

The Baroque in West Germany: creating regional identity in the post-National Federal State.

Exhibitions as mass media 'for a wide audience'

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Do individual countries and states develop an 'image of the Baroque' that is specific, typical of its era, clearly defined and visibly distinct from that of other nations? Is it thus possible to make a statement about the rather numerous and diverse Baroque exhibitions in West Germany – the 'old' Federal Republic of Germany prior to 1990 – that meaningfully integrates the individual case into an overall context? The following essay advocates the thesis that a common 'meta-narrative' is hidden behind this diversity, integrating the art of the Baroque affirmatively into the simultaneously forming self-image of the young 'Bonn Republic', namely, that of a post-nationalist, European-networked, historically rooted, profoundly federalist 'Kulturation'.

Surely more than any other form of presentation, the (thematic) exhibition may be considered the most typical medium for conveying art to the public, at least since the second half of the twentieth century.¹ The ceremonial queue through elaborately promoted events, which for some time have been given the booming epithet 'blockbuster', manifest their success today and provide evidence of their unbroken acceptance in the 'event' society.²

Unfortunately, by nature the exhibition, unlike the film or the book, is an ephemeral, fleeting medium: the temporary spatial disposition of this form of presentation usually disappears without a trace after the closing party and is in essence more poorly documented, and less thoroughly discussed in the press, than, for example, the stage sets of theatre productions.³ For that reason, I am taking

¹ This does not refer to classic exhibition formats such as the *Salons de Paris* or to monographic shows of artists, but rather to project in which a certain (historical) theme is presented and discussed with a variety of disparate objects.

² One representative example was the highly successful exhibition *MoMa in Berlin* at the Neue Nationalgalerie in 2007, with 1.2 million visitors and waiting times of as much as twelve hours. See Uli Mayer-Johanssen, 'Das MoMA in Berlin', in Gerhard Kilger and Wolfgang Müller-Kuhlmann, eds, *Szenografie in Ausstellungen und Museen III: Raumerfahrung oder Erlebnispark; Raum – Zeit, Zeit – Raum*, Essen: Klartext, 2008, 112–17, here 115: 'With the help of a communication concept strategically planned and anchored in advanced, a brand was created and thus turned into a "star" [...].'

³ One example of this: My request for an image of the digital copy of the Marcus Aurelius of Rome that was placed in the foyer of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich on the occasion of the exhibition *Rom in Bayern* in 1997 was turned down, saying that no photograph of it exists.

programmatic statements from catalogues and accompanying publications, even though I am quite conscious of the problems of this shift in medium and genre. Such written evidence does indeed document the programme and intention of the organizers, but unfortunately not the original medium itself, namely, the disposition and presentation in a designed space, that is, that what the visitor sees, not what the reader reads.

I understand the medium of the 'exhibition' as a complex form of narrative. Its title nearly always conceals a thesis, an experimental setup, an assertion, which is certainly supposed to be made plausible by the selection and assembly of the objects, their arrangement according to criteria that guide us to knowledge, by means of accompanying publications and explanatory wall texts. Curatorially ambitious exhibitions do not convey a pre-existing message; rather, they produce it, by defining a theme, declaring it to be worthy of an exhibition, and directing attention to certain readings of the works presented therein. They are, in the words of Jochen Schulte-Sasse, 'strong media'.⁴ For example, the same exhibit – a drawing of a plan for the Würzburg Residence –, can be presented in different contexts and used as a contribution to the themes Balthasar Neumann, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, fresco painting, Lower Franconia, Friedrich Carl von Schönborn, prince-bishopric, absolutism, Rococo, architectural drawing, the history of the German Reich, reconstruction or world heritage. The exhibits are, as Marcel Wouters has rightly said, integrated into very different stories as arguments and in the process change their message.⁵ The activities of curators and of authors coincide here. The architectonic shell, which in exhibitions of the German Baroque is often an important architectural work of that epoch, serves as a stage set, a magnet for the public, and at the same time a frame story.⁶

Just how influential and susceptible to controversy this medium of social discourse in the Federal Republic of Germany was and is can be demonstrated by three examples from the 1990s: the *Körperwelten* (Body Worlds) show by Gunter von

⁴ Jochen Schulte-Sasse, 'Medien, medial', in Karlheinz Barck, ed., *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe: (ÄGB), historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden*, vol. 4, *Medien – Populär*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002, 1–37, here 2.

⁵ Marcel Wouters, 'Avatars: Ausstellungen bewahren', in Kilger and Müller-Kuhlmann, *Szenografie*, 152–61, here 153.

⁶ This model can also be used successfully for a biographically and historically conceived exhibition, as demonstrated by the *Friederisiko* show for the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of Frederick II of Prussia, and the Neues Palais in Potsdam. Hartmut Dorgerloh, director general of the Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, postulated in his foreword to Ulrich Sachse, ed., *Friederisiko: Friedrich der Große*, exhib. cat., Potsdam: Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg and Munich: Hirmer, 2012, 10: 'Frederick himself provided the subject matter of the exhibition. The arrangement of the apartments and halls, [...] the hanging of the paintings and setting of porcelain works – he determined all of that himself.'

Hagens,⁷ which has been touring Germany since 1997 and presented for the first time human corpses as aesthetically stated sculptural arrangements, and was in the process doubtless not without influence on the pathology boom in the popular medium of the police procedural and the newly revived discussion of the end of life; the two hotly debated but also self-reflexive so-called 'Wehrmacht' exhibitions of 1995 and 2001 by the Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung;⁸ and finally the show organized by the Förderverein Berliner Schloss (Berlin Palace Association) in 1993, which has since become famous, with its mock-up of the palace on a lifesize sheet of plastic,⁹ which can justifiably claim to be the crucial initial spark for that real building project, which celebrated its topping-out ceremony on 12 June 2015.¹⁰

The discussions that follow are structured according to narrative types and each offers examples from various decades and regions. The selection is not, of course, representative but rather individual, and itself represents in turn a narrative. At the centre of this study is West Germany, the 'old' Federal Republic of Germany, from 1949 to 1989. The perception and popularization of the Baroque in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) would be a chapter to itself. The significance of the elaborate reconstruction of the 'old princely splendour' in the service of regaining regional self-confidence in a 'reunified' Germany, for example, in Saxony and Brandenburg, manifested in important buildings such as the Frauenkirche (Church of Our Lady) in Dresden or the Stadtschloss (City Palace) in Potsdam would also deserve its own study.

Problematic narratives: 'German' and 'European' Baroque

The new image of the Baroque in West Germany distinguished itself from an older meta-narrative that had dominated until then but has been largely discredited since 1945. Borrowing the title of Wilhelm Pinder's highly influential 'Blaues Buch' of 1912,¹¹ it could simply be called 'Deutscher Barock' (German Baroque).¹² In accordance with numerous innovative scholars of his day, such as Heinrich

⁷ See 'Gunter von Hagens' Körperwelten. Das Original', Institut für Plastination http://www.koerperwelten.com/de/austellung/vergangene_ausstellungen.html.

⁸ Hannes Heer, *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944*, (exhib. cat.), Hamburg: Stiftung Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, 1996; Jan Philipp Reemtsma, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944*, (exhib. cat.), Hamburg: Stiftung Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, 2002.

⁹ See 'Stadtschloss oder Lampenladen', Spiegel TV, <http://www.spiegel.tv/filme/palast-der-republik-stadtschloss-berlin/>; Kristin Feireiss, ed., *Das Schloss? Eine Ausstellung über die Mitte Berlins*, Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1993.

