ASPECTS OF ART LECTURE

SOME USES AND MISUSES OF THE TERMS BAROQUE AND ROCOCO AS APPLIED TO ARCHITECTURE

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SINCE the word *Baroque* was first used as a stylistic term as opposed to a term of abuse—by Jakob Burckhardt and Wilhelm Luebke in 1885[1]—it has been employed in so many different senses and applied to so many different types of works of art that it is hardly too much to say that no two art-historians have given it exactly the same meaning.

Its use originated in the recognition of the fact that Italian art of the period after Michelangelo was not simply a decline from that of the Renaissance but represented a new phase with its own set of principles and ideals. This new concept of a Baroque style and a Baroque period in art-history was brilliantly developed by Heinrich Wölfflin first in his *Renaissance und Barock* (1888) and later in his *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915), in which he defined the four pairs of characteristics which distinguished Baroque art from that of the Renaissance: *das Lineare und das Malerische, das Flächenhafte und das Tiefenhafte, Vielheit und Einheit, absolute und relative Klarheit.* The weakness of Wölfflin's method was that his categories were based entirely on visual qualities and completely ignored the intentions of the artists or their patrons in the choice or treatment of their subject matter, whether religious or secular. This enabled him—though only by an astonishing feat of intellectual gymnastics—to regard the art of the whole of Europe of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as a single phase covered by the word Baroque and to include the arts of France and Holland under the same categories as those of Italy and Spain. Further both Wölfflin and

[1] Cf. Burckhardt *Der Cicerone* and Luebke *Geschichte der Architektur.* For the origin of the word Baroque and its application as an art-historical term before the late nineteenth century see O. Kurz, 'Barocco: storia di una parola', *Lettere italiane,* xii, 1960, pp. 414 ff., and 'Barocco: storia di un concetto', in *Barocco europeo e barocco veneziano,* Florence, 1963, pp. 15 ff.

Alois Riegl, another precursor in the study of the Baroque,[1] regarded the Baroque as beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century, at least in Italy, and as including the late work of Michelangelo and the architecture of Vignola and Palladio.

In the next generation art-historians realized that Wölfflin had spread his net too wide and while acknowledging that there were Baroque features to be found in much north European art realized that its aims were fundamentally different from those of Italian artists. Further they felt that even Italian art of the period could not be considered as a single unit and that it should be divided into two parts of which the earlier, dubbed Mannerism, covered the later sixteenth century and was regarded as having its roots in the first half.[2]

This was the first stage in a move towards limiting the application of the word Baroque, but at the same time the Spanish critic, Eugenio d'Ors, was moving violently in the opposite direction.[3] D'Ors maintained that the opposition between the Baroque and the Renaissance was not an isolated phenomenon, but was part of a recurrent cycle in the history of art, the reaction against a calm rational 'classical' type of art in favour of one which was free, expressive, full of disquiet and even of violence, and this he found not only in late antique art—particularly in that of the Eastern Mediterranean—but also in many aspects of late Gothic, notably Flamboyant in France, Plateresque in Spain, and Manueline in Portugal. D'Ors went so far as to define twenty-two different kinds of Baroque ranging from prehistory to the architecture of his own time, that is to say the international style of hotels and cinemas in the 1920s.

[1] In his *Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom* (published in 1907, but based on lectures given from 1894 onwards), and his edition of Baldinucci's life of Bernini, published in 1912 with his seminar notes, prepared in 1902.

[2] The concept of Mannerism was first clearly defined by Max Dvořák in his lecture, *Über Greco und den Manierismus*, given in 1920 and published by D. Frey in 1922, by Walter Friedlaender in his article, 'Die Entstehung des antiklassischen Stiles in der italienischen Malerei um 1520' (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1925) and his lecture given at the Warburg Institute in 1928–9, 'Der antimanieristische Stil um 1590', and by Nikolaus Pevsner in a celebrated dispute with Werner Weisbach over the latter's *Barock als Kunst der Gegenreformation* (1921). Fortunately we need not here examine the discussions which have since taken place on the proper meaning of the word Mannerism. For a survey of them see J. Shearman, *Mannerism* (1967), and S. J. Freedberg, *Painting in Italy 1500–1600* (Pelican History of Art, 1970).

[3] This view was put forward by d'Ors at one of the Décades organized by Paul Desjardins at Pontigny. His paper was published in a French translation in 1935.

Another school of critics in the 1920s and '30s, headed by Worringer and Hamann,[1] saw in the Baroque something essentially German in which were revived the principles of late Gothic as they were manifested in German art of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

A further extension of the term took place at almost the same time when critics began to apply it to poetry as well as to the visual arts. The Germans found it appropriate to their own poetry of the seventeenth century, with its elaborate language and ingenious conceits,[2] and later the French began to isolate a Baroque phase in their own literature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[3] Unfortunately this happened just at the moment when art-historians had realized that the word Baroque was being applied over too wide a period and had introduced the intermediate phase of Mannerism, and it is arguable that much of the French literature now classified as Baroque would be more happily covered by the term Mannerist.

At a later date the use of the term Baroque was further extended to music and is now generally applied to polyphonic music from Monteverdi to Vivaldi.[4]

Further confusion surrounds the word *Rococo* which, though it has not received as wide application as Baroque, is yet used in many different senses. For some writers it is simply an extreme form of the Baroque, and can be applied to the followers of Borromini in Italy or Central Europe. For others it is something fundamentally different from the Baroque and is the light and delicate style characteristic of French art in the 1720s and 1730s, which later spread through the greater part of Europe. Its use is generally reserved for the visual arts but it is sometimes applied to certain types of French literature—the plays of Marivaux or the poems of Voltaire—and even to the music of Mozart.

It is not my purpose in this paper to formulate new criteria, like those laid down by Wölfflin, to define the Baroque nor to discuss how far this term can justifiably be used to cover the wide field to which it has been applied. At the present stage it may,

[1] Cf. Worringer, *Formprobleme der Gotik*, published in 1918; Hamann, *Geschichte der Kunst*, published in 1933.

[2] Cf. F. Strich, *Der lyrische Stil des 17ten Jahrhunderts* (1966), H. Cysarz, *Deutsche Barockdichtung* (1924), R. Dehio, *Die deutsche Barocklyrik* (1924).

[3] For the application of the word Baroque to French literature see O. de Mourgues, *Metaphysical, Baroque, and Precious Poetry*, Oxford, 1953.

[4] Cf. S. Clerck, *Le Baroque et la musique*, Brussels, 1948.

I believe, be useful to limit the discussion to a single art, that of architecture, to start from an agreed central point, and then by visual comparison rather than by the application of abstract principles to see how widely the term can properly be extended and in particular where and how the Baroque merges with or is replaced by the Rococo.

Fortunately there is a safe starting-point. All art-historians, from Wölfflin and Riegl onwards, are agreed that the core of Baroque architecture is formed by the works produced in Rome, under the pontificates of Urban VIII, Innocent X, and Alexander VII, by Bernini, Borromini, and Pietro da Cortona. The origin of the style can, of course, be traced much further back, through Maderno to Michelangelo, Vignola, Peruzzi, Bramante, and Raphael, but the Baroque literally burst on the world in the 1620s and '30s and developed almost all the weapons in its armoury by the 1660s.

If one had to choose a single epithet to apply to Roman Baroque architecture it would be *rhetorical*. The architects in question were at the service of the Roman church at a moment of recovery and expansion of power, spiritual and temporal, after the austere Tridentine period of the Counter-reformation, and their patrons wished to impress the power of the church on the people of Rome and the many pilgrims who visited the city. The architects therefore aimed at creating buildings which would be immediately striking and would appeal to an unsophisticated as well as to an educated audience.

The appeal was to be to the emotions as much as to the intellect. Architects aimed at arousing astonishment, at giving the impression of grandeur, at imposing their effects immediately, even abruptly, on the spectator. With these aims in mind they invented means which to many northerners, still consciously or unconsciously affected by a protestant and puritanical tradition, may seem vulgar or irreligious, but they were to their authors and their audience appropriately rich and expressive of a religious feeling which was deep and sincere. Further it would be a mistake to conclude that because this art appealed to the emotions it was lacking in intellectual content. Bernini was a man of wide culture, a poet and a theologian as well as an artist, and Borromini, though his activities were limited to architecture, based his designs not, as is often thought, on fantasy but on careful geometrical constructions; and the patrons for whom they worked were highly sophisticated and intellectual men.

If we try to isolate the principal features of High Roman

Baroque art[1] the following seem to stand out: a preference for a large scale, the use of irregular and complex forms, movement in line, mass and space, a fusion of the arts of painting and sculpture with architecture, the bold use of illusionism and directed light, dramatic action extended over architectural space, and richness of materials.

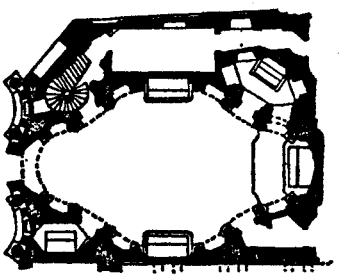


FIG. 1. Rome, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane.

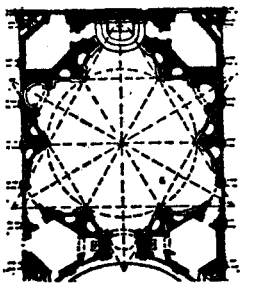


FIG. 2. Rome, S. Ivo della Sapienza.

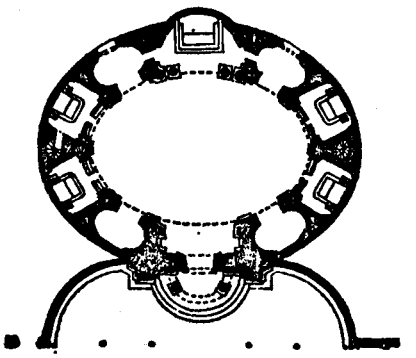


FIG. 3. Rome, S. Andrea al Quirinale.

It would be impossible to find one ideal Baroque building in which all these features appear, or indeed one architect who used them all equally—Bernini rarely uses very complex architectural forms; Borromini hardly ever works on a large scale or uses rich materials; Cortona does not exploit directed lighting or the fusion of the arts—but some of the qualities listed above are to be found, combined in varying ways in most of the great buildings of the period. For scale we need only think of the Piazza of St. Peter's (pl. IV*a*) or Bernini's final designs for the Louvre (fig. 6), in the latter of which Bernini employs one of the devices appropriate to large scale and characteristic of much later

[1] Wölfflin's categories were essentially conceived to explain the principles of Baroque painting, and apply much less happily to architecture.

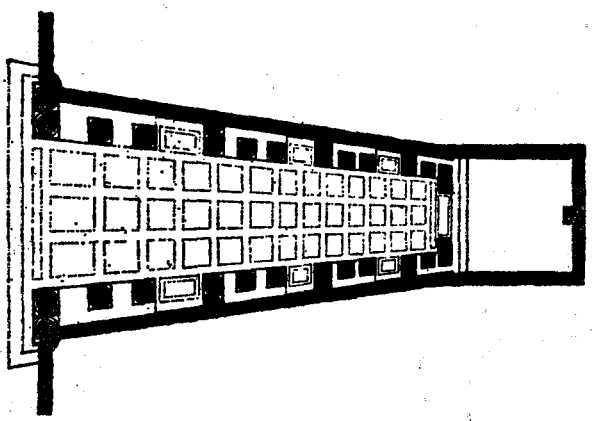


FIG. 4. Rome, Palazzo Spada.

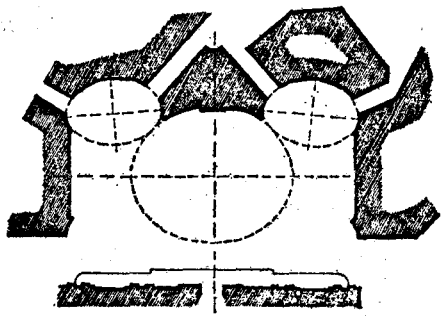


FIG. 5. Rome, Piazza S. Ignazio.

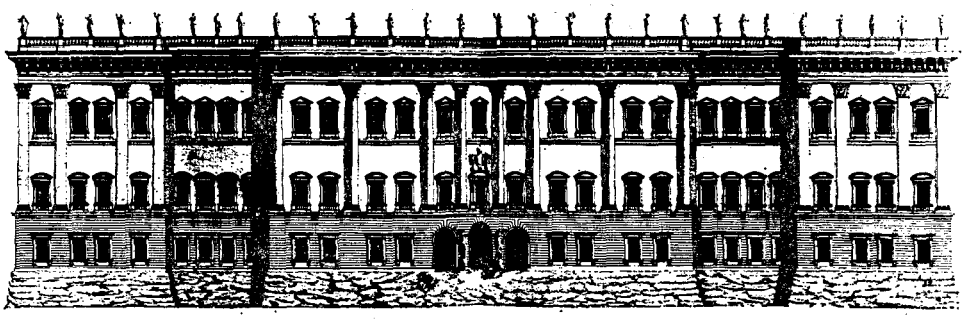


FIG. 6. Bernini, Design for the Louvre.

