³²⁸ Levi 1988, 4–6, 52–53.

³²⁹ Levi 1988, 47. In *De Bildande konsternas historia* Estlander speaks of Eastlake specifically as an artist, whom he regards to be excellent.

³³⁰ Levi 1988, 54–55.

³³¹ Anderson 1991b, 376–377.

³³² Brush 1996, 45.

³³³ Levi 1988, 51–52.

³³⁴ Levi 1988, 48–56

³³⁵ Draper 1978, 33; Anderson 1991b, 376–377.

³³⁶ See Levi 1988, figs. I–V and e.g. 46 and 66.

The oldest sketchbook is from 1872, when Tikkanen was 14–15 and had already studied for a few years at the Drawing School of the Finnish Art Society (fig. 13). The latest ones are from 1908 and 1909.³³⁷ Tikkanen varied his technique of copying according to the work at hand. While mostly drawing in pencil and ink, he also used watercolour and gouache and combinations of these techniques. The expression and degree of finish vary greatly. While the simplest notes are drawings in which the subject is quickly sketched mainly with outlines and no shading, the other end of

the scale is represented by ink and pencil drawings of fine, well-finished execution in which Tikkanen succeeded in capturing the use of line and value by different artists with amazing perceptiveness. There are also watercolour sketches, which despite their small format demonstrate the use of colour in the original in a nuanced manner. The paper of the notebooks is generally within the scale of white and cream, but there are also more marked ground hues, such as dark grey, yellow and various bluish, green and orange tones. In some cases, these darker grounds were used for creating a



13. A drawing of a tree trunk 1872 when Tikkanen was 14 years old is from his earliest sketchbook, now in the collection of the Department of Art History of the University of Helsinki.

³³⁷ Hhtai JJT. 34a–l, 35a–d, 36a–c, 37a–c, 38a–c, 39a–c, 40 a–b, 41a–c, 42a–c, 43a–c, 44a–d, 45a–c.

The number of illustrated pages in the books generally varies between 40 and 70 and there are often several notes on a page, resulting in a great number of sketches. As Tikkanen was accustomed to remembering and commenting on matters with the aid of drawings, his drawn and painted notes often appear in his

other notebooks, in the margins of offprints and in books that he owned. The archives of the Department of Art History of the University of Helsinki also contain a few sketchbooks by Tikkanen's son Robert (born 1888) (Hhtai JJT.44e, 45d, from 1907–10) and Tikkanen's wife Emilia (Hhtai JJT.46a–c, from 1886–87).

more emphasized impression of three-dimensionality than normally, but they often display the same techniques of drawing as on the lighter paper (Fig. 14, 15).

The content of Tikkanen's sketch and notebooks changes from the early to the late ones. The early sketch and notebooks from his student years in Finland

display his interest in depicting nature, as most of the sketches are of landscapes. This continued during Tikkanen's studies in Munich, although now copies of works of art gradually became more numerous.³³⁸ By this stage he was using his notebooks as a study aid. The purpose of copying was to train the eye and to learn to understand the form language of artists of dif-



14. Notes and sketches by Tikkanen from 1886.



15. Tikkanen's sketches from 1885.

³³⁸ Tikkanen naturally drew his exercises for the Academy on separate and no doubt large sheets of paper. He also sent

some of his sketches from Munich back home to Finland, but I have no knowledge of such material.

ferent periods. After Tikkanen rejected studies in art and returned to art history and particularly when he began to plan his dissertation, the notebooks became means of documentation that helped him gain command of his research material. In addition to images, they contain written comments, usually in Swedish or in stenography.³³⁹ The transition from a learning aid to a means of documentation was gradual and the learning aspect never completely disappeared, since this method was no doubt of continuous benefit for internalizing matters and improving perceptive abilities. The shift of focus was nonetheless very distinct. Throughout his first stay abroad Tikkanen made sketch notes of various matters that interested him, but the notebooks of his second, long tour that began in 1885 already display a considerably more determined focus on specific areas of research. His method also changed in the sense that where there were generally one or a few themes (usually less than 10) on a page with few written notes, his later notebooks related to illuminated medieval manuscripts may contain several dozen small drawings on a page with a great deal of written text among them. On the other hand, landscapes and portraits done during leisure hours were included right to the end.

There are five notebooks containing sketches dating from the initial stages of Tikkanen's dissertation, from the early autumn of 1881 in Munich and from his Italian period, from September 1881 to August 1882.³⁴⁰ Further light on this material and additions to it are provided by letters sent to Estlander, to his home and to friends. Not all sketches by Tikkanen have survived, as Osvald Sirén's biography of Tikkanen already contains a number of drawings that have subsequently disappeared. The written notes are quite brief and although no manuscript material has survived, Tikkanen drew up broader written analyses and syntheses of the

³³⁹ Tikkanen's notebooks display a clear shift from his early career to its later stages. The more he developed as a scholar, the more extensive his written comments on the images became. Stenography was in active use in Finland during the second half of the 19th century, and Tikkanen used it as an aid throughout his life. His notebook from 1877–1879 shows a good command of stenography by this stage. The book contains, among other material, notes from Estlander's lectures in art history, stenographed except for the names of foreign artists. Tikkanen wrote most of his notes in ordinary longhand, and the stenographed texts do not form any distinct and separate group. It appears as if he resorted to it mainly for practical reasons, such as lack of time or limited writing space (for example some of the notes in connection with drawings are stenographed). In some cases it appears that he used stenography to hide his ideas for others. This may be the case in a notebook from the time of his work on his dissertation, with the title "Das künstlerische Können". He used the German Gabelberger stenographic system, of which versions had been developed for the Swedish and Finnish languages.

³⁴⁰ Hhtai JJT.34g–k.

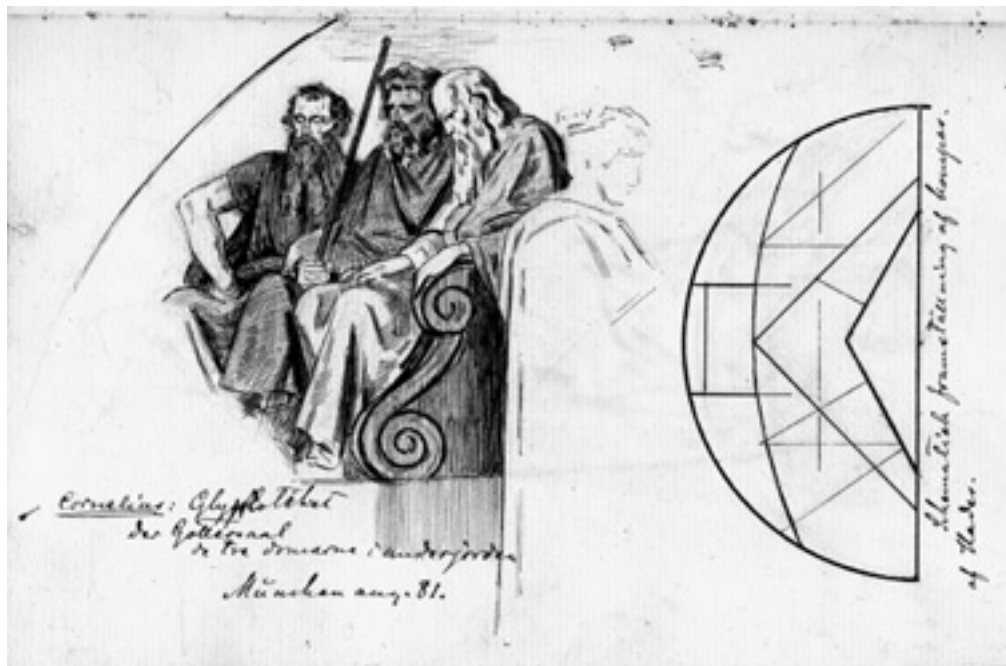
works of art that he saw and the books that he read. He mentions this to Estlander on a few occasions.

The first notebook from this period³⁴¹ mainly contains material copied in Munich. In June 1881, Tikkanen began to work more and more in the museums of Munich, with the intention of learning from the city's art collections before leaving for Italy. He worked hard, copying works in the Alte and Neue Pinakotek, the gallery of Count Schack, the National Museum, the Glyptotek, the Royal Residence and the Maximilianum (fig. 16). The notebook contains copies of works by German artists, particularly those who were active in Munich in the 19th century—Cornelius, Feuerbach, Kaulbach, Leinbach, Moriz von Schwind, Arnold Böcklin – or of individual figures in these works. There are also copies of older works of art from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and drawings of furniture and artefacts. The tour of Italy began in Milan in mid-September. Following plans already drawn up in Germany, Tikkanen intended to study Early Renaissance art. He mentions in his correspondence, Gentile da Fabriano, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini and Carlo Crivelli, and this orientation towards the 15th century is also indicated by drawn copies of works by Mantegna, Antonello da Messina and Gaudenzio Ferrari. The sketches, however, were not related solely to the planned theme of Tikkanen's dissertation; there are also subjects from Antiquity to the 18th century, such as details of certain frescoes by Tiepolo (fig. 17). Begun in Munich, this notebook ends at Florence, where Tikkanen arrived in mid-October after visiting Pavia, Genoa and Pisa.

In a letter sent to Estlander in November, Tikkanen notes his interest in Cimabue and Giotto. His first sketch of a work by Giotto contains a figure of a monk kneeling behind Saint Francis in the fresco *Confirmation of the Stigmata (L'accertamento delle stimmate)* in the Cappella Bardi in S. Croce in Florence, and two male figures to the right of the Saint John ascending to heaven in the fresco of the *Ascension of Saint John the Evangelist (Assunzione di San Giovanni Evangelista)* in the Cappella Peruzzi also in S. Croce (fig. 18). This carefully finished and detailed drawing is interesting evidence of the condition of these figures in the early 1880s. The painting cycles of both chapels had namely been whitewashed in the 18th century, and when the frescoes were rediscovered in 1841, they were "restored" according to contemporary praxis with a relatively heavy hand. This meant, among other things, corrections with numerous over-paintings, which were removed in the last conservation work carried out in the mid-20th century.³⁴² In its present state the face of

³⁴¹ Hhtai JJT.34g.

³⁴² Flores D'Arcais 2001 [1995], 254, 325.



16. Tikkanen's sketches from August 1881, showing a detail of Cornelius's frescoes and a schematic analysis of the composition of *Hades*.



17. Tikkanen's sketch of a fresco by Tiepolo in Milan, 1881.

the rear male figure in the Cappella Peruzzi copied by Tikkanen is quite worn and the face of the figure at the front is completely lacking (fig. 19). The clearly copied facial features in Tikkanen's drawing thus appear to have belonged to an over-painting, which was made a few decades before his visit and subsequently removed. Tikkanen seems to have been aware at least to some degree of the possible effect of later measures, as in his discussion of the frescoes in the Cappella Bardi

in his dissertation he asks whether the exceptionally sharp contours of the paintings in the lower part of the wall could have been the result of restoration.³⁴³

The next notebook³⁴⁴, which was in use from November 1881 until the early spring of 1882, contains

³⁴³ Tikkanen 1884a, 31.

³⁴⁴ Hhtai JJT.34h.

18. These details of paintings by Giotto in Santa Croce in Florence showing a monk kneeling behind Saint Francis in the fresco *Confirmation of the Stigmata* (Cappella Bardi) and two male figures to the right of Saint John ascending to heaven in the fresco *The Ascension of Saint John the Evangelist* (Cappella Peruzzi), were drawn soon after Tikkanen's arrival in Florence in 1881.



19. Detail of Giotto's *Ascension of Saint John the Evangelist* in the Cappella Peruzzi from 1314–15 after restoration by Leonetto Tintori 1958–1961. The head of the male figure in the front is totally removed as also all the later additions from the figures behind him.



subjects from Florence, Assisi and Perugia.³⁴⁵ The focus now is clearly on Giotto and members of his school, such as Taddeo and Agnolo Gaddi, and on Central Italian art of the 14th–16th centuries, such as the works of Orcagna, Paolo Uccello, the Della Robbias, Fra Filippo Lippi and Fra Bartolomeo. Of Giotto's works there is a simple line-drawn copy of a crucifix in the monastery of S. Marco. The most interesting material here consists of “colour charts” with rectangular shapes in watercolour indicating the colours used by Giotto and his school. They concern a fresco in Bargello (fig. 20), which was attributed to Giotto at the time, frescoes by Agnolo Gaddi in the Cappella del Sacramento (fig. 21), the main chapel of the church of Santa Croce³⁴⁶, and frescoes by Taddeo Gaddi in the Cappella Baroncelli (fig. 22), also in Santa Croce. As a kind of support for these observations there is also a

section from Cennino Cennini's *Libro dell'Arte* on fresco and tempera paints, with the mentioned colours painted next to it (fig. 23). Tikkanen also defined the colours verbally, but according to his visual observations and the colours available to him, not the original pigments. This was perhaps a more practical way to remember things, for in this manner he later established the real tone of the blend of colours instead of trying to define the tones and their combinations with reference to Cennini's accounts of 14th-century pigments and their mixtures.

In addition to individual sketches of colour added to the colour charts, Tikkanen also considered the relationship of colours with each other. This is particularly evident in his notes on the chapels in S. Croce by Agnolo and Taddeo Gaddi. The artists' combinations of colours are recorded by painting in the same rectangu-



20. Tikkanen's “colour chart” from 1882 showing the colours used in the frescoes in Bargello, which at the time were attributed to Giotto.

³⁴⁵ The beginning of the notebook is marked “Firenze Nov. 81” and one of the drawings bears the date 30.3.1882.

³⁴⁶ Tikkanen did not include it in his dissertation, for Laderchi had already argued convincingly why it could not have been the work of Giotto.



21. Tikkanen's "colour chart" from 1882 showing the colours used in the frescoes by Agnolo Gaddi in the Cappella del Sacramento of Santa Croce in Florence.

lar field; some of these are complementary colours. Towards the end of the notebook, on the same page as a fragment of ornament copied from a book by Violletle-Duc are a number different colour studies, coloured squares containing squares, circles, hexagons and octagons in different colours (fig. 24). In them, Tikkanen studied, in an almost pre-Albersian manner, variations of form and combinations of colour, for example how the same hue of blue changes in relation to red, green, violet, brown and yellow. He appears to have understood that colours are not absolute and that our perception of them depends on their relationship with each other. There is also a small triangle of red, blue and yellow and a few squares with thin ornamental brushstrokes in another colour. Tikkanen doubtless knew Goethe's theory of colour, but his way of studying these matters appears to be very modern.³⁴⁷ It is hard to say whether the studies on this page concerned the works of Giotto or some other artist, as there are no written notes. On the other hand, in another notebook, Tikkanen used the same method to study paintings of the Arena chapel, including the interior scene in *The*

Annunciation to Saint Anne, the draperies of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and the colours of the *Pietà* and *The Crucifixion* (fig. 25).³⁴⁸

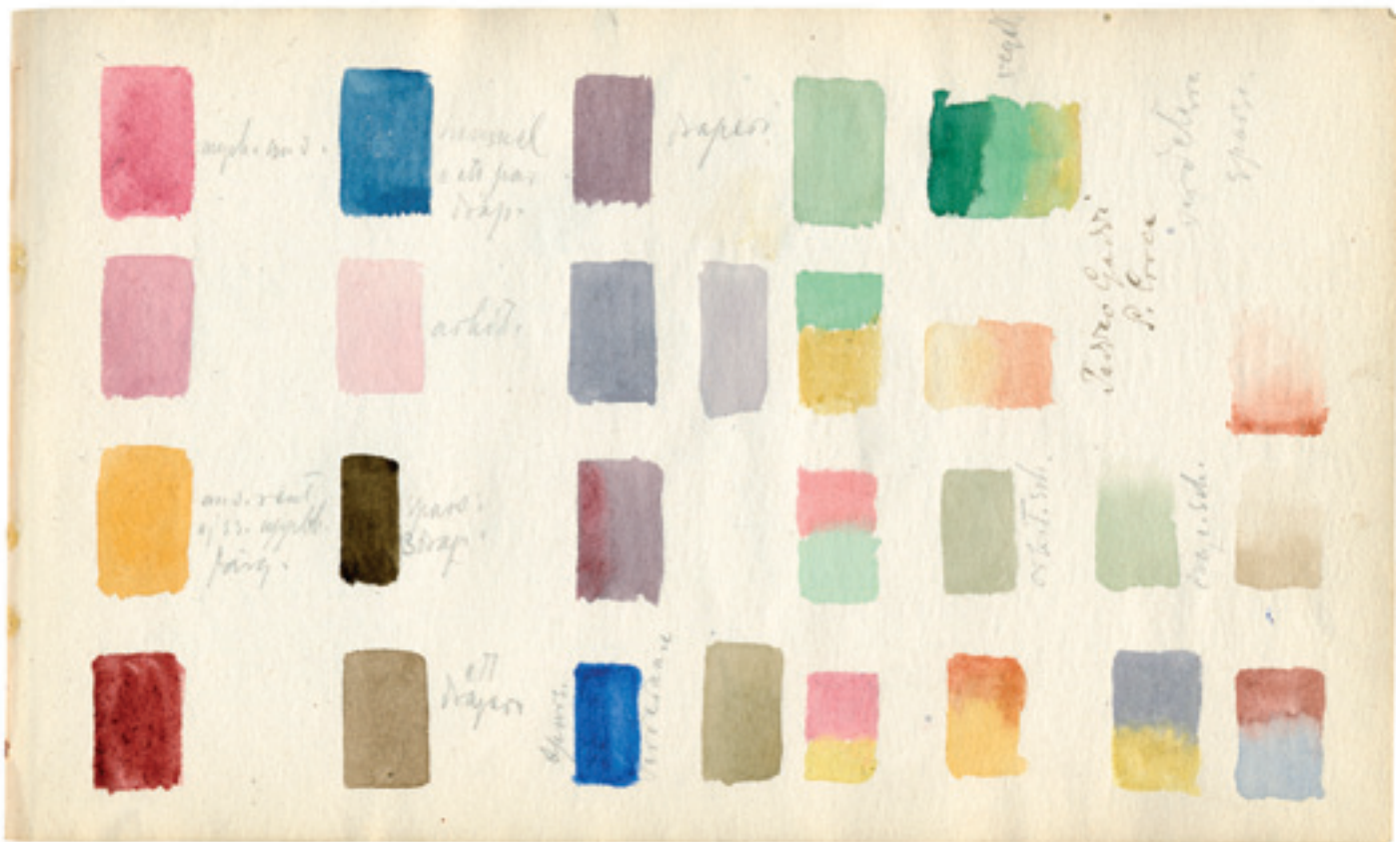
While in Italy, Tikkanen visited Assisi at least twice. A detail in the book of frescoes in the upper church which were attributed at the time to Giotto Pisano and a sketch of the Oratorio di S. Bernardino in Perugia a few pages later, dated 30 March 1882, show that he was there in late March.

