**Report on the international Symposium of the Technische Universität Dresden at the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca in Rome, in cooperation with the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris Sciences & Lettres Univerity:**

The history of architectural history. The genesis and development of a scientific discipline between national perspectives and European models   Rome, 8 and 9 November 2022

Scientific direction: Henrik Karge, Sabine Frommel and Claudio Strinati
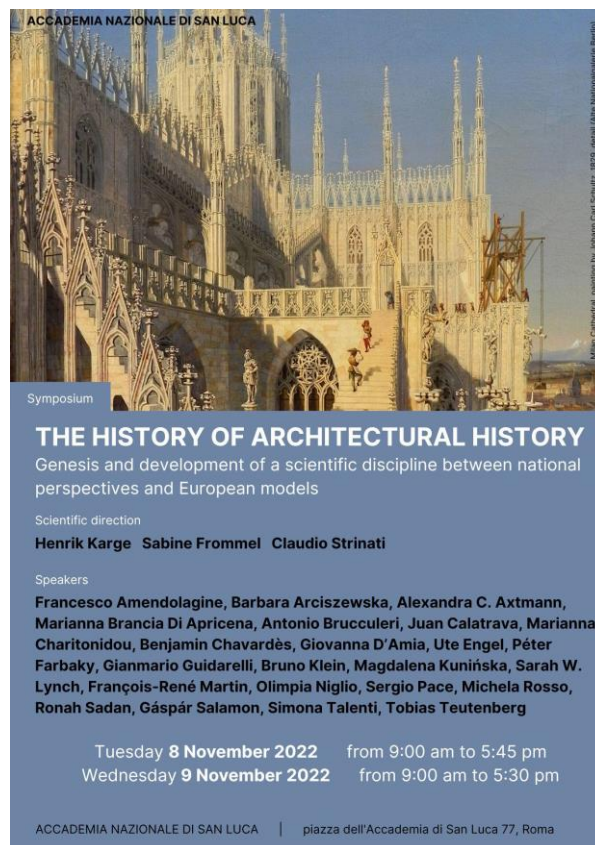
Concept of the symposium

For the first time, the symposium on the History of Architectural History attempted to understand and describe the increasing importance of architectural historiography as a European phenomenon on an international level. In this sense, the different understandings of this discipline in several European countries were to be examined, also with regard to the reciprocal effects of their respective

methodologies. Renowned experts from Italy, Germany, France, Spain, Denmark, Poland, Hungary and Greece contributed diverse national and supranational perspectives.

The participants of the symposium analysed the genesis and development of architectural historiography within the panorama of historical sciences, especially in relation to the history of art. In various contributions, the authors of architectural history were examined: art historians, architectural theorists and practical architects have each developed specific perspectives. Fundamental is the relationship to the social and political situation of the country concerned. Did architectural history contribute to the development of national identities and stereotypes?

On the other hand, a largely standardised development model of European architectural styles emerged during the 19th century, which was understood in the 20th century as the basis of different concepts of modernity and of contemporary architecture. In this respect, the interactions of the different countries, their academic institutions and specific traditions had to be grasped. Finally, the view was expanded to include global perspectives on the history of architecture.

The symposium was the culmination of a long journey: After initial deliberations, Sabine Frommel and Henrik Karge organised a preparatory workshop on the same topic at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich in July 2019. At the beginning of 2020, the call for proposals for a symposium already planned at the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca met with a great response, but the realisation planned for May 2020 fell victim to the Corona pandemic. In the meantime, there were also changes at the Accademia, and so the replanning of the conference, which was mainly financed by the Technische Universität Dresden, was scheduled for November 2022. It took place according to plan and without any cancellations of speakers.

The conference participants found a perfectly suitable lecture room in the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca in a historical ambience, which was also equipped with up-to-date technology for recording the presentations. Claudio Strinati as secretary of the Accademia and co-organiser of the symposium as well as Barbara Reggio as technical organiser deserve the special thanks of the conference direction.

Introduction

Henrik Karge (Technische Universität Dresden):

Introduction I: Foundations of Architectural Historiography in 19th Century Germany – Nationalistic and Universalistic Concepts in the History of Art and Architecture

After his preliminary remarks, Henrik Karge showed by the design of the euro banknotes with architectural motifs from different eras, but without specific allocation to particular countries that the stylistic periods of architecture are considered a particularly clear symbol of a common European tradition, even if they

are difficult to define scientifically. Period styles are primarily to be understood as intellectual constructions, with the help of which the abundance of buildings and works of art from earlier times and the complexity of their cultural contexts are made accessible in a simplifying manner. Today, it is undisputed that the coherent outline of the history of styles, which is primarily based on the evidence of formal connections, has no scientific validity in the narrower sense; nevertheless, the popular understanding of architectural history continues to be shaped by the idea of an unbroken chain of period styles.

Even if architectural styles are now attributed a pan-European significance, the historical genesis of their concepts is mostly based on national projections, and these decisively shaped the unfolding of architectural historiography in the first half of the 19th century. The canonisation of the ancient building tradition in classical architectural theory, which largely prevented the perception of the diverse architectural heritage of the various European countries until the 18th century, is to be considered as a background foil. Paradoxically, it was precisely the originally pejorative association of 'Gothic' architecture with the German building tradition that, after its positive reassessment in the later 18th century, provided essential impulses for the study of medieval architecture in Germany. Karge used his introduction to present these specifically German contexts, which initially led to a nationalistic narrowing of perspective, but from around 1830 onwards resulted in a universalistic expansion of the conception of architectural history.

In 1835, when the German architect Franz Mertens reviewed previous efforts to research medieval architecture in Europe in his essay 'Historische Uebersicht der bisherigen Abhandlungen über die Baukunst des Mittelalters' ('Historical Survey of Previous Treatises on Medieval Architecture'), the result was negative, especially with regard to German research. This rekindled interest in the Middle Ages, Mertens wrote with amusement, did not lead to solid research into the chronology of medieval buildings, but rather, from around 1800 onwards, to a 'thirty-year war over the use of names: Byzantine, German, Old German, Gothic, Pre-Gothic, Saxon, Thuringian, Rhenish, Romanesque and Germanic. The knowledge of the subject itself, however, was not furthered one step by this.'

Mertens had already clearly recognised that this was not merely an academic dispute about the use of technical terms: behind the disputes, which revolved primarily around the correct designation of Gothic architecture, was the dispute about the national grip on this stylistic phenomenon - the history of architecture had been stylised into a question of national honour. Of course, the interpretation of Gothic architecture in Germany was of particular relevance, since for centuries the Germans' authorship - the term 'Gothic' indicates nothing else - of medieval architecture, which deviated from classical formal traditions, was taken for granted. This resulted in the paradoxical situation that Giorgio Vasari's attribution of Gothic church architecture to the Germans ('*architettura tedesca*'), which was meant as a condemnatory judgement, was accepted for centuries and, since the revaluation of Gothic in the 18th century, offered the opportunity for a positive redefinition of the national architectural tradition in Germany (see Bruno Klein's paper). Thus, German Gothic research of the early 19th century stood as much in the context of the genesis

of German nationalism as in that of the neo-Gothic architectural movement with its retrospective religious utopias.

At the same time, the disputes over the terms 'Gothic' and 'German' architecture show particularly vividly that the history of architectural history does not necessarily follow the pattern of a steady progress in knowledge. The positive re-evaluation of the Gothic style that took place in England and Germany in the 18th century put the great church buildings of the High and Late Middle Ages in a new light, while the term 'Gothic' continued to drag on its pejorative meaning, at least subliminally.

Even in a remarkably early attempt at a universal history of architecture, Christian Ludwig Stieglitz' *Geschichte der Baukunst vom frühesten Alterthume bis in die neueren Zeiten* (History of Architecture from the Earliest Antiquity to Modern Times), published in 1827, the narrowness of the 'old German' position becomes clear: after the high points of ancient architecture, Stieglitz emphasises only the architecture of the German Gothic period, largely dispensing with the treatment of architecture in the other European countries (see paper of Tobias Teutenberg).

It was precisely in the discussion of Stieglitz's work that a counter-position to the nationalistic encapsulation of Gothic studies first emerged in Germany: In a review published anonymously in 1828, his first work in architectural history, the young jurist Karl Schnaase opposed Stieglitz's use of the term 'German' instead of 'Gothic architecture': 'An exchange which seems dangerous and unjust. For the, admittedly in itself inappropriate, name of Gothic can now no longer cause any errors. The newly chosen name, however, distorts the undeniable truth that the French and the British had the same type of architecture without taking it from the Germans, perhaps earlier than the latter.' In his first major work, *Niederländische Briefe* (Letters from the Netherlands), published in 1834, Schnaase reaffirmed this position, which Mertens noted approvingly a year later. Schnaase's early works and Mertens' historiographical outline, which also includes the latest French and English research, mark the turning point from which both the old concept of Gothic architecture – neutralised as it were as a supranational term of agreement – gradually began to spread anew in Germany and the insight gained ground that German Gothic is based on French premises.

Thus, it would be misleading to view German architectural historiography of the 19th century generally from the perspective of nationalism. It was primarily art historians who recorded and examined the development of architecture in conjunction with that of the fine arts, who from 1840 onwards drafted overall representations of the history of art and architecture on a global scale: Franz Kugler with his *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (Handbook of Art History) in 1842 and his *Geschichte der Baukunst* (History of Architecture) from 1856 to1859, and Karl Schnaase with his seven-volume *Geschichte der bildenden Künste* (History of the Fine Arts) between 1843 and 1864. These monumental works of '*allgemeine Kunstgeschichte*', with their homogeneous presentation of a multitude of artistic cultures in a wide variety of temporal and geographical contexts, contributed both

to the abolition of the canonicity of classical antiquity and to the relativisation of special national achievements.

