



Origins of the Art History Survey Text

Author(s): Mitchell Schwarzer

Source: *Art Journal*, Vol. 54, No. 3, Rethinking the Introductory Art History Survey (Autumn, 1995), pp. 24-29

Published by: [College Art Association](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/777579>

Accessed: 02/09/2014 13:36

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



College Art Association is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Art Journal*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Origins of the Art History Survey Text

Mitchell Schwarzer

24

The universal and developmental presumptions of art history are nowhere better expressed than in the global survey text. More than any other genre within the discipline, the survey text embodies the nineteenth-century vision of history to unify the art of the past into a coherent and relevant story for the present. In its grand tour through all five continents and over thousands of years, the survey text asks us to believe that the immeasurable diversity of art can be brought together into a great chain of meaning. The survey text is art history at its most grandiose, promising to reveal the complex truths of humanity through art. It is also art history at its most political, reducing cultural and individual differences to questionable hierarchies and generalities.

Some of the earliest attempts to position art on a vast developmental scale occurred in nineteenth-century Germany. They followed Johann Joachim Winckelmann's groundbreaking history of the art of antiquity and Gustav-Friedrich Waagen's and Carl Friedrich Rumohr's contextual histories of Renaissance artists. During the 1840s and 1850s, the first survey texts that can truly be called global were written by Franz Theodor Kugler, Carl Schnaase, and Anton Springer.¹ Alongside philosophers like Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and political historians like Leopold von Ranke, these art historians discovered the meaning of their own time through connections with the whole of human history. Their surveys tell us about the construction of history according to ideas of progress and linearity, and the division of world culture through rankings of artistic quality.

The early survey texts were part of a greater struggle to create modern German identity. They were anything but an isolated, academic endeavor. Quite unlike the commonplace use of the art history survey text for university education in the twentieth century, the survey texts were written in an era when there were no university art history departments. They were intended for the educated public—scholars, artists, travelers—and especially cultural officials and art's administrators. It is likely that the survey texts were first used for university teaching only a generation later, after 1871. Not surprisingly, none of the texts I discuss were written while any of their authors held university professorships.²

The early survey texts represent the birth of a new literary genre of cardinal relevance for the emergence of the discipline of art history. Today, an examination of their methods and assumptions tells us a great deal about the standard survey texts of the twentieth century and helps us rethink and reconsider the genre.

Pioneers of Historical Context

I begin with Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art* (1764) because its contribution to the formation of visual connoisseurship in art history has been immense, its impact on the development of the survey text in Germany equally momentous. Like Giorgio Vasari, who narrated the history of art as a developmental movement of style toward perfection (in his case, Michelangelo), Winckelmann conducted the history of ancient art from the achievements of fifth-century B.C. Athens. To describe the penultimate meaning of classical Greece for eighteenth-century Europeans, he laid out a three-stage developmental pattern for all world art: (1) necessity, (2) progress toward perfect beauty, and (3) decay into superfluity.³

In most other ways Winckelmann differs greatly from Vasari. Already in the preface to *The History of Ancient Art*, he was adamant that his art history depart from mere chronicles of epochs or histories of individual artists. A decisive contribution by Winckelmann to the art history survey text was his attention to the contextual factors (i.e., climate) that underlay beauty in Greek art. Rarely mentioned are the names of individual artists. Nations are what matter. They are the discrete examples of the universal potential of art to move within its three stages.⁴

Because the complete historical progression of art occurred within Greece, Winckelmann did not write global art history. He believed that the history of art moved in great cycles, whose rotation from Egypt to Rome was fully represented in the art of antiquity. The Greeks, for instance, had once had an Egyptian-like period, and by the time of the late Roman emperors, classical art had reached its last stage, where the merit of sculpture consisted solely in elaboration.

