4 The Untimely Classicism of Hans von Marées

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This, precisely, is the proposition the reader is invited to meditate upon: *the unhistorical and the historical are necessary in equal measure for the health of an individual, of a people and of a culture.*

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Untimely Meditations*

Of course modernist painters are always producing the problem of when and how to finish – the problem is modernism's lifeblood, and eventually its deathknell.

T.J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea*

Writing about his travels in the Bay of Naples, Henry James formulated a double-edged definition of the late-nineteenth-century northern European fascination with Italy and its tradition.[1] Perpetually inspiring to artist and visitor alike, Italy was, James claimed, also overwhelming, even stifling, to any creative act. It was in equal measure welcoming and hostile to northern European modes of thought and representation. Writing about 'the classic, synthetic directness of the German passion for Italy,' James described the region's peculiar commingling of past and present, attraction and horror, as follows:

> The beauty and the poetry, at all events, were clear enough, and the extraordinary uplifted distinction; but where, in all this, it may be asked, was the element of 'horror' that I have spoken of as sensible? – what obsession that was not charming could find a place in that splendid light, out of which the long summer squeezes every secret and shadow? I'm afraid I'm driven to plead that these evils were exactly in one's imagination, a predestined victim always of the cruel, the fatal historic sense. To make so much distinction, how much history had been needed! – so that the whole air still throbbed and ached with it, as with an accumulation of ghosts to whom the very climate was pitiless, condemning them to blanch for ever in the general glare and grandeur, offering them no dusky northern nook, no place at the friendly fireside, no shelter of legend or song.[2]

For James, these two sentiments in tandem – one life-affirming, the other thanatonic – constituted the fascination of Italy. As he and later Thomas Mann would have it, the former was not to be had in Italy without the latter. In the second half of the nineteenth century, many artists and visitors felt the suffocating presence of history ahead of its inspirational qualities. How does this morbidity and cultural pessimism, if we can call it such, make its presence felt within a nineteenth-century version of classical form? How do timeliness and timelessness, contemporaneousness and a sense of past write their contrary impulses into the making of a modernist artwork inspired by Italy? Such questions lie at the heart of what kept Italy fascinating for a whole range of artists during the rise of the painting of modern life in northern Europe.

The German painter Hans von Marées, who spent more of his life working in Italy than Germany, is certainly one of the best examples of the late-nineteenth-century fascination with Italy. He desperately tried to find through a new classicism a response to French modernist and German nationalist art, and painted, over and over again, nude bodies resting and interacting in an Arcadian landscape. But despite Arcadia's iconographic promise of equilibrium and stasis, Marées's paintings were perpetually unfinished and, according to his own testimony, never achieved the artistic expectations and aspirations he himself had set. Generations of artists and art historians since have agreed that the products of his brush are often painterly failures, convulsive and convoluted canvases born of a never-ending reworking process that at times took decades. He consistently sought, hesitantly and even obsessively, to forestall the moment of his paintings' completion. Most of his works hover on the brink of material and representational collapse: darkened and heavily cracked, they began to decay almost immediately after Marées abandoned them. His surfaces are endlessly built up, even an inch thick on occasion, and – not unlike James's Neapolitan air palpitating with history – filled with pictorial echoes of that which came before. The belaboured creation of his paintings is unflinchingly

present in every move of the brush, in every gesture of their figures, in every aspect of their seemingly idyllic settings and compositions. Marées's paintings are thus not really incomplete or unfinished, but *over*-finished, with the extended *durée* of their tortured making visible on their surfaces. In their multiple, thick layers of paint, they chronicle an unusually wrenching artistic struggle.

This essay will examine the social and aesthetic valences of the problem of finish in Marées's oeuvre, in both its constructive as well as destructive aspects. Un-finish is destructive within Marées's project, as it quarrels with and renders temporal an ahistorical classical vision. But for Marées, a constant state of un-finish was also constructive, keeping alive an iconography not usually open to the particularity of everyday life. Iconography and technique had, for Marées, become separated, yet remained deeply responsive to one another, so much so that the fraught conjunction of Arcadia with Marées's overworked surfaces could only produce a sense of failure. Marées set himself the task to answer the question of how to keep the classical vision alive for the present, giving its claims to timelessness forms useful and negotiable for the here and now. The choice was between a dead Arcadia or a living one, a classicism able to acknowledge change or not. Marées sought to individualize, localize, and to some extent even gender and eroticize, the generality of Arcadia and classicism. Here, Marées's fascination with Italy is central for understanding how much contemporary history and politics (including, say, of Italy's unification) his work was willing and able to incorporate.

Much hinges, to be sure, on how we understand Marées's classicism, whether the classical for Marées was a fully stable category and averse to change, or able to accommodate a more modern understanding of the nature of reality as contingent. The term 'classical' was brought to bear on his art from early on, and used to define that which made Marées different from those modernist painters seeking modern life subjects.[3] Marées's bodies, faces, landscapes, gestures, and actions sought, it is said, not contemporaneity, but timelessness. At first glance, his scenes seem to have no traces of the industrial or the tourist age, no modern strictures or erotic charge in the representation of the naked body. Marées's paintings seem to have dreamed themselves back into a classical past, in the belief that here his painting could best escape the horrors of modernity, of capitalism and its destruction of an ancient vision of communal life. This definition of classicism is deeply hostile to modernity, and precisely for this reason, Italy was its chief fascination.

But Marées's outlook on what he perceived to be classical in fact had much in common with Henry James's version of Italy, and was much haunted by mixtures of past and present, of stability and flux. Note that Marées's classicism comes along, indeed could only come along, after modernity has done its work, and not before. Form, subject, and meaning seem to have been risked, and that risk welcomed, by a classicism trying to visualize an Arcadia in which life is not entirely separated from liveliness. As literary historian Frank Kermode put it:

> The doctrine of the classic as model and criterion entails, in some form, the assumption that the ancient can be more or less immediately relevant and available, in a sense contemporaneous with the modern – or anyway that its nature is such that it can, by strategies of accommodation, be made so. When this assumption is rejected the whole authority of the classic as model is being challenged, and then we have – whether in Alexandria or in twelfth- or seventeenth- or nineteenth- or twentieth-century Europe – the recurrent *querelle* between ancient and modern.[4]

The relevance of the classical for the modern seems to have been a particularly pointed issue for men like Winckelmann, von Marées, James, and Mann, men who projected onto the classical past a vision of a same-sex erotic utopia notably lacking in contemporary life.[5] For these men, the classical world and the dead hand of history carried, parodoxically, poignant liberating possibilities as well. Thus, their engagement with the past offered something of the urgency and passion of an emotional, not intellectual bond, a proto-politics of pleasure. When Marées left a classical picture unfinished, he did so in part to keep the conversation with the past alive, to resolutely refuse to make the past *past*, to enable a continued engagement with a source of passionate potential in his life. Here the open-endedness of his process is a kind of invitation to dream; to finish a utopia is to recognize it as such.

Born in 1837, Hans von Marées received his artistic training in the military and history painter Carl Steffeck's Berlin studio in the 1850s. Marées then spent most of his professional life in Italy – in Florence, Rome, and Naples – with few extended stays in Germany. Initially, the Munich art collector Baron von Schack employed him as a copyist. Soon dissatisfied with copying, Marées broke free from his commitments to Schack. In 1866 he met Conrad Fiedler in Rome, where the German philanthropist and art theorist agreed to support Marées for the rest of

his life with a yearly stipend large enough to cover all his expenses.[6] Though their friendship grew strained during the 1870s and 1880s, Fiedler continued his support until Marées's unexpected death in 1887 at not quite fifty years of age. By freeing the painter from the burden of participating in the art market and from 'finishing' his paintings, Fiedler partly allowed him to live out an exceptional artistic identity. Although Marées continuously promised completed works, he also frequently misled Fiedler with empty promises. In part, Fiedler's uncompromising support for Marées was due to the fact that the painter seemed to come closest to the philanthropist and aesthetic theorist's own thought on the artwork as its own contingent reality, which he propounded in several essays published during the 1870s and 1880s. Fiedler and a small circle of mostly German artists and literati were certainly the main, private, if not the only, audience that Marées's paintings then received, although so many of them were made in large-scale public formats. Of the intended spaces and exhibition venues for Marées's creations we know little to nothing, except that Marées would have given them to Fiedler had he felt they were finished. Thanks to Fiedler's relentless promotion after the artist's death – Marées's work had never been publicly exhibited before he died[7] – the painter's reputation quickly grew in stature. In 1891 Fiedler donated the bulk of his works to the city of Munich, and in the spate of ensuing publications and exhibitions, Marées was nominated one of the leading figures of German modernism, especially in the installation of his paintings at the 1906 Deutsche Jahrhundertausstellung in Berlin.[8] By the early 1900s it became a commonplace to regard Marées as the closest German equivalent of Cézanne in France and as rivalling the modern French painters.[9] It was also due to Fiedler, who first publicly called Marées an artistic failure, that, alongside the general worship, Marées was never fully able to shake off the romantic image of an aesthetic seeker whose art bespoke doubt and that peculiarly romantic vision of ambitious, high-toned pessimism.[10]

Hans von Marées, to say the least, has always held a conflicted position within art history in Germany, hovering between early modernist genius and artistic failure. And although noted with curiosity and fascination by Richard Brettell in his recent *Modern Art, 1851–1929*, Marées has otherwise completely escaped Anglo-American art historical attention, unlike Adolph von Menzel.[11] Some of the reasons for this oversight are simple: due to Marées's aesthetic struggles, resulting in the sheer accumulation of unruly matter on his surfaces, most of his major works can never travel from their permanent home at the Neue

Pinakothek in Munich. Only here, where almost all of Marées's important works are grouped in one hauntingly somber, unparalleled ensemble, can the depth of Marées's achievement be appreciated.[12] Some of the other reasons for Marées's outsider position are more complicated. They have to do with the fact that our story of the rise of modernism in Western Europe simply cannot account for the doubt writ large on the surfaces of Marées's work. Except perhaps for Paul Cézanne's heavy contours and some of his bitter late struggles with portraiture (of his gardener Vallier in particular) whose function and position in modern painting are no less open for debate, we lack a convincing account of the unruly aspects of matter roaming freely and uncontrollably over the surfaces of paintings such as Marées's.[13]

Marées appears therefore to have been another Frenhofer, the main character of Balzac's *The Unknown Masterpiece*, or another Claude Lantier, in Zola's *L'Oeuvre*. Paint accumulates, wrinkles, and cracks on Marées's works, contours blur, and his paintings attract their own undoing. The legs of the male figure on the left in his *Praise of Modesty* (ca. 1879–85) stick out in their painterly convulsions like the legs in Frenhofer's otherwise illegible attempt at representation (figure 4.1). In most late-nineteenth-century avant-garde painting, every mark of the brush had to be precise, simple, and exact – not complex, multiple, and merging incoherently with its neighbours. Marées's angst-ridden, maladroit brushiness does not match the painterly surety and low-watt subject matter of Manet's single *Asparagus*, or even of the Impressionists at large. Marées's paintings do not perform an absolute economy of the brush and the subject – on the contrary, they belie this fiat so often made central to an understanding of the rise of the French avant-garde in the 1860s and 1870s.