A particularly interesting example of the Europeanisation of German architectural historiography in the mid-19th century is the use of the term 'Renaissance': a French term automatically associated with Italy since the publication of Jacob Burckhardt's famous book *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy) in 1860. Burckhardt had already introduced 'Renaissance' into German usage in the years around 1840, but in a completely different meaning, drawing on the national French semantics that were dominant in France at that time (see Karge's essay in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 2022). The French understanding of this word remained for a long time in most German adaptations of the term, and so the early Burckhardt who was under the influence of both Kugler and Schnaase also referred it primarily to 16th century architecture and ornamentation in France and neighbouring countries. In his first book *Die Kunstwerke der belgischen Städte* (The Artworks of the Belgian Cities) (1842), for example, Burckhardt focused this concept with a clearly critical undertone on the adaptation of Italian architecture in France and the Netherlands mixed with Gothic formal traditions.

The discovery of the aesthetic qualities of the Spanish early Renaissance in Burckhardt's revision of Franz Kugler's *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte i*n 1848 marked the beginning of the revaluation and conceptual expansion of the originally French term 'renaissance'. In Burckhardt's *Cicerone* (1855), this was then refocused on Italy, but painting was not yet included in it. It was not until his already mentioned *Civilisation of Renaissance in Italy*, that Burckhardt, inspired by Jules Michelet, expanded the concept of Renaissance to designate an entire epoch. With the double transfer of the Renaissance term from a special expression of an architectural style to the designation of a cultural epoch and from the French to the Italian field of reference, Jacob Burckhardt made a key idea of his early writings disappear. Despite all the scepticism of the author, the latter had conveyed something of the fascination that – besides Italian art (see Antonio Brucculeri's studies) – the simultaneously hybrid and opulent French art of the decades around 1500 aroused in 19th century culture in France and the German-speaking countries.

In contrast, the use of Baroque as an art-historical style term has German roots. Much earlier than previously known, Franz Kugler systematically used this term in his early work *Pommersche Kunstgeschichte* (1840), dedicated to his home region of Pomerania. It is important to note that 'Baroque' is not used polemically and pejoratively here, as in the texts of earlier authors, but serves as a neutral stylistic term for the positive characterisation of highly ornamentally designed art objects of the late 16th and first half of the 17th century. However, there should still be a long way to go from these first scholarly uses of the Baroque term to its blossoming in the architectural historiography of the late 19th century, which various speakers at the symposium – Ute Engel, Gáspár Salamon and Péter Farbaky – should address.

Sabine Frommel (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris Sciences & Lettres
University): *Introduction II: Aspects of Architectural Historiography in France and
Italy and the Situation of the Discipline Today*

In Sabine Frommel's opinion, this is an appropriate time to reflect on how
architectural history has acquired autonomy as a discipline. In some countries it has
remained closely linked to art history, such as Germany, in others, such as Italy, to
the practice of architecture and restoration, or as in England to connoisseurship and
architectural critique (see Michela Rosso's paper). These origins continue to mark its
methods and contents, which are therefore very different in the different countries.
For this reason alone, an international outlook is indispensable to grasp the wealth
of approaches.

It is enough to mention France. Since the end of the 18th century, new
methods have emerged, for example in the work of Charles Percier and Pierre-
François-Léonard Fontaine, studying Renaissance drawings in Italy in order to
proceed with a restitution of the authentic design of Antonio da Sangallo the
Younger for the Villa Madama in Rome. Relying on methods from the natural
sciences, especially Georges Cuvier, the aim was to reconstruct the initial idea of a
project and its genesis. This approach was continued by Paul Letarouilly, especially
in his research on St. Peter's in Rome, and later by Baron Heinrich von Geymüller, a
pupil of Jacob Burckhardt, in his restitution of Bramante's original project of St.
Peter's. Very valuable contributions were made to which our discipline still owes
much today (see papers of Giovanna D'Amia and Antonio Brucculeri).

But the development of the discipline is also linked to institutions such as the
École des Beaux-Arts in 19th century France. In this institution (among several
others) creation and historical research overlapped; history became a source of
inspiration and restorations of historical monuments were carried out using
principles and rules valid in the institution itself. It is perhaps for this reason that
when the first chairs of art history were founded at French universities, the
discipline 'History of architecture' almost remained outside, considered as the
domain of teaching architects. When the discipline 'Architecture' left the École des
Beaux-Arts in 1968 and the Écoles d'Architecture (or Unités pédagogiques) were
created, the discipline 'History of architecture' was pushed back because, as a legacy
of a tradition of academic study of classical orders of columns, it seemed completely
antiquated in the light of the new *architectes-créateurs*. The consequence is that even
today the discipline has not experienced a solid scientific development, it remains
the 'servant' of design teaching, while at university the discipline relies mainly on
the methods of the historians.

The development in Italy and especially in Rome was completely different
from that in France (see papers of Marianna Brancia di Apricena and Benjamin
Chavardès). Recently Giuseppe Bonaccorso published the proceedings of the
conference on the architect-engineer Gustavo Giovannoni and the Roman school of
architecture. Considering the building as a whole organism, Giovannoni taught
surveying and restitution methods that allow one to understand the genesis of the
project and to read a monument like a book that reveals all its secrets, while his

refined knowledge of the history of Renaissance architecture was expressed in books such as the monograph on Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. In Frommel's opinion, a true identity was established that is maintained to this day. At the same time, the history of architecture has also been a special branch of studies at the Biblioteca Hertziana (Max Planck-Institut), the German institute of art-historical research in Rome, from Graf Wolff Metternich onwards. The institute also welcomed foreign scholars such as Rudolf Wittkower, who opened up new perspectives and research methods, also reinforcing the 'European' spirit.

It seems that the development of the discipline depends on scholars with a broad vision and on institutions. In any case, it is not a matter of straight-line evolution as in the natural sciences. Political trends can drive new directions in research such as the 1968 movement, which set new themes and methods pushing for better knowledge of economic conditions, construction sites and conditions of workers. These trends have accelerated a move away from the '*Stilgeschichte*' as a formalistic type of art historiography.

In Frommel's view, the time seems appropriate for a discussion about the situation of the discipline, its origins, traditions and developments, its challenges at the present. But can we say that we are experiencing a change, a rupture today? New technologies open up new avenues of research: analyses of drawing techniques allow for more precise datings of building projects, digital restitutions provide detailed simulations and help to recognise successive phases of constructions (see Gianmario Guidarelli's paper). But it is not at all sure that this coincides with a break or the beginning of a new age in architectural historiography. We always need archives and surveys, a good knowledge of the architects, clients, ambitions and programmes, an understanding of the functions and the artistic design of buildings. Frommel sees an enormous advantage of the discipline of architectural history to have such solid and valid foundations that we can activate according to the needs of various projects. And it is precisely international dialogue that can make these foundations even more solid and broaden themes and approaches and, at the same time, get to know a part of the history and culture of other countries.

Constructions of National Histories of Architecture: Italy, Spain, Denmark and Poland

Sergio Pace (Politecnico di Torino):

'Toccar la polvere del passato'. Per una storia della storiografia architettonica italiana di primo Ottocento

The subject of this paper was the history of Italian architectural historiography at the beginning and in the middle decades of the 19th century, but first Sergio Pace gave a review of the heterogeneous discourses that, starting with Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* and Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, had already been conducted in the previous century with regard to the history of architecture. Starting from Giambattista Piranesi's *Parere sull'architettura* of 1765,

debates were held about *imitazione* and *invenzione*. In the first half of the 19th century,
the impetus for overarching accounts of architectural history came either from
outside, as shown by the Italian translations of Séroux d'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'art
par les monumens* (1826) and Thomas Hope's *An Historical Essay on Architecture*
(1835), or from the histories of the neighbouring arts of painting and sculpture by
Luigi Lanzi and Leopoldo Cicognara.

Of particular interest are the architectural history publications by Amico
Ricci, Pietro Selvatico and Francesco Taccani, which were written in the decades
between 1830 and 1860. While the seminal importance of Ricci's *Storia
dell'architettura in Italia* of 1857-59 has already been highlighted several times – early
on by Julius Schlosser Magnino and more recently by Cettina Lenza –. the works of
Selvatico and Taccani, on the other hand, had so far been little researched and were
outlined in Pace's paper.

Selvatico's *Storia estetico-critica delle arti del disegno* was published in two
volumes in 1852 and 1856 and was rather conventional for the mid-19th century.
Thus, Selvatico held the old view that art must reveal the moral forces and ideas of
the spirit, and that architecture must serve the material benefit of the people.
Nevertheless, this view was supplemented by a new view that architecture had to
take on all those manifestations that corresponded to the various social and local
conditions, in short: that architecture had to be adaptable. This demand entailed the
prerequisite that contemporary architects had to be familiar with all architectural
styles in order to be able to adapt them to the respective use, in other words,
architects had to know history. In keeping with this primary task, Servatico follows
up with a global history of architecture.