Baroque architecture, the enlargement of the unit by the use of a giant order running through two or more storeys of the building. The use of irregular forms, particularly the oval instead of the circle, is common to both Bernini and Borromini, but whereas the former tends to use it in its simple form, as in S. Andrea al Quirinale (fig. 3), Borromini prefers more complicated

variations on it, as in S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (fig. 1), or, if he uses the symmetrical forms of circle and equilateral triangle, combines them in such a way that the resulting plan is complex and varied, as at S. Ivo della Sapienza (fig. 2). In the case of movement again Bernini uses a single continuous curve, as in the Piazza of St. Peter's (pl. IV*a*) or the interior of S. Andrea (pl. III*b*), whereas Borromini favours the double-S curve as in the façade of S. Carlo (pl. II*b*), or the complexity of curves on the façade of the Oratorio in which convex plays against concave and some of the elements of the concavity are in fact straight and not curved. The use of such complex shapes leads to the movement which is common to all Baroque architecture, but this movement takes different forms. With Bernini it is usually simple and continuous, or it may be combined with the use of sculpture, as in the Cathedra Petri (pl. III*a*). With Cortona it consists either of a deep curved sweep, as in the façade of S. Maria della Pace (pl. II*a*), or of an almost sculptural recessing of the wall in depth by means of niches and inset columns, as in the central part of the same façade or the interior of SS. Luca e Martina. With Borromini it permeates all his buildings and takes on every form. On the plane it appears in all his designs for windows and doors, in the façade of the Oratorio, and in the interior of S. Ivo (pl. I*a*); in the interior and the façade of S. Carlo (pl. II*b*) or the windows on the Propaganda Fide it becomes more sculptural and three-dimensional owing to the fact that the walls are articulated by full columns. With Borromini, moreover, movement is extended to space, and in many of his buildings, notably in S. Carlo and S. Ivo, none of the elements of the ground-plan—whether oval or circular—are complete, but are left open, so that each leads on to the next.

In the fusion of the arts the great master is Bernini. In the Baldacchino and the decoration of the piers of St. Peter's (pl. III*a*) or in the Cornaro chapel in S. Maria della Vittoria (pl. I*b*) sculpture and architecture cannot be separated, and though painting only appears literally in the frescoed vault of the Cornaro chapel, the use of coloured marbles in the clouded background of the balconies in St. Peter's (pl. III*a*) or of low-relief perspective in the side groups of the Cornaro family are based on techniques proper to painting. Closely connected with the fusion of the arts is illusionism, which in the examples just quoted heightens the effect of surprise aroused in the spectator. The same impression is produced by the Baldacchino, with its bronze fringes imitating velvet (pl. III*a*), the stucco drapery

over the arch of the Sala Ducale in the Vatican, or the side reliefs of the Cornaro chapel with their silk cushions rendered in coloured marbles. Borromini used illusionism of a different kind based on architectural false perspective in the colonnade of the Palazzo Spada (fig. 4), a device which was later imitated by Bernini in the Scala Regia, and, although Cortona never employs it in architecture, he was the great master of the technique in fresco painting from the days of the Barberini ceiling onwards. Bernini was also the great innovator in the use of light, whether directed for dramatic effect as in the Raimondi chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio and the Cornaro St. Theresa, or for contrast as in the alternating lights and darks of the Scala Regia. Neither Borromini nor Cortona make use of directed light, but Cortona exploits the contrast of light and dark in the façade of S. Maria in Via Lata. Dramatic extension is also to be seen in the Cornaro Chapel and above all in S. Andrea al Quirinale (pl. III*b*) where the figure of the saint on the pediment of the chancel arch floats between the painting of his martyrdom over the High Altar and the heavenly host awaiting him in the top of the dome. For richness of materials one need only turn to the decoration of St. Peter's or the interior of S. Andrea al Quirinale, though, as has already been pointed out, it is not to be found in Borromini[1] who preferred brick and stucco to marble, and Cortona who conceived his façades in massive blocks of travertine.

The Baroque continued to be the dominant style in Rome till the middle of the eighteenth century, but it underwent certain changes when, after the death of Bernini in 1680, Carlo Fontana became the leading architect in the city and established a studio to which architects came from all over Europe.[2] He still used the

[1] The one exception is the Cappella Spada in S. Girolamo della Carità, where some special conditions must have forced Borromini to use inlay of a complexity normally associated with Naples or Sicily.

[2] The list of those who worked in his studio or were directly influenced by him would include J. B. Fischer von Erlach and Lukas von Hildebrandt from Austria, the brothers Asam from Bavaria, Daniel Pöppelmann from Dresden, and James Gibbs and Thomas Archer from England. The vocabulary of Roman Baroque, partly seen through the eyes of Fontana, was made accessible to architects all over Italy and in the other countries of Europe by the publication in the early years of the eighteenth century of several volumes of carefully measured engravings illustrating the most important buildings recently put up in Rome. The most famous were the two volumes of Borromini's *Opus architectonicum*, published in 1720 and 1725 through the agency of his friend the Oratorian Virgilio Spada, which cover S. Ivo and the Oratorio, and the three volumes of Domenico de Rossi's *Studio d'architettura civile* (1702–21).

vocabulary of the 'founding fathers', but he avoided the extremes of richness typical of Bernini or of complexity to be seen in Borromini, as in the façade of S. Marcello (pl. VI*a*), and so produced a style which was suitable for export to other countries and in fact exercised a wide influence throughout Europe. In the first half of the eighteenth century there was a fairly sharp division in Roman architecture. On one side were aligned the more orthodox architects such as Alessandro Galilei and Ferdinando Fuga who reacted even more sharply than Fontana against the freedom of Borromini, but who nevertheless continued to use many of the methods invented by him and his contemporaries.

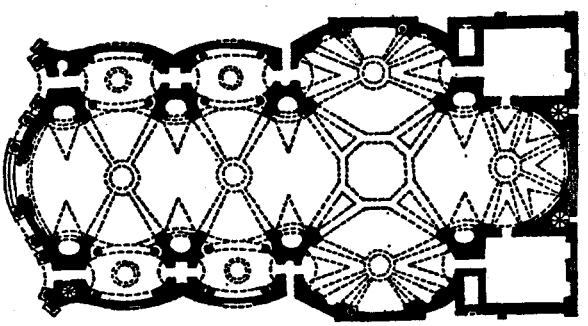


FIG. 7. Lisbon, Divina Provvidenza.

Galilei's façade of S. Giovanni in Laterano (pl. IV*b*) is designed largely in straight lines, but it has the grand scale of Bernini's Louvre and the wide arcading, with contrasts of light and shade to be seen in Cortona's S. Maria in Via Lata and Bernini's designs for the façade of St. Peter's. Fuga's palaces—Palazzo Cenci-Bolognetti or Palazzo della Consulta—are again restrained in general design, but they show an extension of Bernini's use of giant pilasters entirely in the spirit of the Baroque. On the other side stand a small group of architects of whom the most important is Filippo Raguzzini who in the Piazza di S. Ignazio (fig. 5) exploits Borromini's type of curved ground plan to a point where it comes to look like a stage-set.

In Rome the application of the term Baroque to all the architecture of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—that is to say before the advent of Neo-Classicism—presents almost no difficulties, but as soon as we examine the architecture of other centres the problem becomes more complicated.

The architecture of Turin and Piedmont can, in a sense, be considered a direct derivation from Rome, since Guarino Guarini learnt the fundamentals of his art from the study of the

works of Borromini, and, although he introduced new features, particularly his 'open' structure based on ribs as opposed to vaults, he employed most of the methods of the first generation of Baroque architects in his buildings (pl. V*b* and fig. 7). His pupil, Bernardo Vittone, was even bolder in his use of open architecture, but always remained within an idiom which can be properly called Baroque. The other great Piedmontese architect of the early eighteenth century, Filippo Juvarra, derives more from Carlo Fontana than from Borromini, but his most typical buildings, the Superga (pl. V*a*), or the Palazzo Madama at Turin and the palace at Stupinigi, rank among the first and most typical examples of late Baroque architecture.

In Venice and the Veneto the tradition established by Palladio and Scamozzi constituted a firm resistance to the Baroque, and although the city saw one great monument in the style—Longhena's Salute—it remained an isolated phenomenon. Longhena also produced a variant of the type of palace façade invented by Sansovino and Sanmichele which was Baroque in its use of high-relief sculpture and bold rustication, but in his plans he follows strictly the models of his predecessors. The same applies to almost all the Venetian churches of the Seicento and early Settecento, which are Palladian in plan. Even when their façades are heavily decorated with sculpture—as at S. Moisè (pl. VI*b*)—this is simply applied to the flat wall which has no Baroque features and there is no real fusion of the two arts of architecture and sculpture.

In Florence relatively little building took place in the seventeenth century and the tradition of Michelangelo and his followers, such as Bernardo Buontalenti, weighed as heavily on architects as did that of Palladio in Venice, with the result that architects did little more than play variations on a late Mannerist style.[1]

In Genoa too the Seicento was a period of relative inactivity after the great achievements of Gabriele Alessi and his contemporaries in the middle and second half of the sixteenth century when the series of magnificent palaces were built on either side of the Strada Nuova (now Via Garibaldi), one of the finest manifestations of sixteenth-century architecture and town-planning in the whole of Italy. The few important palaces of the later period, including the Palazzo Rosso and the University, are

[1] Cortona's projects for remodelling the exterior of the Palazzo Pitti and building a Jesuit church in Florence never got beyond the planning stage.

simply variations on the style of the previous century, without any real novelty.[1]

If we look further south to Naples the problems become more complicated, and an analysis of the buildings which are usually classified as representing Neapolitan Baroque reveals that they have surprisingly few features in common with their Roman counterparts. Their most obvious feature, the richness of their marble decoration, can be compared with Bernini's interiors but Neapolitan architects of the seventeenth century hardly ever create any real fusion of architecture with sculpture which is

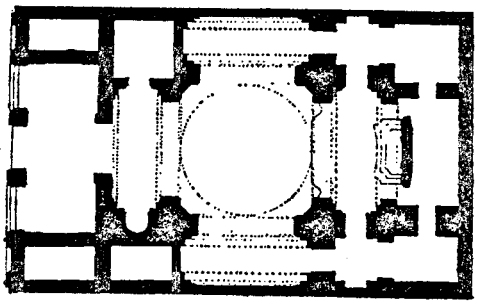


FIG. 8. Naples, Ascensione.

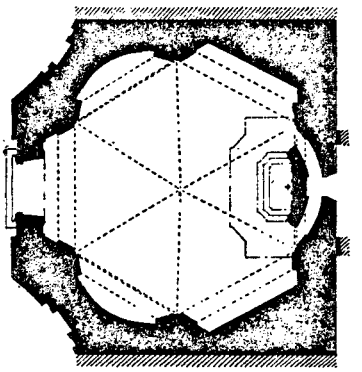


FIG. 9. Naples, Villanova.

usually so restrained that where a pupil of Bernini took part in a scheme, as did Andrea Bolgi in Fanzago's Cappella Cacace in S. Lorenzo Maggiore (pl. VII*b*), it strikes a quite foreign note.

More significantly Neapolitan architects of the seventeenth century completely ignored the inventions of their Roman contemporaries in planning and the treatment of space. Cosimo Fanzago's churches are of the simplest type, either Greek or Latin cross (fig. 8), and, though some of his contemporaries used oval plans, they did so in so timid a manner that their churches are nearer to Francesco da Volterra's S. Giacomo degli Incurabili than to Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale or Borromini's S. Carlino.[2] It is not really till the early eighteenth century that a fully Baroque architect appears in Naples in the person of Ferdinando Sanfelice, who showed a real feeling for complex

[1] It should be noted, however, that Rocco Lurago's Palazzo Doria-Tursi, built about 1560, which was the model followed by Bartolomeo Bianco in the University, was very advanced in its layout and in its monumental staircases, which foreshadow many features of the Baroque.

[2] Fra Nuvolo's S. Sebastiano (destroyed) and S. Carlo all'Arena and Dionisio Lazzari's S. Maria Egiziaca.

spatial forms in the designing of his polygonal churches (fig. 9).[1] He also created some of the most mature examples of Baroque staircases, either richly curvilinear as in the Palazzo Serra di Cassano (pl. VII*a*) or dramatically placed so as to close a courtyard and designed with a pattern of contrasted darks and lights, as in his own palace near S. Maria della Sanità.

The same problems arise in Sicily, where the plans of churches are uniformly simple and architects show no interest in spatial invention. The inlaid marble decoration is even richer than in Naples, but it floats against the wall and has no architectural structure (pl. VIII*b*). At the end of the seventeenth century there is one Sicilian architect, Giacomo Amato, who was partly trained in Rome and introduced certain features of Roman Baroque into his architecture—particularly the façades of his churches—but his example was not followed. The fronts of most Sicilian buildings are kept in a single plane, and are enlivened by surface decoration which has nothing specifically Baroque about it (pl. IX*b*).

In the eighteenth century a more mature and genuinely Baroque style appears in a few centres in Sicily. In Catania Giovanni Battista Vaccarini's church façades (pl. IX*a*) and palaces (Palazzo Valle) show a personal interpretation of Borromini's use of curved surfaces adapted to the fine hard local stone, and in western Sicily, at Trapani and Palermo (pl. VIII*a*) Giovanni Battista Amico produced his variant on the theme adapted to the soft local tufa. Even bolder and more original are the churches of Rosario Gagliardi (pl. X*a*) and the villas of Tommaso Napoli, of which the most famous is the Villa Valguarnera at Bagheria.

