Georg Sobotka: bibliography and three translations

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Georg Sobotka (Vienna June 17, 1886-Serbia October 17, 1918)[1]

As the eldest of four children of the medical doctor Ignaz Sobotka and Hedwig née Hauser, Georg Sobotka was raised in a liberal, culturally Jewish household in the Grosse Neugasse 2, Vienna IV.

At the university of Vienna he pursued studies at the Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, graduating as a classmate of Kurt Rathe in their 27th course with an early version of his Bernini essay. After the influence from the final lectures by Alois Riegl, his research continued under both the practical and theoretical tutelage of Franz Wickhoff and Julius von Schlosser, who had been urging their students to overcome traditional judgments and uncover the history of baroque art as well as its written expressions.

Soon after his graduation, Sobotka began work for the sculpture department of the Berlin museums, from then until his death on the Serbian front contributing to the Thieme/Becker *Allgemeines Lexikon*, vol. 3 (1909)-11 (1915), while preparing a collaboration with Oskar Pollak (1883-1915) on a documentation of baroque art in Rome, as well as a critical edition of Giulio Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla Pittura*, the results destined not to see the light of day until very long after his death.

Particularly his longer reviews of Rolfs and Rousseau illustrate the more robust methodology then emerging in among other questions, those surrounding generalizations based on too narrow a sample of data, the problems of regional styles and levels and types of influences, relative reliability of historical sources, bibliographical knowledge and objectivity, and common sense in tracing the development of given artistic currents.

Although his essays and reviews stand at the beginning of a field of research which has since then published and illuminated a vast and influential artistic period, he approached questions and reviewed books with knowledge, insight and a critical sensitivity pointing out how the subjects could have been pursued more fruitfully. They are still worth our attention today.

[1] The present note was originally written for "The Dictionary of Art Historians".

Publications:

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Pietro Bernini und die Plastik in Neapel und Rom um die Wende des 16. Jahrhunderts, dissertation for the doctoral degree awarded December 21, 1909

"Pietro Bernini," *L'Arte Rivista di Storia dell'Arte medioevale e moderna e d'Arte decorativa*, vol. 12, 1909, pp. 401-422, also published separately.

"Antonio Muñoz, Pietro Bernini, Vita d'arte, rivista mensile d'arte antica e moderna, Siena, vol. 2, October, November 1909," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 33, no. 1, 1910, pp. 177-185.

"Lord Balcarres, The Evolution of Italian sculpture, London: John Murray, 1909," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 4, no. 4, April 1911, pp. 192-194.

"Joseph Wünsch, Blasius Höfel Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst und Verzeichnis seiner Werke, Wien, 1910," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 4, no. 6, June 1911, pp. 281-283.

"Wilhelm Rolfs, Geschichte der Malerei Neapels, Leipzig: E. A. Seemann 1910," *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, Jahrgang 1911, no. 1-2, pp. 6-23.

"Die Tonstatuette eines französischen Kavaliers," *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, 32. Jahrgang, no. 11, August 1911, col. 235-240.

"Das Grabmal des Staatssekretärs Phélybeaux in Chatteaunef-sur-Loire und sein Modell," *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, 33. Jahrgang, no. 5, February 1912, col. 113-124.

"Henry Rousseau, La Sculpture au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles Collection des grands artistes des Pays-Bas, Brussels: G. Van Oest 1911," *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, Jahrgang 1912, no. 1, pp. 20-28.

"M. Liefmann, Kunst und Heilige, Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1912," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 5, no. 7, July 1912, pp. 290-291.

"Bastiano Torrigiani und die Berliner Papstbüsten," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 33, no. 4, 1912, pp. 252-274.

"Giuseppe Ceci, Saggio di una bibliografia per la storia delle arti figurative nell'Italia meridionale, Bari: Laterza 1911," *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, Jahrgang 1912, no. 2, pp. 38-40.

"Max von Boehn, Lorenzo Bernini: Seine Zeit, sein Leben, sein Werk, Bielefeld, 1912," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 6, no. 6, June 1913, pp. 256-258.

"Ein Entwurf Marattas zum Grabmal Innocenz' XI. im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett und die Papstgräber der Barockzeit, *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 35, no. 1-2, 1914, pp. 22-42.

Guido Reni, Bielefeld, Velhagen & Klasing, 1914, Velhagen & Klasings Volksbücher 103, 34 pp.

"Johann Baptist Hagenauer," ed. Erica Tietze-Conrat, *Österreichisches Staatsdenkmalamt, Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Institutes*, vol. 14, 1920, pp. 1-56.

"Per l'edizione critica delle fonti della storia dell'arte del seicento e del settecento," *L'Italia e l'arte straniera: Atti del X Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte in Roma*, Roma: Maglione & Strini, 1922, pp. 547-550.

Die Bildhauerei der Barockzeit, mit 48 Tafeln, ed., Hans Tietze, Vienna: Schroll 1927, x, 180 pp.

At least 46 entries in Ulrich Thieme Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Kunstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig: Seemann, 1907-: Bernini Pietro, Bianco Bartolomeo Giovanni Battista, Caccavello Annibale Antonio Disiato Giovanni Salvatore, Caccini Giovanni Battista, Cesaro Francesco, Cesari Giuseppe, Colantonio, Cordier Nicolas, Corenzio, Crescione Gian Filippo, Criscionio Filippo, Crisciulo, Criscuolo, Croce Baldassare, Desiderio Monsu Desiderio, Desubleo Michele, Dominici Antonio Bernardo Gian Paolo Suora Maria Raimondo, Donzelli, Dosio Giovannantonio, Duca Giovanni Pietro da, Ducha Lorenzo, Duquesnoy Frans Jerome the Elder and Younger, Falcone Andrea, Fancelli Cosimo Francesco, Faydeherbe, Fedele Tommaso.

Georg Sobotka, Wilhelm Rolfs, *Geschichte der Malerei Neapels*[2]

Translated and edited by Karl Johns

One would assume that the painting of Naples would be understood to refer to a given Italian regional school centred in Naples, and that this history would therefore trace one of the particular strands within the overall development of Italian art. How could one imagine a history of Venetian painting omitting all of those works by Titian in Rome, the Prado, Vienna, England, or the Tiepolo frescoes in Würzburg? This history of Neapolitan painting does not even mention the numerous works of Salvator Rosa, Mattia Preti or Luca Giordano which are preserved in the other parts of Italy, to say nothing of other countries, and generally nothing outside of the city of Naples. The author conceives of the painting of Naples as something other than Neapolitan painting, and has chosen his title on purpose. If not for the presence of the 'history' in the title, one might come to the conclusion that he means painting in Naples, and then expect a topographical organization. In fact there are many paintings mentioned which are no longer in Naples, have been destroyed, lost or only recorded in documents. On the other hand by no means all artists are mentioned whose works are present in Naples. Thus the topographical point of view was also not the guiding principle. One would finally have been content in recognizing that this 'includes a discussion of many pictures present in Naples', if we do not have a sense that the author actually intended something else. It is equally certain that he did not achieve his goal and the present hybrid state of the book with an unhappy union of historical and topographical aspects with neither fulfilling the scholarly norms. This is inadvertently explained by the author when he justifies another of the main flaws to be discussed below by saying that the book was originally intended to become part of the series '*Berühmte Kunststätten*', essentially topographical, but then came to be combined with other goals, none of which he was able properly complete.

It is characteristic of the development of Italian art that it dissolves into particular local developments and that this phenomenon becomes especially apparent when these strands are again divided or merge with the leading role changing from one to another. Our present conception of these local schools differs essentially from the schematic and consistently teleological division into schools as it was still put forth by Lanzi in his history of painting. Its relation to the overall development is not identical in all periods. To speak of a Florentine school is different in reference to the 17th century than to the 15th century. In the latter it stood

[2] [Originally published as Wilhelm Rolfs, *Geschichte der Malerei Neapels* mit einem Titelbild in Heliogravure mit 13 Textfiguren und 138 Abbildungen au 112 Tafeln. Leipzig. Verlag von E. A. Seemann. 1910, *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen* Beiblatt der 'Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung' Redigiert von Max Dvořák, Jahrgang 1911 Heft 1-2, Innsbruck: Wagner 1911, 6-23]

in the vanguard of the Italian development and influenced other schools, while the former embodied a nuance of central Italian painting reflecting models of the Seicento style emanating from Bologna. It is possible to refer to a school of Siena in the 14th and 15th centuries, but not in the 17th century, a Milanese school in the 15th and 16th century, but not in the 14th century – and so on. In other words, scholarship can only recognize a 'school' in reference to a local development when the art there treats problems peculiar to it, such as in Venice, when it resolves a given general problem as in Bologna, or else contributing a particular nuance to its resolution, as it occurred in Naples in the 18th century for example. It would have been incumbent on the author in legitimizing his subject and justifying his arrangement for scholarship to begin with a demonstration of the unique qualities of the Neapolitan development and that through the centuries or at least within certain periods there was a specific quality to Neapolitan art with its own artistic will ('*Kunstwollen*'). He might equally well have failed to demonstrate such a continuity, and then that would also in itself have provided an enrichment of our knowledge of the history. Already in the introduction and the beginning, the reader who consults this volume will be surprised to find repeated and almost dogmatic references to the old adage of a Neapolitan population lacking originality, only imitating or even creating forgeries after foreign examples. What might be the worst result of these 400 pages is presented to the reader from the very beginning as a well-known and indubitable fact.

