

# Alois Riegl's 'Baroque' in the light of selected passages in his unpublished manuscripts

Eleonora Gaudieri



Figure 1 Alois Riegl (1858-1905), portrait photography by Carl Pietzner, Fotosammlung des Instituts für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien

Alois Riegl (1858-1905)<sup>1</sup> is one of the most well-known representatives of the so-called 'Vienna School of Art History', and he belongs to those art historians whose

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<sup>1</sup> For the latest contribution to Riegl's work, see, for example Eleonora Gaudieri, 'Alois Riegl and his Lecture Notes: a Reconsideration of his Concept of 'Baroque'', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 22, June 2020, 1-18; Ute Engel, 'Der Barock und das Kunstwollen: Alois Riegl' in Ute Engel, *Stil und Nation: Barockforschung und Deutsche Kunstgeschichte (ca. 1830-1933)*, Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2018, 374-395; Diana Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875-1905: An Institutional Biography*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2014; Peter Noever, Artur Rosenauer, Georg Vasold, *Alois Riegl Revisited: Beiträge zu Werk und Rezeption. Contributions to the Opus and its Reception*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010, and the review of this by Matthew Rampley, 'Re-reading Riegl', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 5, December 2011, 1-7; Alois Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*, ed. and trans. by Andrew James Hopkins and Arnold Witte, with essays by Andrew James Hopkins, Alina Payne and Arnold Witte, Los Angeles: Getty Research Center, 2010, and the review of this by Ute Engel, 'Riegl on the Baroque', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 7, December 2012, 1-6; Alois Riegl, *Grammatica storica delle arti figurative*, trans. by Carmela Armentano and ed. by Andrea Pinotti, Macerata: Quodlibet, 2008; Matthew Rampley, 'Alois Riegl (1858-1905)' in Ulrich Pfisterer, *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte: Von Winckelmann bis Warburg*, Munich: Beck, 2007, 152-

literary production has exerted a long-lasting influence on the developments of the art-historical discipline.<sup>2</sup> He wrote influential works on historical-artistic periods which had until then been marginalised or ignored, as in the case of the Late Antiquity and the Baroque, as well as on neglected historical-artistic genres like the applied arts, which Art Historiography had considered hierarchically subordinate.

Riegl's methodological approach can be considered to be one of the most important aspects of his work. A compelling synthesis of 'theory and practise', as still observed by Hans Tietze (1880-1954) in his well-known essay 'Riegl, Alois' (1935), characterises Riegl's oeuvre in its entirety.<sup>3</sup> The most important contributions of the next generations of art historians, from Oskar Pollak (1883-1915) and Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) to Rudolf Wittkower (1901-1971), bear the stamp of Riegl's methodological pluralism, which arises with particular evidence from some of his works, like his contribution to Baroque art.<sup>4</sup>

### 1. Riegl's posthumous publications and his manuscripts on Baroque art

In 1908, three years after Riegl's premature death, the book *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* (tr. *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*) was published. That was done together by the art historian Arthur Burda (1861-1926), the librarian of the *Hofmuseum*, the present *Kunsthistorisches Museum* (Museum of Art History), as well as Riegl's former student and friend, and Max Dvořák (1874-1921), Riegl's successor

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162; Alois Riegl, *Historical Grammar of the Visual Arts*, trans. by Jacqueline E. Jung and ed. by Benjamin Binstock, New York: Zone Books, 2004; Georg Vasold, *Alois Riegl und die Kunstgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte: Überlegungen zum Frühwerk des Wiener Gelehrten*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 2004; Richard Woodfield, *Framing Formalism: Riegl's Work*, Amsterdam: G+B Arts International, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> On the 'Vienna School', see Julius von Schlosser, 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte: Rückblick auf ein Säkulum Deutscher Gelehrtenarbeit in Österreich', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, XIII, 2, 1934. For the latest contributions on the Vienna School, see, for example Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847-1918*, University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013; Ján Bakoš, *Discourses and Strategies: The Role of the Vienna School in Shaping Central European Approaches to Art History & Related Discourses*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 2013, and the review of this by Branko Mitrović, 'The Vienna School and Central European Art History', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 11, December 2014, 1-4; Edwin Lachnit, *Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte und die Kunst ihrer Zeit: Zum Verhältnis von Methode und Forschungsgegenstand am Beginn der Moderne*, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2005; Maria Theisen, *Wiener Schule: Erinnerung und Perspektiven*, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Hans Tietze, 'Riegl, Alois' in *Neue Österreichische Biographie 1815-1918*, Leipzig: Amatheaverglag, 1935, 8, 147.

<sup>4</sup> For the impact of Riegl's published works on Baroque art on developments in Baroque historiography, see Andrew James Hopkins, 'Riegl Renaissances', in Riegl, *The Origins*, 60-87, and Arnold Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*', in Riegl, *The Origins*, 50-53.

to the chair of Art History at the University of Vienna, who would soon become one of the most influential exponents of the Vienna School of Art History.<sup>5</sup>

*Die Entstehung* contains transcriptions of selected passages from Riegl's lecture notes on Baroque art, which he wrote for his teaching in the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna between 1894 and 1902. The book deals with the period of Italian art that goes from Michelangelo Buonarroti's mature works starting from 1520 to the final years of Annibale Carracci's and Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio's artistic production, that is to say, with the 'origin' ('*Entstehung*') of Baroque art.<sup>6</sup>

Fifteen years after this first publication of Riegl's writings, a new edition entitled *Barockkunst in Rom* (1923) was published by Karl M. Swoboda (1889-1977), Dvořák's student and later full professor at the Department of Art History in Vienna, and Johannes Wilde (1891-1970), also Dvořák's pupil and later an internationally recognised scholar.<sup>7</sup> This second edition presents the same passages from Riegl's manuscripts contained within the book *Die Entstehung*, yet with some variations from the 1908 volume: Swoboda and Wilde actually included thirty-two illustrations that do not exist in the 1908 edition. The order of the chapters was changed compared to the first edition, as was the title of the book itself, which became *Barockkunst in Rom* instead of *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*.<sup>8</sup>

The collation of these posthumous books with the voluminous corpus of Riegl's manuscripts on Baroque art, which are preserved in the archives of the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna, sheds light on the fact that both Burda and Dvořák, and Swoboda and Wilde decided to publish only a small part of Riegl's manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> Andrew James Hopkins, Arnold Witte, and Alina Payne, the authors of *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome* (2010) - the first English translation of the posthumous publication *Die Entstehung* (1908) - were the first to

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<sup>5</sup> Alois Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom*, ed. by Arthur Burda and Max Dvořák, Vienna: Schroll, 1908. *Die Entstehung* was published in a second edition with twenty-three additional illustrations: Vienna: Schroll, 1923; reprint, Munich: Mäander, 1977; reprint, Munich: Mäander, 1987. It was translated into French by Sibylle Muller as Alois Riegl, *L'origine de l'art baroque à Rome*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1993; reprint, Paris: Klincksieck, 2005. It was published in English as Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*.