Even less than the architecture of Naples and the vernacular style of Sicily can that of Lecce and the Salento be properly classed as Baroque (pl. X*b*). It has nothing in common with Roman models except exuberance of decoration, and that is of a type totally different from the style of Bernini or Borromini, composed of a heaping up of ornaments—decorative or floral and sometimes incorporating primitive figure sculpture—cut in the yellow stone of the district, which is ideally suited to this style because it is soft when quarried and therefore easy to carve, but then hardens in the atmosphere. In all other respects the architecture of Lecce is fundamentally different from that of the Roman Baroque: the ground plans are conventional, the archi-

[1] In the Augustinian church at Villanova on Posillipo and the chapels at Roccapiemonte and Ottaviano to the east of Vesuvius.

tectural features derive mainly from sixteenth-century models—known perhaps through engravings—and architects make no use of lighting, fusion of the arts, or indeed any other of the main devices of Roman Baroque architecture.[1] In fact Leccese architecture of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a provincial phenomenon of great charm but little real architectural quality, uninfluenced by the ideals of Rome or even of

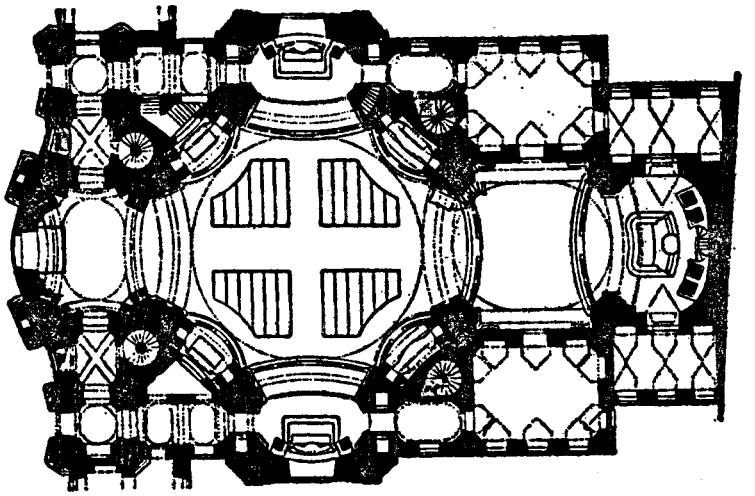


FIG. 10. Vienna, Piaristenkirche.

Naples, which would be much more suitably described by some non-stylistic term such as *Maniera salentina* than by the current term *Barocco leccese*.[2]

Much the most important and most direct development from Italian Baroque architecture took place in Austria and South Germany. It began under the direct influence of Rome—many of the architects involved learnt their art in Italy—but it led to developments which were entirely original, although always in the spirit of the Italian models. Johann Bernard Fischer von Erlach learnt the idiom of the Baroque in Rome, partly from the study of the first generation of architects and partly from the example of Carlo Fontana. He returned to Austria equipped with a personal style which he first applied—somewhat hesitantly

[1] Even the Salomonic columns which are a sort of hall-mark of this style are quite different from those used by Bernini in the Baldacchino.

[2] The only building in Lecce to show a knowledge of the idiom of Roman Baroque is the Municipio begun in 1764 as the convent of the Paoletti. The details of windows and doors are taken from the engravings in Rossi's *Architettura civile*.

—to the building of churches in Salzburg (the Collegien Kirche and the Dreifaltigkeitskirche) and then on a truly Imperial scale to the palaces and churches of Vienna (pl. XII*a*). Although Lukas von Hildebrandt studied under Fontana in Rome his art

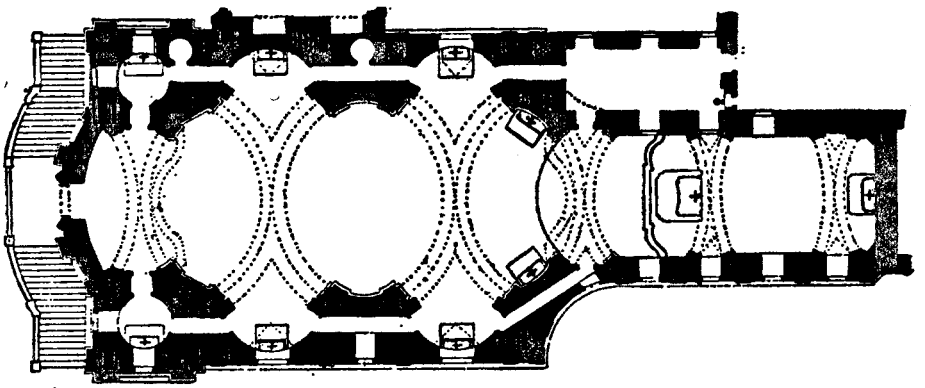


FIG. 11. Banz.

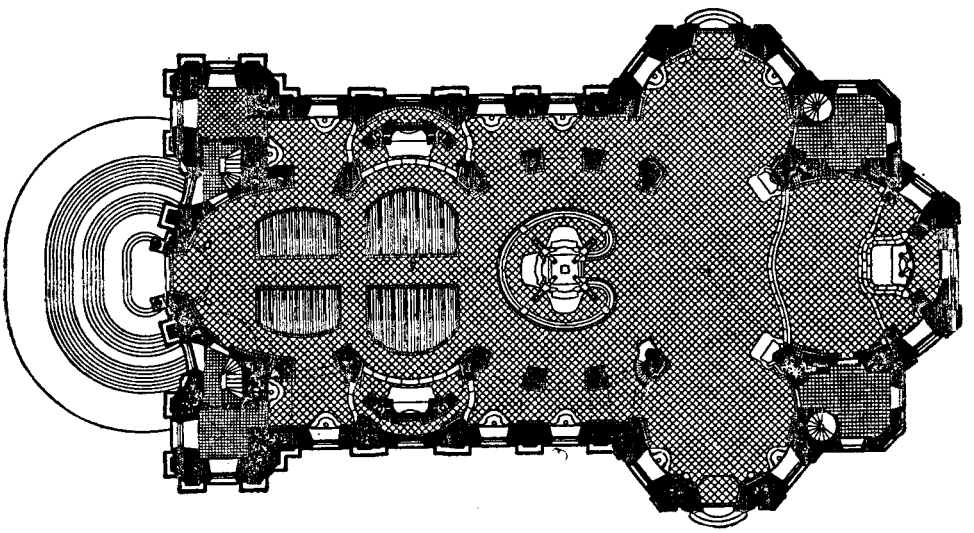


FIG. 12. Vierzehnheiligen.

springs primarily from a different source, the architecture of Guarini which he would have known through his service as a military engineer with Prince Eugene (fig. 10), but he also absorbed much of the grandeur of Roman Baroque which is reflected in his palace designs (Schwarzenberg Palace, Upper Belvedere). The tradition of Guarini was also carried on, with brilliant results, in the churches of the Dientzenhofer family in Prague (S. Nikolaus an der Kleinseite) and at Banz in

Franconia (fig. 11). The third great Austrian architect, Jakob Prandtauer, does not seem to have visited Italy and his interpretation of the Roman idiom is somewhat freer, but no one would challenge the assertion that the monastery of Melk—both the exterior (pl. XII*b*), and internally the church, the library, or the Kaisersaal—ranks among the most typical and most spectacular examples of Baroque architecture. Prandtauer's style was carried on by his pupil Joseph Mungennast, for instance in the library at Altenburg, the towers of Melk, and the church at Dürnstein, in which he combines with his master's Roman style some of the use of curved forms which are more typical of the Guarini–Hildebrandt tradition.

In Upper Bavaria the brothers Asam, who both studied in Rome, absorbed the vocabulary of Borromini which they used for the details of their doors and windows, and that of Bernini which they applied to the grander effects of their churches. In the High Altar at Rohr architecture and sculpture are combined in a novel manner to present the whole action of the Assumption as if it was taking place on a stage erected behind the altar itself. At Weltenburg (pl. XIII*a* and fig. 13) the main body of the church is an oval covered by a double dome of great ingenuity, the lower one, decorated with stucco reliefs painted to look like bronze, being cut off at half its height so that the eye passes through to the outer shell, painted with a huge illusionist fresco and lit by windows concealed by the inner dome. Over the High Altar stand the figures of St. George, the dragon, and the princess in silver and gilt-painted wood, seen against a fresco lit by windows concealed behind the Salomonic columns of the altar.

Some critics have tried to apply the term rococo to the works of the Asam brothers, but this is a complete misnomer for buildings in which the principles of Bernini and the vocabulary of Borromini are given their fullest extension. The word rococo has also been applied to Daniel Pöppelmann's Zwinger at Dresden (pl. XIII*b*), but the decoration is formed of strictly architectural elements—columns and pilasters and curved pediments—and sculpture in high relief or in the round which merges with them, all features which belong properly to this advanced stage of the Baroque and have nothing to do with the Rococo.

The problem of the Baroque in eastern Europe needs further study, but the main facts seem to be fairly clear. In Silesia and Poland local architects developed a style based on Austrian,

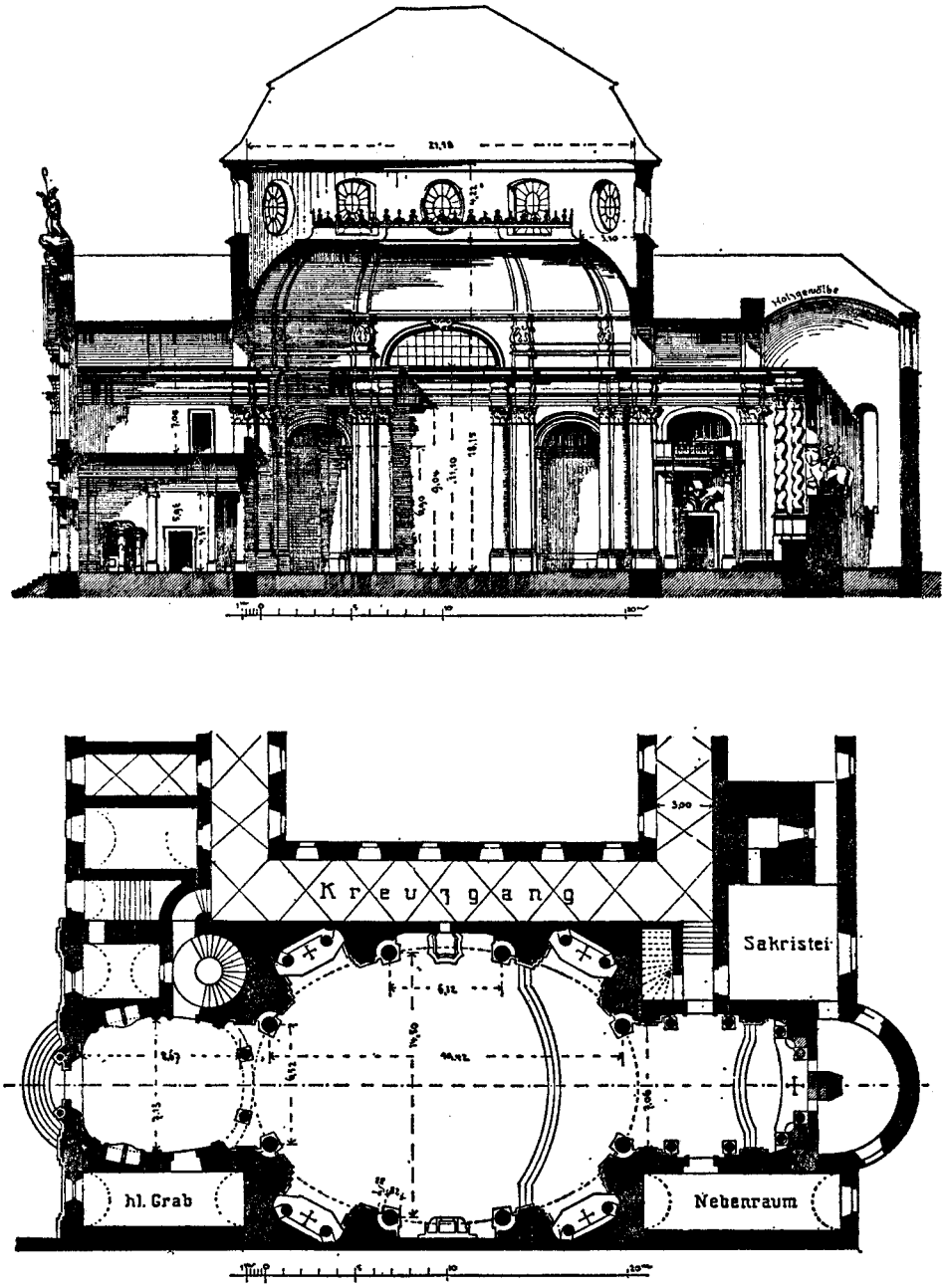


FIG. 13. Weltenburg.

Bohemian, or South German models. The Russians on the other hand imported Italian architects to work for them and the most original of them, the younger Bartolomeo Rastrelli, showed great

ingenuity in adapting the principles of the Italian Baroque to the taste of the Russian court, as in the palace which he built for the Empress Elizabeth at Tsarskoe Selo, and the needs of the Russian church, as in his executed designs and projects for the Smolny monastery in St. Petersburg. Fortunately the five-domed plan and the onion domes of the traditional Orthodox church design could easily be treated in the idiom of the Italian Baroque.

The Baroque never established itself fully in either France or the countries of northern Europe, but it had a considerable impact on them. In France even François Mansart, an architect generally identified with the French classical school, showed in his spectacular plans for Blois and the completion of the Louvre a sense of grand scale and almost theatrical planning which is very close to the Baroque of Bernini or Cortona, and on occasion used oval elements in the ground plans which are almost exact echoes of Borromini. In the designing of private houses, particularly the Hôtel Lambert (begun 1640), Louis Levau uses certain features—such as the long vista down an enfilade of rooms or the gradual opening up of space in a staircase—which were to become regular features of later Baroque buildings, but which were novelties at the time.