Taccani's published work begins in 1829, his main work *Storia
dell'architettura in Europa cominciando dalla sua origine fino al secolo XVII* appeared in
1855. Taccani's argumentation is described by Pace as sometimes impetuous, often
contradictory and even inconclusive, yet it shows elements of curiosity. Already in
his first work of 1829, he had tried to downplay the contribution of Greek culture in
favour of Etruscan, which he considered the true source of all Italian architectural
culture. Taccani had thus questioned the authority of tradition and placed the
authority of the sources at the centre of historical research. Taccani held the view
that faithfulness to sources alone could unmask false traditions, and of course he
was also trying to give his people, the Italians, back their pre-eminence in
architecture. This new view of architectural history, freed from authoritarian
constraints, now offered contemporary architects far more models to imitate. On the
basis of rational thinking, the architect who had been taught architectural history
was now himself able to recognise the most suitable study cases for his project
without prejudice. In addition, around the middle of the 19th century, the concept of
architecture as a body, which had existed since the 18th century, crept in among
architects, whose parts also allowed conclusions to be drawn in detail about the
original overall condition. In Pace's view, Taccani's conception of architectural
history approached an anatomical science, as he sought to build a new organism
appropriate to the present from the scattered individual links of historical
architecture.

Juan Calatrava (University of Granada):

Il processo di costruzione di una storiografia architettonica in Spagna, 1766-1848

In a period of eighty years, between the Enlightenment and Romanticism, the foundations were laid for the construction, for the first time, of an account of the history of Spanish architecture, which was definitively established with the publication of José de Caveda's book in 1848 (see below) and which only began to be revised at the end of the 19th century in the context of the fin-de-siecle crisis of 1898.

The study of the process by which this narrative was gradually elaborated has not only allowed us to better understand the relationship between 19th century Spanish architecture and the vision of history that underpins it, but also implies understanding the richness of the relationship between Enlightenment thinking and Romanticism, beyond the old stereotype that defended the radical opposition between the two terms.

It was in the second half of the 18th century that the first attempts were made to create a history of Spanish architecture by Enlightenment intellectuals such as Antonio Ponz, José Ortiz y Sanz, Isidoro Bosarte, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Eugenio Llaguno and Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez. In 1766 the Madrid Academy of Fine Arts sent a group of architects (led by José de Hermosilla and including the young Juan de Villanueva) to Granada and Cordoba to study and draw the Islamic architecture of both cities. The result was the publication of the *Antigüedades árabes de España*, which pioneered the central problem of how to integrate Arab architecture into the national narrative. Around the same time, Antonio Ponz's *Viaje de España*, a multivolume guide to the art treasures of Spain, presented a militant historiography that divided history into happy times (the Renaissance and, above all, the contemporary period of the Bourbon monarchs Ferdinand VI and Charles III) and dark times (much of the Middle Ages but, above all, the more ornamental Baroque, that of the delirious 'Borrominian sect'). This strongly dualistic view is maintained in the first work of architectural history proper, the *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España desde su restauración*, begun at the end of the 18th century by Eugenio Llaguno and later extensively revised and completed by Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez until its late final publication in 1829.

After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the historiographical work was continued and developed, in a very different ideological context, by the generation of Romantic intellectuals, who took up many of the ideas of the men of the Enlightenment but gradually attenuated their Manichaeism by insisting on the historical legitimacy of each period of Spanish architecture. In 1833, Juan Miguel de Inclán Valdés' *Apuntes para la Historia de la Arquitectura y Observaciones sobre la que se distingue con la denominación de Gótica*, constituted a nationalist vindication of the autochthony of Hispanic Gothic architecture, based on the influence of Arab culture. In 1837 Antonio de Zabaleta proclaimed, from the pages of the magazine *No me Olvides*, the urgency of tracing the history of the nation's architecture, at a time when the problem of the disappearance of architectural heritage was already beginning to be acutely considered. And 1839 saw the birth of the spectacular collection of books *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España*, which was intended to be a

veritable catalogue of Spain's architectural heritage, structured in volumes by region.

In 1846 the *Boletín Español de Arquitectura* was born, in which the aforementioned Antonio de Zabaleta published some fundamental texts, such as the extensive article, in several issues, *Rápida ojeada sobre las diferentes épocas de la Arquitectura, y sobre sus aplicaciones al Arte de nuestros días*. Co-director of the Bulletin was José Amador de los Ríos, the first to theorise the existence of the so-called 'Mudéjar' style, a concept destined to have a long historiographical life and which advanced the process of integrating the Islamic into the history of Spanish architecture.

The final point of the journey comes with the historian and politician José Caveda's *Ensayo histórico sobre los diversos géneros de Arquitectura*, published in 1848 and translated into German by the poet Paul Heyse, the son-in-law of the art historian Franz Kugler, in 1858. It is no longer a short and fragmentary text, but a large book (more than five hundred pages, in 30 chapters) conceived not only as an intellectual endeavour but also as a tool for the protection of Spain's architectural heritage. Its ambition to be a 'complete history of monumental art in Spain' leads it to include Roman and Islamic architecture, whose originality it claims and which is the subject of a clear internal structuring into periods for the first time. In the same way, his preferential interest in medieval architecture leads him to provide it with an internal division that clearly differentiates the pre-Romanesque, the 'Roman-Byzantine' and the Gothic proper. The analysis of Gothic architecture occupies ten chapters and more than 150 pages, making Caveda's book one of the great landmarks of nineteenth-century medievalism.

The Renaissance was also the subject of an internal differentiation that placed its high point in the austere classicism of El Escorial. As for Baroque architecture, Caveda continued to criticise its ornamental excesses, but with him a historical relativism began to emerge which demanded that each architectural period be measured by its own spirit and not by 'Greco-Roman principles', seeing in each style the legitimate expression of an epoch. The praise of the architects of the Enlightenment (especially Ventura Rodríguez and Juan de Villanueva) closes this historical construction in which Caveda calls for a modern view capable of accompanying the global characterisation of each of the great epochs with a critical analysis of the individual merits or defects of each work.

Ronah Sadan (Aarhus University): *International Style and Local Character: Constructing Danish Medieval Architectural History in the Nineteenth Century*

Ronah Sadan spoke in her lecture about the notion of an autochthonous medieval architecture that took shape in Denmark in the course of the 19th century, focusing on a group of Romanesque churches on the Jutland peninsula that were built of granite blocks.

In a famous lecture in 1844, the art historian N.L. Høyen had initially sketched a sobering picture of the independence of the Danish artistic and

architectural tradition: 'We received the impression of Norman, German, Netherlandish art, but a time span of more than 500 years was not able to give the foreign a distinctive development in this country.' Seeing no indigenous artistic tradition for artists to draw on, Høyen urged them to seek inspiration from their country's natural landscapes and folk traditions. Soon after, this approach of being inspired by the surrounding nature was also taken up by Danish architects.

The typical granite material of Jutland came into particular focus in Danish architectural historiography after the German-Danish War of 1864, after which a great aversion to any sign of German influence had developed. Granite, and in general the huge granite fieldstones, was seen as a distinctive feature of the country and depicted accordingly in the narratives. The appeal of the churches' connection to the landscape, says Sadan, was fortified by a new scientific awareness of the natural processes that made their creation possible. Sadan:

> In the 1860's, new geological theories led to the understanding that the granite boulders, now called glacial erratics, of which Jutland's churches were made, had been deposited in the area during the ice age, and were originally a part of what is now the Norwegian mountains. Denmark's geology is poor in natural stone, and these enormous boulders were a wonderous, near mythical presence in the landscape. […] as approaches to these monstrous masses became more scientific, testifying to the primordial nature of the Danish landscape, their role as part of the material culture of the Danes' primeval stone-age and pagan ancestors also became more understood. Archeological research into dolmen, megaliths and standing stones took off in the early 19th century, together with literary and artistic attention and popular curiosity. […] The sense of continuity of course hinged also on Runes stones, which marked the transition from Viking paganism to Christianity, and which had been the object of antiquarian activity since the 17th century. The sense that nordicness was expressed in these stone carving led nationalists to espy a subtle Nordic stamp on Romanesque forms (Carl Rosenberg).

Together with the rediscovery and exploration of the Romanesque churches in the 19th century, which, in the spirit of Protestantism, were considered simple and clear compared to the Gothic ones, an image of the country was thus developed that was above all intended to evoke a sense of native tradition and permanence, of religious authenticity as well as of peace and tranquillity. This attitude had a considerable impact on the way the preserved churches were treated in terms of monument conservation: Even before much of the scholarly research into the granite churches was published in the 1870's and 80's, granite was redolent with associations of devotional authenticity: so much so that its visibility was codified by law. In 1861, a 'Law of Church Inspection' was passed in close consultation with Høyen, in which guidelines were given on the upkeep and restoration of churches. Any carved stone element, from a capital to a baptismal font, should be scrubbed clear of plaster, whitewash, or paint, with destructive consequences for the preservation of historic wall surfaces.

The most blatant result of material purism at the expense of the original building fabric of the Middle Ages was the reconstruction of the Romanesque cathedral of Viborg in Jutland by Høyen and the architect N. S. Nebelong: the cathedral of the 12th century, originally built largely of bricks, was rebuilt with Danish and Swedish granite stones to emphasise the authenticity of the material. The irony was that the ideal model of a Romanesque church realised here does not seem very Danish: the design of the exterior was adapted from Lund Cathedral in Sweden and the Rhenish basilicas that were its original models, and the interior was designed after that of the Michaeliskirche in Hildesheim.

Magdalena Kunińska (Jagiellonian University Cracow):

A Style as a Tool for Self-differentiation and the Beginnings of the History of Architecture in Poland

Magdalena Kunińska dedicated her paper to the Romanian art historian Ada Hajdu who had already applied for the symposium's first call in 2020 and tragically met an all-too-early death in the same year.