<sup>6</sup> Arthur Burda and Max Dvořák, 'Preface', in Riegl, *Die Entstehung*, V-VI.

<sup>7</sup> Alois Riegl, *Barockkunst in Rom*, ed. by Karl M. Swoboda and Johannes Wilde, Vienna: Anton Schroll & co, 1923.

<sup>8</sup> While the title on the book cover is *Barockkunst in Rom*, the title *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* appears on the frontispiece. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the editors planned the publication of subsequent volumes with excerpts from the still unpublished lecture notes under the title *Barockkunst in Rom*. Concerning the collation between the first and second edition of Riegl's published lecture notes on Baroque art and with the whole corpus of manuscripts, see Gaudieri, 'Alois Riegl and his Lecture Notes', 3-9, and Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 35-46.

<sup>9</sup> Riegl 6 (Box IV): Mapped 'Kunstgeschichte des Barockzeitalters W.S. 1894/95'; Mapped 'Italienische Kunstgeschichte von 1520-1700 W.S. 1901/02'; Mapped 'Lorenzo Bernini (Übungen) S.S. 1902'. Archives of the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna. For assistance in consulting Riegl's manuscripts, I sincerely thank Dr. Friedrich Polleroß.

problematise the discrepancies between Riegl's posthumous publications on the origins of Baroque art and the entire manuscript corpus.<sup>10</sup> This book offers not only an in-depth analysis of Riegl's work on the Roman Baroque and its contextualisation in contemporary Art Historiography, but also paves the way for a more thorough investigation of Riegl's manuscripts on Baroque art. The authors discuss the huge impact of Riegl's published contributions on the development of the historiography of the Baroque, and at the same time they shed light on the differences between published and unpublished texts and the related consequences on the reception of Riegl's investigation on Baroque art.<sup>11</sup> Both the first and second edition of Riegl's lecture notes present some changes compared to the manuscript corpus, and some of these changes were probably carried out with the aim of increasing the usability of the selected passages from Riegl's manuscripts.<sup>12</sup>

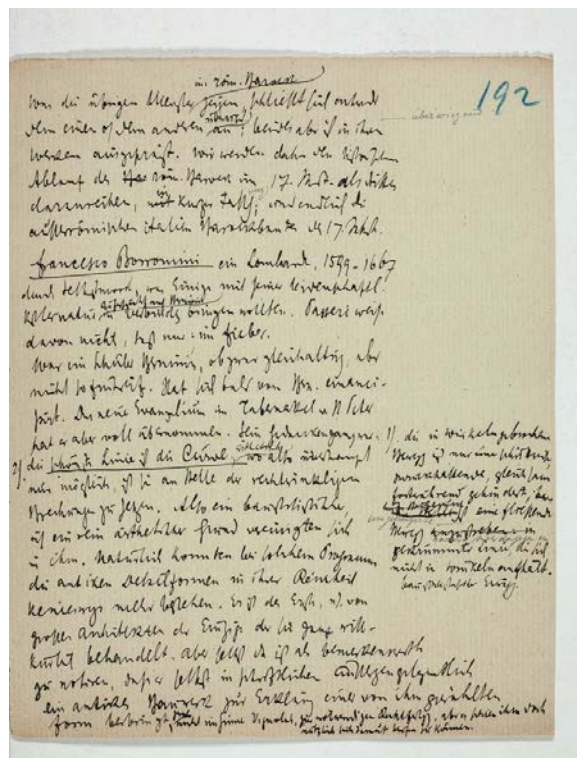


Figure 2 Example of Alois Riegl's lecture notes, first page of the section on Francesco Borromini. 'Kunstgeschichte des Barockzeitalters W.S. 1894/95'. Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien

<sup>10</sup> Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*, and Engel, 'Riegl on the Baroque'.

<sup>11</sup> For the historical contextualisation of *Die Entstehung* in the field of the contemporary German-language historiography on Baroque art, see Alina Payne, 'Beyond *Kunstwollen*: Alois Riegl and the Baroque' in Riegl, *The Origins*, 1-33. For the reconstruction of Riegl's work on Baroque art in its development phases and an extensive introduction to the problematic reception of Riegl's idea of 'Baroque' in consideration of the unpublished manuscripts, see Arnold Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*' in Riegl, *The Origins*, 34-59. For the reception of Riegl's work in the field of the German art historiography of the 1920s and 1930s, and its effects on the following decades until a second 'Riegl Renaissance' that was concentrated in the field of the British and American art historiography of the 1980s and 1990s, see Andrew James Hopkins, 'Riegl Renaissance' in Riegl, *The Origins*, 60-87.

<sup>12</sup> See Gaudieri, 'Alois Riegl and his Lecture Notes', 1-8, and Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 42-46.

These are detailed and accurate handwritten lecture notes which, precisely because of the lack of a final elaboration, preserve the immediacy of their author's thoughts. Compared to his other published works, Riegl's simpler formulations - from full-throated sentences to sketched-out thoughts, and an approach to the subject matter that respects the singularity of each artwork under study - give a vivid impression of Riegl's lectures. Historical sources reveal that he read his notes aloud to his students and that, as he did so, he interpolated further explanations of the artworks.<sup>13</sup>

In order to give the volume a clear structure, Burda and Dvořák divided the text into chapters and sections that deviated from Riegl's structure. This resulted in a change in the sequence of the notes, which feature Riegl's rather generic headings. Even the emphasis placed by the title on the 'origin' of Baroque art seems to be based primarily on a decision by the two editors, as there is no reference to it in the manuscripts. Regarding the above-mentioned alterations of the 1923 second edition compared to the 1908 volume, these also differentiate this second edition from Riegl's manuscripts themselves. This is demonstrated by the pictures included by Swoboda and Wilde in their volume, since Riegl's lecture notes are in fact devoid of pictures, and by the further changes in the structure of the sections in the published manuscript. Because of these additional deviations from Riegl's lecture notes, subsequent translations, such as *The Origins* (2010), referred to the first edition of 1908.