Most conspicuously absent from Winckelmann's text is the art of Europe after the Roman Empire.⁵ It was not until

1822, with the appearance of Waagen's *On Hubert and Johann van Eyck*, that an attempt was made to understand the art of early modern Europe from within its own medieval context.⁶ Like Winckelmann, Waagen pointed out the major failure of the new art history of the nineteenth century as that of not observing the connections between artistic works and their complete era and place.⁷ He recommended that in order to understand an artist, art historians should discuss political history, the constitution, the character of a people, conditions of the church, customs, literature, and the nature of the land.⁸ They must also pay great attention to the artist's historical and psychological background: his place of birth, conditions of growing up, and influences on his thought. To understand the van Eyck brothers, Waagen's text was divided into three parts: (1) a general history of the Netherlands; (2) a history of painting from Carolingian times to the time of the van Eycks; and (3) a specific analysis of the brothers and their artworks.⁹

Waagen's analysis of great artistic achievements in light of the artworks of the past foreshadows the global art history survey text. Strongly influenced by Friedrich Schlegel and the Romantics, Waagen conceived the Germanic Middle Ages as an underpinning for the classical tendencies of the Early Renaissance.¹⁰ The creation of oil painting by Jan van Eyck was neither an isolated occurrence nor an act of individual genius outside of historical inheritance. It was a creative synthesis of the Middle Ages and classical antiquity and represented to Waagen nothing less than the birth of the modern European sensibility.¹¹ Earlier, Schlegel had proposed a union of ancient and modern. His theory is contained in the *Dialogue on Poetry* (1799), where he wrote: "In the history of art one block of material is only explained and clarified in the light of another."¹² All art, ancient and medieval, is part of an endless chain, never completed and always striving forward.

Rumohr's *Italian Investigations* (1827) shares in Waagen's Romantic concern to explain the meaning of art through historical chains. Rumohr held the principle goal of the art historian to be an objective analysis such that interconnections regarding the style and method of a great artist were better understood. What mattered most were the reasons that artists achieved perfect visual essence: that perfection emerging when an artist achieved a balance of perception, or truth to nature, and representation, or originality.¹³ This condition Rumohr found in Raphael, with whom he consequently oriented and concluded his entire survey. But, rather than condemn Raphael's distant predecessors as Vasari had done, Rumohr argued that Raphael's grand style represented the culmination of the powers of perfect artistic representation begun many centuries earlier.¹⁴

Even though Rumohr was strongly critical of Hegelian idealism, he believed in the importance of grounding the Italian art of the Renaissance in a historical and cultural context.¹⁵ Both Rumohr and Waagen envisioned the principal



FIG. 1 After Titian, *Virgin and Child with Saints Ulfo and Brigida*, wood engraving; from Franz Kugler, *Handbook of Painting: The Italian School* (London: John Murray, 1887), frontispiece.

task of art history as that of educating and civilizing the general public. This goal was exemplified by their theoretical contributions to the first design for a public art museum in Europe, Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum (1824–30) in Berlin.¹⁶ The museum took the form of an incipient art historical survey text. The picture galleries, in particular, signaled how the arrangement of artists within national schools can demonstrate the development of art over the centuries. The art museum and the survey text converge to the extent that both seek to construct modern consciousness from specific configurations of historical change.

The Global Survey Texts

In 1842 Kugler began his *Handbook of Art History*, with the claim that his was the very first comprehensive survey of art.¹⁷ In its temporal and geographic scope, at the very least, Kugler's claim is probably true.¹⁸ Beginning with a lengthy discussion of the origins of art in raw, material needs, he told the history of art as a great linear narrative culminating in the art historical debates of his own day. By virtue of its division of the history of world art into four great periods—(1) art in its earliest developmental stages, (2) classical art, (3) romantic (i.e., medieval) art, and (4) modern art—Kugler established the standard sequence for survey texts well into the twentieth century (fig. 1).¹⁹

Going much further than earlier art historians in his search for historical roots, Kugler established the basis for all notions of art and beauty in the early art of northern Europe (the Celts), the islands of the great oceans, and the pre-Columbian Americas. His history is also more globalizing because of its Hegelian and idealist theory of art as the corporeal representation of the life of the spirit.²⁰ As he wrote: "The origins of art lie in the needs of men to tie their thoughts to permanent matter, to create a monumental form and place for memories as the expression of their thoughts."²¹

