Reception of the Baroque in US university textbooks in art history

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The call for papers at the conference ‘Baroque for a Wide Public’, held at the Institute for Art and Visual History at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, in June 2015 noted that histories of art and artists had found a mass public thanks to publications, broadcasts, films, and photography exhibitions. These media reveal attitudes about the arts within the competing political systems in Western and Eastern Europe during the second half of the twentieth century. The wide public, however, was not just European. It included American viewers of television programs and films, increasing numbers of museum visitors, and millions of undergraduates who were introduced to art history through survey texts embracing arts from prehistory through the year prior to publication. The present essay attempts to explain why the American approach to art history of the baroque era excluded the art history of Eastern Europe.


It may be assumed that the American ignorance of Eastern European baroque is due to the Cold War. Simplistic speech in the United States denigrated the countries under Communism, while emphasizing American ties to what was called the Free World. Americans regretted the Eastern European loss of autonomy but were not eager to do anything about it, as was evident in Hungary in 1956 and in 1968, when Warsaw Pact troops put an end to Prague Spring. Enmity and neglect certainly hindered Americans from visiting the area, but did not prevent touring, so examples of Eastern European baroque, the arts of ca. 1580 to ca. 1760, were known only to travellers and scholars specialising in this field of study – from the United States, primarily Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann\(^3\) – even if not to researchers who concentrated on the works of Bernini and Rubens. One can therefore seek other reasons for the neglect of Eastern European baroque art.

The most important reasons for American neglect of Eastern European art of all periods have to do with the geographic limits of customary American travel before 1989, with the nature of widely-used textbooks about art history, with North America’s dominant cultural heritage focused on the United Kingdom and north-western Europe, and with a characteristic American fascination with invention and novelty, from the lightning rod (1749) to the IBOT stair-climbing wheelchair (2001). Much of what follows is based upon the experience of teaching American undergraduates since 1965, the formal study of art history at the undergraduate and graduate levels between 1953 and 1964, and consulting for publishers of textbooks. I was acquainted with some protagonists of popular American art history writing, including Isabelle Hyman, Marvin Trachtenberg, and Leland Roth. I first knew and studied under H.W. Janson in 1957, and from 1965 until his death in 1982, I taught in the art history department of which he was chairman.

The United States is far from Europe, even though most Americans or their ancestors originated there. American language, religions, education, customs, and

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He mentions Brno in connection to Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, but includes nothing on Budapest, Warsaw, or Plečník; Dennis Sharp, *Modern architecture and expressionism*, New York: G. Braziller, 1967, omits Plečník and all Eastern European architects unless they worked in Germany as some Russians did, for instance Alexander and Victor Vesnin. He mentions Moscow briefly and there is no mention of Prague, Budapest, Bucharest, or Brno. In Fred S. Kleiner, ed., *Gardner’s Art Through the Ages: A Global History*, 13th edn, Boston: Thomson-Wadsworth, 2009 the coverage is not global. There is nothing about Budapest, Bucharest, Bulgaria, Krakow, Lublin, Lviv, Odessa, or Prague (only St. Vitus cathedral). Russia is mentioned in connection with Rublev and the Revolution; Laurie Schneider Adams, *Art Across Time*, 4th edn, vol. 1, New York: McGraw Hill, 2011 mentions Prague cathedral on one page and has nothing about Poland, Warsaw, Krakow, Budapest, Bucharest, or Bulgaria. Russia is mentioned in connection with Andrej Rublev only on one page, and the fact that Russians stole some art is mentioned on another page; Leland Roth and Amanda Roth Clark, *Understanding Architecture*, 3 rd edn, Boulder: Westview Press, 2014 have nothing about Budapest, Bucharest, Bulgaria, Eastern Europe, Krakow, Prague, or Warsaw. They mention Russian constructivism on two pages.

manners are modelled especially after English and French precedents. America does have colonial-era Spanish baroque and rococo churches in the west and southwest, but they are provincial in style compared to examples in the Iberian Peninsula or Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. They are widely scattered, and seldom in the centre of large cities, since they were founded as mission churches by Franciscans eager to convert the native population. The church of San Xavier del Bac outside Tucson (Arizona) is the most elaborate and sophisticated of these churches, but most are rectilinear buildings that may or may not have towers or elaborate folk-art altarpieces and painted statues. The United States has a few colonial-era Spanish-style plazas, as in Santa Fe (New Mexico) but they are much altered now or entirely rebuilt. A few seventeenth-century houses and churches and public buildings survive in remote parts of Virginia, south of Washington DC and elsewhere in the eastern states. More eighteenth-century buildings remain in the major cities, as at King’s Chapel in Boston (Massachusetts), but they are almost all of sober English Georgian design, not baroque in the usual sense of sculptural form, spatial dynamism, emotional intensity, strongly contrasting poses, and dramatic effects of light, shade, and exaggerated perspective.