¹⁰ 'Komm! Ins Offene: Das Berliner Schloss – Humboldt Forum lädt ein', Stiftung Berliner Schloss – Humboldtforum, <http://www.sbs-humboldtforum.de/de/veranstaltungen/richtfest/>

¹¹ Britta Fritze, *Die Blauen Bücher: Eine nationale Architekturbibliographie?*, Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2014, total print run of 228,000 copies.

¹² On this, see Ute Engel, *Stil und Nation: Barockforschung und deutsche Kunstgeschichte (ca. 1830 bis 1933)*, Paderborn: Fink, forthcoming.

Wölfflin¹³ and the young Hans Sedlmayr,¹⁴ Pinder saw an essential relationship between the style of that epoch and supposed national constants of inherent design laws in German art, for example, the ‘painterly’ or the affinity to mature late styles.¹⁵ The period charm of that reading lay above all in causally linking two phenomena traditionally sooner classified as second-rate – art from north of the Alps and an anti-classical epoch of the early modern period – and in the process mutually increasing their value.¹⁶ If the Renaissance irretrievably Italian and the Gothic unfortunately of French origin, with the Baroque they seemed to have found a nationally specific approach to design whose re-evaluation as satisfactory style was correlated historically by German-language scholars with the rise of Wilhelmine Germany to European superpower:¹⁷ Not without reason, Stefan Hoppe opens his book with the popular-sounding title *Was ist Barock?* (What is Baroque?) of 2003 with a photograph of the new Reichstag building by Paul Wallot in Berlin, which opened in 1892 – a pioneering work of the Wilhelmine neo-Baroque.¹⁸ The later nationalistic improper use of this reading, which contributed significantly to its discrediting, will be discussed below using the example of the Dientzenhofers.

It seems worth noting at this point that the obvious step of simply internationalizing the Baroque in the new Federal Republic of Germany was not or only rarely taken. The ‘Christian Occident’, one of the leading cultural concepts with which the Adenauer Republic shored up its connection to the West and its phobia about the East, was by preference associated with the Middle Ages.¹⁹ Charlemagne,

¹³ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*, Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1915, and Heinrich Wölfflin, *Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl: Die Kunst der Renaissance*, Munich: Bruckmann, 1931.

¹⁴ Hans Sedlmayr, ‘Die politische Bedeutung des deutschen Barocks (Der Reichsstil)’, in *Gesamtdeutsche Vergangenheit: Festgabe für Heinrich Ritter von Srbik zum 60. Geburtstag am 10. November 1938*, Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1938, 126–40.

¹⁵ Wilhelm Pinder, *Deutscher Barock, die großen Baumeister des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Düsseldorf: Karl Robert Langewiesche, 1912, 78–97, 13–14, see also ‘Literatur-Notiz’, 4, which explicitly mentions Alois Riegl, August Schmarsow, Heinrich Wölfflin and Cornelius Gurlitt.

¹⁶ Pinder, *Deutscher Barock* 5-6: ‘For the Germans, however, it is still about something special, about one of the times in their history that bear the features of genius, of incredible fertility.’

¹⁷ Martin Warnke was still publishing the second section of the volume *Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst: Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit 1400–1750* under the succinct title *Barock*: Martin Warnke, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, ed. by Heinrich Klotz, vol. 2, *Spätmittelalter und frühe Neuzeit 1400–1750*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1999, 250–446), and explained this (*ibid.*, 11): ‘Only after the northern countries adopted “modern form” from Italy in the sixteenth century and strove toward a “Baroque” did their achievements enter general art history on an equal footing from this perspective [i.e., based on the ideal of the Italian Renaissance, MvE].’

¹⁸ Stephan Hoppe, *Was ist Barock? Architektur und Städtebau Europas 1580–1770*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003, 9, fig. 1.

¹⁹ See for example Christopher Dawson, *Die Religion im Aufbau der abendländischen Kultur*, Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1953; Friedrich Heer, *Koexistenz, Zusammenarbeit, Widerstand*:

whose name has been used for the prize awarded in Aachen since 1950 for contributions to the unity of Europe,²⁰ or the Romanesque on the *Rhein und Maas* (Rhine and Maas), the title of a monumental exhibition of 1972,²¹ seemed best suited to cultivating a historically legitimizing Rhenish-Christian-Catholic soil for the six-member European Coal and Steel Community that was just in the process of forming.

By contrast, characteristically, there was no attempt to install Peter Paul Rubens, who was born in Siegen;²² the Huguenots who immigrated to Germany;²³ or the Italian plasterers active in Germany;²⁴ as figures that could unite nations equally

Grundfragen europäischer und christlicher Einigung, Zurich: M. Niehans, 1956; Gerhard Kroll, *Grundlagen abendländischer Erneuerung: Das Manifest der abendländischen Aktion*, Munich: Neues Abendland, 1951, here 92–93: 'But it is not without reason we have a great tradition. Wherever people speak of the Occident, the old, great images of Charlemagne, who was its true founder, come to mind [...]. The Occident cannot be revived contrary to its great past, but only with it. Or one would have to join the "New Orient", which the east is offering us so insistently and cheaply. [...] That is why we are so reckless not to be interested in the whole drawing-board plundering of the European idea of a constitution that excludes God, [...] or we are better off exchanging the cross for the swastika or the hammer and sickle after all and taking the road to Rome by the detour of Moscow.'

²⁰ 'The International Charlemagne Prize of Aachen, which was first awarded in 1950, is the oldest and best-known prize awarded to people and institutions for work done in the service of Europe and European unification. The prize is named for Charlemagne, who is considered the first unifier of Europe and who in the late eighth century chose Aachen as his favourite palace; that built a bridge between the past and future of Europe.' Quoted in 'Herzlich willkommen', Stiftung Internationaler Karlspreis zu Aachen <http://www.karlspreis.de/de/>.

²¹ Anton Legner, ed., *Rhein und Maas. Kunst und Kultur 800–1400*, exhib. cat., Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972.

²² The exhibition at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne for the four hundredth anniversary of the artist's birth set a different direction with its focus on Rubens in Italy, introduced only with a brief essay on the painter's childhood in Germany: Kurt Loecher, 'Die Familie Rubens in Köln und Siegen', in Justus Müller Hofstede and others, *Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640)*, vol. 1, *Gemälde, Ölskizzen, Zeichnungen*, exhib. cat., Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, 1977, 1–11.

²³ Very much in the spirit of the regionalization of the reception of the Baroque in the Federal Republic of Germany discussed in the following, this theme too was at first treated by preference in the local context. Not until 2005 was there an exhibition in the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin that assessed the pan-German context, under the revealing series title 'Zuwanderungsland Deutschland' (Germany as a Land of Immigration). See Karl-Hermann Wegner, *300 Jahre Hugenotten in Hessen: Herkunft und Flucht, Aufnahme und Assimilation, Wirkung und Ausstrahlung*, (exhib. cat.), Kassel: Fridericianum and Weber & Weidemeyer, 1985; Christoph Friederich, *300 Jahre Hugenottenstadt Erlangen: Vom Nutzen der Toleranz*, (exhib. cat.), Stadtmuseum Erlangen and Nuremberg: W. Tümmels, 1986; Sabine Beneke, ed., *Die Hugenotten*, (exhib. cat.), Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2005.

²⁴ In a recent project on 'Barock im Donaauraum' (Baroque in the Danube Region), this subject was also characteristically treated by a group of Italian scientists in a separate section, that is

well. Whereas the 'pre- and international' ideal of a (Western) Europe without restrictive borders seemed quite compatible with the migrating artists of the masons guild or sculptors – one need only think of the large Parler exhibition in Cologne in 1978²⁵ – the national conflicts and differences that were established by 1648 at the latest were apparently still or once again too powerful to present, for example, Alsace, the Palatinate, northern Switzerland and the Upper Rhine in the age of the reunion wars as a cultural unit.²⁶ Even the confessional division that shaped Germany for a longer period, which the Christlich-Demokratische Union (CDU) laboriously bridged in its early years²⁷ made it difficult to postulate a pan-European Baroque from Stockholm to Naples as a seemingly conflict-free, harmonious unit.