From February to April 1882, Tikkanen also used another notebook, i.e. partly at the same time.³⁴⁹ It contains drawings from Florence, Fiesole, Prato, Perugia, Assisi, Arezzo and Rome, with the same focus. There are works by the Gaddis (fig. 26) and Early and High Renaissance art from Fra Angelico and Mantegna to Raphael and Michelangelo. The locations in Florence were Santa Croce, San Miniato al Monte, Santa Maria Novella, San Lorenzo, Santa Maria del Carmine, San Marco, Galleria dell'Accademia, Opera del Duomo and the Galleria degli Uffizi. Sirén published a carefully executed ink drawing by Tikkanen of Adam in the painting *The Expulsion from Paradise* by Masaccio

³⁴⁷ I am indebted to the artist Petri Kaverma for discussions on the perception of colour.

³⁴⁸ Hhtai JJT.34j.

³⁴⁹ Hhtai JJT.34i.



22. Tikkanen's "colour chart" from 1882 showing the colours used in the frescos by Taddeo Gaddi in the Cappella Baroncelli of Santa Croce in Florence.



23. Tikkanen's "colour chart" from 1882 showing the fresco and tempera colours mentioned by Cennino Cennini in his *Libro dell'arte*.



24. Tikkanen's sketches from 1882 showing different combinations of colours.



25. Sketches by Tikkanen from 1882 showing the different combinations of colours used by Giotto in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua.



26. Tikkanen's sketches from 1882, showing details of Agnolo Gaddi's frescoes in Santa Croce in Florence. Here, as in many of his drawings, Tikkanen observes the movements and the postures of the figures.

in Santa Maria del Carmine.³⁵⁰ At Arezzo, Tikkanen drew at least one sketch of frescoes by Piero della Francesca³⁵¹, and in a letter to Estlander he compares the latter use of light to that of Rembrandt and Gherardo della Notte. Tikkanen's analysis of Piero della Francesca is interesting also in other respects, for it shows that by this stage Tikkanen already had an overall idea of the means and extent of representation faithful to nature among Early Renaissance artists.³⁵² The few sketches surviving from Assisi in the notebook are related Cimabue and his school.

After visiting Perugia, Assisi and Arezzo in late March, Tikkanen moved in early April to Rome for a month's stay. The only sketches surviving from this period are of Michelangelo's *Sibyl of Delphi*, dated 18.IV.82, a detail from a painting by Murillo and the face of Raphael's *Fornarina* in the above-mentioned notebook. In addition, there is a view of Rome towards Monte Albano dated 27.IV.82 in Tikkanen's next notebook, mainly from May-June.³⁵³ If there were originally more sketches, they have not at any rate survived. Writing to Estlander from Rome on 16 June 1882, Tikkanen relates events from the time of these two notebooks. While in Rome, he continued to read back-

ground literature for his dissertation, made notes and studied the city's art treasures from Antiquity to the Renaissance. Having been previously slightly disappointed with the works by Raphael that he had seen (especially the Madonna themes) and was clearly unconvinced of the grounds for the immense admiration of this artist by Estlander and others, he finally realized in Rome the aspects that made Raphael so important.

He is not only an idealist (which art historians have mostly noted), but above all an artist, and his every thought is as artistic as Kaulbach's ideas are the very opposite. It is of wonderful richness and wonderful depth. Of course, one does not have to be an artist to "think grandly and aim high", but every thought of his became a motive, a living image of imagination of unsurpassed characterization, feeling and formal beauty. And no one has composed like he has and only the Greeks drew like he did. To say that he could not paint, is prejudice and idle talk. He treats frescoes almost as well as Andrea del Sarto, and that is saying a great deal.³⁵⁴

³⁵⁰ Sirén 1933, 23.

³⁵¹ This is also in Sirén's Tikkanen biography, but not in the latter's sketchbooks. – Sirén 1933, 27.

³⁵² This point is discussed in further detail below. – Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 16.6.1882. SLSA 252.8.

³⁵³ Hhtai JJT.34k.

³⁵⁴ Han är icke allenast idealist (vad konsthistorikerna mest fäst sig vid), utan han är främst konstnär, och varje hans tanke är lika konstnärlig som Kaulbachs är motsatsen. Det är en underbar rikedom och ett underbart djup. Man behöver visst icke vara konstnär till att 'tänka stort och blicka högt', men varje hans tanke blev ett motiv, en levande föreställningsbild av överträffad karaktärsfullhet, känsla och formell skönhet. Och såsom han har dock ingen komponerat, och såsom han ha endast grekerna tecknat. Vad man sagt, att han icke kan måla, är fördom och prat. Han behandlar fresken nästan lika bra som Andrea del Sarto, och det vill säga något. Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 16.6.1882. SLSA 252.8.

The analysis is explicitly based on formal features, such as composition, draughtsmanship and painting, and the expressive richness of the motives. Tikkanen views the works with the artist as his starting point and by considering the process with which they were made. While his understanding of Raphael's art deepened, his expectations regarding Michelangelo were not quite fulfilled.

On the other hand, viewing has slightly eroded my old book admiration of Michelangelo. His figures are engaged too much in gymnastics and, as far as I can judge, they are not always completely convincing. At times one would almost be tempted to cry: "One is not a genius just because one is mad!" Of course there remains a colossal amount of things to admire.³⁵⁵

In order to gain a better idea of the art of Antiquity, Tikkanen travelled with naturalist friend Ragnar Hult to the south, visiting Naples, Capri, Sorrento, Pompeii and Paestum, and touring the Amalfi coast. Impressions of the trip are also described in an article published by Tikkanen in the following year.³⁵⁶ For Hult in particular the purpose was to study not only art but also local nature and vegetation. Perhaps this opportunity to return to his old yet still dear interest in nature, together with the impressive views of the Bay of Naples (fig. 27), inspired Tikkanen to sketch more landscapes than usual. The artworks that he copied were paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum (fig. 28). Some of these copies were made in Pompeii and others in the Museum of Naples. This notebook contains rela-



27. View from Monte Nuovo towards Pozzuoli is among the scenes Tikkanen painted during his trip to Naples, Pompeii and Paestum in 1882.



28. Tikkanen's sketches from Pompeii, 1882.

³⁵⁵ Min gamla bokbeundran för Michelangelo ha däremot åskådningen en smula knappat in på. Hans figurer gymnatisera dock för mycket och icke heller alltid, såvitt jag kunnat döma, av full övertygelse. Ibland vore man nästan frestad att utropa:

'Man är icke snille för det man är galen!' Naturligtvis återstår dock kolossalt mycket att beundra. Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 16.6.1882. SLSA 252.8.

³⁵⁶ Tikkanen 1883, passim.

tively large number of watercolours of both landscapes and works of art. Tikkanen notes his fascination for Paestum in particular, but his sketches of which Sirén published one, have disappeared.³⁵⁷ He returned to Rome in early June, now studying Early Christian and early medieval art, mosaics and murals, but the contrast was too great after the paintings of Antiquity that he had just seen, and at this stage there is certainly no speaking of love for medieval art on Tikkanen's part, even though it later became an integral aspect of his career as a scholar:

Now have again been two weeks in eternal Rome, looking at all kinds of senile, stereotyped, bombastic and gilt mosaics from the first Christian millennium and some more, so vapid in idea and form that it can make one sick to the stomach. – These proofs of poverty have the same relationship with creative artistry as ecclesiastical dogma has with religious feeling.³⁵⁸

In Rome, Tikkanen went to see works by Giotto and his contemporaries, although his notebook does not contain images of Giotto's works.³⁵⁹ Instead there is a

drawing of the *Birth of the Virgin* by Pietro Cavallini (on whom there is information from 1273–1321) in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere and an ornamental detail from works by Jacopo Torriti in Santa Maria Maggiore. Tikkanen regarded murals, especially the ones in the lower church of San Clemente, to be considerably more interesting than mosaics and “more liberated from dogma”. He also saw them as explanatory links between the Middle Ages and the art of Giotto. He was interested in how epochs were linked to each other, and noted to Estlander that he hoped that could some day write a history of style of Italian art.³⁶⁰

The last notebook of this tour begins in Rome, where Tikkanen presumably still spent at least a few days after his letter of Estlander of 16 June.³⁶¹ It shows that he continued from Rome to Assisi, Siena, Pisa, Pistoia, Bologna, Ravenna, Padua and Venice before leaving Italy, via Laibach to Vienna. This tour lasted approximately one and a half months, as there is a landscape sketch from Laibach dated 7 August 1882. This time in Assisi Tikkanen drew more composition notes of paintings by Cimabue and his school (fig. 29)



29. Sketches from 1882 of Cimabue's compositions in Assisi. Many of Tikkanen's simple notes are like these, with the subject quickly sketched mainly in outlines and with no shading.

³⁵⁷ Sirén 1933, 30.

³⁵⁸ Nu har jag åter legat to uger i det evinnerliga Rom, sysslat med att bekika allehanda ålderdomssvaga, stereotypa, stor-skrytande och förgyllda mosaiker från kristendomens första årtusenden och litet till, så blodlösa i tanke och form, att man kan få ont i magen. – I alldeles samma förhållande som kyrklig dogm står till religiös känsla stå dessa fattigdomsbevis till skapande konstnärlighet. Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 16.6.1882. SLSA 252.8.

³⁵⁹ In his dissertation, Tikkanen states that he has seen the Navicella mosaic and altarpiece in St Peters in Rome [Polittico

Stefaneschi] and a fragmentary work on a ceremonial theme in the Lateran church [*Boniface VIII declaring the jubilee year of 1300*]. – Tikkanen 1884a, preface.

³⁶⁰ Letter from J. J. Tikkanen to C. G. Estlander 16.6.1882. SLSA 252.8.

³⁶¹ Hhtai JJT.34j.

than on the previous occasion, in addition to a few individual figures by Giotto. In Siena he had seen at least works by Duccio and in Pisa those of Taddeo Bartoli. The main part of the notebook, however, consists of pencil drawings of figures by Giotto in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua and small watercolours of the use of colour in Giotto's compositions. Tikkanen's ability for the formalist abstraction of works of art is evident most concretely in his dissertation notes in these colour compositions of the Arena chapel. They considerably predate similar formalist abstractism in the visual arts. Tikkanen's skills in the formal abstraction of works are best shown by his notes on the colouration of the Arena chapel, concerning *The Massacre of the Innocents* (fig. 30, 31), *The Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 32, 33), *The Kiss of Judas* (fig. 34, 35) and *The Crucifixion* (fig. 36, 37). Although the sketches are small, their hues correspond surprisingly well to the actual hues of the frescoes. Here Tikkanen demonstrates in concrete terms his ability to reduce matters to compositions of colour and line, but the same ability to problematize colouration in formalist terms in writing is evident in many of his later studies. This ability must have its origins partly in Tikkanen's art school experience and partly in his personal analytical way of thinking. These painted notes are much earlier than geometric formalism in visual art (Klee, Kandinsky, Mondrian). As is generally known, Impressionism had its roots in the 18th-century teaching methods of the French Academy of Arts. Perhaps we are dealing here with a parallel case: 19th-century art academies already taught abstract thought, but the style itself was established in visual art only many decades later.

"Giotto, Non-Giotto"

Giotto's oeuvre is one of the most problematic points of contention in the history of art-historical scholarship. Differences of opinion have been so great since the 19th century that achieving any kind of consensus still seems to be impossible. Particularly after the first major Giotto exhibition, held in Florence in 1937, extensive international discussion arose on defining his works, and it still continues. The initiative was taken by Richard Offner with his article "Giotto, Non-Giotto", in which he accused the Italians, in quite polemic terms, of adding on patriotic grounds, works such as the cycle of the St Francis legend in Assisi and the crucifix of Santa Maria Novella to Giotto's oeuvre.³⁶² He regarded as definite works by Giotto the paintings in the Cappella degli Scrovegni and the crucifix there, the

³⁶² Offner 1998 [1939], 33.

frescoes of the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels in the church of Santa Croce and the painting *Maestà* or *The Madonna and the Infant Jesus on the Throne* in the Uffizi gallery, originally in Ognissanti.³⁶³ The whole field of study is agreed over only two things: all experts attribute the painting cycle in the Cappella degli Scrovegni and the *Maestà* to him. In other respects the scholarly community is quite exceptionally divided into two camps, broadly speaking with Italian art historians on one side and Anglo-American and German scholars on the other.³⁶⁴ Michael Viktor Schwarz's and Pia Theis's significant study of original sources, of which the first volume, on the life Giotto, has been published, will no doubt clarify many debated issues.³⁶⁵ It depends, however, on the individual researcher how much weight is given to written documents and form analysis respectively.³⁶⁶

In the preface of his dissertation Tikkanen states that he has delimited his subject of study with reference to the 'generally held view' of Giotto's oeuvre. Before addressing Tikkanen's form analysis it is necessary to present an overview of this concept of Giotto of the 1880s and the degree to which it corresponds to present-day attributions. If studies concerning Giotto are viewed in broader perspective, taking both research traditions into account, Tikkanen's selection of works is quite comprehensive. He took note of all the main painting cycles currently attributed to Giotto and a number of individual altarpieces.

Tikkanen takes Giotto's works as form-analytical examples, without consideration for their respective ages. Nonetheless, in the following I present his material chronologically, for it gives a better picture of his research as a whole. Here, however, we encounter once again the existing major differences of opinion in scholarship, but since the problems of attributing and dating Giotto's works are not the actual questions of the present study, I will make hardly any comment on

³⁶³ Offner 1998 [1939], 34.

³⁶⁴ See e.g. Maginnis 1997, 79; Bellosi 2000; on the points of contention, see Offner 1998 [1939], 33–52; White 1998 [1956], 70–77; Meiss 1998 [1960], 79–106 and [1962] 123–159; Smart 1998 [1960], 107–122; Belting 1998 [1983], 243–251; Maginnis 1997; Bellosi 2000.

³⁶⁵ Schwarz – Theis 2004. This work presents and comments on all sources concerning Giotto.

³⁶⁶ These considerations have often been regarded as conflicting, although they should rather be expected to lead together to the clearest results possible. On the one hand, this is because archival sources are often open to interpretation and on the other hand because the criteria of form analysis are difficult to define. In the late 19th century, Giovanni Morelli underscored that a negative attribution obtained from the actual artwork always superseded a positive argument based on documents. – Morelli 1892 15, 26–27; Morelli – Anderson, 1991 34–35, 48. We can hardly think in such unequivocal terms, because it is always possible that our overall conception of the artist's style is incorrect.