At Versailles Louis XIV demanded a splendour which the Italian Baroque style was well equipped to provide, and in the Galerie des Glaces (pl. XI*a*) and the adjoining Salon de la Guerre and Salon de la Paix J. H. Mansart and Lebrun created an ensemble similar in character to the exactly contemporary gallery of the Palazzo Colonna in Rome, but the architectural members are more restrained and the marble panelling is rigid in its rectilinear divisions. In his last works, particularly in the church of the Invalides (fig. 14), J. H. Mansart comes even nearer to the Baroque in his use of the cut-off dome lit by concealed windows[1] and in the free forms of the exterior dome, but he and his contemporaries always observed a certain restraint which makes it impossible to describe their works as Baroque without qualification.

The same applies even more to England and the other countries of northern Europe. The late works of Wren (Hampton Court and the west towers of St. Paul's) reveal a knowledge of Italian Baroque models, which is even more apparent in the architects of the next generation. Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor

[1] Another Baroque device which was actually invented in France by the elder Mansart in his designs for the Bourbon chapel at St. Denis.

went far in their adaptation of the Baroque idiom to the taste and needs of English patrons and the usages of the Anglican church, and Archer (fig. 15) and Gibbs, who both studied in Rome, probably in the studio of Fontana, adopted a mild version of the international Baroque style which sprang from this phase of Roman Baroque architecture. But all these architects—like

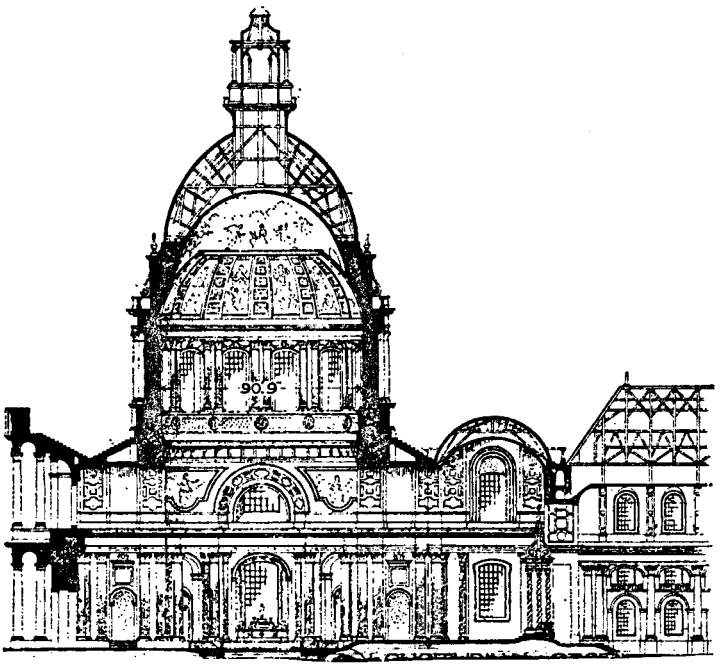


FIG. 14. Paris, Invalides.

their French counterparts but unlike their German contemporaries—selected the milder and less extreme features of the Italian Baroque style.

It is usual to include under the term Baroque the architecture of Spain, Portugal, and Latin America of the first half of the eighteenth century, but in many cases the word applies very unhappily to it. There are, of course, a certain number of buildings in Spain which are directly in the tradition of Italian or central European Baroque, many of which were actually built by foreign architects[1]—but the true local style is as different

[1] Among 'international' Baroque works by Spanish architects the following may be quoted: The cathedral of Cadiz and the façade of the cathedral of Guadix by Vicente Acera y Areto, the palace at Aranjuez by Pedro Carlo Idogro; the church of S. Miguel in Madrid by Ventura Rodriguez who also made designs for the church of the Pilar at Saragossa.

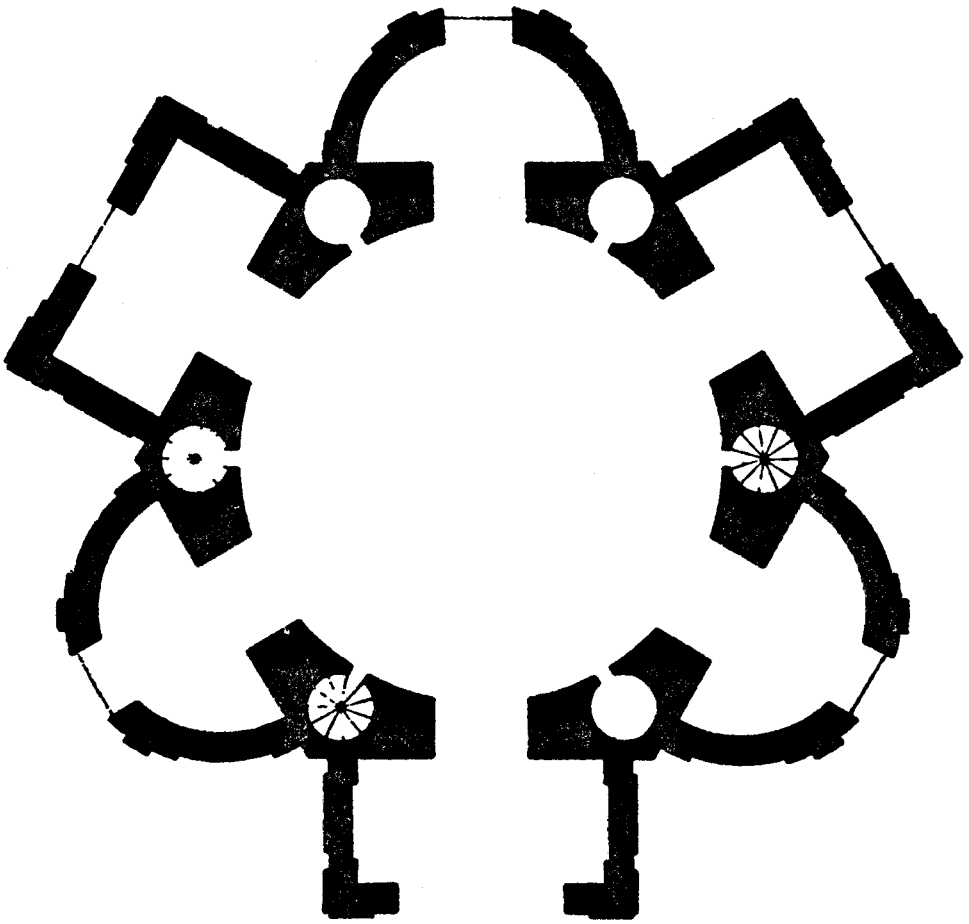


FIG. 15. Wrest Park, Pavilion.

from the real Baroque as are the vernacular buildings of the Salento or of Sicily with which it shares the love of rich surface decoration and the use of Salomonic columns.[1] The term *Churriguerresque* has been applied to this style after the family of

Among those by foreigners are the Sanctuary of Loyola begun in 1681 after the design of Carlo Fontana; the façade of the cathedral at Valencia (1703) by the German Conrad Rudolf; the Palace of La Granja (1727–34) by Andrea Procaccini and Sempronio Subisati; the Royal Palace in Madrid based on a plan of Juvarra (1735); the chapel at Aranjuez by Giacomo Bonavia.

[1] It is often said that the architecture of both these areas is influenced by Spain, but this is not the case. If there is any direct connection the dates show that the influence went from Sicily to Spain and not vice versa, but the two styles, which are only superficially similar, probably developed independently.

architects called Churriguerra of whom the oldest member Juan Benito (1665–1725) designed some of the first works in the manner, such as the High Altar of S. Esteban at Salamanca (1689). The term has been rejected by some critics because other members of the Churriguerra family worked in a much more sober style, but it still seems to be the most acceptable and has the advantage of not having any specifically stylistic connotation. The most complete and mature example of the style is the Sacristy of the Cartuja of Granada (pl. XIV*a*), and it would be attractive to coin from it a term for the whole group, but unfortunately the author of the Sacristy is not certainly known.[1]

In Portugal there is a somewhat similar division between a local style and one directly inspired by the Baroque of Rome. The most remarkable product of the vernacular style is a form of altar entirely covered with gold from Brazil, of which the basic structure is closer to a Romanesque portal than to anything properly speaking Baroque (pl. XV*b*). In the north of Portugal, however, at Oporto, Braga, and Guimerães a very remarkable style arose which, although unlike anything else produced in Europe, must be classified as late Baroque (pl. XV*a*). The architectural elements are even more distorted and broken than in the Dresden Zwinger, but they retain their identity, and they represent one of the extreme developments from the idiom of Borromini.

The styles current in Spain and Portugal were both transplanted to America by the European conquerors and employed in the many hundreds of churches built all over the Central and Southern parts of the continent. In Brazil there are fine examples of the Portuguese vernacular style, for instance in the church of São Bento in Rio de Janeiro (pl. XVI*a*), or São Francisco in São Salvador and of the more truly Baroque manner in Nossa Senhora do Rosario at Ouro Preto. There is further a group of remarkable works, the churches of Aleijardinho in the province of Minas Gerais, which present special problems and will be discussed later.

The situation in the Spanish colonies was different from that of Brazil. When the Portuguese conquered Brazil they found no art or architecture created by previous civilizations and they were therefore able to impose their own art unmodified. In Peru and Mexico the position was quite different and the peoples whom the Spaniards conquered had created civilizations which

[1] It has been variously ascribed to Diego Antonio Diaz and Francisco Hurtado.

not only were highly developed in their religion, science, and administration but had produced art of a very high quality. The Spaniards made it their business to destroy these civilizations as far as they could, but the traditions survived and, when they began to build churches, Spanish architects employed local craftsmen who added elements of Inca, Maya, or Aztec decoration to the imported Spanish *Churriguerresque* and so produced what are perhaps the richest and most fantastic creations of the eighteenth century (pl. XIV*b*), their broken surfaces entirely covered with gold-leaf, which flashes back the light with even more striking effects than the High Altars of the Brazilian churches.

As has already been hinted, as much confusion exists about the word Rococo as about Baroque. Most art-historians have simply treated it as a final phase of the Baroque.[1] In the 1920s some German writers began to make a clear distinction between Baroque and Rococo in general terms, but there was some uncertainty about where the borderline lay and the works of Pöppelmann and the Asam brothers were frequently classified as Rococo.[2]

A more solid foundation was laid by Fiske Kimball in his *Creation of the Rococo*.[3] Kimball defined the rococo as the style of decoration which reached its full development in the period 1715 to 1740 first in France in the hands of Robert de Cotte, Boffrand, and Oppenord and then in Germany under the influence of designers such as Cuvilliés who had been trained in Paris, and he traced its origins to developments at Versailles about 1700.[4] He shows how all the elements of the Baroque which had been incorporated in the art of Versailles in the later seventeenth century fell away in the first years of the eighteenth century to give place to a style which certainly deserved a new stylistic term. The limitation of Kimball's approach is that he considered the Rococo solely as a style of decoration, to the

[1] M. Philippe Minguet (*Esthétique du Rococo*, Paris, 1966, p. 127) has brought together a group of quotations by authors of various nationalities which admirably illustrate this confusion.

[2] The clearest distinction was made by Adolf Feulner whose *Bayerisches Rokoko* (published in 1923) remains one of the most useful and concise accounts of Bavarian architecture of the eighteenth century.

[3] Published in English in 1943. A slightly enlarged French edition appeared in 1949.

[4] Kimball arbitrarily attributes all the important inventions of this early phase to Pierre Le Pautre and unfairly minimizes the contribution of J. H. Mansart.

extent that he did not even examine the changes of planning and scale which took place in domestic architecture at the same time that Rococo decoration was developed and as its precise counterpart. He is still further from considering the possibility of applying the word Rococo to the arts of painting and sculpture and seeing it as describing a whole phase in the development of French and German art.

An important further step in distinguishing the Rococo from the Baroque was taken by the Belgian scholar, Philippe Minguet, in his *Esthétique du Rococo*, published in 1967, who coined the word *atectonique* to define the style.[1] By this he means that the visible structural elements of column, pilaster, and entablature are generally eliminated, and where they do occur they are used in an almost decorative spirit. Minguet uses the word Rococo to describe a stylistic phase covering the paintings of Watteau and Boucher, the engravings of Cochin and Lajoue, and the porcelain of Meissen and Nymphenburg as well as architecture and decoration.

If we accept Minguet's general thesis and apply it to architecture we can define certain features in which the Rococo differs fundamentally from the Baroque and others which are derived from it. First Rococo architecture reaches its most complete expression in works on a small scale (pl. XVIII*b*) and in rooms which are essentially intimate (as in the smaller salons of many Parisian hôtels (pl. XI*b*) or the Spiegelkabinett in the Munich Residenz). The decoration—the element which Kimball regards as the hall-mark of the style—is light, delicate, playing in elaborate, broken curves over the surface, rarely breaking into it to any depth, and leaving large areas of it quite plain. Rococo architects prefer light colours—pinks, pale blues, and greens—with a great deal of white, either in the ground or in the actual decoration, as opposed to the rich and heavy colouring of the Baroque with its dark marbles and imitation bronze panels. The effect of lightness is carried on into the ceiling, where instead of the stucco figures and painted architectural perspectives which are typical of the Baroque we find either light stucco decorations on a plain field or painted scenes in which the figures float against an expanse of sky which extends the space of the room.