Due to a relevant autonomy within the Habsburg Empire and the renewal of the Cracow Scientific Society (1856) and the urgent need of restoration of historical buildings after a great fire in 1850, Cracow became a proper place for scientific studies of the architectural heritage of Poland, which lacked its own statehood throughout the 19th century and was territorially divided among the three great powers of Prussia, Austria and Russia. The phenomenon of 'Manufacturing Middle Ages' (a concept proposed in a book published in 2013 with the subtitle: Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe) was also a part of the culture of research at that time. Kunińska demonstrated that in 19th century Cracow, various approaches to a theory of styles and periodisation in the history of art and architecture were developed:

Józef Łepkowski (1826-94) was strongly influenced by the '*allgemeine Kunstgeschicht*e' (general history of art) developed by Karl Schnaase and Franz Kugler and continued by Anton Springer and Wilhelm Lübke in Germany, which attempted to record and analyse the totality of art history systematically and across nations (see Henrik Karge's introduction). By adopting this concept, Łepkowski attempted to place the art monuments of Cracow and Galicia in the development of European art in his publications dating from around 1850.

The painter, art historian and conservator of monuments Władysław Łuszczkiewicz (1828-1900) was one of the first scholars dealing with Romanesque architecture in Poland. He developed ideas for defining the boundaries of Western civilisation on the eastern edge of Polish culture. Styles also appear here as cultural border phenomena.

Kunińska linked the analysis of 19th century art historical positions in the field of tension between national self-determination and Poland's international integration with current debates on a horizontal art history (Rampley, Piotrowski).

Barbara Arciszewska (University of Warsaw):

Architectural History and Discourse of National Identity in Polish Historiography of the 20th Century

Barbara Arciszewska showed in her paper what a supporting role the history of architecture played in the rebuilding of national identity in Poland in the 20th century, after a long period of Prussian, Austrian and Russian domination. In general, Polish architectural historiography in the 20th century can be divided into three phases: that of the period between the two world wars, that of the period after 1945 and finally that of the period after 1989. Arciszewska focused her remarks on the first two periods.

She began by showing how strongly the ideas of nation developed in the 19th century (in the wake of Hegel) have remained influential up to the present, whereby the two concepts of *ethnos* and *demos* must be distinguished. In the first, scholars focused on the ethnic background of the artists; in the second, which gained acceptance in the 1930s, the population in particular was considered as a body politic in a common culture. It should be noted that the ethnic concept remained determinant for Polish architectural historiography throughout the 20th century.

In the period of Poland's new sovereignty after 1918, Polish architectural historians were still strongly influenced by German art and architectural history in terms of methodology, but they vehemently opposed the dominant models of an architectural history of East Central Europe shaped by German culture. This led to multiple attempts, for example in the writings of Władysław Podlacha, to demonstrate that Polish art and architecture had developed independently from vernacular roots and that it left its own national imprint in its development. In this sense, some artists of German origin, e.g. Veit Stoß and Benedykt Sandomierzanin, were declared to be Polish.

Obviously, Poland's 'golden age' under the Jagiellonians around 1500, when Italian Renaissance motifs were introduced to Cracow at an early stage, was a domain of Polish architectural history. The classicizing turn of Jagiellonian art was particularly cherished as an example of precocious taste of the Polish elites, anticipating (not following) similar change in the German Empire. Indicative of this is the prominence of a particular architectural motif, the so-called Polish attic, as a decorative horizontal roof finish in several Polish buildings of the Renaissance period. Stefan Szyller had already dedicated a study of his own to this motif in 1909 and declared the attic to be a Polish invention. This tradition of thought was to continue until Jan Białostocki's authoritative survey of Central European art which appeared in 1976.

A strong tendency to repolonise architectural history also affected the period of the Saxon-Polish Union in the 18th century. For example, Jarosław Wojciechowski severely downgraded the role of the Saxon Elector and Polish King August the Strong in the construction of Wilanów Castle near Warsaw in a monograph published in 1928 and attempted to attribute the planning to Italian rather than German authorship. An old Polish tradition of noble manor houses (*dwór*) was also brought into play for the concept of the castle. In the analysis of Baroque

architecture in Warsaw and Vilnius, the share of German architects was systematically negated.

This Polish nationalism in architectural history, which grew out of centuries of disregard of Polish culture, intensified even further under Soviet rule after 1945. Under the new premises of Marxist ideology, the main field of studies moved from the aristocratic Jagiellonians to the allegedly plebeian Piasts, with architecture of the Middle Ages becoming an important field of polemics. The so called 'Piast' vault (term coined by Jan Sas-Zubrzycki in 1926), a three-point rib-vault of thus far unclear provenance, became a new preoccupation. In response to claims by Dagobert Frey that there was a specific 'Silesian' Gothic, Polish art historians formulated a theory about a Slavic origin of this specific vault arrangement which was present in the duchy of Silesia reigned by the Piast dynasty until the end of the 13th century. This provided the opportunity to redirect the traditional vectors of colonial influence, not from West to the East, but the opposite way.

It was not until the political turnaround of 1989 that a new academic era has begun in which the basic nationalist features of previous architectural history are recognised and discussed. Nevertheless, these continue to live on in the studies of the architecture of the eastern Polish borderlands lost to the Soviet Union in 1945, which were tackled after 1989.

European Renaissance – Concepts and Their Creators

Giovanna D'Amia (Politecnico di Milano):

La fortuna di Bramante e dello stile bramantesco nella cultura architettonica del primo Ottocento

Giovanna D'Amia tried to answer the questions of whether and how the history of architecture has contributed to the formation of identity on a local and national level, using the 'Bramante case' as an example. With reference to Franco Borsi's work *Bramante* (1989), D'Amia took a look at a 'grey zone' in the historiography of Bramante with the early 19th century. The first attempt at a monograph on Bramante was made by the three French architects Prosper Barbot, Louis Benois and Étienne-Jules Thierry. What D'Amia finds particularly interesting about this attempt at a monograph on Bramante is that these three architects intended to verify the written sources available to them with the monuments they found during their stay in Italy from 1820 to 1822. The book project failed, but was revived by Father Luigi Pungileoni. The latter wanted to bring order to the heterogeneous critical literature and attempted to revise the index of Bramante's works, that is, to distinguish the genuine from the doubtful, to separate myths from incontestable documents.

According to D'Amia, before the publication of Pungileoni (*Memoria intorno alla vite ed alle opere di Donato Domino Bramante da Urbino Architetto,* 1836), the so-called 'Milan context' seems to have been particularly important. In this context, Bramante was stylised as the main representative of an architectural language with a strong local reference: the initiator of the Milan Renaissance. This historical narrative was intended both to valorise a local architectural tradition and to claim a

leading position in the national artistic 'revival'. From the 1830s onwards, Bramante's style was described in architectural historiography as a kind of transitional style between Roman and Lombard-Gothic forms and, in the context of the imitability of historical styles, as open to revisions of a design nature. Thus, the Bramante style was able to find its way into the repertoires of various architectural styles that fed the reinterpretation of design in the second half of the 19th century. It was not until the beginning of the 20th century, in the search for a national style, that the Lombard architecture of the Middle Ages was considered a more suitable model.

Antonio Brucculeri (École nationale supérieure d'architecture Paris-La Villette):

Rilievi, restituzioni e disegni originali nello sguardo dello storico dell'architettura rinascimentale. Paul Marie Letarouilly e il contributo degli architetti beaux-arts

In the field of the historiography of Renaissance architecture, the fundamental contribution of the French architects trained at the École des beaux-arts in Paris - not only the '*pensionnaires*' of the Académie de France - who travelled to the Italian peninsula at the turn of the last quarter of the 18th century and the early 19th century still appears little explored. The engravings taken from the *recueils d'Italie* printed at that time, especially those by Charles Percier's pupils - from Grandjean de Montigny and Famin for Tuscan architecture (1806-1815) to Paul Marie Letarouilly for Roman architecture (1825-1857), and Martin Pierre Gauthier for Genoese buildings (1818-1832) -, have only been fully recognised in their overriding importance in recent decades.

Although conditioned by the desire to disseminate typological and stylistic models for the architecture of his time, Letarouilly's work, beyond the tables of the *Édifices de Rome moderne* (published in various volumes from 1840), proves to be marked by the premises for the elaboration of a historiographical method based, on the one hand, on rigorous survey as a tool for knowledge of the dimensional and material aspects of the buildings, capable of contributing to dating and attribution ; on the other, based on archival research and in particular on the analysis of the original graphic documents as a means of understanding the genesis, authorship and executive phases of architectural projects. Antonio Brucculeri focused his remarks on this particularly important study of original architectural drawings of the Italian Renaissance, which can be traced back to the research of Séroux d'Agincourt and Léon Dufourny in the late 18th century.

Letarouilly planned to publish a large number of facsimile prints of architectural drawings by the '*grands maîtres architectes*' of the 15th and 16th centuries, from Brunelleschi and Alberti to Michelangelo, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Baldassare Peruzzi (with particular emphasis on the latter two). Due to his early death, this undertaking, to which '*trois portefeuilles*' with impressions and drawings in the Letarouilly legacy of the Institut de France library bear witness, remained unfinished. In many cases, there are only indirect references to missing reproductions of original drawings, and Brucculeri devotes himself to reconstructing the original inventory in detective detail.

Letarouilly was a pioneer in the graphological and philological analysis of drawings with their inscriptions, laying a foundation for later Renaissance research. He devoted himself in particular to the design drawings in the complex architectural history of St. Peter's in Rome, his studies culminating in the posthumous publication *Le Vatican et la basilique de Saint-Pierre de Rome* (1878-82). Here he was in a sense overtaken by Baron Heinrich von Geymüller, who studied Letarouilly's stock of drawings during his second stay in Paris in 1863-64 and published a monograph on the early designs for the construction of St Peter's as early as 1875.