We still require a language and an analytical apparatus that can fully take into account and make meaningful the failure and disintegration of form in Marées. How does such an overt painterly indecision operate, how does it produce meanings – about the nature of reality, say – rather than negate them? This is a slightly different question from the ones that have been brought to the problem of form versus content in Marées in the past. Marées scholarship has long been dominated by a formal account, initiated by Fiedler when he proclaimed in his obituary of the painter that Marées was seeking forms 'unconditioned by any kind of subject matter.'[14] Until after the Second World War, many Marées interpretations have maintained the modernist imperative that his choice of subject was nothing but secondary to his quest for autonomous forms

or that his figures served, first and foremost, to structure his compositions and give them rhythm. Others, assuming a more moderate position, have emphasized the role of the human body and of narrative structures in Marées's painting. They have pointed to the repeated personal and biographical, or religious and mythological, content of many of his paintings.[15] This essay, like recent writings on the painter by Gerd Blum and others, seriously questions that a severance between form and content in Marées's body of work can be successfully maintained.[16] In this account, far from being separate entities, form and its disintegration pose aesthetic and ideological dilemmas keyed to the search for the classical body. That the undoing of paint and form was something Marées was ultimately unable to keep at bay, but that he also welcomed this disintegration as an agent of meaning into his work, is precisely the ambivalence that Marées's art invites its viewers to take seriously.

In what ways do notions of un-finish and over-finish operate in Marées's career? The question matters, for a painting's finish and a brush's economy, in a modernist universe, would always be an indicator of the painter's integrity and, by extension, of that of his subjects. Marées sometimes reworked a painting between fifty and eighty times, as he himself admitted.[17] Moreover, unlike many other artists who might have reworked their paintings just as often, he did not seek to erase the traces of his corrections. He simply added and added, building his canvases in certain areas to the height of a sculptural relief. In his palimpsestic paintings, succeeding layers of paint do not erase the ones underneath, but play with them, thus fossilizing Marées's indecision and self-doubt. The upper layers of paint are at times so translucent that the ones below peek through, creating an illusion of depth, but also of a painterly process of endless revision. In other parts of his paintings, where paint has accumulated to an extraordinarily high degree, deep wrinkles, crevices, and cracks have opened where paint has dried according to its own uneven logic, bringing too much attention to the paint's presence as material. Take, for instance, one of Marées's most acclaimed works, the *Hesperides-Triptych*, painted between 1884 and 1887 (figure 4.2).[18] Its three upper panels show gatherings of male and female nudes of all ages in orange groves, picking and holding oranges while posing for the viewer. Consider the deep crack in the chest of the centre left Hesperid in the middle panel: it exposes the countless layers of paint that, under their own weight and pressure, had no choice but to

burst open (figure 4.3). The deep dark line that encircles her body seems to be carved out from layers of paint, pushing them up right and left, leaving the body with a demarcation both too literal and too inexact. The putti in the lower framing of the triptych, in contrast, are so flat and painted with such liquid paint that small streams run down the painting's wooden support. Sheer materiality helps to establish the hierarchy of a figure's overall importance within the composition.

To be sure, comparable manoeuvres have always held their place in French modernist painting, in Camille Pissarro's complexly layered technique for instance, but in Marées they appear more out of control, more unavoidable than fully intentional. Marées's unusual technique of layering oil and tempera paint, which he employed as a tribute to early Renaissance painters, clearly contributed to the often strange and uncomfortable effects of his surfaces. Marées was clearly inexperienced in this difficult and fairly incalculable technique, and many of his paintings are marked by the results of an uneven drying process, in which the tensions between the dried upper and the moist lower layers produced an unusual amount of wrinkles and cracks. Paint inscribes itself as an autonomous, unruly element into Marées's work, a symptom that his pupil Karl von Pidoll described in his reminiscences published three years after his teacher's death: 'Indeed, the material tends to revenge itself against any painterly carelessness.'[19] Some painters' manuals of Marées's day even warned of the concomitant use of oil and tempera paint, such as *Über die Grundsätze der Ölmalerei und das Verfahren der classischen Meister*, compiled in 1876 by Heinrich Ludwig, an art historian whose work Marées knew well.[20] Ludwig reminded artists of the complexities in combining water- and oil-based paint. Tempera, according to Ludwig, was hardly useful in creating strong illusions of light and shade, and it darkened quickly, so that a large amount of white was necessary to lighten certain areas. Problems occurred in particular when painting skin, the art historian concluded, an obstacle aggravated by tempera's tendency to dry fast. Marées, who knew such warnings, ignored them, and at least in part must have anticipated the final outcome.

It is equally possible that Marées was merely indifferent to his surfaces' physical appearance. Adolf von Hildebrand, one of his closest friends and pupils, insisted that the painter staked all on his paintings' conception and compositional 'arrangement,' which were always perfectly whole and finished, and that the 'so-called execution would not contribute anything substantive.'[21] Yet, Marées's own words easily be-

lie such argumentation. Even after a long creative process of years, if not decades, Marées felt his paintings to be utterly unfinished. In his letters to his family, patron, and artistic friends, he obsessed about the moment of completion. In 1879 he wrote to Fiedler, doubting that finishing a painting would even be possible: 'I have caught myself believing that, each time I say this thing is done, I am never more than at the beginning. An artwork is never properly finished.'[22] A year earlier, he had mentioned to Fiedler that he was producing nothing but 'unfinished attempts.'[23] The formulation 'unfinished attempts' is a redundancy pointing to the heart of the problem: trying to finish that which by definition would not be the final result. At the same time, and despite the realization of the practically unfinishable nature of his art making, Marées felt himself close to what he was striving for, when he proclaimed to his brother Georg in 1884 that '[a]fter unspeakable efforts and a thousand hindrances I have finally succeeded. Tomorrow I will finish.'[24] Needless to add, such a tomorrow would never come. Already in 1880 he believed for a brief period of time that he had 'completed the epoch of trial.'[25] And in a letter to Fiedler of 1884 Marées proclaimed – in a distinction similar to the one Charles Baudelaire drew between 'fait' and 'fini' when describing Corot's work in his 'Salon of 1845': 'I continue focusing constantly on the main issue, and that is (not to *finish*) but to *complete* the painting at hand [*my emphasis*].'[26] Finishing here implies the simple act of stopping to paint at the moment where every brushstroke, necessary according to pre-established rules of technical accomplishment, is now in place. Completion, instead, implies more than technical bravura; for a painter to complete a painting, its state of technical finish is not necessarily the prime concern. It implies, rather, the capturing and preservation during the painterly process of the most eloquent unity among pictorial conception, composition, and technical ability.

There is arguably one body of works in Marées's oeuvre where such a balance of conception and technique has been achieved and where iconographic reference and technical effects are not separate. The fresco cycle at the Stazione Zoologica di Napoli, executed between May and November 1873, has often been rightly considered Marées's most finished and accomplished body of work and provides a test case as to how much reality, contemporaneity, history, and even politics Marées's classicizing style can and wants to accommodate (figures 4.4, 4.5, 4.6). Part of this success was, of course, due to technical reasons, as Marées

had only eight days of retouches: 'To paint al fresco ... would today do good to all painters, there is frightful, eternal correction everywhere,' claimed Hildebrand.[27] The cycle has always been regarded as a mix of a-historicity with specific biographical and regional references. The scenes depict a classicized life of fishermen, as well as a group portrait of the intellectuals involved in the zoological institute, the first aquarium in Europe built in the early 1870s.[28] Two of the main scenes show fishermen at work, departing for or returning from the sea. There is a scene of idyllic garden work and one of leisurely repose. In aggregate, the frescoes seem to suggest a reflection on states of work like starting, finishing, and resting.

This cycle of frescoes is the only case in Marées's career in which he had to face a certain degree of collaborative and scientific correction, as the room was part of a larger complex of natural history study. Anton Dohrn, who, along with Fiedler, commissioned both Marées and Hildebrand, was one of the leading zoologists of his day, and a student of Ernst Haeckel.[29] After much debate, the sole room singled out for fresco decoration was initially used as a music and entertainment room, dedicated to non-scientific pleasure. It still comes somewhat as a surprise that the final frescoes, covering the upper parts of all four walls, betray so little of their scientific context.

Although Marées mentioned in a letter to Fiedler of 1873 that '[t]he subject is completely taken from life,' the life he meant was certainly not the professional one of the scientists around him, except for the tavern scene on the east wall where his acquaintances have gathered (figure 4.4).[30] Here we see Dohrn himself, seated to the left, hat still in hand as if he had just arrived. Behind him Nicolaus Kleinenberg, another zoologist and student of Haeckel, Charles Grant, an English journalist and writer seated in the middle, and Marées, almost hidden behind the blond Hildebrand to the right.[31] These men were active, publishing scientists at the time Marées and Hildebrand lived with them, but to find traces of their Darwinian work on embryology and evolution or on the fauna and flora of the gulf of Naples in the frescoes themselves seems almost impossible.[32]

The frescoes instead describe a Neapolitan fisherman's existence, anachronistically depicted in the nude, trapped between routine realism and heroic display. Some pensive faces, some attempts to communicate, interrupt the rhythms of work (figure 4.5). These scenes are meant to read as topographically specific – had there been any contemporary recognition of the work before the start of the twentieth century,

viewers would have certainly been able to recognize the cliffs and orange groves of nearby Sorrento early on.[33] The group of scientists and artists, looking over to the fishermen with all the social and class distance that this look implies, were nonetheless taking part in Neapolitan everyday life. The owner of the inn at the Palazzo Donn'Anna, where they used to gather, joins them on the steps; and a poor fish vendor – inspired by Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple* – has spread out her meagre catch in the right corner. Despite the local colour, there is an air of isolation or remove in the immediate environment of these men – there is no Italian scientist or cultural critic among them. In fact Marées, in his entire correspondence, never wrote to a single Italian artist, intellectual, or friend; indeed, he hardly ever mentioned one and instead remained entirely entrenched in Fiedler's and Hildebrand's cultural circles in Germany. Charles Darwin and Karl Ernst von Baer, an early German embryologist, appear as busts set into the frescoes, the only emblems of the natural historical function of the building. But these are Hildebrand's busts, not Marées's, left to do that job. Marées's and Hildebrand's frescoes are trying, desperately, to keep the Italy where they lived, the modern Italy, out of the picture; the native figures do not seem to resemble the Neapolitan fishermen and orange pickers of Marées's day. And still, Marées thought that his subjects were 'completely taken from life' – but an Italian life lived as if modernity had not happened, nor ever would.

What was at stake, of course, was the loss of the utopia that was Italy and an acknowledgment of the processes of modernization. Marées seemed to betray a truly German desire, from Winckelmann and Goethe on, to keep Italy safeguarded from modernity – even Jacob Burckhardt called Italy 'modernitätsmüde' (too tired to modernize) and a 'stilles wunderbares Grabmonument' (quiet wonderful grave monument).[34] Marées's is a desperate vision of an unspoiled Italy, a vision entirely born of modernization. But his work spoke too deeply of its motive force, and his fetishization of the surface trapped time and its corporealization in an unstable social world. In Marées's art, a peaceful gathering of nudes was no longer an expression of a truly harmonious form of community, but was ridden with desire, eroticism, and the failure to communicate. The alienating forces of modern experience have, in Marées's work, fully entered Arcadia and transformed it.