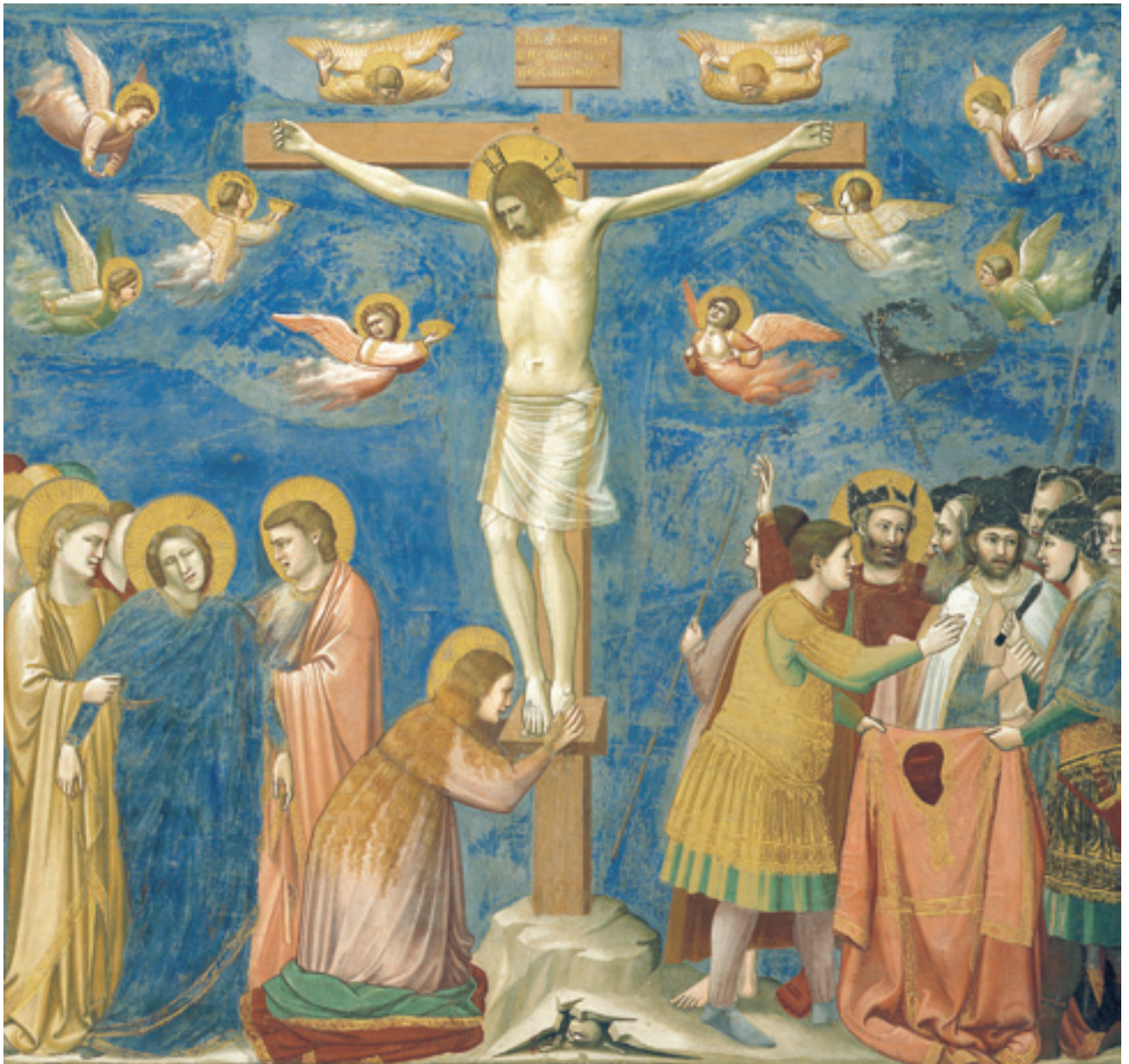
30.–31. Tikkanen's colour composition from 1882 presenting Giotto's *Massacre of the Innocents* and the actual fresco in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua from 1302–1305.



32.–33. Tikkanen's colour composition from 1882 presenting Giotto's *The Raising of Lazarus* and the actual fresco in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua from 1302–1305.



34.–35. Tikkanen's colour composition from 1882 presenting Giotto's *Kiss of Judas* and the actual fresco in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua from 1302–1305.



36.–37. Tikkanen's colour composition from 1882 presenting the Left part of Giotto's *Crucifixion* and the actual fresco in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua from 1302–1305.

how different researchers have dated the works. I take as my starting point here the dates given by Francesca Flores d'Arcais in her 1995 monograph on Giotto, but this choice is primarily practical and not due to any particular preference for her position on these difficult problems.³⁶⁷ I consider the research tradition separately only in connection with some central works, such as the Saint Francis cycle of Assisi.³⁶⁸

Tikkanen states in his dissertation that he regards as definite early works by Giotto at least the later images of the Saint Francis cycle of Assisi, i.e. approximately half of the whole cycle. With reference to studies by Rumohr, Kugler, Cavalcaselle, Laderchi, Dobbert and Quilter, he notes that he cannot discuss in his dissertation the difficult research problems of the earlier works of the cycle. He states, however, that particularly in this connection, the viewer is presented with the early stages of Giotto's style. He says that, in accordance with generally held views he attributes, the Biblical

subjects higher up on the wall of the nave of the upper church to Cimabue's school, the immediate predecessors of Giotto.³⁶⁹ Tikkanen thus did not include in his work the vault painting of the Fathers of the Church or the debated Old and New Testament stories of the upper wall, especially the two themes from the story of Isaac (fig. 38), which have later played an important role in evaluating Giotto's early style. It is also difficult to define what he precisely means by the later images of the Saint Francis cycle, as he refers in several connections to this cycle, dated to ca. 1288–1292, at a general level, mentioning only the following individual paintings: *Saint Francis Renouncing Wealth*, *The Vision of the Fiery Chariot*, *The Test of Fire*, *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, *The Death of Saint Francis* and *The Confirmation of the Stigmata*.³⁷⁰ The two last-mentioned works are generally attributed to the school of Giotto. Of Tikkanen's predecessors, only Friedrich von Rumohr, taking exception to old sources, denied



38. Pietro Cavallini?/ Giotto?, *Story of Isaac*, c. 1290's, in the upper church of Saint Francis in Assisi.

³⁶⁷ Flores d'Arcais 2001 (first edition 1995).

³⁶⁸ On Giotto's life according to new archival sources, see Schwarz – Theis 2004, 35–76.

³⁶⁹ Tikkanen 1884a, preface.

³⁷⁰ Tikkanen 1884a, 7, 8, 10, 16, 19, 21, 24, 27, 28, 31, 33.

Giotto's participation in the Saint Francis cycle.³⁷¹ On the other hand, later art historians before Richard Offner mainly accepted the autographic nature of these works.³⁷² For example in Roger Fry's important 1901 article "Giotto: The Church of S. Francesco of Assisi" the idea of Giotto's contribution to the painting cycles of the upper church at Assisi still largely follows that same pattern as that of Tikkanen and the latter's contemporaries. Fry's emphasis is explicitly on attribution and related form-analytical evaluations. Briefly put, he regards the Biblical cycle of the upper church to be work of Cimabue and his school, the stories of Isaac and the Fathers of the Church in the vaults to have been painted by a Roman contemporary of Giotto, possibly Pietro Cavallini, and the Saint Francis cycle to be the work of Giotto and his pupils.³⁷³ Although also Tikkanen notes that in some of the Assisi paintings, such as *The Death of Saint Francis*, the compositions are constructed in a highly different manner than in others, he does not draw any conclusions about authorship from it. Fry, on the other hand, concludes that the different system of proportions in the last paintings of the cycle shows that these works were by a master originally of Giotto's school who had achieved an independent position.³⁷⁴ Offner regarded the Saint Francis cycle to have been painted by a Roman master, basing this claim on differences between it and the works in the Arena chapel. The main point here was the stronger natural impression of space and three-dimensionality of the enframing architectural details at Assisi separating the episodes and in the actual visual motives in comparison with the decorative and more two-dimensional enframing at Padua, the relatively narrow space of the images, and the architecture which is shown in a more abstract manner. Offner presents a highly interesting and somewhat evolutionistic summary of his principles of attribution:

– In known evolution the substance of a style remains constant, as indeed in the common lives of men. For if expression is inevitably governed by the laws of the organism and structure, it can vary no more than the sensible aspects of our mortal selves such as our glance, gait, voice, scent, etc. and the synthesis they produce. And as in these, the changes in style are chiefly changes in degree of tension and not in their essential nature or dispo-

³⁷¹ Rumohr – Schlosser 1920 [1831]. According to archival sources Giotto is known to have worked at Assisi. This, however, is of no aid to attribution, and also old sources, such as Ghiberti and Vasari are obscure on this. Ghiberti says that Giotto painted "almost the whole lower part", leaving the reader to ask whether he painted the lower cycle in the upper church or the frescoes of the lower church. Vasari formulates this detail as "the lower cycle". – Schwarz – Theis 2004, 22–23.

³⁷² Lübke makes no mention of the Saint Francis cycle of the upper church.

³⁷³ Fry 1998 [1901], 1–16. See also Zanardi, 2002, *passim*.

³⁷⁴ Tikkanen 1884a, 31; Fry 1998 [1901], 12.

sition. Indeed the tendency in the development of the artist, whatever his capacities, is towards expansion or relaxation of plan, of form and of physical type already present in his first maturity. And even if these changes are subject to a largely predetermined and calculable course; and the greater the artist the less he swerves from it. Whatever his native powers, his growth and deterioration can neither be so rapid nor so capricious as to render his production at any stage more diverse from the body of his known work than from that of another master.

The general mental analogies, the direction, the orbit – if not the composition – of his thought, his taste and feeling remain the same.

And these factors of his style were more ineradicable and more evident in the trecento than they are to-day. For it must be remembered that, contrary to modern example, a painter of this period, whose formation began at a tender age in an environment saturated with artistic tradition, developed under the added restrictions of workshop practice as well as the demands of a conventional society. His style accordingly tended to form and canalize at an early age, and the work of his early maturity therefore already contained and manifested (as indeed in all known instances) his peculiar quality and method, even if these still betrayed his origins. If valid in principle, how much more true is this of a mighty genius like Giotto!³⁷⁵

This quote clarifies why Offner could not regard the Saint Francis cycle and the paintings in Padua to be the works of the same artist. He gives limited leeway for the possibilities of the artist to adapt, and presents as self-evident a number of assumptions, such as the different structure of development for 14th-century artists in comparison with contemporary artists. Offner's form analysis, however, is rational and consistent. He aptly describes the works in Assisi as sculptural and the Padua paintings as being relief-like, and clearly cannot consider the possibility of the artist moving from more marked three-dimensionality to a flatter, two-dimensional manner of representation.³⁷⁶ This is naturally an interesting and major question permitting a variety of interpretations. One possibility is that where Giotto's early works clearly reflect classical Roman influence, as in this early series of paintings in Assisi, he later changed his style to be more painterly and at the same time less sculptural in appearance. In this connection, three-dimensionality would also have diminished. The differences evident in the types of human figures and gestural language, as convincingly argued by Offner, are quite significant³⁷⁷, but the less restricted and more vivid figure type in Padua could be explained by the artist's development towards greater confidence and independence. Tikkanen also noted the abstract nature of Giotto's architectural features in the Cappella degli Scrovegni, although he did not compare

³⁷⁵ Offner 1998 [1939], 33–34, note 4.

³⁷⁶ Offner 1998 [1939], 43–52.

³⁷⁷ Offner 1998 [1939], 49–50.

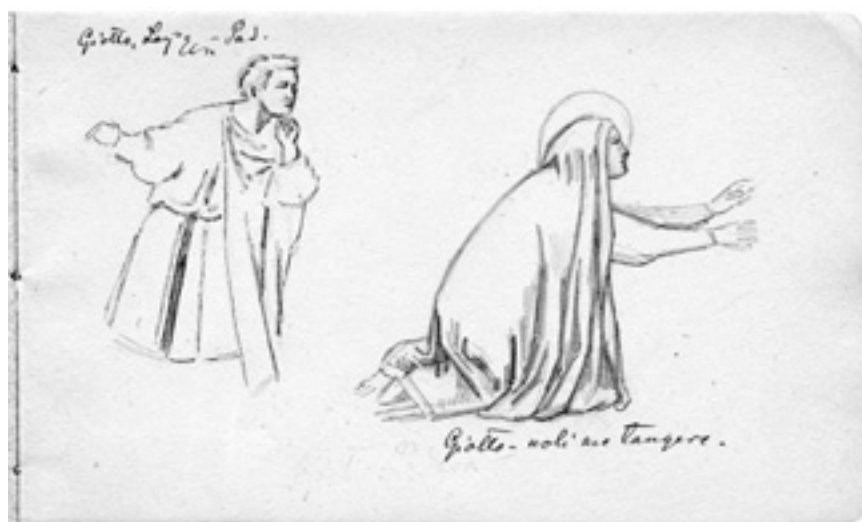
it with the buildings shown in the Saint Francis cycle. Tikkanen regarded this to be problematic especially since Giotto is also known to have worked as an architect, which in turn meant that he knew how to design and arrange space in concrete terms.³⁷⁸ These question approach in an interesting way discussion on the relationship between veracity and abstraction, and their mutual order. Although this point has generally been discussed in connection with broad entities of style history, I feel that it can also be applied to the works of individual artists. Could it nonetheless be so that already in the 14th century an artist could move in his own development towards more abstract expression or change style according to need?³⁷⁹

Chronologically following the upper church of Assisi is the fragmentarily preserved fresco *Boniface VIII Announcing the Jubilee Year of 1300* (dated ca. 1297) in San Giovanni in Laterano. A few years before Tikkanen's dissertation, Münz presented significant new archive finds regarding this work. In an article from 1983 S. Maddalo associates this work with the religious-political situation of 1297, defining as its theme *Boniface taking possession of the Lateran*.³⁸⁰

Dated to ca. 1300, a few years later, is *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis* in the Musée du Louvre.³⁸¹ Originally from the church of San Francesco in Pisa, this polyptych is regarded as having been made by Giotto and his bottega or only by the bottega with regard to both the main theme and the predellas. The composition depicting the stigmatization of Saint Francis and the predellas (*The Dream of Innocent IV*, *Innocent III Sanctions the Rules of the Order* and *Saint Francis*

Preaching to the Birds) are quite faithful variations of the Saint Francis cycle in Assisi. Although the altar is signed OPUS JOCTI FLORENTI, this has not been necessarily regarded as proof that it was an autographic work by Giotto. Instead, the texts have often been interpreted as indicating that the corresponding frescoes in Assisi were by him.³⁸²

The Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua was inaugurated on 25 March 1305, and almost all experts agree that the frescoes had been completed by then. They are dated to ca. 1302–1305.³⁸³ As the art-historical community as a whole regards them, alongside the *Maestà*, to be the only paintings definitely made by Giotto, they have always been central to studies of his art. These works in particular have to a great degree defined how his relationship with veracity and narrativity has been understood. The works as an entity have survived well despite the fact that, since the condition of the chapel was almost completely ignored in the early 19th century, the legibility of the frescoes suffered to such a degree that Rumohr was unable to analyse them.³⁸⁴ Tikkanen refers to the Padua cycle more often than to any other work by Giotto, mentioning the following individual paintings: *The Annunciation to Saint Anne*, *The Sacrifice of Joachim*, *The Birth of the Virgin*, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, *The Annunciation*, *The Nativity*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Flight into Egypt*, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, *The Baptism of Christ*, *The Wedding at Cana* (fig. 40), *The Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 39), *The Pact of Judas*, *The Last Supper*, *The Kiss of Judas*, *Bearing the Cross*, *The Crucifixion*,



39. Sketches by Tikkanen from 1882 presenting figures of Giotto's *The Raising of Lazarus* and *Noli me tangere* from 1302–1305 in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua.

³⁷⁸ Tikkanen 1884a, 28, 44.

³⁷⁹ On style and development, see Schwarz 2005, especially 210.

³⁸⁰ Tikkanen 1884a, 9, 31. Müntz 1881a; Maddalo, S. 1983. "Bonifacio VIII e Jacopo Stefaneschi. Ipotesi di lettura dell'affresco della loggia lateranense", in *Studi Romani*, XXXI, 129–150. – Flores d'Arcais 2001, 110.

³⁸¹ Tikkanen 1884a, 19.

³⁸² Flores d'Arcais 2001, 121. On sources and signatures, see Schwarz – Theis 2004, 30, 79–80

³⁸³ On sources, see Schwarz – Theis 2004, 21–22; Fry assumed the painting work to have begun as late as 1305 – Fry 1998 [1901], 108; Flores d'Arcais 2001, 128, 133–204; On the 19th-century history of the chapel and its paintings, see Prosdócimi 1961, passim.