Finally Rococo architecture is *atectonic* in the sense given to

[1] He was followed by Russell Hitchcock in his *Rococo Architecture in Southern Germany* (1968). Hitchcock (p. 15) uses the English form *atectonic* for the adjective, but wisely shrinks from translating the noun *atectonicité*.

the word by Minguet and Hitchcock. The typical Rococo room (pls. XI*b*, XVIII*b*) has neither columns nor pilasters; and, if there is a vestige of an entablature, it is little more than a single moulding, broken and twisted to such an extent that its origin is scarcely traceable. In the Rococo churches of Bavaria, such as Dominikus Zimmermann's Wies, columns exist, but they are of irregular form, neither circular nor rectangular in plan, and the arches which they support are broken into equally complex curves, so that the arcade hardly defines the space which it encloses and the eye passes through to the outer wall which is itself broken up by unusually shaped windows without architectural members. Even the exteriors of Rococo buildings (the Amalienburg and most French town houses of the period) are atectonic in the sense that they are not articulated by pilasters and have only the lightest surface rustication. At Wies the main walls are only broken by the triple windows, and the frontispiece marking the main entrance clings to the oval of the main structure like decoration and has no independent architectural existence of its own.[1]

The Rococo was French in origin, but it was developed on original lines in Germany mainly by Cuvilliés and other French-trained architects but also independently by decorative engravers and stucco workers in Augsburg and elsewhere.[2] The most important difference between Bavarian and French Rococo is that the former reached its highest expression in the country pilgrimage churches, whereas in France the style had always been essentially secular. And so what had started as a style suited to the comforts of a wealthy, sophisticated and essentially secular society ended by appealing to the pilgrims, usually of peasant origin, who made their way to Wies or the other churches of Dominikus Zimmermann, with their enchanting decorations of stucco, gilt, and fresco which however retained all the delicate charm of their French models.

The problem of the Rococo in countries other than France and Germany has never been properly studied. In Italy there

[1] Some German critics have taken as the fundamental features of the Rococo either the asymmetry introduced into decorative themes by Meissonnier or the shell-motive which is loved by German decorators such as J. B. Zimmermann, but both these features seem to be characteristic of a late phase of Rococo—particularly of German Rococo—rather than essential elements of the style as a whole.

[2] Mr. Alistair Laing, who is carrying out research on South German Rococo stucco work, has established the importance of the Augsburg engravers and stucco workers in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

are certain centres such as Turin or Venice where French influence infiltrated directly producing schemes which are in the true spirit of the Rococo and yet different in character from what was produced in France or Germany.[1] The rooms decorated by Benedetto Alfieri in the Palazzo Reale in Turin (pl. XVII*a*) and in the country palace of Stupinigi are inspired by French models but are Italian in their detail. Venice produced a small group of works in a pure Rococo style, of which the most exquisite is the flight of mezzanine rooms in the Palazzo Foscarini (pl. XVIII*a*), in which the decoration, of extreme lightness and delicacy, is painted in gold on white tiles, a device not apparently used elsewhere. In certain Venetian rooms the decoration consists of curtains or tents, sometimes carried by putti, rendered in white stucco which flows over and veils the structural features of the room and blurs the lines of demarcation between walls and ceilings. The effect produced has the fluid quality typical of Rococo, as if the decoration had been spread over the surface of the room while wet and then worked up with a spatula or wooden tool—which was in many cases actually the technique employed.

Rome remained to all intents and purposes unaffected by the Rococo and the rule of the Baroque continued till it was dethroned by the neo-classicism inaugurated by Winckelmann, Mengs, and the circle of Cardinal Albani.[2]

In Naples the problem is more complicated and more interesting. There is very little direct influence from France and there are no Neapolitan buildings—secular or ecclesiastical—which are Rococo in the pure sense,[3] but there is a whole group of buildings mainly connected with the name of Domenico Antonio Vaccaro, in which the architectural elements have been dissolved into white stucco decoration which flows over the surface and blurs the structure in a manner completely in accordance with the spirit of the Rococo (pl. XX*a*). The same method of design can be seen in Vaccaro's marble work, particularly his altars and altar rails (S. Sofia and the Annunziata at Giugliano) which set a fashion which was followed in literally scores of Neapolitan

[1] Cf. for instance Crosato's frescoes at Stupinigi.

[2] Dr. John Shearman has called my attention to one example of pure Rococo in Rome, the sacristy of S. Maria Maddalena; and the frescoes in the vault of the gallery round the cortile of the Palazzo Doria have considerable elements of Rococo in their decorative features.

[3] The one exception is the Porcelain room made for the Royal Villa at Portici and now at Capodimonte, but this was designed and made by craftsmen from Meissen working in the Capodimonte factory.

churches and chapels. The characteristics of this style are brought out by a comparison between two sets of altar rails in S. Gregorio Armeno, one dating from the mid-seventeenth (pl. XIX*a*), the other from the mid-eighteenth century (pl. XIX*b*). The earlier set is composed of clearly defined balusters standing between solid rectangular piers supporting a flat rail, the lines of which are carried on into the bronze grille which runs over the rail. In the later set the balusters have been replaced by a pattern of interlaced work; the piers still exist, but are much freer in form; the rail which they support is broken into a sharp curve; and the grille spreads in a complexity of small curves which have no connection with the rails themselves. In some cases (pl. XVII*b*) the rails are crowned by little swirls of white marble which seem to be imitating the freest forms of the stucco workers, and are the purest Neapolitan equivalent for the decorative work of a Zimmermann in South Germany.[1]

Although the distinction between the Baroque and the Rococo is sharp there are certain architects or groups of buildings which do not fit neatly into either category. This is conspicuously the case with two South German architects: Balthasar Neumann in Franconia and Johann Michael Fischer in Upper Bavaria.

Neumann's secular buildings (the Residenz in Würzburg, Schloss Werneck, the staircase at Kloster Ebrach) conform fairly clearly to the principles of the Baroque, but the problems of his ecclesiastical architecture are more complicated. His churches (Vierzehnheiligen (pl. XXI*a* and fig. 12), Neresheim, Etwashausen, the chapel in the Residenz at Würzburg) are composed of a series of intersecting domes which are reflected in the ground plan by overlapping oval or circular spaces, a method which Neumann probably learnt from Hildebrandt and which goes back ultimately to Guarini (fig. 7) and Borromini. Fundamentally, therefore, the churches are Baroque in that they depend on complex structural forms which are left clearly visible and which are emphasized by the use of massive columns. In Etwashausen, where the decoration was never executed, this effect is unobscured, but in Vierzehnheiligen or the chapel at Würzburg the vault of the nave is decorated with a fresco which covers not only the main dome but also parts of the domes which intersect it. Further the frame of the fresco ignores the structural

[1] The same atectonic quality can be seen in the latest of all the Neapolitan *guglie*, that of the Immaculate Conception, outside the Gesù Nuovo, and in the ceiling decoration of the Salone in the Palazzo Biscari at Catania (pl. XX*b*).

lines formed by the vaults of the windows which cut into the main vault of the nave. This frame and the remainder of the decoration are in a pure Rococo style, and are composed of fine delicately curved motives, playing over the surface of the vault without breaking into it.[1]

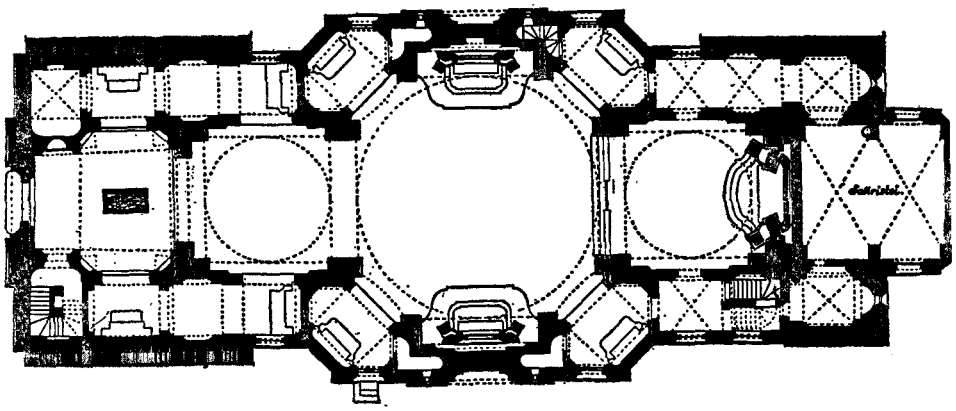


FIG. 16. Rott am Inn.

With Johann Michael Fischer's churches the problem is slightly different. In all but the very early churches[2] the decoration is pure Rococo (Zwiefalten, Ottobeuren (pl. XXI*b*), Rott am Inn) and seems as detached from the structure as at Vierzehnheiligen, but the architecture is very different from that of Neumann. Each church is composed of a series of simple complete spaces, either square or circular,[3] which combine to provide a strong emphasis on the longitudinal axis.[4] The eye is thus led towards the High Altar, in the way usual in Baroque churches, and this movement is strengthened by various devices in the placing and designing of the smaller altars and various other decorative features, but Fischer's preference for the simple forms of square and circle is very unusual with the Baroque and

[1] At Neresheim the decoration was added after Neumann's death in a variant of the Louis XVI style.

[2] Even at Osterhofen where the decoration is by the brothers Asam and contains elements of the Baroque it is much lighter than is usual, both in weight and in colour.

[3] Fischer hardly ever uses an oval, the only exceptions being apparently the relatively early church of S. Anna am Lehel, Munich (destroyed by bombing), and the Anastasia Kapelle at Frauenzell.

[4] The clearest example is Fischer's last church, Rott am Inn, which consists of a circular central space to which are attached two square spaces for the nave and choir (fig. 16).

has led to his being called by Minguet 'le plus "conservateur" des grands architectes de son temps'.[1]

A third example of what one may call the 'frontier problem' between the Baroque and the Rococo is presented by a group of churches by Aleijadinho at Ouro Preto and S. João del Rey (pl. XVI*b*), the two richest centres of gold-mining in Brazil. The style of these churches is based on the north Portuguese manner of Braga and Guimerães discussed above, but Aleijadinho carries the dissolution of the forms to a further stage so that many of them became almost unrecognizable. Even the jambs of doors are twisted at their middle points so that they break out of the vertical along the plane of the wall and also at right angles to it, but the articulation of walls and towers by pilasters is still relatively clear, and although the decorative forms are mixed with motives taken from Rococo pattern books—actually from German models perhaps via Portuguese engravings—they remain massive and heavy and so nearer to the Baroque than to the Rococo in spirit. Rather than trying to force these groups of building into one or other of the two categories of Baroque and Rococo it seems better to admit that, although the two styles are fundamentally distinct, there are groups of buildings which combine features of both—which is merely an example of the fact that there are no absolute lines of demarcation between one style and its immediate predecessor and successor.

As has already been mentioned Eugenio d'Ors found twenty-two phases in the history of art which he regarded as coming under the term Baroque. This is obviously an abuse of the term which makes it practically useless; but it is reasonable to inquire whether there are not certain works of art of periods other than the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which can be properly covered by the words Baroque and Rococo. We need not linger over the various revivals of the two styles which took place in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—Baroque in much public architecture of Europe and both Americas, Rococo in furniture and interior decoration—since, at least as seen from the 1970s, they were merely vulgarizations of the original styles,[2] but it is worth looking for parallels in the past.

For Rococo they do not seem to be frequent, though it could

[1] Op. cit. p. 150.

[2] This judgement may soon be reversed; indeed it may already be out of date. Second Empire 'Louis XV' furniture fetches high prices and protests are regularly registered when neo-Baroque hotels or railway stations are threatened with demolition.

be argued that the decoration of some ancient Roman rooms had certain affinities with the eighteenth-century style in its lightness and elegance which are not altogether accidental since Rococo artists employed many motives which are derived ultimately from the Golden House of Nero or the tombs of the Nasonii, though seen through the 'translation' of Raphael's pupils and late seventeenth-century designers of ornament.

With Baroque the case is different. There is one phase of late Antique art which has really close affinities with the Baroque, both in architecture and sculpture. In sculpture the most obvious parallels are with works of the Pergamene School—the frieze of the altar of Zeus, the Laocoon, or the Barberini Faun—but Baroque features are equally evident in the circular temple of Bacchus at Baalbeck, the rock tombs at Petra, the *scenae frons* of the Theatre at Sabratha, the oval fountains in the Flavian palace on the Palatine, the triumphal arch at Orange or the tomb near Capua known as the Conocchia. The question immediately arises whether seventeenth-century Roman architects knew these or similar works and consciously imitated them. The evidence in favour of their having done so is becoming steadily stronger. The arch at Orange and the Conocchia were known and drawn from the fifteenth century onwards and there are buildings similar to the latter on the Gulf of Naples, from Pozzuoli to Baiæ, which were certainly accessible in the Baroque period. The Theatre at Sabratha and the Flavian palace were not excavated till the present century, but sixteenth-century engravings of the Palatine show similar fountains, and there are seventeenth-century drawings representing reconstructions of a Roman theatre which include all the most Baroque features of the Sabratha *scenae frons*.[1] Baalbek was visited by a French traveller, Balthasar de Monconys, in 1647, and there is some reason for thinking that the Temple of Bacchus was known in Italy in the sixteenth century.[2] In any case it is certain that at least one similar building existed near Rome and was drawn by Giovanni Battista Montano in the last years of the sixteenth or the first years of the seventeenth century.[3] The connection between the tombs at Petra and the

[1] One is among the drawings made for Cassiano dal Pozzo now at Windsor. Other Roman theatres were of course known of which the most frequently drawn was that at Orange.