Through his permanent refuge in Italy, it might seem that Marées tried to escape German history entirely at a time when most of his

fellow countrymen celebrated their national unification and military strength. The 'philistines,' to use the term Nietzsche flaunted again and again in the face of the newly founded German Kaiserreich in the early 1870s, were most satisfied with the new state of things, not interested in change. Marées's paintings of the 1870s and 1880s can easily be read as counterweights to such celebratory cultural monuments as the Berlin Victory Column, inaugurated in 1874 and decorated with a historical and allegorical mosaic frieze by the Prussian court painter Anton von Werner. Nothing of that is found in Marées, it would seem, no instrumentalized classicism coded to contemporary Germany and its newfound glory. His paintings – at least in their subject matter – deliberately evoked a realm outside of history, and Italy offered, not specifically, but ideologically, the perfect background. For most of Marées's career, his works never speak of a specific modernity or a specific history.

Italy, in the 1870s and 1880s, was the place for Germans where such escapism was still possible, even traditional. Yet, Italy's own national development was deeply entangled in the process of German unification, on which its own political future depended. In 1870 German and Italian efforts at unification were established in mutual assistance at the same moment in history. Rome, the last Italian bastion in French hands, was finally taken by the Italian army in 1870 when Napoleon III had to withdraw his army from Italy for use in the Franco-Prussian War. France's declaration of war against Prussia was therefore one of the leading causes for the final founding of the unified Italian nation. The members of the intellectual circle of the Stazione were certainly aware of these facts and their political resonance. They frequently read and communicated with German cultural and political critics and historians like Ferdinand Gregorovius or Heinrich von Treitschke, who, in his famous study on Camillo Cavour, advocated a parallel between the German and Italian national unifications.[35] Such a line of argument had become popular since the early 1860s, intensified during the Prussian-Austrian disagreement over Italy in 1866, and reached its pinnacle in 1870/1. Italy's and Germany's new-found yet age-old national brotherhood – the two were frequently called 'old hostile *sisters*' in the press – was described by Gregorovius as follows: 'As both great nations had, for centuries, faced a similar misfortune, they both arose, at the same time, to full freedom and unity. They helped each other up, the one aiding the other, in the bitter battle for their national renewal.'[36] After

1870/1, one country's historical fate was inevitably and consequentially linked to that of the other. But as a result, Germany had to renegotiate its image of Italy, acknowledging it as a contemporary political entity. Tellingly, Marées left for Italy, almost permanently, in the early 1870s.

This history was meaningful and important to German expatriates in Italy in the years after 1871, and especially to Marées, who was himself a soldier in the Prussian army during the war, stationed in Cologne. His brother had been severely wounded in battle.[37] When Marées modelled the two women in the orange grove on the south wall so clearly after Johann Friedrich Overbeck's famous 1828 painting *Italia and Germania*, he could not have been unaware of the new resonance of this painting for his own political moment (figure 4.7).[38] If these are Italia and Germania in intimate conversation in Marées's fresco (figure 4.6) – one blond, one dark-haired, in an embrace similar to that in Overbeck's painting – then these figures speak to the recent development in German and Italian political relations. The union between the two national allegories suggests that this union is necessary to provide a potential for a *new* Arcadia and a *new* classicism, one engendered by Germans and Germany *for* Italy. The frescoes' harmonious, classicizing vision of the rural working class could only have been made possible, Italia and Germania suggest, *because* the two nations are now linked – Germany's unification process enabling Italy's and bringing it to a close. This, then, was Marées's challenge: to find expression for the pull between the new shifting historical conditions and the dream of an ancient immutable stability that led to Italy in the first place. Trying to speak political specificity *and* immutability is the trap that Marées's modern classicism ran into, or the task it set itself to resolve.

As Manfredo Tafuri has argued, the 'disintegration of the concept of form corresponded to the formation of a new metropolitan universe, located in Paris and elsewhere.'[39] Yet, for Marées, paradoxically, disintegration of form was a staple ingredient of classicism in marked opposition to metropolitan modernism. Marées confessed in a letter some years after the frescoes' completion that he wanted to remove one fresco, which he, fortunately, never did. There has been speculation about which one – he did not specify – ever since.[40] Maybe he meant the two women, since their Arcadian setting and romantic idyllicism could too easily be assimilated to a political reading that the entire cycle worked to forestall. But this episode shows just how difficult it had become, by the early 1870s, to paint parts of Europe as if untouched by

history and political change – because they were not, nor could have been.

To be sure, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, the question of a painting's finish had emerged as one of the hot-button issues of the day, and the line between sketch and painting was anything but firmly drawn. Still, Marées, as an artist torn so completely between the two camps, remains a unique figure within nineteenth-century art. Marées felt the tension between his hopes for completion and his realization that his aesthetic practice could not allow for a finished product. In fact, he exploded, willingly or not, the categories of finish as such. 'Always at the right moment, someone should take my pictures away from me.'[41] The surfaces of Marées's paintings seem to testify to a lack of the restraint and confidence necessary to discipline his material. Shortly after Marées's death, many writers took the unfinishedness as a sign of more than just technical difficulty and, lending an ethical dimension to the debate, declared the artist lacking in will and moral strength. To them, he was the 'willing, struggling type of artist who would never reach his greatest promise and fulfilment.'[42] Such statements also imply that his will was not firm enough to ensure painterly success. And according to Karl von Pidoll, another of Marées's zealous students, it was not just his will that was not secure enough for the difficulties of his profession, but its very source, his masculinity: 'As noble as his instrument was, it was as difficult for him to learn to use it. It did not suit him in this endeavour to make use of his entire manhood with all its physical, spiritual, and moral forces.'[43]

Marées, in his constant search for finish, is understood as either a mere searcher unable to find or a fighter unable to win – a process he himself called his 'Don Quixoterie.'[44] He undoubtedly had the highest and most rigid moral expectations of his artistic identity, to live by the highest codes of honourability and integrity. He had equally high expectations of his masculine identity, so high, in fact, that the norm he envisioned for himself was far beyond his reach and thus left him constantly tormented. He was, in short, a man striving for a proper blend of masculine normativity and artistic control – and failing: 'It remains most desirable at the end of one's career, to know that one has fulfilled one's task as a man ... A self-sufficient artist can only be a man who has dominated over all prejudices.'[45]

The fraught relationship between masculinity and finish was emblematized by a vision of masculinity forestalled. This aesthetic adoles-

cence was not just centrally thematized in Marées's painting, but was also a common trope within the writings of Marées's and especially Fiedler's Leipzig literary circle. In fact, in several short stories, we find main characters that echo Marées's own existential and artistic struggles. In Max von Schlägel's 'Torso,' a short artist's novel published in 1873 in *Der Salon für Literatur, Kunst und Gesellschaft*, the protagonist, Robert Pfeil, is an unsuccessful, thinly talented young artist called 'Torso,' because he cannot finish his paintings: '"You call me Torso jokingly because I can't finish anything ... Ideas, which threw me into a true ecstasy of creation, exploded underneath my fingers towards formlessness and monstrosity, or shrank into a shadowy grimace."'[46] Despite his professional difficulties, Torso is nevertheless considered a very moral character. Unable to watch the love of his youth grow more and more unhappy in her marriage to an old wealthy banker, Torso makes her – publicly and in front of her husband – face her unhappiness, though not entirely selflessly. Her divorce is – according to the author – the only morally justifiable decision, and Torso is credited with bringing it about. After marrying her himself and confirming his moral strength, Torso writes a book, is finally productive and turns into a 'complete' man: 'And here, we would like to end – since Torso died with the emergence of his creativity – Robert Pfeil, lives on as a *complete*, enviable man [*my emphasis*].'[47]

Another literary character who thought himself 'incomplete' is Fridolin, the main character in Adolf Wilbrandt's 1875 novel *Fridolin's Mystical Marriage*. In a conversation with his former student Leopold on the topic of marriage, Fridolin admits that he is already secretly married to his 'inner' female half. During the course of the novel, the art historian and philanthropist Fridolin falls in love with both men and women – first with the niece of his housekeeper, Ottilie, and later with her brother Ferdinand, whom he calls 'Ottilius.' But, as Fridolin explains, he will never have a gratifying relationship, since his second half – the one momentarily not in love – steps back into his conscience and intervenes. Always already internally married, yet always looking for a real-life partner, he is destined to fail, despite the fact that he has attained the highest level of civil achievement and a secure public post: 'Fridolin sighed with whimsical sentimentality. "While I, at forty, am not my own physician, have not finished my moral training, and have not mastered my profession! I am utterly incomplete – incapable of completion."'[48]

Thus, there seems to be a then current equation between the successful development of a masculine and moral self and the ability to finish or complete professional obligations. Marées seems to have believed, along with some of his contemporaries, that he was not morally equipped, which is to say not man enough, to finish his work. Yet at the same time, Marées seems to have carried this defining crisis to such extremity as to unmask the ideological equivalence among morality, manliness, and the ability to finish.

In this moralizing universe, a painting's finish, finally, had ethical and sexual consequences and evoked existential fears beyond the reach of an artist's brush. No painterly fantasies that sought what Marées sought – not a fossilized but a living, breathing Arcadia – would be able to shore the masculine artistic self under pressure from the destabilizing forces of life and its desires that these same fantasies unleashed. To paint an animated Arcadia thus required a firm manhood that the very aspiration to it foreclosed. Yet un-finish was also in some form or other a guarantee that this Arcadia would remain alive, evolving in the present. The price to pay for such a Mephistophelean bargain was self-doubt, born of a loss of control over the artist's materials and, concomitantly, his manliness.

Marées's whole career courted destabilization under the pressure of a need to complete, a will to complete, a not-being-able-to-complete, and a not-wanting-to-complete, which his critics sensed early on. The uneven surfaces of Marées's paintings, 'ruinous' as they were often called, played heavily into the hands of these critics and into the rhetoric of unfinishedness surrounding Marées's work shortly after his death. Paint supposedly rested on his canvases like 'cushions,' applied by a 'trowel.'[49] Adolf von Hildebrand drafted the following devastating verdict about Marées's abilities in an 1885 letter to Fiedler: 'An impossibly hideous technique, his things in horrible condition and saved merely by their decorative effects. Gagged up in effort and despair, gnawed off to the skeleton of a conception.'[50] The cracks and wrinkles were perhaps particularly unsettling for early viewers because they affected the human figure most. As Heinrich Ludwig predicted, Marées would have immense difficulty painting skin. His bodies, like those in the *Hesperides* protruding from their surroundings, are built up much higher than the rest of the image, a sign that the human form was of particular importance to Marées, but that it also produced notably more painterly anxiety. Marées, in his early critics' eyes, painted – amidst seemingly classical, stable, and timeless landscapes – a humanity that was visually scarred and decrepit. Despite the Elysian fields, a green shade of skin, a com-

plexion of sickness, and the signs of aging make their round in Arcadia. And solid flesh appears as mere projection or shadow, held together not by signs of its materiality, but by effects on the bodies' surfaces. Heinrich Wölfflin, who wrote a brief essay on Marées in 1891, described this discrepancy between idyll and sickness as follows:

> What was striking here is the following: the most genuine beauty was paired with laughable deformity; the most magnificent movements, but the limbs here and there completely stunted; deep, saturated colours in the background that resign all effects to the glowing bodies, but the bodies themselves painted over again and again in a morbid manner so that whole cushions of paint rested on single parts and attracted all attention in an untoward manner.[51]

Such a feeling of morbidity in Arcadia extended far beyond Marées's technical inconsistencies. As Wölfflin intimates, movements, interactions, gestures, and even whole compositions were equally affected. Observe not just the deep crack in the left Hesperid's chest, but try to decipher the strange gestures of her companions. They are offering fruit and breasts at once, raising arms, extending hands to no particular avail – addressing no one, directly, inside or outside the painting's visual field. There is no narrative cohesion to this scene, or to this triptych, just an uncertainty about what there might be to convey. Similarly, in Marées's *The Golden Age II*, painted between 1880 and 1883, we see a gathering of male and female nudes in an Arcadian landscape (figure 4.8). There seems to be hardly any narrative structure to this allegorical painting, no communication between the protagonists, just some shyly exchanged glances and gestures. Bodies are too composed, hips and shoulders too bent, to bespeak naturalness and comfort. The naked body is merely put on display here, in its canonical and erotic dimensions.