The actual body of the text is preceded by a preface in which the author discusses the characteristics of the history of Neapolitan art, those of his book, and then finally also his own. The latter are already well enough known from his previous publications. He further refers to this book as no more than a precursor for an actual history of Neapolitan painting. This of course depends on what one would expect from a preparatory study for the history of painting Naples. If a true history is to be based on it, then it should at least include a thorough collection of sources, something which the book in fact does, although only for the area of Naples itself. The value of this book to be acknowledged as a merit lies precisely in the compilation of the monuments present in Naples. It collects and organizes a truly monstrous amount of material with that iron-clad pedantry which we recognize as one of the most admirable qualities of German scholarship. Unfortunately, this material amounts to no more than a dead chapter. There is almost no possibility of putting it to fruitful use, since there is no scholarly key aside from an unsatisfactory index and a list with some of the earlier bibliography. The lack of bibliography can be accepted more easily than the impossibility of verifying the archival references. It is also not possible to determine what is based on his own archival research, and what has been taken from Filangieri, Minieri-Riccio etc.

One of the typical aspects of the history of Neapolitan art lies in the quality of its most important biographical source, the lives by De Domenici. In his essay in *Napoli nobilissima*, Benedetto Croce has demonstrated how unreliable and useless

this source is for certain periods. This essay was given the title '*Il falsario*' and consciously exaggerates this quality to some degree since his goal is to present this source for the first time. It recalls the earlier aggressive attacks on Giorgio Vasari which were ultimately followed by a reaction finally leading to a true appraisal of his value as a source. There is an almost childish stubbornness in the way that Rolfs refers to De Domenici throughout as a 'forger'. In applying the historical standards of today to this harmless 18th century character with a powdered wig, Rolfs has completely misunderstood his intentions in these biographies, and is unable to find anything in his work beyond an expression of envy in relation to Florentine art. He promises the reader to write the history of Neapolitan art as if De Dominici had never lived. The hollowness of this promise is demonstrated in the numerous instances in which he 'exceptionally' lends credence to De Dominici and takes over the image of the school from him so that he remains the most frequently cited source. In fact this is completely in order. Only once we have a critical edition of De Dominici – a far more useful preamble for a history of Neapolitan art than the present book, hopefully not too many years from now, only then will we know what a gargantuan mass of data we owe to this source and how its quantity and quality does more than balance the mistakes or random interpolations. Whatever its qualities may be, it is as uncritical and unscholarly to simply ignore an historical source as it is to affirm it uncritically. There has also been no proof as yet that the notes by Giovanni Angelo Criscuolo, the manuscript of Massimo Stanzione and the other sources cited by De Dominici are forgeries. Although the clarification of all historical sources should always provide the primary point of departure, research into the art historical sources is in fact still being treated rather condescendingly. Rolfs also provides no reason for his treatment of those sources either. G. A. Criscuolo is by no means an imaginary source, and there is evidence that the reminiscences of Stanzione are not entirely fictitious, but that some sort of notes like that were available to De Dominici.[3]

The first twelve untitled chapters cover the earliest history until the beginning of the Aragonese reign including the concomitant artist shift. There are fifty-six such chapters in this book. Such a crude manner of organizing the material with no regard for fine distinctions or subordination of parts to one another in itself reveals a misunderstanding of current genetic historiography.

In the 14th century, Italian art developed parallel in the Florentine school with Giotto, the Sienese and as we have recently learned also the Roman schools with Cavallini, while everything else was provincial in comparison. This led to a nearly unified Trecento style which spread not merely across Italy, but also established itself in some centres in northern Europe. It was not until the end of the century and presumably in tandem with the invigoration of the more particularist political system that certain nuances of the Trecento style began to consolidate into local styles. These flourished most intensely in the 15th century. Naples was also

[3] Cf. *Napoli nobilissima*, vol. 7, 18. Faraglia was the first to claim that they are a forgery.

under the influence of these three main trends during the Trecento, with the Sienese and that of Cavallini predominating over that of Giotto. In a true provincial manner, Neapolitan artistic practice followed these models, and the last examples of this reached well into the 15th century. While a new naturalistic style emerged in Florence during this period (Masaccio), and northern Italy developed a new art with northern and French influences from the Trecento style (Pisanello, Gentile da Fabriano) which led into various mutually influenced local Mantegnesque styles (Padua, Bologna, Ferrara, Milan, Murano, Vicenza, Verona), Neapolitan art developed in its own way and, aside from an indigenous eclectic Italian style of a lower quality, made room for an invasion of Spanish and Flemish art. It seems that we cannot even speak of an indigenous and characteristic group of local art in this period. In spite of this, I have no doubt that if a sufficiently careful study were made of essential details, it would become possible for scholarship to identify certain positive exclusively Neapolitan artistic qualities.

An introductory chapter about the scant remains of early Christian mosaics in Naples is followed by a large second chapter devoted to the frescoes of Donna Regina. This is illustrated by sixteen plates, some of which are good. Rolfs dissents from the opinion of Bertaux that they are of Sienese origin, and instead aligns with Venturi in attributing them to the school of Cavallini. By contrast to Venturi he identifies six separate hands. Apparently correctly, he only identifies the two double pairs and the upper part of *The Last Judgment* with Cavallini himself. This is followed by the description, and it is little more than this, of other paintings in Naples which are close to the workshop of Cavallini. One chapter is devoted to the Sienese artists (Simone Martini, the altar panel of San Lorenzo, the Montauro panel in the archiepiscopal palace, the Madonna della Rosa in San Domenico) and this is followed by another (number 4) about 'Jotto' (Giotto to foreigners, in other words *Dschotto*). The upshot is that aside from the Castel nuovo, Giotto can only be considered in relation to St. Chiara and not for either the 'Egg Castle' (also called *castel d'ovo*) or for the frescoes in the Incoronata. These are discussed in chapter 5. Contrary to the hypothesis of Paul Schubring and the date of 1328 as suggested by Venturi, these are attributed to Odorisio of Naples, as suggested by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and dated to the third quarter of the century while the illustrations do not support the stylistic argument. It seems possible to state with certainty that they show a Sienese influence although they could have hardly have been made by a Sienese artist, making them the earliest preserved large work by a local painter, so that they would have deserved a closer study and more than a mere description. Its historical characterization is limited to five lines, concluding that it 'reveals a hybrid art as it has always (!) been typical in Naples'. In this Rolfs reverts into an obsolete game of identifying portraits. The fact that he discovers the traits of Robert of Anjou everywhere, - including twice in the marriage scene - might have led him to recognize that these in no way record individuality, but instead that this facial form with hooked nose and pointed chin occurring beside the usual figures in the priest of the Eucharist, the papal companion the ordination and spectators in the marriage

scene are nothing more than a type which this late stage of the Trecento and emerging naturalism began to refine with certain naturalistic observed details to create an effect such as the distinction of ages in this example.

In chapter 6, Andrea Vanni is described as the Rubens of his time because he was a courtier documented to have been employed by Queen Joan. The casual suggestion of a relationship to the putatively more significant frescoes of chapel g (the rear nave) seems to be more of a simple conjecture than to be based on any comparison of stylistic motifs, since these paintings have a tangible Sienese character and Vanni is the only Sienese artist documented in Naples around 1350.

The treatment (in chapter VII) of the fresco remains from the Annunziata discovered in 1894 is typical of the discursive writing of this book. First he gives the description from Bertaux and the attribution from there of 'Tuscan ca. 1370'. Rolfs declares that this is of no help to us since Bertaux also considers the frescoes from the Incoronata and the choir of San Lorenzo to be Tuscan.[4]

One would now expect that Rolfs would enlighten the situation with his own opinion. Instead of doing so, he introduces another disagreement with Bertaux with the same results as the previous. This does not clarify matters. I am not personally familiar with these remains, and Rolfs does not tell us what has happened to them. From his silence we are left to assume that he has also not seen them.