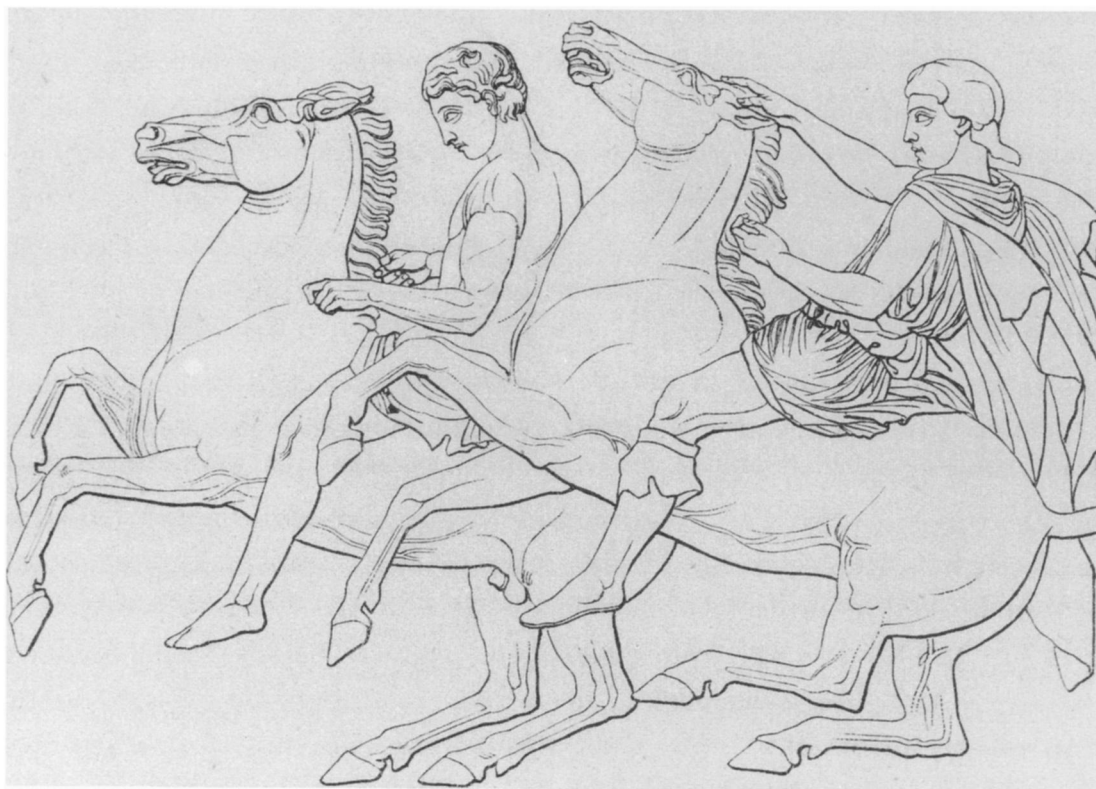


FIG. 2 After *Horsemen*, from the frieze of the Parthenon, wood engraving; from Carl Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, 8 vols. (Düsseldorf: Julius Buddeus, 1866), 2:213.

Art, very much in the sense of eighteenth-century aesthetics, is a lofty activity. In Kugler's and most subsequent survey texts, the arts associated with necessity (and peasant culture) were strategically rendered as early developmental phases within art's global evolutionary scheme.

In breaking with Hegel's march to the end of history and the end of art, however, Kugler also advocated artistic formalism. More like Ranke, he attempted to narrate a global history of art through a study of its objective particulars and not a single underlying principle.²² Kugler began with Celtic grave monuments, proceeded to Egypt, and then to India. Here he detected a higher, though imperfect, stage of artistic expression: "an effective and lively organicism."²³ But if Egyptian art remained hard and incapable of expressing the inner development of man, Indian art too was plagued by problems: a glut of imagination. Echoing Winckelmann, Kugler felt that only in Greece was antique perfection achieved.²⁴

A great difference between Kugler and Winckelmann was the former's high regard for medieval art. Especially in the period of the *germanischen Styles* (Gothic age), Kugler perceived a crucial "spiritualization of the earthly world."²⁵ Despite the fact that the medieval striving toward a higher, transcendental reality was the opposite of Greece's *Sinnesrichtung*—the preoccupation with earthly corporeal forms—Kugler portrayed Greek and medieval as the two poles of perfect artistic expression. As it had been for Ro-

mantic theorists like Schlegel, articulating the relationship between Greek antiquity and the German Middle Ages now became a principal theme of the survey text.