In the last part of his lecture, Brucculeri addressed Letarouilly's legacy in 20th century research. Particularly important in this regard was Gustavo Giovannoni, who consciously continued Letarouilly's research of original architectural drawings in his studies of the Renaissance palaces of Rome and anchored this methodology in the Roman school of architecture. Until the present day, these studies remain of the utmost importance alongside research on preserved buildings.

Sarah W. Lynch (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg):

What is 'German Renaissance Architecture'? The Reception of 16th Century Architecture in Germany and its Place in Architectural History Today

Sarah Lynch looked at German architectural historiography on architecture between about 1530 and 1600 - German Renaissance architecture - which was shaped by two factors: the narrative of the 'nation', which was transferred to the style of the respective architecture, and the comparison of German with Italian Renaissance architecture.

Until the second half of the 19th century, there had basically been a general silence on the subject of 'German Renaissance architecture' since Joachim von Sandrart's *Teutsche Akademie* (German Academy, 1675), mainly because there had been the assumption that German art had experienced a steep decline after Albrecht Dürer's death in 1528. With Jacob Burckhardt's *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy, 1860), the assumption had also developed that Germany had entered modernity late compared to Italy. Because the Germans had used forms that were unknown in Italy, no genuine 'German Renaissance architecture' could be identified.

The idea of a German Renaissance was first introduced in Wilhelm Lübke's study *Geschichte der deutschen Renaissance* (History of the German Renaissance, 1872). Lübke had created the narrative of the introduction and rise of classical forms in Central Europe and had sought to establish a distinct Germanic style and approach to Renaissance forms (see Alexandra C. Axtmann's paper).

In Robert Dohme's *Geschichte der deutschen Baukunst* (History of German Architecture, 1887) and Berthold Riehl's *Deutsche und italienische Kunstcharaktere* (German and Italian Art Characters, 1893), German Renaissance architecture was again increasingly viewed critically as the product of a foreign corruption of the native spirit. Dohme rejected the idea that Germany could have adopted the Italian

style, Riehl used the differences in style to illuminate the two national characters, implicitly preferring the Germanic spirit to the Italian.

Gustav von Bezold, in his survey text *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Deutschland, Holland, Belgien und Dänemark* (Renaissance Architecture in Germany, Holland, Belgium and Denmark = *Handbuch der Architektur*, part 2, vol. 7, 1900), devoted separate chapters to German architecture and Italian architecture in Germany, rejecting a chronological order in favour of a nationalist understanding of style. Lynch described Bezold's view of 16th century German architecture as the nadir of the reception of this style of building.

It was only after this time that scholars began to rehabilitate the subject. In *Die Krise der deutschen Kunst* (1913), Georg Dehio claimed that there was no German Renaissance and demanded that comparisons with Italy should not form the basis for understanding the art and architecture of this period. In 1926, however, Dehio took up the denied theme in his *Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst* (History of German Art), comparing German and Italian architecture as representative of the spirit of both nations.

In his lecture *Die Architektur der deutschen Renaissance* (The Architecture of the German Renaissance, 1914), Heinrich Wölfflin had also rejected the possibility of a German Renaissance, describing the period as a conflict between the strong spirit of the Gothic and the influence of the Bramantesque Renaissance. Studies in this area should be understood as a search for an understanding of the relationship between these two ideas. In his last book, *Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl* (Italy and the German Sense of Form, 1931), Wölfflin had emphasised the 'German sense of form' related to art and architecture as the product of a national feeling that he hardly touched on the ideas, style or experience of individual artists.

Alfred Stange moved away from this formalist approach in his *Die deutsche Baukunst der Renaissance* (German Architecture of the Renaissance, 1926). Like Bezold, he distinguishes between German Renaissance architecture and Italian architecture in Germany and, although he still understands 'nation' as a key factor in artistic production, he addresses the intellectual, political, religious and social aspects of sixteenth-century society, in contrast to Wölfflin. Stange's approach here is more like a social history of art.

After the Second World War, there had been very few works in this field. Henry Russell Hitchcock's purely formalist approach (*German Renaissance Architecture*, 1981) is contrasted with the studies by the GDR scholars Hans-Joachim Kadatz (*Deutsche Renaissancebaukunst*, 1983) and Ernst Ullmann (*Renaissance, Deutsche Baukunst 1520-1620*, 1995), both of which begin with a chapter on the Renaissance in Italy and Europe and then turn to Central Europe. Both works would thus reinforce the comparison with other regions as a basis for evaluation.

Lynch concludes that the old tendencies to compare with Italy and the nationalist undercurrents that accompanied this approach would still reverberate today and for this reason pleads for a comprehensive reassessment of the fundamental assumptions of the 19th century.

European Baroque – Concepts and Their Creators

Ute Engel (Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg):

*An Athletic Art. Italian Baroque Architecture and Bodily Experience in the Views of
Cornelius Gurlitt (1887), Heinrich Wölfflin (1888) and August Schmarsow (1897)*

In her lecture, Ute Engel gave an insight into German architectural historiography
in the second half of the 19th century, focusing on the Baroque research of Heinrich
Wölfflin, Cornelius Gurlitt and August Schmarsow.

Wölfflin, who had studied philosophy, pursued the idea that man could
transfer his subjective physical experiences to objective, physical forms and,
conversely, that as an observer of forms that had become objective, he could draw
conclusions about the mental and physical constitution of the form-giver. In
*Renaissance und Barock. Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in
Italien* (Renaissance and Baroque. An Investigation into the Nature and Emergence
of the Baroque Style in Italy, 1888), Wölfflin reduced the two styles to forms with a
psychological effect and contrasted them. Thus, the Renaissance was an art of
restraint, tranquillity, freedom, beauty, balance and vitality, while the Baroque was
an art of affectation, urgency, excitement, restlessness, tension, ecstasy and
intoxication. Wölfflin understood the transformation of the Renaissance into the
Baroque not as a process but as a sudden, conscious change, as a mutation that
could only be observed in Rome and reached its completion there in 1580.

In contrast to Wölfflin, Gurlitt, who was trained as an architect, had analysed
monuments from all over Europe. In his three-volume study *Geschichte des
Barockstiles, des Rococo und des Klassicismus* (History of the Baroque Style, Rococo and
Neoclassicism, 1887-1889, vol. 1 about Italy, vol. 2 about Belgium, Holland, France
and England, vol. 3 about Germany), Gurlitt treated the buildings like organic
bodies that contain and radiate the energies or forces of the respective time. Like
Wölfflin, he also compared the Renaissance and the Baroque, but for Gurlitt there
was also an architectural-historical development. He attributed this development to
the contrasting characters of the leading artists: In the Renaissance, the spirit of
lawful classicism would have prevailed, in the Baroque the spirit of anti-classicism,
individualism, obstinacy and imagination.

Finally, August Schmarsow introduced the category of space into the debate
on the analysis of form, especially with his two influential lectures on *Das Wesen der
architektonischen Schöpfung* (The Essence of Architectural Creation ,1893, published
in 1894) and *Ueber den Wert der Dimension im menschlichen Raumgebilde* (On the Value
of Dimension in the Human Formation of Space, 1896). In the second volume, *Barock
und Rokoko* (1897), of the still little-studied three-volume publication *Beiträge zur
Aesthetik der bildenden Künste* (Contributions to the Aesthetics of the Fine Arts, 1896-
1899), Schmarsow developed a completely different view of the relationship
between the Renaissance and the Baroque than Wölfflin. Contrary to Wölfflin's idea
of a dialectical process in art history, Schmarsow argued for a genetic development
from the Renaissance to the Baroque. For him, it was the 'spirit of education', the
intellectual power of the individual artist, that transformed the material mass into a

'composition on a grand scale'. Schmarsow was also the first to transfer the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* to the Baroque and to arrive at a positive attitude towards Baroque interiors and their effect.

Gáspár Salamon (Humboldt-Universität Berlin):

'Maria-Theresien-Stil'. Architecture, Historiography, and Dynastic Representation in Vienna and Budapest around 1900

Gáspár Salamon traced the development of the term 'Maria Theresia style', focusing on the political discourse in the two Austro-Hungarian capitals of Vienna and Budapest. In Vienna, the art historian Albert Ilg had transformed the art historical and critical discussion into a political one in the 1880s by arguing for a revival of Austrian Baroque art. In addition to strengthening the dynastic legitimacy of the Habsburgs, Ilg had above all in mind the competitiveness of the decorative arts on an international level. He had distinguished between an Austrian (Viennese) Baroque of the late 17th and early 18th centuries in the wake of Johann Fischer von Erlach and a tendency towards Rococo under Empress Maria Theresia in the period between 1740 and 1780, which was primarily limited to interior decoration. According to Ilg, the Austrian achievements of the art industry in the era of Maria Theresia appeared equal to those of France, and with the revival of this Rococo style he attempted to situate the 'Maria Theresia style' in a wider European context.

In Hungary, the art historian Péter Gerecze had distinguished two major periods of Baroque: the first representative buildings of the Counter-Reformation in Upper Hungary in the 17th century and the Maria Theresia style in the spirit of Fischer von Erlach. In writings on the Baroque, the anachronistic linking of the High Baroque and the Maria Theresia style had become a *topos* in Hungary around 1900. Above all, however, the architect Alajos Hauszmann had associated Fischer von Erlach's style with the empress, who thereby wanted to suggest a continuity between the High Baroque and Maria Theresia's reign and, moreover, to underpin the importance of the Habsburg dynasty in Hungarian history. Salamon sees the Maria Theresia style in both states as a politically motivated concept: within Austria it was a geopolitical one and focused on international competitiveness, within Hungary it was an internal political one and aimed at internal diplomacy between Budapest and Vienna.