Yet, this is a largely empty eroticism, expurgated and distanced from what we know as the workings of human desire, though not completely: beyond the erotic platter including offerings of breasts as fruit, there are even naked bodies conjoined, yet unresponsive, genitals to an equal degree exposed and covered, children partaking in the same erotic teasing as their grown-up counterparts.[52] This is an Arcadian eros, playful and innocent, distanced from the sweat and odour of the human form, the rawness of desire. But it nonetheless opens onto a prospect of sexual desires unwelcome in other nineteenth-century painting, desires like homoeroticism.[53] (Marées himself has often been said to have had homoerotic inclinations towards his pupils, to say the least, especially toward Adolf Hildebrand. Marées never married and the few times he courted a woman, such as Melanie Tauber, he did so in exceedingly formalized and non-committal terms.) In Marées's *Three Male Youths under Orange Trees* of 1875–80, three young, naked men point or even stare at each other's crotches, while picking fruit or simply resting (figure 4.9). Genitals, again, can be both carefully covered, or fully exposed, gestures and gazes empty or meaningful. Marées is intent on showing us a world innocent enough to stand completely apart from the modern world and the metropolis, yet aware of modernity's dense investment in erotic and sexual imagery.

The utter composure and strange purposelessness of the naked figure in Marées's art surely added to the perception that his bodies were 'classical' and bereft of incident, but then, in the same measure, also not human. In the words of many critics, his figures showed an antique, 'classical' existence, freed from history, vicissitude, the social and personal. At first glance, Marées's painting seems the perfect 'Existenzmalerei' or 'Existenzbild' – 'painting of existence' – as Jacob Burckhardt called it in his 1855 *Cicerone* when describing Venetian painting like that of Veronese.[54] He meant to describe a type of painting that sought the underlying structures of life, not its distracting narrative, incident, or expression. For Fiedler, this quality was Marées's attempt to achieve an 'illusion of life.'[55] Fiedler meant to suggest an ontological exploration of the essence of existence, the deep structure of all human relation expressed in classical forms of permanent stability. Yet Marées tried for more, if not the impossible: to write the classical in forms that also bespoke a more modern sense of the contingency of reality and desire. But if bodies blur and look strangely uncomfortable, then the paintings' deep humanism can never be fully successful. The classical landscape and the classical body that Marées set out to recover seem to be in a state of development, like the paint itself, revealing their incomplete construction rather than stable essences. Over- or un-finish supplements Marées's humanist scenes, constantly haunts the idyll. The supposedly natural state of nakedness in Arcadia reveals its artificiality, because its painful painterly production is left too overtly visible.

A similar contradiction between the processual and the stable nature of the artwork marks Marées's relation to the aesthetic theories of his patron and mentor Conrad Fiedler. Fiedler's neo-Kantian aesthetics,

which he propounded in essays written during the 1880s like 'Modern Naturalism and Artistic Truth' and 'The Origin of Artistic Activity,' influenced such important late-nineteenth-century texts as Adolf von Hildebrand's *The Problem of Form* published in 1893.[56] In his writings, Fiedler proved to be less interested in the final artwork and its interpretation than its creative process. Analytically, at least, Fiedler always favoured the artistic individual and his perceptual capacities over the importance of inspiration or even the final product those faculties had wrought. To be sure, theory and practice never fully cooperate, and a painter's working methods were far from Fiedler's preoccupations: an artist's cognition, not hands, concerned him. On the topic of Fiedler's influence on Marées, and vice versa, scholars are therefore anything but united, claiming for Marées a residue of mimeticism and illusionism that was foreign to Fiedler's postulates of art's autonomy as its own reality.[57] In Fiedler's early essay 'On Judging Works of Visual Arts' of 1876, art is said *not* to be a reproduction of reality, but reality itself. Art, in this theory of cognition, is a genuine vector of human experience – 'a self-realizing reality. In that it equals language,' to quote Gottfried Boehm, who has written extensively and most persuasively about Fiedler.[58] Fiedler himself formulated his proposition most succinctly in 'Modern Naturalism':

> If, for ages, two major principles – that of the imitation and that of the transformation of reality – have fought over the right to be considered the true expression of the nature of artistic activity, then a settlement of the dispute seems possible only if we replace these principles by a third: the principle of the creation of reality. Because art is one of the primary means by which humanity produces reality.[59]

Fiedler thus concluded, very much in Marées's spirit, that the artwork could only replicate processes of 'becoming' – like nature and reality itself – rather than represent and freeze a completed 'being' that existed outside of art. Because nature, life, and reality – as emblems of the world's contingency – were Fiedler's models, the artwork was destined to an eternal doing and undoing, ultimately unfinishable and as circumstantial as the real:

> The realization that our entire possession of sensory reality is limited to events of perception and conception which do not represent a steady condition, but are composed of becoming and disappearing, of growing and dying – this realization leads us to believe that in reality, we perceive not just a fugitive, but also an underdeveloped or atrophying construction.[60]

If our conception of reality is thus defined as one of eternal flux, growth, and development, art, similarly, is rendered a sphere of comparably autonomous, yet unceasing *production*, not *re-production*. But what exactly *is* the work of art, then, and what are its new norms and resistances, if not entirely self-imposed? If art should *be* nature and not be *like* nature, then the artwork was also structured by the very principles of reality that governed the world at large and from which even the artwork's autonomy offered no relief. Marées called this the 'turmoil of modern jumble.'[61] Art had to risk its own undoing, lose its boundaries and definitions, for, as Fiedler insisted, reality, any reality, was by necessity changing and in perpetual flux. No wonder Fiedler shied away from establishing more accurately what such an art object would actually look or *be* like. Marées, paradoxically the artist of the classical past, of Arcadian idyll, became for Fiedler the artist who might – at least at the outset of their partnership – create a painterly response to his understanding of reality as contingency.

If a painting's state of completion, by extension, cannot even be realized theoretically, it can, in practice, only be deferred *ad infinitum* and never reached. 'Failure thus becomes a historical necessity.'[62] Wölfflin, for instance, found a contradiction in Marées's work and pointed directly to his necessary failure. On the one hand, he claimed that Marées sought 'the normal and general. In the composition of his figures, as well as in their movements, he avoided the special, the exceptional.'[63] On the other, alluding to Marées's convulsive surfaces, he declared his figures painted in a 'sickly manner.'[64] Wölfflin thus evacuated any possible connection Marées might have hoped for between his subjects and his paint handling.

In Marées's understanding, a possible version of a modern classicism might be one that declared a continuous, autonomous painterly process – art *as* its own reality and nature – as a substitute for, or correlate to, classicism's claim to the 'natural' body or the 'natural' landscape. This new classicism, although Fiedler never called it such, would use a rhetoric of art – in subject matter and technique – *as* nature, rather than *like* nature. Unlike Fiedler, who would not venture to make such connections between theme and handling, Marées would continue to hope that the classical could be communicated *both* through the application

of paint and through Arcadian compositions. He continued to paint the *Hesperides*, or a *Golden Age*, and never let go of subject matter altogether. The 'lively' layers of paint on his surfaces were always to some extent autonomous from, yet linked to, what they were seeking to describe and define. Yet, Marées did not seem to fully realize, or was unable to control, the fact that his paint's autonomy was somehow at odds with his subjects. Reality's flux and Arcadia's essence were written in different temporal frames – in Marées's paintings, process and timelessness quarrel rather than unite. Nature in Marées's works seems to promise both an underlying essence *and* an unending process of becoming. But perhaps the point of his art making can best be described as follows: in order to give the classical idiom a modern form, Marées permitted it the contamination of the temporal. But the advent of the temporal in the classical inaugurates its annihilation.

The classic spirit will probably always be crosscut with hopes and aspirations that the classical can, one day, be truly reborn. But it will also bear the utter pessimism that the past is forever lost *in* the past and that a modern classicism would amount to nothing but an awakening of ghosts better left sleeping. Or even worse: the pleasures of the classical and its pledge of harmony are too premised on containment. As Henry James testified, it was precisely through its double-edged fascination for northern Europeans that Italy offered itself up to a new generation of German cultural pessimists like Thomas Mann and many more. It was a space where the cultural losses of modernity's rise could be all the more keenly felt and therefore all the more theatrically mourned. Italy was beautiful *and* tragic after all, northern Europe's lure and horror. Classicism, at least in the manner Marées conceived of it, was a modernization of artistic form out to halt modernity in its tracks, yet unsure and internally conflicted as to how much of the modern – and its presentness, change, alienation, and disintegration – it could actually assimilate.

NOTES

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1 The literature on American and northern European artists in Italy is vast. For recent over-views of the field, see *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience, 1760–1914*, ed. T.E. Stebbins, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, 1992). For a comprehensive study and bibliography on the artistic circle central to this essay, see *'In uns liegt Italien.' Die Kunst der Deutsch-Römer*, exh. cat., Haus der Kunst (Munich, 1987–8) and *Arnold Böcklin e la cultura artistica in Toscana, Hans von Marées, Adolf von Hildebrand, Max Klinger, Karl Stauffer-Bern, Albert Welti*, exh. cat., Palazzina Mangani (Fiesole, 1980).

2 Henry James, 'The Saint's Afternoon and Others (1900–1909),' in James, *Italian Hours*, ed. J. Auchard (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 306, 311–12.

3 See, for instance, Karl Heinz Herke, 'Hans von Marées und die Zukunft des klassischen Ideals,' *Hochland* 18, 1 (1920–1): 59–66. For a critical investigation of the uses of the term classicism in early Marées criticism, see Anne-S. Domm, *Der 'klassische' Hans von Marées und die Existenzmalerei Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, PhD dissertation, Eberhard-Karls-University Tübingen, 1987 (Munich: Neue Schriftenreihe des Stadtarchivs, 1989). On Marées's alleged classicism, cf. also Alfred Neumeyer, 'Hans von Marées and the Classical Doctrine in the Nineteenth Century,' *Art Bulletin* 20, 1 (1938): 291–311; Neumeyer, 'Hans von Marées' Arcadia,' in P. Bloch, T. Buddensieg, A. Hentzen, and T. Müller, eds, *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft: Festschrift für Hanns Swarzenski zum 70. Geburtstag am 30.8.1973* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1973), 559–69; and L.D. Ettlinger, 'Hans von Marées and the Academic Tradition,' *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 33, 3 (1972): 67–84.