What appears most striking from this collation, however, is the much broader scope of Riegl's investigation on Baroque art, with obvious consequences for the reception of his historiographical contribution.<sup>14</sup>

## 2. Riegl's many-sided 'Baroque'

The analysis of Riegl's lecture notes on the Baroque with a focus on the unpublished passages - which I have had the opportunity to carry out for my doctoral thesis at the University of Vienna - indeed reveals a much more comprehensive study of Baroque art compared to the posthumous publications of the years 1908 and 1923.<sup>15</sup> In his manuscripts, Riegl examines not only the origins and first phases of the Baroque style in Rome, but also its development in other territories of the Italian Peninsula and beyond the Alps - in Austria, Bohemia and Germany. Moreover, these passages span a broader chronological arc from the first half of the sixteenth-century to the nineteenth-century.<sup>16</sup> The analysis of Riegl's manuscripts in their entirety not only provides an account of the Baroque phenomenon on a European level, but also, in comparison to Riegl's above-mentioned posthumous publications, a far more complex idea of 'Baroque'.

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<sup>13</sup> Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 38, footnote 14; Tietze, 'Riegl, Alois', 144.

<sup>14</sup> Gaudieri, 'Alois Riegl and his Lecture Notes', 8-18; Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 38-42.

<sup>15</sup> Eleonora Gaudieri, *Alois Riegl: Eine Neubewertung seines Barockbegriffs anhand ausgewählter unpublizierter Passagen seiner Manuskripte*, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2023 (forthcoming publication).

<sup>16</sup> Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 39.

The following sections aim to draw attention to some aspects that characterise Riegl's investigation of Baroque art and determine his personal contribution to Baroque studies. These aspects emerge with particular clarity from Riegl's lecture notes on Baroque art when they are analysed as a whole, that is to say with the inclusion of and relative focus on the conspicuous unpublished manuscript group for his first lecture series on the Baroque, 'Art History of the Baroque Age W[inter] S[emester] 1894/95'.<sup>17</sup> Particular attention will be paid to both core concepts of Riegl's analysis of Baroque art and his methodological approach, by highlighting reference models as well as divergences from contemporary research.<sup>18</sup>

### 2.1. From the general to the particular and vice versa

This increased disposition to recognise the individual as a creation that concentrates the whole, but at the same time rests in its self-contained individuality, is connected to a new official activity of Riegl's; again, we see the indivisible unity of his personality merging theory and practice inextricably.<sup>19</sup>

Both older and recent historiography have emphasised Riegl's ability to fuse broad observations, such as considerations on the development of a style and detailed analyses of individual artworks, in his investigations.<sup>20</sup> This allowed him not to get

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<sup>17</sup> Riegl 6 (Box IV): *Mappe 'Kunstgeschichte des Barockzeitalters W.S. 1894/95'*, Archives of the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna. For Riegl's lectures on Baroque art at the University of Vienna and his manuscripts, see Gaudieri, 'Alois Riegl and his lecture notes', 1-18, and Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 38-42.

<sup>18</sup> For a more comprehensive analysis of Riegl's unpublished corpus of manuscripts on Baroque art, see Gaudieri, *Alois Riegl*, 2023. The transcriptions of a large part of the unpublished corpus of Riegl's manuscripts are included here in the appendix.

<sup>19</sup> 'Diese gesteigerte Bereitschaft, das einzelne als eine Schöpfung zu erkennen, die das Ganze konzentriert, aber zugleich in ihrer geschlossenen Individualität ruht, hängt mit einer neuen amtlichen Betätigung Riegls zusammen; wieder sehen wir die unteilbare Einheitlichkeit seiner Persönlichkeit Theorie und Praxis unlösbar zusammenschließen.' Tietze, 'Riegl, Alois', 147.

<sup>20</sup> For Riegl's methodological approach see, for example, Tietze, 'Riegl, Alois', 142-148; Otto Pächt, 'Art Historians and Art Critics 6: Alois Riegl', *Burlington Magazine*, 105, 1963, 188-193; Otto Pächt, *The Practise of Art History: Reflections on Method*, trans. by David Britt, with an introduction by Christopher S. Wood, London: Harvey Miller, 1999 (reprint of the first edition Munich 1986); Artur Rosenauer, 'Zur Wechselbeziehung von Methode und Forschungsgegenstand am Beispiel einiger Schriften Alois Riegls' in Lajos Vayer, *Problemi di metodo: Condizioni di esistenza di una Storia dell'arte*, Bologna: Editrice CLUEB, 1982, 55-60; Willibald Sauerlaender, 'Alois Riegl e gli inizi della autonomia della storia dell'arte nella Fin-de-siècle' in Sandro Scarrocchia, *Alois Riegl: Teoria e prassi della conservazione dei monumenti*, Bologna: Editrice CLUEB, 1995, 421-432; Payne, 'Beyond *Kunstwollen*', 16-24; Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 50-54; Hopkins, 'Riegl Renaissances', 60-71; Artur Rosenauer, 'Schlosser und Riegl' in Sebastian Schütze, *Julius von Schlosser (1866-1938)*, Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2021, 93-109.

lost in the big questions and, when necessary, to direct the focus to the analysis of individual aspects, and vice versa: to see the forest for the trees.

For a long time, Riegl's work was considered in its entirety primarily from the point of view of his well-known concept of '*Kunstwollen*', leaving little room for the consideration of other aspects.<sup>21</sup> Contrary to the general focus of historiography in the 1920s and 1930s on the interpretation of Riegl's *Kunstwollen*, Hans Tietze (1880-1954) emphasised the complexity of Riegl's methodological approach and pointed out its significance for research at the time. However, in his considerations, Tietze makes no reference to Riegl's posthumous publications on the origins of Baroque art, which are characterised significantly by a methodological pluralism.<sup>22</sup>

The reception of the publication of both editions of 1908 and 1923 makes it clear that Riegl's contribution to the Baroque was not analysed from such a point of view for a long time.<sup>23</sup> Only recent research has highlighted the importance of