Chapter 9 deals with the Neapolitan artist Giovanni di Pietro, active in Pisa, and discusses two works of his preserved in Pisa. Why was the author not this consistent when dealing with the 17th century artists? The question is all the more justified since Giovanni di Pietro was a native of Naples but stylistically completely Sienese and might just as easily have been omitted from this book, just as the Roman artist Lorenzo Bernini was born in Naples but does not belong in the context of Neapolitan sculpture. Painters such as Salvator Rosa and Mattia Preti must be considered to have their artistic origins in Naples and their works made in remote places are still more characteristic expressions of Neapolitan art than the two paintings in Pisa by master 'Johann Peter'.

The very attractive hypothesis that the frescoes from Nazareth near Camaldoli with a cryptic signature might be related to Jacomart Baco has only been appended in a footnote in chapter XI. This already leads into the question of the relations of Naples and Flanders. The final chapter in this group treats the end of Neapolitan art under the house of Anjou (the Ladislaus monument, Carracciolo chapel) and Leonardo di Bisuscio, the leading artist of the time around 1430. The author briefly characterizes his northern Italian style. The following sentence can

[4] Rolfs attributes the latter to a Sienese artist also familiar with the work of Andrea Orcagna – an unsatisfying conclusion. Is it possible that he is unaware that Orcagna knew Sienese painting and that the Sienese element might be explained more easily?

give an idea of how the author misapprehends the significance of the northern Italian style which also bestowed Naples with a belated ray of influence from Pisanello: 'It is remarkable to note the joy of Leonardo in recording the minute and naturalistically rendered characteristics of everyday life…. It was already said of Leonardo's father, Michellino (Kleinmichel?) that he loved animals'. What was in fact a symptom of a profound artistic upheaval, whose origins provide one of the most interesting problems in the development of post-medieval art, he seems to identify as nothing more than a trait of a single artist or family of artists. As an argument against the presence of a Neapolitan-Flemish school, which the author refutes in the following chapters, it is applied here invertedly (p. 82). Of course the Netherlandish naturalism in Naples bears no direct relation to the northern Italian naturalism of Bisuscio! It is impossible to claim that it is based on it or could not have arisen without him. Yet without the precedent of the Milanese it was possible for a local art with a Flemish character to develop, something Rolfs argues against. This is not the place to pursue this highly complicated question or its obscure evidence in the sources. Rolfs in unable to clarify the central question of Colantonio di Fiore - in spite of his clean distinction of the incorrect attributions surrounding the Trecento painter who signed the panel in S. Antonio 'Nicholaus de Flore Pictor A 1371' from the 15th century Colantonio who was documented by Summonte and taken to have been the teacher of Antonello da Messina. He does nothing more than to quote the passage from Summonte and declare 'These are indeed very important and comprehensive records'. He is nonetheless as little able to interpret them as his predecessors. It is true that they are important. If I am not mistaken, they provide an indication for the history of Venetian painting which has not yet been pursued. According to the otherwise reliable source, the letter of Pietro Summonte to [Marcantonio Michiel] the *Anonimo Morelliano* (published *Memorie dell'Istituto Veneto* 1860, 411-417), it might have been Colantonio, a Neapolitan trained in Flemish painting around 1440, who taught the technical achievements of Netherlandish art to Antonello, whose career is to have begun around 1450. The question will remain moot as long as Colantonio remains no more than a name in the sources with no preserved work attributable to him. Yet it does not strike me as impossible to convincingly relate one of those works with Flemish character to him. Rolfs tends to dispute whether any of these works could have been painted in Naples. He classifies those which were not imported from the Netherlands in a group he designates as Hispano-Flemish and considers them to have been made in Naples by foreigners trained in the Netherlands. He even follows Bredius in attributing the 'main work' of this group, the painting of St. Vincent in S. Pietro to Simon Marmion, the artist from Valenciennes. It seems to me that the relationship to the work of that artist is more general, compared especially with the two predella panels in Berlin, and to be due more to the architectural framing which is inspired by Rogier van der Weyden. In the composition of individual scenes, it cannot be denied that there are analogies between the two, but this is entirely possible without assuming the identity of an author with the same training. This painting is further related to *St.*

Jerome with the Lion (Museo nazionale) and *St. Francis Distributing the Rules of the Order* (S. Lorenzo). Although Rolfs considers these to have been made by three separate artists, the similarities with the third strike us as so great as to suggest the same hand. While this has caused so much confusion that the latter has even traditionally been attributed to Zingaro, in the case of the St. Jerome it speaks obscurely in favour of Colantonio (Celano: Jerome 'at his Studies') in the painting in S. Francesco also for an obscure pupil of Colantonio, Vincenzo Corso. The author again omits to give any critical reasons for the attribution. Any later study of this critical problem would necessarily begin at this point and deal with the figures of Colantonio and Corso, who would then also be the master of the double triptych in S. Severino e Sosio.

After having skirted the entire question – and there is at present no possible resolution, Rolfs then assumes his earlier deliberations to be a proven truth since he states it up front as dogma, although it has neither been demonstrated or proven. One must confess that the phenomenon of the Neapolitan-Flemish group shrinks somewhat upon closer scrutiny, but it is equally impossible to claim that all of these paintings have been imported, just as they distinguish themselves from the actual Hispano-Flemish painters such as Dalmau or the Master of Marriage of the Virgin in the Prado. I can still not consider the St. Jerome and even the painting in S. Severino to be anything other than Neapolitan.

Two chapters dealing with paintings with Umbrian, Umbrian-Spanish and Venetian elements, are then followed by an extensive section about the much-discussed frescoes in the cloister of SS. Severino e Sosio, which had already been attributed to Andrea Solario, the so-called Zingaro by d'Engenio. Rolfs attributed the fields 1-3 and 18 to this master and attempts to discover the identity of the pupils responsible for the rest. There can be no doubt about a relation to the Venetians, particularly Carpaccio, Gentile Bellini and Cima da Conegliano. It would have been more interesting to learn about the differences which exist in relation to those, particularly the fields painted by the workshop. This would have meant more to the reader than do the names De Moysis and Quartararo and a dozen unverifiable archival references in which Rolfs wraps them. After a chapter about the altarpiece of Santa Restituta and the related question of Silvestro Bono, the author proceeds to the question of representatives of Tuscan art in Naples. These are the two Donzelli, and especially since Rolfs considers the painting attributed to Filippo Lippi to be the work of an eclectic Neapolitan artist. This is followed by a chapter about painters known only from documentary references with no works known (chap. XXII), and another equally unedifying about the 'clarifier (*Verlichter*)' whom the author nevertheless considers also to remain obscure (p. 169). It is like the situation described by the English poet '*Wilhelm Schuettelspeer*': 'In his head he has filled strange cabinets with notes, and is now unpacking them'. [Rolfs has translated the given names of artists.]

To understand the improbable advances made by Italian art in the first two decades of the 16th century, one might better look away from the centres of development. There in the provincial spots where obsolete traditions still bore weight, the new trend can be observed to burst in all the more abruptly. Works with a century lying between one another become quite close in time. A *retardataire* Quattrocentist might stand directly beside an artist themselves accomplished in the devices perfected by Raphael. The development revealing a steadily rising curve in the former will in the latter show a line interrupted by steep steps. This other pattern of evolution should reveal itself most clearly in Naples. What might after all have occurred in the times from which nothing is preserved for us in the labyrinth of painters with no known oeuvre: works by unidentified authors, data with no relevance, records without meaning - before we finally regain a part of Ariadne's thread through the development? Things of no small importance would be the answer. Leonardo and the Venetians captured the illusion of form in painting, Michelangelo found a new monumental ideal style in depicting the human form while Fra Bartolomeo and Raphael introduced a new system of composition along unified architectonic lines. To come to terms with Neapolitan 16th century painting, it would be necessary to develop or at least touch on these prerequisites. Instead of doing so, this important chapter again begins with a series of names which cannot be identified with any surviving works!