³⁸⁴ Rumohr – Schlosser 1920 [1831].

Pietà, *Noli me tangere* (fig 39), *The Ascension of Christ*, and *The Last Judgement*. Of the allegorical figures he mentions *Hatred* and speaks of the medallion figures in the ceiling and ornamentation of the chapel in general (fig. 41).³⁸⁵

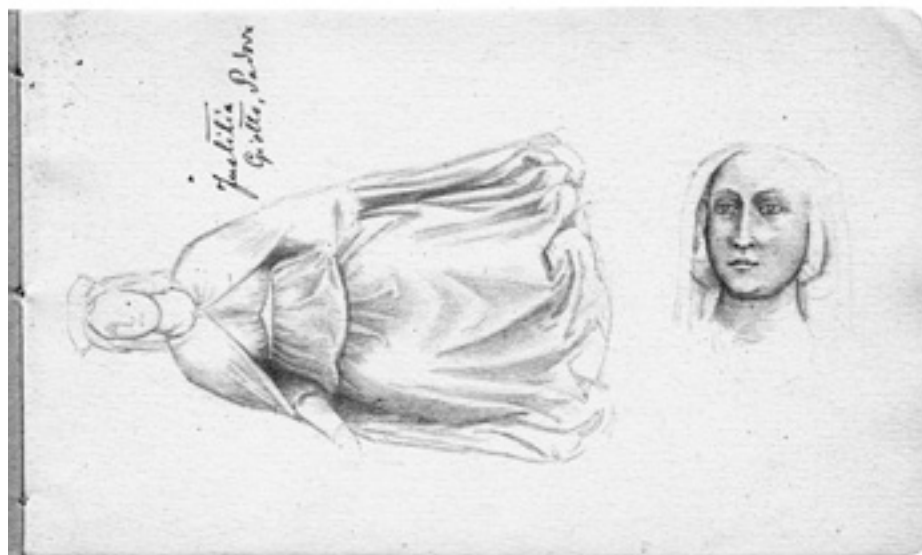
In his study, Tikkanen mentions only two crucifixes, one of which is precisely the one in the Arena chapel.³⁸⁶ Flores d'Arcais dates it to the same period as the painting cycle, although a much later date to 1317 has also been suggested for it.³⁸⁷ Of the other works in Padua, Tikkanen refers to *The Annunciation*, which

was among the fragmentarily preserved frescoes of the Sala Capitolare in the church of Sant'Antonio, which were painted in the years 1302–1310.³⁸⁸ They were re-discovered from under whitewash in the mid-19th century and restored.³⁸⁹

With regard to the representations of Bible stories in the right nave of the lower church at Assisi, Tikkanen notes that even if they had been made by other artists, their concept and composition are by Giotto. These works are actually attributed at present to artists of Giotto's bottega.³⁹⁰ Of the paintings in the Cappella Or-



40. Tikkanen's sketches from 1882 presenting figures in Giotto's *Joachim's Dream* and *The Wedding at Cana* from 1302–1305 in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua.



41. Tikkanen's sketch from 1882 presenting Giotto's *Justice* from 1302–1305 in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua.

³⁸⁵ Tikkanen 1884a, 3 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37, 43.

³⁸⁶ Tikkanen 1884a, 21.

³⁸⁷ Flores d'Arcais, 204–209.

³⁸⁸ Tikkanen 1884a, 11.

³⁸⁹ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 128–133.

³⁹⁰ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 218–222.

sini dated ca. 1300–1305, Tikkanen mentions only *The Annunciation*, while referring on several connections to the cycle on the childhood of Christ (1305–1310) with analyses of the following works: *The Nativity*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Flight into Egypt*, *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* and *The Homecoming of the Young Christ*. He also mentions *The Crucifixion* and comments on the ornaments and figures of the decorative frieze.³⁹¹

The *Maestà* as well as the other works painted for the church of Ognissanti are assumed to have been completed soon after Giotto's return from Padua to Florence in 1311. In addition to his large altarpiece of the *Madonna and the Infant Jesus on the Throne*, there was also an altarpiece of *The Dormition of the Virgin*, a crucifix and according to Vasari two other paintings, which, however, have not been identified later.³⁹² Tikkanen took into account both the *Maestà* and the crucifix. The *Dormitio Virginis* had by then been removed and Tikkanen most likely did not know of its existence.³⁹³ The crucifix is currently regarded as the work of Giotto's bottega or an anonymous pupil known as 'Parente di Giotto'.³⁹⁴

The *Navicella* mosaic in St. Peter's, which is dated to soon after the Ognissanti works, is referred to only in the preface of Tikkanen's dissertation. It is mentioned in all the old sources and it greatly influenced contemporary artists.³⁹⁵ Although this large mosaic with a fisherman on the left, Christ and Peter on the right and a large boat full of disciples in the middle has survived in only fragmentary condition, it began to be actively copied in the 14th century and its original state is known well. According to Fry, it contained distinct influences from the art of Antiquity and regarded features such as the dramatic nature of the whole composition, the fisherman figure resembling a genre picture and the already somewhat successful representation of perspective as surprisingly original.³⁹⁶ Offner does not discuss this work, as its condition, according

to him, was so fragmentary and altered that it did not increase knowledge about the features of Giotto's art.³⁹⁷

Ghiberti notes that Giotto painted the frescoes of four chapels in Santa Croce in Florence and four polyptychs for the church. Vasari also mentions four chapels, Bardi, Peruzzi, Giugne and Tosigni Spinelli, and the polyptych of the Baroncelli chapel.³⁹⁸ Only the frescoes of the Cappella Peruzzi and the Cappella Bardi have survived. The paintings of both chapels were whitewashed in the 18th century, but were "rediscovered" in 1841 after which they were restored according to the manner of the period with numerous over-paintings. One of the features of the over-painting was the correction of figures by delimiting them with strong and hard contours. Tikkanen suspected this in the Cappella Bardi, while Fry notes it in connection with the paintings of the Cappella Peruzzi.³⁹⁹ In the restoration carried out by Tintori in 1958–1961, the over-paintings were removed.

In the Cappella Peruzzi, painted in 1314–1315, considerably earlier than the Cappella Bardi, the subjects of the frescoes are scenes from the lives of John the Baptist and the Saint John the Evangelist. Tikkanen refers to them in several connections, mentioning the following works: *The Birth of John the Baptist*, *The Dance of Salome*, *Saint John the Evangelist at Patmos*, *The Resucitation of Drusiana by Saint John the Evangelist* and *The Ascension of Saint John the Evangelist*.⁴⁰⁰ In addition, the story of John the Baptist also includes *Zacharias in the Temple*. According to Flores d'Arcais, the poor condition of the works is largely due to the fact that Giotto did not employ a pure fresco technique, but instead a kind of mixed technique including a great deal of al secco. In the 14th century, these works in particular influenced Florentine artists more than any others, and they were admired throughout the Renaissance. Their attribution to Giotto is widely accepted, but there is disagreement over the dates.⁴⁰¹ Basing on his form analysis, Offner, for example, interpreted the paintings in the Bardi chapel to be older than those of the Peruzzi chapel.⁴⁰²

The chapel originally contained the so-called *Peruzzi Polyptych*, at present identified as an altarpiece in

³⁹¹ Tikkanen 1884a, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 21, 43.

³⁹² *Maestà* (355 x 229.5 cm) is in the Galleria degli Uffizi, but in Tikkanen's day this monumental painting was in the Accademia. *Dormitio Virginis* (74.7 x 173.4 cm) is in the collections of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin. The crucifix is still kept in connection with the Ognissanti church. Flores d'Arcais 2001, 227–244. Sources give conflicting information on the paintings in the church of Ognissanti. Ghiberti, for example, mentions only one altarpiece there. – Schwarz – Theis 2004, 24.

³⁹³ Tikkanen 1884, 2, 21, 31.

³⁹⁴ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 229, 237–242.

³⁹⁵ On the sources, see Schwarz – Theis 2004, 19, 83.

³⁹⁶ According to present-day studies, the work is dated to ca. 1312–1313. – Flores d'Arcais 2001, 244–47. Different views, however, have been presented regarding the age of the mosaic. Fry, for example, dated it to 1298 and linked it to commissions for Cardinal Stefaneschi, as also the *Polittico Stefaneschi*, which is discussed below and dated by Flores d'Arcais to 1320. – Fry 1998 [1901], 13–14.

³⁹⁷ Offner 1998 [1937], 34, note 5.

³⁹⁸ Santa Croce began to be built in 1294 according to a new design by Arnolfo di Cambio. The church was completely new when Giotto worked there. On the sources referring to the frescoes, see Schwarz – Theis 2004, 24.

³⁹⁹ Tikkanen 1884a, 31; Fry 1998 [1901], 26.

⁴⁰⁰ Tikkanen 1884a, 3, 5, 8, 9, 19, 20, 28, 33.

⁴⁰¹ Flores d'Arcais dates the murals to 1314–15. – Flores d'Arcais 2001, 253–254. Fry regarded the paintings of both the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels to belong to Giotto's late oeuvre, and does not suggest any chronological gap between them. – Fry 1998 [1901], 25–28.

⁴⁰² Offner 1998 [1937], 36.

the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh N.C. It is dated as contemporary to the frescoes. Shown in the middle panel is Christ giving a blessing, flanked by the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist with Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Francis at the sides.⁴⁰³ This work is not mentioned by Tikkanen, for in his time it, too, was no longer in Santa Croce.

Of the cycles in the lower church at Assisi, the paintings in the Cappella della Maddalena to the right of the main nave which are dated to 1315–1318 and the slightly later (ca. 1319) three depictions of Franciscan virtues and *Saint Francis in Glory* in the vaults of the crossing of the transepts have been attributed to Giotto and his school.⁴⁰⁴ The last-mentioned ones are currently attributed to a pupil of Giotto known as the Maestro delle Vele.⁴⁰⁵ Tikkanen regarded them to be the works of Giotto and he separately discussed the *The Glory of Saint Francis* and *Vow of Poverty* motives as well as the ornamental friezes separating the different motives of the painting cycle.⁴⁰⁶ He does not mention the Cappella Maddalena, which was not attributed to Giotto until 1958. Offner refers to this chapel in his analysis of the section on virtues and vices in the Arena chapel in Padua, noting that it contains themes that resemble Giotto's style more than anything else in Assisi, although they were not painted by him.⁴⁰⁷ The restoration work carried out is regarded as supporting this view, although it is now assumed that at least some of the works were made by a pupil of Giotto, possibly the Maestro delle Velle himself.⁴⁰⁸

Dating from ca. 1320, the *Polittico Stefaneschi*, thus named because it was commissioned by Cardinal Stefaneschi, was originally on the main altar of the old church of St. Peter's. The painting was highly admired from the very beginning and copies of it were made from an early stage. It is a large altarpiece of several figures, with three main panels on each side and a three-part predella below.⁴⁰⁹ On the obverse (recto), the central theme is Saint Peter in the garb of a pope, with two standing saints in each part on the side. Only the central part of the predella, showing three saints, has survived. The central panel of the reverse (verso) de-

picts Christ on the throne in a gesture of blessing; the left panel shows the crucifixion of Saint Peter and the right panel the beheading of Saint Paul. In the centre of the predella are the Madonna and Infant Jesus on a throne with saints, and five saints each in the parts at the sides. The main panels of the altarpiece and the predellas are traditional in representation, while the paintings of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul are original, strongly narrative and richly coloured. Beginning with Ghiberti, old sources mention the altar as a work by Giotto, and still Fry in 1901 expressed great admiration of the numerous reforms of narrative, colour, values and space in this altar.⁴¹⁰ The autographic nature of the work came to be reassessed in the 1910s, and the work began to be attributed to Giotto's bottega. Later, since the 1950s, Giotto's role has again been emphasized. At present this work, now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, is often regarded as an example of the collaboration of Giotto and his bottega. Flores d'Arcais attributes the overall concept of the altar to Giotto and regards the themes of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul to be autographic works by him.⁴¹¹ Tikkanen separately mentions the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* and the *Madonna and Infant* theme of the predella.⁴¹²

The fresco cycle in the Cappella Bardi of Santa Croce was Giotto's last major preserved work. Old sources beginning with Ghiberti mention these works and their attribution to Giotto is generally accepted. The age of the cycle, however, is not certain, but it is generally regarded as having been painted around 1325. This is suggested by stylistic connections with the murals of Castel Nuovo in Naples, which are known to date from 1328–1220. Above the entrance arch of the chapel, on the side of the nave, is *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis*, on the rear wall of the chapel were paintings of four Franciscan saints, of which *Saint Louis of Toulouse*, *Saint Clara* and *Saint Elizabeth of Hungary* still survive. The stories on the side walls run from top to bottom. At the top on the left is *Saint Francis Renouncing Wealth* and on the right is *Innocent III Sanctions the Rules of the Order*; on the left in the middle is *The Apparition of Saint Francis in Arles* and on the right is *The Test of Fire*; *Confirming the Stigmata* is on the left at the bottom, matched by *The Apparition of Saint Francis to Fra Agostino and the Bishop of Assisi* on the right. The Franciscan virtues are depicted on the vault in round framing motives. As in the Cappella Peruzzi, the wall paintings were whitewashed in the 18th century, revealed and restored in the 1850s. *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis* was cleaned again in 1937, and in 1958–1959

⁴⁰³ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 261, 266–269.

⁴⁰⁴ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 272–303.

⁴⁰⁵ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 303–304. Schwarz – Theis 2004, 22.

⁴⁰⁶ Tikkanen 1884, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 43.

⁴⁰⁷ Offner 1998 [1937], 41, note 11.

⁴⁰⁸ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 272–303.

⁴⁰⁹ The dimensions of the altar are 220 x 245 cm. Stefaneschi apparently also commissioned Giotto at the same time to prepare the overall decoration of the Tribune of St. Peter's. According to Vasari, it included five scenes from the life of Christ. The paintings were destroyed when the new St. Peter's was built in the 17th century. The only surviving fragments of them are possibly two heads of saints in a private collection in Assisi. – Flores d'Arcais 2001. On the sources, see Schwarz – Theis 2004, 19.

⁴¹⁰ Fry, however, assumed the painting to be from Giotto's early period in the late 1290s. – Fry 1998 [1901], 18–21.

⁴¹¹ Flores d'Arcais 2001.

⁴¹² Tikkanen 1884a, 11, 16.

Tintori cleaned the other frescoes. At present, the cycle appears to be quite fragmentary, as the restoration work of the 1950s removed all the older over-paintings, explicitly leaving blank the areas where no original painting remained.⁴¹³ These works are known for their forceful language of expressions and gestures, and it is thus no wonder that Tikkanen also refers to them in numerous connections, speaking of both the whole and the individual paintings, of which mentions the following: *Saint Francis Renouncing Wealth*, *The Test of Fire*, *The Dream of the Bishop of Arezzo*, *Innocent III Sanctions the Rules of the Order*, *Confirming the Stigmata* and *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis*.⁴¹⁴

The chapel had an altarpiece known as the *Bardi Polyptych*. It originally consisted of five panels, four of which are known: *The Madonna and the Infant Jesus* now in the National Gallery in Washington, *Saint Steven* in the Horne Collection in Florence and *Saint John the Apostle* and *Saint Lawrence* in the Musée de Chaalis, Fondation Jacquemart-André. Flores d'Arcais regards the altar to be older than the frescoes of the chapel, dating it to ca. 1320–1325.⁴¹⁵ Tikkanen does not mention the work, and in his time it had already been removed.

The altarpiece, to which Tikkanen refers more than to the other panel paintings, is the so-called *Baroncelli Polyptych*.⁴¹⁶ It is still in its original place in the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce, which was decorated by Taddeo Gaddi in 1327. The themes of the murals, the life of the Virgin Mary, are repeated in the altar, where the central panel depicts the coronation of the Virgin and all four side panels display a large number of angels and saints. On the predella there are half-portraits of the dead Christ flanked by two saints in floral-shaped frames. The work is signed OPUS MAGISTRI IOCTI, but as I noted above in connection with Rumohr, this has not always been regarded as proof of autographicity. It was precisely this painting that he used to define the characteristics of Giotto's art, and the scholars who do not accept its autographicity maintain that this incorrect starting point led Rumohr to mistaken further attributions. Some experts, however, attribute the Baroncelli altar to Giotto, as for example Flores d'Arcais, who claims that its contemporaneous with the Gaddi frescoes, i.e. having been painted before Giotto's stay in Naples, which began in 1328.⁴¹⁷

Another similarly disputed altarpiece, which Tikkanen, however, mentions only in his preface, is the Bo-

logna polyptych, originally made for the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Bologna. It has been given a date close to the works made by Giotto in Milan, i.e. ca. 1335. This is a five-part altarpiece, with the Madonna and the Infant Jesus on the central panel, the archangels Gabriel and Michael at the sides, and Saints Peter and Paul at the edges. The architectonically designed and richly ornamented predella contains small half-length portraits in the middle of tondos. The central one depicts the dead Christ, flanked by the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Apostle. The outer half-length portraits are of John the Baptist and Mary Magdalene. This work, too, is signed OPUS MAGISTRI IOCTI DE FLORENTIA.⁴¹⁸

In addition to the above, the following works are mentioned in preface to Tikkanen's dissertation: *The Ascension of the Virgin* above the choir arch in S. Croce of Florence, a crucifix in the church of San Marco also in Florence, the fresco *The Evangelists and the Fathers of the Church* in S. Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna, and *Madonna and Child* in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan. Tikkanen refers to the last-mentioned work also on one occasion in the text.