[2] Cf. J. Shearman, 'The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIV, 1961, p. 140, note 52.

[3] Montano's drawings (now in Sir John Soane's Museum) belonged to Pozzo and were certainly accessible to Roman architects of the Baroque.

Baroque—particularly the architecture of Borromini—remains a mystery, but given the fact that in the other cases a link, direct or indirect, can be established it is not unreasonable to hope that one day a similar solution will be found for this problem. Fortunately for the purposes of the present paper the question is not crucial. Indeed the existence or non-existence of a Baroque period in late antique architecture is a side-issue. What I have aimed at showing is that the terms Baroque and Rococo can properly be applied to two phases in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architecture but that it is wise to limit their application to groups which share fundamental qualities and not to extend them to cover buildings which have nothing more in common with true Baroque and Rococo than the fact that they were produced at the same moment in history.[1]

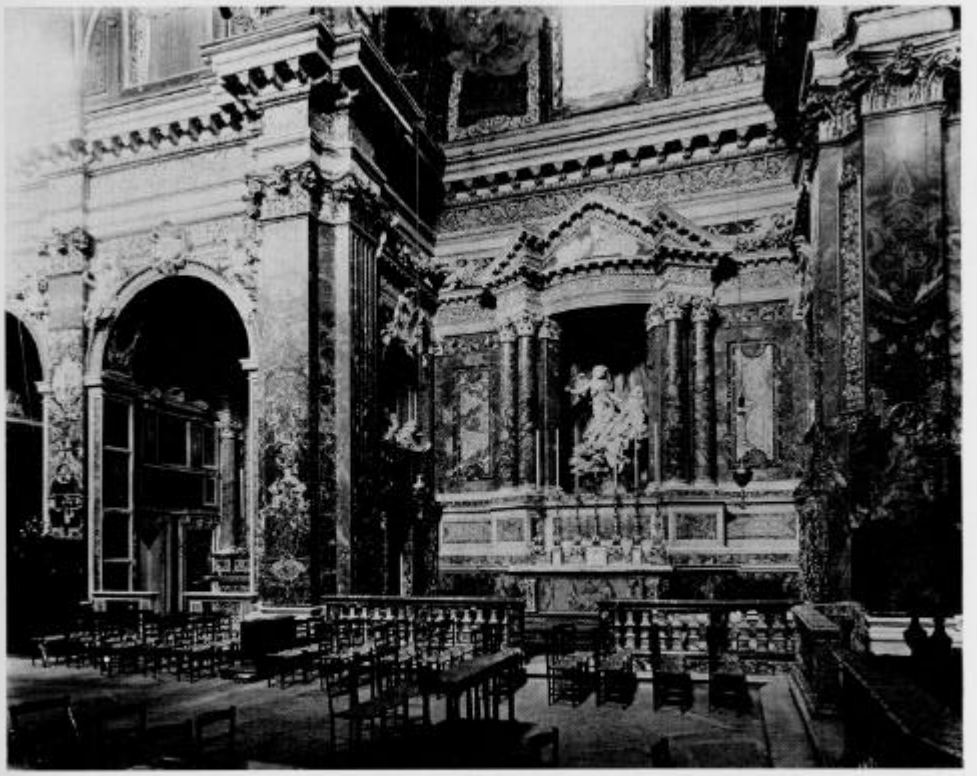
They were engraved and published by his pupil C. B. Soria between 1621 and 1638. For a further note on Montanus and his importance to Roman Baroque architects see the present writer's introduction in *Studies in Western Art* (*Acts of the twentieth international congress of the History of Art, 1960*), 1963, III, pp. 3 ff.).

As far as sculpture is concerned the Laocoon, the Barberini Faun, and many other examples of Pergamene sculpture were to be seen in Rome in the early seventeenth century.

[1] In this paper I have deliberately avoided using the term *classical* partly because it begs too many questions and partly because the contrast which is often made between Baroque and classical is at least an over-simplification and seriously misleading.

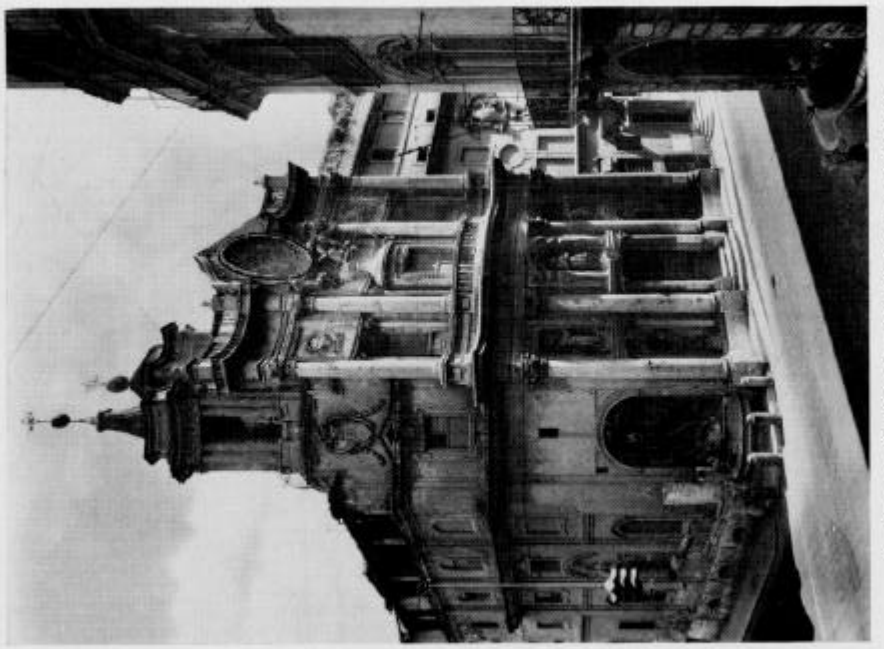
I am greatly indebted to the following for permission to reproduce their photographs: Mr. Timothy Benton, for plates VII*b*, VIII*a* and *b*, IX*a* and *b*, X*a*, XVII*b*, XIX*a* and *b*, XX*b*; Mr. Nicholas Powell, for plates XII*a* and *b*; and Mr. A. F. Kersting (plate V*a*).

a. Rome, S. Ivo della Sapienza

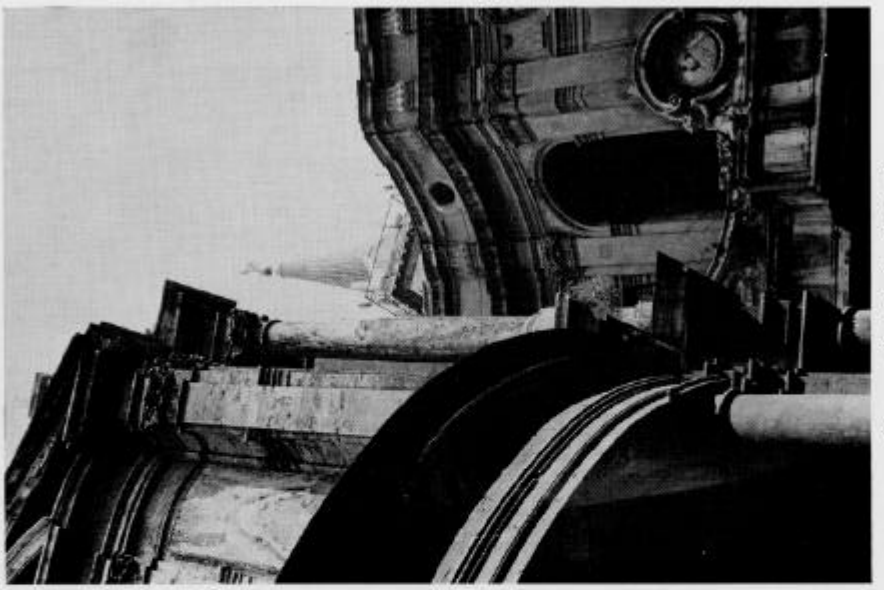


b. Rome, S. Maria della Vittoria. Cappella Cornaro

PLATE II



b. Rome, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane



a. Rome, S. Maria della Pace

a. Rome, St. Peter's. Baldacchino

b. Rome, S. Andrea al Quirinale

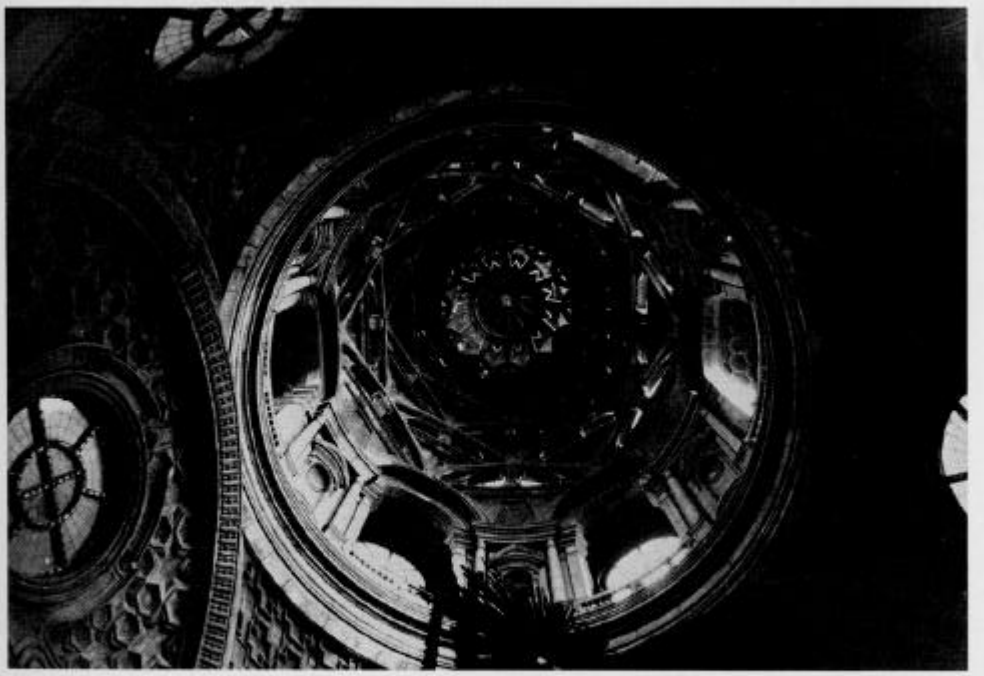
PLATE III

PLATE IV

a. Rome, St. Peter's

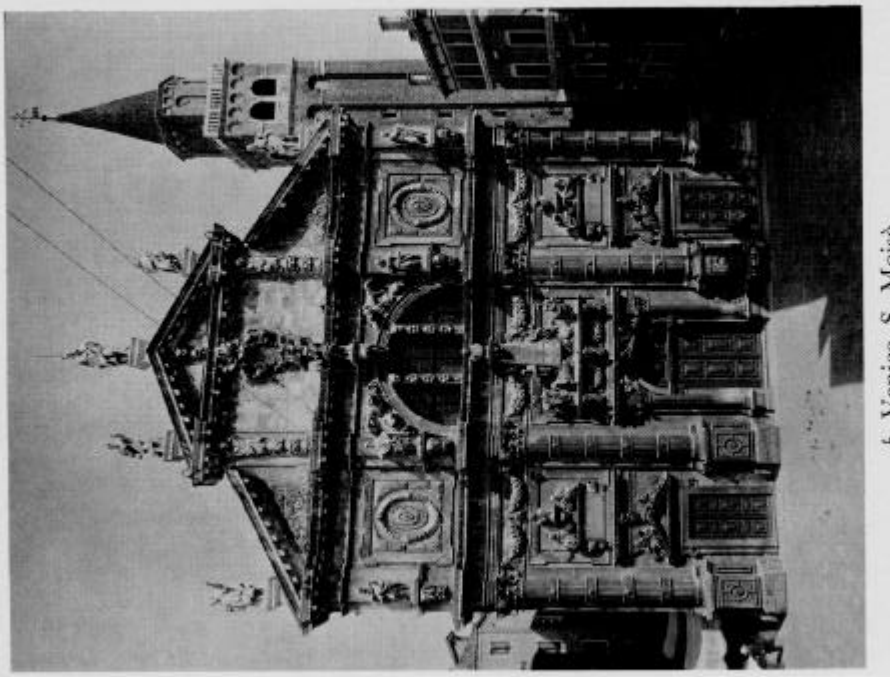
b. Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano

a. Turin, Superga

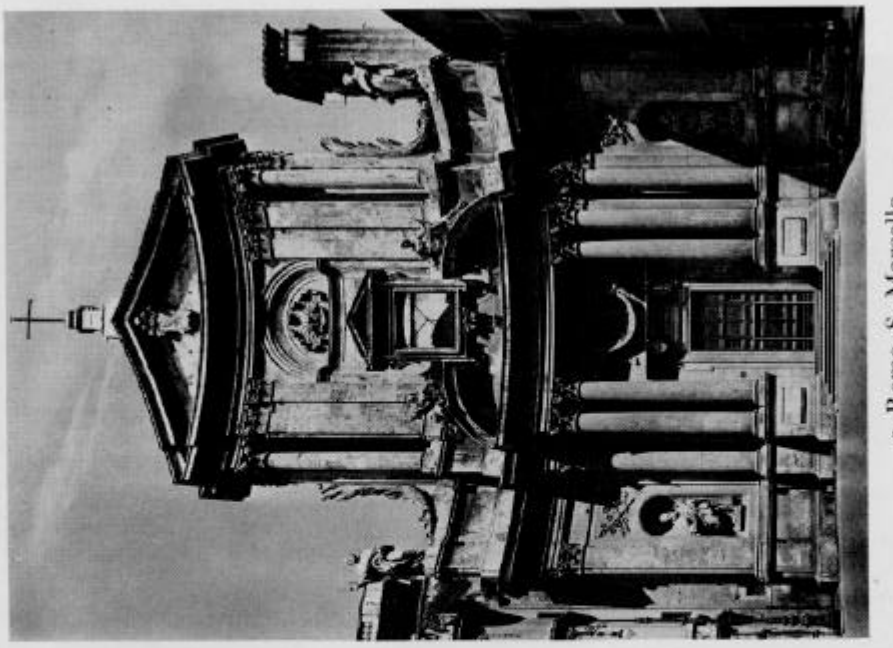


b. Turin, Duomo. Cappella della SS. Sindone

PLATE VI



b. Venice, S. Moisè

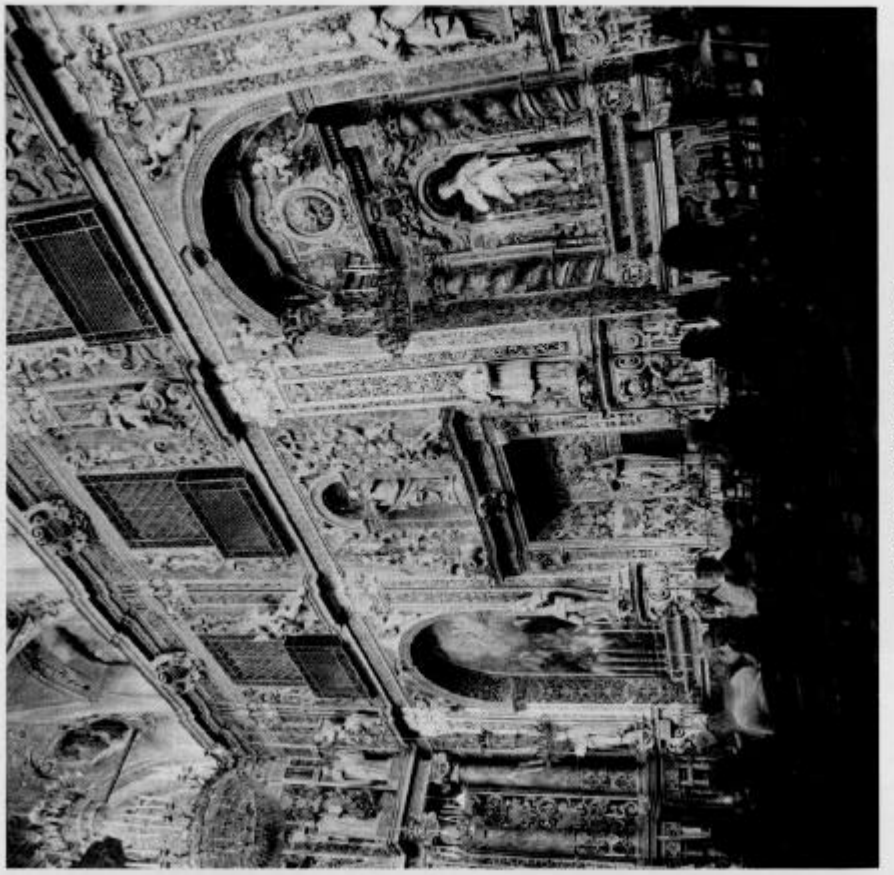


a. Rome, S. Marcello

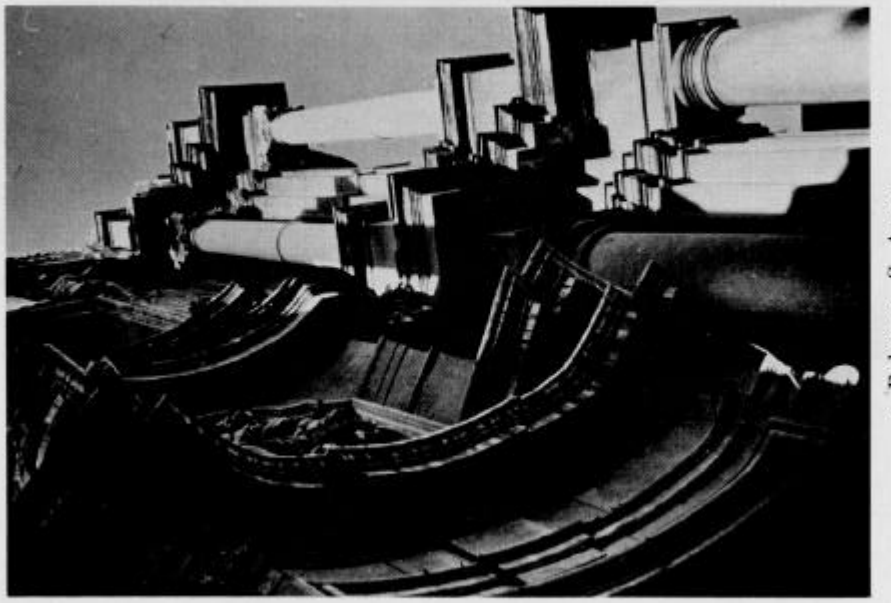
a. Naples, Palazzo Serra di Cassano

b. Naples, S. Lorenzo Maggiore. Cappella Caccace

PLATE VIII



b. Palermo, SS. Immacolata



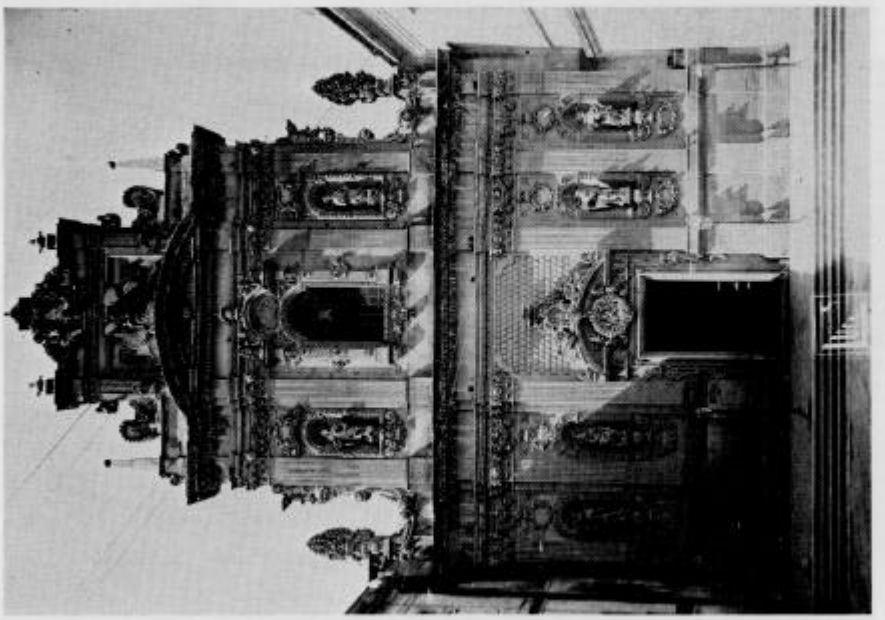
a. Palermo, S. Anna

a. Catania, S. Agata

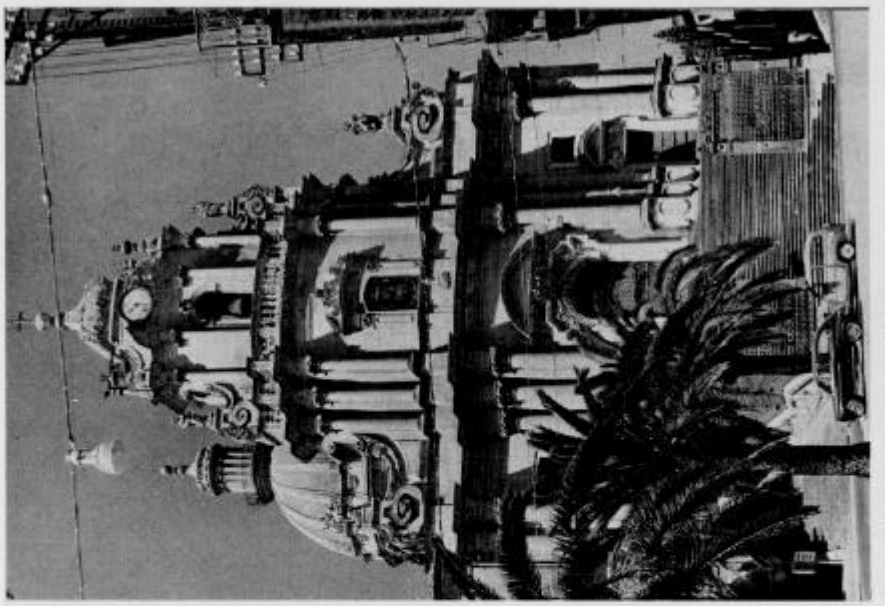
b. Catania, Palazzo Biscari

PLATE IX

PLATE X



b. Lecce, Carmine



a. Ragusa, S. Giorgio

b. Paris, Hôtel Matignon. Salon

a. Versailles, Galerie des Glaces

PLATE XII

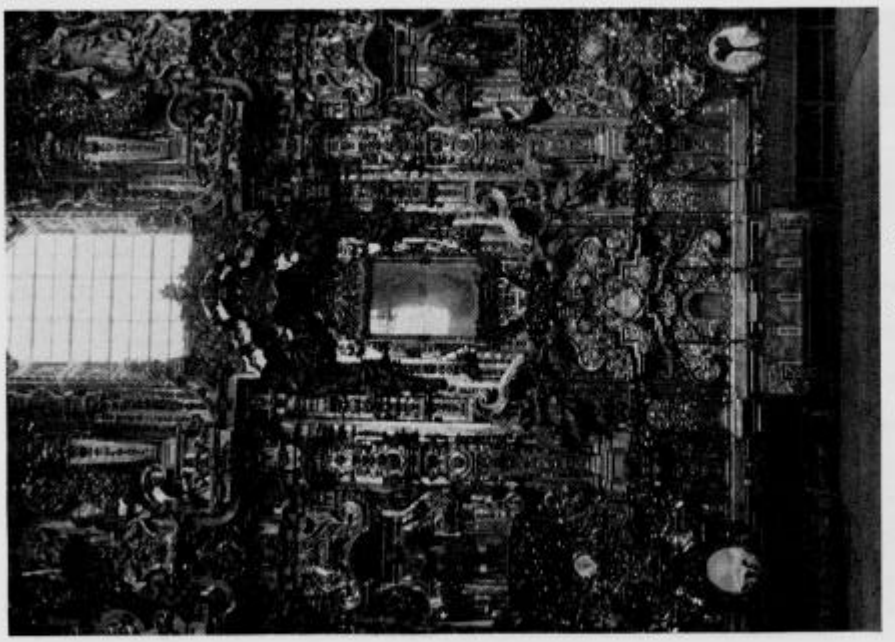
b. Melk, Monastery

a. Vienna, Karlskirche

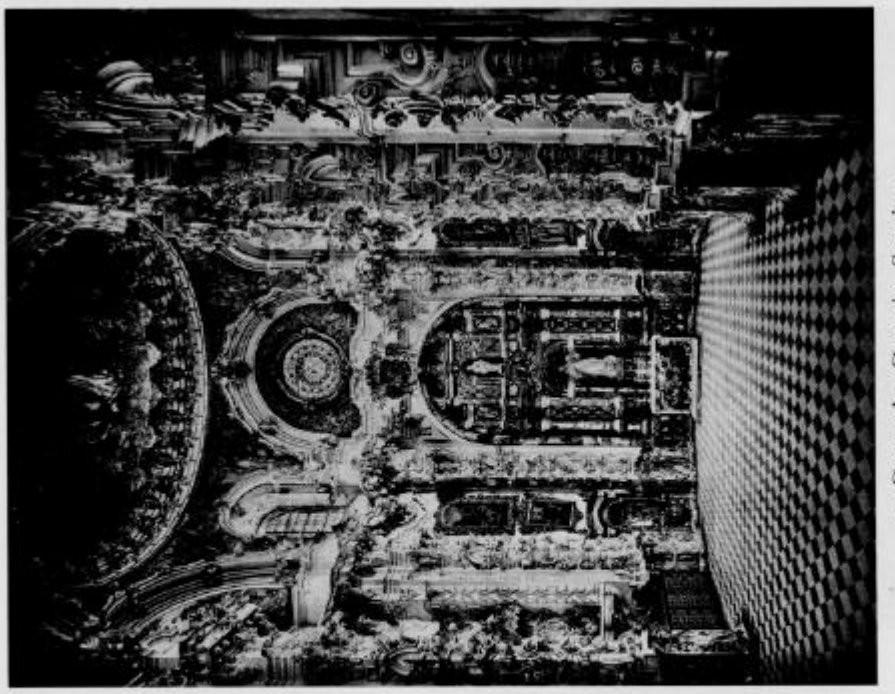
b. Dresden, Zwinger

a. Weltenburg, Church

PLATE XIV