As the list of preserved material and names of artists grows, it also risks becoming more confusing. This leads the author to an obvious division which does not work out well in practice. He first treats those artists whom he considers to have been influenced by Raphael (XXV-XXXIV), then the Michelangelesques (XXXV, XXXVI), and then finally the followers of Titian (XXXVII) and the '*fiamminghi*' (XXXVIII). It is obvious how this does violence to the historical reality. Aside from a few rare instances in which there is a direct dependence on a single one of the leading masters, particularly in Naples the influences usually reveal themselves in a very different and more general way, most often mixed with one another and usually indistinguishable in isolation. This arrangement leads to a discussion of artists whose activity reaches far into the 17th century before those working in the mid-16th century. For instance, Corenzio or Santafede, working respectively from 1590-1640 and until nearly 1630, are treated long before Marco Pino, who already arrived in Naples around 1550 and is last documented in 1579. Cavalier d'Arpino was a contemporary of Santafede, but is not mentioned until the 17th century, eight chapters later. The fact that Santafede took up the commission of painting the Capella del Tesoro, and his entire complicated involvement with it is not mentioned in the chapter devoted to him (chap. XXXI), but only in passing in chapter XLIII where the paintings by Lanfranco in the Tesoro Chapel are mentioned. One could mention dozens more of such chronological inconsistencies. The result of this is that the reader is offered no historical image of the personal interactions and nothing of the historical development. This omission is also apparent in the choice of illustrations. Seven of these reproduce works of Sabbatini, while there are only two

of Santafede, who is far more important for the history of art in Naples. The second of these, the Madonna del Rosario in Gesù Nuovo, might not even be by Santafede, but is more likely to be the work of Gerolamo Imparato. There is not a single illustration of Marco Pino, Criscuoli, Lama etc.! One should bear in mind that it would be by no means difficult to procure such illustrations since characteristic important works are housed in the Museo nazionale (such as the Circumcision of Christ by Marco Pino). In considering the 17th century, we find a yet more crass instance of this.

The author correctly stresses the limited influence of sculpture on the Neapolitan painting of this century. While this becomes clear in the local sculptural style of Giovanni da Nola and his school, effected by the work of Rossellino, Majano and others, there is only a very slight trace in Neapolitan painting. There was no strong personality to return painting to its leading place in the early 17th century. There is criticism of the traditional references to Sabbatini as dependent on Raphael, yet no attempt to define the origins of his style. One should have considered whether he bears a relation to Solario, who is recorded as his first teacher, and whose frescoes could not have been ignored by a Neapolitan artist trained around 1500 – and this would be true if the reports of Sabbatini visiting Rome should indeed be apocryphal. There are aspects of his architectural compositional mode which recall Fra Bartolommeo (such as the painting with the *Four Church Fathers* in the Museo nazionale fig. 86). The rather difficult question of Polidoro da Caravaggios's activity is treated in connection with Marco Cardisco. When I wrote the 'Caldara' article for Thieme-Becker (*Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, vol. 5, 1911, 377-380), I alluded to the possible significance which the new chiaroscuro style might have had for the 17th century. One should not overlook the fame of this purported Raphael pupil in 17th century art theory, and it might be compared with the persistent 17th century influence of another master from the early 16th century, namely Correggio – whose role in the emerging Baroque has long ago been recognized and discussed most incisively by Alois Riegl. In this entire book, the name of Correggio is mentioned only once. In spite of this, I believe that he had an influence on that particular artist who strikes me as the earliest actual embodiment of a peculiarly Neapolitan style, on Santafede. While the artists in the previous chapters, such as Leonardo da Pistoja (a Penni student), Guelfo, Nigrone, Turco and the two Criscuoli remained followers of the monumental Roman style in spite of local characteristics, Santafede became the first to show that northern Italian influence which became critical for the Neapolitan school.[5] Even if his compositional

[5] The chapter treating these artists is particularly unclear. Rolfs distinguishes Giovanni Filippo from Giovanni Angelo Criscuoli. This notary named Giovanni Angelo Criscuolo was discussed thoroughly by De Dominici, but is named in documents as Giovanni Filippo Crisconio (?). This might be no more than a confusion with the former rather than the latter (a slip of the pen meaning Giovani Angelo Crisonio?)! There are however other reliable references to Giovanni Angelo Crisconio (D'Eugenio). If the name of Criscuolo as used by De

structures are still bound to the model of the Raphael followers, his painterly conception of form and his modelling obliterating contours definitely betrays a Venetian influence. In plate 92, it is above all the type of the Madonna which recalls Correggio. Rolfs very properly stresses that Santafede was the teacher of Caracciolo, who along with Vaccaro can be counted among the most typical Neapolitan 17th century Caravaggisti. Yet it would never have been possible for the chiaroscuro style of Michelangelo da Caravaggio to take such root in Naples if an artistic understanding for northern Italian painterly questions had not been prepared here in particular by the entire generation of Santafede, Francesco Curia and Imparato.

There is direct documentation that the controversial Greek Belisario Corenzio was trained in Venice (chapter XXXIV). According to De Dominici he had arrived in Venice directly from Greece and there entered to studio of Tintoretto. Rolfs nevertheless attempts to argue that he had been born in Naples. It is not even necessary to assume that he ever studied in Naples. *The Adoration of the Magi* on the ceiling of the transitional space of the Colloquio in S. Martino is directly dependent on the famous composition by Bassano. Corenzio also went through a development lasting over half a century, which Rolfs typically does not consider. The appearance of foreign artists in Naples is usually described most graphically, and did not wash over him without leaving a single trace. The question of whether he might have been trained by Cavalier d'Arpino is posed by Rolfs with a large question mark (p. 216) and is very justified – and obvious since he began work around 1590 at S. Martino, and the scheme of his ceiling decoration there reflects the models of

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Dominici were nothing more than an assimilation to the name of Giovanni Filippo, then it is not clear why Rolfs, chapter 35, p. 231 declares him to be an invention of De Dominici while referring to Giovanni Filippo Criscuolo as brother of the forged notary. It can only be one or the other! The painter responsible for the sundial of 1549 in the new palace (p. 261) and named as Filippo Crscuolo can only be identical with Giovanni Filippo Criscuolo. Giovanni Filippo and the notary Giovanni Angelo might therefore actually have been brothers since the Crisconio-spelling occurs alongside Criscuolo in relation to both, and seems to be nothing other than a corruption of the name – as it was so frequent and even unintelligibly crass in this period of purely phonetic spellings. The question becomes more complicated by the fact that Vasari refers to a Giovanni Filippo Crescione who, like the Criscuoli, is said to have been a pupil of Marco Cardisco. (Could Crescione be identical to Crisconio? De Dominici also spoke of a Giovanni Angelo Criscuolo, but only of one Giovanni Filippo Creascione). Since Rolfs says nothing about the style of the Criscuolo other than having studied with Gardisco, and does not illustrate a single one of the works attributed to them to provide a basis for judgment, we essentially learn nothing more than that the one did not exist, but if so was a different figure from the one with whom he is confused. I recall the paintings with that attribution as having a more Michelangelesque character in the manner of Marco da Siena than one of a Raphael follower. In relation to Giovanni Filippo, Rolfs warns against confusing the teacher Marco Calabrese with the Sienese of the same name. According to De Dominici, Giovanni Angelo actually was a pupil of Marco Pino da Siena. Rolfs also recognizes the stylistic difference between the two, but then thirty pages later denies the existence of the one!

Bologna, Domenichino and Lanfranco, who arrived in Naples during the last period of Corenzio's activity. Domenichino is supposed to have become a victim of the hate of Corenzio. In any case, it is certain that Corenzio spent time in prison. The story of the murder of his pupil Luigi Roderico, il Siciliano, to whom the previous (!) chapter (38) is devoted, is more likely to be apocryphal. It is curious that Rolfs sees their common employment at the Seggio di Nilo as a contradiction of this.

A case in which the sources are clearer about the influence we have stressed from Venice and Correggio is that of Giovanni Antonio (or Augusto) Amato. Celano says of him: 'he had so trained in the manner of Titian and Correggio that many of his paintings were confused with the works of those masters (Rolfs, p. 238). In this instance where Celano speaks up, Rolfs mentions this important fact although it cannot be proven on the basis of surviving examples. Although the works themselves are as clear in this case as the written sources are in the other, nothing of the kind is said about Santafede or Imparato (with whom Amato is documented as having collaborated at least once). In what constitutes an objective as well as a chronological inconsistency, a chapter about Michelangelo followers has been inserted between those devoted to the Venetian Corenzio and the Titian follower Amato. The protagonists of this are Giorgio Vasari and Marco da Siena.