'Baroque in ...': Regionalism and Federalism

If 'increasing the scale' of the now seemingly inadmissible pan-German narrative to the larger European was not very convincing, the opposite reading was successfully propagated: the Baroque as art of regions *before* their contamination by nationalism.²⁸ The 'index fossil' of this regionalization can be identified as the

to say, almost as a sub-area of 'Italian art abroad' to be treated in isolation. See Karl Möseneder, ed., *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum: Beiträge zum Internationalen Wissenschaftskongress 9.–13. April 2013 in Passau und Linz*, Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2014, 2 vols, here vol. 1, 222–312: Section II,1: 'Transalpinen Kunsttransfer und Künstlermigration' under the direction of Maria Antonietta Crippa and Petr Fidler.

²⁵ 'Verklärtes Bild: Mit "kaum begreiflicher" Freigebigkeit liehen Tschechen und Polen Kunstwerke des 14. Jahrhunderts zu einer Ausstellung in Köln; Hauptfiguren der Schau-Szene: die Künstler der Sippe Parler', *Der Spiegel*, 48, 27 November 1978, Spiegel online, <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-40605905.html>; Gottfried Sello, 'Der Geist der Baumeister: 'Die Parler und der schöne Stil' – die qualitativste Ausstellung spätmittelalterlicher Kunst, die es in Deutschland bisher gab', *Die Zeit*, 51, 15 December 1978, Zeit online, <http://www.zeit.de/1978/51/der-geist-der-baumeister>.

²⁶ On this, see two exhibitions projects with a decidedly European perspective: Wolfgang Cilleßen addressed the theme of the 'war of images' (Wolfgang Cilleßen, ed., *Krieg der Bilder: Druckgraphik als Medium politischer Auseinandersetzung in Europa des Absolutismus*, exhib. cat., Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 1997), whereas in Venice and Turin, under the direction of Henry A. Millon in 1999, it was 'The Triumph of the Baroque' being celebrated (Henry A. Millon, ed., *The Triumph of the Baroque: Architecture in Europe 1600-1750*, exhib. cat., Venice: Palazzina di Caccia di Stupinigi, Palazzo Grassi and New York: Rizzoli, 1999).

²⁷ Frank Bösch, "'Zu katholisch": Die Durchsetzung der CDU und das schwierige Zusammengehen der Konfessionen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', in Tobias Dürr and Franz Walter, eds, *Solidargemeinschaft und fragmentierte Gesellschaft: Parteien, Milieus und Verbände im Vergleich; Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Peter Lösche*, Opladen. Leske + Budrich, 1999, 395–418.

²⁸ On this, see the preface by the Lothar Späth, the Minister President of Baden-Württemberg, in Gertrude von Knorre, ed., *Barock in Baden-Württemberg vom Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges bis zur Französischen Revolution*, (exhib. cat.), 2 vols, Karlsruhe:

naming of the Upper Swabian Baroque Road in 1966: it chose a region as a title that is either sharply demarcated in terms of the geography of art nor historically and politically comprehensible.²⁹

The state exhibition *Barock in Baden-Württemberg* of 1981 can be seen as a good example of the medium being examined here.³⁰ It represents a remarkable anachronism, because it selects as its 'art-geographical' framework one of the entirely ahistorical hyphenated states, created by politicians along the borders of the Allied occupation zones, that constituted the new Federal Republic of Germany from 1945. Baden and Württemberg, two relatively young states created by Napoleon that are joined despite an ill will that remains insuperable even today, were thus not only yoked together for technical administrative reasons but their cohesion of only a few decades was also projected backward by this exhibition title to an epoch when large parts of the country still belonged to the Electoral Palatinate or Further Austria; were monasteries, prince-bishoprics or cities with imperial immediacy; or autonomous, now mediatised tiny territories.³¹ Whereas in 1977 the important Hohenstaufen exhibition was held in the state capital of Stuttgart – characteristically, for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the state – the state museum of the former Baden metropolis of Karlsruhe (very much in the spirit of the typically West German principle of proportional representation) had the pleasure of a large Baroque show; it was held, of course, in Bruchsal Palace and hence on soil that had once belonged to the Prince-Bishop of Speyer.³²

At the same time, the choice of location honoured one of the great deeds of this Adenauer years, which in this respect for once deserved to be said to be 'restoring the old order', namely, the then not yet finished, nearly total restoration of the Corps de Logis designed by Balthasar Neumann, which had been badly destroyed during the war.³³ The project served two purposes at once: exploring the

Badisches Landesmuseum, 1981, vol. 1, 3: 'Great evidence of this last style to unify Europe artistically are [...] also and especially found in Baden-Württemberg.'

²⁹ See Gerd Schneider, *Oberschwäbische Barockstrasse: Eine Rundfahrt durchs Paradies*, Stuttgart: Schwabenwerk, 1972; "'Upper Swabia'" and "'Swabian Uplands'" are terms used to describe a landscape that forms an approximate triangle between the southern edge of the Swabian Alps (Upper Danube Valley), Lake Constance and the Lech.' Wikipedia, <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oberschwaben> (accessed 13 November 2015). The area thus includes parts of the states Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria.

³⁰ Paul Sauer, ed., *Baden-Württemberg: Bundesland mit parlamentarischen Traditionen*, exhib. cat., 2 vols, Stuttgart: Landtag von Baden-Württemberg, 1982.

³¹ See Ernst Petrasch, 'Anmerkungen zu Thema und Programm der Ausstellung', in Knorre, *Barock in Baden-Württemberg*, vol. 1, 33–53, here 33–36.

³² In 1986, in the third former state capital, Heidelberg, which once belonged to the Electoral Palatinate, a show titled 'Renaissance im deutschen Südwesten' (Renaissance in the German Southwest). See *Die Renaissance im deutschen Südwesten zwischen Reformation und Dreißigjährigem Krieg*, exhib. cat., 2 vols, Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum, 1986.

³³ Kurt Lupp, *Schloss Bruchsal: Bau, Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission der Stadt Bruchsal 21, Heidelberg: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2003.

Baroque holdings of the state, which had not yet been adequately studied,³⁴ and – once again typical of the ongoing competition between the two southern German area states – catching up with Bavaria, which was already well renowned as Baroque country.³⁵ The internal structure of the exhibition in turn followed regional and hence loosely associated genre criteria, whereby the northern areas ‘of our now united state’³⁶ were represented by princely residences and the southern ones by monasteries.³⁷ The old borders of Baden and Württemberg were thus not perpetuated but instead a largely apolitical north-south division was introduced that is found once again, for example, in the two volumes of current Dehio *Handbuch*.³⁸

A quarter of a century earlier, the same object was honoured in a more subtle but also more distanced way. Werner Fleischhauer published a voluminous work for the Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg titled *Barock im Herzogtum Württemberg* (Baroque in the Duchy of Württemberg), thereby alluding to the actual historical conditions in southwestern Germany. In addition to the almost topical lament that the art of this epoch and region had received too little attention and hence scholarly assessment previously,³⁹ there is (still) a cautious distancing from the later common, harmonizing-identifying equation of court and country, rulers and ruled: a relationship that was initially characterized by the ‘fundamental difference and aversion’ of the new art movement towards a Pietistic, conservative milieu:

For the first time in the Duchy of Württemberg, there was now a court art of a very specific and uniform basic character but one that could in no way become a uniquely Württembergian one. Because exclusively foreign artists from so many art centres shaped the work of Ludwigsburg, its art had to be free of all features tied to a country or people and thus long remained an isolated foreign body in the spiritual

³⁴ For example, two sculptures of apostles from Ringingen, near Ulm, which in that exhibition were attributed to Paul Egell, a sculptor from the Electoral Palatinate, for the first time by Volker Himmelein; see Knorre, *Barock in Baden-Württemberg*, vol. 1, catalogue entry 19 a-b, 174–75.