Many Americans learn about the baroque from pictures, in the near-absence of baroque examples of architecture, and given the hundreds of kilometres in which there may be no museum containing baroque art. Much is on the Internet today, but one has to be motivated to look for baroque art, and few Americans other than the exceptionally well educated think of doing that. A few state secondary schools, and some private ones teach art history but most schools consider that, and the study of music, to be unnecessary and expensive as compared to their duty to teach reading, writing, mathematical calculation, aspects of world history, and the fundamentals of science. The ‘No Child Left Behind’ education improvement act of 2001 included arts instruction but no requirement for reporting the time given to these subjects or reporting the results of this instruction; understandably, schools focus on subjects on which their success will be assessed. The arts have become subjects to be studied after school, if at all. Children who live in a large city with a museum may be taken there once a year but may focus on Egyptian mummies or Native American objects, not on religious or allegorical paintings. A museum visit may even be only a once-in-a-lifetime experience. Therefore, it is at university that most of students become acquainted with baroque and other historical art.

Even at universities, teachers rely primarily on books. It is not possible to schedule classes each week in museums, although students are taken to museums occasionally or sent there to write about works of art. The oldest textbook still in wide use is Helen Gardner’s *Art through the Ages*, first published in 1926. The other is Horst Woldemar Janson’s *History of Art*. A briefer history was produced more


recently by Marilyn Stokstad.\textsuperscript{6} Other textbooks are either less widely used or addressed primarily to studio artists, such as Rita Gilbert’s \textit{Living with Art}.\textsuperscript{7} Later editions of these books vary the initial treatment of subjects but they do not radically change them because radical change is expensive and time-consuming. This is true even when the original authors have died and younger people produce the new editions, as in the widely-used survey books that continue the legacy of Gardner and Janson.\textsuperscript{8}

What is the purpose of these textbooks? It is to tell students about major influential works of art and architecture that had some effects upon later art. This promotes general culture and knowledge of history. Artists learn about useful models as well as composition and interpretation. These studies prepare students for future museum visits, for travel, and for adult life in which some knowledge of art is expected in civic and elite circles. In Western European and North American museums, authors found many works of art from which to choose illustrations in books. Since they could more easily get permission to reproduce pictures of the works in those collections, the authors saw no need to order images farther afield.

Chronological presentation emphasizes the transmission of culture within the civilization familiar to Americans, which is often seen as based on Western European history. The emphasis on Western Europe has to do with the original settlers in the thirteen British colonies on the east coast. The early immigrants came primarily from the British Isles, France, the Low Countries, and Germany. Spanish settlers were in territory originally owned by Spain that did not become part of the USA until 1848. Although Russia owned Alaska and had a fort in California, there was only a tiny Russian population present, and Alaska was remote from the rest of the country; thus the Russian colonial presence hardly forms part of the American historical consciousness. American children’s educational standards were established by people of northwest European origin, especially Great Britain, although kindergartens (1859 and later) and then universities – originally British-based religious colleges – were modernized on a German model starting with Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore (Maryland) where the German system of doctoral-level education was introduced in 1872. Educational standards vary from one state to another because education is the business of states, not of the national government.

Today, art history teaching has changed so that in most universities, the chronological story of art in Western Europe is first interrupted by the study of ancient Indian, Chinese, and Japanese art. Many pages later, another interruption presents information about Islamic, later Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and African arts. This has to do with American understanding of the United States’ role as a


\textsuperscript{8} See the references in footnotes 4 and 5.
world leader, but equally, it reflects the change in immigration laws after 1965 with the ‘Immigration and Nationality Act’. Before its enactment, the ‘Chinese Exclusion Act’ of 1882 and the ‘Immigration Act’ of 1924 excluded many Asians, and kept the percentage of immigrants from any country to the percentage in the USA in 1890; the law of 1924 was enacted in response to mass migration from southern and Eastern Europe. This meant that from 1925 until 1965, only a small number of Eastern Europeans could enter the USA legally each year. Many people died in the concentration and death camps because they could not get visas to enter the USA. By 1945, even though we had millions of Americans of Eastern European descent, many of whose ancestors came in the nineteenth and early twentieth century before the exclusionary laws were passed, most were working-class and not yet at university. Many of the Catholic universities, that children of Catholic immigrants often attended, had no art historians yet, or departments with only one or two professors. While some of them may have introduced Eastern European art, they surely did not do so often, and the professors and students published next to nothing about it.