It is not unintentional if I have only underscored the Venetian influence on Santafede and his group in their use of light effects from Correggio, but not the originality of colour which is traditionally seen as the hallmark of Venetian art. We might at this point stress that purely colouristic problems, the composition in terms of colours, harmonization of colouristic oppositions or the attuning to a single basic tone are not the exclusive property of any single school of painting. Up to now, the so-called Mannerist schools have been discussed primarily in terms of their models for forms in Michelangelo and Raphael, while the original problems posed in this art are frequently overlooked. Not only in painting, but also in sculpture, a completely new tendency becomes apparent in the use of colour around the middle of the 16th century, a completely new understanding of the stylistic effect of colour, and this also in Rome which became the centre for the production of Mannerist art. A distinctive colouring of compositional elements such as the drapery and individual objects is replaced by a conception of the overall effect of colour. This reveals itself extrinsically in a change of taste in the use of colour. Masters such as the Zuccari, Cavalier d'Arpino or Pomarancio still derived their forms thoroughly from Michelangelo, but went far beyond them in the use of colour – and thus prepared the great shift which occurred just before the year 1600. A colourist such as Federico Barocci was particularly excellent, but not a unique phenomenon in his generation. Even the stylistic character of a provincial master such as Marco da Siena is not exhaustively characterized in being described as a Michelangelo follower. His artistic will reveals the conflict of '*disegno*' and '*colorito*' as well as a characteristic approach to resolving it. If the result is still somewhat crude, and the

harmony of earlier diverse colours to an overall yellow or greenish tone does not completely satisfy us, we must still not overlook this aspect of Mannerist art.

The extensive chapter XXXVIII again provides little more than a list of information relating to Netherlandish artists of this period. The large number of these are but one more indication of how Italian art was laced with northern European elements as Riegl shrewdly intuited it in his analysis of their significance for the origins of the Baroque.

Neapolitan painting developed very broadly in the 17th century and continued without substantial complications until the fourth quarter of the 18th century, when it petered out in a northern European classicism. This 150-year epoch became the actual period of a particularly Neapolitan style. Within the overall development of Italian art and in its entirety, it presents a peculiar peripheral development in its painterly and illusionistic preoccupations, similar to the way in which Venice and Parma in the 16th century, Bologna in the 17th century all in their own way competed with the great centre. It is difficult to summarize in a few sentences what Rolfs has failed to say in 200 pages. I do also not wish to presume to be able to analyse the development of Neapolitan painting in these two centuries. Yet the basic qualities might be summarized and compared to the resolutions for fundamental problems as reached in other places, and this would have been the task for the author of this book. Of all cities in which Caravaggio was active, his naturalism had its particular effect in Naples. This provided the beginning of that striking chiaroscuro style most brilliantly embodied by Jusepe Ribera during his Neapolitan period, and which has justly been considered to provide an Italian analogy to the contemporary style of Rembrandt in northern Europe. The development led from Ribera and Caracciolo, Vaccaro (who is inexplicably discussed four chapters earlier than Ribera), Salvator Rosa and Luca Giordano, on to Mattia Preti, the final exponent of the style who realized the naturalistic effect of his salient dramatic scenes by the subjective technique of an uncanny imaginative and ultimately unnaturalistic illumination. A second line of development ran beside this with numerous points of contact to the first. This was inspired by the Bolognese artists living in Naples during the second quarter of the century – Guido Reni, Domenichino as well as Lanfranco, whose influence in Naples is certainly underestimated by Rolfs. Aside from their direct students such as Benasca, one must include Stanzione and his extended school in this group, even if this eclectic artist and Reni follower could only be imagined in Naples, the centre of Caravaggesque art, of Ribera and Caracciolo. For this reason it is tempting to consider him to be the most typical example of the Neapolitan Seicento. Around 1660, his school yielded to that of Luca Giordano, another Ribera student, who introduced another element into the development, the art of Pietro da Cortona, which he had discovered in Rome during the 1650's. His protean nature encumbers any proper judgment of his style. He began with the influence of Ribera, to whom some of his own imitative work has been attributed (numerous examples in Dresden), as well as that from

Venice (with a characteristic recourse to the Venetian 16th century!) to finally arrive at a loose painterly style, the most brilliant example of which might be the large painting of *Christ Among the Doctors* in the Corsini Gallery in Rome. His great Cortonesque decorative style which in spite of its different coloristic impulse, never lacked its unified yellow gold overall tone, became the basis for the last great Neapolitan decorative painter- Solimena. Only a small part of his immense oeuvre is actually known, and his style has only been analysed in a very superficial way. I would only like to draw attention to two aspects omitted by Rolfs. The first of these is the originality of his method of compositions. These were no longer conceived from a point in the centre of the pictorial space as it had been typical of the 17th century, with all other parts of the composition geared directly or indirectly back at this. Instead, he tended to begin from one or more points along the edge, and then usually with the help of architecture, massive staircases or open halls, direct the groups of his figures along zigzag routes though the extended pictorial space. The individual groups are composed according to nearly academic principles, similar to Tiepolo (cf. p. 89 of the present *Anzeigen*[?]), who if one thinks of the Gesuati ceiling used a zigzag composition along the extended axis of the painting with its motivation provided by the staircase. It strikes me that the analogy to Tiepolo has never been noticed, and particularly the fact that Solimena (1657-1745) arrived at this compositional form far earlier than his Venetian counterpart (1696-1770). There are enough differences – purely in terms of composition, Tiepolo has a looser grouping of the figures and emptier pictorial space by comparison to the unmodern tendency of Solimena to fill the space with figures and work toward a balance in the placement of the masses. There is also a more important point. With the cool brightness of his colours and the elimination of heavy contrasts in light and shade, Tiepolo stands at the end of a development which can be traced back to the beginning of the 17th century and can even be observed within the development of individual artists. This might be described as the process of 'lightening', which already led to a schematic distinction with Guido Reni for instance of a period of gold, of silver and of grey. A bright cool pink and light blue replace the deep warm colours of blue and red. This is the colour scale typical of the later Reni, of Carlo Maratta, of Giovanni Battista Salvi il Sassoferrato etc. This development occurred analogously in Venice, where the deep 17th century tones of brown and red (Carlotto, Vecchia etc.) were replaced by the joy in light as one can see it in the work of Sebastiano Ricci and G. B. Tiepolo. The remarkable thing, and this brings us to the second point, is that Naples did not participate in this development toward lighter colours. Here too, the taste for colour went through a change. Here too, the brown and red shades as in Stanzione for instance are transformed into more of a greenish black, particularly in the late work of Solimena, and nearly into a grey-green in Mura. The traditional principle of chiaroscuro remains intact with the composition immersed in strong contrasts of light and shade. The sculptural effect of the objects is not determined by the varying intensity of light also filling the light grey shadows, but instead by the varying depth of the shadow with surrounds and

dominates the light. It emerges that Naples actually never overcame the chiaroscuro style. A single line of development extends from Caravaggio and Ribera to Solimena. The seeds planted by the former at the beginning of the 17th century were still sprouting their flowers in the mid-18th century. For a century and a half, variations were made on this one question above all others, and resolved in a particular way. For the time being, this strikes me as answering the question as to whether it is possible to define a school of Naples in the sense in which we have discussed it above. It seems to me that a history of Neapolitan painting –as opposed to painting in Naples – would necessarily begin with the 16th century, when the imitation of the great masters began to yield to the development of a local style, and must demonstrate what was consolidated around 1600 and extended into the 18th century. By contrast to this, the 14th and 15th centuries show specific provincial developments which will presumably reveal a particular character, but without the connotation of a 'school' in the sense discussed above.

Only a few remarks are necessary in regard to this most important section as Rolfs has treated it. We have already occasionally alluded to his chronological inconsistencies. The same is true of the illustrations as of the 16th century. One of the main artists is unbelievably lacking any illustration. A number of objections could be raised against his conception of the school. The medley is a bit wide in its variety and two artists with such opposing styles as Bernardo Cavallini and Finoglia show that Rolfs has possibly overextended the concept of school and followed De Dominici somewhat too closely. Chapter XLIII deals with the history of the Capella del Tesoro. It is untrue that Cesari did not then return to Naples. He personally sealed the contract there in 1618, and spent the February and March supervising the preparatory work. The documents of the commission have been published by Michelangelo Gualandi, *Memorie originali italiane riguardanti le belle arti*, vol. 5, Bologna: Marsigli, 1844, 128-177, doc. 178. Rolfs seems to have overlooked this.

The sources would hardly seem to sustain the statement that Ribera was 'a character like Emile Zola'. It seems to be a lapse when read om p. 305, note 1 that the *Preparations for the Easter Celebration* by Stanzione (†1656) in San Martino is completely under the influence of Tiepolo (?), born 1696. In discussing Salvator Rosa Rolfs also deals with the circumstances in '1600' Rome. In its one-sidedness, this view is not unassailable. The only thing said of Pietro da Cortona is that he prevailed over Sacchi in the question of artistic politics of whether large paintings would be made to include many or few figures! Even if he led the Accademia di San Luca, it would be mistaken, as Rolfs does, to describe this revolutionary artist as an academic. There would be much greater justification in describing Sacchi as an academic.