The *Ascension of the Virgin* mentioned by Tikkanen apparently means the only surviving 14th-century fresco in the Cappella Tosigni Spinelli. Although Vasari states that Giotto painted this chapel and its themes are known to have been related to the life of the Virgin Mary, the work is at present generally attributed to an artist known as the 'Maestro di Filigine'.⁴¹⁹ With regard to the work in San Marco, Tikkanen apparently relies on Burckhardt, who mentions it in his list of crucifixes by Giotto. At present, however, it is no longer included in Giotto's oeuvre.⁴²⁰ The *Madonna and the Infant Jesus* in the Pinacoteca di Brera was originally in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Bologna, but it is no longer attributed to Giotto.⁴²¹ The frescoes in S. Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna were apparently included by Tikkanen with reference to Burckhardt, who mentions them in his *Cicerone*. Although this is a chapel from the 14th century, the stylistic features of

⁴¹⁸ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 356–357.

⁴¹⁹ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 250.

⁴²⁰ Here Tikkanen apparently relies on Burckhardt, who mentioned the following crucifixes by Giotto: "Von seiner Hand die Crucifixe in Ognissanti, in S. Marco (über dem Portal) und in S. Felice in Piazza (über dem Bogen in der Mitte der Kirche); –" – Burckhardt 1879, 514. Tikkanen did not include in his study the crucifix in S. Felice in Piazza, the attribution was debated at the time, as it still is. After restoration carried out in the late 20th century, scholars maintained that it could arguably be attributed to Giotto's bottega or an anonymous artist of it who was known as 'Parente di Giotto'. – Tartuferi 2000, 26; Bon-santi 2000, 135–136.

⁴²¹ This work was thus in the same church the originally housed the polyptych of the Pinacoteca of Bologna. – Schnaase 1876, 374, note 3.

⁴¹³ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 325–337.

⁴¹⁴ Tikkanen 1884a, 3, 7, 8, 16, 19, 23, 24, 29, 31, 33.

⁴¹⁵ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 320–324

⁴¹⁶ Tikkanen 1884, 3, 9, 27, 31, 43.

⁴¹⁷ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 337–343; Gibson-Wood 1988, 161.

the frescoes have later been regarded as pointing to Pietro da Rimini, who nonetheless was a local follower of Giotto. Accordingly, if this attribution hypothesis is correct, Tikkanen did not stray far from the correct course. He had studied paintings on site, as he mentions in the preface of his dissertation that he has seen all the works of his study except an altarpiece in Paris.⁴²²

Most of the paintings currently attributed to Giotto but lacking from Tikkanen's study have either been included in the former's oeuvre only after Tikkanen's dissertation or were in poor condition or had been removed from their original locations before the 1880s. In addition to the above-mentioned works (*Dormitio Virginis*, the polyptychs of the Cappella Peruzzi and the Cappella Bardi), there are two crucifixes, of which Tikkanen may have seen at least the large one in Santa Maria Novella. It is mentioned in old sources, but at the time it was apparently in poor condition, and it is not known with certainty where it was kept at various times. In the large Giotto exhibition held in Florence in 1937 it was displayed as attributed to Giotto. This opinion was influenced by the cleaning of the piece, which made it legible again.⁴²³ Also on show in Florence in 1937 was a crucifix from the church of San Francesco (Tempio Maletestiano) in Rimini, which did not become widely known until the exhibition, and it is understandable that Tikkanen did not know about it.⁴²⁴ No less unknown at the time were *Madonna and the Infant Jesus on the Throne* in the church of San Giorgio alla Costa⁴²⁵ and the polyptych of Badia fiorentina.⁴²⁶ The other works that Tikkanen does not men-

tion have either survived in highly fragmentary condition or had been completely destroyed.⁴²⁷

As a whole, this means that while Tikkanen's study was very comprehensive with regard to the frescoes the same is not true of the panel paintings. Tikkanen bases his views on the following altarpieces: *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis* in the Musée du Louvre, the *Maestà* in the Galleria degli Uffizi, the *Polittico Stefaneschi* in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, *The Coronation of the Virgin with Saints* in the Cappella Baroncelli (Polittico Baroncelli), the *Polyptych* in the Pinacoteca in Bologna, and *Madonna and the Infant Jesus* in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan. Of these, the Bologna polyptych is mentioned only in the preface, and the *Baroncelli altar* is the only work that is referred to in several connections. As mentioned above, the *Maestà* is a key work in Giotto studies, because of its monumental language of form and rich colours, among other features, while the attribution of all the other works is still debated. Of the crucifixes analysed by Tikkanen, the one in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua was first attributed to Giotto by Cavalcaselle in 1864, and its autographicity is generally accepted.⁴²⁸ It is significant because of its ornamentation and psychological characterization. The Ognissanti crucifix on the other hand, is attributed to a pupil of Giotto. Tikkanen's observations on these works are brief references, in the manner of cited examples, to the use of certain models of composition, expressions, gestures or ornament. In the chapters on colour or the use of light and shade, for example, no panel paintings are mentioned separately.

Tikkanen's study of Giotto's language of form is markedly based on wall paintings.⁴²⁹ The same attitude

⁴²² "Ravenna. S. Giovanni Evangelista. Das Gewölbe der 4. Cap. links: je ein Kirchenvater und Evangelist an umfänglichen Pulten in den vier Feldern; von Giotto." – Burckhardt 1879, 497.

⁴²³ Dated ca. 1290–1300 this was Giotto's largest crucifix, measuring 530 x 404 cm. – Flores d'Arcais 2001, 90–96. It was last restored in the 1990s, and its language of form can now be perceived better than previously. On Giotto's work in Rimini, see Schwarz – Theis 2004, 31.

⁴²⁴ This work is slightly younger than the crucifix in Santa Maria Novella and is dated to the first years of the 14th century. – Flores d'Arcais 2001, 121–122.

⁴²⁵ Currently in the Galleria degli Uffizi, this work is dated ca. 1295–97. Though mentioned in old sources from Ghiberti onwards, it was forgotten until rediscovered in 1927 by Richard Offner, who attributed it to the 'Maestro di Santa Cecilia'. In the Italian research tradition in particular the altarpiece is strongly regarded an autographic work by Giotto. – Flores d'Arcais 105–110.

⁴²⁶ The work is dated to ca. 1301. It is mentioned in old sources, but was removed at some stage to the church of S. Croce, and information on its origin was lost. Already in 1885, Thode suggested that the entity should be attributed to Giotto, but it was not until 1962 that Prodacci identified it as the polyptych that had originally been in Badia. Most scholars regard the altar to have been made partly and Giotto and partly by his pupils. – Flores d'Arcais 2001, 118–119. Ghiberti notes that Giotto made several paintings in Badia, but earlier sources do not mention the works. – Schwarz – Theis 2004, 23–24.

⁴²⁷ Surviving from Giotto's early Roman period, ca. 1285–1288, are a few medallion half-length portraits of the prophets in the right transept of Santa Maria Maggiore. In 1904 Toesca attributed them to Giotto, but this still remains to be unanimously accepted. There are a few surviving fragments of painted decoration of the chapels of Castel Nuovo and Santa Chiara in Naples from 1328–1333. Of the works painted in Milan ca. 1335 or 1336, there survives a crucifix in the church of San Gotardo in Corte and fragmentary frescoes in the church of Santa Maria di Brera. Completely destroyed works are the Astrology cycle begun in 1312 for the Palazzo Comunale or Palazzo della Ragione in Padua, the decoration of the Palazzo Azzone Visconti in Milan and the painted decoration of the tribune of Saint Peter's, which Cardinal Stefaneschi commission from Giotto apparently at the same time as the Stefaneschi polyptych, i.e. ca. 1320. Flores d'Arcais 2001, 12–14, 305–315, 346–353.

⁴²⁸ Flores d'Arcais 2001, 204–209. The subsequently destroyed series of works by Giotto were among the most important of their period. For example, the painted decoration of the Castel Nuovo in Naples was, according to sources, of clearly larger extent than paintings in the Cappella degli Scrovegni. – Schwarz – Theis 2004, 57.

⁴²⁹ Giotto was as enthusiastic about testing new mixed media in his murals as Leonardo was in later years, and his experiments were not always successful. It has been suggested that the poor quality of some of the frescoes and their later destruction were at least partly due to this desire for experimentation.

is also evident in his later studies. In defining the main oeuvre of Giotto, Tikkanen's general art history from 1910 lists the following:

— at least some of the wall paintings of the life of Saint Francis in San Francesco in Assisi, being painted by Giotto in his youth, the frescoes of the parents of the Virgin Mary, the life of the Virgin and Christ, and the Last Judgement in the chapel of Santa Maria dell'Arena in Padua (around 1305) and the lives of Saint Francis and both Saints John in the church of Santa Croce in Florence.⁴³⁰

Limiting the material to painting cycles no doubt influenced Tikkanen's overall view of the nature of Giotto's art. The panel paintings are more detailed and have a greater degree of finish and the tempera works employ different colouration than the frescoes, despite the fact that in the Cappella degli Scrovegni, for example, Giotto used a highly bright and rich scale of colours.

A further problematic issue of Tikkanen's delineation of his material lies in the differences of composition in the fresco cycles and the panels respectively. At the time, altars were still made of several parts, in keeping with the Gothic tradition. The basic shape of an individual altar was triangular and upwardly tapering in form, with the main theme often placed in an arched or trefoil-shaped space within it. The basic form of the predella paintings was rectangular, although their themes could also be placed within various geometric shapes. In Giotto's murals the main episodes are generally placed inside rectangles, thus giving the artists clearly more freedom to create space and portray movement than the altars, which dictated the composition with their basic form.⁴³¹ The crucifixes of course were even more restrictive. In a sense, a common feature of the altars and painting cycles was the fact that the individual images were not separate works but instead parts of a compositional and narrative whole, while in the murals this relationship between the parts and the whole, influencing as it does both the composition and the depiction of movement, is much more complex. Although Tikkanen does not address such problems in his dissertation, the focus on the mural cycles may derive in particular from the fact that Giotto's reforms are expressed more clearly in them

⁴³⁰ “— ainakin osa P. Franciskuksen elämää käsittelevistä seinäkuviista Assisin San Francesco -kirkossa, jotka kuvat hän maalasi nuorena ollessaan, Neitsyt Maarian vanhempien, neitsien omaa ja Kristuksen elämää sekä viimeistä tuomiota esittävät freskot Padovan Santa Maria dell'Arena -kapelissa (v:n 1305 vaiheilta) ja P. Franciskuksen sekä molempien Johanneksiä elämä Firenzen Santa Croce -kirkossa.” – Tikkanen 1910, 33–34.

⁴³¹ Of course, the rectangular 'frame' of the wall paintings was not Giotto's invention, being instead derived from older part and appearing on occasion already in Early Christian mosaics as for example in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.

than in the altarpieces, which were more closely bound to tradition.

The small number of panel paintings and leaving in the margins even those paintings that are included in the study may have influenced Tikkanen's view of Giotto's stylistic development. He notes in the preface of the study:

Generally speaking, it appears that once Giotto had developed his style it remained extremely unchanged. While it is of course possible to demonstrate the development of his artistic abilities at a general level, periods of style on the other hand cannot be distinguished according to stylistic features, with the exception of the large Saint Francis cycle in the upper church at Assisi.⁴³²

This begs the question whether Tikkanen's view of Giotto's stylistic development would have changed had he been able to compare in broader perspective the many panel paintings that are now included in studies on Giotto, such as the crucifixes of Santa Maria Novella and the Arena chapel, in which the proportions of the figures and their language of expression and gesture are clearly different (not only at the level of skill but also in style), or had he seen the *Dormitio Virginis* in Berlin or the late painterly polyptych of the Bardi chapel. This question, however, is largely speculative, for there is no agreement on the attribution of these works, and it would only be relevant if Tikkanen had studied the features of Giotto's style in relation to the internal development of his oeuvre, or if he had distinguished the language of form of Giotto and the artists of his bottega. In any case, these approaches would have required a more specific view of the problems of attribution. Tikkanen's problematic, however, was quite different. He wanted to demonstrate major lines of development by focusing on how artistic talent had developed during Giotto's time in comparison with the Middle Ages and how this influenced the general history of style. It appears as if he deliberately distanced himself from overly detailed investigation, and viewing matters from this level it is quite possible to say that Giotto's style remained highly similar throughout the artist's oeuvre. Moreover, in the early 1880s detailed Morellian form analysis had not yet begun to be applied in studies of medieval art.

Giotto in the Framework of "Stilgeschichte"

The first chapter of J. J. Tikkanen's dissertation "Auffassung der Gegenstände; Motive und Composition" is in a sense the most central part of his whole study. It runs to approximately one third of the whole text and

⁴³² Tikkanen 1884, preface.

presents succinctly the main features of Giotto's language at the levels of both form and content. In an article published in 1884 soon after the dissertation, Tikkanen compared the greatness of the reforms achieved by Giotto to the following remarks by J. L. Runeberg, Finland's national poet:

If someone has a pure and clear view of an idea, a form of manifestation of nature and present its beauty in human terms, so thousands upon thousands of hearts will respond to the tone that he gives, and he will become for them a Columbus of the mind, and through him mankind discovers a new world that may have existed previously in their sphere but had been shrouded in darkness.⁴³³

Tikkanen maintained that Giotto's art made its mark on the whole trecento in Italy, and actually had influence until the Renaissance in a manner without parallel in the history of art.⁴³⁴ In order to establish a background for his analysis in Giotto's features of style, he presents his conception of the general nature of art in the period, which appears to have remained largely unchanged in his later studies. According to this conception, art was not yet a medium of artistic individuality, and it was not created for the purpose of producing paintings, but instead to make matters of greater value available to the senses. In other words, art was signifi-

cant only as medium of political, religious and philosophical reality. As result, medieval art emphasized the requirement of the comprehensibility and clarity of content, which in turn preferred the cycle as a means of representation. Since Tikkanen maintains that the artist's personal intentions had hardly any role at the time, the question why Giotto did not follow the established manner of painting, to which Byzantine examples would have led him, but instead altered expression so markedly that his successors no longer had to undertake such major changes becomes the essential issue. He explains this course of development partly via Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, who in his interpretation have a core role as Giotto's predecessors and examples along with Cimabue's school. He claims that Giotto's art could not have developed to be what it was without their influence. Though, almost a direct quote from Burckhardt, this position was also influenced by the views of other scholars.⁴³⁵ Tikkanen later altered his idea of the renewal of Italian art, stating in his general art history that Pietro Cavallini in Rome distanced himself more from Byzantine influence than his contemporaries, and in view of the emergence of the Italian style of art, he was Giotto's predecessor more than anyone else (fig 42). This is a noteworthy re-assessment, for in his dissertation Tikkanen underlines Cav-



42. Pietro Cavallini, *The Nativity* from 1291 in Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome.

⁴³³ "Om någon har en ren och klar åskådning af en idé, en naturens uppenbarelseform och kan i mensklig förmedling framställa dess skönhet, så svara tusende sinom tusende hjertan på den ton han angifvit, och han blir för dem en Columbus i andligt afseende, och menskligheten har genom honom upptäckt en ny värld, som väl fans inom dess område förut, men insvept i natt." – Tikkanen 1884b, 8.

⁴³⁴ Tikkanen 1884b, 8. The same point had naturally been stated by many earlier researchers in slightly different terms.