Péter Farbaky (Budapest History Museum):

La prima fioritura della storiografia ungherese dell'architettura: tra le due Guerre mondiali, nel segno del Barocco

Péter Farbaky provided an insight into Hungarian architectural historiography between the two world wars, which focused in particular on the Baroque style. First, Farbaky named the three founders of the discipline of art history in the 1870s: Imre Henszlmann, Arnold Ipolyi and Flóris Rómer, all three self-taught art historians.

Gyula Pasteiner (1846-1924), who succeeded Henszlmann as full professor, had been the first to draw attention to the monuments of Hungarian Baroque art.

After the First World War, after which areas rich in medieval architectural monuments in Upper Hungary and Transylvania were lost with the Peace Treaty of Versailles in 1920, the focus had turned back to Baroque art during the counter-revolution and with a view to the reign of Maria Theresia (1740-1780) under the cultural politician Count Kunó Klebelsberg (1875-1932).

In the 1920s, there were two chairs of art history in Budapest that competed with each other in different methods and also reflected the prevailing political tendencies of conservative, right-wing Hungary between the two world wars: that of the Italian-oriented Tibor Gerevich and that of the German-oriented Antal Hekler. Hekler, in particular, had advanced the study of the Hungarian Baroque. Although he did not deal with this stylistic phenomenon until late in his career, he did so all the more intensively. In a department he headed, Hekler promoted the writing of doctoral theses on Baroque art. Farbaky went into more detail about some of Hekler's students in his lecture, including János Kapossy, Andor Pigler, Arnold Schoen and Elemér Révhelyi.

European Perspectives of the 19th and 20th Centuries

Alexandra C. Axtmann (Karlsruhe Institute of Technology):

Wilhelm Lübke - Architectural History in the Context of Academic Teaching, Contemporary Discourse and Popular Science at the Rise of a Discipline

Alexandra C. Axtmann used the personality of Wilhelm Lübke to discuss three aspects that contributed to the differentiation of architecture and art history as a scientific discipline and to the establishment of separate chairs in Germany in the 19th century: the beginning of the academic teaching of architectural history at the newly founded polytechnics, the networks of early German art history professors and the popular scientific mediation.

Already at the Berlin Bauakademie, there had been a claim to teach the history of architecture from different perspectives, on the one hand from the point of view of practical architects, and on the other hand from the viewpoint of art and architecture historians. Lübke began his career as a university lecturer at the Berlin Bauakademie, where he taught architectural history from 1857 to 1861 on the basis of his *Geschichte der Architektur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (History of Architecture from the Earliest times to the Present Day, 1855) alongside Gustav Stier and Johann Heinrich Friedrich Adler, who both taught theories of form.

At the Stuttgart Polytechnic, where a chair of art history had been established as a cultural-historical extension and for generalising historical overviews of the other genres of painting and sculpture, Lübke had lectured from 1866 to 1885 on the art history of antiquity, on the art of the Middle Ages and from 1871/72 increasingly on Renaissance architecture. Lübke fit in well with the teaching at the Stuttgart Polytechnic, which was a typical school of historicism. With his

Renaissance studies, Lübke had become a main representative of the Neo-Renaissance movement, which reached its peak in the 1870s. In Stuttgart, too, the history of architecture was taught from two complementary academic perspectives: that of the designing architect with in-depth study of building forms and styles, and that of the art historian with broad historical overviews. The chair of art history, however, did not belong to the faculty of architecture, but was part of the general education subjects.

Lübke was well networked in Stuttgart's cultural and scientific society, as a member of various associations and scientific circles, as a member of the architectural scientific community of the polytechnic school, in private circles and in various scientific associations. He was particularly active in the field of popular scientific communication of his knowledge. Countless articles in the feuilletons of daily newspapers, in popular science journals, in bourgeois journals as well as his many popular works were witnesses not only to his lively writing activity, but also to his interest in a broad dissemination of the topics associated with the subject. Lübke knew very well how to differentiate between scholarly and popular scientific essays and pointed out the difficulty of popularising art historical findings, especially with regard to linguistic means.

In her conclusion, Axtmann pointed out that research into early German architectural history is complex and that, in addition to theory and publications, other aspects need to be investigated, such as the content of teaching, the staffing of chairs, the relationship between art and architectural history and the designing architects, the various networks, the comparison of different locations and types of universities, and transnational exchange.

François-René Martin (École du Louvre, Paris):

L'architecture dans l'historiographie française entre 1900 et 1930

François-René Martin's paper dealt with nationalism and national imaginary in France and showed different typologies of conflict and in which background and motivations they are anchored. More than other contributions to the symposium, his lecture was focused on the systematic analysis of historical conceptualisations that go hand in hand with political strategies.

Rather all of these typologies aim at emphasizing the superiority of one nation over another. One of them is the national priority of a style, mainly Gothic architecture, required at the same time by France, Germany and England. Narrowly linked to this is the primacy regarding the accomplishment, the maturity of this style, field in which Emile Mâle played a crucial role.

Another important topic is the temporal continuity of a natural tradition of Romanesque and Gothic architecture, studied by Édouard Corroyer, a pupil of Viollet-le-Duc, in his books *L'Architecture romane* (1880) and *L'Architecture gothique* (1889). The problem of territorial continuity and the congruence between styles and national territories was a pronounced source of conflicts between France and Germany, pointed out by Franz Xaver Kraus' *Kunst und Altertum in Elsass-Lothringen*

(1862-1886). In this respect, the disproportion between the stylistic and the political territories is also relevant and further the stylistic radiation and the artistic influence of one nation exercised on another belong to these typologies. These topics have been emphasized by Louis Réau in *Histoire de l'Expansion de l'art français* (1924-1933). It is time to take a critical look at all these intellectual strategies founded in the nationalist mentalities of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Michela Rosso (Politecnico di Torino):

1930s' Tales of English Architecture, and the Emergence of Architectural History in Britain

In this multi-layered study, Michela Rosso illuminated the special features of the English architectural scene of the 1930s, which is relatively unknown from a continental perspective. On the one hand, it is surprising how intensively German and French radical modernism was received in England (Walter Gropius arrived in exile in England in 1934); on the other hand, one peculiarity of British modernism is that it always kept the national architectural tradition in mind. This was reflected in the architectural historiography and architectural criticism of those years, which were the focus of Rosso's remarks. Widely known is the role of Nikolaus Pevsner, who also arrived in England in 1934 and created a canonical narrative of the pedigree of modernism in *Pioneers of the Modern Movement, from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (1936).

Far less well known, but extremely diverse, was the English architectural criticism of the 1930s. Alongside writings that advocated the spread of the new international architecture, such as the articles by Philip Morton Shand, there were publications that wittily ironised the new direction of modernism and took wistful glances at English architectural history. These include John Betjeman's little book *Ghastly Good Taste. Or a depressing story of the rise and fall of English architecture* (1933) and William Heath Robinson's *How to Live in a Flat* (1936). More seriously, John Summerson and Clough Williams-Ellis argued for a return to order and simplicity in *Architecture Here and Now*, and they saw Queen Anne and Georgian period architecture as the best models for this.

Another work is downright astonishing: In 1935, J. M. Richards and the Russian architect Serge Chermayeff envisaged in *One Hundred Years Ahead: Forecasting the Coming Century*, the social, technological and aesthetic development of the civilized world until the year 2035 – a vision of the future that is not unrealistic in parts. Other publications, such as *Pillar to Post* (1938), conveyed vivid images of beautiful life in modern houses.

Summing up, Rosso states, the idea of setting architecture within an historical process is recurrent in all of these English publications. In part, they see aesthetic progress with the aim of affirming international modernism, in part they cast nostalgic glances into the national past. In many cases, these writings are characterised by imaginative visual designs, and one discovers many variants of British humour in them.

Italian Perspectives of the 20th Century

Simona Talenti (Università di Salerno):

La fortuna critica in Italia dello studioso britannico Robert Willis: la diffusione di un pensiero storiografico moderno, tra silenzi, assonanze e riscoperta

The paper focused on the international interconnections and the diffusion of modern historiographical thought, through a reading of the Italian critical fortune of Robert Willis, the precursor not only of a structural analysis of Gothic architecture, but also of a modern historiographical approach based on a joint study of archaeology and written sources. Willis provided precise structural analyses of English, French and Italian church buildings of the Middle Ages, which he clarified in his publications in vivid graphics. His book *On the Construction of the Vaults of the Middle Ages* (1842) became particularly famous. He was also one of the first scientists to recognise the difference between the decorative and the mechanical structure of a building (in *Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially of Italy*, 1835).

From the first silences or allusions to British architecture to a more explicit rediscovery at the beginning of the 20th century, the aim of the contribution is to reflect, more generally, on the historiographical methods of Italian architectural literature of the 19th and 20th centuries. In fact, Robert Willis' work had very few repercussions in Italy and the most famous protagonists of the history of architecture between the 19th and 20th centuries do not seem to have been truly inspired by it. The French must have considered Willis' approach not particularly innovative in relation to their historiographical tradition, while the Italians probably lacked a series of technical and structural skills that would have allowed them to understand the English architect's work in depth.

Marianna Brancia di Apricena (Royal Holloway College, London):

La specificità della Scuola italiana di Storia dell'Architettura nel contesto europeo ed internazionale

This paper took as its starting point the analysis of the Italian, German and French schools dealing with architectural history in the European context. For Italy, the genesis of the method is analysed starting with Camillo Boito and continuing with Gustavo Giovannoni and the Roman school of architectural history. The Italian method, which is the prerogative of architect-historians and not art historians, is based on direct observation of the building and includes functional, distributive and constructive aspects. In this context, drawing is fundamental both in the collection of data and in the explanatory phase where the researcher formulates his reconstructive hypothesis.