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<sup>21</sup> For the interpretation of Riegl's *Kunstwollen*, see Erwin Panofsky, 'Der Begriff des Kunstwollens', *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, 14, 1920, 321-329; Edgar Wind, 'Zur Systematik der künstlerischen Probleme', *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, 18, 1925, 439-486; Hans Sedlmayr, 'Die Quintessenz der Lehren Riegls' in Alois Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. by Karl M. Swoboda, Augsburg, Vienna: Filser, 1929, XII-XXX; Pächt, 'Art Historians and Art Critics', 188-93; Henri Zerner, 'Alois Riegl: Art, Value, and Historicism', *Daedalus*, 105, 1976, 180-182; Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1982, 95-97; Margaret Iversen, *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1993, 13-16; Claire Farago, 'Vision Itself has its History: Race, Nation, and Renaissance Theory' in Claire Farago, *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995, 78-80; Udo Kultermann, *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte: Der Weg einer Wissenschaft*, Munich: Prestel, 1996, 153-155; Andrea Reichenberger, "'Kunstwollen': Riegls Plädoyer für die Freiheit der Kunst', *Kritische Berichte* 31, 1, 2003, 69-85; Andrea Reichenberger, *Riegls Kunstwollen: Versuch einer Neubetrachtung*, Sankt Augustin: Akademia, 2003; Benjamin Binstock, 'Alois Riegl, Monumental Ruin: Why we still need to read Historical Grammar of the Visual Arts', in Riegl, *Historical Grammar*, 13-19; Allister Neher, 'The Concept of 'Kunstwollen', Neo-Kantianism, and Erwin Panofsky's early art theoretical Essays', *Word & Image*, 20, 41-51, 2004; Allister Neher, 'Riegl, Hegel, Kunstwollen, and the Weltgeist', *Racar*, 29, 1-2, 2004, 5-13; Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk, *Art History: A Critical Introduction to its Methods*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006, 84; Diana Reynolds Cordileone, 'Semperianismus und Stilfragen: Riegls Kunstwollen und die „Wiener Mitte“', in Rainald Franz and Andreas Nierhaus, *Gottfried Semper und Wien: Die Wirkung des Architekten auf 'Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst'*, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2007, 85-96; Engel, *Stil und Nation*, 374-395.

<sup>22</sup> For the impact of Panofsky's and Sedlmayr's debate on the meaning of Riegl's *Kunstwollen* on the subsequent reception of his work, see Hopkins, 'Riegl Renaissances', 60-71. For Tietze's reception of Riegl's work and for Riegl's methodological pluralism in his posthumously published book *Die Entstehung*, see Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 50-54.

<sup>23</sup> For reviews of the volume of 1908, see Richard Graul, 'Review of Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom, by Alois Riegl', *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1, 1908, 1042-1043; Antonio Muñoz, 'Review of Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom, 1908, by Alois Riegl', *L'arte*, 11, 1908, 391-393; Heinrich Wölfflin, 'Review of Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom, 1908, by Alois Riegl', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 31, 1908, 356-357; C[ust],

Riegl's approach to the phenomenon of the Baroque for art historiography. The focus of Baroque research in Riegl's time was on systematising the phenomenon of 'Baroque' — Heinrich Wölfflin's (1864-1945) and August Schmarsow's (1853-1936) contributions can be considered to be examples of this. However, there were scholars such as Cornelius Gurlitt (1850-1938) who placed a systematic and comprehensive investigation of individual monuments at the centre of their research without participating in methodological debates.<sup>24</sup>

In my opinion, the importance of Riegl's contribution lies in his ability to mediate between questions of general interest, such as the periodisation of the Baroque style, and detailed analyses of individual artworks. The foundations of his research on the Baroque are the careful observation of the artworks, analysed from several points of view, especially formal and stylistic ones, the thorough interrogation of historical sources and documents, and the location of the individual work and artist in a broad historical-cultural context.<sup>25</sup> The search for a balance between all these factors allowed Riegl to go beyond the major question of Baroque research concerning 'stylistic development' and to contribute to the early appreciation of individual artworks or artistic personalities. His unpublished analysis of Francesco Borromini's architecture can serve as a case study here (fig. 2).<sup>26</sup> In Borromini's art, as well as in the work of Gianlorenzo Bernini's contemporaries, such as Pietro da Cortona and Andrea Pozzo, one could recognise the first traces of a new stylistic phase. Following an evolutionary developmental model of the Baroque style, the contributions of each artist can be positioned on a supposed line of development, with Bernini's artistic contribution taking centre stage. Riegl's theoretical approach indeed shows points of contact with the scientific concept of 'evolution', also in line with the contemporary German-language historiography.<sup>27</sup> However, in the passages following his periodisation, Riegl goes beyond positioning Borromini on this supposed line of development and concentrates on the careful observation of Borromini's work. By means of an in-

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R[obert], H[enry Hobart], 'Review of Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom, 1908, by Alois Riegl', *Burlington Magazine*, 21, 1912, 363. For a review of the second edition, see Harold S. Ede, 'Review of Barockkunst in Rom, by Alois Riegl', *Burlington Magazine*, 44, 1924, 259.

<sup>24</sup> Cornelius Gurlitt, 'Cornelius Gurlitt' in Johannes Jahn, *Die Kunstwissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*, 1, Leipzig: Meiner, 1924, 11: 'Kunst ist mir eine Sache, die ich mit den Sinnen in mich aufnehmen will, nicht nach Grundsätzen. Und daß ich das Barock früh zu verstehen lernte, ist ja gerade die Folge meiner Abneigung gegen ästhetische Grundsätze, nämlich die damaligen. Sehen und sehen lehren ist mein Ziel.' (tr. 'For me, art is something that I want to absorb not according to principles, but with my senses. And the fact that I learned to understand the Baroque early on is precisely the result of my aversion to aesthetic principles, namely those of the time. Seeing and teaching to see is my goal.') Quoted from Engel, *Stil und Nation*, 271. For Gurlitt's contribution to Baroque research and his positioning within the methodological debate, see Payne, 'Beyond *Kunstwollen*', 1-33; Evonne Levy, *Baroque and the political Language of Formalism (1845-1945): Burckhardt, Wölfflin, Gurlitt, Brinckmann, Sedlmayr*, Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2015, 174-243; Engel, *Stil und Nation*, 268-94.

<sup>25</sup> Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 50-54.

<sup>26</sup> Alois Riegl, 'Kunstgeschichte des Barockzeitalters W.S. 1894/95', 192-196.

<sup>27</sup> For the points of contact between German historiography, natural philosophy, and evolutionary biology, see, for example, Engel, *Stil und Nation*, 86-88.



depth analysis, he determines the characteristics of Borromini's artistic language in order to grasp the peculiarity of Borromini's art. For example, Riegl identified structural analogies between Borromini's architecture and the Gothic. By highlighting the importance of the classical repertoire for Borromini's creations, which the artist reinterpreted from a modern point of view, Riegl was able to overcome the neoclassicistic prejudice against Borromini's architecture that had for long continued to dominate historiography. The contextualisation of Borromini's work in a broad historical and cultural context enables Riegl to identify relationships not only with the work of Guarino Guarini and Domenico Gregorini, but also with that of the Dientzenhofer family of architects in Bohemia. Riegl's analysis demonstrates a modern conception of Borromini's work and, for this reason, stands out from the contemporary historiography, which only strove for a re-evaluation of Borromini's architecture sometime later. The work of many artists of the Baroque period was still being negatively judged according to the prevailing normative aesthetic.