About the same time, Schnaase had begun his own global survey of art (fig. 2). His eight-volume *History of the Fine Arts* (1842–79) embodies the Hegelian desire to write a history of art as a history of the mentality of the human race, an endeavor specifically disavowed by Kugler. Indeed, in an 1843 review of the first volume of Schnaase's survey, Kugler spent a great deal of effort in differentiating their positions. Schnaase, he claimed, expanded each art historical moment into great cultural generalizations of a Hegelian nature.²⁶ Whereas Kugler saw his handbook as providing a useful tool for studying artistic monuments, he found Schnaase's to be an overblown excursion into the relationship between art and world-historical meaning.²⁷

Paradoxically, Schnaase's survey is less global than Kugler's.²⁸ Schnaase's dialectic found no space to discuss those peoples who did not help to explain the overall developmental course (*Entwicklungsgang*) of art: the Stone Age of northern Europe or the ancient Americas. What is more, Schnaase began his text with a lengthy discussion on philosophical aesthetics.²⁹ Art expressed both the spiritual and sensual sides of man: if "the tasks of beauty emerge in the inner life of man, this liberation can only be accomplished in the world of external appearances."³⁰ While embodying Hegel's synoptic vision for the arts and overall culture,

however, Schnaase never subordinated the physical or visual side of art to inner spirit as did Hegel.

Still, religious context was deeply important for Schnaase. Influenced by the Berlin legal theorist Friedrich Carl von Savigny, Schnaase developed a concept of the people's spirit (*der Volksgeistbegriff*) as the leading motive behind his proposed unity between people and religion, culture and nation, and art and history.³¹ Each individual artist possesses a spiritual heritage, traditions, and most importantly, a national consciousness (*Volksgeist*). Like Winckelmann, Schnaase focused on national artistic traditions and not on individuals. But in arguing the interrelationship of all historical peoples within a global scheme, Schnaase added that the individuality of any people is heavily dependent upon the spiritual traditions inherited from other peoples.³²

Although he readily proclaimed that the Greeks were the first people to express successfully the artistic impulse, Schnaase saved his greatest enthusiasm for Christian art: "that merger of Christianity with the Germanic peoples."³³ A second great blossoming of the arts commenced with the Romanesque period. Thus, only the pagan Greeks and medieval Christians express the absolute rule of the spirit.³⁴ Art history, for Schnaase, as with Kugler, was a cyclical story of the movements between the Greek and the medieval world views.³⁵ Unlike Vasari and Winckelmann, who professed a single true style for art, both Kugler and Schnaase understood art history as a repeated dialectical encounter of two equally valid stylistic tendencies. For them, modern European art was the result of complex historical cross-fertilizations between Latin classicism and medieval Germanic Christianity (*fig. 3*).

Already during the second half of the nineteenth century, a reaction to idealism and the growth in esteem of the natural sciences combined to reorient art historiography toward form and object.³⁶ Perhaps the most influential new survey texts of this type were written by Springer. Springer saw art history as a discipline distinguished not by its methods but by its objects and was highly critical of the method-laden texts of Kugler and especially Schnaase.³⁷ In place of what he regarded as dubious religious and cultural connections, Springer advocated a formal knowledge of details (*Detailkenntnis*), a total reconstruction of an artwork without the dreams of world-historical evolution.³⁸

Why then did Springer write global art history surveys? In his second survey text, *Art Historical Letters: The Fine Arts Considered in Their World Historical Development* (1857), he included a lengthy discussion of art historical methodology, omitted from later surveys.³⁹ While accepting Schnaase's position that artistic nations endow the content of history, Springer questioned reliance on notions like the *Volksgeist*.⁴⁰ Agreeing with Ranke and Savigny, Springer thought that global history was too complex to be based upon abstract speculation alone. It encompassed the whole of the sensate