³⁵ Petrasch, ‘Anmerkungen zu Thema und Programm’, 33, begins his text by comparing the number of illustrations in the tenth volume of *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte* (Harald Keller and Jeannine Baticle, *Die Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1971), in which Baden-Württemberg was represented by just eleven illustrations, while Bavaria had three times that number.

³⁶ Petrasch, ‘Anmerkungen zu Thema und Programm’, 49.

³⁷ Petrasch, ‘Anmerkungen zu Thema und Programm’, 41.

³⁸ Georg Dehio, Dagmar Zimdars and others, eds, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Baden-Württemberg*, vol. 1, *Die Regierungsbezirke Stuttgart und Karlsruhe*, Munich and others: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1993; Dagmar Zimdars and others, eds, *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler: Baden-Württemberg*, vol. 2, *Die Regierungsbezirke Freiburg und Tübingen*, München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1997.

³⁹ Werner Fleischhauer, *Barock im Herzogtum Württemberg*, Veröffentlichung der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1958, 7.

life of the country. Apart the precious hothouse flower of court art, for a long time there was no need anyone in the country for autonomous artistic work; in the area of the fine arts, the country presented a picture of paltry sterility, which was twice as striking when compared to the artistic flourishing in the closely related Upper Swabian and Bavarian regions.⁴⁰

Quite differently, and almost antithetically, today the palace garden of Ludwigsburg is promoted under the label 'Blühendes Barock (Blüba)' (flourishing Baroque) as 'the oldest and most beautiful permanent horticultural exhibition,' attracting more than 500,000 visitors annually.⁴¹ The redesign of the gardens of the former residence in Württemberg followed in 1954 and hence in the early years of the appropriation, popularization and democratization of the absolutist legacy that was so characteristic of the Federal Republic of Germany in the years that followed.⁴²

The patron: Sovereign and 'Maecenas'

The rather harmonistic, egalitarian mirror of West German federalism in the cultural heritage of the Baroque can be contrasted with a second narrative that seems better suited to regional focusing and differentiation but was at the same time indebted to a central trend in the scholarship of the second half of the twentieth century: the history of the patron. This model makes it possible to project complex circumstances of cultural history very clear on one person who was thus reinterpreted as the representative of regional identities. As an example, we imagine a figure of a ruler who was honoured in three large West German exhibitions (in 1961 in Augustusburg Castle near Brühl; in 1987 in Meppen, Emsland; and in 2000 in various locations in North Rhine–Westphalia): Clemens August von Wittelsbach (1700–1761) – who was the prince elector of Cologne and (arch-)bishop of Münster, Paderborn, Hildesheim, and Osnabrück as well as high master of the Teutonic Order – can be considered the personification of the accumulation of offices and of the political-motivated secularization of church structures. It is astonishing that he was able to rise to become a kind of figurehead of the Baroque in North Rhine–

⁴⁰ Fleischhauer, *Barock im Herzogtum Württemberg*, 315.

⁴¹ See the homepage of the Ltd Blühendes Barock, Gartenschau Ludwigsburg GmbH, <http://www.blueba.de/> : 'On the occasion of the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of the castle and city of Ludwigsburg in 1954, the grounds were completely redesigned by Albert Schöchle, beginning in 1953, partly in historical form, partly in a free imitation of the Baroque. The opening under the name 'Blühendes Barock' followed on 23 April 1954 for the beginning of the Bundesgartenschau (Federal Horticultural Exhibition). The Märchengarten (Fairy-Tale Garden) was created in 1959 and the Große Broderie (Great Border) on the north side in 1961.' 'Blühendes Barock' in Wikipedia, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bl%C3%BChendes_Barock.

⁴² Albert Schöchle, *Blühendes Barock Ludwigsburg: Ein Begleiter durch die Gartenanlagen des Ludwigsburger Schlosses Blühendes Barock in Ludwigsburg*, Stuttgart: Stehn, 1954.

Westphalia, which from 1956 to 2002 was governed almost continuously by the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD; Social Democratic Party of Germany). The largest and most populous 'hyphenated state' of West Germany, which from 1949 to 1990 was also the site of the centre of political power of the 'provisional federal capital' Bonn, was founded by the British occupying power along the boundaries of its zone on the ruins of the demolished Rhenish Prussia. Bonn, once the seat of the prince elector of Cologne but now merely a modest university town, unexpectedly – and in some respects exceeding its scale – became the seat of the government of the so-called 'Bonn Republic'.

The site chosen for the exhibition in 1961, the summer castle of Clemens August in Brühl, near Bonn,⁴³ became well known to a large television audience as the feudal stage for West German state receptions,⁴⁴ and it is surely no coincidence that precisely Augustusburg and Falkenlust were honoured as the third Baroque UNESCO World Heritage Site in Germany after Würzburg and the Wies Church.⁴⁵ Clemens August, who was also mockingly known as 'Monsieur des cinq églises' in reference to the five bishop's seats that he reigned in a personal union,⁴⁶ did in fact rule over an area that had, as Minister President Franz Meyer wrote in his foreword: 'brought together remote parts of our country into a political unit under his rule'.⁴⁷

Admittedly, in the year commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of his death it was primarily the parts of the country on the left bank of the Rhine

⁴³ Wilfried Hansmann and Florian Monheim, *Schloss Augustusburg in Brühl*, Beiträge zu den Bau- und Kunstdenkmälern im Rheinland 36, Worms: Werner, 2002; Lars Reinking, *Stein und Geist: Fürstbischöfliche Herrschaftsrepräsentation im rheinischen Residenzbau des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts*, Düsseldorfer Schriften zur Neueren Landesgeschichte und zur Geschichte Nordrhein-Westfalens 80, Essen: Klartext, 2008.

⁴⁴ See the program of the conference 'Neubeginn und Tradition: Monarchisches Erbe in Politik und Staat der DDR und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland', H-ArtHist, 13 July 2015, CONF: Neubeginn und Tradition (Berlin, 25–26 September 2015), <http://arthist.net/archive/10768>.

⁴⁵ West German UNESCO World Heritage Site entries: Würzburger Residenz in 1981, pilgrimage church in Wies in 1983, Augustusburg and Falkenlust in Brühl, near Bonn, in 1984. Previously the medieval cathedrals of Aachen (1978) and Speyer (1981) had been nominated. See UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992–2016, 'Castles of Augustusburg and Falkenlust at Brühl', <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/288/>. The German Democratic Republic did not submit any sites before it was dissolved, though it was making preparations to nominate Potsdam, and that process was continued by the Federal Republic in 1990. Potsdam too is at its heart a Baroque architectural ensemble. See UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1992–2016, 'Palaces and Parks of Potsdam and Berlin', <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/532>.

⁴⁶ Anton Schindling, 'Kurfürst Clemens August, der 'Herr Fünfkirchen': Rokokoprälat und Reichspolitiker', in Hans-Georg Aschoff, ed., *Clemens August: Fürstbischof, Jagdherr, Mäzen*, (exhib. cat.), Bramsche: Rasch, 1987, 15–28.