For Germany, particular attention was paid to the art historians of the Biblioteca Hertziana in Rome who dealt with the history of architecture and whose methods have several programmatic points in common with the *scuola romana*. For France, on the other hand, the different multidisciplinary approaches have been

analysed: from the 19th century tradition to the symposiums of the *Centre de la Renaissance* in Tours, including the specific contribution of the 'Annales' to the history of the territory and the city. The paper concluded with a comparative approach of the Italian method with the German and French ones, highlighting similarities and differences.

Benjamin Chavardès (École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Lyon):

La 'scuola romana': une histoire pour le projet

The '*scuola romana'* of architecture, founded in 1919, gave history an essential role in its teaching and in the practice of the architects who were trained there. The place of history in architectural research can be measured through the figure of the architect-historian. The relationship to history is at the heart of the identity of the Roman School of Architecture. It is not a question of affirming the existence of a structuring doctrine of a single school of thought, but a preoccupation that is clearly present in the teaching and practice of Roman architects.

Benjamin Chavardès demonstrated the central role played by the Faculty of Rome in the development of historical study and analysis, in the teaching of architectural history, in the operative character of historical analysis as well as in the theorisation of practice in its relation to history, not to mention the theorisation of restoration practices. The place of history in architectural research can be measured through the figure of the architect-historian. This figure makes the Roman school the focus of the development of a specific research in architecture. The development of an education that was independent of the engineering schools and the academies of fine arts was characterised by the progressive affirmation of a disciplinary autonomy.

By returning to the debates concerning the place of history in the foundation of the first Italian school of architecture, Chavardès focused on the specific teaching of Vincenzo Fasolo. Fasolo taught the course 'Storia e stili dell'architettura' at the Faculty of Architecture in Rome from 1920 to 1961, for 41 years! From 1954 to 1960 he was director of the faculty, and from 1957 to 1959 he was also director of the Accademia di San Luca. He also edited various journals, such as *Palladio* and *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*. All this gives an idea of the far-reaching impact of his historiographical teaching within the modern architectural scene in Italy.

Chavardès proposed an inventory of the methodologies and tools specific to the architect, used in the pedagogy and research of this school by examining the use of the drawing, the model and the photography as well as the typomorphological analysis. The consequent design practices of these historical studies can be seen for example in the Einaudi library by Bruno Zevi and the church of the Sacra Famiglia in Salerno by Paolo Portoghesi.

Finally, if the critical fortune in France concerning Gustavo Giovannoni is very recent compared to Benevolo, Tafuri, Zevi, Portoghesi, Gregotti or Rossi, it is

because of the relationship to the practice of the architect which was largely focused on restoration projects.

Methodological Aspects of Architectural History

Francesco Amendolagine (Università degli Studi di Udine):

L'inquieto rapporto fra materia, tecne e la storia dell'architettura – tre casi esemplari: Bramante nella Sacrestia Milanese, il disegno michelangiolesco 127 A e il progetto di Villa Lippomano attribuito al Longhena

Francesco Amendolagine's talk consisted of two very different parts: On the one hand, he applied his lifelong experience as an architect in the conservation of monuments in northern Italy to the analysis of three individual historical cases, in which the interaction of expertise in building and planning techniques and knowledge of historical contexts was important: Bramante in the Milanese sacristy, Michelangelo's drawing 127A and the Villa Lippomano project attributed to Longhena.

On the other hand, the speaker also addressed the intellectual background of his own formation through the Department of Architectural History at the Iuav University of Venice led by Manfredo Tafuri half a century ago. Together with the well-known philosopher and politician Massimo Cacciari, who was to become mayor of Venice for many years from 1993, Amendolagine had worked his way into the history of Austrian culture and architecture between fin-de-siècle and '*Finis Austriae*' and, together with Cacciari, published the book *Oikos: da Loos a Wittgenstein* in 1975. This was also related to Tafuri's interest in the buildings of 'red Vienna', to which the latter dedicated a renowned book (*Vienna Rossa*, 1980).

Tobias Teutenberg (Biblioteca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Insitut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome): *Triangles, Squares and Circles: On the International Reception of Form and Measurement Research*

Of all the methods that art history developed around the turn of the 20th century, research into form and measurement is particularly interesting because it shows the attempts to trace the planning of buildings, which is shaped by individual preferences and changing historical contexts, back to perpetual laws of form in geometry. In his paper, Teutenberg for the first time sketched out approaches to a historical view of this scientifically problematic but long-popular method of analysis.

This geometric formalism can be traced back to the early 19th century. An impressive example can be found in Christian Ludwig Stieglitz's *Geschichte der Baukunst vom frühesten Alterthume bis in die neueren Zeiten* (History of Architecture from the Earliest Antiquity to Modern Times, see Henrik Karge's introduction) of 1827, in which a mythological link is made between basic geometric forms and the prehistory of mankind – thus the triangle marks the beginning of the history of architecture and appears as the basic form of various architectural epochs, as the

Egyptian pyramids and Indian pagodas may show. Stieglitz's argumentation seems bizarre today, but it was intensively received in France: Émeric (Imre) Henszlmann (*Théorie des proportions appliquées dans l'architecture depuis la XIIe dynastie des rois égyptiens jusqu'au XVIe siècle*, 1860) and particularly Viollet-le-Duc examined the basic geometric shapes of ancient and medieval buildings in a manner inspired by Stieglitz. In his *Entretiens sur l'architecture* of 1863, Viollet-le-Duc found the triangle as a construction principle, which represented the laws of stability, in ancient and Gothic architecture. In late 19th century Germany, geometric formalism was also booming. A notable example is Georg Dehio's booklet *Ein Proportionsgesetz der antiken Baukunst und sein Nachleben im Mittelalter und der Renaissance* (A Law of Proportions in Ancient Architecture and Its Afterlife in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance) from 1895, which attempted to establish an art-historical aesthetic from below by means of geometry.

As Teutenberg briefly recapitulated according to Rudolf Wittkower, geometric design principles of course have a much longer tradition, going back to antiquity, and yet geometric formalism as a method of analysis always suffers from the vagueness of its sources. To compensate for this problem, the Munich professor of architectural history and theory August Thiersch developed a general design law based on a simple rule in the first half-volume of the fourth part of the *Handbuch der Architektur* about *Architektonische Komposition*, published in 1883: 'There are an infinite number of different figures, which per se can be called neither beautiful nor ugly. The harmonic impression arises only through repetition of the main figure of the work in its subdivisions.' This '*lex Thierschia*' had the advantage of mediating between the partisans of classical and Gothic architecture, and it also found great resonance internationally. The American architect John Beverly Robinson copied Thiersch's approach in his publication *Principles of Architectural Composition* (1899), also emphasizing the principle of repetition of the same figures as fundamental. Even the young Wölfflin was at times a follower of Thiersch's theory of form.

Geometric formalism also seemed suitable for dealing appropriately with the abundance of graphic reproductions that was already characteristic of the 19th century (the speaker also referred here to contemporary methods of coping with masses of images); its popularity is therefore virtually indestructible. And yet, the problem of arbitrariness in the application of geometric figures to the graphic representations of façades or wall elevations has always remained. Teutenberg concluded: 'The phenomenon of geometric formalism can therefore only be approached in terms of an historical perceptology, by understanding it as a visual style that arose from a strong need for a logical and rationalistic view of the world and whose cultural-historical conditions of development we must continue to research.'

Gianmario Guidarelli (Università degli Studi di Padova):

Storia dell'architettura e tecnologie digitali: potenzialità narrative e sfida epistemologica

This contribution explored some aspects of the epistemological and narrative potential of digital technologies through the different ways in which these tools

have been used over the last two decades. Indeed, in the case of buildings that no longer exist, the reconstruction of virtual spaces is not only the visualisation of a previously constructed model, but can become a phase of the research itself.

In order to understand the way in which this approach has conditioned research in architectural history, its modalities, its results and sometimes even the choice of subjects for study, Gianmario Guidarelli proposed to draw a first assessment. Firstly, he traced the history of two research centres: the Media Center at Columbia University (which led to the Mapping Gothic France project) and the Digital Art History & Visual Culture Research Lab (Wired) at Duke University. In the second part, the contribution points out a few case studies, in order to demonstrate the evolution of the digital tool: from an initial phase in which digitalisation was used to visualise the results of the research in a dissemination key, we progressively move to an operational use of the computer tools, allowing the elaboration and simultaneous comparison of different alternative hypotheses of reconstruction, in a perspective of continuous updating and sharing of data.

Global Aspects of Architectural History

Bruno Klein (Technische Universität Dresden):

Salite e discese del gotico – la storia di uno stile architettonico differente

Bruno Klein presented a new view of the conceptual history of Gothic architecture, the purpose of which is to create a picture in broad strokes of the critical fortunes of this architectural style, from the time it was perceived as something different, to the present day and from the centre of Europe to non-European continents. The early history of the concept of Gothic is well known, but it is worth taking another look: It began in the 15th and 16th centuries when, from Villani to Vasari, claims of difference were made – most of which were aimed at ennobling the architectural culture of their own time and their own (Italian) region. But to do so they needed counter-images, if not enemy images.