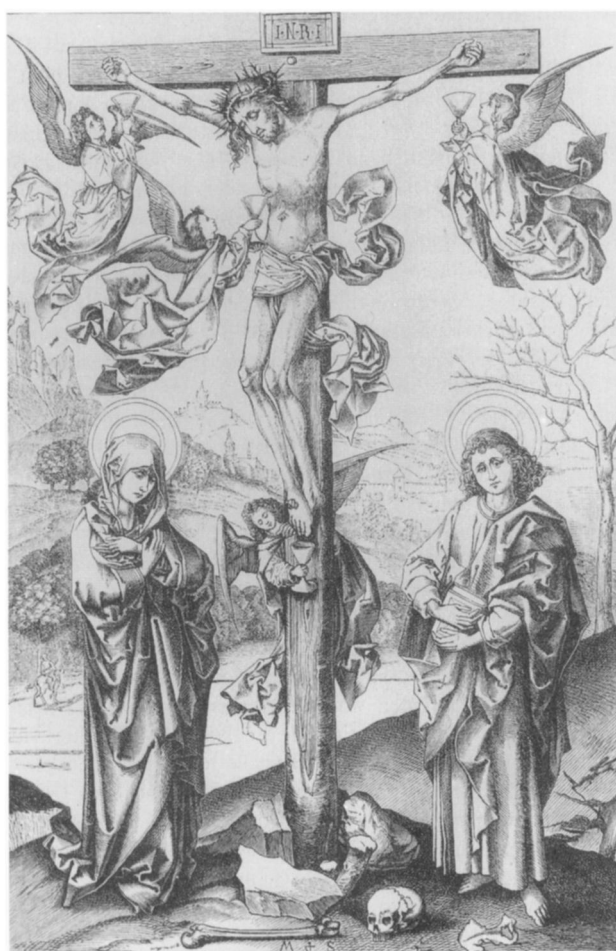


FIG. 3 After Martin Schongauer, *Christ on the Cross*, wood engraving; from Carl Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste im 16. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert, 1879), 398.

world, extending from the study of geologic formations to the organicism of human individualism.

This new emphasis led Springer to attempt a more form focused analysis of art history than Kugler or certainly Schnaase. In his survey's later versions, the *Textbook for the Art Historical Image Collection* (1879) and the *Handbook of Art History*, Springer recommended in place of *die Götterideale* [the ideals of God] factual studies of ornamentation and the means by which the fine arts emerged from handwork.⁴¹ The art history survey promised to teach the development not of the human race and mind, but of the more restricted traditions of artistic technique and style. It should be practical and primarily serve the student of art and the world traveler. Furthermore, by eschewing such totalizing aims, Springer began a trend toward evaluating individual artistic peoples for their own contributions.⁴² For instance, in referring to Egypt, he disavowed Kugler and Schnaase's notion of its absolute stasis [*der absoluten Unveränderlichkeit*] for a study of the ways in which Egyptian art changed.

Springer's survey texts influenced the subsequent global survey texts in several important ways.⁴³ Through a reduction to forms, he placed greater emphasis on arraying images in strict chronological order and attending to all world-historical peoples. Secondly, the meaning of art and artistic forms was reduced to the interrelationships between artworks themselves and not the contextual discourses of religion, politics, or environment favored by many of Springer's predecessors. Finally, by eliminating from later editions all methodological aims, Springer proposed the fiction of the art historian as the scientific assembler of objective facts. The formal images contained within the global history, he implied, will speak the meaning of the history of world art themselves. Illustrations from this point on, and not conceptual arguments, would constitute the structure of the art history survey text.

Last Call for the Survey?

28

The early art history survey texts can be divided between contextual and formalist methods. Whereas the former set were guided by a higher, a priori order of art located in God or the subjective human spirit, the latter were descriptive and internally focused on art. This division centered on the question of how much extraformal context to include in the survey text, an issue that has persisted to the present day. Should the survey text, according to Schnaase, primarily invoke the pervasive relationships of art to other human activities? Or should the survey, as Springer would have it, contribute to world history by limiting its point of reference to art forms themselves?

Beyond this difference, all the texts we have considered shared a belief in the global significance of artistic development. The developmental steps leading to and away from any individual artist were crucial to understanding that artist and the overall makeup of the arts over the course of history. Common as well to each chronological tracking mechanism was a belief in the restricted scope of perfect art and beauty. Although the surveys gradually included more and more artistic periods as a result of ongoing art historical and archaeological investigations, they all proclaimed restricted eras of artistic perfection.