⁴⁷ Rudolf Lill, ed., *Kurfürst Clemens August: Landesherr und Mäzen des 18. Jahrhunderts*, exhib. cat., Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1961, 5.

known as the Rhineland that could identify with the figure of the 'monarch and patron Prince Elector Clemens August', while Westphalia on the right bank necessarily felt, once again, like the neglected stepbrother on the other side of the then still coal-blackened Ruhr region. It is presumably fair to interpret this as the trigger of a significant 'parallel action' in which, at the same time as the gleaming Rococo Clemens August, the down-to-earth but also highly educated Ferdinand von Fürstenberg, who was born in Paderborn, was honoured by his own exhibition in his eastern Westphalian bishopric on the occasion of the three hundredth anniversary of his enthronement.⁴⁸

In 1987, in Meppen in Lower Saxony, which had once belonged to the lower bishopric of the Prince-Bishopric of Münster, another exhibition was organized to honour the man who had commissioned Clemenswerth on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the star-shaped hunting castle in Sörgel based on Marly in France. In his foreword, Minister President Ernst Albrecht praised the site of the exhibition, very much in the style of the West German retrospective federal appropriation, as 'the most beautiful hunting castle in Lower Saxony.'⁴⁹ In the essay that followed, which the characteristic title 'Ein Landkreis auf den Spuren eines Gesamtkunstwerks'⁵⁰ (A District on the Trail of a Total Work of Art), District Administrator Meiners and the Chief District Director Brümmer wrote of a successful communalizing of the 'Baroque jewel', which in 1967 had been purchased by the district from its former owners, the dukes of Arenberg, and elaborately restored with state funds. The lost original furnishings were supplemented by acquisitions – a process that was, interestingly, referred to as 're-Baroquing' [sic]. At the same time, under the name Forum Form, the castle served the District of Emsland as an exhibition centre for modern art. Clemens August thus became a central figure of the 'regional history of northwest Germany' and his autocratic, princely concern with status symbols as 'patronage'. The seamless integration of an absolutist ruler and his bequests into the efforts of the states of a democratic West Germany to present their culture as a way of creating identity, without any expropriation or anti-clerical hostile stances in the tradition of class war, thus appears to be a very characteristic form of the popular reception of the Baroque in West Germany.

Just how successful the catchy narrative of personalizing a period in the figure of a prince still was, even after it had passed its zenith in the history of

⁴⁸ Ferdinand Molinski, ed., *Ferdinand von Fürstenberg: Fürstbischof von Paderborn und Münster 1661–1683*, Paderborn: Paderborn Städtische Sammlungen, 1963; the competitive aspect is clear in many passages in the catalogue text: 'The architectural activities of the Fürstenberg family have been admirably compared to the achievements of the Schönborn family of bishops in Franconia.' (21). 'In the art history of Westphalia and beyond, he lives on as the greatest patron, indeed as the father of the "Fürstenberg Baroque".' (43).

⁴⁹ Aschoff, *Clemens August*, here: [Ernst Albrecht]: 'Vorwort des Schirmherrn', 11.

⁵⁰ Aschoff, *Clemens August*, [Josef Meiners / Karl-Heinz Brümmer]: 'Ein Landkreis auf den Spuren eines Gesamtkunstwerks', 12–14.

scholarship, is demonstrated by a highly ambitious exhibition and publication project that the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn realized in 2000, which once again chose Clemens August as a figurehead but now with the cryptic supertitle *Der Riss im Himmel* (The Rift in Heaven), which was presumably intended as an allusion to the eminent threat of the end of the once splendid seat of government – after all, this was nine years after the Bonn-Berlin decision that was so traumatic for the region. Rather than simply concentrating on one place, the diversity of the epoch was specifically celebrated in five venues (Bonn-Brühl-Cologne-Jülich-Miel), each with its own theme: for example, in the fortress city of Jülich it was the military, presented under the title *Die Ästhetik des Krieges?* (The Aesthetic of Warfare?).⁵¹

The ten-volume series that accompanied the exhibition⁵² is characterized by the structural history that dominates today, in which it is no longer the sovereign as an individual who is of primary interest but rather his role in the social fabric. The title of the volume on ‘religiousness and piety in the Rhineland of the eighteenth century’ is characteristic of this: *Hirt und Herde* (Shepherd and Herd). The focus of the most recent project was on the connections to the present day,⁵³ to the rifts of an end time being ‘torn apart’, having already been hollowed out by the Enlightenment and modernity, while the Clemens August exhibition of 1961 still emphasized the epochal distance and characterized its protagonists as ‘nevertheless a great, well-

⁵¹ See Christoph Fischer on the concept for the Jülich part of the exhibition in ‘Ausstellung: Die Ästhetik des Krieges?’, <http://www.juelich.de/rissimhimmel/ausstellung.html>.

⁵² The titles of the individual volumes of the accompanying publication series (ed. Frank Günter Zehnder) reveal the thematic diversity, based on structural history, subsumed here under the promotionally effective label ‘Clemens August’: Frank Günter Zehnder and Werner Schäfke, eds, *Der Riss im Himmel: Clemens August und seine Epoche: Katalog zum Gesamtprojekt Bonn – Brühl – Köln – Jülich – Miel*, Cologne: DuMont, 1999–2000; Werner Schäfke, ed., *Coellen eyn Croyn: Renaissance und Barock in Köln*, vol. 1, Cologne: DuMont, 1999; Frank Günter Zehnder, ed., *Im Wechselspiel der Kräfte: Politische Entwicklungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in Kurköln*, vol. 2, Cologne: DuMont, 1999; Frank Günter Zehnder, ed., *Eine Gesellschaft zwischen Tradition und Wandel: Alltag und Umwelt im Rheinland des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3, Cologne: DuMont, 1999; Georg Mölich, ed., *Köln als Kommunikationszentrum: Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgeschichte*, vol. 4, Cologne: DuMont, 2000; Frank Günter Zehnder, ed., *Hirt und Herde: Religiosität und Frömmigkeit im Rheinland des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 5, Cologne: DuMont, 2000; Frank Günter Zehnder, ed., *Das Ideal der Schönheit: Rheinische Kunst in Barock und Rokoko*, vol. 6, Cologne: DuMont, 2000; Frank Günter Zehnder, ed., *Die Bühnen des Rokoko: Theater, Musik und Literatur im Rheinland des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 7, Cologne: DuMont, 2000; Dietrich Ebeling, ed., *Aufbruch in eine neue Zeit: Gewerbe, Staat und Unternehmer in den Rheinlanden des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 8, Cologne: DuMont, 2000; *Die Ästhetik des Krieges? Dokumentation der Ausstellung in der Zitadelle Jülich 13. Mai – 1. Oktober 2000*, CD-ROM, Jülich: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, 2000.

⁵³ Christoph Fischer, ‘Die Ästhetik des Krieges? Gedanken zur Ausstellung’, <http://www.juelich.de/rissimhimmel/konzept.html> (accessed 19 November 2015): ‘The idea that war could be conducted mathematically has become established since the eighteenth century. [...] The clean war is simply a linguistic construct with metaphors that go back to eighteenth-century ideas’

rounded, fascinating personality – not in the sense of the Enlightenment but rather that of the irrationality of a still medieval Baroque, which the *ancien régime* that died out with Clemens August can surely be called.⁵⁴ In 1987, by contrast, Minister President Albrecht regarded the deeds of his ‘predecessor in office’ completely positively as a precursor of the programmes of economic assistance of his own time: ‘His unprecedented patronage also led to a remarkable economic upturn during his reign’.⁵⁵

Structural history: confessions and institutions

The current narrative of structural history that – the first signs of which could be seen in Bonn in 2000 – replaces history about people with the history of institutions found its paradigmatic realization in the exhibition *Rom in Bayern: Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten* (Rome in Bavaria: The Art and Spirituality of the First Jesuits) at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in 1997, on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of the Michaelskirche in Munich and the anniversary of the death of the Jesuit saint Petrus Canisius. Whereas the exhibition’s title and the rather unmotivated placement of a plastic copy of the statue of Marcus Aurelius from the Capitol in Rome in the foyer⁵⁶ seemed to emphasize a connection to Italy that is always welcome in Munich, the concept of the show primarily reflected on the so-called confessionalization thesis, which was hegemonic in the scholarship on the early modern period of the turn of the millennium, that is to say, it emphasized the close causal connection of religious division and the concentration of rule in the early modern period.⁵⁷ The idea was to expose a wide audience not to the ‘naive’ display of splendour, common touch and piety of serene Bavarian Rococo but rather to the media practice of propaganda in the politics of religion in close connection with the history of the order and of the region in the stringent early Baroque of the Counter-Reformation.⁵⁸ The anniversary of the widely familiar and popular Michaelskirche thus served as the hook to draw attention to a more complex set of

⁵⁴ Lill, *Kurfürst Clemens August*, 7.