For the same reasons the opposite could also happen: instead of adopting an architecture that imitated antiquity, it was also possible to maintain a traditional style of architecture (later classified as 'Gothic') for concrete political reasons, as exemplified by the cases of San Petronio in Bologna in the 16th century or Orléans Cathedral in the 17th to 19th centuries. In Bologna, the authorities of the city sought to recall their communal identity by adhering to the traditional architectural style and defending it from papal rule and the style associated with it, while in Orléans, they wanted to erase the memory of the destruction of the Gothic cathedral by the Huguenots. The post-Gothic architectural movement of the 16th to 18th centuries has rightly been classified as a variant of Baroque architecture and not as a contrast to it (Hermann Hipp).

In the late period of Gothic architectural practice in the 16th century, the stylistic alternatives were designated quite differently: The architect of the cathedral of Bern in Switzerland, Daniel Heintz, built in both Gothic and antique forms. He stated that the columns he used were built 'according to architecture', i.e. according

to Vitruvian rules, but the decoration in Gothic forms was built 'according to geometry'. Thus it is paradoxical that Gothic was initially considered as unsystematic and confused – even though it was recognised as being based on mathematics and geometry – but then classified as systematic and determined by an almost natural inner force. Or to be more precise: if at first Gothic architecture contradicted the 'rules', from the 18th century onwards it was even considered 'anti-academic' for the same reason in a positive sense, until finally it was again attributed an internal and organic law or rule.

It was not until the 19th century that several attempts were made to understand and define Gothic as something uniform: They have a common historical-cultural-social background in a modern attempt to arrive at clear definitions in all areas and thus at a systematic taxonomy. The results of these efforts could be very different: In England, there was a tendency to point in a romantic – neo-Catholic – direction, in France under the dominant influence of Viollet-le-Duc pointed in a rational, anticlerical direction, while in Germany, national and systematic ideas of the history of styles were combined (see Henrik Karge's introduction).

Moving finally from the scientific study of historical Gothic architecture to its building reception in contemporary times, i.e. neo-Gothic architecture, the picture becomes even more heterogeneous for different countries. Two examples were presented: On the occasion of the completion of Prague Cathedral in the 19th and 20th centuries, there was an extraordinary intensification of discourse in an intersection of national, regional, artistic, religious and archaeological approaches the consequences of which can still be seen today.

Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim, Norway, which was partly destroyed and partly never completed, was rebuilt and partially redesigned from the mid to late 19th century. This process was accompanied on the one hand by discussions about a national style for Norway – which had just become independent at the time – and on the other hand by completely abstract stylistic considerations (see the contribution of Ronah Sadan for the parallel process in the reconstruction of Viborg Cathedral in Denmark). At the beginning of the 20th century, the historian Julius Frederik Macody Lund succeeded in halting the completion of the cathedral building for some time, as he was even able to convince the Norwegian parliament of his theory that Trondheim Cathedral had been designed according to a system '*ad quadratum*' that he himself had developed. However, this theory was refuted by an international commission in 1922.

Such disputes had a strong repercussion on architectural history as a science. Kurt Gerstenberg put it in words in his book *Deutsche Sondergotik* (1913): 'Every change in the vision of Gothic means a change in the history of art history in general.' In Germany, from the early 20th century onwards, the paths of architectural history and architectural practice diverged completely: in 1919, the Bauhaus Manifesto invoked the vision of the Gothic cathedral, but the artistic practice of the Bauhaus no longer had anything to do with neo-Gothic architecture. Reflections of this can only be found in expressionist church buildings of the 1920s and 1930s.

Such a radical break did not occur in other countries: the Grundtvig Church in Copenhagen adapted the vernacular forms of Danish village churches of the Middle Ages and transformed them into a colossal format (see again Ronah Sadan). Following on from this, the Hallgrims Church in Reykjavik even integrated motifs from Iceland's nature to create a national style. Finally, in the Anglo-Saxon world in particular, but also in Latin America, we can observe a continuing globalisation of a popular Gothic architectural language, which is admittedly hardly noticed by scholars. It seems that the scientific and popular conceptions of Gothic are drifting further and further apart.

Olimpia Niglio (Università di Pavia / Hosei University, Tokyo):

Il linguaggio sincretico dell'architettura giapponese nella sua evoluzione storica

After the many topics on the interplay of national conceptions of architectural history in the European context, Olimpia Niglio devoted a case study to Japanese art and architectural history in dialogue with Europe, especially Italy.

An architecture is syncretic when different languages coexist within it. The study of Japanese architecture shows how this syncretism is characterised by a dual valence; on the one hand the presence of verbal (material) and sensorial (immaterial) languages, on the other the capacity for reinterpretation of new codes and paradigms that have intervened especially since the end of the 16th century. The history of Japanese architecture invites us to embark on a semiotic-interpretative path in which the study of different languages is fundamental to understanding the ideas and perspectives that guided its realisation. In particular, it is interesting to observe how local cultural heritage and traditions have been able to structure a dialogue with other cultures without its own originality being obscured. The analysis of this syncretic language has been observed also in the light of recent studies that have made it possible to write new pages in the history of Japanese architecture.

The contribution intended to present the results of this recent comparative research and to propose a review concerning the relationships that Japanese architecture has established with other cultures throughout its history. In particular, in the first part, the presentation aimed to highlight the role played above all by Great Britain from the second half of the 19th century with the presence of architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920), designer of the University of Tokyo and other important architectural works in the new capital, Tokyo, in both the private and institutional spheres.

In the meantime, unlike other European countries that arrived in Japan after 1867 (with the beginning of the Meiji period), Italy certainly played a secondary role, but the presence of Italian professionals stood out above all in the arts sector: sculpture, photography, engraving. Between 1874 and 1878, eminent professionals arrived in Japan: Adolfo Farsari, a photographer from Vicenza, who moved to Yokohama and bought the Japan Photographic Association from Stilfried & Anderson in 1886; Edoardo Chiossone, Director of the Ministry of Finance's Office

for Securities, a role he held until 1891. He died in Tokyo in 1898 and part of his works are now preserved at the Edoardo Chiossone Museum in Genoa; Giovanni Vincenzo Cappelletti, architect at the Brera Academy. In Japan he taught at the Bijutsu Gakkō, later transformed into the School of Fine Arts. He designed several buildings between 1876 and 1885, including the Yūshūkan Military Museum at the Yasakuni Shrine in Tokyo, which was inaugurated in 1881. Antonio Fontanesi, a painter, was called to teach at the Academy of Fine Arts in Lucca in 1868, while in 1869 he was appointed to the chair of landscape painting at the Reale Accademia Albertina in Turin. In 1876, he accepted a two-year teaching experience at the Tokyo Technical School of Fine Arts, where he introduced techniques that were unknown in Asia at the time, such as charcoal, pastel, oil painting and live portraits; and Vincenzo Ragusa, who was born in Palermo in 1841. Between 1876 and 1882, he moved to Japan where he won a competition to teach at the Bijutsu Gakkō (School of Fine Arts) where Cappelletti and Fontanesi also worked as teachers. In particular, Ragusa was invited by the Italian Embassy in Tokyo, which had encouraged the arrival of Italian artists in order to establish the first government art school on behalf of the Japanese Ministry of Industry.

This particular cultural context was joined, again from the end of the 19th century onwards, by the role played by the religious missions that returned to Japan after the preclusions and prohibitions imposed by the law of 1587 and then by the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867). The architectural and artistic experiences introduced by the religious companies created an absolutely extraordinary scenario in which Western architectural and artistic styles met Japanese ones. This meeting of cultures fostered the development of new paradigms rooted in the desire for 'dialogue' that has always strongly characterised Japanese culture in its confrontation with diversity. Thus the Western religious cultural heritage in Japan today constitutes a case study of extreme interest for the history of international architecture.

Marianna Charitonidou (Athens School of Fine Arts):

Architectural History and Reinventing Temporal Structures. Beyond Eurocentric Narratives

The symposium was devoted to a wealth of topics on architectural historiography from various European perspectives, at least to some extent in a comparative sense. It therefore seemed appropriate to critically question the concept of Europe in the last contribution. Charitonidou provided a multi-layered philosophical analysis of the concept of 'Europe' in today's discourse culture dominated by postcolonial theories and included a large number of current contributions for this purpose, which cannot be referred to in detail here.

In a historical retrospective, she attempted to show that the universalist models of architectural history by Fergusson (1855) and Fletcher (1896) have established a Eurocentric canon whose patterns of valuation persist to this day. In her view, Spiro Kostof's *A History of Architecture* (1985), including non-monumental and non-western traditions in his architectural survey, is an attempt to rethink the

western canon, but his point of view still remains Eurocentric. Nevertheless, she is not concerned with constructing a view from the outside on the phenomenon of the Eurocentric perspective, since dichotomies, such as western/non-western or Eurocentric/non-Eurocentric, do not do justice to the complex situation of the globalised world. One important reason for this is the fact that various societies have adopted aspects of western modernity without fully adopting them, fitting them into their indigenous cultures.

Charitonidou linked this problematic to the fundamental questioning of the western concept of temporality, which is essential to the writing of architectural histories. She drew on Reinhart Koselleck's theory of temporal layers (*Zeitschichten*), which he had developed in his 1979 book *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Times). According to Koselleck, since the second half of the 18th century, 'time is no longer simply the medium in which all histories take place; it gains a historical quality'. This critique of the monolinear conception of time that is characteristic of Western-style modernity, challenges conventional theories of periodisation in history, history of art and architecture. Since then, various authors (Dan Karlholm, Keith Moxey, Ute Poerschke, Matteo Burioni) have attempted to develop new approaches to the conception of architectural history based on this recognition of overlapping layers of time, synchronicities and non-synchronicities.

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