Even with more immigrants today who have come from Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa, our ideas have hardly changed about what is important as leading to other art – that is, creating art history. Only in recent years has there been a conscious move to writing plural histories and to revising textbooks. The secondary school examination, called the ‘Advanced Placement’ examination, that gives students some university-level credits includes only a few of the most famous non-European examples, such as the Taj Mahal or the Great Mosque at Damascus. Students have to learn more than these two monuments, but nobody expects the young people to know as much about them as about the sequence of Western European masterworks. Eastern European art, baroque or any other, is not represented, either.

American textbooks have been constructed in a way that is practical for teachers to use, and not only for presenting a teleological view of art history culminating in whatever Western artistic movement is current at the time of writing. One may guess at the way that Horst W. Janson constructed his textbook. The publishing house of Harry N. Abrams had asked him and his wife, Dora Jane, also an art historian, to collect images for a book of black-and-white pictures of famous works of art, called Key Monuments of the History of Art, first published in 1959 when it was easiest to obtain photographs from American and Western European sources. The few non-Western images included works of Russian art that extended medieval tradition, including a picture by Andrej Rublev and St. Basil’s cathedral in Moscow. Key monuments were seen as primarily Western European at that time, since one could construct a coherent history from them. Key Monuments was published before jet airplanes became common; it took a long time, even by air, to reach distant countries from the USA.

After the commercial success of Key Monuments, Professor Janson, collaborating with his wife, developed a textbook. It could not be too thick or else students might not be able to afford to buy it. The contents had to show development, which means also innovation. So innovators were privileged, not the work of perceived followers in Eastern Europe. In order to create the textbook, the Jansons seem to have taken the Key Monuments pictures and lined them up as if
Professor Janson were lecturing and then examining students about them. Our examinations often use pairs of pictures to compare, such as the *Doryphoros* with *Augustus* from Prima Porta, to make clear the historical development from one period to another. If a standing male statue was shown in one chapter, there would need to be a standing male statue shown in the next chapter so that students would have comparable images on which to be examined. Obviously, this limited what could be included in the textbook. When I first studied art history in the 1950s, we learned from the textbook by D. M. Robb, Jesse J. Garrison and Charles R. Morey, called *Art in the Western World*, another and sparsely-illustrated textbook, that a perfect example of Titian’s work was *Sacred and Profane Love*, but it could not be included in the Jansons’ book because it did not directly inspire any other sixteenth or seventeenth century painting, and the textbook emphasizes connections that students can discuss on examinations. If one creates a textbook on the basis of what can be compared in ten minutes on examinations, Eastern Europe will be left out because the American authors’ choices of images imply that the principal innovative examples were created in Western Europe.

The reasons for including or excluding areas of art history are also cultural and practical in other ways. First, the immensity of their country may persuade some Americans that foreign travel is unimportant. Eastern Europe is 5000 km. farther away from California than Florida and New York are, and those states are 5000 km. away from Western Europe, with further distances to Poland and Latvia. And for those going abroad only once, Paris, closer, is more famous and appealing owing to our dominant national heritage. About 7% of our members of Congress have no passport for foreign travel, which strongly suggests a lack of interest in travel outside their home country.  

In some states, there are few museums and there are residents who think that foreign languages and art education are unnecessary educational embellishments. Even for Americans who liked to travel, before ca. 1990 it was possible – but not easy or agreeable – for them to visit Eastern Europe. There were annoying visa requirements, hotels and food of poor quality owing to scarcity and state policies. Schools in the USA did not teach Eastern European languages except Russian, and teaching Russian was normally at university level. Secondary schools offered French or Spanish on which one could build Italian and Portuguese. By contrast to tourist conditions in Eastern Europe, there were the clean hotels of Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and Scandinavia. Americans regarded French cuisine as the most elegant, despite their affection for Italian food that was initially associated with south-Italian immigrants. But poor and poorly-educated as many south-Italian immigrants were, Americans understood them as somehow connected

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to ancient Rome. Clinging to the Western European heritage also meant studying languages that one’s friends were studying, not Slavic tongues, and then traveling where a group of friends could speak the local language.

Second, Americans like novelty, invention, discovery – in short, things that are new. We call the Americas the New World. If Eastern Europeans did not dramatically innovate in art, they are omitted for that reason, too. Most textbooks anywhere present the earliest examples of historic change, and then explain the consequences. It is harder to start in the middle of a historic development.