4 Frank Kermode, *The Classic: Literary Images of Permanence and Change* (1975) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 16. Cf. also chapter 3, 'Strange Classicism: Aesthetic Vision in Winckelmann, Nietzsche, and Thomas Mann,' in Harold Mah, *Enlightenment Phantasies:*

Cultural Identity in France and Germany, 1750–1914 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 71–115.

5 In art history, recent scholarship on Winckelmann in particular has explored the relationship among art, art history, and homoeroticism. See Whitney Davis, 'Winckelmann Divided: Mourning the Death of Art History,' in *Gay and Lesbian Studies in Art History*, ed. W. Davis, *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, 1–2 (1994): 141–59; and Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994). On the Mediterranean as fertile ground of homoerotic fantasy and projection, cf. Robert Aldrich, *The Seduction of the Mediterranean: Writing, Art and Homosexual Fantasy* (New York, London: Routledge, 1993).

6 On Fiedler's philanthropy and his generous support of Marées, see Peter Hirschfeld, *Mäzene: Die Rolle des Auftraggebers in der Kunst* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1968), 237–47.

7 Even friends were rarely admitted to Marées's studio, and critical opinion written during the artist's lifetime is therefore extremely scarce.

8 Cf. Georg Fuchs, *Deutsche Form: Betrachtungen über die Berliner Jahrhundertausstellung und die Münchner Retrospektive* (Munich, Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1907), 313–32. See also, among many other examples, Ferdinand Avenarius, 'Marées als Mode,' *Der Kunstwart* 22, 2 (June 1909): 371–2. For a comprehensive bibliography of the early criticism on Marées, see *Hans von Marées*, ed., C. Lenz (Munich, 1987–8), 363–76; Uta Gerlach-Laxner, *Hans von Marées: Katalog seiner Gemälde* (Munich: Prestel, 1980), 236–8.

9 For an early comparative study of Marées and Cézanne, see Oskar Hagen, 'Marées und Cézanne,' *Ganymed: Blätter der Marées Gesellschaft* 1 (1919): 60–71. Cf. as well *Hans von Marées und die Moderne in Deutschland*, exh. cat., Kunsthalle Bielefeld, Kunstmuseum Winterthur, 1987–8; Gert Schiff, 'Hans von Marées and His Place in Modern Painting,' *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 33, 3 (1972): 85–102; and Werner Hofmann, 'Courbet et Marées,' *Revue de l'art* 45 (1979): 31–6.

10 Conrad Fiedler, *Hans von Marées* (1889), ed. H. Uhde-Bernays (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1947).

11 Richard R. Brettell, *Modern Art, 1851–1929* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 114–16. *Adolph Menzel, 1815–1905. Master Drawings from East Berlin*, ed. P. Betthausen, exh. cat., Frick Collection (New York, 1990). *Adolph Menzel, 1815–1905: Between Romanticism and Impressionism*, ed. Claude Keisch, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, 1996–7). And, most recently, Michael Fried, *Menzel's Realism: Art and Embodiment in Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

12 This does not hold true, though, for his accomplished drawings, which are also virtually unknown outside Germany. Cf. the following German exhibition catalogues: *Hans von Marées: Zeichnungen*, exh. cat., Pfalzgalerie, Kaiserslautern, 1982; *Hans von Marées: Zeichnungen*, exh. cat., Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal, 1987; *Hans von Marées: Zeichnungen. Eigener Bestand*, exh. cat., Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, 1987–8.

13 For two recent accounts of the complex interplay between autonomous matter/painterly logic and representational/experiential illusionism in Cézanne, see T.J. Clark, 'Phenomenality and Materiality in Cézanne,' in T. Cohen, ed., *Material Events: Paul de Man and the Afterlife of Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 93–113; and Kathryn A. Tuma, 'Cézanne and Lucretius at the Red Rock,' *Representations* 78 (Spring 2002): 56–85.

14 'Indem Marées seinem künstlerischen Ausdrucksbedürfnis eine Form suchte, die von keinerlei gegenständlichem Inhalt bestimmt war, tat er einen neuen Schritt'; Fiedler, *Hans von Marées*, 43. Compare: 'Marées's pictures offer no interest in subject matter.' Heinrich Wölfflin, 'Hans von Marées' (1891), in Wölfflin, *Kleine Schriften (1886–1933)*, ed. J. Gantner (Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1946), 78.

15 This tendency in Marées scholarship is best exemplified by the contributions to the catalogue of the large Marées retrospective of 1987–8 in Munich: *Hans von Marées*, ed. C. Lenz (Munich, 1987–8).

16 Gerd Blum, '"Symbolische Akte": Zum Mittelbild des Hesperidentriptychons von Hans von Marées,' *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 47 (1996): 147–66. See also Gerd Blum, *Hans von Marées: Autobiographische Malerei zwischen Mythos und Moderne* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2005).

17 Marées in a letter from Rome to Fiedler, 24 June 1883. Hans von Marées, *Briefe*, ed. A.-S. Domm (Munich, Zurich: R. Piper, 1987), 260. On Marées's technique, cf. Hubertus Falkner von Sonnenburg, 'Die Maltechnik des Hans von Marées,' in *Hans von Marées*, ed. C. Lenz (Munich, 1987–8), 105–26. See also Uta Gerlach-Laxner, 'Notizen zum Problem des technischen Zustandes im Werk Hans von Marées,' in H. Althöfer, ed., *Das 19. Jahrhundert und die Restaurierung: Beiträge zur Malerei, Maltechnik und Konservierung* (Munich: Georg D.W. Callwey, 1987), 198–201.

18 For the most recent, extensive treatment of the *Hesperides*, see Frank Schmidt, *Fresken malen ohne Wände: Zur Funktion, Genese und Bedeutung der Triptychen Hans von Marées'* (Weimar: VDG, 2003), 25–52.

19 'Auch pflegt sich das Material für Übereilungen zu rächen.' Karl von Pidoll, *Aus der Werkstatt eines Künstlers: Erinnerungen an den Maler Hans*

von Marées aus den Jahren 1880–81 und 1884–85 (Luxembourg: V. Bück, Leo Bück, 1890), 74.

20 See especially the chapter 'Die Wasserfarbentechnik zur Zeit des van Eyck, in Beziehung zur Technik der Oelfarben.' Heinrich Ludwig, *Über die Grundsätze der Ölmalerei und das Verfahren der classischen Meister* (1876), 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1893), 7–38. In his letters, Marées mentioned Ludwig, who published a monumental study on Leonardo da Vinci in 1882, several times. See Marées, *Briefe*, 134–5, 138. Vis-à-vis Marées's technique, cf. also Pidoll, *Aus der Werkstatt eines Künstlers*, 65–80; Lorenz Dittmann, 'Zur Klassizität der Farbgestaltung bei Hans von Marées,' in J. Meyer zur Capellen and G. Oberreuter-Kronable, eds, *Klassizismus: Epoche und Probleme. Festschrift für Eric Forssman zum 70. Geburtstag* (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Georg Olms, 1987), 99–117; and Stefan-Maria Mittendorf, *Farbe Bekennen: Tizian – Rembrandt – Marées. Versuch über die Farbe an Münchner Werken zur Bestimmung ihres Stellenwertes in der Kunst Hans von Marées'* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997).

21 '[D]ie sogenannte Ausführung würde nichts Wesentliches beitragen'; Adolf von Hildebrand in *Beilage der Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten*, 9 January 1909. Cited in Julius Meier-Graefe, *Hans von Marées: Sein Leben und sein Werk*, 3 vols. (Munich, Leipzig: R. Piper, 1909–10), 3: 336. The most comprehensive account of Hildebrand's career is Sigrid Braunfels-Esche, *Adolf von Hildebrand* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1993). See also Bernhard Sattler, ed., *Adolf von Hildebrand und seine Welt: Briefe und Erinnerungen* (Munich: Georg D.W. Callwey, 1962).

22 'Auf etwas habe ich mich ertappt, dass ich jedes Mal, wenn ich von einer Sache sage, sie ist fertig, ich mich eigentlich erst am Anfang befinde. Eigentlich fertig wird ein Kunstwerk nie'; from Rome to Fiedler, 11 June 1879. Marées, *Briefe*, 190; for similar formulations, see 185, 200, 202, and 256.

23 '[M]eine unfertigen Versuche'; from Rome to Fiedler, 27 July 1878. Ibid., 180.

24 'Nach unsäglichen Mühen und tausend Hindernissen ist mir dies endlich gelungen. Morgen schliesse ich definitv ab'; from Rome to his brother Georg, 21 May 1884. Ibid., 274.

25 '[M]it der Probirepoche [*sic*] abgeschlossen'; from Rome to Georg, 27 September 1880. Ibid., 223.

26 'Ich behalte indessen immer die Hauptsache im Auge, d. i. das Vorliegende zunächst (nicht fertig zu machen) sondern zu vollenden'; from Rome to Georg, 19 December 1884. Ibid., 283. Charles Baudelaire, 'The Salon of 1845,' in Baudelaire, *Art in Paris, 1845–1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions*, ed. J. Mayne (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 1–32, here 24. Compare the insightful comments on Marées's problems of finishing by Walter Seitter, *Hans von Marées: Ein anderer Philosoph* (Graz, Vienna: Droschl, 1993), 18–24.

27 'Fresco malen, im Großen mit der Form hantieren, thät [*sic*] heut allen Malern gut, es ist ein ängstliches, ewiges Corrigieren [*sic*]'; from Florence to Fiedler, 23 June 1881. Günther Jachmann, ed., *Adolf von Hildebrands Briefwechsel* (Dresden: Wolfgang Jess, 1927), 154. See also Magdalena Droste, *Das Fresko als Idee: Zur Geschichte öffentlicher Kunst im 19. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Lit, 1980).

28 On the Stazione Zoologica, see Karl Josef Partsch, *Die Zoologische Station in Neapel: Modell internationaler Wissenschaftszusammenarbeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980); Domenico De Masi, 'La Fabrica della scienza,' *Rivista IBM* 1 (1987): 1–16; and *The Naples Zoological Station at the Time of Anton Dohrn*, ed. C. Groeben, I. Müller, exh. cat., Stazione Zoologica (Naples, 1975). And on the fresco cycle, cf. Christiane Groeben, *Der Freskensaal der Stazione Zoologica Anton Dohrn: Biographie eines Kunstwerkes* (Naples: Macchiaroli, 1995); Bernhard Degenhart, *Hans von Marées: Die Fresken in Neapel* (Munich: Prestel, 1958); Laura Giusti, 'Hans von Marées alla Stazione Zoologica di Napoli: Tecnica esecutiva e interventi di restauro,' *ON – OttoNovecento* 3 (1999): 30–4; Karlheinz Nowald, '"Das ungeheure Drama des Lebendigen" – Hans von Marées' Neapler Fresken,' in U. Bischoff, ed., *Romantik und Gegenwart: Festschrift für Jens Christian Jensen zum 60. Geburtstag* (Cologne: DuMont, 1988), 165–73; Roswitha Siewert, 'Die Neapler Fresken des Hans von Marées in der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Bayern und Preußen,' *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 21 (1984): 293–354; Hans Wille, 'Vorzeichnungen zu den Neapler Fresken im Wuppertaler Skizzenbuch des Hans von Marées,' *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 21 (1959): 227–34. The proceedings of an international symposium on Marées, recently published, also deal at length with the Naples frescoes: Lea Ritter Santini and Christiane Groeben, eds, *Arte come autobiografia. Kunst als Autobiographie: Hans von Marées* (Naples, Stazione Zoologica Anton Dohrn and Gaetano Macchiaroli, 2005). This essay was written, however, before this collection was published.