⁵⁵ Aschoff, *Clemens August*, [Ernst Albrecht]: ‘Vorwort des Schirmherrn’, 11

⁵⁶ Editors, ‘Der geklonte Kaiser’, *Die Zeit*, 21, 16 May 1997, Zeit online http://www.zeit.de/1997/21/Der_geklonte_Kaiser.

⁵⁷ Heribert Smolinsky, ‘Die Kirchen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts: Kräfte und Mächte im Ringen um Glauben und Leben’ in Reinhold Baumstark, ed., *Rom in Bayern: Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten* (exhib. cat.), Munich: Hirmer, 1997, 19-30, 21: ‘In the area that remained Catholic, the princes tried to combine a Reformist-Counter-Reformation Catholicism with the modernization of the country in the sense of focusing power and an efficient administration.’

⁵⁸ Reinhold Baumstark, ‘Vorwort’, in Baumstark, *Rom in Bayern*, 14–18, here 14: ‘But the beginning of this order in southern Germany, its innovative energy to reform its own church, its service for the House of Wittelsbach and for the Duchy of Bayern [...] and also the impulses it provided for the creation of early Baroque art are things a wide audience is only partially conscious of.’

problems to be discussed based the latest scholarly research. Rather than the simplifying appropriation that dominated elsewhere, this can be said to have been an attempt to problematize and get distance from the phenomenon of the Baroque, an effort to make the strangeness behind the seemingly familiar recognizable. The corset of complaisant regionalization was to be removed and the supposedly so typically Bavarian Baroque once again connected to its Roman roots and European networks. The Jesuits, an international active, hierarchically structured order proved to be an aloof subject that was not very appealing to the public: in the end, Petrus Canisius could not compete with Clemens August of Cologne or Cosmas Damian Asam as a promotional figurehead with mass appeal – he retreated to the second rank, just as he did in the exhibition's title.

Artists: national and regional strategies of appropriation

After all, the artist's monograph is probably the oldest narrative form with a lasting influence. When it comes to the question of 'Baroque for a wide audience', it takes on particular significance when other subject matter is carried along and treated in the slipstream of biographical assessment, so to speak. This can be demonstrated using two examples in Bavaria: the exhibition projects on Cosmas Damian Asam in Aldersbach in 1986 and on the Dientzenhofers in Rosenheim in 1991.

Our interpretation of this first project is based this time not on the catalogue but rather on a bit of evidence from the genre of sources known as oral history: a lecture that Klemens Unger, the head of cultural affairs department in Regensburg, gave in Linz in 2014 on his apparently crucial contribution to tying the Asam exhibition of 1986 to tourism – a speech that has been preserved for posterity thanks to YouTube.⁵⁹ The Diocese of Passau recalled this epochal event in a pontifical vespers on its twenty-fifth anniversary on November 20, 2011, explaining the festive occasion as follows:

The term 'cultural tourism'⁶⁰ was coined by Klemens Unger, then managing director of the Fremdenverkehrsverband Ostbayern [Eastern Bavarian Tourist Association]. After analysing the image of eastern Bavaria, the cultural potential of the region of both locals and tourists was tested and networked proposal was prepared. Among other things, it included the 'Tour de Baroque', one of the first long-distance cycling trails in Germany. This successful concept was continued in subsequent years with new annual themes. The term 'cultural tourism' has entered the professional jargon. Many regions and the Deutsche Zentrale für Tourismus [German

⁵⁹ Klemens Unger, (27 November 2014), 'Barock als Einstieg in den Kulturtourismus in Ostbayern', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1SgCqpuRhEm> (accessed 20 November 2015).

⁶⁰ On Unger's claim to have coined this term, see Unger, 'Barock als Einstieg', min. 04.00.

Headquarters for Tourism] have since been working with thematic years such as the Goethe Year or the Luther Year.⁶¹

As Unger explained in a decidedly witty and persuasive way in his lecture, the exhibition very successfully pursued the goal of mutually increasing value: beginning in 1986, there was a deliberate effort to elevate the image of eastern Bavaria from that of an affordable area for hiking to that of an highbrow cultural destination, with popular campaigns such as 'Bayern-Bier-Barock'⁶² (Bavaria-Beer-Baroque) – the number of hotel stays increased by a million in the year of the exhibition!⁶³ At the same time, Asam was to be established in public awareness as a first-rank artist of national significance and the Lower Bavarian region would be transformed into 'Asam country' on the occasion of the presentation of the restored Aldersbach Monastery, even though the artists were known to have been living in Munich, in Upper Bavaria, and to have been active in many other places. The method applied very successfully here could be described, in by all means suitable marketing jargon, as a win-win situation: the Baroque exhibition as efficient catalyst of strategic regional stimulus in the age of mass, thematic and event tourism. The collective perception of an object, in this case an artist's oeuvre, had been transformed, to return to Wouters, by his temporary presentation and re-contextualization in the exhibition even after it has ended. Today, Lower Bavaria truly is 'Asam country': Unger demonstrated just how well the concept worked with a striking example:⁶⁴ Whereas for the three hundredth anniversary of Cosmas Damian Asam's death in 1986, which had been the occasion for the exhibition in Aldersbach, the German Post Office had refused to issue a stamp because the man being celebrated was not famous internationally, the same employee responded positively to a new request three years later for the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of the artist's death.

The last example to be presented here brings the arc back to the beginning of my discussion of the – as we have seen – highly successful overcoming of national contaminations of the Baroque and its redefinition as a federalism-friendly, consensus-building and identity-creating regional art. Admittedly, one question had remained unanswered until 1990, thanks to rigorously looking the other way: How to establish an eastern demarcation for the theme, beyond the border between blocs of the time. People had grown accustomed to telling the story of a 'West German Baroque', without St. Gallen and Vienna but above all without Dresden, Wrocław

⁶¹ Diocese of Passau, '25 Jahre Kulturtourismus in Ostbayern: Pontifikalvesper in der Asamkirche Aldersbach; 1986 Asam-Ausstellung', <http://www.bistum-passau.de/aktuelle-meldungen/20/10/2011/25-jahre-kulturtourismus-ostbayern-pontifikalvesper-der-asamkirche-ald>.

⁶² Unger, 'Barock als Einstieg', min. 07.30.

⁶³ Unger, 'Barock als Einstieg', min. 18.25.