Third, there is a puritanical aspect in American culture, despite the violent and erotic films that we export. Americans made a virtue of the simplicity of the frontier populated by pioneers. The educationally influential State of Massachusetts was founded by English Puritans; that state is home to Harvard University, established in 1636, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, established in 1861, the state university with several branches, influential women’s colleges, as well as other universities, colleges, and technical institutes that help to lead educational development. The Anglicans in other colonies gave us our idea of a standard church: a rectangular box with a columnar porch and a steeple where the porch meets the box, as at St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields in London. A house design widespread in the United States is the symmetrical two-storey house of three bays with a central doorway, executed in brick or wood, taken from English Georgian models. Our tradition of British-based classicism still dominates the American idea of religious architecture. In painting, Americans generally disdain the baroque and rococo as being unrestrained, exuberant, too emotional, and too Catholic; the governing class in each original British colony except Maryland was Protestant. Reformed denominations, Lutherans, Baptists, Unitarians and Quakers often built austere churches, although by the 1860s colourful Gothic Revival houses of worship had appeared. For both theological and historic reasons, American Protestants avoided the drama and illusionism of the baroque in connection with religious subjects. The art of the northern Netherlands of the later seventeenth century was acceptable, even if some artists there were Catholic, because the art was calm and usually depicted middle-class or biblical people. Dutch models had also inspired some of the British houses used as models in the USA, and most Americans would guess that the Dutch are Protestant, even if half are not, because Dutch settlers built several Reformed churches that still exist.

When Americans did look to a Roman Catholic country for artistic inspiration, it was often to France, which, like the USA, had no state religion and even under the monarchy, had used a calmer version of the baroque. Around 1900, when great American art collections and museums were being established, the École des Beaux-Arts, home of French classicism, became the model for public and much domestic architecture, as in the civic centres of San Francisco and Denver, the New York Public Library and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. French classicism had been the style in which Washington DC was planned in the 1790s. The tenets of the École affected American mural painting, too, which concentrated on patriotic themes, American scenery, and genre subjects. This left little room for including the monarchical glorification or the religious baroque art found in either the Catholic or the Orthodox areas of Eastern Europe. Italy (including Poussin and Claude Lorrain), and Spain would suffice for showing painting and much architecture in our art
history textbooks, and for architecture, apart from a few English examples, Vierzehnheiligen, the Wieskirche or the Asamkirche, the Wiener Belvedere, and the Würzburg Residence would show that there was a flowering of art and architecture in German-speaking lands in the eighteenth century. Why, then, include the Trinity Monastery in Chernihiv (Ukrainian: Чернігів), attractive as it is? Its simple exterior elevation under elaborate domes had little following outside the region. And why include second-generation pictures, statues, and buildings in Poland rather than those of the first generation of inventors and creators? A case could be made for showing Wilanów Palace in Warsaw rather than Blenheim in England, but Americans would be less likely to know about Polish noblemen than about the Duke of Marlborough, victor at Blenheim, ancestor of Winston Churchill. Wilanów was also remodelled more extensively later.

And why not include the original, highly unusual wooden religious architecture in Poland and Ukraine built for the Orthodox, the Greek Catholics, and even for Jews, such as the seventeenth-century church at Kwiaton or the destroyed eighteenth-century synagogue of Wolpa? They were neglected because they represented the end of a tradition, with no evident afterlife. Moreover, they were made of wood. Although wood is a favourite American building material for houses because it is abundant, cheaper than brick, and can be built quickly, it is considered inferior to masonry because it is not permanent. Our student architects hope to build less often in wood and more often in brick, concrete, or perhaps stone unless they specialize in designing single-family houses.

Another reason for the neglect of Eastern European baroque is that much architectural and art history was imported into the USA in the 1930s by German-speaking Christian and Jewish scholars fleeing from National Socialism. Their culture stressed German and French achievements, considered more sophisticated, universal, and progressive than those of Eastern Europe. This can be seen from the neglect of Eastern Europe in their publications, their inability to read Slavic languages, and the omission of Eastern European material from their lecture courses. If confronted with their prejudices, they might have denied them, and might have spoken of important Slavic colleagues and friends. But their work and teaching suggests neglect of Eastern European arts. In addition, many Eastern European migrants to Western Europe and the USA were poor, spoke regional dialects or Yiddish, and followed religions that were not Roman Catholic or Lutheran. In the 1930s, these less educated people were still associated with work in mines, breweries, railroads, and factories. Some of the German-speaking, highly educated, often wealthy European intellectuals may have brought their prejudices to the United States and to its educational programs.