29 For the most extensive account of Anton Dohrn's career (1840–1909), see Theodor Heuss, *Anton Dohrn* (1940) (Stuttgart, Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, Hermann Leins, 1948). See also Alfred Kühn, *Anton Dohrn und die Zoologie seiner Zeit* (Naples: Stazione Zoologica di Napoli, 1950).

30 'Der Gegenstand ist ganz aus dem Leben gegriffen'; from Naples to Fiedler, 20 July 1873. Marées, *Briefe*, 101.

31 Charles Grant's (1841–89) *Stories of Naples and the Camorra* (London: Macmillan) were published in 1896. On Grant, see Alice Sieben's brief biographical postscript in Charles Grant, *Peppiniello* (Ulm: Aegis, 1947), 104–6.

32 Anton Dohrn published, among many other publications, *Der Ursprung der Wirbelthiere und das Princip des Functionswechsels: Genealogische Skizzen* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1875). Kleinenberg's evolutionary publications at the time of his contact with Marées included *Hydra: Eine anatomisch-entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1872). See Irmgard Müller, 'Der "Hydriot" Nikolai Kleinenberg, oder: Spekulation und Beobachtung,' *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 8 (1973): 131–53; and Gunter Mann, 'Hans v. Marées' Ölstudie des "Hydrioten" Nikolai Kleinenberg zu den Fresken der Zoologischen Station in Neapel, 1873,' *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 10 (1975): 146–50. Christiane Groeben has also edited Dohrn's important correspondence with the leading scientists and evolutionists of his day: Christiane Groeben, ed., *Charles Darwin–Anton Dohrn. Correspondence* (Naples: Macchiaroli, 1982); Groeben, ed., *Correspondence. Karl Ernst von Baer–Anton Dohrn* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1993). On portraying friends, and on the importance of friendship in Marées's paintings, see Christian Lenz, 'Im Zentrum der Kunst. Ein Freundschaftsbild von Marées,' in S. Michalski, ed., *Martin Gosebruch 1919–1992, TU Brunsvigensien* 22 (Technische Universität Braunschweig, 2000): 32–77; Roman Zieglgänsberger, *Hans von Marées als Bildnismaler* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001), 45–53.

33 See Marées in a letter from Naples to Melanie Tauber, 18 July 1873. Marées, *Briefe*, 99. Cf. Helmut Börsch-Supan, 'Das "Orangenbild" von Hans von Marées in der Berliner Nationalgalerie,' in T. Buddensieg and M. Winner, eds, *Kunsthistorische Studien: Hans Kauffmann zum 70. Geburtstag 1966* (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1968), 1–9.

34 Quoted in Jens Petersen, *Italienbilder–Deutschlandbilder: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 1999), 103.

35 See the essays in Petersen, *Italienbilder–Deutschlandbilder*, especially the essay on Gregorovius, 35–59, and 'Risorgimento und italienischer Einheitsstaat im Urteil Deutschlands nach 1860,' 90–119. See also Heinrich von Treitschke, 'Cavour' (1867), in von Treitschke, *Historische und politische Aufsätze: Neue Folge*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1870), 1: 349–494. Cf. also Ernst Portner, *Die Einigung Italiens im Urteil liberaler deutscher Zeitgenossen: Studie zur inneren Geschichte des kleindeutschen Liberalismus* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1959).

36 '[W]ie beide großen Nationen Jahrhunderte lang ein ähnliches Mißgeschick erduldet haben, so erstanden sie auch in gleicher Zeit zu ihrer vollen Freiheit und Einheit. Sie richteten sich auf, die eine durch Hilfe der andern, ... in dem harten Kampf um ihre nationale Erneuerung.' Letter to Ritter Venturi, 27 August 1872, quoted in Petersen, *Italienbilder–Deutschlandbilder*, 45.

37 See Marées's letters written between July 1870 and January 1871. Marées, *Briefe*, 59–66.

38 The influence of the painting on Marées's fresco has been noted many times. See Christian Lenz, 'Die Fresken von Marées in Neapel,' in *Hans von Marées*, 60–2. On Overbeck's painting, cf. *Johann Friedrich Overbeck, Italia und Germania*, exh. cat., Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (Munich, 2002).

39 Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1987), 15. Marées visited Paris in July 1869 and saw some examples of the modern French school – he was not impressed. Which paintings exactly he saw is unknown. Letter from Paris to Hildebrand, 23 July 1869. Marées, *Briefe*, 53–4.

40 Cf. Lenz, in *Hans von Marées*, 60.

41 'Einmal sagte er in bezug auf sein häufiges Übermalen: "Man müsste mir die Bilder immer zur rechten Zeit wegnehmen."' This statement is quoted in the reminiscences of Artur Volkmann, Marées's student. Artur Volkmann, *Vom Sehen und Gestalten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüngsten deutschen Kunst* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1912), 37.

42 'Typus des wollenden, ringenden, nie zur letzten Erfüllung und Abrundung gelangenden Künstlers'; Max Osborn, *Meisterwerke der Kunst: Eine kurzgefaßte Geschichte der Kunst* (Berlin, Vienna: Ullstein, 1909), 414.

43 'So edel das Instrument, so schwierig erschien ihm aber auch die Erlernung seines Gebrauches und er stand nicht an, zu diesem Geschäfte das ganze Mannesleben mit allen seinen physischen, geistigen und sittlichen Kräften in Anspruch zu nehmen'; Pidoll, *Aus der Werkstatt eines Künstlers*, 84–5.

44 Marées, *Briefe*, 39, 57, 69, and 133. Marées also believed that if he continued to search for strength, the results of his efforts to paint would improve. Ibid., 41, 82, 174, and 179.

45 'Das Wünschenswertheste [*sic*] bleibt immer am Ende seiner Laufbahn das Bewusstsein haben zu können, seiner Aufgabe als Mann nachgekommen zu sein ... Ein selbständiger Künstler (in anderen Fächern wird es eben so sein) kann nur ein Mann sein, der über alle hergebrachten Vorurtheile [*sic*] Herr geworden ist'; letter to Fiedler, mid-January 1878. Ibid., 174.

46 '"Ihr nennt mich spottweise Torso, weil ich nichts fertig bringe ... Eine

Idee, die mich in einen wahren Schöpfungstaumel stürzte, schwoll unter meinen Fingern auf zum Formlosen, Ungeheuerlichen, oder schrumpfte zusammen zur schattenhaften Fratze."' Max von Schlägel, 'Torso,' ed. E. Dohm and J. Rodenberg, *Der Salon für Literatur, Kunst und Gesellschaft* 7 (Leipzig, ca. 1873): 41. Hans Marbach, a novelist that Marées knew and appreciated, also published in this literary journal read by Fiedler's Leipzig literary circle. See Marées's letter from Florence to Georg, 11 April 1874. Marées, *Briefe*, 117.

47 'Und hier wollen wir enden – denn mit dem Entstehen dieser Werke ist Torso gestorben – und es lebt nur noch ein ganzer, beneidenswerther [*sic*] Mann – Robert Pfeil'; Schlägel, 'Torso,' 59.

48 'Fridolin seufzte, mit sentimentalischem Humor. "Und ich, mit vierzig Jahren, bin weder als Selbstarzt, noch als Charakter, noch als Berufsmeister fertig. Ich bin die Unfertigkeit. Ich bin das Niefertigwerden."' Adolf Wilbrandt, *Fridolin's heimlich Ehe: Nach Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen* (Vienna: L. Rosner, 1875), 43. English quote taken from Adolf Wilbrandt, *Fridolin's Mystical Marriage: A Study of an Original Founded on Reminiscences of a Friend* (New York: William S. Gottsberger, 1884), 45. On the novel, see James W. Jones, *'We of the Third Sex.' Literary Representations of Homosexuality in Wilhelmine Germany* (New York, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990), 115–28. Marées and Wilbrandt knew one another, as Marées mentioned their meeting in Rome in 1879 when writing to Fiedler: 'Der Dichter Wilbrandt war einige Zeit hier und ich habe mich sehr gut mit ihm unterhalten; er ist doch ein feiner, liebenswürdiger und intelligenter Mensch, von dem man wünschen möchte, dass er in eine richtige Bahn gelangte.' Marées in a letter to Fiedler, 11 December 1879. Marées, *Briefe*, 200–1.

49 'Kissen,' 'Maurerkelle.' Otto Krebs, 'Hans von Marées,' *Pan* 5 (1899): 116. See also Hermann Becker, *Deutsche Maler: Von Asmus Carstens an bis auf die neuere Zeit – in einzelnen Werken kritisch geschildert* (Leipzig: Carl Reissner, 1888), 238.

50 'Eine unmögliche scheußliche Technik, die Sachen in schrecklichstem Zustand und nur die decorative [*sic*] Wirkung gerettet. Zusammengewürgt mit Mühe und Verzweiflung, abgenagt bis zum Gerippe einer Vorstellung'; from Florence, 5 January 1885. G. Jachmann, ed., *Adolf von Hildebrands Briefwechsel mit Conrad Fiedler* (Dresden: Wolfgang Jess, 1927), 219–20.

51 'Was auffallend dabei war: die lauterste Schönheit war gepaart mit lächerlicher Mißbildung; die herrlichsten Bewegungen, aber die Glieder teilweise ganz verkümmert; tiefe, satte Farben im Grund, die alle Wirkung

den leuchtenden Körpern zuleiteten, die Körper selbst aber in krankhafter Weise so überstrichen und wieder überstrichen, daß ganze Kissen von Farbe auf den einzelnen Teilen lagerten und die Aufmerksamkeit in widriger Weise auf sich zogen'; Wölfflin, 'Hans von Marées,' 75. See also Susanne Anderson-Riedel, 'Heinrich Wölfflin, Hans von Marées and the Principles of Art,' *Pantheon* 57 (1999): 151–60.

52 On Marées's depiction of children see Werner Schnell, 'Das Kind als Ziel. Hans von Marées' Suche nach den Anfängen,' *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 50 (1989): 219–49.

53 There is evidence of homoeroticism in both Marées's correspondence and his art, but a full account of the relation between his sexuality and his work is still outstanding. Cf. Aldrich, *The Seduction of the Mediterranean*, 138–41. See also David Getsy, 'Behind Formalism: Obscured Eroticism in Adolf von Hildebrand's Problem of Form,' unpublished lecture, 1998. I thank David Getsy for allowing me to read his compelling manuscript. Marees's courtship of Melanie Tauber is well documented in several letters. See Marées, *Briefe*, 158–66. Cf. Alexandra Pätzold, 'Die Knabenliebe, der Antikendiskurs und das Nicht-Gesagte,' in I. Lidner, S. Schade, S. Wenk, and G. Werner, eds, *Blick-Wechsel: Konstruktion von Männlichkeit und Weiblichkeit in Kunst und Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1989), 41–8.

54 Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone: Eine Einleitung zum Genuß der Kunstwerke Italiens* (1855), ed. E. Schaeffer (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner, 1927), 908–35. Cf. Domm, *Der 'klassische' Hans von Marées*, 60–2.

55 'Illusion des Lebens'; Fiedler uses this phrase in his obituary of Marées. Fiedler, *Hans von Marées*, 46.