Finally, he also says of Solimena (p. 377): 'He was as avaricious as Titian and also vied with the Venetian in longevity'! Both of these very objectionable.

One must confess that Rolfs has made an effort to do justice to the much-maligned Baroque. He does not completely succeed in overcoming the limitations of

the Classicist when he fulminates against the supposed frivolity and cursoriness of the '*fapresti*'. He also considers Lanfranco to be 'defiant'. It is a further typical sign of this attitude when he objects that such painting seems to be produced by the square meter, just as it was once said of Tintoretto. Ultimately he is lacking in understanding, just as it would seem natural for somebody from a period based in such careful study as German Classicism when faced with a phenomenon such as Impressionist painting from nature.

It might not have been superfluous to briefly summarize the history of this century and a half. It could appear inappropriate for me to admit that reading the book by Rolfs has enlightened me about many connections, yet the shortcomings of his representation are at their most glaring exactly where a definition of the most significant lines of development would have been most important. The reader is constantly being forced forward and backward, and considering the necessarily limited illustrations, is compelled to arrive at conclusions on the basis of their own memory using excerpts and tables, which should actually have been provided during the reading of the book. In the end, one realizes that the gain is disproportionate to the necessary effort.

The author is lacking in what we today in the age of Karl Lamprecht might expect from a historical study. There is an art in communicating the results of historical study, and it must be dealt with artfully. For this reason it strives naturally toward simplicity and unity. The grand developments and problems are essential. The facts themselves present nothing more than raw material. In a variation on the English poet whom we will call Shakespeare, we are attempted to call for 'Less matter and more art!'

Berlin, October 1911

Georg Sobotka, Giuseppe Ceci, *Saggio di una bibliografia per la storia delle arti figurative nell'Italia meridionale*. Bari, Laterza & figli 1911, Translated and edited by Karl Johns.[6]

In the final words with which Benedetto Croce ended the concluding volume of *Napoli nobilissima* in 1907 and reiterated the motivating factors of that *rivista* in wise and straightforward terms, he also announced a new bibliography of the visual arts in southern Italy, a project well prepared by the fifteen-year run of the previous journal, which was to be conferred on his faithful friend Ceci as an ultimate bequest.

This important publication appeared in 1911. The compiler had limited himself to a bibliography of his own field of research - southern Italy - after recognizing quite properly that the idea of an overall historical bibliography of Italian art (as it had already been proposed at the international historical congress in Rome in 1903) could only be unfruitful since the material would be difficult to organize meaningfully – in view of the historical diversity of the Italian regions. When an historical bibliography is compiled in the true sense of the word, not organizing its apparently dry material according to a dead objective scheme, but instead in categories as they have emerged historically, then even a simple list will implicitly become a history of research about the art of the given subject. Ceci assumed the task in this sense, and indeed, the history of art in Naples and southern Italy lends itself particularly to such a paradigmatic treatment.

In the first part one finds the art historical data and relevant extrinsic references from the literature before the year 1742, when the work of De Dominicis first appeared, that linchpin in the research of southern Italian art which might almost be said to have brought the issues to a boil. A chapter then provides the biographical and more general sources in the most precise bibliographical manner from the famous letter of 1524 from Summonte to Marcantonio Michiel to the 18th century *Abecedaria*. The second chapter covers the periegetical literature from the earliest guide books by Benedetto da Falco (1535) to the Celano edition of 1724. Taken together, these two chapters provide the actual immutable basis and a particularly valuable aid for future research which shall be faced with the task of dismantling the illusionary structure of De Dominicis and building on a more solid foundation.

[6] [Originally published as Giuseppe Ceci, *Saggio di una bibliografia per al storia delle arti figurative nell'Italia meridionale*. Bari, Laterza & figli 1911, *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen* Beiblatt der 'Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung' Redigiert von Max Dvořák, Jahrgang 1912 Nummer 2, Innsbruck: Wagner 1913, 38-40.]

The second part is devoted to De Dominicis and the precisely century-long period of his greatest influence before the first traces of skepticism arose about his work. Again, this part is divided into numerous chapters by subjects.

Catalani, *Discorso su i monumenti patrii* appeared in 1842, somewhat late by comparison to other fields of research, manifesting the new critical spirit of the 19th century which no longer contented itself with the 18th century literary form of biographical narrative schemes and this superficial theory of art but strove instead for actual historical facts. This period, which might be described as that of art history in the true sense, has again been divided by the author into two parts, the one of which – the third of the entire book – spans the half-century from 1842 to 1892, the year in which *Napoli nobilissima* was founded. This first period might be characterized as antiquarian or of art-archaeology and concentrated on collecting historical materials, possibly also as a partial reaction to the previous period which had emphasized well written expositions. For Naples, its most mature expression might be seen in the monumental publication of documents by Filangieri di Satriano from 1885-1891, which prepared the way for that journal which broke ground for a harvest of the history of Neapolitan art.

Nearly half of the fourth part of the work deals with the period of 1892-1910. This was when Benedetto Croce and his large group of collaborators contributed their essays to *Napoli nobilissima*, and if they did not actually complete this epoch in the historiography of Neapolitan art they certainly provided a fruitful beginning, emerging from the antiquarianism of the previous century which had neglected the critical analysis of style in the individual work of art but also overcame the narrow vision of local history and joined the larger circle of the general Italian history of art with its international participation.

The bibliographical references are accompanied by short objective characterizations with a clarity recalling the famous old bibliography by Leopoldo Cicognara. The value of this book is very much enhanced by the precision of the indices, making it not merely a reliable reference work for art historical research, but itself an example of European intellectual history, the history of our discipline on the basis of a concrete example.

Rome, November 1912

Georg Sobotka, *Henry Rousseau, La Sculpture aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Collection de grands artistes des Pays-Bas. G. van Oest & Cie. Bruxelles-Paris 1911.

Translated and edited by Karl Johns.[7]

Painting in the Netherlands more than Italy, has been spared the odium in which the Baroque has generally been held. The doctrinaire objections of presumed infringements which for two centuries were raised against the architects and sculptors of that period were completely silent in facing the works of Rubens.

Unus Plato pro centum milibus. Yet the single figure of Rubens outweighs the less well known and the scads of unknown artists who created the tombs of his contemporaries, filled their churches with mighty altars and peopled the piers with marble statues. A period which has escaped the dogmatic views of art should recognize a unified artistic will in both cases; unless the fundamental historical rule of unity and analogy in the development of the visual arts were to be broken. Whether this strangely inconsistent judgment is attributed to the personality of Rubens, to the leading place of painting generally in the 17th century, or if it is sought more deeply in the intransigent classicistic art theory on the role of sculpture, it remains certain that this is the main reason for the long neglect of this group of monuments as it stood in the negative light of Classicism.

The manner is typical in which Rousseau would like to correct this, and recalls the analogous phenomenon a decade ago in Italian art when Fraschetti wrote his jubilee book about Bernini. Both of them express the national feeling which is never capable of admitting that the work of an entire period of its artistic history might be without value, praising the abundance and splendour of the monuments, the number of the artists, their skill with their chisels, all of them bearing the glory of the nation. In both cases, a deep-seated doctrinaire Classicism pronounced its anathema on the style of just these works either pitying or criticizing the artists who in a different century might have lent their talents to something better and achieved something more perfect.

This conception provides the tenor for the book by Rousseau. He chastises the artists for a questionable taste (p. 2), refers to their 'illogical imaginations' (p. 7) and calls the motif of the broken gable 'a pitiful invention' (p. 20). The artists of his study committed the mistake of succumbing to the fashion of their time (p. 29) and wasting the wealth of their imagination and facility of their execution which might

[7] [Originally published as *Henry Rousseau, La Sculpture aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Collection de grands artistes des Pays-Bas. G. van Oest & Cie. Bruxelles-Paris 1911., *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen* Beiblatt der 'Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung' Redigiert von Max Dvořák, Jahrgang 1912 Nummer 1, Innsbruck: Wagner 1913, 20-28.]

have been better implemented in a more useful way (p. 39). Amid the surge of art theoretical aperçus we very naturally again confront the classicist axiom of 'noble simplicity and quiet grandeur' when we read: 'we see an art here ignorant of the grandeur generated by simplicity'.