## **2.2. Baroque painting and the artworks of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum*: the individual work as a starting point**

It is a well-known fact that the artwork as *unicum* is at the centre of Riegl's research. This is particularly clear from his lecture notes on the Baroque: their rhythm is determined by careful analyses of individual artworks. In this sense, the passages in his manuscripts on Italian painting from the Naturalists around 1600 to the painters of the eighteenth-century especially serve as a testimony to the teaching practice of the time in the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna. The students were particularly encouraged to come into close contact with the artworks, to study them directly in the Viennese collections. The subject of Riegl's in-depth analysis of the Italian schools of painting was the holdings of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna. These passages clearly bear the stamp of his training in the tradition of the 'Vienna School', especially with regard to the importance of direct contact with the artworks and the careful analysis of them. Riegl's activity for exactly thirteen years at the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (Austrian Museum of Art and Industry) in Vienna, the current *Museum für angewandte Kunst* (MAK, Museum of Applied Arts), where he was in close contact with objects of the applied arts on a daily basis, proved to be equally formative.<sup>28</sup> The close connection between the

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<sup>28</sup> For the connection between the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, Riegl, and the Vienna School, see Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875-1905*, 65-78; Peter Noever, 'Alois Riegl und das MAK' in Noever, Rosenauer, and Vasold, *Alois Riegl Revisited*, 10-11; Diana Reynolds Cordileone, 'Mood, Modernism, and the Museum for Art and Industry' in Noever, Rosenauer, and Vasold, *Alois Riegl Revisited*, 37-44; Hans Aurenhammer, '150 Jahre Kunstgeschichte an der Universität Wien (1852-2002): Eine wissenschaftshistorische Chronik', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien*, 54, 2002, 1-15; Peter Noever, *Kunst und Industrie: Die Anfänge des Museums für angewandte Kunst in Wien*, Ostfildern: Cantz, 2000; Jan Bialostocki, 'Museum Work and History in the Development of the Vienna School of Art History' in *Wien und die Entwicklung der kunsthistorischen Methode*, Vienna, Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1984, 9-15; Viktor Griessmaier, *100 Jahre Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst: Kunstgewerbe des Historismus, Katalog der Ausstellung 1964-65*, Vienna: Museum f. Angew. Kunst, 1964.

Department of Art History and the museum sector, especially the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, should be emphasised. The latter was founded in 1864 by Rudolf Eitelberger (1817-1885), who held the first chair of art history at the University of Vienna in 1852.<sup>29</sup> Riegl's work at the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry began in 1884, and in 1887 he became curator (*Kustosadjunkt*) of the museum's textile collection; it was only when he was appointed full professor in the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna in 1897 that his long tenure at the museum came to an end - and not without his personal regret. The publication of writings such as *Altorientalische Teppiche* (1891) or the very well-known *Stilfragen* (1893) coincided with the years of Riegl's museum practice; not coincidentally, both works include exceptionally thorough analyses of art objects, many of which are preserved in the MAK.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, at the heart of his study of Italian Baroque painting lies the careful observation of paintings of the collections of the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna. Unlike both his writings from 1891 and 1893, however, Riegl's analysis of Baroque art focuses not only on the artworks but also on the artists' personalities, which distinguishes his study from equally relevant contributions to the Baroque of his generation, such as Heinrich Wölfflin's *Renaissance und Barock* (1888). By means of careful analyses, Riegl aims to highlight individual contributions that had not yet received enough attention, such as those by Domenico Fetti or Bernardo Strozzi. At the same time, Riegl's ability to comprehend artistic languages, such as those of Salvator Rosa, which would receive adequate recognition from Baroque scholars only some time later, is evident.

### 2.3. Riegl's lecture notes as an exemplification of a methodological synthesis

From the lecture notes 'Art History of the Baroque Age' (1894-95), which form the largest part of the hitherto unpublished corpus, it can be concluded that the aim of Riegl's investigation of Baroque art was also to demonstrate the importance of a method that unites the careful analysis of artworks and the consideration of them from a wide-ranging perspective. The reflections on a 'universal history' (*Universalgeschichte* in German) with which Riegl introduces this lecture cycle, the constant consideration of the general development of art, and the in-depth analyses of individual artworks, can be seen in sum as exemplifying an 'ideal' methodological approach that he was later to establish theoretically in the essay 'Kunstgeschichte und Universalgeschichte' (1898).<sup>31</sup> Riegl's investigation is indeed based on the synthesis of two methods which, as he explains in the 1898 essay, should not be considered in isolation from each other within the framework of

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<sup>29</sup> On Eitelberger, see this recent contribution: Eva Kernbauer, Kathrin Pokorny-Nagel, Raphael Rosenberg, Julia Rüdiger, Patrick Werkner and Tanja Jenni, *Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg: Netzwerker der Kunstwelt*, Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2019.

<sup>30</sup> Alois Riegl, *Altorientalische Teppiche*, Leipzig: Weigel, 1891, and Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*, Berlin: Siemens, 1893. See also Bialostocki, 'Museum Work and History in the Development of the Vienna School of Art History', 14, and Payne, 'Beyond *Kunstwollen*', 19.

<sup>31</sup> Alois Riegl, 'Kunstgeschichte und Universalgeschichte (1898)' in Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 3-9. For Riegl's methodological approach in his 'Kunstgeschichte des Barockzeitalters W.S. 1894/95', see Gaudieri, 'Alois Riegl and his lecture notes', 16-18.

scientific research: the 'philological-historical method' and the 'universal-historical analysis'.<sup>32</sup>

Riegl's work in its entirety shows that he adhered to the philological-historical method that characterised the research and teaching activities of the 'Vienna School', in whose fundamental approach the individual art object, and the historical sources connected to it, play a guiding role. In his very well-known article 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte' (1934), Julius von Schlosser (1866-1938) explains that the University of Vienna's first chair of Art History, founded by Rudolf Eitelberger in 1852, was closely connected with the Institute for Austrian Historical Research, then directed by Theodor von Sickel (1826-1908), whose focus was on archival research.<sup>33</sup> Part of Riegl's education took place at the same institute from 1881 to 1884, where he was a student of both the director Theodor von Sickel and Moritz Thausing (1838-1884), then director of the Albertina Museum.<sup>34</sup>

At the same time, Riegl's work in its entirety reveals points of contact with the 'universal history'. According to this line of interpretation, human history is placed in a general and indivisible framework and analysed through its fundamental and salient aspects. Riegl was introduced to this historical view through the teaching methods of Max Büdinger (1828-1902), one of the last representatives of the 'universal history'.<sup>35</sup>

After these preliminary remarks, Riegl's theory building and methodological approach can be grasped in more detail. In his opinion, the 'universal-historical analysis' should be used as a methodological tool to examine the development of

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<sup>32</sup> Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 6-8: 'Es wäre also völlig müßig die Frage aufzuwerfen, welcher von beiden Methoden der Vorzug zu geben ist. Sie sind beide notwendig und bedürfen einander wechselseitig. Es stünde daher zu wünschen, daß sie stets Hand in Hand miteinander gingen.'