b. Tepotzotlan. Altar

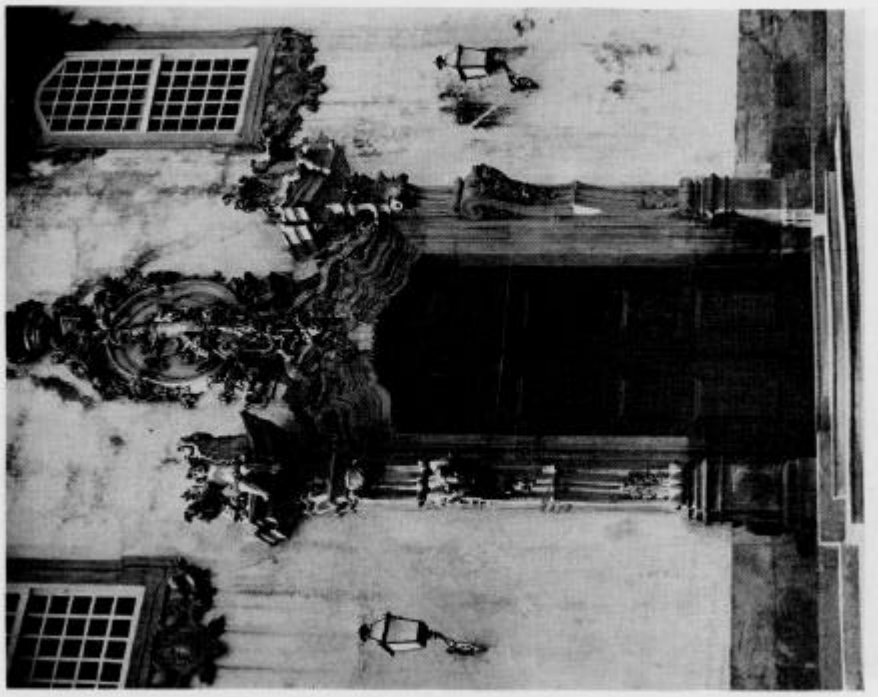


a. Granada, Cartuja. Sacristy

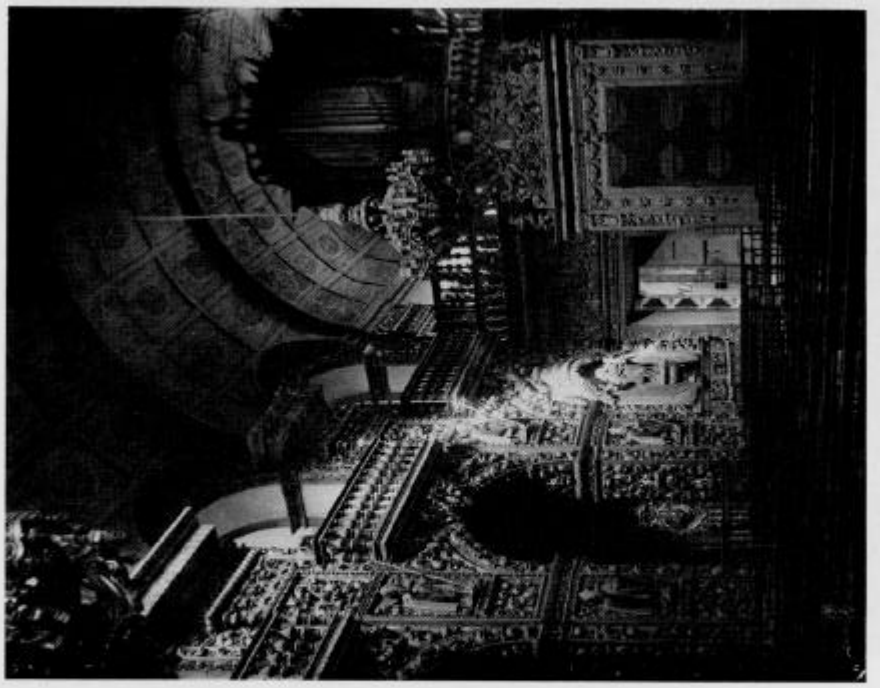
b. Aveiro. High altar

a. Guimarães, Palacio dos Lobo-Machados

PLATE XVI



b. S. João del Rey, Carmo. Door



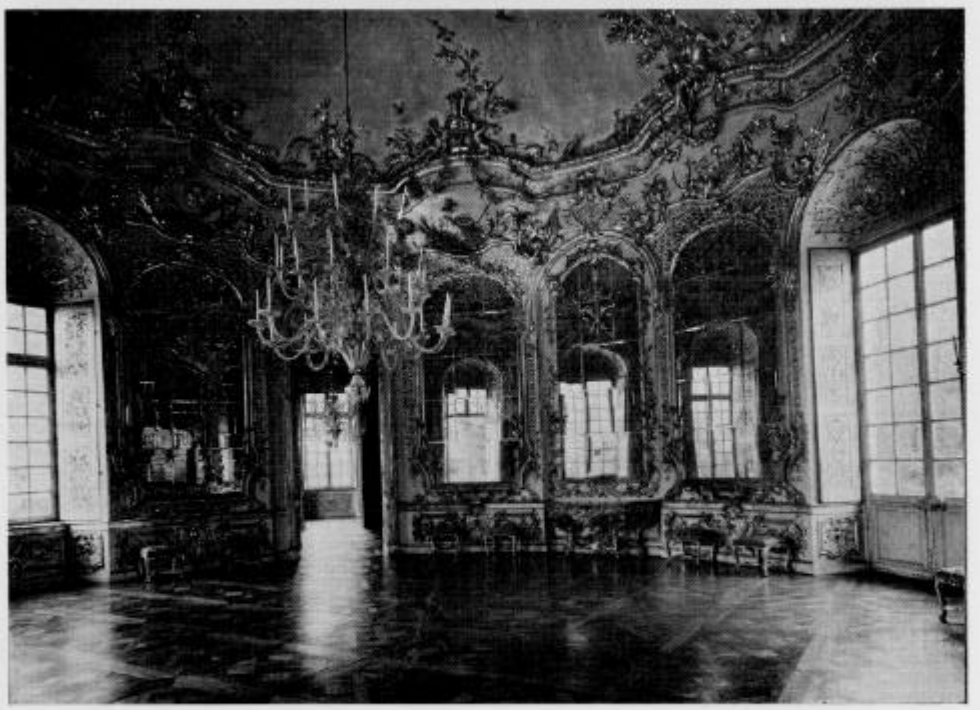
a. Rio de Janeiro, São Bento

b. Naples, S. Martino. Detail of altar rail

a. Turin, Palazzo Reale. Ceiling

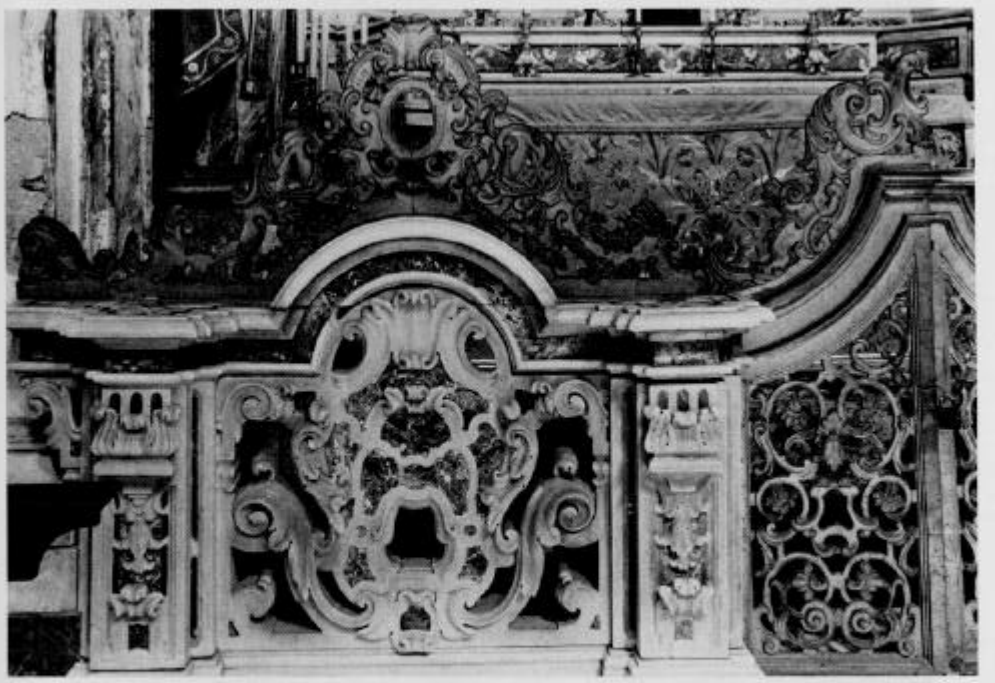
PLATE XVIII

a. Venice, Palazzo Foscarini

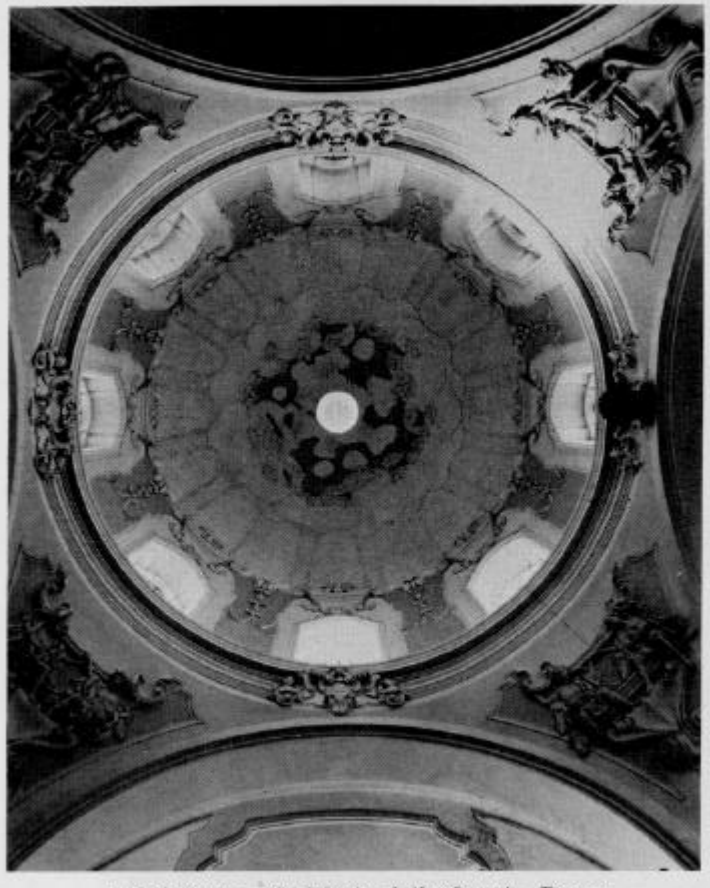


b. Nymphenburg, Amalienburg

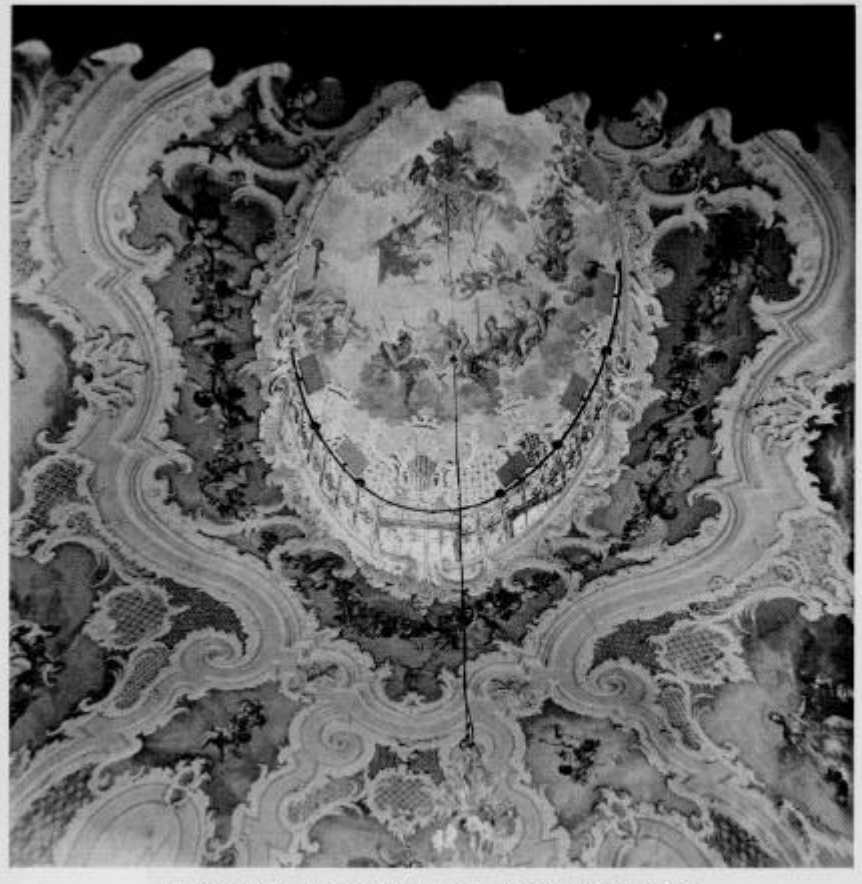
a. Naples, S. Gregorio Armeno. Altar rail



b. Naples, S. Gregorio Armeno. Altar rail



a. Calvizzano, S. Maria delle Grazie. Dome



b. Catania, Palazzo Biscari. Ceiling of Salone

b. Ottobeuren, Monastery church

a. Vierzehnheiligen, Pilgrimage church