⁴³⁵ Burckhardt 1879, 310; Tikkanen 1884a, 2. Schnaase also emphasized the importance of the Pisanos for Giotto – Schnaase 1876, 360.

allini's commitment to tradition. Comparing Cavallini's *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* in Santa Maria in Trastevere with Giotto's painting of the same theme in the Arena chapel, Tikkanen notes with exceptional emphasis that "although there is only an interval of ten years between Cavallini's and Giotto's works, they were separated the greatest artistic reform experienced by mankind."⁴³⁶

The role of the Pisanos was a debated theme in 19th-century studies on Giotto. Rosini already interpreted the renewal in Giotto's art as the result of the artist having moved to Pisa at a very early stage and familiarizing himself there with Greek sculpture and the art of Nicola Pisano, in which the Greek influence was prominent. Laderchi, who clearly wished to interpret Giotto still in terms of the old hero myth strongly denies this. He seeks to prove that nothing in Giotto's art referred to Greek any more than Pisano's sculpture. Giotto's form language was new, his technical starting points lay in the art of Cimabue and his artistic goals stemmed from his own soul and his friendship with Dante.⁴³⁷ The predominant view, however, appears to have underlined the significance of the Pisanos. According to Müntz Giovanni Pisano was justifiably regarded as having launched naturalism and having been the real starting point for Giotto (fig. 43, 44).⁴³⁸ In addition Tikkanen maintained that Giovanni Pisano had as much influenced on the adoption of Christian legends in art as Giotto.⁴³⁹

Tikkanen also claimed that the strong commitment of medieval art to the church and the contemporary conception of God led art to keep to strict formulas and to avoid veracity: the divine and the superhuman could not be portrayed in a human manner.⁴⁴⁰ He apparently assumed that since representation faithful to nature was based on the artist's own observation of the real world, such was felt to be secular. God and the rest of the superhuman domain could not be perceived (sensorially) in nature, nor be depicted by imitating nature. Therefore the sacrosanct had to be conceptualized, shaped into symbols or icons. The artist's personal interpretation or the work of art in its present

sense was not important in this process. Instead, the dogmatized image appealed only through its content.⁴⁴¹ In discussing the art of the Middle Ages against the background of Antiquity and later periods many decades later, Tikkanen formulated this point as follow:

Nature was sinful, natural beauty dangerous and seductive. Nature was important only to the degree that man could read in it the treasures and intention of the Creator, in that it was morally instructive. In itself, it was lost and of no value, and as such it did not deserve to be imitated. Veracity was no longer the goal of art, nor its starting point. As the internal purpose of art was ideological and transcendental and its appearance was decorative, the study and imitation of nature was not such a necessary condition and requirement for it as it appears to be to us. – – And as art in the service of the church was only a means of instruction, artists as a result lacked independence and self-awareness. – The Middle Ages were a period of authority in all fields. It was the epoch that created the art and not the artists, who only presented the prevailing ideas of the period.

– – [It [medieval art] can sometimes be highly beautiful and moving, but its beauty is decorative and ideological and not faithful to reality, it is not the ideal perfection of nature as in classical art, not the individual truth of nature as in later art.⁴⁴²

Moshe Barasch has challenged the nature of medieval art as "pictorial writing" aimed at the illiterate common people and emphasizes the fact that pictures as such cannot narrate unless their viewer know the stories. A narrator is needed to make the content of paintings and painting cycles comprehensible. In ecclesiastical art, these narrators were the priests, whose sermons also made the stories known, but oral tradition in general played an important role.⁴⁴³ Although Tikkanen does not problematize this issue, I do not believe that

⁴³⁶ Tikkanen 1910, 29; Tikkanen 1884a, 4. The changed view was no doubt due above all to greater command of empirical material. After his dissertation, Tikkanen was able to make a thorough study of Italian art, working in Italy for long periods and familiarizing himself with the material in almost all the leading museums of Europe and through research literature.

⁴³⁷ Laderchi 1867, 36 refers to Rosini's *La scultura maestra della pittura nel secolo XIII*. The friendship of Giotto and Dante became a legend. It is of course possible that they knew one another, but there is no documented proof of this. See Schwarz – Theis 2004, 32, 82.

⁴³⁸ Müntz 1881b, 12. – Interestingly, Rumohr does not appear to comment at all on this question.

⁴³⁹ Tikkanen 1884a, 1.

⁴⁴⁰ Tikkanen 1884a, 2; Tikkanen 1884b, 7–8.

⁴⁴¹ Tikkanen 1910, 9. Barasch has problematized this point in a similar manner – Barasch 1985, 52–53.

⁴⁴² Luonto oli syntinen, luonnollinen kauneus vaarallinen ja viettelevä. Luonnolla oli merkitystä ainoastaan siinä määrin, kuin ihminen siinä osasi lukea luojan aatteet ja tarkoituksen, kuin se oli siveellisesti opettavainen. Itsessään se oli kadotettu ja ilman arvoa eikä semmoisena ansainnut mukailemista, Todenmukaisuus ei enää ollut taiteen päämäärä eikä sen lähtökohtakaan. Koska taiteen sisällinen tarkoitus oli aatteellinen ja ylimateellinen ja sen ulkomuoto koristeellinen, niin luonnon tutkiminen ja mukaileminen ei ollutkaan sille niin välttämätön edellytys ja vaatimus, kuin se meistä näyttää. – – Ja niin kuin taide kirkon palveluksessa oli ainoastaan opetuskeino, niin myöskin taiteilijoilta puuttui itsenäisyys ja itsetietoisuus. – – Keskiaika oli kaikilla aloilla auktoriteetin aika. Aikakausi loi taiteen eivätkä taiteilijat. Nämä olivat ainoastaan ajan yleisaatteiden esittäjiä. – – Se [keskiajan taide] voi joskus olla hyvinkin kaunista ja mieltäliikuttavaa, mutta sen kauneus on koristeellinen ja aatteellinen, eikä todellisuudenumukainen, se ei ole luonnon ihanteellinen täydellisyys, niin kuin antiikin taiteessa, eikä luonnon yksilöllinen totuus, niin kuin uudemmassa taiteessa. – Tikkanen 1910, 3–5.

⁴⁴³ Barasch 1985, 64–65.



43.–44. Giovanni Pisano's reliefs from the pulpit of S. Andrea in Pistoia with *Story of the Birth of Jesus* from 1301 and Giotto's *Birth of the Virgin* in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua from 1302–1305 show how both artists enriched their subjects with vivid everyday motives.

he imagined that people could interpret the stories of religious images on a purely visual basis. The existence of oral tradition was presumably regarded as a self-evident and was not noted separately.⁴⁴⁴ According to Tikkanen, the depiction of the transcendental with the aid of human emotion began at Assisi, where the visual representations of legends became artistically viewed plays in which the whole scale of human emotion from joy to desperation was given expression.⁴⁴⁵ Assisi here no doubt means the first Biblical frescoes of the church of Saint Francis painted by Cimabue and his school, which are regarded as having been the models for Giotto's Saint Francis themes.

From the very beginning of his study, Tikkanen closely links *veracity* with *narrativity*. The former entailed not only the tendency to imitate the forms of nature truthfully but also human behaviour and action. As a result, poses, gestures and facial expressions are given a significant role in the study. For Tikkanen, Giotto was above all a narrator and it is on these grounds that he explains the influence of Giotto's art on contemporaries referred to in old sources since Boccaccio. According to him, *narrativity* was so prominent in Giotto's art that the artist himself was effaced in this process, and contemporaries felt that they were viewing the story itself and not the images. Although there were features of striking veracity in earlier art, Giotto's visual language was richer and more understandable. Tikkanen compares many of the auxiliary themes of Giotto's paintings, such as the women who washed the newborn baby in the scenes of the birth of the Virgin and John the Baptist to genre painting, and regards Giotto as a reformer also in this respect.⁴⁴⁶ He maintains that the additional figures in general are given a more central role in Giotto's works: "They explain and reinforce the message of the story with their gestures and expressions, – – Dobbert compares them to the choir of classical plays."⁴⁴⁷ Tikkanen notes that the effect a theatrical play is expressed both at the level of the whole cycle and in the individual images that are linked chronologically.

Tikkanen found one explanation why visual language developed in a more vivid direction in Italy than in the eastern areas of Europe in the fact the Byzantine art was markedly based on written sources, while these

sources were used considerably less in Italy, and artists had to rely directly on visual experience – and apparently on both older visual representations and observations of their own surroundings.⁴⁴⁸

In analysing the narrativity of the works, Tikkanen distinguishes *narrative* and *symbolic* elements. By the latter he means motives such as a hand in the sky denoting the presence of God, the skeleton of Adam beneath the cross of Christ, or a pelican on top of the cross feeding its young with its own blood. I assume that for Tikkanen they were not based on the artist's own creative idea but had already achieved pure symbolic value, being employed in religious paintings to express matters that could not be presented with means based on the artist's individual narrative abilities. This was also true of allegorical themes, but Tikkanen notes that Giotto developed completely new means of expression for them. This was no doubt possible also because allegories were not as canonized as religious symbols – they could be treated more easily and revised.⁴⁴⁹

At this time, the theoretical definition of the concept of *symbol* was still in an incipient stage in aesthetics and art history. Vischer published his important essay "Das Symbol" in 1887, and in fact it was not until Warburg's studies that a basis was laid for a broader discussion of this issue in art history.⁴⁵⁰

Tikkanen underlines Giotto's narrative talent and claims that it was based on the following factors: focus on the essential, combining individual elements into a whole and the removal of elements that did not serve the story. Each figure achieved its true value only in relation to the content of the story and there were specific reasons for all parts of the visual representation.⁴⁵¹ Laderchi and Schnaase already noted this ability to select elements and to concentrate on the main theme.⁴⁵² Tikkanen also emphasizes the artist's ability to express various moments of emotional states with the means of painting. Where a writer could present a whole continuum of emotions with a single character, the artists needed several figures for it. The broad range of grief expressed in the *Pietà* in the Cappella degli Scrovegni is a good example (fig. 45).⁴⁵³

In addition to narrativity, or the language of gesture and facial expressions, Tikkanen notes the structure of Giotto's compositions, demonstrating the degree to which they followed earlier tradition or differed from it. He regards Giotto's compositions as being based on

⁴⁴⁴ Schnaase, however, writes of paintings as "a second language", comparing them to writing. Following Barasch, his text could be read critically, but on the other hand neither does it show that Schnaase imagined that viewers made their first acquaintance with the stories via the paintings. – Schnaase 1876, 381–382.

⁴⁴⁵ Tikkanen 1884a, 2–3.

⁴⁴⁶ Tikkanen 1884a, 3. Schnaase also refers to Giotto's auxiliary figures and Lübke briefly mentioned Giotto's ability to present glimpses of real life of a genre-picture type. – Schnaase 1976, 362; Lübke 1893 [1860], II, 86

⁴⁴⁷ Tikkanen 1884a, 4.

⁴⁴⁸ Tikkanen 1884a, 2–4.

⁴⁴⁹ Tikkanen 1884a, 5–6.

⁴⁵⁰ Vischer in *Philosophische Aufsätze. Eduard Zeller zu seinem fünfzigjährigen Doctor-Jubiläum*, 159–193. – Wind 1983, 26–30.

⁴⁵¹ Tikkanen 1884a, 4.

⁴⁵² Laderchi 1867, 32; Schnaase 1876, 362, 367.

⁴⁵³ Tikkanen 1884a, 5.



45. Giotto's, *Pietà* from 1302–1305 in the Cappella degli Scrovegni in Padua is a good example of artist's ability to express different moments of emotional states with the means of painting.

the distinct and simple arrangement of figures, the symmetrical juxtaposition of groups, and the harmonious filling of space. Giotto generally used symmetrical grouping, i.e. placing the main figure or figures in the centre and the other figures more or less symmetrically on both sides. In the few cases where this was not followed, the compositions are, by Tikkanen's definition, asymmetrically grouped and oriented towards the centre. A work of this kind is for example the *Pietà* of the Arena chapel, in which all the surrounding figures, seated and with their backs turned in the foreground and standing at the back, are turned towards the main figure, in this case the body of Christ. Another version of this is *The Raising of Lazarus*, also in the cycle, in which the main figures are distant from each other and the viewer's attention is divided between them. The main figures may also be at one end of the composition, as in the *Adoration of the Magi* themes at Assisi and in the Arena chapel, or in two parallel rows, as in *The Last Supper*, also in the Arena chapel. Tikkanen states that the legibility of Giotto's stories was facilitated by an internal hierarchy of composition that was more clearly defined than in earlier art. All the figures are logically arranged in an upper and lower order – ones central to the story and auxiliary ones. This was underscored by architectural details or features of landscape, such as forms of the terrain.⁴⁵⁴

Tikkanen also notes Giotto's manner of applying three-dimensionality and perspective. Although central perspective was of course not yet known at the time, Giotto's uncluttered composition still achieves a kind of illusion of space. He placed the figures in the foreground on a single level and on the same horizontal line, with the groups at a right angle to the viewer as a result. The figures also move parallel to the surface of the wall (i.e. the background). Giotto hardly used the line and cone compositions characteristic of Renaissance art, and even where they appear, they seem to be random features. Tikkanen regards as the most exceptional and newest compositional theme the oval form based on a shortened convex arc that was used in *The Last Judgement* of the Arena Chapel and *The Vow of Poverty* at Assisi. According to Tikkanen, Giotto was the first to use it. He interprets Giotto as having used perspective also in the *Maestà* of the Arena chapel in the angels flanking Christ, which are placed in two arc-segment shaped rows depicted with marked foreshortening.⁴⁵⁵ According to Tikkanen, Giotto's skill in creating symmetrical compositions is most clearly evident in *The Vow of Poverty*, in which the figures are

grouped in a foreshortened Greek omega. He claims that even Raphael's School of *Athens* is basically similar in composition, though considerably richer.⁴⁵⁶ Free painterly composition as such was not actually used at this stage, although Giotto produced a few experiments along these lines, such as *The Nativity* and *Saint Francis Renouncing Wealth* in the upper church of Assisi (in the latter case Tikkanen may in fact be referring to the work of the same name in the Cappella Bardi of Santa Croce rather than the painting at Assisi) and *Joachim's Dream* and *The Sacrifice of Joachim* in the Arena chapel. Tikkanen claims that on the whole Giotto began to treat compositions from an artistic point of view, partly separating himself from traditional formulas, while also launching the use of architectural and landscape background as elements for closing the composition and introducing into his compositions features such as the parallel arrangement of figures with the wall surface, which created a contrast with the masses of the background and the background architecture. According to Tikkanen, many of these reforms later became characteristics of Italian art. Although he admits that relief-type portrayal and symmetry were the basis of harmonious representation, he also regarded them as fetters that prevented individual freedom and a more vivid manner of depiction.⁴⁵⁷

Despite his deep awareness of the still quite limited opportunities of Giotto's period to depict three-dimensionality, Tikkanen in places considers matters as if he were assuming that Giotto could have freely chosen, for example, whether or not to use perspective, or whether to apply in his paintings an individual and freely painterly composition or a more conventional one. In this respect, this researcher with a 19th-century artistic background cannot completely place himself in the position of a 14th-century artist. Instead, he compares Giotto slightly anachronistically with the opportunities that opened up for later artists.

In his general presentation of Giotto's art, Tikkanen also discusses in broader chronological perspective the reforms in the history of motives achieved by Giotto. He emphasizes that although set forms of representation had already been developed for certain Bible stories early in the Middle Ages, an artistic reform began in Italy in the late 13th century during which motives and compositions were developed in an unprecedented manner. Tikkanen seeks to demonstrate with examples the role of Giotto in these developments that continued for some two centuries by studying theme by theme which motives Giotto reformed and in which he kept

⁴⁵⁴ Tikkanen 1884a, 6–8.

⁴⁵⁵ Tikkanen 1884a, 9. This painting in the upper part of the triumphal arch separating the nave and apse of the Cappella degli Scrovegni is currently interpreted as *God the Father Surrounded by Angels*.

⁴⁵⁶ Tikkanen 1884a, 9. – *The Vow of Poverty* in the cross vault of the lower church of San Francesco at Assisi is presently attributed to an anonymous artist of Giotto's bottega known as the "Maestro delle vele."

⁴⁵⁷ Tikkanen 1884a, 10.

to tradition. He notes both the main and auxiliary themes. Tikkanen regards Giotto as a significant reformer in this area, but also maintains that the artist adopted at least some of his new motives from the Pisanos. Most emphasis is placed perhaps on changes in the paintings depicting the life of Christ and the Passion in particular:

[In the Crucifixion] Giotto replaced the ascetic and ugly body that had obviously suffered a miserable death with a Christ that no longer accentuates suffering but instead expresses goodness and mercy. – –

The Pietà (Arena) is no doubt the best example of how Giotto was able to comprehend and depict the tragic events of the Passion. Earlier artists had naturally sought means to express the boundless suffering of Christ and equally boundless human grief over his death. The very scope of this matter, however, led to unnatural and caricature-like exaggerated representations. For this very reason Giotto's dignified manner of depicting grief feels so touching and outranks earlier representations. Although the great masters of the Renaissance – – made improvements with regard to his compositions at the formal level, they could not surpass his skills in depicting tragic events.⁴⁵⁸

Almost all experts agree that *The Last Judgement* in the Cappella degli Scrovegni differs from Giotto's otherwise innovative art. Laderchi underscored the poor quality of the painting and assumed that this was because it was mostly the work of Giotto's assistants.⁴⁵⁹ Tikkanen also regarded it to be old-fashioned in its choice of themes and of minor artistic value, but attributes this to the artist being bound to a programme laid down in advance. He nonetheless sees in it a significant tendency to develop themes, for it was the first attempt in the history of painting to create an integrated artistic representation of this difficult subject.