It is not merely aggravating to see the pompous attitude which might have been typical of a small-town school master a century ago, but also the absurdly dualist conception of the question of the psychology of art, opposing the artistic intention to the artistic ability and treating the work of artists as if rebuking gifted pupils for being lured from the proper path. In this light, a certain style no longer appears as the natural and necessary expression of an instinctive artistic will ('*Kunstwollen*') emanating from the intellectual groundwork of the time and setting the measure for art – and not the reverse – with which it is identical. Instead it is presented as a complex non-intellectual phenomenon, more of a self-contained artistic formula, as one of many technical schemes available to be chosen from: the one well-behaved, good and generally recommended, while the frivolous one unfortunately (*hélas!*) sacrificing to the fashion.

The author begins with architecture, and, on the basis of a rather tangential derivation of the volute, enumerates a series of secular structures and churches, listing a number of the main 17th century architects, one from the 18th century, discusses a number of their works without ever arriving at the presumed original subject of his chapter, the relation of sculpture to architecture in this period.

Another shortcoming which already appears in this chapter is the omission of the relation to Italy. It is insufficient to occasionally allude to the 'manner of Vignola' and remark that the domed churches never gained a foothold in the Netherlands. Aside from the fact that Italian architects, such as Pezzoni (Saint Aubin in Namur) were working in Belgium, nearly all architectural exteriors show a direct relation to Italian models, which are then subject to certain changes and allow us to recognize the national artistic will ('*Kunstwollen*') in a distilled form. It is striking what a different character one sees in churches built close to one another in time and can only be explained by the chronological and local variety of their models. In spite of significant changes (insertion of a central floor), the façade of the Jesuit church Saint Charles Borrommeo in Antwerp by P. Aiguillon is still only a paraphrase of the façade of Il Gesù in Rome while the façade of the Church of the Béguinage in Brussels with its oddly broken volutes and gables treated like carved wood recalls motifs from Palermo, just as the roughly contemporary façade of St. Michael's in Louvain (either by the Jesuit Father Hesius or by Fayd'herbe) has parallels to Sicilian churches in the greater height of the central axis, as in the church of St. Francis in Catania – if I am not mistaken – or in the somewhat later cathedral of Syracuse.[8] These correspondences might be no more than coincidental, but they

[8] Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Belgien, Holland, Frankreich, England*, Geschichte der neueren Baukunst vol. 5, part 2, Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert 1888, who

could equally well be a result of the political and cultural relation of those two countries, Belgium and southern Italy to Spain, seeing also that Flemish artists had already been active in southern Italy since the 15th century. It was precisely Wenceslas Coeberger to whom, as Rousseau fails to note, the church of the Béguinage has been mistakenly attributed, was also active in Naples for an extended period and was also documented in Spain (cf. José Marti y Monsó, *Estudios historico-artisticos relativos principalmente a Valladolid*, Valladolid: Miñón 1901, p. 317).

In the following chapters the author sequentially discusses the choir screens, altars, choir stalls, confessionals, pulpits, sacramental towers and tombs, which he seems to insinuate as comprising the entire realm of sculpture; finally he discusses free standing sculpture: in the following three crowded chapters are the statues on the facades, the free-standing statues within the churches, secular sculpture, sacred and profane relief sculpture, things which one might have expected to find before the '*jubés, confessionnaux, bancs de communion*' etc. and also before the pulpits and tombs since the simple forms might have preceded the more complex – *Les statuaires flamands, les statuaires liegeois* as well as *les sculpteurs de la Flandre française et de l'Artois* including a list of Flemish and Walloon sculptors with Holland treated as a foreign country, as the final chapter.

One might remark about this normatively coloured roster that the chronological scheme within the individual chapters which might have made these lists useful is treated very unevenly often tilted in favour of a division according to artists inhibiting the overview of the oeuvre and significance of the individual figures. We meet with the name of each artist at ten separate spots so that it is impossible to gain a coherent image of their work. On p. 49 a pulpit by Jean del Cour is mentioned, one of his tombs on p. 73, and his free-standing sculpture on p. 115. On p. 12, Luc Fayd'herbe is discussed as an architect, a reference is made to his altar in St. Rombouts on p. 24, one of his tombs is mentioned on p. 99 and his free-standing sculptures are mentioned on p. 89. Quellinus the Younger is mentioned among the altars, the pulpits, the communion towers, the tombs and among the '*statuaires*' etc. These examples of how some of the most influential artists are treated sufficiently demonstrate the untenability of such an arrangement as the author has chosen. The pulpits and tombs could at the very least have been discussed together with the free-standing statues, while the purely decorative use of sculpture on pews and choir stalls – in spite of its excellent quality – might have been discussed secondarily.

Yet it is only after these chapters, which have served to introduce some magnificent examples, that we come to the chapter on pulpits which is chronologically relatively clear. The author introduces the simple architectural type

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attributes both churches to Lucas Fayd'herbe, particularly stresses their Netherlandish-northern European character and mentions that the ground plan of both was dictated by earlier 13th century precedent (pp. 26 f.).

of the 17th century with a chronological list of a dozen examples. The pulpit of St. Walburga in Oudenarde is mentioned as a transitional type and followed by a survey of the development in the 18 th century, concluding with the great pulpit by Delvaux in St. Bavo in Ghent.

It is a remarkable fact that pulpits had provided some of the earliest and most significant sculptural commissions in Italian art continuing to spawn decorative achievements into the 15th century, but then played almost no part in 16th and 17th century sculpture. The pulpit reliefs by Montorsoli from 1530 in the church of S. Matteo in Genoa might be the last examples. Bernini designed new types of church decoration for all of Europe but never designed a pulpit. This decorative type might therefore serve as the best example to recognize and illustrate the peculiar artistic intentions (‘*Kunstwollen*’) of the Netherlandish Baroque. A particular problem is posed by the emergence of an unprecedented and surprising type at the beginning of the 18th century – the pulpit based on motifs from nature – which stands in a stark contrast to the architectonic scheme of the 17th century, although sculpture in the round had already been a part of the earlier examples. Images such as the pulpit of Antwerp cathedral with a tree trunk, stairs like a garden path and all sorts of birds, or that in St. Goedele in Brussels (not finished until late in the century) with a complete scene of the Expulsion reveal the ultimate stage of the naturalistic principle in Baroque decoration – something which Italian art with its generally architectonic character never reached or possibly never desired. While Italian Baroque art was always conceived and executed with a grand effect in mind, the detailed and always striking devotion to the individual and its sentimental effect, this playful immersion in the minute natural forms reveal a sensibility which aptly recalls the Gothic. This observation of nature and the fact that this type of pulpit in particular with its natural motifs was also imitated in the German speaking area (at Winterhalder in Moravia for instance) illustrates the dichotomy which existed in the 18th century development of Italian and northern European art. During the 17th century, northern Europe assimilated the Baroque style, it developed it in a naturalistic direction during the 18th – something not contradicted by the emergence of French Rococo – while Italy at the same time developed in a different direction. After having never been completely suppressed during the 17th century, the old Classicism began to replace the actual decorative Baroque and naturalistic style in the 18th century already, Belgium developed the architectonic pulpit type into that replete with natural details while in Italy the straying imagination of Guarini gave way to the Classicist architecture of his pupil Juvara.

While the history of Netherlandish pulpits shows a strikingly original development, that of tomb sculpture harbours the opposite problem, revealing a development clearly dependent on Italian models. This unmistakable historical fact is only touched on very superficially by the author and not without misunderstandings. The question is not so simple as to be dealt with in a handbook

as envisioned by the present author. Yet one would like to see at least some indication that he is aware of this point. In this chapter again, the chronological sequence has been abandoned to a degree in favour of a more topographical arrangement. He begins with the 1670 tomb of Archbishop Creusen in Mechelen cathedral – an important work by Fayd'herbe, followed by a discussion of the tomb from 1711 of a bishop by Michael Vervoort in the same church, and only after other episcopal tombs in Mechelen from the beginning and end of the century does he arrive at that made at mid-century by Duquesnoy for the Bishop Triest in St. Bavo in Ghent, continuing in this manner!!

We only become aware of the profound innocence of the author in regard to all historical considerations when we read his comparison of the tomb of Triest with that by Jean del Cour for the Bishop d'Allamont of a generation earlier, including a reference to this historical development between generations, which he describes as a '*difference d'écoles*' and as one would expect, he favours the more simple and natural example – historically preceding the Bernini influence – with a better grade.