The list of art works considered important was established in part by Helen Gardner as early as 1926, just after our Congress passed the restrictive immigration law. Perhaps anti-Slavic cultural prejudice influenced Miss Gardner’s choice of things to show, but I doubt it. I also doubt that Dr. Janson was prejudiced. He was born in St. Petersburg albeit to the German minority there, and his politics were centre-left, not the fanatical politics of the extreme Cold War. Americans in general feared Russia but we were sympathetic to what were called captive nations: Poland, Ukraine, the Baltic nations, and especially Czechoslovakia because throughout the 1930s it had remained a democracy. But once the list of important monuments was
devised for the major textbooks during and after the war years, there were few important changes despite the change in immigration patterns and there was little pressure for change until feminists loudly criticized the absence of women artists, from the Janson book in particular. Some of the conservative persistence in publications about art history surely has to do with simple convenience; it takes more effort to introduce new material than to revise what exists. Some of it may have to do with the widespread belief that immigrants should adapt to the existing culture of their new homeland. Some of it relates to the cultural patterns in which the authors were raised; Helen Gardner (1878–1946) did not live long enough to experience current feminism, multi-culturalism, and other intellectual movements. Dora Jane Heineberg Janson (1916–2002) had withdrawn from her role in preparing new editions of History of Art by about 1990 when her son, Anthony, revised the fourth edition, published in 1991. Some of it has to do with the authors’ own limitations. Subsequent editions of the popular textbooks included additions to bring books up to date, but there were not always geography-based major additions to the historical chapters. Habits end only when there is a strong reason or pressure to change them.

If there had been a good art historical reason to include something from Eastern Europe, the book authors might have done that also for subtle anti-Communist reasons, but Janson, at least, was not doctrinaire about Cold War politics. If the present American academic interest in multi-culturalism had been manifest during the lifetimes of Gardner and Janson, their textbooks would have been more inclusive but perhaps only in relation to China, India, Japan, and Islamic and pre-Columbian peoples. The authors had too many works by Michelangelo and Bernini to include – works they knew well, unlike more distant examples – without using precious space for artists, seen by modern historians as having been derivative however talented, whose works were in faraway museums that were hard to visit.

It was not therefore primarily contemporary politics that have kept the baroque and rococo in Eastern Europe from being included in the American art historical canon. Perhaps national culture, prejudice, the preference for discovery and innovation, and established ideas about what is best have affected the European practice of art history as well as that of the United States of America. Change may be starting in the study of Eastern European arts, albeit with a focus on architecture and urbanism rather than on painting and sculpture. In 2000, Dora Wiebenson, a historian of architecture, inaugurated the journal Centropa, focusing on the architecture and allied arts, and the urbanism of central and Eastern Europe. The journal has an international editorial board, including Americans (some of whom were born abroad) who are interested in the arts of these regions.11

Another sign of change is the publication of Architecture Since 1400 by Kathleen James-Chakraborty (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). Advertised correctly as the ‘first global history of architecture to give equal attention to Western and non-Western structures and built landscapes’,12 it includes brief


notices about buildings in areas of the former Czechoslovakia, mentions postwar Berlin, Budapest, and Bucharest, includes St. Petersburg (which appears briefly in several other architectural history books), and devotes several pages to the buildings and urbanism of Kraków.\footnote{Architecture since 1400, University of Minnesota Press, accessed 29 February 2016 https://www.upress.umn.edu/book-division/books/architecture-since-1400. I thank Heather Hyde Minor for stimulating some of these thoughts.} It is possible, too, that the study of building types rather than the study of form and style will expand our view of architectural history. Vernacular studies of farmsteads, examinations of the spread of foundations of the Teutonic Knights or the Jesuits, or accounts of the expansion of textile mills and railroads are among the possibilities that come immediately to mind.

The materials available now to undergraduates include more than the traditional chronological histories. There are shorter, topic-focused studies of such subjects as manuscript and book culture, portraiture, beauty as a concept, photography, arts and mathematics, sexuality in art, and the problems of stylistic classification. Authors of these and other focused studies will continue to need perspectives beyond those of Western Europe in order to be correct and comprehensive. Despite the existence of English-language volumes, and occasional exhibition catalogues specifically devoted to the pictorial arts of Eastern Europe in the baroque era, they are neither numerous nor influential on the present major textbooks. If architectural history heralds a change in the canon, a broader view of European art will be available in future textbooks that introduce art history to American readers.

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