Tikkanen maintains that Giotto made his most significant reforms when working on the legend of Saint Francis. The veritable renewal of this theme began with large cycle of frescoes in the upper church of Assisi and by the work at Santa Croce the themes had developed to such a complete degree that later artists could not longer improve them. I regard the following observation to be important although, for some reason, Tikkanen placed it only in a footnote of his dissertation:

We cannot be sure if the style of the young Giotto would have developed as quickly and perfectly as it did had this young reformer not found in the legend of Saint Francis a suitable basis for representing the life of his own day. The theme was also good in the sense that it had not yet been forced into the formulas of the traditional language of art.⁴⁶⁰

Rumohr also explained Giotto's reforms in similar terms. According to him, the Franciscan and Dominican orders introduced new themes into art, and with completely new subjects, i.e. events of recent history, art had to create types of representation in harmony with contemporary life. There were no longer any grounds for focusing on old models or the narrative types of earlier art.

Having presented his overall view of Giotto's art, Tikkanen addresses the artist's form language in more detail in the chapters: "Geberdensprache und Zeichnung", "Modellierung; Licht und Schatten", "Farbe und Pinselührung" and "Die ornamentale Decoration". The first chapter, on gestural language and drawing, is the second largest of the dissertation (14 pages) and clearly shows which area of Giotto's art – and perhaps in other respects – interested Tikkanen. The analyses of other areas were considerably shorter. The dissertation presented in 1881 did not yet contain gestural language, and the definition of drawings, along with other areas of form language, was relatively schematic. The completed study, however, discusses under the heading of drawing the precision of contours, the expressiveness of line, the shape of line and value, although these features do not appear as if viewed by an art critic but in relation to major lines of style history and narrative.

Tikkanen clearly distinguishes between gestural language typical of the Middle Ages and that of Giotto. According to him, gestures seem to have had their own internal mechanisms in older art, which did not follow from real series of movements – in other words gestural language in art was not based on observation of nature but on certain formulas of representation. The rigid impression was further emphasized by the popular three-quarter pose and the fact that also the figures in profile looked out of the picture, creating an irrationally twisted pose and undermining the meaning of their gestures.⁴⁶¹ Certain movements and gestures were already adopted for the portrayal of certain emotions early in the Middle Ages. They were based on reality, and therefore easy to recognize and understand. True to nature and credible, they were adopted by Giotto and in later art. They included a gesture of amazement with one raised hand; a series of movements expressing surprise and horror, with the upper body drawn backwards and both hands raised; and a gesture of grief or meditation in the cheek rests on the palm or the chin on both hands. Tikkanen maintains that Giotto improved these gestures, giving them more precise meanings and developing numerous variations with different degrees of forcefulness.⁴⁶² Using these means,

⁴⁵⁸ Tikkanen 1884a, 14.

⁴⁵⁹ Laderchi 1968, 62.

⁴⁶⁰ Tikkanen 1884a, 16, note 3.

⁴⁶¹ Tikkanen 1884a, 19.

⁴⁶² Tikkanen 1884a, 20–21.

he sought the greatest possible expressive potential of form. Narrative, however, always laid down the degree of veracity in representation, which led to logic and clarity in style:

Giotto's aim was thus not so much to depict a figure or individual as such rather than their psychology by using movement, gestures and facial expressions. In this respect Giotto has hardly ever been matched.⁴⁶³

Tikkanen notes that Giotto generally succeeded quite well in the portrayal of emotions and was also able to express with a feeling of realism random and complex states of mind, an example of which being *The Dream of the Bishop of Arezzo* in S. Croce, in which a servant who has just awakened looks at the scene in amazement without arriving at any clear idea of about it. According to Tikkanen, a whole index of types of emotions, the highest principles of expression, could be compiled from Giotto's works.⁴⁶⁴ Skill largely involved moderation: the figures were calm and strong gestures appeared only in the major outpourings of grief such as the *Pietà* theme.⁴⁶⁵ This had already been noted by Laderchi, who says that Giotto was able to characterize figures energetically, but without exaggeration and remaining within the bounds of veracity. It was also observed by Minardi before him, who compared Giotto's vivid form of expression which kept to the essential to Ancient Greek art and Leonardo and Michelangelo in later contexts.⁴⁶⁶ Selvatico assumed that, when observing matters in nature, Giotto noticed that even strong emotions did not produce emphatic gesticulation. Instead, these emotions centred on the face, while the gestures of the body remained restrained. Therefore, Giotto never used heroic theatrical gestures, which were preferred by so many other artists.⁴⁶⁷

Tikkanen also emphasized observation of nature and the environment and the use of live models as the basis of Giotto's more truthful and precise gestural language and interpreted Giovanni Pisano to have been the example for an open-minded study of nature. On the other hand, he states that we cannot speak of any systematic search for universal laws before Leonardo, whose *Trattato della pittura* defined the questions of observing nature and related expression precisely and scientifically.⁴⁶⁸ Tikkanen interprets Giotto's gestural language in a new and richer manner, while acknowledging the contribution of the older research tradition of Schnaase, Burckhardt and Dobbert to the analysis of facial expressions in Giotto's works.⁴⁶⁹

In starting to define more precisely Giotto's drawing skills, Tikkanen notes:

Although Giotto's manner of drawing is not beautiful, it displays impressive dignity and aristocratic refinement, tranquillity and monumentality related to the use of line of Masaccio and later Renaissance artists.⁴⁷⁰

Though not problematizing his use of the term *beautiful*, Tikkanen notes nonetheless that Giotto's manner of drawing lacks variation and that there is no rhythmic harmony of lines in the compositions. He seems to think that Giotto was not especially interested in the 'beauty' of form, but only in its 'expressiveness' and therefore the artist's artistic objectives cannot be distinguished from his aims in terms of moral import or content. When speaking of the moral aspect, Tikkanen however does not seek to define Giotto's world view or attitude to religion or secular authority. Instead, the whole study keeps purely to the form-analytical approach. For Laderchi, for example, both Giotto's and Dante's deep religiosity was the prime mover of their reforms.⁴⁷¹

Tikkanen maintains that the main proportions and balance of the body in Giotto's figures is drawn well, and that for such an early period one cannot expect a more refined technique in combining the organic parts of the body and in the lines. Laderchi was of the same opinion, presenting a well-argued overall view of the angular yet natural and uncluttered lines and movement of Giotto's figures.⁴⁷² Giotto did not seek to portray the figure individually. They were instead meant to represent types, and variation in general was not significant as an explicit tendency in 14th-century art. Tikkanen underlines the great difference between Giotto's manner of repeating form and the whole using only simple major lines and the ideas that were later propounded by Leonardo. The *Trattato della Pittura* emphasizes in many connections how the artist must avoid mannerisms and should always seek to identify individual features in his subjects, how people of different age and gender move and gesticulate in different ways, and how the artist should learn to express different characters and states of mind. This clearly shows how different points of comparison produce different results. Viewed against the background of the preceding tradition, Giotto stands forth as a corner stone, the initiator of a new art that is more vivid and more truthful to nature. If on the other hand, the High Renaissance is taken as a comparison, Giotto still appears highly medieval in his typologization and monumental restraint. Tikkanen, however, presents a significant observation with regard to individuality and types in Gi-

⁴⁶³ Tikkanen 1884a, 18.

⁴⁶⁴ See also Schnaase 1876, 367, 382.

⁴⁶⁵ Tikkanen 1884a, 18.

⁴⁶⁶ Laderchi 1867, 32–33.

⁴⁶⁷ Laderchi 1867, 62.

⁴⁶⁸ Tikkanen 1884a, 21–22.

⁴⁶⁹ Tikkanen 1884a, 19, note 1. See Schnaase 1876, 359–360, 364–367.

⁴⁷⁰ Tikkanen 1884a, 23.

⁴⁷¹ Laderchi 1867, 33.

⁴⁷² Laderchi 1867, 33.

otto's art: since some figures show that Giotto could paint people in a highly individual manner when he chose to do so, we must assume that he sought generalization deliberately and not because of any lack of skill:

Giotto's figures are usually so similar that it is difficult to distinguish them. This is a non-individual ideal type, neither unpleasant nor beautiful, of a kind that one will not notice upon first sight.⁴⁷³

Tikkanen presents a detailed analysis of Giotto's human figure, the shapes of the body and limbs and the relationship of the whole figure in various systems of proportions, thus indicating its degrees of veracity, such as the properties of clothing or nude figures. In this connection he also notes the similarities of the system of proportions presented by Cennini and *The Painter's Guide* of Mount Athos and takes up the question of interaction between the Western and Byzantine traditions of painting.⁴⁷⁴

He defines the physiognomy of the type: an angular head; straight face; long, slightly slanted eyes demarcated with straight lines; a long and narrow wedge-shaped nose, and short, curly hair and beard. This analysis hardly differs from that presented by Rumohr, or the one proposed by Laderchi over a decade previously.⁴⁷⁵ Tikkanen's attitude, however, is clearly different. Although he maintained that Cimabue and Duccio sought greater perfection and grace in their figures compared to Giotto, he did not regard the latter's human figure type as unskilled, as claimed by Rumohr.⁴⁷⁶

Giotto's figures are generally always clothed, and drapery is important, for example, in depicting movement, since most of the movements of the body can only be understood from the portrayal of the folds of the garments. Tikkanen claims that in this respect Gi-

otto made a major leap forward from the decorative and unnaturally composed Byzantine drapery types and that he followed the examples of not only Giovanni Pisano but also the Roman mosaic artists, the Cosmatis, Cavallini and Torriti, and Cimabue and his school in Tuscany. A major difference with regard to Antiquity is also demonstrated and Giotto is assumed to have used live models:

Giotto arranged his draperies in wide planes and simple natural folds. Covering more than revealing, they only provide a general idea of the body underneath them, but this is sufficient for understanding the movements. Giotto's draperies are too loose, heavy and wide-sleeved to have the art of Antiquity as their model. They are rather the result of a new way of viewing. Giotto studied draperies deliberately worn by models.⁴⁷⁷

Rumohr does not appear to have understood Giotto's principles of drapery depiction, as he notes that only the faces of the figures can be seen, since Giotto paid hardly any attention to clothing, specifically differing in this respect from earlier artists. We must point out here that Rumohr did not mention in any connection the hands of Giotto's figures, which nonetheless have a central role in the whole portrayal of figures and gestural language.⁴⁷⁸ Tikkanen also refers the clothing depicted by Giotto to social history in noting that in the large Saint Francis cycle of Assisi he made use of real, simple garments, i.e. contemporary dress, instead of traditional idealized garb.⁴⁷⁹

Giotto's reforms of expression also concerned architectural and landscape backgrounds, their forms and perspective. Tikkanen claims that already in the upper church at Assisi (the Saint Francis legend), Giotto separated himself from medieval decorative backgrounds and combined pure fantasy, Umbrian Gothic and recollections of classical architecture. The buildings shown in the Santa Croce cycles more clearly take the classicized Romanesque architecture of Tuscany as their starting point⁴⁸⁰, i.e. the Tuscan *Proto-Renaissance* as it was known from Burckhardt. Tikkanen admires the architecture in the Bible scenes of the right transept of the lower church at Assisi as one of the 14th-century's richest and most beautiful representations of its kind. He compares these stage-like scenes even to the fantasy architecture of the Pompeian paintings, though noting that in terms of playfulness and imagination they are more conventional than the works of Antiquity.⁴⁸¹ Giotto's architectural features were also far too small in relation to the figures, and if a scene was located in an interior space it was shown in

⁴⁷³ Tikkanen 1884a, 23.

⁴⁷⁴ Tikkanen 1884a, 25. *The Painter's Guide* by Denis of Forna, a monk in one of the Greek monasteries on Mount Athos was discovered in the early 19th century. It was first dated to the Middle Ages, but it was pointed out in later studies that in its present form the text was presumably hardly any older than the 18th century. Experts, however, assume that is based on considerably older Byzantine workshop traditions. The first part of the guide is on technical matters, such as pigments and binding agents. The second part, on Christian iconography, contains instructions on the right to executing various themes, such as the Virgin Mary, the saints, allegorical figures etc. The third part of the book defines how paintings are to be placed in rooms and spaces. The text is not illustrated, and also for this reason Barasch assumed that it was meant solely for painters in Byzantine workshops who were thoroughly familiar with the pictorial tradition. On *The Painter's Guide*, see Barasch 1985, 80, 84–87. Tikkanen had the use of a German translation of the guide edited by Schäfer entitled *Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos* (1855).

⁴⁷⁵ Laderchi 1867, 33–34.

⁴⁷⁶ Rumohr – Schlosser 1920[1831], 266–267.

⁴⁷⁷ Tikkanen 1884a, 27.

⁴⁷⁸ Rumohr 1998 [1823], 12.

⁴⁷⁹ Tikkanen 1884a, 27.

⁴⁸⁰ Tikkanen 1884a, 28.

⁴⁸¹ Tikkanen 1884a, 28.

section or almost symbolically with only an architectural fragment. Despite this, however, a simple concept of perspective was already applied in the works. Although the theoretical laws of perspective – the horizon and the distances of the gaze and the vanishing point – were not yet known, it was understood that parallel lines will converge in foreshortening. Cennini expresses this point as follows:

And put in the buildings by this uniform system: that in the moldings which you make at the top of the building should slant downward from the edge next to the roof; The molding in the middle of the building, halfway up the face, must be quite level and even; the molding at the base of the building underneath must slant upward, in the opposite sense to the upper molding, which slants downward.⁴⁸²

There are many examples of this in the cycles in Assisi, Padua and S. Croce alike. Tikkanen assumes that Giotto instinctively drew perspective quite faultlessly.⁴⁸³ The depiction of a new type of space, which was to some degree three-dimensional, also made it possible to place figures to appear to be moving freely in the space even though hardly any foreshortening was yet used. According to Tikkanen, this was also reinforced by Giotto's composition of groups, in which the figures are not in rows but instead with the ones at the rear in half-portrait above the figures in the foreground.⁴⁸⁴ It is an interesting detail that while noting that some themes of the Saint Francis cycle at Assisi, such as *The Death of Saint Francis*, are of cramped and confusing composition, Tikkanen in no way questions the attribution of the works, despite regarding them as different from the rest of Giotto's oeuvre.⁴⁸⁵ It appears as if he deliberately wished to set himself aside from any discussion of authorship. *The Death of Saint Francis* is regarded as the work of a different artist than the part of the cycle attributed by the scholarly community to Giotto. Tikkanen's description is a good example of how problems will inevitably emerge at other levels, such as the interpretation of style history here, if the level of attribution does not function.

Tikkanen also regards the depiction of landscape as still largely symbolical. In view of his own relationship with nature and his interest in landscape painting, his analysis of landscape in 14th-century art seems almost to be voiced in terms of disappointment :

Hade there been no descriptions of nature by Dante, an inspection of 14th-century paintings would suggest that the Italians of the period had quite a limited ability to comprehend the beauty of nature. Landscape did not even

have the decorative significance of architecture. The land is dead and without plants, the mountains are of gravel, and their rocks have no contours of beauty. The forest had even been invented at the time, and individual trees are shown either in completely cursory fashion or they can be identified by the shapes of leaves. The individual nature [species] of trees was not even sought. The sky is clear and cloudless. Giotto's landscape backgrounds are generally simple in a silhouette-like fashion [reference to *The Nativity* theme in the lower church of Assisi].⁴⁸⁶

Tikkanen regarded Giotto's simple and restrained manner of representation, however, to be in harmony with available opportunities – the ability of the 14th-century artist to express his surroundings, while his successors sought expression that was too complex although the means were still the same

His successors, on the other hand, did not usually limit themselves to such a simple profile. Most of their vedutas are among the worst works in the history of landscape painting.⁴⁸⁷

Tikkanen kept the chapter on modelling in his dissertation, although it had been reduced to only two pages. According to him, Giotto's predecessors, the Cosmatis and Cimabue in particular, had already after the Middle Ages again mastered depiction in relief employing light and shade and basing on a relatively simple technique of hatching learnt from Byzantium. They treated light and shade as masses, softening their boundaries with intermediary tones. Tikkanen describes Giotto's manner of shading significantly more natural than that of his predecessors: the lighting is tranquil and clear; light falls evenly on the whole pictorial plane and is skilfully toned in light-coloured shadows. The basic principle was to use light to bring forth relief with shadows pushing the foreshortened surfaces into the background. Tikkanen claims that despite an impression of flatness resulting from the broadly-outlined approach Giotto managed to achieve the impression of two-dimensionality.⁴⁸⁸ On the other hand, Laderchi maintains that only Giotto's successors were able to do so.⁴⁸⁹ Here, too, Tikkanen distinctly notes, however, that Giotto could have done better, with reference to Dobbert's suggestion that Giotto did not focus enough on modelling when he resisted the overabundance of earlier art. Tikkanen also presents an interesting parallel between this broadly outlined type of painting and the reliefs in the Florence Campanile, which also appear to be two-dimensional when compared with the forceful modelling used by Giovanni Pisano.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸² Cennini 1933 [c. 1390], 57.