This concept of perfection promoted hierarchy, both over time and in regard to national culture. The arts of Oceania, Africa, Asia, and the Americas served as the foundation stones for the development of higher forms of artistic expression in Europe. They were preparatory, flawed stages along the route toward artistic culmination in classical Greece, medieval Christianity, and modern Europe (as the combination of both). Consequently, non-European art was almost completely excluded from the later and crucial stages of art historical development. Only Islam was granted higher status, and only then because of its substantial inheritance from Rome and Byzantium.

The leading aim of the survey texts was to demonstrate the possibility of recreating a high artistic culture for nineteenth-century Western Europe. For Kugler, Schnaase, and Springer alike, contemporary art was to be seen as the culmination of complex, yet structured paths of historical transmission. Their texts were intended as proof of this fact. In the case of Germany, moreover, writing art history on a global scale cannot be distinguished from nation building. The texts discussed in this essay exhibit a striking affection for classical Greece and medieval Germanic Christianity. Their moralizing tone was intended to inspire belief that modern German art and culture was the child of an inspired marriage of Hellenic realism and Christian theology: that the Romantic German artist was a form-making and sacred genius.

To a large extent the aims and narrative features of this literature were adopted by twentieth-century survey writers in the United States, a great many of whom were of German origin. The popular surveys written by Janson, Hartt, Gardner, and Gombrich, among others, echo the developmental lineage and elitist aesthetic sensibilities of their nineteenth-century predecessors. Without doubt, these American art historians gradually eliminated many of the hierarchical, inter-national overtones of the nineteenth-century survey. The result, however, is that of an incoherent formalism, wholly lacking the consistent point of view of nineteenth-century authors.

In a postmodern world characterized by aesthetic relativism and cultural pluralism, the genre of the survey text has obviously become problematic. How can new survey texts eschew notions of trans-historical structure, inter-national hierarchies, and universal values for art and perfect beauty and still maintain coherence? But does ceasing to write global surveys of the old kind suggest a regime of artistic equivalences too much in tune with the unrelenting randomness of postmodern culture? Do we need the survey's labyrinth of fantastic ruins and gigantic myths as a foil to our increasingly immutable groundedness?

Notes

1. On the history of German art history during the early nineteenth century, see Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution: Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1979), 173–258.
2. During the 1820s and 1830s, Waagen was director of the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, becoming the first chair of art history at the University of Berlin only in 1844. Rumohr remained for his whole life an important art critic and advisor to museums in Berlin and northern Europe. Kugler, who studied at the University of Berlin and the Allgemeine Bauschule, also never held a university professorship, acting as a prominent advocate for the arts in Prussian cultural circles. Schnaase, who also studied at the University of Berlin, became an advisor for the arts in Düsseldorf in 1829 and eventually returned to Berlin in 1848 for a government post. Finally, Springer, who habilitated in Bonn in 1852, only became a professor of art history at the University of Leipzig in 1873.
3. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of Ancient Art*, trans. Alexander Gode, 2 vols. (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1969), 1:29. Winckelmann felt that while other art (in this case, Egyptian or Etruscan) may enlarge our ideas of beauty, only Greek art is based on the idea of truth.
4. *Ibid.*, 1:35.
5. Winckelmann ignored and occasionally, in the case of Michelangelo and Bernini, condemned the profound development of artistic individualism in the European lands

after the Middle Ages. As much as Giovan Pietro Bellori, he strongly opposed the artistic excesses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

6. Another important history of the era is J. B. L. G. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monuments: Depuis sa décadence au IV^e siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XIV^e* (Paris: Treuffel et Wirth, 1823).

7. Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Ueber Hubert und Johann Van Eyck* (Breslau: Josef Max, 1822), 25.

8. Waagen mentioned that Johann Dominicus Fiorillo, the first professor of art history at a German university (1813, in Göttingen), already spoke of the importance for art historians to understand political history.

9. Waagen, *Ueber Hubert und Johann Van Eyck*, 26.

10. At the same time, Leopold von Ranke's *Histories of the Romantic and Germanic Peoples from 1494 to 1514* (Berlin, 1824) argued that the peoples north and south of the Alps evolved in unity and kindred movement. See also idem, "Preface to the First Edition of Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations," in Rolf Sältzer, ed., *German Essays on History* (New York: Continuum, 1991), 88–90.