<sup>33</sup> Schlosser, 'Die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte'. On Schlosser, see the recent contribution Schütze, *Julius von Schlosser*, 2021. On the Austrian Institute for Historical Research, see Michael Gubser, *Time's visible Surface: Alois Riegl and the Discourse on History and Temporality in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2006, 77-88, and Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875-1905*, 49-61. On Schlosser and Riegl see Rosenauer, 'Schlosser und Riegl', 93-109.

<sup>34</sup> See Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875-1905*, 49-61; Sandro Scarrocchia, *Oltre la storia dell'arte: Alois Riegl, vita e opere di un protagonista della cultura viennese*, Milan: Marinotti, 2006, 13-27; Gianni Carlo Sciolla, 'La Scuola di Vienna' in Gianni Carlo Sciolla, *La critica d'arte del Novecento*, Turin: UTET Università, 2006, 3-8. For Thausing's role in the development of the art historical discipline at the University of Vienna, see Artur Rosenauer, 'Moritz Thausing und die Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 36, 1983, 135-139, and Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875-1905*, 55-61.

<sup>35</sup> Regarding the points of contact between Riegl's work and 'universal history', see Karl M. Swoboda, 'Einleitung' in Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 12; Vasold, *Alois Riegl und die Kunstgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte*, 96-98; Gubser, *Time's visible Surface*, 89-96; Sciolla, 'La Scuola di Vienna', 15; Andrea Pinotti, 'Introduzione all'edizione italiana' in Riegl, *Grammatica storica delle arti figurative*, 49-53.

the visual arts as a comprehensive cultural history.<sup>36</sup> The individual artwork provides information about the overall development, and vice versa. Within the framework of this comprehensive perspective, it could be possible to uncover deep connections between individual artworks through the principle of 'comparison', even if they are chronologically very far apart from each other. According to Riegl, this *modus operandi* allows the art historian to provide answers to the big questions of Art History. However, he admits that the perfect combination of the two methodological approaches outlined above only succeeds in theory.<sup>37</sup> He recalls that, in the history of art historiography, different phases alternate: sometimes the 'universal-historical analysis' asserts dominance, and then again the 'philological-historical method' does. In his essay 'Kunstgeschichte und Universalgeschichte' (1898), Riegl points out an interesting parallel with the history of the development of painting, which is also characterised by a constant fluctuation between opposing tendencies.<sup>38</sup> He cites as an example the constant alternation between 'idealistic' and 'realistic' periods. As with the development of painting, this oscillation between two opposing directions also proves necessary for the progress of art historical research.

#### 2.4. The necessity of a 'realistic' period: Riegl's 'Baroque'

According to Riegl's conception, the alternation of 'idealistic' and 'realistic' periods in the development of art is based on a changing perception of natural phenomena.<sup>39</sup> Each age is characterised by a certain human sensibility. Riegl's theory of the visual arts shows points of contact not only with the achievements of natural science, such as the above-mentioned concept of 'evolution', but also with German natural philosophy.<sup>40</sup> Within the framework of his introduction to Italian painting of the Baroque era, Riegl sets out his idea of the development of art in order to be able to position Baroque painting accordingly. Under this broad perspective, Baroque painting takes on the meaning of the 'realistic' representation of nature. Riegl explains that such a 'realistic' interpretation of natural phenomena

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<sup>36</sup> For the traditional view of art history as 'cultural history' on the part of the main representatives of the so-called 'Vienna School', see Vasold, *Alois Riegl und die Kunstgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte*, 85-103.

<sup>37</sup> Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 8: 'Das wäre das ideale Verhältnis, das aber als solches wohl kaum je zu erreichen sein wird. Menschliche Art fordert eben unablässig alternierendes Schwanken zwischen den Extremen. Wie auf den Wellenberg das Wellental, so folgt mit Naturnotwendigkeit die einseitig universalgeschichtliche Betrachtungsweise von heute auf die einseitig spezialgeschichtliche von gestern.'

<sup>38</sup> Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 8.

<sup>39</sup> For Riegl's overcoming of the polarity 'naturalism - idealism', Riegl, *Historische Grammatik*; Pinotti, 'Introduzione all'edizione italiana', XXI-V. On Riegl's idea of the relationship 'human being - nature creation' in his manuscripts *Historische Grammatik der bildenden Künste* (1966), see Swoboda, 'Einleitung', 13. And for his concept of 'Weltanschauung', see Riegl, *Historische Grammatik*, 23-60 and 219-245. For the interpretations of the concept of 'Weltanschauung', see Karl Mannheim, 'Beiträge zur Theorie der Weltanschauungsinterpretation', *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, I, 14, 1921/1922, Vienna 1923, 236-274, and Pinotti, 'Introduzione all'edizione italiana', XLIX-LIII.

<sup>40</sup> See footnote 27 of this article.

is not an isolated case in Art History. Before the Baroque, he identifies two other 'realistic' epochs, namely the Late Roman Antiquity and the Early Renaissance.<sup>41</sup> An unmediated relationship to nature and its 'realistic' representation in the visual arts would be the *trait d'union* of all of these three periods. Classical art, the High Renaissance, and Neoclassicism, on the other hand, were characterised by an idealised representation of nature. However, Riegl sees a significant difference between Classical art and that of the High Renaissance and of Neoclassicism: the idealised representations of antiquity were not the fruit of a deliberate distancing from nature, as in the case of the High Renaissance or Neoclassicism, but of a certain perception of natural phenomena, which resulted in an idealised interpretation of the same. Both the artists of the High Renaissance and those of Neoclassicism, on the other hand, opted for a representation of nature that filtered their direct observation through models of the past that were perceived as normative.