This comes to the very heart of the matter which the author has been following through Netherlandish art without himself noticing it – much like the poodle in the Easter morning promenade in Faust. Of course, the daemonic animal comes from Italy. Since the middle of the 16th century there had been a tangible connection between Netherlandish and Italian sculpture. Numerous Netherlandish artists were active among the international generation which succeeded the followers of Michelangelo. In 1575 for instance, Egidio della Riviera (possibly identical with Gillis van Vleuten) created the tomb of the Duke of Cleves in the choir of Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome. The artist used the northern European type of wall tomb as it would have been unthinkable just a generation later, depicting the deceased in his armour kneeling in prayer on a pillow in a shallow niche with architectural frame and a relief of the Last Judgment in the background. One might mention the slightly later tomb of the Lord Assendelft in Breda, particularly similar to that in Santa Maria dell'Anima, as a significant Netherlandish example of this type and all of us know from countless epitaphs in German cemeteries. It is nevertheless impossible to overlook the differences. It might be less significant that the doll-like forms slurped into the medieval mouth of hell of this Last Judgment have now been replaced by more Michelangelesque figures, but more important to see that the motif of the kneeling knight has been combined with the Italian sarcophagus motif by placing the cushion of the duke on an uncomfortable diagonal surface of the tomb, but also that the unavoidable female allegorical forms are placed below arches to the sides in an adaptation of an Italian triumphal arch. This example is symptomatic for the entire relation between two worlds of art in a time when one of these created a new content and the other could only offer formulae for individual artistic solutions.

It remains to be determined how far Netherlandish and northern European art was involved in the development of Italian art. This would be a chapter in the

development of Italian art, and one which will not be written soon. An overt and equally symptomatic example of what Netherlandish art learned in Italy and returned to its native regions can be seen in precisely that tomb for Antoon Triest in St. Bavo by Jérôme Duquesnoy the Younger. Although it was made in the 1640s (while the bishop was still living) it nonetheless represents a transformation of a nearly century-old Italian type adapted simply to the available space in St. Bavo. It is ultimately nothing other than the post-Michelangelo scheme with the statue of the deceased lying awake on the sarcophagus flanked by two allegorical statues in niches, which certainly existed before Michelangelo, but only became popular in this form with no ornamental detail among the generation of his followers.[9] The latest example is probably to be seen in the tombs of the parents of Pope Clement VIII which he had made for them in the Capella Aldobrandini in Santa Maria sopra Minerva around 1600 by Nicolas Cordier. In spite of the perforated background it is impossible to overlook the identity with this scheme. The columns with tendrils winding around them are the only aspect to remind us of how much later this has been done. The figure of the bishop rests on cushions at the centre with the Saviour in a niche to the right and the Virgin Mary in another to the left. The author has not noticed that the figure of Christ is little more than a copy in reverse of that by Michelangelo in Santa Maria sopra Minerva or that in spite of a difference in the drapery, the figure of the Virgin Mary has the pose, facial type and stance of the famous statue of St. Susanna made in 1630 by the brother François Duquesnoy in Santa Maria di Loreto in Rome. The greatest surprise, and easy to overlook, is the fact that the figure of the bishop himself is not merely inspired by another Roman tomb but except for the hands and fingers, again reproduces in reverse the statue of Cardinal del Monte (uncle of Pope Julius III), a sculpture by Bartolommeo Ammannati in S. Pietro in Montorio (of ca. 1550).

A remarkable contrast to these three works which the author so prizes, is provided by two figures of putti mourning at the foot of the sarcophagus and two others bearing an inscription. They are the work of François Duquesnoy, as probably are also the two putti hovering on the gable. Along with the curving columns, they herald the beginning influence of the new Italian 17th century style. The putti holding the inscription recall the two beautiful epitaphs by François Duquesnoy in Santa Maria dell'Anima, where for the first time since Michelangelo a new artistic subjectivism replaced a conventional type with the freely poetic revision of a motif.

These observations yield two facts. First of all, Netherlandish sculpture was broadly dependent on Italian models in the earlier 17th century, choosing its sources – in architectonic disposition as well as in the individual sculptural motif – from the abundant period after Michelangelo; then also that the earliest signs of influence from the Roman Baroque appear before the middle of the century.

[9] Cf. Giorgio Vasari, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonaroti*, ed. Milan; Società tipografica de' Classici italiani, 1811, *Vite*, vol. 14, p. 195.

We cannot here discuss the development set into motion by the art of François Duquesnoy, whose style was particularly expanded by the two Quellinus, many of whose small-scale pieces are mistakenly attributed to '*il Fiamingo*'. Allow us instead to return to St. Bavo to the tomb by Jean del Cour which suffered so in the comparison by our author with that of Bishop Triest. It is not necessary to say anything about the style of this marvellous work. Between the time when these two works were created, the style of Bernini made its appearance. Even if we did not notice the skeleton with the banderole before the kneeling bishop which immediately recalls the tomb of Pope Urban VIII in St. Peter's, we would have no doubt about the direct source of this style in Bernini, which continued in Netherlandish sculpture – and all of Europe for that matter – from then on for another century, and can still be felt in the bearded Apostles made by Theodor Verhaegen in Mechelen at the mid-18th century. We can nonetheless understand that the author would allude to Rubens rather than Bernini in discussing these statues. While Bernini showed 'emotion predominating over will', these images still depict a 'fundamental predominance of the will, as in Rubens (cf. Alois Riegl ed. Arthur Burda and Oskar Pollak, *Vita des Gio. Lorenzo Bernini*, Vienna: Schroll, 1912, p. 96). This is an intrinsic dichotomy which cannot be explained exclusively as the difference between two individual artistic temperaments. This is the broader antithesis between two nations and two races.

It is completely misguided for the author to propose this opposition as characterizing two basic trends within Netherlandish sculpture of the time, the one relying on Rubens, '*toujours attachée aux vrais principes du grand art*', and the other not under the protection of the great national guardian angel and therefore susceptible to the daemonic Bernini, as was the case with Jean del Cour. This comparison reaches a climax in the historically rather bold claim considering the historical relations: '*De Rubens à Bernin la chute est rude et la décadence rapide*', (p. 151).

Rubens was no opponent of the art of Bernini, but more of its unconscious mediator. If he can be said to have sown the seeds for the richest fruits in the field of painting, he did nonetheless also work the field of sculpture and was ready to accept the harvest of Bernini. The new 17th century spirit had already been brought from Italy by Rubens, but he only apprehended sculpture after Bernini had made it available to him in his own language. Rubens had been the vehicle of the intellectual resolution to the problem and Bernini that of the technical. This is the reason that statues such as those by Verhaegen in Mechelen are intellectually closer to Rubens but formally closer to Bernini.

In reality, there is a completely different opposition running through Netherlandish sculpture of the 17th and 18th centuries, an antithesis that presents itself in all of the art of this time, under one or the other rubric, gradually leading to all too much of a schematization of the variety and breadth of this development. While in Italian architecture there are references to 'Baroque and Classicism' in French painting to '*Rubenisme*' and '*Poussinisme*', in Netherlandish sculpture one

might speak of an Italianizing and a Frenchifying trend, although such terms can never be taken as more than an abbreviation of the actual facts, always compromising certain important factors. It is nonetheless simple to recognize one group inspired by Rubens with its most significant representatives reaching from Fayd'herbe and Boeckstuyns to Verhaegen themselves facing another group with artists such as Desjardins, Balthazar and Gaspard Marsay, Philippe Buyster whose works follow the example of Girardon, Bouchardon, Tuby etc., whether or not those influenced by the non-Italian forms are considered to be classicists or searching for a national artistic form. The fact that this antithesis can be observed within the Netherlands between the Flemish and the Walloon regions would tend to support the latter of those options.

As far as certain details are concerned, it must be mentioned that the Penitent Magdalene by Jérôme Duquesnoy (p. 90) in the park of Brussels is a copy and that the original is in storage in the Musée des Beaux-Arts. It is patently incorrect to claim that François Duquesnoy whose entire artistic development was determined by the ambient of Rome, had gone to Florence to follow the example of Giovanni Bologna and left there only a few days before his death (p. 149). He explains the style of Borromini as having to find the most exotic possibilities '*pour écraser son rivale*' (p. 150). It can come as no surprise of the author does not recognize the source of the wind ruffling the draperies of the Baroque statues.

One can only be grateful to the publisher for the intention of arousing interest on the part of the public in a largely neglected group of art works. This goal has indeed been fulfilled. Finally, one must also admit with embarrassment that if a book as mediocre as this had been written by a German it would have been completely objectionable, while the literary and linguistic culture of French is still such that even a bad book can be well written.

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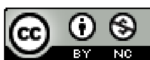
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