⁶⁴ Unger, 'Barock als Einstieg', min. 15.10.

and Prague.⁶⁵ This denial of reality seemed outdated once and for all after the Berlin Wall fell and the border was opened: the symbol of this was the show, initiated jointly by the City of Rosenheim and the National Gallery in Prague, on the live and work of the Dientzenhofer family of architects, who linked Bavaria and Bohemia.⁶⁶

For a long time, they had been pawns in a conflict over nationality that in retrospect seems completely irrational, in which the Bohemian art of the Baroque was divided into two ostensibly antagonistic camps, the 'German' and the 'Czech', fighting over artistic precedence, with Christoph Dientzenhofer, who migrated from Upper Bavaria, assigned to the 'German' faction, but Johann Blasius Santini-Aichel, born in Prague as the son of an immigrant, to the 'Slavic' one.⁶⁷ It looks like an act of late reconciliation that Milada Vilímková of Prague was joined by the doyen of German scholarship on Dientzenhofer, Heinrich Gerhard Franz, both worked on the Rosenheim project as co-editors of the catalogue. During the Third Reich, Franz was one of the exponents of then dominant nationality research,⁶⁸ who in 1943 wrote about the 'German Baroque art of Moravia' and included in his Dientzenhofer book of 1942 a photograph of the Klarissenkirche in Eger decorated with the swastika-emblazoned banners of the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ See for example, Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen and Goethe-Institut, eds, *Sehenswürdige Städte und Bauten der Renaissance, des Barock und Rokoko in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Diathek zur Deutschlandkunde. D: Geographische Landeskunde 12.1.2, Stuttgart: Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, 1982.

⁶⁶ The book that accompanied the exhibition of 1991 had been first published in 1989 (Johannes Brucker and Milada Vilímková, *Dientzenhofer: Eine bayerische Baumeisterfamilie in der Barockzeit*, Rosenheim: Rosenheimer Verlagshaus, 1989) and was reprinted in 1991 with Heinrich Gerhard Franz as its editor (Heinrich Gerhard Franz, ed., *Die Dientzenhofer: Barocke Baukunst in Bayern und Böhmen*, exhib. cat., Rosenheim: Stadthalle Rosenheim in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Kulturamt der Stadt Rosenheim, 1991).

⁶⁷ Brucker and Vilímková, *Dientzenhofer*, 78, 85–86. The most prominent propagandists of devaluing Christoph Dientzenhofer in favour of Santini were the so-called Brno School around Václav Richter. The rumour that the architect had been nothing but an illiterate craftsman who merely implemented the drawings of others, presumably the brilliant Santini, was based, as Vilímková showed, on an apparent confusion with his father-in-law and teacher Abraham Leuthner by the chronicler of the monastery in Tepl in 1691. See also Václav Richter, review of Heinrich Gerhard Franz, *Bauten und Baumeister der Barockzeit in Böhmen: Entstehung und Ausstrahlungen der böhmischen Barockbaukunst*, *Umění* 12, 1964, 313–22. The authorship of the castle chapel of Smiřice, a major work of the so-called Bohemian Radical Baroque, continues to be disputed. See Jaromír Neumann, *Český barok*, Prague: Odeon, 1974, 156–57.

⁶⁸ Heinrich Gerhard Franz, *Die Kirchenbauten des Christoph Dientzenhofer*, Brno, 1942, R. M. Rohrer, 95: 'The times in which the genuine Sudetenland features stand out most prominently are those in which German art and the German people in Bohemia are decisive; these are at the same time the great heydays of art in the Bohemian and Moravian area in general.'

⁶⁹ Franz, *Die Kirchenbauten*, pls 44, 59–61. The 'political' design of the space seems to be a consequence of its new use as a memorial to the fallen from 1923 onwards

Admittedly, the catalogue of 1991 was far from being an attempt to come to terms with the political background; rather, it documents above all the abolition of a border line until recently regarded as (physically and mentally) almost unsurmountable, but which Baroque scholars found finally once again just cross over, as had been a matter of course in the age of the Dientzenhofers. The reconciliation of the Franconian and Bohemian branches of the family was managed (still cautiously) in two successive essays, which only offer a complete picture when taken together: 'The wall is gone!'⁷⁰ – but the outermost border of the European Union of the time was still evident in the accompanying volume, in which the German scholar Johannes Brucker analysed the buildings to the west of the Iron Curtain and the Czech scholar Milada Vilímková those to the east. The danger of the careless encroachment, of a renewed 'bringing home to the Reich', was thus avoided. Even today, no full-length monograph has been published that assesses the complete works of this family of architects, from Fulda to Prague, in a single survey.⁷¹

('Heldengedenkhalle', or 'memorial hall for the heroes'). See Stadt Cheb Tourismusinformationszentrum, 'Franziskaner Kloster und Kreuzgang: Das Minoritäts (Später Franziskaner) Konvent an der Mariä Verkündigung Kirche', http://www.tic.mestocheb.cz/DE/vismo/dokumenty2.asp?id_org=100428&id=235842.

⁷⁰ 'Die Mauer ist weg!' was one of the repeatedly chanted slogans in 1989 at the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall. See Wolfgang Huber, ed., *Die Mauer ist weg: Ein Lesebuch*, Frankfurt am Main: Hansisches Druck- und Verlagshaus, 2009.

⁷¹ In 1992, the Ostbayerischer Fremdenverkehrsverband published a brief guide on the Dientzenhofers in eastern Bavaria and Bohemia: Doris Gerstl, *Die Dientzenhofer in Ostbayern und Böhmen*, Regensburg: Fremdenverkehrsverband Ostbayern, 1992. In the volume accompanying the Bavarian state exhibition of 2007, *Bayern-Böhmen: 1500 Jahre Nachbarschaft*, Robert Stalla presented a study relating the work of the architects in both countries (Robert Stalla, 'Die Dientzenhofer und die kurvierte Architektur in Bayern und Böhmen', in Robert Luft and Ludwig Eiber, eds, *Bayern und Böhmen: Kontakt, Konflikt, Kultur. Vorträge der Tagung des Hauses der Bayerischen Geschichte und des Collegium Carolinum in Zwiesel vom 2. bis 4. Mai 2005*, Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2007, 123–76, Rainhard Riepertinger and Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, eds, *Bayern-Böhmen: 1500 Jahre Nachbarschaft*, exhib. cat., Augsburg: Theiss, 2007). The last large Dientzenhofer exhibition was held in 2012 on the occasion of the three hundredth anniversary of the new construction of the cathedral in Fulda (Gregor K. Stasch, ed., *300 Jahre Dom zu Fulda und sein Architekt Johann Dientzenhofer (1663–1726)*, exhib. cat., Fulda: Vonderau Museum, 2012).

Looking forward: 'Baroque' – exhibiting the narrative?

After so much on the West German past, at the end we dare to take a look at Baroque exhibitions today. After a long preparation, at the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museum in Mannheim on 9 September 2016, another narrative was tried out that was hardly ever discussed previously, namely the very term for the era: the *Baroque* itself.⁷² Like all inherited stylistic terms, in the meanwhile it is held at arm's length by specialists, but it still enjoys an unbroken, cliché-ridden appeal with the public. With the rhetorical question of its subtitle – *Nur schöner Schein?* (Only Beautiful Appearance?) – the exhibition set itself the goal of confronting these prejudices with the real diversity and contradictoriness of the era, and this time very much in the international context. In six sections, the universally known and the unexpected, the transfer and the counter-image, were meant to be systematically engaged in dialogue, and in such a way that each section would cross genre boundaries and include objects from art, religion, literature, science, history and music. The previous knowledge and visual expectations of the audience were certainly served by Jacob Jordaens, Johannes Sebastian Bach and the Sun King, but also undermined or modified by Anthoni van Leeuwenhoek, Jacques Callot and the Huguenot refugees. Flea trap and monstrance, microscope and magnificent still life, the prosthetic leg of the Prince of Hessen-Homburg and the bronze bust of him by Andreas Schlüter were supposed to enter into a dialogue both with one another and with the 'wide audience'.