Riegl's emphasis on the direct relationship to nature of the 'realistic' periods offers a significant change of perspective in the context of art historical research. This had tended to interpret the Late Roman Antiquity and the Baroque as phenomena of 'decay' compared to Classical and Renaissance art. In Riegl's contemporary historiography, one can still find traces of normative aesthetics. One need only think back to Wölfflin's groundbreaking contribution to Baroque art, *Renaissance und Barock* (1888), which is criticised by Riegl for precisely this reason.<sup>42</sup> Riegl refers to the feeling of 'decadence' that accompanies Wölfflin's idea of Baroque and that does not help to overcome Burckhardt's point of view.<sup>43</sup> In his later work *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915), Wölfflin elaborates on the basic concepts of his *Renaissance und Barock* and explains his idea of a cyclical development of art. In his view, every art epoch has its 'classical' and 'baroque' period. Each new era begins with a 'classical' phase, such as Antiquity, the Renaissance, and Neoclassicism, which dissolves into the following 'baroque' period. Although one can find in *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* a considerable progress towards a full circle re-evaluation of the Baroque, this idea of cyclical development carries with it

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<sup>41</sup> On Riegl's comparison between Roman painting of the Late Roman Antiquity and Baroque painting, see also Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 7.

<sup>42</sup> Riegl, *Die Entstehung*, 14: 'Sein Buch ist heute noch das beste, was über den italienischen Barockstil gesagt wurde, wenngleich, wie gesagt, gegenüber Burckhardt eigentlich nichts grundsätzlich Neues und auch seine Analysen keineswegs einwandfrei sind. Seine Definition des Barockstiles als ‚Massigkeit und Bewegung‘ ist nicht tief genug. Wir erfahren auch nicht, warum es so kommen mußte. Auch bei Wölfflin erscheint er als Verirrung und Verfall, ohne daß wir sähen, daß es um höherer Fortschritte willen so kommen mußte.' Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien*, Munich: Ackermann, 1888. For Wölfflin's and Riegl's 'Baroque' and on their exchange of ideas through their writings, see Levy, *Baroque and the political Language of Formalism (1845-1945)*, 87-96.

<sup>43</sup> On the divergences and similarities between Burckhardt and Riegl and on Riegl's overcoming of normative aesthetics, see Artur Rosenauer, 'Burckhardt und Riegl' in Sabine Frommel and Antonio Bruccleri, *L'idée du style dans l' historiographie artistique: variantes nationales et transmissions*, Rome: Campisano Editore, 2012, 177-185. On the last point, see Pächt, 'Art Historians and Art Critics 6', 188-93, and Pächt, *The Practice of Art History*, 69-70.

some traces of 'decay'.<sup>44</sup> Riegl, on the other hand, valorises the 'realistic' periods in the course of art development, including the Baroque, which was based on a rediscovered direct contact with nature.

## 2.5. 'Wollen' and 'Kunstwollen'

As mentioned above, historiography has long focused on Riegl's famous concept of *Kunstwollen* without giving equal space to other relevant aspects of his scholarly work. Presumably, the long-lasting lack of interest in Riegl's posthumous work on the origin of Baroque art compared to other works of his, such as *Stilfragen* (1893) or *Die Spätromische Kunst-Industrie* (1901), can be attributed at least in part to the non-central role of the above-mentioned concept in his lecture notes on the Baroque. Indeed, the concept of *Kunstwollen* is rarely mentioned there compared to in his other writings.<sup>45</sup> As already noted by Alina Payne, this does not mean that *Kunstwollen* plays no role in Riegl's analysis of Baroque art, but rather that his investigation is focused on other aspects.<sup>46</sup> His manuscripts on the Baroque offer careful analyses of the most representative monuments and artworks of different territories, understood in the sense of geographical-cultural entities. On this basis, Riegl traces the development of the Baroque in Europe, taking into account a differentiated interpretation in each individual territory. In this context, it should be specified that although the term 'Kunstwollen' can be found in *Die Entstehung* (1908), this is not the case in Riegl's lecture notes (1894-95). It is replaced by the term 'Wollen', which also appears in the 1908 and 1923 volumes.<sup>47</sup> While in the published

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<sup>44</sup> Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*, Munich: Bruckmann, 1915; Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Early Modern art*, ed. by Evonne Levy and Tristan Weddigen, trans. by Jonathan Blower, Los Angeles: Getty Trust Publications, 2015 (reprint of the first edition, Munich 1915); Heinrich Wölfflin, *Drei Münchner Vorlesungsnotizen Heinrich Wölfflins: Die architektonischen Stilbildungen vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit: Grundbegriffe der Kunstgeschichte: Geschichte der deutschen Kunst im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Hans Körner and Manja Wilkens, 36, Passau: Dietmar Klinger Verlag, 2016. For Wölfflin's concept of 'Baroque', see Payne, 'Beyond *Kunstwollen*', 1-24; Alina Payne, 'On sculptural Relief: Malerisch, the Autonomy of artistic Media and the Beginnings of Baroque Studies' in Helen Hills, *Rethinking the Baroque*, Farnham: Ashgate, 39-64; Levy, *Baroque and the political Language of Formalism*, 2015, 98-170; Engel, *Stil und Nation*, 294-328, 454-475. For Wölfflin's marginal notes and working method, see Andrew James Hopkins, 'Heinrich Wölfflin's own annotated Books', *Getty Research Journal*, 7, 2015, 177-184. For the fourth edition of Wölfflin's *Renaissance und Barock* (1926) with Hans Rose's appendix and its English translation, see Arnold Witte and Andrew James Hopkins, 'Hans Rose, Commentary to Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, fourth edition, Munich: Bruckmann, 1926, 181-328', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 14, 2016, 1-77. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien*, ed. by Hans Rose, Munich: Bruckmann, 1926 (fourth edition).

<sup>45</sup> Matthew Rampley, 'Subjectivity and Modernism: Riegl and the Rediscovery of the Baroque', in Woodfield, *Framing Formalism*, 265-290; Payne, 'Beyond *Kunstwollen*', 19; Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 53; Hopkins, 'Riegl Renaissances', 63; Engel, *Stil und Nation*, 382 and footnote 349.

<sup>46</sup> Payne, 'Beyond *Kunstwollen*', 19.

<sup>47</sup> Hopkins, 'Riegl Renaissances', 63; Engel, *Stil und Nation*, 382 and footnote 349.

passages the terms 'Wollen' and 'Kunstwollen' are used both in connection to the style of a people (e.g. 'das germanisch[e] Kunstwollen')<sup>48</sup> and above all that of an individual artist, such as Michelangelo Buonarroti and Donato Bramante, the term 'Wollen' in Riegl's first lecture notes on the Baroque (1894-95) tends to take on the meaning of the stylistic development of an artistic epoch.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, Riegl's fundamental concentration on the style of an artist proves constant in his manuscripts on the Baroque as a whole (1894-1902). Riegl's early death may have played a role in the undifferentiated use of *Wollen* and *Kunstwollen*: although he worked on his manuscripts until towards the end of his life, it was not possible for him to give them a completed form. In any case, historiography has emphasised and continues to emphasise the constant adaptation of the term 'Kunstwollen' to the different questions Riegl pursued in the course of his research work. As explained above, in his lecture notes on the Baroque, Riegl applied the concepts of both 'Kunstwollen' and 'Wollen' to considerations of general and 'local' stylistic development as well as to observations on the style of an individual artist.<sup>50</sup> In this sense, the heterogeneous meaning of the terms 'Kunstwollen' and 'Wollen' reflect Riegl's multifaceted concept of 'Baroque', in which the general and the particular meet.