56 See Conrad Fiedler, *Schriften zur Kunst*, ed. G. Boehm, 2 vols. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1991). Gottfried Boehm's introduction to these two volumes has greatly informed my understanding of Fiedler's thought. Adolf von Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (1893) (Strasbourg: J.H. Ed. Heitz, 1905). Although some of Fiedler's writings have recently been translated into French (Besançon: Éditions de l'Imprimeur, 2002; and Paris: Éditions École normale supérieure, 2003), only one of Fiedler's essays on aesthetics has, to my knowledge, been translated into English, and that many years ago (there are, curiously, some translations of his writings on architecture): Conrad Fiedler, *On Judging Works of Visual Art*, ed. H. Schaefer-Simmern (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949).

57 See esp. Gottfried Boehm, '"Sehen lernen ist Alles" Conrad Fiedler und Hans von Marées,' in *Hans von Marées*, ed. C. Lenz (Munich, 1987–8), 145–

50; Andreas Beyer, 'Anatomie einer Entzweiung. Über Konrad Fiedler und Hans von Marées,' in S. Majetschak, ed., *Auge und Hand: Konrad Fiedlers Kunsttheorie im Kontext* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1997), 223–36; and Gerd Blum, 'Geltung und Grenzen von Fiedlers Urteil über Hans von Marées: Von den *Lebensaltern* zu den *Hesperiden*,' in Majetschak, ed., *Auge und Hand*, 237–62. And on the intellectual friendship among Marées, Fiedler, and Hildebrand, cf. Elisabeth Decker, *Zur künstlerischen Beziehung zwischen Hans von Marées, Konrad Fiedler und Adolf Hildebrand: Eine Untersuchung über die Zusammenhänge von Kunsttheorie und Kunstwerk*, University of Basel, 1966 (Dudweiler: Klein, 1967); Hubert Faensen, *Die bildnerische Form: Die Kunstauffassungen Konrad Fiedlers, Adolf von Hildebrands und Hans von Marées* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1965); and Max Imdahl, 'Marées, Fiedler, Hildebrand, Riegl, Cézanne. Bilder und Zitate (1963),' in Imdahl, *Reflexion, Theorie, Methode: Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3, ed. G. Boehm (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1996), 42–113.

58 '... eine *sich selbst realisierende Realität*. Darin gleicht es der Sprache'; Gottfried Boehm, 'Die Logik des Auges. Konrad Fiedler nach einhundert Jahren,' in Majetschak, ed., *Auge und Hand*, 36. See also Gottfried Boehm, 'Hildebrand und Fiedler im Florentiner Kontext,' in *Storia dell'arte e politica culturale interno al 1900: La fondazione dell'Istituto Germanico di Storia dell'Arte di Firenze* (Venice: Marsilio, 1999), 130–41.

59 'Wenn von alters her zwei große Prinzipien, das der Naturnachahmung und das der Umwandlung der Wirklichkeit, um das Recht gestritten haben, der wahre Ausdruck des Wesens der künstlerischen Tätigkeit zu sein, so scheint eine Schlichtung des Streites nur dadurch möglich, daß an die Stelle dieser beiden Prinzipien ein drittes gesetzt wird, das Prinzip der Produktion der Wirklichkeit. Denn nichts anderes ist die Kunst als eins der Mittel, durch die der Mensch allererst die Wirklichkeit gewinnt.' Conrad Fiedler, 'Moderner Naturalismus und künstlerische Tätigkeit,' (1881), in Fiedler, *Schriften über Kunst*, ed. H. Eckstein (Cologne: DuMont, 1996), 128–9.

60 'Die Einsicht, daß sich unser gesamter sinnlicher Wirklichkeitsbesitz auf Wahrnehmungs- und Vorstellungsvorkommnisse beschränkt, die nicht einen gleichmäßig dauernden Zustand, sondern ein Kommen und Gehen, ein Entstehen und Verschwinden, ein Werden und Vergehen darstellen – diese Einsicht führt uns dazu, in der Wirklichkeit nicht ein flüchtiges, sondern auch ein vielfach unentwickeltes oder verkümmertes Gebilde zu erkennen.' Conrad Fiedler, 'Der Ursprung der künstlerischen Tätigkeit,' (1887) ibid., 162. On Fiedler's further statements on unfinishedness, see his letter to Hildebrand from Munich on 27 December 1882. Jachmann,

Adolf von Hildebrands Briefwechsel, 193–5. Or his letter to Anton Dohrn, written from Leipzig on 29 March 1873. See Marées, *Briefe*, 382–3.

61 '"Getümmel des modernen Wirrwarrs"'; Fiedler, *Hans von Marées*, 30.

62 'So wird das Scheitern zur historischen Notwendigkeit'; Boehm, in *Hans von Marées*, ed. C. Lenz (Munich, 1987–8), 148.

63 'Dabei leitete ihn sein Sinn durchaus auf das Normale und Allgemeine. Sowohl in der Bildung seiner Figuren wie in ihrer Bewegung vermied er das Besondere, den Ausnahmefall.' Wölfflin, 'Hans von Marées,' 79.

64 '[I]n krankhafter Weise.' Ibid., 75.

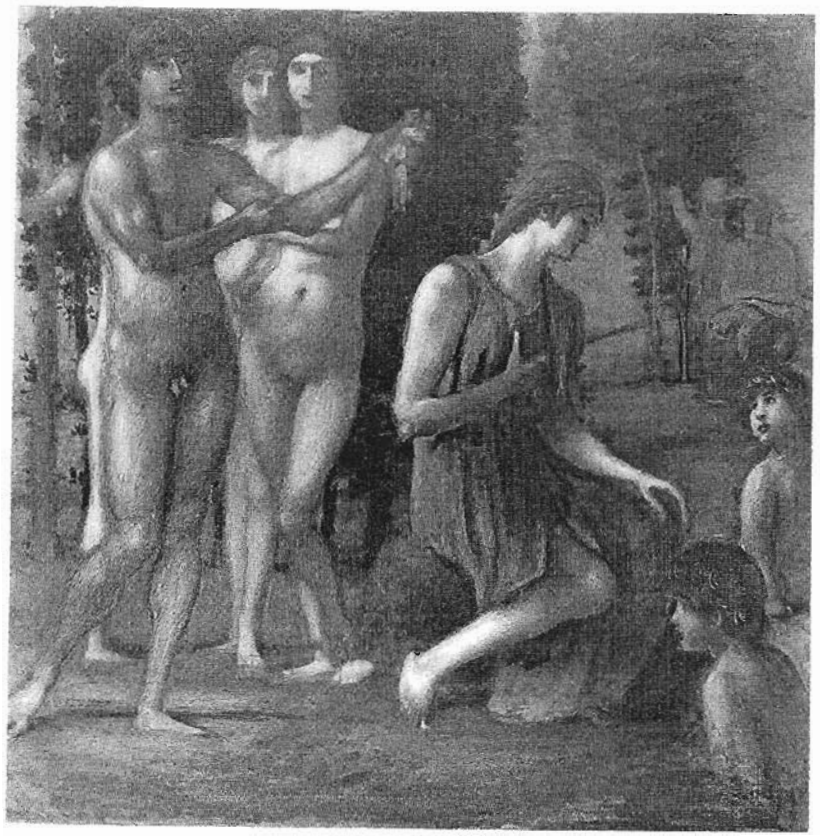

Figure 4.1 Hans von Marées, *Praise of Modesty*, ca. 1879–85, mixed media on wood, 113.5 × 115 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. 7859.

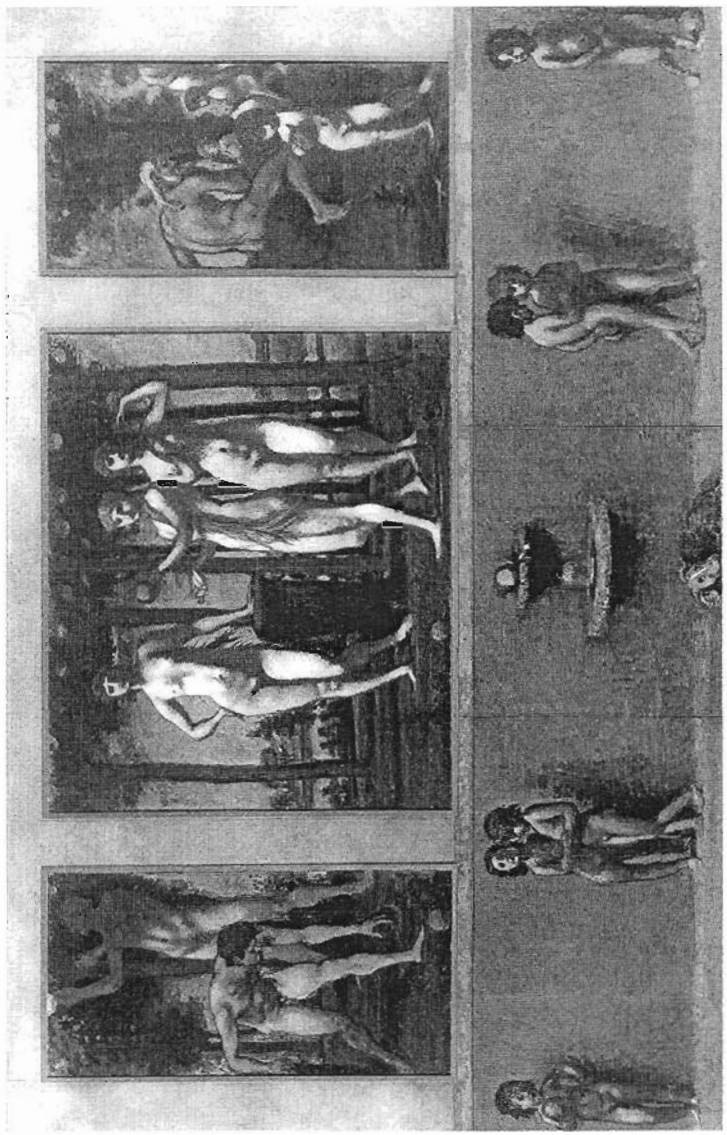

Figure 4.2 Hans von Marées, *Hesperides II*, ca. 1884–7, mixed media on wood, 341 × 482 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. 7854a–f.

Figure 4.3 Detail of Figure 4.2, central panel.

Figure 4.4 Hans von Marées, Adolf von Hildebrand, 'Fresco Room,' 1873, 13.5 m long, 7.5 m high, 5 m wide, view looking east. Naples, Stazione Zoologica Anton Dohrn, Historical Archives. Photograph by Luciano Pedicini, 2002.