11. Waagen's achievement and the future conditions for a history of art, writes Gabriele Bickendorf, was grounded in the theoretical writings of the Romantics. Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck saw art in a theological sense, as an opening to God. Later, August Wilhelm Schlegel turned this revelation into a natural history of art, a language of visual forms, so to speak. Finally, Friedrich Schlegel described this language of artworks as carriers of historical meaning much like texts. The development of an idea of a language of artistic forms provided the grounding for later approaches to the whole of art history. Gabriele Bickendorf, *Der Beginn der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung unter dem Paradigma "Geschichte": Gustav Friedrich Waagens Frühschrift "Ueber Hubert und Johann van Eyck"* (Worms: Wernersche, 1985), 191–92.

12. Friedrich Schlegel, *Dialogue on Poetry and Literary Aphorisms*, trans. Ernst Behler and Roman Struc (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968), 107.

13. Gert Schiff, introduction to *German Essays on Art History* (New York: Continuum, 1988), xxviii.

14. Carl Friedrich Rumohr, *Italianische Forschungen*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Nicolai'schen, 1827), 1:84.

15. The *Italianische Forschungen* are divided into three parts: (1) a methodology for art history as well as an analysis of the meaning of art from the time of the Dark Ages to the thirteenth century; (2) the development of Italian art between Duccio and the beginning of the fifteenth century; and (3) Raphael and his contemporaries.

16. Theodore Ziolkowski, *German Romanticism and Its Institutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 318–19.

17. The representation of the history of art as a world development was first set forth by Hegel. He depicted a global history of art reaching from Egypt to modern Europe, whose formal changes were characterized by the permutations of the emergent world spirit. In 1835 the lectures were collected and edited for publication by the art historian Heinrich Gustav Hotho. The English translation—*Hegel's Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975)—is based on Hotho's second edition of 1838.

18. The preface to Wilhelm Lübke's later survey text attributed to Kugler the first traverse of the whole grand field of art and representation of it in a distinct outline. Lübke also credited Schnaase with the first connection of art to the innermost life of art and historical epochs. Wilhelm Lübke, *History of Art*, trans. F. E. Bunnett, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, 1869), 1:v.

19. Kugler's four great stages of art are as follows: (1) the beginning of art in the northern lands of Europe, islands of the great oceans, America, Egypt and Nubia, West Asia, East Asia; (2) Greece, Rome; (3) Early Christian and Byzantium, Islam, Romanesque, Gothic (germanischen); and (4) Europe from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries. In the 1860s Lübke's *History of Art* used the exact same format: (1) ancient art of the East; (2) classic art; (3) Middle Ages; and (4) modern times. In its later editions, Springer's *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* added greater emphasis to the modern era by combining all of antiquity and splitting up Renaissance and post-Renaissance: (1) antiquity; (2) the Middle Ages; (3) the Renaissance in Italy; and (4) the Northern Renaissance and the art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Springer's division was essentially repeated in H. W. Janson, *History of Art: A Survey of the Major Visual Arts from the Dawn of Time to the Present Day* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962): (1) ancient; (2) Middle Ages; (3) Renaissance; and (4) modern. Although Janson omitted almost all non-Western art, he did begin his survey with a chapter titled "Magic and Ritual," which included primitive art.

20. In *The Philosophy of History*, Hegel had characterized art as the striving over time to realize a sensate representation of the world spirit. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Wiley Book, 1944), 49–54.

21. Franz Theodor Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert, 1842), 3. Unillustrated, later editions of Kugler's text were accompanied by an atlas of images. See Joseph Caspar and Wilhelm Lübke, *Monuments of Art Showing Its Development and Progress from the Earliest Artistic Attempts to the Present Period*, 2 vols. (New York: Theo Stroefer, n.d.). Interestingly, the editors broke up Kugler's fourth great era—"Modern Art"—into two periods: "Modern Art" and "Art of the Present Time." Where the image atlas begins with Celtic and Nordic monuments

(including Stonehenge), it ends with English animal and landscape painters of the nineteenth century.

22. Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 5.

23. Ibid., 36.

24. China, interestingly, was written off by Kugler as suffering from a very unpleasant figuration. Unlike Winckelmann, Kugler described Roman art as overly concerned with necessity and practicality. Whereas art ruled life in Greece, art was the servant of life in Rome.

25. Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 515.

26. Franz Kugler, *Kleine Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert, 1854), 2:437.

27. Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 481. Kugler felt that the predecessor for Schnaase was Amadeus Wendt, *Ueber die Hauptperioden der schönen Kunst; oder, die Kunst im Laufe der Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1831).

28. Schnaase's survey proceeds in the following order: (1) India, Babylonia and Assyria, Persia, Phoenicia and the Hebrews, Egypt; (2) Greece, Etruria, and Rome; (3) beginning of Christian-Germanic art, the Dark Ages, Byzantium, Armenia/Georgia/Russia, Islam, Carolingian; (4) Germanic Romanesque; (5) Germanic Gothic; (6) late Middle Ages to Johann van Eyck; (7) Italian, Spanish, and Northern European Middle Ages; and (8) fifteenth century, ending with Brunelleschi.

29. Like Hegel, Schnaase considered the visual arts to be lower manifestations of the possibility for art to speak of the essence of things. Schnaase's extensive methodology was strongly criticized in a review by Gustav Friedrich Waagen, "Geschichte der bildenden Künste von Carl Schnaase," *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1, nos. 116–20 (1844): 922. Such criticisms may have led future art historians to leave out large methodological discussions at the beginning of their texts.

30. Carl Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, 8 vols. (Düsseldorf: Julius Buddeus, 1866–76), 1:5.

31. Gregor Stemmrich, "C. Schnaase: Rezeption und Transformation Berlinischen Geistes in der kunsthistorischen Forschung," in Otto Pöggeler and Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert, eds., *Kunsterfahrung und Kulturpolitik in Berlin Hegels* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1983), 244–45.

32. Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, 1:48.

33. Ibid., 4:493.

34. Ibid., 1:50.

35. Despite the text's great length Schnaase was unable to complete his survey. Presumably, although equal weight should have been given to the Greek conception of art, five books were taken up by a discussion of art from early Christianity and the Dark Ages [*Zeit des Verfalls*] to the fifteenth century. It is possible that Schnaase ended his survey at the beginning of the Renaissance because of the appearance of Jacob Burckhardt's equally contextual books on Renaissance art as well as in light of the arduous attitudes of the modern era.

36. It should be remembered that attacks were also made on Schnaase's mode of speculation from art historians concerned with the relationships of art to broad social circumstances. For an analysis of the differences between Schnaase and Jacob Burckhardt, see Ernst Heidrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Methode der Kunstgeschichte* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1917), 50–81.

37. Wolfgang Beyrodt, "Kunstgeschichte als Universitätsfach," in Peter Ganz, Martin Gosebruch, Nikolaus Meier, and Martin Warnke, eds., *Kunst und Kunsttheorie, 1400–1900* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), 319. The details of Springer's anti-idealist position are contained in, "Die Hegel'sche Geschichtsanschauung" (Ph.D. diss., University of Tübingen, 1848).

38. Nikolaus Meier, "Kunstgeschichte und Kulturgeschichte oder Kunstgeschichte nach Aufgaben" in *Kunst und Kunsttheorie*, 319–20.

39. Springer's first *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* appeared in 1853.

40. Anton Heinrich Springer, *Kunsthistorische Briefe: Die bildenden Künste in ihrer weltgeschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Prague: Friedrich Ehrlich, 1857), 5–6.

41. Anton Springer, *Textbuch zu den kunsthistorischen Bilderbogen*, 2d ed. (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1881), 4–5.

42. In 1908 Alois Riegl distinguished between those historians like Springer, who favored comprehending the singularity of artworks (*Spezialuntersuchung*) and those like Schnaase, who were captivated by the so-called impulses that connected single works into great chains (*universalen Darstellung*). See Alois Riegl, "Kunstgeschichte und Universalgeschichte" in *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Augsburg: Benno Filser, 1929), 8.

43. Many later surveys followed Springer's formal method. For instance, Karl Woermann disavowed any spiritual, world-historical, economic, or aesthetic teachings. See Karl Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*, 6 vols. (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1905).

MITCHELL SCHWARZER is assistant professor in the Department of Art History, University of Illinois at Chicago. He wrote *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity* (Cambridge, 1995).