⁴⁸³ Tikkanen 1884a, 29–30; also Laderchi is of this opinion – Laderchi 1867, 34.

⁴⁸⁴ Tikkanen 1884a, 30–31.

⁴⁸⁵ Tikkanen 1884a, 31.

⁴⁸⁶ Tikkanen 1884a, 28–29. Schnaase also regarded Giotto's depiction of nature to be quite limited – Schnaase 1876, 359–360, 363.

⁴⁸⁷ Tikkanen 1884a, 29.

⁴⁸⁸ Tikkanen 1884a, 32–33.

⁴⁸⁹ Laderchi 1867, 34.

⁴⁹⁰ Tikkanen 1884a, 33.

The light on the other hand displays a definite lack of logic between the representations and reality. For example, the clear and cloudless sky often used by Giotto would in reality mean that the day is sunny, and that strong light creates dark shadows and sharp contrasts, but these features never appear, and instead the even shadowless light is more reminiscent of the transparent light of morning or the diffused light of a slightly overcast day. Even in a theme such as *The Kiss of Judas*, there is no impression of darkness lit by torches. Instead, the scene with its torches is shown in daylight. Giotto managed to create an impression of darkness in only in some interior scenes, such as *The Annunciation to Saint Anne*.⁴⁹¹ Tikkanen's requirement of stronger chiaroscuro seems slightly unreasonable especially as he takes frescoes as an example in his critique. It seems as if he concentrates too theoretically on the analysis of form in his critique, without considering the light colour already intrinsic to the fresco technique. More pronounced shading is of course possible, for instance in view of Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, where the principle of colour is still largely Cenninian, but for example in the works of Veronese, Tiepolo and other later fresco painters, the scale of values is smooth.

The chapter on colour and brushwork technique is based on the principles presented in Cennini's *Il Libro dell'arte*. It, too, is brief, though more detailed than the section on light and shade, as Tikkanen claims that colours in particular are the artist's main aids for distinguishing the depicted matters. He also notes that colour was never used so much for this purpose than in Giotto's time.⁴⁹² This again reflects Tikkanen's strong interest in colour, based at least partly on his preference for colour over drawing that appeared in his own artistic thinking. He defines Giotto's use of colour as involving subtle modelling, large tranquil areas of local colours, with shadows in intensive tones and marked contours.⁴⁹³ Colouration is simple and aims at creating the overall impression. It thus involved the same principle of clarity as drawing and modelling. Because neutral-toned shadows and glazes were not used in the 14th century, the only way to prevent adjacent bright local tones from creating the wrong relations of value with regard to each other was to delimit them with dark contours. In other situations, the darker tone of two adjacent ones (e.g. green next to yellow) would have created the impression of shadow. This type of colouration based on a bright palette is problematic in many ways, but Tikkanen feels that Giotto succeeded well in it. This, too, was partly due to moderation, as Giotto used hardly any *cangiantismo* or gold. This was exceptional, as many later 14th-century

⁴⁹¹ Tikkanen 1884a, 33.

⁴⁹² Tikkanen 1884a, 35.

⁴⁹³ Tikkanen 1884a, 35.

and even Renaissance artists showed preference for these effects, which tended to erode the feeling of reality. According to Tikkanen, Giotto had moved in colouration considerably towards realistic colour painting in comparison with the earlier tradition. He maintains that this colourism was of fundamental importance for the development of Italian art, as the use of local colours and a strong connection between colour and form became a leading principle of Italian painting for a long while to come.⁴⁹⁴ In the section on colour, Tikkanen cites the Assisi frescoes as examples in several connections, comparing the changes that took place there towards bright and pure colours to the reforms that took place in French art in the 13th century. Viollet-le-Duc, in turn, explained the latter as having stemmed from admiration for the brilliant colours of Gothic stained glass windows. Tikkanen suggests that this could also be a possible explanation regarding Italy, as according to him, the new colourism specifically emerged in Assisi, where the fine 13th-century stained glass work of the church of San Francesco was among the earliest of its kind.⁴⁹⁵

Was the superiority of Giotto's use of colour over earlier art specifically based on new principles, or did it also involve 'more refined' taste? – Tikkanen gives ultimately no answer to this question. A modern idea, obviously bound to its own time, was the question of the expressive power of colour, which according to Tikkanen was not yet understood in the 14th century. Giotto's colour compositions do not depend on the content of the theme. *The Massacre of the Innocents*, *The Crucifixion* and *Pietà*, for example, are painted in colours just as gay as in *The Nativity* themes.⁴⁹⁶ Although this observation is correct, it seems slightly exaggerated to the modern reader, as the *modus* theory was not introduced until the late 16th century and it became widespread only later. Also the lack of aerial and colour perspective affected colouration and its veracity, and as artists did not yet understand the need to lighten tones towards the background and since distant subjects were sharply delineated, no impression of depth was created.

Tikkanen's text gives the impression of being disappointed that Giotto's brushwork technique did not prove to be characteristic or such that it expressed the artist's own personality. Neither were effects of surface, such as the quality of fabrics (silk, velvet, hessian) or texture, presented and all the elements, skin, drapery, architecture, landscapes, were painted in the same way.⁴⁹⁷ This, too, was a concept highly bound to

⁴⁹⁴ Tikkanen 1884a, 34–38. Though noting that Giotto's colourism differed by the earlier tradition, Schnaase does not appear to have found any particular merits in it. – Schnaase 1876, 359–360.

⁴⁹⁵ Tikkanen 1884a, 36.

⁴⁹⁶ Tikkanen 1884a, 37.

⁴⁹⁷ Tikkanen 1884a, 39.

the 19th century, for in the second half of the century the mark of the brush had become a central part of artistic expression, particularly through the work of the impressionists. In 14th-century art, this matter was not important, and even in the High Renaissance, painterly and markedly prominent brushwork (as in some of the works of Titian and Tintoretto's oeuvre) was rather the exception than the rule.

The chapter on ornament is completely new in comparison with the first outline of the dissertation. It is of historiographical importance, for in giving the decorative elements of Giotto's painting such an important role, Tikkanen proves that he followed the 'spirit of the time', which also led Wölfflin and Riegl later to address similar issues. He analysed Giotto's ornament, comparing it with earlier decoration at Assisi, by Cimabue and his school, and emphasizing the great style-historical importance of Giotto's reforms:

Despite the individuality of the style, Cimabue's ornamentation belongs, in its general nature, to the older Byzantine-derived orientation of taste. Giotto's ornamental painting, on the other hand, has a special and markedly independent position in the history of style. It adopted few features from earlier art (including Cimabue), and it has hardly any connections with the northern Gothic or medieval Romanesque and Byzantine styles. In ornamentation, Giotto was even a greater reformer than in other areas of form language, and in this respect his influence remained decisive throughout the 14th century. The living heritage of Antiquity alone as present in Giotto's ornament steered developments in a completely new direction.⁴⁹⁸

Tikkanen regarded Giotto's ornamentation to be clearly secondary in relation to the main themes. It provided a framework for frescoes or stars painted on a blue ground on a ceiling, images of the evangelists or medallions. In terms of form language, it falls in between expression in two dimensions and relief, with the main emphasis remaining on two-dimensionality. He regards Giotto's three-dimensional naturalistic themes to be still quite rare in the 14th century, noting that two-dimensional ornament was not rejected until the Renaissance.⁴⁹⁹ This was not of course unequivocally the case, as for example 16th-century grotesque ornament contains a large number of two-dimensional elements.

Tikkanen regards Giotto's strong points to be logic and clarity, making unassuming things beautiful, also in ornament. Ornamental painting influences the viewer's perception but does not detract the gaze from the main themes. Compared with Cimabue's work, Giotto's ornamentation is strongly focused, the number of themes is limited, and many motifs, such as the classical acanthus are developed in a less restricted and more

elegant direction.⁵⁰⁰ This area of art appears to have been close to Tikkanen himself. This is already evident in many of his notebooks from the Munich period, for while copying works of art he also drew various ornamental motifs in furniture, artefacts, mosaics, textiles and almost anything. Writing in an exceptionally fascinated manner, he describes Giotto's ornament as very rich, extremely beautiful and as varied as Renaissance ornament, and defines its inherent gracefulness as based on simple clarity and the light elegance of forms.⁵⁰¹

In the last chapter of his dissertation Tikkanen begins his conclusions on Giotto's art in a surprisingly provocative manner, noting the great difference between contemporary viewers and the 14th-century art public:

Stepping into an Italian chapel of the 14th century, the viewer will be surprised by its vivid world of colour, unless the paintings have been whitewashed. Above him there is an ultramarine blue ceiling vault decorated with stars and painted with the figures of the evangelists, or medallions from which the saints and other dignitaries peer down. The motifs on the walls are in superimposed rows, painted in bright and light colours with stories of the Saviour and the Virgin Mary or the saints, or depicting recondite symbolic themes of medieval monastic philosophy.

Upon closer inspection of the paintings, failings in the illusions and the beauty of the form language may initially arouse displeasure. There is hardly a single face or even a single line in the paintings that could be called beautiful. – In addition the figures are drawn imperfectly and their faces lack individuality and their forms the feel of corporeality. Its impressive solemn dignity notwithstanding, the use of line is quite dry and straightforward, and therefore appearing to be quite simple to us. Colouration is schematic. – – Even less satisfying is the depiction of architecture and landscape. The lack of perspective is obvious, with many other defective properties as a result. Giotto, the architect of the great campanile of S. Maria del Fiore, does not seem to have considered that no one could have lived in the buildings that he painted, and that in reality architecture could not have such outlines. Did this excellent artist truly believe that mountains, trees, "water with fish" etc. appeared in nature as he had presented them? Did he believe that the essence of trees was in individual large leaves? Did he have no eye for the fascination nature of his own country? The same concerns lack of individuality! The imitation of nature is kept at the most general level possible, in general features or properties that are easiest to recognize. Therefore, all this art gives a somewhat abstract and unreal impression. Nor do the images have tones or air. Colour is used throughout with the same intensity as in the ornamental patterns. The combinations of light and shade are always similar, taking no note of the various effects of light in nature, being

⁴⁹⁸ Tikkanen 1884a, 43.

⁴⁹⁹ Tikkanen 1884a, 40.

⁵⁰⁰ Tikkanen 1884a, 42.

⁵⁰¹ Tikkanen 1884a, 42.

used instead only to give shape to human figures. – This lack of naturalness, schematic treatment, rigidity of line, the abstraction of everything that is not primary to the storey, simplicity, and the complete lack of effects all lend an ancient and somewhat clumsy feel to Giotto's style. Art had not yet completely left infancy, even though it had started to change. This change did not follow from the evolution of art itself but from the development of the artist's means and methods. Here we can see an analogy with Early Grecian painting.⁵⁰²

Some of the problems presented here are particularly interesting, as the question of essence, for example, had broader connections with 19th-century discussion on the theory of art. Also discussion on why Giotto's representations of architecture did not correspond to reality, although he was also an architect, is also quite interesting. I tend to accept here Tikkanen's interpretation, according to which 14th-century art regarded forms as following from their non-material content, and therefore their appearance as realized was still quite symbolical. Tikkanen also problematized this issue by asking if Giotto's art was completely logical in this respect – i.e. corresponding to contemporary thinking – why did contemporaries regard it as new? The answer is veracity, which according to Tikkanen was based on the fact that even in all its schematicness Giotto's art relied on a real study of nature, whereas earlier art had been based on a tradition "in which forms were repeated in the same way again and again, and which had long since lost all life and to a great degree also any rational meaning".⁵⁰³

I would give importance to Tikkanen's objective of rejecting the traditional juxtaposition of Giotto with earlier art. He underlines that Giotto should not be viewed in the national or general field of the arts in any explicit opposition to the traditional Byzantine-influenced schools, in the manner that the new naturalism of the 19th century, for example, opposed idealism. According to him it was not until Cennini and later Ghiberti that the "maniera greca" was cited as the opposite pole of the new Italian art that began with Giotto, while Giotto's contemporary must have regarded this way of looking at things to be alien.⁵⁰⁴ Giotto's reforms should instead be regarded on the one hand as developments proceeding from traditional art and on the other hand as a separation of traditional art from foreign features that had come through the influence of Byzantine art. Tikkanen regarded Giotto's manner of expression to be genuinely Italian throughout, related to Early Christian mosaics at one end of the time line and to Renaissance art at the other.⁵⁰⁵ In this connec-

tion, he makes an interesting distinction between Early Christian and later Byzantine-influenced mosaics, regarding only the Early Christian ones to be truly Italian. Although the whole issue is not quite as simple as this, his thinking can perhaps be best understood by comparing the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore with the works of Giotto.

Tikkanen had admired paintings from Antiquity in Pompeii and in the Museum of Naples. At no stage, however, did he compare Giotto's pure palette and coloured shadow to the work of classical artists. Generally speaking, he does not present any influences of style that Giotto might have adopted directly from Antiquity, despite the fact that he knew from old sources and earlier research literature that Giotto stayed in Rome on several occasions. Neither does he speak of motives such as naked putti bearing garlands, which Giotto most likely took from classical art.⁵⁰⁶ It seems that from Tikkanen's point of view Giotto's relationship with Antiquity passed via the Pisanos and medieval art.

Tikkanen's form-analytical approach contains the underlying concept of the role of the function of a work of art for its form language. Although this point is not properly problematized, the idea that ecclesiastical art of the Middle Ages required certain formulas of representation, from which the culture of Giotto's period marked a liberation, entails the principle that art has a target group that defines the artist's choice of style. In connection with the works on the life of Saint Francis of Assisi, Tikkanen also mentions the influence of social aspects on the themes. The connection between style and function, which is difficult to define, did not, however, come under thorough discussion until the 20th century, which means that this question may not be completely relevant for an analysis of 19th-century art history.⁵⁰⁷

Tikkanen ends his dissertation in a conclusion defining Giotto's role in the history of art. Though hardly differing from the traditional view, or for example from Vasari, the essential point is that it is based on independent form analysis by Tikkanen himself, and not on any earlier hero myth.

Giotto equally a complement to preceding artistic skill (and to a much greater degree than Cimabue and Duccio who were still bound on the one hand to the Byzantine tradition) and the one who laid the foundation for all that followed.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰² Tikkanen 1884a, 44–45.

⁵⁰³ Tikkanen 1884a, 46.

⁵⁰⁴ Here Schnaase's point of view was clearly similar to Tikkanen's. He viewed Giotto as emerging from medieval art and not as someone in opposition. – Schnaase 1876, 352–385.

⁵⁰⁵ Tikkanen 1884a, 46.

⁵⁰⁶ Panofsky, for example, has underlined the direct influence of classical painting and sculpture on the choice of subjects and form language of Cavallini, Duccio and Giotto, who were all professionally active around the beginning of Modern Times. – Panofsky 1970 [1965], 137–138, 151–155.

⁵⁰⁷ On style and function, see e.g. Schwarz 2006, *passim*.

⁵⁰⁸ Tikkanen 1884a, 47.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Aftbl:	Aftonbladet newspaper
FT:	Finsk Tidskrift series
Hbl:	Hufvudstadsbladet newspaper
HD:	Helsingfors Dagbladet newspaper
Hhtai:	The Library of the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Helsinki
Hhtai JJT:	The J. J. Tikkanen Archive Collection in the Library of the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki
HY:	University of Helsinki
HYK:	The Helsinki University Library (The Helsinki National Library)
HYKA:	The Central Archives of the University of Helsinki
KA:	The National Archives of Finland
KKA:	The Central Art Archives of the Finnish National Gallery
Npr:	Nya pressen newspaper
SLS:	The Swedish Literature Society
SLSA:	The Archives of the Swedish Literature Society
STY:	The Finnish Art Society
SvPr:	Svenska Pressen newspaper

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