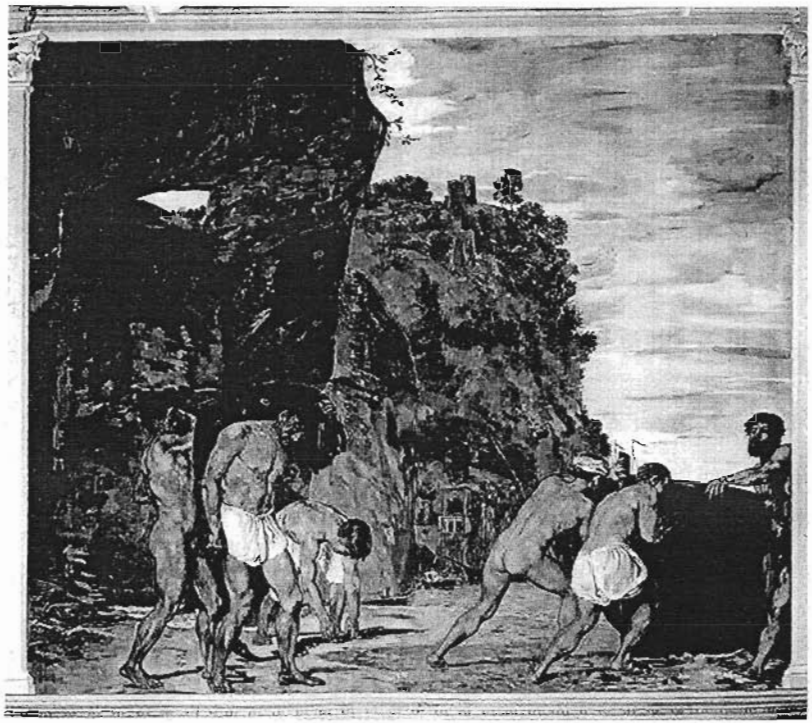

Figure 4.5 Hans von Marées, Adolf von Hildebrand, 'Fresco Room,' 1873, 350 × 500 cm, west wall. Naples, Stazione Zoologica Anton Dohrn, Historical Archives. Photograph by Luciano Pedicini, 2002.

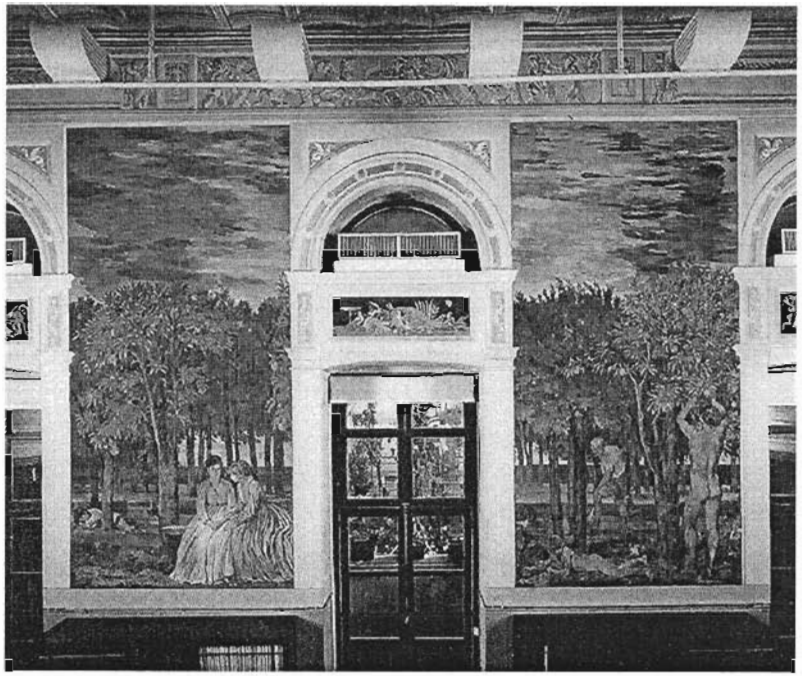

Figure 4.6 Hans von Marées, Adolf von Hildebrand, 'Fresco Room,' 1873, 470 × 1350 cm, view towards south wall. Naples, Stazione Zoologica Anton Dohrn, Historical Archives. Photograph by Luciano Pedicini, 2002.

Figure 4.7 Johann Friedrich Overbeck, *Italia and Germania*, 1828, oil on canvas, 94 5 × 104 7 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. WAF 755.

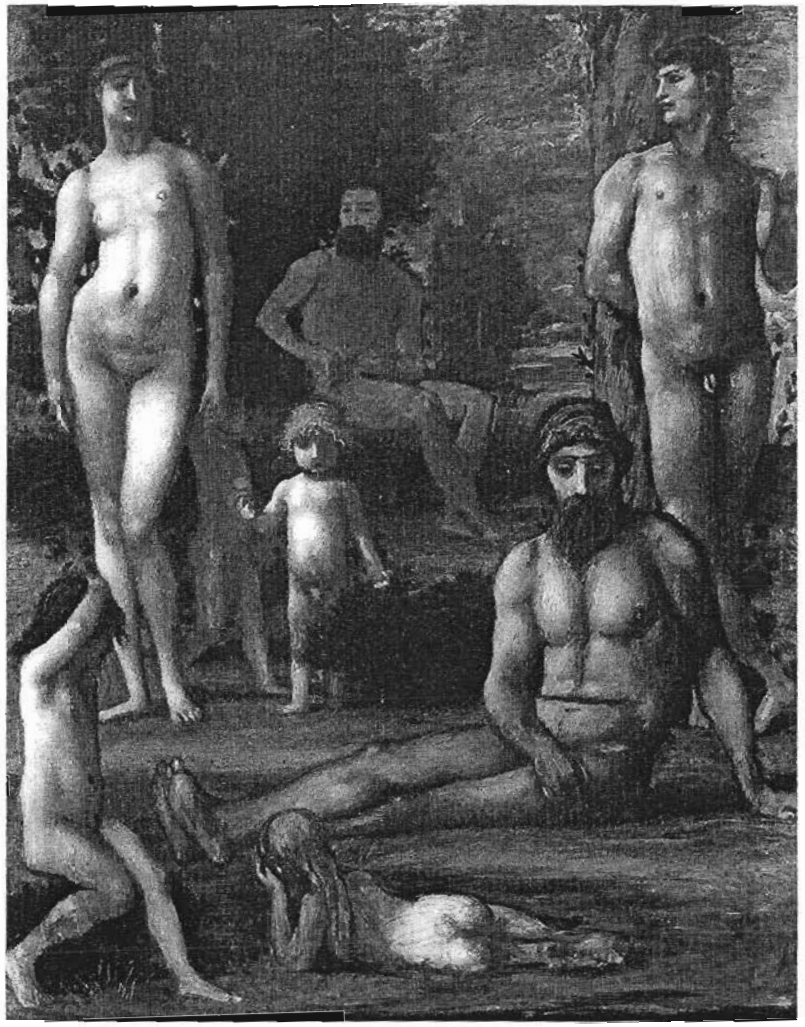

Figure 4.8 Hans von Marées, *Golden Age II*, ca. 1880–3, mixed media on canvas, 187.4 × 145 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. 7861.

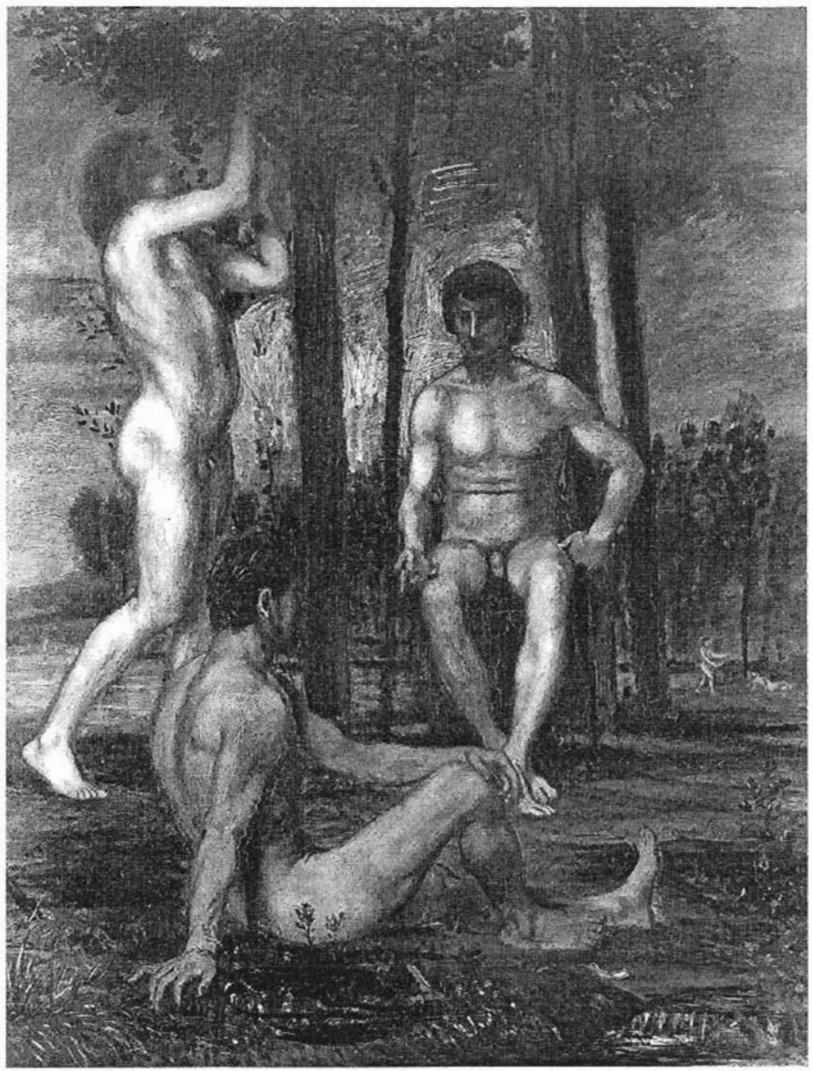

Figure 4.9 Hans von Marées, *Three Male Youths under Orange Trees*, ca. 1875–80, mixed media on wood, 187 × 145 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. 7863.

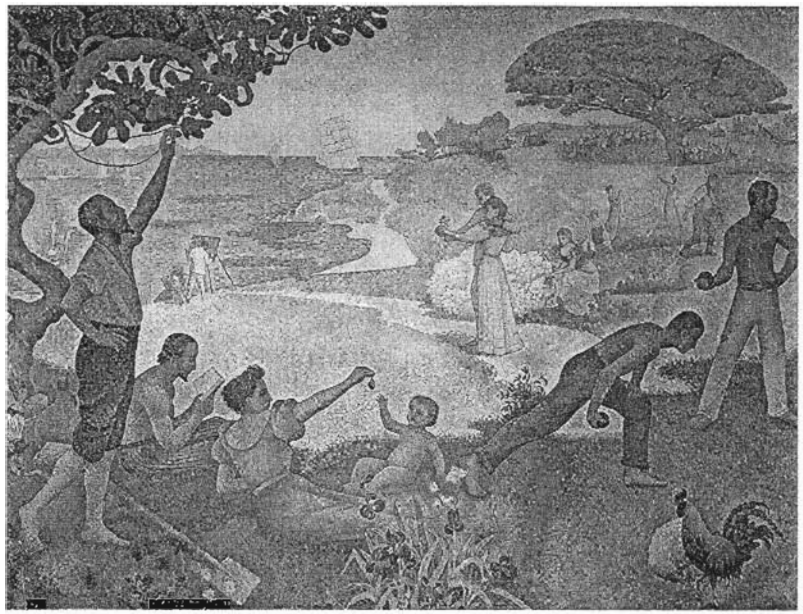

Figure 5.1 Paul Signac, *In the Time of Harmony: The Golden Age Is Not in the Past, It Is in the Future*, 1893–5, 300 × 400 cm. Montreuil, Mairie (photo: image © Erich Lessing / Art Resource, New York).

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To the memory of Vojtěch Jirat-Wasiutyński, a probing scholar, a generous teacher, mentor, and colleague, and a caring friend