The section titles were not the 'usual suspects' such as absolutism, *vanitas*, court life or confessionalization, but faith, knowledge, bodies, order, space and time: central concepts that can claim relevance to any century and could therefore perhaps make it easier to determine what is specific to an era by perceiving the differences. Moreover, it was the goal of the concept, developed with the constant participation of the scholarly advisory committee, and defended for a long time with astonishing tenacity by the curator, Uta Coburger, not to treat the genres of the objects and the thematic fields of the exhibition separately, but rather in the context of the section motto in question, although most definitely referring to the much-criticized 'Gesamtkunstwerk' model of older Baroque scholarship.⁷³ The fact that the

⁷² Rem gGmbH, 'Barock: Nur schöner Schein?', <http://www.barock2016.de/>. Alfried Wieczorek / Christoph Lind / Uta Coburger, eds: *Barock - Nur schöner Schein?* Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner, 2016

⁷³ On the concept of the (Baroque) *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art), see Philippe Junod, 'Gesamtkunstwerk', *Kritische Berichte*, 35: 3, 2007, 72–76.; Eric Garberson, 'Historiography of the Gesamtkunstwerk', in Luís de Moura Sobral and David Walter Booth, eds, *Struggle for Synthesis: A obra de arte total nos séculos XVII e XVIII; acta; simpósio internacional, Museu Nogueira da Silva e Mosteiro de Sao Martinho de Tibaes, Braga, 11 – 14 de Junho de 1996*, vol. 1: *Conceitos, métodos, problemas, espaços sagrados*, Lisboa: Ministério da Cultura, Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico, 1999, 53–72; Bernd Euler-Rolle, 'Wege zum "Gesamtkunstwerk" in den Sakralräumen des österreichischen Spätbarocks am Beispiel der

very word 'Baroque' as a term for a style or era was itself a modern, retrospective construction was supposed to be addressed in a seventh, introductory section using examples of the reception of the Baroque from the modern era and the present, but unfortunately that plan fell victim to budget and space constraints and had to be reduced to a few 'cameos' strewn through the other sections.⁷⁴ It remains to be seen whether this ambitious concept will ultimately truly reach a 'wide audience'.

But even here the regional bracketing that seems to be indispensable in Germany was not lacking: 'On the occasion of the exhibition *Barock: Nur schöner Schein?* [Baroque: Only Beautiful Appearance?], the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen in Mannheim are launching the "Barockregion" [Baroque Region] network of cultural tourism. [...] and thereby making an important contribution to creating identity.'⁷⁵

Baroque in the Federal Republic of Germany: 'Satisfying the soul of the people'

In conclusion, I will attempt a summary: Measured by the number and significance of exhibitions on it, the Baroque cannot by any means be regarded as a 'precarious' topic in the Federal Republic of Germany, but rather as an extremely welcome contribution to providing a historical foundation for the federal reorganization of West Germany that had been elevated to the rank of its constitution. The national narrative that had dominated until 1945 was – in contrast to the case of the simultaneous popularization of the Middle Ages in the early years of the Federal Republic – replaced not by an international concept but rather by a regional one. It was not the problematic, foreign, pre-democratic features of the epoch that were emphasized, but rather the positive aspects that create identity, in which elaborately restored architectural monuments, generous 'patrons' and artists with regional ties functioned as sympathetic figures for promotional purposes. The cosily harmless, colourful, complaisant, splintered, multi-cultural, bi-confessional first German Reich thus became the positive counter-image to the discredited, aggressive and expansionist model of the nation-state of the Second and the Third Reich. Only after 1990, under the auspices of the European Union's eastern expansion, was this affirmative, conciliatory panorama of the Baroque cautiously expanded beyond the former border between the systems. This process is not finished, of course, and requires further discussion with Germany's neighbours, for example, with Poland, which had only had an immediate border with the Federal Republic since 1990. The

Stiftskirche von Melk", in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 43, 1989, 1, 25–48; Richard Zürcher, 'Architektur als Gesamtkunstwerk: Zwei Beispiele aus dem Spätbarock', in *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 27, 1982, 11–22.

⁷⁴ In media studies, a 'cameo' is a brief guest appearance in, for example, a film by a famous person who can immediately be recognized as such; see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cameo_appearance.

⁷⁵ Rem gGmbH, 'Unterwegs auf barocken Spuren in der Region', <http://www.barock2016.de/barockregion/>.

future will show whether the concept and popularization of the Baroque will themselves be put to the test.

In addition, we should consider whether the German love of the Baroque is primarily a Catholic phenomenon, thus reflecting the denominational split of the country. The majority of the examples discussed here were indeed in the west and the south, though integrating partially or uniformly Protestant regions such as the Saarland, central Franconia, the Electoral Palatinate, Württemberg or Baden – after all, as noted above, the German Democratic Republic, as an autonomous country until 1990, was not considered in this essay because it would have exceeded its scope. This question would probably have been answered differently prior to 1990 and afterwards, because since reunification the eastern German states, such as Thuringia, which is characterized by many small princely residences,⁷⁶ but also Guelphic Hanover,⁷⁷ have rediscovered their Baroque roots. The German candidate for the UNESCO World Heritage Site list that was announced for 2016 but taken out of the running before the official decision – the orphanage of the Franckesche Stiftungen zu Halle, built in 1698 – would have been an example of the Protestant Baroque, which is otherwise underrepresented in this selection.⁷⁸ Perhaps it was no coincidence that ICOMOS did not wish to grant this sober architecture world-class standing.

Finally, we summon as our crown witness former German chancellor Gerhard Schröder (SPD), who is not suspected of any denominational or ideological ties; in an interview with the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* in 1999, he explained:

From my temporary office in the former State Council building, I was always looking out at the [former GDR-] Palace of the Republic. It is so monstrous that I would rather have had a castle there. [...] A façade wouldn't be enough for me. Then I would feel deceived. Either-or. [...] I am the last person not to want especially beautiful and modern buildings. But when you are in that sort of historical situation, and you give the people something for the soul, that can be extraordinarily calming and hence satisfying as well.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Edith Ulferts, *Große Säle des Barock. Die Residenzen in Thüringen*, Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2000; Konrad Scheurmann, ed., *Neu entdeckt: Thüringen – Land der Residenzen*, exhib. cat., 4 vols, Jena: P. von Zabern, 2004.

⁷⁷ Julian Strauß, ed., *Schlösser und Gärten in Herrenhausen: Vom Barock zur Moderne*, exhib. cat., Schriften des Historischen Museums Hannover 41, Hannover: Historisches Museum, 2013.

⁷⁸ Holger Zaunstock, ed., *Tief verwurzelt – hoch hinaus: Die Baukunst der Franckeschen Stiftungen als Sozial- und Bildungsarchitektur des protestantischen Barock*, exhib. cat., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015. On the withdrawal of the application, see <http://www.franckehalle.de/wir-ueber-uns-a-7307.html>.

⁷⁹ Gunter Hofmann and Sigrid Löffler, 'Eine offene Republik: Ein ZEIT-Gespräch mit Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder über das geplante Holocaust-Mahnmal, die Folgen der Walser-Bubis-Debatte und den Wiederaufbau des Berliner Schlosses', *Die Zeit*, 4 February 1999, Zeit online <http://www.zeit.de/1999/06/199906.schroeder-gespra.xml>.

There is nothing to add to this assessment of the self-image of the Federal Republic of Germany from the mouth of someone elected to its highest office.

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⁸⁰ See the complete list of his publications at http://www.kunstgeschichte.architektur.tu-darmstadt.de/media/architektur/fachgruppe_a/klarchkuge/forschung_dissertationen/Publikationsliste_MvEngelberg_Stand_22-12-15.pdf.