### 3. Conclusions

The analysis of the entire opus of Riegl's lecture notes on the Baroque reveals a much more comprehensive investigation of Baroque art compared to an analysis based on the posthumously published editions of the years 1908 and 1923. Indeed, the focus on the lecture notes 'Art History of the Baroque Age' (1894-95) - Riegl's unpublished corpus - makes it possible to better grasp his contribution to the long-lasting process of the re-evaluation of Baroque art. This effort already characterises the published passages from his lecture notes (1898-1902), in which he concentrates on the origins and first phases of the Baroque. Riegl's manuscript 'Art History of the Baroque Age' provides a comprehensive history of the development of the Baroque style, from Rome, his point of departure, to the other territories of the Italian Peninsula, and – beyond the Alps – Austria, Bohemia and Germany. According to Riegl, the first traces of the Baroque can be discerned chronologically in Michelangelo's late work around 1520, although a 'homogeneous art direction'<sup>51</sup> can only be identified around the middle of the sixteenth-century. Riegl's analysis of the

<sup>48</sup> Riegl, *Die Entstehung*, 3.

<sup>49</sup> For the meaning of 'Kunstwollen' in the volume *Die Entstehung*, see Rampley, 'Subjectivity and Modernism', 265-286; Payne, 'Beyond *Kunstwollen*', 19; Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 48-49; Hopkins, 'Riegl Renaissances', 63; Engel, *Stil und Nation*, 374-395.

<sup>50</sup> For the first reflections on the multiple meanings of 'Kunstwollen' in Riegl's work, see Pächt, 'Art Historians and Art Critics 6', 188-190, cited in Hopkins, 'Riegl Renaissances', 85 and footnote 63: '[...] the term most certainly changed its meaning for Riegl himself as new problems arose [...], this cipher for the generating and controlling factor in artistic creation, is applied by Riegl equally to an individual work of art, to an individual artist, to an historical period, to an ethnical group or to a nation.' Witte, 'Reconstructing Riegl's *Entstehung*', 48-49, and Hopkins, 'Riegl Renaissances', 63.

<sup>51</sup> 'Einheitlich[e] Kunstrichtung'. Riegl, 'Kunstgeschichte des Barockzeitalters W.S. 1894/95', 1.

development of the Baroque style with its periodisation into different phases is to be positioned within the framework of the contemporary historiographical debate on the systematisation of Baroque art. This was characterised by a normative aesthetic; compared to the Renaissance, the Baroque appeared as a phase of decay. The application of a methodological pluralism, which would blossom in the field of Baroque historiography in the course of the twentieth-century, allows Riegl to make a fundamental change of perspective, from which the Baroque emerges as a cultural-historical phenomenon with its own dignity. Due to the only partial publication of Riegl's manuscripts as well as their unfinished form, this process of re-evaluation could not be adequately captured until now. While the long-lasting process of the reconsideration of the 'Baroque' as a cultural-historical phenomenon with its own value had begun with Jacob Burckhardt's *Der Cicerone* of 1855, this process only came full circle during the second half of the twentieth-century. Rudolf Wittkower's influential book *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*, published in 1958, played a fundamental role in this.

Riegl's contribution to a re-evaluation of 'Baroque' concerns several levels of his narrative: his investigation on the basis of individual artworks, and his observations on the development of the Baroque style in general. Apart from the overall uneven narrative of Riegl's lecture notes, which also did not favour the reception of the published passages on the origins of Baroque art in Rome, it should be noted that his comprehensive observations on the development of art history were the result of a rigorous inductive method. Both his training at the Department of Art History and the Institute of Historical Research, as well as his work as a curator in the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry for more than a decade, played a significant role in Riegl's conception of a 'practical art history'.<sup>52</sup> The focus of his study is not only on individual artworks but also on the artists, which fundamentally distinguishes Riegl's investigation from contemporary contributions to Baroque art, as in the case of Wölfflin's *Renaissance und Barock* (1888). Riegl's careful analysis of artworks, by means of which he attempts to capture the artistic language of each personality, contributes decisively to an early appreciation of both artworks and artists, such as Francesco Borromini and Salvator Rosa, whose artistic production was still judged negatively according to the prevailing normative aesthetic.

As his entire oeuvre shows, Riegl starts from the assumption that every artwork, every artistic genre, and every artistic epoch has an intrinsic value. When Riegl states that Baroque painting - in the context of the general development of art - has the significance of a 'realistic' period, he encourages the consideration of Baroque art from a new perspective. This perspective made it possible to overcome the view of the Baroque as a 'decline' of Renaissance art and to consider it as the capability to create new means of expression that the sensibility of the 'Modern Age' required.

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<sup>52</sup> For Riegl's practical art history, see Reynolds Cordileone, 'Mood, Modernism, and the Museum for Art and Industry', 39-42, and Reynolds Cordileone, *Alois Riegl in Vienna 1875-1905*, 49-57, 248-253.



One can only speculate about the possible impact of a complete publication of Riegl's lecture notes on the Baroque art historiography at the time. His all-encompassing approach to the Baroque, by means of which the complexity of the matter takes shape, the broad spectrum of his art-historical analyses, through which one can get from the particular to the general and vice versa, can still be fertile ground for further food for thought.

**Dr. Eleonora Gaudieri** is an art historian specialising in Early Modern Art History and Art Historiography. She currently leads a postdoctoral project in the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna, where she holds an APART-GSK Fellowship awarded by the Austrian Academy of Sciences. She received her doctorate at the University of Vienna with a PhD thesis on a re-consideration of Alois Riegl's concept of 'Baroque' in light of his still unpublished manuscripts. As a doctoral candidate, she was awarded the University of Vienna's dissertation completion fellowship, as well as the Uni:docs Fellowship under which she was employed as a pre-doctoral research assistant in the Department of Art History. Her forthcoming monograph on Riegl's concept of 'Baroque' will be published by Böhlau.

eleonora.gaudieri@univie.ac.at



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